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#### WORLD MUSIC: FROM TRADITION TO INVENTION

### Origin, meanings

The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the history of popular music was marked by the appearance of a phenomenon known as *world music*, a polygenre point of reference representing geographically different influences, styles and traditions. This genre and sound culture includes various music phenomena, from Third World traditional music to the fusion of folklore and the popular genres of Western music to music experiments some of which can rightfully be classified under the domain of high culture. Although the coinage *world music* is attributed to different participants in the music scene/industry, the *terminus post quem* of the term's introduction in pop culture is 1987, when eleven independent record companies adopted *world music* as a commercial point of reference encompassing all forms of non-Western music outside of the domain of high culture (traditional, ethnic and popular music, various forms of genre fusion etc.).

The phrase *world music* has long been used in ethnomusicology and related disciplines to denote a study of regional, ethnic and national music cultures.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, the most comprehensive meaning established in the everyday experience and practice of *world music* refers to a separate, global *music culture and genre*. The term world *music* acquired this meaning in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a period marked by globalization and information technologies, as well as by renewed ethnic conflicts and the restructuring of the global balance of power. The ideology of *world music* is in many respects determined by said processes, either by promoting intercultural contact or the idea of dialogue or latently reintroducing the idea of geographically delimited and fixed (traditional) sound cultures. Moreover, the discourse of *world music* is intersected by ideological premises which might even be said to have a common denominator, the structure of the balance of power, which takes its form in the esthetic and cultural experience of musical practices.

In addition to the general term *world music*, other synonymous phrases such as *worldbeat*, *ethnopop*, *tribal*, *new age*, *sono mondiale* and *musique métisse* are used in practice. Each of these phrases refers to a specific form of fusion and genre crossover, but also to a number of ideas about the nature of music. For example, *worldbeat* includes music genres that fuse elements of traditional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Philip Bohlman advances an interesting thesis according to which German folklorist Johann Gottfried Herder authored the concept of "music of the world", seeing as he was the first to coin the phrase "folk song" (Volkslied) and applied it to "not only music to which he listened in his surroundings, but also a wide range of repertoires that one could encounter throughout Europe during the Enlightenment".

Philip V. Bohlmann, World Music: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002, 39.

with Western pop/rock music, while *new age* is usually described as contemplative and spiritual contemporary music. Timothy Taylor aptly observes that "the term *world music* has become an umbrella category for all world's musics that are folk and/or traditional", but also that *world music* may come to include *worldbeat*, which is "undoubtedly more popular than folk or traditional music, albeit more oriented toward North American and British pop and rock music".<sup>2</sup> This is also true of the terms *Afrobeat*, *Afropop*, *ethnopop* and the recent (and problematic) coinage *ethno music*, a genre associated with Balkan cultures. The fluidity of boundaries and the interlacement of categories are results of the development of the *world music* genre, which has transcended its original classificatory function in the last ten years.

*World music* and related points of reference can also be understood as metagenre concepts within which different local styles are grouped, whether it is the case of traditional music or more contemporary music phenomena. This is reinforced by the overlapping of both the boundaries of some musics and the transcultural and trans-genre migration of the musicians themselves. Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlmann points out the work of the Pakistani performer of *qawwali* tradition, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, an international star who at the same time belongs to *worldbeat* and the music tradition of Sufism. As Bohlmann explains, this is because of the continual transformation of his career "from sacral to secular, from classical to popular, from tradition to fusion, from consecrated to public".<sup>3</sup> The music poetics of *world music* are based on both the promotion and preservation of traditional/ethnic sound cultures, as well as on the forms of fusion, although the latter is in most definitions pointed out as being specific to this genre.<sup>4</sup>

The cultural diversity embodied in *world music* is contained in both the very origin of the advertising tagline for the needs of Western music industry and audience and the forms of fusion of musics, and it concerns the relationship to the Other. As Jocelyne Guilbault points out, Otherness in the practices of *world music* is constructed as music "that is not of this place, i.e. not of the northwest Euro-American origin; it is exotic (as in unusual), mystical (in philosophical terms), attractive and yet not uniform".<sup>5</sup> The contemporary theory of culture has long accepted this standpoint, thematizing the discourse of *world music* usually from a critical perspective (as a form of postcolonialism, "new Romanticism" in culture, an invention of tradition), but also in an affirmative tone (as a form of transculturality, reaffirmation of local identity etc.) In both groups of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*, Routledge, 1997, 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I will give the example of the Internet definition of "world music" which you can get using the option *define* in the Google search engine: "Music where influences from more than one cultural tradition intermingle, first made popular in the 1980s".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jocelyne Guilbault, "Beyond the 'World Music' Label: An Ethnography of Transnational Musical Practices", work from the symposium *Grounding Music*, 1996, 3.

http://www.rz.hu-berlin.de/fpm/texte/guilbau.htm January 10, 2006.

theoretical writings the idea of *difference* is constitutive for *world music*. Veit Erlmann precisely articulates this standpoint saying that in the *world music* genre "difference itself becomes the signified".<sup>6</sup>

Parallel with the idea of exotic Otherness, discourses relative to *world music* are defined by the terms *tradition* and *authenticity*. Tradition is specifically constructed in texts and visual designs accompanying musical editions, as well as in video clips and finally, in music itself. Promoters of this music work toward the preservation of traditional music cultures, employing detailed music histories and ethnographies of certain genres in the process. Usually it is the case of tradition as a fixed historical category centered around ethnicity; this idea has been to some extent influenced by folkloristics and ethnomusicology. The description and interpretation of music within the *world music* culture often takes the form of a quasi-scientific discourse in which facts are interwoven with romantic notions of the original, pure sound and the "authenticity" of faraway places as opposed to the prosaicness,<sup>7</sup> as well as *authenticity of tradition* as opposed to the debasement and commercialization of contemporary Western genres. This dichotomy is determined by the cultural position of the consumer/interpreter: in most cases, the music of the Others is exotic, while cultural authenticity is attributed to one's own musical legacy.

If traditionality and authenticity refer to *music legacies* of different peoples that are part of the *world music* culture, the phenomena closest to contemporary sound that employ fusion are usually characterized as *hybrid forms*. These are primarily experiments in blending elements of different music cultures, but they also include genres within one culture that are a result of Creolization<sup>8</sup> and/or Westernization. The collaboration between the African musician Ray Lema and the Bulgarian ensemble *Pirin*, which performs folklorized traditional melodies, is an interesting synthesis of Second World and Third World musics in which one can distinctly hear the sonic layers of the two traditions and in which *world music* is in the full sense represented as "a translatory, transnational culture".<sup>9</sup> To define this music as "hybrid" here means to identify not only the cultural and stylistic difference between the musics undergoing the process of fusion, but also the identities of the participants who are regarded as true representatives and guardians of their respective music cultures. Moreover, juxtaposing elements of different traditions (which "do not mix", but rather remain distinguishable in the process) is for many fans of *world music* a paradigm of culture encounters in music. On the other hand, cultural critics, based on similar examples, are sometimes hasty in making sweeping judgments about the *world music* genre being a positive result

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf.: Simon Firth, "The Discourse of World Music", *Western Music and Its Others*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 305-322, 315.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid., 308.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Creolization is often used as a synonym for the terms syncretism and hybridity.

of globalization, placing it in the context of postmodernism as "an example of hybridity and essential instability of the subject".<sup>10</sup>

World music is defined by both the fluidity and preservation of boundaries. However, both interpretations often function as totalizing paradigms based on which the entire genre is subsumed under one category. Steven Feld defines two dominant ideological orientations as "celebratory" and "anxious" narratives about *world music*. The former "visualize natural determination of the past that echoes in the possibilities of an enlarged present", while the latter group includes all the interpretations which see "little opportunity for opposing the commodification of ethnicity and which are, therefore, oriented towards understanding the hegemonic positions they assume within the practices and institutions of globalization".<sup>11</sup> In that case, different evaluation of the "authenticity" and "hybridity" of music is a consequence of belonging to one of the described ideologies that often intertwine with discourses on globalization. The presence of global media is indisputably accelerating the disappearing of numerous traditional musics; on the other hand, historically new genres such as the North African räi music<sup>12</sup> or the Indo-Caribbean chutney-soca<sup>13</sup> (to name a few) are successfully integrating music tradition with western styles and already have their history, stars and audience. The task of the theory of popular culture and ethnomusicology is, therefore, not only stylistic evaluation, separating quality from unsuccessful hybrid forms, distinguishing between the authentic and the plagiarized or, ultimately, making a general judgment about the effects of globalization on music, but, more importantly, the mapping out of the global routes that histories and meanings nowadays tread on the world map of music.<sup>14</sup>

http://deepforestmusic.com/dfpress\_00-00-00sweetlullabyforworld.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jasmina Milojević, *World Music – muzika sveta*, WMAS, Jagodina, 2002, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid., 5, 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Steven Feld: "A Sweet Lullaby for World Music", *Public Culture*, 12/1, Duke University Press, 2000, 153. Article taken from the Internet address:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Musically, räi drew uncontrollably from every possible style: the classical and semi-classical music of the Maghreb, western (particularly Mediterranean and French) popular styles like the chanson, Arabic popular styles such as qasīda and lāyalī, made popular in the North Africa by Umm Kulthūm, an ensemble with traditional Arabic instruments as well as with those that have an extremely electronic sound".

Bohlmann, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Chutney-soca is a popular music of the Indian diaspora, which blends folk melodies with songs from popular films and religious *bhajan* songs with fast *soca* and *calypso* rhythms. http://aingram.web.weslevan.edu/chutney.html

http://amgram.web.wesieyan.edu/cm

January 15, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Although this demand seems like a truism compared to a part of contemporary studies of culture and ethnomusicology, I believe that it should be repeatedly stressed seeing as the recurrent concept of tradition and hybridity continues to plague both texts of popular culture and the academic discourse.

#### **Ideological Strategies of World Music**

The concepts of globalization and tradition in the context of modernism/postmodernism play a major role in popular and academic discourses on *world music*. Here is a brief survey of each topic:

- 1. Globalization can be understood affirmatively as a process that has enabled a transnational exchange of music, initiated the creation of new hybrid forms and a fruitful integration of local music scenes with the global. The appearance of the *world music* genre, shaped by global tendencies, has contributed to a specific revitalization of interest in traditional music cultures. Conversely, pessimistic critics view the relationship between globalization and *world music* through the abuse of Second World and Third World cultures by the West, which takes its form in the commodification of music and in the profit of the global music industry to the disadvantage of the rights of performers from local cultures. The negative effects of globalization also include disappearance of numerous traditional musics, which are being replaced more contemporary pop genres and "inventions" of tradition. However, the assumption that globalization has caused the disappearance of traditions from the world map of music does not take account of the fact that even before the 1990's traditional genres had in many cultures been a heritage from the past, active only in geographically isolated areas or as a study of specialized groups (academic communities, societies for the safeguarding of tradition etc.).
- 2. The term tradition has acquired several opposing meanings in the *world music* genre. In the narrowest sense, musical practices which are transmitted orally and do not belong to high (art) and contemporary popular culture are regarded as traditional. Traditional practices include "exotic" music – a term which in *world music* usually refers to Third World music, ethnic traditions and (since recently) the music of the diaspora. Such a concept of tradition reflects the structure of the object of ethnomusicology as "the music of non-Europeans, European peasants and marginalized ethnic or racial minorities"<sup>15</sup> and, most often, the music of pre-modern societies. In the broader and more popular sense, every music with even a loose reference to folklore or ethnic sound, which is not dominated by the principle of fusion with pop music, is considered traditional. Thus the *world music* culture attributes traditionality to ethnomusicological CD editions, commercialized forms of traditional music and forms that, strictly speaking, are not "tradition", but rather ethnically labeled music, different and unusual to the ears of the Western consumer. All hybrid forms based on the fusion of tradition with other genres – pop, electronic and classical music – depart from the plurality of meanings of this term, which then primarily connotes an "authentic" and, in varying degrees, "ethnically coloured" sound.

3. The legacy of modernism continues to live in the world music genre through an active relationship to tradition. Music modernism is here understood as "different attempts at using other music, presenting other music, introducing sounds of other music into the orbit of modernist music".<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, hybrid forms and genres, the music of the diaspora and emigrants in particular, fit perfectly into the context of postmodernism, offering new and different forms of identification in culture. This duality has led many theoreticians to raise the question of whether *world music* is primarily a modern or postmodern category. Taking account of a large number of ideologies and actors representing different interests, it is hard to determine to which of the two great cultural formations *world music* fully belongs. Before advancing any totalizing definitions, a more precise answer should be looked for in micropractices (dynamics of local scenes, policies of large record companies, performers' narratives), whose analysis might yield valuable information on the topicality and transformation of the genre. Indisputably, world music is happening at a historic moment for postmodernism as understood as "a transnational nomadic culture of posthistoric freedom of movement and crossing over from one civilization into another".<sup>17</sup> This does not exclude new forms of essentialization of identity through music, either by culture insiders who can view music as an incarnation of the national being or the West, which attributes the "exotic" quality to "native" music cultures. Moreover, world music is determined by tensions between tradition and invention, musics of ethnical groups and migrations of their music through different genres, histories and cultures. If we agree with Fredric Jameson's assumption that postmodernism and modernism coexist in late capitalism as dominant and residual formations respectively,<sup>18</sup> then *world music* is a *symptom* of the postmodern circumstances, a field of cultural interactions in which modernist models of national identity in culture and postmodernist procedures of working with cultural samples are both effective. The modernist division into high and popular cultures is still at work because the genres included in world music are classified in the related writings under traditional and popular, although highly sophisticated musics like the court traditions of Corea, Japan or Africa are more deserving of the label of "classical music". The idea of strictly localized national sound cultures, which, together with national cuisines, commercialized customs and souvenirs, represents only one in a series of items of international cultural tourism, is also modernist in character. Still, a great segment of *world music* involves phenomena that defy classification

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., 11, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Georgina Born, David Hesmondhalgh: "Musical Modernism, Postmodernism and Others", *Western Music and Its Others*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, 12-21, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Miško Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik moderne i postmoderne likovne umetnosti i teorije posle 1950. godine*, SANU i "Prometej", Beograd – Novi Sad, 1999, 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jameson deduces this relationship from Raymond Williams' premise that every social formation is determined by "three cultural moments – dominant, emergent and residual". John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, Pearson Education Asia Limited & Peking University Press, 2004, 157.

based on genre and the ethnic origin of music, postmodern combinations of the traditional and the modern based on a creative examination of cultural and historical legacies. These seemingly conflicting tendencies may be attributed to the polarity between strategies of the music industry promoting *world music* and the process of reinvention, citation and fusion taking place within and on the boundaries of cultures: what also serves this purpose is the Marxist concept of ideological superstructure and material practices, through whose complex interrelations the phenomenon of *world music* operates. The exchanges, constructions and reshapings of identity through music reflect the postmodernist schism, "a situation with no solution, when all languages, both dominant and marginal, are on the scene and in an interrelation that does not tip the balance in favour of either of them".<sup>19</sup>

### (Un)Successful Musical Encounters

I will conclude the essay on *world music* ideologies and practices with the interpretation of a case study of the music of Pygmies and its, as Steven Feld terms it, status of "schizophonic mimesis" in *world music*. The West's interest in Pygmy culture is witnessed by extensive studies of anthropologist Colin Turnbull<sup>20</sup> and ethnomusicologist Simha Arom<sup>21</sup>. Introductory remarks on Pygmy culture are made by Turnbull, whose pioneer research and detailed ethnographic descriptions of their customs and musical practices have earned him recognition as well as criticism. Turnbull recorded the music of Mbuti Pygmies in mid-1950's, when he spent some time living among them. The ensuing study provided invaluable information on everyday practices of the Pygmies, making a shift from "describing the social structure to a new approach to examining social processes",<sup>22</sup> with the author's somewhat Romantic devotion to the subjects of his research.

Turnbull's field recordings were published in 1957 and 1958 as part of two LPs which were republished in 1991 as an abridged edition entitled *Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Rainforest*, with introductory remarks by Michelle Kisliuk. This edition features vocal and instrumental forms of Pygmy music, with accompanying notes pointing out the unique character of polyphony and contrapuntal techniques (canon, hocket), particularly characteristic of the vocal tradition, and the high correlation between music and various social factors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 17, 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1962.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Simha Arom, *African Polyphony and Polyrhytm: Musical Structure and Methodology*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Michele Kisliuk, "Introduction to the 1991 Edition:, *Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Rainforest* (recorded by Colin Turnbull and Francis S. Chapman), Smithsonian Folkways, 1992. (CD edition)

The fascination with the music structures and performing techniques of the Pygmies, which in Turnball's case was motivated by his insight into the social context of music, as well as by his close relationship with the members of this community, soon spread to academic circles and a part of popular culture. A number of ethnomusicological anthologies<sup>23</sup> encouraged further expert and amateur research into Pygmy music and its ensuing commercialization. The insider and polemic perspective of Turnbull's writings and musical editions was replaced by a new exoticization of the Pygmies in a series of projects that belong to commercial popular music, the best known among them certainly being the work of the French ensemble *Deep Forest*, music that Steven Feld terms, along with similar phenomena, "Pygmy pop". Although the group's name does not reflect the altruistic intention of its founders to "preserve the rain forest the world over",<sup>24</sup> their decision was also influenced by a specific mythologization of the Pygmies and their environment, which had originated with Turnbull who sums up his experience of living among the Pygmies in the following words: "For me, the forest was a much more beautiful world, filled with something which, in return, filled me".<sup>25</sup>

The compilations arranged by Colin Turnbull and Simha Arom are exemplary ethnomusicological editions that highlight the techniques of sound organization and provide a detailed classification of music according to its functions in social life. The perspective of these editions, which today form part of a smaller, albeit legitimate whole of the *world music* genre, is, first and foremost, *documentary* in character. The unquestionable ethnographic accuracy and contextual interpretation of music should not, however, overshadow the Eurocentric representation of the culture of the Others that pervades the background of Turnbull's selection. In this respect, compilations of the authentic Pygmy sound fit into the shape of what Raymond Williams terms the culture of selective tradition, of active work with heritage that assumes "establishing new connections with the past, severing or remapping the existing ones".<sup>26</sup> Turnbull points out that the vocal tradition of Pygmy music is much more developed than the instrumental and then documents this with a comparatively large number of songs. He informs us that instruments such as *lukembi* or pipe are borrowed from the neighbouring ethnic groups, but the Pygmies play them superbly. This selection, motivated by the need to present the culture of the Others in an authentic and objective way, is marked by latent ideological premises. One of them concerns cultural authenticity (the complex and prevailing vocal tradition) as opposed to the "cultural loan" (the adopting of instruments which are not an authentic heritage of Pygmy cultures). In addition, favouring songs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> In addition to Colin Turnbull's two LPs, an edition arranged by Simha Arom, entitled *Centrafrique: Anthologie de la Musique des Pygmees Aka* also had a major part in the popularization of Pygmy music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> <u>http://www.deepforestmusic.com/faq01.htm#df\_name</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Raymond Williams, "The Analysis of Culture (1961)", Art in Theory 1900-1990, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1992, 716.

over instrumental tradition relies, in a sense, on logocentric hypotheses: in Pygmy culture, "forest" is one of the central concepts, their songs are often directed at the forest, while vocal tradition, unlike the instrumental, incarnates this symbolic presence and is therefore more essential to understanding this culture.

Pygmy tradition has been used, transformed and examined in many popular music projects for which Steven Feld coined the metaphor "Pygmy pop". Even though esthetical and ethical strategies of sampling Pygmy music are different, Feld believes that they are all characterized by "schizophonic mimesis", a state in which "sound replicas, echoes, resonances, traces, memories, similarities, imitations and duplicates all expand histories and possibilities".<sup>27</sup> Feld's catalogue of different ideological positions ranges from citing banal uses of Pygmy music for commercial purposes to new-fashioned fusions which are, as in the case of the Belgian group Zap Mama, based on the hybrid identities of the musicians themselves. However, the conclusive, pessimistic definition of Pygmy pop comes by way of a quote from Jacques Attali's *Noise*: "Mimesis removes all obstacles to destruction, all victims".<sup>28</sup> The mimetic technique requires an *original*, which in this case are esthetical and ethical dimensions of the application of the culture of the Pygmies, who are reduced to "diminutive primordial Otherness".<sup>29</sup> The "original" understood as the totality of Pygmy musical practices is, through most of the quotes in popular music, reduced to forms of wordless yodeling, while field records made for non-commercial purposes are used without royalty payments. At that moment, Feld believes, the global use of Pygmy music calls for a more accurate interpretation of the effects of postmodernist migrations of music.

Three completely different cases all clearly show that the use of Pygmy music can (but need not) be classified under the ideologically labeled category of "Pygmy pop". The group Deep Forest bases its music expression on borrowing sounds from other cultures and sampling original melodies. The Pygmy music that this French duo have used in writing some of their songs, is originally from compact discs arranged by Simha Arom and from other ethnomusicological editions. Guitarist Martin Cradick founded a group called *Baka Beyond* with which he has made several CDs based on Pygmy music. Unlike Deep Forest's electropop songs, Cradick's Baka Beyond shows a wide range of possible uses of the music of the Others, from the imitation of Pygmy singing to featuring in a song the Pygmies themselves who perform their music in its original form, to fusing Pygmy with Celtic music. The third case stands poised between world *music* and high culture since it is an edition that combines works by European composers and authentic music recordings of the Aka Pygmies using African rhythms. Polyrhythm here is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Steven Feld, "The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop", Western Music and Its Others, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 254-279, 263.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid., 275.
<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 262.

understood as a universal matrix, "a celebration of rhythm and pulse" that echoes in both the compositions of György Ligeti and Steve Reich and the vocal tradition of the Aka Pygmies. The selection and presentation of the compositions/songs was a collaborative project of Ligeti and Simha Arom, one of world's leading academic authorities on Pygmy music tradition. This edition seemingly does not point to the standard conception of world music, but it indisputably demonstrates the conflicting tendencies characteristic of the genre. That is, in a sense, searching for similarities in different music cultures and emphasizing the universal language of music. Ligeti examines the music of the Aka Pygmies through its formal aspects, while Arom, after a lengthy ethnographic and ethnomusicological introduction, concludes his introductory text by comparing this tradition with the music of *ars nova*. Although the compositions and the songs of the Aka Pygmies are equally featured in this edition – the boundaries between high and traditional culture, between dominant and marginal voices are not blurred – the accompanying texts did not record the reflections of the African performers on the selection of these works and the manner of their juxtaposition. In this respect, the CD edition African Rhythms is not essentially different from the (ab)uses of Pygmy music in popular music projects; the manifest emphasizing of the equality between European and African music cultures is reduced to a modernist pursuit of the universal, whose ultimate consequence is erasing the otherness of the Other.

Pygmy pop is not a genre point of reference, but a metaphor that ultimately reduces even the inventive uses of original music to global exploitation resulting in the erasure of the trace and invalidation of the original. For members of the *world music* culture things work out differently sometimes. In their descriptions of contemporary fusions, the *Rough Guide* editions often make references to the original recordings of this music, while *world music* festivals include hybrid and authentic music on even terms in their programs. Many music projects unsparingly consume samples of traditional music, while others travel beyond the boundaries of histories and cultures. The modernist concept of authenticity and the postmodern orientation towards citation and recuperation are both essential to *world music. World music* may not be a genre or music culture in the standard sense, but it is a catalogue of heterogeneous practices in which a constant struggle for meaning and identity is at work. The catalogue-like character of *world music* is determined by a synchronicity between tradition and the invention of the ethnic and universal, a conflict that reflects the instability and mobility of meaning through music more authentically than many other approaches in which the *ratio* of the scientific discourse justifies the ideological character of the selection and interpretation of music.

Translated by Dušan Zabrdac

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