

Chapter 16

The Singing Map

AREAS, CIRCLES, CLUSTERS

If one listed the questions ethnomusicologists would wish to answer in the long run, the following two would no doubt be among them: What is the musical map of the world, that is, where are the significant musical phenomena found? And what can one do, from a mass of data limited to the contemporary, to reconstruct the history of world music? The second question has been frequently judged futile, but those who have tried to answer it have most commonly become preoccupied with the first. Fundamental statements of ethnomusicological fact have typically been presented in geographic terms; e.g., this instrument is found here and here; the music of this culture is like the music of this neighboring one or that rather distant one. Much attention has been devoted to methods of finding data about and presenting statements of the geographic distribution of music.

We wish to establish maps whose spaces and borders outline the distribution of traits, clusters of traits, partial or comprehensive musical systems. In drawing the singing map ethnomusicologists have mainly been inspired by three concepts developed in anthropology and folklore. The approach most clearly descriptive and found acceptable for the longest time is based on the so-called culture area concept, developed by American anthropologists and said by Driver (1961: 12) to be "a convenient way of describing the ways of life of hundreds of peoples covering a whole continent or a larger part of the earth's surface." First used in 1895 (Harris 1968:374), it originated in the need to map and classify the large number of tribal groups of the Americas. On the surface the concept seems simple enough. A group of peoples living in contiguous distribution and having similar kinds of subsistence, use of energy, social organization, religion, arts, etc., would belong to one culture area. On the map the boundaries between culture areas appear rigid, but anthropologists recognized that they "are actually the approximate lines where two neighboring types of phenomena are present in equal amounts" (Driver 1961:13).

Culture areas have always been useful as purely classificatory devices. But it was probably inevitable that certain features of culture, such as the method of food production, would be stressed over others and weight the distributional statement. Moreover, it was quickly found that a group of societies assigned to the same culture area did not share in its culture type with equal intensity. For example, the Plains Indians of North America, a group of peoples with diverse origins as indicated by the variety of their linguistic stocks, shared in the Sun Dance as a major ceremonial occasion. But the Sun Dance was developed differentially, taking its most complex form from the Arapaho, in whose culture it was also most dominant. Thus, early on, anthropologists found themselves using the culture area concept as the basis for historical interpretation. Kroeber proposed the theory that a culture area has a center or "climax" in which the characteristic culture of the area is most developed; from this again grew the speculation that the main features of the area diffused from the center to the outlying, more marginal

regions and continued until they met and merged with the diffusion of contrastive traits from a neighboring culture center. The use of the culture area concept developed among anthropologists who were concerned with American Indians and it worked best when applied to these peoples, who could be rather easily seen as a large number of small tribal groups. The idea of the culture area as an automatic guide to history was widely questioned (Harris 1968:375-77).

A related but also contrastive approach was that of the so-called German diffusionists, known because of its strong interest in historical interpretations as the "kulturhistorische Schule" (see Lowie 1937:171-95, Schmidt 1939). Comprised of research by such scholars as Leo Frobenius, Fritz Graebner, Wilhelm Schmidt, and to a large degree based on studies in Oceania and of physical artifacts, the concept developed in this school came to be known as "Kulturkreis," i.e. culture circle. Like the culture area concept, a culture circle is a statement that a number of peoples share a group of culture traits. These peoples need not be geographically contiguous, and since one society may have a number of trait clusters each of which is shared with a different group of peoples, it may be a part of several "Kulturkreise." At the root of the concept is the idea that humans are basically un inventive and thus extremely unlikely to develop the same thing more than once. So two societies, no matter how far apart, may be members of the same culture circle if they share one trait, but the likelihood of historical relationship increases if they share more than one. Now, since the diffusion of elements from various points to one culture must have occurred at different points in time, the various culture circles in which a society shares also represent strata in its history. The relatively dogmatic approach of this school of thinkers, and their insistence that all similarities of culture traits result from diffusion, eventually made their approach unacceptable to most anthropologists. Referring to the distinction made in other chapters between musical content and musical style, we can draw an analogy here between music and culture. The culture area and Kulturkreis concepts involve the style of culture, perhaps drawing together societies that use the same way of organizing a pantheon while not requiring belief in specifically the same gods. They expect similarities in social organization but not in terminology, in the nature of story-telling events but not in the content of the stories. By contrast, the so-called historical-geographic method in folklore involves content. It traces the versions, variants, and forms of an artifact of folklore and shows the clustering of their distribution, basing on it conclusions about its history. Thus a particular story with characters and significant actions may be plotted on the map, but use in society, the length of narration, the narrative style itself are generally ignored. Developed by Scandinavian scholars (K. Krohn 1926), who in turn influenced a number of Americans (see Thompson 1946, W. Roberts 1958), and applied mainly to tales but also occasionally to ballad stories (Kemppinen 1954), the method compares versions by assessing their degree of similarity as well as the intensity of their geographic distribution. From the comparisons are developed archetypes of events and characters, and density as well as similarity are used to develop an archetype of the entire story, a key to its original form. So, through an elaborate method combining territory and quantity, a historical statement is made, giving an approximate sequence of events leading from the story in original or reconstructed form to its diffusion through its geographic area. In his classic history of the "Star-Husband" tale, a story of the

marriage of two girls to stars followed by their successful escape, widespread among North American Indians, Stith Thompson (1953) shows that its origin is likely to have been in the Central Plains but that special characteristic forms developed later on the Northwest Coast while fragmentary versions developed on the outskirts of this area of distribution.

DRAWING THE MAP

Studying the geographic distribution of musical phenomena is generally more complex than the typical distributional study in cultural anthropology, where statements are often restricted to indicating that a given trait is present or absent in a culture unit. An element of culture can, of course, be broken into components for this purpose. For a particular type of string instrument, one could map the number of strings, the material from which the instrument is made, its shape, and so on (see e.g. Walin 1952). Going somewhat further, a similar study of musical style requires sensitivity, for it would have to be concerned with identifying relationships among forms that are not identical or similar, and with rejecting as unrelated some that may on the surface seem alike. As noted already in our consideration of similarity and difference (Chapter 9), one might need to decide which of various similar tunes are actually variants of one basic type, or whether two slightly different pentatonic scales are really subtypes of one form.

There is, moreover, the problem of deciding on geographic units to be used as a basis for statement, whether they should be determined by political affiliation, by language, by physical geography, whether smaller units such as villages should be considered, or perhaps even families, units that can often be studied most realistically. As in speech, each individual has his or her own musical idiolect and could even conceivably be considered as the minimal unit. But for practical purposes, the linguistic, cultural, natural, and political units encompassing homogeneous groups of people have had to serve. Several ways of making musical maps have been used.

The distribution of individual elements, components, or parameters of music, such as scale type or specific instrument, may be most easily treated. The literature provides many examples, among them Baumann's (1976) study of yodeling in Switzerland. Although geographic distribution is not his main purpose, he provides a map indicating yodeling types in a large number of Swiss locations, using towns and villages as the main units of reference. Lomax's cantometrics studies (e.g. 1968) give distributions of individual elements or parameters, using large culture areas as units; each of these can be the basis of separate charting, and Lomax makes much use of schematic maps.

Charting presence or absence of a trait yields information to the effect that culture A has rhythmic types X and Y, and culture B, types Y and Z, but of course we would wish also to indicate relative quantity. As pointed out, music lends itself rather well to being analyzed in this way, and in fact this is how one must proceed. There are few characteristics of music not found in a vast number of cultures, but in many of these they play an insignificant role. Giving mere presence and absence only establishes a capability realized. Statements of proportion are needed. Thus, when Collaer (1958:67), in one of the earliest publications dealing explicitly with the problem, proposed the desirability of mapping the distribution of the anhem-

tonic pentatonic scale, he must have had in mind some sort of quantitative approach, for compositions using such a scale are found in most cultures. A statement of the strength of this scale in each repertory would show that it is found in the vast majority of Cheremis songs, in about half of those of the Plains Indians, with some frequency in India, rather rarely in Iran. Sampling is a problem; even for some cultures for which there are many published and recorded pieces, these are sometimes from a single and perhaps exceptional corner of the repertory .

Since studies of the percentage of compositions in a repertory that contain a given trait are still not common, let me give a brief example, by no means definitive and here only generally illustrative. Based on small samples of varying reliability, it must be viewed as an example of method and of conceivable fact, and no more. It concerns a phenomenon in North American Indian music known as the "rise," identified and so designated by George Herzog (1928). In a song with nonstrophic structure, a short section is repeated at least twice, then followed by another bit of music at a slightly higher average pitch, followed, in turn, by the lower part. This alternation can continue for some time, but the lower section tends to appear more than once at a time, while the higher or "rise" section is less frequent. Herzog's description and terminology apply to the Yuman peoples, but somewhat similar forms are also found elsewhere.

The "rise" occurs in the music of a fairly large number of tribes along both coasts of the United States, given tribal locations when first discovered and disturbed by whites, and data published or recorded largely before 1960. It is strongest, occurring in over 50 percent of the songs, among several of the Yuman tribes of the Southwest, and among the Miwok, Porno, Maidu, and Patwin of central California. In the repertoires of the Northwest Coast Tsimshian and the southeastern Choctaw, it occurs in 20-30 percent of the songs; among the northeastern Penobscot and the northwestern Nootka, in 10-20 percent; and in the songs of the Kwakiutl as well as the southeastern Creek, Yuchi, and Tutelo, in less than 10 percent. Considering that most of the other peoples of the coasts are musically not well known, it would appear, provided the sample is reliable, that the rise has a center of distribution in the southwestern United States and thinning-out strength across the southern part of the country and up both coasts. This information might be interpreted in various ways but is in any case more valuable than a simple statement that these musics "have" the "rise."

While we could follow certain distinct musical features throughout the world and get one kind of picture or map, we might approach the entire problem of cartography from the point of individual compositions, pieces or songs. As already discussed in Chapter 8, our first problem would be to determine the identity of such a unit of musical creativity. Assuming that we can come up with an acceptable concept and a working definition, we would have to distinguish similarities genetically determined from others. From Wiora's presentation of tune types discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, it became obvious that distribution of musical style may actually be quite different from the distribution of compositions. Data for the distribution of the variants of songs or pieces, and for configurations or clusters of pieces, are available for much European folk music. For the rest of the world there is less, but there comes to mind one fine example, a study by Willard Rhodes (1958) of the opening song of the Peyote ceremony among several Plains and southwestern U nited States tribes. The discovery of similar or

almost identical tunes in the folk music of Hungarian and Cheremis (Kodály 1956:24-57)-and their absence among the Finns, who are linguistically close to the Cheremis-leads to questions about the relative behavior of music and other domains of culture. More detailed investigation of this kind would show whether a number of songs coincide in their geographic distribution and thus form areas, or whether each song has a unique distribution, and whether such areas coincide with those of style.

MUSICAL AREAS

Studies of the distribution of musical styles, of clusters of traits, or of the total configuration of elements have not been carried out as widely as one might expect, given the rather basic quality of this information for other kinds of study. A number of publications make general statements of distribution. Slobin (1976), for example, distinguished several subcultures in northern Afghanistan, stating their common characteristics as well as their differences. Merriam (1959:76-80) divided Africa into seven musical areas coinciding more or less with the culture areas established by Herskovits. McLean (1979), in a statistically and geographically sophisticated study, established musical areas for Oceania, separating musical structure from instruments, though the distribution of each shows broad correlation with the conventionally recognized culture areas. For instruments, McLean recognized Melanesia, Micronesia, the Central Pacific, and marginal eastern Polynesia; for structure, western Micronesia, Melanesia, the Central Pacific, western and eastern Polynesia. In a collection of American folk songs Lomax (1960) found areas largely on the basis of performance style but also by distribution of tunes and texts, specifying the North, the West, the southern mountains and backwoods, and the Negro South, and provided a map with quantification. Jones (1959, vol. 1) provides a map of types of harmony in sub-Saharan Africa, using as a basis the most prominent intervals between the voices (unison, thirds, fourths, and fifths), but no indication is given of the amount of such harmonic music in the various repertoires or of possible overlapping distributions. Of course, while the presentation of maps is not widely practiced, the many comparative statements in ethnomusicological literature might readily lend themselves to representation in an atlas.

The most widespread attempts to establish musical areas involve the North American Indians. The popularity of the concept of musical areas then has to do with the importance of native North America in the development of the culture area concept, with the number of easily separable culture units, and with the relatively good sampling of available music. Then, too, examination quickly shows that each culture area does not simply have its own musical style, but that the results are more interesting. Herzog (1928, 1930) was probably the first to suggest the existence of areas and their usefulness for creating some order in the vast data, noting particularly that the singing and formal characteristics of the Yuman peoples of the Southwest differed from those of the rest of the continent. In a highly significant study Helen Roberts (1936) described the distribution of instruments and vocal styles. In view of the role that instruments played in the work of the German diffusionists, it is perhaps characteristic that she devotes more space to instruments than to the vocal styles, which, after all, account for most of the musical activity. It is interesting to see that her instrument areas

differ somewhat from those of the vocal styles. The vocal areas are to a considerable extent based on culture areas, not on musical groupings of smaller culture units. She lists Eskimo; the Northwest Coast and the Western Plateau; California; the Southwest, the Plains, and the Eastern Plateau; the East and Southeast; and Mexico, which is hardly described for lack of data. I later published a more statistically oriented approach, revising Roberts (Nettl 1954), and dividing the area north of Mexico into six not always contiguous areas: Eskimo-Northwest Coast; California and the Yuman style; the Plains and the Pueblos; the Athabascans; the Great Basin; and the East and Southeast. Methodological problems revolved about the lack of sufficient data and its unevenness, the different degrees of nineteenth- and twentieth-century change, the difficulty of separating musical style from instruments and social context, and the need to work statistically because Indian musics have much in common and can only be distinguished by relative frequency of traits. The main problem, so common in comparative study, was the difficulty of measuring degrees of similarity.

On the whole, the areas were arrived at in a manner similar to that evidently used to establish culture areas by Wissler (1917), A. Kroeber (1947), and Driver (1961). A single, outstanding, striking trait that correlates roughly with a group of less concrete and perhaps more questionable isoglosses is the determining factor. In the culture areas the striking trait may be associated with contrasting aspects of life. Along the Northwest Coast it may be the Potlatch ceremony or a distinctive style in art~ in the Plains, dependence on the buffalo. Similarly, the music areas are sometimes distinguished primarily by noncoordinate traits in music. One may be based on a trait present in it and not found elsewhere, although its distribution within the area may be uneven. Examples are the moderate complexity of drum rhythms for the Eskimo and Northwest Coast cultures, and of antiphonal and responsorial singing in the East. A musical area may, on the other hand, be based on the prevalence of a trait that is also found elsewhere with much less frequency. This is true of the California- Yuman area, characterized in large measure by the frequency of the "rise," which we also found extant but less prominent elsewhere. Again, an area may be determined by its style of voice production, something generally more typical of a whole repertory than other aspects of style. This is true of the Plains- Pueblo area, which is held together only loosely in other respects.

Later these areas were subjected to further scrutiny, and I found it necessary to take into account their varying homogeneity. Some are more convincing than others. The best ones seemed to be small and to coincide rather well with culture areas. Recognition of the rapid changes in musical style during the periods in which the studied repertoires had developed - changes due to the forced movements of the Indian peoples, to intertribal contact, and to Westernization- all weakened the musical area concept. A later statement (Nettl 1969b) suggested four areas, two large and heterogeneous (Eskimo-Northwest Coast, and Plains-Pueblo-East) and two smaller, more homogeneous (Yuman-California-Navajo, and the Western Basin). A further refinement of method and conclusion, though not radically different, is made by Erickson (1969). At the 1980 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology the matter was again debated, and a hundred years after Baker's (1882) epochal first serious book on American Indian music, a basic question of this subject is still not settled.

The fact that the arrangement of Indian music areas has been successive-

ly changed, attacked, and modified does not dismiss the value of the musical area concept as a classificatory device; it only proves that areas are hard to establish. The same, indeed, was experienced by anthropologists, as may be noted in the gradual revision of the American Indian culture areas by Wissler, Kroeber, and Driver. At one point it was thought that culture areas could be regarded as units with separable histories, but in the end they served mainly as ways of creating order out of the chaos of ethnographic data. The same may be true of musical areas. Like culture areas, they may have centers and marginal regions, and sometimes the relationship between the two can give insight into the past. But the thought of establishing a set of musical areas for the world in the belief that this rather specialized concept would provide a key to prehistory and its laws is no longer taken seriously.

THE SINGING GLOBE

The issues in the history of ethnomusicology intersect; here in the context of cartography we meet up with old friends, the measurement of similarity, comparative method, and universals. Attempts to divide the globe into musical areas are uncommon but interesting because of basic assumptions and method. Let us look first at a few, Paul Collaer's map of musical zones (Collaer 1960), Lomax's presentation of nine major and fifty-seven smaller areas (1968:75-110) and his ten major singing styles (1959), and an ancient attempt to divide the world into three major style groups (Nettl 1956b: 141-42). In each case the division of the world is made mainly on the basis of one or a few heavily weighted criteria. My own attempt (the Far East, North Asia, and the Americas; sub-Saharan Africa and Europe; India and the Middle East with North Africa) is based on harmony and scalar intervals, criteria normally prominent in the Westerner's perception of musical differences. The first area is pentatonic and heterophonic; the second, diatonic and harmonic; and the third, microtonally differentiated and monophonic. Collaer (1960:pl. 1) divides the world into several "zones musicales" based entirely on scalar structure, distinguishing "pre-pentatonic," "anhemitonic-pentatonic," "heptatonic," and others. Also an example of extreme generalization, the character of these areas is determined by knowledge of a small number of cultures. Further, the existence of a typical, central musical style for any large group of cultures is assumed. It is obvious, for instance, that Europe has seven-tone and five-tone scales in great quantity, and that seven-tone scales are found in China, although both schemes put Europe into the seven-tone and China into the pentatonic category. If one is to do anything about dividing the world along these lines, one must do so on the assumption that one can distinguish a central, majority style for any culture.

Using far more criteria, more sophisticated statistically, and showing a willingness to subdivide the world more closely, Lomax (1968) also requires the concept of centrality. A "favored song style" (1968:133) is diagnostic of each of fifty-seven areas. But while Collaer's zones are based entirely on a few musical criteria, Lomax establishes a group of naturally or culturally determined areas and then describes the musical style of each, testing its degree of internal homogeneity and its similarity to others. It is interesting to see that some of his areas are far more unified than others. Essentially, I however, he describes the music of culture areas rather than providing

musical areas.

In an earlier publication, however, Lomax (1959) divided the world into ten musical styles, largely on the basis of what is usually called performance practice. Separating styles that he labels American Indian, Pygmoid, African, Australian, Melanesian, Polynesian, Malayan, Eurasian, Old European, and Modern European, he grouped some styles in correlation with geographic or readily recognized culture areas. In others, however, he identifies styles that do not so correlate, among them the Eurasian, Old European, and Modern European, three varieties of European folk song to the first of which is also appended most of Asia. The distinctions among the European styles are insightful: the Eurasian is "high-pitched, often harsh and strident, delivered from a tight throat with great vocal tension" (1959: 936). Old European is "relaxed. . .facial expression lively and animated . . .unornamented" (ibid.). The modern European style is hybrid, physically and musically between the other two. In his attempt to deal with the world, it is obvious that Lomax has had great experience in European folk music, and that his combination of most of Asia into a single area indicates less experience in this domain. But Lomax's ten major areas are probably the least unsatisfactory grouping of the musical globe.

A further theory of musical distribution appears in an unexpected place, an appendix to the history of melody by Bence Szabolcsi (1959), the Hungarian music historian. Szabolcsi dealt with the question of world musical geography more holistically than have most others. He did not confine himself to the presumably less volatile folk and tribal musics but considers classical systems as well. Relating musical styles to geographic factors such as river valleys and access to the sea, he saw the musical map as a combination of areas with boundaries and of a patchwork resulting from musical differences of locales with varying degrees of isolation. Generalizing about principles of musical distribution, he concluded: (1) Musical life is closely tied to the natural divisions of the earth. (2) Geographically "closed" areas preserve musical styles, while open ones favor change and exchange, providing avenue for the development of cultivated or classical systems. (3) The center standardizes and unifies materials developed throughout the area, while the margins develop and preserve diversity. (4) Diffusion of musical styles from the center is the typical process of music history; the longer a musical style exists, the further it becomes diffused. (5) The unity of archaic folk music styles is evidence of the most ancient intercultural contacts (Szabolcsi 1959:313). Here is a set of fundamental hypotheses on which one can build a cultural geography of music.

Szabolcsi gives these as a set of preliminary conclusions. Developed on the basis of musical data alone, they lead to a concept somewhat like the American culture area, which coincides, according to Kroeber (1947), with a natural area. Unity is at the center, the source of diffusion, and variety at the edges. As a matter of fact, the idea of a musical area with a strong center and a more diffuse outer circle can also be found in other interpretations of the geographic-stylistic structure of European art music. Reese (1954) in his survey of Renaissance music describes an area in which the "central musical language" of the Renaissance developed- France, Italy, the Low Countries. This was subsequently and gradually introduced to a peripheral area-Spain, Germany, England, and Eastern Europe.

Szabolcsi's as well as Kroeber's conceptualizations are related to older theories to the effect that normal cultural distribution comprises a progres-

sive center and marginal survivals. Once widely used by folklorists, it is generally associated with the definition of folklore as "gesunkenes Kulturgut." Developed by German scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as Rochus von Liliencron and Hans Naumann (see Pulikowski 1933:167-68, Danckert 1939:9-12, Naumann 1921:4-6), the concept implies that folk songs, tales, riddles, and beliefs are remnants or imitations of practices developed at culture centers such as cities and courts, where they had been abandoned in favor of further developments and left to live as archaisms in the surrounding countryside. As a general theory of folklore, the concept has been abandoned; like other dogmas, it fails in universal application. But it may be often on the right track for description of the history of specific items. The hurdy-gurdy, once used at Western European courts and in churches, became after the Middle Ages largely a folk instrument, and some folk ballads now restricted to the folk community were once court entertainment.

THEY SING THE SONGS OF HOME

Indirectly, a concept like that of "gesunkenes Kulturgut" seems to have led to a major thrust in ethnomusicology, the comparative study of musical cultures in their original venues and in forms carried to distant lands by immigrants. Since the 1950s the music of immigrant enclaves has become a major field of study. Although there are early models (e.g. Schiinemann 1923), a major breakthrough came with the realization that North America could be a major source for the collection of old English folk songs (see Sharp 1932:xxi), and from a contrastive discovery, that historical processes could be extrapolated and explained from the comparative study of African and Afro-American music (e.g. Herskovits 1945). Although many studies of immigrant musical behavior have involved the relationship of European folk music and its import to North America, other cultures have also been drawn in. Thus we find the tacit establishment of culture and music areas in which migrants play a major role, e.g. the area of British and British-derived populations of the world with a center in Britain and marginal populations in North America, Australia, and elsewhere, or a German area with marginal populations in Eastern Europe, the Americas, and even Israel. Although Szabolcsi's broad statement is intended to extend over long periods of history, one can note some of his processes in the shorter term as well, in the history of ethnic musics in such diverse spots as North America and Israel.

The study of immigrant musical culture is a geographic problem of sorts, involving relationship to the music of home countries and of host countries. A large body of knowledge has been built up about the folk music and folklore of non-English-speaking immigrant groups in the United States and Canada, producing hypotheses of typical immigrant musical behavior that reinforce hypotheses about stability as related to marginal survival of archaic culture traits, about the development of syncretic styles, and about the gradual modernization, Westernization, and linguistic and cultural Anglicization of older European musical traditions. Considerable work has also been done in Israel (see e.g. Katz 1968; Shiloah 1970; many studies by E. Gerson-Kiwi; also Erdely 1964, 1979; Nettl 1967a; the "Canadian" issue of *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 16, no.3, 1972). All of this is related to the body of literature about musical change as an aspect of culture change.

The music of immigrant groups is subject to many variables that in part determine the outcome. Relative size and selection of the immigrant group,

motivation for immigration, the amount of contact later maintained with the original home, the degree of physical, cultural, and linguistic isolation and cohesion of immigrants in the host country, the cultural and musical differences and compatibilities of an immigrant culture in its relationship to the host culture, the attitudes of such a group toward diversity and change—all these obviously play a part. We can translate a few of these variables into practical questions of ethnomusicological relevance.

Was an entire musical repertory physically moved? Did the immigrants bring with them their musical specialists? Did they perhaps play a special, musically skilled role in the home country? Were they motivated to change their musical behavior, or would the maintenance of a musical tradition reinforce the maintenance of the whole cultural tradition? Would musical change symbolize acceptance of the host culture? Or would music be used to remind the population of its heritage while other forms of behavior conformed to that of the host culture?

All of these relationships bear strongly on as yet unarticulated theories of musical change in the context of culture change. We know enough to give examples of a few types of events: (1) Some cultures immigrate en masse and bring their music with them, using it as a pillar for the maintenance of tradition, pushing out of the fold those individuals who change in conformity to the musical and other behavior of the host country, if necessary holding the tradition intact at the expense of maintaining population. The Amish in various parts of North America are an example (see Hohmann 1959, Nettl 1957). (2) Other immigrant groups merge into the mainstream of the host culture and keep their traditional music, substantially unchanged, as a reminder of home, performed on specific occasions. Many Eastern and Southern European ethnic groups in the United States—Poles, [Greeks, Arabic Christians—do this in a secular context; a few, such as immigrants from India via the West Indies, do so in a Hindu religious context (see H. Myers in Nettl 1976:127-30). (3) Some immigrant populations maintain their traditional music in most respects and strive, because of special skills brought with them and because of their musical prestige in the host country, to change its musical culture in the direction of their tradition. This may be an unusual situation, but one illustrated by urban Germans coming to the United States after 1848 and again by Central Europeans arriving in the 1930s. These examples may suffice to indicate the variety of behavior but also the possibility of establishing a typology. It appears that the musical behavior of indigenous minorities (e.g. American Indians) may often parallel the behavior of immigrant minorities; perhaps the minority status rather than the fact of immigration is the main factor in determining subsequent musical behavior and musical style. This may also be the case with Israeli Arabs as far as classical Arabic music is concerned.

The situation in Israel is particularly instructive because of the large amount of immigration from many diverse places and the number of active local scholars. In a number of ways the absorption of immigrant groups in Israel, allowing for their larger proportion and the greater speed, parallels the United States situation. Like American studies, most in Israel have concentrated on the ways in which the old traditions from Eastern Europe and from Jewish groups in the Islamic world have been preserved. Israel has been referred to as a nation in which the heritages of many other nations are at least temporarily kept intact, and the studies of Moroccan, Kurdish, Syrian, Yemenite, Iraqi, and other Jewish groups have been

undertaken as much in order to find out what the musical culture of the homeland was and had been as to assess musical behavior after arrival in Israel. A number of interesting if tentative conclusions have emerged. Immigrants to Israel from Arabic-speaking countries brought with them the music of two streams of musical culture: one comprised the traditional Hebrew liturgical music and its semireligious and secular correlates, the folk music specifically of the Jewish minority, sung in vernacular languages -Ladino, Turkish, Arabic, sometimes also Hebrew; the second, since Jews in Muslim societies often occupied a major role as musicians for the Islamic community, consisted of the mainstream traditional music of the home country (see e.g. Loeb 1972:4-6). In regard to the first, some communities, which remained relatively intact in Israel, although their repertoires may have become impoverished, appear to have kept their heritage and even to have developed it further under the active stimulation of official Israeli cultural establishments. In respect to the latter, Arabic music itself, it is evident that the lack of a cohesive and numerous audience or of a patronage system has contributed to a great decline in frequency of performance, thus perhaps also of expertise (see Cohen 1971 and Shiloah 1974: 83 for contrastive views). Despite official efforts to the contrary, Jewish musicians of Arabic music seem to have diminished, a condition to which the desire to integrate into Israeli culture and the breaking of direct contact with the Arabic population of the homelands has also contributed. The folk music of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who came well before World War II seems to have changed to a general "Israeli" style with texts relevant to the contemporary resident of Israel. These songs abandoned the dominant subjects of Eastern European rural life and adopted a musical style mixing East European and Balkan elements with certain characteristics of Middle Eastern music and with elements of modern Western European popular music. More recent immigrants, largely urban and exposed to modern Western popular and art music, have established close contact with Western musicians, participating in their tradition and its ongoing changes. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that traditional secular music has been kept alive more readily in communities that remained intact after immigration and in those that took up rural residence.

QUESTIONS OF SPACE AND TIME

If questions of marginal survivals and of the impact of immigration involve the interface of geography and history, the greatest impact from distribution studies on the ethnomusicological view of history came from the Kulturkreis school of German and Austrian diffusionists. Its role in ethnomusicology seems to have been greater than in anthropology itself, where it had a checkered career, where one sees it as a powerful but rather isolated group of scholars led by Fritz Graebner and Wilhelm Schmidt, working in the firm belief that they were discovering laws, first arousing the curiosity of the active and large group of Americans led by Franz Boas, then repelling them with their dogmatic approach. One finds them also being rather ignored by the French sociologists and structuralists and by the British social anthropologists, their work the subject of conflicting critiques of their espousal of unilinear cultural evolution and their nomothetic views of culture history. Some of the members were eventually blamed for a religious bias and then for supporting racist and political excesses. After World War II it was largely abandoned by anthropology. In ethnomusicology it had a more lasting role and became the basis for several specific theories of his-

tory, but it was widely criticized after World War II by those with an interest in anthropology and ignored by most others as wild-eyed fantasy. In the end, however, even some of the sharpest critics felt obliged to praise the broad knowledge and suggestiveness of the Kulturkreis school. Lowie (1937:177) respects the seriousness of their approach, Merriam (1964:289) believes that aspects of their method "remain to be well used in studying diffusion problems of more restricted scope" (than of the globe), and Wachsmann (1961:143) asserts in a discussion of Hornbostel and Sachs that German diffusionism was useful, at least as a working hypothesis. In his extremely detailed account of the relationship between the Kulturkreis school and musical studies, Albrecht Schneider points out that some of the significance of this school could not have been achieved without the help of comparative musicology (1976:66). Some of the earliest Kulturkreis work, for example, is based on the mentioned studies of instrument distributions by Ankermann (1902), Wieschoff (1933), and of course Sachs and Hornbostel. Some other prominent figures in the history of ethnomusicology worked with Kulturkreis concepts- Marius Schneider, Werner Danckert, Walter Wiora. Merriam (1964) was attracted by the school's contribution to an understanding of instrument distributions and their historical implications, while A. Schneider (1976) finds several quite diverse strands of the history of musicological thought to be also part of the history of this school. Here are a few examples of the kinds of thinking that we are talking about. In all of it, however, it is important to remember that the basic uninventiveness of mankind, and the resulting assumption that any phenomenon is likely to have been invented only once and then diffused from its place of origin, are the points of departure.

Early in his career Curt Sachs proceeded to map the distribution of all musical instruments, a formidable task even for one with his comprehensive knowledge of the literature. In what was perhaps his most ambitious book (1929), he organized his findings in twenty-three areas, which he then placed in historical order on the basis of distributional criteria as well as technological level. For example, stratum no.7 includes Polynesia and parts of South America, the whistling pot, double-row panpipes, and bone buzzers. Stratum no.13 comprises Indonesia and East Africa and includes the "earliest metal instruments," various kinds of xylophones and board zithers. Stratum no.18 extends from Indonesia to Madagascar, dates from about the first century A.D., and is characterized by the tube zither. Hornbostel (1933) used a similar approach to establish twelve instrument areas for Africa. Sachs later went on to simplify, combining most of his twenty-three strata into three groups (1940:63-64), but began to have doubts about the kind of detailed historical speculation in which he had engaged: "The geographic method, too, may prove fallacious. ...Nevertheless, geographic criteria are safer than any other criteria. ..." (1940:63). Few today pay much attention to this work of Sachs's, but no one seems to have tried a better or more comprehensive statement. The data are solid; the historical interpretations remain in question, but not many have been contradicted outright.

The ways instruments are tuned have also been the subject of interpretations derived from the thinking of the Kulturkreis school. Some of Hornbostel's most prominent works (1910, 1911, 1927) involve the belief that panpipes were tuned with the use of a circle of fifths produced by overblowing. Instead of "pure" fifths of 702 cents (with 100 cents to the tem-

pered semitone), the "blown" fifths were thought to comprise only 678 cents. Scales presumably derived from this interval were found on instruments in Melanesia and South America, giving rise to speculation about

prehistoric connections. The theory turned out to have weaknesses, especially in the accuracy of measurement, and was "exploded" by Bukofzer (1937) among others, but historical relationship of Melanesian and South American panpipes remains a possibility. In related studies A. M. Jones (1964) tried to show the tunings of Indonesian and African xylophones to be similar and, with other factors, to point to a common origin of aspects of music style of the two areas. Jones was harshly criticized (Hood 1966) for methodological weaknesses, but the common origin of the two xylophone groups remains a possibility. In contrast to Sachs's instrument distribution, the data appear to be weak, but the historical conclusions remain to be considered. One of the major tenets of the Kulturkreis school was a belief in a particular order of events in world history, linking subsistence and social structure (discussed in detail by Harris 1968:384-85). Although several stages and circles give the appearance of a complex picture, the belief in essence is that gathering cultures preceded and changed to hunting cultures, which added herding and cultivating activities, and from the combination of which sprang the high cultures. Based on logic as well as geography, this order of events was used for musical extrapolations by various scholars. Marius Schneider (1957:12-14), in considering tribal musics, correlates style with culture and adds chronology. Hunters have much shouting and little tonal definition; cultivators have an "arioso style. . .; the style is tonally regulated and form is rounded off" (1957:13). Pastoral cultures, says Schneider, occupy a middle position. Accepting the important role of women as cultivators (and following Schmidt's notion of the matriarchate as the dominant social structure when agriculture became the norm of food production), Schneider believes that where men are more influential, one finds predominance of meter and contrapuntal polyphony; where it is women, predominance of melody and harmony.

Here we have an evolutionary scheme, a group of predetermined stages, for music, to parallel the evolution of culture proposed by Schmidt. Schneider also used geographic areas in his major work (1934), a history of world polyphony. Stressing the tonal relationships among the voices, he finds four areas, noncontiguous in the Kulturkreis mold: (a) The area of variant-heterophony is sporadically distributed worldwide. (b) In Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Micronesia one finds various kinds of voice relationships, with each voice holding to a different and unique tonal organization. (c) Characterized by but not limited to Polynesia, the third area exhibits more varied relationship among the voices. (d) Much of Africa is characterized by the tendency to homophony. More data would have allowed Schneider to extend these areas, but here we have an example of musical distributions arrived at essentially in the way in which the German diffusionists dealt with other culture traits.

Relationships between the Balkans, the region around the Black Sea, and Indonesia, resulting from a presumed migration ca. 800 B.C., were taken up by Jaap Kunst (1954), who noted similarities in several musical instruments and thus established something like a musical Kulturkreis of a rather early date. It has the traits expected in a culture circle, but the similarities are so modest and their basis, the presumed migration of the Tocharians

(A. Schneider 1976:212-18), so hypothetical that little has been made of this finding. Werner Danckert, in his studies of European folk music, also made use of the Kulturkreis concept in the sense of noncontiguous distribution and the establishment of strata, dealing with styles as well as distribution of tunes and tune types, and also with aspects of musical culture such as symbolism, kinesics, and physical features of humans (A. Schneider 1979:23-27).

Evidently the thinking of German diffusionists had more lasting impact on ethnomusicological literature than have most other theoretical movements from cultural anthropology. It also influenced scholars who did not associate themselves directly with its theories. Thus Wiora, in one example among many from his pen, notes the common elements of the music of herdsmen in the Alps, Scandinavia, Mongolia, and Tibet (1975:84) without, however, claiming that these regions are part of a culture circle. Herzog's explanation of the fact that American Indian game and story songs usually contrast with other songs in their repertoires but share an intertribal style because they are part of an archaic layer underlying later strata (1935b:33) sounds amazingly like a Kulturkreis statement, despite Herzog's personal disinclination to accept the school's axioms and methods. Indeed, if one removes the quality of dogma from Sachs's basic axioms but regards them as statements that express likelihood, tendency, regularity, one can hardly disagree with him when he writes: "The object or idea found in scattered regions of a certain district is older than an object found everywhere in the same area. [And] objects preserved only in remote valleys or islands are older than those used in the open Plains" (1940:62). The fact that music and instruments are relatively complex phenomena in human culture compared to certain implements or perhaps folk stories makes the insistence on a single point of origin relatively credible.

The musical map-makers have said much about style, much less about content. The historical-geographic method of folklorists was applied to tales and ballad stories but rarely to their musical equivalents, songs or tune types. We have looked at some of the difficulties (Chapter 8), and must conclude that the study of geographical distribution of musical content is in its infancy. There it may remain, for it depends considerably on the maintenance of culture groups in some degree of isolation and stability of locale. The coming of mass media to the world, increase in travel, publication, emigration have provided a basis for a completely new kind of music sharing among the peoples of the world. If musical map-making was ever close to being a hard science, it is no longer so if one uses contemporary data; if distributions on the map were ever good indicators of history, they are hardly so if one uses maps of recent distributions. It makes little sense to draw conclusions about remote history from a comparison of the musics found among Indian peoples living in Oklahoma, if one does not take into account that these peoples came from diverse reaches of the continent less than a hundred years ago. Future archeologists will find the remains of pianos distributed throughout the world, but they will surely realize that it is an instrument invented later than the xylophone. Geographic extrapolation may supplement other studies of history; if it is forced to replace them, our chances of making accurate guesses are modest.

And yet, ethnomusicology will probably remain a field in which much of the information is given in terms of "where." We will continue to wonder what it may mean when we find the same instrument in three isolated valleys in Europe and Asia, or the same sounding tune on three islands, thousands of miles apart, on the oceans of the world.