both globalizing art music in the Western tradition and traditional non-Western musics were marginalized by the processes of canonization, commerce, and the abounding genres of popular music established since the advent of the recording industry. For emerging non-Western composers, the situation was even more complex, as traditional musics underwent accelerated and often radical transformations, usually closely linked to nationalist, pro- or anti-Western agendas. It is thus vital to see a connection between the modernist readings of traditional non-Western musics by Western-educated composers and these composers' social situation. I will therefore aim consistently to place emphasis on the social embeddedness of the musical works that serve as my case studies.

2. Internationalism and Universalism: Repercussions of Political and Cultural History

Both before and after 1945, "internationalism" and "universalism" have been the most prominent concepts of global entanglement; it therefore seems consistent to dedicate a closer reading to their changing meanings and implications in music-historical contexts. By attending to the controversial debates which arose from these ideas, this chapter demonstrates how the increasing awareness among composers (and, in turn, performers and audiences) of acting as "agents" in an international or global context substantially affected compositional technique and aesthetics. I also show how the "simultaneity" of such an increasingly globalized musical communication continued to imply many "non-simultaneities" between global and local, Western and non-Western music aesthetics or "realities." I suggest that these "non-simultaneities" in particular offer a key to understanding the music-historical dynamics of these periods. This will provide a framework for detailed case studies to follow in the subsequent chapters (II.3–6).

Internationalism

The dedication to internationalism in twentieth-century music predated the Cold War period by several decades, and resulted from both political-militarist confrontation and a certain social isolation of modernist music in European societies. The trend toward internationalization was in fact already a global characteristic of political movements in the second half of the nineteenth century, including the First International, founded by Karl Marx in 1864; the Second International, founded in Paris in 1889; the International Council of Women founded in Washington, D.C., in 1888; and international pacifism, emerging from the Universal Peace Congress in Paris (1889) and the Conventions of Geneva (1864) and The Hague (1899, 1907), as well as the first steps toward the establishment of international law. In general, the decades around 1900 saw a proliferation of international non-governmental organizations in many areas, particularly in the social and political domain, which became crucial sites of activity for the globalization process.[90] Not least, this tendency accelerated a normalizing universalization of economic, communicative, and technical standards such as standardized measures and weights – but it also led to an increasing internationalization of cultural events as marked by the revitalized Olympic Games in 1896.[91] World exhibitions in London (1851/62/86), Paris (1855/67/78/89, 1900), and elsewhere celebrated "world peace" and "social harmony" as

90 Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 723–735.

91 Ibid., 732.

presumably brought about by Western civilization.[92] Some had a profound impact on cultural and musical processes and innovations,[93] suggesting a fine line between imperialist strategies of appropriation and modernity-skeptical cultural pessimism (→ II.1).[94] In addition, the internationalization of the world did not exclude the (mis)use of international communication for nationalist agendas.[95]

The International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was founded in 1922 to overcome the national isolation of musical scenes and institutions resulting from World War I and the largely nationally defined infrastructure of nineteenth-century musical institutions that had been deeply involved in musical "nation building." Inspired by the League of Nations founded in 1919, and the Club of Poets, Essayists, Novelists (PEN) founded in 1921,[96] the ISCM intended to represent and support composers, performers, and amateurs of contemporary music "of all aesthetic directions and tendencies – irrespective of citizenship, race, religion, or political beliefs."[97] Although nationalist and aesthetic conflicts arose within the ISCM early on, the organization remained a platform for a relatively non-ideological, though clearly Western-oriented, international exchange – Soviet and communist countries never applied or were considered for membership.[98] Indeed, the "Prague manifesto," approved by the Second International Congress of Composers and Music Critics in May 1948, envisioned the foundation of a counter organization.[99] The countries under Soviet control during the decades until 1991 were dominated by the powerful Union of Soviet Composers under the general secretary Tikhon Khrennikov, although the repression of Western-oriented aesthetics varied considerably, with Poland and later former Yugoslavia and East Germany establishing particularly close ties of musical exchange with the West.

In the immediate postwar period, the word "internationalism" usually had positive connotations when used by Soviet-oriented writers, based on the idea of solidarity among nations fighting for a common cause against capitalist exploitation.[100] Most notably, this "internationalism" was based on the preservation of national identities and characteristics, in declared contrast to Western capitalist "cosmopolitanism," which was considered to erode these characteristics. The word "cosmopolitan" was also used as a propagandist invective during the concealed Stalinist anti-Semitic campaigns and pogroms between 1949 and 1953.[101] In the Prague manifesto, formulated by Hanns Eisler, these terms were connected with the diagnosis of a "serious crisis" of contemporary music, contributing to a much-repeated trope of postwar music-related discourse and, indeed, of the modernist discourse in general.[102] In both popular and art

92 Ibid., 41–42.

93 See Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*.

94 See Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and Its Others*.

95 Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 733.

96 Nonnenmann, "Institutionen/Organisationen," 284–286.

97 Haefeli, *IGNM: Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 53 ("gegründet zur Förderung zeitgenössischer Musik aller ästhetischen Richtungen und Tendenzen – ohne Rücksicht auf Staatsangehörigkeit, Rasse, Religion oder politische Ansicht ihrer Mitglieder").

98 Russia has been a member of the ISCM since 2005, China since 2012. Japan joined the ISCM in 1935, South Korea in 1957, Hong Kong (Hong Kong Composers' Guild) in 1983, Taiwan in 1989.

99 Kovácz, "Die Institution – Entstehung und Struktur," 118.

100 The following information is predominantly based on ibid., 116–139.

101 See Azadovskii and Egorov, "From Anti-Westernism to Anti-Semitism."

102 See Meyer, "Volkstümlich – primitiv – populär," 39–40.

music, the reason for this "crisis" was believed to lie in the "individualism" and "subjectivism" of the Western composer and performer.

Leftist artists living in the West usually defended the freedom of individual expression. They included Hermann Scherchen and most prominently René Leibowitz, whose book *L'artiste et sa conscience* (1950) features a critique of his former student Serge Nigg's inclination toward the program of the Prague manifesto.[103] Some were more explicit in their support for Eisler's program, such as the prominent scholar and critic Hans Mayer, one of the most influential speakers during the first five years of the Darmstadt Summer Course (1946–50). Mayer sought to reconcile socialist realism with musical modernism, including his positive assessment of Schoenberg and the Viennese School attuned to the rhetoric of a "crisis" of bourgeois culture attributed to an increasing gap between art and "reality." For Eisler and Mayer, the origins of modernity's crisis were to be seen in the "emancipation from the religious-cultic to the cultural-civil" and the implied processes of individualization and anti-collectivism. In contrast to the official Zhdanov doctrine, however, Mayer was skeptical about a preservation of "national characteristics" and associated "formalism" with Stravinsky's and Hindemith's neoclassicism rather than with atonality and dissonance. The audience and press reception of the early Darmstadt Summer Course demonstrates how such "moderate" positions during the years around 1950 increasingly gave way to a more polarized rhetoric. Such polarization is especially documented in East German press reviews that idealized nationalist and folkloristic styles, of which Béla Bartók was considered exemplary, while denouncing "international" and "formalist" tendencies, particularly associated with American composers such as Edgard Varèse – whose lifelong fight against "formalist" aesthetics in this context evidently remained unnoticed. Thus in Soviet-influenced rhetoric, the term "international" had changed from positive to negative within a few years. Meanwhile, the Darmstadt course increasingly claimed to represent a true "international" platform, not least marked by the notable change of name from "Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik" to "Internationale Ferienkurse für neue Musik" in 1948. In the following decade, the proportion of non-German participants increased from 4.3 percent in 1948 continuously to a peak of 70.4 percent in 1961.[104]

Musical trends and works from that period, which manifest elements of such new "internationalism," may be found most prominently in interwar, wartime, and postwar neoclassicism, which from the beginning had been declared an "international" trend with profound influences on pre- and postwar musical history in Russia, France, Eastern and Northern Europe, and Latin America. The awareness of writing for a broad international audience, however, informs many politically imbued works of the period that are not of the neoclassicist repertoire, such as Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* (1948) – which instigated a particularly broad and controversial discussion on political music in postwar Europe,[105] Karl Amadeus Hartmann's postwar Symphonies 3 to 8 (1945–62),[106] and Hanns Eisler's paradigmatic *Deutsche Symphonie* (1935–57).[107] In their idioms and programs as well their genesis and performance history, these pieces mirror particular concrete facets of wartime and postwar history, as do the well-known examples of Shostakovich's Symphonies 9 to 13 (1948–62) and Stravinsky's *Sym-*

103 See Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, 116–131 and Sprout,"The 1945 Stravinsky Debates."

104 Kovácz, "Die Institution – Entstehung und Struktur," 62.

105 Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, 116–131, Calico, *Arnold Schoenberg's* A Survivor from Warsaw *in Postwar Europe*, and Shreffler, "Cold War Dissonance," 53–54.

106 See Mosch, "'Freiheit war es immer, die er meinte.' Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die 'Stunde Null.'"

107 See Wißmann, *Hanns Eisler: Komponist, Weltbürger, Revolutionär*, 107–126.

phony in Three Movements (1943–45). Most composers (including the prominent cases introduced below, → II.5), even if they did not react to the political situation or the terrors of the recent past in similarly explicit terms, consequently tended to conceive of their potential audience as a "global" community, which, not least, in many cases may have helped to overcome local resistance to their innovations. This "global audience," naturally, turned out in some ways to be an *imagined community*, and was not dissimilar to the "humanity" Theodor W. Adorno had in mind when he termed Beethoven's symphonies "public addresses to humanity" ("Volksreden an die Menschheit"[108]). Against this background, postwar musical internationalism and universalism must arguably be viewed not only as reactions against the nationalist discourses of the recent past, but also as evidence of an increasing awareness of global interconnectedness – including the awareness that many trends in Cold War policies were threatening to push the world back into localist or regionalist isolationism. The two most influential music-historical tendencies in this context were the invention of serial music, with its structuralist universalist claims, and forms of ethnically accentuated multi- or transethnic universalism occurring later on.

Universalism

Whereas "internationalism" seems to signify a complex of global or transnational networks, often implying the wish to overcome restrictive nationalist thinking and agency, "universalism" clearly indicates a more emphatic and optimistic world-embracing concept aimed at transcending the limits of national or culture-specific discourse, heading toward "world music," "world literature," "world art," etc.[109] Universalism in the European context is primarily a product of Enlightenment thought, in the area of music reflected in the well-known quote attributed to Joseph Haydn in which he assumes that his "language" can be understood throughout the whole world. This idea was criticized and met with skepticism in many areas of nineteenth-century aesthetics.[110] At the same time, universalism served as the founding ideology of nineteenth-century colonialism and imperialism. The concept is thus heavily involved in political history and ideology:

> In the same period when most political philosophers began to defend the principles of universalism and equality, the same individuals still defended the legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism. One way of reconciling those apparently opposed principles was the argument known as the "civilizing mission," which suggested that a temporary period of political dependence or tutelage was necessary in order for "uncivilized" societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government.[111]

In music historiography and comparative musicology, Eurocentric universalism dominated the early decades of the disciplines almost exclusively. Even though comparative musicology criticized Eurocentric music-theoretical and music-historical methodologies early on, the search for musical universals continued to shape (and confine) later studies in global music history,

108 Adorno, "Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie," 281.

109 See Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 26–43, Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," Huang, "Constellating World Literature," and Fillitz, "Anthropology and Discourses on Global Art."

110 Dahlhaus, "Historisches Bewußtsein und Ethnologie," 220; see Janz, "'Gibt es eine Weltgeschichte der Musik?,'" 147.

111 Kohn, "Colonialism."

such as Walter Wiora's *Die vier Weltalter der Musik* (→ II.1). The idea of musical universals still figures in the (predominantly ethnomusicologically based) discourse on "world music," which tends toward a notion of "music" that encompasses all kinds and genres worldwide, seemingly without introducing hierarchies:[112]

> Whether musical systems leak at the borders or not, languages are not all that coherent, being subject to constant change, and failing in the test of precise geographic borders. Whether there is something still to be said for the concept of music as the universal language of mankind, and whether enjoying the sounds of a foreign music is identical with understanding may be argued. The issue is not 'one' or 'many,' but in what ways the notion of music and musics provide insight. A history of world music should, if it does not come down on one side or the other, show how the two perspectives provide different interpretations of what happened.[113]

It is obvious (and has been explained by many authors) that universalism is dialectically opposed to the concepts of (cultural) essentialism, particularism, and relativism. The latter concepts tend to deny the possibility of universal forms of artistic (or political) articulation and to emphasize cultural uniqueness and the partial incompatibility or alterity of a "culture" or "nation" with other comparable entities. Relativism in particular seems to function essentially as a critical counterpart of universalism, exemplified by some approaches in postcolonial studies. Nonetheless, cultural and national essentialisms are deeply embedded in the history of modernity and act both as intrinsic components in the process of nation building and as the basis of most claims of cultural difference.[114] At the same time, we can recognize that essentialism and universalism are not mutually exclusive but rather interdependent concepts: universalists often presuppose basic and essential differences – cultural, national, racial, political, aesthetic, stylistic – that are then emphatically "transcended" in an act of "synthesis" or "integration." The idea of essential entities is a shared assumption of both universalism and essentialism.

Therefore, a reasonable and careful discussion about whether different forms of music, art, religious ideas, or social structures, etc. are (partly) compatible or not might easily revert to ideological forms of opposition, or even become the basis for new kinds of radicalized thinking or political misuse, as for example in diverse forms of neo-nationalism. Such a reclamation of identities seems to recur in waves. The term "neo-nationalism," for example, has been used in describing European music history of the 1910s and 1920s (pre- and post-World War I affirmations of national identities, as in Stravinsky's "Russian" ballets or in Bartók's idealization of peasant music; → II.3). This idea, however, can equally apply to dimensions of transnational history of the early 1990s (post-1989, post-Cold War reclamation of national identity especially in Eastern Europe, but also in East Germany, as well as a first wave of right-wing populist parties and politicians) and to the present period (the reaffirmation of national interest and xenophobic sentiments throughout Europe and in many Asian and American countries as an obvious counter-reaction to migration and economic changes resulting from globalized political and economic dynamics). In Asia, (neo-)nationalist tides have proved influential for music history, as can be identified in many areas of twentieth-century music in Japan, Korea, and China (→ III).

112 See Janz, "'Gibt es eine Weltgeschichte der Musik?'" 148.

113 Nettl, "On World Music as a Concept in the History of Music Scholarship," 25.

114 See, e.g., Zhou, "Essentialist Legacies and Shifting Identities."

In European music from the 1940s to the 1970s, there are at least four basic forms of universalism, which I label "religious" or "spiritual universalism," "technological universalism," "structuralist universalism," and "transethnic" or "transcultural universalism," and I will characterize each below. These classifications are all indebted to Enlightenment ideas regarding "art" and music, particularly the notion of art as a universal phenomenon, understood as a "collective singular" with the composer acting as a kind of high priest of a "religion of art" with potentially global impact. My categories do not exclude one another, but rather interact in myriad ways. From this perspective, these different types of musical universalism potentially appear as a particularly apt exemplification of the "non-simultaneity of the simultaneous" in pre- and postwar music history, which will ultimately become evident in the case studies discussed below.

Religious and Spiritual Universalism

Religious thought mostly tends to be universal by definition. This universalism to some extent lets the political impact of Enlightenment universalism and the universalism of political theories and ideologies such as Marxism appear as necessary consequences of a critique of religion (eventually itself taking on many features of a religion). The "sacred" implications of musical performance and reception became particularly pertinent in nineteenth-century "religion of art," eventually motivating composers to conceive an all-encompassing reform of the modes of musical presentation and reception, the most prominent example being Richard Wagner. The decades around 1900 saw a wave of highly influential post- or pseudo-religious universalist theories such as Theosophy and Anthroposophy, many of which incorporated fragments of mystic Asian traditions. An important Russian-American-Italian trajectory in this respect leads from Alexander Scriabin and Ferruccio Busoni to Dane Rudhyar and Giacinto Scelsi.[115] Olivier Messiaen's outline of a "theological" music was deeply informed by such individualized mystic universalism, as it was cultivated during the 1930s in the group *La Jeune France* by André Jolivet, among others,[116] while the inspiration drawn from the *Renouveau catholique* movement also included considerable culturally conservative elements.[117] Messiaen's Indian-inspired rhythms, however, were not used to evoke Indian music (in contrast to the clearly audible evocation of *gamelan* music in the *Turangalîla Symphony*, 1946–48, or of Japanese *gagaku* in the fourth movement of the *Sept Haïkaï*, 1964), but rather represented a "timeless," primordial theological world order, thus also connecting to the *quadrivium* tradition of religiously based numerical rationalism and symbolism.[118]

In the early 1950s, influenced by Messiaen's religiously based universalism, Karel Goeyvaerts and Karlheinz Stockhausen were strongly attracted to the idea of a "pure structure."[119] Early on, Stockhausen grounded his activity on the idea of being sent on the compositional path by a divine message,[120] claiming that his music merely "translated" divine vibrations.[121]

115 Reish, "The Transformation of Giacinto Scelsi's Musical Style and Aesthetic," Celestini, "Busoni und Scelsi," Utz, "Klang als Energie in der Musik seit 1900."

116 Gut, *Le Groupe Jeune France*, Borio, "Vom Ende des Exotismus."

117 Lindhorst, "Gedanken, Bilder und Schlüsselbegriffe des *Renouveau catholique* in den Texten von Olivier Messiaen."

118 Bruhn, *Messiaens musikalische Sprache des Glaubens*.

119 Sabbe, *Karlheinz Stockhausen. … wie die Zeit verging …*

120 Blumröder, *Die Grundlegung der Musik Karlheinz Stockhausens*, 73.

121 Ibid., 89.

Stockhausen also proposed more explicitly culturally or ethnically defined universalist ideas. Inspired by a 1952 Paris concert with Balinese and Tibetan music, Stockhausen (retrospectively) claimed to have decided to "make a kind of music that relies on the tradition of music from the entire world."[122] This claim acquired neo-imperialist undertones and thus aroused heated debate in a later formulation, in which Stockhausen proposed to write "not 'my own' music but a music of the whole earth, of all countries and races."[123] The mystic tradition of religious intuition as a basis for the compositional process, with the composer acting as a "medium" between divine forces and sounding material in Stockhausen's case, can be linked to at least two major traditions of thought: Messiaen's "theological" aesthetics, in which mystic universalism had already been closely linked to the reception of non-Western musical traditions harking back to Debussy's, Roussel's, and Delage's "submerged exoticism"[124] around 1900 (→ II.4); and Catholic thought, which substantially influenced Stockhausen's conception of music, resulting in a characteristic simultaneity of rationalism and mysticism.[125]

Technological Universalism

The argument that technological innovation, usually considered a driving force of modernity if not its main constituting factor, has led to the "time-space-compression"[126] typical of globalization processes (→ I.2), is familiar from our immediate present where the high-speed internet, Google, and YouTube seem to contribute to a readily available and continuously expanding archive of "world cultures." The essentialist, materialist, and technocratic conviction that a musical recording has the capacity to "represent" a specific culture; the misconception that technology is a culture-independent force, transcending traditional forms of encultured communication and articulation; and the optimistic enthusiasm that saw new technologies as a symptom of a "new era" can all be detected clearly in many areas of European music of the 1950s and 1960s.[127] Marshall McLuhan's trope of the "global village" offers the best-known theorization of this overt technological optimism (McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, 1962, German translation 1968; *Understanding Media*, 1964; *The Medium Is the Message*, 1967; *War and Peace in the Global Village*, 1968[128]). McLuhan's theory was sparked by sensational technological innovations during the 1960s, culminating in the first satellite communication in 1969.[129] Many of Stockhausen's statements suggest close ties to McLuhan's ideas, as he repeatedly invokes the metaphor of the "global village";[130] indeed, McLuhan is quoted once in Stockhausen's essay "Ein

122 Stockhausen, "Nr. 13: Momente für Sopran, 4 Chorgruppen und 13 Instrumentalisten," 133 ("es mir bewußt wurde, daß ich mich sogar in kleinsten Fragen der Klangmaterial-Auswahl entscheiden müßte, ob ich mich streng an unsere zentraleuropäische Tradition halte oder eine Musik mache, deren Tradition die Musik der ganzen Welt ist").

123 Stockhausen, "Telemusik," 75 ("nicht 'meine' Musik zu schreiben, sondern eine Musik der ganzen Erde, aller Länder und Rassen").

124 See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 214–244.

125 Gutknecht, "Das Geistliche im realen Kompositionsprozeß Stockhausens," Ulrich, "Spirituelle All-Einheit und das Subjekt des Komponisten," and Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 141–144.

126 Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," 300–302.

127 Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 147–148.

128 See Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," 105–106.

129 Siebert, *Musik im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, 86.

130 Stockhausen, "Interview über *Telemusik*," 81 ("Wir werden immer mehr der Tatsache bewußt, daß dieser ganze Globus ein einziges Dorf ist.").

Mundstück" from 1969.[131] In a 1968 interview on his electronic composition *Telemusik*, realized in the NHK studios Tokyo in 1966, Stockhausen offered clear examples of how this technological universalism may be put into compositional practice:

> Overcoming time and space at such a speed that the time delay and the distance become almost zero has become possible only by applying these modern technical possibilities of communication. They make it possible for the first time for this world to become *one* world. And for us musicians, the tools for this are microphones and magnetic tapes. They may produce other tools that improve those first possibilities. This is the beginning of universalism; the integrating force is expressed in the technical devices we use. The possibility of my phoning to Africa to order a tape recording, whose parts I then combine with electronic sounds that I make in Tokyo, is an outrageous fact that enables us to connect things that were previously completely unconnected. In the past it was only possible to listen to music from Africa if you traveled there. And who had that opportunity? Today we can all listen to this music. […]
>
> You just shouldn't try to level things. I do not strive for a 'synthesis' in which everything merges into a huge mishmash, on the contrary: one still has to support the characteristic structures in a chosen context. I don't want to destroy anything, but I want to preserve the independence of the individual phenomena in the sense of the aforementioned polyphony. After all, individual aspects of a structure are related to other individual details.[132]

This skepticism toward synthesis, however, does not fit in with the affirmative synthetic universalism of Stockhausen's electronic composition *Hymnen* (1965–67), based on forty different national anthems, in which the fourth "region" of the work culminates in the anthem of the imaginary country of *Hymunion* (part of the cosmic *Harmondie*) led by Pluramon:[133] the universalist claim, based on the technological availability of sound documents and their collage-like presentation, is filtered into an "original" composition, superseding pluralism and reinstalling the genius composer as a universalist, "global" agent empowered by technology.[134]

131 Stockhausen, "Ein Mundstück," 300.

132 Stockhausen, "Interview über Telemusik," 83 ("Zeit und Raum in dieser Geschwindigkeit überwinden, daß die Zeitverzögerung und der Abstand fast Null werden, können wir eben erst dadurch, daß wir diese modernen technischen Möglichkeiten der Kommunikation anwenden. Sie machen es erstmals möglich, daß diese Welt *eine* Welt wird. Und die Mittel hierzu sind bei uns Musikern Mikrophone und Magnetophonbänder. Aus ihnen werden vielleicht andere Mittel hervorgebracht, die jene Möglichkeiten noch verbessern. Das ist der Anfang des Universalismus. Die integrierende Kraft drückt sich aus in den technischen Mitteln, die wir verwenden. Die Möglichkeit, daß ich nach Afrika telephonieren kann, um eine Tonbandaufnahme zu bestellen, deren Teile ich dann mit elektronischen Klängen, die ich in Tokio herstelle, verbinde, ist eine unerhörte Tatsache, die es erlaubt, Dinge in Beziehung zu bringen, die bisher völlig unbezogen waren. Früher war es nur dann möglich, Musik aus Afrika zu hören, wenn man dorthin reiste. Und wer hatte diese Chance schon? Heute können wir alle diese Musik hören. […] Man darf nur nicht versuchen, die Dinge zu nivellieren. Ich strebe nicht eine 'Synthese' an, bei der alles in einem riesigen Mischmasch aufgeht, im Gegenteil: Man muß die charakteristischen Gebilde noch unterstützen in einem gewählten Kontext. Ich will ja nichts zerstören, sondern im Sinne der genannten Polyphonie die Selbständigkeit der einzelnen Phänomene erhalten. Es werden ja einzelne Momente eines Gebildes zu anderen Einzelheiten in Beziehung gesetzt.").

133 See Siebert, *Musik im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, 88.

134 Revers, "Europäische Treibhausblüten," 192–196 and Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 165–171.

The implied position of the composer becomes even clearer in Stockhausen's *Telemusik*, in which – contrary to the composer's emphasis on a diversity of musical styles that should not be distorted by creating a "superstyle," but rather retain their diversity – Stockhausen's procedures do not give a prominent role to the articulation of cultural difference, but appear firmly rooted in the aesthetics and techniques of Western Europe's electronic music of the 1950s and 1960s.[135] The cultural difference of the recorded music is transformed and filtered into a musical context in which the uniqueness of the individual elements is almost completely erased – *Telemusik* employs both synthetically generated sounds from sine tone and triangle wave generators and recordings of traditional art and folk music from Japan, China, Vietnam, Bali, sub-Saharan Africa, indigenous Amazonian peoples, Spain, and Hungary. Stockhausen's Pluramon concept, which strives for a balanced relationship between pluralism and "monism,"[136] is hardly put into practice here – the monism of Stockhausen's compositional style clearly predominates. When fragments of the traditional music recordings become audible, they are heard in a blurred, sometimes even grotesquely distorted manner that seems to mock the original performance style. Even if Stockhausen's reluctance to render the qualities of the traditional music genres used might have been rooted in the wish to respect their "original" form by not quoting them literally, the question remains why he actually decided to make use of them in the first place. The analyses show that the reasons for this decision do not stem from the specific musical qualities of the recorded music, nor from its acoustic properties;[137] rather, Stockhausen's conventionally Western conception of a composer as universalist and "discoverer," based on nineteenth-century religion of art and Catholic faith, probably should be considered the main reason.

Structuralist Universalism

The cases of Messiaen and Stockhausen clarify how religious and structural universalism interrelate. The assumption of the universal, culture-free, or transcultural properties of serial structure is an oft-invoked topos, although it was employed in most cases with reservation and, more importantly, articulated in quite different ways by different composers and authors. In both the Cologne and Paris contexts, the impact of universalist linguistic theories should be noted (Saussurian and Lévi-Straussian structuralism in Paris and Meyer-Eppler's information-theoretical research into an artificial hyperlanguage in Cologne). Although the common understanding of a "global" structure in which "everything is contained," supposedly reflecting a "universal, planned order,"[138] was rarely connected to explicit cultural or ethnic claims during the 1950s, the interpretation of serial technique as a "culturally neutral" basis of postwar musical language was emphasized retrospectively in Dieter Schnebel's 1972 essay "New World Music." This text was written for the catalogue of the Munich Olympic Games 1972, entitled *World Cultures and Modern Art: The Encounter of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century European Art and Music with Asia, Africa, Oceania, Afro- and Indo-America*:

135 See the analyses in Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 153–165, Kohl, "Serial Composition, Serial Form, and Process in Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Telemusik*," Erbe, "Karlheinz Stockhausens 'Telemusik,'" and Hünermann, "Transkription und Intermodulation."

136 Cott, *Stockhausen. Conversations with the Composer*, 144 and Shimizu, "Was ist PluraMonismus?"

137 This is claimed by Maconie, *The Works of Karlheinz Stockhausen*, 207.

138 Stockhausen, "Zur Situation des Metiers," 46–47 ("universelle[], geplante[] Ordnung"; "*Musik* jeweils *als Vorstellung jener umfassendsten 'globalen' Struktur* zu verstehen, *in die alles einbezogen* ist"; emphasis original).

> The music produced after the Second World War, especially in Europe, marked a new beginning. The new music was distinguished from the old in that it lacked to a large extent both the traditional rules and regional coloring. We can almost talk of the birth of a futuristic world language. Although the new compositions stemmed from Western music, they did not necessarily demand a knowledge of it for their understanding. They were the creations of composers hailing from all the industrialized countries, without more than hidden regional reminiscences: the serial music of a Korean has as little of the oriental about it as that of a Swede has of the Nordic. This rather uncharacteristic and seemingly traditionless world music of a technological age at first avoided employing the customary apparatus of the bourgeois era. The usual operatic and concert forms were scorned and the compositions were written for unorthodox ensembles.[139]

Considering that the catalogue included both a "postcolonial" criticism of aesthetic (and political) universalism[140] and seemingly "neutral" descriptions of how Western artists used "non-Western material,"[141] this period today appears as a transitional phase from a structurally to an ethnically rooted universalism while, at the same time, the deep problem inherent in musical universalism slowly came to be more openly disputed , especially in the wake of Stockhausen's essay "Weltmusik" from 1973, which can be considered a peak of his universalist aesthetics, summarizing ideas since the 1950s[142] and particularly building on a Darmstadt seminar on "meta-collage" from 1970.[143] The postwar "ideology" of a nonpolitical role of art and music here takes on the increasingly esoteric and vague language Stockhausen developed since at least the late 1960s, denying any postcolonial impact in favor of a "process of inner renewal":

> One often hears the argument today that Europeans had transformed their earlier land-colonization into cultural colonization. In other words, today, the tourists are the conquerors and exploiters in another form. But this argument overlooks the fact that under the surface mankind is moved by trends of development which crop up in all cultures. One cannot speak of separate problems of some island culture without taking into account the trends which bind this island culture to all others. The process of inner renewal in all cultures begins more or less at the same time […].[144]

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139 Schnebel, "New World Music," 338.

140 Lissa, "Vom Wesen des Universalismus in der Musik."

141 Pelinski, "Oriental Colouring in the Music of the Nineteenth Century," Pelinski, "Musical Exoticism Around the Year 1900," Raab, "Difficulties in the Fusion of Jazz and Symphonic Music," Raab, "Negro Music in Latin America," Schnebel, "New World Music."

142 Siebert, *Musik im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, 41–92.

143 Ibid., 45. The essay was written by Stockhausen on 8 April 1973. Excerpts first appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 17 November 1973. Printed unabridged in *Musik und Bildung* 6, no. 1 (1974) and in *Universitas* 31, no. 6 (1976). Published in Stockhausen's *Texte zur Musik*, Vol. 4 (see Stockhausen [1973] 1978).

144 Stockhausen, "World Music," 5–6 (Stockhausen, "Weltmusik," 470. "Man hört heute oft das Argument, die Europäer hätten ihren bisherigen Land-Kolonialismus umgewandelt in einen Kultur-Kolonialismus. Mit anderen Worten: die Touristen seien Eroberer und Ausbeuter in anderer Form. Man übersieht aber dabei, daß die Menschheit unter der Oberfläche durch Entwicklungsströme bewegt wird, die in allen Kulturen auftauchen. Man kann nicht über separate Probleme irgendeiner Inselkultur sprechen, ohne die Ströme zu berücksichtigen, die diese Inselkultur mit allen anderen verbinden. Der Prozeß der inneren Erneuerung in allen Kulturen setzt mehr oder weniger gleichzeitig ein […].")

It is surely characteristic that Stockhausen recognized some crucial features of the globalization process early on when he emphasized the interconnectedness and entanglement of global regions, while his belief in a deterministic convergence and "inner renewal" of decaying and perishing cultures shows clear traits of early twentieth-century cultural pessimism in the style of Dane Rudhyar's writings of the 1920s and 1930s, which were in turn influenced by politically proto-fascist writings such as Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (The Decline of the West):[145]

> […] at the same time, cultures are destroyed from within. They are over-ripe and in a state of decay, and therefore definitely destined to change into something new. The consequence of this rapid process of the disintegration of individual cultures is that they all lead into a more unified *world culture*.[146]

This decline sets the stage for the "savior-composer," labeled "earthling" (*Erdling*) by Stockhausen, who has abandoned the chimera of a "personal style";[147] he "literally embrace[s] the earth," and sets out to create "new forms […] in which many aspects – stylistic qualities – are united." Only to this end is the "[p]reservation of the greatest possible number of musical forms of all cultures" deemed necessary.[148]

The complex interrelation between presumably declining cultures – both Western and non-Western – serving as a justification for the individual genius composer's task of taking up the "invigorating" forces of global musical traditions, the call for a preservation of traditional musical cultures (to be freely used as material in new compositions), and the assignment of a key role to the composer, staged as a preserver of traditions and innovator transcending them at the same time, is a paradox that lies at the heart of globalized art music's universalist tendencies from the 1960s up to the 2000s. It recurs, for example, in Tan Dun's intermedia cello concerto *The Map* (2002), which integrates video footage of music from southwestern Chinese minorities into a conventional Western orchestra with a cello soloist. In this work, Tan Dun seems to be playing two roles simultaneously, each coming from a different ideological standpoint: that of the preserver of vanishing cultures, specifically as an ethnically Chinese artist, and that of the innovator of the modern Western orchestra, a citizen of the world and practitioner of Western art (→ III.5).[149]

Transethnic Universalism

Stockhausen's arrival at an explicit transethnic universalism was undoubtedly instigated by his increasingly international success as a composer, which included performances, commissions, and invitations from the United States (1958, 1961, 1965, 1966-67) and Japan (1966, 1970,

145 Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, 18–21; see Utz, "Klang als Energie in der Musik seit 1900."

146 Stockhausen, "World Music," 4 (Stockhausen, "Weltmusik," 469. "[…] gleichzeitig zerstören sich Kulturen von innen heraus selber. Sie sind überreif und im Zustand der Fäulnis, dazu bestimmt, sich in etwas Neues zu verwandeln. Die Konsequenz aus diesem schnellen Prozeß der Auflösung individueller Kulturen ist, daß sie alle in eine mehr einheitliche *Erdkultur* münden.")

147 Ibid., 9. (Stockhausen, "Weltmusik," 472. "persönliche[r] Stil.")

148 Ibid. (Stockhausen, "Weltmusik," 472–473. "buchstäblich die Erde umfassen"; "neue Gebilde […], in denen eine große Zahl von Aspekten – stilistischen Qualitäten – vereinigt ist"; "Erhaltung möglichst vieler musikalischer Formen aller Kulturen.")

149 See Young, "The Voicing of the Voiceless in Tan Dun's *The Map*."

1976-77), among others. The multiple mutual influences between Stockhausen and the American "Experimental Tradition" before, during, and after his professorship at the University of California (Davis) in 1966-67 remain a desideratum of future research.[150] In contrast, the impact of Stockhausen's trips to Japan have been highlighted by both Stockhausen himself and several studies.[151] Historically, the concept of transethnicism had developed in North American music in the early twentieth century with proponents such as Percy Grainger, Henry Eichheim, Dane Rudhyar, Henry Cowell (see below), Colin McPhee, Harry Partch, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, George Crumb, and John Cage[152] – although Cage's universalism is arguably better described as a complex synthesis of structural and ethnic or cultural components.

Transethnic universalism in music was of course no new idea in the 1960s. It had been discussed controversially in the early twentieth century, sparked by the concept of a new "exoticist musical style," testified in the theory of Georg Capellen that was destined to overcome the "crisis" of modern music with its "rejuvenating" forces.[153] Capellen's approach shows obvious parallels to Stockhausen's, suggesting that the idea of "stagnation" of both European and non-European cultures – to be "revitalized" by the genius composer – and the idea of a necessary (static) "preservation" of non-Western cultures by documentation are archetypes of transnational modernity discourse, recurring in waves.[154] Representatives of early comparative musicology were horrified by the "specter" and the "unrealistic utopia" of a "Universalmusik" to which one might listen "with the same excitement on Fifth Avenue as in the Kalahari,"[155] a position expanded and intensified in critiques and polemics surrounding Stockhausen's "Weltmusik" concept amply documented and analyzed in earlier studies.[156]

The impact of an explicit, ethnically oriented universalist thought around 1970 in both US and European musical contexts can hardly be overestimated, with many approaches reacting directly or implicitly and often critically to Stockhausen's "Weltmusik" ideal.[157] Mauricio Kagel, Peter Michael Hamel, Hans Zender, and Helmut Lachenmann in Germany, Giacinto Scelsi, Luciano Berio, Alvin Curran in Italy and the United States, Pierre Boulez, Jean-Claude Eloy, and Georges Aperghis in France, Benjamin Britten in Great Britain, and, largely neglected by research, Henri Pousseur in Belgium,[158] as well as the aforementioned North American composers and a considerable number of Asian composers (including most prominently Pan-Asiat-

150 See Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," 106.

151 Gutknecht "Stockhausen und Japan," Shimizu, "Stockhausen und Japan," and Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 148–153.

152 Nicholls, "Transethnicism and the American Experimental Tradition."

153 Capellen, *Ein neuer exotischer Musikstil an Notenbeispielen nachgewiesen*, Capellen, "Exotische Rhythmik," and Capellen, "Was können uns exotische Melodien lehren?" See Utz, "Musikalische 'Treibhausblüten'?"

154 Revers, "Europäische Treibhausblüten."

155 Hornbostel, "U.S.A. National Music," 67–68 ("Eine Universalmusik […], die der tönende Ausdruck des 'Allgemein-Menschlichen' wäre und der man mit gleichem Entzücken in der Fifth Avenue und in der Kalahari lauschen würde, […] wird immer eine wirklichkeitsfremde Utopie bleiben. Auch würde sie besser zum Schreckgespenst taugen als zum Ideal.").

156 Fritsch, "Zur Idee der Weltmusik," Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, 136–171, Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," 109–115, and Siebert, *Musik im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, 43–44.

157 Nicholls "Transethnicism and the American Experimental Tradition," Utz, *Neue Musik und Interkulturalität*, Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," Borio, "Convergence Between West and East in 20th-Century Music," and Borio, "Vom Ende des Exotismus."

158 Heile, "*Weltmusik* and the Globalization of New Music," 113.

ic tendencies in works by Toshirō Mayuzumi, Akira Nishimura, Minoru Miki, José Maceda, and Isang Yun), all included intercultural ideas prominently in their compositional aesthetics during this period, sometimes in an explicitly universalist manner close to Stockhausen (e.g., Pousseur), sometimes with a decidedly opposing approach (Boulez, who, as a young man, wanted to study ethnology and was in close contact with the anthropologist André Schaeffner throughout the 1950s to 1970s[159]). The reason for this broad attempt at an identification with non-Western cultures, though frequently linked to a rigorous criticism of modernized non-Western musical practices, might very well be found in the precarious social situation of new music, necessitating the creation of aesthetic and cultural alliances and solidarities that transcend the limitations of the immediate (local) "realities" and constraints.[160]

3. The Ambivalence of the Local in Twentieth-Century Music

A dynamic concept of culture must concede that a tendency toward essentializing cultural symbols, idioms, or stereotypical representations of (national) cultures in musical contexts is not simply a thing of the past. Not only do the local and the global stand in an ongoing relationship of interaction or feedback (as Robertson's concept of "glocalization" tried to explain → I.2), but local and national (or nationalist) discourses are also variously interwoven. The local challenge of nationalist generalization can itself turn into a questionable nationalism when aiming to escape from a hegemonic "internationalist" standardization: a resentment of the Other may be subsumed under the local, and in a generalized form – as an "invented tradition" – turn into a (neo-)nationalist symbol. In the following, I will investigate how such specific, locally focused concepts of musical culture can be understood within the tensions between national essentialism and global standardization. This question will be broached against the background of two prominent examples from the first half of the twentieth century that had "non-simultaneous" resonances during the century's second half.

Stravinsky and Bartók: Construction and Criticism of National Music in the Tension Fields Between Composition and Ethnography

The tendency toward suppressing "ethnic" categories in most new music was primarily a legacy of the post-1945 political-musical situation. In this period, serial music acted as a self-referential counter-model to the misuse of musical topicality by the totalitarian political systems of the immediate past, especially in National Socialism (→ I.2). But a phenomenon both aesthetically and socially contradictory to serialism, such as the neoclassicism of Igor Stravinsky (a declared sympathizer of Italian fascism[161] with notoriously anti-Semitic attitudes), was also based on a renunciation of musical "language" in the narrower sense. In Stravinsky's case, this renunciation concerned above all the idiom of the national Russian school of the decades following the 1860s and was preserved and transformed in the neo-national "Russian" sound of his works before the October Revolution in 1917. In his *Autobiography* of 1936, Stravinsky attacked the

159 Borio, "Vom Ende des Exotismus," 117–118 and Zenck, *Pierre Boulez*, 63–64.

160 Meyer, "Volkstümlich – primitiv – populär," 34.

161 In 1930, Stravinsky declared Mussolini "the savior […] of Europe" (quoted in Taruskin, "The Dark Side of the Moon," 208). See Stenzl, *Von Giacomo Puccini zu Luigi Nono*, 29, Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, Taruskin, "Notes on *Svadebka*," 450–453, and Taruskin, "The Dark Side of the Moon," 208–212.