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# Introduction

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## **Ligeti's cultural identities**

As Florian Scheduling notes, Ligeti's many identities – 'Ligeti the Hungarian, Ligeti the German, Ligeti the Jew, Ligeti the survivor, Ligeti the migrant, Ligeti the composer' – call into question any simplistic linkage between ethnicity, nationality, creativity, and biography'.<sup>1</sup> One might add a few qualifiers: Ligeti the modernist, the intellectual, the man of the world, the Shakespearean fool, among others. Scheduling is not the first to note that musicology has historically not dealt well with composers and works that resist nationalist and historical branding.<sup>2</sup> It is little surprise, then, that so much of the scholarship on Ligeti congeals around the categories of techniques and influences he helpfully provided in voluminous interviews and writings on his musical evolution.<sup>3</sup> Yet the composer's periodic attempts to express his 'amalgamated' worldview were equivocal at best. In a 1988 interview with Denys Bouliane, Ligeti averred that he had said, up to that point, little about how his various musical influences had combined with his personal politics and background.<sup>4</sup>

Most people think that I am an apolitical person. But that is only because I do not follow the current fashions. However, I have an implacable hatred of all forms of extremism, of unilateral power, and an incredible enthusiasm for democracy; democracy not in a fashionable sense, but in the sense of distribution of power: that different groups can check one another. This political attitude, which differs greatly from that of a trendy Left – although I regard myself as the true enemy of the Right – also plays a key role in my art.<sup>5</sup>

Any assessment of these intersecting cultural identities and allegiances – the East European, the émigré, the perennial outsider – seems to demand a consideration of the composer as a critical cosmopolitan: an artist whose inner convictions and outward contradictions exemplify a paradoxical combination of rooted sensibilities, and who displays resistance to the claims of any one nationalist or ethnic identity. That theories of cosmopolitan are themselves riven with contradictions and internal divisions merely suggests that their authors have struggled with those same conflicts writ large. As Janet Lyon notes, 'The long history of

cosmopolitanism is a history of disputes – sometimes academic, sometimes bloody and catastrophic – over competing imperatives and seemingly irreconcilable values. What else could come of a normative project that depends upon universalist conceptions (however modified or self-aware) of human mutuality?’<sup>6</sup>

### The new cosmopolitanism

As an ambiguous term with contesting histories, the term ‘cosmopolitanism’ still evokes mixed feelings, as James Clifford noted in his epilogue to *Cosmopolitics*.<sup>7</sup> The original eighteenth-century cosmopolitan ideal formulated by Kant, in which internationally recognized, universal values were capable of eclipsing state-based notions of self-determination, was a prenationalist sentiment, perfectly compatible with nationalism as a popular movement, yet one that was rarely evoked in the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In that century the cosmopolite evoked, as Ryan Minor notes, an ‘exclusionary milieu of pan-European urban elites’, even if the music made by cosmopolitan composers and performers carried great cultural authority.<sup>9</sup> Those composers such as Liszt who ‘practised’ cosmopolitanism often promoted a fervent nationalism at home.<sup>10</sup> As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the term came to connote an absence of roots, and gave way in cultural circles to the term ‘internationalism’.<sup>11</sup> Ligeti’s view of himself while living in Vienna often drew on a *fin de siècle* notion of cosmopolitanism associated with the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In a 1968 letter to Harald Kaufmann belabouring his multiple identities (Romanian-born Austrian composer, Hungarian but of ‘guaranteed’ Jewish origin), he adds that his true musical home is the old Austria, ‘thus necessarily and exclusively Kakanian’.<sup>12</sup>

Contemporary debates typically foreground cosmopolitanism as an oppositional discourse, an alternative to viewing societies, movements and cultures through the filter of nationalism. Yet the term still carries negative connotations even when employed to foreground the experiences of subaltern, displaced and diasporic communities.<sup>13</sup> David Harvey subjects much of the contemporary discourse on cosmopolitanism to a withering critique that detects in it an ‘ethical and humanitarian mask for hegemonic neoliberal practices of class domination and financial and militaristic imperialism’.<sup>14</sup> For this reason, most recent theorists of cosmopolitanism focus on its self-reflexive and critical characteristics, in sharp contrast to discourses on globalism and hybridity.

Cosmopolitanism as a social theory of late modernity has perhaps been most thoroughly explored by Ulrich Beck and Gerard Delanty. Beck focuses on the reflexive qualities of the new, rooted cosmopolitanism, as an ‘awareness of ambivalences in a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions’.<sup>15</sup> His somewhat idealized image of a new cosmopolitan age is founded on the capacity for ideological self-criticism, one that transcends the monological imaginary of nationalism in a ‘*dialogical imaginary of the internalized other*’ (emphasis in original).<sup>16</sup> This idea evokes the work of Charles Taylor, who coined the term ‘social imaginary’ to connote the ways that people imagine and negotiate their social surroundings: ‘a common understanding that makes possible common practices

and a widely shared sense of legitimacy'.<sup>17</sup> This understanding is both factual and normative, and can be traced historically as it moves from a select few elite throughout the wider society.

Such a shared 'dialogical imaginary' explains the long-standing bond between Ligeti and his favourite poet, his contemporary Sándor Weöres. Weöres was a Renaissance man of Hungarian letters, a prolific translator of both mythic (the Sumerian-Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*) and classic literature (*Henry VIII* by Shakespeare, the complete poetry of Mallarmé), whose poetics referenced folk tradition alongside the urbane, East with West, and the mundane side by side with the fantastical and recondite. The vivid imagery of his poems was perfectly complemented by Ligeti's elegant, self-aware settings which drew on a similar blend of influences.<sup>18</sup>

The notion of a 'cosmopolitan imaginary' like that shared by Weöres and Ligeti was developed by Gerard Delanty, who – like Beck – begins with critical cosmopolitanism. His 'cosmopolitan imagination' stresses this dialogic imaginary as a form of immanent transcendence that occurs 'when and wherever new relations between Self, Other and World develop in moments of openness'.<sup>19</sup> Within the cosmopolitanism image, both Self and Other undergo transformation through a series of four dynamic steps. These steps represent three capacities – for relativization of one's own culture, for positive recognition of the Other and for mutual evaluation of cultures or identities – that culminate in a shared normative culture.<sup>20</sup> Delanty and Beck implicitly address some of Harvey's criticism by distinguishing 'soft' (Delanty) or 'banal' (Beck) cosmopolitanism, as hallmarks of conspicuous consumption and liberal multiculturalism, from an authentic negotiation of difference that would lead to genuine reciprocity in cultural translation.<sup>21</sup> Delanty ties this new cosmopolitanism to 'entangled modernities', modernity viewed as a field of tensions and competing modes of historical experience.<sup>22</sup>

Ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes has just such competing fields of tensions in mind when he questions the value of adopting such a 'messy' term in musical scholarship, one easily exploited in struggles over cultural prestige and authenticity (not to mention one often employed as a blanket term for predatory assimilation of non-dominant cultural artefacts).<sup>23</sup> Yet as Philip Bohlman notes, what it means to be an ethnomusicologist is inseparable from an engagement with cosmopolitanism, which brings with it, as it should to all musicologists, a necessary ethics of responsibility.<sup>24</sup> For a composer like Ligeti, this ethic might be displayed in candour regarding the source and extent of outside influences, combined with a certain reverence towards borrowed materials *in situ*. Following Harvey, if a valid cosmopolitan theory of any type must be rooted in a particular place and context, it must represent a *critical* cosmopolitanism that remains wary, rejecting 'universalizing narratives' and affirming a 'stance towards human openness that's processual, socially situated, aspirational, self-problematizing and aware of the incomplete and contested nature of any cosmopolitan claim'.<sup>25</sup> Kevin Robins suggests that cosmopolitan theorists themselves could stand to learn much from the challenge that 'migrating music' presents to thinking across space and time. Musical encounters across cultures actually offer a heuristic for social theory, as

model practices for viewing cultural difference ‘through the prismatic inflection of other lived sensations and thoughts’.<sup>26</sup> In this, Robins hews to Scott Malcomson’s urge to detail ‘actually existing cosmopolitanism’ in all of its particular and confusing variety.<sup>27</sup>

We argue that a framework of just such competing cosmopolitan claims helps illuminate the particulars of Ligeti’s music and career, above and beyond the examples noted above. But this framework will also shine a light on competing national imaginaries that marked the production and reception of post-war music, and that animate current debates on the virtues or faults of musical modernism. As an example, we reflect briefly on several of Scheduling’s cited identities, as they shifted within the boundaries of distinct historical periods: Ligeti the Hungarian (before 1956), Ligeti the Jew, Ligeti the migrant and Ligeti the German (modernist) composer.

### **A Hungarian idiom in modern music**

Looking back on his early career fifty years later, Ligeti speculated on an alternate history, post-World War II, that might have resulted in a less complex musical canon:

If the Soviets hadn’t flattened cultural life, if in Hungary there had been normal democracy, I would have had a totally different evolution as a composer. There are pieces from 1946 and 1947, such as the *Three Sándor Weöres Songs* or the *Two Capriccios* for piano, that show a searching for a Hungarian idiom in modern music. But then came the censorship, and after that I had so many new influences in the west. So in my music there’s no continuity of style. It’s always cut, with scissors.<sup>28</sup>

Many who have written on Ligeti have drawn too clear a line between the music of the composer’s ‘Hungarian period’ and everything that came after it.<sup>29</sup> Yet even Ligeti’s self-described search for a ‘Hungarian idiom in modern music’ rests on a complex underlying narrative informed by countless competing factors.

First, the provenance of a true Hungarian idiom was in doubt even in the nineteenth century, when multi-ethnic contributions sparred with Gypsy music for dominance and recognition.<sup>30</sup> (Ligeti’s childhood reminiscences include the live performances of sinister-appearing Gypsies performing *verbunkos* music from this earlier century, as well as exposure to jazz and classical records, symphony concerts and opera.)<sup>31</sup> The early twentieth century saw a vast exodus of Jewish Hungarian musicians and the conservative dominance of Ernő Dohnányi and the Erkel/Liszt school after 1934. Rachel Beckles Willson views the musical battles that transpired in Hungarian society from 1920 to 1945 through the prism of Hungarian music’s relation to land and language.<sup>32</sup> During this time Bartók and Kodály were positioned as Hungarian classicists against the sterile academicism of Schoenberg. Like other young survivors of Nazism, Ligeti was caught up in socialist rhetoric, and even briefly considered joining the Communist Party.<sup>33</sup> But just after Ligeti

began experimenting with a more accessible, diatonic style, one which culminated in his graduation work, the anthemic *Cantata for a Youth Festival* (Kantáta az ifjúság ünnepére, 1948–9), the Soviet Union’s Zhdanov cultural policy came to Hungary. Thus began, from 1948 onwards, the ‘flattening’ of cultural life, a loss of freedom, and that required entirely new compromises with folk and high classical traditions, not to mention their accompanying texts.<sup>34</sup>

Bartók’s death in 1945 left his image vulnerable to exploitation by both sides of the debate, as a figure at once ‘too modern and not modern enough’.<sup>35</sup> Ligeti, meanwhile, became a member of Bence Szabolcsi’s influential Bartók seminars, which linked the great, salvific works of music history with revolution, in a coded discourse that satisfied the state socialist culture while implicitly presenting them as beacons of resistance.<sup>36</sup> Lóránt Péteri views Szabolcsi’s musical narratives as the construction of Central European Jewish self-identification, one that replaced traditional nationalism with a spiritualized ‘Hungarianness’ derived from Kodály’s dominant model; one might speculate that Szabolcsi’s example inspired students such as Ligeti and his Jewish colleague György Kurtág.<sup>37</sup> In the meantime the socialist Musicians Union held regular audition panels for their festivals, which evidently served as a case study in political theatre. These ritualized affairs doled out praise and passive aggressive criticism alike in explicitly ideological terms, as when Ligeti’s *Cantata for a Youth Festival* was critiqued for its ‘clerical and reactionary’ fugue.<sup>38</sup> In subsequent years the young composer won more praise for folk arrangements than for original works; as Márton Kerékfy notes, the latter often betray a certain insecurity about his artistic direction, caught between the directives of Socialist Realism, tradition and a growing knowledge of the Western avant-garde.<sup>39</sup>

### **‘Where Is the Holocaust in All This?’**

‘Where Is the Holocaust in All This?’, Scheduling asks in the title to his essay that considers the lack of clear reference to the Holocaust in both Ligeti’s music and Ligeti scholarship.<sup>40</sup> Although Ligeti expressed much ambivalence about his Jewish identity, he never denied it (although he did not write about it until 1968, and then only in a letter to Harald Kaufmann).<sup>41</sup> Scheduling finds it odd that none of Ligeti’s works directly reference the Holocaust, given that the composer, especially in later years, openly discussed the personal losses he suffered during that period. Yet as Ligeti himself noted, ‘Anyone who has been through horrifying experiences is not likely to create terrifying works of art in all seriousness. He is more likely to alienate.’<sup>42</sup> He went so far as to imply that the ‘frozen expressionism’ of the *Requiem* was a necessary step towards resolving ‘all my own fear . . . my real life experiences, a lot of terrifying childhood fantasies’.<sup>43</sup> Hence, a distanced, somewhat calculated use of devices, including ‘kaleidoscopic’ gestures and extreme registral contrast, takes on the character of talismans, as if staving off an existential dread too intense to be summoned directly.<sup>44</sup> Scheduling mentions Wolfgang Marx as one of the few scholars who deal with Ligeti as survivor, and with the *Requiem* and *Le Grand Macabre* as works that, if only obliquely, reflect the

composer's wartime experiences.<sup>45</sup> Yet Marx, like many other scholars, makes no case for either work as isomorphic to a particular event or set of victims; he views the *Requiem*, citing Salmenhaara, as 'a funeral mass for the whole of humanity'.<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps the question we should ask then is 'Where *should* the Holocaust be in all this?' As many scholars have noted, foremost among them Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, the Holocaust, and its mediated representations, has become a paradigmatic case for the relation of memory and modernity.<sup>47</sup> Changing representations of the Holocaust, reflecting social and national shifts of perception, have moved beyond its meaning for Jewish victims and German perpetrators; the Holocaust now functions as an iconic, transnational symbol based on a cosmopolitanized memory that exists alongside national collective memory. 'Since the end of the Cold War, the Holocaust has become the new founding moment for Europe', and thus has completely changed its meaning for generations who have come of age during that period.<sup>48</sup> Scheduling's scholarly query 'Where Is the Holocaust?' is thus thoroughly contemporary. In the early 1960s a different set of social and cultural assumptions concerning the Holocaust held sway: the Eichmann trial was in progress, and Germany was just coming to terms with institutional means of addressing the burden of guilt. A cultural strategy for representing and mediating the Holocaust came much later.<sup>49</sup> Scheduling's analysis explicitly compares the Hungarian-Canadian composer István Anhalt with Ligeti. Although both had similar backgrounds, their subsequent careers were very different; Anhalt explicitly addressed his wartime experiences and Jewish heritage in a number of autobiographical works. Yet Anhalt did not begin composing these works until the 1980s, and seems to have had a markedly different attitude to his 'exile' in North America.

I can say without any hesitation that I have never regarded my move from my native Hungary as moving into 'exile'. I moved away from there of my own *free volition*, behind which there was a clear view that by this I am *liberating myself* as from some bondage. The multiple escapes . . . were stations in my *self-liberation*.<sup>50</sup>

Anhalt's address was given at a 2008 symposium at the University of Calgary titled 'Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile' from the vantage point of a long and fruitful career spent in Kingston, Ontario. Ligeti, by contrast, spent most of his career in Germany and Austria, and obtained Austrian citizenship. Even from the vantage point of the 1990s, he expressed anything but a sense of liberation:

Why did I leave Hungary? I must say that I left it reluctantly. I am very deeply rooted in the Hungarian culture and language. I am of Jewish origin, but really only became a Jew through the Nazi persecution. But culturally I am Hungarian. I grew up in the Hungarian language; I am steeped in Hungarian literature. I was very influenced in my childhood by the Hungarian folktales: this plays a major role in all my thoughts and feelings. So leaving Budapest was still emotionally very difficult, because I knew I was losing this sounding board: the Hungarian language, Hungarian culture and also a certain way of thinking.<sup>51</sup>

### 'Why did I leave Hungary?'

Charles Wilson notes that Ligeti's exile status is often invoked in the literature in an almost essentialist fashion, the migrant in his 'otherness' as herald of the new.<sup>52</sup> Ligeti of course would not be the first; as Edward Said wrote in 'Reflections on Exile', exile and the particular status of the refugee have been turned into a primary *topos* of modern culture. As an engine of artistic production and as a means of redemption for non-exiles, 'the exile's predicament is as close as we come in the modern era to tragedy'.<sup>53</sup>

Galin Tihanov examines this notion of the twentieth-century exile as locus for creativity as well as suffering.<sup>54</sup> Exile and emigration together represent an extreme embodiment of Foucault's heterotopia, sparked by sudden historical change and the trauma of dislocation but also leading to the 'productive insecurity of having to face and make use of more than one language and culture'.<sup>55</sup> The doctrine of Russian Formalism and Viktor Shklovsky's concept of 'estrangement', after all, came as a result of viewing the 'sanctified naturalness' of native literature through the lens of another language and culture. Modern literary theory between the wars and the discipline of comparative literature were both the product of exiles who placed a premium on cosmopolitan values.<sup>56</sup> In the final analysis, however, Tihanov sees exile as a thoroughly romantic cultural construct, in which the exiled figure is polarized by the binary opposition madman/superhero. Said and Tihanov see the figure of the exile inscribed in a nationalist discourse, but as an emphatically *individual* example of suffering. 'Romanticism is, I submit, the foundational metanarrative of border crossing and exile in modernity: what is transgressed here is the habitual norm of the everyday; creativity and suffering – given and received – go hand in hand in this spectacle of (both forced and voluntary) removal from reality.'<sup>57</sup> Only by grasping the sentiments aroused by this romantic metanarrative can we understand our attachment to it, and look beyond the paradigm of exile as an aberration from a presumed norm.

As with the iconic exception of the Holocaust, we assimilate this post-romantic view when we perceive the universal implications of exile: that in contemporary culture we are all in a sense rootless, the modern intellectual as 'a perpetual wanderer and a universal stranger'.<sup>58</sup> If, as Zygmunt Bauman asserts, estrangement is necessary to perceive the universal, then the exile's viewpoint is the only one from which truth can be seen.<sup>59</sup> This connection between modernism and exile points away from the exile as simply performing a crisis of national identity and towards one that views exiles as, in Brigid Cohen's terms, 'transnational mediators'.<sup>60</sup>

As Cohen notes, the national imaginary has also overwhelmingly oriented exile studies, just as it has musicology. Her brief calls for new narratives of modernism and the avant-garde, narratives which foreground questions of displacement and transcend stereotypes of the exile as either a tragic or transcendently heroic figure. Cohen's own work on the careers of Stefan Wolpe and Yoko Ono identifies their multiple identifications, which speak collectively to a shared 'migrant cosmopolitanism', despite their different backgrounds and changing affiliations.<sup>61</sup>



In the case of Wolpe – as in the case of Anhalt – much of his work is explicitly autobiographical, ‘self-revelatory, autobiographically inflected acts of musical communication that would gather together all of the splits and contradictions of his uprooted life within a richly conceived world of musical gestures, metaphors, and speech’.<sup>62</sup> Ligeti’s music operates in a wholly different register, removed from autobiography, self-revelation and an explicit desire to communicate particulars. Yet it is this very opacity that has tempted interviewers time and again to demand explicit links between the composer’s life and works.

Monika Lichtenfeld, for instance, read Ligeti’s *Drei Phantasien nach Friedrich Hölderlin* (1983) as biographical texts, calling them documents of self-analysis at a critical stage of Ligeti’s life. As musical reflections on past experience and an explicit formulation of wishes they invite a search for balance. For instance, the text of the second movement ‘Wenn aus der Ferne . . .’ was originally part of Hölderlin’s series of odes by the Greek Hyperion to his beloved, Diotima, although it represents the ‘lost’ Diotima calling out to Hyperion from the beyond. In Lichtenfeld’s reading, the text is addressed to a hypothetical ‘You’ as the narrator’s alter ego; it thus serves as an exemplary allegory of artistic life in its isolation, especially that of a composer who ‘does not want to reform the world’ nor appeal to it, but who, despite ill-treatment, will not turn his back on it.<sup>63</sup> Her romantic portrait of artistic struggle is at odds with Ligeti’s professed approach to text-setting, as it is to the self-effacement that would seem to best serve the historical dimension of Hölderlin’s texts.<sup>64</sup> Yet Ligeti selects only parts of poems from three eras, and his dense textures and sudden shifts of register, dynamics and mood seemed to some to be at war with their source texts. The pleas of ‘Wenn aus der Ferne’ seem to be the projections of a single subjectivity, one that, as in many of Ligeti’s works, represents a split subject that cannot be accommodated by the romantic archetype of the émigré artist.

No doubt all compositions convey somehow all the experience the composer has accumulated, what you could call his attitude to life. That cannot be helped. But it is quite another matter to advertise it, saying ‘that is the message I bring’; no, that is not for me. . . .

My message is not a deliberate programme but an indirect, implied message that is present in all music.<sup>65</sup>

Ligeti elucidated his position somewhat earlier, in response to the 1972 Darmstadt debate on politically engaged music between Reinhold Brinkmann and Carl Dahlhaus. With a clarity that often eluded the main presenters, Ligeti declared music neither politically progressive nor reactionary, but ‘of a region which lies elsewhere’.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Cold War cosmopolitanism and the reception of modernism***

That storied 1972 Darmstadt debate marked a flashpoint in the reception of modernism. Yet it also shone a light on competing national imaginaries during the

Cold War that affected the production and reception of post-war music, not only beyond 1956 but also in current debates on the virtues of modernism. As Hanns-Werner Heister notes, music is always at least implicitly present in any discussions of culture and the Cold War.<sup>67</sup> And the political valence of modernist music was vastly different in Europe and the United States. While the European avant-garde viewed modernism as a political tool against totalitarianism and the predations of unchecked capitalism, modernist music was received as part of an entrenched, conservative academic culture in the United States.<sup>68</sup> Anne Shreffler outlines the radical differences between these camps when she compares the modernist historiography of Carl Dahlhaus and Richard Taruskin.<sup>69</sup> Both scholars were deeply suspicious of overtly political music, but their qualms seem rooted in entirely different musical epistemes. Dahlhaus lamented politically engaged music's loss of a hard-fought aesthetic autonomy, and the contemplative discipline required to appreciate it. Taruskin views all music as ideologically tainted by nature; therefore, music that appeals to an educated elite not only forgoes progressive values, but often carries a whiff of fascist ideology. Whether speaking of serialism, experimental music, electronic music or early minimalism, Taruskin's favourite adjective is 'utopian', as if the very impulse to produce something new in music is inherently a futile urge.<sup>70</sup> By the time he or she reaches page 445, the reader is not surprised to learn that modernism is *tout court* a utopian idea, a declaration that might surprise the many scholars who have illumined the fissures and complications of modernist ideals in related arts.

The polarized views of Dahlhaus and Taruskin clearly reflect not only different ideologies concerning the cultural function of music, but also different transnational historiographies of modernism predicated on very different principles: a complex continental tradition informed by social theory and Frankfurt school aesthetics versus an Anglo-American musicology that, as Arved Ashby notes, rarely addressed music's 'fatal split between the aesthetic and the political, between present and past'.<sup>71</sup> Björn Heile and Gianmario Borio document this split in the Anglo-American 'new musicology' that demonized an essentialized modernist ideal that never actually existed in practice.<sup>72</sup> Stylistic diversity, the role of teachers and mentors, the wealth of aesthetic positions represented: all evaporate to reveal the desideratum of pure rationality and autonomy that cannot help but appear not only solipsistic but 'historically aberrant'.<sup>73</sup>

That European modernists like Ligeti were obsessed with the American experimental tradition and rarely affiliated with academic institutions are but two non-trivial details that disappear from these accounts.<sup>74</sup> As Heile convincingly demonstrates, British and American musicologists looked askance at European modernism for different reasons, yet it is still the *national* in the tradition that holds sway, and blocks consideration of the modernist tradition for the messy, plural, thoroughly cosmopolitan venture it is. The historiography of musical modernism is not only tilted towards nationalism but towards a binary opposition of social imaginaries, neither of which address the critical, dialectical and self-reflexive character of late modernity.

Ligeti's position on modernism and the avant-garde was nothing if not self-reflexive, as he navigated a route between the Dahlhausian and Taruskinian views of the new music's political valence:

The concept of the avant-garde has had many political connotations since the time it was connected with socialist utopian thinking about another and better society. That was the avant-garde movement's programme circa World War I. . . . I see a clear connection between the avant-garde and socialism. The exceptions are, for example, Schoenberg and Webern who were conservative and deeply rooted in their tradition.<sup>75</sup>

With the crash of the socialist utopia, and with the alteration of technical civilization through the diffusion of microelectronics, it is also time for the artistic avant-garde to pass. Therefore, for me the 'beautiful' postmodern appears as a chimera. I am looking for 'another' modernity, neither for a 'back-to', nor for a fashionable protest or 'critique'.<sup>76</sup>

Ligeti's 'other modernity', he would be the first to admit, owed a great debt to an earlier Hungarian exile, and his model of a heterogeneous but never trivial art with its own highly developed cosmopolitan imaginary. In the late 1950s, during Ligeti's early period in the West, he penned a lecture on Bartók's *Mikrokosmos* for West German Radio (apparently never broadcast). This delightful essay compares the small pieces that comprise *Mikrokosmos* to the drawings and water colours of Paul Klee, noting that both assembled tiny, 'quasi-objective' gestures into a uniform, magical whole greater than the sum of its parts.<sup>77</sup> In the case of Bartók, compositional process reifies the folk narrative underlying *Cantata profana*: vestiges of the human are elevated into an enchanted creation no longer part of our mundane realm.

Here the romance of the primitive serves as a palliative for the modern age; 'the infantile is seen as refined', hence the merging of 'Hungarian, Romanian, Arab and Balinese folklore with a specifically European, intellectual compositional art and design'.<sup>78</sup> Because this quasi-barbaric art held up a mirror to totalitarianism, it was roundly derided, but Bartók's music also held up a mirror to the past, as archaic modes and tonal gestures (aligned with the figurative in painting) intertwine with the chromatic, at times reaching back to the keen sound of Couperin's harpsichord. In the end what impresses Ligeti the most is Bartók's heterogeneity, in which 'rootedness' is never incompatible with complexity, and the complex assemblage never mere bricolage. 'Indeed, he remained open to all impressions, but through his personality and fantasy he merged the various style elements into something unified, completely unmistakable.'<sup>79</sup>

There is more than a trace of Szabolcsi's redemptive rhetoric in 'Über Bartók's *Mikrokosmos*', but that utopian sensibility is directed inwards: the music's genius overrides its function as a pedagogical exercise or ideological statement about modern music. *Mikrokosmos itself* is the link between ethnicity, nationality, creativity and biography; its vertiginous juxtapositions – 'pentatonicism, diatonicism and

chromaticism, bi- and polytonality, symmetrical and asymmetrical, homophony and polyphony, the inheritance of Bach, Scarlatti, Couperin, Beethoven, Liszt and Debussy, the intellectual vicinity of Stravinsky and Hindemith, Eastern European, Balkan, Arabic and Far Eastern<sup>80</sup> – merge into a new art that embodies Beck's 'dialogical imaginary of the internalized other'.

### **Ligeti and Hungary: rootedness and cosmopolitanism**

It is to the contributors to this volume (not including, of course, the composer himself) that we turn for a more complete and nuanced appraisal of Ligeti's cultural identities. This collection of fourteen essays grew out of a musicological symposium held on 13 July 2013 in Szombathely, Hungary, to mark the ninetieth anniversary of György Ligeti's birth. It was organized by the International Bartók Seminar and Festival – at which Ligeti himself was a guest lecturer back in 1990 and 1993 – in cooperation with the Institute of Musicology of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The aim of the symposium, titled 'Ligeti and Hungary: Rootedness and Cosmopolitanism', was to shine light on the composer's multiple cultural identities through the study of essential elements of his creative personality and aesthetics, the investigation of cultural backgrounds and influences that contributed to the evolution of his art, and work analyses. With ten speakers representing six countries on three continents, the symposium was truly international, presenting a wide variety of cultural contexts as well as methodological approaches, and so aptly mirrored the wide-ranging impact of the cosmopolitan Ligeti.

Although the present volume originates from the symposium, it greatly exceeds the bounds of a standard conference proceeding. All participants have substantially revised and expanded their papers or have written completely new texts as a result of new ideas emerging from their continuing research. To broaden its scope in terms of both topics and scholarly approaches we also invited Ligeti scholars to contribute who could not be present in Szombathely. As a result, the present volume offers a fairly broad overview of Ligeti's cultural contexts and identities. Thematically progressing from the general to the specific, the book is divided into three parts. Part I includes essays that address general features of Ligeti's creative personality and aesthetics, Part II focuses on specific cultural backgrounds of the young Ligeti and influences that had a lasting impact on the evolution of his musical thinking and style, while Part III offers work analyses set in the context of changes in Ligeti's aesthetics and the politics of new music.

The 2013 symposium concluded with a private screening of the earliest film document on György Ligeti, a televised lecture given on 25 February 1963 in West Berlin's Congress Centre as a part of the series *Musik im technischen Zeitalter* (Music in the Technological Era), moderated by Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt and broadcast live by Sender Freies Berlin (Radio Free Berlin). In this lecture Ligeti speaks not only engagingly but also very entertainingly about his thoughts on music, his compositional ideas and his recent works. Yet the lecture is also a unique

document of Ligeti's 'public image' in the early 1960s, showing how he sought to conform to his new environment in West Germany while also playing the role of an 'exotic outsider'. Therefore, we consider the full transcript of the lecture in English translation a magnificent overture for this book (Chapter 1). We are indebted to Vera Ligeti and Katrin Rabus for granting us permission to publish a full transcript of the film, and especially to Louise Duchesneau for translating and annotating the text. As the composer's assistant for two decades, Duchesneau has a closer and more intimate insight into Ligeti's creative workshop than any other musicologist; she analyses the lecture and illuminates its background in Chapter 2.

Richard Steinitz focuses on a key feature of Ligeti's musical thinking that has rarely been explored in the Ligeti literature: the constant presence of melody (Chapter 3). Surveying almost the whole of the composer's oeuvre, Steinitz presents Ligeti 'as one of the most gifted and instinctive melodists of his generation' and suggests 'that the exercise of this gift gave his music not only identifiable roots and durability, but a cultural breadth and accessibility few others achieved'.

Wolfgang Marx also provides a broad overview of Ligeti's stylistic evolution, but he also attempts to establish a linkage between musical style and biography (Chapter 4). Marx shows how Ligeti's music reflects the traumatic experiences he was subjected to and how 'it may also offer listeners a way to reflect on and engage with them'.

Frederik Knop also shines light on an unexplored but important feature of Ligeti's musical thinking: his interest in the natural sciences (Chapter 5). Knop argues that the natural sciences can be understood 'as an important point of identification for Ligeti, one that enabled him to think beyond geographical and cultural borders', and thus the sciences become a 'site of belonging' in his music.

Based on a study of compositional manuscripts and other documents in the György Ligeti Collection of the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Heidi Zimmermann unveils a previously ignored strand of Ligeti's early development. Introducing early works from Ligeti's Cluj years (so far unknown) and analysing the song *Kineret*, his first composition to appear in print, Zimmermann highlights a group of works that reflect the teenager's engagement with his Jewish identity (Chapter 6). Bianca Țiplea Temeș shines light on another strong strand within Ligeti's multiple cultural identities, revealing his constant engagement with Romanian culture – above all, folk music – from his earliest piano pieces of 1938–41 to the *Hamburg Concerto* of 1998–2002 (Chapter 7).

Chapters 8 to 10 explore Ligeti's analytical and compositional reception of those two twentieth-century composers who influenced him perhaps the most decisively: Béla Bartók and Anton Webern. Anna Dalos reveals how Ligeti's musical thinking was influenced by the categories of the Hungarian tradition of Bartók analysis even after he (seemingly) turned away from Bartók's music in the mid-1950s (Chapter 8). Peter Edwards shows Bartókian harmonic and intervallic structures in the music of Ligeti's middle period, and links Bartók's and Ligeti's music into the same strand of twentieth-century music history, which he calls 'the innovative middle road' (Chapter 9). Also based on research at the Paul Sacher Foundation, Ingrid Pustijanac presents the background and the considerable

impact of Ligeti's abandoned project to write an analytical book on Webern's music (Chapter 10).

The final four chapters feature studies of major and late works that touch on a complex cosmopolitan imaginary. In her parallel analysis of Ligeti's two string quartets, Amy Bauer focuses on their respective relationships with the genre's weighty tradition, and interprets the Second Quartet, written in 1968, as a proper vehicle for Ligeti's own experience as an émigré in the West (Chapter 11). On the basis of the surviving sketch material of *San Francisco Polyphony* (1973–4), Kyoko Okumura reconstructs its compositional history, showing how Ligeti's impressions of San Francisco influenced his musical imagery (Chapter 12).

Márton Kerékfy analyses the 'Hungarianness' of the harpsichord pieces *Hungarian Rock* and *Passacaglia ungherese* (1978), exploring features typical of Hungarian folk music as well as a number of 'pseudo-folksongs' within the two pieces, and interpreting them as ironic self-portraits of the émigré composer (Chapter 13). In a detailed analysis Volker Helbing unveils historic references in the Passacaglia movement of Ligeti's Violin Concerto (1990–2), and shows how the autobiographical and the alienated, the tragic and the ironic, are intertwined in the work (Chapter 14).

Ligeti's cultural identities embrace worlds of geographical, cultural, spiritual, technological and linguistic difference. Yet these worlds collide in his music. Its rich textures, multiple meanings and endlessly fascinating development reveal, in the spirit of Robins, the 'prismatic inflection of other lived sensations and thoughts' within a very singular and complex musical persona.

## Notes

- 1 'Where Is the Holocaust in All This? György Ligeti and the Dialectics of Life and Work', in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 218–19. Scheduling's offhand 'Ligeti the German' requires a caveat. Ligeti would likely never have referred to himself as German, and was only strongly identified with Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, finding greater acceptance in England, France and the Netherlands later in his career (Lukas Ligeti, personal communication, 8 June 2016).
- 2 See Arved Ashby, 'Nationalism and Postnationalist Perspectives in American Musicology', in *Postnational Musical Identities: Cultural Production, Distribution, and Consumption in a Globalized Scenario*, ed. Ignacio Corona and Alejandro L. Madrid (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2007), pp. 23–44.
- 3 Many of the latter are collected in *GS I*.
- 4 'Geronnene Zeit und Narration: György Ligeti im Gespräch', *NZM* 149 (May 1988), pp. 22–3.
- 5 'Die meisten Leute denken, ich sei ein apolitischer Mensch. Das liegt aber nur daran, daß ich nicht den gängigen Moden anhängen. Ich habe jedoch einen abgrundtiefen Haß gegen jede Art von Extremismus, von einseitiger Macht und eine unglaubliche Begeisterung für Demokratie; Demokratie nicht im modischen Sinn, sondern im Sinn von Machtverteilung: daß sich verschiedene Gruppen gegenseitig kontrollieren können. Diese politische Einstellung, die sehr von der einer modischen Linken abweicht – obwohl ich mich als den wahren Gegner der Rechten betrachte, spielt auch für meine Kunst eine wesentliche Rolle.' Bouliane, 'Geronnene Zeit', p. 23.

- 6 Review of Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), *Politics and Culture* 2 (2007), <http://politicsandculture.org/2009/10/02/janet-lyon-review-of-rebecca-l-walkowitz-cosmopolitan-style-modernism-beyond-the-nation/> (accessed 15 July 2015).
- 7 'Mixed Feelings', in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 362.
- 8 Pheng Cheah, 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical – Today', in *Cosmopolitics*, pp. 20–41.
- 9 'Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism', *JAMS* 66/2 (2013), p. 532; see also William Weber, 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life', in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 209–27.
- 10 See the discussions of Mendelssohn and Saint-Saëns by Celia Applegate ('Mendelssohn on the Road: Music, Travel, and the Anglo-German Symbiosis', in *The Oxford New Cultural History*, pp. 228–44), and Jan Pasler ('Camille Saint-Saëns and Stoic Cosmopolitanism', *JAMS* 66/2 (2013), pp. 539–45).
- 11 Dana Gooley, 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *JAMS* 66/2 (2013), p. 528.
- 12 '... also unbedingt und ausschliesslich Kakanien'; Ligeti letter of 25 July 1968, 'Briefwechsel György Ligeti – Harald Kaufmann', in *Von innen und außen*, ed. Werner Grünzweig and Gottfried Krieger (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1993), pp. 230–7, citation 232.
- 13 See Gyan Prakash, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? Multiple, Globally Enmeshed and Subaltern', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), pp. 27–8.
- 14 *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p. 84.
- 15 *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, trans. Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), p. 2.
- 16 Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, p. 78.
- 17 *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 23.
- 18 Ligeti set poems by Weöres at three stages of his career, completing his only solo song cycle on the short poems of the 1940s (and part of a later poem) with *Sippal, dobbal, nádihegedűvel* (With Pipes, Drums, Fiddles, 2000). See Amy Bauer, 'Singing Wolves and Dreaming Apples: The Cosmopolitan Imagination in Ligeti's Weöres Songs', *Ars Lyrica* 21 (2012), pp. 1–39.
- 19 *The Cosmopolitan Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 52–3.
- 20 Delanty, *Cosmopolitan Imagination*, pp. 86–7.
- 21 Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, pp. 40, 85.
- 22 Delanty, *Cosmopolitan Imagination*, pp. 188–9.
- 23 'On Musical Cosmopolitanism', *Macalester International Roundtable* (2007), p. 7, <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3> (accessed 15 July 2015).
- 24 'On Cosmopolitanism: Our Journeys With Others', *SEM Newsletter* 40/2 (2006), p. 4.
- 25 Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, 'Introduction', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism?*, p. 5.
- 26 'Cosmopolitanism and Good-Enough Cosmopolitanism: Encounter With Robin Denslow and Charlie Gillett', *City* 14/4 (2010), p. 412.
- 27 'The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience', in *Cosmopolitics*, pp. 233–45; see also Bruce Robbins, 'Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism', in *Cosmopolitics*, pp. 1–19.
- 28 Ligeti, cited in Paul Griffiths, *The Substance of Things Heard: Writings About Music* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), p. 119; originally published in *The Times*, 4 December 1996.

- 29 See, for example, the first chapter of Dibelius/*Ligeti*.
- 30 See Lynn Hooker, 'Ideas About Musical Hungarianness in Early Hungarian Musicology', in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blazekovic and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), pp. 565–80.
- 31 "'Ja, ich war ein utopischer Sozialist": György Ligeti im Gespräch mit Reinhard Oehlschlägel', *MusikTexte* 28/29 (1989), pp. 86–8.
- 32 See André Balog, "'Those Unheard Are Sweeter . . .?'" Hungarian Music and Musicians in the 20th Century: An Incomplete History', in *Music's Intellectual History*, pp. 315–24; and Rachel Beckles Willson, *Ligeti, Kurtág, and Hungarian Music During the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 13–25.
- 33 'Ligeti im Gespräch mit Oehlschlägel', p. 93.
- 34 Ligeti left Hungary for Romania in 1949 partly to avoid taking a commission for a work that praised Hungary's totalitarian leader at the time, Mátyás Rákosi; see 'György Ligeti: An Art Without Ideology', in *The Voice of Music: Conversations With Composers of Our Time*, ed. Anders Beyer, trans. Jean Christensen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 4.
- 35 Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. xiv; see Chapters 2, 5 and 6 for the politics of Bartók reception in post-war Hungary.
- 36 Lóránt Péteri, 'God and Revolution: Rewriting the Absolute. Bence Szabolcsi and the Discourse of Hungarian Musical Life', in *Music's Intellectual History*, pp. 337–42; see also Beckles Willson, *Hungarian Music*, p. 28.
- 37 Péteri, 'God and Revolution', p. 342.
- 38 Ligeti, 'Art Without Ideology', p. 4; Beckles Willson chronicles the meticulously prepared minutes of these meetings in *Hungarian Music*, pp. 37–41.
- 39 "'A 'New Music' From Nothing": György Ligeti's *Musica ricercata*', *SM* 49/3–4 (2008), p. 208; see pp. 204–8 for a concise outline of Ligeti's student years.
- 40 Scheduling, 'Where Is the Holocaust?', pp. 205–11.
- 41 'Briefwechsel György Ligeti – Harald Kaufmann', in *Von innen und außen*, p. 231. See also Chapter 6 of this volume, and Beckles Willson, 'Reconstructing Ligeti', in *Music's Intellectual History*, p. 444. Ligeti's first public comment on his Jewish identity was in a radio lecture broadcast on Südwestfunk, Stuttgart, 2 April 1978; see 'Mein Judentum', in *GS II*, pp. 20–8.
- 42 Ligeti/*Conversation*, p. 21.
- 43 Ligeti/*Conversation*, p. 19.
- 44 Amy Bauer argues that such devices – as a tacit admission of trauma – take on an ethical force; 'Canon as an Agent of Revelation in the Music of Ligeti', in *Contemporary Music and Spirituality*, ed. Sander van Maas and Robert Sholl (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 109–27.
- 45 See "'Make Room for the Grand Macabre!": The Concept of Death in György Ligeti's Oeuvre', in Dibelius/*Ligeti*, pp. 71–84, and "'Requiem sempiternam"? Death and the Musical Requiem in the Twentieth Century', *Mortality* 17/2 (2012), pp. 119–29, as well as Marx's contribution to this volume.
- 46 Marx, "'Requiem sempiternam"?', p. 124; Erkki Salmenhaara, *Das musikalische Material und seine Behandlung in den Werken 'Apparitions', 'Atmosphères', und 'Requiem' von György Ligeti*, trans. Helke Sander (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1969), p. 166.
- 47 Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, 'Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory', *European Journal of Social Theory* 5/1 (2002), pp. 87–106; *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006); and 'The Politics of Commemoration: The Holocaust, Memory and Trauma', in *Handbook of Contemporary European Social Theory*, ed. Gerard Delanty (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 289–97.
- 48 Levy and Sznajder, *Holocaust and Memory*, p. 187.
- 49 Levy and Sznajder, *Holocaust and Memory*, pp. 69, 96–8, 124.



- 50 István Anhalt, 'Of the Centre, Periphery; Exile, Liberation; Home and the Self', in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág and Sándor Veress*, ed. Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliot and Kenneth DeLong (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), p. 65, cited in Scheduling, 'Where Is the Holocaust?', p. 216. Emphases in the original.
- 51 'Warum habe ich Ungarn verlassen? Ich muß sagen, ich habe es ungerne verlassen. Ich bin sehr tief in der ungarischen Kultur und Sprache verwurzelt. Ich bin zwar von jüdischer Abstammung, wurde aber wirklich Jude erst durch die Naziverfolgung. Kulturell gesehen bin ich jedoch Ungar. Ich bin in der ungarischen Sprache aufgewachsen, bin durchdrungen von der ungarischen Literatur. Ich war in meiner Kindheit sehr von den ungarischen Volksmärchen geprägt: das spielt für meine ganze Gedanken- und Gefühlswelt eine große Rolle. So war das Verlassen von Budapest doch seelisch sehr schwierig, weil ich wußte, ich verliere diesen Resonanzboden: die ungarische Sprache, die ungarische Kultur und auch eine bestimmte Denkweise.' György Ligeti, "'Ich glaube nicht an grosse Ideen, Lehrgebäude, Dogmen . . .": Lerke von Saalfeld im Gespräch mit György Ligeti', *NZM* 154/1 (1993), p. 32.
- 52 'György Ligeti and the Rhetoric of Autonomy', *Twentieth-Century Music* 1/1 (2004), p. 21.
- 53 Edward Said, 'Reflections on Exile', in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 183.
- 54 'Narratives of Exile: Cosmopolitanism Beyond the Liberal Imagination', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism?*, p. 142.
- 55 'Narratives of Exile', p. 145.
- 56 'Narratives of Exile', p. 146.
- 57 'Narratives of Exile', p. 150.
- 58 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 83.
- 59 *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p. 84.
- 60 'Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism', *The Musical Quarterly* 97/2 (2014), p. 215.
- 61 'Limits of National History', p. 212.
- 62 'Limits of National History', p. 190.
- 63 "' . . . und alles Schöne hatt' er behalten . . .": Fragmente zu Ligetis Ästhetik', in *György Ligeti: Personalstil – Avantgardismus – Popularität*, ed. Otto Kolleritsch (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1987), p. 123. See also Ulrich Dibelius, 'Ligeti Alludes to Himself Everywhere With Hölderlin's Verses' [Allenthalben spielt Ligeti mit den Versen Hölderlins auf sich selbst an], p. 211.
- 64 Ligeti claimed that in approaching Hölderlin's texts, he adopted the passive stance of an objective recording vessel; he let music 'choose' the text, but intervened to weed out the abstract and philosophic, in favour of the concrete and sensual. Program notes for performance of *Drei Phantasien* during the Styrian Autumn Festival, Graz, 4 October 1984, reprinted in *GS* II, pp. 285–6.
- 65 Ligeti/*Conversation*, pp. 80–1.
- 66 György Ligeti, 'On Music and Politics', trans. Wes Blomster, *Perspectives of New Music* 16/2 (1978), p. 22. Beate Kutschke offers a reading of the debate itself in 'Musicology and the Force of Political Fiction: The Debate on Politically Engaged Music at the Beginning of the 1970s', in *Music's Intellectual History*, pp. 583–92.
- 67 'Kalter Krieg: Koordinaten und Konfigurationen – 1945 bis 1990, vorher und seither', in *Kultur und Musik nach 1945: Ästhetik im Zeichen des Kalten Krieges*, ed. Ulrich Blomann (Saarbrücken: Pfau-Verlag, 2015), p. 19.
- 68 See Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 4: *The Early Twentieth Century* and vol. 5: *The Late Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Joseph N. Straus, 'The Myth of Serial "Tyranny" in the 1950s and 1960s', *The Musical Quarterly* 83/3 (1999), pp. 301–43.
- 69 'Cold War Dissonance: Dahlhaus, Taruskin, and the Critique of the Politically Engaged Avant-Garde', in *Kultur und Musik nach 1945*, pp. 46–60.

- 70 Taruskin uses the term ‘utopian’ over twenty times in vol. 5 of the *Oxford History* to describe the music or ideas of Boulez (pp. 36–7), Cardew (p. 86), Babbitt (pp. 168, 210), Cage (p. 175), Busoni (p. 177), Futurism (p. 178), Carter (p. 301), hippies (p. 309), Henze (p. 346), Young (p. 359), Riley (pp. 365–6) and Fred Lehdaahl (p. 453).
- 71 Ashby, ‘Nationalism and Postnationalist Perspectives’, p. 24.
- 72 Heile, ‘Darmstadt as Other: British and American Responses to Musical Modernism’, *Twentieth-Century Music* 1/2 (2004), pp. 161–78; and Borio, ‘Musical Communication and the Process of Modernity’, *JRMA* 139/1 (2014), pp. 178–83.
- 73 Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 16, cited in Heile, ‘Darmstadt as Other’, p. 168.
- 74 Twenty-first-century historians are picking up the slack; see Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Robert Adlington, ‘Modernism: The People’s Music?’, paper delivered at *Modernist Music and Political Aesthetics*, University of Nottingham, 8–10 April 2015 and, as ed., *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), as well as ‘Round Table: Modernism and Its Others’, Laura Tunbridge, Gianmorio Borio, Peter Franklin, Christopher Chowrimootoo, Alastair Williams, Arman Swartz and Christopher Ballantine, *JRMA* 139/1 (2014), pp. 177–204.
- 75 Ligeti, ‘Art Without Ideology’, p. 10.
- 76 ‘Mit dem Zusammenbruch der sozialistischen Utopie und mit der Veränderung der technischen Zivilisation durch die Verbreitung der Mikroelektronik ist auch die Zeit der Künstlerischen Avantgarde vorbei. Da für mich die “schöne” Postmoderne als eine Schimäre erscheint, suche ich nach einer “anderen” Modernität, weder nach einem “Zurück-zu”, noch nach modischem Protest oder “Kritik”.’ Ligeti, ‘Rhapsodische, unausgewogene Gedanken über Musik, besonders über meine eigenen Kompositionen’, *NZM* 154/1 (1993), p. 29; rep. in *GS* II, p. 133.
- 77 ‘Über Bartóks *Mikrokosmos*’, in *GS* I, pp. 318–21.
- 78 ‘. . . das Infantile sich so raffiniert zeigt, wie es einem reifen Erwachsenen nur möglich ist, andererseits bei Bartók das Verschmelzen ungarischer, rumänischer, arabischer und balinesischer Folklore mit einer spezifisch europäischen, intellektuellen Satzkunst und Formgebung . . .’. Ligeti, ‘Über *Mikrokosmos*’, p. 318.
- 79 ‘Wohl hielt er sich allen Eindrücken gegenüber offen, doch hat er die mannigfaltigen Stilelemente durch seine Persönlichkeit und Phantasie zu etwas Einheitlichem, völlig Unverwechselbarem verschmolzen.’ Ligeti, ‘Über *Mikrokosmos*’, p. 320.
- 80 Ligeti, ‘Über *Mikrokosmos*’, p. 320.