

Europe

THE
GARLAND
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
WORLD MUSIC



The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music
Volume 8

Europe

THE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC

Volume 1

AFRICA

edited by Ruth M. Stone

Volume 2

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CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN**

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THE WORLD'S MUSIC: GENERAL PERSPECTIVES AND REFERENCE TOOLS

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James Porter and Timothy Rice

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music
Volume 8

Europe

Timothy Rice, James Porter,
and Chris Goertzen
Editors

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List of Audio Examples

CD materials can be found at <https://www.routledge.com/9780824060343>

The following examples are included on the accompanying audio compact disc packaged with this volume in the back of the book. Track numbers are also indicated on the pages listed below for easy reference to text discussions. Complete notes on each example can be found on pages 1077–1081.

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About *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*

Scholars have created many kinds of encyclopedias devoted to preserving and transmitting knowledge about the world. The study of music has itself been the subject of numerous encyclopedias in many languages. Yet until now the term *music encyclopedia* has been synonymous with surveys of the history, theory, and performance practice of European-based traditions.

In July 1988, the editors of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* gathered for a meeting to determine the nature and scope of a massive new undertaking. For this, the first encyclopedia devoted to the music of all the world's peoples, the editors decided against the traditional alphabetic approach to compartmentalizing knowledge from A to Z. Instead, they chose a geographic approach, with each volume devoted to a single region and coverage assigned to the world's experts on specific music cultures.

For several decades, ethnomusicologists (following the practice of previous generations of comparative musicologists) have been documenting the music of the world through fieldwork, recording, and analysis. Now, for the first time, they have created an encyclopedia that summarizes in one place the major findings that have resulted from the explosion in such documentation since the 1960s. The volumes in this series comprise contributions from all those specialists who have from the start defined the field of ethnomusicology: anthropologists, linguists, dance ethnologists, cultural historians, folklorists, literary scholars, and—of course—musicologists, composers, and performers. This multidisciplinary approach continues to enrich the field, and future generations of students and scholars will find *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* to be an invaluable resource that contributes to knowledge in all its varieties.


Each volume has a similar design and organization: three large sections that cover the major topics of a region from broad general issues to specific music practices. Each section consists of articles written by leading researchers, and extensive glossaries and indexes give the reader easy access to terms, names, and places of interest.

Part 1: an introduction to the region, its culture, and its music as well as a survey of previous music scholarship and research

Part 2: major issues and processes that link the musics of the region

Part 3: detailed accounts of individual music cultures

The editors of each volume have determined how this three-part structure is to be constructed and applied depending on the nature of their regions of interest. The concepts covered in Part 2 will therefore differ from volume to volume; likewise, the articles in Part 3 might be about the music of nations, ethnic groups, islands, or subregions. The picture of music presented in each volume is thus comprehensive yet remains focused on critical ideas and issues.

Complementing the texts of the encyclopedia's articles are numerous illustrations: photographs, drawings, maps, charts, song texts, and music examples. At the end of each volume is a useful set of study and research tools, including a glossary of terms, lists of audio and visual resources, and an extensive bibliography. An audio compact disc will be found inside the back cover of each volume, with sound examples that are linked (with a  in the margin) to discussions in the text.

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music represents the work of hundreds of specialists guided by a team of distinguished editors. With a sense of pride, Garland Publishing offers this new series to readers everywhere.

Preface

The music of Europe, especially so-called art or classical music, is probably the most extensively studied and documented of all the world's musical traditions. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, however, displaces European music from the center it often occupies in European-derived discourses on music and places it, not at the periphery, but in a constellation of world regions positioned without a center on the surface of a sphere. Though placing Europe in a global perspective represents a salutary move from an ethnomusicological point of view, it has created the problem of how to contain the vast knowledge of European music within a single volume.

In fact, of course, we cannot pretend to contain anything but the tiniest fraction of that knowledge here. Even in this volume, European classical music is decentered and treated as just one of many kinds of music available to ethnic groups and nations. Those interested in recovering the details of the history of European classical music—biographies of composers and performers, lists of compositions, analysis and history of styles—should look elsewhere.

European music history is usually told as if could be captured in a single, chronological trajectory, and we do here in a single article of perhaps ten thousand words—an incredibly short encapsulation. But such histories construct an imaginary story that underemphasizes or ignores the local histories and national experiences of this music in different places around the continent. These local histories, though abbreviated, are found in most of the articles on the music of individual countries.

An interest in and emphasis on folk and popular music and the position of music in European society and culture pervades this volume. Most of the articles in Parts 1 and 2 (with the exception of the historical section of Part 2) deal with comparative issues in the study of European traditional music. The articles on individual countries and cultures in Part 3 begin with folk music, often assumed (correctly or incorrectly) to have ancient roots that predate classical and popular traditions, which arise out of the history of the group and borrow from and influence folk tradition. Finally, modern musical life is presented as an amalgam of musical styles and values that mediate between poles of urban and rural, ancient and modern, supported and ignored, relevant and irrelevant.

HOW THIS VOLUME IS ORGANIZED

Like the other volumes in this encyclopedia, this volume is organized into three parts. Part 1 contains a broad overview of music on the continent, followed by a survey of the major trends in scholarship on traditional music.

Issues and processes

Part 2 focuses on major issues and topics of importance to the musical life of Europe. The first section deals with the history of music in Europe. Especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Europeans became absorbed with understanding themselves in historical terms, and the recovery of the history of so-called art music is

at the center of the stories Europeans tell about themselves. This section begins with prehistory as understood by archaeology, briefly reviews ancient Greek music (the source of many ideas about music in European culture), continues with reflections on the role of notation and the idea of history in European music, and ends with a capsule summary of the history of art music.

The second section of Part 2 examines issues related primarily to traditional and popular music, studied from an ethnographic perspective. By surveying, for example, traditional and contemporary performance contexts across the continent, important parallels can be observed. The question of repertoire and genre is treated in complementary fashion from the outside, using scholars' classifications of song genres (such as ballad and epic), and from the inside, using the people's own words. General methods of musical transmission are examined, as are the links between music and ideology on one hand, and music and gender on the other. The variety of musical instruments in Europe has long inspired scholarly and public interest and is surveyed in two articles. Finally, popular music, until recently left out of many historical and ethnographic studies, is treated in four articles—one an overview, one on rock in Europe, one on "world music," and one on the music of recent immigrants to Europe, many from its colonial outposts.

Europe by region and country

Part 3 divides Europe into areas and within each area treats all the major countries and even a few important regions, such as (in France) Brittany and Corsica. No areal division for European music is well established, and the one used here may seem arbitrary and unusual to some. Two of the areas, United Kingdom and Ireland and the Balkans, are commonly used, though some might question the inclusion of Romania in the Balkans. The area known as Eastern Europe from 1944 to 1989 was a legacy of the Cold War and designated the communist countries of that region; however, many people in that part of the world think of themselves as Central Europeans, and Part 3 restores that older view. Furthermore, the Baltic states, once a part of the Soviet Union and thus Eastern Europe, are here placed in Northern Europe, with Finland and the Scandinavian countries, because of parallels in language, musical instruments, and a shared history that predates the Soviet era. Such divisions, however rationalized, inevitably illuminate some relationships while obscuring others.

Only in the last decade of the twentieth century did the last great European empire, the Soviet Union, fade from the map—though some might argue that the United Kingdom remains as a remnant of imperial ambitions. Part 3 gives the nation-states of Europe their due in most instances, though some readers may be struck by the exceptions. The United Kingdom appears in its parts, England, Scotland, and Wales, and Ireland is here united. The Low Countries include Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. In separate articles, Sardinia, Corsica, Brittany, the Basque provinces, and North Caucasia peek out from under their national umbrellas. The Czech Republic and Slovakia have such a long shared history, compared to their recent separation, that one article seems efficient. The rump Yugoslavia is divided into its parts, Serbia and Montenegro, and the smallest principalities and city-states are omitted.

Using nations as the main organizing principle of Part 3 means that many ethnic minorities may have been overlooked. Some, such as the Jews and the Roma (Gypsies), are treated in the opening section of Part 3, on Transnational Minorities. Some minorities are mentioned within national articles, such as those on Finland, Hungary, and Russia. But in many national articles, the music of minorities is

eclipsed by discussions of the majority's music—a hazard of this approach to the organization of the volume.

Each article in Part 3, with a few exceptions, proceeds along a common trajectory: a brief overview of demography, history, and geography; an overview of the style, function, and use of song genres; musical instruments, music history, popular music, revivalism, and the modern scene; and a survey of the history of scholarship. Many introductory overviews were silently supplied by the editors, and we take responsibility for any misinterpretations or errors that we may have introduced in them.

Research tools

Readers will find research aids throughout the volume. Maps of areas are found at the beginning of each section of Part 3. Where countries or ethnic groups are divided into ethnographic regions, additional, detailed maps are provided. For many of the place names, several spellings are acceptable. Every effort was made to use the most common spellings throughout the book, but some inconsistencies remain. Each article ends with an extensive bibliography and list of audiovisual resources, and highly selected guides to books, recordings, and films are given at the end of the volume. Numerous photographs, musical examples, and a compact disc of sound recordings illustrate the text, and a pronunciation guide to European languages follows the preface. A glossary and index aid access to material in the main text.

Musical examples

Perhaps more than some regions of the world [see, for example, the volume *SOUTHEAST ASIA*], European traditional music has a long history of representation in descriptive Western staff notation, and as a consequence many musical examples supplement this text. For those who read music, such examples can add telling detail to verbal descriptions of the basics of musical form, texture, rhythm and meter, scales and modes, and melodic shape. At the same time, they inadequately represent, or even fail to represent, important aspects of performance practice, such as untempered melodic intervals, timbres, nonmetrical rhythms, ornamentation, and the freedom and expressiveness of performance.

Many notated examples contain additional signs and other conventions that add to the descriptive possibilities of standard, prescriptive Western notation. For example, so-called key signatures are not intended in these transcriptions to indicate key per se, but indicate the relative pitches and intervals used; as a consequence, they may “break the rules” by including both sharps and flats and by placing the sharp or flat on the line or space of the actual melody note rather than in its conventional location. In some examples, the absence of time signatures and the use of dotted bar lines or half-lines illustrate the limits of Western metrical concepts. Other signs conventionally used in ethnomusicological transcriptions include the following:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| ↑ or ↓ | pitches slightly higher or lower, respectively, than notated; |
| ∩ or ∪ | durations slightly longer or shorter, respectively, than notated. |

Glossary, index, and definitions

Because the encyclopedia is not organized alphabetically, an extensive glossary of virtually every native term for musical instruments, genre, or musical parts mentioned in the text is provided at the back of the volume. Names of individuals, organizations, and ethnic groups will be found in the index. Knowledge of basic musical terminology is assumed and so those terms are not defined. Some terminology associated with musical instruments and song genres is defined at the tops of pages in those articles.

Compact disc

To illustrate the text, the compact disc provides a selection of musical examples, which mainly come from fieldwork and were chosen to supplement material available on commercial recordings. A booklet of brief notes on the recordings is packaged with the CD on the back cover and printed on pages 1077–1081, preceding the index.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project of this magnitude requires dozens of minds and hands working at many levels. The coeditors' first debt is to the authors of the many long articles in this volume. They have borne with us during the periods of frustrating delay and frenetic activity that have characterized this project since its inception, in 1987. We thank them for their patience and helpful responses to our many queries. We deeply mourn the loss of one of our authors, JaFran Jones, a dear friend and colleague.

We must also thank the publisher, Garland Publishing, which originally approached us with the idea for this encyclopedia, and whose staff have helped us in many ways in the production of this volume. They include former Vice President Leo Balk, who expedited and advised the project in various phases; music and managing editor Soo Mee Kwon, whose gentle but firm planning and guidance brought the project to fruition; Eleanor Castellano, who coordinated the assembly of the volume; and Barbara Gerr, our perspicacious editor of music examples. J. W. Love proved extraordinarily adept at copyediting, spotting many a tricky inconsistency, odd misspelling, and questionable fact.

In addition to authors, many people contributed in small but critical ways, especially the translators of contributions submitted in languages other than English and the contributors of photographs and sound recordings. Marin Marian-Bălașa of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest Speranța Rădulescu provided useful comments and material for the article on Romania. Most of these are acknowledged in the text, but special mention should be made of Maria Arko, who checked facts for the Slovenia article; Rita Karasiajus, who helped us with Lithuanian photographs; and those who contributed many photographs and/or sound recordings: Elsie Ivancich Dunin, Robert Garfias, Luisa Del Giudice, and Paula White. We are particularly grateful to Anna Chairetakis, who gave us permission to reproduce about twenty of Alan Lomax's photographs, and to Robert Godfried, who allowed us to use more than twenty images from his extraordinary collection of early-twentieth-century postcards. For picture research for the articles on Western art-music history, we used the Photographic Study Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. Tracey Shuster, the manager, was particularly helpful in guiding neophytes to art history in searching the collection, and we thank the museum and the associated French and Co., which then supplied us with photographs of artworks to illustrate our texts. A UCLA graduate student, Patty Truchly, acted as our picture editor.

Generations of UCLA graduate students have acted as authors and research assistants for the volume. The authors are Valeriu Apan, Wanda Bryant, Roberto Catalano, Loren Chuse, Giuseppina Collicci, Paulette Gershen, Johanna Hoffman, and Elizabeth Miles. Brian Patrick Fox has been our chief assistant as the volume went to press, checking hundreds of facts, bibliographic and otherwise; he eventually compiled the pronunciation guide and the guides to recordings and films and videos. Pantelis Vassilakis helped master the compact disc. Other student helpers over the years have included Heidi Feldman, Meilu Ho, Laurel Isbister, Danielle Makler, Robert Reigle, Sonia Tamar Seeman, and Charles Sharp. We have undoubtedly left out a few, and to them we offer our sincerest apologies.

A major project such as this inevitably impacts the support staff and other pro-

professionals who work at the home institution. In our case, this includes Donna Armstrong, the chair's assistant in the Department of Ethnomusicology at UCLA, and the department's receptionist, Carol Pratt, both of whom helped with the enormous amount of mail that such a project entails. Louise Spear, the archivist in the Ethnomusicology Archive at UCLA, resolved many discographic queries, and Steven Fry, a music librarian at UCLA, made many valuable suggestions about sources for photographs and musical examples.

—TIMOTHY RICE



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A Guide to Pronunciation

Brian Patrick Fox

This guide lists the approximate English pronunciation of the letters that appear in European languages.

GENERAL GUIDELINES

Unless otherwise noted, consonants and consonant clusters are pronounced roughly as their American equivalents. As in English, pronunciation of some letters varies with context, for example, *c* as in *coin* and *c* as in *cent*, and detailed guides for each language should be consulted.

Exceptions to American pronunciation and problematic consonants include:

- r usually rolled or trilled
- j usually pronounced like *y* in *yes* or the *h* in *hat*
- w usually pronounced like the *v* in *van*
- x usually pronounced like the *x* in *taxi* (exceptions noted below)
- q usually pronounced like the *k* in *kite*
- c like *ts* in *bits* (in Slavic and Baltic languages)

Commonly used diacritics include:

- č *ch* in *chin*
- ć *ch* in *chin*
- dž *j* in *judge*
- ñ *ni* in *onion*
- š *sh* in *shine*
- ś *sh* in *shine*
- ž *z* in *azure*

Some distinctions marked by diacritics, such as those between *č* and *ć* or *š* and *ś* in some Slavic languages, have no equivalents in English.

Vowels are generally pronounced as follows:

- a *a* in *father*
- e *e* in *bet*
- i *i* in *machine*
- o *o* in *open*
- u *u* in *rule*
- æ *a* in *cat*
- y *ü* in German *über* (in Albanian, Breton, Finnish, Scandinavian)

Diacritics added to vowels usually indicate a long form, and the unmarked vowel is correspondingly shortened.

INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES

Transnational Ethnic Groups

Basque

dd	palatalized <i>d</i> ; <i>dy</i> in <i>did you</i>
tt	palatalized <i>t</i> ; <i>ty</i> in <i>next year</i>
tx	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i>
tz	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
x	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
z	<i>ss</i> in <i>miss</i>

Celtic languages (Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic)

bh	<i>v</i> in <i>van</i>
ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> ; <i>h</i> in <i>help</i>
dd	<i>th</i> in <i>they</i>
dh	like French <i>r</i> ; <i>y</i> in <i>yes</i>
fh	[silent]
gh	like French <i>r</i> ; <i>y</i> in <i>yes</i>
ll	similar to <i>hl</i>
mh	<i>v</i> in <i>van</i>
s	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
sh	<i>h</i> in <i>hat</i>
th	<i>h</i> in <i>hat</i>
w	<i>u</i> in <i>June</i>
y	<i>o</i> in <i>for</i>

Scandinavia, Finland, and the Baltic States**Icelandic**

ð	<i>th</i> in <i>the</i>
ll	<i>ttl</i> in <i>battle</i>
rl	<i>ttl</i> in <i>battle</i>
rn	like <i>tn</i> or <i>n</i>
z	<i>s</i> in <i>sell</i>
þ	<i>th</i> in <i>thick</i>

Norwegian

qu	<i>kv</i>
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Finnish

z	<i>s</i> or <i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
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Latvian

ġ	<i>gy</i>
ie	<i>ia</i> in <i>Philadelphia</i>
k	<i>ky</i>
l	<i>ly</i>
ņ	<i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i>

Lithuanian

ch	<i>k</i> in <i>kite</i>
ž	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>

Western Europe

Dutch

g	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i>
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French

ç	<i>c</i> in <i>cedar</i>
ch	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
j	<i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i>

Breton

ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i>
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Portuguese

ç	<i>c</i> in <i>cedar</i>
h	[silent]
j	<i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i>
nh	<i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i>
x	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i> , <i>ks</i> in <i>books</i> , <i>z</i> in <i>zone</i>

Spanish

c	in Spain, <i>th</i> in <i>thick</i> ; elsewhere, <i>c</i> in <i>cent</i>
v	between <i>b</i> in <i>boy</i> and <i>v</i> in <i>van</i>
ˈ	accent changes stress, not pronunciation

Italian

z	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
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Maltese

c	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i>
g	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
gh	[mostly silent; lengthens vowel]
q	glottal stop
x	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
z	<i>z</i> in <i>zone</i> ; <i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>

Central Europe

German

v	<i>f</i> in <i>fight</i>
z	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>

Polish

ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i>
cz	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i>
dz	<i>ds</i> in <i>beds</i>

dž	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
ł	<i>w</i> in <i>will</i>
ń	<i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i>
rz	<i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i>
sz	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
sczc	<i>shch</i> in <i>fresh cheese</i>
ś	between <i>s</i> in <i>sell</i> and <i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>

Czech and Slovak

ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i>
cz	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
gy	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
ň	<i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i>
ř	<i>rzl</i> in <i>Dvořák</i>
sz	<i>s</i> in <i>sell</i>
ý	<i>ie</i> in <i>field</i>

Hungarian

c	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
cs	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i>
dzs	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
gy	<i>dy</i> in <i>did you</i> ; <i>d</i> in <i>adulation</i>
ly	<i>y</i> in <i>yes</i>
ny	<i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i>
s	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
sz	<i>s</i> in <i>sell</i> (not <i>s</i> in <i>rose</i>)
ty	<i>ty</i> in <i>Katya</i>
zs	<i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i>

Double consonants are pronounced long

Eastern Europe**Russian**

kh	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> , or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i> , or <i>kh</i> in <i>khan</i>
y	<i>wi</i> in <i>will</i>
'	palatalizes previous consonant: e.g., <i>ty</i> in <i>next year</i>

Belarusan

ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> , or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i> , or <i>kh</i> in <i>khan</i>
ł	<i>w</i> in <i>will</i>
ŭ	<i>i</i> in <i>big</i>

Ukrainian

ch	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i>
z	<i>s</i> in <i>sell</i>
'	palatalizes previous consonant: e.g., <i>dy</i> in <i>did you</i>

Georgian

kh	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> , or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i> , or <i>kh</i> in <i>khan</i>
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The Balkans**Romanian**

ă	<i>a</i> in <i>sofa</i>
j	<i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i>
ș	<i>sh</i> in <i>ship</i>
ț	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>

Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian

đ	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
ǵ	<i>gu</i> in <i>angular</i>
h	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> , or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i> , or <i>kh</i> in <i>khan</i>
k	<i>cu</i> in <i>cure</i>
ŭ	<i>u</i> in <i>but</i>

Albanian

ă	<i>a</i> in <i>sofa</i>
c	<i>ts</i> in <i>bits</i>
ç	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i>
dh	<i>th</i> in <i>they</i>
ǧ	[silent]
gj	<i>j</i> in <i>job</i>
l	<i>lli</i> in <i>million</i>
ll	<i>ll</i> in <i>wall</i>
q	<i>ch</i> in <i>chin</i> or the <i>ky</i> sound in <i>cute</i>
rr	rolled <i>r</i>
r	weak <i>r</i>
th	<i>th</i> in <i>thick</i>
x	<i>dz</i> in <i>adze</i>
xh	<i>dj</i> in <i>adjective</i>

Greek

g	rolled <i>g</i>
h	<i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> or <i>j</i> in Spanish <i>jota</i>



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Part 1

Europe as a Musical Area

The music of Europe arose and flourishes within four distinct, but interconnected, social and cultural spheres. The aristocratic and educated elite patronizes classical music. Folk music sprang from the life and work of rural peasants. Religious institutions have fostered special genres for their liturgies and community celebrations. Cities—where all classes rub shoulders, and commercial goods and intellectual ideas are traded internationally—are the wellsprings of popular music.

Each of these European music worlds possesses a characteristic sound, recognizable across the continent and reflecting the social and cultural milieu in which it is created and practiced. Musicians from each sphere, despite their differences, have long borrowed musical ideas from their counterparts in other spheres. And the music within each sphere, despite the similarities, exhibits significant variation among communities—differences that depend on language, nationality, and local history.

In the past, European traditional music was typically played by a single musician, who played a melody and sometimes provided his own accompaniment. Usually traditional musicians play one instrument, such as a bagpipe or a zither, on which they play a melody and drone accompaniment. In this photo, a musician plays two instruments. He plays a melody on a three-holed duct flute and strikes a zither with a stick to provide a rhythmic, dronelike accompaniment. Yebra de Basa, Aragón, Spain, 1952. Photo courtesy of the Alan Lomax Collection, New York.

The Music of Europe: Unity and Diversity

Timothy Rice

The Shared Culture of Music in Europe
Musical Similarities in Village Music
Distinctions in Music Style and Culture

Europe, though classified as one of the world's seven continents, is geographically a peninsula on the western end of the vast Eurasian landmass (map). Thus, its definition has always been cultural, rather than physical. Defying unity, however, the people of Europe have divided themselves by ethnicity, class, religion, language, and dialect. Each community has its own music and often believes this music to be a distinctive, even unique, representation of its identity. In 1999, Europe was divided into forty-two countries. This fine geopolitical mosaic contained even finer subdivisions by ethnic and linguistic groups. Despite the daunting political problems created by ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences, many factors can be cited in arguing for the cultural—and musical—unity of Europe.

The music of Europe has typically been understood as falling into three large categories: folk, classical, and popular. Created by intellectuals, these categories began as markers of social class as much as musical style. The concept of folk music, credited to the German writer Johann Gottfried von Herder (1778–1779), stood for the music of rural peasants, who intellectuals believed bore the soul of a nation. An important, even defining, feature was its supposed transmission in oral tradition (Karpeles 1955). Classical music, also known as art music, emerged as a category in the nineteenth century to label the work of a few supposed geniuses. Passed on in written form, it has come to be associated with urban, educated elites. The term *popular music* has been used to identify the music of the urban working and middle classes. In the twentieth century, it is transmitted primarily via electronic media—records, audiocassettes, compact discs, and radio and television broadcasts. These distinctions, invented in Europe by Europeans, work better for European music than they do in most other parts of the world. But even here, they cannot contain the shifts in musical style, practice, and meaning created by musicians with the passage of time (Frey and Siniveer 1987; Ling 1997).

The invention of the term *folk music* coincided with the beginnings of the industrial revolution in Europe. By the early nineteenth century peasants were moving in large numbers from the countryside into cities and towns to find work in factories and shops and form a new working class (figure 1). They brought their songs and music with them, invented new texts to suit new occupations, and adopted urban

MAP 1 Europe (*opposite page*)

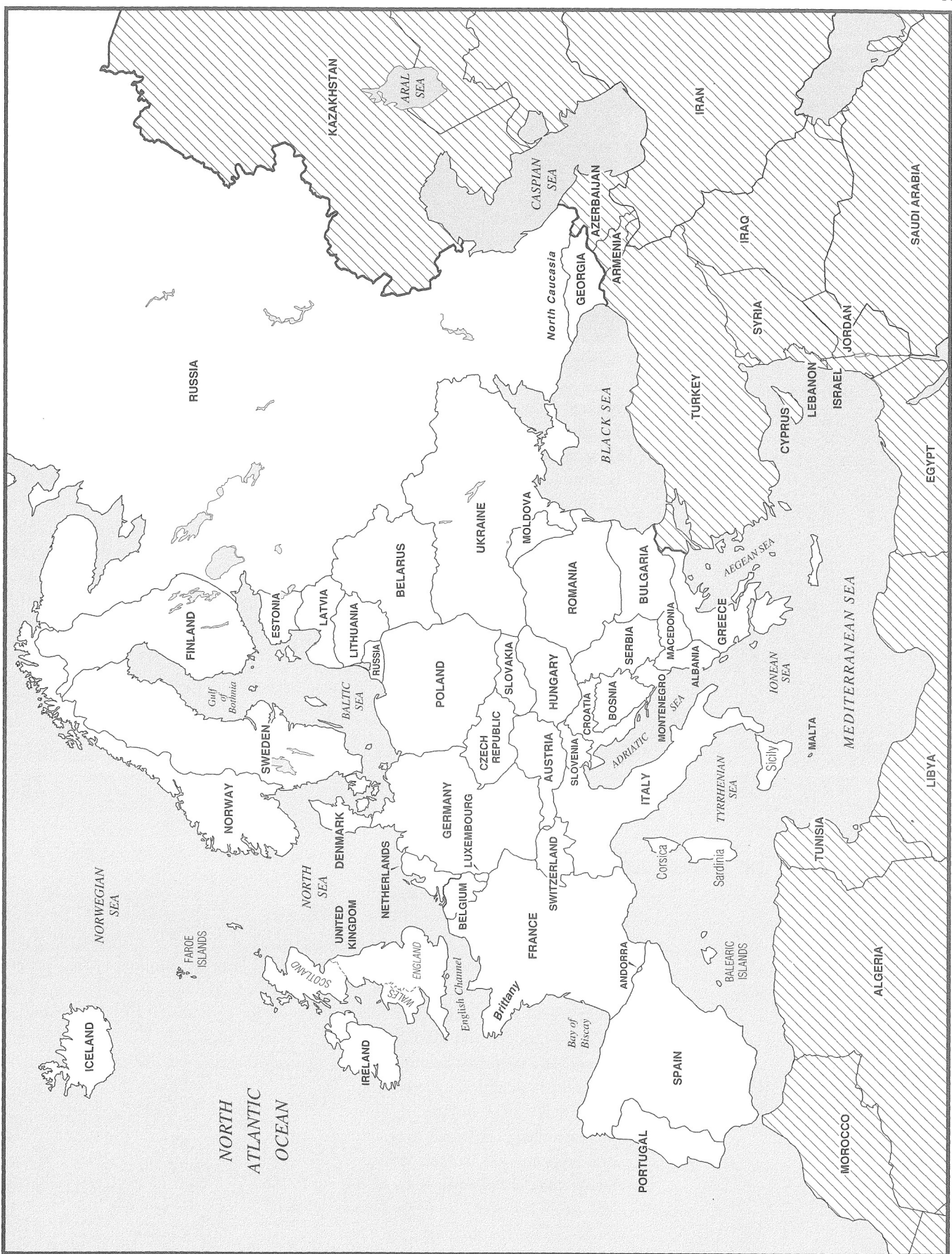
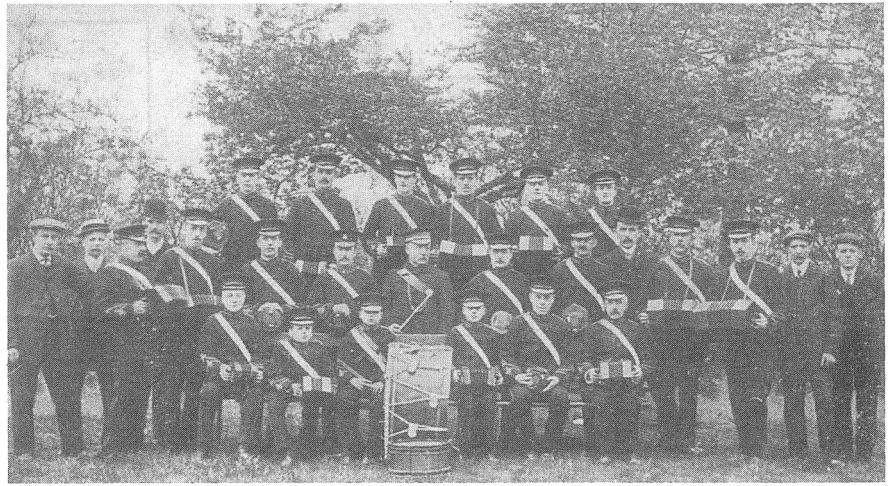


FIGURE 1 Urban working people, many of whom had come from rural villages, formed into bands that in their sizes and structures mirrored workplaces. The brass band was, and in some places still is, the most important type of town music, but this English concertina band, using instruments popular in the countryside, is an exception. Early-twentieth-century postcard. Courtesy of the Robert Godfried Collection, New York.



musical styles. Since the medieval period, trained musicians in churches and courts had incorporated the tunes of their country cousins, often with the goal of making their music more accessible and popular. In the nineteenth century, this practice became a crucial element of nationalism, as so-called classical composers utilized folk melodies to create national styles of art music. The music popular with the new urban classes of the nineteenth century used the instruments and harmonies of classical music, sometimes applied to tunes and dance styles originating in the villages. In the twentieth century these categories continue to mobilize great aesthetic and ideological differences, while musicians take advantage of the possibilities for fruitful interchange among them. Also, some scholars have begun substituting the label *traditional music* for the label *folk music*, which has become tainted by its association with the virulent nationalism that plagued Europe for most of the century.

Though classical music is the most prestigious and best studied of these three categories of European music, this volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* places folk music at the center of its story throughout Parts 1, 2, and 3. It presents popular and classical music primarily in relation to traditional music and as social, more than aesthetic, practices. The remainder of this article reflects this point of view and examines traditional music cross-culturally and comparatively.

THE SHARED CULTURE OF MUSIC IN EUROPE

What factors contribute to the cultural and musical unity of Europe? First, ecologically most of the European continent lies in a temperate climatic zone. The length of growing and dormant seasons and the kinds of crops that can be grown vary significantly from south to north, but the continent has long been unified by similar patterns of summer agricultural work and winter rest. Common seasonal patterns have given rise to similar kinds of songs and dances for agricultural rituals and similar cycles of outdoor and indoor work and recreation (figure 2). Nearly every article devoted to a particular country in Part 3 opens with a review of the songs of the agricultural or calendrical cycle of songs. Though their musical forms differ, their functions are identical. In most of Europe, these functions have been lost, but the songs are remembered, especially in eastern and southern Europe, and are still sung at social gatherings and folk festivals. Because of their limited melodic ranges and short forms, many scholars regard them as belonging to the oldest layer of the European song repertoire. It is a tribute to the tenacity of tradition that they are still being sung at the end of the twentieth century, when urbanization, mechanization of labor, and scientific agricultural techniques have virtually eliminated the need to sing them for

FIGURE 2 In Italy during the grape harvest, fieldworkers sing, accompanied by a guitar. Monferrato, Piedmont, October 1954. Courtesy of the Alan Lomax Collection, New York.



their original functions: to assure fertility and lighten the burden of heavy manual labor.

A second factor unifying Europe has been the almost universal adoption of Christianity. Though many rituals and songs in Europe retain pre-Christian, pagan elements, such as worship of the sun and the moon, most of Europe was converted to Christianity by A.D. 1000. (The Lithuanians were the last to convert, in the 1300s.) Christian values and forms of worship have defined many aspects of life, including musical life, for Europeans ever since. The Christian calendar of holidays—Christmas, Lent, Easter, and others—overlays, but often retains, pagan fertility rituals. Christmas caroling during house-to-house visits is still known in many parts of Europe. The forty days of Lent were traditionally a period when most forms of traditional singing and dancing were prohibited, and other forms, such as song games, were substituted. Different national traditions share secular melodies derived from shared Christian liturgical music. The music to accompany the liturgy varies according to Christianity's main branches: Orthodoxy in the east; Roman Catholicism in the center, south, and west; and Protestantism in the north. Within a given branch, however, many aspects of musical style and musical life deriving from religious practice are shared across national and language boundaries. For example, Lutheran hymn tunes, some retained from Roman Catholic practice, are sung by Protestants throughout Europe.

Other shared features of European cultural life derive from a shared history that includes widespread literacy, interconnected imperial and princely courts, the rise of an urban bourgeoisie from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, and urbanization, industrialization, and the spread of the nation-state as the primary unit of political organization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though not all parts of

In Europe in the twentieth century, state interventions on behalf of folk music under all forms of government—democratic, fascist, and communist—led to widespread disillusionment, particularly among youth, with this kind of music.

Europe shared in this history in equal measure or at the same time, these processes have shaped a common European heritage. The invention of movable type and book printing in the 1400s enabled the spread of literacy and education, which, combined with musical notation and musical literacy, have defined musical life for the educated classes of Europe since the Renaissance. Literacy, coupled with a network of imperial and princely courts related by marriage and descent, created a shared European culture with many common features. Intellectual and musical ideas—and princesses and musicians—traveled with relative ease throughout most parts of Europe. Music from one country recorded in a shared notation was transported to other countries, so that within a few years, or in some cases months, the newest developments in Italy, for example, became part of the musical life of England, Germany, and Poland. Many of the country articles in Part 3 list the foreign musicians who established the earliest musical academies or orchestras and the emigrant musicians who gained fame abroad. Thus, classical music forms an important part of Europe's shared cultural landscape. In the twentieth century, mass media joined the book and the written score to aid the spread of musical culture, and shared forms of popular music knitted the disparate cultures of Europe even more tightly together.

Urban folklore

Finally, the industrial revolution and the urbanization it spawned have created similar patterns in the decline and revival of folk music all over Europe. These processes began in England in the eighteenth century, spread through most of Europe in the nineteenth century, and reached the remotest areas of eastern and southern Europe in the twentieth century. As agricultural efficiency and the population increased in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many people left their villages to seek their fortunes in the cities. The story of village music in Europe is in some respects a story of decline everywhere, though at different times and at different rates in different places. In Bulgaria, for example, the traditional wedding celebration was reduced in the late twentieth century from a weeklong affair with elaborate ritual singing by participants to a day or a day and a half with hired professional musicians. In Finland, a typical wedding once lasted a day with hired musicians, but at the end of the century it had been shortened to a few hours, with a disc jockey or without any music.

Counterbalancing this decline of village musical life all over Europe has been the rise of new forms of urban folklore. New urban genres include occupational songs of the working classes that developed in the nineteenth century [see, for example, DENMARK]. In Finland political parties in the nineteenth century each had their own brass bands to accompany the singing of songs advancing their points of view. In Russia a new urban middle class populated the outskirts of cities in a transitional suburban zone between the city and its surrounding villages; in this zone, all manner of popular songs, including improvised ditties (*chastushki*) and an important genre of

soldiers' songs, took root. While most of these developments retain only local importance, some urban popular genres have gained international recognition. For example, new forms of couple dancing from Central Europe (mazurka, polka, schottische, waltz) and their tunes spread throughout most of Europe in the nineteenth century. In the 1920s, Greeks from Turkey were repatriated in a forced population exchange. In Athens and the port of Piraeus, they formed a new urban underclass, whose music, *rebetika* 'rebels' music', became internationally popular in the 1960s—as did the Portuguese urban genre, *fado*. The flamenco music of urban Gypsies in Spain has enjoyed similar international renown over an even longer period.

Throughout Europe, a less organic but still common response to the decline of village life and music has been the widespread support of efforts to preserve village folklore. In the nineteenth century, scholars, nationalists, and antiquarians initiated these efforts by collecting song texts (and more rarely, notated music) and publishing them in articles and books. In the twentieth century, preservationists' efforts took the form of grassroots "folk revivals," mainly in Western Europe, and state-supported performance troupes of professionals or amateurs, mainly in communist Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. These efforts at preservation and modernization of village traditions usually occur in urban settings and among educated youth and are sometimes disparagingly called folklorism, or even fakelore (Baumann 1976; Dorson 1976); however, they have undeniably altered and reshaped the way music originally produced in rural areas is heard, understood, and appreciated by modern audiences throughout Europe and the world.

In some cases, the motivation for these preservation efforts has been a romantic nostalgia for supposedly lost ways of life by urbanites otherwise anxious to reject most other aspects of village life, such as its drudgery, illiteracy, and poverty. But even more importantly, these rural traditions are associated nearly everywhere in Europe with the nation itself, precisely because they are local and not international. In the nineteenth century nationalists in Europe constructed an association between rural, village music and the people ("the folk") and soul of the nation. In the United States, the term *folk music* tends to retain the relatively innocent associations of the first meaning, that is, as rural, village, "old-time" music. In Europe in the twentieth century, however, state interventions on behalf of folk music under all forms of government—democratic, fascist, and communist—have led to widespread disillusionment, particularly among youth, with this kind of music in many countries. The term *folk* has been tainted by these political and ideological associations, and some scholars have substituted other, possibly more neutral, terms to describe what they are interested in: *traditional*, *village*, or *rural music*, for example. In this volume, the decision about how to label this music has been left up to each author. The people in villages, by the way, have their own, usually more functional, terms for their local musical practice [see LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF MUSICAL GENRES AND ROLES]. At the most general level, they might call it our music, or more specifically, women's songs, wedding music, laments, shepherd's tunes, and so forth [for a discussion of the construction of the concept of Basque music as a result of nationalistic ideas, see BASQUE MUSIC].

MUSICAL SIMILARITIES IN VILLAGE MUSIC

Where traditional music is still vibrant, villagers often say that their music is unique, that the music of even the neighboring village is different. Similarly, many nations have striven in the last two centuries to define their rural music as a unique signifier of the nation in sharp contrast to the music of neighboring countries. Given these local views and national ideologies, which stress difference, can any common tendencies be found in the forms of European traditional music? There are a few.

Performance Practice

Performance contexts are remarkably similar across Europe. In the past, calendar rituals, based on the agricultural cycle of work and Christian religious holidays, provided important contexts for song and dance [see TRADITIONAL PERFORMANCE CONTEXTS]. The musically marked parts of the life cycle included wedding celebrations and lamenting the recently deceased. As traditional village culture waned, most calendric rituals and lamenting have tended to disappear, leaving the wedding as the most important traditional life-cycle ritual. Of course, informal social gatherings with song and dance as the main event continue nearly everywhere in the home, village square, and tavern (figure 3). In the second half of the twentieth century, concerts and festivals of rural music became common throughout Europe [see CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE CONTEXTS].

Village music is everywhere passed on in oral tradition, though there are frequent reports of musicians' and singers' using notebooks to help them remember tunes and song texts. There is no traditional notation system, and subtle variations from performance to performance are the rule. Descriptive speech about music is limited, though scholars have been able to collect local terminologies that constitute a kind of native musical theory of a given tradition [see LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF MUSICAL GENRES AND ROLES].

Most European traditional cultures maintain a fundamental division between vocal and instrumental music. The common form of vocal music in all of Europe is the strophic song, in which the lyrics are sung to a repeated melodic structure. A narrative song genre, the ballad, has proved especially fruitful for the study of pan-European musical trends. Common ballad melodies have been found in neighboring countries, and, perhaps surprisingly, certain ballad themes—such as the star-crossed lovers in the English ballad known as “Barbara Allen”—have been documented in traditions as far removed as Scotland and Bulgaria (Buchan 1972; Entwhistle 1939; Vargyas 1983).

Instrumental music in Europe seems to have its roots in the practice of shepherds: flutes and bagpipes to pass the time; horns for signaling; and bells to identify animals. Instrumental music is also used nearly everywhere for dance music. The most common form consists of relatively short, repeated pairs of melodies (AA'BB'),

FIGURE 3 In Georgia, schoolchildren informally sing, accompanied by a plucked lute (*panduri*). Photo by Stuart Gelzer, 1995.



but in some traditions it has been extended with succeeding pairs of lines (CC'DD' and so on) and improvisations. Musical instruments are important indicators of shared culture. The plucked zithers of Northern Europe and the double-reed oboes of southern Europe unify territories of great linguistic and cultural diversity. And modern manufactured instruments, especially the accordion and the violin, give the sound of European traditional music a similar timbre nearly everywhere (Deutsch and Heide 1975; Elschek 1969).

In the past, the most widespread performance style for song and instrumental music was probably the solo. The second most common practice for songs was unison or octave singing by a pair or group of singers. Unison performances by traditional instrumentalists, as in the violin section of a symphony orchestra, for example, was almost unknown until the early twentieth century. In Russia, Vasily Andreev experimented with orchestras of folk instruments, and this practice eventually spread throughout the Soviet Union and communist Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans later in the century. About the same time, Swedish fiddlers formed societies that brought dozens of fiddlers together for festivals and competitions. In the 1960s, the famous Irish group The Chieftains used a pair of violins and occasionally a pair of tin whistles.

Other performance practices are widespread but not universal. Antiphonal singing by two soloists or groups is quite common, as is responsorial singing—solo call and choral response. Drone-based accompaniment in instrumental music is found virtually everywhere, but singing with drone accompaniment is common only in parts of Eastern and southeastern Europe (Deutsch 1981). The instrumental drone is often provided by a single instrument designed specifically to produce a melody plus drone, as with bagpipes, double-piped flutes, and bowed and plucked stringed instruments.

By the late twentieth century, village music everywhere in Europe had been influenced by urban music, with its chordal accompaniments primarily using triads build on the tonic (I), the subdominant (IV), and the dominant (V). Soloists and choruses are today typically accompanied by instrumentalists who play these chords, and instrumentalists form bands that double the melody in unison or play it in parallel thirds. Whatever drones might have existed in older practice are typically replaced by other instruments playing chords and a bass line.

Melody and rhythm

Generalizations about melodic and rhythmic structures can be made (Danckert 1970 [1939]; Karpeles 1956; Wiora 1957). In many regions of Europe, a presumably ancient layer of narrow-range (a fourth to a sixth) tunes that move diatonically by half steps and whole steps are still performed or were notated in the nineteenth century. More recent tunes extend the diatonic tendency over a wider range, to an octave or more. Pentatonic tunes, using five pitches within an octave, have a scattered distribution; not especially typical in Europe, they are important markers of regional or national identity where they occur [see HUNGARY].

Traditionally there were two treatments of rhythm: metrical, as in dance-music; and nonmetrical, as in table songs, by which guests were entertained while seated. Nonmetrical genres include Irish slow airs, the Russian *protiazhaia pesnia* 'long-drawn-out song', the Romanian *doina*, and instrumental music such as the Greek *miroloyia* 'lament'. During the nineteenth century, whatever variety may have existed in European metrical constructions was reduced in most parts of Europe to duple and triple meters, influenced by emphasis on regular chordal harmonic rhythms, the spread of certain couple dances (especially the waltz, in 3/4 time, and the polka, in 2/4 time) and march rhythms (in 2/4 time), and other developments. A small num-

Many historical and geographical reasons contribute to the variety of European music, and many ideological factors, especially nationalism, lead Europeans to emphasize their differences and thus the variety in their musical styles and practices, rather than their similarities.

ber of songs in irregular or added meters have been collected in Northern Europe, suggesting a once common European practice, but only a few traditions in parts of Central and southeastern Europe consistently employ irregular, mixed, or additive meters (2 + 3, 2 + 2 + 3, and so on).

DISTINCTIONS IN MUSIC STYLE AND CULTURE

Refracted through a kind of comparative wide-angle lens that takes in the whole continent, Europe appears remarkably unified musically, whether we consider urban popular and classical music, village music, or religious music; however, Europeans on the ground, who hear music in the surrounding villages or in neighboring countries, are much more inclined to talk about differences among their musical practices and the uniqueness of their local style than to regard these practices and styles as contributing to a European, or even a national, manner of musical performance. In fact, many historical and geographical reasons contribute to the variety of European music, and many ideological factors, especially nationalism, lead Europeans to emphasize their differences and thus the variety in their musical styles and practices, rather than their similarities.

Geography and nationality

The European continent is broken up by peninsulas, islands, rivers, and mountain ranges—geographical features that tend to separate one group of people from another and have led over long periods of time to the development of metaphorical islands of local styles, some that transcend nationality. In southeastern Europe, for example, southern Albanians, Epirote Greeks, and western Macedonians share a presumably ancient three-part polyphonic singing style and pentatonic scale. Even in France, one of the oldest unified nations in Europe, regional languages and musical styles persist despite a long history of centralized education and industrialization.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, politicians created nation-states by unifying city-states and small principalities, as in Germany and Italy in the nineteenth century, or by dividing up the expired Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian or Soviet empires. Partly because history has intervened to disperse and intermingle many ethnicities, the geographical distribution of ethnic groups and the boundaries of nations have never been as coterminous as national politicians have hoped or claimed. The result in the twentieth century has been a continuous series of wars between nations and within nations for national or ethnic rights and freedoms. In a more peaceful but nonetheless aggressive manner, musicians under the sway of nationalist politics have consciously used music as an important signifier of national and ethnic identity in these disputes. In a recent, tragic instance, Bosnian music, once a cosmopolitan mix, has, since the 1991 war among Serbians, Croats, and Muslims, differentiated itself as each ethnicity emphasizes musical elements with connections to Serbia, Croatia, or the Middle East.

Religious differences

The image of Europe as a primarily Christian continent masks musically significant distinctions within Christianity and ignores the presence of other religions, especially Judaism and Islam. In Roman Catholic countries, the activities of religious brotherhoods provide important contexts for musical performance, especially in ritual processions. In Corsica and Sardinia, such brotherhoods preserve traditional styles of polyphonic sacred music. Protestants in some countries of Northern Europe perform religious hymns outside the liturgy for secular entertainment. Orthodox Christians believe the gravestone is a window on the other world, reachable through lamenting—a factor that has preserved lamenting into the present.

Europeans have repeatedly tried to purge the continent of Jews and Muslims: expelling Jews and Moors from Spain in 1492, pushing Ottoman Turks from the Balkans in the nineteenth century, engineering the Jewish Holocaust of the 1940s, and contriving the “ethnic cleansing” of Bosnia in the 1990s. However, Judaism and Islam have left their mark on European musical life and continue to inspire adherents. Jewish wedding musicians (*klezmerim*) played for their non-Jewish neighbors, especially in Poland, Ukraine, and Romania, and their tunes have become part of national repertoires in those countries. With the assimilation of Jewish populations in the urban cultures of many countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Jewish musicians became and remain among the most esteemed performers of European classical music. Since the 1980s or before, neotraditional and popular musicians in many parts of southern Europe—from the Balkans to southern Italy to Spain—have been reinvigorating their music with Middle Eastern elements. And in an ironic turnabout, a significant number of young Germans in the 1990s perform and listen to Jewish klezmer music as one way to deal with the legacy of the Holocaust.

Muslims still living in the Balkan Peninsula include Turkish minorities in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, and Macedonia; minorities of Slavic-language-speaking adherents to Islam in Bosnia and Bulgaria; and the majority of Albanians. There are also Muslim groups in southern Russia, for example, Bashkirs, Chechens, Kalmyks, and Tatars (figure 4). Since the 1960s, many Muslims have immigrated to Western Europe—as “guest workers” in Germany (mainly Turks) and as the result of colonial collapse in France (mainly sub-Saharan and North Africans) and Great Britain (Arabs and Pakistanis). Besides a shared religious music and associated ritual occasions, such

FIGURE 4 An ensemble of Muslim Tatar musicians from Russia. Early-twentieth-century postcard. Courtesy of the Robert Godfried Collection, New York.



as Ramadan, many of these groups perform secular music with evident links to the Middle East—links that include stringed instruments such as short- and long-necked plucked lutes and melodic modes using augmented seconds and microtonal intervals.

Islamic rule in southern Spain from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, and in the Balkans from the fourteenth to the early twentieth centuries, left its mark on the musical practices of Christians in Europe. Perhaps most importantly, the guitar and the violin, so important in contemporary European music, probably have their origins in Middle Eastern long-necked plucked lutes and bowed, pear-shaped fiddles, respectively. Early Christian religious music—some of whose melodies continue to resonate in modern religious and secular music—and some forms of Eastern Orthodox chant share features with Islamic and Jewish chanting. In Spain, flamenco retains elements of Arab music, especially in vocal style, ornamentation, and improvisatory practice. Many modes, meters, tunes, and ornaments of Balkan urbanized traditional music have Turkish analogs. The musical impact of late-twentieth-century Muslim immigrants from Asia and North Africa is perhaps too recent to judge, but Muslims in Paris and London have already become leading figures in the production of new forms of popular music known as world music or worldbeat music [see IMMIGRANT MUSIC IN EUROPE, WORLD MUSIC IN EUROPE].

Minorities

Europe is currently divided into forty-two sovereign countries, most so-called nation-states. (A few—Andorra, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, San Marino, and the Vatican—are tiny principalities and city-states, and one, the United Kingdom, contains three nations: England, Scotland, and Wales.) A nation-state consists of a large group of people supposedly homogeneous in language, history, and culture. This group, called a nation or nationality, is theoretically conceived as coterminous with the territory of the state or country. In fact, such states have never been able to contain all the nationalities of Europe, nor do many nation-states consist of a single nation, nor does a nation-state contain all members of its nationality. (Nationality in Europe in some respects resembles the American concept of ethnicity.) This inconsistency between the theory of nation-states—nationalism—and the on-the-ground reality of where people live has created conflicts between and within states: the Flemings and Walloons of Belgium, divided by language; Italy, split between northern and southern cultures; separatist movements of Basques, Bretons, and Corsicans in France and Basques, Galicians, and Catalans in Spain; east and west Germans (Ossies and Wessies), at odds after reunification; fighting among Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Muslims in the former Yugoslavia and between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo Province, Serbia; a buffer zone between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus; and a host of groups seeking political autonomy in Russia and Georgia.

Whether in conflict or living peacefully, each minority has its own music, which it uses to articulate and express its distinctness from the majority in the nation-state. Such national minorities include the Saami in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia; the Basques, Bretons, and Corsicans in France; the Sardinians in Italy; the Turks in Bulgaria; and many other cases. Such variety extends the musical differences implicit in the division of Europe into nation-states and confounds nationalistic attempts to bring all of a country's music under a unified cultural umbrella. Minorities and nationalities who live in different nation-states often have different music. For example, though scholars located some common features of the music of the Jews and the Roma (Gypsies), Europe's largest transnational minorities, Jewish and Rom music varies according to contact with majority cultures (figure 5). Albanian music took on subtly different forms after World War II because of different national policies toward it in Albania and the former Yugoslavia. Many more cases could be cited.

FIGURE 5 In Macedonia, Rom (Gypsy) musicians play modern instruments at weddings for all ethnic groups. Photo by Carol Silverman, mid-1980s.



Thus, minority music adds to the sense of variety and difference in Europe's traditional music.

Urban-rural and class differences

At the local level, the social divisions among classes and the music associated with each constitutes an important source of difference in European musical life. Perhaps the most important division exists between rural and urban forms of musical performance. Urban societies contain a class division between an educated elite that patronizes classical music and a working class that has spawned various forms of urban popular music. Each country's musical life is notably varied, and most of the articles in Part 3 describe that complexity.

The urban-rural and class divisions of Europe play themselves out differently in different countries of Europe—a historical process that contributes to the variety of musical styles in Europe. Great Britain and Ireland and most of Northern, Western, and Central Europe, for example, underwent industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century, much earlier than countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. In areas with the longest histories of industrialization and urbanization, traditional village music is declining or being influenced by urban popular or classical music. Germany provides perhaps the clearest case of an almost completely lost rural-music tradition, to the point that scholars there have had to recast their notions of folk music to include urban and modern forms of music to find an object of study. By contrast, some industrialized countries (such as Ireland, Norway, and Switzerland) or somewhat isolated regions of industrialized countries (such as Brittany in France) preserve flourishing traditions of what might be called neofolk or neotraditional music, often transplanted into urban environments through processes of revival, folklorization, and nationalism. In parts of southeastern Europe, the decline of rural music as a result of industrialization and urbanization began only after World War II; there, however, the deleterious effects of these processes on village music were mitigated by government support of "people's music." As a consequence, many traditional practices uninfluenced by urban music, such as drone-based polyphonic singing and bagpipng, remain current. At the same time, many rural practices in southeast-

The use of manufactured acoustic and electronic instruments, jazzy chordal accompaniments, and newly composed tunes and songs signify tradition and modernity for villagers and urbanites wishing to assert their connection to both realities.

ern Europe, such as elaborate wedding music, have survived during the last fifty years by modernizing in line with developments in urban music. In Bulgaria and Serbia, the use of manufactured acoustic and electronic instruments, jazzy chordal accompaniments, and newly composed tunes and songs signify tradition and modernity for villagers and urbanites wishing to assert their connection to both realities.

Musical-style differences

At the level of musical style, each country, region, and village often seems anxious to assert its uniqueness, partly the result of nationalistic ideologies, but also of real experiences, such as the inability to dance to music from a neighboring village or valley. Examples of such uniqueness abound. The traditional, three- and four-part vocal polyphony of Georgia and the North Caucasus is known nowhere else in Europe, or indeed the world. Significant regional variations occur in traditional Bulgarian and Albanian part singing. Though ornamented singing and playing is typical throughout Europe, each region seems to have a unique style of ornamentation that identifies it. The singing of lengthy heroic epics, once possibly widespread in Europe, is still found in only a small area of the central Balkans (Lord 1960). Elaborate yodeling is limited to Europe's central alpine region. A rhythmic device known colloquially as the Scotch snap (a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth), though hardly unknown in other music, is so pervasive in Scottish music that it is taken as a sign of Scottish musical culture. Instances such as these, multiplied thousands of times, create the impression of enormous variety and differentiation, rather than similarity, in European traditional musical culture.

The articles in Part 2 of this volume explore some of the continentwide processes that have affected European music. The articles in Part 3 describe the music of each country—and of its minority groups and regions. Reading several country articles in close succession reveals striking similarities in the social and historical processes affecting music across the continent, just as it reveals the extraordinary variety of the results of these processes.

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The Collection and Study of Traditional European Music

James Porter

Background to Early Collecting in Europe

The First Collections of Traditional Music

The Revolution of the Phonograph

The Organization of Research after World War II

The Influence of Anthropology and Folklore

Recent Developments

The integrated and systematic study of Europe's traditional music began only in the nineteenth century, though antiquarians had been collecting specimens of regional forms well before then.

BACKGROUND TO EARLY COLLECTING IN EUROPE

The first collections of popular songs as such appeared in the later seventeenth century, as the country dance and traditional forms of song and dance started to catch on in urban fashion. The songs were connected to domestic life, occupations, and love relationships at all social levels, or grew out of a need to express hardship, such as poverty or war, and were sometimes satirical and sometimes celebratory. Though not confined to one particular class, they had their basis among ordinary people and were often attached to saints' days, the seasons, and red-letter days in the life cycle: births, weddings, and funerals. They were sung in homes, village taverns, and fairs, or in city streets, in the last case sometimes by ordinary people, sometimes by semiprofessional balladeers singing from a bench (German *Bänkelsänger*, Italian *cantimbanchi*). Through unwritten canons of popular taste, the community, urban or rural, determined whether a song or dance was to be retained in the traditional repertoire.

Gradually, during the Enlightenment and into the nineteenth century, songs and dances came to have a more overtly regional and ideological role as nations, in the wake of the French Revolution, began to chafe under the imperial constraints of Austria or Russia. While the country population in most of Europe was fairly homogeneous, the cities were melting pots that attracted immigrants from other parts of Europe and beyond. But cities had already exerted their influence by the late seventeenth century, inculcating and disseminating notions of urban sophistication and rural backwardness. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the first song collections reflected a sense among urban intellectuals that "ancient" forms of expression could be rescued from rural peasants or people without formal education. These two groups, the peasants and the uneducated, were seen as manifestations of "timelessness"—one reason why they played an important role in such "out-of-time" events as carnival in Roman Catholic countries. The divided, post-Reformation world of Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Europe, which had considerable influence on folk song, was further

complicated by the presence of Jews, Gypsies, and multifarious ethnic groups and religions.

By 1600, the demographic picture of Europe was complex, increasingly as voyages of discovery brought back exotic items that included musical forms. The French essayist Montaigne (1533–1592), for example, was especially fascinated by an account of Brazilian Indians. At the same time, street literature began to be a significant presence in the cities of Europe, as the popular press issued broadside sheets and chapbooks, which contained news of the day and were in fact an early form of tabloid newspaper. They also contained songs, sometimes with tunes, or indications of the tunes to which verses were to be sung. Thus they were one of the earliest means of collecting, printing, and disseminating popular songs. As literacy grew, so did their influence, though oral tradition played an equally important role in the transmission of popular forms. Figures from high culture paid attention to popular culture: Rabelais (ca. 1483–ca. 1553), the famous French satirist, drew on chapbook literature; the German composer Handel (1685–1759), visiting Italy in 1709, heard bagpipers from Abruzzi in Rome and imitated their music in his celebrated oratorio *Messiah* (1741).

THE FIRST COLLECTIONS OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC

The earliest collections of folklore and folk song in Europe were also inspired, in part, by philosophers such as Montaigne or essayists such as Joseph Addison (1672–1719). Montaigne, having traveled in Italy, remarked on the ability of illiterate peasants there to improvise verses, sometimes from hearing others reading or reciting the great Renaissance poets Ariosto or Tasso. Addison confirmed this ability from the example of ordinary Venetian singers, who would readily answer a first singer's verses derived from these poets. When the upper and middle classes in Europe realized that popular music, song, and dance were full of invention and interest and were to be imitated or adopted, the collection of such forms began in earnest. In Switzerland, with its centrality in Europe and prominence on trade routes, the cowherd's song known as *ranz des vaches* or *Kühreihen* appears early in the record (1545). Also in Central Europe, Georg Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (1539–1556) contains many traditional folk songs.

John Playford had begun to print collections of country dances in England in his *English Dancing Master* (1651), and more British and Irish popular songs and melodies appeared in Thomas D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1699–1700), the Neal brothers' collection of Irish tunes (1724), and William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725). In France, urban songs appeared in compilations such as Ballard's *La clef des chansonniers* (1717). Allan Ramsay's Scottish pastoral *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) included traditional songs and later became a ballad opera following the astounding success of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). The fashion for ballad opera and "Scotch tunes" in Britain was a reaction against the wholesale importation of Italian musicians and styles, but helped to stimulate interest in older materials. The impact of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), which suggested the presence of ancient epics in the Scottish Highlands, and Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), with its old ballads, was felt throughout the nineteenth century.

The person who began to draw theoretical attention to European musical traditions at this point was Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who early in his career got to know Latvian folk songs in Riga. He believed that the soul of a people could be detected in its songs, and coined the term *Volkslied* 'folk song' in the early 1770s with his best-known collection, *Volkslieder* (1778–1779). This in turn influenced collections such as Achim von Arnim's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* ('The Youth's

Magic Horn') (1806–1808). By this time, antiquarian interest in folk song had burgeoned. In Scotland, James Johnson, with the assistance of Robert Burns, published *The Scots Musical Museum* (6 vols., 1787–1803), Lvov and Prach issued their compilation of Russian folk songs (1790), and the material for Kirsha Danilov's collection of Russian epic songs was being put together in the 1780s, mostly in southwestern Siberia (2d ed., with melodies 1818). "National" collections of songs began to proliferate: in Sweden (Geijer and Afzelius 1814–1817), Austria (Tschischka and Schottky 1819), Germany (Erk and Irmer 1838–1841), Bohemia (Erben 1842–1843), and elsewhere.

Herder's interest in language, meantime, had launched the field of comparative philology and established affinities among the languages of Europe that derived from Sanskrit. At the same time, comparative folklore drew attention to similarities of theme and style in European tales and songs, while students of religion noted a common pattern of social organization in early European communities (ruler-priests, warriors, farmers). With this expansion of disciplines, collecting of music and songs in the field grew apace, marking an important retreat from idealistic, armchair collecting and appraisal of the material. Massive ethnographic collections were undertaken by scholars such as Oskar Kolberg in Poland (1961 [1857–1890]), Evald Tang Kristensen in Denmark (1868–1891), and the Czech painter and writer Ludvík Kuba, who assembled a vast collection of Slavic music (1884–1988). These compilations had political overtones: Kolberg's work, for example, was undertaken while Poland was still partitioned (1795–1914); Kuba's collecting was encouraged by President Thomas Masaryk after 1918, when Czechoslovakia became a republic.

THE REVOLUTION OF THE PHONOGRAPH

What happened next, however, was to revolutionize the study of music, song, and speech. The phonograph was invented independently by Thomas Alva Edison in the United States and Charles Cros in France (1877), and this invention led inevitably to the desire to capture manifestations of oral tradition with greater fidelity. Pioneers in recording music in Europe were Béla Vikár in Hungary (1896), Evgeniya Lineva in Russia (from 1897), Humbert Pernot in Greece (1898–1899), Hjalmar Thuren in the Faroes (1902), Karol Medvecký in Slovakia (1902), Zoltán Kodály (1905) and Béla Bartók (1906) in Hungary, Percy Grainger in England (1906), Otakar Zich in Bohemia (1909), and Matija Murko in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1912–1913). At this time, the phonogram archives in Vienna (1899) and Berlin (1900) were founded to house phonograph recordings, and the Berlin archive became especially important for the study of traditional music worldwide. Later national archives were established in Rome (Discoteca di Stato, 1928), London (the BBC Gramophone Library, 1931; British Institute of Recorded Sound, 1948), Paris (Phonothèque Nationale, 1938), and Geneva (International Archives of Traditional Music, 1944). The director of the Berlin phonogram archive until 1933, Erich M. von Hornbostel, published Bartók's important Romanian collection from Maramureș (1923).

Bartók, indeed, is central to this period in the collecting and editing of folk music in Central Europe and the Balkans. He produced editions of Hungarian (1924), Romanian (1913, 1923, 1935), Slovakian (1959–1970), and Yugoslavian (1951, 1954) musical traditions in addition to studies he made in North Africa and Asia Minor, and was the major force in comparative field-based studies (1934). No other scholar accomplished as much as he in this period, an incredible feat when one considers his brilliant achievement as a composer. His systematic analysis of each tradition goes beyond simple identification of scale or meter, and takes structural scrutiny and classification to extraordinary lengths. The influence of his methods, formed in the climate of positivistic science, has not always been beneficial: academies of sci-

ence, especially in Eastern Europe, have tended to stress classification and structure to the point where many of the essential features of music making, such as affective communication or intonation, were minimized or lost. It could be argued that Bartók's best analyses of folk music are found in his arrangements, which synthesize many performative elements of folk music. The Romanian scholar Constantin Brăiloiu (1893–1958) extended Bartók's methods to specific genres (1984). Meantime, the climate of Stalinism in Russia and Ukraine created difficulties for field researchers such as Klyment Kvitka (1880–1953), whose contributions to comparative research, especially in the Slavic area, are noteworthy. Of the same generation, Vasil Stoin (1880–1938) collected more than nine thousand melodies in Bulgaria, and Adolf Chybiński (1880–1952), a notable historian of Polish music, carried out ethnomusicological studies of the Tatra Mountain people.

In Central Europe, the Austrian scholar Josef Pommer (1845–1918) founded the journal *Das deutsche Volkslied* (1899), which later became influential in the study of German-language folk-song types, such as the alpine yodel. The German scholar John Meier (1864–1953) founded the German Folk Song Archive in Freiburg in 1914 with the object of analyzing folk song, more particularly ballads, in important compilations, such as *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien* (1935–1982), but he also subscribed to the so-called reception theory with his concept of folk song's origins as *Kunstlieder im Volksmund* 'art song in the peoples' mouths', which in turn was grounded in the folklorist Hans Naumann's view of folklore as sunken culture (i.e., originating in the upper classes) and tended to minimize folk creativity. Reception theory was adopted in France by Patrice Coirault (1875–1959) in opposition to the ideas of Julien Tiersot (1857–1936) and others, who tended to follow Herder's original idea of collective creation by ordinary people.

Like Bartók in Central Europe and the Balkans, an inspired Cecil J. Sharp gathered a fair number of traditional songs in western England and the Appalachian Mountains of the United States. Bartók had felt at first that rural folk song represented the pure stream of Hungarian tradition, but he later came to see the creative contribution of urban and Gypsy music. Sharp, however, always saw folk song as essentially rural (1907). He conceived of it as consisting in a tripartite process of continuity, variation, and selection, factors resulting from stability over time, the input of singers, and the critical role of the community in retaining or rejecting individual items. His concept tended to idealize folk song, and indeed the ideological component in his thinking was wedded to a desire to imbue schoolchildren in England with a taste for folk song and inspire a national school of composers. The latter objective bore fruit in the work of Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, and others. But in transcribing and publishing the texts and tunes of folk songs, Sharp was less meticulous than Bartók and Grainger. He rejected the use of the phonograph because he felt it disturbed the singers. Though his energy dominated the Folk-Song Society in Britain from its founding (in 1898) and his disciple Maud Karpeles (1885–1976) carried his influence into a wider arena, his definition of folk song, adopted by the International Folk Music Council in 1954, was quietly abandoned by 1981, when this organization renamed itself the International Council for Traditional Music.

THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH AFTER WORLD WAR II

The founding of the International Folk Music Council (London, 1947) was an attempt to coordinate the interests of researchers, most of whom then worked in Europe. In this development, Maud Karpeles was central, being honorary secretary from 1947 to 1965. The council's first president, Vaughan Williams, was succeeded by Jaap Kunst and Zoltán Kodály. All were involved with regional musical traditions in Europe (though Kunst carried out research on Dutch folk music, he was also not-

The methods for studying traditional music in Europe are still underdeveloped because the rise of ethnomusicology, strongly influenced by North American anthropology, posited the need for musical ethnographies of single cultures before comparative conclusions could be drawn.

ed for his research in Javanese music). The term *folk* was expunged from the title in 1981 because it was associated with romantic views of music production and was inappropriate for societies outside Europe. In Western and Central Europe, the trend to purge terms such as *folklore*, *folk music*, and *folk song* and substitute terms such as *traditional*, *popular*, and *vernacular* went hand in hand with a renaming of the discipline—which had been variously called music ethnology and music ethnography—as ethnomusicology (the earlier German term, *Musikethnologie*, has since begun to conform with the English-language term). The council produced a journal (*Journal of the International Folk Music Council*) that gave way to a yearbook (*Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*), whose name changed again in 1981 (*Yearbook for Traditional Music*) and expanded its scope into diverse fields, such as history, iconography, and dance.

The methods for studying traditional music in Europe are still underdeveloped because the rise of ethnomusicology, strongly influenced by North American anthropology, posited the need for musical ethnographies of single cultures before comparative conclusions could be drawn. Curt Sachs (1881–1959) opened up the field of musical prehistory, which became a fertile field for students of musical archaeology (1936). Another Central European scholar, Werner Danckert (1900–1970), categorized musical idioms on the basis of language groups using methods of the Austrian historicist culture-circle school (1970 [1939], 1966). Later, Walter Wiora drew up a synoptic table of European folk melodies that he believed were genetically related over time (1952). Hungarian scholars eagerly pursued historical and comparative studies: Bartók's essay on the music of Hungary and that of its neighbors (1934) led the way. Bence Szabolcsi (1950) attempted a history of melody, like the German scholar Marius Schneider (1934, 1935, 1968), reaching beyond Europe to Asia to explain the presence in Europe of *maqam*-like structures and pentatonic scales. Another Hungarian, János Maróthy (1966), drew on György Lukács's Marxist philosophy to analyze the history of European folk song.

The development of cross-cultural or comparative studies of melody was taken further by Mieczysław Kolinski, an assistant to Hornbostel at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. Kolinski used European and other tunes to work out a system of melodic shapes by "tint affinity," derived from the circle of fifths (1965). In his study of the most common English-language folk song, "Barbara Allen," he used Croatian, French, Hungarian, Polish, and Slovakian songs (1968–1969). His study of seven Canadian versions of "Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre" analyzed musical contour, rhythmic and metric structure, and pulse (1979). Similarly, George List used a well-known melodic formula ("Ah! vous dirai-je, maman") to raise issues of diffusion or polygenesis in the distribution of tune structures (1979).

By contrast, Alan Lomax, working in North America under the influence of behavioral anthropology, employed factors of singing style rather than structure or history to identify patterns in Europe as a whole. He posited an Old European, a

Northwestern (or Modern European), and an Old High Culture (or Eurasian) set of singing styles, the first tied to Central and Eastern Europe, the last to the Mediterranean (1974). His hypothesis holds that each culture has a dominant style, determined by such factors as means of subsistence, organization of the sexes, and social structure. The “old European” style he considers typical of societies where the agricultural cycle, country dance, and music making are linked; this zone stretches from Eastern Europe through southern Germany, northern Italy, and Spain to north-eastern France and Wales, employing a style that integrates music and text closely, is often polyphonic, and “reflects the communal, complementary character of the region.” The “modern European” style Lomax finds typical of Northern Europe, where shepherds, woodsmen, and isolated farmers evolved the solo narrative song performed in an impersonal manner. The “Eurasian” style is found mainly in the Mediterranean, where “a complex system of irrigation is supported by specialized pastoralism, centralized political systems, and a multilayered social stratification.” These aspects are mirrored in ornate texts and long, through-composed, nonstrophic melodies ornamented by elaborate techniques of vocal production. Lomax’s bold hypotheses are often based on uneven samples from each country or region (1976). Lomax also undertook important collecting in Europe, especially Britain, Ireland, and Italy. With Diego Carpitella, he produced a brilliant series of recordings of Italian folk music (figure 1).

The work of the study groups of the International Folk Music Council has advanced ethnographic and comparative methods in the study of European traditional music. The Group on Musical Instruments (founded in 1962) has produced volumes of proceedings of its annual meetings from 1969 (*Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis*), and these cover such topics as typology, playing techniques, improvisation, performers’ roles, children’s instruments, and so on (figure 2). The group has sponsored a handbook series of regional instruments, including those of Hungary (Sárosi 1967), Czechoslovakia (Elschek 1983; Kunz 1974), Switzerland (Bachmann-Geiser 1981), and Slovenia (Kumer 1986). Independent surveys of instruments were contributed by Anoyanakis for Greece (1979), Atanassov for Bulgaria (1983), Veiga de Oliveira for Portugal (1966), and Vertkov for the U.S.S.R.

FIGURE 1 Alan Lomax kneels to adjust his recording equipment in Italy in the early 1950s—the decade when, in many parts of southern and Eastern Europe, the first extensive field recordings facilitated by small, portable, battery-operated tape recorders, were done. Photo courtesy of the Alan Lomax Collection, New York.



FIGURE 2 The Corsican collector Félix Quilici (1909–1980) records a threshing song (*tribbiera*), sung by farmers as they drive oxen around the threshing floor. Photo courtesy of the Collection Félix Quilici, Paris.



(1975 [1963]). Monographs on specific instruments have also appeared: e.g., on the Swedish keyed fiddle (Ling 1967), the Sardinian *launeddas* (Weis Bentzon 1969), the hurdy-gurdy (Bröcker 1973), and the balalaika (Ronström 1976). These studies examine past scholarship, historical sources, social use, symbolism, repertory, tunings, and so on. They complement broader organological writings such as Werner Bachmann's on the origins of bowing (1966) and more general surveys, such as that of Anthony Baines on European bagpipes (1960) and Harrison and Rimmer's overview of European folk instruments (1964). Symposia have addressed the use of the fiddle and the drone in European music (Deutsch 1975, 1981).

The International Musicological Society occasionally included panels on European traditional music in its conferences from the early 1960s, when ethnomusicologists brought growing influence to bear: panels dealt with such themes as the contribution of ethnomusicology to historical musicology, criteria for acculturation, oral and written traditions in the Mediterranean (1964), the problem of historicity in European folk song, traditional forms of epic singing, and sociology in music (1972); ethnomusicologists' influence in this organization reached its zenith when they participated in multiple sessions at the 1977 IMS Conference in Berkeley, California. The International Folk Music Council Conference at Regensburg (1975) included a panel on the current state of research into orally transmitted music. Bruno Nettl made the point at that time that scholars were becoming less interested in transcription, not only because of the arrival of automatic melody writers, such as that dubbed Mona at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, but because anthropological influence was turning scholars more toward questions of meaning and value in Western music (Nettl 1975).

The aim of the ICTM Study Groups was mainly to solve problems of documentation and classification—an issue taken up also by the Group on Analysis and Systematization of Folksong Melodies and the Group on Historical Sources of Folk Music. The urge to classify came from Bartók and Kodály, and was implemented by scholars such as Pál Járdányi (1961) within the framework of a national collection that grouped music into genres (*Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae*, 1959–1987). Another early ICTM study group with a partial focus on Europe was that on ethnochoreology, in which members proposed a “European” approach to the holistic analysis of traditional dance (Giurghescu and Torp 1991). The first study groups of the 1960s were gradually joined, in the 1980s and 1990s, by those on Music Archaeology, Computer Aided Research, Iconography, Music and Gender, Maqam, Music of the Arab World, and Anthropology of Music in the Mediterranean (Elschek 1991; Magrini 1993; Michel 1991; Suppan 1991).

Genre studies

Genre studies have included pan-European forms, such as epic, ballad, lullaby, and lament. Research on epic songs and singing in the modern era began with Russian scholars of the later nineteenth century in their study of *byliny*—or *stariny*, as the people called them (Sokolov 1971). Research on these continued through the Soviet period (Dobrovol'sky and Korryzalov 1981). Meanwhile, South Slavic epic song was analyzed from the viewpoint of Homeric studies and in the context of creation and performance (Lord 1960), but also from folkloristic and musicological standpoints (Bartók 1942; Erdely 1995). Margaret Beissinger has scrutinized the text and music of Romanian epics (1988, 1991). Epic and ballad normally remain distinct genres, but in some areas, as in the former Yugoslavia, they overlap (Boskovic-Stulli 1991). The musical tradition of ballads has been compiled for Britain and North America by Bronson (1959–1972), for Denmark by Knudsen et al. (1976), for Germany by Suppan and Stief (1976), and for Judeo-Hispanic ballads by Katz (1982). Elsa Mahler studied laments in Russia (1935), as did Brăiloiu in Romania (1938). Hungarian and Bulgarian scholars (Katsarova 1969; Rajeczky 1964, 1967) followed suit, and further work has occurred in Greece (Alexiou 1974; Auerbach 1989 [1987]), Ireland (O Madagáin 1978), and Italy (De Martino 1958). Like laments, lullabies exhibit features of structure and content in common with ballads, vendors' cries, dance tunes, and other genres (Greni 1960; O Madagáin 1989; Sanga 1979:41; Shields 1993:113).

THE INFLUENCE OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

In these developments, which tended to replace an emphasis on the analysis of musical structure with a more anthropological approach to musical performance and style, Central and Eastern European scholars preferred to develop more musicological techniques, such as use of a melograph for registering melodies with greater precision (as in Bratislava). Devices of this kind had also been developed in several centers of musicology: Los Angeles, Uppsala (Sweden), and Israel. But even in Eastern Europe, a diversity of concepts prevailed for classificatory purposes: melodic structure formed the basis for Hungarian researchers, while in Moravia, Poland, and Slovakia metro-rhythmic features were preferred. The Ukrainian scholar Volodymyr Hoshovsky evolved a system to compare regional styles—a system that would, he believed, lead to an international catalogue of melodic types (1977). Feodosy Rubtsov looked for common intonational patterns in Slavic folk songs (1962); Nikolaj Kaufman sought common Slavic elements in Bulgarian and East Slavic music (1968); Anna Czekanowska analyzed narrow-range melodies in the Slavic countries using a taxonomic system (*dendrite*) developed in Wrocław, Poland (1972, 1977) (figure 3).

Studies of individual singers or musicians are now complemented by detailed studies that view such performers as part of a process of “endofolklorization,” cultivating their art as a response to tourism or a crisis of personal or regional identity.



FIGURE 3 Nikolaj Kaufman, Bulgaria's most prolific folk-song collector and musical folklorist in the period after World War II. In addition to his published collections and monographic studies, he was an avid folk-song arranger for state-sponsored folk choruses. Photo by Maria Kaufman 1990. Courtesy of Claire Levy.

Scholars in Soviet Russia also produced important genre studies, as of calendrical songs (Mozheiko 1985; Zemtsovsky 1975).

Current research on European traditional music is balanced between qualitative and quantitative patterns. Research on the latter in particular, now usually computer-driven, tends to investigate entire genres, though computers have also been used to analyze vocal timbre. Cybernetics and information theory have been harnessed (Hoshovsky 1965; Stockmann 1972), as have semiotics (Giurghescu 1973; Hoshovsky 1981) and linguistic methods of analysis (Sundberg and Lindblom 1976). An emergent “systematic” orientation in scholarship links up with the sociology of music on the one hand, and biological, perceptual, and acoustical studies on the other (Kaden 1984; Karbusicky 1979; A. Schneider 1993). A strong influence from hermeneutic philosophy and reflexive anthropology has placed much emphasis on eliciting musical “meaning” for performers and fieldworkers (Rice 1994). The spectrum of “folk” and “popular,” with their mutual influence, continues to preoccupy some researchers, as does the formation and performance of political or religious songs with their strongly directed functions. Leydi and Rossi, for example, have looked at nonliturgical religious songs in Italy (1965). In this development, the sociology of music with its emphasis on urban-influenced styles has contributed useful perspectives (Kaden 1984; Karbusicky 1975), including the attempted redefinition of “folk song” as “group song” (Klusen 1969). The primary, face-to-face nature of the sung communication has been contrasted with artificial, staged versions of choral singing and yodeling, especially in Switzerland (Baumann 1976).

Large-scale comparative studies are now offset by field research into social groupings, urban and rural, following the pioneering studies of villages by Brăiloiu (1960, but effected in 1929–1932), Bringemeier (1931), Járdányi (1943), Klusen (1971 [1941]), and Vargyas (1941). Immigrant groups from Europe and beyond, e.g., the Roma, have become the focus of attention. Scattered studies of individual singers or musicians in an earlier phase (e.g., Henssen 1951; Katsarova 1952; Kvitka 1917; Tantsyura 1965) are now complemented by detailed studies that may view such performers as part of a process of “endofolklorization,” cultivating their art as a response to tourism or a crisis of personal or regional identity (Lortat-Jacob 1983). Recent research has ranged from historical studies of the seventeenth-century Irish harper Carolan (O’Sullivan 1960) and the nineteenth-century Danish singer Selma Nielsen (Schiørring 1956) to studies of latter-day traditional singers, such as Maren Ole in Denmark (Nielsen 1973) and Jeannie Robertson in Lowland Scotland (Porter and Gower 1995). Instrumentalists have also been the focus of special studies (e.g., Stockmann 1981).

Field research has begun to include discussion of fieldworkers’ roles and motives, and how researchers affect the subjects under study (Koning 1980) (figure 4). As a result, factors of gender, power, ideology, and metaphoric explanation mark a new phase in uncovering basic conceptions of music and how these might be considered

FIGURE 4 In Carpino, Puglia, Italy, in August 1954, shepherds listen to a playback of their songs. Interactions between collectors or field researchers and their local respondents, implicitly registered in this photo, have only recently become the subject of scholarly discussion. Photo courtesy of the Alan Lomax Collection, New York.



personal, regional, national, or even European; until more detailed information is available, however, cross-cultural methods are limited to broad features, such as history, content and style, structure, and texture (Ling 1997). The quality of evidence is obviously important here: who provided it, when, and where, and for whom? The mediation, interpretation, and representation of empirical data has become an essential question in the description and analysis of contemporary European ethnomusicology.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The historical basis of research in European traditional music has always been present. "History of music" was a principal focus for scholars at the Budapest conference of the International Folk Music Council in 1964. The question of origins was integral to earlier studies, and even to a panel at the IMS Conference in Ljubljana in 1967, but became less so after 1970, when attention began to move toward chronology and musical archaeology (Hickmann and Hughes 1988). Apart from scholars such as Wiora, who continued to attempt a synthesis of historical and ethnomusicology, ahistorical approaches became the norm in the 1960s. Walter Graf in Vienna, for example, dealt with problems of musical perception, acoustics, and psychology (1980).

Aesthetics too began to engage researchers: in Finland, Armas Väisänen (1890–1969) had explored the topic in relation to instruments as early as 1938, and Hristo Vakarelski had discussed it in relation to Bulgarian singers (1957). Others began to take up the question of indigenous concepts of music, and this general approach was continued by Jan Ling in Sweden (1967), Radmila Petrović in Serbia (1971), Koraljka Kos in Yugoslavia (1972), Jan Stęszewski in Poland (1972), Ginette Dunn in England (1980), and Timothy Rice in Bulgaria (1980). In the 1970s and 1980s, emphasis on context and performance led to a group of studies that continued this trend: Hopkins, for instance, discussed the symbolic meanings of the Hardanger fiddle in Norway (1986), while Nielsen in Iceland (1982), Pekkilä and others in Finland (1983), and Porter in Scotland (1976, 1988) aimed at uncovering "emic" explanations of musical communication, meaning, and value and concepts of aesthetics, composition, and classification. These studies, in contrast to the comparative and historical research in vogue before 1960, disclose a burgeoning interest in the cognitive aspects of traditional music, its genesis and influence.

Attention has also been paid to composers and their relationship with traditional music. Composers, of course, have not only borrowed or transformed traditional elements; their compositions have sometimes entered the stream of popular musical consciousness. Wiora's study (1957) covers some of this ground. Other examples are Brăiloiu's study of Debussy's pentatonic structures (1958), studies by Geck (1970) and Vetterl (1968) on Janáček, that by Klusen on Mahler (1963), and continuing work on such prominent figures as Bartók, Stravinsky, and Vaughan Williams. Luciano Berio and Vinko Globokar are noted for their arrangements of folk music, and Solomon Volkov (1981) described the folkloristic wave of Soviet composers active in the late 1970s.

Work in the 1980s addressed topics such as the control and management of music production in complex societies (Henry 1989; Lortat-Jacob 1984), myth and ideology in Northern Europe (Donner 1985), class and identity in relation to music (Krader 1986; Manuel 1989), dance behavior (Garfias 1984; Giurghescu 1986), the acoustical analysis of herding calls in Sweden and Switzerland (Bolle-Zemp 1985; Johnson 1984), folk-hymn singing (Suojanen 1984), revival and innovation (Ledang 1986; Ling 1986), and music and trance (Rouget 1980). Urbanization of musical styles and interest in the iconographic aspects of traditional music likewise became the focus for research. It is widely accepted that "traditional music" covers an astonishing range of styles that vary within and among regions and countries.

The emphasis in current research on European traditional music, therefore, is on ethnographic reality and the interpenetration of concepts between performers and fieldworkers. The context for these exchanges, however, is often fraught with pressures—from market capitalism, issues of ideology and identity, and ethnic conflict. Awareness of past horrors, such as those experienced by European Jews or Roma during World War II, or recently in the former Yugoslavia, have drawn attention to the role of music as a symbol of ethnic identity and resistance to oppression (Flam 1992; Holý and Nečas 1993). Sensitive fieldwork forms part of this newer research mode, especially since ethical concerns continually confront researchers. The use of positivistic methods, whereby scholars distance themselves from musicians and objectify data through a process of descriptive analysis, is no longer possible or acceptable. Instead, a new awareness of the rich store of knowledge held by "traditional" and "revival" musicians has led ethnomusicologists to reach a more intersubjective understanding of their creative concepts.

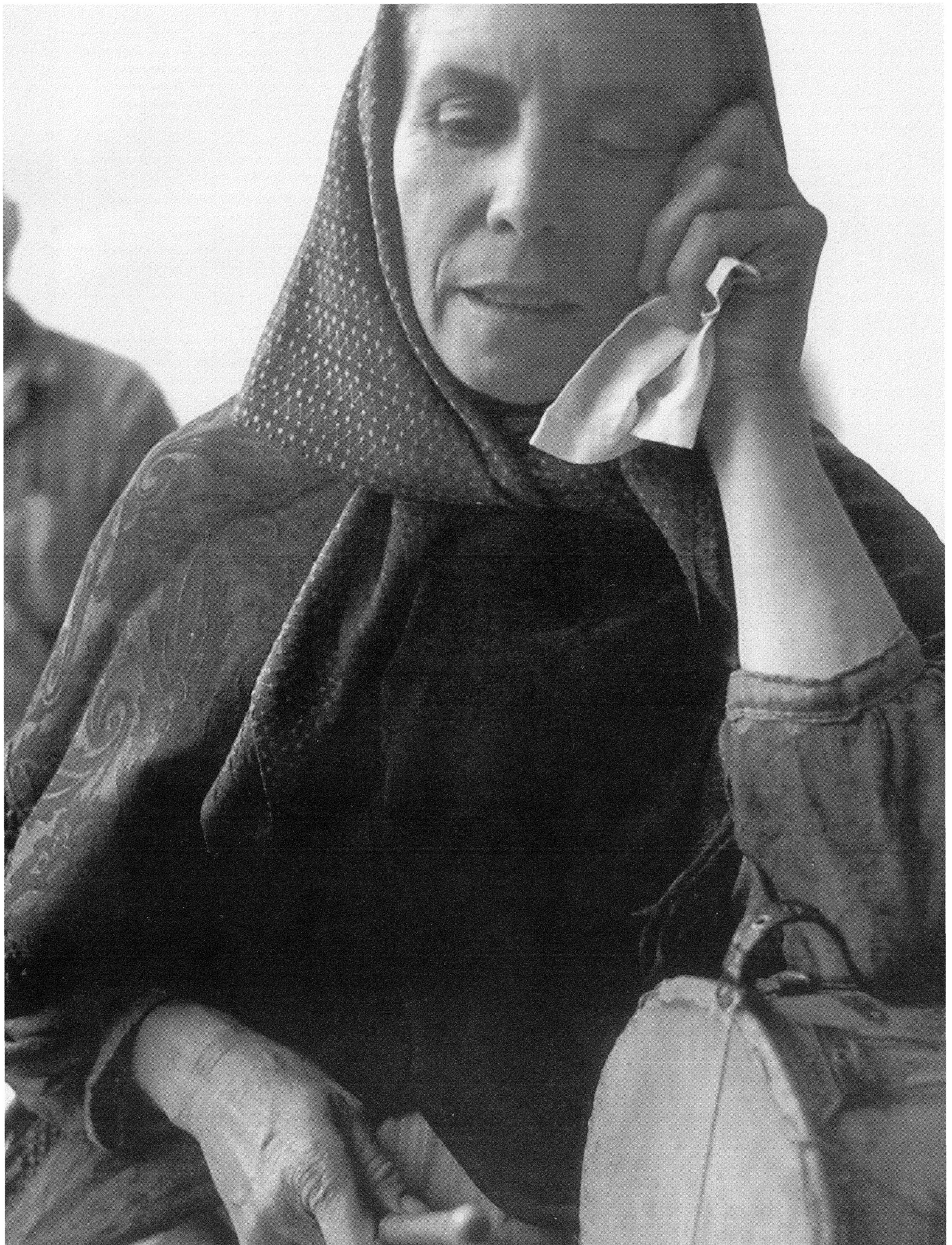
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Part 2

Issues and Processes in European Music

European music can be understood from historical and ethnographic perspectives. Classical and religious music, because of their links to literacy and their use of musical notation, have an especially rich and well-documented history. Folk and popular music, preserved primarily in aural tradition (and recently in electronic media), have been best studied by musical ethnographers and collectors, who observe, interview, and record their contemporaries.

No matter whether folk or classical, popular or religious, singing is at the heart of most musical traditions in Europe. Often the way people sing and what they sing is a function of gender. Here a woman from La Mula, Ibiza, Spain, sings while accompanying herself on a drum. Photo courtesy of the Alan Lomax Collection, New York.



History of Music

The history of European classical and religious music can be traced in a nearly continuous line from around A.D. 800 to the present. Ancient Greek music has been influential less for its sound, which is almost impossible to reconstruct, than for giving Europeans the very name *music*, the idea of musical notation, basic concepts of music theory and terminology, and beliefs about the nature and meaning of music. Archaeology has uncovered potential links between the prehistoric past and modern folk instruments and practices. Musical notation has been crucial to the development and preservation of music history, and Europeans' seeming preference for older forms over newer ones deserves critical examination.

No instrument better symbolizes the history of European music and the links between classical, folk, and popular music than the violin. Developed from folk and medieval models of bowed fiddles and perfected by Italian master craftsmen in the 1600s for classical musicians, it was soon adopted by village musicians and tended to displace traditional, homemade instruments. For a small fee, this street violinist serenades strollers under the Via Rizzoli's arcade in Bologna, Italy. He plays tunes from the Italian classical repertory and of folk songs and dances. Photo by D. A. Sonneborn, 1988.

Archaeology of Music in Europe

Albrecht Schneider

Types of Sources and Their Interpretation

Culture Areas, Periods, Chronology

Classification, Typology, Development, Continuity

Other Research Directions

Archaeology investigates the material remains of musical instruments as primary sources for knowledge of the musical past, including the possible origins and early stages of musical development. This palaeo-organology, useful to ethnomusicology and music history (Scothern 1989), concentrates on the morphological description of recovered artifacts and makes inferences about the ergonomics of body position and motion in relation to instruments. Music archaeology, sometimes called archaeo-musicology, starts from the description, conservation, and analysis of material objects interpreted as musical instruments, but seeks to place these objects or their remains into social, cultural, and presumably musical contexts—an approach called *Vorgeschichtsmusikanthropologie* ‘prehistoric anthropology of music’ (Lund 1980). Because of obvious historical implications, music archaeology has also been defined as *Traditionsforschung* ‘research into tradition’, an extension of music history using the archaeological record (Hickmann 1985). Music archaeology investigates the beginnings and early developments of musical behavior from biohistorical and anthropological perspectives, and it uses various types of source evidence (including excavated objects, iconographic and literary evidence, ethnographic data, and folklore) and methods (including experiments, fieldwork, laboratory research, hypothetical reconstruction of instruments, and trial of their musical capabilities) (Hickmann and Hughes 1988; Lund 1986).

In addition to the description and analysis of unearthened instruments and their sound properties, music archaeology makes inferences about prehistoric music and even composite soundscapes. This approach, which has already led to a number of illuminating recordings, is based upon, but goes beyond, archaeological evidence, which preserves no sounds, let alone actual music (Bibikov 1981; Lund 1974). Tunings, playing techniques, and pieces of music played on such instruments or replicas are hypothetical. Since historical reconstructions and archaeological interpretations are to some extent conjectural, history and archaeology use hypotheses and models to provide explanations, rather than simple descriptions, of factual evidence. In terms of method, historical narratives and archaeological interpretations of cultural systems and their change and evolution are constructs based on observations and other facts and the application of criteria of coherence, plausibility, and probability

(Schneider 1984, 1986). As a problem-oriented rather than an object-oriented discipline, music archaeology's research strategy combines different sources either to construct a theoretical model supported by factual evidence (Lawergren 1988), or to establish a kind of archaeological and historical narrative that reconstructs certain periods and developments in early music cultures (Vogel 1973, 1978).

Given the hypothetical nature of historical reconstruction, the use of models, analogy, and conjecture seems as legitimate as the experiments that have been successfully employed in archaeology and archaeomusicology (Coles 1973; Harrison 1978). Experiments test hypotheses and gain additional data for observation and measurement. Tonometric measurements have been applied to numerous excavated musical instruments to elucidate their acoustical and musical properties. Sophisticated instruments, such as the bronze horns of Ireland and Scandinavia (the latter called *lurs*), have been subjected to extensive laboratory investigation (Gottlieb 1986; Holmes 1979, 1986). The manufacturing process and the technology employed are now fairly well known, and the results can be used in the reconstruction of broken specimens and the fashioning of replicas.

Though it is customary in modern archaeology to distinguish between object-oriented and problem-oriented approaches, theoretical and anthropological issues are relevant to both kinds of research. In music archaeology, the special problem of musical origins calls for an interdisciplinary strategy and the combination of various types of sources (Geist 1970). Some have suggested that music played an important role in anthropogenesis, and thus is a genuine part of human nature from the beginning (Blacking 1976; Edström 1981; Wallin 1991). The roots of musical behavior and dance can be traced back even to nonhuman primates. They hypothesize that humans could sing before they invented articulate speech, and that the australopithecines developed the ability to sing in conjunction with signaling (Livingstone 1973). Thus, the most elementary music may have originated several hundred thousand years ago.

Somewhat different from these studies are surveys of excavated objects and their description and evaluation as musical instruments. In these studies, music archaeology is one of the historical disciplines. The objective of the field is to enlarge the scope and depth of music history by incorporating prehistoric periods before written records became available as source material. After an initial overview (Seewald 1934), comparable surveys followed covering specific areas of Europe, such as Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe, portions of Germany, and Spain. Some research is devoted to single classes of instruments, such as aerophones, idiophones, or membranophones, with listings of finds and sites, distribution, and chronological ordering, while other publications cover the material of a specific period, such as the Hallstatt culture of the eastern alpine region. Between 1975 and 1984, research groups in England, France, and Sweden specializing in music archaeology (*archéologie sonore*) were established (Homo-Lechner 1986; Lawson 1983; Reimers 1979). In Sweden alone, more than a thousand prehistoric musical instruments had been documented by 1978. As soon as such catalogues of inventoried data from various European countries become available, the basis for comparative and integrative studies will be much improved.

Since no music from the remote past has been preserved in sound or notation, the invoking of so-called ethnographic parallels—that is, analogies between existing and prehistoric music—is possibly inevitable. Such comparisons appear often in writings on the origins and early stages of music by older scholars, who believed that what they called the primitive music (a descriptive term related to evolutionary concepts) of contemporary ethnic groups retains basic features from the music and dance of prehistoric times (Sachs 1962; Wiora 1961). Parallels have been drawn between

the music of the Kalahari Bushmen and that of hunter societies of the European Upper Palaeolithic (ca. 15,000–10,000 B.C.). Such analogies serve as heuristic devices to illustrate the uses and functions of music in its cultural setting, but the actual structure of Palaeolithic music remains a matter of speculation.

TYPES OF SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

Music archaeology deals with seven types of source: objects that have been excavated or secured in different ways; iconographic material, including wall paintings in caves, rock engravings, depictions on pottery, coins, and metal vessels; linguistic sources, including terminology of music and musical instruments; written records, including clay tablets, classical Greek and Latin sources, and early historical documents; folklore and myth, including legends relating to the “singing bone” and the invention of certain instruments; evidence provided by physical anthropology and bioacoustics; and ethnographic data of use in drawing parallels or, alternatively, as explanatory or illustrative devices.

The number and quality of available sources varies considerably with time depth and geographical area. Evidence from musical instruments of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods is scarce—a circumstance attributable to the fact that bone, wood, and other natural materials disintegrate over millennia. Chance largely determines the sampling of objects available for study. Fifty-nine complete or fragmented lurs of the Scandinavian Bronze Age III–IV (ca. 1300–650 B.C.) have been found (Lund 1986). In Ireland, a total of 122 items, many just fragments relating to bronze horns of the late Bronze Age, were once known (Coles 1963). Such samples allow comparisons, mapping of distributions, detection of common features, and typological ordering on the basis of morphological and technological traits; moreover, the study of finds and their context and of iconographic evidence offers clues on use, function, and the cultural background of music. Iconographic sources contain depictions of musical behavior such as singing, playing instruments, dancing, the formation of ensembles, and so on, including several hundred images relating to music on Greek pottery (Paquette 1984). Most instruments of the classical period are well documented, including their playing technique and cultural context. Further evidence can be derived from the study of the classics and other written sources and linguistic inquiry into the musical terminology of Indo-European and other languages (Gavazzi 1976; Nieminen 1963; Schneider 1985).

Problems often arise in evaluating sources. The rock carvings in Bohuslän, Sweden, or in Val Camonica, Italy, appear on first impression to be musical instruments, and yet they definitely are not. Literary sources occasionally mention the names of instruments—the biblical *nebel* (*nevel*) occurs in texts over a period of some seven hundred years—but no specimen exists. Names can also denote a variety of instruments; the term *zampogna* (*zanfoña*, *zumpogna*) may refer to a bagpipe, a hurdy-gurdy, or a mouth harp. As different as these instruments appear morphologically, they all produce a drone and a melodic line. Even excavated objects are not always easy to identify as musical instruments. In the 1980s, scholars debated whether the Palaeolithic flute existed; Christine Brade (1982) doubted that Upper Palaeolithic bones that exhibit one or more piercings (usually interpreted as finger holes and a blowhole) were made and used as flutes. Others challenged Brade’s skepticism, pointing out that artifacts not initially made as musical instruments could be used as such, and in fact have been throughout history. Thus, objects suited for use as musical instruments can at least be considered potential sources in music archaeology.

So-called clay drums provide a good example of the problem. A large sample of Neolithic pottery is believed to represent clay drums, though no drumhead from

these supposed membranophones survives (Maier 1960; Seewald 1934). Most specimens, including some sixty excavated from late Neolithic sites in Saxony and northern Germany, have similar hourglass or goblet shapes (Fischer 1951; Mildenerger 1952). Knobs or plugs, with or without holes, around the upper rim could have served to fasten a drumhead. Interpreting the pottery as drums is thus conjectural and rests on an analogy with actual drums of similar shape from North Africa, the Middle East, and the Balkans. Even conical clay objects have been defined as drums drawing on ethnographic parallels with African double-headed drums. Field experiments may provide a more conclusive method for testing the clay-drum hypothesis; one such experiment demonstrated that pottery of this kind could indeed have carried a drumhead and produced sounds for musical purposes (Lindahl 1986). Thus, experiments and ethnographic analogies support the hypothesis that pottery found in Neolithic sites of Central and Northern Europe were used as clay drums.

Though some scholars link the origins of music to anthropogenesis and the acquisition of language, material evidence for humans playing musical instruments is fairly late if we consider only artifacts that can be identified beyond doubt as instruments. Scholars have sought the beginnings of instrumental music in the Upper Palaeolithic, when groups of hunter-gatherers in large parts of Eurasia established fairly well-developed culture patterns. Hunting is depicted in a large number of rock paintings or so-called Palaeolithic cave art dating from ca. 35,000 B.C. to ca. 9,000 B.C. With the emergence of *Homo sapiens*, the advanced manufacture of tools, and the creation of artworks, a stage of evolution was reached in which signs of musical activity might be expected. Indeed, bone objects from the Aurignacian strata (ca. 35,000–18,000 B.C.) have long been interpreted as simple phalange whistles or as bone flutes with finger holes.

Other artifacts, such as the fine specimens of bone flutes from Pas de Miroir (Dordogne, France) and Ullö, Hungary, are most likely from a later period, and Brade (1975) has cast doubt on the existence of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic flute, with the possible exception of the well-known fragment from the Aurignacian site of Isturitz, which, because of its overall shape and the three holes, could well have been part of a bone flute, though definitive evaluation is difficult. Brade's (1982) critical account of the evidence thus far available has led to the conclusion that the existence of Palaeolithic and Neolithic flutes remains unproven. Even if some of the objects could and might have been used as flutes, the details of sound production are still unclear since no block-and-duct, the mechanism that creates the whistle, has been excavated. Putative reconstructions, such as that of a flute from Istállöskő, Hungary (Horusitzky 1955), rest on an assumption that the bone object was a cross flute rather than on the factual evidence that finds of the same age and area might provide.

Some objects, such as the lower jaw of a cave bear with three small holes pierced into the mandibular channel from the site of Potočka Zijalka, Slovenia, are almost certainly not musical instruments. The interpretation of mammoth bones excavated at Mezin, Ukraine, as part of a late Palaeolithic osteophone (bone idiophone) is also speculative. Though mammoth bones were commonly used in hunter culture for building houses and other purposes, to prove that the large bones had been worked to produce a musical instrument is not easy; it is possible, however, to produce sounds from such bone objects, as a recording demonstrates (Bibikov 1981), and they might have served as musical instruments. One scholar has hypothesized that all Palaeolithic musical instruments were closely related to hunting implements or were the by-products of hunting, and the Mezin osteophone might be viewed as such (Lawergren 1988).

A musical instrument related to hunting has been detected in the hands of the so-called sorcerer painted in the cave of Les Trois-Frères (Ariège, France) and dated to

Music archaeologists posit the Cyclades Islands and Crete as possible sites for the emergence of double aerophones and the harp family, both documented in ancient Asian and Egyptian sources.

ca. 13,000–11,000 B.C. The figure, dressed in animal skins, holds close to his mouth an object believed to be a flute or a musical bow. Since he is apparently dancing among wild animals, one may hypothesize, based on ethnographic parallels, that a hunting implement, the bow, was used as a musical instrument, singing and clapping may have accompanied the dancing, and the music may have been intended to have magical effects on the animals.

CULTURE AREAS, PERIODS, CHRONOLOGY

In prehistoric archaeology, cultures are customarily defined by artifact types (for example, the boat-ax culture of Sweden) or by leading sites (for example, Unetice, Bohemia). The type-site approach serves also to delimit larger culture areas and prehistoric periods (for example, Hallstatt and La Tène). The chief periodic framework for large parts of Europe covers the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic, followed by the Copper, Bronze, and Iron ages, which were in turn succeeded by the Roman Empire and the period of migration (*Völkerwanderungszeit*) beginning in A.D. 375, and then the Middle Ages.

In most of Western and Central Europe, the Franconian Empire marked the transition to the Middle Ages, while, for example, the Iron Age in Scandinavia is defined to include the Viking period and thus ends only in A.D. 1050, the year of Christianization; the Middle Ages here cover the years 1050–1530. Every major period can be subdivided into smaller units with regard to space, time, and culture traits; some prehistoric cultures (e.g., Bandkeramik) cover large areas, and it is possible to detect regional “styles” in artifacts and culture contacts, including exchange, trade, and influence. Grouping palaeo-organological material with respect to archaeological culture areas and periods is likely to result in an uneven distribution because of several factors, only one of which is chance.

If Brade’s criticism of the existence of Palaeolithic and Neolithic flutes is valid, the remaining material evidence before the late Neolithic and Copper Age is quite scarce and would be reduced to phalange whistles, idiophones such as scrapers and rattles, the Mezin osteophone, and free aerophones of the bull-roarer type, mainly from find complexes of hunter societies (Sidorov 1987). A rock painting from north-west Bulgaria, which appears to show a group of males and females, some of them dancing, one male apparently beating a drum and another handling a supposed musical bow, probably belongs to the Neolithic (Jantarski 1977). As with other iconographic sources, interpretation and dating are only tentative.

A find from a hunter-fisher society of the late third millennium (Mariupol, Ukraine) has been interpreted as a bone panpipe (Häusler 1960), with another late Neolithic specimen from the Kitoj culture (Baikal region, Russia). Evidence of panpipes in Central Europe is available only from the later Bronze Age onward, with finds from Poland (Przeczyce, Montelius V) and Germany (Klein-Kühnau, La Tène III), and representations on situlae dated to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. from

sites in northern Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria (Megaw 1968). The panpipe from the famous site at Alesia, southeast France, with seven tubes carved into a solid oak block, is a refined type and probably even later, perhaps third century (Reinach 1906–1907).

It was suggested in the 1980s that some Neolithic pottery of the Iberian Peninsula might have carried skins as drumheads, while clay vessels could have served as aids to singing or as simple aerophones (Fernández de la Cuesta 1983). A flute with three holes found in a dolmen near Poitiers, France, belongs to Brade's (1975) doubtful-objects category of prehistoric flute. Instruments made of clay comprise rattles, objects believed to be bells, and, from considerably later, vessel flutes and horns. Vessel flutes made of flint have been found in Denmark and ascribed to the late Neolithic period (Lund 1972, 1974).

The picture becomes more complex in the third millennium B.C. because of culture contact between East and West in the Aegean culture area. Music archaeologists posit the Cyclades Islands and Crete as possible sites for the emergence of double aerophones and the harp family, both documented in ancient Asian and Egyptian sources. The Phrygians of Asia Minor are said, in classical sources, to have introduced important instruments, such as the *aulos* (a double aerophone), the *syrinx* (a panpipe), and the *kithara* (a lyre), with musical elements and customs, into what later became Greek music (Thierner 1979). Probably the foundations of Greek music, and thus European tonal concepts, are related to the musical and sociocultural traditions of the East Mediterranean and Asia Minor, and can be traced well into the second millennium B.C. Given the processes of culture contact and diffusion around the Mediterranean basin, delimiting European music from Asian and North African music at that stage in music history is difficult or impossible. Source material for the distribution of double aerophones (presumably with reeds) is available from the Cyclades, Asia Minor, Crete, the Greek mainland, Sardinia, Etrurian sites, and the Roman Empire, where in the first century *tibiae pares* 'paired pipes' were taken as far north as the border settlement of Noviomagus, now Nijmegen, Netherlands (Rimmer 1976).

This importation of instruments into Europe from the East does not diminish the manufacturing achievement of the Scandinavian lurs and Irish bronze horns (Holmes 1979, 1986). Instruments of both groups have been praised for the outstanding craftsmanship required to master the technology of lost-wax casting (*cire perdue*). Unique as these instruments appear compared to the somewhat meager palaeoarchaeological record of the preceding periods, they seem to fit well into the culture of the northern Bronze Age, where lurs can be assigned to ca. 1300–600 B.C. and the Irish bronze horns to 750 B.C. and later (Coles 1963; Lund 1986). As to origins, uses, and functions, both groups have tentatively been conceived of as imitations of either wooden or animal horns, and have been linked largely to cultic and ceremonial functions for which there are indications, at least as far as the lurs are concerned, in rock art of the Bohuslän region of Sweden (Broholm et al. 1949; Nordbladh 1986).

The musical potential and actual music played on such instruments in the Bronze Age have been a matter of experiment and speculation. The Irish side-blown horns normally yield only one note, and the end-blown horns two to four, but one of the lurs from Brudevaelte, Denmark, can produce ten or more notes of the harmonic series, plus glissandi (O'Callaghan 1983). Even if Bronze Age people did not explore the full range of tones, accessible only with modern playing techniques, a relatively unskilled player could produce several harmonics. Lurs were tuned precisely in pairs, and, according to iconographic evidence, two and three players played simultaneously, perhaps implying harmony. Heterophonic playing, drone accompaniment, and

other techniques are conceivable, but it seems unlikely that several lurs, such as the specimen from Brudevaelte, were skillfully crafted and tuned only to produce melodic lines in strict unison.

Other horns emerged in the first millennium B.C.: the Celtic *carnyx* of the La Tène period and the Etruscan and Roman *lituus*. The *carnyx* has been defined as an animal-headed trumpet (Piggott 1959) and a war trumpet popular throughout the Celtic world—which, if mapped from archaeological and literary sources, stretches from the shores of the Black Sea to the Iberian Peninsula and beyond to Britain and Ireland (Megaw 1968). Basically, it was a J-shaped metal aerophone with a rather lengthy, practically cylindrical tube joined by a curved conical horn plus the animal head, and a mouthpiece of uncertain shape. The instrument is depicted several times in widely scattered areas, the best-known source being the famous Gundestrup cauldron (first century B.C.), found in a Jutland bog but probably imported.

The Illyrians, who inhabited the Dalmatian area from Greece and Albania up to the foothills of the eastern Alps and from the coast as far inland as the Morava River (Coles and Harding 1979), may have introduced the lyre into the Celtic Eastern Hallstatt culture area, where there is some iconographical evidence from ca. 650 into the fourth century B.C. So-called Indo-European traces of the lyre have been identified on an engraving that shows a fifteen-stringed instrument on a funeral stela found close to Zaragoza, Spain and dated to the late Bronze Age (eighth century B.C.) (Álvarez 1985). Studies dealing with Celtic and Illyrian issues illustrate the problem of defining culture areas and of tracing the origin and diffusion of instruments assigned to specific ethnic groups. The lurs, for example, which have always been considered part of the Nordic Bronze Age, might also be viewed as separate traces of the unique activities of a very specialized group with a specialized place in the surrounding society (Moberg 1986). On the basis of historical and archaeological sources and ethnographic parallels, it has been suggested that the early history of music in the Near East, Asia Minor, and Greece is tied to small, probably clanlike groups of highly specialized professionals who mastered music, metalwork, and animal husbandry (Vogel 1973, 1978).

Future research will have to elaborate and test hypotheses concerning the context and social background of musical performance and thus go beyond palaeo-organological issues, such as identification, periodization, and the chronology of instruments. The difficulty of these tasks increases when, for instance, the survey and chronology of Celtic instruments suffers from huge gaps in the sequence of sources; tangible evidence is late and scarce, though a reasonable number of references to instruments and musical performance survive in ancient literary and iconographic sources (Harrison 1976). Also, long-extinct groups, such as the Picts in northeastern Scotland, left some traces of their musical instruments, though their history and ethnic character are debatable (Porter 1983).

CLASSIFICATION, TYPOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT, CONTINUITY

Paleo-organologists classify find material using the Hornbostel-Sachs system (1961 [1914]). While classification organizes a multitude of objects according to established criteria (for example, the primary vibrating material), music archaeologists who seek historical or genetic relationships among instruments employ a typological approach based on notions of relationship, similarity, constancy, and development of morphological features (Picken 1975; Schneider 1984, 1986). Similarity of formal features in the shape, size, construction, and ornamentation of lurs, for example, have been interpreted as evidence for the constancy of type. The relative sameness of type is then assumed to indicate historical continuity, especially if changes in certain features are slight and show no major break or gap. By contrast, decreasing similarity is inter-

interpreted as development if features are improved—for example, the number of strings in harplike chordophones judged from iconographic evidence. Such typological considerations of Scandinavian bronze lurs and Irish horns has led these instruments to be regarded as animal-horn instruments remade in metal (Coles 1963). Because the bronze instruments are advanced technologically, they probably presuppose the existence of extinct ancestral types, though scant persuasive evidence of animal or wooden ancestral types exists, perhaps because of the disintegration of organic material. Indeed, the opposite process, a translation from metal into wood, has been claimed for the Swiss alphorn's supposed descent from the Celtic *carnyx* (Zagiba 1967). The genetic links here are the mouthpiece, presumably once made of lead in the *carnyx* and the alphorn, and the comparable shape.

Though the heuristic usefulness of typological sequences appears incontestable, any hypotheses concerning the development of ancient instruments would require stratigraphic evidence or datable sources for confirmation. The bronze instruments may have had animal-horn or wooden predecessors, but the extant animal horns, such as the so-called *barva-lur* from Sweden and the more developed cow horn with finger holes from Konsterud, Denmark (Oldeberg 1950), are dated later and have been assigned to the Iron Age in northwest Europe (Raistrick et al. 1952).

The occurrence of more-developed types does not preclude the continued use of less-developed instruments. Bone flutes were in use in parts of Europe virtually up to the present, especially in pastoral communities (Atanassov 1977). Thus, one may assume for these instruments a typological continuity given a sequence of datable sources. Music played on such instruments has been recorded in Slovakia from rag pickers, who employed bone flutes with only two finger holes plus thumbhole to produce signals, songs, and instrumental pieces (Elschek 1983). Wooden trumpets and animal horns are still used in pastoral societies of alpine regions from Sweden to the Pyrenees and the Balkans (Elschek 1991; Emsheimer 1969). On the basis of historical and ethnographic evidence, scholars have suggested that the European pastoral complex, observed well into the twentieth century, did much to maintain older organological traditions and musical performances related to specific functions, such as signaling over a distance, defending herds against wild animals, and a belief in magic. Thus, the typological continuity of instruments is matched by a sociocultural configuration that appears to have retained archaic elements for a long time (Moberg 1971; Oldeberg 1950).

Contemporary traditional instruments such as the *vallehorn*, a wooden lur from central Sweden, and the Dutch *midwinterhoorn*, used in the context of seasonal customs, have been related to the *lur-carnyx-lituus* set of traditions (van Lennep 1959). They might be considered relics or survivals of extinct musical practice that may have existed for long periods without major change. Other survivals might include primitive folk instruments like willow flutes, bark trumpets, and simple clarinets made from ready-to-hand organic material, including leaves, stalks, and bark (Brockpähler 1971; Naselli 1951). According to classical sources, later historical sources, and ethnographic records, such instruments belong to a pastoral and agricultural environment, though by the late twentieth century they are mainly children's instruments (Emsheimer 1985). Though children's instruments may appear simple in comparison with more developed adult instruments, they provide an idea of how instruments originated and are valuable analogies for historical and prehistoric processes.

OTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This survey of research results, find materials, and methodological issues ignores potential sources such as folklore and myth and controversial issues, such as the development of plucked and bowed chordophones (Bruce-Mitford 1974), the intro-

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duction of the bow into Europe (Bachmann 1966), and the early history of reed instruments and bagpipes (Baines 1960; Becker 1966; Guizzi and Leydi 1985). Studies relating to medieval chordophones, such as the rote, the rebec, and the Welsh crowd (*crwth*), have mainly been undertaken by music historians, art historians, and philologists, and mark a transition to related fields of research. In advocating an interdisciplinary approach, music archaeologists insist upon an anthropological perspective to complement and realize their historical and organological objectives, especially those regarding musical origins and the functions of music in early social and cultural configurations.

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Ancient Greek Music

Wanda Bryant

Music in Daily Life

Musical Style

Written Theories of Music

The music of the ancient Greeks has long tantalized music scholars and historians. It has been reconstructed from extant musical examples (around a thousand measures from forty fragments of pieces covering a span of seven centuries), paintings on pottery, and writings about music, musical life, and philosophy by ancient scholars, most notably Aristoxenus and Plato (fourth century B.C.), Ptolemy (second century A.D.), and Quintilian (late third or early fourth century). Plato and Aristotle placed great importance on musical education, ethics, and influences, and discussed which types of music and instruments were appropriate for given occasions. Fragments of music and theoretical writings have answered some questions, but have raised others and prompted speculation on many fronts. Researchers continue to delve into areas such as musical intervals, modes and modality, pitch accent, instruments, performance practices, and the relationships of Greek music to that of other cultures (Near Eastern, western Christian) and times (Byzantine, modern Greek).

MUSIC IN DAILY LIFE

Music, including work songs, ceremonial songs, and sung epics, played a significant role in most important occasions in ancient Greek life. Choruses of men, women, or children performed for religious rituals, at marriages, funerals, and celebrations of famous persons and athletic victories, and in dramatic and dithyrambic competitions in Athens. The choruses of the cult of Dionysus remained an important element in comic and tragic plays until the fourth century B.C. The singers were amateurs, but all had received musical training as an essential part of a general education.

Choruses were accompanied by professional musicians playing the *kithara*, a seven- or eight-stringed plucked lyre, or the *aulos* (pl. *auloi*), a conical double-reed aerophone, typically played in pairs by one player. Professional instrumentalists competed at festivals, in solo singing accompanied by a *kithara* or an *aulos*, and solo instrumental playing not based on poetic origins (*nomos kitharōdikos* or *nomos aulōdikos*). The *kithara*, a fairly large instrument, had a solidly built wooden sound box with a curved back and arms joined by a crossbar that held a tuning apparatus. Strings of equal length stretched from a holder on the lower part of the sound box over a bridge to



FIGURE 1 An Attic red-figure terra cotta cup (*kylix*), 22.4 centimeters in diameter, attributed to the Dokimasia painter of Athens, ca. 510 B.C., depicts a man playing *auloi*, thought by most scholars to consist of two double- or single-reed pipes. The long staff suggests the man may be a shepherd. The instrument's closest modern European analogs are the Sardinian *launeddas*, which consists of three single-reed pipes played by a single player, and paired single-reed pipes, often with horns attached to form a bell, from the Basque provinces and the Dalmatian coast. Photo courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

the crossbar. The instrument rested against the player's body as he plucked the strings by the fingers of his left hand or with a plectrum held in his right hand.

The skill of the professional *aulete* was an important factor in the success of competing choruses. The *aulos* was made of reed, wood, bone, ivory, or metal, open at the lower end, and with differing numbers of finger holes. Early pipes had three to five holes; later, in the fifth and sixth centuries, that number increased to as many as fifteen, with holes unnecessary for a particular scale being covered by a metal ring. Typically played in pairs, *auloi* were held in position by a band wrapped around the player's head and cheeks as a support. With separate mouthpieces, the pipes could speak alone or together, but it is believed that they sounded separately, each creating a portion of a single scale. Because of its early association with satyrs, Plato suggested banning the *aulos* (figure 1).

Amateur musicians played other instruments, such as lyres and harps. The lyre, smaller and simpler than the *kithara*, had an oxhide-covered sound box, made from a tortoise shell or a similarly shaped wooden frame. The *barbitos* or *barbiton*, a larger version with longer strings, was used to accompany erotic songs. Harps, such as the *psalterion*, the *trigonon*, and the *magadis*, with differing numbers of unequal-lengthed strings, were commonly played by women though philosophers disapproved of harp-accompanied music. The *syrix* 'panpipes' was constructed of equal-sized pipes bound together in a row and stopped at graduated intervals.

MUSICAL STYLE

The music itself was primarily homophonic, sung in unisons or octaves. The accompanying *kithara* or *aulos* sounded notes either consonant (intervals of the octave, fourth or fifth) or dissonant, but probably not comprising a countermelody. Lyrics appear to have been preeminent. In performance, the songs most likely presented a clean melodic line without grace notes or melismas to obscure the words. The ancient Greek language employed pitch accents, imbuing it with its own melody; composers tended to follow the speech contour, or at least to avoid conflict with it—a tendency illustrated clearly by Delphic hymns. At some point, pitch accent gave way to stress accent, as in Byzantine and modern Greek. Rhythms, identical to existing poetic meters, were based on patterns of long and short syllables in each line or set of lines. The basic unit of metric and rhythmic theory was the poetic foot, rather than the musical measure.

WRITTEN THEORIES OF MUSIC

Greek music theory is derived from Pythagoras's concept of the numerical nature of consonances. The numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 held great significance for ancient philosophers, and ratios derived from them represented the musical consonances: 2/1 (octave), 3/2 (fifth), 4/3 (fourth), 3/1 (octave plus fifth), and 4/1 (double octave). The fifth plus the fourth equals the octave, expressed arithmetically as the product of ratios, $3/2 \times 4/3 = 2/1$; the fifth minus the fourth defines the whole tone, expressed arithmetically as the quotient of ratios, $3/2 \div 4/3 = 9/8$.

Pythagorean theory was further developed by Aristides Quintilian, Ptolemy, and Aristoxenus, whose *Elements of Harmony* is the oldest extant European treatise containing a significant discussion of music. Using Aristotelian method, Aristoxenus devised a theory of music based on a geometric conception of musical space, which he viewed as infinitely divisible, but with the smallest musical interval the quarter tone (*diesis*). The tetrachord—four notes with three intervals, spanning a perfect fourth—was the basic building block; Aristoxenus considered the fourth to be exactly two and a half tones.

“Fixed” or “standing” notes formed the outer boundaries of the tetrachord. The inner two “movable” notes determined the tetrachord’s genus: diatonic, enharmonic, or chromatic. Aristoxenus considered the tetrachord a system, a succession of intervals. Larger systems were created by combining tetrachords, either conjunct (sharing a note) or disjunct (separated by a whole tone). The Greater Perfect System (GPS), the standard for Greek musical theory, comprised four tetrachords plus a note one whole tone below the lowest tetrachord. The Lesser Perfect System (LPS) comprised the lower octave of the GPS plus a conjunct tetrachord at the top. Ptolemy later combined the two systems into the Immutable System, using the LPS for modulation from one mode (*tonos*, pl. *tonoi*) to another.

Issues of mode and key still perplex Greek music scholars. Aristoxenus and later scholars discuss tunings (*harmoniai*) and give the ethnic names of modes: dorian, lydian, phrygian, and others. These names are ascribed by Plato and Aristotle to the *harmoniai*, which they felt varied tonally and with respect to the *ethos* (character) of the ethnic groups after which the modes were named. Quintilian presents six ancient *harmoniai*, of which only the lydian matches those presented by Ptolemy. The second-century writer Cleonides added thirteen modes one half-step apart. Scholars are uncertain whether the *tonoi* included a sense of tonic or fundamental pitch and whether each *tonos* corresponded to a unique *ethos*.

In general, the philosophical and mathematical theories of Plato and the Pythagoreans were influential in the development of Western music. The very word *music*—forms of which appear in most modern European languages—comes from the Greek word *mousikē*. Though some of Aristoxenus’s and Quintilian’s ideas were incorporated into the music theory of the Middle Ages (by way of Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, ca. A.D. 425), Pythagoras’s theories were the most significant musical theories in Europe until the fifteenth century.

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Notation and Transmission in European Music History

Tilman Seebass

Notation, Composition, and Performance

The Relation of Written Music and Orally Transmitted Music

Modes of Musical Reproduction and Performance Practice

The ancient Greeks—who considered music an art with a strong theoretical and philosophical base, a rational tonal system, and a mathematical and cosmological component—invented a quasi-alphabetic notation for writing down certain aspects of music. However, the potential of notation and its associated concepts, which later became the core of Western art music, was not realized by the Greeks themselves. Instead, during Roman times, the philosophical and theoretical basis of music seems to have lost its prominent place and musical notation almost disappeared.

The so-called great migration of peoples throughout Europe beginning in A.D. 375 and the collapse of the Mediterranean world created very different conditions, where there was neither a social nor an academic basis for a “music as music theory” of this kind. Consequently, until the high Middle Ages, occidental history of music as a practice (*cantus* ‘song’ and the various instrumental genres) and music as a theory (*ars musica*) remained separated. During this period, theory was a highly speculative academic endeavor, pursued and transmitted inside the walls of ecclesiastical institutions; whereas music itself was practiced as an oral art, comparable to that of other cultures. Then conditions began to change again, literacy spread, and ecclesiastical, aristocratic, and civic centers began to burgeon. A music notation was invented for practical purposes and quickly changed the concept of what constitutes a piece of music. Laws and mechanisms for musical transmission began to become distinctly different from those of other cultures, including those of Eastern Christians; the music of higher society, “art music” or simply “music,” was more and more integrated into the system of literate tradition and merged with *ars musica*.

NOTATION, COMPOSITION, AND PERFORMANCE

Neumatic chant notation was invented around A.D. 800 as an aid to oral tradition and a means to promote for political reasons one version of that tradition. Then, in the eleventh century, it changed into a tool for composing new music and in particular polyphonic music. The old academic, theoretical discipline of *ars musica* quite possibly played a decisive role in this. Contrary to cultures where polyphony is conceived and practiced heterophonically, the clerical singers were engaging in a type of

In oral and semiliterate traditions, part of the complexity of music is the chemistry between musicians and audiences, whereas in the European written music the complexity resides in design and construction.

polyphony that had a strictly organized verticality, note against note (*punctus contra punctum*), with precisely controlled vertical progressions. For such movement, knowledge of the theory of harmony was necessary. Composing music and in the process controlling most parameters of every performance, imply, by nature, a loosening of the links between music (as a process of sound produced in time) on the one hand, and the reactions and feelings among musicians and between musicians and audience on the other. Since then, a tendency toward the “absolute” or the idea of *l’art pour l’art* can be felt in much European art music. Nevertheless, pure art-for-art’s-sake compositions—such as certain *Ars Subtilior* ‘Subtler Art’ pieces of the fourteenth century [see HISTORY OF EUROPEAN ART MUSIC] and certain twentieth-century serial works—are rare, because composers cannot but be a part of the system that embeds music in society, and performers and audiences are still left with possibilities of influencing the music when, through performance, it comes into being.

From the eleventh century on, musical notation developed into modal, mensural, and finally “postmensural” forms, gradually entrusting more elements of music to script and therewith separating a visualized sound structure from the performance while preserving the former. Over several centuries, notation spread into all branches of “art music” (that is, the music of the upper classes), promoted and enjoyed by literate clerical, courtly, and civic circles. But the process was complex. As late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when vocal sacred and secular polyphony reached a level of sophistication never to be surpassed, the manuscripts still give us the separate parts of a piece, not a score, suggesting that strong links to oral and heterophonic musical traditions still existed and the notation was the record of a music that was not necessarily composed at a desk, but put together in performance. Similarly, there is the practice of that time of improvising one or more lines over the chant line notated in the liturgical book, the so-called *cantus super librum*. (Important work on the history of notation is contained in Apel 1961; Arlt 1973–1982; Karkoschka 1972; Levy 1987; Treitler 1984; and Wolf 1913–1919; and is reviewed in Bent et al. 1980.)

The idea of writing out a score in which all parts are lined up synchronically had existed already in an earlier phase of vocal polyphony—since the ninth-century treatise *Musica Enchiriadis*—but did not become the standard mode until the sixteenth century as a result of the impact of instrumental tablatures (notations for polyphonic music on solo instruments), originally invented with the purpose of making multi-part vocal music available to keyboardists. (Important editions of facsimiles of medieval music include *Paléographie musicale* 1889–, by the monks of Solesmes; Coussemaker 1966 [1852]; Nadas and Ziino 1990; Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990; and Rokseth 1935–1939.)

In principle, letter notation for pitches, neumes, and tablature are not different from notations found in the eastern parts of Asia, but the character and function of modal, mensural, and modern notation are tied to a new process (and a new concept) of musical creation. Here, music may be initially conceived in the mind only, or in an

impromptu at the keyboard or the lute. Then its basic shape is “composed” by a process of visualization through script. Finally, the details and whatever the notation enables the author to prescribe are written down. Some musicians were so fascinated by the possibilities of visualization that they invented a music only apparent to the eyes, for example, with black notes symbolizing mourning. The relationship between the conceiving mind of the composer and the written product becomes discursive (dialectical), with notation inviting new structural designs and musical structures inviting notational devices. One consequence is that the composed and final musical product becomes a neighbor of a work of literature or a painting, assuming a *Werkbegriff* ‘musical product as a finite, conceptual entity’ similar to the one used in the sister arts. Another consequence is that the creator of music is split into a composer and a performer, the two functions becoming more and more separate. In no other culture has the prescriptive comprehensiveness of notation reached such extremes in the course of a millennium (Hammerstein 1966; Seidel 1987; Wiora 1965).

From the sixteenth century on, the development and function of notation and the division of music into composition and performance are linked to the history of music printing (King 1964). Previously, music had been written down by the small, highly educated, initially clerical class of writers and scribes, but for the next three hundred years handwritten music and printed music existed side by side. Which of the two modes was chosen was not so much a matter of the size of the ensemble and the complexity of the parts, but depended on the size of the group who used the notation and the possibilities of repeated performance. Complex scores with many parts, such as operas and oratorios, often performed only once during carnival season (prior to Lent), were not printed, but music for small ensembles, for example, Arcangelo Corelli’s trio sonatas, could spread in innumerable editions.

In the nineteenth century, the conditions for transmitting music changed again. With the disappearance of musical patronage and the growth of an educated middle class, composers depended almost completely on the print medium for the distribution of music; royalties became an important economic factor. Except for operas and other works with large instrumentation (where only the parts were printed, until there was enough demand for full scores), the printing of parts and the score became standard. Economically and socially not much less important were the publications of arrangements of music for educated amateur pianists and chamber-music ensembles in bourgeois households, and increasingly for popular consumption in the *kaffeehaus*, ballrooms, for town and military bands, and so on.

As the ultimate version of a composition became more and more the printed one, the process by which composers arrived at the final product increased in complexity: from the jotting down of ideas in a notebook, to preliminary sketches, the *particello* ‘score with only the most important voices’, the *Urschrift* ‘first full score’, the *Reinschrift* ‘conductor’s copy for the first performance’, the *Druckvorlage* ‘printer’s copy’, and the corrected proofs. What is written in the composer’s own hand, the autograph, today receives attention as a psychological document, a collectible, and a potential source for the scholarly study of the compositional process. (Facsimiles of musical autographs and studies based on them can be found in Hilmar 1990; Lichtenhahn and Seebass 1976; Marshall 1972; and Winternitz 1965.)

There is a direct correlation between the steadily increasing complexity of the process involved in writing music down and the increasing size of musical compositions. Whereas in oral and semiliterate traditions, part of the complexity of music is the chemistry between musicians and audiences, in the European written music the complexity resides in design and construction. The principle of orchestral music, with more than one musician playing the same part exactly in the same way, is in

most other cultures neither feasible nor seen as desirable. Contrapuntal polyphony and uniformity in ensemble playing are the opposites of heterophony. Large-scale, complex structures with a dynamic outlay, in particular the sonata principle (found in orchestral and operatic genres), are the result of the technique of composition by script. Other, originally oral forms, such as variation and rondo, increased in complexity and length to a degree that they too became unthinkable without notation. The last to disappear were considered licenses of the performers: extemporaneous musical additions to the more or less faithful realization of a score survived into the twentieth century and disappeared before World War II, only to reappear a few decades later as constitutive elements prescribed by composers.

Nowhere outside Europe is script so central for a large portion of music. Consequently, the music outside the realm of script that lives as an orally created art separates itself earlier and more definitely than in other cultures from musical forms linked to a written tradition. Orally created music becomes gradually until the mid-nineteenth century an affair of the popular realm and lower classes, while written music is increasingly identified with the cultural activity of the upper class.

In the last few hundred years, the amount of written music has reached such immense proportions that it has set in motion a certain type of musicology, which operates with a *Werkbegriff*, derived from the idea of music being composed in writing and executed from the score, a *res facta*, unique, immobile, and eternal. As a consequence, the term *monument* (*Denkmal*, pl. *Denkmäler*) for a musical score has become common among scholars. On a conceptual level, European music historiography is congruent to European musical composition: the scholar sides with the composer and the written evidence, not with the musician. Thus, inherently the transmission of European art music through notation invites the assumption that what was visualized was the music itself. Not surprisingly, in English the term *music* can relate to both the sound and the score.

As to the ranking of this Western art music in the musical universe, to this day the insider and the outsider seem to have difficulties agreeing. Walter Wiora saw in its unique dependence on script a claim for superiority over all the others (1965:130–132). In fact, he made Western music the true bearer of what he called the fourth age of music, which he supposed had spread over the entire earth—a rather apocalyptic vision indeed. Writing the introduction to the (untranslated) second edition of Wiora's book in 1988, Carl Dahlhaus patently admired this concept of ethnocentric universal history. A Sicilian bagpiper, on the other hand, seems to respect Western art music while distancing himself from it: he calls written art music *musica*, and uses individual, concrete terms for his own forms of musical performance (oral communication Nico Straiti, November 1991). To most Asian musicians, finally, Western art music must appear as an interesting aberration from true music, because it has come to disregard the primordial dependence of structure on performance, time, and occasion.

THE RELATION OF WRITTEN MUSIC AND ORALLY TRANSMITTED MUSIC

There are many indirect and a few direct indications that throughout European music history the culture of orally transmitted music interacted with the composed music of the literati (see in particular Leydi 1991 and Knepler 1982:217–226). The reason for this is not only that written music becomes aural during the performance (as oral music does), or because many aspects of the musical event never enter the score, but because in vocal sacred or secular music and instrumental music the musicians were a social group who had ties into both directions of the system of social strata. The borderlines were particularly blurred before 1500, that is, during the

many centuries when most instrumental music, even for literate audiences, was not written down.

The social and professional status of the musicians was of a kind that often makes it hard, sometimes plainly impossible, to separate folk or popular music culture from that of the upper strata, since the musical repertoire of students, lower clerics, and migrating professional musicians was mediated into both directions. An additional aspect is that sociocultural differences must be seen in tandem with the locale (urban or rural) and the geographic region. Since research into these gray zones often must operate without primary sources, scholars have tended to shun them. As research on the impact of Austrian folk music on the Viennese classics shows, it is possible to project twentieth-century, primary evidence of folk music backward and trace its influence in art music. (The relationship between art and folk music has been examined by Salmen 1983; Stockmann 1983; Szabolcsi 1965; Taruskin 1980; Wiora 1957; and others.)

Perhaps the most fascinating “mixed” culture is Italy, where from the Middle Ages to present times oral and written traditions continuously interacted. Genres of written literature and notated music were adopted and developed by reciters of epics, *gondolieri*, puppeteers, and religious groups in sacred or devotional practice (Leydi 1991). Conversely, popular vocal and instrumental genres, including dances, made it often into the repertoire of respected instrumentalists working for the higher classes, or were picked up by composers. (Even in Italy, scholarly attention to this phenomenon is recent; see Leydi 1991; Magrini 1986; and Staiti, Guidobaldi, and Bernardoni 1987.)

Though under certain circumstances music traveled between different social strata—sacred and secular songs and dance seem to have been particularly adaptable—from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, written music of the literate society separated itself as “art music” more and more from oral traditions of illiterate and lower-class society. The growing bourgeois middle class adopted in the late eighteenth century common aesthetic standards for their music, and it appears that composers were aware of it, at least judging from Joseph Haydn’s claim that his music appealed to this common standard—that it was for the whole world.

In the late eighteenth century, at the moment when music of the popular traditions seemed almost completely to disappear from the horizon of the literati, this music was reintroduced as an important part of it by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who advocated the recognition of cultural otherness of other historical periods, different social strata, and different geographical settings. With his discovery of folklore as a marker of cultural identity and a field of scholarly inquiry came the discovery of oral tradition (Burke 1978). What Herder started as a concept developed on the writer’s desk became an important issue a generation later during the years of nationalist revivals. While Central European art music was establishing itself from the British Isles to St. Petersburg in performance and musical education, ethnic music was becoming a political issue and was beginning to influence the national music scenes. “Flavoring” musical compositions with ethnic elements, composers produced music that could serve as a national identifier. Throughout Europe, composers and audiences became increasingly interested in folk music. This process culminated twice, first among Chopin, Smetana, Dvořák, and other Central Europeans who resorted to their folklore as a means to color the tonal, rhythmic, and formal language of the late Romantic and post-Romantic phase, and then among the generation active in the first decades of the twentieth century, when folklore was the treasure trove to replace the worn-out parameters of Central European tonal language by new, even exotic ones. Since research in folkloristic and exotic aspects of Western art music requires a double expertise, it is hard to get a grip on the problem. So far,

A step into the almost limitless availability of music was reached with the introduction and expansion of the audiovisual electronic media. Contemporary music and music of the educated masses began to grow apart, with more and more people taking refuge in a music of past times, music that had long lost its new or avant-garde character.

scholars have almost exclusively dealt with this issue from the recipient's point of view; for a study from the donors' perspective, one would need the collaboration of folklorists and ethnomusicologists.

MODES OF MUSICAL REPRODUCTION AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

The performing arts—music, dance, and drama—have in common that their essence and existence reside in actualization. They are “arts-in-the-making” (Sheets 1966:36). Though in this respect Europe is not categorically different from other cultures, the increasing reliance on a written tradition did change some conditions for reproduction—synchronically between classes and occasions, and diachronically through time.

Synchronic reproduction

Western music history presents a wealth of examples for transformations of musical substance from one performance to another during a given time period. The Middle Ages, with its many oral or mixed traditions, was a particularly rich period. Chants were recomposed with tropes and sequences, melodies were adapted to new texts, and new melodies were adapted to given texts. Monophonic music formed the basis of new, polyphonic music in motets and masses, and sung tunes were intabulated on keyboard instruments and for a variety of instrumental realizations of dance tunes. Many of these possibilities lived on in the following centuries, yet they were reduced in importance with the increased role of composed music. By the mid-twentieth century, composers, musicians, scholars, and the public had so much become used to the idea that the music was the same if the score was the same, that one almost assumed that the changes from one performance to another did not affect the substance. Klaus Wachsmann (1981) correctly observed that the importance of context for musical form was greatly reduced in Western composed music. Nevertheless, there were always situations in which the original musical performance and the reproduction could grow apart—for example, if the work was performed by a larger set of instruments (a song for voice and keyboard being orchestrated) or a smaller one (a dance for string ensemble being reduced to a piece for lute). Reductions were often extemporized on the basis of the original score. The distance between the “original” and the new product was greater if a work was transferred from the written tradition of the literate society to the oral tradition of popular or rural culture, or if a performance from the realm of folk music and folk dance entered the written tradition, or if a change of taste in society made changes in the music necessary, as with Mozart's operas during the nineteenth century. Though in the course of the nineteenth century notation continued to assume ever greater precision, the *Werkbegriff* remained problematic. The most obvious example is the role of piano arrangements. With the spread of the piano into nearly every household of bourgeois society, piano arrange-

ments as a means for domestic reproduction and consumption of music of theater, concert, and church grew to yet new dimensions.

A step into the almost limitless availability of music was reached with the introduction and expansion of the audiovisual electronic media, but simultaneously, and not surprisingly, a predilection for what is easy to the ears was increasing. Contemporary music and music of the educated masses began to grow apart, with more and more people taking refuge in a music of past times, music that had long lost its new or avant-garde character.

Diachronic reproduction

Though between 800 and 1800 the share of written music within music culture in general increased, this change did not alter the length of time during which a particular genre or individual work remained fashionable and remembered by society. Despite notation, most operas between 1600 and 1750 were performed once or a few times only. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, historicism provided the incentive for rediscovering and reperforming a music that had ceased to be contemporary. The famous example is the performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* under the baton of Felix Mendelssohn in 1829. This performance did not attempt a reconstruction of the original conditions. Mendelssohn chose modern state-of-the-art orchestras and large choirs, and thus brought the music up to date to the taste of the public. From then onward, the same piano and the same modern symphonic orchestra that served contemporary original (primary) or arranged (secondary) performances were used for bringing to life music of earlier periods written for different instruments and assuming different conventions of execution. It was in the 1920s that more scholars began to look into the original conditions of a performance, simultaneously with the appearance of numerous groups of "early music performers." The aims of musicologists and musicians had a new point of convergence.

Not surprisingly, the "early music" movement was stimulated by interest in three instruments, which had disappeared altogether (as with the harpsichord and the viola da gamba) or had undergone drastic changes in the nineteenth century (as with the organ). The events of the 1930s and World War II stopped the development of such studies and performances. Because large orchestras and the piano continued to appropriate whatever of the editions of earlier music came on the market for their public and private performance, the study of performance practice had a slow start in the 1950s. That it picked up at all is believed to have been due to the efforts of the German firm Polydor's budgeting a portion of its income from sales of singles of popular music for its Archiv Productions. An early music project could probably not have survived these critical years without outside funding. Even today, when live performances of early music on period instruments (original instruments or instruments build after originals) have considerably increased, the income from concerts would rarely suffice to keep musicians and instrument makers economically afloat. The early-music activity owes much of its existence to the audio industry. Another socioaesthetic change connected to the early-music movement is that the group of amateurs actively performing "classical" music has entered a crisis. They cannot afford to learn several techniques of playing and buy the "correct" instruments for playing the music of other periods, and are left with the choice of leaving active playing of early music to the historicizing professionals, or continuing to play with modern instruments with the pretension that historicism is not their concern.

The early-music movement provided the first opportunity for historians to work "in the field," to use a term from ethnology. Accordingly, the *Werkbegriff* of scholars has begun to change (as has the public's and the self-consciousness of musicians), and

research in those matters that are not evident from the score, yet relevant for the performance, has gained importance. Almost all the adjacent fields of music history, in particular organology and iconography, have received a boost from this, and editorial practices have begun to shift. (Important studies on early-music performance practice include Brown and Sadie 1990; Eggebrecht 1967; Haskell 1988; Kenyon 1988; and Neumann 1978; and journals devoted to the topic include *Early Music* and the *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Aufführungspraxis*.)

What started with historical performances in the nineteenth century became another feature by which Western art music separated itself from the rest of the globe. It created a mode of musical performance in which the original context had completely or almost completely disappeared and had been replaced by the new context of an "experience in concert" with its own purpose of historicist entertainment and edification. Of course, in non-Western musical performances the historical dimension can also be present; an example such as puppet (*wayang*) performances in Java, Bali, and Malaysia comes easily to mind; but in *wayang*, the contextual system, including its metaphysical purpose, has remained intact, and history is only experienced in its actualized form. In the West, an early-music performance is a historicizing reconstruction of what fundamentally differs from the present.

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The Role of History in Contemporary European Art-Music Culture

Bruno Nettl

The European Concept of Music History

The Sociology of Contemporary Performance: Past Dominates Present

Comparative Perspectives on the Uniqueness of European Music History

For Europeans, the art or classical musical repertory consists largely of works composed long ago, identified by their time of origin, and discussed in their chronological relationship to each other. Recent works are measured by their relationship to and departure from past works. The music most revered is that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is reasonable to suggest that Western art-music culture is particularly oriented to and conscious of its history (Dahlhaus 1977; Knepler 1982).

The people of many societies emphasize that their music is ancient, is in some sense a pure expression of the society, is distinct from the music of other societies, and in many cases is of superior quality. Nowhere, possibly, is the specialness of a culture's music stressed more than among musicians and their audiences in Europe; and within that context, nowhere more than in the domain of European classical or art music.

According to Judith Becker (1986), Western musicians regard their music as superior in three respects: it is based on natural principles, which moved it to its present form (or more properly, to its form in the 1800s, its highest state of achievement) through stages now represented by other musics of the world; it is more complex than other musics, and, indeed, is in a totally different class of complexity; and it has meaning in ways that other musics do not. Similarly, Joseph Kerman, in suggesting that scholarship in Western art music requires an approach different from that required by other musics, writes, "Western music is just too different" (1985:174). Music-appreciation teachers sometimes distinguish between Western and other musics by asserting that the Western is dynamic and the rest of the musical world is static. There is ample ground on which to criticize these statements, but our task here is to use them to show that Western culture regards itself as different from other cultures, not only in degree, but in kind, and that its attitude toward music history reflects this.

THE EUROPEAN CONCEPT OF MUSIC HISTORY

Most adherents of European art music, people with a considerable general and at least somewhat formal musical education, look at music as a set of concentric circles, roughly like this: their own art music is in the center, surrounded by a circle of folk

and popular musics (variously distant from the center, depending on similarities of styles, instruments, and contexts), with non-Western musics at the perimeter, art musics such as South Asian and Indonesian closer than the musics of smaller societies such as American Indians and Australian Aborigines. Their view of history may focus on the center alone, or on certain sectors, or even on the whole array of circles.

World music: a conspectus of "our" European history?

In listening to the musics of the world and considering musics that may have once existed but are no longer extant, many thoughtful scholars and other members of Western society regard world history as a single event, a line of development in which all cultures move through similar stages, but at different speeds. The culmination is Western music—in one respect, the accomplishments of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art music, and in another, the technological accomplishments of the twentieth century in the "new music" of the art-music world and the sphere of popular music. However, ethnomusicologists and a few music historians have expressed uneasiness about this kind of big-bang approach to world-music history (Blum, Bohlman, and Neuman 1990; Dahlhaus 1977), but it continues to be a major strand of the Western view of the musical past.

Folk music: illuminating national origins

To most Westerners, folk music is the music of rural and uneducated classes; but more important, it represents the early stages of their national cultures, early in a chronological sense, but also in the sense that this is the music of the unspoiled past, a time of cultural purity. Yet folk music continues to exist in isolated areas, suggesting, as in the view of world music, the simultaneous existence of various periods (Bohlman 1988). The European approach to music history can be seen as a struggle between accepting Europe as a unit and viewing music as the expression of different nationalities (Bohlman 1992). Folk-song scholarship has shown that certain tunes, instruments, and texts have wide distributions through Europe; but more importantly, each European culture or ethnic group has its own repertory and style of folk music. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, folk music has had significant functions in nationalistic movements of all directions, including German nationalism culminating in the Nazi period, nineteenth-century Czech liberation movements, Hungarian attempts to separate from Austrian domination, and the struggle for Irish political independence.

The history of art music: reconciling opposites

The value of the old, the value of change

In the world of European art music, historical consciousness probably did not play a major role until the Renaissance, with its desire to return to ancient classical ideals. By the 1700s and 1800s, the concept of progress and composers' desires to stay ahead of audiences and competitors had become established. At that point, music, to be alive, had always to be (or claim to be) changing. But as methods of transmission became more fixed—first through exclusively aural processes, and then through handwritten notation with little standardization, on to higher degrees of agreement, to printing, and eventually to recording and synthesis—the possibility of holding on to the old while forging ahead increased (Meyer 1982; Taruskin 1988).

In the twentieth century, a major motivating force has been the desire to see music expand (Cameron 1982, 1984). A paradox has resulted: on the one hand, new works ought to be new in their acoustic contents (themes, sequences of harmonies or tone series, and so on), and must show composers as innovators in compositional

conception, method, and technique; but on the other hand, the art-music-loving populace, and even some ever-innovating composers, regard the best music as having been created in the past, especially in the 1700s and 1800s.

National and universal

In each nation, special attention is paid to local products, local popular music ensembles, local folk musicians who, no longer rural in culture or musical training, bring folklike music to urban populations and art-music composers, however little known in other countries. But throughout Europe, people recognize mainstreams of art and popular musical culture. In art music, this center is a constellation of universally respected great composers of the 1700s and 1800s, most of them German or Austrian. In popular music throughout the twentieth century, the stylistic center has been North America, with African-American musics a major source.

The importance of origins

Though the national origins of composers and pieces are a smaller issue in music than in visual art, the origins of pieces are of great importance. "Origin" includes the question of how compositions came about—the identity of composers, what they had in mind, how they worked, how they brought the materials together; stylistic and thematic sources, and the particular forms these sources had. The emphasis on origins resulted in the concern for authenticity of performance practice. But in the first instance, the character of a piece of music is ascribed to the time of its composition. If asked why two pieces are different, musicians go first to the temporal context of composition. And thus, one of the most important components in musicians' thought about music history is the concept of periods, each of which is assumed to have had a stylistically integrated character. Each period can be characterized by a set of stylistic features, typical genres, and aesthetic and cultural ideals; and European cultures are seen to have participated, not equally to be sure, in all or most of them.

Great masters, great works

European lovers of art music know that music history tells of innumerable phalanxes of composers and an almost infinite number of works, but they focus on a small number of masters and masterworks. The list is usually headed by Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, and perhaps also Schubert, Handel, and Haydn, but while there would seem to be general agreement among Europeans about the stature of these composers (all ethnically Germanic), each nation has its preferences: Polish music lovers quickly add Chopin; Czechs add Smetana and Dvořák; Italians add Verdi, Puccini, and Monteverdi. But everywhere music is primarily the works of the great masters, composers who stand out because they composed not just one or two, but many masterworks. Europeans seem to be united in their elevation of certain works to the status of universal masterwork: Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, Handel's *Messiah*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, perhaps Schubert's song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin*, Wagner's *Ring*, Verdi's *Aida*, Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*—all of these being large, complex works.

Popular music: art-music history telescoped

The world of art music sees itself as oriented to the past, but with an imperative to innovate; the world of popular music is similar, but takes a shorter time span as its measure. There is the constantly changing character of styles and repertoires and the basic assumption that songs remain in the repertoire briefly, after having for a short time been hits. But in trade magazines, on radio and television, occur frequent references to older recordings, early stars, songs from some kind of a classic period—the

1940s big-band era, Elvis Presley, the Beatles, Aretha Franklin, Hank Williams. The concepts of a classic era and classics of the repertory play a role here as they do in the art-music world. The impetus of nostalgia plays an important role, partly because of advances in the technology of recording and reissuing, improvements in quality, and the lengthening history of the recording industry itself. Altogether, the popular-music world reflects, or is reflected by, the temporal perspectives of the classical-music culture.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE: PAST DOMINATES PRESENT

The relative importance of the past over the present in contemporary musical life manifests itself in many ways, including choice of repertory, the relationship between traditional musical structures and traditional family structures, formal dress codes at concerts, and even the temporal organization of music lessons.

Repertory

The concentration on music composed between 1730 and 1920 in the art music of European and European-derived societies is a recent development, dating perhaps to the end of World War I. At that point, according to Christopher Small, the repertory was “frozen” (1987:11–13). In the nineteenth century, European concerts consisted much more of recent and contemporary works. The change in attitude around 1920 results from several factors. Concerts, especially of large ensembles such as symphony orchestras, have become rituals in which a model of society—hierarchical, dominated by the middle and upper classes—to which most members of European society nevertheless do not subscribe is celebrated. Stylistic innovations in virtually each work began to outdistance the ability of audiences to absorb change, and a new and, to many people, incomprehensible set of musical languages was established. Composers’ desires to produce great art for all time, rather than music for their contemporaries, introduced a split between composers and listeners. The development of technology and occupational specialization, and the idea that members of certain professions—scientists, physicians, engineers, social scientists—should properly use metalanguages unintelligible to the general public, encouraged composers to do the same with their music. The European art-music world came to be a society that idealized technological and social change, and expected composers to innovate radically, but remained tied to the enjoyment of music composed long ago, performed as much as possible as it would have been under its composers’ direction.

Social structure in the music

The most significant and popular styles of Western art music have parts that fit together somewhat along the lines of Western societies. Most of the art music composed roughly between 1730 and 1920 consists of something accompanied by something else. The right hand of the piano and harpsichord is accompanied by the left, a violin is accompanied by a piano, first violins in the small orchestra are accompanied by other strings, and all the strings are accompanied by the winds in the large symphony orchestra. In opera, the solo singers are accompanied by the entire orchestra, within which, in turn, are all of the hierarchical elements of symphony orchestras generally; and on stage, solo with vocal accompaniment at various levels also exists. A piano concerto, the paradigmatic type of concerto, has the hierarchical elements of the piano, all of them as a unit, accompanied by an orchestra.

Interesting exceptions are musical genres in which all voices are thought to be equal and potential contrasts in timbre and sometimes tempo are deemphasized: fugues and their relatives, and string quartets. Fugues are particularly associated with

The conductor is a general, who, like real generals, stays on the sidelines and takes no risks, has supreme power, and communicates with the officers (first-chair players) by shaking hands with them after a performance. Playing in uniform (tuxedos or tails for orchestras, military-derived uniforms for bands) cements the association.

religion and otherwise with the concept of the serious, and they often appear as statements of climax or finality, as in the “Amen” of Handel’s *Messiah*, the last movement of Mozart’s *Jupiter* Symphony, the original fourth movement of Beethoven’s String Quartet op. 130, and the end of Brahms’s Variations on a Theme by Handel.

The ideal of European musical culture remains the ensemble, typically consisting of four parts or voices. Established in the seventeenth century, the soprano-alto-tenor-bass structure remains dominant in music theory, in the choral world, and in much instrumental ensemble music outside the framework of experimental art music. The relationship of this structure to an ideal European family structure suggests in some measure why it has retained its significance, and helps explain the dominance of eighteenth-century music in contemporary musical life. (For an attempt to show social structure reflected in harmony, see Norton 1984; and for related material, see McClary 1991 and Meyer 1967.)

The relationship among the musicians in an ensemble is a paramount criterion of success, and the degree to which an ensemble can maintain its unity of personnel makes a difference. Most members of an audience—especially those using radio or records—do not know and cannot find out the names of members of quartets or trios, and hardly anyone can name a member of an orchestra. It is the ensembles that are the primary units of thought.

The typical Western art-music ensemble is often identified with units (nation, state, city governments) that play a role in politics, and its internal social structure is related to political and military structures. According to Small (1977), it is also a replication of industrial structures. Indeed, an orchestra seems like a factory for producing a performance of music. There is the sharp distinction between conductor and players, as between management and labor (figure 1). The conductor gets credit and criticism for the quality of performances, and his name graces marquees and record covers. The orchestra is arranged in hierarchies, including concertmaster (whose leadership is symbolized by a separate entrance at a concert), section heads, and designations of string players by desk and of wind players by difficulty of the parts they play (“first,” “second,” and so on). Elements of class distinction derive from musical structure: melody-playing instruments such as first violins and woodwinds have the highest status; those playing bass—cellos, double basses—are next, and those inhabiting the inner acoustical territory (violas, second violins, trombones) are lowest.

We can also see the conductor as a general, who, like real generals, stays on the sidelines and takes no risks (does not play—“You never heard a baton play a wrong note” is a standard orchestra musicians’ joke), has supreme power, and communicates with the officers (first-chair players) by shaking hands with them after a performance. Wind bands, especially marching bands—which more than orchestras are associated with towns or institutions, and are thus metaphorically armies that threaten and defend—have all these traits to a greater degree, as their physical movements are also



FIGURE 1 A symphony conductor rehearses the brass section of the orchestra, enacting a relationship that mimics that between management and labor. Photo courtesy of the Het Brabants Orchest, Eindhoven, Netherlands; Marc Soustrot, director. Photo by Cockie Donkers.

prescribed. The concept of playing in uniform (tuxedos or tails for orchestras, military-derived uniforms for bands) cements the association.

Concerts and other rituals

The principal ritual of the contemporary art-music world is the concert. The typical symphony orchestra concert is antihistorical in that it consists of works from various periods of history, various countries, and several possible social contexts. A concert might consist of an overture to a Mozart opera, a concerto by Grieg, and a symphony by Brahms, with an excerpt from a cantata by Bach as an encore. Materials from many sources are combined in a standardized ritual, in which introductory behavior (applause, tuning up, appearance of the concertmaster, who prepares the orchestra for the entry of the conductor, intermission, and closing behavior) are highly predictable. Printed programs and program notes, and a structure that gives places of honor to large works by famous composers or great masters, are essentially the same throughout Europe, whatever economic or political system dominates. Similar principles underlie piano recitals, chamber concerts, and other such events.

The audience of symphony orchestras and operas, at least in its subconscious, seems to wish to return to the eighteenth century, when patronage, lavish or parsimonious, would be provided by courts, churches, aristocrats, and the wealthy, and by associating with such persons and their establishments, the common people might be able to see and hear performances. Most patronage in the twentieth century is provided by national or local governments and industries; nevertheless, entering a concert hall often gives one a feeling that one is entering the predemocratic past. It is expressed most obviously in musicians' dress, costume, or uniform. White tie ("tails") is really nineteenth-century dress. It recalls suits worn by high-ranking servants, representing musicianship before it became a middle-class profession.

The taxonomy of musics is also made clear in performers' costumes. We see black tie (tuxedos) for the standard, 1710–1920 art music; Renaissance costumes for earlier music; turtleneck and non-uniform dress for the later twentieth century; non-Western dress for non-Western music, even if the musicians would wear Western dress otherwise; cowboy outfits for American country music when it is played in Europe; idiosyncratic dress in which no two members of an ensemble dress alike for rock; ethnic or rural dress ("folk costumes") for concerts of folk or folk-derived music; and military dress for large marching and even concertizing bands.

Secondary rituals

If we view the concert as the principal ritual of European art music, a ritual that embodies attitudes toward music and symbolizes important principles of social structure and culture as a whole, secondary rituals include practice sessions, rehearsals, and lessons. Individual students, teachers, conductors, and institutions vary enormously in the patterns of these events (more than in the patterning of concerts and recitals), and there is a dearth of concrete data, but there nevertheless appear to be some regularities. Most important, these patterns are derived from the pattern of concerts.

A typical orchestral rehearsal maintains the hierarchies and discipline of an orchestral concert, including respect for the conductor and first-chair players; indeed, direction from the top down is more important. Tuning up, the conductor's entry, intermission, and ordinarily the order of pieces duplicate those of the concert. One ordinarily rehearses for a particular concert.

Accomplished musicians and advanced students, who may practice many hours each day, develop idiosyncratic techniques of practicing. But most teachers impose a set of techniques and an order of events for the hour or so that other students devote

to practicing. Frequently, it is a ritual that reflects the Western view of music history. A typical serious and moderately advanced piano student with a demanding teacher may practice, in order: scales; exercises derived from scales; an etude, such as those by Heller or Czerny; a work by J. S. Bach; a work by Robert Schumann; and a work by Béla Bartók. Three principles are followed. The student begins and ends with the least “musical,” following the idea that the highest achievements are in the middle of the timeline; as in a concert, the *pièce de résistance* is in the middle. Like a concert, a practice session moves chronologically, the scales at the beginning a symbol of the beginnings of music. Similarly, one moves from melody to functional harmony to dissonance. One moves, as well, from musically (not technically) easy to musically difficult.

Lessons often follow the same pattern, but they may include elements of the orchestral rehearsal. Teachers sometimes conduct their students as they play, or hum along, or even perform in unison with them. They tend also to follow a typical order of events, presumably that which they expect to be followed in practicing. But in certain ways, a lesson is a small concert by the student, given for the teacher. You show what you have accomplished, and after each piece you receive applause, sometimes literally clapping, but more likely words of approval or encouragement. At the end of the lesson, a teacher may offer brief evaluative statements. Even the week before a lesson has a structure—technical, but perhaps more emotional, as the student works up to the climax of the week. The last practice session may be a dress rehearsal, full of excitement and anxiety.

Rehearsals, lessons, and practice sessions are minor versions of the concert ritual; and so are other events in the art-music world, such as auditions. There are material reasons for this, but in many societies, many rituals are microcosmic variations of a central one. European art-music culture has a sense of the way in which musical events should be ordered and the principles they should exhibit. Of these, the European view of history as a progression from easy to difficult, from introductory to great to decadent, from melody to harmony to dissonance, from warm-up to grand to light, is a major component.

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON THE UNIQUENESS OF EUROPEAN MUSIC HISTORY

The European music intelligentsia used to assert that Western music was different from all others on account of its tendency constantly to change while the rest of the musical world was static. This characterization fits into an earlier attitude about the history of world music. Tribal music was seen to be the music of the Stone Age, and shows us what the beginnings of music may have been. Even a culturally neutral student would probably agree that guesses about the earliest human music may be best informed by the traits held in common by tribal peoples long or always isolated from each other. But the quasi-evolutionist view holds, further, that all non-Western musics have stopped developing, can thus be found at various stages of evolution, and by definition have become unchanging.

Looking at musical change in the world from a Western perspective provides concentration on musical style, and on composition, rather than other elements of music, such as repertory, performance practice, and social context. A Plains Indian, whose culture may have provided for rapid composing of new songs and discarding of older ones without great change in musical style, may consider Western music, in which concerts with the same pieces could be given in 1910 and 1970, as quite static. A folk culture in which communal recreation provides for many successive renditions of the same songs could consider the virtually identical performances of a nineteenth-century piece by twentieth-century pianists as evidence of the unchanging nature of Western art music.

The history of Western music features eras when musicians staked out claims for innovation: the Ars Nova, around the beginning of the 1300s; the beginning of the Baroque, about 1600; and the introduction of atonal techniques, shortly after 1900.

It is unfortunate that we can discuss the balance between change and nonchange only in the abstract, but the concrete information that we have about the history of European music and musicians' attitude toward it is not available in anywhere nearly the same quantity for other societies. We must travel in a theoretical and imaginary realm. But when all is said and done, and all ethnocentric biases are eliminated in favor of an evenhanded, culturally neutral analysis, it may still turn out that European musical culture is characterized, in comparison to most others, by rapid changeability.

But it is change that comes at intervals and alternates with conservative periods emphasizing the static; and it results from an attitude that is ambivalent, at least in the twentieth century. In the abstract, musicians and music lovers in European culture admire the experimental and scorn composers who write in older styles, reaching back to the ideals of the nineteenth century. But while they want composers to write things that are new, in content and style, they want to understand newer works in terms applicable to older music. And they cannot conceive that the composers of their own twentieth century or of the future will ever be able to compete with the grandeur of the past, of the period of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.

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History of European Art Music

David Schulenberg

Medieval Music

Music in the Renaissance

Baroque Music

Classical and Romantic Music

Twentieth-Century Developments

The expression *European art music* is often applied to the music of the modern Western European concert-music tradition and its historical predecessors. Parallel terms include *Western music* and *classical music*. Some would restrict use of the term *art* to music composed only after the emergence in the nineteenth century of philosophies that understood music and other arts as objects valued for their own sakes, without respect for their real or perceived social or economic functions; however, evidence for an aesthetic appreciation of music can be found at earlier stages of Western music history, and it is arguable that certain fundamental functions of elite Western musics have remained constant since the Middle Ages.

This tradition is distinguished above all by its notation, which has permitted the preservation of music from as far back as the 800s. Diverse styles and genres have been preserved and remain in use. Particularly characteristic has been the use of polyphony, typical of European art music since the later Middle Ages. In addition, musicians in this tradition have typically been aware of foreign and past traditions transmitted orally and in writing, through notation and literary (historical and theoretical) works.

Technical features common to most Western art music include elaborate, hierarchically organized rhythmic and tonal structures and, since the tenth or eleventh century, systems of polyphony organized with equal complexity and regularity. These features have made possible the development of various musical forms, examples of which range in duration from half a minute to several hours. The early use of notation encouraged the development of a literate music culture and a dependence on fixed, unchanging musical texts; nevertheless, the performing traditions of most art-music repertoires have included a substantial improvisatory element. Only in the 1800s, with the advent of precisely notated music for large ensembles, did the improvisatory tradition weaken. It was revived in certain genres in the twentieth century.

Though an elite tradition, Western art music cannot be uniquely associated with any particular economic or social class. Even within a given demographic group—whether the aristocracy of fifteenth-century France or the haute bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Germany and Austria—those practicing and patronizing art music have usually constituted a small minority of the population. The production of art

music has tended to be concentrated in a few politically and economically important geographic centers. Hence, the history of Western art music is generally understood as consisting of innovations made within a limited number of cultural centers and spreading to geographically peripheral regions. France was of central importance during the Middle Ages (roughly 800–1450), followed by northern Italy in the Renaissance (1450–1600) and Baroque (1450–1700) and German-speaking Europe through the early twentieth century. In recent decades, musicians of the Americas, Asia, and Africa have joined those of Europe in playing important roles in the tradition.

Until the 1800s, the most frequent use of art music was probably in religious rituals. Religious institutions, particularly those of the Roman Catholic Church, have been prime patrons and users of art music. Through much of the history of the tradition, genres have been clearly distinguished as sacred or secular, though this distinction has not always held true for musical styles and techniques. Since the late 1700s, it has been customary to regard certain genres as distinctly religious in affect or mood, but this custom was not always true in earlier periods, when the same music might be employed for sacred and secular purposes.

MEDIEVAL MUSIC

The Western art-music tradition can be traced back to the Carolingian period (ninth century), when the earliest surviving Western musical notation was created and a corpus of theoretical writings took shape, chiefly in certain monasteries in what is now France. Important elements of the tradition derive from ancient Greece. These include the concept of the gamut or scale and the mathematical determination of available pitches, the ideas of mode and modal ethos (the relationship of affect to pitch structure), and notation. The organ, an instrument central to the Western tradition, is an ancient Greek invention, and most other instruments have ancient Greek analogs. Ancient Greek music remains imperfectly understood, despite the survival of notated fragments. That there was any continuity between the tradition represented by these fragments and later Western music is doubtful; nevertheless, a digest of ancient Greek writings on music prepared by the Roman writer Boethius (ca. 480–524) formed the basis of medieval musical thought. The convergence of this intellectual tradition with local musical practices can be considered the origin of Western art music. Local practices included those of the churches of early medieval Rome and pre-Carolingian France.

The establishment of a distinctive Western European tradition stems from the attempt by the emperor Charlemagne (742–814) to impose a uniform system of religious rituals throughout his realm, which included much of present-day France, Germany, and northern Italy. As in earlier Jewish and Christian worship, these rituals included chanted (sung) readings from the Bible and other fixed texts. Charlemagne intended the musical components of these rituals to follow the practice of Rome; actual practice, however, appears to have mixed Roman and northern traditions, and local variants had already been documented by the time of the earliest surviving notated sources, about a century later. Whether Carolingian chant was first transmitted orally or in writing remains controversial. Subsequent church musicians shared the concept of a fixed, historically authorized musical tradition and repertory conventionally, though wrongly, attributed to Pope Gregory the Great (reigned 590–604).

Gregorian chant

Gregorian chant is a repertory of several thousand melodies bearing Latin texts. Most

of the melodies are intended for use in specified services on particular days of the church year. The repertory includes solo and choral items, each divided into various categories. Distinct to each category of chant is the degree of musical complexity, which may range from syllabic recitation on a single pitch to florid melismatic singing.

The concept of liturgical specificity for each musical item—each chant belongs to a genre defined by its liturgical function and is intended for a given day and service—has its origin in earlier practices at Rome and elsewhere. A few chant melodies have tentatively been traced to Eastern (Jewish and Byzantine) sources. The earliest Western notation gives only a rough outline of the pitch structure of each melody, and even the fully developed chant notations of the eleventh century and later leave rhythm, timbre, and other musical parameters largely indeterminate while sometimes including signs for ornaments and other elements whose nature remains uncertain.

The late Middle Ages saw a huge expansion of the melodic repertory of religious chant. Entirely new genres of chant, such as the sequence, were created, and perhaps thousands of new melodies (with new Latin texts) were compiled or composed. Composers responsible for the earlier chant repertory are mostly anonymous, but later additions to the repertory are often ascribed to individuals, among them the abbot Notker Balbulus (ca. 840–912), associated with the early sequence, and the abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), one of the few women credited with significant compositions before 1600. In addition to such authors' liturgical or paraliturgical compositions, there is a substantial medieval repertory of Latin-texted songs, apparently composed by students or clerics for recreation or devotion.

The central Gregorian repertory was shared in principle by the members of each religious community, for whom its performance probably remained the most widespread musical activity through the Middle Ages. Teaching the rudiments of music was therefore an important element in medieval education, and a select few in certain institutions must have served as specialists in singing and teaching chant. With the development of notation, their activities would have included the composition and writing down of new chants alongside the copying of traditional ones (figure 1).

Music had been codified in late antiquity as a liberal art, constituting part of the quadrivium, alongside arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and as such it became the basis of many medieval treatises. At first designed as pragmatic guides to liturgical performance, these developed into a body of theoretical writings, whose tradition extends through the Renaissance to the present. Written for use at certain religious institutions and in the universities that emerged from them in the late Middle Ages, this literature provides, with notated music, our principal source for musical practice during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

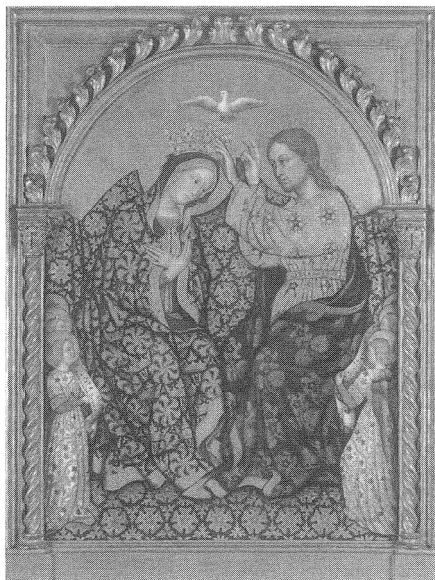


FIGURE 1 *Coronation of the Virgin* (dated about 1420), by Gentile da Fabriano (Italy, ca. 1370–1427). In tempera and gold leaf on a wooden panel (87.5 × 64 centimeters), it depicts the use of musical notation for the singing of Gregorian chant. Photo courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Medieval polyphony

An element of religious music first documented from the 800s or early 900s was polyphony, the intentional singing of distinct pitches simultaneously. Emphasized in modern music-history textbooks because of its later significance, polyphony was rare before the 1500s. Reserved for special sacred and secular occasions, it was largely restricted to soloists until the 1500s or later. It probably began as a form of improvised embellishment to the solo portions of certain chants. Treatises from around 900 describe several kinds of polyphonic singing, and repertories of written polyphony survive from the late tenth century on. The earliest examples are preserved, as with chant, in a highly indeterminate form of notation. More precisely decipherable are substantial twelfth-century repertories associated with southern France (Aquitaine) and the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. The latter was the source of a large collec-

tion of notated polyphony that remained in circulation through the 1200s, attributed by a later writer to two musicians: Leonin, who flourished in the late twelfth century, and Perotin, whose career possibly continued into the next century.

Early polyphony, called organum, consists of one or more newly composed melodic lines sung against an older chant. The combining of one line with another constitutes the technique known as counterpoint, which became fundamental to most later Western polyphony. By the late twelfth century, two types of counterpoint are evident, often used in alternation within a single musical item: note-against-note counterpoint, in which all voices move in approximately the same rhythmic style; and a more florid type, in which each note of the underlying chant is sustained while one or more added voices move in a more elaborate, sometimes highly embellished manner. Today, the latter is sometimes described as “free” organum, and *clausula*, *discantus*, and *conductus* are among the names for compositions of the former type. The earliest notated organa are for two voices, but later examples, including those associated with Perotin, are for three or occasionally four voices.

In such polyphony, the separate melodic lines repeatedly formed perfect consonances, defined in contemporary treatises as unisons, fourths, fifths, and octaves. Dissonant intervals may occur, but rarely at metrically stressed points. This type of structure favored regular metrical rhythm, and by 1200 or so, the notation of polyphony was including a durational element dependent on the use of regular meter. Unambiguous rhythmic notation was necessary for insuring that performers would properly coordinate the polyphonic lines, composed according to contrapuntal rules formulated by contemporary theorists, who described not only the conventions governing the use of consonance and dissonance, but also the increasingly precise forms of rhythmic notation.

Organum was employed, at first, only on particularly solemn liturgical occasions, and its practitioners must have been specially trained, hence present only at unusually wealthy or powerful institutions. During the later Middle Ages, polyphony and other forms of art music spread from monastic centers and became associated with the courts and private chapels of certain secular rulers.

An especially important late-medieval polyphonic genre, the motet, developed in thirteenth-century France. During the next two centuries, it spread to England, Italy, and elsewhere. Like certain early types of sequence, it originally involved the addition of new words to an existing melody; in this case, however, the melody had been composed as counterpoint to a preexisting chant. As a result, a motet usually contains at least two simultaneously sung texts, and other voices, each with its own text, could be added, not necessarily at the same time or by the same musician.

The earliest such compositions are often short, and the music of some can be identified with that of older *clausulae* or *conductus*. Later motets are longer; the last works in this tradition, dating from the early 1400s, employ isorhythm, a complex, highly structured type of rhythmic organization. They embody a shift in rhythmic theory and notation that took place around 1320, resulting in the so-called *ars nova* ‘new art’—a term derived from the titles of two fourteenth-century treatises and now associated with French polyphony of the fourteenth century, especially motets and secular songs.

Unlike most earlier polyphony, many isorhythmic motets are attributed to individual composers and were composed for specific occasions. Guillaume Dufay’s *Nuper rosarum flores* was composed for and presumably performed during the consecration of the cathedral of Florence, in 1436. In many motets, the presence of vernacular texts with secular, even erotic, subjects points to their use outside of religious ritual, though most retain an underlying chant melody. The attraction of this music must have been limited to a minority consisting primarily of highly educated clerics.

After 1500 the development of methods for printing music from movable type eased the dissemination of uniform musical texts and promoted a musical culture based on printed texts, paralleling the earlier development of a comparable literary culture.

The simultaneously sung texts would not have been intelligible to listeners, as the words often contain arcane literary and theological allusions.

Secular medieval monophony and polyphony

The earliest preserved secular songs with texts in a vernacular language began around 1100 in the form of poetry composed and perhaps sung by French nobles. The southern representatives of this tradition are known as troubadours, and their activity ended by about 1300. The northern representatives are called trouvères, and their tradition extends to the end of the Middle Ages, when it was taken over by nonaristocratic professionals, such as Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–1377), the leading French poet and leading French musician of his time.

The musical component of the earliest vernacular medieval songs was monophonic. The poetry evolved into distinct, highly regulated formal designs, the so-called *formes fixes*, reflected in the musical forms. As with chant, the melodies were at first transmitted orally, producing substantial variants among versions of the same song. The performance traditions of this repertory are unclear; rhythm is often imprecisely notated, as in early chant, and it is uncertain whether instruments accompanied these or any other medieval songs. Literary evidence suggests that much of the repertory would have been sung—perhaps by professional court entertainers (*jongleurs*), rather than by the composers—at social gatherings, such as banquets.

The traditions of courtly song and learned polyphony merged in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, above all in the works of Machaut, who composed motets with French and Latin texts and monophonic and polyphonic songs in *formes fixes* (figure 2). Related genres of secular polyphonic song are preserved from late medieval England, Germany, and especially Italy, where the blind organist Francesco Landini (ca. 1325–1397) was an important composer of polyphonic songs. Machaut, though a cleric, worked for the kings of France and Bohemia; whereas Landini and

FIGURE 2 The opening (the first text line) of Guillaume de Machaut's polyphonic setting of a ballade, one of the *formes fixes* popular in the courts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A ballade is an eight-line poetic form that employs the same rhymes in each stanza: ababcbR, in which R is a refrain. The musical form is AAB. To the monophonic song (*cantus*) with French text, the composer added a higher-pitched *triplum* and a lower-pitched tenor and sometimes contratenor, parts played by musical instruments. As indicated here, the notations were not in score form; rather, each part was notated separately. Transnotation by Timothy Rice from a photocopy of manuscript A.M.5.24, in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy. Courtesy of the UCLA Music Library.



other Italians worked for rulers of the emerging north Italian city-states, but compositions of both must have been intended for sophisticated aristocratic audiences. French and Italian polyphonic songs from the following two generations included increasingly complex types of rhythmic and melodic embellishment, leading to a style sometimes called the *ars subtilior* 'subtler art'.

Improvisation versus composition

An important development of the late Middle Ages was the emergence of the modern view of art music as a repertory of notationally fixed compositions attributed to distinct individuals. During the same period or slightly later, the distinction between improvisation and composition became increasingly clear, probably as growing numbers of performers came to depend on musical notation. Improvisation remained vitally important; traditions of improvised polyphony, sometimes in several parts, continued through the 1500s in sacred and secular settings. These traditions included practices fundamental to Western music: the singing of psalms and hymns, liturgical keyboard (organ) playing, instrumental dance music, and the sung recitation of poetry. In addition, the improvisatory elaboration and embellishment of existing polyphonic compositions would continue to be an important element of performance for singers and instrumentalists through the early 1800s.

Nevertheless, from the late Middle Ages on, the art-music performers' role was increasingly that of interpreting, ornamenting, or otherwise recreating notated compositions. Accordingly, composers came to occupy a central place in the tradition, and after 1500 or so they were routinely distinguished from other musicians, though they were not necessarily more highly valued. From this condition derives the customary modern view of art-music performance as the performance of notated musical compositions or works and a corresponding view of music history as primarily a history of compositional style and technique.

MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE

Guillaume Dufay (ca. 1400–1474) is usually regarded as one of the first major composers of the Renaissance. Application of the latter term to art-music history, though now customary, is problematical, since the period saw no "rebirth" of ancient Greek and Roman musical learning comparable to that witnessed in other disciplines, but significant changes in the techniques of musical composition and the social functions of art music are discernible during the 1400s and 1500s. Sociologically the most important development was the expansion in the number of environments in which art music was cultivated and, correspondingly, in the number of patrons and practitioners. Both latter groups increasingly included the bourgeoisie, especially in cities of northern Italy, northern France, and the Netherlands.

Particularly indicative of this trend shortly after 1500 was the development of methods for printing music from movable type. Though the transmission of music in manuscript remained important through the 1700s, printed music became an important industry. It eased the dissemination of uniform musical texts and promoted a musical culture based on printed texts, paralleling the earlier development of a comparable literary culture.

Despite the explosive growth of the Italian cities in wealth and power during the early Renaissance, the first few generations of Renaissance composers came primarily from northern France and the Netherlands. These composers included Dufay and his younger contemporaries Johannes Ockeghem (ca. 1425–1497) and Josquin des Prez (ca. 1440–1521). Dufay and Josquin spent important parts of their careers in Italy, as did sixteenth-century northern composers such as Orlando di Lasso (Rolande de

FIGURE 3 A nineteenth-century painting by Gustave-Clarence-Rodolphe Boulanger (1824–1888) portrays Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina at the organ, accompanying singers of his polyphonic music. Interest in history and the history of music was a hallmark of the nineteenth century, and fanciful paintings such as this reflect that interest. Photo courtesy of French and Company.



Lassus, ca. 1532–1594). Italian composers came into their own in the 1500s, when they emerged as the dominant group; the most influential, at least in sacred music, was Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (ca. 1525–1594), who worked in Rome (figure 3).

By the late 1500s, polyphonic singing had become the norm at major services in most Western European churches and at musical entertainments at court or for private patrons. Singing was usually accompanied by instruments, such as the organ and other keyboard instruments, the lute, and various wind and stringed instruments, which often played in groups or consorts. Musical literacy was no longer confined to a narrow group of clerics, but had become a social requirement for members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Contemporary writings indicate the widespread practice of amateurs' after-dinner singing and playing of polyphonic music, presupposing the ability to sight-read complex musical compositions.

Perhaps the critical historical event of the sixteenth century was the Protestant Reformation, which, beginning in 1517, led to the splitting of Western Christianity into Protestant denominations in much of Northern Europe and the Roman Catholic Church in much of the south. The northern regions experienced the suppression of Roman Catholic services, including their music, and the substitution of new rites. In Germany, Martin Luther (1483–1546) and his followers created chorales, liturgical songs with vernacular texts in mostly syllabic settings. These served much as Gregorian chant in the Roman Catholic Church and became in turn the basis of various forms of polyphony.

The Roman Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation, known as the Counter-Reformation, resulted in a preference during the late 1500s for sacred music that featured the direct, comprehensible presentation of texts, as opposed to the elaborate technical feats of earlier medieval and Renaissance polyphony. This development reflected a trend evident in secular vocal music of the period. Under the influence of ancient Greek views on the expressive power of music, Renaissance humanist writers developed a concept now known as musical rhetoric. In this view, polyphonic vocal music was valued insofar as it uniquely and ingeniously reflected the syntax and

the meaning of its verbal text. A musical setting and its performance were seen as parallels to the composition and public presentation of a poem or an oration, employing all the arts of verbal rhetoric.

In addition to producing new genres of vocal music, the Renaissance saw the first substantial repertoires of instrumental composition, including works for solo instruments (chiefly organ and lute) and consorts (ensembles) of winds and strings. This development presupposed that instrumentalists, previously relegated to playing improvised dance music and the like, had acquired musical literacy and other training in the practice of art music. Amateurs and professionals cultivated certain instruments, notably the lute and the viola da gamba. Organists became a distinct class of professional musicians, often employed for secular purposes and as composers and players of other keyboard instruments, such as the harpsichord. Other professional instrumentalists organized themselves into guilds, raising their social status and becoming members of permanent church and court ensembles. During the same period, the manufacture of musical instruments developed into an important industry. Only from about 1500 and after do instruments survive in significant numbers, and their performance practices can be reconstructed with some precision. Most instruments in general use today can be traced to sixteenth-century antecedents.

Renaissance genres

Despite the influence of the Counter-Reformation, much music from the Renaissance and the following, Baroque period reflects an interest among professional musicians and their patrons in sophisticated techniques of composing and performing. An important development of the early Renaissance was the polyphonic Mass cycle, a musical setting of specified portions of the Latin liturgy, united by the use of a particular compositional device. Cyclic masses by Dufay, Josquin, Lasso, Palestrina, and others are most often unified by the reworking, in each movement, of music from the same melody or polyphonic composition. Though some such works, like much medieval polyphony, were based on Gregorian chant, others had secular sources. Several composers based masses on the same popular tune or composition, showing an interest in competitive emulation.

The Renaissance motet is a second major category of sacred vocal music. Cultivated by all the above-named composers, it differs from the medieval motet in usually employing a single text and sharing many compositional techniques with the cyclic Mass. Both Mass and motet exemplify the most important Renaissance contrapuntal innovation, tending toward equality and homogeneity of the vocal parts, which typically number from three to six. (Medieval counterpoint stratified the voices into distinct rhythmic and melodic types.) Renaissance polyphony was increasingly structured around sonorous harmonies of three pitches (triads) that form two imperfect consonances. Renaissance composers made wide use of imitation, whereby a melodic idea introduced by one voice is sung in turn by the others. Perfected by Josquin, imitation was employed in countless ways by subsequent composers. It served as a fundamental element of compositional technique and a major focus of interest for performers and listeners through the eighteenth century.

Though placing high value on such compositional craft, sixteenth-century commentators increasingly favored the rhetorical presentation of sacred texts; the motets of Josquin and Lasso were particularly praised in this regard. Additionally, the 1500s saw the rise of various genres of secular song whose primary function was the highly rhetorical setting of vernacular poetry. The most important genre of secular polyphony was probably the Italian madrigal, which emerged in the 1520s; there were also distinct types of French, German, and Spanish polyphonic songs. The Flemish com-

The term *baroque* in its literal sense ('lavish, highly ornamented') is particularly appropriate for productions that employed poets to write sung verses, costume designers to produce fanciful garments inspired by Greek and Roman antiquity, and artists and engineers to design theaters, sets, lighting, and special effects.

poser Adrian Willaert (1490–1562), working in Venice, applied to madrigals the contrapuntal techniques of masses and motets. Later composers, beginning with Willaert's student Cipriano de Rore (1516–1565), increasingly focused on means of representing the sense of specific words through distinctive harmonic and melodic ideas. This practice, known as text painting or word painting, remained central to vocal composition through the Baroque. Most such works are in principle purely vocal. In practice, instruments were increasingly substituted for one or more of the vocal parts. By 1600, William Byrd (1543–1623) and other English composers were writing polyphonic songs that included specific instrumental parts; songs for voice and lute were also composed by John Dowland (1562–1626) in England and on the continent. Byrd and Dowland were important composers of solo music for their own instruments—keyboard and lute, respectively.

Dance music for instrumental ensemble, though occasionally written down during the late Middle Ages, first became an important category of composition in the 1500s. The steps and patterns of the dances are known from various sources, but detailed choreographies are extremely rare before the 1700s; by then, the repertory of dances had changed drastically.

BAROQUE MUSIC

The period from about 1600 to 1750 is usually termed the Baroque, though the music-historical use of this term, like the term *Renaissance*, is sometimes questioned. The 1600s saw the continued use of many Renaissance genres, but these underwent sometimes radical changes in performance and composition. In the early Baroque, the Mass, the motet, and the madrigal tended away from the Renaissance emphasis on elaborate counterpoint toward simplified musical textures, sometimes employing but a single voice with instrumental accompaniment. The solo virtuoso singer or instrumentalist is the most characteristic element of Baroque music; many genres were invented or transformed to accommodate this trend. Impetus for this development came in part from popular fascination with public performance by virtuosos and in part from the continuing emphasis on musical rhetoric; solo singing came to be viewed as particularly effective for the vivid or expressive presentation of a verbal text.

Another fundamental development of Baroque music is the compositional integration of instruments with voices. From 1600 on, nearly every vocal composition included specified instrumental parts, and the ability to write idiomatically for the major instruments became a basic skill demanded of all composers, rather than a preoccupation of specialists. Particularly characteristic of Baroque ensemble music is the presence of a partially improvised part played by one or several instrumentalists, reading from a specially notated part known as the *basso continuo*. Members of the continuo group can include keyboard, plucked stringed instruments, low bowed strings, and winds.

Despite these changes, some Baroque musicians retained a sense of connection with the past, continuing to cultivate genres and in some cases perform compositions dating from the 1500s; hence, while espousing the most up-to-date musical developments, major figures, such as the Italian Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) and the Germans Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), also composed deliberately archaic works exemplifying practices of the past. Among these works are motets and masses that imitate sixteenth-century style.

The term *baroque* in its literal sense ('lavish, highly ornamented') is particularly appropriate for productions that, though documented from before the 1500s, were especially cultivated after 1600. Particularly at major courts and religious institutions, special occasions—festive masses, dynastic marriages, and other celebrations—might be marked by elaborate ceremonial or theatrical productions involving large numbers of musicians. Such events employed poets to write sung verses, costume designers to produce fanciful garments inspired by Greek and Roman antiquity, and artists and engineers to design theaters, sets, lighting, and special effects.

Though at first limited to occasional productions—in particular, musical interludes (*intermedi*) inserted into plays—these multimedia events were institutionalized around 1600 in the new genres of opera and oratorio. Particularly influential was Monteverdi's opera *L'Orfeo* (Orpheus, 1607). By the 1640s, permanent opera theaters offering regular performances existed in Venice. By the early 1700s, other major cities had followed suit. Some opera theaters, including those in Venice, Hamburg, and London, were privately owned commercial ventures; those in Paris, Vienna, and other monarchical seats were under governmental control and patronage.

Operas and related forms were often designed to display their sponsors' wealth and power. This purpose was particularly evident in France, where under King Louis XIV the composer Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) composed and produced operas and ballets for the court. Lully's works embodied a French manner distinct in compositional style and performance practice from the Italian. For subsequent generations, the French and Italian styles represented opposed versions of Baroque style; composers in Germany and other outlying regions selected from or combined the two. Particularly notable in the so-called Lullian style was the influence of dance rhythms (derived from the French court ballet) and the preference for precisely articulated vocal and instrumental performance over soloistic virtuosity.

Elsewhere, the advent of opera and related vocal genres paralleled a rise of virtuoso solo singers of secular music. Solo singers had emerged as an important professional category at late-sixteenth-century Italian courts. Among virtuoso performers were women, who appeared for the first time as professional musicians. Women—notably the Venetian Barbara Strozzi (1619–after 1677) and the Parisian Elizabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (1665–1729)—also figure in the Baroque for the first time as significant composers of polyphonic music. Outstanding among professional singers were *castrati*, men castrated at an early age to permit the retention of their high-pitched voices. Probably derived from Eastern practices, the custom spread during the 1600s from Italian sacred music to Italian opera. Except in France, where the practice never took hold, by the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s the exploits of ancient mythical gods and historical heroes—the usual subjects of opera—were most often represented by the virtuoso singing of high male voices. Women occasionally substituted for *castrati*, as they usually do in modern revivals of this music.

Baroque genres

Many Baroque genres were designed to serve as vehicles for virtuoso solo perfor-

From the 1500s to about 1800 choir schools and other church-related institutions continued to serve as principal sources of musical training. But by about 1800, the forerunners of the modern music school or conservatory had appeared in several Italian cities.

FIGURE 4 The opening measures of Arcangelo Corelli's Sonata op. 5, no. 1. Composed by the performer for his own use, the notation contains only a skeleton of what the performers would have played. To some of the quarter notes and half notes, the violinist would have added many grace notes, trills, turns, and more elaborate melodic figures, and the player of the keyboard (*cembalo*) would have added chords and rhythmic fills to the notated part played by the violoncello.

mance. Particularly important were the instrumental sonata and concerto and the vocal recitative and aria. The sonata, conceived in Italy around 1600 as an instrumental interlude during Roman Catholic devotional services, had spread throughout Western Europe by 1700. It became the principal instrumental genre, important for professional display and amateur music making by middle- and upper-class performers.

Sonatas called for one, two, or more instruments, plus continuo. At first chiefly for violins, sonatas were being written for most other instruments by the early eighteenth century. Many sonatas, such as those of the violinists Biagio Marini (ca. 1597–1665) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) in Italy, Heinrich Biber (1644–1704) in Germany, and Jean-Marie Leclair (1697–1764) in France, were composed by performers who presumably intended them for their own use in church or at court (figure 4). Sonatas for larger numbers of instruments evolved around 1700 into the concerto, which, by the 1720s, was most often a composition in which passages for a large group of instruments alternate with those for a virtuoso soloist, as in the works of the Venetian violinist Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741).

Virtuosos of keyboard and plucked stringed instruments, including organ, harpsichord, lute, and harp, similarly composed works in various genres for their own soloistic display and teaching their students. Particularly in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, municipalities lavished considerable expenditures and craft on organs in major churches. The Renaissance tradition of performing and composing for these and other keyboard instruments continued in the Baroque, when player-composers such as the Italian Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643) and the Germans Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–1667), Dietrich Buxtehude (ca. 1637–1707), and J. S. Bach created a substantial repertory of compositions, including toccatas and other virtuoso pieces in free form; in addition, fugues and other contrapuntal types, also composed

for instrumental and vocal ensembles, continued the tradition of Renaissance imitative counterpoint.

Baroque vocal genres emphasized solo expressivity and virtuosity. Recitative, a form of dramatic musical declamation of poetry, probably derived from earlier improvisatory practices. It has played an important role in vocal music from about 1600 to the present, and is the major element in much early-Baroque vocal music, including the operas of Monteverdi and Lully; by 1700, however, it had been eclipsed by the aria as the principal vocal form, probably because the aria constituted a more effective vehicle for display by virtuoso singers. Late-Baroque operas and oratorios, such as those of the German composer George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), consist chiefly of elaborate arias linked by brief recitatives; the same is true of many of J. S. Bach's sacred vocal works, called cantatas. Though Handel's audiences in London theaters were probably more aristocratic than the bourgeois church congregations in Bach's Leipzig, both kinds of listener shared a view of musical rhetoric that upheld the aria as a supreme musical and poetic form, equivalent to a classical oration or dramatic monologue.

Middle- and upper-class amateurs in the Baroque imitated professional performance. Collections and arrangements of operatic arias were frequently copied in manuscript and published—implying use in homes. The sonata and other instrumental genres were also cultivated. Dance and dance-music constitute a further important area of activity. The same dances that received professional choreographies in the ballets of Lully and other French composers were studied by amateurs throughout Northern Europe, and dance-music became the basis of numerous suites, collections of pieces for solo keyboard, lute, and instrumental ensemble.

Renaissance and Baroque music education and theory

Music education and theory from the 1500s to about 1800 reflected the changes described above. Rudimentary training in musical notation, singing, and dance became a common element in upper- and, increasingly, middle-class education for men and women. For professionals, choir schools and other church-related institutions continued to serve as principal sources of musical training. By about 1800, the forerunners of the modern music school or conservatory had appeared in several Italian cities. Throughout the period, writings on music were published in increasing numbers, ranging from elementary instructional manuals to learned encyclopedic treatises encompassing all aspects of musical theory and practice.

An important technical development during this period was tonality, a system of tonal organization which, in its specifically Western form (known as common-practice tonality), replaced Renaissance modality in art music during 1600s. It was the principal structuring feature of Western art music from about 1650 to 1900, and it remains that of most Western popular music. It has made possible an increasingly varied array of elaborate, highly integrated musical forms, extending in duration to several hours.

CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC MUSIC

The Baroque is usually viewed as having led in the mid-1700s to a so-called *galant* style, from which emerged many genres typical of the following period. Prominent composers included J. S. Bach's sons Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714–1788), important for his sonatas for solo keyboard instruments, and Johann Christian (1735–1787), who composed operas and symphonies. Both men's works influenced the three composers whom historians view as the chief representatives of the subsequent, Classical

Classical and Romantic music can be viewed as a single tradition, an important precondition of which was the emergence of professional public concerts, which encouraged the development of symphony orchestras.

style: Franz Josef Haydn (1732–1809), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), and Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), all of whom worked primarily in Vienna.

The Classical style is regarded in turn as giving way to the Romantic, a period that lasted to about 1900; to some degree, however, the distinction between Classical and Romantic music rests more on convention than on a considered examination of music history in its broader cultural context. The Classical in music corresponds chronologically with Romantic styles in literature and the visual arts. The late works of Haydn and Mozart were regarded by some contemporaries as Romantic, and composers viewed today as late Romantics lived when other arts are judged to have moved to post-Romantic styles. Since the mid-1800s, the repertory of most symphony orchestras and other professional performers has been comprised primarily of Classical and Romantic music (with certain works of J. S. Bach and Handel); the three Viennese composers are “classical” only because their works were frequently studied by nineteenth-century musicians as models of form and style. Alongside the music of certain Romantic composers, these works have continued to constitute a canon, shared by professional musicians as part of a common educational curriculum.

Hence, Classical and Romantic music can be viewed as a single tradition that emerged out of the earlier 1700s. An important precondition was the emergence of professional public concerts, which encouraged the development of certain genres during the late 1700s, particularly the symphony and other types of orchestral music. The orchestra itself—a large instrumental body at first comprised chiefly of violins and other stringed instruments, joined from the 1700s onward by increasing numbers of wind and percussion instruments—had developed in close connection with late-Baroque opera. The symphony, the chief orchestral genre of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, originated as the overture (opening instrumental movement) of eighteenth-century Italian opera. Removed from this context, it played a central role in many eighteenth-century concerts. During the 1700s, the concerto also developed into an orchestral concert genre, distinct from the symphony in its inclusion of a virtuoso soloist or multiple soloists.

At first, public concerts were given ad hoc, but already in Paris by 1725 a regular series, the Concert Spirituel, had been instituted. By the early 1800s, comparable series, in which vocal and instrumental works were performed, were regular events in other major European cities, often associated with permanently constituted orchestras and public societies (usually led by wealthy nonmusicians) that provided financial support. Simultaneously, the musical direction of most orchestras shifted from the principal violinist or other player to a conductor. During the 1800s, conductors took over what had been individual players’ interpretive responsibilities. Thus was established the tradition whereby the public views conductors as the chief members of their ensembles.

In most countries, especially Italy, opera retained its earlier importance. Church

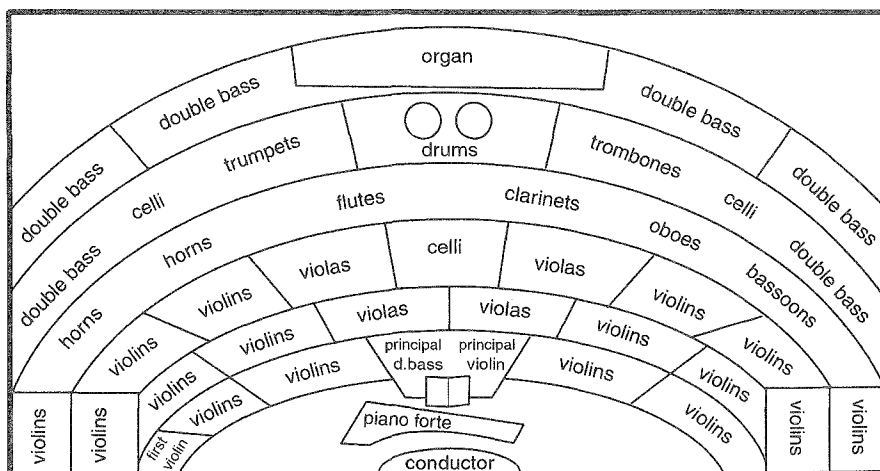
music in the 1800s underwent a decline—a trend that continues. The role of art music in many churches has been diminished or entirely eliminated, and many leading musicians, including composers, have had little or no involvement with sacred music. A strong tradition of art-music performance by church organists and choirs survives, especially in select institutions in major European cities.

The same conditions that led to the rise of public concerts in the Classical and Romantic periods were probably responsible for the widespread founding of societies for the amateur performance of instrumental and vocal music, especially music for chorus. Among the most influential of these have been the Berlin Singakademie and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Often under professional direction, such societies instigated significant numbers of compositions in the nineteenth century, especially oratorios and other choral works; a number of societies, in addition, founded and have continued to support public music libraries. More elite forms of amateur musical performance, descending from a tradition of upper-class salons and academies that dated back to the 1600s, continued. In such settings, prominent professional composers and performers often participated alongside wealthy amateurs in performing music, new and old. Both types of participatory music making declined in the twentieth century, particularly with regard to new compositions, interest in which tended to be limited to specialists.

The expansion of professional and amateur performance in the 1700s and 1800s paralleled the growth of industry and trade involving printed music. Aided by developments in engraving and printing technology, transport, and commercial distribution, publishers could issue music in increasingly large quantities and at reduced expense. By the mid-1800s, most Western art music was routinely published shortly after composition; this was true even of such works as the piano sonatas of Beethoven and the enormous musical scores of opera, which required performers to have professional-quality skill and training. Vast numbers of titles were issued for less sophisticated users. Among these was a growing repertory of songs and instrumental pieces, especially marches and dances, which occupied a gray area between art and popular music, leading to commercial popular music of the twentieth century.

Another development was that of increasingly large performance spaces. Concert halls and opera theaters were designed to accommodate growing audiences and expanding orchestral and choral ensembles, whose members by the early 1800s could number into the hundreds (figure 5). Accordingly, the 1800s saw significant changes in performing techniques and the construction of instruments; modern instruments

FIGURE 5 The arrangement of players for the Philharmonic Orchestra in England in 1846 differs significantly from most contemporary orchestral layouts. Instead of being confined to sections on the left or right of the conductor, as today, each string group—violins, violas, celli, and double basses—is spread across the entire stage. The principal violinist and bassist are in the center, rather than to the left and right, respectively, as today. After Adam von Ahn Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1949).



Composers from Beethoven onward wrote programmatic works depicting visual images, dramatic events, even autobiographical narratives. With the rise of European nationalism in the late 1800s, ethnic and patriotic matter, sometimes expressed through borrowings from folk songs, became an important topic for such music.

and techniques remain in many essential respects those of the late 1800s. Noteworthy by 1800 was the replacement of the harpsichord by the piano as the chief stringed keyboard instrument.

The 1800s also saw the transmission of the Western art-music tradition to Eastern Europe and the Americas. In many regions, musical activity was explicitly modeled on that of the central German, French, and Italian traditions, typically including the establishment of symphony orchestras and musical societies. An important role was played by newly founded national conservatories and opera theaters and similar institutions, as had existed in France and other Western European countries since the 1700s.

Classical and Romantic genres

By the late 1700s, firm distinctions had emerged between public, orchestral genres such as the symphony and the concerto, and genres such as the solo piano sonata and the string quartet (for two violins, viola, and cello), initially intended for use by amateurs or in semipublic performances in private houses or chambers—hence their designation as chamber music. Vocal music of the period shows corresponding distinctions between operatic and choral works for the stage or concert hall and more intimate songs for solo voice and piano; instrumental chamber works nevertheless tended to employ the styles and structures of orchestral genres, and by 1850 chamber music was commonly performed professionally in public recitals and concerts. Instrumental works in the larger chamber and orchestral genres usually have three or four distinct movements, each employing one of several common structural patterns. Particularly important among the latter is sonata-allegro form, developed by Viennese Classical composers and in various versions continuing in use (figure 6).

The sonata-allegro and other formal structures helped make possible the emergence of autonomous genres of instrumental music which, since the late 1700s, have been accorded status equal to that of vocal music in the European art-music tradition. Paradoxically, the recognition of such “absolute” music—instrumental music that is, in principle, nonrepresentational—was a product of Romantic thinking that encouraged a representational view of other types of instrumental music. Composers from Beethoven onward wrote programmatic works depicting visual images, dramatic events, even autobiographical narratives. With the rise of European nationalism in the late 1800s, ethnic and patriotic matter, sometimes expressed through borrowings from folk songs, became an important topic for such music. Both absolute and programmatic traditions claimed descent from Beethoven, who, though employing Classical structures in most works, evinced Romantic expressive aspirations and undertook such innovations as the introduction of solo voices and chorus in the final movement of his Ninth Symphony (1824).

Many later nineteenth-century composers resisted the impulse toward writing

FIGURE 6 The opening measures of Ludwig van Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C Minor, op. 67 (1807). The first of four distinct movements that typified the Classical and Romantic symphonic form, it unfolds in sonata-allegro form and is notable for its thorough and consistent development of the opening four-note motif.

The musical score is arranged in a standard orchestral format. The woodwinds (Flauti, Oboi, Clarinet in B, Fagotti) and brass (Corni in E-flat, Trombe in C, Timpani in C and G) are in the upper staves. The strings (Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Violoncello, Basso) are in the lower staves. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con brio. d - sos.' and the key signature is C minor. The score shows the first measures of the symphony, featuring the famous four-note motif (G3, F3, E3, D3) in the bassoon and cello parts, which is then taken up by the other instruments.

explicitly programmatic music, at least in their symphonies and other larger instrumental works. Among them were the German and Austrian composers Franz Schubert (1797–1828), Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), Robert Schumann (1810–1856), Anton Bruckner (1824–1896), and Johannes Brahms (1833–1897). Schumann composed many shorter piano pieces with programmatic titles, and all composed numerous lieder, chamber settings of German poetry (most by contemporary Romantic poets) for voice and piano.

Among the proponents of a more programmatic approach to instrumental music were the French composer Hector Berlioz (1803–1869), whose *Fantastic Symphony* was premiered just three years after Beethoven's death, and the Hungarian-born virtuoso pianist Franz Liszt (1811–1886), who, like Berlioz, was a skilled conductor and symphonist. This tradition continued into the late- or post-Romantic period in the so-called tone poems of Richard Strauss (1864–1949) and the symphonies of Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), which incorporate vocal parts and other departures from the Classical tradition of instrumental music.

Closely associated with the programmatic tradition were the music-dramas of Richard Wagner (1813–1883), operas of unprecedented length and complexity whose texts, by Wagner himself, drew on Germanic myths and legends. Wagner's technical innovations in harmony and orchestration proved influential well into the twentieth century, though his aesthetics and politics (which included an unabashed racism) were controversial. Also notable among his accomplishments was the foundation of an opera theater at Bayreuth specially designed for the performance of his operas. Annual festivals, held there regularly since 1876, together with an older tradition of choral-music festivals, have served as models for what has become the widespread practice of devoting weeklong or monthlong festivals to public performances of a given kind of music.

The history of twentieth-century art music is bifurcated between the globalization of a static, homogeneous performance tradition and an innovative, diversified compositional practice, whose products are little known and rarely performed.

The genres of the Western European nineteenth-century tradition were enthusiastically taken up elsewhere. Distinctive developments occurred in Central and Eastern Europe, as in the operas and symphonic and chamber works of the Czech composers Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) and Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904). A comparable development is represented by the Russians Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky (1839–1881), Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), and Nikolai Andreievich Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908).

The Classical and Romantic periods saw the continuation of the traditions of Italian opera and, to a lesser degree, Roman Catholic church music, as in the operas of Mozart and the masses of Haydn, Schubert, and Bruckner. The operas of the Italians Gioacchino Rossini (1792–1868) and Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) represent a form of musical Romanticism independent of more northern ones. Throughout nineteenth-century opera, the late-Baroque ideal of a stylized drama articulated into distinct recitatives and arias gradually gave way to an ostensibly more naturalistic form comprised of a nearly unbroken stream of musical invention, as in the late works of Verdi and Wagner.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

The late nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw an unprecedented dissociation of performance from composition. The performance of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European classics became a global tradition, and new approaches to writing art music proliferated, but few recent compositions have entered the repertory of major performing institutions, and the performance of new music has become a specialists' domain. Hence, the history of twentieth-century art music is bifurcated between the globalization of a static, homogeneous performance tradition and an innovative, diversified compositional practice, whose products are little known and rarely performed.

The years around 1900 are often said to have seen the dissolution of the common-practice tradition of the previous two centuries, yet many composers have continued to work in styles and idioms close to those of the nineteenth century. Some, such as the Italian opera composer Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924) and the Russian pianist-composer Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873–1943), achieved considerable popular success by adhering to late-nineteenth-century idioms. Others, such as the Russian composer Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975), were compositionally limited by externally imposed political compulsion. Still others, such as the British composer Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), chose to work in seemingly conservative idioms while remaining open to the use of nonconventional techniques.

Others have more purposefully sought new, sometimes radically innovative compositional techniques. A group centered around the Austrian Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) developed what is known as atonal style in the years immediately



FIGURE 7 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the piano, played especially by young women, was an enormously popular instrument for home entertainment. The French composer Claude Debussy was a notable exponent of a new style known as impressionism, which featured novel approaches to timbre and harmony in music, and novel approaches to painting, as rendered here by Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) in his *Two Girls at the Piano*. Photo courtesy of French and Company.

before World War I. This innovation led to the so-called twelve-tone (dodecaphonic) technique, which influenced academic composers in the United States, where Schoenberg took up residence after 1933. Paradoxically, many atonal and twelve-tone works fall into Classical genres, such as the string quartet, and employ Classical forms, especially the sonata-allegro. Serialism, a further development of Schoenberg's method, emerged in the 1950s in the works of French composer Pierre Boulez (b. 1925) and others. Not serial, but equally inspired by the modernist ethos of the mid-twentieth century, with its emphasis on strict constructionism, are works by the American composer Elliott Carter (b. 1908).

A less radical confrontation of innovation with tradition can be traced back to the French composer Claude Debussy (1862–1918), whose so-called impressionist works for solo piano and for orchestra emphasized novel approaches to harmony and timbre (figure 7). The early works of Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) are an offshoot of this current, though they continue the Russian tradition of Stravinsky's teacher, Rimsky-Korsakov; in some late works, Stravinsky took up Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Stravinsky and many other composers, particularly in France and the United States, adopted a Neoclassic style, which borrowed traits from older music, chiefly of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Neoclassicism was part of a larger trend, toward music that imitates, quotes, or transforms, often with ironic effect, the music of past centuries, current popular music, and non-Western traditions. At the beginning of the century, such borrowings played an important role in the music of the American Charles Ives (1874–1954), and they occur in the otherwise disparate works of such contemporary composers as the Italian Luciano Berio (b. 1925) and the Russian Alfred Schnittke (1934–1998). Neoclassicism and transformed borrowing (from folk music) are also evident in works by the Hungarian composer and folklorist Béla Bartók (1881–1945), noted particularly for his six string quartets.

More extreme breaks with convention have occurred in so-called experimental music, which rejects not only past techniques and styles, but the entire ethos of the nineteenth-century concert-music tradition. Inspired by dadaism and related movements in the visual and literary arts, musicians such as the Americans Edgard Varèse (1883–1965) and John Cage (1912–1992) employed once exotic percussion instruments and sounds previously regarded as nonmusical; Cage's works have even incorporated ambient noises from the environment in which a work is performed. Cage and others have reintroduced elements of improvisation into musical composition and have employed methods of composition or performance involving the production of random (aleatoric) sounds. Electronically processed or synthesized sounds have been increasingly employed by certain composers since 1950.

The most important twentieth-century development in art-music performance has been the dissemination of commercial recordings. To a high degree, these have replaced live performance, and they have reinforced the trend toward the repetition of acknowledged masterworks, often in an increasingly homogeneous style of performing. Recordings have also permitted the dissemination of newly composed works that would otherwise have gone largely unheard.

A second major development has been the revival of music composed before the establishment of the canonic Classical and Romantic repertory. This development has been accompanied by the reconstruction of practices and instruments originally employed in the performance of older music; previously, older works were usually performed according to traditions conventional at the time of performance.

The revival of early music was encouraged by the inclusion of music history alongside art history and other humanistic disciplines in twentieth-century higher

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education and scholarship. Though music history has been a concern of European writers since Greek antiquity, historical research founded on the systematic study of musical documents, including notated scores, began only in the 1700s. Nineteenth-century scholars, chiefly in Germany, borrowing techniques developed in the study of literary texts, prepared collected editions of works by composers of the past and placed particular emphasis on music seen as historically ancestral to the symphonic and operatic repertoires, such as that of Handel, J. S. Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.

Particularly since the 1950s, musical scholarship has expanded enormously in the range of its subjects. Scholarly editions have been published for music extending from medieval chant to mid-twentieth-century composers. Critical and theoretical methodologies range from technical analyses to feminist critiques and other approaches inspired by twentieth-century literary criticism. Recent decades have seen a shift in focus from individual composers and works to performance practices and works in their cultural and social contexts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography cannot begin to capture the breadth and depth of research on the history of European art music. The literature includes published primary sources, multi-volume encyclopedias, textbook surveys that list composers and trace the development of styles, composers' biographies, and monographs on selected topics, such as genres, institutions, periods, and places. Approaches and methods vary significantly and include studying composers' autographs as evidence of the creative process and analyzing instruments (organology), artwork (iconography), literature, and philosophy for evidence of performance practice and the relation among music, society, and culture. Each European country has its own academic journals and popular periodicals, too numerous to list here, devoted to music.

For a general orientation, English-language readers may turn to the following works, which include an annotated bibliography, a multivolume encyclopedia, the major American journal devoted to music history, four extensive series of publications, and a canonical music-history textbook.

Annotated bibliography

Duckles, Vincent, and Ida Reed. 1997. *Music Reference and Research Materials: An Annotated Bibliography*. 5th ed. New York: Schirmer.

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The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 1980. 20 vols. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan.

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Garland Composer Resource Manuals. 1981–. New York: Garland.

Music Research and Information Guides. 1984–. New York: Garland. These contain annotated bibliographies of individual genres and composers of art music.

Music and Society. 1994–. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall. Published in the United Kingdom as *Man and Music*.

The Norton Introduction to Music History. 1978–. New York: Norton.

Textbook

Grout, Donald Jay, and Claude V. Palisca. 1988. *A History of Western Music*. 4th ed. New York: Norton.