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Mapping Musical Modernism

Western music, and modernist music in particular, is assumed to be universal, transcending its cultural and geographic origin. Open any history of twentieth-century music and you are likely to find chapters on prominent styles, techniques, composers and works in chronological order.

Typically, there is an acknowledgement of sorts of 'the non-simultaneity of the simultaneous',¹ in that, for instance, many textbooks devote two parallel opening chapters to fin-de-siècle Paris and Vienna respectively and similarly cover events in Russia, Hungary and sometimes Britain or the USA in separate chapters. This happens, for instance, in Glenn Watkins's *Soundings* (1995), which devotes Part 1 to Vienna 1885-1915, Part 2 to Paris 1885-1915 and Part 5 to 'Emerging National Aspirations: 1910-1945' (covering Hungary, Russia, Spain, England and the USA) and, with some idiosyncrasies, in Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music* (2010). Paul Griffiths (2010, 1995, 1981, 1978) and Arnold Whittall (2003, 1999, 1977) largely prefer stylistic or thematic orderings more in line with straightforward universalism, although in Whittall's *Exploring Twentieth-century Music* (2003, pp. 1–14) a concern for place is prominent in the first chapter.

Typically, it is the achievements of individual composers that appear to necessitate this recognition of cultural geography as an inconvenient fracturing of an imagined singular arrow of history. The standpoint from which the significance of composers and their works, which governs inclusion or exclusion, is judged is rarely questioned. Europe and North America remain the limits of diversity: if any composers from outside 'the west' are mentioned – which is astonishingly rare – they are generally treated as individual exceptions, rather than as reasons to redraw the geographical purview. Indeed, none of the books discussed above have much if anything to say about music from Latin America, Asia or Africa, and there are no chapters on, say, Japan or Argentina on the model of those on Hungary or Spain. Paul Griffiths's *Modern Music and After* shuttles between Western (!) Europe and North America in its earlier chapters to settle into a mid-

Atlantic mix for the remaining ones. Although he mentions a smattering of non-Western composers, even major figures, such as Toru Takemitsu (who also makes a brief appearance in Whittall's *Musical Composition*), Toshio Hosokawa, Unsuk Chin and Tan Dun, are mentioned only in passing. Latin America and Africa remain entirely white spaces. Taruskin is entirely silent on the issue: the only mentions of composers from outside Europe and North America I was able to find are passing references to Ginastera and Tan Dun. Robert P. Morgan's *Twentieth-century Music* (1991) is virtually alone among textbooks in including a chapter on Latin America (possibly looking back to an earlier vision of Pan-Americanism as indicated by its subtitle), and *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-century Music* (Cook and Pople, 2004) devotes a chapter to African music, by Martin Scherzinger (2004) – which has only earned it snide remarks from at least one reviewer (Holloway, 2005, p. 338).

Maybe the work of the composers just mentioned and many others is not of sufficient quality, influence or prominence to warrant inclusion, but it's not as if Taruskin and Griffiths – to focus on the most recent publications – only concern themselves with household names (whether on the concert stage or in academic discourse) and avoid minor figures. Beyond the effects of ignorance, neglect or inertia, we cannot exclude that bias and exclusion play a role here. There appears to be still a reluctance to admit that what used to be known as 'Western (Art) Music' – a term that has become deeply problematic – is no longer the exclusive property of Europe and North America; indeed, in his Introduction (reprinted in all volumes), Taruskin (2010, p. X), for one, explicitly restricts 'the West', which is so prominent in his title, to Europe and North America, so it is only consistent that he proceeds to ignore the rest of the world. Acknowledging the importance of classical music of Western origin in the non-Western world would touch on anxieties about the nature of 'Western' art and culture and what distinguishes that heritage and therefore 'our identity' from others. The claim of universality has come back to haunt us.

Another issue that is being occluded by a historiography based exclusively on notions of artistic quality or influence is the complexity of the music-historical situation at any given time and place. It may well be that, from a universalist position, 'all that matters' about the music of, say,

Spain and Hungary in the first half of the twentieth century are the works of de Falla and Bartók (possibly with Zoltán Kodály thrown in for good measure) respectively, but in their own contexts these composers typically represent only one of many competing factions, movements and positions. What about the 'other stories' that do not fit into the chronology of masterworks or the geography of national styles, such as, for instance, dodecaphony in Hungary or Spain, or, for that matter, Russia, Japan and Panama?

This is not to dismiss the importance of notions of, variously, quality, importance or influence, but to point out to what extent their assessment is dependent on the perspective of the observer, who is never neutral or objective, and that they are not the *only* issues that should matter. If musicology is to be more than connoisseurship, music history has to be more than a succession of masterworks. An understanding of musical developments needs to be based on a broader appreciation of the various trends and forces at work at any moment and how they are reflected in diverse musical works and performances as well as their reception by audiences.

To be fair, national, local and regional music histories have generally provided fuller, more complex pictures of musical culture. The problem here tends to be a lack of a genuine comparative dimension: for one thing, national (or regional or local) musical cultures do not exist in isolation, for another, their specificity can only be shown through comparison, and what could act as an appropriate counterpart? Too often, it seems to me, national music cultures are directly compared to a notion of 'universal music history', which, at best, is a distillate of various national cultures that is not replicated anywhere.

It is not easy to conceive of alternatives to the 'view from nowhere' represented by universal histories on one hand and the particularity of national, regional or local histories on the other. One approach, taken by the Balzan musicology project led by Reinhard Strohm, envisaged a 'global history of music'. As the blurb to the collected volume arising from the project makes explains (Strohm, 2018):

The studies presented in this volume aim to promote post-European historical thinking. They are based on the idea that a global history of music cannot be one single, hegemonic history. They rather explore the paradigms and terminologies that might describe a history of many different voices.

This is an exciting, commendable approach; at the same time, however, it is also clear that it represents an ideal that can never be fully realized: note the multiple qualifications in ‘explore the paradigms and terminologies that *might* describe...’. The amount of detail and the number of potentially competing different voices would make this impossible to produce if not to read.

As I have argued elsewhere (Heile, 2018), the global diffusion of notions of musical modernism is itself an interesting story – the very stuff of music history – and one that hasn’t really been told. It cuts across national histories, but it is also largely ignored by universalist histories, with their concentration on stylistic innovation and singular masterpieces that are overwhelmingly concentrated in a small number of centres. It is my contention that the peripheries and semi-peripheries are likewise the subject of music history, and not only in their local particularities but in their commonalities and in their relations to centres. How can we do justice to the multitude of places in which modernist music (or any other music for that matter) has been composed, performed, listened to, written and thought about? I have previously proposed a comparative approach, involving a selected number of case studies. On this occasion, I suggest mapping as another, complementary approach.

MAPPING AS METHOD

Following the ‘spatial turn’, mapping has become a prominent approach in the arts and humanities (among others, Bodenhamer et al., 2010; Roberts, 2012; Stephenson et al., n.d.). My own interest in using maps to illustrate music history was initially sparked by a number of articles by the literary

theorist Franco Moretti in *New Left Review*. In 'Conjectures on World Literature', Moretti (2000) argues that the dominant concept of national literatures is a fiction since most innovations are rapidly emulated internationally, proving that authors look everywhere for inspiration and are not constrained by their own supposed national tradition. His method eschews the traditional close reading of individual canonic work but is instead based on analysing the bulk of literary or cinematic production according to simple identifying criteria, an approach he has termed 'distant reading'. His use of maps was illustrated in a series of articles entitled 'Graphs, Maps, Trees' (Moretti, 2003a, 2004a, 2004b) that was subsequently expanded into a book (Moretti, 2007). For example, he maps the percentage of top-five box office hits of US comedies in different countries around the world (Moretti, 2003a, p. 87, 2007, p. 25). Within musicology, Sara Cohen's work on live music in Liverpool was pioneering (Cohen, 2012a, 2012b; Lashua et al., 2010); however, like most musicological mapping exercises, it concerns urban micro-geography, rather than global macro-geography, which is my focus here. Another important source of inspiration were the maps produced by my colleague Eva Moreda Rodriguez. Her maps on Spanish exiled musicians, for instance, have a global dimension, but due to their focus on Francoist Spain remain comprehensible.²

Like other forms of visualization, mapping can help to present complex and voluminous data in intuitively comprehensible ways. What is even more important for my purposes is that, despite the problems of centre and projection, maps are relatively non-hierarchic and non-linear: they allow users to explore data according to their own interests in ways that are not quite possible with written text, for example. We typically consult maps with a particular interest or question in mind and we go back to them frequently. To continue the comparison with writing, maps are more akin to encyclopaedias or dictionaries than other forms of historical writing. And just like encyclopaedias and dictionaries invite aimless browsing occasioned by the serendipitous randomness of the alphabetic succession of entries, so maps invite our eyes to wander (and our minds to wonder).

It goes without saying that only certain information can be shown on maps and that there are typically limited possibilities for contextual interpretation and evaluation or narrative

elaboration. That is why maps are often best employed in combination with written text as a form of illustration. That said, it is possible to integrate significant amounts of text and other information in online interactive maps through hyperlinks and pop-up windows. Another interesting opportunity provided by online maps is crowdsourcing by encouraging users to contribute items either directly, through Web 2.0 interfaces, or by contacting the map administrator.³

One immediate problem for my endeavour to visualize the global dissemination of musical modernism is that musical modernism is an abstract concept that cannot be directly shown. What does it mean for modernist music to reach a country, city or region and how can we tell: by the first performance(s) of modernist works, the first modernist compositions, the first discussions of the music in print or in private diaries and letters? And what counts as 'modernist music' on this occasion: atonality (by no means a clear-cut concept itself); non-periodic rhythm; the avoidance of traditional forms, textures and timbre combinations? The definition and nature of modernist music is hotly debated and in constant flux, and there are no hard-and-fast definitions or clear-cut criteria. Traditional music histories tend to employ a mixture of the criteria and categories mentioned, typically in an informal manner. But while this approach works well at a national, regional or local level, it is not suited to the global dimension: again, the sheer amount of material – in principle, all national, regional and local histories combined – renders this an impossibility; universalist histories typically restrict themselves to an innovation history from the start.

For these reasons, maps can only show *aspects* of modernism in music, proxies as it were. Yet, on reflection, this is just common sense: places cannot 'be modernist'; they can only play host to musical activities that could be described as modernist, and the extent to which they do is not absolute but relative, according to certain criteria. The maps included here (see maps 1 and 2) and presented online (<https://musicalmodernism.arts.gla.ac.uk/>) are based on three categories: membership of the International Society for Contemporary Music (by date), the first dodecaphonic composition by country (with composer, date and title), and major conservatoires (typically the first by country). They were produced in phases and advertised on social media and musicological email

lists and web forums, to crowdsource additions and corrections, which are listed in the 'Credits' section on the accompanying website.⁴ Before explaining the different categories in more detail, it is important to reveal what may be the biggest problem. The only realistic possibility was to use a current political world map as a basis which leads to 'presentism'. Using historical maps for different points in history or even a dynamic map would have been too complex, and historical change or fixed reference points are not the ostensible focus. The difficulty this creates in such cases as the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia and its respective successors or the two Germanies is obvious. This problem is not confined to mapping, however, but is shared with reference works, which likewise prioritize present-day states and institutions.

For the ISCM map, my solution was to count the entry date of the predecessor state, if, following its dissolution, the successor state remained a member or re-joined the organization. Concretely, the Soviet Union joined the ISCM in 1924, and Russia and Ukraine retained membership, but Belarus and the Asian republics did not, so the former are assumed to have been members since 1924 (even if their individual membership is more recent), whereas the latter are assumed never to have been members (although, as parts of the Soviet Union, they previously were). Of the Baltic states, only Lithuania was a member, having joined in 1936, before they were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940;⁵ all have retained membership or have re-joined the ISCM after independence. A similar solution was applied to former Yugoslavia (which joined in 1926) and Czechoslovakia (1922). For the mapping of dodecaphony, this was a smaller problem, although one could well ask whether it makes sense to conceive of the history of twelve-note technique in Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic states individually and separately from that of the Soviet Union. I have not covered the German Democratic Republic separately from Germany (although that would be interesting).

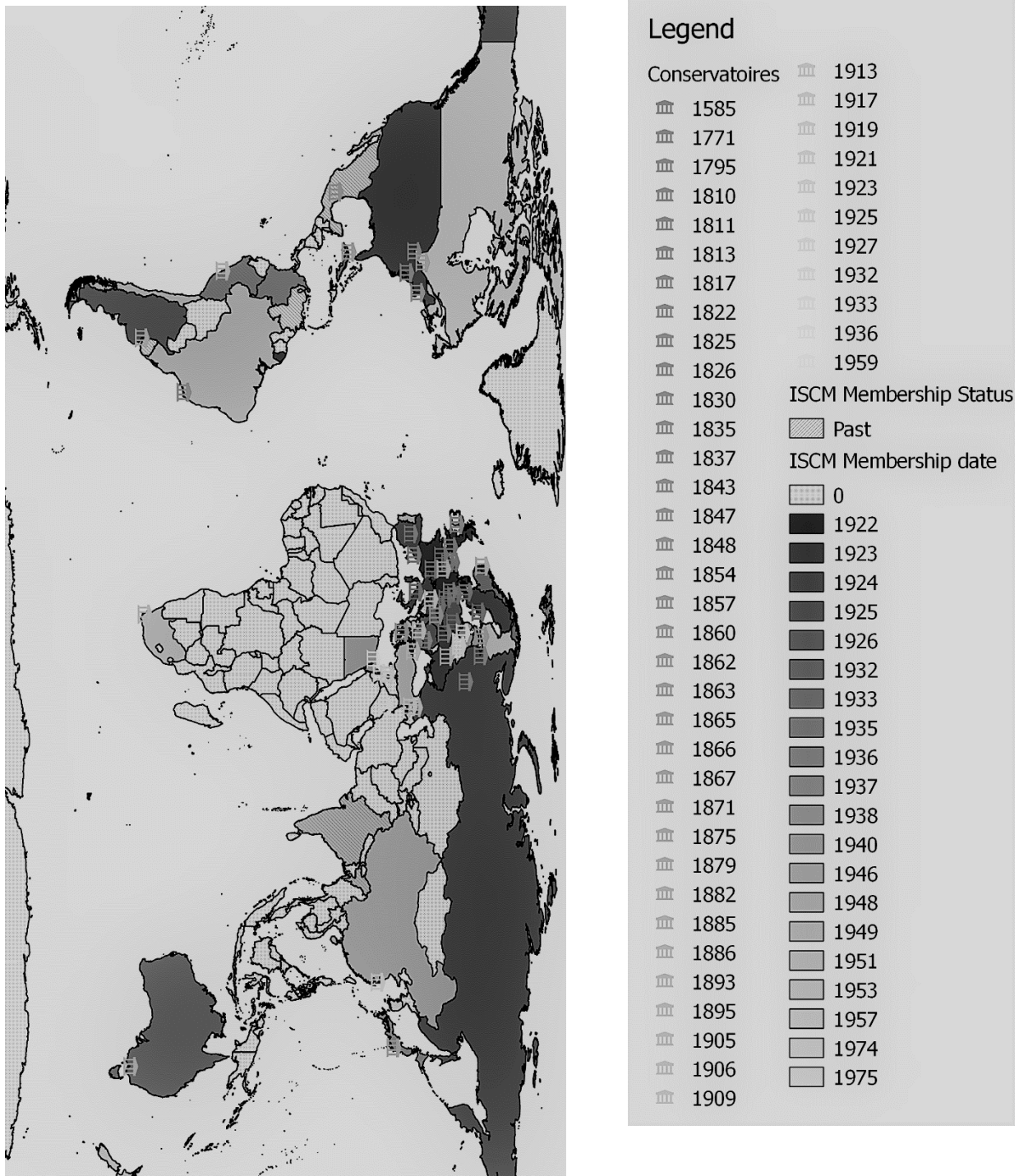
CATEGORIES

Membership of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)

The ISCM was and is an important – although seemingly somewhat unwitting – agent in the dissemination of musical modernism. Most national member sections previously functioned as associations, usually of composers, at the national or regional level. In many cases, which of several competing organizations would become the respective national ISCM section was hotly contested, involving both regional rivalries and aesthetic differences (particularly between relatively conservative and innovative factions). Thus, membership normally indicates the existence of an established infrastructure for contemporary music; conversely, although the fees appear to have been a serious obstacle, membership was evidently widely regarded as attractive and most national associations wanted to be represented. Although ‘contemporary music’ is not the same as modernist music and the Society famously refused to define the term – indeed retaining Internationale Gesellschaft für *Neue Musik* [*New Music*] as its official German title (Haefeli, 1982, pp. 262–284) – and although it supported a wide variety of styles and techniques, it is probably fair to say that the majority of work that was and is performed at its annual festivals (now World New Music Days) or supported by it in other ways can be considered broadly modernist.

The data for map 1 were taken from two main sources: a table in the appendix of Anton Haefeli’s (1982) book on the Society and the ISCM’s own website, which shows current members.⁶ The problem is that the latter source does not indicate when sections joined, so there is no proper record for the period between 1982 (Haefeli’s cut-off date) and the present. Likewise, many former members have since left, either deliberately due to disagreements or due to non-payment of fees. These are highlighted with hachures in the map. Similarly, a number of countries left the Society only to re-join later; some famous examples include Germany and other axis or occupied countries during the Third Reich, Maoist China or South Africa under apartheid. Precise details will in many cases only if at all be available from a study of the ISCM’s central archives or that of the member section(s) in question. In its present form, the map only shows entry dates and whether membership is current or has lapsed. Entry dates are depicted in a choropleth map where dark shading (dark blue in the online version, dark grey in the print version) represents early entries and light shading recent entry dates

(with all entries since 1982 combined in a single category due to the lack of precise data). In the online version, clicking on a country reveals the exact entry date.



As map 1 shows, the ISCM expanded rapidly in the inter-war years: from its founding in 1922 it encompassed large swathes of Western and Central Europe and North America by the mid-

twenties. It is noticeable, for instance, that there was no perceptible difference between Western and Central Europe: Czechoslovakia was one of the founder members in 1922; the Soviet Union followed in 1924, Poland in 1925 and Yugoslavia in 1926. Indeed, there are more ‘stragglers’ in what would become the West (a concept that didn’t exist in the modern sense before the Cold War) than in the East: Portugal only joined in 1946, Greece in 1948, Finland in 1951, Canada in 1953 and Ireland only after 1982. While the Society was and still is dominated by Europe and North America, Latin America was well represented from early on, with Argentina joining in 1924 (well before Norway, by comparison), Cuba in 1932 and Colombia and Peru in 1933, for example. The expansion into Asia took a little longer, starting in Japan (1935), with China and India following in 1946 and 1948 respectively, for relatively brief periods (until 1951 and 1953 respectively) – although China has since re-joined and is indeed hosting the World New Music Days 2018. The first African representative was Egypt in 1938, followed by South Africa in 1948 – both countries’ memberships were suspended for long periods, but both re-joined.

In other words, the ‘international’ record of the Society is somewhat chequered: while it is represented on all five continents and has been from quite early on in its history, it remains clearly centred in Europe and North America, with Africa and the middle East remaining mostly blank.

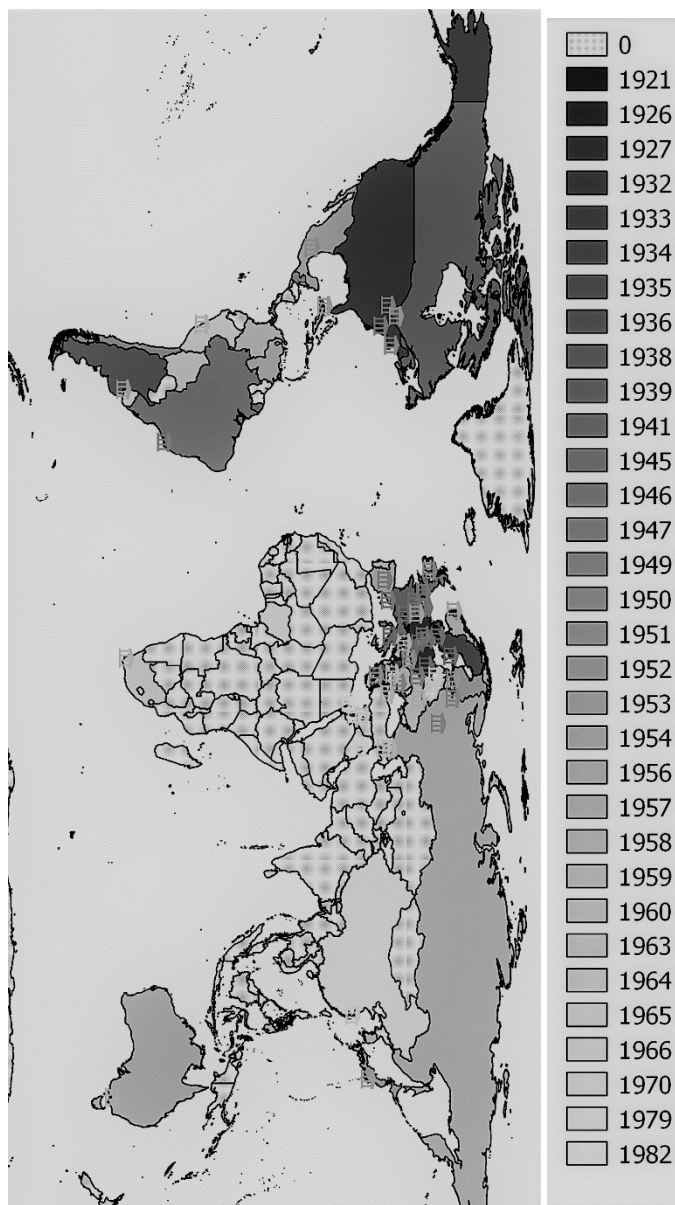
Dodecaphony

The idea to represent the international dissemination of dodecaphony is perhaps the most contentious element of my maps. Maybe this should not come as a surprise, given that it is most directly inspired by Moretti’s example, whose work has likewise proved controversial (cf. Moretti, 2003b). It is not my intention to argue that dodecaphony represents ‘a necessary historical step’ or that it is more properly modernist than other technical approaches or styles. There is undoubtedly a lot of modernist music that is not serial, and there are many modernist musical cultures that remained quite resistant to serialism. Having said that, as will become apparent, dodecaphony was

more widely adopted than is usually realized, although it typically remained in an oppositional relation to the respective mainstream (normally even in its supposed heartlands). The reason it was chosen is simply that it illustrates the way ideas spread. Pretty much all examples of serial composition ultimately go back to Schoenberg's innovation (or 'discovery'); competing approaches, such as that by Josef Matthias Hauer, have generally not found imitators (cf. Krenek, 1953). Furthermore, whether a composition is dodecaphonic or not can generally be established quite clearly. It is sufficient for a composition to be intended and commonly regarded as dodecaphonic. There is no requirement for the technique to be adhered to strictly and consistently (which was quite rare in any case), although a minimum of rigour and pre-compositional planning can be expected. While there are borderline cases (as there are for any category), this is manageable, at least compared to other stylistic categories that one may wish to use, such as 'neoclassicism', 'atonality' or even 'modernism'.

There are other reasons why the choice of dodecaphony as the basis for a map might be problematic. Map 2 shows the first dodecaphonic compositions of each country as best as that could be established (on the online version, clicking on a country will reveal the composer, title and year of composition). There are no judgements of quality, influence or importance. Some of these compositions are well known, highly regarded and influential; others are obscure, relatively uninteresting and may have found no imitators. However, it seems to me that the (occasional) emphasis on otherwise unsung pioneers makes this approach an interesting alternative to the focus on canonic masterworks in most general histories. Finally, the framework focusing on nation states and including just the first twelve-note composition per country is admittedly problematic (as should be clear in a publication devoted to cosmopolitanism in music). I am not going to defend this decision on principle; it was simply taken as the best available compromise. I had originally envisaged associating dodecaphonic compositions with cities, not countries, but exact places were too difficult to establish. Furthermore, another decision would have to be taken whether what counts is the place of composition or that of performance (and what to do if a composer had written

a piece while on holiday abroad or if the performance happened to occur in a different country or continent). Considering that many twelve-note composers were often serial emigrants (no pun intended) or otherwise highly mobile – which is probably no coincidence – associating compositions with countries proved difficult in any case. In the case of emigrants, the compositions have generally been associated with the host country, not the composer’s country of origin. In the case of composers going abroad for training, even for extended periods, the composition was generally associated with the country of origin. The rationale was to establish to which musical culture the composer in question made the more substantial and sustained contribution.



It is in this area that I made the most interesting discoveries, either in my researches or through the many suggestions I have received. It is impossible to list all these (although the credit section on the website may give an idea). I would highlight the work of the Panamanian composer Roque Cordero, who was instrumental in the propagation of modernist composition in general and twelve-note technique in particular, in Latin America (Astor, 2008; Laufer, 2015, pp. 57–65), in particular its Northern part (in the South, this role fell to the Argentine Juan Carlos Paz, who had begun using twelve-note technique in 1934, when it was largely unknown even across most of Europe, and later on Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, a German immigrant who had settled in Brazil; Béhague, 1979, pp. 245–84; Paraskevaídis, 1984). It was through Cordero that Alejandro Planchart in Venezuela learned about the technique. The person who brought dodecaphony to France appears to have been Erich Itor Kahn, a German refugee who settled for a while in Paris, before moving on to the USA. Kahn passed his knowledge on to René Leibowitz – another immigrant – who taught Boulez, among others, and published important books on dodecaphony (Allende-Blin, 1987; “Erich Itor Kahn,” 2017). Turning to the East, the musician who introduced knowledge of serialism to Russia (apart from home-grown experiments in the early parts of the twentieth century) was Philip Herschkowitz, a Romanian-born student of Webern (Lupishko, 1998). He is not credited directly here since he was more influential as an (often unofficial and informal) teacher than a composer, and most of his work remained unperformed, so Volkonsky’s *Musica stricta* (1956) is the first definitive twelve-note composition in Russia. Finally, my correspondent Jun Zubillaga-Pow managed to track down a Festival of Britain-award-winning dodecaphonic Piano Sonata by William Rea, a Belfast-born composer who settled in Singapore (“A New Musical Language,” 1952; Attenborough, 1952). As these examples show, there was a wide network of dodecaphonic composers, most of whom operated in relative obscurity and few of whom are recognized in established music histories. Nevertheless, their work is an important aspect of the history of musical modernism. Again, as can be seen on map 2, twelve-note technique travelled farther and earlier than is often realized. It too is

by no means an exclusively 'Western' phenomenon, being widespread in Latin America by the 1930s and 40s (well before large parts of Europe) and reaching Japan in 1951, at the same time as Finland.

Conservatoires

Finally, the point layer of conservatoires, included in both maps, was intended to draw attention to some of the enabling conditions of musical modernism – musical modernity as it were (on the online version, clicking on the icon reveals the name and founding date of the institution in question). It seems clear that the development of musical modernism requires the prior establishment of the infrastructure and institutions of western musical modernity: conservatoires, orchestras, broadcasters, record companies, publishers etc. Not all of these can be included, but conservatoires appear to be the most essential. Again, the history of the conservatoire outside Europe and North America is astonishingly difficult to research. I have decided to focus on modern conservatoires, defined as institutions for the systematic training of professional musicians, which emerged largely with the Paris Conservatoire in 1795 (although older institutions subsequently adopted the standards set by the Paris Conservatoire). This model was emulated elsewhere, although some later variations, such as the Leipzig Conservatoire founded in 1843, proved similarly influential (Weber et al., n.d.). As in the earlier categories, most ancient conservatoires are concentrated in Europe and North America, but the first outside these spheres begin to appear by the middle of the nineteenth century (so just after the influential German conservatoires) in Rio de Janeiro (1847), Mexico City (1866) and Tokyo (1879).

CONCLUSION

It was not my intention to correlate the different data sets, in other words to compare ISCM membership with dodecaphonic composition or either or both with the presence of conservatoires.

Nevertheless, early membership of the ISCM tends to go hand in hand with early adoption of twelve-note technique more often than not. This is true of most of Europe and North America, but almost more telling in Latin America and East Asia. The persistent embrace of modernism in Argentina and, a little later, Japan, are cases in point. Obvious exceptions are the Soviet Union and countries in its orbit, which joined the ISCM but which remained hostile to dodecaphony for largely political reasons. Countries on the European periphery, such as Spain and Britain, did join the ISCM but were slow to fully embrace dodecaphony (although the Spanish-born Roberto Gerhard employed the technique early on as Schoenberg's student in Vienna, but did not do so on his return to Spain or in his early years of British exile). Mexico, by contrast, has a distinguished tradition of modernist composition, but appears to have had relatively little interest in either the ISCM or twelve-note technique – but this is quite unusual.

These maps are only the beginning; more aspects of musical modernism can and should be mapped. Admittedly, however, the number and nature of categories that can be usefully mapped may be quite limited. I could envisage a greater emphasis on performance, rather than composition. For instance, it would be worthwhile to map performances of Stravinsky's *Sacre du printemps*, as a composition that has been performed across much of the world. The difficulty in this case would not be the mapping itself (which would be quite easy), but the research needed to find all the data. Again, however, the potential of crowd-sourcing would be promising. Another important cultural-geographical element in the history of musical modernism is mobility, both in terms of travel and migration. It would be very tempting to map the routes taken by influential composers, musicians and educators, the contacts they made and the networks they established. However, the number of potential candidates, travel routes and places is such that any map would soon be covered in lines and dots.

I want to conclude with another reason why mapping can lead to a more cosmopolitan engagement with music history. World maps, such as I have made, have a levelling aspect: each blank space is a space to fill. For example, for my map on dodecaphony, it was equally important to

get authoritative information on Colombia or South Korea as on Germany or France, and there is no temptation to add more details to the already burgeoning literature on the two latter countries. Thus we may be drawn away from our habitual preferences and interests and gently persuaded to look elsewhere. Admittedly, however, my chosen criteria were inherently Eurocentric. It is my intention to show that ISCM membership, dodecaphonic composition and conservatoires all had a significant history outside Europe and North America, but they admittedly all originated in Europe and arguably remained centred there. It would be interesting to use categories that originated elsewhere. However, it is worth pointing out that, for his part, Moretti gives the idea of cultural influence from the periphery to the centre and even between peripheries short shrift. I do not fully agree with his reasoning and would like to follow up musical innovations from outside the West that were adopted elsewhere if they can be found. However, global power relations remain unequal – a fact that leaves its mark on the patterns of the global dissemination of musical developments. It is our task to describe and analyse music history as it has happened and continues to happen, not as we would like it to happen.

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¹ ‘Non-simultaneity of the simultaneous’ (*Ungleichzeitigkeit des Gleichzeitigen*) is a phrase coined by the art historian Wilhelm Pinder that became central to the philosophy of Ernst Bloch (although, confusingly, as ‘simultaneity of the non-simultaneous’) and subsequent theories associated with Marxism, postcolonialism, globalization, modernity and postmodernity. See, among others, Pinder (1926), Bloch (1990) and Jameson (1991, p. 307).

² <https://musicinexile.wordpress.com/> (accessed 10 April 2018).

³ See <https://www.mapyourbristol.org.uk/> (accessed 4 April 2018) and <https://storymaps.esri.com/stories/2017/hip-hop/> (accessed 4 April 2018) for interesting examples of musical maps.

⁴The maps were produced using QGIS (<https://www.qgis.org/en/site/>, accessed 4 April 2018), a freeware, open-source Geographic Information System (GIS) that is relatively easy to use; the base layer was taken from Natural Earth (<http://www.naturalearthdata.com/>, accessed 4 April 2018).

⁵ I am grateful to Rūta Stanevičiūtė for clarifying this to me (private email).

⁶ <https://www.iscm.org/about/members> (accessed 10 April 2018).