

<1> Musical modernism, global: comparative observations

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[W]ithin the limits of plausible argument, the most instructive comparisons ... are those that surprise. No Japanese will be surprised by a comparison with China, since it has been made for centuries, the path is well trodden, and people usually have their minds made up already. But a comparison of Japan with Austria or Mexico might catch the reader off her guard. ... The point being that good comparisons often come from the experience of strangeness and absences.

Benedict Anderson<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to imagine musical modernism as a global phenomenon, beyond the largely unquestioned Euro-centrism of dominant accounts. This undertaking proves both impossible and necessary. *Impossible*, since such a totalizing claim cannot be fulfilled and the number of relevant issues, theories, discourses, phenomena and case studies is incalculable. Furthermore, more perhaps than other art forms, modernist music has a knack of hiding the traces of its cultural-geographic particularity behind a universalist façade: it seems to have no place – or, where it does make recourse to ‘local colour’ or colludes in nationalist discourses, these attempts are often regarded as superficial, inessential or inauthentic. *Necessary* because that last point speaks to a revealing anxiety: musical modernism is defined as much by what lies outside (literally, in a geographic sense), by what is excluded and by what is repressed as by what is taken for granted and no longer questioned. Its apparent placelessness and universality is one of the most intriguing mysteries surrounding modernist music, one that is in need of interrogation.

Something like this global perspective proposed here has been envisioned by Bruno Nettl almost exactly 30 years ago, who argued that ‘[d]uring the last hundred years, the most significant phenomenon in the global history of music has been the intensive imposition of Western music and musical thought upon the rest of the world.’<sup>2</sup> It is telling that such a vision of a ‘global history of music’ has taken place within ethnomusicology but not within (historical) musicology, even though, as Nettl points out, Western music is the predominant historical agent. For the most part, musicology remains curiously uninterested in the geographic dissemination and limits of music of Western origin, and its remarkable expansion is rarely considered to be an integral part of its history. There are relatively simple reasons for this lacuna: although there has been no shortage of alternative propositions, the dominant tradition in music historiography has largely depicted Western music history as a succession of genius composers and their masterworks, with primacy accorded to the development of musical style and compositional technique. Furthermore, music historiography is primarily interested in time, not space or cultural geography, an emphasis strengthened by the division between historical musicology and ethnomusicology (and part of my wider effort could be understood as the attempt to link the two or think across their division).<sup>3</sup> Geographical variations were acknowledged – the different national styles of the Baroque or the nationalisms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries come to mind – but they were generally viewed as local differentiations within an overarching general history.

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<sup>1</sup> Benedict Anderson, ‘Frameworks of Comparison’, *London Review of Books*, 21 January 2016, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (Schirmer Books, 1985), 3.

<sup>3</sup> This is hardly the first such attempt; indeed there has been a surge of publications crossing the divide, perhaps the most influential of which is Nicholas Cook, ‘We Are All (Ethno)musicologists Now’, in *The New (Ethno)musicologies*, ed. Henry Stobart (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 48–70. It is fair to say, however, that overcoming disciplinary boundaries proved harder in practice than in theory.

Nettl's idea of a 'global history of music' has its perhaps most influential counterpart in Franco Moretti's concept of 'world literature', which Moretti has contrasted with the traditional concentration on national literatures, arguing that the latter are artificial constructs which obscure the real diffusion of concepts and ideas. In a widely read article in *New Left Review*, for instance, he has analysed common patterns in the adoption of the Western novel in different countries and cultures (primarily Japan, India and Brazil).<sup>4</sup> This 'bird's-eye view' of larger patterns, such as the adoption of forms and genres necessitates a practice of 'distant reading' which Moretti has pitted against the recent dominance of close reading in literary studies.<sup>5</sup> In similar ways, I will here focus primarily on the subject matter traditionally associated with the social history of music, such as institutions, rather than the criticism and analysis of individual compositions. There are obviously significant differences between literature and music that prevent any direct application of Moretti's ideas to music, chief among them the fact that literature can relatively easily cross borders in translation, whereas, despite claims of it being a 'universal language', music tends to be more integrally linked to its place of origin and is therefore materially foreign in distant places. Nevertheless, Moretti's zeal in emphasizing comparative approaches and commonalities across different cultures, languages, nations and regions and his commensurate critique of the exclusive focus on national traditions is inspiring for musicology, which appears to lurch between universalism and nationalism without a developed method of comparison that recognises the entanglement of national, regional and global histories, and the conceptual framework he has developed provides a useful starting point.

In contradistinction to literary criticism and many other cognate fields,<sup>6</sup> musicology has yet to fully recognize the global nature of musical modernism which has long outgrown its origins in the West. It is worth pointing out in this context that the global diffusion of musical modernism does not only concern the binary relation between 'the west and the rest' as it were, but that, prior to (or simultaneously with) its dissemination in Asia, the Middle East and Africa, Western classical music 'conquered', or more neutrally, 'spread to' or 'was adopted in' Central, Eastern and Northern Europe and the Americas (note too that its diffusion in its supposed heartlands in Central and Western Europe is also uneven, with some areas best considered as semi-peripheries). In other words, the dissemination of Western art music largely mirrored that of Western modernity as a whole, but, as so often, such a sweeping claim obscures the particularities of the process of adoption and adaptation and the specific experiences, ideas and objectives of the agents involved. Modernity is not a monolithic entity, a 'thing', but a complex and not necessarily coherent conglomeration of ideas, institutions and practices, which is rarely adopted wholesale and in one fell swoop, but typically partially and over a significant period of time.

To be sure, there are various national, regional or local histories of music which include music of Western origin, either as an exclusive focus or in relation to other forms of music, but these are not usually considered part of a general history of music. Recent years have also seen a greater interest in cultural geography (broadly conceived) in the study of Western classical music, particularly musical modernism, and the present chapter has to be seen in this context.<sup>7</sup> What is still

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<sup>4</sup> Franco Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature', *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54–68.

<sup>5</sup> Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> See also, among others, Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, eds., *Geographies of Modernism: Literatures, Cultures, Spaces* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2005); Mark A. Wollaeger and Matt Eatough, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms* (New York, N.Y. ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> This interest has taken a variety of forms and has come from different fields, so the list here is as heterogeneous as it is incomplete: Max Paddison, 'Centres and Margins: Shifting Grounds in the Conceptualization of Modernism', in *Rethinking Musical Modernism*, ed. Dejan Despic and Melita Milin (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2008), 65–81; Tamara Levitz (convenor), 'Musicology Beyond

lacking, however, is a comparative dimension which does not only concern the musical development of a chosen locale in isolation but also the relations between different places, between the centre and the periphery and between different peripheries. As Nettle's work, among others, has shown, while the adoption or partial adoption of Western music or aspects thereof occurred in specific ways in every country or region, there are also instructive commonalities; moreover, the particularities can only really be seen for what they are in the light of comparisons with other histories. In the second part of this chapter, I will therefore present short case studies exploring the adoption of (previously) Western modernism in different parts of the world: Argentina, Mexico, Finland and Japan – very different places that share one crucial feature: they have all emerged as centres of musical modernism. What I am interested in, then, are the shifting relations between different centres, peripheries and semi-peripheries.

My objective is not only to provide a fuller account of the history of modernism in music by adding the story of its global dissemination and thereby enlarging its coverage with the addition of further composers and pieces, but also to explore to what extent musical modernism as we (already) know it is at least partly *the result* of this dissemination. In other words, I propose that modernism would not have become what it did without its encounters with others in far-flung corners of the world. It follows that musical modernism is not exclusively Western: it is undoubtedly the product of modernity, but the latter should not be equated with Western culture. In the social sciences, the notion of multiple and different modernities has long been widely accepted and modernity is therefore no longer understood as a uniquely Western achievement or, more neutrally, characteristic.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, it makes sense to understand musical modernism as a feature of modernity more than of Western culture: composers, performers and their audiences do not become Westerners as a result of or precondition for their involvement with musical modernism. By contrast, these practices are more or less unthinkable without the affordances of modernity. Furthermore, although cultural influence in its most manifest forms mostly spread from the (Western) centres to the (non-Western) peripheries, the direction of cultural transfer is not immutable and the former did not remain entirely unaffected. In what follows I will present some theoretical and methodological approaches, before outlining the aforementioned case studies and arriving at a number of tentative conclusions, interpreting the global diffusion of musical modernism in the light of recent thinking in cosmopolitan studies.

## <2> Entangled histories: musical modernism, colonialism and postcolonialism

Any study of the global dimension of musical modernism has to contend with the fact that it is inextricably connected with the history of Western hegemony. There are no two ways about it: if it hadn't been for the political, technological, economic, cultural and bluntly military dominance of the West during recent centuries, during the age of empire as much as its continuing aftermath, Western music would not have been adopted so widely (Nettle's use of the word 'imposition' in the

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Borders?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (1 December 2012): 821–61, doi:10.1525/jams.2012.65.3.821; Dana Gooley (convenor), 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (1 August 2013): 523–49, doi:10.1525/jams.2013.66.2.523; Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, *New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Brigid Cohen, 'Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism', *The Musical Quarterly*, 17 October 2014, gdu008, doi:10.1093/musqtl/gdu008; Christian Utz, *Komponieren im Kontext der Globalisierung: Perspektiven für eine Musikgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* (Transcript Verlag, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> See Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities* (Duke University Press, 2001); Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, *Public Worlds* v.1 (Minneapolis, Minn. ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). These accounts are contested by others, however, most vociferously by Fredric Jameson in his *A Singular Modernity* (New York: Verso, 2002).

above quotation is telling in this regard). Its dissemination has little or nothing to do with its intrinsic qualities and a lot if not everything with its intimate association with power. Colonialism, one of the darkest chapters in the history of the world and perhaps the most symptomatic expression of Western hegemony, is of crucial importance here, although it is not the only context in which Western music impacted on the rest of the world and continues to do so.

Studies of the imposition (and here that word is undoubtedly apposite) of Western music in the colonial have often stressed its intimate association with power, rather than regarding it as an innocent or even beneficial side effect of empire. For example, David Irving's work on colonial Manila, Geoffrey Baker's on colonial Cuzco, Rachel Beckles Willson's on Palestine, Kofi Agawu's on Africa and Nettl's synoptic overview illustrate to what extent music was deeply implicated in the colonizing project and frequently used as a tool to exert power and control.<sup>9</sup> David Irving has described this process particularly clearly and unflinchingly (although the other studies cited here and many more often contain remarkably similar passages; they are almost a staple of recent ethnomusicological writing):

[C]onflict between cultures – brought about largely by colonialism – has had a ruinous impact on the musics of the world, causing many traditions to disappear altogether, especially in territories that were conquered by European nations and incorporated into colonial empires. Musical practices played important roles in this conflict, for in the early modern world there was arguably no music that was not constitutive of societies' ideological values and a signifier of deep cultural symbolism. Every act of musical performance was inextricably intertwined with religious or political cultural systems or imbued with expressions of social or ethnic identities. The musics of many non-European peoples (often inseparable from specific ritual practices) declined or were eradicated amidst the imposition of new cultural systems by European colonial empires, for these musics and their associated practices were frequently considered incompatible with or irreconcilable to the cultural frameworks of the hegemonic societies that supplanted the social structures of indigenous populations.

Of course, some early modern European empires actively attempted to incorporate subjugated peoples into their own colonial societies. In many colonies, especially the so-called settlement colonies, sustained intercultural encounters between indigenous populations and European settlers often entailed the imposition of Europe's strict forms and rules on local musics. Through musical display and musical pedagogy, there was a concerted and conceited attempt by dominant ruling groups to effect the integration of subjugated peoples' musical tastes, involving the subtle transformation or outright manipulation of musical styles and aesthetics, made actively or passively in the hope of achieving some form of social cohesion.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See D. R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford University Press, 2010); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, N.C. ; London: Duke University Press, 2008); Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge University Press, 2013); V. Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York, N.Y. ; London: Routledge, 2003); Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music*, 7–11.

<sup>10</sup> Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 2–3.

Following Edward Said, Irving uses the term 'counterpoint' both literally and figuratively, arguing that '[t]o early modern Europeans, counterpoint represented a means by which sound and society could be rationalized, and in this sense it became a formidable agent of colonialism.'<sup>11</sup>

Irving's description concerns the imposition of Western music during colonization in the early modern period. Needless to say, the experience of countries and regions that remained formally independent is somewhat different, although they were often likewise subject to Western hegemony, including in musical matters. In any case, modernist composition is typically the product of a later stage during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, often coinciding with decolonization, and it requires a developed infrastructure of orchestras, conservatoires, instrument builders, publishers, broadcasters, record companies and, in some cases, opera houses, some of which became emblems of modern statehood almost on a par with flags, currencies, passports and national museums. The founding of conservatoires provides a particularly good (if partial and incomplete) insight into the diffusion of Western-style music pedagogy (variously dedicated to Western classical music or both Western and indigenous music): Morelia (Mexico, 1743), Rio de Janeiro (1847), Boston (1853), Mexico City (1866), Tokyo (1879), Havana (1885), Buenos Aires (1893), Melbourne (1895), Stellenbosch (South Africa, 1905), Istanbul (1917), Shanghai (1927), Beirut (1920s), Bagdad (1936), Cairo (1959)... (Moretti's predilection for maps seems apt in this context).<sup>12</sup> It is also worth pointing out that regional and national cultures of Western classical music do not necessarily follow the European model (which itself is far from monolithic) in every detail. According to Bonnie C. Wade, for example, Japan boasts a very lively culture of choirs, wind bands and domestic piano-playing as well as a number of professional and amateur symphony orchestras, but a comparatively less developed culture of chamber music, at least at professional level.<sup>13</sup>

While this later phase in the adoption in Western music and modernist composition may no longer be the result of direct colonial imposition, it often directly follows on from it, and, even in non-colonized cases, it epitomizes continuing cultural inequality. Furthermore, in most cases, Western art music remains primarily, but not necessarily exclusively or inevitably, associated with the 'Westernized' and urbanized elites. There is, therefore, no cause for triumphalism.

At the same time, however, it would be too simple to denounce Western music as an agent of imperialism and advocate its erasure from all places outside the West. History isn't easily reversible. As Arjun Appadurai has put it, '[f]or the former colony, decolonization is a dialogue with the colonial past, and not a simple dismantling of colonial habits and modes of life'.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, I cannot deny that I am personally writing from the perspective of a white middle-class male brought up and educated in Germany and Great Britain (although I don't expect or hope that all my readers will share my perspective), and, from this perspective, to ask or expect from non-Western people to drop Western music in favour of 'their own' is hardly less evidence of a colonialist mind set than encouraging or forcing them to drop 'their own' music in favour of 'ours'. Millions have invested heavily in this music, have come to love it and empathize deeply with it, whether as composers, musicians or listeners, and who am I to suggest that it is not 'theirs' (when, in some sense, it was often 'we' who first brought it to 'them')? Furthermore, as the above quotation indicates, in many parts of the world the long history of westernization and hybridization means that there is no pure, authentic indigenous music to go back to, nor a clear dividing line between colonizers and

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 3. Said's idea of counterpoint is developed in his *Culture & Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Some of these institutions were preceded by similar private, public, military or ecclesiastical music schools or university music departments. 'Conservatory' can be a flexible concept. Astonishingly, there does not appear to be a study of the global diffusion of the conservatory model.

<sup>13</sup> Bonnie C. Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), 114–5.

<sup>14</sup> Arjun Appadurai, 'Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket', in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 89.

subalterns, imposed Western and indigenous culture, including music.<sup>15</sup> For better or worse, our histories are 'entangled', and our historiography has to reflect this.

The notion of entangled histories emphasizes the relations between different traditions, cultures and areas and the reciprocity of their impacts on one another; it thus seeks to correct the emphasis on autonomy in traditional historiographies with their foci on nation, tradition or culture.<sup>16</sup> In a nutshell, I believe that musical modernism has to be recognised as at least in part a product of entangled histories, more than of the autonomous and internal development of the Western classical tradition. From this perspective, the simultaneity of the global diffusion of Western music on one side and of the – however partial or stereotyped – appropriation of non-Western elements by Western composers is not coincidental. They are two sides of the same coin, different results of cultural contact, marked by asymmetrical power relations.

Nor, and this is one of the key messages of this contribution, should we assume that the adoption of Western music is necessarily an act of acquiescence and subservience. In many other fields, postcolonial approaches have shown how the colonizer's tools can be turned against them. Two name just two examples, Homi Bhabha has demonstrated how the presumed authority of colonial discourse is undermined from within through mimicry, and John Thieme has analysed how postcolonial authors are 'writing back' by usurping and thereby contesting canonical English texts.<sup>17</sup> Its abstract nature and the legacy of the idea of autonomy mean that Western classical music has rarely been similarly overtly politicized. Nevertheless, there is no reason to take for granted that music of Western origin can only be used in an affirmative manner. Certainly, Irving argues that, in the case of colonial Manila, indigenous people exercised resistance not only by hanging on to their traditional musical practices, but also by actively appropriating those of the colonizers, thereby challenging their supremacy, and Baker makes similar points about Cuzco.<sup>18</sup> In modernism, these kinds of strategies are arguably widespread: for instance, Steven Nuss argues that in his *Essay for String Orchestra* (1963), Toshiro Mayuzumi, one of the most internationally successful Japanese composers of his generation, while eschewing overt reference to Japaneseness and apparently embracing Western modernism, '[through the] consistent use of the [Western] instruments, form-suggestive titles, and conventional ensemble groupings of Western art music [clearly attempted] to take what he saw as the West's insidious (musical) colonialism and flip it on its head.'<sup>19</sup> In the piece, Mayuzumi made reference to the Noh drama *Tsurukame*, which is largely a panegyric of the

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<sup>15</sup> Cf., among others, Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 5. It is worth pointing out here that there are significant differences in the experience of Western domination in different parts of the world. Postcolonial theory, with its tendency towards binary distinctions between colonizer and subaltern, is dominated by scholars and activists from the Indian sub-continent, Africa and the Middle-East. Latin America and East Asia, which were and still are extremely important cultural meeting grounds for the diffusion of music of Western origin, had rather different histories in this respect.

<sup>16</sup> On the notion of entangled histories, see Wolf Lepenies, *Entangled Histories and Negotiated Universals: Centers and Peripheries in a Changing World* (Campus Verlag, 2003); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?', *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (1 June 2007): 787–99. A good introduction is provided by Annette Werberger, 'Überlegungen Zu Einer Literaturgeschichte Als Verflechtungsgeschichte', in *Kulturen in Bewegung: Beiträge Zur Theorie Und Praxis Der Transkulturalität* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2012), 109–41; an impressive (ethno)musicological example is Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination : South Africa and the West: South Africa and the West* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 121–31; John Thieme, *Postcolonial Contexts: Writing back to the Canon*, Literature, Culture and Identity (London: Continuum, 2001).

<sup>18</sup> Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 3–4; Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Steven Nuss, 'The Politics of Toshiro Mayuzumi's *Essay for String Orchestra*', in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Minneapolis, Minn. ; London: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 86–87. Cf. also Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 115–6.

emperor, which Nuss regards as evidence of a distinctly right-wing perspective: 'Essay as recomposed *Tsurukame* is heard ... not just as an exoticizing piece of deliberate Japaneseness but as a subtle, yet powerful call for emperor worship: a specific political statement meant to call Japan back from the brink of what Mayuzumi and others saw as the abyss of psychological and cultural westernization.'<sup>20</sup> This may be an isolated case and, at least if we follow Nuss's interpretation, admittedly one of very dubious political character, but the political motivations of non-Western composers have rarely been considered (and may more often than not be concealed), so Mayuzumi's strategy of using the musical tools of the West to oppose it may be far from unique.

To illustrate some of the ways in which Western musical modernity took root outside the west, I propose a perhaps counter-intuitive analogy: the indigenization of cricket as analysed by Appadurai in the case of India. As he points out, the sport was deeply infused with Victorian values and was introduced to India as a tool of colonization, intended to reinforce hierarchies of race, class and gender and 'as a means for the moral disciplining of Orientals'.<sup>21</sup> In many respects, cricket was and remains Britain's most successful colonial export, more eagerly embraced by subject populations than most other aspects of its culture. But the natives soon challenged the superiority of the colonizers, literally and metaphorically. As Appadurai puts it, 'it is not the case that an Anglophone class drama was simply reproduced in India, but that in the circulation of princes, coaches, army officials, viceroys, college principals, and players of humble class origin between India, England, and Australia a complex imperial class regime was formed, in which Indian and English social class hierarchies were interlinked and cross-hatched to produce, by the 1930s, a cadre of non-elite Indians who felt themselves to be genuine cricketers and genuinely "Indian" as well.'<sup>22</sup> Although the specifics are significantly different, this process of decolonization and indigenization also took place in other parts of the Empire, notably the Caribbean (the 'West Indies' in cricketing terms). In cricket, the former metropolis has been provincialized. At a time when, as Nicholas Cook has put it, "'Western" music has become a global currency in the same way as the hamburger, and one sometimes has the impression that the "art" tradition flourishes more in East Asia, Israel, and parts of South America than in its former heartlands',<sup>23</sup> is it too fanciful to suggest that Western music too has been indigenized? It, too, may be of Western origin but it does no longer 'belong to' people in Europe and North America; as I suggested above, it is best seen as an aspect of musical modernity, more than Western culture (although we have to give it some sort of name, so the term '*Western music*' is difficult to avoid). Thankfully, music is not primarily a competitive sport (although it often feels like one and there is no shortage of contests), but the long list of first-rate composers, performers and programmes, such as the Venezuelan music education programme *El Sistema*,<sup>24</sup> from all over the world demonstrates that the West has long lost its supremacy. Appreciating this means having to relinquish many habits of thought. One of those is the association of musical understanding with profound enculturation: we like to assume that Western classical music is deeply rooted in the culture, intimately connected to other art forms, such as literature and the visual arts, intellectual history, such as philosophy or religion and theology, and that an active awareness of

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<sup>20</sup> Nuss, 'The Politics of Toshiro Mayuzumi's Essay for String Orchestra', 117.

<sup>21</sup> Appadurai, 'Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket', 94.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>23</sup> Nicholas Cook, 'Introduction: Trajectories of Twentieth-Century Music', in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9.

<sup>24</sup> *El Sistema* has recently come under criticism: cf. Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Gustavo Borchert, 'Sistema Scotland: A Critical Inquiry into the Implementation of the El Sistema Model in Raploch' 2012, <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/4044>. Its merits are not the issue here, though.

these traditions enriches our appreciation. The fact that millions who may, for example, have a better understanding of calligraphy than the Dutch masters, of Confucius than Kant and Buddhism than the Bible evidently find deep satisfaction, meaning and fulfilment in this music challenges such notions (although it does not entirely invalidate them – just as it does not lend credence to universalism).

Furthermore, the idea of a global musical modernity problematizes notions of ‘trans-culturalism’ or ‘cross-culturalism’, which have become normative in discussions of musical modernism outside the West. Note, for instance, how the conceptual framework established by Yayoi Uno Everett in a largely admirable contribution, with its plethora of terms, including ‘intercultural synthesis’, ‘crossover’, ‘cross-cultural readings’, ‘fusion’, ‘cross-fertilization’ and ‘syncretism’ is, apparently despite her intentions to the contrary, predicated on the existence of a gap between two distinct and readily identifiable cultures, which needs to be bridged – and her contribution was evidently intended to be programmatic for the collection which it introduces, and indeed the remaining contributions largely follow her ideas.<sup>25</sup> As so often in these cases, what is meant by ‘Western music’ (a term encompassing more than 1000 years of historical development, with a similar geographical, generic and stylistic diversity) remains rather diffuse. In most cases discussed by Everett, what we’re left with are instruments, the tuning system, institutions such as the orchestra, notation and the roles of composer, performer and (possibly) conductor. To be sure, these are significant Western innovations exported to East Asia, but they say little about musical style, whereas the other side of the equation tends to be far more stylistically specific (which rather neatly corresponds to Moretti’s argument that peripheral literatures tend to combine Western forms with indigenous contents).<sup>26</sup> Considering that these Western institutions and traits were introduced to Japan as long ago as during the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), do we really have to resort to the idea of ‘transculturalism’ and attendant ‘East-meets-West’ rhetoric every time a Japanese composer writes a composition for symphony orchestra, an institution that has a longer history in East Asia than in Scandinavia?<sup>27</sup> To be sure, the Western symphony orchestra raises different associations in Japan than the Shō or Shakuhachi (although for most Japanese the latter two are possibly stranger than the former), but these kinds of asynchronicities and collisions are characteristic of the experience of modernity as such and not unique to inter-cultural contact or conflict. It is probably true, however, that, as Alejandro L. Madrid argues, at modernity’s peripheries these sorts of contradictions are more apparent than at the centres<sup>28</sup> – which is precisely what lends the study of the peripheries such urgency.

What is striking is that, in almost all cases, the adoption of the performance culture of Western classical music, together with the requisite institutional and educational infrastructure, is relatively quickly followed by an embrace of composition, and that, more often than not, notions of modernism assumed some kind of regulative or exemplary function (which does not necessarily

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<sup>25</sup> Yayoi Uno Everett, ‘Intercultural Synthesis in Postwar Western Art Music: Historical Contexts, Perspectives, and Taxonomy’, in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 1–21.

<sup>26</sup> Moretti, ‘Conjectures on World Literature’, 64–5.

<sup>27</sup> It is worth quoting Kofi V. Agawu on the problematic emphasis on origins (in his case focusing on Africa): ‘How long will we continue to talk about this or that feature as originating in this or that foreign culture? For example, what sense does it make, after a century and a half of regular, continuous, and imaginative use, to describe the guitar as a “foreign” instrument in Africa, or a church hymn as representing an alien musical language, or a perfect cadence as extrinsic?’ *Representing African Music*, 148. He goes on to point out that the same point would have to be made about Beethoven’s Violin Concerto, since the violin is of middle-Eastern, not European origin.

<sup>28</sup> Alejandro L. Madrid, *Sounds of the Modern Nation: Music, Culture, and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Temple University Press, 2008), 7.



mean that it was embraced wholeheartedly and uncritically). We are commonly so accustomed to this fact that we no longer regard it as surprising. Yet there is no compelling reason why composers adopted what they seem to have regarded as an international norm (or at least one norm among the possibilities in circulation). As Madrid puts it, 'achieving modernity became the primary political goal of the elites that dominated peripheric societies, as shown in the variety of policies implemented throughout their histories to stimulate processes of modernization', and this seems to have included modernist composition.<sup>29</sup> How this process of negotiation occurred in different places and contexts has yet to be studied in detail, and it is here that a comparative dimension is particularly useful. As will be illustrated, there appear to be certain patterns, such as the importance of bridge-builders who travel to study at one of the musical centres (in conservatories, with private tutors, at institutions such as the Darmstadt International Summer Courses or festivals) or, conversely, visitors from those centres (facilitating such exchanges has been one of the most widespread and apparently successful methods adopted by national governments to support the arts). The function of international organisations such as the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) should likewise not be underestimated. Despite its flaws and later (relative) decline, the ISCM was an important force in the world of contemporary music, particularly in the 1920s and '30s, and its annual 'New Music Days' represented a unique forum, specifically for participants from the peripheries (although, as so often, their perspectives are rarely acknowledged in the literature).<sup>30</sup> Another commonality consists of conflicts between nationalist and conservative factions and universalist or internationalist innovators (although the correlations between nationalism and conservatism and universalism and progressive or avant-gardist ideas are by no means a given), which are typically linked to wider debates about cultural politics. In the following, I want to briefly outline key developments in Argentina, Finland and Japan, with some additional observations on Mexico and mainland China.

<2> Case studies: musical modernism in the peripheries?

<3> Argentina

Argentina is often regarded – not least by its inhabitants – as the most European nation in Latin America (which is more than a little affront to its not insignificant populations of indigenous, Asian or African descent). Like Argentina as a whole, its capital Buenos Aires, which dominates the rest of the country culturally, politically and economically, played a comparatively minor role during the colonial period, and its character is more marked by the massive waves of predominantly European immigration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless (or maybe *because* of this), the *criollo* identity (the culture of predominantly rural Hispanic settlers), in particular the gaucho legends based in the pampas, retain a special place in the Argentine imagination. As a result of European immigration, Buenos Aires became a centre of musical life rivalling the North-American and European metropolises (Carlos Kleiber, Michael Gielen, Daniel Barenboim and Marta Argerich all hail from the city). Although there were significant precursors, Alberto Williams (1862-1952) is often regarded as the founding father of Argentine classical composition. His training is exemplary for pioneering composers from the peripheries: after his initial education in Buenos Aires, he travelled on a government grant to Paris to study with César Franck. On his return, he took an extended trip to Buenos Aires province (despite its relative proximity to the Capital, the centre of the pampas and

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> For the history of the ISCM see Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1982). Haefeli has little to say on non-Western members, although the appendices give a clear impression of the organization's reach. Furthermore, his accounts of 'internationalism' (73-87), the ISCM's contested apolitical stance (190-232) and the debates about the meaning of 'contemporary' (262-85) – which, in the organization's German title, is replaced with 'neu' ('new') – are instructive in this regard.

the gaucho tradition) to study local folk music.<sup>31</sup> In the following, he pioneered a nationalist style, introducing the tunes and in particular the dance rhythms, above all the milonga, associated with the gauchesco tradition into a broadly European romantic (later neo-classically infused) style. From the 1930s onwards, this tradition was continued primarily by Juan José Castro, who was particularly active as an internationally renowned conductor. He too had spent time in Paris, studying with d'Indy among others, and his work was featured at the ISCM Festival in 1931.<sup>32</sup>

1929 saw the founding of the Grupo renovación dedicated to promoting modernist composition by Juan José Castro, his brother José María Castro, Juan Carlos Paz and others. It was linked to the significant magazine *Sur*, run by the formidable Victoria Ocampo (and among whose contributors counted Jorge Luis Borges) and broadly associated with the political left, a significant point during the 'infamous decade' of military rule and political instability as well as the repercussions of the Spanish Civil War and later WWII, which were strongly felt in Argentina.<sup>33</sup> It later became the Argentine sub-section of the ISCM, and its international links were strengthened by a much-reported visit by Igor Stravinsky in 1936.<sup>34</sup> For his part, Juan Carlos Paz, one of the Grupo's co-founders and another student of d'Indy, pursued a radically different path from 1934 onwards, when he discovered dodecaphony and renounced nationalism and the appropriation of folk music in favour of the international avant-garde, an all but unique position among Latin-American composers at the time.<sup>35</sup> In 1937, Paz founded the *Conciertos de la Nueva Música*, which was later transformed into the *Agrupación Nueva Música*. Where the Grupo favoured largely neo-classical tendencies, the *Agrupación* was more devoted to the avant-garde (including but not exclusively serialism). In many ways his counterpart was Alberto Ginastera, who had largely assumed the mantle of the nationalist, neo-classical tradition, and occupied many influential positions until his public opposition to Juan Perón led to his dismissal and eventual departure for the USA. The Argentine new music scene during the early 1950s was polarised between Alberto Ginastera on one side and Paz on the other.<sup>36</sup>

The case of Paz and the *Agrupación* illustrates the importance of international links: Paz had a wide international network of contacts and his books demonstrate that he was extremely well informed about the latest developments.<sup>37</sup> In addition, the group included Michael Gielen (who would later on pursue a stellar career as a conductor in Germany), who was the nephew of Eduard Steuermann, Schoenberg's favourite pianist, with whom he corresponded regularly. Furthermore, the Brazil-based Hans-Joachim Koellreutter was a frequent guest in Buenos Aires, reporting from his experiences at the Darmstadt International Summer Courses and the Milan Twelve-note Congress of 1949 (thereby demonstrating the intersection between global and regional networks). Finally, particular importance has to be attached to the visits by Pierre Boulez, as pianist and music director

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<sup>31</sup> Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction*, Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs ; London: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 108–10.

<sup>32</sup> Susana Salgado, 'Castro', *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

<sup>33</sup> 'Omar Corrado: Música Culta Y Política En Argentina Entre 1930 Y 1945', accessed 7 August 2015, <http://www.latinoamerica-musica.net/historia/corrado/musica1930-45.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Omar Corrado, 'Stravinsky Y La Constelación Ideológica Argentina En 1936', *Latin American Music Review* 26, no. 1 (2005): 88–101, doi:10.1353/lat.2005.0006.

<sup>35</sup> Béhague, *Music in Latin America*, 245–6. For more detail on Paz see Omar Corrado, *Vanguardias al sur: la música de Juan Carlos Paz* (Univ. Nacional de Quilmes Ed., 2012).

<sup>36</sup> Esteban Buch, 'L'avant-garde musicale à Buenos Aires : Paz contra Ginastera', *Circuit: Musiques contemporaines* 17, no. 2 (2007): 11, doi:10.7202/016836ar; Christina Richter-Ibáñez, *Mauricio Kagels Buenos Aires (1946-1957): Kulturpolitik - Künstlernetzwerk - Kompositionen*, 1., Aufl. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 82–3; Pamela Jones, *Alcides Lanza: Portrait of a Composer* (McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 2007), 34–5.

<sup>37</sup> Juan Carlos Paz, *Introducción a la música de nuestro tiempo* (Editorial Sudamericana, 1971); Juan Carlos Paz, *La música en los Estados Unidos* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980); Juan Carlos Paz, *Arnold Schönberg: o, El fin de la era tonal* (Editorial Nueva Visión, 1958).

for the theatre company Renaud-Barrault in 1950 and 1954, mirroring Stravinsky's visit before WWII.<sup>38</sup> What this example demonstrates is both the difficulty of pursuing the idea of a cosmopolitan modernism on the periphery and the paradoxical strengths drawn from this position. Despite the reliance on a relatively small number of contacts and mediators, groups such as the Agrupación were in many ways more international than their counterparts at the centres, since they tended to take a more active interest in what happened around them and in a variety of places (Paz was equally well informed about American experimentalism as European serialism for instance), and they often felt freer to appropriate what seemed useful to them, rather than feeling a priori beholden to specific traditions.

A new era began with the founding in 1962 of CLAEM (Centro latinoamericano de altos estudios musicales) under the auspices of the Instituto di Tella, with Ginastera as Director.<sup>39</sup> In leading the Centre and inviting guests, Ginastera proved to be far more open and visionary than his own rather narrow and conservative tastes may suggest, also, in 1964, opening an electronic music studio (directed by the Peruvian composer César Bolaño until 1967, by the Argentine Francisco Kröpfl thereafter), despite his own dislike of electronic music.<sup>40</sup> The Centre hosted leading international lights such as Luigi Dallapiccola, Luigi Nono, Iannis Xenakis and Aaron Copland, but it had an even greater impact in bringing together and energizing the (previously quite disparate) Latin-American avant-garde. Unfortunately, the Centre was forced to close in 1970 due to the increasing political instability during the so-called Argentine Revolution. Despite continuing political instability and frequent economic crises, Argentina has developed and maintained a vibrant and mostly fiercely internationalist culture of modernist composition.

### <3> Mexico

Where the musical development in Argentina was affected by political instability with frequent periods of dictatorship and authoritarian rule, Mexico experienced cultural near-paralysis under the long period of one-party rule from 1929 to 2000. The preceding revolution (1910-29) is, however, notable for its direct effect on the arts, including music, in particular for promoting a nationalist style. Although musical nationalism was hardly a new or unique idea, its implication in the revolutionary struggles gave it a particular urgency. More importantly, it received a thorough theoretical foundation through the decisive influence of the philosopher and politician José Vasconcelos, who, in his *The Cosmic Race*, developed the ideas of *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*, which he propagated as minister of education (1921-24) among other positions (his brief tenure belying the towering influence he exerted not only in Mexico but for successive generations of Latin-American politicians and intellectuals).<sup>41</sup> These ideas found their most immediate expression in some of the works of Carlos Chávez, arguably the most influential Mexican composer of his (or possibly any other) generation. Where earlier nationalist composers, such as Manuel Ponce, like their counterparts throughout much of Latin America, primarily oriented themselves towards the *criollo* heritage of the Hispanic settlers, in many (although by no means all) of his works Chávez sought to

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<sup>38</sup> See Richter-Ibáñez, *Mauricio Kagels Buenos Aires (1946-1957)*, 93–8 and 155–61 for further details on Pierre Boulez's visits.

<sup>39</sup> On CLAEM, see Hernán Gabriel Vázquez, 'Historia, Actividad Y Recepción Crítica Del CLAEM', in *Catálogo Completo Del Festival La Música En El Di Tella, Resonancias de La Modernidad*, ed. José Luis Castiñeira de Dios (Buenos Aires: Secretaría de Cultura de la Presidencia de la Nación, 2011), 15–22.

<sup>40</sup> 'Los Músicos Del Di Tella: Una Reunión Cumbre', *Clarín.com*, accessed 6 August 2015, [http://www.clarin.com/espectaculos/musica/musicos-Di-Tella-reunion-cumbre\\_0\\_498550150.html](http://www.clarin.com/espectaculos/musica/musicos-Di-Tella-reunion-cumbre_0_498550150.html).

<sup>41</sup> José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica: Misión de La Raza Iberoamericana*, *Essayistas Hispánicos* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1967). See also Ilan Stavans, *José Vasconcelos: The Prophet of Race* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

evoke the pre-Conquest Aztec culture.<sup>42</sup> Although a new generation of scholars dispute the common claim that Vasconcelos commissioned Chávez's seminal ballet *El fuego nuevo* (1921), there is little doubt that, at least for a time, Chávez was very close to Vasconcelos and that he was able to exert direct political influence even after Vasconcelos's tenure, which is otherwise almost unheard of in the history of musical modernism.<sup>43</sup> Chávez also stands out in developing far more substantial ties to the USA than to Europe. Although he visited Europe, his impressions were predominantly negative, whereas he repeatedly travelled to New York where he established particularly close bonds with Edgard Varèse and various relevant associations, including the International Composers' Guild.<sup>44</sup> The most immediate parallel here is to Ginastera, who was likewise influenced by Pan-American ideas but who was more drawn to Copland and his circle than to Varèse. Not unlike their Argentine counterparts, most Mexican composers reacted against nationalism in the 1960s, leading to a mature cosmopolitan culture (dodecaphony had been introduced by Rodolfo Halffter in 1953). A composer such as Julio Estrada, for example, is as much a part of the international new music circuit as of the leading institutions of his native country (as Professor at the University of Mexico) and equally at home in advanced computer and mathematical models of music theory as in acting as editor of a ten-volume history of Mexican music.

### <3> Finland

To include Finland, one of the most advanced economies in the world and a member of the European Union, in this section may seem counterintuitive. Despite the towering stature of Sibelius, it should not be forgotten, however, that the country joined musical modernity quite late: both the Helsinki Philharmonic Society (the first such orchestra in the Nordic countries) and the Helsinki Music Institute (renamed Sibelius Academy in 1939) were founded in 1882.<sup>45</sup> It is also important to realize that Europe or 'the West' are not monolithic categories and that there is no simple binary between centre and periphery. Despite the heroic efforts of early modernists, such as Aarre Merikanto (1893-1958) during the 1920s and 30s, Finland remained a musical backwater until at least the 1960s.<sup>46</sup> It is certainly revealing that up to and including international stars, such as Magnus Lindberg, Esa-Pekka Salonen and Kaajio Saariaho, most if not all major Finnish composers spent their formative years abroad.

Much of the credit for introducing Finland to musical modernism has to go to Erik Bergman (1911-2006).<sup>47</sup> As was almost mandatory at the time, Bergman's earliest compositions were in a nationalist romantic style. Clearly unsatisfied, he went to study with Heinz Tiessen in Berlin from 1937 to 1939 and again in 1942-43. That he went to Nazi Germany (at one point at the height of the

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<sup>42</sup> It is worth noting, however, that both Alejandro L. Madrid and in particular Leonora Saavedra go out of their way in arguing that Chávez's work should not be limited to one particular ideology or style, just like the political and aesthetic debates in Mexico at the time were richer than terms such as 'nationalism' or 'indigenism' may imply.

<sup>43</sup> According to Madrid, the claim that Vasconcelos commissioned Chávez was made by Roberto García Morillo in his *Carlos Chávez: Vida Y Obra*, 1. ed. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960), 19. It is repeated by Robert Parker, 'Chávez, Carlos', *Grove Music Online*, n.d. It is disputed by Saavedra in her *Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music* (University of Pittsburgh, 2001).; see Madrid, *Sounds of the Modern Nation*, 52-3.

<sup>44</sup> Leonora Saavedra, 'Carlos Chávez's Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 1 (1 April 2015): 99-150, doi:10.1525/jams.2015.68.1.99.

<sup>45</sup> Kalevi Aho et al., *Finnish Music* (Keuruu: Otava, 1996), 36-7.

<sup>46</sup> Tim Howell, *After Sibelius: Studies in Finnish Music* (Aldershot ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 29-56.

<sup>47</sup> On Bergman, see my 'Erik Bergman, Cosmopolitanism and the Transformation of Musical Geography', in *Transformations of Musical Modernism*, ed. Julian Johnson and Erling E. Guldbrandsen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 74-96.

war!) has to be viewed with some suspicion, although options may have been limited for Finns at the time and Tiessen himself was firmly associated with the political left. In 1952, Bergman started to experiment with dodecaphony, a technique that he apparently did not encounter during his studies in Berlin, but only discovered later, mostly in books rather than actual compositions. He was the first Finnish composer to adopt the technique (the simultaneity with Halffter's work in Mexico is remarkable and only partly coincidental) at a time when the work of the Second Viennese School was completely unknown in Finland – which is a good indication of how isolated the country was. To develop his grasp of twelve-note technique, he went to Switzerland in 1954 to study with Wladimir Vogel, another student of Tiessen's, and he also visited the Darmstadt International Summer Courses in 1957, following which he (relatively briefly and cautiously) adopted integral serialism, before also embracing aleatory technique. His evident attempt to keep up with the most advanced developments is complemented by a deep interest in non-Western music, which led him on extensive travels across much of the world, during which he acquired a sizeable collection of instruments, some of which he learned to play. The strand of his compositions which adopt aspects and materials from non-Western music, in which he was a pioneer, contrasts and intersects with those exploring Western modernist techniques. Later in his life, he also returned closer to home, turning his attention to his environment, particularly the Arctic: as I have described it elsewhere, it would appear as if the encounter with the 'other' enabled him to see the strangeness of the self through the eyes of the 'other'.<sup>48</sup>

Again not unlike in other parts of the globe, it was during the 1960s that Finland opened up to modernism, encountering both the Second Viennese School and the post-WWII serial avant-garde almost simultaneously, not least due to the mediation of figures such as Bergman. That period was again short-lived, however,<sup>49</sup> and it was not before the 1980s that the famous generation of composers connected with the Korvat Auki (Ears Open) association and linked to the ensemble Avanti!, such as Lindberg, Salonen and Saariaho, firmly established Finland among the leading centres of musical modernism, and they often paid tribute to Bergman for having paved the way – despite the latter's long tenure at the Sibelius Academy, not as a teacher, however: most of the younger composers studied with Paavo Heininen and some with Einojuhani Rautavaara.<sup>50</sup> This was by no means simply a natural process of generational succession, but was accompanied by heated debates. The term composers associated with Ears Open reserved for the operas of the so-called Finnish Opera Boom of the 1970s – 'fur-cap operas' – illustrates the nature of the debate.

It is revealing that Bergman himself never acquired an international reputation on a par with that of his more traditional and nationalist contemporary Rautavaara, just like, in Argentina, Paz's international reception never rivalled that of Ginastera. Although there could be specific reasons or differences in the (perceived or real) inherent quality of the work accounting for the limited international success of modernist composers from the peripheries, it seems likely that their work militates against prevalent stereotyped expectations which associates the other with exoticism (an issue to which I shall return).

### <3> Japan

In Japan, music was seen as a prime agent of the desired westernization during the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912). As a consequence, Western music was introduced in schools, and legions of composers busied themselves writing or simply adapting Western-style children's songs (*shoka*); as in so many other regions, other agents introducing Western music were the military and the Protestant Church.

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<sup>48</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Aho et al., *Finnish Music*, 97–102.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 138–41.

While earlier Japanese composers mostly imitated European romantic models, Kosaku Yamada (1886-1965), a graduate of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, was the first to explore modernist techniques. His opposite was Kiyomi Fujii (1899-1944) who collected and studied traditional Japanese music, particularly folk songs, which he emulated in his own compositions, albeit scored for Western instruments. As Judith Ann Herd puts it, Yamada's and Fujii's 'perspectives regarding East and West eventually led to the establishment of the dual factions found in Japanese modern music today'.<sup>51</sup> Although these can be characterized as the opposition between Western modernism and nationalist traditionalism, the relations between these elements were (and are) complex and in flux. 1930 saw the founding of the Federation of Newly Rising Composers, which incorporated both nationalist and modernist composers, and which, in 1935 became the Japanese section of the ISCM.<sup>52</sup> It is worth noting that the vast majority of nationalists made use of Western instruments or techniques, just like most Western-style modernist composers explored some aspects of their Japanese heritage; needless to say, many changed their positions over time. Witness for instance, Toshiro Mayuzumi's Pan-Asianism (mentioned before),<sup>53</sup> the various attempts at intercultural fusion in the work of Toru Takemitsu<sup>54</sup> or the engagements with both the international avant-garde and Japanese traditional music undertaken by Toshio Ichianagi,<sup>55</sup> to name but some of the most internationally renowned figures. It is telling that both Takemitsu and Ichianagi felt emboldened to fully explore their native heritage only on extended travels abroad (in both cases encouraged by John Cage). A similar phenomenon can be observed in the work of Toshio Hosokawa, who only learned to appreciate Japanese traditional music, specifically *gagaku*, the music for the Imperial court, when studying with the Korean exile Isang Yun in Berlin in the late 1970s.<sup>56</sup> Although his work is clearly based on the modernist techniques associated with the German avant-garde, at the level of aesthetics he is inspired by Zen Buddhism, calligraphy and the idea of *ma* (which Wade translates as 'pregnant nothingness').<sup>57</sup>

### <3> Differences and similarities

These case studies from very different parts of the world share a number of remarkable similarities. What links the musical pioneers in different countries is that they spent formative years abroad at one of the centres of musical modernism, mostly in France and Germany, although in later years also in the USA. Many of them subsequently worked as bridge-builders and mediators, often introducing their compatriots abroad, while also introducing their home publics to the most recent international developments by inviting leading international composers. The roles played by Takemitsu in Japan and Ginastera in Argentina are exemplary in this regard. A similar point can be made about the importance of Chou Wen-chung for younger Chinese composers, although, due to the continuing censorship and government control of the arts in the People's Republic, Chou had to concentrate his efforts in the USA, where he co-founded the Center for US-China Arts Exchange at Columbia University, which became an important rallying point for the 'New Wave' of composers from China,

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<sup>51</sup> Judith Ann Herd, 'Western-Influenced "Classical" Music in Japan', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, ed. Alison Tokita and David W. Hughes (Aldershot ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 367.

<sup>52</sup> Shigeo Kishibe et al., 'Japan', *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

<sup>53</sup> Herd, 'Western-Influenced "Classical" Music in Japan', 373.

<sup>54</sup> Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 116–8.

<sup>55</sup> Yayoi Uno Everett, *Toshi Ichianagi*, Oxford Bibliographies. Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> Basil Rogger, ed., 'Roche Commissions 2010: Toshio Hosokawa', 45, accessed 10 August 2015, [http://www.roche.com/rochecommissions\\_10\\_toshiohosokawa.pdf](http://www.roche.com/rochecommissions_10_toshiohosokawa.pdf).

<sup>57</sup> 'Interview with Toshio Hosokawa | Revista Sonograma Magazine', accessed 9 August 2015, <http://sonograma.org/2011/01/interview-with-toshio-hosokawa/>; Yoko Narazaki, 'Hosokawa, Toshio', *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Wade associates *ma* with Takemitsu's early work; see her *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 116.

including Tan Dun.<sup>58</sup> Erik Bergman's work can also be mentioned in this context, even though he was not primarily active as a teacher or organiser and administrator. But not all connections were and are of an exclusively bilateral nature: consider, for example the roles played by Koellreutter for the new music scene in Argentina (and presumably other Latin American countries) or that of Isang Yun for Japan and other Asian countries. Furthermore, the example of integrating traditional music with modernist techniques provided by Béla Bartók provided inspiration for generations of composers worldwide.<sup>59</sup> Finally, international organizations such as the ISCM and, from 1973, the Asian Composers League and, in a different way, the Darmstadt International Summer Courses, have played an important role in providing fora for the definition of musical modernism on a global scale and for the negotiation between different positions.

Another striking commonality concerns the debates between nationalist and, variously, internationalist, universalist or avant-gardist camps and positions. The latter are often (but not always) identified with serialism, whose dissemination provides an interesting insight into the diffusion of musical modernism more widely (without wishing to fetishize one particular technical development). By contrast, nationalist aesthetics are typically aligned with broadly late romantic or, in a later phase, neo-classical styles. The irony here is that, while, ideologically, nationalism emphasizes cultural distinctiveness, its expression on the level of musical language tended to be, if anything, more globally diffused and codified than serialism or any other more decidedly advanced and internationalist idioms. It is indeed remarkable how interchangeable nationalist compositions from widely different parts of the globe often appear. The most obvious exception in this instance is Chávez, whose music typically avoids post-romantic or neo-classical clichés. This is in keeping with a cultural-political discourse that was in many ways more subtle and complex than that of comparable countries and where, in the wake of Vasconcelos's indigenism, the simple identification of nationalism with conservatism does not hold – as is also suggested by Chávez's friendship with Varèse (indicating too that Chávez's work should not be simply equated with nationalism). Broadly speaking, where nationalist positions remained widely dominant during the 1920s and 30s, from the 1960s onwards internationalist modernism gained footholds in most regions. The pithy position taken by the Brazilian composer Marlos Nobre – 'I am Brazilian; I write music; I do not write Brazilian music.'<sup>60</sup> may well be common at the turn of the twenty-first century, but it would have been a radical view throughout much of the preceding century. While there are significant differences between these debates in various countries and regions which deserve detailed scrutiny, it is clear that a comparative perspective presents a bigger picture and helps to contextualize the specificities in each particular case. The common concentration on individual national or regional histories in isolation cannot explain the significant parallels between them.

Revealingly, however, composers associated with nationalist aesthetics tend to be more successful internationally than their internationalist counterparts. This is apparent from a comparison between Ginastera and Paz in Argentina or Rautavaara and Bergman in Finland. In

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<sup>58</sup> Wen-chung Chou, 'Wenren and Culture', in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 209–20; Frederick Lau, 'Fusion or Fission: The Paradox and Politics of Contemporary Chinese Avant-Garde Music', in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Frederick Lau and Yayoi Uno Everett (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 22–39.

A brief note about conventions for Japanese and Chinese names: in this chapter, Japanese names are given with given names before the family name and Chinese names with the family name first. The composers mentioned in this chapter are primarily known in English by the names adopted here, and it would unnecessarily confuse readers to adopt different conventions.

<sup>59</sup> Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Wesleyan University Press, 2004), xx, 32, 130, 210; Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 39, 11, 189, 198.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Malena Kuss, *Music in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Encyclopedic History* (University of Texas Press, n.d.), xii.

respect of Japan, Wade has similarly observed that '[d]eliberations on the Japaneseness of this and that music continue—mostly on the part of Western observers', citing Anthony Palmer, who charged Minoru Miki with 'striking out upon the murky waters of hybridization, always of questionable fruitfulness', while praising Takemitsu for 'remain[ing] Japanese' (which, apparently, is self-evidently positive).<sup>61</sup> Lau has made a closely related point about the New Wave of Chinese composers, who he argues are willingly capitalizing on the orientalist expectations harboured by their Western audiences.<sup>62</sup> Finally, Saavedra and Madrid have argued that the widespread identification of Chávez with nationalism is reductive, which similarly suggests an over-enthusiasm among North-American and European audiences for exotic elements to the detriment of other aspects.<sup>63</sup> According to Carol A. Hess, this emphasis on difference is, as far as the USA is concerned, a result of cold war politics and the policy of supporting military dictators in the name of anti-communism.<sup>64</sup> This argument is indeed plausible (if somewhat reductive), although it overlooks the fact that the tendency described is hardly restricted to US-American views of Latin-American music but symptomatic of European and North-American perceptions of music from the peripheries more widely. There is a clear pattern of exoticist expectations, whereas universalist or avant-gardist conceptions are typically under-valued since they are perceived as mere imitations of trends from the centre and hence as inauthentic or of little interest. There is also a distinct possibility that the admission of modernist composition from the peripheries on equal terms would undermine the primacy of the centre. Bhabha's idea of mimicry, according to which colonialism was based on difference and hence could not allow the possibility that colonial subjects may be fundamentally like the colonizers, is instructive in this regard: the recognition of difference guaranteed by the code of the exotic puts the other in its place.

<2> Elusive reciprocity: has the global diffusion of musical modernism affected its essence? While there is thus little doubt that the global diffusion of musical modernism had an effect on the peripheries, any reciprocity is more difficult to assess. It is less clear that the peripheries had a similar impact on the centre or that the nature and meaning of musical modernism at the centre changed significantly as a result of its expansion. On one hand, it is hard to believe that the concurrence between the rise of musical modernism and the height of imperialism is entirely coincidental and that modernism remained completely unaffected by colonialist thought and practice to which, as we have seen, it owed its own global dissemination. Fredric Jameson has made a related point about literary modernism, namely that it had a lot more to do with colonialism than is commonly thought; its supposed apolitical character and formalism should be regarded as a response to a lack, created by the invisibility of the economic structures which lay in the colonies.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, correlation famously does not equal causation, and it is certainly telling that, with the glaring exception of Paris, musical modernism is less concentrated in the centres of empire than its counterparts in literature and the visual art (London, for instance, is of marginal importance in modernist music, whereas Vienna remained a major centre long after its political decline).

For Moretti, the imbalance between centre and periphery (whereby forms typically travel from the centre to the periphery but very rarely in the opposite direction and hardly ever from one

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<sup>61</sup> Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity*, 135–6.

<sup>62</sup> Lau, 'Fusion or Fission: The Paradox and Politics of Contemporary Chinese Avant-Garde Music'.

<sup>63</sup> Madrid, *Sounds of the Modern Nation*; Saavedra, 'Carlos Chávez's Polysemic Style'.

<sup>64</sup> Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2013). Gerard Béhague's influential work, cited repeatedly in this contribution, could be seen as an example of the tendency Hess describes. Béhague makes nationalism the central focus and organising rationale of his work, in ways that seem not wholly dictated by the subject matter: Béhague, *Music in Latin America*, x.

<sup>65</sup> Fredric Jameson, *Modernism and Imperialism* (Derry: Field Day Theatre Company, 1988).



periphery to the other) is expected and reveals little more than the differentials in power and resources.<sup>66</sup> For most postcolonial thought, by contrast, the idea of reciprocity, that, in some form, the experience of empire and its underpinning ideology must affect modernist thinking and its artistic expressions, which we have already observed in Jameson (who can otherwise hardly be connected with postcolonialism), is essential.<sup>67</sup> This line of thought is developed by Edward Said in *Culture & Imperialism*, in which he reveals to what extent 'processes of imperialism occurred ... by the authority of recognizable cultural formations, by continuing consolidation within education, literature, and the visual and musical arts', concluding that 'imperialism has monopolized the entire system of representation.'<sup>68</sup> Imperialism's very all-encompassing and totalizing nature means that it is paradoxically hidden, and Said's achievement in *Culture & Imperialism* is in demonstrating how canonical works of Western (mostly English) literature are subtly informed by its submerged presence. But, significantly, Said's work is equally about the 'response [by subject populations] to Western dominance which culminated in the great movement of decolonization all across the Third World'.<sup>69</sup> In Music Studies, Said's challenge has been taken up by Erlmann and Irving, who have both emphasized the reciprocity of their work – Erlmann by stressing that South Africa impacts on the West, just as the West influences South Africa; Irving by highlighting the 'contrapuntalism' (a term derived from Said's use of 'counterpoint') between 'the perspectives of both the elite and the subaltern'.<sup>70</sup>

The abstract nature of musical modernism complicates a straightforward adoption of Said's approach. As he has explained: 'narrative is crucial to my argument here, my basic point being that stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history.'<sup>71</sup> Modernist music is not 'about empire' in this sense; nor, to be frank, does it reveal much about the perspective of the subaltern (but its value may lie precisely in complicating the binarism between colonizer and subaltern). It is certainly tempting to argue that the use of non-Western materials in Western composition, from Debussy's gamelan evocations through the *Weltmusik* ideas of the post-war avant-gardes to recent attempts at intercultural fusion, should be seen as the flipside of the global diffusion of Western music. Just how crucial the discovery of non-Western music was for modernist composition is difficult to gauge, since this question quickly leads to counter-factual speculation (e.g. what would Debussy have done, had he not discovered gamelan music?), but the most likely answer is that the impact was much more than superficial (as is sometimes argued) but not nearly as fundamental as the reciprocal effect of the introduction and imposition of Western music around the world. But the asymmetry is of an even more fundamental sort: overwhelmingly, it was not musical modernism from the peripheries that had an impact at the centre but traditional music (or what was thought to be traditional music); to this day, the influence of composers from non-Western countries in the West remains marginal, and is typically restricted to figures who have spent at least part of their career in the West, a situation that almost certainly owes much more to access to resources and publicity than talent or the vibrancy of the musical culture concerned.

A further argument can be made that aspects of the very ideology of modernist music are subtly informed by the cultural logic of imperialism. The idea of progress in the use of materials and

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<sup>66</sup> Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 111–4.

<sup>67</sup> These two positions are not necessarily contradictory but mostly incompatible. They operate largely on different planes.

<sup>68</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, 12 and 25.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>70</sup> Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination*; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 7.

<sup>71</sup> Said, *Culture & Imperialism*, xiii.

techniques, coupled with the very notion of centres of innovation which are 'ahead of' the peripheries reveals a folding of time into space akin to the 'time-lag' separating the colony from the metropolis as theorized by Bhabha. The (in)famous footnote in Adorno's *Philosophy of New Music*, in which he excludes the 'extra-territorial' music 'from the periphery' ('agrarian regions of Southern Europe') of Janáček and Bartók from the 'developmental tendency of occidental music'<sup>72</sup> fits into this context as does Schoenberg's alleged remark about the discovery of dodecaphony 'ensur[ing] the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years'.<sup>73</sup> Although the explicit link established here between the *Materialstand* (the objective state of the material) and geography or nationality may not necessarily be directly caused by imperialism, empire is its most symptomatic expression, and it may not be too far-fetched to suggest that empire's deep roots in the European imagination have had an effect on most if not all conceptions of place, time and notions of innovation and historical progress. Despite all these points, it has to be conceded that any argument about the effects of the geographic expansion of musical modernism and colonialism more widely on the nature of modernist music and thought remains currently tentative and that they can probably not be compared to the impact musical modernity had on the peripheries. What is certain, however, is that both aspects – the global expansion of musical modernism *and* the impact it had on its nature including at the centre – are important aspects of the history, aesthetics and theory of modernism in music that demand to be investigated.

#### <2> Local – Global, Particular – Universal: Cosmopolitanism as Procedural Ethics

How, then, do we reconcile the conflicts between musical nationalists and universalists that are such a characteristic feature of musical modernism in the peripheries (and not only there)? How do we ensure that composers feel empowered to embrace both their local, national or regional heritage and what is or is perceived to be an international language, and how do we guard against a reception predicated on difference and exoticist expectations on one hand or mimicry and inauthenticity on the other? It seems clear to me that, to return to the cases cited above, there is no better reason to demand from Miki that his music should be Japanese than it would be to demand that that of Brian Ferneyhough should be British, or that of Helmut Lachenmann German. Likewise, Nobre has as much right to claim Western modernism as his own as do Ferneyhough or Lachenmann. In this context, it is worth noting that the reference to a specific local tradition is not necessarily the preserve of non-Western composers: note, for instance, the idea of *lokale Musik* ('local music') in the work of the German composer Walter Zimmermann or similar conceptions in the work of the British composer Michael Finnissy (as in his *English Country Tunes*) or, in a slightly different mode, the American John Luther Adams.<sup>74</sup> These deliberate turns to the small-scale, local

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<sup>72</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music* (Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 176.

<sup>73</sup> Schoenberg's remark has been handed down by Josef Rufer and its authenticity has to be questioned. Whether the association between stylistic innovation and national supremacy is Schoenberg's or Rufer's, it is certainly not uncharacteristic of the time. It is quoted in Hans H. Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg* (Thomson Gale, 1978), 277.

<sup>74</sup> For Zimmermann's idea of *lokale Musik*, see his 'Lokale Musik', in *Insel Musik* (Cologne: Beginner Press, 1981), 203–12, [http://home.snafu.de/walterz/biblio/lokale\\_musik.pdf](http://home.snafu.de/walterz/biblio/lokale_musik.pdf) and 'Nische oder das Lokale ist das Universale', in *Weltmusik*, ed. Peter Ausländer and Johannes Fritsch (Cologne: Feedback Studio Verlag, 1981), 127–51, <http://home.snafu.de/walterz/biblio/nische.pdf>; Ian Pace and Michael Finnissy, 'Interview between Ian Pace and Michael Finnissy on English Country Tunes, February 2009', *Notations* 1 (2009): 13–16, <https://ianpace.wordpress.com/2014/12/03/interview-between-ian-pace-and-michael-finnissy-on-english-country-tunes-february-2009/>. The difference in Luther Adams's case is that his music is more concerned with the nature and geography of a specific area, more than its music or culture, but what unites the approaches is their emphasis on place.

and particular seem akin to Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a 'minor literature', one that eschews all claims to a dominant position (something Deleuze and Guattari found realized in the work of Franz Kafka whose writing undermined the function of German as the national language of a powerful empire).<sup>75</sup> These gestures cannot on their own redress the systemic injustices and imbalances between 'the West and the rest' in the world of music or elsewhere, but neither are they irrelevant.

Answering the above questions means recognizing that they are badly phrased: there cannot be a final, conclusive reconciliation between nationalist and universalist positions, nor can we resolve the competing claims between local and global, particular and universal once and for all. But neither do we have to resign ourselves to complete relativism. A way forward (rather than 'the answer') lies in the procedural ethics offered by cosmopolitanism.<sup>76</sup> It is important here to differentiate between the concept of cosmopolitanism as framed in recent debates in the social sciences and humanities and its everyday meaning. Here, cosmopolitanism should be understood as an ethical corrective to the unregulated process of globalisation, without falling prey to the siren songs of nationalism.<sup>77</sup> In the words of Anthony Appiah, cosmopolitanism 'begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association'.<sup>78</sup> There are two principles to this: '[o]ne is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship', and 'the other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance'.<sup>79</sup> Cosmopolitan ethics is therefore normative but not foundational; it is about 'developing habits of coexistence and conversation'; in other words about the *processes* of negotiation and mediation, without dictating or predicting the *outcome* of this process.<sup>80</sup> It is this approach which may enable us to move beyond the unhelpful binarism between nationalist and universalist perspectives. It is necessary here to clear up some common misunderstandings about cosmopolitanism mostly associated with the everyday use of the term, namely that it is essentially Western or that it is primarily associated with privilege and multinational corporations. For instance, James Clifford has argued that 'the project of comparing and translating different travelling cultures need not be class- or ethnocentric', looking for instance, at the experiences of Pakistani labourers in Gulf countries.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, Theory and History of Literature (University of Minnesota Press), v. 30 (Minneapolis ; Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

<sup>76</sup> Parts of the following section have already appeared in my 'Erik Bergman, Cosmopolitanism and the Transformation of Musical Geography'. It will be apparent, however, that the context in the present chapter is quite different. The two publications are in many ways complementary, the earlier one on Erik Bergman focusing on a concrete example, the present on a general account. The emphasis on critical cosmopolitanism provides the glue connecting the two.

<sup>77</sup> Gerard Delanty, 'The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies*, ed. Gerard Delanty (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 38–46.

<sup>78</sup> Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, 1st ed, Issues of Our Time (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), xix.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, xv.

<sup>80</sup> On proceduralism in cosmopolitan ethics see Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 96–98; James D. Ingram, *Radical Cosmopolitics: The Ethics and Politics of Democratic Universalism* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 84–102.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Pnina Werbner, 'Anthropology and the New Ethical Cosmopolitanism', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 156. See also Carol Appadurai Breckenridge, ed., *Cosmopolitanism*, Millennial Quartet (Durham [N.C.] ; London: Duke University Press, 2002); Fuyuki Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below: Alternative Globalization and the Creation of a Solidarity without Bounds', *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 45, no. 02 (August 2004): 233–55,

Most significant for our purposes is cosmopolitanism's conflicted stance towards universalism and diversity or relativism. Although Daniel Chernilo, for instance, has defended certain conceptions of universalism from a cosmopolitan perspective (though his heavy qualification should be noted),<sup>82</sup> most cosmopolitan thinkers reject such an association, stressing on the contrary that, in the words of Ulf Hannerz, cosmopolitanism 'includes an aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity', whereas universalism assumes sameness.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, Bhabha has associated cosmopolitanism with Julia Kristeva's notion of a 'right to difference in equality',<sup>84</sup> and Fred Dallmayer has proposed a 'hermeneutics of difference' which would negotiate between Enlightenment and modernist ideas of universalism on one hand and postmodernist and postcolonial notions of identity politics on the other.<sup>85</sup> In a similar way, most proponents are at pains to stress that forming allegiances with distant others does not mean repudiating local ties. Indeed, several commentators have called for 'rooted cosmopolitanism' or, like Bhabha, 'vernacular cosmopolitanism'.<sup>86</sup> Denigrating the local and particular in favour of the distant and universal is therefore not a cosmopolitan position. The cosmopolitan does not make a categorical distinction between local allegiances and those with distant others.

On this basis, Zimmermann's and Finnissy's positions may be more compatible with cosmopolitan principles than radical nationalist or universalist perspectives. What a cosmopolitan approach to global musical modernism is intended to achieve is to do justice to the achievements of all composers and musicians, those from the peripheries and semi-peripheries as much as those from the centres, those more inclined to follow local, national or regional traditions as much as those who are beholden to universalist or internationalist conceptions.

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doi:10.1017/S0003975604001444; Pnina Werbner, 'Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds', *Social Anthropology* 7, no. 01 (February 1999): 17–35, doi:null.

<sup>82</sup> Daniel Chernilo, 'Cosmopolitanism and the Question of Universalism', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies*, ed. Gerard Delanty (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 47–59.

<sup>83</sup> Ulf Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, no. 2 (6 January 1990): 237–51, doi:10.1177/026327690007002014.

<sup>84</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, xvii.

<sup>85</sup> Fred Reinhard Dallmayer, *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter* (SUNY Press, 1996), xi.

<sup>86</sup> Werbner, 'Anthropology and the New Ethical Cosmopolitanism'; Homi K. Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', in *Text and Nation*, ed. Laura Garcia-Morena and Peter C. Pfeifer (London: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.