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音樂史寫作在奧地利與臺灣之初探

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摘　要

音樂史的寫作突顯出文化身份認同的議題，在這方面奧地利與臺灣的情形可互為參照。當第一本《奧地利音樂史》於 1977 – 1979 年出版時，它需要擺脫國族主義影響下建構所謂「奧地利音樂」的音樂史寫作傳統：第一次世界大戰後，以德語為主的奧地利人單獨立國，音樂史家嘗試尋找奧地利與德國在音樂裡相異之處；時移世易，十多二十年後，傾向德奧合併之音樂史家卻努力指出二地音樂相同之處。第二次世界大戰後冷戰期間，奧地利音樂史的寫作則面對似乎獨佔中歐音樂傳統或與鄰國劃清界線的兩難困境。上述《奧地利音樂史》選擇了後者，以現行疆界作為論述範圍；但卡爾．達爾豪斯卻根本質疑以政治國界為單位的音樂史，能否滿足史學及美學的要求。相較之下，臺灣的歷史及疆域不及奧地利之屢經變遷，在文化身份認同上卻也多有掙扎。第一本不以「初稿」或「史綱」為名的《臺灣音樂史》終於在 2003 年出版，卻因作者善意地大幅論述過去長期被壓抑的原住民音樂，使本書約一半的內容變成了一本「臺灣原住民音樂概論」，減弱了原書題中「臺灣」與「史」的涵意。筆者認為，它應拋開國族主義的包袱，在音樂上避免用族外美學觀評論原住民音樂，並均衡地重視中樂與西樂在臺灣的傳統；在學術上則納入更多國際的研究。

關鍵詞：音樂史寫作、國族主義、文化身份認同、奧地利、臺灣

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Writing Music History in Austria and in Taiwan: Some Preliminary Observations

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Abstract

The problem of cultural identity is reflected in the music historiography, and significant parallels can be drawn between Austria and Taiwan. When *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* 'Music History of Austria' appeared in 1977–79, it had to break away from a tradition of nationalistic search for the "Austrianness" in music, first in differentiation from (end of the monarchy in 1918), then in unification with the Germans (towards the *Anschluss* of 1938). Afterwards, it was caught in the Cold War dilemma of either monopolizing the music tradition of Central Europe or breaking ties with the neighbors. But the final decision of not looking over the border was criticized by Carl Dahlhaus, who doubts altogether whether a music history of Austria confined to the present border can do justice to all historical and aesthetic circumstances. While the music historiography of Taiwan is not so troubled by intricate territories and histories like Austria, it also struggles no less with a complicated cultural identity. A 2003 *Taiwan yinyueshih* 'Music History of Taiwan' attempts to reconstitute the suppressed music of the Aborigines (now only about 2% of the population) as expression of a new identity and solidarity, but it also turns half of the book into more an "Introduction to Taiwanese Aboriginal Music" than a "History of Music in Taiwan." Solidarity on two levels are needed: musically, a more sensitive incorporation of emic

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viewpoints in assessing Aboriginal music, as well as a more sympathetic coverage of Chinese traditional music (however tainted by pro-Chinese sentiment) and especially Western music (now musical “mother tongue” of many); scholarly, a closer integration of international research.

Keywords: Music historiography, nationalism, cultural identity, Austria, Taiwan

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Kam Lap-kwan

> "Most of all, and most unlike the potentate who must guard only one place and defend its frontiers, the traveler *crosses over*, traverses territory, and abandons fixed positions, all the time. To do this with dedication and love as well as a realistic sense of the terrain is, I believe, a kind of academic freedom at its highest […]" (Said 404, italics in the original)

1. From *Volkslieder* to National Music Historiography

Paradoxically, music can unite as much as divide, construct as well as negate identities. "Music and Cultural Identity," the theme of the coming 13th International Conference of the *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* 'Society for Music Research' in Weimar, is in

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* I am grateful to my anonymous readers for their scrutiny and recommendations, and especially for bringing my attention to Syue Zong-ming's *Taiwan yinyue shihgang* 'An Outline History of Music in Taiwan' of 2000. Although that book was published by the Kaohsiung City Chinese Orchestra and unavailable in most libraries and bookstores, it is still worth mentioning here, for it is after all named as counterpart to Yang Yin-liou's *Jhongguo yinyue shihgang* 'An Outline History of Music in China' of 1952. Failing to incorporate that work, I must confess that my observations remain not only preliminary, but also fragmentary and partial, though I hope not biased; moreover, I believe my critique of nationally bounded history of music, be it in Austria or in Taiwan, also applies to that book. (The Tongyong Pinyin system of Chinese romanization is used here, see *Guojia tushuguan*. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.)

this time of European integration and globalization especially relevant.[1] The location is also significant: it was in Weimar that Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), viewing music, like language, as genuine expression of ethnicity, first coined the term "Volkslied" 'folk song'[2] (for what ethnomusicologists today may prefer to call "traditional" rather than "folk");[3] he never could have imagined that what had once promoted ethnic diversity and the building of self-identity of minorities, would be one day an ideological tool of a government that practiced ethnic cleansing in the Buchenwald concentration camp on a hill near Weimar (1937–45).[4] Thus a common concern today is: how can the quest for identity be harmonized with integrity and solidarity?

Confirming that music can be a "means of personal and social transformation," embracing national identity and the creation of cross-cultural understanding (125), Nicholas Cook also remarks that there can be a downside to music's power. As well as fostering cross-cultural understanding, music can equally "be a means of cross-cultural misunderstanding" (127). An example, though not exactly cross-cultural:

Taipei, 13 September 2001, a Beijing orchestra's début at the National Concert Hall of the National Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centre, the best hall in town, full house.[5] Richard Strauss's *Don Juan*, Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto, and after the intermission, Mahler's First Symphony: a substantial program, respectable, yet rather uninspiring. But then came encore, the conductor announced to play an arrangement of the "Taiwanese folk song" *Gaoshancing* 'Green is the high mountain.' The audience was intoxicated, and the orchestra got a standing ovation at the end.

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1 To be held in 16–21 September 2004. For the complete program see the conference website.

2 Key documents are his *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772, translated as *Treatise Upon the Origin of Language* 1827) and *Volkslieder* (1778–1779), posthumously as *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1807). A major study on Herder's view on music and nationalism is forthcoming by Bohlman.

3 Witness the rename of *International Folk Music Council*, founded in 1947, to *International Council for Traditional Music* in 1981 (Karpeles and Christensen).

4 On folk music research in Nazi Germany see Potter 191–96, 213–20; on music and German national identity, see Applegate and Potter. It is symptomatic that Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* was reprinted in 1938, with an introduction by the nationalist literary historian Josef Nadler.

5 Though even its architecture and acoustics are praised, its full name is deliberately never mentioned in the China media coverage of the concert.

But among the tumultuous applause, I found my eyes misted. Was I lamenting the superficiality of the interpretation and the exhibitionism of the performance (e.g., twelve double-basses)? Or the all too conventional Austro-Germanic programming? To be fair, first, they did play pieces by Hsu Tsang-houei and Bau Yun-kai on the other nights; second, it showed their laudable aspiration to a more cosmopolitan identity, breaking off the notorious tradition of Chinese orchestras' playing mainly "ethno-symphonic" repertoire; and third, it was meant to pay tribute to the caliber of the Taipei audience.

Then why the incongruous, banal and vulgar encore? And why the standing ovation? Was it mainly for the suggested cultural solidarity? To suppose that *Gaoshancing* tones in well with Mahler—though ironically, he was also accused of banality and vulgarity for his "Volkstümlichkeit" 'folksiness'[6]—and that it is genuine Taiwanese[7] just hurts one's artistic and intellectual integrity. Or should I be weeping for my own snobbishness that not only prevented me to be easily pleased, but also despised others who did?[8] Yet consider this: if a Munich orchestra gave a concert in Salzburg's Large Festival Hall, will they choose as encore the folksy patriotic *Edelweiss* to flatter the host?[9] I am certain that even the Beijing musicians would not dare such an unsophisticated choice in that context, if they want to be taken seriously, or to avoid the criticism of taking their audience not seriously enough.

That the encore was greeted by enthusiastic applause may have proved the tactic, but also proved that it was just a tactic. To claim Beethoven and Mahler as very much

6 Theodor W. Adorno interprets the banality in Mahler as a kind of cultural critique, as "Allegorien des Unteren, Erniedrigten, gesellschaftlich Verstümmelten" 'allegories of the down-and-out, the despised, the socially silenced' (328). See also the discussion in Eggebrecht (39–51).

7 Perhaps less Taiwanese folk than Mandarin pop: popularized as the theme song of *Alishan fongyun* 'The Stormy Ali Mountain' (1949), the first mandarin film in Taiwan, that even Taiwanese aboriginals use the tune for tourist attraction; however, its authorship is widely attributed to Jhang Che, the director of the film.

8 For a comparison, see three reviews: official (China Philharmonic), China media (CWTV), Taiwanese (Yang). Note that besides the opinions in the sources, even some of the data given do not agree with each other. Databases of newspaper clippings like this are very helpful: *Sinwun danpian jianbao zihliaoku*, though not yet in full operation.

9 From *The Sound of Music*, a popular American film (1965) based on the musical (1959) by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II set in Austria at the time of the Nazi *Anschluss*.

our own and then to eclipse it with our stronger affinity for *Gaoshancing* is odd, sad, and self-contradictory. It discredits the projected identity and solidarity, and unveils the cross-strait misinformation and misunderstanding that lie behind—also "two countries divided by a common language," George Bernard Shaw's dictum comes to mind.[10]

Here a newly published *Taiwan yinyueshih* 'Music History of Taiwan' by Lu Yu-shiu (2003) can be of much help. For example, one can locate *Gaoshancing* through the index and read about its history and its popularity (195), then find even its melody notated with its text a few pages later (201). Far more than that, Lu's book is the most substantial monograph on the subject since Hsu Tsang-houei's *Taiwan yinyueshih chugao* 'Music History of Taiwan: A Draft' (1991, supplements in 1994 and 1996). The new book's apparent comprehensiveness and coming-of-age are reflected by its adopting Hsu's title exactly but leaving out the qualifier *chugao* 'a draft.'[11] While browsing through this informative 624-page tome is always a delight, it also prompts me to think about the issues of musical historiography and cultural identity in Taiwan.[12] For the power of music operates both in events that make history, and in the historiography, the writing of history itself. The writing of history is making history literally.[13]

Many have already pointed out the parallels between Taiwan and Austria, thought one marine and one continental, but both are multiethnic, and "divided by a common language" with a big neighbor: China and Germany respectively (yet the smaller land in each pair is the better half?) I suggest that by studying the musical historiographies of Austria and Taiwan, especially *Taiwan yinyueshih* (2003) and *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* 'Music History of Austria' (1977 and 1979 [2 volumes], revised and enlarged 1995 [3 volumes]),[14] remarkable parallels could be drawn that urge us to

10 Originally, "England and America are two countries divided by a common language," however, "it is attributed in this and other forms, but not found in Shaw's published writings" ("Shaw, George Bernard").

11 Since the book is commissioned for the series "Taiwanshih yanjiou" 'Studies in Taiwanese History,' the title may also reflect the series's editorial policy.

12 Above all, is it a 'History of Music in Taiwan,' or 'History of Taiwanese Music'? Though this ambiguity is allowed in Chinese, and Lu does not specify it, the nuance is not unimportant (see the discussion below in III).

13 For reviews of current methodological trends in musical historiography see Hepokoski (on Carl Dahlhaus) and Goehr (on Dahlhaus, Leonard Meyer and Leo Treitler).

14 Both co-edited by Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber: the first edition on behalf of the

rethink critically the issues of music and identity, solidarity, and integrity, both national and cultural as well as intellectual.

2. From "History of Austrian Music" to "(Social) History of Music in Austria"

In early 1980, when Carl Dahlhaus was invited to give a speech at the University of Basel on "Nationale und übernationale Musikgeschichtsschreibung" 'National and Supra-National Musical Historiography,' the implicit target of the first part of his speech was *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*.[15] He has indeed discussed more explicitly about it twice before: at first briefly ("Eine Musikgeschichte" 'A Music History') in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, as a short notice of the first volume of the first edition when it came out in 1977; then a longer essay ("Die Musikgeschichte Österreichs und die Idee der deutsche Musik" 'The Music History of Austria and the Idea of German Music') in an anthology on the bilateral history of Germany and Austria (1980) written by representative scholars of various fields from both countries.[16] There the completed two-volume *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* is listed as selected literature to Dahlhaus's article, though not directly mentioned in the text. Together they form the most substantial critique on *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* so far. Unfortunately, Dahlhaus was not there to comment on the revised and largely expanded edition of 1995 anymore. He died in 1989.

Dahlhaus repeatedly expresses his unease with book titles like "Musikgeschichte Österreichs" or "Geschichte der deutschen Musik" 'History of German Music,' arguing that the concept of Austrian or German Music is too variable to be "subject of a coherence narrative that establish meaningful relationships between musical

Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft 'Austrian Musicological Society,' the second not.

15 For the second part, apparently the UNESCO International Music Council project "Music in the Life of Man: A World History" (later "The Universe of Music: A History") headed by Barry S. Brook (Brook and Bain).

16 Curiously enough, Dahlhaus was mistaken as a Viennese there (Kann and Prinz 562). In fact, he was born in Hanover (Robinson).

phenomena,"[17] and states that "the music history of Vienna is a concrete reality, the music history of Austria is not."[18]

Dahlhaus points out in both of his longer essays that the musical phenomena that can be meaningfully identified as national occur only in the 19th century and are not to be projected into the whole music history. The so-called "Netherlanders" of the 15th and 16th centuries were multinational in origin, international in career and cosmopolitan in style, even when they wrote in different vernaculars instead of Latin. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the language-specific national styles were not bound by territory or ethnicity: Heinrich Schütz's German compositions modeled on the Italian, especially those of his teacher, Claudio Monteverdi; and Jean-Baptiste Lully, regarded throughout Europe as the leading figure in French music, was of Italian origin. The national styles are internationally available, so that when J. S. Bach wrote a *French Suite* and an *Italian Concerto*, they were not seen as inauthentic. Moreover, Johann Joachim Quantz heralded this "vermischter Geschmack" 'mixed taste' as the best and thus the future of German music (332–34), which is indeed fulfilled by the Viennese classics. That this eclecticism was praised in the time of Mozart but condemned in Meyerbeer as impurity, mediocrity (or "juste milieu" 'the right mean,' so Robert Schumann sarcastically [77, 78]) began only with the spread of Herder's idea of linking culture with ethnicity. Thus to organize a general history of music according to national categories is to enforce the romantic model to the historical material of other periods.

But Dahlhaus's dismissing *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* with *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* in the same breath is quite unfair. For *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* is not the same as *Geschichte der österreichischen Musik* 'History of Austrian Music,'[19] and from the editors' preface and postscript of the first edition ("Einleitung," "Nachwort"), it is already declared that they are aiming at a territorial history, not an ethnic or nationalistic one. That is why the book is basically a social history of musicians and institutions in Austria ("Nachwort" 562–63). But not *Geschichte der*

17 "[…] Subjekt einer in sich zusammenhängenden Erzählung zu sein, die zwischen musikalischen Phänomenen eine sinnvolle Ordnung herstellt" ("Nationale" 12).

18 "Die Musikgeschichte Wiens ist eine greifbare Realität, die Musikgeschichte Österreichs ist es nicht" ("Nationale" 11).

19 Even more unmistakable in the title *Geschichte der Musik in Österreich* 'History of Music in Austria' (1988), which Flotzinger solely authored; but see the critical review by Seifert.

deutschen Musik, here the Germanic is stressed. Though Dahlhaus does not name the author, and there are several other publications similar in outlook (e.g. Müller-Blattau 1938, Bücken 1941), it is very likely that what he had in mind was Hans Joachim Moser's work, the first and the most comprehensive one in this topic, published in three volumes and partly revised to the fifth edition from 1920 to 1930, and widely used as university textbook even in the post-war years. Moser (1889–1967) was influenced by the methodology founded by August Sauer (1855–1926) and developed by Josef Nadler (1884–1963),[20] which examines literary history on tribal and geographical basis. And like Nadler, who updated his *Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* (1938–41) with a stronger National Socialist accent, Moser revised an abridged *Kleine deutsche Musikgeschichte* 'Short German Music History,' in 1938. Moreover, in the second, "völlig umgearbeitet" 'completely revised' edition (1943) of his magnum opus *Musiklexikon* 'Music Lexicon' (first edition 1935), Moser made every effort to put a "J.," "jüd.," or "hj." after each occurrence of all Jewish or half-Jewish persons (e.g. Eduard Hanslick [sic]), and corrected any passage that did not sound anti-Semitic enough, only to be deleted and rewritten in the third, again "völlig umgearbeitet" edition (1951).[21] Of course scholarship is never objective, free of ideologies, or apolitical, but one can choose between "political correctness" with a shorter or a longer shelf-life: the shorter one with immediate benefit, the longer one a price to pay—but leave one's intellectual integrity intact. Moser's viewing German Jews as a distinct "tribe" in his 1957 *Die Musik der deutschen Stämme* 'Music of the German Tribes' appears to be less a naive reconciliatory gesture than another manifestation of his unrepentant nationalism.[22]

Dahlhaus does not name a "Geschichte der österreichischen Musik," but there were no lacks of such writings on "Austrian" music either, and it is exactly this

20 Nadler was involved in the reprint of Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* in 1938, see footnote 4.

21 One reads, not without admiration for Moser's diligence, but also with a sense of tragic the same entry in different editions, e.g. "Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," at first apologetic (1935: 495), then distancing (1943: 547), finally, as if to avoid embarrassment for showing his genuine admiration for the composer, by quoting Kurt Westphal's tribute (1951: 691). There follows a fourth and only "stark erweitert" 'largely expanded' edition (1955) and supplements (1958, 1963).

22 Therefore reviews of it are refused in the German journals *Musikforschung* and *Musica* (Potter 254).

tradition of (pseudo-) scholarship that the *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* aims to break away from. The history of this quest for identity in the music can be seen as closely matching the political history of Austria in three stages: the First Republic 1918–37; the "Ostmark" 'Eastern March' within Nazi Germany 1938–45; the Second Republic since 1945.

It is symptomatic that the first attempt at defining Austrian music appeared in 1918, a time when the Austrian monarchy came to an end but the desired union with the German Empire forbidden by the Alliance (Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1919): the people must search an identity for the new but weakened and diminished Austria. The oft-mentioned booklet *Die österreichische Tonkunst* "The Austrian Music" by the Imperial Theater director Max Millenkovich-Morold[23] should be remarked as part of the propaganda campaign to redefine the Austrian identity: it was published in the series "Österreichische Bücherei: Eine Sammlung aufklärender Schriften über Österreich" 'Austrian Library: A Collection of Enlightening Writings on Austria' (fifteen volumes, 1917–26)," under the auspice of the "Österreichischen Waffenbrüderlichen Vereinigung in Wien" 'Austrian Comrade-in-Arms Union, Vienna.' Morold's explanations for the specifically Austrianness in music (tribe, landscape, folk music, mentality …) set the tone for decades, in spite of being hardly verifiable. His sentiment that the worldwide predominance of German music rests on the Austrian was echoed also by Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), Viennese-born with Jewish origin. Schoenberg, as recalled by his student Josef Rufer, told him in 1921 that the twelve-tone method he just found (with his *Suite for Piano*, op. 25) will "secure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years."[24] Schoenberg also wrote in 1923 to Josef Matthias Hauer, who developed a twelve-tone technique even before Schoenberg, that "without the Austrians, at least music would not be developed any further, whereas we know the continuation."[25]

23 Max von Millenkovich (1866–1945), pseudonym Morold, was officer of the Austrian education ministry, playwright, music and theatre critic, director of the Vienna *Burgtheater* in 1917–1918.

24 "[…] der deutschen Musik die Vorherrschaft für die nächsten hundert Jahre sichere" (*Berliner Tagebuch* 48, see also Rufer 26).

25 "Zeigen wir die Welt, daß die Musik wenigstens ohne die Österreicher zunächst nicht weiter gefunden hätte, während wir Fortsetzung wissen" (*Ausgewählte Briefe* 108).

The transformation from this "sovereign" view to those of the *Anschluss* is embarrassingly represented by two essays with the same title, "Das Österreichertum in der Musik" 'The Austrianness in Music,' and published in 1929 and 1938 respectively.[26] It was written by a professional musicologist who in 1933 joined the then still illegal Nazi party.[27] Robert Lach published "Das Österreichertum in der Musik" for the first time in 1929 for the journal of the *Volksbund der Katholiken Österreichs* 'Austrian Catholic Folk Union,' called *Volkswohl: Wissenschaftliche Monatsschrift* 'Folk Welfare: A Scientific Monthly.' However, he is no more scientific here than the dilettante Morold by also relating music to landscape and mentality etc. Lach's main concern is to differentiate the Austrian from the German, but his characterization of the typical Austrianness in music as a general mood of "mild friendly, quiet resignation," as that "typically, famous Austrian *Gemütlichkeit*,"[28] amounts to nothing more than a tautology. When the German *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 'General Music Gazette' published a special issue on "Die Musik Österreichs" 'Music of Austria' in September 1938, just a few months after the *Anschluss*, Lach's reworked "Das Österreichertum in der Musik" headed a group of six essays by other Austrian musicologists. Here Lach attempts to justify the *Anschluss* by reinterpreting the Austrian "Gemütlichkeit" as an expression of an inner dissatisfaction with the separation from the fatherland, as a longing for a union that finds its fulfillment only in the *Anschluss*.[29] One admires the poetry of Lach—he was also a poet and a trained

26 Not unlike the two special performances of Beethoven's "rescue opera" *Fidelio* at the Vienna State Opera House, one on 27 March 1938 to commemorate the liberation by Nazi Germany, one on 5 November 1955 the liberation by (and from!) the Allies (Wagner 253).

27 Did he need it for survival? Robert Lach (1874–1958) had already gained almost all the important musicological positions in Vienna, and was going to retire in 1939: he was director of the music collection at the National Library from 1912–1920, elected corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences since 1918 (famous recordings of traditional songs of Georgian prisoners of war for the Vienna Phonogram Archive), successor of Richard Wallaschek as reader (psychology and aesthetics of music, now adding comparative musicology) in 1920, and finally even of Guido Adler as professor (now uniting the whole discipline) and director of the musicological institute at the University of Vienna in 1927 (Antonicek).

28 "[…] einer gemeinsamen Grundstimmung mild-freundlicher, leiser Resignation […] als für das Österreichertum typisch angesehene berühmte österreichische 'Gemütlichkeit' […]" (452). The *OED* translates "gemütlich" as "pleasant, cheerful; cosy, snug, homely; genial, goodnatured;" and "Gemütlichkeit" as "geniality; cosiness; cheerfulness."

29 "[…] dieser Schleier von Melancholie, Vergrämtheit, Müdigkeit und Resignation, der

composer—but all the more one feels pity for his talent.

While after the First World War, Austria was denied *Anschluss* to Germany by the Allies and imposed an independence which she was not sure of (Treaty of St. Germain 1919); after the Second World War, Austria was again prohibited an alliance with Germany, but which she would not desire anyway (Austrian State Treaty 1955).[30] Again as an effort to establish the nation's identity, the search for the specific Austrianness in music continued in the old direction with few exceptions.[31] In the "Einleitung" of the first edition of *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* (1977), the editors review this problematic tradition and find it quite impossible to base a "music history of Austria" upon the "Austrianness in music."[32] It is not that specific characterization cannot be made, but a historical particularity can not be projected into a meta-historical Austrianness ("Vorwort" 15).[33]

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gerade über den Charakter, das Leben und Schaffen der edelsten und vornehmsten Söhne des alten Österreich gebreitet ist und ihr Wesen mit einem so eigentümlich wehmütigen Abendrotglanze überstrahlt, was ist er im Grunde anders als der Ausdruck jener inneren Unzufriedenheit, jenes Gefühles des Ungenügens und der Unbefriedigtheit, wie es jeden geistig hochstehenden Österreicher erfüllte, der in der selbständigen politischen Existenz seines Heimatlandes doch nur ein Unzulängliches, Unbefriedigendes und Provisorisches erkannte, das solange in ihm den dumpfen Druck des Gefühles der Unzulänglichkeit und des Mißvergnügens züchten und erhalten mußte, solange nicht das Ziel der Sehnsucht jedes vornehmen, geistig hochstehenden Österreichers: die Vereinigung mit dem altgeliebten deutschen Vaterlande, die Rück- und Heimkehr in das ewige deutsche Heimatland, erfüllt war" (530).

30 Incidentally, it was also a booklet by an Imperial Theatre director that influenced the quest of a new identity. The lawyer, playwright and lyricist Anton Wildgans (1881–1932), father of the composer Friedrich, was twice director of the Vienna *Burgtheater* (1921/22, 1930/31). His interwar advocacy of Austria's autonomy without cutting loose with cultural Germany in his *Rede über Österreich* 'Speech on Austria' (1930) was seen by many to be the right option after the painful *Anschluss*. A controversy arose in 1959 over a state-sponsored recording of this speech which replaced all mentions of "German" with "Austrian" (*Richtigstellung*).

31 One of them is Harald Kaufmann (1927–1970), founder of the *Institut für Wertungsforschung* 'Institute of Music Criticism' in Graz, but he limits his attempt to the 20th century (Gruber 482–484).

32 "Demnach scheint es vorderhand nicht möglich zu sein, eine Musikgeschichte Österreichs auf dem Österreichischen in der Musik aufzubauen, wollte man sich nicht in dezidierter Weise einer unkontrollierbaren Emphase hingeben" (24).

33 Though unmentioned by the editors, the choice of the title *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* instead of *Geschichte der österreichischen Musik* echos Josef Nadler's *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs* 'Literary History of Austria'—tellingly, he also published a *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* 'History of German Literature.' Nadler was famous professor of German Studies at the University of Vienna (1931-1945) and a Nazi member since 1938

Nevertheless, the decision to write a territorial "music history of Austria" defined by the present political reality and yet flexible in each historical context (17) turns out to be problematic. In the 1970s, the project was caught in the Cold War dilemma of either monopolizing the music tradition of central Europe or breaking ties with the neighbors, and decided for the latter. At least one of the editors admitted afterwards the difficulties of presenting the Viennese Classic without the Bohemians, Mozart without Prague, and Haydn without West Hungary (Gruber 476). After the events of 1989, a stronger regional tie is acknowledged in the second edition of the book in 1995, yet it precisely betrays the project's immanent vulnerability. This is also Dahlhaus's main critique mentioned above: a general history of music is incompatible with a territorial border or a national idea.

Although the editors claim in both editions that a general music history of Austria needs no justification ("Einleitung" 17, "Vorwort" 11, 12), their lengthy discussions show that they are actually very conscious of its problems.[34] But too much defense made one suspects its defensibility. Why it must be done?[35] Just as a "manifestation" of the then new *Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* 'Austrian Musicological Society,' founded in 1973, a demonstration of the young Austrian musicologists' capabilities, and a remembrance (nostalgia?) for the small but self-assured Austria ("Vorwort" 11, 12)? Why not give up the limited Austrian perspective and work together for a "Music History of Central Europe" instead,[36] whose need is indeed confirmed in the second edition?[37]

(Ranzmaier).

34 See also Gruber, the only explicit discussion of Dahlhaus's critique.

35 Gruber avoids this discussion by calling it just a matter of interest that has nothing to do with establishing national identity (475).

36 Actually attempted by Franz Zagiba (1912–1977), professor also at the University of Vienna, who published the part up to the end of the 10th century in 1976, a year ahead of the first edition of *Musikgeschichte Österreich.*

37 "Auf alle derartigen Bezüge 'gleichgewichtig' einzugehen, hätte aber bedeutet, den Gesichtspunkt *Österreich* aufzugeben und statt dessen eine *Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas* zu schreiben. Dies mag, sollte das Interesse der ausländischen Fachvertreter weiter bestehen bleiben, einer hoffentlich nicht allzu fernen Zukunft vorbehalten bleiben" ("Vorwort" 13).

3. "History of Taiwanese Music" and/or "History of Music in Taiwan"?

While the musical historiography of Taiwan is comparatively untroubled by changing territories and intricate histories like Austria, it also has to struggle with a complicated cultural identity. As late as 2000, Taiwan could still be viewed by some as under colonial rule: Dutch-Spanish (1624–62), Chinese (Ming and Manchus Cing, 1662–1895), Japanese (1895–1945), then Chinese again (Nationalist government, 1945–2000, with martial law lifted in 1987 and first direct presidential election in 1996). Nevertheless, Taiwan continues to be considered a province of China by many people on both sides of the strait—still officially on one side and not yet unofficially on another side. Moreover, among its major ethnic groups there are various configurations of tension on grounds of ethnicity, social class and majority. At the risk of oversimplification, table 1 attempts to aid understanding by shading the privileged darker and the underprivileged lighter in each case:

Table 1

Taiwan's Ethnic Groups and Configurations of Tension

	Aborigines	**Holos**	**Hakkas**	**"Mainlanders"**
Ethnicity	**Austronesian**	**Han Chinese**		
Class	**lower–middle**			**upper**
Majority	**~ 2 %**	**~ 67 %**	**~ 17 %**	**~ 14 %**

In his essay "Musical Historiography in East Asia," Andrew Killick remarks that "[w]riting on the history and culture of the home country was often nationalistically motivated and adopted a chauvinistic tone that alienated many Western scholars and widened the ideological gap […] The nationalist agenda in much East Asian writing on music history has manifested itself as a tendency to treat the writer's own country as a

unified and independent entity since time immemorial, and a reluctance to acknowledge foreign influences […]" (43). But anti-Western feeling is never as strong in Taiwan as in, for example, South Korea; for even though Taiwan was ousted from the United Nations in 1971 and forsaken by the USA in 1979, the blame was mainly on China. Alienations and gaps are rather felt from within; inner cultural linkage is unfortunately weaker than political conflicts. And how is a country's unity and entity reflected by a tradition of musical historiography that has ethnicity as its major organizing principle? (See table 2)

Table 2

Principle of Organization in *Taiwan yinyueshih*

	1st Level Organization	2nd Level Organization
Part I: Historical	Historic/Political: Ch. 1 Prehistoric Ch. 2 Dutch-Spanish Ch. 3 Ming-Cing	
	[…]	Social/Ethnic: 3.1 Social 3.2 Musicological 3.3 Aborigines 3.4 Han Traditional 3.5 Western
Part II: Systematic	Ethnic: Ch. 7 Aborigines	
		Ethnic: 7.1 Atayal 7.2 Saisiyat […]
	Ch. 8 Han Traditional	
	[…]	Musical: 8.1 Nanguan 8.2 Beiguan […]

Table 2 shows the disposition of the latest *Taiwan yinyueshih* by Lu Yu-shiu (2003). She states that her basis tripartite scheme (Aborigines, Han traditional, Western) is inherited from Hsu Tsang-houei's model, which has become paradigmatic in this field (7). As such, it is obviously a benevolent attempt to reconstitute the long suppressed and neglected music of the indigenous people in Taiwan. Lü Chuikuan, in his foreword to Lu's book, also points out that their music should be considered the primary subject of the book ([4]),[38] and is indeed reflected later in Lu's disposition. But reading the discussions of Lü ([4]) and Lu (14, 20) of what should be included and emphasized—their criteria being essentially place of origin and date of arrival—one could not help but ask what exactly the indefinite Chinese title *Taiwan yinyueshih* means. This is the preliminary and fundamental question.

If read as *Taiwan yinyueshih,* it means "Music History of Taiwan," or more accurately, "History of Music in Taiwan,"[39] paralleling Rudolf Flotzinger's *Geschichte der Musik in Österreich* 'History of Music in Austria' that aims to disassociate itself explicitly from the nationalistic tradition of musical historiography. It follows that "History of Music in Taiwan" should be taken to mean "History of [All] Music[s] in Taiwan," that is, a kind of territorial history of music. But if the Chinese title of Lu's book is meant to be read as *Taiwanyinyue shih,* a "History of Taiwanese Music," then the reader are entitled to a definition and description of what "Taiwanese Music" or the "Taiwanese" in music is—a question, the same as in the case of Austrian musical historiography, if not unanswerable, at least very controversial.[40]

The historian with social concern and sense of justice often faces the temptation to choose political correctness instead of historical reality. It is indeed praiseworthy that as an expression of solidarity and a new political status and cultural identity, more attention is being devoted to the music of the Aborigines.[41] But to turn almost half of

38 The page reference is to page 4 of Lü's foreword. It is recommended that all front matters are to be numbered consecutively to facilitate precise documentation (see the confusion in the Table of Content on page [1], where another six different page [1]s are referred to).

39 Hsu's book title is translated as such in the *New Grove* (Hsu et al., "Taiwan," Bibliography, General).

40 For the first time, there is a series of talks on the Taiwanese character and the result will be published in the Taiwanese *Historical Monthly*, October 2004 (Cao).

41 As witnessed in the change of music program at public ceremonies and official banquets (on the 2000 presidential inauguration see Guy, "Performing;" on state banquets see Liu

the book into an "Introduction to Music of the Taiwan Aborigines" (see table 3) disqualifies its claim to be a "Music History." Surely, what counts is not the absolute quantity—one word of wisdom may worth more than thousand pages—but the relative (dis)proportion. Historiography is certainly part of cultural politics, but should not be carried out at the cost of intellectual integrity; and cultural politics that pay restitution by causing new imbalance is not good politics.

Table 3

Distribution of Coverage in *Taiwan yinyueshih*

	Aboriginal Music	Han Trad. Music	Western Music	Subtotal
	pages (percentage)			
I: Historical (ch. 3–6)	38 (29)	31 (24)	60 (47)	129 (31)
II: Systematic (ch. 7–9)	144 (51)	118 (42)	21 (7)	283 (69)
Total	182 (44)	149 (36)	81 (20)	412 (100)

The book's disposition shown above is remarkable for its explicitly stated emphasis on the music itself—how it works, how it sounds (3, 9, 21–26)—the ratio of the historical to systematic parts is even ca. 3:7 (see table 3). This is in part due to the lack of historical documents as in the case of aboriginal music (21–22), but it might also implicitly reflect the reorientation in recent musical historiography. Dahlhaus, rephrasing the dictum of the literary historian René Wellek,[42] sees it as a balancing act between the *history* of art and the history of *art* (*19th-Century* 7; *Foundations* 19–20), that is, between the historical and the aesthetic. On the other hand, one can easily

Bo-ji).

42 "Is it *possible* to write literary history, that is, to write that which will be both literary and a history? Most histories of literature, it must be admitted, are either social histories, or histories of thought as illustrated in literature, or impressions and judgements on specific works arranged in more or less chronological order. […] One type is not a history of *art*; the other, not a *history* of art" (Wellek and Warren 252, 253, italics in the original). See also Goehr's review of recent musical historiography (184).

imagine a "Music in Taiwan" or a similar encyclopedia article to be divided into a historical part and a systematic part, but more difficult with a "History of Music in Taiwan." To do so is to face exactly Wellek's critique of most literary historiographies on both charges, namely, that they were either cultural histories or collections of critical essays, without attempting the balancing act.

Another caveat: the care for the music itself should be applied with the appropriate aesthetics. After formalistic, structural analyses of the famous Saisiat song cycles for the *pas-taai* 'ceremony of the dwarfs' and the Puyuma song *pa'ira'iraw* 'headhunting ballad,' Lu considers their sophistication and magnitude worthy of standing comparison with *gushih* 'ancient poetry' and *shihshih* 'epic poetry' respectively (256–60, 345–56). One thinks of two similar cases discussed by Leo Treitler ("Sinners" 150, 159), who is one of the three scholars besides Dahlhaus whom Lydia Goehr named as providing "exemplary models of musico-historiorical understanding" (184): that some Gregorian chants "assumes a degree of autonomy not dissimilar to that which exists in an aria by Bach or in a song by Schubert (Apel 267); and that the eighth-century Frankish-Roman communion cycle is "a creation of epic proportion, like some great symphony" (McKinnon 222). By these Treitler hopes to alert us to the "politics of reception," that inappropriate analogies may result in distorted representations, and that aesthetic premises between East and West, classical and romantic, functional and absolute etc. should be sensitively differentiated ("Politics").

It is not to say that the music of the Taiwan Aborigines is not worthy of Western-style analysis, to think that may be "a quasi-colonial form of ethnocentrism" (Stokes). It is even true that interesting new insights are often gained from seeing things from different perspectives. But paradoxically, approving their music by our methodology, we are also confirming our aesthetics, not theirs.[43] By being qualified, their identity faces the danger of being subsumed. A positive example is demonstrated by Lu's paying attention to what the Bununs think about the performance of the *pasi-but-but* 'millet harvest prayer song' themselves (282), the kind of participant-observational fieldwork that is declared in the author's preface ([3]) and of which more is desired.

43 On the problem of the "liberal critics becoming conservative" see Everist (389–400).

Naturally, "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," but solidarity means trying to see the beauty in others eyes.

Looking at the treatment of the second and third music system in Lu's book, the Han traditional music and Western music, one feels the above mentioned temptation for the historian to choose political correctness instead of historical reality is even greater. And the assessment that the writing of history is also the making of history is nowhere truer than here. That once officially much privileged Peking opera and the so-called *guoyue* '[Chinese] national music' have somewhat fallen from grace is understandable, but that had not deprived their right of existence in the society.[44] Yet in both Lü's foreword ([4]) and Lu's introduction (14), that antipathy is not only reflected, but amplified to declare Peking opera and *guoyue* almost "non grata" in the book. Merely a total of 4 pages among 517 are devoted to it (173–76). Ironically, in the second part of the book, the systematic study of music in Taiwan, Western music is included, however brief (495–517), but not Peking opera and *guoyue*. Though also of Han Chinese origin, they are totally excluded from the systematic account of Han traditional music (375–494). Two arguments are given: first, they are seen as music of the mainlanders and came to Taiwan only after 1949, thus too late to be considered "traditional;" second, they belong to the subject matter of China's music history, not Taiwan's (Lü [4], Lu 14, 173). But both are in complete contradiction of a book that should be a "History of Music in Taiwan" that covers the events up to the year 2000 (Lu's preface [1]). Or is this book indeed intended as a double bill: the historical part one is an *inclusive* "History of Music in Taiwan," and the systematic part two is an *exclusive* "Introduction to Taiwanese Music"? If the concept of "Taiwanese Music" could be ever scholarly defined, intellectual integrity will advise that part to be published separately under its own title and not concealed behind a genuine "History of [All] Music[s] in Taiwan."

The historical fact is that, "Taiwan was championed as the savior of Chinese traditional national musical culture for several decades" (Witzleben 91), and that tradition in Taiwan is relatively uninterrupted by the Cultural Revolution in China (Lu 19–20). Now that cross strait barriers has come down a lot, it would be worthwhile to

44 For an overview of the social context of music in Taiwan, see Wang; on the problems of Peking opera, see Guy, "Peking Opera and Politics" and "Governing."

compare their separate transmission and reception. When for example a recent survey of the modern Chinese orchestra in an international forum, totally neglected the development in Taiwan (Tsui), we should be ready to fill in the gap.

Also in that publication, *East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, volume 7 of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, there are another five studies on the Chinese reception of Western music where the situation in Taiwan should be taken into account: two on the compositional aspects (Zhou, Chan) and three on the social (Han, Wong, Mark and Zhang), yet total silence prevails instead.[45]

Unfortunately, the treatment of Western music in Taiwan does not fare much better in Lu's book than in the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, though the subject is considered more "traditional" than Peking opera and at least included in the systematic part two (see table 3). Given that the decision of what to include and what to exclude is never easy, one still wonders why so many lacunae exist (e.g. not a single word on Hsiao Tyzen). Moreover, to highlight only four composers in the musical section (507–17) demands justification just as claiming Mozart as the greatest Austrian composer in Flotzinger's *Geschichte der Musik in Österreich* (240). Like Peking opera and *guoyue*, its once privileged status has turned into a disadvantage (Lu 21), which is understandable for those who are eager to safeguard an independent Taiwanese identity and subjectivity. But to be independent is not to be isolated, disconnected or even uprooted; and the historical reality that the Western idiom has become the musical "mother tongue" of most Taiwanese has to be addressed accordingly by a historian.[46]

Indeed besides Taiwan, it is remarkable that increasingly many Asian countries also express their new identity and status through Western art music. In an essay titled "The Rise of a Musical Superpower" in a recent *Time Asia* magazine, the author makes the striking observation that "ten years ago Asia's cities were all building cathedral-like airports; now, they must have their performing-arts palaces;" for example Singapore,

45 Thus exposes the fragility of the book's claim to cover Taiwan and Hong Kong under "China" as a historical concept (Killick, "Preface" xvi).

46 Edward Said argues eloquently that for those of us with newly found autonomy to focus "principally on *our own* separateness, our own ethnic identity, culture, and traditions ironically places us where as subaltern, inferior, or lesser races we had been placed by nineteenth-century racial theory, unable to share in the general riches of human culture" (403, italics in the original); and that academic freedom is "an invitation to give up on identity in the hope of understanding and perhaps even assuming more than one" (404).

Kuala Lumpur, Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Jakarta, Bangkok, Hong Kong … (James) Also remarkable is the unwavering passion for Mahler, for the top orchestras in Taipei, Beijing and Hong Kong are all either performing a Mahler cycle or planning one. In the local or regional musical historiography, will all these "alien" musical phenomena be then condemned as imperialism, xenophilism, simply neglected, or sympathetically interpreted?

A more ecumenical solidarity is also desirable on the level of scholarship. While Lu's bibliography is quite extensive and much updated (almost 1/5 published in this century), there is not much international literature included. A little statistics: of the 237 items listed, 19 are in Japanese, 11 in English, 2 in German, the rest all in Chinese (but including only 5 from mainland China). Where are all the quality dissertations written at American and European institutes (and most of them by scholars from Taiwan)? And where are the recent works of, for instance, Barbara Mittler or Nancy Guy, who have continued their Taiwan-related research after their dissertations in 1993 and 1996 respectively? Also Liu Ching-chih's long-term project "History of Chinese New Music," with its many conferences and publications, has always considered the situation in Taiwan. Though based in Hong Kong, his own two-volume monograph *Jhongguo sinyinyue shihlun* 'A Critical Study of the History of New Music in China,' the first on modern Chinese music history and heatedly debated in China, does include a section on Taiwan (2: 700–23) and was actually published 1998 in Taipei. Certainly more competent observers than the present author will bring up more examples. No matter what one thinks of these researches, they did help to put Taiwan on the international musicological map; conversely, why not welcome them into our discourse? A regional history will but gain in profile for being cosmopolitan.

In fact, as co-author of the *New Grove* (2001) entry on "Taiwan" (with Hsu Tsang-houei and others), Lu should be well familiar with these international researches. But even this entry itself is not referred to in the preface or the methodological introduction, nor listed in the book's bibliography or index, although an illustration of the singing of the famous *pasi-but-but* is borrowed from it (283), and Hsu's participation in it is mentioned (514). How come the book's obvious indebtedness to that *New Grove* entry (material, methodology, experience etc.) and the latter's

significance in the musical historiography of Taiwan go unacknowledged?[47] Even if Lu's book is intended for students, with however limited language abilities, intellectual solidarity and integrity must not be compromised at any time; and who knows, some of the students will be inspired to learn this or that foreign language and end up doing world-class research one day, as indeed many have done before?

By the way, an individual entry on "Taiwan" in the *New Grove*, both in 1980 (Loh) and in 2001, [48] is not something to be taken for granted, when Taiwanese participation in most international activities like the Olympic Games is only allowed as "Chinese Taipei." In *MGG*, neither the old (ed. Blume, 1949–86) nor the new (ed. Finscher, *Sachteil* 1994–98) has an entry on Taiwan, or for that matter, Formosa or Taipeh/Taipei; under "China" in the new *Sachteil* there is just a mention of "gezai xi aus Taiwan" 'gezaisi from Taiwan' and no more (Gimm). In the monumental ten-volume *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (ed. Nettl et al., 1998–2002), Taiwan is subsumed under "China" (volume 7),[49] and not surprisingly, also under-represented in the extensive bibliography (both volumes 7 and 10). For example, of some 70 Western-language articles with reference to Taiwan written since 1967, as registered by *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature*, only 1/6 is included here, not to mention the neglect of many outstanding Taiwanese publications in Chinese. — On the other hand, if we desire to be heard internationally, we should be tuned in too.

This is not to be a proper review of Lu's admirable book, however desirable, but that must be left to more competent scholars than the present writer. In fact, as a freshman to this area, I learned so much from this book, and can only admire its author's courage and diligence to finish such a commission, and finished without the qualifier "chugao," as in Hsu's title of 1991. It echoes more the eagerness of a Curt Sachs than the caution of a Guido Adler. As newly elected president of the American Musicological Society (1949–50), Sachs at 67 challenged his colleagues to write

47 See Lu's recollection of the writing process of the *New Grove* article ("Weijijiandaode").

48 And incidentally as subtitle of volume 25, *Taiwan–Twelve apostles*, very visible on the front cover and the spine. Under "National Anthems" is also an entry on Taiwan.

49 So as to cover all historical periods of "China," likewise "Korea" for both North and South (Killick, "Preface" xvi), but see note 45 above. Bohlman remarks helplessly that *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* remains "at base, organized according to national categories" ("Music and Culture" 52).

general history of music: "Do not say: 'Wait! We are not yet ready; we have not yet dug up sufficient details to venture on such a daring generality.'" (5–6).[50] What a contrast, when towards the end of his career, Adler at 73 wrote that, "after all, we still don't have a 'History of Music in Austria,' which is so far impossible to be written, since the publication of materials in our heritage edition [*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 'Monuments of Music in Austria'] for 35 years is nowhere near completed yet."[51] And these words are written as preface to the essay "Musik in Österreich" 'Music in Austria' of only 28 pages.

Sachs challenges the specialists to interpret their collected facts. "For the refusal of cultural interpretation is a case of attitude, not of insight or maturity" (6). But that is not to say that, if one has the right attitude for interpretation, insight or maturity is not needed to do the job. Adler's caution is not imprudent, for the writing of history is also the making of history and should be undertaken earnestly. Perhaps too cautious, so much so that he was even implicitly criticized by Robert Lach as one "whose whole life has pursued nothing but music historical pedantry," doing "just formal analysis and inventory of archive material."[52] But Adler's edited anthology *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* 'Handbook of Music History' implies that what a one-person enterprise may hesitate to do, it can be achieved by joint effort.

This tradition of teamwork is also inherited by the *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, where each chapter is written by a specialist of that period, and especially in the second edition of 1995, where the last chapter on the post-war history was shared among a group of fifteen scholars on thirteen aspects. This working model may also prove beneficial for the practical writing of music history in Taiwan, even if there is no lack

50 Witness Sachs's own productivity and courage for generality: *World History of Dance* (1933), *The Commonwealth of Art* (1946), *Our Musical Heritage* (1948), *Rhythm and Tempo: A Study in Musical History* (1953). "[…] a giant among musicologists, as much because of his astounding mastery of a number of subjects as because of his ability to present a comprehensive view of a vast panorama. This latter talent made him a generalist or popularizer in the best sense of the word […]" (Brown).

51 "Besitzten wir doch keine 'Geschichte der Musik in Österreich,' die zu schreiben bisher nicht möglich war, da die Publikation des Kunstmaterials, seit 35 Jahren in unserer Denkmäleredition vorgelegt, noch lange nicht abgeschlossen ist" ("Musik" 3).

52 "[…] sein Leben lang nichts anderes als musikhistorische Kleinarbeit betrieben […] bloßen formalen Analysieren und Registrieren des Denkmälermaterials [...]" (Antonicek 186).

of insight or maturity in any a single author. On the other hand, the spirit of international cooperation celebrated in Adler's *Handbook* is lost in *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*. There is no participation of a Leon Botstein, a Cliff Eisen, or a Maynard Solomon etc., who after all have contributed so much to the research of music history in Austria. The explanation for this isolation may be implied in the "Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage" 'preface to the second edition,' where it is stated that *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* was originally planned by the then newly founded *Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* 'Austrian Musicological Society' as its "manifestation" and a proof of the young Austrian musicologists' competence (11, 12).

4. Sovereignty and Solidarity, Identity and Integrity

With this apparent quest for identity again, we have come full circle, and may try to summarize. Firstly, musical historiography has long been conditioned by political ideology to involve in the quest of national identity, but even benevolent efforts often end up unintentionally tainted with arrogance and narrow-mindedness, naive political correctness slipped into opportunism, and its own intellectual integrity largely compromised.[53] Secondly, reconciliation and solidarity are more desirable qualities for a renewed cultural identity, and even-handed, unbiased treatment of the historical materials, however complicated, is a better political statement that scholarship could make, for—to twist Wittgenstein's dictum (6.421)—"ethics and aesthetics" *and scholarship* "are one." Thirdly, faced with a changing national, ethnical concept, musical historiography may do well in reframing its working categories from general history to period, from national to regional, local and/or transnational,[54] from ethnical to social, and from music with a singular aesthetic to musics in all their diversities. Finally, all research is globally connected. No scholar is too privileged to ignore others research, no topic is reserved terrain. This is also solidarity.

53 Not unlike the too political correct *Unknown Citizen* of W. H. Auden, whom "[…] researchers into Public Opinion are content / That he held the proper opinions for the time of year / When there was peace, he was for peace; when there was war, he went" (from *Another Time* 1940).

54 For a strong advocacy of giving up the nationalistic framework see Prasenjit Duara's *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*.

In closing, one more Basel speech: some sixty years before Dahlhaus gave his talk at the University on "Nationale und übernationale Musikgeschichtsschreibung," it was Guido Adler there with a similar theme. On September 28, 1924, Adler was invited to give a plenary address at the silver jubilee conference of the Basel chapter of the *Neue schweizerische Musikgesellschaft* 'New Swiss Music Society' of on "Internationalismus in der Tonkunst" 'Internationalism in Music.'[55] In times of rising nationalism and chauvinism, Adler believes that music, in particularly instrumental music, can be a unifying factor, and he calls upon all artists and scholars to show solidarity by their work (36–37). Ironically, in the entry "Adler," (now with "jüd.") of the second edition of his *Musiklexikon* (1943), Hans Joachim Moser, who also presented a paper at that conference, singles out this speech as most clearly reflecting Adler's position, but without further comment (6).[56] He might not have understood (or attended) Adler's talk. For by internationalism, Adler did not mean the giving up of identity or mixing up of cultures, as the assimilated Jews like Adler are usually accused of, but the tolerance and respect for other's identity. In the original German version, Adler states that his theme should be: "Nationalism and internationalism in music. For the last can not be discussed without the first. They are reciprocal concepts […] in my opinion not mutually exclusive."[57] That Adler had a strong belief in the supremacy of the Austrian music is evident from his many writings, yet even in his war-time speeches he only appeals for the right of Austria's existence so that music can be preserved and developed, without the wish for the destruction of the enemies. In his "Musik in Österreich," a sort of draft for a "Geschichte der Musik in Österreich" 'History of Music in Austria' (3), he ends with the famous Habsburg acronym *A.E.I.O.U.*, but not as *Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universi* 'Austria is preordained to rule the whole world,' but just *Austria Erit In Orbe Ultima* 'Austria will exist in the world forever' (31). In the Basel speech, after the usual praise for the superiority of

55 This speech appears in a revised form in *The Musical Quarterly*, and is one of the few writings of Adler that has been translated in English.

56 But he also deletes the list of Adler's prominent students and a word of recognition from the first edition (1935, 5).

57 "[…] Nationalismus und Internationalismus in der Tonkunst. Denn der letzere läßt sich ohne den ersteren nicht erörtern. Es sind reziproke Begriffe […] nach meiner Auffassung einander nicht ausschließen" (36).

Viennese Classicism, he goes so far as to deny its universal validity: "at the same time, it is to be stated that neither these masters [Bach, Handel] nor the Viennese Classics, nor the other giants in the different style epochs form a canon for all time […] The world is big enough, and there is room and space for the development of the suitable forces, as in music, so in the whole life, in cultural activity."[58] It is on that occasion he presented to the assembly the first edition of his edited *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* 'Handbook of Music History' (1924) as an example of international cooperation and solidarity.

The tragic is that Adler, who identified himself "as a born Moravian, as loyal Austrian, as German cultured person,"[59] was denied of this identity in the wake of anti-Semitism. Thought escaped the fate of the philosopher Moritz Schlick, leader of the "Vienna Circle," who was murdered at the University by one of his nationalistic student, Adler, leader of the Viennese school of musicology, fared not much better. He was replaced at the University by his former student, the later Nazi member Robert Lach, then virtually under house arrest after the *Anschluss*, his extensive and valuable private library confiscated, and only avoided deportation by his own death in 1941 (Hamann). Unfortunately, the words and the fate of this founder of modern musicology have not prevented the future generations from all forms of intolerance, discrimination and narrow-mindedness.

Surveying institutional strands in post-1945 ethnomusicology for the *New Grove* (2001), Philip Bohlman remarks that:

> "[T]wo general historical directions asserted themselves, one inclusive, the other exclusive: institutions generating the inclusive impetus sought to open methodological boundaries, embrace scholarship from other disciplines and broaden the field of inquiry; more exclusive institutions stressed more rigorous methodological approaches, stressed ethnomusicology's uniqueness and focused on the growth of ethnomusicology from within. Exclusive

58 "Es ist dabei festzuhalten, daß weder diese Meister [Bach, Händel], noch die Wiener Klassiker, noch die anderen Größen in den verschiedenen Stilepochen einen Kanon für alle Zeiten bilden […] Die Welt ist groß genug, und wie in der Tonkunst, so ist im ganzen Leben, im Kulturwirken Platz und Raum zur Entfaltung der geeigneten Kräfte" (44, 47).

59 "[…] als gebürtiger Mährer, als treuer Österreicher, als deutscher Kulturmensch […]" ("österreichische Tonkunst" 7).

institutions generally were more locally or nationally bounded than inclusive institutions."

That research has to be locally or nationally bounded is legitimate (for funding, sense of belonging, etc.), and while rigor, uniqueness and growth from within are in themselves desirable, let us also strive in all our musicological endeavors for more acts of opening, embracing and broadening.[60]

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