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Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities

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“German composer.” “Russian composer.” “French composer.” “American composer of Italian birth.” “Austrian composer, son of Leopold Mozart.” These are the first sentences of the articles on Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Josquin Des Prez, Menotti, and W. A. Mozart from the *New Grove Dictionary*, the central resource of music history research. Though the sentences sound neutral and descriptive, they represent a particular way of thinking about the identities of musicians, one we often take for granted: that the nation to which a musician belongs is a “primary” fact, on par with birth and death dates. Nations are part of the mental maps that orient us and help determine where a composer is “coming from” or where a composer stands in the scheme of music history. Even before Mozart is the son of Leopold, Grove tells us, he is the offspring of Austria. National tags emplace musicians not only territorially, but also culturally. To call a musician “French” is not just to mark a place of birth but also to imply his or her imbrication with the communal, institutional, and aesthetic affiliations of the French nation. For reasons both pragmatic and ideological, the communities of scholarship that shape, interrogate, and revise music–historical narratives have found national frameworks difficult to avoid or resist.

But national frames, however enabling for certain purposes, can also be limiting, since the nation is only one among many possible entities or communities to which music can establish a sense of belonging. Musicians have often learned their art, acquired status, and reached audiences through displacements and dislocations that take them beyond national boundaries. An exceptionally strong talent or a hunger for education might motivate them to undertake an international tour or seek out a particular music teacher in a faraway place. “In every time and place for which a history can be written,” writes Celia Applegate, “one could probably—in cases definitely—find musicians on the move.”¹ Sometimes these displacements are simply a matter of opportunity. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, patronage and diplomacy brought Franco-Flemish

polyphonists to Italy. In the mid-eighteenth century, Italian troupes traveled to Paris and had a major impact on the city's theatrical and intellectual life. In the first half of the nineteenth century Russia attracted composers and virtuosos from England, France, Germany, and Italy, many of whom received patronage allowing them to stay there long-term.

Beyond these territorial movements, music can also displace musicians stylistically and aesthetically. Aaron Copland arrived at his distinctively "American" voice in part by traveling to Paris and absorbing the currents of European modernism. And without traveling very far at all, J. S. Bach studied Italian and French scores to expand his stylistic resources and develop a hybridized aesthetic perspective quite unlike that of the typical German *kapellmeister* of his time. Thus can the movement of notated scores—and in later periods, of recordings—serve as an agent of displacement, resituating a musician in a "place" that cannot be reduced to a geographical origin or local network. And when scores or recordings are the mediators, this can occur regardless of whether the musician travels or engages in face-to-face encounters with unfamiliar styles. Musicians always come from definite, concrete places, but their aesthetic outlook often emerges from a place less easy to territorialize or localize.

How can we orient ourselves toward the non-national and non-localizable dimensions of music history and practice? What vocabularies and concepts can we engage to free us from the long, deep influence of nation-centered thinking? Do the displacing processes described above qualify as "European," "international," "transnational," "global," "cosmopolitan"? Do they constitute a situation of "cultural transfer"?² All of these concepts have been summoned and developed to address particular kinds of questions. But in recent years the term "cosmopolitan" has been embraced in a more enthusiastic and progressive spirit. There is now a burgeoning stream of scholarship that explicitly aims at undermining nation-oriented categories by focusing on transnational exchanges, border-crossing encounters, and expressions of the so-called cosmopolitan in music culture.³ These studies have had the welcome effect of exposing the exclusivist logic of nationalism, revealing the multiple layers of affiliation that play into music's creation and consumption, and theorizing musical expressions in terms of their manner of negotiating local, regional, national, and global axes of relation. They tend to align cosmopolitanism with recent intellectual trends, including a shift away from the bounded categories of identity politics toward an analysis of multiply affiliated or intersectional identity, a renewed interest in exilic and diasporic forms of expression, and a sharper focus on experiences of coerced mobility, colonial oppression, and migration brought about by economic neoliberalism, racism, and religious intolerance. With the resurgence of nationalisms in

today's political culture and the concomitant affirmation or normalization of political insularity, cosmopolitanism could not be a more relevant and welcome outlook.

It is precisely because cosmopolitanism is so appealing, both as flexible model of belonging and as resistance to reactionary nationalisms, that it risks becoming overused and losing its critical potential. In many recent reclamations of cosmopolitanism, the concept of the nation tends to linger in the background, however faintly, as a negative image against which the cosmopolitan appears as good or desirably alternative. In musicology, the term is too often applied to anything that lacks national singularity: institutions, social groups, distribution networks, genres, or stylistic idioms, composers, audiences, critics, cities, and journals. But what binds together this multiplicity of supposedly cosmopolitan things? We should be wary of using the term cosmopolitanism as a casual descriptor for the multitude of diverse encounters, affiliations, and alliances we discover. Not all border-crossing encounters reflect or produce cosmopolitan sensibilities. Some serve only to reinforce national identification, and others evince primarily commercial or administrative conditions that do not necessarily carry over into changes in ethical practices and attitudes of belonging.

As an alternative to such extremely wide applications of the term and to the conceptual primacy of the nation, we propose to follow a narrower interpretation of cosmopolitanism as an ethical–political stance, descended from the Stoics and Cynics of antiquity, reclaimed by authors in the Enlightenment, and carried through into modernity. Our interpretation invests a certain virtue in belonging to, or striving to belong to, a “larger” world as a way of keeping local and parochial attachments in check. This understanding of cosmopolitanism takes it out of the familiar chain of synonyms such as “international” or “transnational” and, by emphasizing its philosophical and attitudinal aspects, disjoins it from the stereotype of the rootless or effete cosmopolitan, which took shape in the late nineteenth century and effectively reduced “cosmopolitan” to an *identity* marked by a lifestyle of luxury and travel. The study of cosmopolitanism in music, we suggest, can productively focus on how its ethical–political mandate has found its way into the behaviors, attitudes, and practices of composers, performers, and listeners. In this we follow the lead of “new cosmopolitan” criticism, which has for well over a decade sought to reclaim a critically productive cosmopolitanism and trace out its expressions in literature and other cultural forms.

Accordingly, this essay offers an overview of new cosmopolitan discourse and identifies some of its intersections with recent interventions by musicologists and ethnomusicologists. Proceeding in a largely theoretical mode, we critique selected recent work on musical cosmopolitanism to

assess the promises and potential pitfalls of this growing field. We intend to promote a more self-conscious use of the term and a heightened awareness of the dilemmas involved in advocating cosmopolitanism as a desirable stance. The existence of such dilemmas need not invalidate the aspiration toward a cosmopolitan viewpoint. Indeed, a responsible cosmopolitan stance will only be enhanced by acknowledging and delineating its limitations through detailed and historically situated accounts of its various iterations. We further argue that addressing musical cosmopolitanism involves taking a longer historical view of the postures adopted by composers, performers, listeners, and critics than has been customary in recent studies, where it appears to belong mainly to the conditions of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Alongside such historical inquiry, it also requires that we examine our own practices of stance-taking as very much a part of that history.

Our ultimate goal is to suggest ways in which the concept of the cosmopolitan might be focused in order to make the best of its specificity vis-à-vis the transnational, the international, the global, and other related concepts. In particular, we propose to restore to it a focus on philosophical, ethical, and political stance that is sometimes obscured when it is deduced empirically from global flows, transnational networks, and the like. If we can identify a distinct field of behaviors, attitudes, and practices in musical life that are shaped by an ideal of belonging to a larger world, and find ways to elaborate on the historically contingent circumstances that this ideal has been invoked to critique, the term cosmopolitan might enter our discourse with a more distinct profile and with greater critical potential. Questions about the possibility of a “global” history of music, about the problematic category of “world music,” and about the role of international relations in music history are occupying the attention of musicologists more than ever. As they continue to preoccupy us, it will become all the more important to understand how we use the term cosmopolitan and how we can make it operate effectively in dialogue.

The New Cosmopolitanism and Musicology

Some of the confusion around cosmopolitanism arises from an elision often made between empirically traceable cross-border phenomena and the stances or attitudes of cosmopolitan actors. Music historians have mainly used the term in the first, more descriptive sense, to mark phenomena that are international by virtue of membership, circulation, or style. Here the cosmopolitan is implicitly contrasted with the national, the regional, or the local. Even when used in this empirical sense, the term often hints at a broadened mentality or outlook, or a particular sense of place in the

world. But crucially, this link is never spelled out, and too often it is assumed that cross-border phenomena naturally give rise to cosmopolitan stances. Cosmopolitanism will only be an analytically useful concept if we can place the focus more squarely on the outlook and its relation to a musician's historical circumstances. Discerning the composer's or listener's ethical stance and sense of "world-belonging" is unquestionably a murky task, and this presents methodological challenges that will be discussed in the final section of this essay. Nevertheless, difficulty and ambiguity do not justify an absence of analysis, and it is only by investigating these kinds of outlooks and their implications that we can extend discussions of cosmopolitanism beyond the empirical, and reanimate the political and ethical impetus implicit in the concept.

By concerning ourselves with the stances of musicians, critics, and listeners of the past, we have the potential to bring historical actors into dialogue with the thriving field of "new cosmopolitan" criticism. In the 1990s a variety of theorists from anthropology, sociology, political science, literature, and other fields began revisiting the history and philosophy of cosmopolitanism in order to reframe discourses of difference, identity, and contingency that many believed had congealed into an inflexible orthodoxy. New cosmopolitans voiced a sense of exhaustion with negative critique and with the repetitive assertions of radical contingency. While they accepted a framework in which socially constructed difference was taken for granted, new cosmopolitans cautiously advocated a critical method that acknowledged, and made space for, the possibility of communication across differences or contingencies. Much of the impetus came from the robust debate initiated in an article by Martha Nussbaum, who argued for the propagation of a sense of world-belonging and global awareness as a means of sustaining foundational human aspirations toward equality and justice, and of averting the schism between multiculturalism and nationalism.⁴ Nussbaum was roundly criticized for attempting to legitimize a form of Enlightenment universalism without adequately accounting for its tainted imperialist associations. Subsequent discussions supported her underlying mandate but attempted to reformulate a sense of cosmopolitanism that was "new" in contrast to the "old" sullied versions. The new cosmopolitanism gained prominence through publications such as Anthony K. Appiah's essay "Cosmopolitan Patriots," the watershed essay collection *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, and a 2000 special issue of *Public Culture* devoted to the topic.⁵

Although the emerging perspectives were varied, new cosmopolitans tended to look favorably upon those aspects of globalization that weakened the force of constructs like the "nation," and they affirmed new sorts of affiliation and new senses of world-belonging—"thinking and feeling beyond

the nation” or “border thinking”⁶—that were emerging from the ground of national and ethnic differences. Many embraced cosmopolitanism as a diversification of attachments that would not necessarily displace national belonging, but would complement and complicate it, thus offering a space for subjectivities formed across and between the borders of the modern state. More recently, these developments have been criticized for failing to advocate a coherent political position, and have arguably diluted the notion of cosmopolitanism to the point of ineffectuality.⁷ The issues remain contentious since historically cosmopolitanism has been summoned to support positions that can be viewed as both emancipatory and oppressive, communal and isolationist, tolerant of diversity yet homogenizing.

The new cosmopolitanism represents a development within the political philosophy of the academic Left and does not constitute a musicological project or historical method *per se*. It might therefore seem almost perverse to try engaging with the new cosmopolitans as musicologists. If their debates are already so contentious, how will we ever be able to relate their concerns to the very different fields and subfields of musicology? In addition, the new cosmopolitanism has a normative tendency—an antagonism toward flat assertions of difference—that grates against the methods of historical and ethnographic projects whose ostensible goal is to observe, document, and catalogue differences. In this circumstance, it would be surprising if the ethical and political dimensions of cosmopolitanism were not greeted with some trepidation. Amanda Anderson has identified a widespread discomfort with cosmopolitanism in the field of literary studies and cultural theory, and wondered “whether the avowal of cosmopolitanism is destined to have a retrograde effect in the current debates”—a concern that may also hold true of musicology. “Why dredge up this tainted and problematic word?” she asks, and answers this by citing Bruce Robbins: “[We] dredge it up so we know our hands are already dirty anyway.”⁸

Are the hands of musicologists “already dirty” with the assumptions and postures that have made cosmopolitanism a problematic word? Much of the musicology of the past twenty years has arguably moved in a cosmopolitical direction without describing itself as such. For example, the vigorous critiques of Dahlhaus in the 1990s, and especially of his German biases, bore a skeptical political undercurrent that clearly proceeded from a cosmopolitan standpoint. Similarly, a desire to liberate the field from reified national categories has been notable in opera scholarship, which long thrived on the refined parsing of national-stylistic idioms.⁹ Michael Tusa, for example, has argued that Weber’s *Der Freischütz*, once considered a historical crux of German national opera, is more accurately understood as a “cosmopolitan” opera through its conscientious blending of the national styles and a rejection of the supposed weaknesses of Italian and

French styles from which it borrows. Tusa defines an early nineteenth-century model of cultural cosmopolitanism that helps separate Weber's *Der Freischütz* from the Scylla of jingoistic German patriotism and the Charybdis of "rootless international" cosmopolitanism. The resultant image of Weber taking critical distance from the French and Italian styles, in order to correct or "improve" them, tellingly mirrors Tusa's own distinctly modern position as a reviser of nation-centered musicological interpretations.

Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, too, take on the entrenched categories of national style in their *A History of Opera*. They argue, for example, that German and French varieties of comic opera of the eighteenth century are so interrelated as to deserve a single umbrella term, "dialogue opera":

However useful it may sometimes be to draw distinctions between the three traditions [Italian, French, German], we need to bear in mind that such separations made themselves felt in different domains at different times, and that the aesthetic precepts and musical devices that flowed between the three dominant operatic traditions could often erase their differences.¹⁰

The authors do not deny that these national-stylistic differences exist, but reassert the non-exclusivity of operatic languages in terms of their circulation and combination, a characteristic so pervasive as to potentially "erase their differences."¹¹ The mildly corrective tone—"we need to bear in mind that . . ."—is a trace of the disciplinary inertia against which Abbate and Parker are working, and this tone becomes stronger in their later iteration of the same idea: "There has never been much point to trying to close off one operatic tradition from the alternative languages that feed it and are fed from it." In past historiography, of course, there *was* very much a point in emphasizing such differences. Thus Abbate and Parker, without adopting an overtly polemical tone, reveal a gently normative, cosmopolitical hand.

In spite of these pivots toward a cosmopolitan perspective, there is evidently a reluctance of scholars to self-identify as "cosmopolitan." The problem is not merely that such self-identification would compromise a desired impression of neutrality, but that the term cosmopolitan remains tainted by nineteenth-century anti-cosmopolitanism, which criticized cosmopolitans as rootless, and by historical associations with elite classes and imperialistic ideologies. Self-identifying as cosmopolitan brings us face to face with what Amanda Anderson calls the "awkward elitism" of cosmopolitanism, which lies in the contrast between the cosmopolitan's

privileged social status and the democratic or humanitarian claims he or she often advances. The awkwardness cannot be driven away by proposing alternative cosmopolitanisms, such as “vernacular” or “rooted” ones, that are understood to emerge spontaneously out of the experiences of non-elites, or to otherwise operate from non-European frames of reference. For in practice the identification and interpretation of such cosmopolitanisms has been mainly the work of an intellectual class of scholars and critics. Cosmopolitanism, in other words, may be inescapably elite in some respects, and it might be more productive to acknowledge this than to skirt around it rhetorically. The awkwardness of our position obliges us not to dismiss cosmopolitanism out of hand, but to track the specific ends toward which it is mobilized. This point has been made by a number of “new cosmopolitan” authors who wish to retrieve a positively valued “critical cosmopolitanism” from among the less attractive manifestations that history offers.

In a searching essay ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes has tried to make a more explicitly affirmative case for cosmopolitanism. Like the musicologists who criticize the limits of nation-based categories, Stokes expresses impatience with some of the prevailing methodological habits of his discipline:

I’m struck by the somewhat limited nature of explanations that would interpret the hemispheric spread of quadrilles and polkas, for instance, purely in terms of empire, colonization, migration, settlement and so forth. . . . Could music and dance move, I find myself wondering, according to an interior logic, and not, simply, the logic of social movement and politics. Could it be that danced or musical form gets picked up by another society simply because of a human fascination for the diversity of form, particularly forms that embody or index satisfying and pleasurable social processes? . . . Don’t these kinds of thing also draw us to “other” music and dance, more often, perhaps, than the pursuit of distinction . . . or of identity?¹²

Here Stokes takes ethnomusicology to task not only for excluding motives and agencies such as “pleasure and play” or “human fascination,” but also for its tendency to read music’s sociality in terms of “distinction” and particularized identities. The global flows that brought European dances to the New World, he argues, cannot be fully understood in showing how social groups produce differential articulations. They demand a complementary account explaining how adaptation and dialogic exchange with exogenous musics can take place at all. This provocative reclamation of a “human” commonality that subtends cultural difference—bodily in the case of dance and inventive in the case of musical “diversity of form”—does not appear to be a return to universalism but rather a challenge to

methodological habits that may cause us to overrate the non-transparency of different cultures to one another. Stokes fully acknowledges that musicians and dancers are made by and constrained by the worlds they inhabit, but he takes the optimistic stance that in encounters with cultural otherness “musical cosmopolitans create musical worlds” that are “the product of certain kinds of intentionality and agency.”¹³

Stokes’s suggestion that cosmopolitanism can offer alternative lines of interpretation and open new methodological pathways is characteristic of new cosmopolitan discourse generally. For example Jillian Heydt-Stevenson and Jeffrey N. Cox, in introducing a special journal issue on “Romantic Cosmopolitanism,” conceived the project as “an exploration of the ways in which cosmopolitanism offered cultural, social, and political practices that could not be reduced to local or national or imperial ambitions.”¹⁴ Challenging the interpretation of Romanticism as inwardly turned, disengaged from the world, and naturally inclined toward essentialist nationalism, they reinterpret it as a movement “fully engaged in the world,” whether through stances following “multiple allegiances” or through the cultivation of a “viable vision of world citizenship, global democracy, and transnational institutions that offered an important alternative to local attachments, patriotism, and international war and expropriation.”¹⁵ Nineteenth-century Romantic authors and their readers, of course, had inherited cosmopolitan ideas and stances from eighteenth-century French, German, and Scottish sources, revising and adapting them to contemporary conditions. And literature has been an important field for cosmopolitical imaginings ever since. For this reason Rebecca Walkowitz, in a study of modernist and contemporary fiction, describes cosmopolitanism as “a tradition of political affiliation and philosophical thought” that involves “thinking and feeling in nonexclusive, nondefinitive ways.”¹⁶ This “tradition” is not a linear, systematic descent of ideas from Enlightenment writers. It is spread more diffusely through practices of affiliation and political stance-taking that are keyed to specific historical configurations. In the case of contemporary fiction, such affiliations and stances are not even practiced so much as imagined at the level of narratives and relationships. They are authorially constructed even when the material is derived from contemporary realities.

Studies of literary cosmopolitanism, then, zoom in at the level of the imaginary and the aspirational. They thrive on a recognizably Western and elite notion of authorship in which the author is a kind of intellectual—thinking about, reflecting upon, and prospectively reimagining the world through the medium of fiction, and from within a certain kind of tradition. This focus on authorial consciousness—which does not necessarily produce a fully apperceptive or sovereign consciousness—puts

Stokes's approach into perspective. The New World musicians he describes more closely resemble the "vernacular" or "discrepant" cosmopolitans proposed by postcolonial theory, who think and act according to non-European, "ground-up" epistemologies. For example, the musicians who, in his account, engaged with the European quadrille come across as brilliant appropriators, who absorb the exogenous, imported genre into already existing musical and dance practices. For Stokes, the very fact that such appropriation occurs seems to be sufficient to call it "cosmopolitan," and there is no need to explain how the musical invention intersects with the musicians' sense of world-belonging. In our view, however, such syncretic or hybridizing practices only become specifically cosmopolitan when they are related to an altered stance. The author-centered approach currently taken by literary studies is preferable not because we wish to shore up a dated or individualistic concept of authorship, but because it gives access to the conscious and reflective element that distinguishes cosmopolitanism from other kinds of global relationality and from empirically accessible processes of stylistic hybridization.

The focus on stance that we propose here also departs from the idea of "actually existing cosmopolitanism." This phrase was coined to advocate for a concrete, "real" cosmopolitanism that would look like a healthy, materialist alternative to the abstract philosophical cosmopolitanism of Enlightenment philosophers such as Kant. The phrase might be particularly appealing to historians invested in the authority of empirically grounded research. But a conceptual opposition between abstract, un-lived ideas, on the one hand, and material conditions and life practices on the other, cannot be sustained. It should go without saying that Kant's cosmopolitanism, though expressed in the discourse of philosophical reason, was informed by "actually existing" conditions; it was a response to an international political order that was coming into being in the later eighteenth century, where it seemed increasingly urgent to contain large-scale violence.¹⁷ Unfamiliarity with those historical conditions should not lead to the conclusion that Kant was generating a cosmopolitan philosophy *ex nihilo*. His cosmopolitanism was very much a "rooted" one. Nor does the opposition work in the other direction. Homi Bhabha's proposed "vernacular cosmopolitanism" as a desirable alternative to "elite" cosmopolitanism, the latter being understood as opportunistic, divorced from concrete lived experience, or morally insensitive to deep imbalances of power. But Bhabha's "vernacular cosmopolitans" are very much a theoretical construct and an abstract social "position"—that of the colonized and dispossessed. It is only in theory that their disenfranchisement gives rise to a type of consciousness, the "minoritarian perspective," that is the root of their cosmopolitanism. Both Kant's cosmopolitanism and Bhabha's

vernacular cosmopolitanism are rooted in real conditions of large-scale political power, and both types emerge in the consciousness of an elite intellectual who imagines what the world might become in a critique of the status quo.

The Labyrinth of Synonyms

The point of arguing for a narrower use of the term cosmopolitan is not to invalidate other usages, nor to privilege an Enlightenment-derived version over other possible versions, but to sort out its meaning in relation to the many terms that are often treated as synonyms. As long ago as 2007 Bruce Robbins, a prime mover of new cosmopolitan discourse, felt compelled to speak out against the variety of cosmopolitanisms that scholars were devising, which, in his view, invested it with an attractive aesthetic sheen and diluted its severe, alienating aspect. Cosmopolitanism, he claimed, loses critical force when it purports

to resolve the contradiction *within* “culture,” between the anthropological sense (“ordinary” culture) and the “high” or aesthetically valued sense. . . . It allows everyday culture to display the signs (freedom, selectivity, imaginative blurring of accepted categories) that are usually associated with a higher or scarcer artistic creativity.¹⁸

Martin Stokes inches toward this aestheticizing trap when he claims that “musical cosmopolitans create musical worlds” and that music is “an active and engaged means of world making.” Such claims fold the “world” rather too easily into the music, and possibly underestimate music’s disjunctive effects.¹⁹ Steven Feld’s interpretation of “jazz cosmopolitanism” in Ghana can serve as another example. Feld summons a variety of concepts—Werbner’s “vernacular cosmopolitanism,” James Clifford’s “discrepant cosmopolitanism,” and his own “diasporic intimacy”—to propose that all of them

proceed from an embrace of oxymoron and contradiction. All proceed from agitation about over-easy naturalization of categories of social formation. All grapple with what I have been grappling with in Accra’s jazz cosmopolitanism: the unsettling ironies of uneven experience.²⁰

Such rhetoric is precisely what Robbins had in mind when he complained that cosmopolitan studies were evoking “aesthetic terms like *irony*, *ambiguity*, and *indeterminacy*, rewriting them as an enterprise of geopolitical loyalty-in-multiplicity and thus quietly offering aesthetics some ethico-

social backup.”²¹ In the presence of a field that made cosmopolitanism synonymous with just about any translocal or transnational formation, Robbins gestured toward the value of the “the older, singular, Nussbaum-style cosmopolitanism,”²² embracing its clearer and more resilient ethical profile.

As helpful as such semantic restraint might be, the trend in recent studies has moved in the opposite direction. Increasingly, the term cosmopolitan is used as a more attractive-sounding alternative to concepts such as the “international,” or the “multinational,” or sometimes the “global” or “transnational.” This proliferation of synonyms speaks to a desire to separate the older, Eurocentric sense of the word from the newer, more globally conscious sense. The more the word is assimilated to “international” and “transnational,” the less it seems weighed down by the social and political liabilities of the past, and the less awkward it seems to become.²³ The risk is that as the term expands to all kinds of global phenomena and circulations its critical and ethical dimensions will get lost in the wash and it will become a generalized synonym for globally interrelated phenomena.

There is also a risk that the proliferation of synonyms may dilute the historical character of cosmopolitan thought. Because so much research on the topic—including musicological work—is set in the context of the twentieth century, one can easily get the impression that cosmopolitanism is more relevant to the conditions of the “global” twentieth century, as distinguished from the “national” nineteenth century. Though it is essential to recognize that conditions of globalization in the twentieth century produced violent dislocations of large populations and extended Western capitalist structures into societies with damaging results, and that these conditions inflected and gave new meaning to cosmopolitanism, twentieth-century conditions did not themselves generate modern cosmopolitanism, nor give it a moral urgency it previously lacked. There is much to be gained from recognizing the long-range historical continuity of cosmopolitanism as an ethical–political viewpoint even as we detail its local articulations.

The once-prevalent reading of nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism as little more than a mask for elite privilege and power has recently been challenged by historians and literary scholars such as Anderson, Heydt-Stevenson and Cox, and Daniel Malachuk, all of whom discuss cosmopolitans who were openly “rooted” and multiply affiliated.²⁴ Similarly, Lauren Godlad has endeavored to overturn the received image of Victorians as insular and oblivious to global matters. She views the nineteenth century “as the precursor to our own globalizing moment: the scene of multifarious world perspectives, democratic projects, heterogeneous publics, and transnational encounters.”²⁵ Godlad does not turn a blind eye to those aspects

of Victorian England she identifies as “reactionary or naïve,” but she does arrive at a different viewpoint by looking at cosmopolitanism in a longer historical perspective, observing how it is rooted in modernizing trends extending back to the early nineteenth century and sometimes earlier. Her argument about the continuity of transnational networks across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is confirmed resonantly in Jürgen Osterhammel’s massive *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*,²⁶ which documents truly global circuits of communication, movement, and political control.

Some of the problems that come with drawing a firm historical line between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries emerge in Cristina Magaldi’s richly documented study of Rio de Janeiro circa 1900, which stresses the emergence of musical cosmopolitanism in this period. In her view, Rio’s musical cosmopolitanism belongs to the “new urban landscape” of the city, promoted by the government to advance Brazil as a civilized and progressive nation on the international stage. It has all the appearances of a brazenly new musical phenomenon, stimulated by such forces as “the introduction of new technologies,” the “growth of its population,” and “the growth and spread of a capitalist economy.”²⁷ This accent on the “new,” contrasted with the “backward” image of Rio held by reforming elites, can obscure ways in which the model of its musical cosmopolitanism was quite dated. She identifies, for example, a “European metropolitan popular musical style,” hosted by sheet music publications and urban performance venues, that allowed local Brazilian dances to be heard widely and in a new context. In Rio, this style was borrowed from Europe to assist Brazil’s entry into the global musical circuit. But this circuit was not particularly new. The European metropolitan style, comprehensible all over Europe, had been around since the early nineteenth century, when composers generated a host of dance pieces, often marked as foreign and exotic, for a burgeoning market of musical amateurs, a market shaped by music publishers that were establishing international networks. There was a musical cosmopolitanism already in place before the iconically “modern” moment of Haussman’s Paris, calling into question the emphasis on the “new” in Magaldi’s account. Because one of her more provocative arguments is that the moment around 1900 gives birth to an early incarnation of the “world music” idea, the question of longer-range roots still needs closer consideration.²⁸

In musicological writings, the term cosmopolitan is often used interchangeably with “international.” This is another case where cosmopolitanism is divested of its ethical and political content and hence its specificity. In our view “international” is appropriate as a descriptor of networks and channels of circulation and exchange, but this does not necessarily make

these networks or the people involved in them cosmopolitan. Musical phenomena can be international without ever entering people's awareness as international. The Schlesinger brothers, for example, had a music publishing network linking Berlin, Paris, and London, but this network only rarely signified "internationality" to music consumers, so it cannot properly be described as a manifestation of cosmopolitanism even if it opened a potential to generate a different sense of world-belonging.

There are also reasons to exercise caution about treating "cosmopolitan" and "global" as synonyms. For one, as Peter Szendy has pointed out, political philosophers from Kant to Schmitt did not always treat the globe as the largest possible territorial delineation of the world, but gave serious consideration to the prospect of planetary or extraterrestrial existence.²⁹ Furthermore, projects for global justice aimed at defending the rights of "all persons" are now facing increasing pressure from theorists and activists who question the segregation of humans from animals and the exclusion of the latter from the community of rights and sympathies. These issues may admittedly take us far from music, but they demonstrate that the idea of the "global" remains a theoretical construct. It can from a certain perspective look narrow and exclusionary, and we cannot presume an alignment of the global with the cosmopolitan.

Music that circulates around the globe or culturally hybridizes contrasting styles can be international or transnational without being cosmopolitan in the sense of involving a particular viewpoint or perspective. Benjamin Walton's research on the export of Italian opera to cities on the South American continent is exemplary on this point. He does not hesitate to describe the first phase of this diffusion—from the 1820s through the 1840s—as the beginning of opera's "globalization," understanding that term in its fully modern sense. Nowhere does he use, or need to use, the term cosmopolitan.³⁰ His close analysis of how Italian operas were received in Montevideo and Buenos Aires shows that these works did not really register as "Italian" but rather as "European" or "civilized." These connotations allowed opera to assume symbolic political meaning as "an alternative set of aesthetic and ethical values from those of the previous Spanish empire"—the latter belief being represented by the empire's promotion of native Spanish genres of musical theater.³¹ In this situation, where opera's "European" identity or "civilized" ethos leveraged a critique of the provincialism of imperial rule, opera became cosmopolitical in the sense we understand it here. It was aligned not with the exercise of colonial power, but with opposition to the most despotic forms of colonial power.

We are not claiming, however, that cosmopolitanism is always aligned with such righteous causes. As Walton points out, the same Europe-educated figures who intently introduced opera could harbor

“grand, top-down civilizing reveries” that were far from benign. Moreover, opera performances that looked remarkably “civilized” to South American audiences sometimes appeared “provincial” to visitors from opera-rich cities in Europe.³² Those visitors, too, experienced a moment of cosmopolitanism insofar as their heightened awareness of belonging to a larger world was joined with a value judgment against the supposedly limited worldview of others. Whether benignly or not, music only becomes specifically cosmopolitan, as distinct from international or transnational or global, when a person perceives it as crossing an established boundary (local, regional, national) or somehow shifting the horizon of world-belonging.

Critical Cosmopolitanism

The discourse of cosmopolitanism invokes the “world” not as a spatial or empirical reality but as an aspirational concept—an enlarged sense of world-belonging that throws narrower ties and affiliations into relief or into some sort of critical perspective. Mark Ferraguto’s recent work on music and international diplomacy in the late eighteenth century can serve as an example. He shows that diplomats from places perceived to be marginal, such as Russia and Sweden, were the most likely ones to make cosmopolitical gestures. At diplomatic gatherings in Vienna and elsewhere they mounted musical performances to “assert Sweden’s cultural competitiveness on the international stage” or as “a reminder to foreign guests of Russian’s cosmopolitan character.”³³ They used cultural performances, in other words, to prompt a shift in how others perceived their place in the world, expressing an aspiration to belong more fully to that world in other ways. Cosmopolitical stances involve some kind of intellectual movement or cognitive tension of this kind. They are most often represented as a “widening” of consciousness, but the metaphor of “widening” is too congratulatory and too sovereign. It may be better characterized as a moment of alterity, where a shifting horizon of thought jogs the mind out of an existing cognitive boundary, thus bringing that boundary forward in consciousness as something movable and moving. The agent of cognitive alterity can be a historical discovery, an ethical assertion, an aesthetic impulse, or an ethnographic interlocutor, but cosmopolitan consciousness nearly always arrives as a mental recontouring of the “world” and of a sense of social affiliation. It responds to alterity not by professing the radical unknowability of the alterior agent, but by searching out a commonality that subtends difference and potentially turns the encounter into a cognitive opening or extension.

Although cosmopolitanism connotes an awareness or perception—sometimes more subliminal, sometimes more fully conscious—of belonging to a larger world, its expansive and embracing aspect does not necessarily translate into power or domination. As the pioneering case of Diogenes suggests, it can be coupled with a highly critical relation to power and can come at the cost of social isolation and “outsider” status. As emblemized in the image on the cover of this issue, depicting Diogenes asking Alexander the Great to stand to one side so that he may enjoy the simple pleasure of basking in the sun, this ethically and politically critical dimension of cosmopolitanism has often been overlooked. The cosmopolitan has an interest in the way encounters with unknown others tend to dislodge associations that are assumed to be natural or inevitable. This is a sentiment that is different from “transnationalism,” which usually describes the continuing affiliations with known others—such as the affiliations of migrants or refugees with relatives or associates in their homeland—or “internationalism,” which describes structures of mutual cooperation across borders. In contrast, the cosmopolitan’s openness to worldly affiliation is not a desire for a broader connectivity as such, but rather a desire to alter and de-naturalize conventional attachments. The goal of de-naturalization is enabled via a form of “world-disclosure,” which as Gerard Delanty has noted, has a similar structural function as the notion of critique in critical theory:

In the encounter with the Other, one’s horizons are broadened to take into account the perspective of the Other . . . [so that] new ways of seeing the world emerge out of the critical encounter of different viewpoints.³⁴

In essence, this form of critical cosmopolitanism is just as much about self-transformation as it is about societal transformation, where processes of self-reflection are undertaken to disclose the social world and thereby open up the possibility of new interpretations.

In this sense, being cosmopolitan is not only an outward-facing posture or openness to others; it also requires the individual to engage in practices of defamiliarization for the explicit purpose of engendering a change in the self, making cosmopolitanism a practice of self-cultivation and disciplined detachment. Björn Heile highlights this crucial aspect of cosmopolitanism in the practices of “modernist” composer Erik Bergman (1911–2006), whose cross-cultural musical borrowings were more fully integrated than mere surface evocations of local color, according to Heile, so that “instead of adjusting the musical material to his established methods and preconceived ideas, the composer allowed himself to be changed by it, to start afresh.”³⁵ At the same time, Bergman avoided the claims to

universalism of the international avant-garde. Heile describes the distinctive effort on Bergman's part to allow his music to be changed by his encounters with non-Western sounds:

What these examples speak to is the endeavor to make the other the self. What is equally evident in Bergman's work, however, is the *attempt to make the self other*, and it is arguably this which makes Bergman a true cosmopolitan.³⁶

The idea of defamiliarization described here as an "attempt to make the self other" emphasizes the critical function of cosmopolitanism, construing the cosmopolitan as a figure who does not pursue a wider connectivity for its own sake, but rather seeks to disrupt conventional models of affiliation, and make attachments less given and more voluntary.

Cosmopolitan Stance

A recent study that does address the type of stance or orientation we are arguing to be central to cosmopolitanism is Brigid Cohen's reading of Stefan Wolpe's life and output. After Hitler's rise, Wolpe, as a German Jew, was forced to search for a new home and a new sense of place, eventually settling in Palestine and then New York City. Wolpe converted his exile into creative opportunity, according to Cohen, reinventing his compositional activities and style in relation to the new locales: "Wolpe's community affiliations, optimism, and 'will to connect' worked as stabilizing resources and symbols of identity in the midst of extreme upheaval," and these life conditions directly informed his compositional "poetics."³⁷ Here cosmopolitanism emerges as a response to existential threat, and it takes the form of flexible and multiple affiliations, or what Edward Said described as a "contrapuntal" approach to affiliation. For Cohen, what is important about cosmopolitanism is that it offered Wolpe a positive, liberating alternative to national identity: "Notions of national identity and expression did *not* work as primary, overarching terms through which he conceived his compositional practice and sense of personal and artistic belonging."³⁸ Wolpe's life and work (Cohen's approach treats them as mutually reflecting) enacted a living critique of nation-centered cultural thinking, and indeed of any kind of thinking framed in "primary, overarching terms." His distributed sense of world-belonging has an attractive appearance in the context of musicology's pronounced anti-nationalism.

But might it be too attractive? Might it, at least, appear in a more attractive light to us as cosmopolitan scholars than it did to Wolpe? Wolpe's manner of forming multiple attachments looks like a pragmatic,

improvised strategy of survival and identity formation amid forced displacement, rather than the implementation of an affirmative idea of world citizenship; and indeed Cohen acknowledges that the reformulations of cosmopolitanism that she aligns herself with—namely those of Bhabha, Said, and Robbins—alternate between being “a kind of survival response” on the one hand and “an ethical aspiration” on the other.³⁹ And despite Cohen’s assertion that her “interest is neither in heroizing Wolpe nor asserting his place within a canon of modern musical masters,”⁴⁰ the risk of calling such strategic practices “cosmopolitan” is that we may give them an unrealistically heroic, affirmative spin. In Cohen’s account, Wolpe seems to summon a remarkable force of will to overcome his situation, and the music he composes is redemptive, a space where “home” can be created in a situation of forced diaspora. Cosmopolitanism thus becomes a successful creative response to modern diasporic alienation *tout court*.

Crucially missing from this account of cosmopolitanism, in our view, are the values that have been attached to distance and detachment in cosmopolitan thought. One of the most promising aspects of revisiting cosmopolitanism historically, Amanda Anderson argues, is the possibility of straightening out “an incoherence about detachment [that] shadows much of contemporary debate in literary and cultural studies.”⁴¹ The incoherence manifests in ready dismissals of gestures of detachment or of any associated “claims to objectivity or reflective reason.” Cohen’s narrative presumes, at least at some level, that Wolpe’s expulsion from his German homeland is a tragic loss not only in material terms but also in psychological terms. It strips the composer of a supposedly integrated selfhood that he must then set about recovering. He becomes cosmopolitan, initially, through a loss of nationality. Cosmopolitanism in this sense is figured as a surrogate for the types of political participation and citizenship afforded by the nation; namely, it becomes a strategy for “securing new bonds of community and recognition that help to *compensate* for national disenfranchisement and traumatic memory.”⁴² Not only does this conception undermine the value of cosmopolitanism as a resource for critical detachment and distance, but it also presupposes a universal desire for the very types of naturalized belonging (formerly associated with national community) that it seeks to overcome. In studies that examine the aesthetic effects of exile and migration, the “nation” is often still very much at the center of the narrative, with cosmopolitanism being made merely to pick up the pieces that the nation has dropped, as it were. The privilege accorded here to attachments and identities, now conceived in multiple terms, and to the reintegration of selfhood or subjectivity, makes cosmopolitanism merely a means for transcending the trappings of identity politics. But cosmopolitan stance does not negate modes of belonging and

cannot be their substitute. Rather, it takes distance from existing attachments, in a manner that limits the beholder's ability to invest in them exclusively or unilaterally.

Echoing this concern over cosmopolitanism-as-overcoming, Ryan Minor has warned against reifying the already "heroic" stature of individuals who are already well-known, and suggests that we redirect attention toward "everyday" cosmopolitanism—i.e., the viewpoints of people on the ground in their regular musical practices.⁴³ There is little to disagree with here in principle. Such an approach would help expand our understanding of cosmopolitan experience beyond the socially elite members of aristocracy and bourgeoisie, which seems more urgent than ever. Yet tracking quotidian experiences of music is not something our current historical methods do well, especially when compared with ethnographic methods. The best sources historians have for this purpose—private utterances from letters, diaries, and memoirs—are most often written by musical insiders and elites, and rarely do we find them linking music with a sense of world citizenship. It may be that the expressed goals of institutions in which non-elite classes participated, such as the German choral societies that Minor has studied, help access a significantly different perspective. But these intentions are nonetheless voiced by institutional leaders, an unambiguously elite group, and they do not constitute a historiography "from below."

In a detailed study of German orchestras in the nineteenth-century United States, framed as a study in transnational cultural politics, Jessica Gienow-Hecht confesses that "orchestral musicians are difficult subjects for historical investigation. They typically do not take to the pen to express their thoughts or feelings." As a way around this methodological problem she suggests that such musicians "expose their inner selves in the music they perform" and gives case studies of the conductors Anton Seidl and Theodore Thomas, whose sense of place between Europe and the United States is traceable through their biography and writings.⁴⁴ The celebrity conductors thus become the conduit to the experience of the musicians of lower status. Even a study as completely devoted to everyday practices as Thomas Christensen's on four-hand transcriptions gives almost no direct "voice" to the players and participants. For the most part their experiences are spoken-for by music critics, teachers, and professional composers, or interpreted by twentieth-century scholars such as Bekker, Adorno, and Benjamin.⁴⁵ This does not invalidate the method, but it does suggest that we are far from understanding how laypersons made sense of their musical experiences, much less their sense of place in the world.

Due to a lack of “native” voices informing us about lay musical experience, we may need to content ourselves with accessing musical cosmopolitanism through those educated, often bourgeois intermediaries we would ideally like to avoid, or at least to compare the accounts of these intermediaries with other voices. James Clifford offers a suggestive parallel in his meditation on “traveling cultures” and ethnographic practice. Clifford underlines that ethnographers often access a view of the “local” through intermediaries and informants who travel between worlds, and whose disposition is more worldly, more cosmopolitan, than the typical or “representative” local or rooted person. This means that the vantage point from which ethnographers view local identities is often constitutively cosmopolitan or comparative—that is, already outside the social body to which it purports to become transparent. Instead of trying to “see through” these cosmopolitan intermediaries, Clifford proposes, the ethnographer can generate knowledge from the friction between his or her own cosmopolitanism and the differently formed, “discrepant” cosmopolitanisms of his or her interlocutors. Inverting the priorities of earlier models of ethnography, this method posits a plane of sameness between ethnographer and informant, and then observes the play of differences off that plane. In this Clifford anticipated the new cosmopolitans’ tendency toward dialogic critique, in which this consciousness belongs both to the historical agents under consideration and to the investigating scholar.

The historian’s equivalents of Clifford’s traveler-informants may well be those composers, performers, critics, and commentators who have long occupied the center of historical musicology. These are in many respects the exceptional spokespersons, the educated articulators, the non-typical persons through whom musicologists derive the historically “typical.” We can never assume that their voices represent a broad or general viewpoint, and we may need to relinquish the search for the “typical” altogether. However, their writings are indispensable for the study of cosmopolitanism because they give access to the realm of orientation and stance. Celia Applegate’s study of German musical cosmopolitans and the German-British axis of affiliation, for example, gains strength from the plenitude of sources we have for musicians like Spohr and Mendelssohn—sources that enable us to link their extensive travels with a sense of world-belonging and an account of their affinities with people from different cultural backgrounds.⁴⁶ For the same reasons, a focus on authors and individuals has characterized the most successful literary interpretations of cosmopolitanism, such as those of Anderson and Walkowitz. The analysis cannot stop, of course, at the level of individuals. It must try to situate those individuals in other nexuses of relation. But in light of the obstacles we face accessing the consciousness of groups, the level of the individual may be the most

promising place to start. A focus on stance or orientation, anyway, can rein in the tendency to make the term cosmopolitan equivalent to a great many dissimilar things. It is less useful when employed, in the manner of a substitute, merely as a descriptor for non-national musical phenomena, without regard to how these phenomena are processed by historical actors.

What can we do, then, about those groups, listeners, and populations whose sense of world-belonging we would like to access or represent? When trying to discern such attitudes among musical listeners and participants of the past, it is tempting to summon larger structural forces—modernity, imperialism, diaspora, and globalization—in order to minimize the need for an account of human agency or consciousness. Stokes detected this in studies of musical globalization and offered his more active model of musical cosmopolitanism as an antidote to the determinism of both Marxist theory and neoliberal theories of globalization. The reversion to structural forces shows strongest in Magaldi's account of Rio de Janeiro, where musical cosmopolitanism follows from the general modernization of the city and its entry into an international cultural economy. Music and music halls belonged to what she calls the "soundscape" of the modernizing city, joining with "large boulevards" and "architectural facades" to create a "cosmopolitan state of mind."⁴⁷ In her account, composers of popular songs and dances like Nazareth and Cavalcanti reflected this general tendency by composing pieces in a demonstrably cosmopolitan style. But this "state of mind" needs further probing, not least because it was deliberately engineered by government initiatives. How does it relate to the "state of mind" it followed or displaced? How did this broadened vision of world-belonging influence people's sense of local, regional, and national belonging? Toward what political and cultural discontents was it addressed? In embracing a cosmopolitan identity, what did the musicians and the people of Rio seek to leave behind, and why? However difficult or conjectural it may be to answer such questions, these are the questions that move us closer to those political and ethical aspects of cosmopolitanism that distinguish it from transnationalism and from conditions of global interconnectedness more broadly.

In this survey of the new cosmopolitanism and of recent studies of musical cosmopolitanism, we have stressed that the concept may be most useful when employed in a narrower, more specifically ethical and political sense. When treated as a substitute for concepts that lend themselves to empirical demonstration—such as the "international," the "global," or the "transnational"—cosmopolitanism loses much of its specificity as a tradition and practice of "thinking and feeling," or what Gerard Delanty calls "a critical and reflexive consciousness."⁴⁸ This tradition extends from

Antiquity to the present in diverse, sometimes radically divergent, forms. What gives it long-range continuity, and remains consistent across its many fissures, is its close relation to a regulative idea of a “people” or of a “nation,” whether construed in anthropological terms as a social body unified by shared culture and customs, in political terms as a sovereign state representing the interests of the citizens, or in metaphysical terms as a group with a common history and destiny. Advocates of “vernacular” and “actually existing” cosmopolitanism in borrowing the word, tacitly link themselves to its philosophical–ethical tradition even as they seek to overturn its elitist and universalizing elements.⁴⁹ Cosmopolitanism, then, does not have fixed social coordinates and does not determine a specific politics, but emerges in consciousness relationally, as a reaction to the appearance of narrow or limited interests, and normally in some sort of critique or disapproval of the exclusivity of those interests.

As much as we wish to promote further cross-fertilizations between musicology and the discourse of the new cosmopolitanism, the term cosmopolitan will not be especially useful if it is employed merely as a descriptor for musical phenomena that enjoy global circulation without regard to how these phenomena are received by historical actors—how they change outlooks and stances toward the world. What new cosmopolitan discourse can offer our own work is a heightened alertness to the ways in which our own standpoints—the places where we stand geographically, socially, politically, and aesthetically—inform our understanding of the standpoints of musicians and musical listeners of the past. New cosmopolitans of different orientations have all been engaged in a precarious balancing act: finding a convincing, responsible way to address human commonalities while also recognizing the importance of social difference and contingency. In doing so they have opened a different lens onto the past, attuning us to how past cosmopolitans, too, engaged some concept of the “world” to assess and critique the available possibilities of affiliation and horizons of belonging. From this starting point we might be able to develop fresh interpretations of how music—whether composed, performed, or received—has participated in the shaping of cosmopolitanism.

Notes

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1. Celia Applegate, “Mendelssohn on the Road: Music, Travel, and the Anglo-American Symbiosis,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 228–43.
2. On this term see the introduction to *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
3. Studies by Thomas Turino on popular music in Zimbabwe, Cristina Magaldi on popular music in Rio de Janeiro ca. 1900, Brigid Cohen on Stefan Wolpe, and Claudio Vellutini on opera and politics in Vienna represent just some of the diverse work concentrating on how cosmopolitan attitudes and formations have mediated musical production and reception. See Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Cristina Magaldi, “Cosmopolitanism and World Music in Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009): 329–64; Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Claudio Vellutini, “Cultural Engineering: Italian Opera in Vienna, 1816–1848” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015). See also the colloquy by Dana Gooley, Ryan Minor, Katherine K. Preston, and Jann Pasler, “Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 523–50; Sarah Collins, “The Composer as ‘Good European’: Musical Modernism, *amor fati* and the Cosmopolitanism of Frederick Delius,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 12, no. 1 (2015): 97–123; and Björn Heile, “Erik Bergman, Cosmopolitanism and the Transformation of Musical Geography,” in *Transformations of Musical Modernism*, ed. Erling E. Guldrandsen and Julian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 74–96. A very recent article representing the trend toward historicizing musical cosmopolitanism is Ryan Weber, “Tracing Transatlantic Circles: Manufacturing Cosmopolitanism in Music and Literature during the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 36, no. 1 (2017): 84–112.
4. Martha Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” *Boston Review* 19 (1994): 3–16; and see Martha Nussbaum and J. Cohen, eds., *For Love of Country?: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002 [1996]).
5. Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1997): 617–39; Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); and Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Cosmopolitanisms,” introduction, in *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 577–89.

6. Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
7. Bruce Robbins, for example, admitted that though he had initially been hopeful that the new cosmopolitanism would engender real change, he felt as though the project “may have stalled out en route” and pointed out how “celebrations of cosmopolitan diversity have been uninterrupted by the issues of economic equality or geopolitical justice. I wonder whether it isn’t time to stop and ask how much of the praise is merited, what work cosmopolitanism is and isn’t doing.” Robbins, “Cosmopolitanism: New and Newer,” *boundary 2* 34, no. 3 (2007): 47–60, 51.
8. Amanda Anderson, *The Way We Argue Now: A Study in the Cultures of Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 91 (primary source not provided).
9. For an example of this trend that takes instrumental music into consideration, see Rutger Helmers, *Not Russian Enough? Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Opera* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014).
10. Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012), 145, also 148.
11. *Ibid.*, 95.
12. Martin Stokes, “On Musical Cosmopolitanism,” Macalester International Roundtable, 2007, Paper 3, <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3>, 14–15.
13. *Ibid.*, 15.
14. Jillian Heydt-Stevenson and Jeffrey N. Cox, “Introduction: Are Those Who are ‘Strangers Nowhere in the World’ at Home Anywhere: Thinking about Romantic Cosmopolitanism,” special issue on “Romantic Cosmopolitanism,” *European Romantic Review* 16, no. 2 (2005): 129–40, at 130.
15. *Ibid.*, 130–31.
16. Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 5.
17. Alan W. Wood, “Kant’s Project for Perpetual Peace,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, 59–77.
18. Robbins, “Cosmopolitanism: New and Newer,” 50.
19. Stokes does seem to be aware of this risk, and follows up his claim with an anxious emphasis on situatedness: “We need to distinguish carefully when we are using the idea of musical cosmopolitanism to define, in some analytic sense, attitudes, dispositions and practices that we might not otherwise see clearly from situations in which we need to see how the term is being contested locally, ‘on the ground.’ We need to be sensitive to the subtle distinctions and discriminations that any concrete and historical situation of music world-making will generate. We need to be attentive to the different ways people pursue such projects in position of relative power from those in

positions of relative powerlessness. Clearly, it is a term to be used with caution.” Stokes, “On Musical Cosmopolitanism,” 10.

20. Steven Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 231.

21. Robbins, “Cosmopolitanism: New and Newer,” 50n8.

22. *Ibid.*, 48.

23. See, for example, William Weber, “Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music, 209–27*; Grace Brockington, ed., *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin de Siècle* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009); and Bob van der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). Christien van den Anker voices similar frustration with equating cosmopolitanism with the false synonym of transnationalism: “If we call places cosmopolitan when they host people from a lot of different backgrounds then there is an obvious way in which transnationalism adds to cosmopolitanism. Similarly, if cosmopolitanism is equated with ‘uprootedness,’ then transnational migration contributes to it. However, this is in itself not very interesting, as merely based on a tautology.” See Christien van den Anker, “Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Towards Global Citizenship?,” *Journal of International Political Theory* 6, no.1 (2010): 73–94, at 78.

24. Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Heydt-Stevenson and Cox, “Introduction: Are Those Who are ‘Strangers Nowhere in the World’ at Home Anywhere?”; Daniel S. Malachuk, “Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, ed. Diane Morgan and Gary Banham (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139–62.

25. Lauren M. E. Goodlad, “Cosmopolitanism’s Actually Existing Beyond: Toward a Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010): 399–411, at 400.

26. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

27. Magaldi, “Cosmopolitanism and World Music in Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” 329–30.

28. In a more recently published article, Magaldi traces the conditions of modern cosmopolitanism back to the early mid-nineteenth century. See Cristina Magaldi, “Cosmopolitanism and Music in the Nineteenth Century,” *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Music, Musicology, and Music History) (2016), doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/978019993521.013.62, esp. 6–11.

29. Peter Szendy, *Kant in the Land of Extraterrestrials: Cosmopolitical Philosophical Fictions*, trans. Will Bishop (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 45–57.

30. Benjamin Walton, "Italian Operatic Fantasies in Latin America," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17, no. 4 (2012): 460–71, at 461.
31. *Ibid.*, 463.
32. *Ibid.*, 464.
33. Mark Ferraguto, "Diplomats as Musical Agents in the Age of Haydn," *Haydn: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 5, no. 2 (2015), <http://haydnjournal.org>, at 15, 7.
34. Gerard Delanty, "The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism," in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (London: Routledge, 2012), 38–46, at 40.
35. Heile, "Erik Bergman," 95. Emphasis in original.
36. *Ibid.*, 93. Emphasis in original.
37. Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 10.
38. *Ibid.*, 16.
39. Brigid Cohen, "Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism," *The Musical Quarterly* 97 (2014): 181–237, at 221.
40. Brigid Cohen, "Diasporic Dialogues in Mid-Century New York," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 6, no. 2 (2012): 143–73, at 145.
41. Anderson, *Powers of Distance*, 7.
42. Cohen, "Limits of National History," 216. Emphasis added.
43. Ryan Minor, "Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 529–34.
44. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 70–75, at 70.
45. Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 255–98.
46. Applegate, "Mendelssohn on the Road."
47. Magaldi, "Cosmopolitanism and World Music in Rio de Janeiro," 331. For more on the link between urban environment and cosmopolitan consciousness, see Richard Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, ed. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 42–47.
48. Gerard Delanty, "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: The Paradox of Modernity," in *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, ed. Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (London: SAGE, 2006), 357–69, at 357.

49. Julia Kristeva proposes, for example, that a modern universalist cosmopolitanism can be understood as “a continuation of the Stoic and Augustian legacy, of that ancient and Christian cosmopolitanism that finds its place as one of the most valuable assets of our civilization and that we henceforth must go back and bring up to date.” Kristeva, *Nations Without Nationalism*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 26–27.

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