

**ANTHROPOLOGIZING MUSICAL PERFORMANCE: THE QUEST FOR A
RAPPROCHEMENT OF CLASSICAL MUSIC PRODUCTION AND PRACTICE**

by

**Ilean Lawrenson
Graduate Program
in
Anthropology**

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

**Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
September, 1999**

© Ilean Lawrenson 1999



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-42167-8

Abstract

Classical music is a form of social action which constitutes creative, performative, and receptive aspects of expression. The process of interpreting and presenting the material that comprises the classical repertory is realized by individuals in interaction with musical communities which include performers, auditors, and composers. The performances that issue from these encounters inspire certain events, such as concert hall occasions or intimate recitals, which take place within particular public and private contexts. The investigation of musical artefacts and/or musical enactments gives rise to certain theoretical and critical discourses. Classical music practices may be understood as constituting a series of formal, rule-governed actions (much like ritual and dramatic forms) which are cast in opposition to the unrehearsed cultural processes of everyday life. In addition, performances of classical music demonstrate an affiliation with the sociated experiences of groups, rather than strictly with the internal states of individuals. Finally, the production of classical music is an activity that requires both skill and creativity, as it is realized via certain repertories of enactment that include the gestural manipulation of one's voice or a musical instrument, rather than with propositional or conceptual types of knowledge.

Keywords: Anthropology, classical music, performance, sociality, embodiment, drama, simulacrum, concert hall, individual, community, frame, ritual, desire, gender.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my gratitude to a number of individuals who made this writing experience possible. I would like to thank Carole Farber whose awe-inspiring, encyclopaedic knowledge of academic sources proved crucial to the shaping of this project. Also, thank-you Carole, for your continuing forbearance in what turned out to be a rather lengthy process. Finally, much gratitude for your genuinely positive reception of my project.

I would also like to thank Regna Darnell whose accessibility and helpful suggestions on the perils and pleasures of writing proved very worthwhile.

In addition, I would like to thank Douglass St. Christian whose consistently helpful and supportive comments enabled me to maintain the level of confidence required to complete this project. Thank-you for taking a sincere interest in my project.

Finally, I would like to extend my appreciation to Maria Belen Ordonez and Caura Wood. Thank-you for providing much needed moral support, technical assistance, and critical input. My admiration for both of you is, as I hope you realize, unbounded.

*For my mother who taught me about music
and my father who taught me about words*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Certificate of examination	ii	
Abstract	iii	
Acknowledgements	iv	
Dedication	v	
Table of contents	vi	
Introduction	1	
1	The Limitations of Form: The Social Drama of the Concert Hall Event	9
	Musical Forms and Social 'Structures'	13
	Sociological Investigations of Music	22
	Music and the Question of Distinction	27
	Music and the Issue of Social Control	30
	Musical Codes and Conventions	32
	The Intersubjective Relations of Performance	39
	The Spectacle of Concert Hall Performance	43
2	Musica Practica: The Embodied Epistemology of Classical Music Performance	52
	Performance as Simulacra	56
	Performance Communities: Collaboration and Competition	58
	Musical Skill: Technique and Musicality	61
	Authenticity and Subjectivity in Musical Performance	66
	The Musical Frame: 'Reality' and 'Illusion'	68
	Desire, 'Presence', and Passivity in Musical Performance	76
	The Body in a State of Music	79
	Music, Gender, and Sexual Orientation	82
3	Conclusion	90
	References Cited	95
	Considered Works	103
	Vita	106

*What shall we do, what shall we do
with all this useless beauty.
~Elvis Costello*

Introduction

Although music would appear, at first glance, to lend itself quite easily to anthropological investigation, as a phenomenon which is inevitably bound up with social processes, it continues to be marginalized as a diversionary and arcane set of sonic artefacts and expressive practices, unworthy of serious scholarly attention. A major difficulty, which has hampered investigations into the social foundations of music, has to do with the fact that music is a non-denotative medium that does not share an equivalence of meaning with language. Hence, musical signification is not generated conceptually, but rather is realized in the process of its co-construction within a social field of composers, performers, and listeners. In the case of European art music, the artificial partitioning of classical music theory and practice compounds this problem of music's lack of semantic content. The result of this bifurcation is that the central competing discourses, which seek to explain music's efficacy, remain fixed within a realm of abstraction, even as they follow different trajectories.

On the one hand, musicological analyses tend to be shrouded in technical mystification and are largely focused on the formal, internal properties of music, which are deemed to be isomorphic with musical meaning. On the other hand, aesthetic interpretations of music assert that music is an ineffable essence of transcendental origin

which provides its own *raison d'être*. What is omitted from these formulations is an examination of how the embodied experience of musical practice instantiates musical meaning. This practical knowledge has to do with the way in which music is experienced as an immersion in an activity of production, rather than via the disinterested contemplation of a musical object. In fact, the phrase 'classical music', does not refer so much to a repertory of musical works as it does to particular notions of musical creation, performance, and theoretical and critical discourses that are situated within certain social historical, and institutional loci.

While the field of ethnomusicology has effected a kind of rapprochement between the disciplines of music and anthropology, this area of investigation remains largely focused on non-western forms of music. In fact, european art music is often set up, in the ethnomusicological literature, as a foil against which various indigenous folk and popular music traditions are compared and then contrasted. In this view, 'ethnic' musical traditions are valorized as 'authentic' genres, against the supposed counterfeit 'soulessness' of classical music (Keil and Feld 1994:157) in a way which unintentionally re-inscribes the very ethnocentrism which ethnomusicologists purport to contest. In addition, even in the rare cases where european art music is the focus of ethnomusicological study, such accounts often fail to demonstrate a truly dialectical approach toward the social aspects of classical music production.

Another difficulty which hinders the utilization of ethnomusicological methodologies in investigations centered on classical music has to do with the fact that, while a number of folk and popular music traditions are imbricated with european art music and vice versa, these forms are also obviously different from classical music in

quite fundamental ways. More frequently than not, ethnomusicological analyses tend to be dedicated to demonstrating how typical western distinctions between music, ritual, speech, and other communicative forms do not obtain in these non-classical traditions. Within the realm of European art music, however, classical modes of musical expression are partitioned off as leisure activities which are set in opposition to the exigencies of everyday life, which also begs the question as to how the insights that have been generated from ethnomusicology might usefully be applied to the field of classical music.

Nevertheless, classical music, rather than being illustrative of the hegemonic values of the official (i.e. western) culture, is better understood as a form of bricolage which works either to embrace, eschew, or else re-configure the precepts of the dominant culture which has produced it. Hence, against the notion of classical music as an entirely elitist art form (the influence of which is supposedly 'misrecognized' as a pleasurable and harmless diversion), European art music is able to travel and cross over the boundaries originally intended for it via the myriad ways it comes to be expressed. In other words, although exposure to classical music is likely enabled through the possession of a social position of relative enfranchisement, it is not solely a reflection of privilege, indeed, classical music is actually more ubiquitously present currently within the popular media than in any other cultural domain.¹

¹ This can be demonstrated in the following examples. Classical music is differently articulated in Japan and Turkey, where aspirations to appropriate certain western forms of 'cultural capital' or modernity, are commonly observed. In Japan, where concert hall attendance is amongst the highest in the world, classical music can be viewed as a means of seeking legitimization in some sense and, thus, in this instance, likely serves something of a 'hegemonic' purpose. However, in Turkey, frequent descriptions of Turkish identity as European, rather than Arabic in origin by the Turks themselves, are belied by the popular preference for Arabic music, in spite of official efforts to saturate Turkish radio with classical music programming. For these reasons, it is not feasible to definitively associate particular musical genres with certain ethnicities or national identities. In addition, even when composers have intentionally drawn on indigenous folk traditions to create a nationalist music specific to their respective homelands, the origins of such music are usually contested. For instance, the main musical motifs in Smetana's 'The Moldau' are variously claimed by the Israelis as being derived from a Yiddish folk tune which has

Still, ethnomusicologists, in following anthropological trends and applying them to their own work on music have demonstrated that anthropology has a good deal to recommend itself to the study of music. For instance, Levi-Strauss' view that musical patterns contain the principles which are fundamental to mythic thought (Levi-Strauss 1986:26), or the generic structuralist view that musical performances reflect underlying social 'structures', were taken up and then discarded, by ethnomusicologists, thus enabling, through a kind of 'negative dialectics', a means of arriving at a definition of what music is not. Subsequently, Clifford Geertz's interpretive approach toward cultural meaning enabled ethnomusicologists to come to view music as a ground on which social meanings could either be negotiated or else contested. In addition, the adoption of practice theory, as put forth by Pierre Bourdieu suggested, in spite of its limitations of totalization, a means by which music could be understood as an embodied form of expression, and one in which the activities of individuals are highlighted albeit within socially regulated processes of recurrent practices.²

Thus, the injection of these anthropological perspectives into the study of music has opened up new possibilities for demonstrating the obvious social connections that prompt musical practices and experiences. Currently, anthropologists such as Johannes Fabian (1990), by delineating what an anthropology of performance might entail have demonstrated the utility of anthropology in investigations of music. What Fabian is interested in illuminating, in his experimental ethnography on Shaba theatre is an

inspired their national anthem, in opposition to Czechoslovakian and Slavic groups who maintain instead that these musics are indigenous to their respective cultures.

² The problematic aspects of Geertz's and Bourdieu's formulations will be examined subsequently in the body of this thesis. In addition, Victor Turner's work on performance as a ritual event will be applied to the study of concert hall performances.

examination of practical, as opposed to discursive, cultural knowledge. As the study of performance tends to be marginalized as a peripheral area of sociological analysis, Fabian's work goes some way towards remedying a lacuna in the anthropological literature. Yet, Fabian also identifies a difficulty in carrying out such an enterprise, which he describes in the following terms:

It is only fair to say that anthropologists have...thought about reference versus connotation, instrumental versus expressive behavior, material versus symbolic aspects of society and culture. They have been ingenious in extracting 'hard' information on social structure or ecological adaptations from myths, rituals, music, masks, and other 'representations' of culture. What has not been given sufficient consideration is that about large areas and important aspects of culture no one, not even the native, has information that can be simply called up and expressed in discursive statements. This sort of knowledge can be represented -made present - only through action, enactment, or performance. (Fabian 1990:6)

Fabian attempts, with a surprisingly good measure of success, to interpret what remains external to discursive and conceptual meaning by 'performing', or 'enacting', his ethnography. However, the difficulty of applying 'performative', as opposed to 'informative' types of methodologies within more formalized settings, such as conservatories or concert halls, precludes such an approach in this instance. This fact, coupled with the precariousness of successfully realizing such a task, is what prompts the structuring of what follows as a research piece (albeit within the context of a prior understanding and practical experience of the material under scrutiny). Fabian's observations may be extended to the realm of music insofar as musicians, more often than not, claim that they do not know what they do when they perform, by their own definitions, 'correctly'. In addition, whereas music theorists have the luxury of debating either that a given piece of music is rightly understood to refer to the written score produced by a composer, or else that a performer's interpretation of a score is what produces musical expression, or furthermore that a performance event is properly

understood as something which is negotiated by performers and listeners, or finally that it is the milieu in which such musical forms have been constituted that provides the meaning of a given piece of music, (or still yet that it is a combination of all these factors), for the performance communities actually involved in such pursuits, there frequently exists no such equivocations. In fact, more often than not, performers are enjoined simply to play 'what is written', but 'with feeling'. The reason for this is that the act of playing a musical instrument is a skill that is learned, not by conceptual or propositional knowledge, but through corporeal or gesturally based practices which are both habitual in character and intuitively driven.

Yet, although music is a non-denotative medium, it is a phenomenon that may still be amenable to anthropological description and analysis. Indeed, the activities associated with the reception of musical performance provide material which is readily, if indeterminately, explicated by means of the predominately verbal and visual modes of epistemology which structure anthropological (and western) thinking - even as music's sonic and somatically grounded qualities subvert the very language which fails to definitively contain or explain it. Even in cases where words are paired with music in song (or serve as programmatic descriptions that inspire certain pieces of music) their subsumation within the textural materials of music converts them, in performance, into sensual materials which are more properly 'felt', rather than cognitively transliterated.³

³ The debate as to whether song assimilates verbal texts into a musical mode of expression or whether meaning is located in the texts that inspire and shape the composer's musical 'message' is more definitively settled in the case of classical music. As European art music tends to be, in good measure, instrumental (with the notable exceptions of operatic, liturgical, and song forms), the 'problem' of music's meaning usually revolves around the issue of whether the programmatic basis of particular pieces of music are somehow 'represented' in the sonic materials of music itself. Musicologists who have attempted to uncover a correspondence between musical syntax and semantic meaning are prompted by a desire to socially ground music's intersubjective effects with a view to transcending the "radical idiosyncrasy of [an individual] listener's musical perceptions" (McClary 1994:32). Without appealing to

The notion of a piece of music as a narrative or drama may allude, through gestural codes, to images, affective states, or events - especially through certain well worn conventions within a piece of music (or through frequently heard, or even over exposed, musical works themselves), but even here, music's meanings escape the definitive closure which music theorists attempt to impose on them via the inherent variability and ambiguity of musical expression. Misread, this apparent defense of the autonomy, or self-referentiality, of music may appear to signal a retreat to 'elitist' modes of musical expression. It is true, as Martin Jay states, that 'high' cultural art forms are inherently ambivalent: "at once a false consolation for real suffering and an embattled refuge of the utopian hopes for overcoming that very misery" (Jay 1988:133). The error comes in imagining that the mere theoretical dismissal of esoteric forms will somehow enable the dismantling of certain types of social inequities (Jay 1988:140). However, instead of conflating particular instances of hierarchical ranking into an overarching notion of total domination, it might be more worthwhile to attempt to 'refunction' (Jay 1988:133) classical music. European art music may be recuperated as a viable topic of analysis, but not in terms which position it as a locus of 'resistance' (in any case such a perception would be unlikely in light of the fact that classical music is popularly viewed as a supposedly outmoded and *recherché* form of expression), nevertheless, it is a medium which can be reconfigured.

a leveling relativism or a nihilistic view of music as something that is empty of significance, it must be noted that even where classical music is accompanied by language, the voice itself, through techniques such as melisma, drags out, dismembers, elides, and repeats segments (phonemes) of the words written in these texts, with the result that their concrete meanings are obscured, suppressed, and even, at times, subverted in their execution in performance. As Wayne Koestenbaum phrases it: "I am perversely grateful for the libretto's words, for if opera had no words, there would be no meanings for the singer's mouth to distort" (Koestenbaum 1993:187).

Ideally, both the performers and listeners who are involved in a concert hall event are able to derive a means of temporarily eluding the demands imposed by mundane existence in favour of an experience that simultaneously celebrates a shared sense of fellowship and a more private experience of sensual transport. What defines these occasions, then, is a less obvious kind of politics of the body which, in being concerned with pleasure, “is a more fundamental [kind of politics] than the one [that is] located in the structural constraints and rationalizing processes of [convention] and ideology” (Shaviro 1993:59).

Chapter One

The Limitations of Form: The Social Drama of the Concert Hall Event

The concerns which shape this chapter center around a critical examination of the traditional contention that musical forms are representational of social 'structures.' To this end, the notion that the classical repertory consists of a series of artefacts or 'works', rather than acoustic enactments, and that society is simply an organizational entity, rather than a set of contingent practices, locations, and forces, will be challenged. Following this, the trope of the simulacrum - (ie.) the copy for which no original exists - will be introduced in this thesis and subsequently re-figured in a number of ways. In one sense, it will be argued, the concept of the musical 'work' (as a reified entity which is neither a musical score nor the performances of it) can be understood as a simulacrum, and one which is erroneously privileged in opposition to performances of classical 'works'. However, the postulation, put forth by certain music theorists, that classical 'works' constitute simulacra which offer only the false promise of rapprochement between the individual and the community will be refuted in what follows. Instead, it will be suggested that the social aspects of classical music practice, as demonstrated within the concert hall, are best understood as concrete, embodied phenomena, rather than as theoretical abstractions.

In addition, concert hall events will be shown to function as formal occasions that are set in opposition to the mundane concerns of daily existence. In this way, classical music performances are, it will be maintained, akin to ritual or dramatic enactments, but in a non-discursive sense. Finally, it will be argued that classical music performances

need not be seen strictly as elitist expressions of agitprop, as is conventionally posited in the literature on the sociology of music, since classical music may be conceived of in terms of its ability to travel between esoteric and exoteric domains of musical expression. Rather, it will be suggested that such events may inspire genuine instances of sociation between the performers and auditors that comprise classical performance communities.

The concept of western classical music is conventionally defined in terms of its most salient technical feature, as the post-Renaissance period of tonal functional harmony. Developed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries⁴, and continuously performed as part of a repertory, or canon, of putatively 'great works' created by 'notable' composers, classical music is a construct comprising a variety of genres, broadly including orchestral, virtuosic, operatic, and chamber music forms which are, in turn, served by a number of social, political, institutional, and economic forms as well as by various theoretical and critical discourses. More importantly though, the idea of classical music, both historically and currently, refers to "purposefully constructed relations of address" (Durant 1984:30) in which music, that has been written in a

⁴ There is a great deal of disagreement as to the exact demarcation of the historical periods that constitute 'classical' music. In the popular consciousness this can include everything from Gregorian chant (*cantus firmus*), early polyphonic music (*organum*), as well as renaissance, baroque, rococo, classical, romantic, neo-classical, and impressionist traditions up to expressionism and the 'end' of the period of tonality, as realized in the development of serialism. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, classical music took on quite different characteristics from the preceding centuries. The concert hall repertory is today dominated by the influences of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and its most celebrated composers, Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn. This period is generally described as the age in which music was most closely "shaped in accordance with the social values of...the middle class" (McClary 1987:18), in that, classical music was presented as "harmonious, perfect, organic, unified, formally balanced, capable of absorbing and resolving all tensions" (McClary 1987:18). In contradistinction to this, seventeenth and nineteenth century traditions are conventionally understood to be "very much unlike either the music produced in the seventeenth century (which celebrates in its fragmented structures, its illegitimate dissonances, and in its ornate, defiant arabesques the disruptive, violent struggles of the emerging bourgeoisie against the norms of the church and the aristocracy) or in the nineteenth century which dramatizes the conflicts between the subjective self and the constraints of bourgeois society" (McClary 1987:18-19). Nevertheless, while it is clear that the classical tradition proper exerted a strong influence, the scope of this investigation will not be delimited solely to eighteenth century forms and genres.

previous period by a select coterie of 'officially' approved composers, is conveyed by highly trained professional performers to an audience of listeners who are engaged in the practice of attending concert hall events. Hence, western classical music, as it crystallizes in concert culture, enacts a particular kind of spectacle, for whereas music had previously been a feature of the church and court, providing the *mise en scene* in which events took place, rather than constituting the event itself, the province of the audience and performers eventually came to be inverted so that the former now attends the latter, rather than vice versa (Goehr 1992:178,192). The concert hall event confirms that the music performed within this space is not merely overheard, but is purposefully addressed to an audience (Durant 1984:33). The creation of a novel locus where musical events were performed - the concert hall - also required the development of a new category of musical material, which fell under the rubric of musical 'works' (Goehr:1992).

The problem of music's non-representational qualities, that is, its lack of concrete, denotative meaning had traditionally been theoretically 'resolved' by claims that the significance of music lay in its service to particularized goals of a moral or religious tenor, or in its ability to imitate worldly phenomena and/or inspire certain emotions (Goehr 1992:153). As such, music's putative meaning was tied to the 'extra-musical' written/verbal texts with which it was largely associated and embellished. In contradistinction to this, the rise of instrumental, or 'absolute' music in the classical age posited a separation of aesthetic reception from other kinds of social reception so that the art work was understood to transcend the demands of mundane utility and to take on an autonomous quality. In other words, musical meaning was thought to be determined by

its form - its structural coherence - rather than by its content, which was supposedly imposed from 'outside' of the musical work (Goehr 1992:155). The notion of the musical work is a hypostatization, or projection, designed to resolve the contradiction of music's immaterial materiality, that is, its ability to create tangible effects in its performers and auditors in spite of its apparent immateriality. As something which is temporal rather than plastic in nature, the musical 'work' is neither the notated score, which is abstract and incomplete in itself, nor the transitory and ephemeral performance of a score. The space of the concert hall was to grant to classical music what Max Weber called its 'indoor' character, but the 'inventory' of the concert hall was strictly metaphorical, conferring upon it its characterization as an "imaginary museum of musical works"(Goehr 1992:174).⁵

The new arrangement of listening in the concert hall allowed that musical processes supposedly became 'products' or 'objects' of disinterested attention rather than, as previously, adjuncts to other social activities. The specificity of music to a particular occasion, time and place was suspended, and a posture of distanced reflection was ostensibly cultivated instead. According to this reasoning, concert hall practice served to replace the living social function of music with a conservatorial one (Levine 1988:104), thus, curtailing the qualities of 'hereness' and 'nowness' (Martin Jay quoting Walter Benjamin 1992:210) which formerly characterized classical performance. The appropriate attitude to the musical experience of the concert hall was imagined to be one of contemplation which required that the audience affect a 'devotional' disposition via their internalized reception of musical events (Dahlaus 1989:78-87). The suspension of

⁵ Stan Godlovitch describes scores as "instruction sets for their presentation in sound" (Godlovitch 1998:2) and performances as "events comprising players, sounds...and listeners in a ritual setting" (Godlovitch

direct interaction between performers and audience purportedly guaranteed that music was listened to in silence instead of being “worshipped, danced, and conversed to” (Goehr 1992:192) as in former periods when it was expected that audiences would “applaud, chatter during, and sing along with a performance”(Goehr 1992:192). Hence, performances of western classical music within the space of the concert hall were and are understood to be set up as “extreme occasions” (Said 1991:11) in opposition to everyday experience (Said 1991:19).

Musical Forms and Social ‘Structures’

Music theorists frequently assert that the concert hall performance enacts a simulacrum of the social rituals, which it has displaced in the form of a musical ‘drama’(Adorno 1984:317, Durant 1984:31, Martindale and Riedel in Max Weber 1958:xxix, Said:1991, Small 1980:22). One reason for this identification of classical music with dramatic forms is explained by the perceived need, on the part of concert hall practitioners, to re-introduce the ritual elements of the musical experience as an unique event which belongs to a particular occasion, time and place (Small 1980:23). Furthermore, scholars of music often claim that bourgeois audiences formerly used concert hall performances in order to ceremonialize dual values of individualism and

communal consensus⁶ (Attali 1985:57, 6, Chanan 1994:157, Durant 1984:39, Levine 1994:164, Weber 1975:85). However, this new musical - theatrical spectacle of the concert hall event, at the time of its inauguration, was conventionally understood as a ritual drama in terms of its structural form, since music's non-representational qualities render it susceptible to critiques which postulate that the lack of semantic content in music necessarily suggests that it also lacks meaning except in terms of its form.

The introduction of sociological criteria into the study of music by Max Weber and Theodor Adorno instantiated the idea that the musically embodied drama enacted in the concert hall expressed the transition, in western society, from feudalism to capitalism - a notion which is evident in much of the sociological literature currently (Chanan 1994:64). The idea of a linkage between the musical 'drama' and its wider social dimension is traditionally understood as the problem of a technical process and its reflection in the history of a social formation. Without suggesting that social theorists concerned with aesthetic form actually claim that musical works are formed simply as copies or translations of some prior construction achieved in the wider social arena, it is probably accurate to state that the former do imagine that there is a kind of isomorphic correlation between social structure and musical form (Adorno 1983:33, Martindale and

⁶ The terms 'individual' and 'community' are, of course, problematic and vague as theoretical concepts. The tension between subjective and social values which is understood, by music theorists, to create musical 'drama' points, in fact, toward the structure/agency debate in the anthropological and sociological literature. The general argument focuses on the degree to which social 'structures' impose constraints on the actions of individual agents. In its strongest formulation, a determinist account of structure would foreclose the possibility of eluding the social precepts governing individual conduct. Conversely, an understanding of agency as autonomous action undertaken by 'sovereign' subjects would deny the significance of social structure. For a number of music theorists, the musical forms themselves are understood to embody the tension between structure and agency. In other words, musical 'dramas' are frequently interpreted by sociologists of music as being 'expressive' of the contrary pulls of individual desires and communal mandates. Recent arguments in anthropology, however, have tended to move the structure/agency debate onto a more spatial and temporal plane. In this view, subjects (as opposed to agents), that are comprised of such aspects as the self or the body etc. are cast as positionalities or

Riedel 1958:xxii). In Adorno's view, composers work with inherited musical forms which are drawn from material that has been formed by society - material in which the history of that society is sedimented, or 'congealed' (Witkin 1998:13). The musical details, that is, the themes or motives within a piece of music can be likened, in Adorno's view, to the individuals who constitute a given society, while the entire composition can be compared to society itself. This synecdochal relationship is expressed in terms of mimesis, which is the process through which the subject achieves expressivity by discovering an attraction and likeness between objects in the external world and him/herself, and construction, which refers to the organizing processes that structure subjective expressivity from 'outside' (Adorno 1984:65, Witkin 1998:15).

The paradoxical drama conveyed in musical form, supposedly as a celebration of both individualism and communal consensus, is expressed in terms of the reconciliation of individual expressivity and social structure. This is said to be conveyed, in bourgeois society, by the contrary pulls of the impulse towards personal freedom and the need for social co-operation and constraint since, in order for society as a whole to function, these elements must be harnessed. This is, however, a putatively distorted representation of reality, demonstrating that classical musical forms serve an ideological purpose (Witkin 1998:45). In fact, what classical music is thought to offer is an image of reconciliation that disguises the way in which the increasing domination of society by rational-technical, or instrumental, organization has served to reduce the sensuous life of the individual to an abstract subjectivity. In this view, excess of construction or outer force, over mimesis or inner expression is understood to disrupt sociality. Further, sociality had

locations, while institutional and discursive practices (as opposed to structures), are viewed as productive forces which create subjects.

heretofore been expressed, as a form of genuine reciprocity, in terms of the immersion of the individual in social relations and also by the adherence of social life within the subject (Witkin 1998:24).

However, the attempt to transcend the totalizing effects of an increasingly administered society, in order to restore subjective expression and intentionality to the fragmented individual, was apparently simply a further instance of the de-sociating effects produced by calculative and instrumental rationality (Witkin 1998:24). Thus, it follows that the individual feels compelled to construct him/herself as an 'authentic' rather than fragmented subjectivity. The illusion of a freely choosing individual is produced as a subjectivity that is putatively in possession of itself, rather than being a mere element, or 'cog', in the modern production process (Handler 1986:3). In this way, it is claimed the contrary values of individualism and communalism are erroneously celebrated as a drama of rapprochement in the concert hall. What the audience supposedly experiences, at the height of the classical age and beyond, is the illusion of equilibrium and order conveyed through the very structure of the composition or work itself.

The paradigmatic form on which instrumental music was based, in the classical period, was the sonata form⁷, which when produced on a larger scale, was extended into symphonic forms. A musical piece is fundamentally comprised of phrases consisting of melodic, harmonic, or rhythmic patterns. These musical themes are known as 'motives'.

⁷ The sonata form is conventionally characterized as follows: the principal themes are introduced at the outset in the exposition and undergo growth through the relations into which they enter in the development section and finally the tensions generated by these relations are resolved in the concluding section, or recapitulation. Here the main themes of the exposition are re-introduced, but with modifications which reflect the development undergone and the new equilibrium attained.

A composition is developed via the repetition and variation of the basic motives of which it is constituted. The thematic elements in a piece develop into the total composition, with which they are identical. In Adorno's view, the expressive subject is represented by the motives within a piece which are set up against the totality of the composition, to which they give rise and within which they develop, and with the objective external collective force of society (Witkin 1998:30-31).

However, for Adorno, this form merely reflects the utopian ideal of harmony promised by an earlier bourgeois society. The continued practice of classical music in the concert hall, subsequent to this period, ostensibly offers only a simulacrum of rapprochement. As Adorno puts it: "it is not simply that these sounds are antiquated and untimely, but that they are false. They no longer fulfill their function. The most progressive level of technical procedures designs tasks before which traditional sounds reveal themselves as impotent clichés...." (Adorno 1983:34). In Adorno's estimation, then, the sonata form is, inevitably, a 'closed' form that presents an "illusory dynamism" (Witkin 1998:45). Furthermore, within the system of tonality itself individual tones are understood, by Adorno, to be constrained by the system of relations in which they are

situated and this provides a means of ordering the elements in terms of their hierarchical relations within a unified totality.⁸

The drama of tonality itself then, is conventionally thought to contain the elements for an idealized notion of Enlightenment society with its utopian concepts of order, rationality, progress, and teleology (McClary 1987:18). The notes within a composition in themselves mean nothing, but in a relationship with other notes, they create something substantial, in the same way, according to Adorno's typology, individuals can only acquire meaningful existence by achieving sociality (Adorno 1984:265). Sociality is also expressed via developmental means. Hence, historicity is cultivated in music via the techniques of building tension and resolution which are expressed in a composition through the inscription of a series of consonances and dissonances that unfold over time. In parallel fashion, the individual subject, supposedly

⁸ The tonal harmonic system is generally described as follows: the diatonic system is arranged into major and minor scales. There is a dynamic force and 'gravitational pull' toward a center which is the first note of the scale - the tonic. Pitch relations are hierarchically ranged so that only certain notes can be used in a given progression. The gravitational pull in music is understood to introduce tension and its resolution toward the tonic. The dominant, or fifth note of the scale exerts the strongest pull, followed by the subdominant, or fourth note of the scale. The seventh, or leading tone, moves up to the tonic. The dominant seventh is a chord based on the dominant chord. The harmonic system is putatively founded on progressions of triads (chords of three notes based on the tonic, or root note, and a note that is an interval of a third from the root and a note that is an interval of a fifth from the root). Hence, chords govern the melodic shapes, or voice movements, in a piece of music. These chords are arranged around a key center. According to the formalist argument, the syntax of the music, or the relations between notes and triads themselves, when linked in succession, create the musical 'meaning' of a composition. Melodies and harmonic chord sequences can be transposed from one octave to another and from one key to another so that the pitches, but not the relationships between them, are altered. The dominant chord followed by the tonic chord creates the strongest harmonic relationship - the perfect cadence, which is used to resolve a phrase of music. The addition of a dissonance in the form of a passing note, moving stepwise between the dominant and tonic chord, creates tension which moves or drives towards the resolution of the sequence. This creates a suspension in tension before it is resolved. The incorporation of this passing note with the dominant chord creates the mildly dissonant dominant seventh chord via a process of condensation. The subdominant can also be used to create an imperfect cadence. Both the dominant and subdominant are used to create scales which build up a circle of fifths which constitutes the key system of classical tonality, accounting for its centricity. The consequence of tonal harmony for the rhythmic dimension of tonal music explains the restriction of accent and measure found in western music. As part of this principle of suspension, the dissonances used to create tension, found in passing notes and other musical techniques, are prepared and resolved via the regular alteration of strong and weak beats.

like the elements in a musical composition, also achieves sociation through development over time (Adorno 1984:127). In addition, suspensions in music, which prolong the resolution of tension in the musical drama, contribute to the overall development of a work while also introducing an element of contingency or spontaneity into the work. Equally, within society too, individuals achieve growth via spontaneous acts of sociality. For Adorno, however, the diatonic system of western classical music, like the sonata form, only provides an appearance of sociality as it comes up against its own limitations. In other words, tonal music is no longer congruent even ideally, as it was in the past, with current social aspirations. Such music, as it is performed today, supposedly exudes “shabbiness and exhaustion” (Adorno 1983:314) - it has supposedly, in Adorno’s words, “degenerated into a tautological iteration of form” (Adorno 1983:314).

However, for Max Weber, whose theoretical work on music pre-dates and influences Adorno’s, western tonality expresses not a simulacrum of reconciliation but the actual rationalism supposedly inherent in its form. It is for Weber then, quite characteristic of the bourgeois epoch. The drive toward rationality, in Weber’s view, attempts “to reduce artistic creativity to the form of a calculable procedure based on comprehensible principles” (Martindale and Reidel in Max Weber 1954:xxii). Yet Weber understands music as a separate, but parallel, sphere of social experience in which

it becomes the 'purposefully rational actor' of Weber's action theory (Feher 1992:316).⁹

However, from Weber's perspective, full rationalization of the system leads to its own supersession because the expansion of technique also expands the available anomalies and ambiguities within the system. For Weber, the inherent irrationality in the tonal system consists in its material bases¹⁰, technical foundations¹¹, and in the figure of the

⁹ For Adorno, Weber's treatment of music as the supposed "mere self-locomotion of ...material" (Adorno 1983:33) fails to include an understanding that this material "is of the same origin as is the social process, by whose traces it is continually permeated" (Adorno 1983:33). Adorno does not imagine that classical music is purposively developed: "The various dimensions of Western tonal music - melody, harmony, counterpoint form, and instrumentation - have for the most part developed historically apart from one another, without design..." (Adorno 1983:53). In Adorno's view, Weber's formulation leads to a reification of music, further, it doesn't explain how classical music forms reflect the ideological values of a rationalized society. According to Adorno, the tonal harmonic system itself and its concomitant forms are chimera that provide the appearance of an equilibration of freedom and constraint, individual and society, and subject and object.

¹⁰ In western musical practice, the octave is split in such a way as to produce a fifth rather than into two fourths. The fifth may be divided into the intervals of a major or minor third, thus, generating a major or minor triad. The intervals of the octave, fifth, and fourth are expressed respectively as : 1:2, 2:3, and 4:3. These ratios, originally derived from Pythagoras' experiments with vibrating strings, have allowed for the formulation of the tonal harmonic system on the basis of precise and calculable rules (Martin 1995:220). However, the system resists closure, in Weber's view, due to the effects of the 'unstable' seventh. As Weber puts it :

"To be representative of its key, the dominant seventh chord should, through its third or the seventh of the key, form a major seventh. However, in the minor scale the minor seventh must be chromatically raised in contradiction to what is required by the triad.... Any dominant seventh chord contains the diminished triad, starting from the third and forming the major seventh. Both of these kinds of triads are real revolutionaries when compared with the harmonically divided fifths" (Weber 1958:6-7). Furthermore, for Weber, the logical principles of harmony are "constantly subverted by another principle, that of melody, which resists assimilation to a logical scheme" (Martin 1995:221). Thus, the sense of tension, which is supposedly generated by the expressive requirements of melody, is thought to be realized, by Weber, in the creation of musical movement and direction via harmonic chord progressions (Martin 1995:221).

Yet another 'irrational' element, within the harmonic system, has to do with the problem of equal temperament. The pitch values of notes, determined on the basis of the Pythagorean method of acoustical calculation, generate a series of anomalies which accumulate in this way: "The note E (for example) is a major third from C, with the relation 4:5, and a major second from D, with the relation 8:9. But the frequency of C multiplied by 5/4 is not the same as the frequency of D multiplied by 9/8 (where the value of D is also calculated from C). If C is 512, D is 576, E, moving from C, is then 640, but calculated as a major second from D, it has the value 648" (Chanan 1981:234). A musical instrument can be manipulated so that it remains 'in tune' over its entire range. This is accomplished by slightly raising the pitch of some notes and slightly lowering others (Martin 1995:222), thus, allowing for the easy modulation from key to key within the harmonic system and the combination of a variety of different instruments in the composition of a piece of music.

¹¹ For example, on the issue of equal temperament Weber wrote that it "takes from our ears some of the delicacy which gave the decisive flavour to the melodious refinement of ancient music culture" (Weber 1958:123).

virtuoso, whose expressive needs ostensibly prompt forms of experimentation which introduce antipragmatic elements into the otherwise rationalized system (Feher 1992:314). Nevertheless, Weber's more dynamic view of classical music, which would allow an understanding of the sonata as an open, rather than closed form, is situated within the totalizing concept of rationalism - encapsulated within his notion of 'disenchantment' (Feher 1992:310). The rationalizing force was expressed, for Weber, in the tonal harmonic system as well as by the development of notation, which introduced a way of fixing pitches and time values, setting precision against the arbitrary dissonance which took music 'out of time' and 'out of tune'.¹² Hence, in Weber's formulation the attempt to transcend tonality was an exercise in futility in view of the all encompassing force of rationalism: "modern movements which are at least in part the products of the characteristic intellectualized romantic turn of our search for the effects of the 'interesting', cannot get rid of some residual relations to these fundamentals, even if in the form of developing contrasts to them" (Weber 1958:102). For Weber then, the drama of tonal harmonic forms eventually arrives at its limits.¹³

¹² The system of notation, a calculable procedure based on comprehensible principles" (Martindale and Reidel in Max Weber 1958:xxii), allows for the summarizing of very large forces in various combinations for the purpose of organization into harmonious co-operation. The price paid for this is that the most powerful aspects of musical expression, like timbre and dynamics, cannot be given fixed values: their values are relative. Hence, these elements can only be indicated by codes which are "necessarily approximate and suggestive, rather than precise and prescriptive" (Chanan 1994:5).

¹³ In a contrary argument, Adorno imagines that the turn to modernity manifests a higher form of rationalization. In Adorno's view, the move to chromaticism, characteristic of serialism - in which all notes are utilized within equal relations - breaks down the hierarchies inherent within diatonicism (Adorno 1983:51-54). Thus, for Adorno, it follows that, because modern music is grounded within modern society, it must manifest an excess of construction over mimesis "of outer force over inner expression" (Witkin 1998:15). However, Adorno believes that modern music can also provide a kind of reflexive or ironic commentary on the totalizing effects of instrumentalism on the expressive subject. This takes the form of "mimesis in and through construction" (Witkin 1998:15).

Sociological Investigations of Music

Weber's and Adorno's formulations on the sociology of music are foundational, their work has served to challenge commonplace conceptualizations of classical music as mere diversion by bringing it into the realm of serious analysis. A particular dilemma arises though for current scholarship on the sociology of music. This takes the form of a lacuna between the work of modernist and postmodernist theorists. With the exception of figures like Alfred Schutz, Roland Barthes, and Edward Said, little substantial effort has been expended by scholars investigating music from outside of the field of musicology since Weber and Adorno inaugurated the investigation of the sociology of music¹⁴. The rise of rigorous professionalism and the decline of amateur practice within the field of classical music have produced a bifurcation of musical and sociological domains of study. On the one hand, this situation produces musicologists who have a solid grasp of the specialized technical language needed to understand music, but who lack the critical resources to link up musical analysis with current developments in cultural studies (Said 1991:xiv-xv). On the other hand, exponents from the academic industries of anthropology, semiotics, and linguistics have themselves grown much less familiar with musical experience and lack the necessary knowledge of music to understand and interpret it (Chanan 1994:8-9). The net effect of this predicament is that it produces a "priesthood of professionals (and a) laity of listeners" (McClary 1987:16-17). Because the latter of the two groups are in want of a vocabulary to investigate musical concerns in depth, they respond to music either by "mystifying it (ascribing its power to extra-human

¹⁴ For instance, the work of Herbert Spencer and Georg Simmel on music is unproductively concerned with questions about the supposed 'origins' of music, while Ernst Bloch's work remains within the realm of the metaphysical, with its emphasis on music's supposed autonomy (Blaukopf :1992).

sources....) or by domesticating it (trivializing and marginalizing it)" (McClary 1987:17), thus, allowing positivist and formalist notions of music as an autonomous field of investigation to remain largely unquestioned in the popular imagination (McClary and Leppert 1987: xviii).

However, the characterization of classical music as a form that is structurally congruent with and illustrative of the failure of the dominant bourgeois values of order, rationality, and harmony, is insufficient to account for the way in which its practice creates meaning within the space of the concert hall. This result is in part due to the objectification of musical material in the category of an "ontological mutant" (Goehr 1992:2) that is, as a 'work'. The idea of the 'work' serves to divide up "what is essentially indivisible - music - into two separate processes: composition, the making of music, and performance, which is also the making of music" (Chanan 1994:5)¹⁵. However, in addition, formal analyses which side step discussing the embodied experience of music come to similarly 'artefactual' conclusions. In these formulations, attendance to the 'drama' of classical form enacts an idealized rapprochement of the contrary values of individualism and communal consensus that, against the historical

¹⁵ Stan Godlovitch states that a musical 'work' does not evince anything more than "the spectral quality of a promise of music" (Godlovitch 1998:89) in the absence of its instantiation as a performance. The work, as expressed in the form of a notated score, is best understood as a 'template', rather than as an 'archetype' (Godlovitch 1998:82). As sets of instructions, scores must be realized in order to exist (Godlovitch 1998:88). In other words, a work gains its particular quality, substance, depth and longevity (Godlovitch 1998:96) through the "continuing diversity of its instances" (Godlovitch 198:90). The full work is 'given' and not merely 'revealed' to an audience because a musical performance of it is not a faithful note-perfect execution or mechanical replication of a fixed score (Godlovitch 1998:84), but rather a novel interpretation of a score which is itself, in turn, actually a "flexibly structured" (Godlovitch 1998:95) "open invitation to discretionary collaboration" (Godlovitch 1998:87) between the performer and the composer. Thus, the performance of a musical work must balance concerns for accuracy with creativity in order to count as a successful instantiation of a score (Godlovitch 1998:84). Nevertheless, for Godlovitch, a performance does not exist simply in order to make a work manifest, but is instead just one means "of organizing and marshalling various skills eager, so to speak, to issue forth in acoustic gifts to receptive beneficiaries" (Godlovitch 1998:50-51).

background in which Weber and Adorno were writing - an age dominated by rational-technical administration, Taylorism/Fordism and urban alienation - is, in fact, understood to be illustrative of the totalizing force of the dominant social values of the period and of a concomitant de-sociation of the individual.

The admission that such analyses, myopically focused as they are on the formal structural aspects of classical music, inadvertently replicate the abstraction of music from the social milieu, in which it is certainly embedded, is of dubious worth when investigations of form are supposedly abandoned while the conclusions drawn from them remain intact. This is not to deny that classical music, as presented in the spectacle of the concert hall, may serve as the means by which the official culture celebrates itself. It is a commonplace that performances of classical music, within the concert hall tradition, elaborate ideas of authority and social hierarchy directly associated with the dominant culture. The generation of energy and ecstasy in the service of a social ritual which valorizes the separation of the powerful and powerless fulfils an ideological function insofar as the emotions generated by classical music performances may serve to make inequitable social relations "feel right" (Said 1991:64) under the guise of music's supposed transcendence, or "apolitical and asocial autonomy" (Said 1991:65). However, the hegemonic function of classical music as part of "the elaboration of western civil society" (Said 1991:70), that is, as a mode of dominance sustaining the status quo (Said 1991:71) is not the most urgently relevant aspect of concert culture. What such analyses miss is the way in which concert music serves not only a curatorial function - Umberto Eco calls such performances instances of "archaeological scavengery or a pretext for sentimental escapism" (Eco quoted in Small 1980:24) - but an immediacy and

an ability to “travel, cross over, drift from place to place” (Said 1991:xix). In spite of many attempts on the part of a number of orthodoxies and institutions to confine it, classical music assists performers and audiences to evade the mundane travails of everyday existence. Thus, any distancing effect created by the trappings of the rarified spectacle of concert performance, with its rigorous traditions of pedagogy and exclusionary protocols of accreditation, in short, the whole apparatus which has stifled amateur practice in favour of the professionalization and specialization of classical music practice (Said 1991:56), yet may also be recuperated by its ability to generate intense palpable propinquity between performers and auditors, but in a manner which does not put musical expression in the service of ‘manufacturing consent’.

Revisionist analyses have recently been undertaken that purport to challenge functionalist conceptions of classical music praxis. Jacques Attali, for example, has produced a study, which ostensibly proposes to examine musical forms contextually by demonstrating how classical music actively inaugurates, rather than passively expresses, its affiliations with the social order. Attali begins with the premise that the ‘original’ function of music is the simulacrum of sacrifice and that sacrifice itself serves to channelize ritual violence. Following this, the classical epoch is characterized by its supposed ‘de-ritualization’ (Attali 1985:5) as a social form - it becomes in Attali’s view, “a simulacrum of...ritual sacrifice and an affirmation of the possibility of social order” (Attali 1985:29). Music is further, for Attali, both reflective and prophetic (Attali 1985:9-11) - it anticipates and mirrors social reality. As a transmitter of ‘pure signs’ (Attali 1985:53), music is immaterial production which supposedly “explores, much faster than reality can, the entire range of possibilities in a given code” (Attali 1985:11).

Attali returns musical analysis to the question of its role as ‘a mode of address’¹⁶ (Durant 1984:30) and to the idea of music as a theatrical spectacle that enacts “bourgeois individualism (and) the consolidation of a community” (Attali 1985:57,6). Accordingly, the spectacle presented in the concert hall is part of the representational order - a process of ‘making people believe’ that there is ‘harmony in order’ (Attali 1985:57, 46) via the creation of a simulacrum of reconciliation (Attali 1985:59). Hence, in the ‘age of representation’, Attali views the musical drama as an abstracted spectacle which has severed the relation between music’s ‘pure signs’ and their referent ‘reality’. Further, Attali suggests, after Baudrillard, that these detached, free floating signs have in the postmodern era of ‘repetition’, now entered the domain of exchange anticipating a society entirely dominated by commodification. The endless proliferation of signs is said to have reached its saturation point in the annihilation of meaning and the cultivation of individuation over sociality (Attali 1985:88). This posture of solitude has supposedly come about even as the advent of recording technologies of replication have extended classical music’s accessibility beyond that of the unique and exceptional event of the concert hall to a variety of other spaces and venues (Attali 1985:100).

Paradoxically, in spite of the increasing availability of classical music to wider audiences, then, the supposedly ‘de-ritualized’ spectacle of the concert hall remains, in Attali’s view, the means by which an “ elite defines and protects itself through esotericism and the cultural level required for the works it listens to” (Attali 1985:118).

¹⁶ There is, however, a discrepancy between Attali’s initial claims for his project and the conclusions he draws from his research. The work of Paul Thom on performance examines, in contrast to Attali, the practical aspects of musical address. A musical work is in part, for Thom, a set of more or less specific directives issued from the composer to prospective performers which demonstrate how a work may be executed (Thom 1993:39). The performers, in turn, solicit the audience to attend to the performance which the former presents to the latter (Thom 1993:174). Further, the audience demands that the performance be made audible and visible as part of the performers’ solicitation to the audience (Thom 1993:179).

Hence, in place of a relation of 'communion' between performers and auditors there is substituted a legitimizing 'power relation' so that music becomes merely a "pretext for asserting one's cultivation" (Attali 1985:118). The concert hall spectacle here becomes an occasion for exerting influence under the guise of a 'disinterested' pursuit of aesthetic 'quality'- an arbitrary and indistinct term which serves to occlude the hegemonic relations which underlie considerations of cultural taste.

Music and the Question of Distinction

In Pierre Bourdieu's view, the notion of distinction, as applied to music and other art and leisure forms, refers to criteria of singularity or rarity as something which is determinate of aesthetic 'value'. The democratization of art is understood to engender its opposite since the distancing effects of formalism, in reference to aesthetic appreciation, produces alienation instead, in other words, it "takes back and refuses what it seems to deliver" (Bourdieu 1984:34). Although Bourdieu side steps a consideration of the performative aspects of music (Bourdieu 1984:19), the concert hall event matches this description of an occasion set apart from the everyday considerations of existence. For Bourdieu the cultivation of 'rarity' is the basis for exclusionary practices (Bourdieu 1984:31). Hence, the unavailability of an art work or aesthetic experience is supposedly what makes it 'valuable' as a mechanism which both masks and perpetuates arbitrarily determined social inequities, even against the self interest of those excluded from elite aesthetic practices (Bourdieu 1984:163). These cultural preferences are purportedly 'misrecognized' since they are understood, in Bourdieu's view, to express an essence, rather than being seen for what they 'truly' are, that is, as an arbitrary effect of the

unequal distribution of power. The notion of class taste is buttressed by the idea of 'competency' which is said to be determined by class position - defined by Bourdieu as 'distance from necessity' (Bourdieu 1984:53).

In Bourdieu's view, subjects act neither by virtue of their own volitions, nor are they prompted to simply respond to over determining structures, instead, subjects internalize the objective options presented by the social structure and re-articulate these as free choices (Bourdieu 1984:101). Thus, for Bourdieu, aesthetic dispositions are extremely rigid because they are illustrative of conditioned behaviour that flows in one direction only - from the domain of 'high', or elite, to 'low', or popular, art forms. This is guaranteed via Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' - the taken for granted dispositions that operate on the level of commonsense knowledge and which are ostensibly inscribed on the body so that taste becomes something which is materialized and embodied (Bourdieu 1990:53-56). The linking of habitus with events gives rise to practical sense - what Bourdieu calls 'a feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1990:66) or, in other words, a way of 'knowing' without rational reflection (Bourdieu 1990:66).

Although Bourdieu generates a study of aesthetic reception, as opposed to an analysis of aesthetic form, that is, an examination of the way in which art is circulated and received, he nevertheless draws conclusions that are fairly identical with those of a formalist analysis. In Bourdieu's determinist formulation, there is virtually no possibility for transgression, yet music is epitomized by its peripatetic qualities, thus, Bourdieu's unidirectional and bifurcated model does not hold. In fact, what is missing from Bourdieu's study is an understanding of the way in which aesthetic culture is a complex, contradictory, contingent, contested, and co-constructed domain. Classical music has

always been a hybridized form which takes into itself, and flows back into, a number of folkloric and popular music traditions (Levine 1988:234, Ling Jan: 1997, McClary 1994:36, Small 1987:126, Walser 1993:63).¹⁷ Furthermore, concert hall events have, in a variety of contexts, provided mixed programmes to diverse performers and auditors (Levine:1988). The question is really one of degree, that is, the extent to which esoteric musical traditions are articulated in opposition to exoteric musical conventions. Currently, there is no question that concert hall practice is one of the means by which the official culture celebrates itself, the more interesting question that remains, however, is how absolutely this characterization of concert culture resists re-definition.

¹⁷ Examples of the incorporation of folk music styles into classical music production are plentiful, particularly in the nineteenth century. A few instances of these works include: Chopin's Mazurkas, Liszt's 'Hungarian Rhapsodies', Dvorak's 'Slavonic Dances', Greig's 'Norwegian Dances', Smetana's 'The Moldau' and 'The Bartered Bride', Sibelius' 'Finlandia' etc. In the twentieth century, Bela Bartok and Zoltan Koaldy systematically collected folk songs from the indigenous populations of Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. In addition, Bartok also made a study of Turkish and Arabic folk musics, and, of course, the fruit of these labours may be heard in Bartok's own work. Furthermore, within the realm of classical practice, it may be observed that audiences in North America, prior to the nineteenth century, for example, saw no division between classical and vernacular music traditions, as is demonstrated by the common practice of mixing a variety of genres within a single musical programme so that a piece by Beethoven, for example, might be followed by a popular ditty of the day, or perhaps by a minstrel show etc. (Levine 1988 90). Mozart himself drew from the popular material of his own time and was only too pleased to have his own work popularized as well, as revealed in this quotation: "I looked on with the greatest pleasure while all those people flew about in sheer delight to the music of my Figaro arranged as quadrilles and waltzes No opera is drawing like Figaro...Certainly a great honour for me!" (W. A. Mozart quoted by Small:348). Indeed, the whole notion of 'western' music, as a homogeneous, european based art form is challenged, in one instance, by the incorporation of a popular style of dance music, the ciaconna (which was created either by Peruvian Indians and/or African slaves) into the 'high' art music styles in the 1600's - the most famous instance being the fusion piece 'Zefiro Torna' (McClary 1994:36). This colonialist appropriation of the ciaconna, nevertheless, can also be seen as a moment which encouraged empathetic communication across cultures. Even today, it is impossible to imagine how jazz, as a fusion of African and European music styles, could possibly exist without the influence of classical music. This is even more crucially the case in such virtuoso genres as traditional heavy metal music (Walser:1993). Within mainstream popular music culture, the phenomenal success of classically trained pop composers like Elton John (who describes the appeal of his work in terms of its basis in hymnal music), or George Martin's use of classical instrumentation and arrangements in his production of The Beatles' compositions, has been so influential that such conventions are still in use currently, as witnessed in the mid-1990's by the whole "Brit Pop" phenomenon, which was realized by groups like Oasis and Blur.

Music and the Issue of Social Control

The distancing effect inherent in the extreme professionalization of classical music practice is further said to constitute the imposition of an etiquette of passivity amongst audience members, in which the listener exerts “the cultural force of will against the body’s desires” (Leppert 1993:25). Seizing Foucault’s conception of ‘docile bodies’, Richard Leppert, for example, revives Weber’s and Adorno’s notions of the ‘totally administered society’, as it intersects with considerations of music, with the similarly resonant ‘disciplinary society’ posited by Foucault. In this formulation, music enacts ‘sonic surveillance’ (Leppert 1993:25) on the bodies of the audience members - a mechanism by which ‘consent’ is learned and internalized in service to the maintenance of social order and obedience is compelled from the individual (Leppert 1993:25). Edward Said finds this connection problematic because, for Foucault, all forms of transgression serve two purposes “one, to be incorporated by the system, thereby confirming its power; two, to incriminate the system both for its inhumanity and for its inevitability” (Said 1991:51). Music’s contraventions of the official determinations intended for it unhinges the notion of passivity as merely subjection secured by disciplinary mechanisms. What such determinist analyses miss is an understanding of performance as an interpretive process which falls between the parameters of creativity and constraint (Thom 1993:197).

For the performers’ part, the address that they receive from the composer, in the form of particular directives on how to perform a given work cannot be quantifiably precise. A performer is unable to act as an invisible transmitter who carries out a musical work ‘correctly’, that is, according exactly to the composer’s directives, for in addition to

possessing the skills necessary to execute a piece of music, a musical interpreter (as opposed to an ancillary or mere executant) (Thom 1993:90,197), must go beyond the instructions set out in a musical work (Thom 1993:92, 109). The performer's musical rendition guarantees that a performance will contain elements that are neither "prescribed nor counter-prescribed by the work" (Thom 1993:95), thus, enriching the experience of the listener by adding further layers of understanding, extrapolation, and inspiration to the musical interpretation (Thom 1993:91 110). The audience, in turn, cannot act as pure receivers whose function is 'to get things right' (Thom 1993:204). As Thom states, "some readings are correct and some are incorrect but not every reading is either correct or incorrect" (Thom 1993:196). The directive, issued by the performers, that audiences attend to a performance cannot be specified with any determinacy. The audience may misidentify, disregard, or read such directives against the grain (Thom 1993:197). Consequently, the performer is indeed 'passive', as an object of the audience's attention, but is also active as the addresser of the audience and interpreter of the musical work. Similarly, in their role as addressees of the performers, the audience is passive, however, as patrons for whom the performance is an object, they are active in the process of realizing the performance with the performers and composer of the works in question.

Given that attendance at a concert hall performance is a social event that engages musicians and an audience of listeners, certain constraints on behaviour, without which sociation could not occur, are of necessity, in evidence. Voluntary involvement in concert occasions, for the purpose of taking part in an ostensibly pleasurable diversion, is understood by critics such as Leppert, as the means by which celebrants surveil and discipline themselves, thus, maintaining, at least metaphorically, the hegemonic apparati

of the official cultural order. In this respect, the conventional 'purpose' of attending a concert hall performance is for privileged social groups to publicly display their substance and symbolic worth to one another and to celebrate such hierarchical social distinctions. This is accomplished by the authorization of aesthetic distinctions incarnated, for example, in the terms 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow', with their Social Darwinian connotations (Levine 1988:221). Nevertheless, the ceremonial value of the concert appears to posit an idealized notion of particular social relations, rather than reflecting existing ones, since what is supposedly represented, in the opinion of a number of music scholars, is a harmonious presentation of social order.

Musical Codes and Conventions

Symphonic music, which comprises the mainstay of concert hall repertoires, is generally understood as an abstraction of the operatic genre which had preceded it and which had initially fulfilled bourgeois cultural requirements for the presentation of 'extreme occasions' (Small 1998:147). This was realized in opera by the fusing of music, written texts (librettos), and theatrical performance within a single spectacle. The more recently developed, if comparatively staid and visually spartan, dramatic ceremony of the concert event is thought to metaphorically enact and/or produce social relations of a particular kind. Furthermore, it is often imagined that the musical relations developed in opera reflect bourgeois social relations via the development of a vocabulary of musical gestures in which can be represented the emotional states and temperaments of both human and specifically personal relationships (Small 1998:147). The social relationships that are symbolically presented in an opera performance by singers, who take on the roles

of particular theatrical characters, are also thought to be mirrored in the sedimented musical vocabulary produced by composers of opera. This gestural language, which has gradually become quite familiar to audiences, is thought, furthermore, to be subsumed within the sonata form, with its dramatic techniques that supposedly evoke tensions and resolutions (Small 1998:147). The notion that the sonata symbolically presents the struggle between the individual's requirement for freedom and the necessity of preserving the integrity of the social order is conventionally understood to be part of the greater 'meta-narrative' putatively characteristic of all forms of ritual - that of the developmental pattern of: order established, order disturbed, and order re-established" (Small 1998:181).

Ritual performance, or 'social drama' (Turner: 1990), traditionally functions as a form of 'public reflexivity' that is achieved gesturally and relationally, rather than via linguistic codes (Turner 1990:9). In bourgeois societies, spectacle fulfils the ritual purpose of generating a shift away from the commonsense rationality of everyday life to the 'subjunctive' realm of desire, fantasy, and metaphor (Turner 1990:11). The ritual event typically passes through three stages: that of separation, liminality (the 'subjunctive' phase which emphasizes detachment from reality) and finally re-aggregation (the period at which the ritual is concluded, generally with the re-establishment of the status quo, but also with a deeper understanding of the efficacy of the ritual)¹⁸ (Turner 1990:14). Expressions of etiquette or demands for conventional behaviour which attend social dramas indicate that such cultural performances putatively

¹⁸ Although performances and rituals can possess transformative power, this better describes radical or subversive types of performances, rather than classical music performances which more closely resemble Turner's model of social drama.

serve to uphold social authority by ultimately containing and rendering the event orderly (Turner 1990:15), yet within the context of a concert event, the elements which guide the performance are not derived from the sonata form itself. Social dramas generate their meanings within the context of performance rather than being initially located within 'abstract, cognitive systems' (Turner 1990:16). The actual notated score of a sonata expresses musical relations synchronically, but a concert event unfolds sequentially in time, that is, diachronically. A concert performance is, thus, understood gesturally and relationally in its enactment, otherwise the event would be both undesirable and unnecessary. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of a musical work is that it serves as a means by which the action of a musical performance is brought about. Hence, the social relations that are the true meaning of the event are those of the performers and celebrants themselves.

Music possesses certain conventions which have accumulated over time and which are recognized, by listeners, from a myriad of perspectives. These more or less oblique musical cues may or may not be identified as being appropriate to particular expressive gestures, which are not immanent in the musical material itself, but rather are apprehended via direct embodied experience. The musical codes that the listener responds to are learned and appreciated from repeated exposure to particular pieces of music. Musical conventions are produced by means of various techniques. For example, connections have traditionally been drawn between certain musical gestures and the bodily gestures associated with dance. These conventions comprise metaphorical, rather than literal parallels between, for example, the tempo of music and the pace and frequency of movement, as well as "strong accents for stamping, staccato for leaping,

legato for glides, rising melodies for upward movement, falling for downward” etc. (Small 1998:148).

As Henry Kingsbury states, listeners and critics often assign specific affective significance to “particular melodic formulae” (Kingsbury 1988:100), so that it is widely accepted, for instance, that “ascending intervals are ‘active’, descending intervals ‘passive’; major intervals are joyful or optimistic, minor intervals tragic or pessimistic” (Kingsbury 1988:100). The material elements of music, which are understood to impact the listener most profoundly, are its textures (McClary and Walser: 1990). Musical texture is created by shifts and contrasts in melodic and harmonic relationships and densities, the movement of rhythmic shapes, particular qualities of sound (timbre), tempo, and dynamics etc. Certain techniques of ‘deviation’ from classical conventions add to the listeners’ excitement and signal which sensibilities and sensation are ‘appropriate’ to the music. These techniques include rapid undulations in pitch (vibrato), temporary irregularities in tempo (rubato), and gliding between successive pitches (glissando), and so on (Small 1998:198).

Yet, the existence of recognizable music codes does not guarantee that the emotions, moods, and sensations which are supposedly ‘proper’ to these conventions will be evoked by the performers or listeners since the means of communicating and receiving a work are contingent and plural. This is due to the fact that musical encounters are premised on the notion of value. Since a musical experience is directly engaged through the senses, musical appreciation is arrayed along a continuum marked by varying degrees of preference and commitment, which differ from subject to subject over time, and through space. Although music is obviously infused with sensory pleasure, it is not

reducible to the undifferentiated experiences of everyday life. Instead, music is comprised of artificial patterns. Still, the meanings of these contrived designs are always in flux and are not strictly translatable. Susanne Langer posits the notion that music is a symbolic form which remains 'unconsummated', that is, musical works are supposedly capable of bearing dichotomous affective responses which can, nevertheless, be reduced to a common "morphology of feeling" (Langer 1942:241, 238).¹⁹ However, symbolic or representational meaning calls for more definite points of reference. Music, by way of contrast, exhibits transitory contents and articulates affective qualities without becoming wedded to any of them in particular. Musicians themselves frequently object to 'quasi-linguistic' conceptions of musical meaning which, in their view, "serve only to diminish the importance of affective fantasy and feeling that comes from an affective performance" (Kingsbury 1988:101).

As Kingsbury suggests, such notions do not even actually constitute a useful definition of meaning. Instead, he recommends adopting an anthropological approach to meaning as "the practical interpretation of ongoing social interaction" (Kingsbury 1988:101). Thus, attributions of affect, with respect to musical forms, display an interpretive latitude which exceeds the narrow specificity demonstrated in the equation, for example, of a descending minor triad in a piece of music, with the affective state of 'passive suffering' (Kingsbury 1988:101). For this reason, it follows that the belief that a

¹⁹ Against this Michelle Rosaldo argues more persuasively that affect is embodied thought which is shaped in accordance, not only with personal experience, but more importantly, through particular sociocultural practices which vary cross-culturally (Rosaldo 1984:1984).

particular musical selection, serves as a cultural 'text'²⁰ (which relates the sonata form, for instance, with the symbolic struggle for individual freedom versus the demand for social harmony) is also problematic since texts are objects whose meanings, while open to interpretation, dialogic interaction, and networks of relationships, are bound to what Roland Barthes describes as a semiological order of meaning.

Drawing on the work of Benveniste, Barthes divides signification into semiological and semantic realms of meaning. The semiotic order of verbal language possesses a system of signs, each of which has its own meaning. The semantic order of musical 'language', by way of contrast, has a syntax in which no single note, but rather an ensemble of sounds, contains the capability for signification. In the structural domain of music there exists primary and secondary levels of semantic signification. The first semantic level refers to those elements in music which can be systematically analyzed. Musical language, as opposed to notation, however, is comprised of a second semantic level, which does not negate, but rather exceeds the level of propositional meaning. Whereas a first order semantic level is comprised of a system of signs, a second order semantic level comprises instead, a field of signifying (Barthes 1985:308), or in other words, "the body in a state of music" (Barthes 1985:312).

For Barthes, music's second order qualities are what account for its efficacy. Musical understanding is achieved, then, not through 'mastery', but rather via immersion.

²⁰ Since texts are objects, and performances are ephemeral, the two may easily be differentiated. While performances contain an embodied, interactive quality, a text's dialogic power is realized only in the abstract. In addition, a text has an enduring quality, while a performance's effects usually have the character of traces or auras which dissipate quickly. Also, each performance differs, while a text does not alter in this way. The immediacy of performance, then, causes it to be a contingent phenomenon which additionally provides musicians with the experience of overcoming obstacles in the accomplishment of their tasks. For the listener, what is gained in a performance that is brought off successfully, is an appreciation of the musician's skill or mastery. Hence, a score is more akin to a text, at least in these few respects, but a performance is a practical process.

Hence, participation in the musical process, as opposed to the analysis of music as an object of study, provides the means by which one can enter the musical domain and be 'worked' by it, rather than merely observing music's inner workings (Engel 1993:71). Schutz further describes music as a "meaningful context which is not bound to a conceptual scheme" (Schutz 1972:159), whereas ideational percepts are taken in at "a single glance" (Schutz 1972:172) (monothetically), music's communicative potential can only be understood in its unfolding, that is, "step-by-step" (Schutz 1972:172) (polythetically) in the sensuous enactment of musical performance. Thus, what a musical event inspires, within an audience of listeners, is the sensation of being caught up or totally immersed in sound. In addition, the intersubjective participation of the performers and listeners at a concert performance lends a certain ambiguity and surplus of meaning to the event as layers of situated experiences over time (historically) and across space (contextually) build up with many repeated instances of familiar pieces of music and the well recognized styles of performers and conductors. In fact, since the meaning and medium of musical expression are inseparable, musical 'signification' is generated "from within (musical language) and its very materiality" (Barthes 1985: 270). This idea is also elaborated further by Merleau-Ponty who states that "the experience of one's own body runs counter to the reflective procedure which detaches the subject and object from each other, and which gives us only the thought about the body, or the body as an idea, and not the experience of the body, or the body as a reality" (Merleau-Ponty 1989:199).

The Intersubjective Relations of Musical Performance

The social interactions connected with the musical process are, hence, meaningful contexts of communication which are not based “primarily on a semantic system used by the communicator as a scheme of expression and by his [or her] partner as a scheme of interpretation” (Schutz 1972:159). In other words, emotions are not communicated from the composer to the listener through the medium of the score or the performer as something immanent within the materials of the music or the ‘soul’ of the musical interpreter. In addition, the music that is performed does not truly refer to something beyond itself (as does the written word or a mathematical formula) which is then accessed in a purely conscious, cognitive manner by the recipients of a musical experience²¹. The character of a concert event is, thus, not determined by the particular repertory that is performed on a given occasion, but rather is shaped by the time and place in which it is performed and by the performers and audience members who guide the event. A concert arouses emotions in the listener, but these emotions do not serve as the *raison d’être* of the performance, they function, instead, as indications that the ritual has been successful. In fact, the ritual frame of the performance is experienced prior to the affective response of the audience to the music, that is, the character of the event is anticipated in advance of its execution (Kingsbury 1988: 115). If the concert performance ‘takes’ properly, it is because the performers and audience actually experience, perceptually and sensually, a state of accord with what are thought to be the ‘right’, or truly sociated relationships.

²¹ John Blacking suggests that music cannot communicate anything except “patterns of sound which, through tonal and rhythmic contrasts, may elicit nervous tension and motor impulse - provided that they are presented in a culturally familiar setting and as behaviour that is perceived as musical” (Blacking 1977:19) Furthermore, he suggests that the purpose of art cannot be to reflect ideas through the physical exertions of

In separating from everyday life and engaging in an 'extreme occasion', one imagines, paradoxically, that what has emerged from behind the veil is the world as it really is (Small 1998:137). This state of experiencing is far from being one of 'disinterested contemplation' since unease and dissociation will be invoked in audience members only if the concert ceremony lacks relevance to those attending and, thus, appears artificial in a negative sense. The concert performance is necessarily characterized by immediacy, as opposed to reflection (Schutz 1972:188), for what it creates instead of characters and narratives is "a unity of mood" (Schutz 1972:189). A concert hall performance is, thus, not a drama, though it is a dramatic event²². Indeed, musical performance exceeds the narrative rendering of a drama insofar as it does not merely 'speak of' social relationships, but allows for the experiencing of those relationships (Schutz 1972:189). Concert events require the complete involvement of an audience of 'true believers' since such occasions construct an impermanent, but absolute frame (Lyman 1970:163) wherein the audience exists within something like an alternative universe consisting of the world as it ought to be - a world of correct relationships - at least for the duration of the event.

The quest for perfection in performance, which is realized via the professional and specialized competence of performers and the audience's observations of "norms of

making music since it makes no sense to use nonverbal modes of communication to convey something which can better be expressed in language or other conceptual means of understanding (Blacking 1977:19).

²² Music is 'dramatic' in the sense that it is (like theatre) live: it exists in present time, as physical and sensual force...." (Abbate 1991:12). The notion of musical drama as narrative refers to a piece of music as a "progression of events in a series" (Abbate 1991:23). Historically, music was conceived as representational of "defined human passion and actions" (Abbate 1991:24). Later, music was understood to share "certain formal or structural characteristics with verbal narrative, or as expressing some vague, transverbal drama" (Abbate 1993:24). Thus, as has been previously stated, while exponents of the idea of musical drama don't imagine that musical gestures correspond to concrete images, they do think of tonal sequences as 'events' and musical themes as 'characters' 'psychological states', or 'emotions'. In opposition to this, the idea of music as a 'dramatic' form, rather than a 'drama', focuses on the idea of music as sonorous texture instead of a narrative.

tact" (Lyman 1970:161), must be beyond doubt in order to maintain the fragile, voluntary self deception in which the participants have chosen to engage (Lyman 1970:162). In other words, performances are special occurrences, the integrity of which must be maintained against the possibility of rupture. Performances are not 'serializable' (Godlovitch 1998:35) for, as Stan Godlovitch rhetorically phrases it: "Why must the show go on? Try stopping it, taking a break. Not much remains." (Godlovitch 1998:41). The conditions for a performance's coherence hinge on external matters such as the preservation of spatio-temporal continuity (Godlovitch 1998:34). In addition, other constraints on performance include the need to make the audience's aural experience and the performers' interpretation and presentation of the musical works consistent (Godlovitch 1998:35). If concert hall performances have a formal, ritualized, and ceremonial quality, it is undoubtedly because they are "designed to capture and focus attention" (Godlovitch 1998:39). The fairly rigid boundaries of a performance, including demands for "decorum and order...and procedural strictness" (Godlovitch 1998:39), are part and parcel of the requirement that there be no "serious distractions, interruptions, disruptions, disturbances, (and) departures from some norm" (Godlovitch 1998:39) that has been established as the protocol for any given performance. This all goes toward sustaining an experiential mood, ambiance, or atmosphere. In fact, for Godlovitch, "the wholeness or completeness of a performance is (ultimately) a matter of mood" (Godlovitch 1998:41).

The immense effort expended in creating a 'devotional' atmosphere within the concert hall highlights the fact that musical performances are 'other-directed' (Godlovitch 1998:28) activities. That is, performances are not enjoyed in solitude by the

agents that produce them, but are intended, as Paul Thom puts it, '*for an audience*' (Thom: 1993). A musical performance does not simply take place before or in the presence of an audience since the event is undertaken for the benefit of concert goers. The performer's task is not to draw upon certain internal affective states and transmit them to an audience, but to summon his/her technical skills and knowledge of performance traditions so as to 'work' or induce such effects in audience members. Hence, concert goers provide meaning and purpose to what would otherwise be "free-floating musical activity" (Godlovitch 1998:45). The listener's role as an appraiser of musical performances places the responsibility on a performer to develop a fair degree of mastery for the purpose of sustaining the concert's frame. The audience's relation to a performance is equally as essential as that of the performers and composer, but it is not equally weighted. However, the fact that the justification for a musical performance is its function as benefit for an audience tends to obscure this actuality. For this reason, there is a common misperception, among music theorists, that from the inception of the practice of classical concertizing, the act of listening has achieved primacy over that of performance (necessitating the relegation of music making to the sphere of professionals). Since such occasions are confined to the precincts of a "formal and independent setting" (Small 1998:71) designed solely for concert events, it is not surprising that charges of elitism are ubiquitous in the musicological literature on classical music.

Accordingly, music scholars frequently deduce that a concert brings together not a community, but a "collection of individuals" (Small 1998:196) who have gathered for the purpose of "display[ing]...to themselves their...wealth and power...affirm[ing] their

distance from the common people, and...dramatizing the hierarchy that exists [between] them” (Small 1998:97). In an obvious sense, such views are easily confirmed, for although the general public in western nations and beyond is thoroughly familiar with classical music, this knowledge comes, for the most part, from the saturation of classical music within popular culture via electronic media. Apart from countries like Japan and several other European nations, attendance at concert hall performances is relatively infrequent and generally confined to bourgeois audiences. Yet, the decline in amateur practice is not due, in any significant way, to elitist cultural practices since, historically, the privileged audience members who attended concerts were urged to gain practical experience of musical training in order to be better able to judge its significance (or inappropriateness as the case may be) and, thus, have the means to engage in cultivated leisure as a marker of cultural distinction (Ford 1993:121). Hence, the position of the listener as a patron and the performer as a client continues to obtain, but is a relation of ambiguity since performers are clearly no longer considered to be servants and, indeed, virtuosos are singled out as transcendent figures whom the audience are privileged to witness.

The Spectacle of Concert Hall Performance

To describe a concert as a ritual, in the strictly anthropological sense would be incorrect, for as Victor Turner states, post-industrial ceremonies do not currently occupy a central place in society as do bona fide ritual forms since they are more reasonably thought of as “entertainment genres flourishing in the leisure time of society” (Turner 1990:12). Nor are they truly akin to spectacles since they are dramatic events with a

greater dependence on the auditory, rather than the visual realm (MacAloon 1984:243). Nevertheless, there is a visual component to the concert event that is nothing less than the presentation of the social exchanges between the performers and the audience. In a more literal sense what is on display within the space of the concert hall is the peculiar kind of intersubjectivity shared by the communicators and receptors of the musical experience. A visual description of a concert proceeds initially with the gathering of audience members in the foyer of a concert hall purposively built for such occasions. This area serves as an informal threshold, in the usually fairly elegant space of the concert hall, where the denizens of such occasions socialize and advertise their presence to one another.

The next stage of the ceremony involves entering the auditorium. Here, audience members seat themselves and consult their programme notes in order to obtain the background information that will supposedly enable them to 'properly' judge the competence of the performers and the aesthetic 'value' of the event. Prior to the concert's inauguration, the performers file into the hall silently and once seated they prepare for the concert by fine tuning their instruments and practicing passages from the pieces they will be expected to render with unflinching accuracy and finesse. The conductor, who is clearly the authority responsible for co-ordinating the event, then enters and takes his or her place on the podium signaling the audience to applaud briefly. He /she stands facing the orchestra with his/her back to the audience. As a respectful hush gradually descends upon the audience and the murmurs and strays snatches of melody and dissonance issuing from the performers gives way to silence, the conductor raises his baton from the lectern in front of him/her and the performance proper begins.

At this point, the lights above the listeners' heads are dimmed, instructing the audience to attend the event with rapt concentration. The identically clad performers are now the only group that remains illuminated, nevertheless, they also, along with the audience, utterly submerge themselves in the event. Perhaps a virtuoso or soloist may be singled out as the focus of special attention, thus, infusing the concert with a certain amount of glamour or star quality. This figure may be cast in the role of an eccentric genius or beguiling magician deceptively producing a seemingly effortless, but actually phenomenally Herculean set of musical labours. The tasks of the rank and file performers demand almost equal dedication and discipline as do the soloists, yet the former remain as unobtrusive as possible, allowing the celebrity performers and the much lauded, usually authoritarian figure of the conductor, to receive the accolades that befit their advertised stature as preternaturally gifted musicians.

The regular performers are arranged in rows that radiate out from the conductor. The performers focus their absolute concentration on the scores arrayed before them on their music stands and use their peripheral vision to monitor the conductor's codes of gestural directives, rather than affixing their attention on one another or to the audience. The listeners, in turn, are seated in parallel fashion, which serves to discourage distractions from their fellow listeners. In addition, the audience is separated by a gap between themselves and the performers on the stage that is further emphasized by the conductor's placement facing away from the listeners and toward the performers. Upon the cessation of the event the audience signals closure via their applause. As the concert is reliably successful on every occasion (because of the audience's familiarity with its musical content and behavioural protocols) the musical drama is generally concluded on

a favourable note. Particular gestural trappings of assent include calculated encores, 'well placed bravos', and the presentation of ceremonial bouquets (Durant 1984:39, Levine 1988:192).

There is ambivalence expressed in the notion that the concert performance privileges listening over performing. It is frequently asserted that concert occasions are produced solely for the edification of an audience, which is, paradoxically, supposedly barred from mutual exchange with the performers who have co-produced the event. Thus, the listeners seem to be simultaneously placed at both an advantage and a disadvantage for, by the dictates of this reasoning they are the focus of an event to which they have only restricted access. In addition, in this representation, performers are understood to be atomized also as 'a collection of individuals', rather than participants in a collectivity of other performers and audience members. Moreover, performers are also imagined to be denied autonomy by a putatively autocratic personality - the conductor - who co-ordinates the musical activity. Yet, as alienated and de-socialized as the performers of a concert are reputed to be they are also able, in a contradictory argument, to render mellifluous musical outpourings because they are attuned and integrated with their fellow performers and an equally receptive audience. How then can these contradictions be sustained?

Discussions relating to the 'restrictions' placed on the involvement accorded to the audience and the rank and file performers generally tend to center around the idea of participation. At the moment when music was tied to specific courtly or liturgical functions the audience members could interact with one another socially or freely interject gesturally and verbally with the performers during the event in question.

Similarly, performers did not labour under a conductor, instead they directed themselves. Often the pieces of music to be played consisted of a sketchy melodic line and *basso continuo* (see footnote 26) over which the performers were free to improvise. Furthermore, rehearsals were infrequent since a demand for novelty superceded the desire to be familiarized, or indeed overly accustomed to works of music, hence, the quest for note perfect renditions of particular pieces of music was hardly even imaginable let alone realized.

Juxtaposed against this golden age of freedom of expression is now posited the ponderous weight of the supposedly desiccated practice of classical concertizing. However, another view is possible, for instead of perceiving concert hall performances as the means by which the individual rights and freedoms of listeners and performers are quashed, such practices may also be viewed from the other side as the means by which both groups are able to immerse themselves in relations of sociality. If particular individuals (including the eponymous composer, the conductor, and the soloist/virtuoso) are granted accolades, they also bear the social burden of responsibility should anything go awry before, during, and after the performance. Thus, rather than engaging in a practice of self surveillance, the audience members and performers, by becoming engulfed in anonymity, are able to escape from its grip. It is not the act of surrender effected in a concert event, but the reification of such concepts as 'the individual' and 'the community' as entities which assist in producing the sense of alienation and de-socialization that is prevalent in contemporary society.

Now that the means to perfectly mimic a concert performance are readily available, via sophisticated recording technologies, it may be wondered why concerts

have not been rendered obsolete. In addition, the argument that concerts function as agitprop is not easily squared with the corollary that, as such events are 'unproductive' of anything besides pleasure and excitement, they ought to be viewed with intense suspicion. In other words, in this view, music's supposed emptiness and, hence, its infinite pliability makes it dangerously amoral.

Such views hinge on the notion of cultural elitism. If, however the social interactions that take place between performers and listeners within the actual musical performance itself are not assumed to be expressive of hierarchical values, but can be demonstrated to be egalitarian in nature, a different perspective emerges. Schutz describes this kind of involvement in the musical drama as "the mutual tuning-in relationship" (Schutz 1972:161) that establishes a community of intersubjectivity or, in other words, "a human universe of pure sociality" (Schutz 1972:199). The musical process constructs a 'vivid present' in which the 'streams of consciousness' of both performers and listeners are "lived through in simultaneity" (Schutz 1972:173). This is accomplished via the experience of two orders of time. While the concert occasion unfolds in 'outer' time step by step, the music's ongoing flux is realized in 'inner' time, or *duree*. The outer time of a piece of music moves in succession, in the direction from beginning to end, that is, in measurable time. However, inner time comprises, simultaneously, the musical material that is currently articulated, as well as the sounds that have been heard and the sequence of notes that are anticipated. Listeners and performers not only engage each other within inner time but the former are also able to enter into the experience of the composer's cogitations by polythetically co-performing "the ongoing articulation of (his or her) musical thought" (Schutz 1972:171).

The musical content transmitted from the composer to the listener is, however, only approximately prescribed in the notated material. Hence, a performer's freedom of interpretation in re-creating a piece of music is not, in fact, severely limited by the composer's directives, but rather is strongly informed by the player's previous stock of experiences (Schutz 1972:166). The performer's task is multileveled since the composer's and conductor's instructions, relations with fellow performers, as well as the audience's expectations orient his or her action. Listeners, along with the musicians and the composer, co-perform the musical content within the concert hall setting, but as an internalized activity.

As John Blacking explains, a musical performance becomes efficacious for an audience of listeners because music can create a 'virtual' world "in which things are no longer subject to time and space, it can make people more aware of feelings they have experienced ... and so restore the conditions of fellow-feeling..."(Blacking 1977:6). In his pursuit to develop an 'anthropology of the body', Blacking refutes the notion that social values and interpretations are assigned to, or imposed upon, otherwise 'neutral' bodies. Instead, he puts forth the idea that embodied states inform consciousness and suggest their own definitions. Blacking questions whether music is effective because patterns of sound 'automatically' affect the human body by suggesting further that "the intensity of the associated social situation generates energy, and/or releases inhibitory mechanisms" (Blacking 1977:7-8) as well.

Most likely there *is* both a physiological and psychological component combining the personally embodied and social experience of musical activity. In Blacking's view, inner, private sensations are shared through the dimension of affect, which lends 'value'

to music. It is emotional investment which adds “commitment to action” (Blacking 1977:5). The tendency to frame musical meaning in terms of an agon between the twin poles of individual drives and the demands of the wider community obscures these aspects of musical association. While it is true that the struggle between what Blacking terms “biosocial proclivity and cultural constraint” (Blacking 1977:10) does fuel social conflict, it is certainly not the case that adherence to social solidarity should always be a result of blind attachment to authority or in other words, a ‘herd instinct’ (Blacking 1977:8), deprived of purpose and significance. The generation, through the medium of music, of an embodied form of social connection and celebration is, thus, not an unthinking and deluded type of affiliation, it is simply a non-conceptual, non-verbal source of sociality. Such musical forms of communion through performance do not abolish difference in favour of some kind of bland relativism since they are temporary and contextually bound events.

While it is the case that concert hall events are unlikely to effect social change (and this is especially true within the domain of classical performance, which is popularly understood to be characterized in terms of its supposed inaccessibility, elitism, and extravagance, it follows that the reverse is also equally possible. In fact, there is something to be said for what Blacking refers to as ‘non-change’, or “the ability to stop the world and repeat action, to become detached from the constantly changing environment and cycle of life” (Blacking 1977-16). By this Blacking means detachment from mundane events rather than from one's fellow participants within a performance context. In this way, the positive aspects of sociality do not serve to reinforce a clannish identification with bourgeois aspirations, or an unhealthy kind of nationalism, for

example, which is thought to be subsequently converted into harmful social actions. Instead, such 'proto-rituals'²³ promote something of a more profound order of experience that is akin to a spiritual 'peak experience'" (Blacking 1977:17). What a successful concert hall event immediately expresses, then, is a benign kind of 'fellow-feeling' and communion that transcends the ordinary, everyday associations attached to it upon reflection. As compressed versions of other types of media, representation in symbolic or formulaic forms are not as full or rich as aesthetic media such as music, which must be experienced in its entirety in order to be comprehensible. That a piece of music, for example, cannot be simplified or coarsened is what elevates the performances of it into an almost hallowed realm, without the inconvenience of theology and oppressive qualities of dogma.

²³ Blacking defines a proto-ritual as "a shared somatic state of the social body that generates special kinds of feelings and apparently spontaneous movements and interaction between bodies in space and time" (Blacking 1977:14).

Chapter Two

Musica Practica: The Embodied Epistemology of Classical Music Performance

The function of this chapter will be to examine classical music performance as a mode of embodied enactment which invokes meaning via gestural, rather than conceptual means. Musical performances will, further, be conceptualized as activities that involve both creativity and constraint, instead of being understood simply as derivative instantiations of musical 'works'. Accordingly, the concept of the simulacrum will be re-articulated to define a musical performance as a repetitive instance of a musical 'work' that is, nevertheless, not merely an inferior imitation of it. In addition, since the development of musical skill is realized within a performance community of classical musicians, it will be suggested that, although these kinds of performance communities are organized around the individualistic and exclusionary quest for perfection, it is also equally true that classical musicians inevitably interact with one another in a relation of sociated collaboration.

Furthermore, it will be argued that this experience of sociation may be extended to the visceral affiliation which a musician shares with his or her instrument. This view contradicts traditional notions that a musician expresses his or her 'being' in a performance. Instead, it will be maintained that 'authenticity' or 'originality' in musical performance cannot be achieved except, in some sense, as a particular expression of a musician's corporeal signature. Finally, resistance to the pleasurable aspects of musical performance will also be challenged. To this end, the idea that a musical occasion is merely an instance of dissimulation will be refuted by the assertion that a musical event is an enactment of an embodied form of desire which facilitates, rather than forecloses,

avenues of personal and professional empowerment.

Although the musical activities of composition, performance, and audition defy separation in practice, for reasons of theoretical convenience, each of these domains is availed by independent analytical treatment. Since the interdependent tasks of designing, presenting and receiving musical sound are generated from differing perspectives or positionalities, each guided by their particular attendant values, the tendency to valorize one facet of music making over another is tempting for certain scholars. Whereas a great deal of energy has been expended on the study of the creation and reception of musical works, musical performance itself remains a neglected area of analysis. Musical investigations that posit an identity between musical and social structures incline toward the view that works of classical music affirm, through their morphology, the values of the status quo. In this scenario, musical works function as 'agitprop', rationalizing modes of dominance and hierarchies of taste via the display of a particular kind of musical 'drama'.

Accordingly, the presentation of tensions and resolutions in the sonata form is understood to represent the need to balance individual needs with communal requirements, as has previously been suggested. Hence, the hallmarks of classical style are generally understood to be bound up with notions of proportion, reserve, and discretion etc. (Said 1991:65). These qualities are imagined, furthermore, to be realized within a format which demonstrates relentless forward development, through the evocation of a series of tensions and resolutions, leading up finally to definitive closure (Said 1991:100-101). Analyses which take musical works as their object of study lean toward the notion that pieces of music are essentially presented in an unmediated fashion by the composer to the listener. This view is, however, challenged by accounts that focus

on the reception rather than the composition of music. Nevertheless, shifting the field of musical investigation to the auditor's domain merely inverts the logic of structural accounts by favouring the subjective realm of the audience's experiences, it does not banish the essential premise of a musical work's supposed transcendent qualities. Yet, the realization that a piece of music is designed for the purpose of display for an audience does not serve to reveal the 'true' nature of the affective and semantic 'content' of musical sounds, it simply locates music's efficacy within the province of the listener, rather than within the realm of the composer. This kind of argument suggests that musical meaning is constructed idiosyncratically by the auditor, in indifference not only to the intentions of the composer but also, more importantly, to the notion of performance itself. The difficulty with listener based accounts and work centered explanations is that in both cases music is treated as a "purely disembodied phenomenon" (Godlovitch 1998:3).

In assigning performance a role that is neither minimal nor imperceptible music may be more properly understood as a corporeal form of apprehension instead of an abstract concept or a transcendental experience. In this way, a performance may be defined as something that is far more substantial than a token instantiation of a work or a personal diversion for a privileged auditor. Whereas work centered and listener based analyses tend to handle the notion of performance functionally, as merely the medium by which a work is realized and perceived, accounts which place performance at the core of investigation serve as reminders that the immediate cause of experienced sounds is not incidental to the creation and apprehension of the expressive qualities and appreciation of music (Godlovitch 1998:3).

To this end, Roland Barthes distinguishes the “manual” activity of playing from the essentially auditive practice of listening to a performance (Barthes 1985:261). The metier of playing, which Barthes translates as *musica practica*, extends beyond the activities of receiving a piece of music, which is an evaluative process commensurate with the exercise of listening. Nor does a performer ‘convey’ a musical work in the manner of a mere contrivance transmitting a sequence of sounds to a listener. Furthermore, the act of playing does not consist of simply understanding, ‘feeling’ or interpreting a notated score, for although these qualities and abilities are vital to the successful performance of a musical work, the demands of *musica practica* extend beyond these basic requirements. Indeed, playing, as an activity which is not directed to any audience other than “its own participants” (Barthes 1985:261), has another function which is to ‘write’ a piece of music anew in the act of re-creating it. As Barthes states “to read Beethoven is to perform, to operate his music” (Barthes 1985:265). The extent to which a performer may literally re-write classical work of music is, of course, limited by the composer’s prescriptions, as detailed within a musical score.

Historically, within the classical tradition, the performer’s input in a musical work was limited to giving shape to compositions by elaborating harmonies over a *basso continuo* or embellishing melodies in a *cadenza*.²⁴ Eventually, even these practices were abandoned in anticipation of encouraging performers to comply as perfectly as possible with the composer’s ‘intentions’, as supposedly expressed in the latter’s fully notated

²⁴ The figured bass, or *basso continuo*, consists of a series of numerals situated above or below bass notes that indicate particular harmonies. The actual filling in of this skeletal shorthand is left up to the individual performer. A *cadenza* is an elaborate, improvised, solo passage drawn from various themes and motives in a musical work. This passage is interpolated into a piece of music in order to showcase the virtuosity of a performer and/or the full capacities of a particular musical instrument (Machlis 1984:45, 141-142, 355).

scores. The role of the performer²⁵ ideally then became one of achieving as 'faithful' a rendition of the musical work at hand as possible. Whereas classical performers such as Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven both improvised and composed musical works, over time the functions of, and evaluations ascribed to, composers and performers became divided as such continuities were temporally severed. Yet, if a notated score is regarded as merely the scaffolding upon which may be erected a variety of interpretive performances, rather than as the unambiguous source of a composer's fully realized intentions or a critic's 'intuitive' understanding, the performance of a musical score, as an act of embodied 'writing', does not appear quite so forced.

Performance as Simulacra

This quality of variability in performance, however, encourages certain theorists to recast the action of playing music, by simple inversion, as the locus of artistic worth, in opposition to the customarily valorized concept of the 'work'. For instance, Peggy Phelan proposes to formulate an "ontology of performance" (Phelan 1994:146) along these lines. For Phelan "performance honors the idea that a limited number of people in a specific time/space frame can have an experience of value which leaves no visible trace afterward" (Phelan 1994:149) (except, of course, in the memories of the participants). This characteristic of 'hereness' and 'nowness' or performance's ephemerality is, in Phelan's view, what supposedly enables it to retain its "independence from mass production" (Phelan 1994:149). Of course, this definition could currently be only rarely applied to live events (including concert hall performances) and even here, these kinds of

²⁵ The idea of what constitutes a performer can also include the position of conductor. However, a conductor is an interpretive performer and so is like a composer, but is not a musician *per se*.

occasions would obviously continue to be implicated within the matrix of the 'culture industry' (for want of a better term) - even as such performances evade or resist these dominant influences. In other words, the fact that a piece of music can be performed again, but that this "repetition marks it as different" (Phelan 1994:146) does not allow it to escape the milieu in which it is realized.

Within the realm of classical music, Jacques Attali places the production of music historically within two cultural economies, one of representation and another of repetition (as has been stated beforehand). Accordingly, Attali states: "whereas in representation, a work is heard only once - it is a unique moment; in repetition, potential hearings are stockpiled" (as commodities in the form of phonograph records) (Attali 1985:41). However, the notion of a performance as a live event does not exist in opposition to 'imitations' or 'copies' of that 'original' moment of exposition, instead it is 'always already' inscribed as a secondary effect, as it were, of extant recording technologies. The reason for this is that prior to the advent of the invention of the phonograph record, the category of 'live' performance did not exist. Since works of classical music are obviously imbricated within the performances of them (and vice versa), it is perhaps more suitable to refunction the concept of the simulacrum (Deleuze: 1968) (the copy of something for which no original exists). In other words, although the notion of the 'work' as a simulacrum illustrates its phantasmic character, which both Adorno and Attali metaphorically extend in their own descriptions of the social aspects of classical music production, the concept of performance as simulacra has another purpose - which is to acknowledge the necessarily repetitive qualities of musical enactments.

Whereas traditionally the idea of the model or prototype (for which the concept of the work can be substituted), has been held up as a repository of 'true' value, in opposition to the 'copy' (or, by a similar analogy, the performance of a work), the notion of the simulacrum abolishes the hierarchical ranking which purports that a work is the locus of some sort of essential meaning or other, and that a performance is simply an imitation of a work. Hence, the notion of the simulacrum provides a means of escaping the division of the work and performance, by abolishing the idea of musical models and performative copies as separate categories. As the work is not the score or the performances generated from the score, it does not refer back to anything. Similarly, performances are realized as multiple repetitions of a score yet they are not inferior duplicates of it. For this reason, every performance varies, but it is not truly unique since it is still an enactment of a score. Accordingly, instead of romanticizing performances or inventing a nostalgia²⁶ around the notion of the live event (or conversely, reifying the musical 'work' as a repository of ultimate truth), it might be more useful to place performance within a less rarified, more 'contaminated' social realm.

Performance Communities: Collaboration and Competition

To speak of either performance (or the work) in idealized terms is to create a world of music as an extrasocial essence rather than as a series of activities, which are preceded and crosscut by a variety of cultural demands. As Schutz states, a player must approach a piece of music from the vantage point of a stock of experiences that refer,

²⁶ Within the domain of anthropology, Renato Rosaldo describes the ironic phenomenon of individuals who mourn what they themselves have transformed (Rosaldo 1989:69) In the same way, recording technologies have displaced the centrality of 'live' performance as surely as changing tastes in music have replaced classical music as the western musical style of preference.

however indirectly, “to all his [or her] past and present fellow-men [and women] whose acts or thoughts have contributed to the building up of his [or her] knowledge” (Schutz 1972:168). What Schutz is referring to here is a performance community that includes instructors, colleagues, and composers etc., who transmit musical knowledge to one another across time and space. These kinds of musical ‘guilds’ are unified under standardized musical instruments and tunings, specialized bodies of technique and pedagogy, and core repertoires. In addition, they are also mandated to ‘establish membership credentials, regulate standards of proficiency, and ensure consistency in the recognition of differential merit’ (Godlovitch 1998:61)

Given that performers create music in a constant interplay with their broader performance communities, the polyphonic register of these creative encounters engenders a productive interchange between particular musicians and their respective doyens and associates. Schutz describes this conjoint venture as ‘the mutual tuning-in relationship’ (Schutz 1972:161) in which “the ‘I’ and ‘Thou’ are experienced as a ‘We’ in vivid presence”(Schutz 1972:161). What links the participants in this action is the shared experience of a special frame of ‘inner’ time, or ‘*duree*’. In this view, a performer or audience member can communicate, even across centuries, with the composer of a work ‘quasi-simultaneously’ in the former’s “stream of consciousness by performing with him [or her] step by step the ongoing articulation of his [or her] musical thought”(Schutz 1972:171). This is made possible by the polythetic qualities of music which allow participants in a performance to share “the common experience of living simultaneously in several dimensions of time” (Schutz 1972:171).

Musicians, however, additionally share not only a special moment of time, but

also a particular sector of space. This involves making music in 'outer time' as well as 'inner time' since these performers share an active 'face-to-face' relationship. As Schutz says, "the Other's facial expressions, his [or her] gestures in handling his instrument, in short, all the activities of performing, gear into the outer world and can be grasped by the partner in immediacy. Even if performed without communicative intent, these activities are interpreted by him [or her] as indications of what the Other is going to do and therefore as suggestions or even commands for his [or her] behavior" (Schutz 1972:176).

Nevertheless, within the realm of classical music, the collaboration between the participants in a concert hall event is not simply one of radical egalitarianism since certain inequitable relationships continue to obtain within performance communities. This fact contradicts Schutz's contention that musical performance is fundamentally a co-operative activity since an argument can be made for performance as an antagonistic enterprise, especially in the case of classical music. Kingsbury understands the tension between the demands of the performance community and the aspirations of individual performers to be symbolically represented within concert events themselves so that such performances "ritually enact...the conceptual split between the individual and collectivity" (Kingsbury 1988:120). Of course, such 'struggles' are not imagined by him to be inherent within the structures of the musical works performed in such settings, instead, Kingsbury claims that concert hall 'dramas' are generated via the social interactions of musicians and conservatory personnel within the context of performances of classical music.

In these terms, differentiation and stratification drive the drama or ritual of classical performance. The musician in a solo recital, for example, is distanced from the

audience, experts, and peers, by being singled out for either praise or censure. In their quest for excellence, performance communities do establish exclusionary criteria so as to produce a select coterie of talented performers against which the vast majority of musicians are found comparatively wanting. The restrictions that are placed on a performer such as demands to be 'faithful' to the 'intent' of a scored work, as well as the limiting effects inherent within designs of musical instruments, the constantly shifting contexts and settings in which performances take place, and the institutional traditions and hierarchies that structure performance practice comprise these challenges. However, the qualities which are said to constitute musicianship in a particular time or place are not clearly definable or absolute, but are, in fact, actually a matter of unspecifiable degree or level (Goehr 1998:147). Attributions of skill are conventionally understood to range between mere proficiency (competence) and mastery (expertise) (Godlovitch 1998:56). Those who possess musical skills vary in the scope, extent, and kinds of conditions under which they can both efficiently and dependably deploy musical actions. Frequency of accuracy and consistency determine what constitutes expertise, as opposed to competence. Beyond this level, one approaches the relatively rare condition of virtuosity.

Musical Skill: Technique and Musicality

This raises the question of how performance communities determine standards of musical ability. The problem of defining musical talent hinges on a number of misconceptions about what constitutes musicianship. Musical aptitude is often understood to inhere within particular individuals prior to the development of musical skill. Accordingly, attributions of musical 'potential' are often invoked in contrast to

actual proficiency (Kingsbury 1988:63) - in spite of the fact that musicianship is bound up with both technical expertise and interpretive expressivity and can only be evaluated via performances of some kind or other (Kingsbury 1988:63). Indeed, ascriptions of musical talent appear to serve as convenient and manageable explanations for an unquantifiable and inexplicit phenomenon. Hence, those who are accorded the appellation of being musically gifted have supposedly done so in spite of “the paradoxical fact that musical talent is that which can’t be taught to the few who can be taught”(Kingsbury 1988 :82).²⁷

Critical evaluations of an individual’s talent or lack of it are played out within the context of the conservatory institution. Authoritative attributions of talent are, thus, indicative of social relations between a teacher and pupil, for example, rather than a “manifestation of [the] intrapersonal traits of an individual” (Kingsbury 1988:71). Evaluation is premised on the notion of balance between technical and expressive skill. Performers who supposedly do not play ‘with feeling’ yet realize ‘note-perfect’ performances are said to play in a ‘mechanical’ fashion, however, a performance which is not technically sound is equally understood to evince a lack of musicianship. Although it is recognized by musical professionals that a performance entails “the paradox of contriving to appear natural” (Kingsbury 1988:71), success or failure, within the context of a musical event, ultimately becomes the ‘responsibility’ of the talented (or undertalented) performer since the aesthetic judgment of a musician is actually an evaluation of a person. It is often imagined that musicians aim to conceal artifice in a

²⁷ The notion of ‘musicality’ or ‘talent’ is, in some ways, a mystification which disguises classical music’s reliance on instruction that is conveyed demonstratively and orally (Dunsby 1995:34) Often one learns by listening, watching, and emulating the gestures and bodily motions of an instructor in combination with

musical performance. This idea is bound up with the belief that a performer should, instead, be musically 'expressing' him or herself. For this reason, the fact that determinations of talent are generated relationally, within a wider social and institutional context, appear to remain unacknowledged. In the act of recruiting a musical 'elite', instructors and music critics are, by these means, able to legitimate and preserve their authority. After all, by the dictates of this reasoning, the senior members of such institutions are only 'recognizing' apriori traits that are said to be immanent within certain gifted individuals, not constructing arbitrarily chosen categories of ability.

The over determined character of musical skill which typifies the 'guild' of the conservatory, is contained in the prerequisite that a performer must not only satisfy "the well-disposed and underinformed customer, but also one's often ill-disposed and omniscient colleagues" (Godlovitch 1998:20). However, although their respective understandings of what constitutes skill tend to differ, audiences in pursuit of the 'pointless' pleasure of musical performance and the gatekeepers of the conservative hierarchy both share a common vision with regard to notions of meritocracy. In this view, attributions of musical talent or skill serve to bring "a positive value to a perceived social inequality" (Kingsbury 1988:79), namely, that the demands of talent require that some, but not all, succeed on the basis of supposedly neutral and ethical criteria. To some extent, then, the provision that individuals should occupy the position which is imagined to be most suitable to their abilities functions as an ideological accommodation to the traditional practice of hierarchical ranking within the conservatory system. To this end, a talented person has an 'obligation' to be 'creditworthy', that is, to undertake 'correct'

verbal commentary that is often phrased metaphorically or poetically. Hence, pedagogical techniques in musicianship are not easily translated into propositional concepts for easy apprehension.

musical actions since the 'how' of this process is arguably of more value than 'what' is actually produced.

In this view, performance communities are understood to exist in a fairly discordant relation with individual performers. Accordingly, the sedimented practices characteristic of classical music communities' function either to exclude musicians, via their imposition of formidable standards of perfectionism, or else to exalt those performers who manage to transcend these rigorous boundaries by virtue of their distinctive abilities. At the moment when the latter scenario is realized, the act of playing becomes competitive, rather than collaborative. Yet, without suggesting that such observations are wholly incorrect it must be said that, taken too far, this is a particularly negative and unyielding view of performance. Thus, while it is true that performance communities do place artificial limitations on performers, such strictures are necessary for facilitating interpretive and ingenious solutions to musical problems as well as prompting affective intensity and personal commitment in musical practice. As Blacking suggests, performance paradigms that place the social activity of making music strictly within the Manichean agon of repression and release overlook other important aspects of musicianship such as the "powers of sensory awareness, of resonance, and of communication" (Blacking 1977:8). This said, it must also be acknowledged, however, that in western societies, in general, the trend in aesthetic activities remains fixated on individual accomplishment, to the detriment of what are actually collaboratively organized social tasks.

'Authenticity' and Subjectivity in Musical Performance

The reluctance to privilege social affiliations over selfhood arises from the presumption that both of them exist in a conflictual relationship. Hence, in this view, the individual not only exists within the sphere of the broader society, but also asserts itself against it (Handler 1986:3). It is by these means that the notion of 'authenticity'²⁸ comes about. Drawing on the work of Lionel Trilling, Richard Handler demonstrates that "anxiety over the credibility of existence" (Handler 1986:3) prompts a need to establish a true self and an individual existence, not as it is presented to others, but as it 'really is' apart from the assumption of any other 'roles' one might 'play' (Handler 1986:3). Behind the simulations presented in the concert hall, in which a performer assumes the role of a 'professional musician' or 'artist', audiences imagine that they will find the 'real' person. The musician who seemingly provides evidence of the 'fact' rather than the mere appearance of artistic sincerity' (Goehr 1998:146) is deemed a talented, or bona

²⁸ The notion of authenticity is usually associated with musical performance within an historical context. Theodor Adorno's discussion in his article 'Bach Defended against his Devotees', while problematic, nevertheless, effectively establishes the impossibility of 'recreating' music as it was first heard and understood in the era of its production. As Adorno suggests, recent ascriptions of prestige granted to J.S. Bach, and other 'great' composers, has turned them into "neutralized cultural monuments" (Adorno 1967:136) who serve to affirm the necessity and inevitability of the status quo. Susan McClary also observes how "authenticity has become a marketing catchword in (the) new mass culture industry" (McClary 1988:57). Thus, over even brief spaces of time, musical styles change radically so that, for example, the use of excessive vibrato typically heard in recordings of classical music in the 1970's, has been replaced, in subsequent eras, with a cleaner, less sentimental style of playing and singing. However deeply entrenched classical traditions of pedagogy remain, and however thoroughly researched might be the historical documentation of classical performance practices, the fact is, the use of period instruments, 'urtexts', and the 'correct' historical stylistic considerations etc. cannot possibly revive classical music as it was initially apprehended. This is true, in a literal sense as well, for no other reason than the circumstance that musical performances are idiosyncratically embodied, as Barthes suggests with his concept of 'the grain of the voice' (see page 68 of this thesis). Furthermore, as historians such as Eric Hobsbawm have observed, much of what counts as ancient verities are, in fact, invented traditions. As has been mentioned, even the concept of classical music itself is really a socially constructed category that conflates and makes interchangeable the various genres and styles (including music for the courts, churches, public concerts, salons, and appropriated folk musics from Europe and beyond). The invention of the classical tradition assembles a seemingly singular and cohesive past in order to legitimate present interests.

fide performer insofar as he or she is thought to demonstrate “a congruence between avowal and actual feeling” (Handler 1986:2), in the act of playing music.

Depictions of the ‘self’ as a fixed, bounded entity and societies as discreet, abiding systems, have long been discredited by anthropologists yet, in relation to performers, there is still a great deal of ambiguity as to the actual ‘personal’ contribution which musicians convey in their performances. For example, Bensmen and Lilienfeld suggest, on the one hand, that a performer’s ‘total being’ must be ‘subordinated’ to the requirements of musicianship (Bensmen and Lilienfeld 1991:41), and on the other hand, that he or she must also express “elements of a self” (Bensmen and Lilienfeld 1991:42) within the context of a performance. The need to ‘submerge’ one’s personality to the exigencies of practice, rehearsal, and discipline, is understood by the authors, to facilitate control in performance, inasmuch as the musician’s body is trained to respond instantaneously when executing a piece of music. (Bensmen and Lilienfeld 1991:41,48). However, beyond these technical requirements, the qualities of ‘immediacy’ and ‘spontaneity’, which are necessary elements of musicality are said, by the authors, to be realized in performance via “personal expressiveness” (Bensmen and Lilienfeld 1991:42). This ambivalence about the role of personality in performance is a result of a particular brand of socialization, which naturalizes the idea of a ‘true inner self’ from which expressions of sincerity are thought to obtain.

Clifford Geertz challenges the notion that a performer must paradoxically both subordinate and express his or her self in performance for the purpose of aligning the professional and personal roles of musician and self. In his discussion of stage fright, Geertz states that anxiety over a presumed lack of skill, within a performance situation,

causes a performer to 'show through' his or her part, thus, collapsing the aesthetic illusion on display via the annihilation of distance²⁹ between the player and the audience (Geertz 1973:402). However, in the case of virtuoso performers (and even lesser known musicians) audience members clearly recognize the personal identities and musical signatures of star musicians, as demonstrated by the emergence, beginning in the nineteenth century, of the "cult of the musical personality"(Bensmen and Lilienfeld 1991:28, Attali 1985:68-72, Said 1991:18-34). This problem of conflation of personal identity and personal style may be explained in another fashion. Roland Barthes suggests that a musician's uniquely identifiable style is explained by the idiosyncratic way in which his or her particular touch is manifested, but that this individual style is confused with a particular artist's being. Barthes describes this phenomenon in the following way: "the 'grain' is the body in the singing voice, in the writing hand, in the performing limb" (Barthes 1985:276). In his view, features such as the timbre, accent, intonation, and style of phrasing particular to a singer's voice, for example, convey something that is individual, but yet not equivalent to an identity. As Barthes suggests, a performer's personality does not inhabit a musical performance, instead what one hears is a "separate body" (Barthes 1985:270), rather than a particular performer's 'soul' being expressed.³⁰

²⁹ Here Geertz is referring to the separation between the musician and the listener within the performance frame, rather than suggesting that there is an absence of sociation between the two.

³⁰ Even here, an adept mimic can imitate the voices or playing styles of others, as has been recently illustrated in the film 'Little Voice', in which Jane Horrocks impersonates a number of popular singers to great effect. The intervention of certain recording technologies also allows singers to manipulate their voices, or even appropriate the voices of others through lip synching as was demonstrated most famously in the popular music arena, by the Milli Vanilli scandal of the mid-1980's. Given that such acts of deceptive substitution are possible, this begs the question as to what the real importance is in having an 'authentic' body produce 'authentic' musical sound. Clearly, as long as both musicians and audiences are cognizant of the terms by which the musical frame and context is constructed, then such manipulations may not only be considered acceptable, but crucial, to a given performance's success.

The Musical Frame: 'Reality' and 'Illusion'

The interest, or perhaps obsession, with 'authentic' performers, as individuals who supposedly express their 'inner selves' in a performance, is bound up with the presumption that there is an ethical dimension attached to the domains of 'appearance' and 'reality', within a ritualized or dramatic setting, so that the construction of a heightened reality or illusion is viewed as a form of duplicity, rather than as the source of a pleasurable diversion. Accordingly, what is frequently sought in such settings is the supposedly 'genuine' experience of music, which serves as evidence of the existence of enduring verities and cherished values. To the extent that a musician ideally blends elements of 'personal' expressivity and practical ability, within a musical performance, he or she animates both a 'virtual' world which is drawn from 'inner' intangible qualities of 'expressivity', as well as a 'real' world which is comprised of actual viscerally driven skill.³¹

³¹ Within the supposedly 'disinterested' domain of 'high' art, aesthetic works, unlike products of industry, are understood to place form over function. Georg Simmel defines a work of art as a "self-sufficient unity [that]...exists in an ideal space" (Simmel 1975:267). By way of contrast, the activity of making music is not dedicated to producing works that are isolated from intersubjective relations and reality, but rather should be viewed as a practice which extends the subject out into the world towards others. For this reason, playing a musical instrument is more accurately understood in terms of the notion of craftsmanship, rather than strictly in terms of the concept of artistry. If it is true that a concert hall performance, as apprehended from the perspective of the listener, is an 'extreme' occasion, located outside the realm of mundane reality, it is not received in an attitude of disinterested contemplation, as has been demonstrated previously. Furthermore, from the perspective of a musician, the skilled action of making music places it inside two worlds at once - "the ideal space of the art world, and the real space of practical life" (Simmel 1975:267). John Blacking theorizes that musical skill is actually a form of "nonverbal manual labor [which has been] invested with the 'dignity' of quasi-verbal mental labor [because] the artist speaks to lesser mortals of 'higher' things, and so his consciousness is distinguished from the practice of a craft" (Blacking 1977). Hence, musicianship is mislabeled as a form of pure artistry, in spite of the fact that musical performance must primarily attend to physical action, rather than cognitive abstractions. However vital a work's existence and the listener's experience is to the generation of a musical performance the fact remains that, in the end, success depends entirely upon musicians undertaking the correct manual or glottal movements for the purpose of producing the sounds desired by the participants in a musical performance. The value attributed to products of 'high' art and mechanical manufacture, on the basis of appearances alone, might prove indistinguishable in any given circumstance through acts of deceptive substitution, however, it is the mark of craftsmanship that its value depends not only on the musical effects produced, but on the way in which they are achieved.

In the scenario of the virtual world of concert hall events, the audience is enjoined to 'suspend their disbelief' via their voluntary moves to, in a sense, 'forget' the performance frame before them, as well as to embrace the compelling force, or intensity, of the performance itself. Insofar as the performers are aware of what they have carefully prepared for a performance before hand, they have the power to beguile the audience (or 'betray' them if the musicians fail to 'bring off' the performance 'correctly' and successfully). There is always a risk involved and, hence, an unknowability about performance for both musicians and listeners - although this uncertainty is greatly minimized within classical performance by the particularly high level of professionalism currently demanded of these performers. For this reason, concert events are unlikely to produce any kind of permanent transformation, such as may be possible, for example, in a politically charged, subversively designed musical occasion.

Nevertheless, the idea that musical performances should be somehow 'authentically' produced - so that performers are really expressing their genuine inner 'selves' (and, hence, not tricking their audiences) - carries a moral dimension which adds an element of anxiety to concert events. In this way, such extreme occasions can, thus, still be construed as precarious and unsound. Judith Butler makes a distinction between performance and real life on the basis of theatrical convention since imaginary acts only temporarily challenge our existing ontological assumptions (Butler 1990:278). The moment one exits the frame of the theatre or concert hall as though it doesn't exist, he or

she places him or her self in jeopardy.³² Because of the risk of failure in performance, a musician is and is not the author of his or her acts. While performers aim to achieve control or mastery, the conscious intention to play must also be 'forgotten' at some point, so that what is produced is generated as an automatic, rather than a rational response. In addition, audiences must also accept the contingent nature of a performance since the concert event will not necessarily be perceived in the way that it was 'meant' or anticipated.

The error in privileging a musician's internal attitude, as the supposed source of an inspired performance, is that it ignores the interactive, sociated nature of musical activity and from this notion comes its opposite - the idea that one may be deceived by mere 'appearances'. In this connection, Judith Butler challenges Erving Goffman's extension of theatrical metaphors to social life. According to this formulation, Goffman suggests that individuals take on 'roles' which either express or disguise an 'interior self' (Butler 1990:279). Since Goffman erroneously believes that the domains of the imagination can be extended into reality, he allows the notion of moral responsibility, or 'authenticity' to intrude into the 'virtual' arena in which trickery does not actually have ethical consequences.

Butler is correct in challenging the notion of subjectivity as a 'role' rather than as a series of acts. To this end, she uses the term 'performativity' (in contrast to conventional, aesthetic notions of performance) to describe how gendered identities are

³² Within the realm of anthropology, this is characterized as 'going native', so that the anthropologist appropriates the identity of his or her interlocutors, thus, losing sight of the importance of difference in shaping subjectivities. The other extreme of the loss of perspective occurs when too much distance is erected between the anthropologist and his or her 'object' of study so that the anthropologist falsely assumes the mantle of complete alterity by disguising authority and skewed power relations under the aegis of 'neutrality' or 'scientific objectivity'.

constructed. In Butler's view, gender is the "stylized repetition of acts through time" (Butler 1990: 271). Drawing on the notion that such acts, in being enunciated, bring into being 'the object that they name', Butler suggests that what is produced is the 'effect' of an 'abiding self' (Butler 1990:270). Accordingly, individuals perform identities that have merely "the appearance of substance" (Butler 1991:271), yet the task of performing an identity is carried out in "a mode of belief" (Butler 1991:271) because of the compelling force of one's inevitable misrecognition of repressive societal norms. In this way, 'performativity' is both productive and illusory. Hence, a gendered identity is compelled by this concealment of the fact that gender is not the outcome of biology (i.e. sex), or the existence of a prior individual self, but rather a 'materialization' of corporeal styles through 'reiterative' acts (Butler 1993:9). Butler also demonstrates how the failure to achieve the normative standards of the regulatory ideal allows for the potential disruption and rearticulation of radical identities (Butler 1993:23). Thus, while gender is not the consequence of personal choice, nor is it "imposed or inscribed upon the individual" (Butler 1990:277). Butler contends that Goffman's view of a pre-existing 'self' which may take on and/or disregard various 'roles' should be replaced with an understanding of this self as "irretrievably 'outside', constituted in social discourse, [since] the ascription of interiority is itself a publicly regulated and sanctioned form of essence fabrication" (Butler 1990:279).

These discussions on the construction of gender can be extended to the notion of identity as it pertains to conventional ideas about musicianship, expressivity, and 'authenticity'. What Butler is suggesting is not that individuals lack unique and recognizable dispositions, but that these identities are, in part, socially constructed. In

opposition to the notion of a self which inheres within the individual as an independent 'essence' or a 'role' which one voluntarily selects for one's self, Butler demonstrates that subjectivity is performed not expressed. For this reason, a musician does not convey his or her identity when playing a piece of music. Conversely too, the adoption, by the musician of a role such as 'the professional' or 'the virtuoso', in the theatrical sense, is confined to the 'virtual' world of musical performance, it does not extend to everyday life, as Goffman would perhaps suggest. The concert event comprises tangible 'reality' as well as imaginative illusion, but what are 'real' are the material aspects of a performer's body, not his or her supposed 'inner self'.

Beyond considerations of the supposed 'sincerity' (or else 'inauthenticity') of individual performers' musical elaborations, dramatically framed events, such as concert hall performances, are also conventionally divided in terms of notions of 'reality' and 'illusion', as has been suggested previously. Geertz describes what he terms the 'aesthetic perspective', as something which is dissociated from the realm of everyday life so that what is appreciated instead are 'sheer appearances', or an "absorption in things themselves" (Geertz 1966: 27). Accordingly, this allows for "the contemplation of sensory qualities without their usual meanings" (Geertz 1966:27). What Geertz is referring to here can be understood as a description of the simulacra-like qualities of artistic performance, as discussed previously. The role of performances as 'copies' for which there is no original (since the idea of the 'work' straddles a no-man's land between the score and performances of it, is indicative of this quality of 'sheer appearance'. In this formulation, Geertz allows for the possibility of a different conception than is posited by dichotomizing illusion and reality. Thus, rather than imagining that some 'truth' lies

beyond the surfaces presented at a musical occasion, the endless proliferation of performances presents “no underlying stability against which appearances can be measured, or to which they can be referred” (Shaviro 1993:5). In this way, aesthetic phenomena, such as musical performances, resist supporting impositions of discursive meaning because they escape the “closures of definition” (Shaviro 1993:17).

As the stuff of appearance, the materials of music are insubstantial, ephemeral, and “devoid of interiority” (Shaviro 1993:16). In addition, performances, as simulacra, tend to proliferate endlessly through their many repetitions, thus, avoiding regulation or control, at least on some level or other. There is some question, then, as to whether concert hall performances conceal or draw attention to their own artifice. It would seem that the notion of simulation would invite the idea of a literal ‘copy’ (or performance) of a ‘work’, while the concept of dissimulation would suggest a covert form of manipulation. The inference that concert hall events are a form of ideological ‘misrecognition’ is not compelling when seen in the light of Geertz’s observations since there is no actual ‘hallucinatory’ belief in the reality of aesthetic phenomena. As Geertz states, “the function of artistic illusion is not ‘make-believe’...but the very opposite, disengagement from belief” (Geertz 1966:27). Yet, this very constructed quality of art allows for its penetration into material and social reality. As Steven Shaviro states in reference to cinema, (but in a way which is ostensibly applicable to all the arts - including music), the tactility and viscosity of artistic experience “produces real effects in the (receiver), rather than merely presenting phantasmal reflections to the (receiver)” (Shaviro 1993:51).

So often the elements of a performance seem to confront the participants directly, without mediation, since physical responses to stimuli precede interpretation. For this reason, Shaviro believes that aesthetic materials, in certain ways, paradoxically actually expand reality, or heighten its effects (Shaviro 1993:41). This would explain a contradiction in Geertz's formulation of ritual, which he differentiates from art. Geertz claims that ritual fuses "the world as lived and the world as imagined" (Geertz 1966:28). Because, Geertz says, ritual embodies religious belief, as opposed to aesthetic practices, in which "everyday experience...is merely ignored" (Geertz 1966:27), no world of illusion or the separation of audience and performer exists in that realm (Geertz 1966:32). Instead, "ritual engulfs the total person, transporting him [or her] so far as he [or she] is concerned, into another mode of existence" (Geertz 1966:36). Hence, what ritual provides is "an encounter with the 'really real'" (Geertz 1966:37). The opposition Geertz sets up with spectacles and rituals is that the former are merely 'watched', while the latter are 'enacted' (Geertz 1966:31). Yet, however seemingly passive may be the audience in relation to the performer, it is not true that listeners attending a concert do not participate in concert hall events, it is merely true that their enactments are internalized, in conformity with current standards of decorum, as has been discussed. Indeed, audiences not only bear witness, but they also negotiate the terms of a concert hall performance by their mere presence at such an event. Listeners have a set of fundamental expectations which performers are aware that they must meet since audiences have the power to sanction or else reject a performance, based on independently determined or else received values and judgments. What an audience brings to a performance is a variety of modes of imagining which cannot ultimately be contained. In this way, aesthetic and ritual

elements converge in musical performance. Geertz seems to have an inkling that this may be the case as demonstrated in his discussion of the role of moods, sentiments, and passions in imparting understanding by granting 'precision' to 'feeling' (Geertz 1966:19). In Geertz's view, moods, are 'scalar' qualities which "vary only as to intensity...[and] go nowhere." They are 'totalistic' when present, so that 'everything' takes on an extreme character temporarily and then subsequently vanishes.

Musical performances undoubtedly evoke intense feelings in the participants engaged with them. This is why Geertz describes the aesthetic experience in terms of 'engrossment' and 'absorption'. Hence, artistic expression is not an illusion obscuring a hidden truth, but a 'hyper real' experience, or a too literal simulation (as opposed to a dissimulation) which paradoxically celebrates its own artifice. Instead of regarding the realm of imagination as the counterfeit location of 'insincerity', it is more appropriate to appreciate the pleasure evoked by such entertainments, rather than search in vain for their supposedly 'corrupting' influences. Accordingly, it is safe to presume that a classical music performance shouldn't be viewed as a form of cultural expression that is exclusively identified with the hegemonic apparatus that lend it support. In fact, a concert hall event does not exert enough cultural force to transform social statuses, in much the same way that other non-subversive forms of cultural expression (which Johannes Fabian refers to as 'fun-and-dance folklorization') (Fabian 1990:285) also cannot bring about social change. The only difference here is that while in the latter case, social protest has been co-opted by the channelization of performance into folkloric entertainment, (Fabian 1990:17), in the former context of classical music performance, concert events have never truly given rise to transformative, subversive political actions. Yet, by the same

token, this does not mean that those who perform or listen to classical music are merely capitulating to the standards and demands of the status quo, as allegedly demonstrated, for example, by the way subscriptions to concert hall events are demographically skewed toward the enfranchised classes. What is foreclosed by such arguments is a positive valuation of pleasure and desire.

Desire, 'Presence', and Passivity in Musical Performance

Much of this misunderstanding of the function of desire is what motivates the suspicion with which music is often regarded. In tracing the intellectual traditions in which desire is framed, Grosz notes that desire is conventionally perceived as “a fundamental lack in being, an incompleteness or absence within the subject [which is experienced] as a disquieting loss” (Grosz 1989:xv-xvi). Moreover, according to this logic, a gap is opened between longing and [temporary] gratification in an eternal movement of “endless substitution” (Grosz 1989:24) since nothing is adequate to fill the void that propels desire. The idea that desire is somehow premised on an unquenchable thirst for possession and mastery (which is forever beyond reach), is challenged by Roland Barthes who suggests that “the enjoyment that [a] subject seeks [in a musical performance] is not going to reinforce him [or her] -to express him [or her] - but on the contrary will destroy him [or her]” (Barthes 1985:276). However, Barthes does not view this moment as a negative one. Desire, then, doesn't alienate or divide the subject; it is an energy, which facilitates self-abandonment or de-identification. Following the work of Deleuze and Guattari, Grosz suggests that desire is not a lack, but a positive force of production. In Grosz's terms, “it is a force of energy which creates links...forges

alliances [and] produces connections” (Grosz 1989:xvi). Since aesthetic phenomena comprise ‘sheer appearance’, these materials cannot be equated with lack, for such media “do not take the place of any prior reality” (Shaviro 1993:20). Accordingly, the notion of absence only serves to elicit the idea of a ‘presence’ that has supposedly been ‘lost’. However, as has been stated, musical performances, as simulacra, do not refer or hearken back to an essential or original ‘work’.

In a performance, the ‘virtual’ realities that are produced are vivid enough to appear completely unmediated. Indeed, successful performances directly transform (at least temporarily) the moods, social interactions, physical dispositions and sometimes even the consciousness of the participants involved. Much of the criticism of the notion of ‘presence’ could perhaps be traced to a literalization of Jacques Derrida’s strategic designs to challenge the hegemonic influence of ‘logocentrism’ (Derrida 1991:40). Essentially, Derrida’s argument against presence is based on the idea that speech is privileged over writing because writing is further removed from thought than speech. Thus, although it appears that writing has more authority than speech, the opposite is in fact the case. Derrida defines logocentrism as “the idea of unified, self-present knowledges and texts” (Grosz 1989:26). The act of granting primacy to speech over writing is what Derrida defines as phonocentrism (Grosz 1989:27).

In Derrida’s view, western thought is based on binaries so that the first term mentioned in a dyad is given priority over the second term (Grosz 1989: 27). Accordingly, the notion of presence evokes as its antithesis, the idea of absence. Presence is dependent for its existence on the notion of absence, but this fact remains silent and unacknowledged (Grosz 1989:27). Presence is, thus, conceived as that which

evokes the current moment without delay, or direct contact without any kind of intervention. Derrida is correct in stating that the notion of presence has a negative connotation since it has been used to assert various problematic claims. For instance, presence is evoked to argue that appearances disguise the supposed 'truths' which 'lie below' their surfaces, or that a singer's voice is "original and identity-bestowing" (Koestenbaum 1991:205), and that a musician's expressed emotion is somehow immanent within the performance of a work of music, as has been discussed above. Thus, since in speech speakers and listeners must be spatially and temporally present with each other to communicate meaning, it seems as though what a speaker says is closer to his or her thought than are written words so that speech is erroneously understood to convey a speaker's unmediated consciousness. Derrida argues that, since a writer and reader do not have to be present to a piece of writing to understand it, they are characterized by absence. Derrida's concepts can be employed to critique musical practice, but this becomes problematic since performance does privilege processes over texts and bodily dispositions over conceptual representational thought (Abbate 1991:17, Koestenbaum 1991:205). In the end, both 'presence' and 'absence' may characterize musical performance, paradoxically, since musical materials appear and vanish almost simultaneously. Where performance is characterized by repetition, however, presence ceases.

In the case of an audience attending a concert event, while it is true that they actively negotiate with performers to create this occasion on one level, it is also true that the musicians who have constructed the performance frame exert the greater influence in this respect. Shaviro describes this phenomenon as constituting 'radical passivity'

(Shaviro 1993:48). Particularly in the case of musical performance, one cannot escape the sounds issuing from either an intimate solo recital or a more extravagantly mounted concert hall event. Certainly, one person's music is another person's noise, and in the absence of 'earlids' (Wry 1976:243), an individual's responses to a musical event, instead of being 'internally motivated' or 'spontaneous', are rather "forced upon [a subject] from beyond" (Shaviro 1993:49). In this way, music both imposes itself forcefully, but being impalpable in some respects, also simultaneously evades the listener's grasp.

From the point of view of the performer, this relinquishment of mastery is understood in a different fashion. As has been discussed, a musician does not 'express' an internal affect or his or her 'soul' in the performance of a piece of music, however, he or she may discover moments of pleasure and even transport, in the action of playing a piece of music 'correctly'. Such moments of accomplishment feel effortless, or guided from some mysterious external force. In this sense, a performer relinquishes intentionality in some fashion. Yet, although the musician finds it difficult to articulate what has transpired in conceptual terms (Dunsby 1995:35), he or she realizes, nevertheless, that it is possible to intuitively understand how the task of performing has been successfully accomplished. What a classical musician can achieve, albeit by painful degrees, then, is a freeing of perception from propositional types of understanding.

The Body in a State of Music

The sort of manual knowledge that is bound up with musical performance involves cognitive suggestion and affective intent, but it is not conceptually derived. The difficulty of simultaneously applying and analyzing a musical skill illustrates how this

type of ability is achieved by habitual practice that resists overt intellectualization. This is not to suggest that musical skill is realized mechanically, on the contrary, the capacity to perform music is an achievement learned by doing, that is, via demonstration, experimentation, participation, and committed practice. The musician's relation to his or her instrument is an intimate one. The musical tools which performers employ do not tyrannize their purveyors, nor are such instruments subject to whim or the performer's volition. Instead, a musical instrument is more than a mere extension of the performer's body, it is, as Godlovitch describes it "virtually a collaborator" (Godlovitch 1998: 24).

The musician negotiates a way of understanding an instrument through touch. This is achieved via the performer's hands or vocal cords. Except in cases where the body (specifically the glottis) serves as one's means of producing sound (vocally), manually driven instruments are the mediums, which creatively amplify the capabilities of the human body. Within the domain of musical performance it is primarily the hands, which mediate between the player and his or her musical equipment. Accordingly, a musical instrument both molds and is fashioned by the hands (and body) of the performer. The kind of knowledge that is acquired directly through the senses, via the activity of playing a musical instrument, requires the involved participation of the hands as conduits that both extend the musician's body outwardly into space/and time while simultaneously drawing these dimensions within the embodied performer.

In this vein, David Sudnow reflexively recounts the experience of learning how to play a musical instrument with particular emphasis on the role of the hands in negotiating a path between one's initial intentions and the development of practical skills.³³ Sudnow

³³ Although Sudnow's account deals with his experience of learning how to improvise jazz music on the piano, his fundamental observations can be extended to other domains of music making and instrumental

divides his progress into three stages, beginning with his initial and unsatisfactory fledgling attempts to produce music, followed by his ventures to consciously impose systematic courses of action upon his playing techniques, and finally, his eventual mastery, over time and through extensive practice, of his original aspirations to achieve a high degree of musicianship. At this stage, both the planning and carrying through of his musical actions merged so that distinctions between thinking and doing, as well as between performer and instrument, dissolved. Sudnow describes his progress toward musicianship in terms of the need to achieve balance. At first, he followed a conceptual procedure of looking beyond the hand's 'interweaving' with the order of the music, toward "rules about their destinations" (Sudnow 1978:87). However, these attempts to reduce musical activity to the level of discourse proved unsatisfactory as he realized that the production of musical sound is generated "within a bodily system of essentially organized movements and distancing configurations" (Sudnow 1978:74).

Sudnow's bodily engagements with the surfaces, depths, and dimensions of his instrument provided a mode of playing by touch. These 'felt' ways maneuvering and employing dexterity were undertaken so that he could gain a greater degree of intimacy with the configuration of the keyboard. This included such practices as priming the hands to apprehend and negotiate particular spatial shapes and lateral moves across the 'arena' of the keyboard (Sudnow 1978:75). In addition, he sought to grasp the various positionalities and contexts of musical courses of action (Sudnow 1978:71). To this end, Sudnow discovered that mere intention could not bridge the disjunction between his hands, other body parts, and his instrument. In order that he achieve a synchrony between the sounds he projected and their actual articulation, it was necessary for him to

technique, including classical performance.

call upon a “text of practices” (Sudnow 1978:143), rather than a particular terminology. At times, Sudnow speaks of the ways in which the music, instrumental machinery, and his hands overwhelm his intended musical courses (Sudnow 1978:30-33). On other occasions though, he briefly catches a glimpse of effective means of proceeding which are characterized as the sensation of being guided effortlessly along by the force of musical events. What Sudnow is describing here is the embodied recognition of what constitutes having the knack for particular musical tasks (Sudnow 1978:84). Finally, with extensive practice, he managed to integrate his inner melodic voice and his playing hands with the result that the act of making music receded from his consciousness. In fact, Sudnow’s intentions and articulations were eventually fused to such a degree that, in his words, the contours of the “terrain nexus of hands and keyboard” (Sudnow 1978:146) became as intimately known to him as the “respective surfaces of [his] tongue and teeth and palate [were] known to each other” (Sudnow 1978-146). Hence, for Sudnow, defining music is ultimately a matter of describing ‘the body’s ways’ (Sudnow 1978:147).

Music, Gender, and Sexual Orientation

Music’s appeal to sensation, perception, and affect, along with its positioning as an essentially corporeal discipline, appears to have cast it in something of a subversive position, as documented regularly in western philosophical traditions stretching back to antiquity. (Brett 1994, Koestenbaum 1991, McClary 1994). Indeed, the practices of performing or receiving music have not infrequently been negatively characterized as ‘feminine’ or, ‘effeminizing’ (and, therefore, ethically risky) activities (Green 1997:25).

Historically, Richard Leppert suggests, performance was gendered as a feminine pursuit in opposition to the cultivation of theoretical and critical knowledge about music which was at least ideally, if not practically, designated as a preferably masculine activity (Leppert 1988:64). In his analysis of the sources of the intellectual traditions of musical performance and reception, Andrew Ford describes how the professional application of musical study was divided, in antiquity, along class and ethnic lines as a practice that was appropriate only for foreigners and slaves (Ford 1995:117). By way of contrast, the leisured classes were encouraged to acquire only enough practical experience of music so as to enable them to judge the success or failure of a given performance or genre of music, and beyond that, to be able to articulate the 'causes' for these judgments on a theoretical level (Ford 1995:25).

Over the course of European history, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the notion of musical practice as a menial (because bodily) pursuit also became subsumed under general social demands for 'correct' comportment in both public and private settings.³⁴ For instance, as displayed in visual imagery such as portraiture, and described in manuals on musical education and etiquette, women were confined to playing only those musical instruments which were considered to inculcate modesty in appearance and demeanor (Green 1997:59). In addition, convention dictated that the styles of music deemed appropriate for women included only 'demure' and 'quiet', that is, understated types of musical material (Green 1997:59). With the rise of the bourgeois classes, such amateur practice was to be effected solely in the presence of one's social

³⁴ The study of the underlying scientific principles of music, in fact, has nothing to do with music *per se*, which is essentially an auditory and corporeal activity, rather than a silent and contemplative enterprise. Thus, it is not surprising that such pursuits failed to inspire much enthusiasm.

equals as a domestic, private activity. In the case of male performers, societal conventions mitigated against the serious development of musical skills since this required a high expenditure of labour and time in what was essentially thought to be a diversionary amusement (Leppert 1988:68). For women, playing a musical instrument was viewed, on one level, as a wholesome means of staving off boredom. Yet, women were expected to consciously limit the range of their musical abilities so as to avoid appearing 'vain' and 'pedantic', in favour of displaying a putatively 'natural' form of musical skill (Green 1997:58, Leppert 1988:69-70). In addition, women were encouraged to show reticence when asked to perform for an audience. In other words, they were enjoined not to undertake musical activities on their own initiative. The reason for this is that musical performances were traditionally engaged in with a view to cultivating the pleasure of others, rather than oneself - a role deemed inappropriate for those in positions of authority.

This fusion of musical practice and social conduct is, of course, much more flexibly embodied currently, and the dichotomization, in recent theoretical discussions, of male and female performance practices and their respective relegation to either public or private musical locations, is perhaps a somewhat overstated view of musical traditions. Nevertheless, in certain respects, the residue of these historical conventions continues to obtain in characterizations of classical performance practices. Hence, the continued, if tacit, gendering of musical activity serves as a convenient explanation for the difficulty of imposing precise, formulaic modes of representation on a phenomenon that is characteristically ambiguous. Conceived in this light music is, itself, often defined in the following terms: "Nonverbal even when linked to words, physically arousing in its

function as initiator of dance, and resisting attempts to endow it with, or discern in it, precise meaning, it represents that part of our culture which is constructed as feminine and therefore dangerous” (Brett 1994:112).

Yet attempts to redeem the idea of music as a gendered form by inverting the hierarchical assumptions surrounding it, with a view to granting it a positive valuation, are equally unsound. In her discussion of Roland Barthes later work. Barbara Engh notes that Barthes takes a critical position in relation to some of his earlier romanticized confluences of music, women, and the Other. In drawing analogies which equate maternity or exoticism with musical expression (as something which is resistant to logocentric analysis and open instead to the cultivation of pleasure) Barthes, Engh argues, re-inscribes the kind of narrow analysis he wishes to contest. For instance, in his paper ‘Loving Schumann’ Barthes writes of Schumann’s lieder (songs): “This is a music at once dispersed and unary, continually taking refuge in the luminous shadow of the mother (the lied, copious in Schumann’s work, is, I believe, the expression of this maternal unity)” (Barthes 1985:298). Elsewhere, in ‘The Romantic Song’, Barthes writes that ‘amorous passion’ is a phenomenon that “appears down through the centuries, only in marginal subjects or in marginal groups dispossessed by History, alien to the strong, gregarious society which surrounds, besets, and excludes them, alienated as they are from all power: among the Urdits of the Arab world, the Troubadors of courtly love, the Precieu of our seventeenth century, and the poet-musicians of romantic Germany” (Barthes 1985:292).

Yet, later Barthes came to understand that his appropriation of alterity, as a means of challenging the limitations of discursivity, actually enacted a “privileged

irresponsibility” (Engl 1993:77). The reason for Barthes unintentional ethno/androcentrism is explained by his realization that critiques of the supposed ideological foundations of aesthetic phenomena often have the effect of distorting or destroying what they purport to explain. Hence, Barthes attempts to dispute these views was realized, initially, by turning them inside out. Nevertheless, instituting a reversal of the primitivist discourse: music/women/Others, under the guise of an exalted, rather than pejorative, revaluation of these categories, as Barthes discovered, does not provide a solution for reductionist or determinist ways of theorizing about music.

However, critical discussions of music may still yet be generated by readings which re-deploy gender, desire, and music, as inherently unstable and multivarious forces, but in a way which does not deprive them of any conceivable focused point of reference. For instance, as Philip Brett notes, attempts to impose order on musicality - as something that cannot be easily accounted for - is ‘explained’ through various inventions, such as the figure of the ‘muse’ (Brett 1994:22), which serves as the creative animus for the male musicians. Yet Brett demonstrates how such formulations give rise to unintended consequences which subvert these kind of traditional prejudices, for if the muse is what inspires (perhaps with less currency presently) the largely male dominated field of european art music, this figure actually represents “the trope of the woman’s soul trapped in a man’s body” (Brett 1994:22).

What Brett is referring to here, with the image of the muse, is the convention of gendering the performative voice as feminine (as opposed to the coding of the authorial inscription of the composer as masculine). Within the hierarchy of the senses (as established in western thought) (Feldman 1994:90-91), in contrast to Derrida’s

formulation of presence/absence voice (as an oral articulation) is actually positioned as something inferior and anterior to the text (or score), which is a written artefact.

Koestenbaum notes that the voice has been “coded as female...because the organs of its production are hidden from view” (Koestenbaum 1991:211). In addition, he observes that visual analogies are drawn between the physiological similarities in appearance between the larynx and labia” (Koestenbaum 1991:212). Furthermore, the production of vocalizing from the head (falsetto), as opposed to the chest, is traditionally considered to be an effeminizing and, therefore, degenerate and (for men) an ‘unnatural’ activity (Koestenbaum 1991:220).

Lucy Green suggests that singing, as an apparently ‘natural’ (because generated within the body), rather than ‘cultural’ activity is traditionally associated with femininity. Women, she argues, have historically been discouraged from such ventures as composing (as a putatively cerebral, rather than physical enterprise) (Green 1997:88), and from playing musical instruments, because of a patriarchal insistence on the supposed “unsuitability of any serious connection between woman and technology” (Green 1997:29). Hence, for Green, femininity, as a ‘contrary’ construction, presents essentially two kinds of potential musical roles for female singers - the “desirable, but dangerous” (Green 1997:30) temptress (as witnessed in publicly sanctioned displays, such as opera performances) (Green 1997:30), and the maternal role (as observed, for instance, in the privately enacted moments in which a mother sings to her child) (Green 1997:29).

Certainly, as Green suggests, the gender of a singer is immediately discerned (Green 1997:30), (except, of course, in rare cases - a contemporary example being the blues vocalist Jimmy Scott). Indeed, even castrati’s voices, with their peculiar tone

quality, were never confused, sight unseen, with women or boys voices. Still, if an audience comprises a variety of positionalities which are not presumed to be instantaneously co-opted under the rubric of the 'patriarchal, colonizing, male gaze', female singers need not be considered as mere 'objects' within the 'spectacle' of musical performance. For example, Berlioz's transcription of the male (originally castrato) part from Gluck's 'Orfeo ed Euridice' for a (female) alto singer (Wood 1994:29) has the unanticipated effect of possibly creating a space for lesbian eroticism. Hence, audience members listening to this opera can involve themselves in the multiple readings that arise in performance. Perhaps the fact that a woman is playing a male role in this opera may be ignored or subversively embraced by particular listeners, depending on the particular perspectives of individual audience members, as well as the context in which the performance takes place. It seems likely that a number of understandings of gendered musical performance are possible within the protective space of the performance frame. Thus, it is probably not true that such performances are doomed to responses of either complacency or else alienation. These examples provide a means of subverting conventional associations so as to transcend the binaries of male/female.

Similarly, certain aspects of Gilles Deleuze's work provides a means of avoiding these kinds of dichotomies by his adoption of the model of molecular sexuality in plant life which may be suitable to the kind of amorphous sexuality which music is often understood to metaphorically parallel. Deleuze states: "the hermaphrodite (plant) requires a third party (the insect) so that the female part may be fertilized, or so that the male part may fertilize. An aberrant communication occurs in a transversal dimension between partitioned sexes" (Deleuze 1972:121). In this sense, the hermaphrodite plant is

unified, although its male and female parts are separate. The insect, as an entity, which has no organic relation to the plant, joins with it in a random fashion. Here there is no essential male or female identity which refers to a lost, unified, original (much like a simulacrum). Although the male and female parts are divided within the plant, this does not produce a gap or 'lack', as expressed in opposing formulations that, as Anne Stoler points out, are based on Freud's repressive theory that desire is essentially derived from 'natural' sexual instincts that are socially controlled via auto-disciplinary behaviours (Stoler 1995: 169). Deleuze's untraditional description of the energies or forces that lie outside human points of reference provides a means of challenging examinations of the body/music/desire which claim an 'authenticity' for non-western musical forms on the basis of their supposed inherent 'naturalism'.³⁵

³⁵ Frequently, european art music is set up, in the ethnomusicological literature, as appealing to 'rationalism', in contrast to the supposedly 'bodily' kinds of expression which are thought to typify non-western musical genres. (Keil and Feld 1994:157). This opposition of cerebral/corporeal, western/non-western musics is maintained even in connection with distinctly hybrid forms of music, such as jazz (Keil and Feld 1994:17), which not only clearly bears the influence of classical music, but which is also a musical style that has won legitimacy within the dominant culture in both esoteric and exoteric domains of musical expression. This kinship between classical and jazz styles is evident within the conservatory where, for example, Kingsbury notes jazz terminology is used, by members of classical performance communities, to describe what constitutes musicality. In this instance, mechanical renditions that lack expressivity are explained by the expression: 'chops, but no soul'. By way of contrast, the obvious racism implicit in the formulation of european art music as 'cerebral', in contrast to musics of African derivation which are described (and 'valorized') as 'physically based', 'relaxed', or 'free of rules and regularities', or other such characterizations, is disturbingly prevalent in association with African American musical styles and performers. Within the field of opera, for example, feminist musicologists, who are interested in examining the representation of the hysterical, exotic female in operatic roles, often draw analogies between race and gender. Such revisionist analyses posit the idea that the 'dangerous energies' of these divas, are 'contained' by the heroines' inevitable death at some point within the opera (Abbate 1994:ix). By way of extension, it is also noted that many female opera stars are currently African American, including: Grace Bumbry, Martina Arroyo, Shirley Verrett, Leona Mitchell, Betty Allen, Mattiwillda Dobbs, Kathleen Battle, Leontyne Price, Jesse Norman, Wilhelmenia Wiggins Fernandez, (not to mention Marian Anderson) etc. (Koestenbaum 1993:105-6), and this prevalence of African American performers, within the purview of operatic communities, is usually explained by the fact that the roles for opera divas are often those of the eroticized foreigner (such as is famously found in Bizet's 'Carmen', for instance). Yet rather than viewing this phenomenon strictly as a case of African American performers being 'co-opted' (a typical instance of the 'burden of representation' which artists of colour must constantly contend with from all sides), Wayne Koestenbaum suggests instead that more than the desire for 'upward mobility' is at stake when a performer from a 'minority group' "gravitates towards a putatively 'high' art form" (Koestenbaum 1994:230) (Here

Conclusion

Although the stated purpose of this thesis has ostensibly been to analyze and define the various elements that constitute classical music performance, the concerns raised within this exposition have broader implications than are revealed by a restricted reading of the immediate topic under discussion. This is not to suggest, of course, that the singularity of musical expression ought to be ignored in favour of a conceptualization of music as a mere adjunct to some kind of supposed aesthetic totality which is then trivialized, in turn, as a form of entertainment without greater cultural import. Instead, the notion of classical music performance as social action demonstrates an affinity, rather than an isomorphic relation, with certain kinds of enactments that are differentiated from the quotidian practices of everyday life, such as ritual and dramatic performances. Hence, the implication that classical music practice may possess a wider applicability, as a social process, serves instead to remove it from its marginalized position as mere agitprop or divertissement.

Accordingly, the considerations that have driven this project are bound up with the examination of relations of sociality, rather than with its representation through abstract forms, and with the investigation of embodied modes of expression rather than with propositional, or conceptual kinds of meaning. These issues are ones which are central to any analysis of an anthropology of performance - musical or otherwise. In

he includes, under the rubric of minority groups' experiences of discrimination, the usual stereotyped ascriptions of effeminacy regularly assigned, for example, to gay performers) Hence, Koestenbaum understands operatic vocalization - i.e. the physiological act of singing, as "distinct from the libretti or the music" (Koestenbaum 1991:206) *per se*, as a potentially "enfranchising, cathartic, transformative" (Koestenbaum 1991:230) mode of expression for 'marginalized' performers, rather than something that demonstrates a betrayal of one's cultural identity.

dismantling certain presuppositions about western art music, it may be possible, in turn, to extend such observations to other kinds of anthropological inquiries. To this end, the recuperation of european art music as a practice that can travel between exoteric and esoteric genres and venues of musical expression may provide a means of moving beyond the idea that performances of classical music ought to be governed by 'ethical' considerations. In other words, the changability of classical music performances need not be understood in terms of such polarized criteria as 'originality' versus 'derivation', 'authenticity' versus 'dissimulation', or 'intentionality' versus 'passivity' etc. Instead, the practice of western art music possesses a greater potential which consists of the means to enliven, to soothe, to clarify, to confound, depending on a number of factors that are, thankfully, contingent and open.

A guiding metaphor for music, then, could, by the extension of Deleuze's model place musicians and listeners as a hermaphroditic set of forces, which are joined by sociation at a concert hall event, yet also, partitioned off by the performance frame. These dynamic energies could, furthermore, be put into a productive arrangement of fertility by the fortuitous intervention of an external source (Deleuze's insect) - namely music. Such a suggestion is no more outrageous than the idea of the existence of musical artefacts in the form of 'works', or the positing of structural correlations between music and society as a kind of double mirror. Indeed, even the notion that classical music serves to harmonize social relations, as a form, which exudes balance, refinement, order, elegance, and consonance, may, in fact, be overturned and re-conceptualized, instead, as a source of discord, rage, and chaos. This assertion may be clarified via a consideration of the following passage which describes how the appreciation of operatic music

intersects with an imaginative construction of personal identity:

I started listening to opera, as a child, because it embarrassed me. The last thing I thought opera meant was cultural capital or glamour. Rather, announcing a love of opera would have been a badge of shame. I thought there was nothing nakeder, more obscene, than vibrato. I approached opera (warily, at first, and only in solitude) because it filled me with a kind of uncanny discomfort that I grew to call pleasure. I wanted opera in my life because it seemed to me the sound of undiluted anger (Koestenbaum 1991:230).

Without suggesting a complete reversal of the preceding arguments set forth in this thesis, it might be helpful to consider a contrary voice, which may be also articulated from the vantage point of classical musical practice. As much as music effects a dissolution of the subject and of location (as an impalpable/ palpable, peripatetic collection of energies), it may also paradoxically, have a formative role in this regard - but within another realm - that of the imagination (which is, after all, its native dwelling place). In Koestenbaum's private experience, taking on the mantle of the "sissy drawn into opera's embrace" (Koestenbaum 1991:230), that is, the stereotyped identification of operatic music with homosexuality, allows him to 'refunction' (in Martin Jay's words), a classical music form (opera) as an unlikely source of defiance which is consonant with the ironic adoption of the pejorative language imposed on gay and lesbian communities to define a queer politics. For Koestenbaum, opera becomes a means of locating a voice and positioning - of receiving validation for his personal identity in the protected space of his internal life. Indeed, opera is, for Koestenbaum, also synonymous with 'the closet' which the vocalizations of singers can, by similar analogy, thrust out in the act of 'coming out' (Koestenbaum 1993:158) of the voice box. In this way, european art music becomes, in contrast to antecedent arguments, also a form of 'resistance', albeit without the usual trappings of overt, conventional, 'political' action that is currently fashionable.

Years ago, Anthony Burgess, an accomplished musician himself, was able to understand classical music as a subversive form of energy in his novel A Clockwork Orange which the anti-heroic protagonist, Alex, appropriates the intoxicating rage induced, within his imagination, by repeated listenings to records of Beethoven's music. Here classical music inspires the opposite of sociality - pure, anarchic violence against the community. As part of an experimental process (the 'Ludvico technique'), an attempt is made to 'cure' Alex of his vicious tendencies. This is facilitated by the administration of a drug that induces physical torment in the patient during forced viewings of violent films. However, in the course of one particular treatment, an accident occurs. This event is marked by the coincidental playing of Beethoven's Fifth on a soundtrack which accompanies a showing of 'Triumph of the Will'. This experience has the unintended effect of ridding Alex of any vestiges of humanity, which he might have originally possessed, by destroying his appreciation of Beethoven's music. Alex reacts to this outrage by pleading with his tormentors to cease the presentation of the film. Their reaction is, as might be expected, one of indifference: "So you're keen on music. I know nothing about it myself. It's a useful emotional heightener, that's all I know. Well, well. It can't be helped....Here's the punishment element, perhaps. The Governor ought to be pleased" (Burgess 1962:90).

What Burgess is demonstrating here is the horrifying consequences of creating a world in which art, passion, madness, imagination, and chaos are brutally censored. If the alternative to maintaining putatively 'elitist' art forms, like classical music, with its supposedly violent 'silencing' of 'marginalized' Others, is the standardized violence of the state, (or critical theorists, for that matter), then perhaps the impulse to impose

hierarchical standards of perfectionism may be a preferable alternative to an adherence to cultural mediocrity. However exclusionary classical music practices might be, and however 'perversely' derived may be the pleasure of receiving western art music (in its excesses and extravagances) still, it may have the wherewithal to allow its adherents and practitioners access to a corporeal and socially based kind of freedom which exists within a virtual space that includes the experiences of playing and listening.

References Cited

- Abbate, Carolyn
1991 Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Adorno, Theodor W.
1984 Aesthetic Theory. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- 1983 Philosophy of Modern Music. New York: Seabury Press.
- 1967 "Bach Defended Against his Devotees" *In Prisms*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press. Pp. 135-146.
- Attali, Jacques
1985 Noise: The Political Economy of Music. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barthes, Roland
1985 The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Bensman, Joseph and Robert Lilienfeld
1991 Craft and Consciousness: Occupational Technique and the Development of World Images. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Blacking, John
1977 "Towards an Anthropology of the Body" *In* John Blacking (ed.) The Anthropology of the Body. New York: Academic Press. Pp. 1-28.
- Blaukopf, Kurt
1992 Musical Life in a Changing Society: Aspects of Music Sociology. Amadeus Press: Portland, Oregon.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1990 The Logic of Practice. Stanford : Stanford University Press.
- 1984 Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press.

- Brett, Philip
1994 "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet". *In* Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas (eds.) Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology. New York: Routledge. Pp. 9-26.
- Burgess, Anthony
1962 A Clockwork Orange. London: Penguin Books.
- Butler, Judith
1991 "Introduction" *In* Bodies That Matter: On the Disursive Limits of Sex London: Routledge. Pp. 1-23.
- 1990 "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory" *In* Sue-Ellen Case (ed.) Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre. London: Johns Hopkins University. Pp. 270-280
- Chanan, Michael
1994 Musica Practica: The Social Practice of Western Music from Gregorian Chant to Postmodernism. New York: Verso.
- 1981 "The Trajectory of Western Music; or, As Mahler Said, The Music is Not in the Notes". Media, Culture, and Society. Vol. 3: 219-241.
- Dahlhaus, Carl
1989 "Esthetic Contemplation as Devotion." *In* The Idea of Absolute Music. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 78-87.
- Deleuze, Gilles
1972 Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- 1968 Difference and Repetition. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Derrida, Jacques
1991 "Of Grammatology." *In* A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds. New York: Columbia. Pp. 31-58.

- Dunsby, Jonathan
1995 Performing Music: Shared Concerns. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Durant, Alan
1984 Conditions of Music. London: Macmillan.
- Engh, Barbara
1993 "Loving It: Music and Criticism in Roland Barthes" *In* Ruth Solie (ed.) Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Musical Scholarship. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 66-82.
- Fabian, Johannes
1990 Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theatre in Shaba, Zaire. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Feher, Ferenc
1992 "Weber and the Rationalization of Music" *In* Christine Garlevy (ed.) Dialectical Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Stanley Diamond. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. Pp. 309-326.
- Feldman, Allen
1994 "From Desert Storm to Rodney King via ex-Yugoslavia: On Cultural Anesthesia" *In* Nadia C. Seremetakis (ed.) The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity. Boulder and Westview Press. Pp. 87-107.
- Ford, Andrew
1995 "Katharsis: The Ancient Problem" *In* Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (eds.) Performativity and Performance. New York: Routledge. Pp. 109-129.
- Geertz, Clifford
1973 "Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali" *In* Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books. Pp. 360-411.
- 1966 "Religion as a Cultural System" *In* Michael Banton (ed.) Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion. London: Tavistock Publications. Pp. 1-46
- Godlovitch, Stan
1998 Musical Performance: A Philosophical Study. London: Routledge.

- Goehr, Lydia
1998 The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy: The 1997 Ernest Bloch Lectures. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1992 The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Green, Lucy
1997 Music, Gender Education. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Grosz, Elizabeth
1989 Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists. Sydney: Allen and Urwin.
- Handler, Richard
1986 "Authenticity." Anthropology Today. 2 (1). Pp. 2-4.
- Jay, Martin
1984 "Hierarchy and the Humanities: The Radical Implications of a Conservative Idea." Telos. no. 62. Pp. 131-144.
- 1973 The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950. Boston: Little Brown
- Keil, Charles and Steven Feld
1994 Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kingsbury, Henry
1988 Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Koestenbaum, Wayne
1993 The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire. New York: Poseidon Press.
- 1991 "The Queen's Throat: (Homo)sexuality and the Art of Singing". *In* Diana Fuss (ed.) Inside/out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories New York : Routledge. Pp. 205-223.

- Langer, Susanne K.
1980 "On Significance in Music" *In* Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism in Reason, Rite, and Art. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Pp.204-245.
- Leppert Richard
1993 The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Leppert, Richard and Susan McClary
1987 "Introduction." *In* Music and Society: The Politics Composition, Performance, and Reception. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. xi-xix.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude
1964 "Overture." *In* The Raw and the Cooked. New York: Harper and Row. Pp. 1-32.
- Levine, Lawrence
1988 Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press.
- Ling Jan
1997 A History of European Folk Music. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.
- Lyman, Stanford M.
1970 "Stage Fright and the Problem of Identity." *In* A Sociology of the Absurd. New York: Appelton Century Craft. Pp. 159-188.
- MacAloon, John
1984 Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Toward a Theory of Ritual Performance. Philadelphia: Institute of Human Issues.
- McClary, Susan
1994 "Same as it Ever Was: Youth Culture and Music". *In* Ross, Andrew and Tricia Rose (eds.) Microphone Fiends. London: Routledge. Pp. 29-40.
- McClary, Susan
1987 "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics During Bach Year". *In* Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (eds.) Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 13-62.

- McClary, Susan and Robert Walser
1990 "Start Making Sense: Musicology Wrestles with Rock". *In* Simon Frith Simon and Andrew Goodwin (eds.) On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word. New York: Pantheon Books. Pp. 277-292.
- Machlis, Joseph
1984 The Enjoyment of Music: An Introduction to Perceptive Listening. New York: Norton and Co.
- Martin, Peter
1995 Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music. New York: Manchester Press.
- Martindale D. and J. Reidel
1958 "Introduction". *In* Max Weber The Rational and Social Foundations of Music. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. Pp. i-iii.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
1989 "The Body as Expression, and Speech". *In* The Phenomenology of Perception. London: Routledge. Pp. 174-202.
- Phelan, Peggy
1993 "The Ontology of Performance: Representation without Reproduction". Unmarked: The Politics of Performance. New York: Routledge.
- Rosaldo, Michelle
1984 "Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling". R. A. Shweder and R. A. Levine (eds.) Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 137-157.
- Rosaldo, Renato
1989 "Imperialist Nostalgia." *In* Culture and Truth: The Re-Making of Social Analysis. Boston: Beacon Press. Pp. 68-87.
- Said, Edward
1991 Musical Elaborations: the Wellek Library Lectures. London: Chatto and Windus.

- Schutz, Alfred
1976 "Fragments on the Phenomenology of Music." *In* F. J. Smith (ed.) In Search of Musical Method. New York: Gordon and Breach. Pp. 5-72.
- 1972 "Making Music Together." *In* Collected Papers, Volume 2. Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague. Pp. 159-178.
- "Mozart and the Philosophers." *In* Collected Papers, Volume 2. Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague. Pp. 179-200.
- Shaviro, Stephen
1993 "Film Theory and Visual Fascination." *In* The Cinematic Body. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 1-65.
- Simmel, Georg
1965 "The Handle." *In* Kurt Wolff (ed.) Essays on Sociology, Philosophy, and Aesthetics by Georg Simmel and Others. New York: Harper and Row. Pp. 267-275.
- Small, Christopher
1998 Musiking: the Meaning of Performing and Listening. Wesleyan University Press.
- 1980 Music-Society-Education. London: John Calder Press.
- Stoler, Ann Laura
1995 "The Education of Desire and the Representation Hypothesis." *In* Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things. London: Duke University Press. Pp. 165-195.
- Sudnow, David
1978 Ways of the Hand: The Organization of Improvised Conduct. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press.
- Thom, Paul
1993 For an Audience: A Philosophy the Performing Arts. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Turner, Victor
1990 "Are There Universals of Performance in Myth, Ritual, and Drama?" *In* Richard Schechner and Willa Appel (eds.) By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press Pp.8-18.

- Walsler, Robert
1993 "Eruptions." *In Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press. Pp. 57-107.
- Weber, Max
1958 Rational and Social Foundations of Music. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Weber, William
1975 Music and the Middle Class. London: Croom Helm.
- Witkin, Robert
1998 Adorno on Music. New York: Routledge.
- Wood, Elizabeth
1994 "Sapphonics." *In* Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (eds.) Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology. New York: Routledge. Pp. 27-66.
- Wry, Ora E.
1976 The Implications of Merleau-Ponty's Theory of the Body-Subject as the Basis for a Philosophy of Music Education. Philadelphia: Temple University.

Considered Works

- Adorno, Theodor W.
1967 "On the Fetish-character in Music and the Regression of Listening." *In* Prisms. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Pp.121-132.
- Benjamin, Walter
1969 "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". *In* Hannah Arendt (ed.) Illuminations. London: Pimlico. Pp. 219-233.
- Bogue, Ronald
1989 Deleuze and Guttari. London: Routledge.
- Chaney, David C.
1993 Fictions of Collective Life: Public Drama in Late Modern Culture. London: Routledge.
- Crafts, Susan D., Daniel Cavicchi, and Charles Keil (eds.)
1993 My Music. (The Music in Daily Life Project). Hanover, N. H. Wesleyan University Press.
- Cranny-Francis, Anne
1995 The Body in the Text. Carleton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Feld, Stephen and Aaron A. Fox
1994 "Music and Language." Annual Review of Anthropology. 23: 25-53.
- Good, Byron
1994 "The Body, Illness, Experience, and the Lifeworld: A Phenomenological Account of Chronic Pain." *In* Medicine, Rationality and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective. Pp. 116-134.
- Grosz, Elizabeth
1994 "Lived Bodies: Phenomenology of the Flesh." *In* Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. 86-111.

- Haraway Donna
1988 "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism as a Site of Discourse on the Privilege of Partial Perspective." Feminist Studies.14 (3): 575-600.
- Leppert, Richard and Susan McClary (eds.)
1987 Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lock, Margaret
1993 "Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemology of Bodily Practice and Knowledge." Annual Review of Anthropology. 22: 135-155.
- Lowe, Donald M.
1982 History of Bourgeois Perception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McClary, Susan
1991 Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Parker, Andrew and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick
1995 "Introduction." In Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick Performativity and Performance. New York: Routledge. Pp. 1-18.
- Serematakis, Nadia
1994 The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Morris, Rosalind C.
1995 "All Made Up: Performance Theory and the New Anthropology of Sex and Gender." Annual Review of Anthropology. 24: 567-592.
- Shepherd, John and Peter Wicke
1997 Music and Cultural Theory. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press.
- Solie, Ruth
1993 "Introduction: On Difference." In Ruth Solie (ed.) Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in MusicScholarship. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 1-20.
- 1991 "What Do Feminists Want? A Reply to Pieter van den Toorn." Journal of Musicology. 9 (4): Pp. 399-410.

- Stone, Allucquere R.
1995 The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
- Taruskin, Richard
1995 Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance . New York: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, Victor
1983 "Carnival in Rio: Dionysian Drama in an Industrializing Society."
In Frank E. Manning (ed.) The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Performance. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Press. Pp. 103-124.
- Taussig, Michael
1993 Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular Theory of the Senses. New York: Routledge.
- Small, Christopher
1987 Music of the Common Tongue. New York: Riverman Press.
- Walser, Robert
1991 "The Body in the Music: Epistemology and Musical Semiotics."
College Music Symposium. 31: 117-126.