UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Bands, Orchestras, and the Ideal *I*: The Musical Stage as Constitutive of the *I* Function

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirement for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

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2007

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2007

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Completing this dissertation would have been impossible without the kind and wise support of my mentors and colleagues. Thanks go to Professors Jann Pasler and George Lewis for welcoming me into this department. Dr. Pasler has been an inspiration throughout and it is wonderful to see her eyes glow with pride as she watches one of her CS/EPers making her productive way into the world. Professor Lewis has been a source of support and encouragement in so many ways, not least of which has been the use of his house as the best live/work space one could ask for. Although I regret the several floods and other occurrences over the past few years, I appreciated the intellectual discussions that would occur in between the calls to the plumber and painters. Professor David Borgo has been an on-going source of support for me. Not only did he set the stage for my years here with a fascinating and eminently thorough graduate course on theories and discourses in musical improvisation, he has nurtured my development as a performer. His ongoing advice and wisdom are greatly appreciated. And special thanks to Mark Dresser for helping me to get my drool on.

As for my world-class committee, it turns out they are also highly personable! They have been a great pleasure to work with and I am honored to have had such an opportunity. Despite her very heavy workload, Dr. Lisa Lowe was always kind, thoughtful, and thorough in her feedback. Her example and support have encouraged me to trust my instincts and to pursue thinking that leads down less trodden paths. Dr. Mina Yang has been there for me "in the trenches." She carefully and promptly read through my drafts, offering encouragement and solid advice. She has also been (along with Dr.

Fry) extremely helpful in initiating me into the various arcana of academia. Dr. Norman Bryson has been absolutely tireless in his support and enthusiasm. I will deeply miss our lengthy chats on Foucault, Deleuze, Agamben, hysteria, Lez Zeppelin, Mahayana Buddhism, desire, Lacan, Butler, manipulation, Cage, "lumpenism," Wittig,… Dear Norman, you are a dying breed and the friend I've always wanted (even though I can't convince you that bliss beats desire). My Co-Chair Anthony Davis has the knack for putting a unique twist on whatever my latest line of thinking may be. He has allowed me the freedom to follow my own instincts, yet always freshens up my analysis with a completely new perspective. Dr. Andy Fry has been nothing less than my personal workhorse for the past three years. He has been my main editor for conference papers and articles and has helped me enormously with my writing (of which this sentence is a poor example—hey, I've got a tight deadline). I think I would truly be lost without his level-headed, supportive, yet quite "to the point," feedback. I have learned vast amounts from you, Andy!

I save my greatest shout-out for my Co-Chair Sherrie Tucker. I met Dr. Tucker through a "fan letter" I wrote her about four years ago. Her ground-breaking work made it possible for me to envision writing about jazz (and helped me to keep playing it). Up until that time I felt like the absolutely unspoken situation of gross sexism in jazz was something I would continue to put up with as a musician, but could not fight in academia as well. Because Dr. Tucker forged the initial path, I now have at least ten articles that could probably write themselves! Since I began working with Sherrie, she has nurtured me every step of the way: giving me publishing opportunities, sharing my work with

others, and writing fantastic reference letters (so I hear). I look forward to continuing to work with you, Sherrie! Thanks infinitely!

My family has been a wonderful support for me, as well. Thanks to Kate and Joe Caciari, Bill and Barb McMullen, and Michael McMullen. You will all be proud to know that I am edging ever closer to bona fide adulthood. Thanks for the support, both financial and emotional, over all the years. I also want to acknowledge my fellow graduate students. Ben Piekut has been especially inspiring, supportive, and a great conference buddy. I look forward to brilliant things from you, big man. Gascia Ouzounian has consistently offered excellent intellectual, academic, and emotional guidance. Michelle Lou has given me much sustenance in this final round with the dissertation, gustatory and otherwise. Kathleen Gallagher, Chris Tonelli, Nick DeMaison, Cristyn Magnus, Marianthi Papalexandri- Alexandri, Juliana Snapper, Zeynup Bulut, and Steve Willard have all made their own unique contributions to my happiness and inspiration while at UCSD.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to Frances Strassman: the best guru a girl could ask for.

Portions of chapter one and of the epilogue have been reprinted from my article "Corpo-Realities: Keepin' it Real in 'Music and Embodiment' Scholarship," in *Current Musicology*, No. 82 (Fall 2006). Chapter three appears in slightly altered form in my chapter "Identity for Sale: Glenn Miller, Wynton Marsalis, and Cultural Replay in Music," in *Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies*, ed. Nichole Rustin and Sherrie Tucker, Duke University Press (forthcoming 2008). I was the sole investigator and author of these essays.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Bands, Orchestras, and the Ideal *I*: The Musical Stage as Constitutive of the *I* Function

by

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University of California, San Diego 2007

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Complicating the recent discussion on "the body in music," I investigate how musical ensembles themselves serve to represent an idealized body as part of their musico-cultural function. Orchestras, big bands, and rock groups have a history of self-sameness in their ranks, producing performances, I argue, based in a longing for the coherent body. With "the body" threatened by post-modernity's philosophical and technological conceptions of subjectivity and the increased existence of integrated bodies (military units, privileged golf associations, the Vienna Philharmonic), performative responses to recreate the coherent body can be found in the skyrocketing popularity of tribute bands that recreate classic jazz orchestras and rock groups through repetition and

identity. However, other bands resist and overtly perform the non-identical body through conscious integration or ironic repetition. I conclude with a move toward the musician's sentient body and its potential to rewrite hegemonic identity when its interdependence and mutability are consciously practiced.

Therefore, I investigate "the body in music" from two perspectives, zooming out to view musical ensembles as a single body and zooming in to hear and feel the individual performer's sentient body. After three chapters detailing the complexities of musico-social staging, the epilogue suggests that one answer to constricting musical stereotypes could be found in the performer's sentient body. Here I consider the musician's body as a site of practice and transformation where one can learn to perform better in all the senses I consider performance in this dissertation. I draw on various disciplines, including cultural theory, performance studies, popular music studies, jazz/improvisation studies, musicology, and cultural studies.

Introduction

"You guys are swinging like a pair of tits!" Such was the alleged acclamation of a University big band director to his band. I hope the story is apocryphal, however, it's likely that it isn't. Either way, the narrative has been passed down through the years at this particular institution and has taken on the status of myth. I open my dissertation with it not so much to expose the routine sexism that undergirds the telling of jazz tradition, even University jazz program traditions (although, ta da, I have just done it!), but to demonstrate how musical ensembles are often described in terms of a human body, that is, as *one* human body. And the body that various musical ensembles martial in their self-descriptions is not random, but structures the story the band is implicitly telling, a story about power, privilege, and identity. In this case, by yoking the band's unified groove to a woman's swaying breasts, the instructor passes on the lesson of the "appropriate" place for the female body in jazz: as the object of straight male pleasure, and as a useful metaphor. Any band member who might actually have real breasts would at that point be embarrassed by them. Only metaphorical tits have a legitimate home here. To have a unified band swinging like a "pair-o'", no one with real tits need apply.

Although much more can be said about the representation of this (probably all-male) big band as a female body, I use it here to introduce my argument that ideas about the body and about subjectivity are embedded in the presentation of most, if not all, musical ensembles. This dissertation will look at various manifestations of what I call the "band-body"—in orchestras, big bands, rock bands, tribute bands, and jazz bands. I believe that each of these band-bodies represents ideas of identity, not only identity in music, but also in the larger cultural field. After looking at these various

(re)presentations, my epilogue suggests that the individual performer's body may be a site of practice to negotiate these constricting musical stereotypes. I begin here, however, with a discussion of some extant scholarship in the areas of music, the body, and cultural studies in order to situate my dissertation within these discussions. I then follow with a brief summary of each of my chapters.

In discussing music, the body, and cultural studies I believe a distinction should be made between the body as a place of sentience (here I include audition) and the body as a sign (and in my analysis I will understand the body as a sign as the *viewed* body, excluding how the body signifies in other ways, for example, through vocal inflection). Although I do not dispute that these senses are often fully imbricated, it is also necessary to investigate how their distinct characteristics offer not simply different modes of perception but also different modes of thought and of being. Although music scholarship is better than most in including ideas of sentient corporeality (usually via aurality) with ideas of the body as sign, I believe further fruitful integration can be achieved by not only including both conceptions, but also by highlighting the difference between them. I find that scholars generally align themselves on either the "sign" side, or the "sentient" side when discussing the body in music.

Since Susan McClary's groundbreaking book *Feminine Endings* (1991), music scholars have demonstrated the various ways that music is not only representative of cultural paradigms and social relations, but productive of them. McClary demonstrates how the history, theory, and aesthetic appraisal of Western music are deeply gendered, and serve to reinforce ideas of male dominance and female subservience. Richard Leppert has argued that because musical sound is "semiotically difficult to control," its

representation in art has channeled it to "connote acceptable meanings" (1993:7) that reinforce dominant societal norms, particularly gender codes. Suzanne Cusick argues that the performance of music is also always a performance of gender and sex; she suggests we think about music "as a cultural practice in which all roles, including gender roles and the roles of composers, performers, listeners, and abstainers change, overlap, even merge" (1998:23). And in his book, *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* (2003), Ronald Radano argues that "African-American music" has consistently been mobilized to produce cultural ideas of blackness, even though such musical "African-Americanness" tends to disappear upon close examination. These are just some of the scholars who are addressing the ways that music shapes our ideas of identity and of raced and gendered bodies, however they are representative of a typical approach. Although they acknowledge music's particular qualities as sonorous and thus as semantically ambiguous, their arguments primarily address how music acts and is read as a cultural signifier. They focus less on the particular "material" of music as an aural artform that vibrates within the body (Cusick is an exception) and more on how such music is represented in music theory, performance practice, in painting, and in discussions of race.

Other scholars, however, have focused on the specific qualities of music as a sonic artform and its consequent effects on the body. Some scholars suggest these qualities may offer epistemologies and ontologies that counter our usual visualist bias. John Shepherd and Peter Wicke have written persuasively about music's unique power as a sonic artform. They emphasize how sound's distinct qualities differ from those of vision which serve to "separate and locate" objects in a field. They write that:

> Sound brings the world into people from all directions, simultaneously and dynamically. While it is frequently possible to locate the source of a

> sound, it is a fundamental experiential characteristic of sound that it lifts off the surface of its material source to occupy and give life to the space not only between the source and the listener, but also around the listener. While a sound may have a discrete material source, therefore, it is experienced as a phenomenon that encompasses and touches the listener in a cocoon-like fashion. … And since sound is evanescent, going out of existence at the very moment that it comes into existence, people are encompassed and touched by a world that is constantly in process and dynamic, a world that only exists while it is being articulated through sound (Shepherd and Wicke 1997:126–7).

Sound is thus an experience that is perceived in the entire body, not just in the ears, and it unfolds "in time." Julie Dawn Smith and Suzanne Cusick have stressed music's "overflowing" qualities and its ability to threaten subject/object and mind/body divisions. In her dissertation, *Diva Dogs: Sounding Women Improvising* (2001), scholar/improviser Julie Dawn Smith argues for the power of aurality, corporeality, and improvisation to create new subjectivities, writing that, "sound writes upon the exterior surfaces and interior substances of the body with an invisible ink that leaves its mark as it evaporates and disappears. The invisible presence of sound complicates the visual basis of intelligibility to underscore the corporeal as an improvisational process of sounding, audition, (re)writing and transformation" (Smith:ii). Thus, moving within the body, sound complicates our usual vision-based epistemologies and draws attention to our resonating bodies as sites of reconfiguration. Similarly, Suzanne Cusick has argued for the inclusion of the performer's "actual body" (15) into music theory as a possible solution to the "mind/body problem," suggesting that emphasis on corporeal performance can reclaim music from the "mind side" of Western culture, toward a space that includes mind and body (Cusick 1994).

These are, of course, the very qualities of music that have instigated the somewhat hysterical routing of music's "meaning" in the West. Leppert has argued that music's

instability as a sign and its connection to the body has been a source of anxiety for patriarchal Western society. He writes that, "by far the most consistent suspicion, in fact fear, about music in the West, going back to Plato (*The Republic*) and continuing to this moment in the anxieties of Allan Bloom (*The Closing of the American Mind*), revolves around music's connection to the body, notably its sexual parts, and the closely related paranoia that the sexuality awakened by music and becoming addictive (Bloom's word) will weaken men, make them womanish" (Leppert:219). The connection between femininity and music ("at least since the eighteenth century, music and femininity were viewed interchangeably" (Leppert:155)) stems from their perceived similar qualities: their non-signifiable excess, their threat of uncontained sexuality, and their challenge to well-defended boundaries, including the coherent identities of men.

Accepting this "disruptive" power of music leads to a reconsideration of its presentation in the form of a "concert." As public concert music became prominent in the 19th century, musicians became increasingly distanced from their listeners, performing on a raised stage and adopting a uniformity of dress. The various rituals that have formed around concert music also serve to distance the audience from the orchestra: audience movement is to be kept to a minimum; spontaneous clapping is absolutely forbidden; and of course, no one is allowed to hum or sing along. All of these elements of the concert experience serve to establish boundaries between the listeners and the music and to contain the threatening intercorporeality of sound. In contemporary society there are more threats to coherent identity and the coherent body than just the age-old threat of music, however. The body and identity are threatened from all angles, from post-structuralist critiques of the individual to scientific reconsiderations of the brain as

"command central."[1] Similarly, previously coherent social bodies are now being integrated (military units, privileged golf associations, the Vienna Philharmonic). It is my contention that the various contemporary stagings of musical performance are types of answers to such challenges to identity.

In Chapter One I clarify what I mean by a musical ensemble as a "coherent body," using examples such as the Vienna Philharmonic, early school marching bands, and swing era big bands whose "self-sameness" seems integral to their performance. I theorize this desire for self-sameness by using Lacan's second stage in the construction of subjectivity: the mirror stage (Lacan [1966] 2002). I then offer a counter-example in the punk musical ethos that intentionally pursued a plural, disintegrated body. I argue that early Los Angeles punk bands initially allowed for the dismantling of the presumed coherencies of the literal body and of the body of the band. Later "suburban punk," however, often re-cohered around a unified identity: that of threatening white masculinity. Thus, the punk stage presented literal and ritualized instanciations of and reactions against late 20th century fragmented subjectivities.

Chapter Two takes the idea of the band as a body developed in Chapter One and expands it to show how contemporary "tribute bands" can create various "identities" through their band-body. Whereas the Vienna Philharmonic, for example, created coherency through the homogeneity of their personnel, tribute bands further create coherency (or disrupt it) by linking themselves with identities of the past. I contextualize tribute bands within postmodern discussions of pastiche and simulacra and then look at how two tribute bands relate to ideas of performativity in identity construction. This chapter introduces a key term of my dissertation, "replay." Replay describes those

performances that seek to reenact an exact moment from the past, an activity I relate to the desire for the "perfect performative."

Chapter Three takes a closer look at replay in two musical representations of cultural memory with national and international reach. I first argue that Yale University's Glenn Miller recreation performed the return to the body of the middle class white man as a symbol of American nation. In a second example, I describe how the "tribute" approach taken at Jazz at Lincoln Center performs jazz as synonymous with a sophisticated black male body. This chapter introduces another key concept of my dissertation: "in-passing."

Having looked at bands as bodies, my epilogue points to a site for further research: the individual performer's body in music and the strategies employed by women musicians who may feel like a "gash" in various band-bodies. I investigate how three musician-composer-improvisers turned to the practices of meditation, yoga, and the physical pleasures of sound to provide a locus of transformation in the midst of societal scripts that are slow to change. I argue that these practices can be thought of as "improvisative" rather than performative, in that they work to help the improviser perform a "new action" rather than the repetition of the stereotype. To differentiate my idea of training the body and of practice from the disciplining of the body and the theories of practice described by Foucault (1977), Bourdieu (1993), and de Certeau (1984), I enlist the mindfulness/awareness model of experience described by cognitive scientists Francisco Varela, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch (1991) as my theoretical framework.

Music as a social phenomenon harbors no utopian space discrete from the stereotypes and prejudices of the larger society. But music does have a power to disrupt our usual identities through its non-representational aurality. When music is "contained" in its presentation, it functions to generate ideas of identity and subjectivity, representing fragmentation and fluidity as solid, bounded, and safe. This has implications for culture as a whole: musical "staging" becomes one more mechanism to create cultural ideas of identity, coherence, and power. This staging also has effects on musicians—on who can or can't comfortably play which instruments in which style. My research combines understandings of music as both a reflection and a producer of social scripts and as a potential to overflow these scripts, by investigating how women musicians use the power of music's aurality and of embodied practice to directly confront the stereotypes that music as a social phenomenon hands them.

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[1] Such as in cognitive science. See for example Varela, Thompson, and Rosch 1991.

Chapter One

Bands as Bodies

Live concert music, including rock, classical, or jazz, has a unique element not found in other artistic performances. For all live performances, the stage presents an enclosed arena of more or less scripted activity defined by outer borders of less predictability—the unscripted audience, "real life." However, while theater and dance offer movement and narrative with performers moving in and out of a porous staged space, music "stands there," less as bodies, than as *a* body. The orchestra or the band speaks as a unity in the sense that it is presenting one thing, however polyphonic or heterogeneous it may be: the music. In this, I argue that musical performance can function to present the reflection of a coherent body or self and can even serve as a ritual to palliate fears of incoherence that stem from the gradual racial and sexual integration of previously "pure" bodies over the last sixty years. Since the racial integration of the military in 1947, other social bodies, including golf associations, long-standing private clubs, and corporate boardrooms have increasingly faced challenges to their exclusivity and have been integrated, at least racially (and often within strict de facto limits), if not also sexually.

A concrete example from my own personal experience may help to convey the idea of the band as a coherent body. Several years ago, I supplemented my income by performing the music of Glenn Miller, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and other big band composers in the 20-piece Kerry Richard's Band, a "retro swing big band" that was all male with the exception of myself on tenor saxophone, the vocalist, and an occasional substitute pianist. With the sequined vocalist clearly embodying "high femininity," the

band members dressed in suits or tuxedoes and "played the man" musically, including occasional vocal parts that called on us to yell out responses to "our female other" en masse from a masculine subject position. With my faux tux and higher pitched voice I felt how I pluralized this coherent masculine subject, something that was uncomfortable representationally, aesthetically, and personally. This experience peaked my interest in how other musical bodies such as the Vienna Philharmonic or the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra also maintain a certain "physical coherency" that seems integral to their musical agenda.

This chapter begins with a few conspicuous examples of bands perceived of as bodies. I then argue (via Lacan) how such bands perform the cultural ritual of obeisance to a coherent subjectivity and how they often work to (re)encode desire by contrasting a female subjectivity with the masculine unity presented by the band. This theorization of musical bodies offers a critique of some perhaps too utopian ideas about the intercorporeality in music in recent scholarship, and I consider the case of trombonist Abbie Conant in response to this scholarship. I conclude with a look at punk rock (and its manifestation in three L.A. punk bands in particular) as an example of a disruption in this function of music as representative of a coherent subjectivity.

1.1 Bands as Unified Bodies

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra provides a striking example of a musical ensemble described in terms of a body. Much of this narrative has unfurled in response to protests of the orchestra's hiring practices. The VPO has a long history of white male exclusivity in its membership and has resisted the now usual practice of blind auditions. According to William Osborne, this prejudice is directed toward people who are "visibly

members of racial minorities," most often musicians of Asian ancestry and women. Citing orchestra member comments, Osborne writes that the VPO believes this visible trace "would destroy the orchestra's image of Austrian authenticity" (Osborne n.d.).[1] Spurred on by Osborne's articles and work by the International Alliance for Women in Music, widespread protests were lodged against these discriminatory practices in the 1990s. In 1997, after a proposed U.S. tour was threatened with demonstrations and the Austrian government applied pressure to abandon the "men only" rule, the Vienna Philharmonic finally made their long-standing harpist, Anna Lelkes, a full member. However, in the past ten years the VPO has accepted no other women as members. Although some women appear to be in the "pipeline," there is widespread skepticism that another woman will become a member anytime soon. Nor has the orchestra improved its record with racial minorities.[2]

Many orchestra members consider their self-sameness as integral to the VPO's particular achievement, averring that a pluralized orchestral body would threaten the purity of its "special Viennese qualities." When asked how he would feel about a woman instrumentalist in the orchestra, second violinist Helmut Zehetner said, "we would be gambling with the emotional unity that this organism currently has.… When the orchestra [really starts] cooking with a Mahler symphony, I sense very strongly and simply that only men sit around me. … I would not want to gamble with this unity" (Osborne n.d.). Dieter Flury, the orchestra's solo flutist, added, "from the beginning we have spoken of the special Viennese qualities, of the way music is made here. [It] is not only a technical ability, but also something that has a lot to do with the soul. The soul does not let itself be separated from the cultural roots that we have here in central Europe.

And it also doesn't allow itself to be separated from gender" (Osborne n.d.). To these members, the VPO is an organism bound by its emotional unity—a unity made from a uniquely Viennese and male soul (despite the fact that the orchestra includes members with last names Kubik, Setena, Zalodek, Kobantchenko, Kuzmichev, Andrusenko, Doli, Grabko, Bornemisza, Sikorski, de Maistre, Turnovsky, Janezic, and Madas, among other distinctly non-Germanic names). As long as the members can visually pass as white and male, the authenticity of the Vienna Philharmonic is maintained: clear and true communication of Western classical music at its most sublime.

Therefore, gender and race are not *heard* here, but *seen*, something which has been revealed in blind auditions. When the Vienna Philharmonic briefly introduced blind auditions just after WWII, the orchestra's former chairman, Otto Strasser, described the result as a "grotesque situation: . . . as the screen was raised [on the winner], there stood a Japanese before the stunned jury" (Gladwell 2005:246). According to Malcolm Gladwell in his book *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking* (2005), the VPO has not had blind auditions since. He goes on to write:

> In the past thirty years, since screens became commonplace, the number of women in the top U.S. orchestras has increased fivefold. "The very first time the new rules for auditions were used, we were looking for four new violinists," remembers Herb Wekslebatt, a tuba player for the Metropolitan Opera in New York, who led the fight for blind auditions at the Met in the mid-1960s. "And all of the winners were women. That would simply never have happened before. Up until that point, we had maybe three women in the whole orchestra. I remember that after it was announced that the four women had won, one guy was absolutely furious at me. He said, 'You're going to be remembered as the SOB who brought women into this orchestra' (Gladwell 2005:250).

Since sound is not the determining factor in "pluralizing" the orchestra, it seems that appearance of the orchestral body is one of the central concerns in the production of the

music. Of course many other arguments can and have been made, including purported "difficulties" involved in working with women or minorities (aka., their "personalities," their lack of masculine or cultural modes of behavior ostensibly exhibited by the white men in the orchestra, women as instigators of male rivalry for men's attention, etc.). However, I also believe that the visual pluralization impinges on the viewed "cultural authenticity" of the orchestra and the presentation of its specific brand of music as speaking from one unified, culturally and sexually specific, and therefore "authentic," voice. With this in mind, I want to analyze more closely the work of recent music scholars who have privileged live music performance over other forms.

1.2 Live Music: Seeing is Believing

Recent trends in music scholarship have worked to overturn the hegemony of the score in musical analysis and to emphasize the embodied act of musical performance. However, I caution against simply reversing the hierarchy and privileging performance, implicitly or explicitly relegating recordings to second place, just above the score. The pathbreaking work of Susan McClary, Suzanne Cusick, and others has provided long-overdue analyses of gendered meanings in the aural dimension of music. Music *means* aurally, as McClary in particular has shown through her detailed textual and hermeneutical analyses, yet such aurality also harbors a potential for resistance through misfired meanings, misconstruals, and aural drag performances.[3]

Many scholars have investigated the impulses toward and effects of preserving music in recordings. Remarking on the arrival of the phonograph at a time when Western artists and philosophers were engaged in destabilizing identities and meanings, Charles Grivel writes, "just as Rimbard was writing that '*je est un autre*' (I is someone else),

Mallarmé that a blank volume is his expression, . . . and Nietzsche, of course, that since God is dead, the voice, without reservation, dissolves . . . a machine arrives in the nick of time to capture all this and give it an appearance" (1992:33). Here, recording provides a specious bulwark against the necessary decline of Western Enlightenment. For Susan McClary, recording technology palliates Western culture's discomfort with music as a particularly corporeal practice. She writes, "The advent of recording has been a Platonic dream come true, for with a disk one can have the pleasure of the sound without the troubling reminder of the bodies producing it" (1991:136). Such observations highlight the view that recording changes music from an ephemeral and embodied evocation to just another signifier in the play of signification: a disembodied, interchangeable commodity awaiting its turn on the CD player. These concerns carry particular weight with music educators, among whom the plague and promise of recordings continually riddle pedagogical decisions. Writing on the Afro-Brazilian music and martial art form, *capoeira*, ethnomusicologist Greg Downey states, "in many ways, recordings are a blessing, saving my audiences from a slew of adjectives and vague metaphors, but they also leave me uncomfortable. Music objectified as a recording…generates its own distortions in our understanding of musical events . . . I fear that by presenting an objectified recording as 'the music,' I may seem to imply that the musical object alone determines musical experience" (Downey 2002:487). Downey's essay concerns the phenomenology of hearing, or how culture "shapes the way we hear." And indeed, his concern is *capoeira*, an art form that does beg a visual understanding. I want to use Downey's comments, however, to explore what it may mean for a recording to "generate its own distortions in our understanding of musical events." Music, unlike painting, film,

performance art, theater, and dance, is not dependent upon sight, and although scholars are doing fascinating work on the visual element of music (particularly Leppert 1988 and 1993),[4] I find music's most radical feature is its disruption of vision's authority.

Gladwell lays bare the cultural context of a symphony orchestra in terms of viewed embodiment. Since the advent of screened auditions in American orchestras (and the consequent rise in female and minority placements), Gladwell states that, "What the classical music world realized was that what they had thought was a pure and powerful first impression—listening to someone play—was in fact hopelessly corrupted" (2005:250–51). Some people look as if their playing sounds better than it actually does because of confident behavior or good posture. Others may look belabored, but sound great. Julie Landsman, principle French Horn player in the Metropolitan Opera orchestra, states, "I've been [on the panel in] auditions without screens, and I can assure you that I was prejudiced. I began to listen with my eyes, and there is no way that your eyes don't affect your judgment. The only true way to listen is with your ears and your heart" (Gladwell 2005:251). Contemporary scholars may chortle at the suggestion that "true listening" demands the disappearance of the performer. However, live music fully ensconced in its context cannot lay claim to any higher "authenticity," at least not without problematizing what such authenticity entails. It would seem that the Vienna Philharmonic and many of its listeners prefer a less competent-sounding orchestra over an orchestra consisting of female or Asian bodies because they, like many music scholars and other listeners, appreciate music as the situated, embodied phenomenon. If we accept that culture shapes the way we hear and that part of the "situated" listening experience involves perceiving the musicians visually, the Vienna Philharmonic presumably *sounds*

better to listeners with such nationalistic tendencies if performed by less musically competent, but more "culturally authentic" musicians.[5] Therefore, the "authenticity" of live music fully ensconced in its context needs to be recognized as culturally and historically situated.

1.3 Other Band Bodies

The VPO is a recent and arresting example of the desire for musical performance to issue from one unified organism clearly bound by race and gender restrictions. Another interesting example is found in the early years of American school band in the 1930s and 40s. Beth Abelson Macleod has written on gender discrimination in 19th and 20th century American orchestras and bands, including the reluctance to integrate female instrumentalists into all-male ensembles. Discussing mid-century arguments for the creation of school bands, Macleod writes,

> [Such accounts] invariably drifted to discussions of the needs of pre-adolescent boys and the adult desire to control them. [Concerned teachers and parents wrote letters to] tout band membership as an antidote to juvenile delinquency and gang membership. They claimed that the exercises of playing wind and brass instruments would change the frail boy into a "deep-chested, sturdy youth." Such writers were consequently eager to make bands appear masculine, believing that boys would be attracted through their desire for uniforms and their "inherent love for the military." (Macleod 1993:16)

School bands were thus conceived of as an activity for boys and anxiety about the femininity of music led to the desire for its masculinization. Macleod writes that, "In an era when leading educators often lamented the purported feminization of the schools, writers also expressed concern that music not be stigmatized as a sissified activity" (14). She quotes Harold Randolph from his paper "The Feminization of Music," presented at the Annual Music Teachers' National Association Meeting in 1922: "Might it not have a

wholesome influence if at this most impressionable age the boys could receive their first associations with music through a man—and a real man at that, one who could show them in the only way an average boy can understand, i.e., by illustrations, that music is as much a man's job as a woman's…" (14). Macleod notes that even though women were associated with "artistic appreciation" and outnumbered men as teachers, men became the predominant teachers of instrumental music. She places this within the broader context of "the ascendancy of the male expert" (14), a relationship that still holds significant sway in all American musical cultures from jazz and rock to classical and folk, manifested particularly in the male "cult of the collector."

Macleod found that the marching band produced more anxiety than the regular band in directors concerned with girls' participation. Recounting the directors' responses to an inquiring colleague about why they excluded girls from the marching band, she writes, "one said he simply couldn't be bothered; another said girls would ruin the appearance of the band; a third said girls could not learn wind instruments as well as boys, and a fourth expressed doubts that girls would be interested in playing the larger instruments" (16). Although these answers have to do with the marching band, only one of them could possibly be considered especially related to its particular function, and that is how girls would "ruin [its] appearance." Not being able to learn wind instruments or play larger instruments would also be issues in the regular band. However, the function of the marching band as spectacle, and as reminiscent or representative of military formations, seems to preclude the inclusion of girls, at least for one director. School authorities soon found a way to include girls in such activities, however. Macleod tells us that, "band directors in the 1930s and 1940s solved the perceived dilemma of girls in the

marching band by forming separate all-girl bands, especially in high schools large enough to support two groups" (16). This would be rare, however, and more commonly girls were given separate roles from the boys. One role was playing a more gender-appropriate instrument that was also separated from the main body of the band. Macleod writes,

> Joe Berryman, director of the school band in Fort Stockton, Texas, extolled the virtues of the "Bugle-Lyra," a set of bells especially designed for marching which would substitute for the bugles normally used. This would counter any objections that the bugle would "alter the shape of the girls' lips…. The Bugle-Lyra are easily played and a group of girls can be taught several 'bell-tunes' in even so short a time as a week…. This new instrument is not heavy, has a very attractive appearance, and in every way fills a long-felt need" (16).

However, the most common solution was to give girls a role that did not involve any instrumental performance whatsoever,

> in favor of decorative display. During the 1930s and 1940s baton twirling grew increasingly popular, and "pretty girls with flashing batons" decorated the playing fields. "Flag-waving"—the swinging of decorative flags to music—was another alternative. To accompany the girls, the boys in the band usually played a familiar waltz, "the ideal type of music for flag twirling. The combination is most effective and beautiful." Activities such as baton-twirling and flag-waving flourished because of the discomfort music educators felt with girls playing and marching with brass and wind instruments (16-17).[6]

Thus, rather than present a motley, pluralized band-body, girls are separated out into their own unit of decorative display.[7]

Such a separation was also a hallmark of the contemporaneous big band era where an all-male band responded musically to the vocal artistry of the beautiful female "canary." Lewis Erenberg describes this phenomenon in his book, *Swinging the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture* (1998). He writes that swing era big bands, such as those of Glenn Miller, Count Basie, or Chick Webb, "offered a model of

male group strength that avoided the entanglements of home, family, and women. Yet every swing band had its lone female participant—the girl singer, or canary—who enacted a model of male-female relations during the 1930s and 1940s" (84-5). According to Erenberg, this model of "male-female relations" performed men as public, competent, uniform/social, and aggressive, and women as private, romantic, decorative/separate, and cooperative. He also writes, "Many leaders would have been content to function without vocalists, but they needed singers of romantic songs and iconic models of femininity to appeal to a heterosexual youth culture" (85).

He goes on to describe swing band cutting contests as "battles of the bands" between "all-male teams…led by patriarchal fathers" (84). He describes these contests "as a regular part of [swing] entertainment," writing, "Chick Webb battled Benny Goodman…at the Savoy, Charlie Barnet fought Louis Armstrong in Washington, D.C., Count Basie and Jimmie Lunceford sparred at the Larchmont Casino, and…Basie and Webb competed in a much-publicized event [at the Savoy]. …Music publications and fans treated the battles as championship fights or other heroic male contests" (60). And just as the school band directors foregrounded the connection between school marching bands and military formations, big bands also bore this connection, particularly during wartime. Since the military remained segregated until 1947, it is little surprise that big bands in the 1930s or 1940s were also separated by race. Therefore, these teams could take on the representation of "black man vs. white man" when Goodman faced off against Chick Webb, for example.

1.4 The Musical Stage as Constitutive of the *I* Function

Although there are many complex reasons for why bands remain segregated, my intent here is to focus on how a desire for a coherent subjectivity and its representation feeds into this need for "unified" bands. According to Lacan, desire for a unified body stems from a desire to experience an image of oneself that provides for a coherent subjectivity, or what he calls, an *I*. In "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the *I* Function ([1966] 2002)," Lacan describes how the image of the body in the mirror initiates the construction of the child's *I*. Because the toddler perceives himself as fragmented, seeing the image of his coherent body in the mirror precipitates his construction of an "ideal-I." (I stay here with Lacan's original construction of a boy's subjectivity because "the subject" is normatively male and it is this normatively male unified subject that is created by the band-bodies that I am analyzing.) The "mirror stage" establishes the *I*'s "primordial form," therefore, as inherently alienated—anticipating a wholeness that will never arrive. Lacan describes how the *I* formation is "symbolized in dreams by a fortified camp, or even a stadium" (7). Here the subject "bogs down in his quest for the proud, remote inner castle" that is surrounded by gravel pits and marshes. I believe that musical performances present an image of this dream: the musical stage with its border between bandstand and audience and music's presentational form of "just standing there" offer a unique instanciation of a fortified camp, a body mirrored for us, complete, bounded, untraversed, and with no need of an other. As Lacan has described, the specular *I* precedes the social *I*; that is, the mirror stage (characterized by identification) precedes the symbolic formation (characterized by difference and the encounter with the other). Seeing the coherent body on stage, I suggest, is seeing our imagined coherent subjectivity in the mirror, the dream of our unified identity that is not subject to definition through an

other.[8] Thus, these performances function as a Lacanian "imago" that "establish[es] a relationship between an organism and its reality…between the *Innenwelt* and the *Umwelt*" (6). Functioning much like the original image of the body, the presentation of the musical ensemble establishes a sense of coherence in the midst of feelings of incoherence and fragmentation.

In the three examples above I attempted to demonstrate how musical performances can present this image of identity through the band itself. The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra presents the most extreme form of band as a "subject with no other." It offers a fortified camp with all members unified in race and gender while giving the impression that such a subjectivity is not defined through an other (an old strategy for "whiteness" and "maleness"). Connected only to the "musical sublime" of 19th century classical music, the VPO performs such white maleness as transcendent, unitary, and eternal. The school marching band creates its unified subjectivities through the othering process of gender. By keeping the girls separate, the marching performs the play of desire, which requires two bodies, rather than the confusion of one plural identity without an "other." This precise enactment of heterosexual desire occurred in the swing big bands as well, bands that also represented racially segregated formations (much like the military)—another element that secured their image as one "social body."[9]

1.5 Intercorporeality in Music

The tendency for musical conglomerations to manifest as unified bodies has repercussions for contemporary theorizations of music, particularly for scholarship on the intercorporeality of music. For example, many scholars working in the areas of improvisation and/or intercultural popular music have proposed that intercorporeality

involving musicians of diverse backgrounds may offer productive models of communities that both encompass difference and generate unity.[10] Ajay Heble and Daniel Fischlin hosted a colloquium and produced an important anthology on the potential of improvising ensembles and communities to offer "critical modes of resistance" (Fischlin and Heble 2004) through their "discrepant engagement," a foundational concept for the conference.[11] Poet Nathaniel Mackey writes that he "coined [discrepant engagement] in reference to practices that…accent fissure, fracture, incongruity…, engag[ing] discrepancy rather than seek[ing] to ignore it…. [It voices] reminders of the axiomatic exclusions upon which positings of identity and meaning depend" (Mackey 1993:19). In the exhortation to hail improvising communities or intercultural exchanges as exemplifying such practices, however, I often find meanings cohering around "community" and "intercorporeality" that inadvertently reinforce rather than disrupt axiomatic exclusions.[12] Indeed, some scholars seem to take music's distinctive relation to embodiment as the only necessity to produce this valued intercorporeality, as if intercorporeality in itself were the goal.[13]

The experience trombonist, improviser, and performance artist Abbie Conant has had with musical communities provides an illuminating counter-example to the lauding of intercorporeality in music. In 1980, this white, female, American trombonist living in Germany, won the solo trombone chair of the Munich Philharmonic, beating out thirty-two other candidates, all male. Invited to the audition via a letter addressed to *Herr* Abbie Conant, she achieved this success as a disembodied performer—from behind an auditioning screen. With the entire orchestra and director listening, as is the custom when auditioning solo chairs, Conant's sound was consumed as pure musical expression;

indeed, her winning performance was exactly the realization the orchestra hoped for. However, when she stepped out from behind the screen, this seemingly unproblematic purity of sound was disrupted: for there stood a female body. Although she received no formal or informal reprimands, Conant was nonetheless demoted after her probationary year. Director Sergui Celibidache made his reasoning clear, telling her, "You know the problem, we need a man for the solo trombone" (Osborne 1994).[14] Conant then embarked on a twelve-year court battle with the Munich Philharmonic while enduring continual harassment from the director and orchestra members. She eventually triumphed, but not without grievous suffering and insult.

Conant's problems sprang directly from male desires for homosocial intercorporeality in music. In a personal interview, when the topic turned toward music communities I sensed her discomfort with criticizing the communal aspect of music, and I eventually offered, "It just sounds like communities…have posed a lot of difficulties [for you]." Conant responded, "that's exactly the problem…the community part. Through working on the individual level you come to the point [where] you sort of go beyond wanting to be part of things. Maybe that never really goes away, of course. We all want to be part of things, a community, to be nurtured and also to be able to do some nurturing—you know that give and take, feeling a part of the flock of humanity. But there is a point of no return, 'well ok, it's not going to happen in this life.'" (Conant/McMullen 2006b). Clearly, Conant is not against community in the abstract. It is just that the concrete manifestations of these communities posed real problems for her. She also described the problems posed when groups of outsiders form their own communities. Her work with the all-women trombone quartet *Prisma* in the early 1990s

was initially a powerful opportunity to share experience, provide support, and acknowledge the difficulties of being a woman trombonist. She said, "I don't think any of us realized how powerful it was going to be, just the fact that we decided to get together and form this group. And all kinds of things came up for each one of us and we just started telling each other our stories and sometimes we…couldn't get down to actually rehearsing because we had so much processing to do." Conant stayed with the group for only one year, however, and the ensemble disbanded in 1995. Acknowledging the downside of these communities, she stated that, unfortunately, "it didn't last too long before it got destructive, because this kind of repression and sexism [in our musical worlds] creates illness. It creates all kinds of problems and so not only is there the liberating part of it, but there's also the concentration of poison and the inability to distinguish who is friend and who is foe" (Conant/McMullen 2006b). Conant's description of her collaborations with other women is as eloquent as it is heartbreaking. As is often the case with subaltern groups, even in coming together the damage that has been done continues to wreak its consequences.

Aware of the hegemony enforced in mono-social conglomerations, many scholars make difference central to their analyses of musical collaborations in hopes of demonstrating the productivity of diverse collectivity. In a recent essay (2004), George Lipsitz heralds pianist Horace Tapscott's autobiography (Tapscott 2001) as a model of new jazz historiography in its emphasis on collectivity in the jazz tradition. Even here, however, Lipsitz must acknowledge that "the collectivity Tapscott celebrates included women, but in subordinate and secondary roles" (21). And in writing on pan-African musical collaborations, Jason Stanyek emphasizes "African [music's]…tendency to

promote embodied interaction and dialogue between people with disparate personal and cultural histories" (2004:87). For him, "the most profound thing that Pan-African jazz has offered the world…has been the ability of musicians to use Pan-Africanism as a basis for constructing a collaborative space in which they make direct contact with each other and communicate and create in spite of extreme differences of musical style and despite profound linguistic, historical, and cultural disjunctures" (91). And although Stanyek mentions the participation of a few women musicians, he does not presents examples of presents examples of "extreme differences" or "cultural disjunctures" for them or their male collaborators. Both scholars are doing important work in highlighting the promise of "discrepant" musical collaborations. However, I believe it is imperative to present an analysis of the way these forms of collaboration also work against "emancipatory ends." [15] That such cultural *junctures* as male hegemony do not pose a strong enough delegitimization to interfere with their conclusions is problematic. I fear the scholars may limit their conception of cultural difference, eliding the complex and ongoing intersections of race, class, sexuality, and—most pointedly in these examples—gender, in the service of making a claim for the exemplary status of these communities. While there are lessons to be learned from Tapscott's collectivity and from Pan-African jazz, by presenting these collaborations as models or bases for interaction while simultaneously obviating such complexity, these analyses tend toward master narrative, rather than the disrupture that Mackey encourages. [16]

I hope I have demonstrated that understanding the tendency toward self-sameness in musical conglomerations is imperative to understanding how music functions as a social model. The history of orchestras, school bands, big bands, and other musical

groups offers rich examples of social laws in action. In understanding how musical communities work, we need to take into account how musical production has been concerned with staging boundaries and producing coherency. However, one musical movement challenged this tendency—the punk movement of the late 1970s. The following section analyzes several bands from the Los Angeles punk scene of 1977 to 1983. Applying Julia Kristeva's idea of the abject as that which threatens the integrity of a unified "self," I investigate the abject band-bodies of The Germs, The Bags, and Black Flag. I conclude by examining the later suburban punk band Fear, a band that I argue sought to "return" to a unified, coherent body in their performances.

1.6 Los Angeles Punk and Abjection

The transnational punk movement of the late 1970s encompassed diverse styles and was geographically far-flung. Nonetheless many scholars describe a general punk ethos based in a desire for rebellion against traditional social constraints and against the musical "pretensions" of 1970s psychedelic and progressive rock music (e.g. Hebdige 1979, Belsito and Davis 1983, Sabin 1999). The "do-it-yourself (DIY)" approach was a central characteristic across all geographic regions of punk and freed musicians and fans from reliance on the authority of professional journalism, musicianship, or commercial bookings to make, consume, or comment on music. Bands and fans influenced each other across the United States and Britain through the circulation of fanzines and newly formed independent record labels and disaffected youth of all varieties found a home in the aesthetic and general worldview of punk. In Los Angeles, new bands were being formed around 1977 just as punk was breaking in New York and Britain. These bands were often influenced by glam rock as well as by literary and social influences that were

particular to 1970s California, including the human potential movements of Scientology and est, and the racial mix of the poorer areas of Los Angeles. One of the earliest bands of this era was the Germs.

In 1977, Euro-American Paul Beahm (Darby Crash) and African-American George Ruthenberg (Pat Smear) started the Germs adding Terri Ryan (Lorna Doom), bass; and Becky Barton (Donna Rhia) on drums (Barton/Rhia was later replaced by Jimmy Giorsetti (Don Bolles)). The Germs were one of the earliest bands in the L.A. punk scene and have had a significant impact on subsequent rock, including the 1990s band Nirvana, who claimed the Germs and other L.A. punk bands as inspiration. Beahm and Ruthenberg were both students at "Innovative Program School," a high school within a high school (University High in West Los Angeles) that was an outgrowth of the popular 1970s "human potential movement." Based in Scientology and est, the school was designed for intelligent students who were not thriving in the normal high school environment. The two fourteen year-olds (who were already regularly dropping acid) signed up because they heard you would take drugs with the teachers in class, which at least in one case appeared to be true (Mullen, Bolles, Parfrey 2002:15). The school was chaotic with students allowed to verbally confront and challenge teachers and teachers often enamored with mind-games and manipulations based on shaky "human potential" theories. Eventually, Beahm was expelled for ongoing gross misbehavior. (Beahm asserts he was expelled because he started his own religion and was gaining followers, which threatened the school's leaders.) But his Scientology-inflected education—where, for example, students are encouraged to look up every word they don't know—as well as his interest in religion and poetry, affected his lyrics both in subject matter and in style.

Beahm/Crash was a highly charismatic personality who had groupies even before the band formed and many of his peers have since described him as a brilliant, troubled, young man.

The Germs quickly became popular with the developing Los Angeles punk audience. Their music had a propulsive energy and the charismatic Crash was one of the best lyricists around. However, it was probably the sheer intensity of their shows that drew crowds. Crash, revered as much for his excessive over-consumption of drugs and alcohol as for his poetry, was the raging and brilliant artist bent on his own destruction. He would scream or mumble his lyrics incoherently while flailing across the stage toward a proffered beer or handful of drugs. The band would instigate food fights at their performances, requesting audience members to bring food, resulting in "sickening concoctions of salad dressings, beans, sour milk, and Campbell's soup [flying] from the balconies…as [the band] emptied…bags of sugar over the stage and the crowd" (Willard 2004:199). Crash would then dive onto the floor littered with broken glass or "cut his chest with broken beer bottles" (Willard:200).

These extremes seemed intent on breaking sonic, physical, and psychic boundaries and were often expressed in the band's lyrics. For example, in "We Must Bleed" Crash writes:

> The crash as the bottle breaks
> Flashes its will through my veins
> The pain…the colors…making me sane…
> We must bleed, we must bleed, we must bleed

He ends the song with:

> I'm not one I'm two, I'm not one I'm two, I'm not one I'm two
> I want out now, I want out now, I want out now now now now now
> now now now…… (Mullen, Bolles, Parfrey 2002:283)

However, such insights were almost always obscured in delivery: they were sung too fast to understand; they were slurred and incoherent from Crash's drug-induced stupor; or they were incomprehensible because he was notorious for not singing into the microphone. The band stressed the music through volume extremes and the disarray of unskilled musicianship and stressed communication through the incomprehensibility of Crash's delivery. Through physical mutilation, alcohol, and drug consumption, Crash existed at the very fringe of coherence and the ultimate incoherence of death—which he achieved in 1980 at the age of 21 from a drug overdose.

The Germs can be considered a 20th century update of 19th century Romanticism, emphasizing the dark side and excess, with lead vocalist Darby Crash as a 20th century Rimbaud. While Romanticism championed the rise of the individual and emphasized authenticity, however, the Germs questioned the boundaries and location of this individual and his or her ability to connect with anything "real." A propos their surroundings—1970s Hollywood—the Germs' Romantic excess dealt in fragmentation, dispersal, and a conflicted relation to depth or "authenticity." They did not trade in alienation; alienation is a condition requiring a coherent subject, an individual to be alienated. Their stock in trade was abjection.[17]

Julia Kristeva writes that the abject is that which is not subject and not object; not male, not female; "not me. Not that. But not nothing, either. A 'something' that I do not recognize as a thing. …[It] lies outside, beyond the set, and does not seem to agree to the [master's] rules of the game. And yet, from its place of banishment, the abject does not cease challenging its master. Without a sign (for him), it beseeches a discharge, a convulsion, a crying out. …[What causes abjection is that which disturbs] identity,

system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules" (Kristeva 1982:2-4). As part of punk's "anti-rock star" ethic, the stage's boundary was a porous one and audience members routinely jumped onstage to dance amidst performers as they sang and played. In their foodfights the Germs eliminated the stage's boundary while also creating a space that induces internal (gagging) and external (sugar and mushroom soup in hair, clothes, etc.) physical revulsion. Interestingly, Kristeva writes that "food loathing is perhaps the most elementary and most archaic form of abjection, [producing] a gagging sensation and…spasms in the stomach" (Kristeva 1982:2). Here Kristeva talks of the "skin" formed on the top of milk in a glass, this sickening "in-between" space that must be consumed as the child drinks the milk proffered by the parent. Similarly, bleeding is a point where inside meets outside, where the body opens out onto a wider world. Crash calls for this necessity, this need to bleed and be released from our bounded bodies or identities. And ultimately, Crash embodied the abject as "at the border of [his] condition as a living being," soon manifesting what Kristeva considered the extreme corporeal abject: "the corpse" (1982:3).

Germs are also the agents of infection. In her feminist and deconstructive work on the culture and discourses of science, Donna Haraway has demonstrated how conceptions of the "self" are constructed through discourses of inside/outside manufactured in terms of the "immune system" (1999 [1989]). Haraway has argued (following Simone de Beauvoir) that bodies are not born, "they are made, …[and] the construction of a [body's] boundaries [are] the job of the discourses of immunology" (207).[18] Images of the body take on the characteristics of a geography that requires strategic defense, where disease is considered a "transgression of the boundaries of a strategic assemblage called self." Such

disease occurs through "stress—communications breakdown" (211-212). The Germs manifested this transgression of boundaries, presenting themselves as a disease and deconstructing discursive boundaries through their own stress and communications breakdown. With the Germs, words, bodies, and music were all there, but generally so overloaded or misfired that signification as commonly understood was virtually absent. In this the Germs present "a sign," but not "for him,"—the normative, ostensibly coherent, subject.

The abject is a useful theoretical tool to unpack punk music's project generally, re-contextualizing such elements as the corporeal mutilations of punks; the breakdown between performer and audience member; the de-emphasis of technical skill; the porous performance stage; the performance of sonic excess not found even in rock; the physicality of the dancing; the run-down, makeshift venues; and the often sexually or racially pluralized bands, as examples of punks' disrespectful border-crossings.[19] While existing at the point of the abject, however, Crash still felt confined to a body or identity from which he desired, but could not achieve, release. In his "want[ing] out," I wonder if Crash's foray into the abject wasn't tinged with the thought that there was, or should be, some lasting identity that would provide release from his sense of a divided consciousness and if this derived from his privileged position as an educated, middle-class white male. It seems that punk women and racial minorities more readily understood their plural identities as constitutive of their very being in American society. For them, punk's border-crossing was an opportunity to escape racial and gender restrictions in rock music.

1.7 Punk Integration

Punk was the first musical movement where an integrated band was often an explicit genre marker.[20] Although racial integration was rare in the New York and British scenes, women band members were common.[21] Patti Smith was one of the central founders of punk in New York and her work has continued to inspire rock groups, including REM, Rage Against the Machine, and many others. Mo Tucker was the drummer in the highly influential Velvet Underground. Tina Weymouth was the bassist for the Talking Heads. In the later British scene women were also highly prominent, including many all-women bands like the Slits and the Raincoats. Poly Styrene of X-Ray Spex was known for her over-the-top performances that certainly shattered any ideal of feminine passivity and politeness. Indeed, many punk scholars have acknowledged the historical significance of punk music for women in rock. As Lauraine LeBlanc has written, "punk…was (and still is) perceived as a watershed in the involvement of women in rock…. With the prevailing idea that anyone can play music, women could be, and were, bassists, guitarists, and drummers." (Leblanc 1999:35–36). Simon Reynolds and Joy Press write that, "in the official history of rock, punk is regarded as a liberating time for women, a moment in which the limits of permissible representations of femininity were expanded and exploded. Women were free to uglify themselves, to escape the chanteuse role to which they were generally limited and pick up guitars and drumsticks, to shriek rather than coo in dulcet tones, to deal with hitherto taboo topics" (Quoted in Leblanc:36). However, the New York and British punk scenes were primarily white. In Los Angeles, the "open-door" policy of punk led to more racially diverse band line-ups. Racially othered subjects, including women, identified with the class critique being

lodged in England and the DIY ethic of New York and found an outlet and permission and inspiration for expression in the transnational movement.

Much of the racial integration of Los Angeles punk had to do with the geography and population of the city. Because of L.A.'s notorious lack of center, as well as punk's reputation for destroying clubs, the punk scene was much more diffuse than it was in New York where it had a central hub in the Bowery's CBGBs. Scattered over various venues that changed often on a weekly basis (particularly for certain bands who would be forbidden from playing venues that had been trashed at previous performances), L.A. punk's lack of center allowed for cross-pollination between East L.A. and Hollywood bands. In East L.A. the club The Vex hosted many Chicano punk bands, but also bands that started in Hollywood. Bands such as The Brat, The Undertakers, and Los Illegals emerged directly from this Chicano scene. Chicano rock chroniclers David Reyes and Tom Waldman wrote that,

> Chicano punk groups were much more deeply embedded in the Hollywood rock scene than were the 1960s bands from East Los Angeles. On any given weekend in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Los Illegals, the Brat, and the Plugz would be playing somewhere in Hollywood. Before they crossed the LA River, however, they played at the Vex, an East LA club devoted to presenting punk rock bands. (Reyes and Waldman, quoted in Habell-Pallán 2005:152)

Other factors also contributed to the prominence of integrated bands. In her book *The Travels of Chicana and Latina Popular Culture*, Habell-Pallán suggests that punk's DIY ethos "found resonance with the practice of rasquache, a Chicana/o cultural practice of 'making do' with limited resources" (Habell-Pallán 2005:150). She further argues that "punk's critique of the status quo, of poverty, of sexuality, of class inequality, of war, spoke directly to working-class East Los Angeles youth" (150). She quotes filmmaker

Jimmy Mendiola on L.A. punk in the seventies, " a lot of people that I know, brown people, are into it and have been, and it's just a natural part of how we grew up." (Habell-Pallán 2005:173).

Music scholar Bernard Gendron suggests that an alternative lineage of punk music also sheds light on Chicana/o interest in the form. Gendron recounts that rock critic Greg Shaw described the late 60s Question Mark and the Mysterians, a Mexican American group, as one of the original punk bands. However, as the media became obsessed with British punk in the late 1970s, Question Mark and the Mysterians were recategorized as a "garage band." Both Gendron and rock critic Dave Marsh have commented that Question Mark and the Mysterians were excluded from punk history because they did not fit the correct racial profile of punk as it came to be understood in the late 1970s and after (taken from Habell-Pallán :151). Habell-Pallán also emphasizes the sonic connection "between the famous Farfisa organ hook of [their popular song] '96 Tears' and Tejano conjunto bands" (151). If we accept this alternative history and the effect Question Mark and the Mysterians had on subsequent rock and punk groups, punk's lineage could indeed be partially traced back to conjunto.

Such exnomination highlights the racism built into the story of punk, which has been characterized as virtually exclusively white. This will change, however, if the history of L.A. punk continues to be written (such as, in addition to the works already cited, Snowden 1997, Spitz and Mullen 2001, and Rollins 2004). And even though by most accounts the Los Angeles scene was much more open to women and racial minorities, East L.A. musicians remarked that the opening of the Vex was necessary in order for them to have a place to perform. Accounts by Alice Bag of The Bags and

Teresa Covarrubias of The Brat contradict Reyes and Waldman's optimistic assessment. Indeed, The Vex did not open until 1980 (not in the late 1970s as it would seem from Reyes and Waldman's account) and according to Covarrubias, it was in order to afford East L.A. bands a place to play because they *couldn't* get gigs in Hollywood (Bag/McMullen 2007).[22]

1.8 The Bags

Vocalist Alicia Armendariz (Alice Bag) and bassist Patricia Morrison (Pat Bag) formed The Bags in 1977, recruiting guitarists Craig Lee and Rob Ritter and drummer Terry Graham. The Bags soon became one of the most popular punk bands in Los Angeles, performing regularly and being reviewed in almost every issue of L.A.'s influential punk fanzine, Slash. They became known for audience riots and chaos and were banned from many clubs. Although the band did not achieve wide success outside of L.A., the punk music chronicler David Jones considers Alice Bag's aggressive performance the progenitor of the later West Coast hardcore style (Habell-Pallán 2005:157).

The Bags provide a different example of punk abjection than the Germs. For example, unlike Darby Crash, Bag did not have to seek out physical violence, she was already living with it. She grew up in a poor East L.A. household exposed to domestic abuse within and gang shootings without.[23] These were the experiences that were forefront in her mind as a young woman in punk, not any overt consciousness of her race or gender. In a recent personal communication she wrote that,

> I don't think being…a woman or a Chicana - had as much influence on my music as being caught in the middle of domestic violence and witnessing gang violence as a child. … I witnessed gang shootings on a regular basis both at school and in my neighborhood. Instead of finding a safe haven at

> home, it was even worse because the people that I loved most were in constant danger of being attacked. Those experiences have more to do with survival. If you think about Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, you're not going to worry about defining yourself as a woman or a Chicana or part of any social movement when you're just trying to stay alive and trying to make sure that those you love are not being killed or beaten. My motivations were much more basic and primal (Bag/McMullen 2007)

As a twenty-year-old it is not surprising that she did not take her sex or her race as specific "problems" to deal with in her music. Nonetheless, race, class, and gender all contributed to her local and physical circumstance (her place of residence, the threat of violence against her as a woman, etc.) and to the fact, as a poor Chicana, she would already be read by mainstream society as "abject." Therefore the abject punk of the Bags is more about placing the abject that has already existed into the public forum. Kristeva writes that "abjection acknowledges [the subject] to be in perpetual danger"(9) and that "the space that engrosses the deject, the excluded, is never one, not homogeneous, not totalizable, but essentially divisible, foldable, and catastrophic" (19882:8). Bag and her band's "catastrophic" space was the punk stage. Punk abjection offered an outlet: she could bring her body and her subjectivity, threatened with real violence, and perform its abjection in a public forum, bringing the hidden and ignored to the surface.

A salient example is their song Babylonian Gorgon, written by guitarist Craig Lee for Bag, using his common sobriquet for her. If we recall how Freud used the Gorgon to represent female genitalia as the producer of male castration fear, we can understand how placing this Babylonian Gorgon on the public stage performs the gaping hole of Bag's racial and sexual otherness—an otherness that threatens to castrate hegemonic coherence with abject incoherence. Bag sings,

> Don't need no false reasons for why I'm out of place
> I don't goose-step for the master race

> Here I go Babylonian Gorgon
> I'm gonna babble, babble on (Bag/McMullen 2007)

As Lawrence Kramer has written, music itself, as an already feminized, "othered" form, has an element of horror, of abjection, in its "feminine" ability to "dissolve the listener's ego boundaries" (1995:55). In this, Kramer argues, music is "symbolically castrating for the normatively masculine subject" (55). This music-woman nexus threatens the listener with "[inheriting] the uncontrollable subjectivity of the always-already mesmerized female body" (56). As a Babylonian Gorgon performing the horror of music in perhaps an even more horrifying form, Bag represents a fourfold castration threat: first, as music itself; second, as the most frightening woman—a castrating "gorgon" in plain sight; third, as a Babylonian—threat to white supremacy; and fourth, as the punk abject that threatens the coherent normative subject through its babbling sign that is not meant "for him."

Bag also negotiated the stage edge in a different manner than the Germs. Whereas Crash invited violence and squalor across this boundary, Alice Bag has a much more complicated relationship with it. She allows for a porous stage but still maintains a watchful eye on her own physical integrity. In a scene from the classic L.A. punk documentary, *The Decline of Western Civilization* by Penelope Spheeris (1981), Bag stares down a man who is making his way onto the stage right in front of her. She moves toward him assertively, head and shoulders forward as she continues to dance to the music—ready to take him on if that is what is required. Later she is completely consumed in her singing and thrashing as she and the band allow for two male audience members to jump onstage amidst them and thrash-dance. Thus, sensitive to the possibility of victimization, Bag's open borders allow, but they also resist invasion.

1.9 Black Flag

Punk musicians and fans have filled out the political spectrum, but reactionary racist leanings have been present in the music since its inception (see especially Sabin 1999 on punk and racism). L.A. bands were fans of overtly racist English bands such as Sham 69; and everyone loved The Sex Pistols and would copy Sid Vicious who routinely wore swastikas on his body and clothing. However, the actual political affiliation may or may not have been important in deciding on a favorite band. Because punk looked to symbols that were "abject," that is, signs that threatened the chain of significance through their abjection, Nazi images were often employed. In a Kristevan sense, these signs could be considered attempts to "not signify," to trouble signification with pure abjection, much as a corpse 'presents' death—not as a sign, but as pure otherness. (Kristeva herself describes the crimes of Nazism as abjection (1982:4).) However, as can be deciphered from the historical record of punk, these signs *do* signify for those who read them not as abject (outside signification) but as, well, signs; indeed, such signification served as a lightening rod for the growth of white supremacist movements within punk.

While the racist bands of England were made of white, working class males, L.A.'s early punk scene was too integrated to foster a clear-cut "us against them" racial mentality. This complexity is revealed in Black Flag's song, White Minority (as recorded on the 1980 EP *Jealous Again*), which was sung by Puerto-Rican American, Ron Reyes (Chavo Pederast) and backed by Columbian-America drummer Roberto Valverde (Robo). As Black Flag screamed out the music and lyrics of White Minority (written by white guitarist and bandleader, Greg Ginn), half of the band was not white.

> We're gonna be a white minority
> We won't listen to the majority
> We're gonna feel inferiority
> We're gonna be white minority

White Pride, You're an American
I'm gonna hide anywhere I can...

Gonna be a white minority
We don't believe there's a possibility
Well you just wait and see
We're gonna be white minority

White Pride, You're an American
I'm gonna hide anywhere I can...

We're gonna be a white minority
Theres gonna be a large casualty
If we don't find a new territory
We're all gonna die

Written by Ginn but sung by Reyes, it is hard to locate the voice and intent of the lyrics. Ginn's lyrics were typically aggressive, often presenting violence, misogyny, and racism. His racist anxiety can be read as a "white backlash" against the racial pluralization of American society and the threat of racial violence against whites, a theme that finds its way into much punk social history.[24] Ginn has been described by bandmates as an aloof yet stern taskmaster who was fairly inscrutable. He tended to intimidate bandmembers and it is not hard to imagine him being earnest in his concern of a "white minority," while simultaneously performing with Reyes, Valverde, and later Rez Cadena on vocals/guitar without seeing the need for any discussion of the topic. As for Reyes, in his delivery of the song the "we," though not literally, becomes a "you." It is as if Reyes is pretending to be the white man and revealing his fear as such. However, the final line, "We're all gonna die," seems to be the same outcome whether spoken from a Euro- or a Puerto-Rican American subject position.

Another complication to the band's hyper-masculine, aggressive image was the virtuosic female bassist Kira Roessler who was a member for several of the band's peak

years. Generally considered the best musician the band ever had, Roessler toured and recorded during the "Henry Rollins" (vocalist) era between 1983-1985. At this time Black Flag was particularly relentless in their touring, doing nearly two hundred shows in 1984 alone (Azerrad:50). And as Alice Bag has noted, "Kira's bass playing with Black Flag during their prolific mid-eighties touring and recording period helped sow the seeds of punk in every town they blasted through" (Bag n.d.).

According to punk historian Michael Azerrad, however, Roessler was driven out of the band in 1985. He writes,

> When Roessler—an intelligent, self-assured woman and a strong musician—tried to assert herself, Rollins and [new drummer] Martinez bridled, causing an escalating tension. Roessler had begun a master's program at UCLA, and Ginn believes Rollins may have resented the way the band accommodated Roessler's academic schedule. Also, the band had got it in their heads that it would be provocative for Roessler to exchange her tomboyish T-shirt and jeans for a coquettish punk rock Madonna look; some say this raised sexual tensions within the band to an uncomfortable degree (56).

Rollins spewed vitriol at the bassist in his tour memoir, *Get in the Van* (2004), giving the impression that indeed some type of unrequited love was a factor. Azerrad writes that Ginn and Rollins "secretly decided to replace [Roessler] once they got back home. 'I never want to see her lying, rancid, fake self ever again,' Rollins wrote" (57). However, as even Rollins admitted, the band was sounding better than it ever had.

Sadly, not much has been written about the contribution of Roessler to hardcore and subsequent rock movements. Even anthologies of women in rock give her only one line as if we already knew all about her.[25] Information on how Roessler handled touring with Black Flag is hard to find. Clearly she enjoyed hardcore for the same reasons most people did. Azerrad quotes her as saying, "I was trying with my bass to slam [the

audience] against the back wall. We were forcing the crowd to submit to the will of the band—for longer than they could stand it" (54).

Much like Reyes, Valverde's or Cadena's relationship with the song White Minority, one can wonder how Roessler dealt with the routine misogyny that was part and parcel of Black Flag lyrics and the promotional materials created by Greg Ginn's brother, Raymond Pettibon. For example, the cover of Black Flag's album (with Roessler) *Loose Nut*, features a man winking at "two scantily clad women sit[ting] on his lap—the caption reads, 'Women are capable of making great artists'" (Azerrad:54). Or the SST (Ginn's label) compilation with Black Flag and other SST artists entitled The Blasting Concept which featured a drawing of a man choking a woman with a rope while fucking/raping her and a nuclear bomb cloud going off out of the window. I have yet to find Roessler's impression of this aspect to her work with Black Flag or in the punk scene generally. However, she has commented on the centrality of women in the scene, something which does get lost once the discussion turns to hardcore. In her interview with Alice Bag (found on the "History of Women in L.A. Punk" that Bag maintains on her website), Roessler states, "Although I was a tomboy, and understood that, there were these very feminine women who were tough as all hell and nobody wanted to mess with them. It goes back to what I always felt punk was, nonconformity. All traditional roles and norms were out the window and women were very influential in that. Sure guys wrote unconventional songs or dressed and played unconventionally, but women did it all.... (Quoted in Bag/Roessler n.d.)" Unfortunately, like Roessler's contribution, elisions of women are found in the histories of other L.A. bands considered influential to hardcore.[26]

1.10 Suburban Punk: Fear

I have spent some time investigating the personnel history of Black Flag because the hardcore style of which they were a part is so often described (generally correctly) as an almost exclusively white male scene. It is important to recognize that an early example of "suburban punk" (the progenitor of hardcore which developed soon after throughout the United States) was actually integrated both racially and sexually. In general, however, by 1979 suburban youth (primarily boys) had witnessed the early punk scene in L.A. and formed bands that produced a more unified style. Originating in Huntington Beach, Orange County, Fullerton, Anaheim, and Garden Grove and dubbed suburban punk, this new genre became almost exclusively male (in both band personnel and audience) and harbored a tendency to bond around homophobic and sexist remarks. Far from the open access of the earlier era, these bands often seemed intent on alienating—on establishing boundaries between themselves and the audience as well as between themselves and people they deemed "other."

Writing on suburban punk, Belsito and Davis say that, "the Hollywood kids didn't stand a chance. The new breed of suburban punk was physically tougher, angrier, and more immediately REAL about their intention" (38). Although I would argue with this last sentiment, suburban punk was certainly different in its extreme emphasis on hyper-masculinity, including many "skinheads." John Kezdy of the Effigies writes, "Skinheads cropped up for many different reasons. In California, the skinhead thing was a surfer thing. Ultimately, what bound all forms of skinheads is—and I know this will be taken the wrong way—a very male sense of rock" (Blush 2001:31) It was the suburban punk rock scene that developed the extremely violent mosh-pit dancing. As recounted in

interviews in Steven Blush's book, *American Hardcore*, and elsewhere, women (including members of other bands, such as Exene Cervenka and Alice Bag) stopped attending the concerts, complaining of misogyny, violence, and the overriding aura of male-exclusivity. One fan wrote, "we were big into hardcore. I had a really great time, at least for a while. But when moshing became violent and extremely masculine, there was nothing funny about it. I hated going to shows when it became so violent and insane. As it got more and more hardcore I got more and more disinterested. By '83, I was 100% disinterested. Most women I knew bailed" (Cynthia Connelly in Blush 2001:35). And another commented, "the hardcore scene was very adolescent, and teen boys are scared of women. In the punk days, you could fuck whomever and it didn't matter, but in hardcore that Madonna/whore complex was much stronger. Hardcore guys would vilify girls they fucked" (Meredith Osborne in Blush 2001:34)

Not surprisingly, hardcore also became known for homophobia and "fag-bashing," doubtless a response to its intense homosociality which threatened to spill over into the homoerotic. As Gary Floyd of the Dicks said of the hardcore scene, "There was a lot of queer shit going on—tons of closet cases." (Blush 2001:36) Tesco Vee of the Meatmen said, "I never sold my butthole—but gay porn mags were onto us. They thought we were hot! Both Henry Rollins and I were in this gay magazine from L.A. called In Touch" (Blush:36).

Suburban hardcore was also whiter than the earlier urban punk scene. The music itself came to signify whiteness for many people. As one fan described it, punk was the music of "white people not trying to sound black" (Spheeris 1981). Hardcore took punk's hyper-fast rhythms to an extreme, serving to bring the beat "back" to the strong

beats of 1 and 3, rather than the off-beats of 2 and 4 introduced decades ago in African-American blues music. With a tempo of 300 beats per minute, only a virtuosic musician is capable of emphasizing the off-beat. This new emphasis on 1 and 3 also lent itself to older "white" styles, such as rock-a-billy and bubblegum pop.

The re-coherence of boundaries around a white straight male identity can be observed in one 1980 performance by the band Fear that was captured in *The Decline of Western Civilization*. Fear formed in 1977 but rose to prominence around 1980 and is still together today having gone through many incarnations, always with lead vocalist Lee Ving. The footage begins before the set begins with Ving taunting the audience with homophobic remarks, calling them a "bunch of faggots," and saying "next time don't bite so hard when I cum," etc. The crowd becomes increasingly angered and riled up, spitting and yelling at the band. Interestingly, it is a woman at the front of the crowd who is most vociferous in her spitting and yelling. Eventually, she climbs up onto the stage and lunges at Ving. Others in the audience try to get up on stage as the band members and crew begin shoving people off of the stage. A brawl breaks out at the stage's edge and you can hear someone with the band asking if it was being recorded on videotape. Far from being a porous boundary, as this description of the audience's involvement might suggest, the video suggests a deliberate attempt to set up and defend a border between two coherent identities: the taunter and the taunted. In defining themselves as in control (they are the ones who name, they are on stage as the musicians) and the audience as "others" ("homos," or a later joke about women having two holes so that "you can carry them like six-packs of beer"), they use the stage as the site of a boundary war. I view this as a retreat from abjection and a return to coherence; the abjection of punk becomes the

thrill of war, of dominating the other and of defending a border. Indeed, one of their most popular songs was, "Let's Have a War" with lyrics reading: "Too many of us, too many of us, too many of us. Let's have a war, so you all can die."

Lawrence Kramer has called for a postmodern musicology to disrupt the prevailing logic of alterity in contemporary philosophic discourse—a logic, he argues, that reinforces, rather than disrupts, unequal power relations. Kristeva's abject is that which dissolves subject and object divisions. Thus to look at music and musicians who consciously perform music as abject seems important to the goals of this new musicology. The excessive, unskilled, "anarchic energies" (Kramer) of punk demonstrate how some musicians have pushed the cultural trope of "music-as-otherness" into the abject to break divisions rather than reinvest in meanings of self and other. If the re-coherence of later suburban punk responded to an abject that allowed for women, homosexuality, and racial integration as if it were a disease that threatened cherished boundaries, the original and continued impulse of a musician like Alice Bag seems to be that of recognizing disease as a "metaphor for the process of living," as Elana Gomel called it in another context (Gomel 2000:407). While Darby Crash and the Germs may have most overtly embodied disease as a force and an ontology in the 1970s, Alice Bag has continued to embrace a way of being that inspects and "infects" borders. Her recent work is best described as a project to continually expand definitions—of what it is to be a Chicana, a punk musician, a woman. Her website and blog are devoted to recounting the experiences of women in L.A. punk and she writes frequently on her relationship with Chicana/o movements that can circumscribe the definition of Chicana/o. The place of punk music in her personal ontology—its excess, abjection, multiplicity, and dissolution

of boundaries—is just another example of how music is not only expressive of our ontologies, but also productive of them. Although not always used in a progressive manner, various punk representations of the body, subjectivity, identity, and agency, made new possibilities of living available for those poised to listen.

This chapter has offered examples of various conceptions of the band as a body—the unified body of the Vienna Philharmonic, the first school marching bands, swing era big bands, or the later suburban punk band Fear, and the plural band-bodies of the punk bands the Germs, the Bags, and Black Flag. All of these bands formed their bodies "spatially," that is, as manifested on the band stage. My next chapter adds the element of time and its relationship to maintaining or disrupting a "coherent identity." By looking at the fairly recent phenomenon of the "tribute band," I will examine repetition's role in identity formation and the urge to "repeat" in order to find comfort in a supposed stable identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Portions of this chapter have been reprinted from the article "Corpo-Realities: Keepin' it Real in 'Music and Embodiment' Scholarship," in *Current Musicology*, No. 82 (Fall 2006). I was the sole investigator and author of this article.

Notes

[1] According to Osborne, the orchestra only has two Jewish members (compared to 18 before WWII). This seems to contradict the idea that the VPO is only concerned with visibly identifiable minorities. Composer William Osborne is Abbie Conant's husband. As well as his work exposing the prejudicial policies of the Vienna Philharmonic, he has compiled a history of Conant's experience with the Munich Philharmonic on his website.
[2] More information on the status of women and racial minorities in the Vienna Philharmonic can be found on the International Alliance for Women in Music's website http://www.iawm.org/vpowatch/ and Osborne 2006.
[3] Sherrie Tucker's research into gender and sexuality in jazz has unearthed many examples of woman jazz musicians depicted as borderline transvestites. She notes how in the Swing Era "skilled women musicians were described as cross-dressers of sorts: 'the female Louis Armstrong' or 'a Gene Krupa in girls' clothes" (Tucker 2002:294).
[4] Leppert also addresses the power of aurality to disrupt the visual in a forthcoming chapter on Werner Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo*. See Leppert (Forthcoming).
[5] I want to be clear that I am not arguing that disembodied music is free of cultural context. Indeed, McClary maintains that disembodied music is a particular construct of Western culture. While tropes of "world music" presume authenticity through the inclusion of bodies in the musical experience, Western classical music is more authentic without its bodies. For McClary's discussion of Western music as "the sound itself," see McClary (1991:136). In the Munich Philharmonic, Conant's female body would doubly reveal its corporeality by being both a body and, in being female, a *signifier of body*. Whenever music is forcibly written as "mind," the female body becomes an undesirable semiotic element. In such cases, a woman performing is offensive not for having a body, but for having a body that bears the signification of corporeality. Conant's body also unveiled "pure" musical expression as a gendered expression, an assumption of maleness. This circumstance may seem obvious, but it persists as a problem when scholars *look* for authentic musical expression without acknowledging how such authenticity rests on visions of gender and race.
[6] Macleod is quoting n.a.. 1941:28 and Dutcher 1941:17.
[7] Of course, schools were still racially segregated at this time, so the bands were also racially uniform.
[8] Kaja Silverman writes that the mirror stage is where the child perceives itself "as other," hence the imaginary order is also characterized by duality (Silverman 1983).
[9] I should note that Lawrence Kramer has also positioned music within Lacan's imaginary register. Kramer suggests that, "musical immediacy behaves like the Lacanian imaginary. Like the process of imaginary identification, music offers a seamless band of pleasure and presence, but nonetheless one 'open to disruption by recurrent intimations that the supposedly self-present ego is always already alienated, that its desire is the desire of (desire for, desire determined by) the Other'" (Kramer 1995:19). Kramer situates the imaginary element of music in its sound, not in the image of the band as I am doing. He also places the imaginary register of identification and plenitude in conflict with the symbolic register of difference and the other, for indeed, these two registers coexist after the subject passes through the symbolic phase. While I agree with this

assessment of "musical immediacy" as a space of identification and plenitude (as do others, such as Carolyn Abbate 2004), how music functions to break boundaries of identity can also be characterized as a pre-mirror stage feeling of fragmentation and incoherence, as discussed in Chapter One. Therefore, while not disagreeing with Kramer, I would like to focus on how this incoherent and threatening element of sound is "bound together" through the establishment of coherency in its staged presentation. This tendency to "bind" music through a certain self-sameness in musical personnel needs to be considered as part of the "communal" aspect of music.

[10] Following Jason Stanyek, I employ Gary Weaver's use of the term, "intercultural," which emphasizes the "actual interaction of people from various cultures," as opposed to the term "cross-cultural" which involves "comparing and contrasting," and Patrice Pavis's phrase "face-to-face embodied collaborations" as descriptive of the type of intercorporeality I here describe in musical collaborations. See (Stanyek 2004:90).

[11] The 1998 colloquium's theme was "Collaborative Dissonances: Jazz, Discrepancy, and Cultural Theory." In the anthology, Nathaniel Mackey recounts the topics for consideration in the original call for papers, which sought to investigate "the 'cognitive dissonance' that results when creative practitioners enter [into] collaboration from different disciplinary and/or cultural locations," and "the extent to which the dissonances that result from collaborative practices might be seen to reduce the effects of hierarchies in the production and valuation of knowledge." (Mackey 2004:367)

[12] Fischlin and Heble acknowledge that "not all minority communities in which improvisation is practiced necessarily exist in opposition to dominant social structures, nor is all musical improvisation necessarily rooted in alternative communities and activist practices." (Fischlin and Heble 2004:2) Essays contributed by Sherrie Tucker (Tucker 2004) and Julie Dawn Smith (Smith 2004) offer important critiques of the utopian conception of improvising communities, highlighting how such communities often reinforce stasis rather than rupture when dealing with women. Both authors stress a type of cultural improvisation that would continually break open definitions of woman, jazz, community, and other fixed identities. Tucker's essay particularly offers examples of how the marginalized category "women-in-jazz," following Norma Coates' work on "women-in-rock" (Coates 1997), could provide productive methodologies for keeping the concept and borders of community fluid.

[13] For example, Greg Downey describes "musical tuning-in," (how musicians perform together in rhythmic time) as an "archetypal example of the intersubjectivity demanded by everyday life," and describes capoeira as "emphatically intercorporeal," as a Barthesian "erotics" of berimbau with the musicians and dancers becoming deeply enmeshed in the performance (Downey 2002:502). Performing in, or listening to, a live musical group is often a profoundly intercorporeal experience, but this is not necessarily liberatory.

[14] Composer William Osborne is Conant's husband and has compiled a history of her experience with the Munich Philharmonic on their website, http://www.osborne-conant.org/index.html.

[15] For example, Pan-African jazz could be analyzed in terms of the creation or performance of an essentialized (male) blackness. Focusing on African-American music and its historiography, Ronald Radano describes how "what [holds] black music together

as a story [is] blackness as such." The historians Radano cites (Amiri Baraka, Dena J. Epstein, Lawrence Levine, Roger Abrahams, Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, and Eileen Southern in the paragraph from which the quote is drawn) "uncritically [employed] tropes of the colonial legacy…especially the fixities of 'black music' as a racial-musical category" (Radano 2003:58). Such ideas of blackness may factor into the desire for pan-African musicality even when musicians hail from countries other than the U.S. Likewise, one can include investigations into how constructions of masculinity established through musical production serve to limit the desirability of collaborations with women. Through such analysis we can continue to work *across* boundaries of identity, rather than within and behind them.

[16] It is interesting that women have thrived as authors over the twentieth century, whereas this inroad has not been made as strongly in music. Along with many other arguments about how music discourse is gendered to write women out, one can also recognize that writing is primarily a solitary art, whereas music is necessarily a communal one. Music ensembles or collectives do not have a magical immunity to the stereotypes and discrimination of society at large and actually participate more fervidly in sexist practices when the style of music is strongly coded as masculine (jazz, rock, brass sections, etc.). Despite such discrimination, sexual harassment laws or protections for victims do not exist in the vast majority of these groups. To think that musical communities are free of the types of discrimination and unfairness that universities and corporations protect their members from is frighteningly unrealistic. If "community" is to resist becoming a new master-narrative of "progressive" music scholarship we cannot continue to view it as a noun, but as a verb (much like Sherrie Tucker's disruptive use of the marginalized group, "women-in-jazz"): an ungoing methodology that interrogates comfort-zone-communities (Tucker 2004).

[17] Due in large part to Dick Hebdige's book on youth subcultures (1979), punk scholars have often emphasized the alternative community formations of punk. For example, Michael Nevin Willard has written that, "punk rock created identity through commitment to mutual attitudes and behaviors shared by a small group of like-minded people who were responding to similar experiences of decline. They created punk subcultures by creating their own magazines, hangouts, clubs, record labels and stores…, and codes of behavior" (Willard 2004:199). However, I here am arguing against punk's ability to provide a feeling of identity; or at least it was a movement that had to come to grips with a new sense of what identity would or could be. Kristeva describes this as a subject that cannot and knows it cannot situate, desire, belong, or refuse. Instead, the subject *strays*. It is no longer concerned with "Who am I?", but rather with "Where am I?"

Indeed, the physical trappings of punk were already too "reactive," too semiotic to be considered natural and authentic. The sonic excess of punk also was far more semiotic than "authentic." Despite claims by many that punk was a return to the real rawness of earlier rock and roll, a return to any form of authenticity could hardly be possible in the fragmented, surface-oriented world of 1970s America, particularly Hollywood. Whereas the other significant popular music form of the 1970s, glam, reveled in surface and inauthenticity, punk seemed to long for such authenticity but couldn't achieve it. Whether by design or default, punk's relationship to rock and roll was in the order of what Roland Barthes called the "connotative" (Barthes 1972).

[18] That is, following from de Beauvoir's insight that woman is not born, but made (de Beauvoir 1989 [1952]).

[19] With such extremes as objects inserted through the skin (safety pins but also large metal rods, or thick needles), tattoos over entire bodies, or intentional physical scarring (see for instance Wojcik 1995), punk was the first musical/aesthetic movement that made a serious threat against the assumption of the coherence of the physical body. In this, punk is an early precursor of contemporary performance artists who experiment with the limits of their bodies through mutilation, surgery, fasting, and extreme display. For instance, Marina Abramovich, Ron Athey, others.

[20] Another would probably be today's "hybrid" bands that ostensibly combine "world music" with "Western music." George Lipsitz (1994), among many others, interrogates the appropriative or revolutionary potential of these musics.

[21] Many rock historians have noted the significance of punk for women musicians (e.g., Raha 2005, O'Meara 2003, LeBlanc 1999, Belsito and Davis 1983).

[22] This was related to me by Alice Bag and I haven't yet confirmed it with Covarrubias.

[23] Michelle Habell-Pallán has also noted this (157).

[24] Some punk historians have commented on white punk violence stemming from high school years of being beat up by blacks "just because of their race." For example, Michael Azerrad quotes Henry Rollins as saying, "I accumulated a lot of rage by the time I was seventeen or eighteen," and goes on to write: "Some of that rage stemmed from intense racial tensions in Washington at the time; Garfield [Rollins], like many white D.C. kids of his generation, got beaten up regularly by black kids simply because of his race" (Azerrad 2001:25).

[25] In *Trouble Girls: The Rolling Stone Book of Women in Rock* (O'Dair 1997) we get this comment on rock women instrumentalists: "We'd been Mick Jagger. Now we could be bill Wyman. Tomorrow, the world. Tomorrow, Sara Lee in Gang of Four and Kira Roessler of Black Flag" (Dibbell 1997:283). The only other reference to Roessler in the 575 page book is to mention her in a long list of other hardcore women performers. The 343 page *Cinderella's Big Score: Women of the Punk and Indie Underground* mentions her once: "hardcore [was] a scene in which women generally played ancillary roles (with the notable exception of women like Black Flag bassist Kira Roessler)" (Raha 2005:35). Notable, indeed.

[26] For example, rather than discuss the women members of the early Germs, Michael Nevin Willard writes about Crash and Smear and to fill out the quartet—Mike Watt and Dennes Boon of the Minutemen (Willard 2004:201)! In an article about the Germs we get sentences like, "Ruthenberg (Smear) and Beahm (Crash) grew up in Venice, while Watt and Boon grew up in San Pedro." The women in the band, the actual band *members*, simply disappear from view. For example, unlike for Crash and Smear, we never find out the women's real names. Additionally, we never hear from Willard that a crucial influence on "Ruthenberg and Beahm" was the all-female group, the Runaways. Smear said, "[Paul (Darby) and I] thought the Ramones were a throwback to the long-haired denim '70s thing. [We] were much more into the Runaways" (Quoted in Spitz and Mullen 2001: 56. See also Mullen, Bolles, Parfrey 2002:49).

Chapter Two

Performing Identity: Tribute Bands

I was recently sought out as an "expert" by a Canadian filmmaking team working on a tribute band documentary. Searching the internet, a researcher had come across my UCSD class entitled, "Play it Again: Tribute Bands in the 21st Century" and she emailed me with her phone number. As a lowly graduate student, I was quite excited by her solicitation of my opinion on such an important topic. I eagerly called her up ready to discuss performativity, gender binarism, postmodernity, and simulation. I had already started in when she interrupted, "But when did they start and why? There seems to be conflicting stories." I then realized I was to be the authority to clear this up and give her the "official history" of tribute bands, much like the "official history" of jazz, baseball, or of the Civil War (for all three, see Ken Burns). A vision of the first continental congress of cover bands voting to form the first tribute band in 1972 flitted through my mind, although I didn't share this with her. Needless to say, she was disappointed with her expert.

For indeed, tribute bands are exemplary of what Fredric Jameson has called "pop history," that is, representations of our "ideas and stereotypes" about the past (Jameson 1991). Describing their historical development when their representations of history seem precisely proof of what Jameson calls our inability to "think historically" generates more than a little cognitive dissonance in this author. This chapter does not trace the history of tribute bands, therefore, but examines them in the context of postmodernity,

performativity as described by J.L. Austin, Jacques Derrida, and Judith Butler, I argue that tribute bands operate much like other (gender, racial, etc.) identities do, however in a highly ritualized setting. That is, they repeat either to continually re-establish a unitary identity or to swerve away from constraining stereotypes. Looking closely at two tribute bands (the Genesis tribute, The Musical Box and the Led Zeppelin tribute, Lez Zeppelin) I explore these identities using the approach to the band-body taken in the previous chapter.

According to Jameson, the crisis of representation characteristic of postmodern society condemns us to seek History by way of our simulacra of that history, with History remaining forever out of reach (25). Modern society is thus "acculturated," playing itself out primarily through "stereotypes, collective images, etc." which, through nostalgia, perform cultural "imagos" (179).[1] Based on his description, tribute bands can be understood, therefore, as quintessential examples not only of postmodern cultural entertainment, but also of historical representation. When tribute bands recreate an event exactly they are also akin to the simulacra described by Jean Baudrillard (1994). Baudrillard argues that simulation "threatens the difference between the 'true' and the 'false,' the 'real' and the imaginary,'" and therefore, the original and the copy. However, Baudrillard's examples do not include live, performed recreations. (Below I will introduce a term that helps to describe the performative simulacra of tribute bands and how this performance relates to identity constructions.) Understanding tribute bands as simulacra (copies without originals) connects my analysis of tribute bands to performativity, which has been described by Butler as a form of simulation (of identity) with no original (Salih/Butler 2004:127).[2]

2.1 The Musical Box

The Vienna Philharmonic provides perhaps the best example of the production of a coherent body on stage that appears timeless, natural, and with no need of an other. The Musical Box is probably the premiere example of a musical ensemble recreating a coherent identity through time, that is, through repetition. I begin with a look at the original band, Genesis, and the genre of music they helped to establish: progressive rock.

2.1.1 Progressive Rock

Progressive rock refers to a style of music developed by 1970s British bands, including Yes, Genesis, Emerson Lake and Palmer, Pink Floyd, King Crimson, Gentle Giant, and Jethro Tull (Macan 1992:101). These bands became hugely popular in the United States, however their distinct "prog rock" style was not often overtly copied by American bands (Holm-Hudson 2002:4). The era is considered to have its earliest roots in 1967 (the Beatle's *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* and Procol Harum's *Whiter Shade of Pale* of that year are considered important precursors) and to have "gone horribly wrong" by 1977 (Holm-Hudson:8). The peak years of classic prog rock are considered to be roughly 1973-75, the years when most of the above listed bands were at their height of popularity. However, Yes and Genesis reached even higher popularity later, when they were no longer producing classic prog rock, but had "gone commercial."[3]

Critics have defined progressive rock as the music of educated, middle to upper class musicians who merged Western classical music and art with popular music (Macan 1992, Spicer 2000, Covach 1997). Musicologist Edward Macan writes that, "English progressive rock has been known above all for its emphasis on instrumental virtuosity, its

use of timbral resources and large-scale structures drawn from European symphonic and church music and its fascination with surrealistic visual imagery and a type of epic subject-matter (often dependent on science fiction or fantasy literature) that suggests the influence of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century programmatic models" (Macan 1992:101). Macan has been the most prominent voice in describing the connections between progressive rock and classical music, creating a list of characteristics of progressive rock in his important book, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture* (Macan 1997). John Sheinbaum creates a table of some of these characteristics, which, in addition to the characteristics noted above, include: "reaching 'beyond' conventional rock instrumentation; less reliance on 4/4 time signature; less reliance on 'three-chord' songs, and the simplest chords; surrealism and modernism [in lyric and visual material]; longer songs; concept albums; less focus on singer; virtuoso playing; unconventional [song] forms; toward the mind, less focus on the (dancing) body; white, educated, upper middle class, slight differences in the United States; primarily male musicians, primarily male audience" (Sheinbaum 2002). Macan's highly influential scholarship on progressive rock (which has found its way to Sheinbaum, as well as Mark S. Spicer, John Covach, and others) has both described and often inscribed the cultural meanings that place prog rock on the "serious" side of the "serious vs. vernacular music" debate with all of the concomitant values associated with this dualism: mind/body; educated/natural; art/entertainment; white/black, etc.

Indeed, Macan has argued specifically for the connection between prog rock and the 20th century English styles of Holst and Vaughn Williams. Describing prog rock as "a late twentieth-century extension of [the composers'] "English" musical language,"

Macan argues that this affinity, "appears to result from the parallel influence of three common sources: English folk-song, Anglican Church music, and the music of early twentieth-century nationalist composers such as Bartok and Stravinsky" (Macan 1992:101). I will not detail Macan's analysis, however, his overall argument is that progressive rock should be viewed within a matrix of English nationalism. Such nationalism is most often couched in terms that hint at an "African-American invasion" in the form of American popular music. Battling the earthy and dominating music coming from the United States, English popular music stands its ground, according to Macan, and produces its own unique form of creativity. He writes,

> English music of the twentieth century is almost unique in its single-minded development of a specific musical language that appeared near the beginning of the century; it is also unique—in the context of twentieth-century music, at least—for the way in which its "art" styles and "popular" styles have largely shared a common musical language. The tenacity of this musical language is such that, when the rhythmic sensibilities of twentieth-century Afro-American popular music, with its omnipresent rhythm section, were fused with the pre-existing modal framework by English popular musicans of the 1960s, a new, distinct idiom of popular music resulted—one of the few truly important stylistic contributions to twentieth-century popular music to originate from outside the United States (Macan 1992:123–4).

Like the characteristics listed above, value-laden terminology pervades these descriptions of progressive rock. The style is described within the implicit comparison with pop music: it is "reaching 'beyond;'" it has "less reliance" on convention, on "the simplest chords;" it is represented by the "virtuoso" and is "unconventional." After the list of stylistic characteristics, the class, race, and gender characteristics are then quite explicitly described: it is "toward the mind, less focus on the (dancing) body;" it is "white, educated, upper middle class;" and "primarily male musicians, primarily male audience." The influence it does take from African-American popular music is from that form's

"omnipresent rhythm section," a phrase that does not suggest complexity, unconventionality, or "reaching beyond."

Ultimately, Macan credits English progressive rock musicians for being able to do what Holst and Vaughn Williams were unable to—to spread the "English style" throughout much of the "industrialized world" (124). He cites most bands' *lack* of overt nationalism (compared to Holst and Vaughn Williams) for this success, however he does find five bands (including Genesis) that may present a more overt form of nationalism in their pronounced use of English literary sources, such as myth, and mediaeval and Renaissance imagery (124).

2.1.2 Genesis

Of all progressive rock bands, Genesis hews closest to the definition provided by Macan and others. When scholars deconstruct progressive rock discourse, Genesis is usually the exception that conforms to the classic definition. For example, in revealing one example of inscription in Macan's analysis, Durrell S. Bowman writes that, "With a few notable exceptions (the members of Genesis, for example) most progressive rock musicians came from the same small town and working-class British origins where hard rock and heavy metal originated" (Bowman 2002:185). Genesis is also singled out for their particularly overt "literariness," including their inspirations in Ovid (Holms-Hudson:14), Philostratus, and Keats (Nicholls:131), and comparisons of their work to Eliot, Pound (Weinstein 2002:108 n.26), and the great operas of the Western art music tradition (Nicholls:136). Finally, their large-scale compositions and elaborate stage shows are considered to be the prototype for other progressive rock bands.

Thus, true to classic prog rock biography, it was four students of the exclusive British "public school" Charterhouse that formed Genesis in 1967 (Ross 1975). Bassist Mike Rutherford, keyboardist Tony Banks, original guitarist Anthony Phillips, and lyricist/singer/flautist Peter Gabriel met manager Jonathan King, "scion of U.K. Records and…public school lad himself," who soon signed them with British Decca. After two albums (From "Genesis To Revelation" and "Trespass") and a change of manager, Phil Collins joined as the drummer and Steve Hackett replaced Phillips on guitar to create the line-up that would last though 1975 (when Gabriel left the band). This incarnation produced three seminal progressive rock albums which were promoted with highly theatrical tours: Foxtrot (1972), Selling England by the Pound (1973), and The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway (1974).[4] This 1972–75 era is considered Genesis's classic progressive rock phase and is the era that is recreated by The Musical Box.

Because Genesis of this era exemplified every quality described by Macan's list, it is not surprising that positive reviews of the band tended to emphasize their "seriousness" and culture compared with "typical" pop music that was simplistic, focused on the body, and rooted in African American culture. The following review by Ron Ross provides a typical example of this narrative: "In a musical world dominated by dueling banjos, pop boys, wimpoid artists and Soul Train, is there a place for a British group that writes epics on such trivial matters as death, money, government, sex, freedom, nature, war, and power?" Ross hinges the difference between Genesis and popular rock at the juncture of the guitar, the symbol of rock's over-masculine (aka black) excess, writing, "Steve Hackett…is helping to define what the electric guitar will sound like in the seventies, no longer an overbearingly phallic solo instrument, but [just] one more

versatile and piercing voice in the arrangement." And far from wielding his phallic instrument, Ross emphasizes Hackett's more classical-music inspired embodiment (Hackett would usually sit onstage), averring that "so careful is Hackett to give the impression of a craftsman rather than a pop star, that his standing on one number seemed a concession." Ross further makes the explicit connection between Genesis and opera: "Because songs like 'Get 'Em Out' so completely blend mime, costuming, music and lyrics into a perfectly reasonable synthesis, Genesis come closer to a real form of rock opera than anything yet. Opera is the sum of all the performing arts into a whole greater than its parts, which is exactly the way Genesis work collectively." Later Genesis is prized over "B.B. King's endlessly permutated macho ravings" and we are given "the bottom line… that Peter Gabriel looks roughly ten times better in a jumpsuit than Mick Jagger and doesn't have to foam at the mouth to impress his audiences" (Ross 1973). Ross's positive appraisal of Genesis is based almost entirely on distancing the band from blackness qua excessive masculinity and aligning it with Western classical music.

Finally, Genesis's stage shows led the way in progressive era theatrical presentation. Nicholls describes their shows as "very unusual for the period," with the band usually sitting down "towards the sides and back of the stage" which was decorated by lights, slides and props. "Gabriel, performing very theatrically, and as often as not masked or costumed according to the subject matter of the song being played, would dominate the centre of the stage" (Nicholls:130). These performances became the prototype for much progressive rock and are also the subject matter reenacted by The Musical Box.

2.1.3 The Musical Box

Montrealians Denis Gagné and Serge Morissette formed The Musical Box in the early 1990s with the idea of recreating Genesis' 1973 international "Selling England by the Pound" tour for its 20th anniversary. Taking their name from a Genesis song (on "Trespass"), flautist, percussionist, and lead vocalist Gagné (as Gabriel) and artistic director Morissette brought on Sébastien Lamothe on bass, acoustic guitar, and vocals (as Mike Rutherford), Francois Gagnon on acoustic and electric guitars (Steve Hackett), David Myers on keyboards, 12-string guitar, and vocals (Tony Banks) and Martin Levac on drums, percussion, and vocals (Phil Collins). In the 14 years since their inception, The Musical Box have become stunningly popular, adding "Foxtrot" and "The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway" shows to their repertoire and performing regularly in Europe and North America for stadium audiences often of a thousand or more.

Although any of the three major recreated tours provide ample fodder for investigation, I chose "The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway" for careful analysis for several reasons. "The Lamb" was the most elaborate album and stage show by Genesis, which also made it the most challenging for The Musical Box to re-create. The recreation was relatively recent (2005) and so there is still ample information on it available on The Musical Box's promotional website. It was also very skillfully produced because by 2005 The Musical Box had become quite expert at their recreations. Finally, the "Lamb" is Genesis's only "concept album" and one set in New York with a Puerto Rican-American as the central character. This setting and character is a marked difference from the "literary" English-centered themes of the two earlier albums and offers a form of identity-crossing for Gabriel that I will comment on below.

"The Lamb" was Genesis' last album of their progressive phase and their most ambitious work, musically as well as theatrically. Not considered particularly coherent as a narrative (by most reviewers), scholar Nicholls cheekily summarizes the "plot" of the story:

> This double album tells the story of Rael ('not even a pure-bred Puerto-Rican') who is mysteriously transported from New York City's Broadway to an under- or other-world of strange experiences. Among other things, he is wrapped in a cocoon, trapped in a cage and led to a tunnel by a blind female guide; he meets death, is ravished by three snake-like women, becomes hideously disfigured and is later castrated; finally, he descends a ravine, swims in rapids, saves his brother from drowning and as a consequence achieves some kind of ultimate transmogrification (131).

The Musical Box took on the recreation after having already recreated the somewhat easier Foxtrot and Selling England by the Pound tours. I excerpt at length from TMB's website in order to situate the reader in the world of this elaborate recreation. They begin by detailing the original Genesis concert.

> In May 1974, Genesis approached its most ambitious project: the writing and recording of a concept album. Much work went into preparing the show and the entire new album would be performed live. Peter Gabriel had a clean-cut haircut, wore sun-tan make-up and, for most of the show, wore jeans with rolled up cuffs, a white t-shirt, running shoes and a leather jacket…. For 'The Lamia', [costume designer Jane Highfield] made a one-piece white jump suit and a large fabric cone with drawings of female-headed snakes. She made a famous costume for 'Colony of Slippermen' which had a pneumatic system to inflate the testicles and a few other lumps. The 'Slipperman' arrived on stage by crawling through a long transparent inflated cylinder that led through a hole opened in the rocks at the back of the stage. She also made a life mask from the face of Peter for the dummy used in 'it'.
>
> The stage was designed by Ian Knight and consisted of three back projection screens, four different shaped risers for the musician and two additional risers for Peter to sing from. A formation of four rocks at the centre-back of the stage completed the sets. Wireless, sober, no amps visible, with all the pyro effects and black lights hidden in two large black boxes on the floor, the most striking "prop" is the beautiful drum kit which looks almost like a sculpture. [Lighting designer Alan Owen] introduced a few special effects including some gobos used for 'In the Cage'. Slides

> illustrating the entire story were back-projected on 3 screens behind the musicians during the show. Most of the images were created…under the close supervision of Peter Gabriel. A photo session was also taken in New York City during the summer of 1974. The 1124 slides were contained in 19 cartridges and projected by 7 projectors.
>
> Even if "The Lamb" tour had fewer costume changes than for "Selling England by the Pound," the show was more complex and much time and effort went into preparing it. One of the most difficult tasks was to ensure complete darkness in the halls to achieve some of the effects.
>
> THE RE-CREATION
>
> From the beginning, it was obvious to The Musical Box that the biggest challenge would be the re-creation of "The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway."
>
> In July 2000, The Musical Box received a license from Genesis and Peter Gabriel to recreate [it]. Never before had any other band obtained these Grand rights.
>
> Again, the first task was to find the instruments and equipment to recreate the sound, including; an RMI keyboard, a Synthi Hi-Fly, and various percussion instruments. Another double neck guitar had to be made. Access to Michael Rutherford's original guitar and the acquisition of a rare Micro-Fret 6 string bass allowed an exact reproduction to be made. The visual reconstruction was based on more than a 1000 photos and slides. A few Super-8mm films gave a better understanding of the choreography and the general atmosphere of the show. Finally, thanks to Genesis and to people who worked on the original tour, the remaining questions were answered.
>
> All the elements of the show have been recreated with meticulous precision. The 'Slipperman' alone required nearly 2 months of work, with each detail being scrupulously reproduced by hand. The re-creation of the 'Lamia' brought other difficulties. First, it was necessary to figure out the drawings on the cone. This was then reproduced on a special type of fabric. Many models, including one of the real size, were necessary. The Musical Box received a copy of the 1120 slides used in the original Genesis tour. More than a month was necessary to put them back in order and locate them in the songs. A month of pre-production was necessary to put everything together and rehearse the show in its entirety. Modern technology was used to synchronize the slides during the show and to add some tracks and sound effects. The show is still very complex. The crew members have to follow a precise synopsis, and some costume changes imply specific logistics.[5]

From this description certain concerns emerge, including the pursuit of authenticity, the pursuit of a perfect recreation (which is related to, but not the same as the first concern), and the emphasis on hard work, effort, and technological solutions in both of these

pursuits. These concerns speak to the nature of the ultimate "band-body" this tribute (re)creates.

2.1.4 Authenticity

The Musical Box's chief claim to authenticity is their connection to the "real Genesis." In addition to their "official license from Genesis and Peter Gabriel," they highlight the fact that original band members have attended their shows and that Steve Hackett and Phil Collins have both "sat in" with the band.[6] They use quotes from original Genesis members in all of their promotional material and they had Phil Collins himself introduce the 1995 performance of "The Lamb" in Geneva. In addition to this connection to the original band members, The Musical Box also emphasizes their use of exact replicas of, and in some cases the original, musical, sound, and stage equipment used by Genesis. For the "Selling England by the Pound" tour, for example, they write that they found "the distinctive instruments [used by Genesis], among others: an ARP Pro-Soloist, an H&H Amplifier and Echoplex, and a custom Rickenbacker double neck made with a bass and a semi-acoustic 12-string." They also obtained access to "some of the original Genesis equipment," thanking Mike Rutherford himself for lending them the original "'Coral Sitar'… which was used by Steve Hackett in 'I Know What I Like.'"[7]

Indeed, for some audience members, these shows *are* recreating an "authentic" Genesis experience. One fan posted on a forum devoted to The Musical Box that, "I enjoyed "The Lamb" tremendously, even more than "Selling." Always had seats in the back rows so I got more of an overall impression. That's actually a good thing in my book, because…the musicians resemble their Genesis counterparts better from a distance."[8] This fan prefers to create the belief that he is seeing and hearing a live

Genesis concert by avoiding the dissonance of seeing the musicians up-close to reveal their "true" identity. Other tribute bands have commented on this phenomenon**.** Roy Hitchen of the Beatles' tribute band, Cavern Beatles, commented that meeting fans after a concert can be an awkward experience. The swept-up fan comes up close and only then disappointingly realizes Hitchens does not resemble the original member the fan had projected onto him all evening (and that the tribute band had obviously encouraged**)** (Inglis 2006).[9] Such an experience often occurs with tributes that strive to recreate the original band exactly. These bands have been called (usually derisively) clone bands.

2.1.5 Cloning our Dead Ones

The original Genesis tours of 1972–74 were never professionally recorded, and therefore The Musical Box feels a major part of their project is to provide an incarnation of these shows for those fans who never attended the original performances. On their website, they write that,

> many Genesis enthusiasts (old and new) have never seen these legendary shows. But the real pity after all is they never had the chance to experience the young Peter Gabriel…. The Musical Box makes this dream come true.
>
> The result is the perfect illusion of a virtual time machine—to recapture the magic of those concerts and give people the impression of being at an original Genesis show. All of the song introductions and off-the-wall stories in between, every song, every movement by Gabriel, the original light impressions and all of the genuine multimedia effects are a carbon copy of the exact Genesis performance 30 years ago.[10]

In this sense, The Musical Box is "bringing Genesis back to life." Again we can witness Gabriel (not as an old man, victim of the sad passage of time), but as a "young Gabriel," performing again what we love and miss and need—early Genesis. And this is not just for the fans. Gabriel himself has welcomed this clone. In an interview, he states that, "The Musical Box recreated, very accurately I must say, what Genesis was doing. I saw

them in Bristol with my children, so they could see what their father did back then."[11] Phil Collins also supports the cloning of himself in that era, saying, "This is the only way to see it because it was never filmed. So... if you want to experience what it was like... and certainly musically they get very close and I think these guys play it better than we did...."[12] And true to cloning, there is the disconcerting element of it. In another interview Collins says, "It's an eerie feeling because they have uncannily captured us back then in every way."[13]

2.1.6 Perfection through Technology

The Musical Box makes clear that it is through overcoming complex and technical challenges that they are able to recreate this "carbon copy" of the "young Genesis" with such perfection. Indeed, more than exact authenticity (which would seem to entail copying things that went wrong, as well), The Musical Box is striving for the "perfect" production of a Genesis show, something Genesis itself never felt it achieved. The Musical Box makes clear that "mistakes" in the original are now fixed. In introducing the Geneva show, Phil Collins announced that,

> Using the original back projection slides from our old show, they now have the advantage of technology unavailable to us back then. We probably only managed a handful of shows (at most) where everything worked as it should have done. Tonight, God willing, you'll see the show as it should and could have been back then if the projector hadn't caught fire, or if the operator hadn't pressed the wrong button by mistake and fast forwarded the slides to the next song!!! Hey, this was the 70's remember!!! (promotional website http://www.wiventertainment.de/)

Now in the 21st century, such technological wrongs can be righted. The original Genesis can be improved upon and the "real" show can finally be seen as it was meant to be. Through technological advancement, the clone can be better than the original. To describe these bands as "clone bands" is apt, for clone bands touch upon many of the

same issues (albeit with much lower stakes) as biological cloning, particularly the fetishization of technology, of youth, of perfection, of improvement, and of control. They also raise similar issues of identity, including the question of where identity resides.

Biological cloning is of course the production of a new animal through the replication of the DNA of one animal (rather than through the combination of DNA taken from one male and one female). In his essay on cloning (Baudrillard 1994:95–103), Baudrillard quite rightly writes that through cloning, reproduction takes place without the introduction of difference. "With cloning: nothing opposes itself any longer to the renewal of the Same" (100–1). Performances by clone bands, therefore, produce this vision of identity—the longing for, and production of, the perfect repetition of Same. The Musical Box produces this clone by eliminating all of the imperfections and spontaneity of the original band, by removing "all the differential vicissitudes that once constituted the aleatory charm of individuals" (1994:101). By isolating the identity of Genesis to the props, technology, sound, and costumes of the band, they repeat these characteristics in a reproduction of Same.

Interestingly, a rabid web critic of the clone band phenomenon parallels Baudrillard's analysis in at least one respect. Baudrillard compares cloning to cancer, calling cloning "an exacerbated redundancy of the same signals" (101). "All the individuals produced through cloning individual X, are they anything other than a cancerous metastasis—the proliferation of the same cell such as occurs with cancer" (100)? Tony McLean's screed against the "infiltration" of clone bands takes a similar tack. In his online essay, "Clone Bands are Cancer," he writes, "The clone trend is not only disgusting, it is a plague which is spreading through the live music scene like an

incurable virus… [and threatening] to infect and violate the integrity of the live music scene" (McLean 1987). McLean alludes to the uncanny of cloning ("a Who clone band from Toronto (where else?) was disbanding and there was a send-off concert bash for them. My retort was 'Is the drummer going to drink himself to death on stage?'" [alluding to the demise of the original Who drummer, Keith Moon.]), as well as to its freakishness ("the whole clone trend satisfies a cruel pathetic urge in the bowels of the public psyche. The audiences who go to see the bearded lady at the circus, the dog-faced boy, the dead baby in the jar, the people who slow down at an accident to see the charred bodies up close are those you'll find gawking like idiots at a clone concert"). Here the fear of a lack of depth, of no difference in identity comes to the fore. Will the drummer of the Who clone band kill himself in order for the band to most authentically break up? And while McLean concedes that "the Rolling Stones copped Muddy Waters, Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley…they turned it into something slightly different. Did they put on black face and act like a bunch of bluesmen from Chicago?"[14] Clearly, "copping" another's licks are fine, if you make it your own (often simultaneously hiding your influences). McLean concerns are of the disintegration of the depth of identity, a flat identity because it is, as Baudrillard describes, without any alterity or any imaginary. Clones have no alterity because there is no difference introduced in their creation; and they have no imaginary because cloning is a "monstrous" parody of the mirror stage.

Baudrillard does not elaborate on his statement that "the mirror stage is abolished in cloning, or rather it is parodied therein in a monstrous fashion" (97). To review, the mirror stage constitutes the subject's imaginary. By viewing one's presumably coherent and coordinated body in the mirror one perceives oneself as both ideally whole and also

for the first time as an "other." Because one gains an understanding of oneself only from the outside (from looking at the mirror and finding oneself there) the subject is constituted through an inherent alienation. However, if one finds one's coherent self and one's self as an other through a clone, the mirror stage is parodied by believing that one could actually become that coherent image. The parody is in taking it literally. Because the alienation inherent in the mirror stage institutes a desire for coherence, in trying to actually become the coherent image in cloning, one transforms desire from a structure of identity to something one actually fulfills. To take an extreme Oedipal example, instead of desiring to sleep with his mother, the subject literally does so. It is taking the desire that we don't really want to fulfill and fulfilling it. In this, all Oedipal structuration collapses in the absence of desire/distance and identity becomes flat. Thus the band-body of the tribute band The Musical Box is the cloned body, "the last stage of the history and modeling of the body, the one at which, reduced to its abstract and genetic formula, the individual is destined to serial propagation" (99). It is "an immanent body, without alterity" (101), "a body already homogeneous" (102). It is the body without desire. It is created without desire: no "joining" of otherness; and it has no desire for difference, no search or need of an other. And in this, no need or foothold for interpretation.

2.1.7 Theater of the Same

The Musical Box recreation offers important insights into the "nature" of theater and of music. Because the Genesis tours were so overtly and elaborately theatrical, they offer the ambitious recreator much to bite into. It is interesting to note, however, that the theatricality of The Musical Box is of a particular kind. For example, Phil Collins states in an interview,

> They have taken a period and are faithfully reproducing it in the same way that someone would do a theatrical production. You know.. you can take Shakespeare to a new place where no one has ever done it, or you can do it [as a period piece]…. I'm giving you an analogy here, it's probably a bad analogy, but that's what they do. I [asked them], "Do you come off stage at the end of the Lamb," and they said "well no, you didn't. You stayed on stage and then played The Musical Box." So, that's what they do.[15]

Thus, The Musical Box recreates much as a repertory theatre might strive to recreate Shakespeare "exactly" as they imagine an Elizabethan audience might have experienced it. Rather than discuss the various ways to interpret the classics of drama, however, I would like to emphasize how this decision highlights how music itself is considered an "event" more than a mediated experience such as theater. Theater, with its narrative structure, assumes interpretation in its telling (with the possible exception of the repertory movement). Clone bands, however, understand past popular music performances as important "events" almost along the lines of battles or other historical moments, rather than as staged productions. When recreating the "Selling England by the Pound" tour for its 30th anniversary, The Musical Box's promotional material stated that this original event was "the first ever multimedia performance in rock music" and that now "the huge worldwide Genesis fanbase finally gets a chance to see a precise reconstruction of the historic event." And in November 1998 The Musical Box "performed at the Montreal University Sports Center to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the original concert [bringing in fans] from all over the world, including North America, Europe and Australia."[16] It is hard not to make a comparison to United States Civil War recreators and their fetishization of time and place in their battle reenactments on the original site for their various anniversaries.

Clearly, The Musical Box is not creating theater in the sense of "twice-behaved behavior," as described by performance studies scholar Richard Schechner (2002). What marks the twice-behaved behavior of theater is the distance between the actor and the role. And while Schechner believes that all behavior is twice-behaved, theater highlights this "restoration" of behavior. The Musical Box does not present itself as interpretting Genesis, but as performing Genesis without distance or difference—in some sense, *being* Genesis, or at least creating the illusion of the *once-behaved*, the classic mathematical definition of identity, 1 = 1.

2.1.8 What we Clone

However, a particularly identity is being recreated, one that is naturalized as it exempts itself from interpretation through its mathematical identity. In recreating the "classic era" of the most signal of the progressive rock bands, The Musical Box is cloning progressive rock and the values and identities associated with this music. Although Macan demonstrated progressive rock's connections with English Nationalism, he did not contextualize this in the 1970s post-colonial search for identity that was characteristic of the period in Great Britain and the United States. The 1970s, particularly in the U.S., is characterized as a period of consolidation around racial identities. Confronted with cold realities that belied progress toward the "color blind society" advocated by Martin Luther King in the 1960s, activists began to rally around cultural and racial difference to fight hegemonic and racist policies and norms. In this new era of "identity politics," whites often followed suit, staking ground in their particular racial or ethnic identity. In bringing "European classical music" into popular music, progressive rock was staking out a particularly British, and particularly "white,"

identity in popular music that responded to the "use of race as a resource [by] racial and ethnic minorities" (Porter 2004:64).

In this context it is interesting to note that The Musical Box is most popular in Europe and Canada where progressive rock took an early foothold. Their extended tours through Germany, France, England, Italy, The Netherlands, Switzerland, and Belgium fill stadiums with ticket prices ranging between $40 to $60. The Canadian popularity of prog rock may touch on desires for connection to European rather than American influences in popular music. Also, the particularly "English" quality of progressive rock that Macan argues for, would seem to beg an analysis of the Canadian French-English rivalry that exists in Quebec. Unfortunately, a deeper analysis of how this may inflect The Musical Box's project as well as their connection to English or European "high art" and how that relates to their identity as Canadians is beyond the scope of this project at present.

When Denis Gagné puts on brown make-up to play Rael in The Musical Box's flat recreation, interpreting the layers of Gagné playing Gabriel playing Rael seems off point. Rael, eclipsed by the star power of Gabriel, was never much of a character in the first place. Nonetheless, Rael caused anxiety for some Genesis fans and reviewers concerned that their band may be turning to the dark side. Ron Ross trots out the prog rock tropes as he addresses the issue to his readers,

> So what's a fly dude of Spanish extraction got to do with five well-bred, highly educated and frequently esoteric young Englishmen, with a penchant for moody myths and subtle self-satire? ... Could it be that having flirted with seductive naiads and ancient hermaphrodites, Genesis are attempting to be trendy and up-to-the-minute by creating a contemporary Third World character? After all, with Bowie now a disco-dancin' cha cha queen at a time when all the world seems unlimitedly in love with Barry White, who could blame this quaint quintet of scholarly surrealists for hoppin' onto the soul train? [Who can blame them] if they

> chose to funk up their music (slightly) and allow Peter Gabriel's image some room to wax agro (Ross 1975).

However Ross assures us that Genesis is not pandering like other bands by introducing a little dark skin into their project. And they are not turning away from their mission, which seems to be their communication with a white audience. Again, we are assured that Genesis is still talking to (and about) their "usual" audience. Ross writes that "The Lamb" is not an "exposé on the psychology of race by a band on the make… Rael serves as a psychologically and morally alienated adolescent with whom Genesis' audience can identify" (Ross 1975).

Indeed, Rael seems to be used in the manner of classical opera, partially as a figure of earthy, passionate authenticity (something that America also signifies for the English band) and partially as a non-being. Peter Gabriel says that, "The New York setting is a device for making the character more real, more extroverted and violent…. But this guy is slotless; his name is supposed to be raceless…. The point of Rael being accessible, earthy and aggressive is that he provides an earthy response to these fantasy situations" (quoted in Ross 1975). Therefore, Rael is a character for white consumption, not a disloyal "change" in Genesis' project or target audience. Ross writes that, "Rael's purpose [is] not so much to attract a larger integrated following by virtue of this ethnicity, but to lure Genesis' existing audience more totally into the illusion and mood all five of the band have worked so carefully to project throughout their career…. So, while "The Lamb" and Rael appear to be a major departure from Genesis' past… the band's motivation and method have remained inherently the same" (Ross 1975). Ross clearly defines Rael as part of the project of Western Orientalism and not a move toward "integration" of the music or of the audience. Gabriel's crossing of racial boundaries is of

the kind seen in Russian-born Yul Brynner's Bangkok king in the "The King and I" (1956). This crossing over racial boundaries can be productively compared to the work of Anne Deavere-Smith or to the theater troupe Culture Clash, both described by Dorinne Kondo in her essay "(Re)visions of Race: Contemporary Race Theory and the Cultural Politics of Racial Crossover in Documentary Theatre" (2000). Much like The Musical Box, Deavere-Smith embodies her characters from the outside in. She takes on their accents, the physical gestures, and the stances rather than some type of "inner" essence. The difference here is in the acknowledgement of theater and the "twice-behaved" behavior. In playing these characters Deavere-Smith reveals the constructedness and mutability of identities as well as the structures of power that inform, produce, and manage them. By performing identity as "once-behaved," The Musical Box performs hegemonic, immutable identity as natural. And this identity is that of Gabriel, Genesis, and progressive rock, an identity that plays at being Rael without ever touching anything close to the possibility or alterity of a "real" existence for Rael.

Finally, the Musical Box's performances can be compared to Renaissance repertory music ensembles where there is also no space for critical distance, but only for clinical analyses of the "accuracy" of the recreation. Repertory ensembles make the same claim for "authenticity" based in exact repetition as The Musical Box, a claim rebuked by musicologist Richard Taruskin (1984). Taruskin argues that authenticity rather should be understood as described in Rousseau's moral philosophy: not based in the accuracy of reproduction, but in its capturing of the spirit of the original. In perhaps the only instance of Taruskin being compared to Gilles Deleuze, I am compelled to note how such a recreation of the spirit of the original resonates with Delueze's call for the repetition of

difference (1994). Deleuze argues that in recreating revolutionary action, for example, one does not try to recreate the exact causes and conditions of the uprising, but to repeat the spirit and energy of that era. In this, the action and the outcome (positive, revolutionary change) are repeated, however the actual circumstances of change are different.

In recreating the identity of Genesis, the performance of The Musical Box can also be productively analyzed through operation of the "performative," particularly as Judith Butler has described it in relation to identity formation. Speaking of the identity, "woman," Butler writes, "Woman itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification. Even when gender seems to congeal into the most reified forms, the 'congealing' is itself an insistent and insidious practice, sustained and regulated by various social means" (Butler 1998: 36). The Musical Box would obviously be a performance that strives to "congeal." However, before returning to The Musical Box, I want to delve more deeply into this idea of the performative by taking another look at Derrida's famous essay on J.L. Austin's collected lectures, *How to Do Things with Words* (1975). This essay was the beginning of the new take on the performative that informs current ideas of "performativity."

In "Signature Event Context," Derrida uses telling imagery to describe J.L. Austin's "successful performative." For Austin, the many unsuccessful operations of the performative must be ignored in order to understand the performative's "true" or "real" function as speech that carries out a particular action (rather than representing an action). In response to this, Derrida asks, "[D]oes the generality of the risk admitted by Austin

surround language like a kind of *ditch*, a place of external perdition into which locution might never venture, that it might avoid by remaining at home, in itself, sheltered by its essence or *telos*?" (Derrida 1991 [1972]:103; italics in original). Here Derrida's description of Austin's "perfect" performative is reminiscent of Lacan's description of the dream of the coherent subject described in Chapter Two. As we recall, Lacan's analysand dreamed of a "fortified camp" or a "stadium." With Derrida, "protected" language is surrounded by a ditch; indeed, he emphasizes this image with italics. Such language avoids disruption, imperfection, "unhappiness," sheltered in its home by its essence and its *telos*, its final cause reached. In this perfect performative, "no remainder escapes the present totalization…. no irreducible polysemia, that is no 'dissemination' escaping the horizon of the unity of meaning (99)." And thus, like the Musical Box, no interpretation. Derrida cites Austin, who writes, "speaking generally, it is always necessary that the circumstances in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, appropriate…. Thus, for naming the ship, it is essential that I should be the person appointed to name her" (quoted in Derrida 1991 [1972]:99-100). Therefore, a certain conventionality must accompany the performative if it is to be successful. That is, the namer of the ship is one who is authorized to name, the one who marries is the one legitimately able to marry, the one who takes the bet is honestly doing so. Such actions taken in plays, introduced in a poem, or read in a soliloquy, what Derrida calls "citations," are examples for Austin of language not used "seriously." Austin states, "Our performative utterances, felicitous or not, are to be understood as issued in ordinary circumstances (quoted in Derrida 1991 [1972]:102)." Such ordinary circumstances would be considered by Austin, "once-behaved" behaviors.

Of course, Derrida goes on to show that, because of this necessity for a perfect context that never exists, the performative is always open to failure and indeed, because of the nature of language, will always fail partially. For Derrida, language is always citational (99). However, as I've argued in the previous chapter, certain strategies of performance have developed over the past decades that intentionally work to perform at least the notion or the semblance or the belief in coherency: in stereotypes, in history, in masculinity, and here, in the performative which presents the unity and "dependability" of language to express the "ordinary." While in Chapter Two I showed how bands create an image of the body reminiscent of that found in Lacan's mirror—spatially coherent, intact, and pure, in this chapter I am attempting to demonstrate how The Musical Box recreates "exact events" from the past and thus attempts to "re-perform perfectly" or enact the "perfect performative." Such a form of communication is becoming increasingly popular.

2.1.9 Performative Communication: Replay

Although being somewhat by definition conservative in character, these reenactments have also had a distinctly leftist bent. Artist and scholar Mark Tribe has undertaken the "Port Huron Project," a series of re-enacted New Left speeches performed at their original sites.[17] So far he has recreated a 1965 March on Washington speech delivered by Paul Potter (then president of Students for a Democratic Society), a 1968 speech by Coretta Scott King in Central Park, and a 1971 speech by the activist Howard Zinn (Kennedy 2007). According to a New York Times article, Tribe started the reenactments after he "found that students who said they opposed the war in Iraq did little about it. 'There were no protests,' he said. 'My students didn't even seem to want to talk

about it'" (Kennedy 2007). Thus, he described his goal as not just "historical ready-mades or conceptual-art explorations of context, but also maybe as a genuine form of protest, to point out with the help of art how much has changed, yet how much remains the same" (Kennedy 2007). Believing his work to be a "strange cultural and political straddle" that "doesn't fit neatly into any category," he asks, "Is it protest? Well, no, not quite. Is it theater? Not really. What is it? Are we in the present tense? Yes, but we're hearing this speech that was given 42 years ago…. There's a real kind of surreal quality. It flips back and forth. It's unsettling" (Kennedy 2007). However, as we have seen, these recreations are not new and seem to contain an inherent conservatism in them, capitulating to our seeming inability to inject anything new into a predictable and repetitious society. And much of this unsettling quality can be described as the uncanniness of the clone seen above in The Musical Box recreation.

Tribe has other motivations that relate to The Musical Box and the enticement of the clone. He also described his project as "a way to connect with childhood memories of his parents' political involvement. (His father is Laurence H. Tribe, the Harvard law professor and frequent champion of liberal causes.) 'I find that time really inspiring, exciting to think about," he said. "Also kind of sexy'" (Kennedy 2007). And the article's author finds some of the same pleasures of authenticity as the Musical Box musicians. He points out how "Paul R. Booth, the organizer of the 1965 march, joined the crowd. Mr. Booth…said he remembered how the original speech, heard by 20,000 protesters, the largest American antiwar crowd up to that point, 'really blew everybody's mind'" (Kennedy 2007). Such commentary, however, serves to highlight the contrast between the past protest and the impotent form of protest enacted by Tribe. Indeed, Tribe's

reenactment seems to perform the "truth" of genuine protest as an impossibility. Instead we are left with the pleasures of the clone: the ability to capture everything (except depth or "real" action); the sense that we will never miss or lose anything. In a demonstration of the evacuation of meaning and content and its replacement by the necessity to recapture a lost past, Kennedy reports that Russell Mann, a mechanical engineer on an air base near Saigon in 1973, who "feels the United States should never have abandoned its fight in Vietnam," was "'not on the side of these people," [he said], scowling and gesturing toward Mr. Bunzel. 'I just came to hear what I missed in 1965'" (Kennedy 2007).[18]

Re-enactment as a form of cultural production is becoming increasingly commonplace in art, popular culture, and national commemorations. It is also becoming an important way that people engage with "history," for example, through battle reenactments as engagements with "living history." I suggest the term "replay" to describe this growing phenomenon. Replay is preoccupied with place, accuracy, and the invocation of an "exact" historical moment. Early music ensembles pursuing authenticity or the nostalgico-historical revivals of various jazz periods and styles are less obsessive examples, but the impulse to preserve/find a desired "home" is there. Evoking the scopophilic pleasure of the instant replay in sports, replay in cultural productions offers the same sense of exactness, of the identical, the bounded, the true. It comforts by showing us what we (think we) have seen before and by its ability to play it again; it is a fetishized moment, captured and displayed. Replay attempts to recoup the loss of faith in the event through the pleasures of the perfect performative and of the clone.

2.2 Lez Zeppelin

If The Musical Box is attempting to stave off citationality and control context in order to perform the "perfect performative," the tribute band Lez Zeppelin harnesses recontextualization to reveal new meanings within the performative. As with The Musical Box, I begin by tracing some of the meanings of the original band, Led Zeppelin, over the course of the past 30-plus years. I then examine how Lez Zeppelin plays into, subverts, or creates new meanings in a new era.

Led Zeppelin broke out in 1969 with their first album, the eponymous "Led Zeppelin." From 1969 to 1979 they produced eight albums, all of which were in the top 10 in the U.S. and Great Britain (with six reaching number one in the U.S. and all but their first album hitting number one in Britain). In a testament to their continued influence and popularity, they are ranked No. 1 on VH1's list of the 100 greatest artists of hard rock and are tied with the Beatles on the all-time top 100 best-selling albums list with five apiece. Vocalist Robert Plant, guitarist Jimmy Page, and drummer John Bonham are considered "rock masters" who have spawned generations of imitators on their respective instruments, while John Paul Jones on bass and keyboards was considered a master multi-instrumentalist. When still hugely popular, Led Zeppelin disbanded in 1980 after the death of drummer John Bonham from a drug overdose.

Led Zeppelin's music and stage performance helped to solidify and define a new visual and sonic style of rock often referred to as "cock rock." With their bared chests, thrust-forward genitalia, often misogynist lyrics, and resident guitar hero in Page, the band has been cited by scholars as a quintessential model of the style. In their foundational (yet often critiqued) article, "Rock and Sexuality," Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie describe cock rock as "music making in which performance is an explicit,

crude, and often aggressive expression of male sexuality" (Frith and McRobbie 1990 [1978]). Steve Waksman notes how it "denotes the masculinist orientation of rock" (Waksman 1996). In both of these articles, Led Zeppelin is the salient example (other examples could include the Rolling Stones, Aerosmith, and AC/DC). It is taken as a given that "cock rock" describes the intense masculinity of the bands, the fans, and the general milieu of this form of rock.

Susan Fast has been at the forefront of interrogating masculinist assumptions in rock scholarship, however, and, following Robert Walser, has expressed concern that assuming male hegemony often works to reinscribe that norm (Fast 2001:168). Fast critiques Deena Weinstein's characterization of heavy-metal as masculine and a site of male-bonding (163) and Norma Coates' assertion of rock music coded solely as phallic(164), arguing that such assumptions ignore women's participation in rock's production and consumption. She further criticizes Joy Press and Simon Reynold's book *The Sex Revolts* (1995) (which she also credits as the first book to make gender and sexuality its main topic in a popular music study), for factual errors as well as theoretical simplicity that serves only to reinforce rock stereotypes with such over-the-top phrases as "hyper phallic" and "penile dementia." To counter these assertions, Fast investigates how women consumed the music and images of Led Zeppelin, demonstrating how such rock "power" was also a site of power for women.

Most important for my purposes, however, is Fast's persuasive argument that Led Zeppelin is *not* an example of cock rock. Along with rethinking the processes of male and female identification with the music, Fast argues that Led Zeppelin's complex compositions, abstract lyrics, and acoustic explorations do not fit the definition of the

cock rock band.[19] My question then is, if the very progenitor of the form is revealed to lack cock rock, what is, or perhaps better, *why is* cock rock?

It is important to remember that cock rock was a designation made by listeners and critics of certain 1970s rock bands and of later bands inspired by them. Bands themselves did not, and generally still do not, describe themselves in this way. Steve Waksman, as well as Philip Auslander—whose chapter on cock rock is refreshingly devoted to Suzi Quatro—have emphasized cock rock's constructedness and loosened its naturalized connection to maleness (Auslander 2006). However, although varied in their readings, music scholars *have* uncritically accepted this equation of cock rock with heterosexual hyper-masculinity (including Fast). Why was cock rock invented as a narrative strategy, and subsequently widely accepted, if a founding band of the alleged form cannot even be considered an example? Is "cock rock" a misnomer, in need of a new definition? Or could this moniker be some type of compensation?

2.2.1 Gender and Sexuality in Led Zeppelin

Led Zeppelin was a poster band for rock's new androgyny that found early expression in Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones (Fast 2001; Duncan 1984:105). Robert Plant especially has always been known for his "feminine qualities." In the 1973 Madison Square Garden concert (captured on the DVD "Led Zeppelin" 2003), Plant, in tight, faded, "nut-hugger" jeans and a frilly blue unbuttoned blouse, leans back, with pelvis thrust forward and belts out the lyrics to Black Dog. His left hand holds the mic as his right hand—near his face, with beautifully manicured long fingernails—twirls and points upward. As the screen zooms out, Plant looks exactly like a very sexy, lusty, powerful woman howling out her song. This is not a unique occurrence. Throughout the

band's career Plant himself made continual references to his style in the context of femininity. He called his final, mature voice in the band "a girlish whine" (quoted in Fast 2001:189). Susan Fast believes that one of Plant's influences must have been Janis Joplin, writing that, in addition to his high vocal range, Plant "draws on Joplin's specific licks and technical vocabulary (45)." From the footage one also feels that Joplin's powerful sexuality (in part inspired by black blues women) was another inspiration for Plant.

Popular music scholars have developed various ideas on the functions and motivations of androgyny in popular music. In his book *Performing Glam Rock*, Philip Auslander gives a brief historical sketch of androgyny in rock, identifying several contrasting stages (Auslander 2006). He argues that early examples of cross-dressing and effeminacy in rock and roll (such as Esquerita and Little Richard) functioned more as markers of "iconoclasm" than as explicit commentaries on gender or sexuality. The later "soft masculinity" of the 1960s was a form of "counterculture androgyny" perceived at the time as authentic, "natural" and heterosexual. He further argues that the androgyny of 1970s glam bands (David Bowie, T. Rex, and others) was a challenge to this authenticity, naturalness, and heteronormativity through their explicit artifice (focusing on "glamour") and open references to bi- or homosexuality (2006:33). Additionally, Robert Walser describes the androgyny of 1980s glam metal in the context of the exscription of women from rock. Walser argues that glam metal rockers harnessed "female erotic spectacle" to "male power," and that "male heavy metal fans and musicians sometimes assert masculinity by co-opting femininity" in an Oedipal desire to separate from earlier "fathers" of rock (Walser 1993:134). I disagree with this reading primarily because the

earlier "fathers" of rock were already androgynous and therefore I see 1980s androgyny not so much as a transgression than as a continuation (and re-reading) of earlier androgyny. However, I do agree with Walser that the musicians' understandings of their androgyny will not always jibe with their audience's, something he demonstrates in his discussion of "gay metal" (115–6). Neither of these discussions, however, addresses the androgyny of 1970s rock bands that found most of their early inspiration in the blues, such as Led Zeppelin. Indeed, much more than early rock, 1960s counter-culture rock, glam or glam metal, the music of Led Zeppelin, particularly as presented on stage, is overtly sexual. This combination of androgyny with overt sexuality needs a closer examination.

2.2.2 Sex on Stage

Because Fast has taken on the task of recording women's reactions to Led Zeppelin, her research reveals much more commentary on the sexuality of the band than research focused only on male fans (who are generally reluctant to confess to their sexual fantasies in any context, let alone about an all-male rock band).[20] Women fans often cite the sexuality of Led Zeppelin as a crucial factor in the band's allure. Some of the responses Fast received to her questions about the appeal of the band included: "I swear that man has a hard on at every concert." "Better than sex." "He's having sex with his guitar and the audience." "Electric prolonged orgasms" (Fast 2001:177). However, the overt sexuality of the band cannot be lost on the alleged majority of Led's fans, that is, straight men.

In Fast's analysis of Plant's feminine persona she argues that one way the feminine is inscribed is through Plant's relation to guitarist Page's masculine persona as

the "guitar hero" (45). Fast analyzes the song "Dazed and Confused" along the lines of heterosexual coitus between the musicians:

> During the fast section that follows the bow solo, all musical elements are subordinated to the dominance of the guitar…This solo would begin with Page playing a pitch, which Plant would imitate, this being repeated at increasingly higher intervals, forcing Plant to the uppermost reaches of his range. … Plant is at once mentored, musically, by Page, stretched to his limits, coaxed to go further and further, and also, ultimately, controlled by the guitarist. Plant also often ended this contest between himself and Page by saying, "Push; push" (which he was wont to do during many other of Page's solos as well). …It is possible to hear this comment as an imperative to Page, casting Plant in the role of receiver of sexual pleasure during intercourse, the "woman" who is asking for more, thus strengthening his role as feminine to Page (45).[21]

In this, Led Zeppelin could be seen to demonstrate one purpose of androgyny in rock: to represent heterosexual coitus on stage without the necessity of women. However, I want to be very explicit about what I see in Robert Plant's performance described in the opening of this section: what I see is nothing less than the world's first internationally acclaimed "chick with a dick." The dynamic between Plant and Page is a heterosexual dynamic then, only if we see Plant as a chick. What if we focus on the dick?

In the 1970s, "free and exploring" (hetero-)sexuality was a mainstream preoccupation (homosexuality was still largely absent from the popular radar). And with the 1970s women's movement, gender was also a topic. Gender in the 1970s, however was still generally essentialized, with the idea that if a man was doing it, it was some form of masculinity, and if a woman had "masculine" tendencies, she was hence, "male-identified." Therefore the long hair, loose clothing, and jewelry of men of the seventies was primarily read as "swinging" attire that presented the man as (hetero)sexually available. In this context (combined with the stories of his copious appetite for female groupies), Plant's effeminacy did not hit homophobic anxiety buttons in mainstream

American culture. However, as Walser demonstrated with gay glam metal, different audiences read cues according to their own desire. In her research, Fast found one openly gay respondent who gave his thoughts on Zeppelin in the 1970s:

> [L]ike a lot of hard-rock bands, Zep drew its share of white male homophobes. Odd, considering the fact that the band was fronted by two foppish, somewhat androgynous intellectuals! I was always aware of that contradiction, and as I've learned from some other gay and bisexual males in their thirties, I wasn't the only one so aware. Certainly the fact that the band happily frequented gay clubs for the pleasure of simply being left alone and had their adventures [dressing] in drag (such as their infamous dinner with George Harrison and Stevie Wonder) made an impression. I would guess that the sexual nature of so much blues-based music (this of course including both Led Zeppelin and the Rolling Stones) couldn't help but appeal to horny people of whatever orientation. Robert and Jimmy always struck me as a more dangerous and more androgynous "version" of Mick and Keith, anyway (quoted in Fast 2001:175).

Although not as explicit as the comments made by female fans, this writer takes note of the sexuality of the band (significantly aligning it with its blues influence). I think many fans would agree with the assessment that Led Zeppelin performs/represents sex on stage, though whether hetero- or homosexual sex may be in the fantasy of the beholder. To return then to the central question of this dissertation: what *body* does the band perform through this emphasis on androgyny and sexuality? And for this answer, I return to Lacan.

2.2.3 Aristophanic Body

Lacan punningly describes the phase before the subject enters the "field of the other," as *l'hommelette*. In this state, sexual differentiation is not apparent. Lacan references the story told by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium* about the undifferentiated beings who arrogantly attempt to reach the gods and are therefore split in half by Zeus. In her book *The Subject of Semiotics* (1983), Kaja Silverman relates the story:

> …in the beginning we were nothing like we are now. For one thing, the race was divided into three…besides the two sexes, male and female, which we have at present, there was a third which partook of the nature of both…
>
> And secondly…each of these beings was globular in shape, with rounded back and sides, four arms and four legs, and two faces…. And such … were their strength and energy, and such their arrogance, that they actually tried…to scale the heights of heaven and set upon the gods.
>
> At this Zeus took counsel with the other gods as to what was to be done…. At last…after racking his brains, Zeus offered a solution. I think I can see my way, he said, to put an end to this disturbance…. What I propose to do is to cut them all in half, thus killing two birds with one stone, for each one will be only half as strong, and there'll be twice as many of them….
>
> Now, when the work of bisection was complete it left each half with a desperate yearning for the other, and they ran together and flung their arms around each other's necks, and asked for nothing better than to be rolled into one. So much so, that they began to die…. Zeus felt so sorry for them that he devised another scheme. He moved their privates round to the front….and made them propagate among themselves. …So you see…how far back we can trace our innate love for one another, and how this love is always trying to reintegrate our former nature, to make two into one, and to bridge the gulf between one human being and other. (151)

I suggest that through their androgyny and sexuality, Led Zeppelin performs the dream of this Aristophanic body, both through the body of Robert Plant and as a band. Because Plant performs this dual role of feminine and masculine, his erotic relation with Jimmy Page (as described by Fast) enacts a larger Aristophanic body for the group as a whole, which can be the body with two male organs or a body with male and female organs. The titillation and power of Led Zeppelin is this performance of a plurality of sexualities. And Plant is the chick aroused by her own dick: as both ecstatic receiver (considered the feminine role, but not confined to women) and the aggressive thruster (not confined to men), Plant plays and enjoys all sexual roles.

2.2.4 But Where did the Feminine Come From?

Although I have addressed how it has functioned and been read, the question does remain as to the motivation behind the overt and pervasive androgyny of this rock style. Although the desire to further sexualize a music that had been considered sexual since rock-n-roll is certainly one answer, I believe another inspiration may underlie the entrance of the "feminine" into a music marked by its connection to blues. As noted above, scholars have thus far defined androgyny in terms of an infatuation with surface (glam), a commandeering of female spectacle in the service of heightened masculinity (glam metal), simple iconoclasm, or 1960s counterculture masculinity perceived as "natural" and authentic. However, none of these characterizations describe the androgyny of 1970s rock bands that prized their ties to the presumed authenticity, depth and naturalness of black blues music. Therefore I would like to build on Auslander's history: as glam style responded to the authenticity of 1960s hippie culture, I believe late 60s and 70s rock androgyny was also a response to a perceived authenticity, that of the blues—however it was a quite different response. For indeed, white rockers desired both proximity to authentic blackness as well as distance from it.

So much has been written on the cooptation of black blues music by white rockers that there is no need to retrace those investigations here. I take as a given analyses such as Steve Waksman's of white rockers' response to Jimi Hendrix—that the black man has functioned in the white imaginary as a symbol of hyper-masculinity and authenticity. The love and theft of black music by white rockers, however, often beleaguered these musicians with feelings of guilt and other emotions. Speaking of Jimi Hendrix's decision to play rock, Pete Townsend said, "[T]here was a tremendous sense of [Hendrix] choosing to play in the white arena, that he was coming along and saying, 'You've taken

this, Eric Clapton, and Mr. Townsend, you think you're a showman. This is how *we* do it. This is how we can do it when we take back what you've borrowed, if not stolen" (quoted in Waksman 1999:106).

White rock musicians of this era were the primary consumers of decades-old myths of black masculinity that "produced" blackness as a site of sexual and phallic excess. Trapped in what Eric Lott calls "white fantasies about black behavior" (1993), white rock musicians who appropriated black music found they could not take on its imputed masculine excess. Therefore, as white musicians forged a new music bearing the desired sonic trace of blackness, they were inescapably waylaid by feelings of inadequacy, fear of what such a complete masculinity would be, as well as guilt over stealing it.

If we were to consider this in Freudian terms, we might characterize this distress over stealing the musical phallus from a more masculine authority as the filial Oedipal guilt of a white band of brothers. These brothers, like those described in Freud's *Totem and Taboo*, make a sacrifice to partially revoke the deed of "killing the father" (Freud 1995 [1913]). However here, rather than offering up a totem for sacrifice, rock musicians assuage the anxiety involved in stealing "black hyper-masculinity" by ritually offering up some of their own. Therefore, femininity's entrance onto the rock stage can at least partially be accounted for as a concession by white male musicians conflicted about the appropriated black phallus. Because hard rock was received as so sonically phallic, Led Zeppelin's androgyny was like an arrogant challenge that stated, "whatever we do (and we can hardly believe it ourselves) we still maintain the phallus." Such sonic excess provided space for all of this feminine play but also its necessity. Indeed, the power of

rock music, its relentless reading as a hyper-masculine form, continues to demand some type of response from burdened rockers wanting to redirect this imputation of excessive masculinity.[22]

This possible "origin" of androgyny in rock music has implications for the coinage of the phrase, cock rock. Led Zeppelin's mass audience was not aware of the black origins of rock music; authenticity related to blackness was important for the musicians, but not necessarily for mainstream fans. And as the rock era pressed on, simultaneously with the glam era, audience anxieties over rock's androgyny grew, as Simon Frith has noted, citing the 1973 *Creem* article "Androgyny in Rock: A Short Introduction" that felt the need to address the issue for its readers (Frith 1990 [1985]:418). While white rockers could perform the feminine while still being read as masculine, what did this mean for the male consumer of androgyny? Again, cock rock was a phrase developed by listeners and critics, not bands. Rather than devotedly accepting the definition that cock rock describes a hyper-masculine band, I suggest entertaining the possibility of another meaning. To wit: the male consumer of androgynous rock performances repressed the feminine, often in quite plain sight, with his new designation of this music as "cock rock."

2.2.5 Re-reading Led Zeppelin

The meanings of rock androgyny have changed over the course of the last three decades, not only in the various new music styles that have used androgyny, but in the way we read old styles. Walser recounted how many metal fans denounced the androgyny of this style, such as a female fan who wrote in to a metal magazine that, "real men don't wear makeup" (quoted in Walser 1993:130). He further describes "the cover

of an album by MX Machine (Manic Panic, 1988), a picture of a grimacing boy with his fist in the air [and] accompanied by a sticker proclaiming 'No Glam Fags! All Metal! No Makeup!'" (130). Although Walser does not make the connection, it is clear that androgyny in the 1980s was read differently than the "swinging sexuality"-informed androgyny of the 1970s. In an era transformed by the AIDS crisis and the increased visibility of gay men and lesbians in mainstream culture, one wonders if this same type of commentary would have been directed toward Led Zeppelin if they had continued to play into the 80s.

The answer to this question is somewhat available to us. Current consumption of earlier rock eras is rabid, with CD re-issues and live concert DVDs, as well as Youtube videos, fansites, and blogs readily available. 1970s rock is now being recontextualized by listeners who are accustomed to a wider definition of sexuality than was the social norm in the 70s. Indeed, a recent web article in a student-run online magazine, *Hooked*, presumes to be humorous but speaks to many of the issues and anxieties around this contemporary reading of 1970s rock music, and particularly Led Zeppelin.

> HOOKED has just stumbled upon a startling discovery – some might call it the greatest cover-up in human history. To put it simply, if you like rock music, you might just be gay. What you are about to see might shock you, and challenge previous conceptions, but the evidence is overwhelming. … The gayness of the rock band emanates from the lead singer, with his subliminal relationship with the lead guitarist and the unsuspecting audience. Let us now take exhibit A – the mightiest of all rock bands – Led Zeppelin. The duo exemplified rock cred, with Page's mind-blowing guitar solos and Plant's banshee howl. But they were also the most skin-crawlingly gay rock stars ever. Take a look [fig. 10]. Now if you worshipped at the feet of Robert Plant, with his flowing blonde locks, I-dream-of-Genie top and ball-shrinkingly high-pitched yodeling, then yes, you might be gay. What's more, this goes way beyond the way Plant looks. Onstage, he pranced around like a fairy, while canoodling with Page like a girl possessed (Shawn 2006).

This reading is not unique. Indeed, the tribute band Lez Zeppelin has cited some of the issues raised in this article as proof of why their band, in the words of its founder, Steph Payne, is "an idea whose time has come" (Brandon 2006).

2.2.6 Lez Zeppelin

Steph Payne formed Lez Zeppelin in 2003 and the band has skyrocketed in popularity in the last few years. With Payne on guitars and theremin, Sarah McLellan on vocals, Lisa Brigantino on bass, mandolin, and keyboards, and Helen Destroy on drums, Lez Zeppelin has just released their debut CD and regularly tour Europe. They have been reviewed in numerous newspapers and magazines where the same themes emerge time and again. There is 1) the astonishment that "these girls can really play" and are not "just a gimmick"; 2) the obligatory comment that these women have "got balls" (Reuters 2006) or in some way "lay it down like a man"; and 3) there is the constant titillation and speculation over the sexuality of the band members. All three of these interests intersect with my analysis below where I focus on how the gender and sexuality of the original band allows for an all-female tribute such as Lez Zeppelin to perform women as "natural rockers."

2.2.7 Return of the Repressed

A journalist described Lez Zeppelin as a "brilliant concept" (Brandon 2006). Indeed, Lez did perform a careful reading of rock history and saw their moment. With the intense androgyny of the original band, the brilliant concept behind the recreation can be seen as the apparently seamless, yet arousing, flip of androgyny to the gyno-androus: rather than men in frilly clothes with high voices, we have women who strut and flaunt their rock phallus. In fact, their "authenticity" *has* been playfully challenged along gender

lines. Sarah McLellan, who performs Robert Plant in the band, has said, "he's more feminine than me" (Brandon 2006). And one reviewer of the band wrote that the lead singer was good—though not quite as "girly" as Plant (J.P. 2005).

Thus, by (re)performing the sexual and gender ambiguity extant in the original band, Lez Zeppelin recreates originary rock codes that are usually willfully ignored. Given the above analysis of Plant's femininity, the sexual dynamic between the vocalist and Page, and the ramifications of Led Zeppelin's instanciation of rock androgyny, Lez Zeppelin's representation of cock rock in fact appears more "realistic" than its more forced definition as extreme and exclusive masculinity. In this, Lez Zeppelin performs the return of the repressed that the term "cock rock" sought to cover over and that was already being picked up by contemporary audiences. Thus, their performance can be read as confirming the worst fears of male Led Zeppelin fans, which may explain a common refrain heard from founder Steph Payne in interviews. Payne hints that Lez Zeppelin provides resolution, palliating the discomfort of the straight male listener always presumed to be the main audience of rock. She has said, "Plant and Page were beautiful, and they looked like girls with their long hair. Guys wanted to kiss them back then, they just didn't know it. They were turned on by them. Let's face it, the band were wearing girls' clothes" (Stanley 2005). "Now [the majority of hardcore Zeppelin fans--heterosexual men] can lust after us without having any sort of sexual conflict" (Doster 2005). Payne's brilliance here could be in the marketing campaign, claiming to be the resolution to men's homophobic hysteria rather than its cause—and in this, not necessarily a progressive move. Indeed, an unfortunate exhortation from male audience members at a Lez Zeppelin show is the ubiquitous, "Show us your tits"; and their coy

sexuality (revealed in their promo—"All girls. All Zeppelin." has been criticized as stereotypical marketing of women, and as pandering to straight male fantasies of lesbian eroticism.

2.2.8 Lez(bianism) as Marketing Tool

Much of the press on Lez Zeppelin focuses on the sexuality of the band members. Playing off of the plural sexuality of the original, the band recreates the homoeroticism through their performance (as arousing as the all-male original) and their name, which has attracted a substantial lesbian following to the group. Most of this press is focused on the male fan's perspective, however, and the eroticism of the powerfully sexual music of Zeppelin being performed by women. John Adamian offers a typical comment on the band for the Hartford Advocate, writing, "Lez Zeppelin, a New York-based all-girl Led Zeppelin tribute band, has engineered a perfect realization of the male fantasy and brought it to life, amplified and on stage: chicks kicking out the jams of the greatest rock band ever" (Adamian 2004). In her article for "Between the Lines: Michigan's Weekly News for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgenders and Friends," D'Anne Witkowski's writes,

> No, the women of Lez Zeppelin, the all-female Led Zeppelin tribute band, are not all lesbians. At least, they aren't saying and, frankly, it's doubtful. Of course, with a name like Lez Zeppelin, questions about the band's sexuality are bound to crop up. In fact, said Paynes, many people make the assumption that the band is all lesbian, but she doesn't care. 'Our policy really is to say it's strict Clintonian 'don't ask don't tell.' Whatever assumptions are made is really fine with us, but it's just something we don't feel we want to divulge. It's not really about that.' (Witkowski 2005)

This is a bit of a recreation itself. Led Zeppelin was famous for their mystery, keeping their private lives private and teasing with oblique answers in their interviews. Lez

Zeppelin harnesses this mystery to further the intrigue of their own band. In her article "Women's 'Cock Rock' Goes Mainstream," however, Jennie Ruby asks of Lez Zeppelin's performance, "with a predominantly male audience what did it all mean?" For example, "when the performers threw in a little lezzie action—as when the singer began to touch the guitarist's hair seductively—how much was that pandering to the male audience?" (Ruby n.d.) Ruby argues that rather than creating their own expression, they are performing to the needs of straight men, certainly not a radical stance.

Nonetheless, the plural sexuality of the original band allows for all of this cross-reading and opportunity to speak to different audiences. Although acknowledging that the band probably was not comprised of lesbians, D'Anne Witkowski did aver that their performance was a great show for "lesbian rock fans" (Witkowski 2005). Lez Zeppelin recreates the Aristophanic body of Led Zeppelin but perhaps with even more readings available than the original. Theirs is a plural body not limited to (male) androgyny or heteronormativity, but encompassing many forms, female/female, male/male, male/female that can speak to a variety of audiences.

2.2.9 Conclusion

I believe the real brilliance of Lez Zeppelin is that they recreate Led Zeppelin through identity, not difference. Performing their algebraic equation where male femininity equates with female masculinity, they performed Led Zeppelin not as ironic and not as trespassers or stand-ins, but "for real." They perform femininity as commensurate with the "real Led Zeppelin," and rock masculinity as commensurate with their performance as women. Or looked at another way, they perform the presumably

original "masculinity" of Led Zeppelin as an already pluralized identity of femininities and masculinities.

This is not a simple matter of saying that women can (cock) rock, too. This argument is made every time a woman rocks, and each time the woman is considered something new, a breaking of a stereotype. Based on a 1970s identity-politics model of gender, women who took on its "masculine" power were considered "male-identified," negatively described as examples of "female machisma" by Simon Reynolds and Joy Press (Reynolds and Press 1995:31). Such women are seen as donning a cloak of masculinity, presumably over some true form of womanhood. Many feminist rock historians have viewed rock's androgyny of this period as another way to keep women out, viewing it as "femininity without women" (e.g. Dibbell 1997:278). This 1970s model assumes femininity provides the depth for femaleness and masculinity for maleness. Based on this view, women can rock, but they can never change their aberrant status, never actually even touch the stereotype. However, some women rock artists found the potential in 1970s rock for blurred gender and sexual identities liberating and contemporary theorists of female masculinity (esp., Halberstam 1998, 2002) can now help us describe this. Suzi Quatro, Patti Smith, and Chrissie Hynde transgressed gender codes and freely used men and women as models of behavior. The tribute band Lez Zeppelin helps us reread that moment as well as our present one. We can now entertain the possibility that early rock women had a fluid understanding of the gender-sex connection that enabled them to identify with masculinity as a part of their female identity, not an aberrant case of female machisma.[23] Such a model also more adequately theorizes how Led Zeppelin could take Janis Joplin as a vocal model, as Fast has

suggested, or how, for example, the band REM could form out of a shared love of the music of Patti Smith. Such cross-sex identifications can be lost in models of gender that insist on equating masculinity with men and femininity with women, models which generally work to obscure the contributions of women.

Thus, Lez Zeppelin places women within rock history in a new way, *performing* women as always there—as participants through their masculinity, and/or through an active femininity, performed, indeed, mostly by men, on stage. In this, we view rockers less as distinct men and women, but as musicians embedded and influenced within a gender continuum. This is not to suggest that men and women don't exist as such anymore, or that they can somehow operate equally in a social world still defined by patriarchal forces. However, it does suggest that fluid cross-sex identification is ok, has always been operating, and does not only have to work to obscure the influence of women when men "borrow" from them, or be considered "mere copycat-ism" when women "borrow" from men. In sum, Lez Zeppelin rewrites rock history to include them by performing the sexuality, androgyny, power and musicianship of Led Zeppelin as just as much their own, now and in the past, as it has been for any man.

Lez Zeppelin is an example of cultural repetition that is not replay, which is not to say that it doesn't also sometimes perpetuate reactionary cultural stereotypes. Certainly, Lez Zeppelin replays certain values, details, and obsessions that can perpetuate homophobic prejudice, the objectification of women, and other negative habits of our society. But in recreating Led Zeppelin through the original band's ambiguities and undecidabilities, Lez Zeppelin performs the idea of identity as plural and conditional. My next chapter continues with this investigation of the performance of identity, looking

at Yale University's Glenn Miller Recreation and the "tribute" model of jazz undertaken at Jazz at Lincoln Center. Both of these projects enact a form of replay that speaks to a much larger audience and more explicitly relates to larger issues than the smaller scale of the tribute bands in this chapter. Indeed, ideas of American nation, racial identity, militarism, masculinity, and other identities are performed for national and international audiences with consequences that I believe are far-reaching.

Notes

[1] Jameson does not use the Lacanian "imago," but rather "culture's self-images" (281).
[2] "[G]ender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original . . . ." Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in Salih, *The Judith Butler Reader*, 127.
[3] Robinson, Brian in Holm-Hudson 236 n. 17. And Covach, John (cited in note).
[4] Genesis continued on with Collins replacing Gabriel on lead vocals until 1999 when the band went on an indefinite hiatus. Collins, Rutherford, and Banks reunited for a tour in 2006.
[5] This description can be found on http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Click on The Musical Box, then click on "Background Lamb."
[6] Both Peter Gabriel and Michael Rutherford attended TMB concerts in England 2002, and Steve Hackett even joined TMB on stage at the majestic Royal Albert Hall in London to play guitar for an extra encore of "Firth Of Fifth". In February 2005, Phil Collins attended the "Lamb" concert in Geneva and joined TMB on drums for the encore "The Musical Box".
[7] http://www.wiventertainment.de/
[8] Posted: Sun Aug 13, 2006, http://www.genesis-news.com/forum/musical-box/22-how-often-did-you-see-musical-box-2.html accessed July 23, 2007
[9] Hitchen says, "They really don't know what to do. They want to meet you, but we don't exactly look like the Beatles when we don't have all our gear one … we walk in and they don't quite know what to do. It freaks them out a little bit" (quoted in Inglis 2006:131).
[10] http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Accessed July 5, 2007
[11] http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Citing a Gabriel interview in *Voir Montreal*, November 2002.
[12] http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Citing a Phil Collins radio interview on Radio DRS3, February 2005.
[13] http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Citing a Phil Collins, Tour Programme, October, 2004. Other original Genesis members' comments on the website include, Steve Hackett saying, "I cannot imagine that you could have a better tribute for any act. They not only manage to sound, but look virtually identical. It seems as though nothing is too difficult for them." "I think they're the closest thing to seeing us back in either 1973, 1974 or 1975. They spend a tremendous amount of time recreating the whole thing and probably play it better than we did at the time!" "It was better than the real thing actually. It was great, that was fantastic." Tony Banks said, "I have seen a video of them and the guy who does Gabriel is brilliant."
[14] "When one goes to lengths such as dressing, looking and acting exactly (well...) as the star(s) do/did, then this becomes a disgraceful, tasteless juvenile act, devoid of any redeeming artistic value whatsoever."
[15] Interview with Radio DRS3, February 2005. Taken from promotional website: http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Accessed July 17, 2007.
[16] http://www.wiventertainment.de/ Accessed July 5, 2007.

[17] Tribe is an assistant professor of Modern Culture and Media Studies at Brown University. The Port Huron Project is named after the New Left manifesto written by Tom Hayden.

[18] Tribe is not alone in the growing genre of historical re-enactment as performance art. British artist Jeremy Deller (who won the Turner Prize in 2004) staged a 2001 re-creation of a seminal event in British labor history, a 1984 confrontation between the police and thousands of miners in Yorkshire, England, who were protesting layoffs. His epic re-enactment, filmed with the help of the director Mike Figgis, used vintage clothes, hundreds of extras and thousands of fake bricks (to be thrown by the pretend miners).

[19] Susan Fast primarily counters the moniker of "cock rock" for Led Zeppelin with examples of the band's "feminine side." She also argues that Zeppelin's lyrics can be taken in a variety of ways, sometimes sounding a little too strained in her effort to show that they are "not sexist."

[20] Fast writes, "Men were more hesitant to talk about the band's image, many dismissing it as irrelevant to their engagement with the music" (180). And "Also not surprising was that only a couple of men included the band members' sexiness as an important attribute, undoubtedly not wishing to suggest, as, presumably, heterosexual men, that they themselves found the band members sexy" (181).

[21] Further, in a musical analysis of "Whole Lotta Love, Fast writes, "Plant's gasps ('ah, ah, ah, ah,' steadily rising in pitch) and ecstatic cries ('love me, love me; no, no, no; luuuuuuuuuuuv … luauauauav') are made in response to the washes of electronically produced sound, which begin to occur and are developed before he [Plant] enters. These dominate his voice, which, except for his cry of 'love' near the end of the section, is kept far back in the mix. In their ebb and flow, their movement in and out of the metric framework maintained by the percussion, they suggest a generally very intense but richly varied experience, a sumptuous sexual encounter, one lingered over, not hurried through; furthermore, the electronic sounds create multiple climactic moments in this section, perhaps suggesting a representation of femininity" (197). Fast's argument is presented in contrast to Steve Waksman's.

[22] The late Nirvana frontman Kurt Cobain's preference for hippie-girl sundresses is a salient example.

[23] This is something Auslander has argued regarding Suzi Quatro (2006).

Chapter Three

Identity for Sale: Glenn Miller, Wynton Marsalis and Cultural Replay in Music

On April 8, 1994, as part of America's yearlong 50th anniversary celebration of D-Day, director Thomas Duffy and the Yale Concert Band presented a reenactment of a 1940s Glenn Miller "I Sustain the Wings" radio broadcast in Yale's Woolsey Hall, the site of the original performance. Yale band personnel astoundingly recovered the original 48-star American flag to again cascade down the back of the auditorium; band members donned simulated World War II era uniforms appropriate to the rank of the musician they embodied, becoming Corporal "Peanuts" Hucko on clarinet or Private First Class Steven Steck on trumpet; and in a dramatic move by the perpetually barbate bandleader, Thomas Duffy returned after the intermission clean shaven (to the particular amazement of his musical charges), with slicked hair and wire-rimmed glasses, all the more to incarnate the famous bandleader. With the spirit of Miller upon him, Duffy led his band through the exact music and heroic war adventure skit performed decades ago for a WWII radio audience. The event was a huge success, leading to performances at the National Museum in Washington D.C. and at the international 50th anniversary D-day commemorations in France and England. Described by the band's business manager as their "cash cow," the event continued periodically over the next decade, culminating in a performance for 2004's 60th anniversary of D-day.

Such a detailed reenactment partakes of broader trends in our increasingly museal culture. It also coincides with the 1990s swing revival seen in bands like the Cherry Poppin' Daddies, The Brian Setzer Orchestra, and Big Bad Voodoo Daddy, and with

another phenomenon that blossomed in that decade combining cultural memory and popular music—the "tribute band." Of course, by taking place at a privileged university, as well as the nation's capital and on an international stage, Yale's commemoration was not only popular cultural memory, but a part of the sanctioned national memory of WWII. Fiftieth anniversary commemorations of WWII closely followed the First Gulf War and its supposed triumph over America's "Vietnam Syndrome." Such remembrances served to supplant dissenting, plural, cacophonous 1960s wartime images with those of a "popular" WWII, and Yale's reenactment clearly participated in this widespread tendency. But the devil is in the details, and my focus here is on how the intricacies of Yale's production reveal important strategies for enacting and maintaining boundaries that speak to both political and musical gate-keeping. Indeed, the Miller reenactment presents a unique opportunity to undress the cross-dressing and racial-traversing that often attends such nostalgic performances of identity. Contemporary Yale women and African Americans would not have been welcome in Miller's original orchestra, and yet they now take on the identity of a particular white man, wear his uniform, and speak his words, in a spectacle of national consonance.[1] The recreation also enacts a precise gender ritual of big band and jazz performance that I describe as in-passing. I begin by demonstrating in-passing as it is performed by women playing jazz, follow with a dissection of Glenn Miller's constructed white masculinity and its mobilization as a synonym for American nation, and conclude by applying my insights on performative nostalgia to the jazz meanings and identities being performed at Jazz at Lincoln Center and the consequences such meanings have for the relationship between improvisation and jazz.

3.1 Women in Jazz and In-Passing

When I discovered Yale's Glenn Miller reenactment, my immediate reaction as a female instrumentalist was to wonder how the women in the band felt. Tenor saxophonist Elizabeth Branch ('97) performing private Vince Carbone and trumpeter Else Festersen ('96) festooned in the chevrons of private first class Steve Steck, struck me as particularly unequivocal examples of the phenomenon I experienced playing saxophone in my faux tux with the "other men" in the band. As the only woman instrumentalist in many swing bands I was expected to blend in with its masculine veneer, while the woman vocalist in her beaded gown embodied the "feminine" in our (re)enactment of classic gender roles and heterosexual desire. Thus I was in some way to "pass" as male, but this did not mean to be overtly butch (unacceptable) or to wear a disguise. Somehow obeisance to the tradition deeming this position as "male" was necessary without foreclosing my prescribed gender identity as female/feminine.[2] I have termed this move in-passing, as it bears some similarities with the action of "passing" in racial and gender contexts, an activity which has been productively unpacked and theorized by legal scholar Cheryl I. Harris (1993) and artist Adrian Piper (1986–90, 1992) regarding race and Judith Halberstam regarding gender (1998).[3] In-passing relates to passing in that a privileged subject position retains proprietary status, but whereas "passing" entails an undetected and complete (albeit transitory and often uncomfortable) assumption of the privileged subject position, in-passing is a signifying practice that asserts the authority and inevitability of the privileged position while simultaneously allowing the subordinate person to occupy it as a unique place-holder bestowed with honorary status.[4] When placing syllabic emphasis on the in, *in*-passing suggests that the "non-inevitable" person

is *in*, s/he participates in the dominant group and has some access to the concomitant privileges. However, by placing the emphasis on *passing*, the term acknowledges the temporary and contingent quality of this participation: the relation with the dominant group is only "in passing," not assured or assumed and must be continually re-manufactured. Thus, in-passing is a form of liminal identity that does not disrupt unified identity, but rather "fashions unity" through its particular signifying practice.

In-passing can best be observed in the uniform(ity)s of a ritualized setting: a commemoration or a performance (and part of our postmodern museal culture is that most performances are now "commemorative" in some way).[5] For women in big bands in-passing requires not calling attention to one's femaleness: in addition to wearing a faux suit, one does not blanch as the conductor calls attention with "Gentlemen!" or point out sexism when he exclaims, "you guys are swingin' like a pair of [tits]!"[6] Here women perform jazz musically while concurrently performing that performance as inevitably "masculine," re-inscribing gender norms rather than embodying progressive action as is usually assumed. The Miller recreation was therefore a ritualized enactment of how women in jazz seem always to have to "play (like) men" in order to play. However, this was not all that was played at Yale.

3.2 Glenn Miller, Swing, and Masculinity

In order to fathom the import of a Glenn Miller recreation, it is necessary to understand more fully what is being recreated. Performing Glenn Miller is simultaneously a performance of a particular idea of white masculinity, one that Miller himself created and sold to an eager public. Indeed, aligning masculinity with music had been a successful formula in the years preceding Miller's rise.

In his book, *Swingin' the Dream*, Lewis Erenberg argues that 1930s swing big bands effected an assertion of male power that countered the emasculating effects of the depression. Such emasculation manifested itself musically in the "crooner" songs and "sweet" bands of the depression era and earlier in Paul Whiteman, who had famously made a "lady" out of jazz in his 1924 Aeolian Hall concert in New York. Not dispensing loads of virile "hot stuff," Whiteman instead produced a feminized version of jazz—"cultured," commercial and conspicuously white. With the arrival of Benny Goodman and other hard-driving swing bands, Erenberg recognizes the cultural return of men as "patriarchal leaders" directing large units of all-male teams in powerful, virtuosic music. The feminization of popular jazz was not lost on these bandleaders who often took pains to distance themselves from the form. Goodman himself described sweet music as "a weak sister" that was no match for "the real music of America," that is, his own band with its roots and inspiration in African-American swing bands. Goodman associated his "real music" with a masculinity specifically coded as black: his autobiographical collaborator, Irving Kolodin described Goodman's swing as an "inevitable reaction against the white man's jazz of the 1920s"(Goodman and Kolodin 1939:171) The idea of whiteness as "cultured" (read: feminized), and of blackness and black music as enviably free of this emasculation, was a concern for a white male musician such as Goodman.[7] Although the first popular bandleader to integrate his band on stage racially, Goodman was not interested in hiring *female* instrumentalists of any color. Patti Bown, an African-American pianist who auditioned for Goodman in the 1940s recalls this of her experience:

> It was hard for a woman to get a job, a lot of men wouldn't hire a woman. That was a serious, hard thing for me. I knew I could play. They said

> Benny Goodman was looking for a pianist. I went down there. The people auditioning me clapped like crazy, but he wouldn't hire me. Goodman's musical director said, "You sure can play, but he won't hire you. He's got some kind of complex about chicks. He thinks they draw too much attention." Some wicky-wacky prejudice (Foley, Sofranski, Field 2006).[8]

Whiteman, white men, and women were aligned in Goodman's mind with the empty spectacle: commercial, sweet, and feminine, all of which signified a lack—of talent, integrity, and masculinity. It seems likely that a particularly virulent sexism perpetuated by men toward women in jazz stems from such fears of their own emasculation in the face of a never-attainable black phallus.[9]

Benny Goodman was the first bandleader to racially integrate his band, and his comparatively darker-complexioned swing did not captivate an America looking for reassurance during wartime.[10] It was Glenn Miller who took swing and further commodified it for a mass audience, keeping its energy but eliminating any overt references to blackness. Indeed, much like Whiteman, Miller bleached jazz, but this time he retained the normative masculinity. If the masculinity of Paul Whiteman was white, cultured and feminized, and that of Goodman was of virility born from its relationship to blackness, Miller's masculinity was that of the potent, authoritative white man, cut loose from any threat of blackness or femininity. Miller was a perfect fit for the segregated military, for unlike Goodman, Artie Shaw, Charlie Barnett or Tommy Dorsey, Glenn Miller never hired a black musician or singer for his band; and his lyrics promoted images of rural, white America, replete with gendered and racial stereotypes that perfectly fed into wartime messages propagated by the Department of War Information selling the idea of the "idealized home front."[11]

Even before Miller became an enlisted man he was described as a strict disciplinarian, maintaining a demeanor as authoritative and capable as a "General" (Erenberg 1998). Lewis Erenberg cites many such references to Miller's masculine image:

> Tall, "bespectacled and scholarly looking," he "was a commanding guy, youthful but mature," according to his press agent, Howard Richmond, who found that Miller "looked like security, like all the things I'd never found in a band leader." True, "Mickey Mouse band leaders looked like security. I'm talking about jazz leaders. To me they always looked like they didn't know where they were going to sleep the next night." Seventeen-year-old singer Marion Hutton concurred. As her legal guardian, Miller "was like a father…. He represented a source of strength…. He fulfilled the image of what a father ought to be" (Erenberg 1998:187)

And, as Judith Halberstam and others have shown in other contexts, the acceptance of white masculinity as central takes place through the framing process of others. Other "traveling bands" or "jazz leaders" clearly reference black jazz (either directly or as an inspiration for white jazz leaders) by opposing them to "Mickey Mouse" bands of the popular white variety. By alluding to myths of black masculinity as excessive, profligate and uncontrolled and thereby unable to provide adequate leadership, Miller's white masculinity is established as reasoned, controlled and authoritative. Similarly the "femininity" of Hutton is presented as childlike and in need of strength and guidance. It is Miller's firm patriarchal oversight that contains femininity and its threat of "emotionalism," "incompetence" and "vacuous commercialism" by disciplining it into the safe and only intermittently accessed arena of the beautiful and lyric spectacle. Such analysis is nothing new, but it is important to understand with what desiderata we fulfill our appetite for reenactment.

Miller's patriarchal image was heightened when he enlisted in 1942 and led the 418th Army Air Forces Band stationed at Yale University. Described in the Yale concert notes as "a man possessed of deep and genuine patriotic sentiment" enlisting in the army was certainly as much a shrewd business move as any heartfelt allegiance (Ronzello 1994). As Sherrie Tucker has noted, men in big bands, as in other civilian work, would be "scrutinized with the ubiquitous, 'Why aren't you in uniform?'" (Tucker 2000:42). The Glenn Miller Orchestra had been the most popular band in the nation since 1939 and given Erenberg's convincing analysis of swing bands as playing on patriarchal masculinity, it is impossible to imagine Miller's continued mass popularity without his connection to military service. And while Erenberg describes the move as a sacrifice, he also relates how the AAF Orchestra surpassed even its civilian predecessor in popularity (Erenberg 1998:182) Indeed, Miller's priorities as an enlisted man privileged business over service. Although assigned to oversee all of the AAFTTC bands from Knollwood Field, NC, Miller eventually convinced his superiors to allow him to remain fulltime at the Yale campus where his supposedly subsidiary position of leading the 418th AAF Band took place. This post band was to play for daily Review formations, Retreat Parades, luncheon sessions, weekly Cadet Dances and other Cadet affairs, enlisted men dances, as well as march to and from ceremonies, and travel to nearby towns to recruit aviation Cadets. However, in roughly eight months, Miller had extricated his band from any post duties (except special occasions) and in early December 1943 transferred 24 of his 28 band members into the 2nd AAFTC[12] Radio Unit, leaving the old 418th to be the post band with a new director and soon renamed the 718th. Miller's priorities for *his* band were

gaining national radio shows, playing national war bond rallies (live concerts to huge audiences), attaining overseas radio shows, and eventually, a tour of Europe.[13]

While the stripped and restaffed 418th remained to provide post duties at Yale, Miller's band was now free to function much like a civilian band, but with free passage around the country and the world, free and regular radio play and free promotion. Instead of playing local recruitment drives in Stamford and Bridgeport, Miller was now touring major American cities like St. Louis and Chicago for national war loan drives and he evaded the 1942-44 AFM recording ban by recording V-discs for the troops (distributed nationally and internationally by the War Department). Miller also recorded six local "test" broadcasts at Yale in the spring and summer of 1943 (the source of Duffy's recreation). Played over WEEI Boston, "I Sustain the Wings" (after the AAFTTC motto, Sustineo Alas) was soon broadcast nationally over CBS and later NBC under the aegis of the War Department. Miller also worked for months to get permission to travel overseas. On October 13, 1943, "Miller met with Lieutenant General Barton K. Yount to cover several points, the major one being his request that the 418th AAF Band be sent overseas to entertain the troops" (n.a. 1943). In June of 1944 the band made the trip and entertained "hundreds of thousands" of Allied soldiers (Ronzello 1994:6). In describing his work with the bandleader during the war, saxophonist Hank Freeman recalled, "Glenn was sort of businesslike. It was like he was the head of a big corporation. He had that kind of mind" (Quoted in Ronzello 1994:5). And indeed, Miller seems to have situated his band in a way that would impress any CEO, guaranteeing huge exposure, a highly sellable image based on patriotism, and an overhead covered by the government. Of course, it cannot be denied that risk was also involved. In taking his band overseas

during wartime Miller did end up paying the ultimate price. He lost his life over the English Channel in what is now believed to be a case of "friendly fire."[14]

Despite evidence of such personal ambition, Miller's marshaling of normative white masculinity assured that such endeavors would be read as "patriotic" or as capable and providing "business acumen" rather than the "crass commercialism" of sweet bandleaders. And it was under such aegis that Miller masterminded the formula for mass popularity perhaps before anyone: create a well-defined and desired image and then replay it, again and again.[15] Miller's drummer Moe Purtill explained that in the early years of the band "we just… played [the] same twenty tunes over and over (Erenberg 1998:169)." But also in the later years, playing for the troops in Europe, Miller continued to repeat. When asked about such repetitiveness Miller responded: "we didn't come here to set any new fashions in music…. We play only the old tunes" (Erenberg:192). Already serving the function of nostalgia, Glenn Miller described his role as providing the fighting boys with a "hunk o' home." Furthermore, Miller insisted that every level of band uniformity be recreated night after night. A fine was levied if uniforms, socks, neckties, or handkerchiefs were not "just right." According to Miller's trumpeter, Billy May, "there was no room for inventiveness. Even the hot choruses were supposed to be the same" (Erenberg:187). Thus Miller forged his popular band through the very deployment of repetition and identity. Miller tapped into the desire for the comfort and reassurance of repetition and indeed, of the identical, during troubled times. And what he repeated were images of white masculinity as reasoned and in charge.

3.3 Replaying Nation

Thomas Duffy's obsession with repetition and identity and his fervent attention to detail, therefore, replayed not only the Miller broadcast, but Miller's own repetition compulsion. At the Yale Recreation identity was in surplus: the identical space; the identical American flag; even Glenn Miller's original secretary was presented to the audience.[16] The Yale University recreation, with its special claim to political memory through its institutional power, its status as a place of education where plurality is expected, and its sanctioning as a representative body overseas, is a particularly exemplary presentation of replay. Indeed, the Yale replay fashions an identity against the pluralities of gender and race, subsuming these differences in a performance that *plays* unity through the medium of in-passing. Unlike other forms of replay that tend to be self-selecting, Yale must accommodate difference within its ranks. It is therefore faced with the dilemma of presenting women and people of color under the banner of unified white masculinity.

Such spectacles of national memory evidence the deep-rooted anxiety with plurality in American culture. In the 1990s, alluding to the Vietnam War became a touchstone for a generalized fear of postmodern pluralities. In the zealous proliferation of "United We Stand" bumper stickers, posters, and commentary, terrified Americans throughout the First Gulf War swore to learn from the lesson of Vietnam: that plurality can defeat a nation, a prospect the frightening specter of terrorism made more dire. As noted above, America's victory in the First Gulf War was hailed as the corrective to America's "Vietnam Syndrome" and this "double victory" segued neatly into 50th anniversary celebrations of D-Day and WWII. The Yale recreation served, like other

WWII commemorations across the country, not only to return America to its old victorious self, but also to "return" it to a world of unity and identity.[17]

This reenactment is functioning as, what Fredric Jameson has termed, "pop history." In his seminal work on postmodernism (2003 [1991]), Jameson describes the disappearance of the historical referent in postmodern works, saying of E.L. Doctorow's novel, *Ragtime*: "This historical novel can no longer set out to represent the historical past; it can only 'represent' our ideas and stereotypes about that past (which thereby at once becomes 'pop history')" (25). Acting as a cultural ritual, the Yale reenactment binds us together with its representations of nation. And as Mircea Eliade (2005 [1954])describes in another context (originally pertaining to "traditional" cultures but I now apply the insight to the United States), such rituals cannot be of particulars, but enact exemplary archetypes: in the Yale recreation's case—a particular vision of Western culture as white, teleological, unified, masculine, and strong.

Put another way, the Yale Replay is a ritual enactment of the "abstract citizen" of modernity. In her book *Immigrant Acts* (1996), Lisa Lowe describes the contradiction inherent in Western capitalist countries between the need for "abstract labor" and that for "abstract citizens":

> Theoretically, in a racially homogeneous nation, the needs of capital and the needs of the state complement each other. Yet in a racially differentiated nation such as the United States, capital and state imperatives may be contradictory: capital, with its supposed needs for "abstract labor," is said by Marx to be unconcerned by the "origins" of its labor force, whereas the nation-state, with its need for "abstract citizens" formed by a unified culture to participate in the political sphere, is precisely concerned to maintain a national citizenry bound by race, language, and culture (13).

Lowe goes on to describe how the Asian immigrant[18] is a constant threat to the "abstract American citizen" by physiologically bearing the trace of a history (of racist immigration, employment, and social practices) that national memory wishes to forget, and of an Other (Asia) that must by definition remain outside for the West to establish itself as unified. Forever representing the "foreigner within," Asian immigrants and Asian Americans jeopardize the construction of the unified nation-state. It is spectacles of national memory such as Yale's, which attempt to "resolve" the contradiction of particularity (woman, Asian, black) into abstract (white male) by conscientiously enacting the ritual of "particularity" speaking "abstract."[19] Faced with the threat of an "incorrect" reading of the nation-state, national memory attempts to heal the gash through ritual Replay.[20]

Thus, the Miller reenactment fashions a message of unity that depends upon women and people of color "becoming" white men, depicting the practice as completely commensurate. These moments of identity-crossing are thus not "queering," following Butler, or "deviant details," following Lowe—they do not fray the seams of unity and perfect mimesis in their incommensurability, but are more often "obedient transvestism" employed to signify the opposite. Such a reenactment becomes a precise ritual seeking to salve the fear of plurality by presenting women and people of color as obedient "white men," a process that creates the illusion of "plurality within unity" but is in fact only the ceremonial spectacle of the dominant culture speaking itself through the mouths of others ritually vacated of their own position.

However, in the realm of concert hall performance where the audience's gravitational pull always careens toward the past, Duffy's inclination toward Replay is not surprising. A look around the Yale band room lined with past concert posters reveals

how seductive the call of Replay is to a contemporary band director who not only must prepare performances each year, but also sell them. Duffy frequently mined the patriotic spirit of aging Yale alumni to fill his seats, presenting "Music of the Civil War" or "Stars and Strife: Music of Conflict and Patriotism," but he also arranged music around other themes, as any band director would: school spirit ("Music from the Pens of Yale Composers"), movie themes, church music or, more problematically, "Memories of the Orient." Faced with a public resistant to new music, it is not much of a stretch for a music director to choose to make the old haunt us more palpably by recreating historic details associated with earlier presentations, perhaps in a determined attempt to breathe new life into the endeavor (indeed, Duffy had already filled the post for 12 years in 1994).[21] The director himself is a composer and presents several of his compositions with the concert band annually, obviously sharing in the desire to have new music programmed into concerts. Attempting to balance sales with aesthetic recompense, Duffy, like most of his contemporaries, probably partakes of a delicate game of bait-and-switch, now presenting the pop classics, now sneaking in a new or lesser-known work. Therefore, I hope it is clear that this is not an inquisition into the personal motives of Thomas Duffy. However, as a highly successful band director and salesman, Duffy did divine what people wanted to hear and see, and he balanced that with his own desires as a director and composer. As the band's golden goose and a favorite for fundraising campaigns (presented as "war bond rallies"), the Glenn Miller recreation obviously enthralled New Haven, CT. But its national and international exposure also led to reviews in newspapers around the country, including the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune. Expressing the sentiment of the organizers as well as many who

partook in national D-Day commemoration events, WWII veteran Joseph Dawson told the Washington Post: "I thought Vietnam was a stupid war…. The whole purpose of this event is to show the world and to show our country that there was a time when our nation moved forward as one unit" (quoted in Devroy and Harris: 1994).[22] The article showed no evidence of eliciting comment on Vietnam; WWII commemorations bore this connection implicitly. Duffy, like other band directors, indeed, like Miller himself, found success by providing an image that spoke to certain mass sentiments.

3.4 Selling the Image: Jazz as Democracy

One could argue that the recreation of a Glenn Miller radio broadcast has much more to do with national history and memory than it does with music or music history. But such narratives inevitably intertwine. Even a cursory glance at one music institution, Jazz at Lincoln Center, reveals how historical narratives and iconic American images are mobilized to create meanings of nation and identity. Certainly, the Glenn Miller recreation provides a particularly manifest example of performative history. However its moves of Replay and in-passing shed light on the less overt, but still highly ideological, performative history taking place at Jazz at Lincoln Center, where much like Duffy and Miller before him, budgetary and other demands entice the institution to reproduce a desired image for large public consumption.

In 1987 trumpeter Wynton Marsalis, writer Stanley Crouch, and scholar Albert Murray were the firebrands behind a Lincoln Center committee that concluded jazz could and should be a permanent and significant member of the large arts institution. Now twenty years later, Jazz at Lincoln Center has grown into a massive organization, the first to expand beyond Lincoln Center's original walls. With 105 full-time staff members, a

dozen interns, more than 400 part-time employees, and roughly three-dozen members on its prestigious board, JALC now resides in the new $131 million Frederick P. Rose Hall in the Time Warner Center, where it operates three performance venues and maintains an annual budget of $35 million. Marsalis, the artistic director (and de facto czar), describes the new hall as allowing JALC "to present a face to the world" (Pogrebin 2007). Marsalis's accomplishments are legion and his emotional, physical, and intellectual commitment to jazz and its place in America cannot be overstated. However Marsalis's endeavor to put a "face" on jazz has rallied cries from scholars, musicians and fans. In a recent New York Times article, Nate Chinen summarized the basic critique:

> Mr. Marsalis was armed with a big idea: that jazz is a model of democratic action, and a prism through which American culture can be understood. This notion, first articulated to him by [Albert] Murray and [Stanley] Crouch, has since been advanced by Jazz at Lincoln Center with the fervor of religious dogma and the adaptability of a political agenda. It served as a central conceit of "Jazz," the 2001 Ken Burns PBS mini-series that spotlighted Mr. Marsalis not only as a commentator but also as a savior of the tradition. To a certain extent this has become the official story of jazz in the public sphere (Chinen 2006).

Further, cultural critic Herman S. Gray devotes a chapter in his 2005 book *Cultural Moves* to Marsalis and JALC, arguing that Marsalis's approach to "tradition" is nominal, rather than "verbal" (following Nathaniel Mackey 2000 [1993]), and "canonical," rather than based in a metaphor of "the road and the street." That is, Marsalis considers improvisation more as a category than as a process. He has famously excluded what he considers "commercial" or avant-garde projects from his definition of jazz. Criticisms of Marsalis' exclusionary approach are well known and I do not need to revisit them here.[23] My interest is in how Marsalis performs his desired coherent identity of jazz both on the bandstand and through corporate alliances, and the consequences and conundrums of

such an effort. The increased budgetary needs of a large cultural institution, Marsalis's preferred era of "jazz excellence," and his view on the black middle class have all shaped the "face of jazz" that Marsalis is presenting to the world.

However noble and sellable the image of jazz as democratic action may have been to the initial Lincoln Center board and to other supporting arts organizations, JALC's increased income needs are primarily being addressed by corporate sponsors who perhaps find another image of jazz more seductive. Thus, somewhat in contradiction to the image of "jazz as democracy," Marsalis's face of jazz has coalesced around the visage of the sophisticated, upper class black man.[24] This image can partially be traced to the influence of Stanley Crouch who has long championed an idea of black middle (or increasingly, upper) class values and castigated inner city black expressions (for example, Crouch 2004). But it also meets the needs of a white capitalist culture that understands the selling power of black male mystique. Such images of jazz fuel the symbiotic relationship between JALC and its revealing list of corporate sponsors: Cadillac, Brooks Brothers, Altria (formerly Philip Morris),[25] Bank of America, and Coca-Cola. Playing on smoky images of jazz musicians captured in classic photographs by Herman Leonard (Leonard 1985) and others, JALC and its sponsors sell jazz as a sophisticated masculine accessory. This is not a new marketing ploy in jazz, however JALC considers itself an educational and historical institution, something its overly sold image does not serve well.

Marsalis confines his definition of jazz's musical style to developments found in 1920s Louis Armstrong, 1930s Swing, and the "classic" period of the 1940s and 50s with artists such as Tadd Dameron, Dizzy Gillespie, and early Miles Davis and John Coltrane.

However this confinement does not partake of the music's tradition of improvisation (as Gray and others have argued), rather it feeds into the commercialization of jazz that Marsalis ostensibly abhors by presenting jazz as easily digestible consumables. The recent successful marketing campaign built around the "recovered" journals of the fictional pilot/musician/ owner of a 1940s Parisian nightclub, Aerobleu, reveals how black masculine mystique associated with the classic era of jazz trumps historical particularities in the popular imaginary.[26] The All-Music Guide review of the CD states: "*Aerobleu: The Spirit of Cool* is a tribute album to the fictional Parisian club that was a hip spot in the late '40s. The record contains 15 cuts from artists that would have played the club if it actually existed" (Erlewine 2004). Aerobleu was a simulacrum with no original created to market products imbued with the hip mystique of the jazz club. In much the same way, Marsalis does not need historical particularities to replay his face of jazz, indeed such elements work against his coherent vision.

For Marsalis, history (or what he would call "tradition") is honored through Replay, that is, performance tributes to jazz masters that are considered both educational and aesthetic endeavors. In these events, Marsalis is often criticized for his strict adherence to the past—his insistence on "getting it right," rather than taking chances. For example, a reviewer of his recent tribute concert to Louis Armstrong's Hot Five recordings wrote:

> The music worked as an homage or a revival. On a deeper level, however, it lacked. The ground covered was too familiar, the treatment clichéd and overly reverential. The wild and wooly spirit of discovery that speaks to us from the original Hot Five recordings was nowhere to be found. Therein resides the central point: That very air of adventure, that ineffable spark of inspiration provides the essence of what makes the best jazz great. It's what separates the original Hot Fives from a skillfully executed, well-

> meaning tribute. I wish Marsalis had made that point. Unfortunately, I'm not sure he understands it himself (Kelsey 2006).

However in this homage to the Hot Five recordings, which Marsalis considers, "the foundation of the organization of jazz improvisation, even as we know it today" (Schaefer 2006) he is content to overlook at least one detail. The pianist in this foundational group and the composer and arranger for many Hot Five and Hot Seven songs was a woman, Lil Hardin Armstrong. Even in Marsalis's stiff and exact tribute, accuracy to "jazz tradition" overrules accuracies to certain particularized details of the original event. This tribute band, therefore, was filled out with men only. I'm not advocating making the tribute into a "clone band" like the Genesis tribute band described above; indeed, I'm not suggesting this is a beneficial way to present jazz at all. I am only demonstrating how Marsalis's re-imaginings/recreations perform history through the use of the "exemplary archetype" that men play, write and are the foundation of jazz. By performing jazz history through Replay, JALC must then create a special ritual to address the existence of women in jazz.

3.5 "Jazz is constantly evolving and women have long been instrumental in shaping the landscape of the jazz scene" (JALC website).

This convoluted and mind-bending statement introducing JALC's second annual "Women in Jazz" Festival has all the double-speak of a sentence wrested out of a contentious board meeting.[27] Perhaps Lara Pellegrinelli[28] was there to remind the staff that yes, women have been a part of jazz since Lil Hardin Armstrong first stepped on stage with Louis. But the majority would have fought for their carefully constructed image of jazz which could only accommodate women in jazz as, at best, something new. Because of its national status, JALC, like the Yale recreation, is somewhat "forced" to

deal with women, to incorporate them into a message that otherwise is oblivious to their existence. Therefore, the only way JALC can work the fact of women instrumentalists into its fiercely manufactured masculine image is by ritualizing women's status as second-class, "lite" versions of jazz that serve to reinforce the boundary of "real jazz." I'm speaking, of course, of JALC's annual "Dizzy's Club Coca-Cola Presents: The *Diet-Coke* Women in Jazz Festival." Indeed, it is hard to think of a single other product that bears its marked, attenuated, "feminized," and shadow-self image more precisely than Diet Coke, particularly in its once-a-year presentation on a stage described as Coca-Cola. Could there be a more masterful way to "allow" women onto the jazz stage while simultaneously writing them off of it, or a better way to patently signify women-in-jazz as the continued margin of jazz? JALC certainly masters the antinomy, declaring women "in jazz" while simultaneously writing that women border/lack/want jazz.[29]

Marsalis describes Jazz at Lincoln Center's four main objectives as curatorial, educational, archival and, what is most important for my analysis, "ceremonial: [to] maintain and revive when necessary the great ceremonies of jazz…. We also seek to establish and maintain our own ceremonies" (JALC website).[30] The Diet-Coke Women in Jazz Festival is a new national ceremony enacting the ritual remarginalization and re-*lite*-ization of women in jazz, year after year. As the Miller recreation enacted the exemplary archetype of the white male nation, the annual Diet Coke Women in Jazz in Dizzy's Club Coca-Cola provides the exemplary archetype of women perpetually existing outside of jazz. Such a "ceremony" establishes the "truth" of jazz from which all curatorial, education, and archival endeavors then spring.

3.6 "Improvisation has its rules." – Wynton Marsalis (Chinen 2006)

In the case of Jazz at Lincoln Center, a coherent image of jazz is perpetually recreated and what does not fit this idea is, by definition, aberrant. But what else is improvisation if not a play between recreation and aberration? A playing that takes what has been said before and "finesses" it? In the introduction to her book, *Undoing Gender* (2004) Judith Butler proposes a way to understand human agency in the wake of psychoanalytic and post-structuralist revelations on subjectivity. Both the metaphor for her chapter title, "Acting in Concert," and her primary answer to where agency can be found, in improvisation, are deeply musical, although Butler herself does not address musical performance as a site of the doing and undoing of identity. Describing gender as "a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint," she goes on to say that the "possibility of my persistence as an 'I' depends upon my being able to do something with what is done with me" (Butler 2004:1). Ingrid Monson describes a similar process when she enlists Henry Louis Gates' literary procedure of "repetition with a signal difference" to describe improvisation (Monson 1996:103). For both Monson (via Gates) and Butler, improvisation turns re-creation into aberration, it repeats with a signal difference. Such improvisation recognizes that we cannot deny how we are "constituted, invariably and from the start, by what is before us and outside us" (Butler 2004:3). Thus agency is paradoxical, but not impossible. Indeed, such paradox becomes the condition of its possibility.

And paradox is certainly the condition of possibility at the annual Dizzy's Club Coca-Cola Presents: The Diet Coke Women in Jazz Festival. As mentioned above, women in jazz always face the conundrum of "playing men" when they play jazz, simultaneously writing themselves out as they perform. With the overbearing

representational agenda of Jazz at Lincoln Center, one understandable option for women is to avoid the festival and the inscription it makes regarding the status of women and jazz and find other venues and means of expression. Many of the most exciting women improvisers are not within JALC's conservative aesthetic anyway, and for those who are, women's jazz festivals created by women[31] provide another option as well as the various other (men's) jazz festivals and other gigs that musicians scrap for. Jazz at Lincoln Center is hardly the only gig in town, however because it is working to establish the national and sanctioned "face" of jazz, foregoing such a venue does assure an even more certain invisibility for women in the jazz master narrative as it is presently being written.

Therefore, it is not surprising that women jazz musicians do aspire to perform at Jazz at Lincoln Center, even if in a separate festival under the sponsorship of Diet Coke. Those women who do secure the opportunity to improvise within JALC's scene of constraint, however, generally lack a desire to highlight their gender doings and undoings, and repeat a common refrain: "I am a musician, not a woman musician."[32] Although the sentiment is understandable given the difficulties and discrimination women instrumentalists face, the lack of recognition of how social worlds *read* them as women musicians (whether they want to call themselves that or not) leads to the inevitable performance of in-passing and the performative (re)marginalization of women in jazz. Without acknowledgement of (the repetition of) gender constraints there is no foundation to begin to improvise it, to riposte with eloquence and aberration that is unexpected, new, refreshing. This is not to belittle the significant musical skills of these musicians. But if improvisation has its rules, they are definitely playing by Marsalis's, and, I assert, are not yet improvising at the highest level.[33] If musical performance is

always concurrent with gender, sexuality and race performance, the most spectacular of our contemporary improvisers may be those whose improvisational range spans the widest. Although there is not space to go into detail, I can offer at least a few examples of such artists. Trombonist Abbie Conant consciously performs gender as well as startlingly original trombone and vocal work in her and composer William Osborne's musical theater pieces.[34] The all-female Led Zeppelin tribute band, Lez Zeppelin, provides an exhilarating example of repetition/aberration by recreating "cock rock" in all its titsy glory.[35] Many examples of Butleresque improvisers can be found in theatre, including the work of Anna Deavere Smith and the theater troupe Culture Clash. Dorinne Kondo has described how such artists renarrate U.S. history and complicate identity as they physically embody different races, classes, genders, ethnicities and even species, performing plurality and complexity, rather than identity and "History" (Kondo 2000:105).

In the many ways in which "jazz" is typically mobilized, however, the types of improvisation seen in musicians such as Conant, rockers like Lez Zeppelin, and theater artists such as Smith and Culture Clash, will not be listed under "what we call jazz." Although he claims he is always searching for new ways to "reinvigorate" the institution, the inclusion of such improvisation into the JALC line-up is not the type of revitalization Marsalis is up for. Routinely criticized for being too musically mainstream, it is of no great surprise that JALC asserts conservative, fixed views of race and gender as well.[36] What is interesting is that the conception of improvisation underlies both. Although Marsalis is ceaseless in his discussions of improvisation, his tendency is to forge, consolidate and replay fixed ideas of jazz, masculinity and blackness.[37]

3.7 Conclusion

Although I have argued that the image Marsalis forges around "jazz" has more to do with the trope of black masculine hipness than "Jazz as Democracy," the latter remains a dominant theme, and not only at JALC. The concept of Jazz-as-Democracy, or the related jazz-as-utopian-site-of-human-interaction, can be found in various forms in views that go back decades and continue to pervade conceptions of the music.[38] However, it is imperative to understand how what is called improvisation is often none other than Replay masquerading under its cover. Duffy's Glenn Miller revival is a form of emulative compulsion that is improvisation's antithesis. However, in the continual contention over the meaning of jazz, it is important to recognize that what "Jazz" is clearly becoming, under the aegis of Marsalis, JALC, Ken Burns and others, is also Replay, improvisation's antithesis.

Duffy continued his hortatory military pageant as 9/11 and the Second Gulf War changed the course of American history, making the revivals ever more frighteningly mimetic. As contemporary events generated a new "wartime atmosphere," the WWII skit's exhortations to heroism merged eerily with present-day calls to "fight for freedom." At this point the questions became more obvious: What did Duffy and his band feel they were "(re)playing" as they conjured images of a heroic war and reenacted a recruitment skit? How does nostalgia serve to replay and entrench values that themselves replay the same outcomes? And to whose gain? [return to port huron project article: "same words being spoken"] As JALC creates the national spectacle of the continual recreation of jazz, who gains from the story being told and who loses? Although repetition and the "ownership" of jazz seems of little significance compared to the dire consequences of

America's martial repeating, the loss of a meaningful and fertile inspiration for the practice of improvisation in the public imaginary is troubling. Herman Gray has called the "canonization of [Marsalis's] specific narrative of jazz in the American cultural imagination [a] crucial [element] in the representation of late-twentieth-century American society (Gray 2005:50)." And ultimately, I come to the same conclusion as Gray: that the "continuing political struggles over how jazz is constructed, represented, and positioned does matter." Indeed, all of these staged representations matter. Replay as entertainment performs inevitability, predictability, and identity using stereotypical images as its content. Such images form the ground of our imagination and our action: they reconfirm the presumed "changelessness" of our culture—of Western domination, of stereotypes, of "easy answers." I believe improvisation can be an antidote to Replay, but only if its edges are continually expanded to include all the types of "aberration" found on our various cultural and musical stages. Through such representations and practices we can perhaps begin to move away from the predictable and deleterious outcomes we have been repeating now for some time.

In my epilogue I point to the possibility of improvisation as an antidote to replay. In this, I turn from music as a staged representation to music as it is felt and worked with in the musician's body. I look at the corporeal/musical practices three women improvisers have used to address and counter hegemonic performance scripts that want to write them out as artists. I argue that through music and sound, felt and practiced in the body, these women have found techniques that help them to rewrite their subjectivities as "centered" in music, not relegated to the margins.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This chapter is reprinted in slightly altered form from the chapter "Identity for Sale: Glenn Miller, Wynton Marsalis, and Cultural Replay in Music," in *Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies*, ed. Nichole Rustin and Sherrie Tucker, Duke University Press (forthcoming 2008). I was the sole investigator and author of this chapter.

Notes

[1] The 1994 "Glenn Miller AAFTTC Band" was predominantly male and Euro-American, though not exclusively, like its original. Two men of color (trumpet and piano) and four white women (two cornets, trumpet, and tenor saxophone) were in the band. This personnel is representative of subsequent years; that is, predominantly white and male with a few racial minorities and/or women.

[2] Sherrie Tucker notes how in the Swing Era "skilled women musicians were described as cross-dressers of sorts: 'the female Louis Armstrong' or 'a Gene Krupa in girls' clothes" (Tucker 2002a:294). Elsewhere she describes the attempt by Anita O'Day to substitute her sequined gown with a suit, hoping "that the costume change would result in her being 'treated like another musician' instead of as a 'trinket' to 'decorate the bandstand.'" O'Day had to desist when she "was perceived as sexually suspect and worthy of rumors" (Tucker 2000:57). On O'Day, see also Erenberg 1998:200.

[3] Harris and Piper address the painful and complicated experience of women of color "passing" as white and being exposed to or asked to participate in derogatory and racist remarks perpetrated by white people. Harris theorizes how "whiteness" takes on valuable property status in racist America, while Piper develops methods to intentionally "not pass," gently alerting acquaintances of her subjectivity as a woman of color who has been injured by their racism.

[4] It is important to acknowledge the differences between racial passing and gender passing. Whereas racial passing almost always entails lesser or greater anguish, "gender-crossers" often experience great pleasure in "passing."

[5] Musical examples would include tribute concerts (to John Coltrane or Louis Armstrong, just to name the most recent examples on the Jazz at Lincoln Center schedule), cover tunes, cover bands, and tribute bands.

[6] Quoted from a director I worked with in 2000. The word "tits" was not used, rather the director held his hands in front of his chest as if holding two melons and swayed them from side to side. I'm guessing that "tits" is the word he would have chosen, or perhaps "knockers."

[7] This is not to diminish the fact that Goodman grew up poor in the Jewish ghetto of Southside Chicago. Starting in his pre-teens, Goodman visited black clubs in the Southside to absorb the music there. However, Goodman obviously was considered a white musician and his desire to align himself with the more swinging black music seems palpable. That his Jewish identity was not a part of his image is clear by the fact that clarinetist Dave Tarras was billed at the time as the "Jewish Benny Goodman."

[8] Dylan Foley, Michael Sofranski, and Edward Field. "The Last Bohemians." Images and Interviews with Westbeth residents/artists. New York City, 2006, Art Installation. Quote taken from Patti Bown wall panel.

[9] A typical quote from a letter to *Downbeat*, asks "Who knows the names of any of the men in Sammy Kaye's band or even if they are men?" (Erenberg 1998). For more on Downbeat and the signification of women as "not jazz," see Tucker 2000 and 2001-2002.

[10] The African-American pianist Teddy Wilson joined Goodman's onstage trio in 1936, before the integration of major league baseball or the armed services. I don't investigate the extent integration hurt Goodman's mass appeal, however, considering the military

itself was still not integrated, the thought of rallying around an integrated band simultaneously symbolizing the unity of America and the fighting troops seems a social impossibility.

[11] Songs like "Kalamazoo" and "People Like You and Me," among many others, represented America as white, middle class, and rural. For more on WWII era swing music and Department of War Information, see Tucker 2000. Like most white bands, Miller occasionally had black arrangers.

[12] The AAFTTC became the AAFTC when the technical training and the flight training units combined under one authority.

[13] This history of Glenn Miller at Yale (presented in this and the following paragraph) is taken from: U.S. Army Air Force. "A History of the 418th Army Air Forces Band of the Technical School of the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command Stationed at Yale University, New Haven, Conn." 1943. From the Yale University Band Glenn Miller Recreation Archive.

[14] After decades of speculation about bad weather and improper plane maintenance, new evidence introduced in 1985 suggested that Miller's plane was downed by unused ordnance dropped over the channel by returning Allied planes. See Gustaitis 2001:74. [Clipping from the Yale University Band Glenn Miller Recreation Archive.]

[15] The band was awarded the first-ever gold record in 1942 for selling more than 1 million copies of their hit "Chattanooga Choo-Choo" and was America's most popular band from 1939 to 1942 (Erenberg 1998:188).

[16] Immersed in identity, Duffy remarked that he would *not* fly over the English Channel when the band was in Europe, as if his conjuring were begging the mimesis to unfold of itself. Personal interview with Thomas Duffy, September 18 2005.

[17] For an interesting discussion on the controversy surrounding Maya Lin's Vietnam War Memorial as it relates to universality, plurality, and the "gash that would not heal," see Lisa Lowe 1996:4.

[18] Lowe stresses that this applies to other immigrants of color, as well; however her particular analysis is of the complexities of Asian immigration.

[19] Yale students made jokes during rehearsals for a 2004 performance about how the "real" Glenn Miller orchestra would not display their Yamaha brand instruments, or, as one student remarked tangentially, have any African- or Asian-Americans (Personal interview with Clinton Cave, Yale participant in 2004. August 24, 2005).

[20] Again, this is a reference to Lowe, 4.

[21] He is still the band director, however he has been on leave from the band since 2005 due to his appointment as Acting Dean of Yale's School of Music.

[22] Clipping taken from Yale University Band Glenn Miller Recreation Archive.

[23] Marsalis came under the intensified scrutiny of jazz scholars after the release of Ken Burns' 19-hour documentary, *Jazz*, in 2001. Marsalis, Crouch and Murray, along with Geoffrey Ward, were clearly the ideological force behind the documentary, which has been critiqued for its overbearing epic narrative, "great man" thesis, conservatism, gender bias, and more. See Deveaux 2001–2002; Gabbard 2000; Macy 2006; Pond 2003; Radano 2001; and Tucker 2001-2002.

[24] In an important article, Ingrid Monson details white fascination with black masculinity in a pursuit of "white hipness" and the influence this fascination has on jazz historical discourse. See Monson 1995.
[25] Marlboros, because rival manufacturer KOOL is staking a claim for black smokers in its Rap and Hip Hop oriented campaign featuring young men of color DJing or working the recording studio. Although, KOOL's annual concert tour *is* called "New Jazz Philosophy" and one of its ads features a young black man in dreads on the street with his trumpet and the exhortation: "Be authentic."
[26] The journal was available at Barnes and Noble, along with several WWII era posters and a CD compilation produced by Gene Lees of the musicians who had ostensibly performed there, including Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, Bud Powell, Billie Holiday, Sarah Vaughan, and Dizzy Gillespie. Many who saw the Aerobleu paraphernalia assumed the nightclub existed and indeed initially the marketers encouraged this confusion. In 2005, many websites did not mention the nightclub's fictional status, or if they did it was buried deep in the text. There was even a clarification on answer.com telling readers that indeed, the nightclub was a figment of entrepreneur Brooks Branch's imagination. Restauranteur Steve Schlusser was fooled. Seeing an Aerobleu poster in a record shop, he was inspired to create themed restaurants around the recreation of the nightclub. In true Baudrillardian fashion he seemed even more excited when he found out the club was faked and his simulacra would thus be based on pure simulacrum. The first Aerobleu was scheduled to open in Las Vegas in 2007, however the perhaps overambitious Schlusser has had troubles financing the venture. References to Aerobleu on the web now all acknowledge the nightclub was fictionalized. See David Farkas 2006.
[27] It was actually written in 2005 for the inaugural Festival by then president and CEO of Jazz at Lincoln Center, Derek E. Gordon. It was dusted off again for the second and appears to be the unstated "theme" of the Festival—i.e., confusion, or "how *do* we deal with these women?"
[28] Lara Pellegrinelli first highlighted the issue of the absence of women musicians at JALC and it could very well be in response to her writing that the organization created its Women in Jazz Festival. See Pellegrinelli 2000.
[29] Sherrie Tucker has a very important article addressing just this conundrum of "women in jazz" (Tucker 2004). Inspired by Norma Coates' work on women-in-rock (in Whiteley 1997, 50-64), Tucker argues that the margin "women-in-jazz" is a site of potential in its liminal, undecidable, and unlocatable positionality.
[30] http://www.jalc.org (accessed February 1, 2007).
[31] For example, The Many Colors of a Woman Festival in Hartford, Connecticut; the Lady Got Chops Festival at The Jazz Spot in Brooklyn; and the Women's Vocal Series at the Cornelia Street Cafe in downtown Manhattan. These festivals were featured in Milkowski 2004.
[32] Women's resistance to being considered "women musicians," and indeed to the idea of women's jazz festivals, has been productively documented and analyzed in Tucker 2004a and Heble and Siddall 2000.
[33] Women have to constantly prove that they are "real" musicians and in describing the moves of in-passing and Replay I am in part trying to explain the processes of women's

perpetual marginalization. For another take on the struggle of women to be accepted as real jazz musicians see particularly, Tucker 2002:29 and 2000:56-57.

[34] For more on the work of Conant and Osborne, see William Osborne and Abbie Conant, http://www.osborne-conant.org/index.html. (accessed October 1, 2006).

[35] See *Lez Zeppelin*, 2006; http://lezzeppelin.com/. (accessed October 1, 2006).

[36] Marsalis's views of race are much more complex than his views on gender. Gray discusses this complexity and how it relates to Marsalis's project in Gray 2005. My point is that in reducing jazz to a simplified commodity, JALC's image of jazz becomes aligned with certain stereotypical notions of black masculinity.

[37] Marsalis's tendency to forge fixed ideas of jazz is also a central point in Herman Gray's chapter. Whereas, Gray describes Wynton's approach as a "canonical project" and advocates "the road and the street" metaphor for conceptualizing the jazz tradition, I describe Wynton as participating in the larger cultural obsession of replay, something which is the antithesis of the potentialities found in improvisation.

[38] For example, in the 1920s jazz was conceived as a "primitivist" antidote to cold Western over-intellectualism; in the 1940s it was hailed as a site of racial uplift; and in the 1950s it was sent overseas by the government as a model of democracy. Many current scholars advocate jazz and improvisation as models of democratic interaction. For an excellent anthology on this thought, see Fischlin and Heble 2004.

Epilogue

The Improvisative

My first three chapters have examined how music performs a body on stage. Using Lacan—who described dreams of a coherent subjectivity as taking the form of a fortified camp, and Derrida—who described the "perfect performative" as surrounded by a "ditch," I have linked these "dreams" of coherency to the staging of much musical performance in the West. With music's threat to the presumed boundaries of identity, the need to recoup coherency has developed around the uniformity of these ensembles and their separation from the "unscripted" audience. Additionally, tribute bands are examples of either attempting to enact a "perfect performative" via replay or to restage a new meaning by highlighting a new context or identity.

This second type of tribute band could be considered a parodic practice similar to Butler's description of drag. Of Butler's analysis of gender, Sara Salih writes that, "parodic practices such as drag spotlight the imitative nature of *all* gender identities which are copies of copies without an original; in particular, they expose the panicked, imitative nature of heterosexuality even as it attempts to set itself up as 'natural'" (Salih 2004:120). The tribute band Lez Zeppelin exposes the panicked, imitative nature of the connection between masculinity and men by demonstrating how such masculinity is commensurate with women in rock (and how femininity is commensurate with men in rock). Butler would consider this a way to answer an interpellation in an unexpected way: when given the call that women don't play rock, these women answer back by

revealing the "truth" that indeed women do play rock, just look at Led Zeppelin! Playing on the instability of the signs of "woman" and "man" that have been a part of rock and roll since at least early glam—but as Auslander has shown, goes back to Little Richard and Esquerito (Auslander 2006)—Lez Zeppelin can use the negative call to forge a place of agency.

Significantly, Butler's theorizations are rooted in the Hegelian scopic regime based on the Other that assumes that, "One comes to 'exist' by virtue of [the] fundamental dependency on the address of the Other. One 'exists' not only by virtue of being recognized, but, in a prior sense, by being recognizable" (Butler 1997:5). Because our being is bound up in the address and vision of the Other, agency then resides in answering the address with some finesse. Many music scholars, however, are questioning the structuring of subjectivity that is grounded in a scopic economy. Most pointedly, scholar and cellist Elisabeth Le Guin critiques Lacan's mirror stage as fundamental to the construction of the subject, asserting the ear over and above the eye as the crucial organ of nascent subjectivity. She writes that, "in the Lacaninan model, Self is constituted by an encounter with a mirror; the concept of *I* is becomable as a concept when split off, observable. But for a listening self, one constituted by the ear and not the eye, the mirror is apparently internal, an internal echoplex. What a child hears, s/he will utter…. [Children] sift through the refuse heaps of sound in search of treasure—generally held to be signification. But sound can also fail to signify and yet remain treasure" (Le Guin 1994:16). With this lack of clear boundaries from a mirror image, sound does not coagulate into signification, but remains unbound, fertile, wild. In discussing the work of composer Pauline Oliveros, Le Guin writes that, "[the discursive] gives way before the

jubilation of sheer *sounding*, voice as it exists apart from controllable signification. Olivero's centering of so much of her art in the timbral and spatial is an affirmation harkening back to these *sounding* elements in music, which have been traditionally discounted or minimized or equated with muteness because their ability to signify is hard or impossible to determine" (17). Although Le Guin here focuses on aurality, I will also include other practices that work to bring attention to the sensations of body. This chapter will argue that these practices offer a different model of agency than that described by Butler. I begin by looking at some scholarship on music and embodiment, investigating how "embodiment" in music studies has often been equated with *viewing* live bodies. I then move to an investigation of how three musician-composer-improvisers (Pauline Oliveros, Matana Roberts, and Abbie Conant) have found a means of countering negative stereotypes by practicing a focused attention on their own corporeal experience.

4.1 Women, Recordings, and Embodied Performance

Women musicians offer a particularly revealing case study in the advantages and disadvantages of scopic and/or aural economies. In terms of her encounter with the former, saxophonist and AACM member, Matana Roberts, has written in her blog about the difficulties she faces regarding her personal appearance on the bandstand:

> My appearance has been called into question regarding the "seriousness of my art"-- to me this has more to do with gender than anything else. I get dressed for the music—period, the end. …Did Mile's "kiss my black ass" fashion attitude make Bitches Brew any less "serious"? Did the Arkestra's sparkling dress make John Gilmore's beautiful (history of the saxophone) solo contributions any less "serious"? Did Famoudou Moye's facial presentation make you feel his deep creative message any less than "serious"? … There are some peculiar racial undertones that sometimes appear [as well]…. Was Miles, Sun Ra, or Moye ever compared to Mantan Moreland because of their appearance on stage?[1] Did anyone ever comment on their body parts in relation to their music? I don't think so, but this has happened to me--more than once, and it doesn't seem to

> matter if my skirt is above my knees or knocking my ankles (Roberts n.d., http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/).

As a jazz musician myself, I understand Roberts' vitriol: comments on how we *look* when we are performing accompany virtually every gig. Unfortunately, music scholars often extol the virtues of live, embodied music without taking into account the stereotypes we have about *which* live bodies should be on stage and how these stereotypes inflect our ideas of "authenticity" in music.

Based on Roberts' experiences, as well as Conant's and the discussion of the Vienna Philharmonic in chapter two, it would seem that much of our hearing takes place with our eyes. Thus, it is not surprising that women use recordings as opportunities for disembodiment in order to be heard without prejudice (that is, to harness the prejudice that they are men). An MSNBC online article on the Vienna Philharmonic's exclusion of women maintains a side bar with anonymous recorded brass performances, asking, "Can you tell if a man or a woman is playing?" (Herman 2000). Vocalist, producer, and educator Carol Comer begins her jazz workshops by playing recordings where students guess which instrumentalist is male and which is female.[2] Press materials for the all-women big band Diva assert that in playing a recording of them "no one would be able to identify the gender of the players" (meaning of course, no one would be able to tell they were women).[3] Clearly, women's experience contradicts the implications that recorded music is less authentic than live, for it would seem that women instrumentalists often create "real" music *only* when they are not seen. Even at a live performance, Stanley Kay, the creative director of Diva, continually exhorts listeners to, "*Turn around* and tell me if women or men are playing" (From diva press kit. See note 94. My italics.). Their excellence, which equals 'playing like men,' is best perceived when one is not looking at

them. With the "embodied" experience, the music is embedded in its cultural context—a context where women are not commensurate with lead trombone players, nor with "real jazz."

The fact that blindfold tests need to be routinely enlisted in defense of women instrumentalists seems to reveal their short-lived effect. Women take refuge in this disembodiment again and again because once their identity is revealed, a retroactive re-reading often takes place that necessitates yet another blindfold test. I wonder, however, if we could actively engage the slippage present in recordings as a new counterhegemonic practice of listening. When listening to an unfamiliar recording, if we remember *to ask*, we are forced to admit that *we don't know*—that there could be an aural cross-dressing performance going on where we *just can't tell*. Certain instruments (piano, violin, clarinet, jazz flute) more easily beg the question: man or woman? Others are disruptive after our assumptions have been revealed: trombone (woman!). One practice could be to imagine that all the brass sections, guitar soloists, or berimbau artists we listen to for two weeks are women. Do they sound the same? Does our evaluation sink as rapidly as the price for artworks ascribed to male painters did when revealed to be of female provenance?[4] Such information about our listening habits is necessary if we want to recognize our own stereotypes about musical authenticity. Indeed, such stereotypes help to explain why women instrumentalists still face resistance as they try to enter musical communities.

4.2 Viewing Women in Jazz Communities

Much like the story of Abbie Conant recounted in Chapter Two, Roberts has had to learn how to live with persistent sexism in her chosen music community. A Chicago

native who now lives and works in New York City, Roberts has performed with Julius Hemphill, Greg Tate, Reg E. Gaines, Savion Glover and many others and is currently performing her own multi-media "ongoing musical blood narrative 'Coin Coin.'"[5] She has written fairly extensively about her experience as a black, female saxophonist in the jazz and improvised music scenes and her experience sheds light on how the "jazz community" works for some musicians. She recounts the following story in her blog,

> Recently I was playing a gig with some pretty well known guys on the NYC jazz scene—it was a really well paid gig at a really touristy Bourgeois uptown establishment. Things were going well musically and we were all back stage getting to know one another. This was the first time I had ever met these musicians and so things were very much in a "getting to know you" kind of stage. We were talking about traveling and one of the guys asked me if I had been abroad yet to play my music…. The conversation was kind of like this:
> Me: "yeah I've been to a few places and am getting to travel more and more.."
> Him: "yeah, I just came back from Israel."
> Me: "oh yeah? Where about?"
> Him: "Bethlehem, and man I got me some PUSSY in Bethlehem. Couldn't believe it…"
> I was so weirded out by this statement, and I could tell that he was looking at me for some kind of reaction, but instead of voicing my displeasure I was just kind of shocked and couldn't really do anything but smile. That's a big problem of mine by the way. My emotions seem to always respond in extremes. Either I'm so angry that I shine this wide assed grin or I'm so angry I will cry rivers of salty tears. So I was smiling this huge grin while thinking about how much of an idiot this guy was to even say something like that to me. So I just shrugged it off and just put it aside. We all continued talking and started speaking about a mutual musician whom I happened to take lessons with. Here's an estimable transcript of that conversation:
> Me: "yeah, he was one of the best teachers I ever had. He has so much knowledge. My first lesson with him was sooooooooooooo long!"
> Him: "aw, he probably just wanted to fuck you"
> (http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/).

Of these experiences Roberts said in an interview with me that, "There have been so many that you just immediately lock them away, never to be heard of again except for

their manifestations in health and the body, which I think is probably one of the reasons I am so into body work of all kinds—releasing stored negativity" (McMullen/Roberts 2007). Thus, part of Roberts' practice to deal with such repetition is the same she uses to keep her own creativity from becoming stagnant.[6] While women continually face prejudice when their bodies are viewed in various musical communities, many have turned to embodied practices to attenuate the impact such stories have on them.

4.3 The Improvisative in Music: the Practice of the Improviser

Replay as the "perfect performative" is an extreme example of how the repetition of identity serves to maintain identity stereotypes. This repetition, and the repetition inherent in any performative, can be conceived of as a type of force, a compulsion, if you will. It is a drive toward the "predictable outcome," the ordinary circumstance. Good improvisers, however, make a practice of diverting the tendency toward repetition and predictability. Many of these improvisers employ corporeal practices to help them develop characteristics they consider useful in improvising, such as "staying in the moment" or "overriding the conceptual mind." In Tom Nunn's survey of free improvisers (Nunn 1998), several musicians described "free improvisation" in terms of its emphasis on singularity: One said, "[As] the great Miles Davis once said, 'I'll play it and tell you what it is later.' …free improvisation is…self-defining in action" (218). Another described it as "a contextually ordered, spontaneous instrumental exercise in which the formal constraints derive from the process of performing, rather than having been fixed in advance" (219). Others described it as a "free-fall, a leap into the abyss (220)" or "being in the moment…, the music has a life of its own, and that life is seriously threatened by players not being in the moment"(220). The techniques that

musicians use to divert repetition and musical clichés may also be techniques used to divert other forms of hegemonic repeating, including stereotypes about gender on the bandstand. My emphasis on practice, however, should not be confused with its use by Pierre Bourdieu (1993) or Michel de Certeau (1984).

French cultural theorist, Pierre Bourdieu was concerned with developing a "scientific approach to human practice" (Johnson 1993:3). Bourdieu considered human practice to be "cultural practice," that is, practices that are "taken for granted by members of society" (2). Partially a response to Foucault (whose early work was criticized for lacking an account of human agency), Bourdieu developed a theory of human agency in his idea of "habitus." "Sometimes described as a 'feel for the game,' [or] a 'practical sense,'" habitus is a set of personal "dispositions which generates practices and perceptions" in the individual (5). Thus, one can conceive of a class habitus, which contains many behaviors and ways of being in the world that are not strictly learned, but passed on and taken for granted. For example, a practice derived from a British upper class habitus may be a particular way of holding conversation at a dinner party. Thus, for Bourdieu, a practice is not *overtly* practiced, but subconsciously learned and taken for granted.

In another response to Foucault, Michel de Certeau described practices "'of everyday life' [as] those 'ways of operating'…by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (de Certeau 1984:xiv). De Certeau also wanted to argue for the ways in which "users" (that is, human beings embedded within a sociocultural system) could still have agency and power in the face of the large disciplinary systems described by Foucault. De Certeau believed that humans

could find agency within these disciplinary regimes "by reintroducing into them the plural mobility of goals and desires—[by] an art of manipulating and enjoying" (xxii). For example, a user can "poach" by taking a mass produced art form and re-making it in an individual fashion. Jason Oakes references such an idea when he describes how tribute artists take a particular artist or song and make it their own through parody or other means. Aligning this with "poaching," Oakes also introduces his own useful phrase for such an activity, "productive consumption" (Oakes 2005:60).

Like De Certeau, I consider "practice" to be a conscious procedure. However, unlike him, I am describing a practice that does not manipulate external forms and information, but rather works with inner experience. I take my model of practice (and its concomitant understanding of the body and experience) from Francisco Varela, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch's book *The Embodied Mind* (1991). Varela, Thompson, and Rosch are cognitive scientists who have chosen the Buddhist mindfulness/awareness practice (also referred to as mindfulness meditation) as a "method for exploring and knowing what human experience is" (23). This understanding of human experience is quite different from the usual understanding assumed in cultural studies and will inform my discussion of Oliveros, Roberts, and Conant that follows; I therefore quote the authors at length. They describe mindfulness meditation as a practice to increase awareness, writing,

> to get a sense of what mindfulness meditation is, one must first realize the extent to which people are normally not mindful. Usually one notices the tendency of the mind to wander only when one is attempting to accomplish some mental task and the wandering interferes. Or perhaps one realizes that one has just finished an anticipated pleasurable activity without noticing it. … In the Buddhist sense, we are not present. …How can the flightiness, the nonpresence of mind be worked with? … Typically mindfulness/awareness is trained by means of formal periods of sitting

> meditation…. Some simple object, often the breath, is used as the focus of alert attention. Each time the meditator realizes that his [sic] mind is wandering unmindfully, he is to acknowledge nonjudgmentally that wandering…and bring the mind back to its object….
>
> Breathing is one of the most simple…bodily activities. Yet beginning meditators are generally astonished at how difficult it is to be mindful of even so uncomplex an object. Meditators discover that mind and body are not coordinated. The body is sitting, but the mind is seized constantly by thoughts, feelings, inner conversations, daydreams, [etc.]—a never-ending torrent of disconnected mental events that the meditators do not even realize are occurring except at those brief instants when they remember what they are doing. Even when they attempt to return to their object of mindfulness, the breath, they may discover that they are only thinking about the breath rather than being mindful of the breath.
>
> Eventually, it begins to dawn on the meditators that there is an actual difference between being present and not being present. In daily life they also begin to have instants of waking up to the realization that they are not present and of flashing back for a moment to be present—not to the breath, in this case, but to whatever is going on. Thus the first great discovery of mindfulness meditation tends to be…the piercing realization of just how disconnected humans normally are from their very experience. Even the simplest or most pleasurable of daily activities—walking, eating, [etc.]—all pass rapidly in a blur of abstract commentary as the mind hastens to its next mental occupation…. This abstract attitude [when one is not mindful] is the spacesuit, the padding of habits and preconceptions, the armor with which one habitually distances oneself from one's experience.
>
> From the point of view of mindfulness/awareness meditation, humans are not trapped forever in the abstract attitude. The dissociation of mind from body, of awareness from experience, is the result of habit, and these habits can be broken (25).

Therefore, as we quiet the mind of its thoughts, preconceptions, and prejudices our awareness becomes more capable of perceiving direct experience. We experience sound, taste, sensation, and vision more clearly. We notice and enjoy that we are eating an orange; the orange is not mindlessly eaten while we are lost in our fantasies about our latest endeavor.

Although the *Embodied Mind* takes Mahayana Buddhism as its central philosophical inspiration, the practice of mindfulness meditation informs all forms of

Buddhism as well as other forms of corporeal practices, such as various forms of yoga, T'ai Chi Chuan, and Eastern martial arts. I do not mean to conflate these traditions, however, the view that we can more fully contact direct experience by calming the mind is one that they all share. This is a very different view from that found in Western philosophy, particularly as it is manifested in contemporary cultural studies deeply informed by a Hegelian logic of difference. In the contemporary manifestation of this logic, our "experience" consists of thoughts and feelings that are historically contingent, but that we often mistakenly take as originating from an ahistorical "self" (Scott 1991:781). As Teresa de Lauretis defines it, "experience [is the] process by which, for all social beings, subjectivity is constructed. Through that process one places oneself or is placed in social reality, and so perceives and comprehends as subjective (referring to, originating in, oneself) those relations—material, economic, and interpersonal—which are in fact social and, in a larger perspective, historical" (quoted in Scott 1991:782). This is not what "experience" means in the mindfulness/awareness model. Thoughts, feelings, opinions, views, ideas, analysis, assumptions, and all other mental commentary are not called "experience" in the mindfulness/awareness model. Indeed, this model agrees with de Lauretis that all these viewpoints are contingent on history, perspective, and circumstance. Where the model diverges from contemporary cultural studies' models is in its emphasis on our ability to come closer to "direct experience" without the filter of our narratives. Therefore, when I am talking about the physical experience of the musician in this context, I am referring to this attention to the feelings in the physical body; when I discuss the body as a site of training, it is to these types of activities that I refer. This model sheds light on all of the musicians discussed below, but Oliveros is

somewhat of a Western prototype for these practices. She has overtly adopted practices and philosophical principles that privilege the contacting of "direct experience" in her work of almost 50 years.

4.4 Pauline Oliveros: The Sentient Body in Music

A recent trend in music scholarship has begun to emphasize the performer's (and audience's) physical relationship to music. Feminist music scholars (who are also active musicians) have analyzed music from the performer's perspective, and more specifically from the vantage point of the performer's sentient body, integrating their firsthand experience into their analyses. Scholar/improviser Julie Dawn Smith argues for the power of aurality, corporeality, and improvisation to create new subjectivities (Smith 2001:ii). Suzanne Cusick has placed emphasis on corporeal performance in order to reclaim music from the "mind side" of Western culture and to extol music's erotic and physical properties (Cusick 1994). And emphasizing the idea that the performer's perspective can be a valid analytical stance, scholar and cellist Elisabeth Le Guin employs a "carnal musicology," that "pays very close attention to … the sensations and experiences of playing [a piece]" (Le Guin 2006:3). Le Guin discusses a very intimate intercorporeality that the performer experiences with the composer via the piece, using such corporeal knowledge to establish a form of musical analysis based in performance. Perhaps idiosyncratically, I also take Le Guin's book as an exaltation of the deep pleasure of practicing an instrument: of working with the body to deepen knowledge of one's instrument, one's body, and of a musical work. For example, she writes, "No music I have ever played seems so to invite and dwell upon the nuances of physical experience as does Boccherini's: one can count on tiny variations of position, weight, pressure,

friction, and muscular distribution having profound structural and affectual consequences" (5). In Le Guin's words I recognize the deep attention a musician relaxes into in the course of practicing.

Finally, John Shepherd and Peter Wicke have discussed the aurality of music and its intimate connection with the body. They have noted that whereas vision functions to separate and locate, establishing a world that is "out there," "sound . . . enters the body and is in the body . . . Visually disposed language, furthermore, favors thinking about sound as an object, but sound functions poorly in this regard: it dissipates, modulates, infiltrates other sounds, becomes absorbed and deflected by actual objects, and fills a space surrounding them" (Shepherd and Wicke 1997:127–28). This point underscores the locations of pleasure and displeasure many women encounter in their experience of music and embodiment. While separated and dislocated from musical communities because they are (viewed as) female, these women often find their return to musical pleasure through attention to their corporeal resonance within sound.

The work of Pauline Oliveros began in the 1950s and continues apace with her most recent work: the Adaptive Use Musical Instruments for the Physically Challenged, a project that is developing instruments for children with severe physical impairment to use in improvising with others.[7] Oliveros' work has been particularly important to scholars interested in the connection between the sentient body, aurality, listening, and feminist principles. Her work provides a foundation for working with sound, attention, and the body as a means of transforming oneself and society.

Oliveros was influenced by the mindfulness/awareness view described above from the very outset of her career, incorporating meditative techniques into her

compositions as early as the late 1950s. Myrna Frances Schloss's writes that, "Oliveros' *Variations for Sextet* (1959-60), was the first to reflect this interest with a long note played by the cello and held for approximately one half minute, which [Oliveros describes as] a 'very brief meditation'" (Schloss 1993:xii). Such techniques eventually became central to Oliveros' compositions. She began work with Al Chung Liang Huang, a dancer and practitioner of T'ai Chi Chuan, in the late 1960s. Schloss writes that, "by 1969 these [long] tones became directly connected with work she was doing with [Chuang]. [T'ai Chi Chuan] is a Chinese form of meditation movement [that] involves the rhythm of one's breath being synchronized with slow circular motions of the torso, arms, and legs. [Oliveros] explains that as she connected the rhythms of the T'ai Chi breathing and motion to the improvisations, she felt beneficial changes to herself and…the music" (xii). This practice and insight was further developed in her *Sonic Meditations* of the 1970s (25 different compositions in all) and continues in her *Deep Listening* projects of the past 18 years. The trombone and tuba player, Stuart Dempster, of Oliveros' Deep Listening Band, describes the connection between meditation and the band's improvisations, saying, "[the performance of the Deep Listening Band is] certainly a logical outgrowth of the early *Sonic Meditation* pieces…. I think that it's a given [that] what we do with our deep listening is meditate at the same time [as we are performing]. We are really attentive, which is what meditation is. We're very attentive and aware" (Schloss:151). From this practice of awareness, Oliveros developed a philosophy that was based on "allowing" and on listening.

Oliveros uses the term "allow" to describe both focused attention and limited ego involvement (in the Buddhist understanding, thoughts, preconceptions, opinions, etc. are

all the bricks that manufacture our sense of self, that is, our ego). In terms of the mindfulness/awareness practice described above, Oliveros' "allowing" emphasizes letting go of thoughts and judgments in order to heighten awareness. Jennifer Rycengo writes that for Oliveros, "to 'allow' is to participate in an activity without molding it…. [Oliveros] asserts that since 'imposing a conscious direction…causes a lapse in attention,' goal-orientation interferes with attention. When we are more concerned about ourselves and our wishes than about the sounds themselves, we cease to give our attention to the sounds" (Rycenga 1994:40). Oliveros' writes about this phenomenon in her work with her improvising "Women's Ensemble" from the late 1960s at the University of California, San Diego. She describes how after working together for a long time around "unchanging tonal centers with [an] emphasis on changing partials…a profound change occurred: rather than manipulating our voices or instruments in a goal-oriented way in order to produce certain effects, we began to allow changes to occur involuntarily. It is an entirely different mode. It requires the elimination of opinions, desires and speculations" (quoted in Rycenga 1994:37). How one eliminates these opinions is through the mindfulness practice of listening/observing. Focused listening helps to calm the mind of its chatter, which then allows for better listening. As Oliveros says, "Observation requires a receptive mode of consciousness…an empty cup" (quoted in Rycenga 1994:39).

With this empty cup of "allowing," observation, or as she would say, deep listening, is possible. Oliveros describes this practice as "listening until the newest is learned…." (Oliveros 1998:50). We can relate this type of listening to the bliss of the absolutely new described by Roland Barthes. Barthes often referred to Zen Buddhism in

his works and his description of bliss as it relates to physical experience and its ability to disrupt stereotypes benefits by framing it within the mindfulness/awareness practice I have been describing. Barthes writes that, "bliss may come only with the absolutely new, for only the new disturbs consciousness (easy? not at all: nine times out of ten, the new is only the stereotype of novelty)" (Barthes 1975:40). In contrast to the bliss of the new, the stereotype is the inability to step outside the narrative; it is to continue to perpetuate the tired logic that follows of itself: patriarchy, racism, homophobia. He writes, "the stereotype is the word repeated without any magic, any enthusiasm, as though it were natural, as though by some miracle this recurring word were adequate on each occasion for different reasons….Nausea occurs whenever the liaison of two important words *follows of itself*. And when something follows of itself, I abandon it: that is bliss" (43). For Barthes, it is through the body that one can encounter the absolutely new. In Barthesian pleasure language begins to lose meaning, melting into sensuality: "[it is] the language lined with flesh, a text where we can hear the grain of the throat, the patina of consonants, the voluptuousness of vowels, a whole carnal stereophony" (66). Language melts away altogether, leaving the sensual pleasure of sounds themselves.

Oliveros advocates this listening until the new has eclipsed the stereotype, stating, "Raw listening has no past or future. It has the potential of instantaneously changing the listener forever" (Oliveros 1998:10–11). This comment is reminiscent of the composer John Cage who often said that his compositions would have served their (purposeless) purpose if people learned to listen. However, more than Cage, who indeed gave the injunction to remove our likes and dislikes and listen, Oliveros provides a framework and strategy for *how* we can do this. Her composition *Horse Sings from Cloud* (1975)

instructs participants to "sustain a tone or sound until there is no longer any desire to change it. When all desire to change the tone or sound has subsided, then select a new tone or sound." Anyone who has performed this piece, or perhaps a similar meditational exercise, knows that there can be a long and often annoying wait before arriving at the point of not wanting to change the tone. And then as soon as one is happy and comfortable and probably starting to enjoy the nuances of the sound, the instructions are to move on. Thus the composition provides a practice for Cage's charge, giving us a framework to examine our likes and dislikes, our impulse to respond to them and what happens when we don't. As many people will then discover, the loosening of our preferences does lead to an expanded experience, often radically so, of sound and even of being.

Thus, Oliveros' strategy is a Barthesian opening to the possibility of the new—a "making [of] space for the yet unborn in stillness" (Oliveros 1998:50). A final example of how Oliveros opens this space, allows and listens is her recent article "Harmonic Anatomy: Women in Improvisation" (2004), where she allocates over half of its space (12 pages out of 21) to women improvisers to speak for themselves on issues of improvisation and gender. Oliveros shares her forum, allowing more voices to flow into a narrative that often silences the participation of women. It is not just a generous offer, it is a manifestation of how Oliveros works and what she values. It is a triple breaking of the corporeal onto her text—first by naming these women and bringing their specific improvising bodies into the discourse; second for the fact that these improvisers' describe how these female bodies have had a direct impact on their experience and reception as improvisers, a point not discussed in most articles on improvisation; and third, the simple

fact of the necessity of the body—in improvisation (and transformation): "This process is of the body, in the body, and out of the body…Breath, sensations, and consciousness through listening and tuning to the presence of others—this is "harmonic anatomy" (61).

4.5 Critique

The early 1970s were the formative years of Oliveros' development, years marked by the rise of the women's movement, popular appropriation of Jungian psychology, and interest in the values of "traditional" cultures, much stimulated by the author Joseph Campbell (1972 [1949]). Asserting the personal as political and rejecting tropes such as the mind/body dualism, these influences shaped Oliveros' understanding and development of her individual philosophy of Deep Listening. However, Oliveros also tended to participate in the essentializing and stereotyping that could mark these movements, and the philosophies from which she has borrowed often have been exnominated. Tara Browner has written critically of the late 1960s to mid-70s literary whiteshaman movement which found a home in Jerome Rothenburg's journal *Alcheringa: ethnopoetics*, and to which Oliveros contributed the score of her composition *Crow Two* (1975). Browner states that, "instead of conducting her own fieldwork or studying the ethnographic writings of ethnomusicologists and ethnologists who specialized in Native musics, Oliveros turned to the scholarship of Karl Jung, Joseph Campbell, and her colleague Jerome Rothenburg's anthologies of "primitive" poetry.… Avoidance of direct contact with Indians by those interested in their culture was not unusual during the 1960s and 70s (or even today)" (Browner 2000:252). And by taking her information from "a cluster of primitivistic American writers and poets," Oliveros ended up violating "Native North American cultural values regarding the use of sacred

cultural figures" (260). In her article, Browner cites Philip Deloria (Lakota), who describes the tendency of white artists to prefer abstraction over direct contact in every arena. Deloria stated that,

> communalists tended to value Indian Otherness and its assorted meanings more than they did real native people…. When Andy Warhol presented a Campbell's soup label as art, he suggested that the manipulation of symbols had replaced the work of painting and sculpting. When the composer John Cage placed radios on the stage and randomly turned the dials, he did the same, dispensing a chance pastiche of sound in place of a practiced performance. Multinational bankers, advertising designers, politicians, and many others seemed to follow similar paths. In this kind of World, the meanings of Indianness drifted away from actual Indians more quickly and thoroughly than ever (259).

Indeed, Oliveros' type of "culture sampling" can be considered the opposite of awareness and direct experience; an example of listening that was most certainly shallow, not deep.

Browner ultimately felt that the power of the Lakota ceremony could have benefited modern American culture, but because of the composer's superficial understanding, *Crow Two* could not be "enriched by its direct connections to Native [Lakota] ceremony" (260). I view this as a lapse in Olivero's mindfulness/awareness practice. Deeper Deep Listening, indeed an empty vessel that was "all ears" without preconceptions, would allow for enrichment through a clearer perception of Lakota ceremony. When asked in 2005 about her appropriation, Oliveros agreed with Browner, stating that at that time she was unaware of the critique of appropriation and that now she would not write such a piece or would do it differently (Oliveros/McMullen 2005). However, Oliveros still has instances where her cup appears full, not empty. She has service-marked her philosophy and practice of Deep Listening[sm] even though her Deep Listening compositions are often indistinguishable from exercises one can practice in many Western Buddhist centers. This urge for proprietorship, for a location of her *self*, in

the whirl of a more post-modern, post-subject philosophy and practice hell-bent on self-shattering is a step away from bliss, for bliss is a space where, as Barthes utters, "*everything* is lost" (1975:39). Nonetheless, although she is far from a perfect practitioner, Oliveros' use of awareness, listening, and direct experience as a source of strength and knowledge continues to be an important model for many artists and sheds light on some of the practices of Matana Roberts and Abbie Conant to which I now turn.

4.6 Matana Roberts

Recalling Roberts' experiences of harassment that include "sexual predation," gratuitous sexual commentary, and racial remarks comparing her to Mantan Moreland, one can sympathize with her as she asks us to "just imagine having to take all that up on an all-boy band stand" (http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/). Out of necessity, Roberts has developed various strategies to cope and to be creative at a high level in the face of these challenges. Such strategies include maintaining a web log where she can vent her frustrations and make known to a larger audience the types of situations she encounters. (A courageous move. Most women keep these experiences private in fear of the hurting their careers.) Another strategy is Roberts' conscious focus on the positive musicians and listeners in the community who have offered and continue to offer her support and encouragement. She writes in her blog that, "for every asshole I have met along the way I have probably gained five musical 'brothers.' And NYC is full of an incredible amount of women who are really trying to deal with the music." And as she mentioned above, Roberts incorporates "body work of all kinds" to address these difficulties.

Like many musicians, Roberts has taken up corporeal practices to help with concentration, stability, and creativity. Two and a half years ago she began a form of Ashtanga yoga called Mysore style, and now practices one hour a day, six days a week, using it to help with "awareness, focus, discipline, courage, [and creativity]" (McMullen/Roberts 2007). In Mysore a practitioner does not move on to a new pose until the previous one as been sufficiently mastered and Roberts is now one hour through an ultimately two-hour regimen that makes up the first series. It is a lifelong practice as there are four series eventually to master. She relates Ashtanga to music "in terms of how you learn an instrument—one step at a time" and believes the playfulness of the form helps her with creativity. She says that "trying to stand on your head, do floor rolls, and just all sorts of unusual poses…makes you feel like you're five [years old]. I need the mindset of a little wee one sometimes in order to reactivate my imagination." She also uses these practices to "stay physically strong and flexible so that…I can retain mental strength and flexibility in [difficult] situations [like those described above]."

Roberts has sought out body work not only to release stored negativity and to enhance creativity, but also because she understands the power of physicality in her artform, including how her art affects the physicality of her listeners. She describes her art as a form of healing for herself and her audience, saying, "sometimes when you dig deep into yourself for the art you dig into the painful parts of being. This can be scary. All humans have these painful parts. I use my art to deal with some of this stuff, as a form of self-healing. I am finding that the best thing you can do as an artist for others, is to share as much of the pain as you can. Put pain on display. It heals folks. It can help them find stored bits of joy within themselves that can translate to better things for the

world as a whole. The power of one person to change the world is really much more enormous than most people realize." Therefore, in a response to what could be considered the perpetual "replay" of stereotypes, Roberts turns again and again to the physicality of her artform as well as taking up other physical practices to help loosen the effect these narratives have on her and to continue to find joy and balance and to create daily the "event" of her unique artistic production.

It is unfortunate that Roberts' chosen form of art has to also present (through the community) so many painful experiences to transform. However, part of Roberts' practice to deal with such repetition is the same as she uses to keep her own creativity from becoming stagnant. Her primary tactic, ultimately, is art itself. She describes yoga as "making art with my body, and I firmly believe that art should be expressed in my life in as many ways as possible,…to feed me." Roberts' attitude that art is a way of speaking about pain and of transforming it, in herself and in others, provides a way to deal with it. The trombonist Abbie Conant also dealt with significant pain in her experience with the Munich Philharmonic; however her response emphasized the pleasure of the sentient body in musical practice to counter the displeasures of her particular musical community.

4.7 Abbie Conant

In Chapter Two I described the trombonist's experience as a counter-example to the often overzealous praise of music as an intercorporeal phenomenon. To briefly review, Conant won the solo trombone chair of the Munich Philharmonic in a blind audition, beating out thirty-two male candidates. Without formal or informal reprimands, Conant was demoted after her probationary year because Director Sergui Celibidache

"need[ed] a man for the solo trombone" (Osborne 1994). Conant did eventually win her twelve-year court battle, however, her story is important not just for her legislative victory. She developed the ability to continue performing at a peak level, despite ongoing harassment, and many of her strategies involved working with her sentient body.

Conant's body was an explicit site of contention in her confrontation with the Munich Philharmonic. Unable to provide any evidence of her alleged incompetence as a musician, Munich city lawyers presented this general statement: "The plaintiff does not possess the necessary physical strength to be a leader of the trombone section" (Osborne 1994). To counter this accusation, Conant received testing at the Gautinger Lung Clinic, breathing inside a sealed cabin and having blood taken from her ear to see how efficiently her body absorbed oxygen. She blew into machines to measure the capacity of her lungs and the speed at which she could inhale and exhale, and a doctor examined her rib cage and chest (Osborne 1994). Conant's results were far above average, but as she said in our interview, the idea that she was physically unable to perform the task was never the real problem. Indeed, the offense of the aberrant body moves between surface and interior, with claims about the inadequacy of an interior, measurable body being a cover for dismay at its surface.[8]

Rather than turn against her body, however, Conant turned to it. She discovered the body alignment and relaxation techniques developed by Frederick Matthias Alexander (1869–1955) known as "Alexander Technique" "right after it all blew up" (Conant 2006a). Like other musicians, she used the method to improve musical performance through a heightened awareness of her body. She was then drawn to "every body-related activity I could find," interested in developing creatively and personally

(2006a). She studied yoga and pantomime, attended dance workshops, and performed in Beckett's "Act Without Words," a purely physical theater piece, among other activities. Techniques acquired through these activities opened up creative channels, reduced emotional stress, and improved concentration, and she soon discovered she could apply them to the harassment she encountered in rehearsals. When taunts or direct hostility were aimed at her, Conant practiced "keeping [her] body neutral," a technique she learned in pantomime (2006a). The procedure is used to create a "clear palette" between motions, but Conant began using it to reduce her reactivity to taunts, the physical practice of "neutrality" being a powerful embodiment of the mental position to which she aspired. Similarly, she used breathing exercises and body awareness (relaxed posture, feet firmly planted, etc.) to maintain composure in tense encounters. For Conant, the performer's stage (which always includes some form of adjudicating audience) provided practice for the larger societal stage that measures us with its expectations of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Using these corporeal practices to learn to maintain composure and excel on the first stage, the trombonist found these same practices could help her do the same on the second.[9]

The predominant corporeal practice Conant used in dealing with both of these stages, however, was her method with the trombone. Her emphasis was on embodied pleasure as an active and ongoing practice against the pervasive idealism of "getting the body out of the way" in the pursuit of "mastering" one's instrument.[10] She says,

> It is an utter pleasure to practice, to play. When you are playing correctly it is a tremendous pleasure, it is very freeing. Your body is resonating as much as the instrument. You become one resonating animal if you will. I don't like the word "mastering", I've always been appalled by that word. [I think of it] more in terms of coming to an agreement with the trombone in the sense that we are resonating together, it's a relationship.

In describing how she maintains this pleasure in her practice, she says,

> [I stay] away from music I don't want to play, music that makes my body hurt, or makes my soul hurt. I practice according to what you might call a pleasure principle. I usually start off with a sensing of a note that is the first note I want to play. Depending on how that feels, how it makes my body feel, how it sounds, how it resonates, I kind of go from there and actually try not to interrupt the sense of feeling good . . . I ask, "Ah, what would feel good today? Oh these . . . trills. Ooo, that's nice. That's not working so well, I'll do some of these. I just need to breathe a little more freely here, and ah, that feels good. Ooo, let's play some low notes." I will go through a routine but I will make that routine as conscious and pleasurable as I possibly can.

In answer to my questions, "How has the pleasure principle of practicing been of benefit?" and "Do you find it helpful also in life, in living your life?" she says:

> Absolutely, no question. Part of the palette of sexism, racism—all of those "isms"—is sort of the repression of pleasure, isn't it? Pleasure is out of control, is dangerous, is non-intellectual. It is all of these dangerous things. It's definitely second class . . . to come from pleasure. And yet pleasure is an intelligence in itself. It has a wholeness, a sanity to it, a peace-loving nature. I think getting older I understand . . . on just about every level that that is the way to go, that it is the clue, what you should follow. There's always this pull, "I'll practice that until my lips bleed," that idealism, that transcendental . . . dedication, where you just, you make yourself into a object that you torture until you reach this transcendent state of Great Musician. I'm [not about] that, I'm all about that pleasure principle. (2006b)

Conant's philosophy is rich, containing many opportunities for fruitful investigation. To begin with, Conant's relationship with the trombone demands consideration alongside scientist Barbara McClintock's intersubjective approach as famously documented in Ellen Fox Keller's *A Feeling for the Organism* (Keller 1984). My interest here, however, is how Conant reworks her subjectivity by emphasizing corporeal balance and pleasure. And although Barthes, Irigaray, or Kristeva would seem likely thinkers to enlist in the elaboration of the transgressive nature of pleasure, I find that Baudrillard's discussion of

symptoms and simulated illness provides the most illuminating framework for Conant's practice (Baudrillard [1994] 2006). Within his account of the successive stages of representation, (which begins with the image as the reflection of a profound reality and ends with the image having no relation to an originary reality whatsoever), he uses the simulation of illness to exemplify the image's last stage.

For Baudrillard, simulation involves pretending to have what one does not have; however in simulating illness one actually generates real symptoms, which throws into contention meanings of real and imaginary.[11] Entering the world of professional classical music, Conant soon discovered from various diagnosticians (Munich Philharmonic director Celibidache and others) that she had an illness—the cultural illness of Woman Playing Lead Trombone (WPLT). Of course, Conant did not realize she was sick—she was told so, and confronted with the diagnosis she had to make a decision. She could "cure" the disease, which would involve excising the W from PLT, i.e., relinquishing her position as solo chair in the orchestra. This was something she was unwilling to do. Another alternative was to consider the finding a misdiagnosis: that indeed, there was nothing whatsoever sick or abnormal about WPLT. However, her painful daily experiences with the orchestra belied this thought. Clearly *something* was wrong with her body; to deny the sickness would be to deny her experience. Conant therefore recognized that this disease was both real (her body causing dis-ease for many, including herself) and not real (conferred upon her only after she stepped from behind the screen)—a conundrum that I assert she resolved (resolves) through on-going corporeal practice.

As we have seen, Conant employed sensuous corporeal practices in order to find strength, centeredness, artistry and creativity to fuel her successful career despite

significant obstacles. Indeed, through such practices, Conant resolves the paradox of the real/unreal disease caused by her body in music: she *simulates* the (false) disease of WPLT, taking on its *real* symptoms (I am assuming our inhabitance in the final stage of the image in which "real" and "imaginary" are equally simulacral). Those musical endeavors that confer masculinity (playing jazz saxophone, rock guitar, or orchestral trombone) also harbor the fear that somehow women will so completely perform them that the conferred cultural illness of Woman Playing Masculine Musical Role will become "real": a worry that women will actually produce the performance not as an anomaly, not as an illness that is aberrant—either you're cured, or you die, or you're perpetually weakened—but as if this role were "normal" and commensurate for women, which would undercut its designation as normatively male. It is a disease conferred upon women out of a fear that they might really *catch* it.

By continually reinforcing sensations of pleasure, relaxation, connection, and balance while minimizing those associated with pain, competition, domination, and hierarchy, Conant simulates: she elevates subtle bodily sensations into more manifest ones—thereby creating new sensations entirely. Through this she (re)writes and (re)performs the meaning of her body in music from the inside out. Stated simply, the "real symptom" that Conant generates is the commensurability of WPLT, changing its status from disease/conferred/periphery to ease/real/center, from aberration to fully embodied illness/health, and undermining the "transcendental truth" of Man Plays Lead Trombone.[12] This is, of course, the very symptom of commensurability the diagnosticians feared—the body that doesn't need a cure, the illness that is now the definition of health, the simulator that is most authentic. However, this generated symptom is first, and most

importantly, real *for her*. Whereas WPLT may have been commensurate for the young Conant auditioning behind the screen, her subsequent experience necessitated a new approach to embodying this commensurability. By returning again and again to her body in music, Conant transforms her relationship from "outsider" musician (back) to an "insider," a sense of being inside the music—full, complete and centered within it. Thus by manufacturing WPLT as real for herself, Conant can possibly begin to transform her body as sign, producing this meaning for others.

My research into this form of "performance practice" takes its inspiration from other music scholars who are "analyzing from the body."[13] Like Le Guin, many scholars are demonstrating how attention to embodiment can reveal new insights in musical analysis (Fisher and Lochhead 2002, Iyer 2002). Julie Dawn Smith (2001) and John Shepherd and Peter Wicke (1997) describe music and sound's resonance and vibration in the body as a means to open up to new possibilities of being unconfined by our usual visualist ontologies. For these scholars, the power and practice of music offers lessons on thriving in a diverse and still prejudiced world. Because detrimental generalities about "the body," race, ethnicity, or styles of music can sometimes appear in scholarship on embodiment, however, I advocate an particularist approach to the body that is based in a musician's own physical experience (as I have considered it, through the mindfulness/awareness model), something Fisher and Lochhead also advocate (2002:45). Because each musician's relationship to her/his body, and to the racial, gender and other corporeal expectations prevalent in the given style of music will be unique, each will have a different question to answer and challenge to overcome. Their answers may

provide insight into ways all of us can improve our performance on the larger cultural stage.

Conant's practice and performance demonstrated how she was able to incarnate WPLT for herself in a community troubled by the sight of her female embodiment. By establishing and reinforcing a musical world based in the pleasure of her physical experience rather than on the gaze of the other, Conant's method suggests how women can keep going, gigging, working, playing, creating—keep enjoying music despite/with "the disease." In this Conant was not working to change others, or even to change the story, but rather to embody (catch) the disease so fully as to reveal its salubrious soundness. Conant continued with the important, indeed heroic and nearly sacrificial, work of litigating against the Munich Philharmonic and eventually succeeded, receiving back pay and total vindication in court.[14] As great as this success has been—a model of courage, inspiration, and justice—it was also draining, painful, and at times overwhelmingly disheartening. And unfortunately, women musicians continue to be diagnosed as diseased. In answer to this continual diagnosis, Conant found a joyful, resonant, and sound praxis that led her to a new configuration of her body as Woman Playing Lead Trombone. She became her disease against all doctors' orders, offering inspiration for all women unwilling to cure their deviant bodies.

4.8 Conclusion

I believe it is important to combine the discussions of the body in music as sign and the body in music as sentient. In doing so we can perhaps avoid two common pitfalls in discussions of the body in music. First, the danger that the sentient "body" often becomes universalized and therefore ends up being a straight, white, male body. Second,

the danger that understanding the body as a sign may completely negate the possible interiority of a raced/sexed body; that is, negate the possibility of transformation through musical and other corporeal practices that can "re-train" the body and the mind. A look at the relationship between two concepts in this dissertation, the improvisative and in-passing, demonstrates how I imagine this cross-pollination of theorizing the body as sign and as sentient.

4.8.1 Just About the Music: The Improvisative vs. In-Passing

As described in Chapter Three, in-passing is the (primarily sartorial and theatrical) signifying practice that acknowledges the "naturalness" of a given stereotypical subject position (men as jazz instrumentalists, say) while allowing an interloper to provisionally occupy this position (the women in the Glenn Miller recreation). When women in rock or jazz assert that they are not female musicians, just musicians, they unwittingly perform this marginalized status by not acknowledging how they are read and positioned as "in-passers." The women of Lez Zeppelin occupy an interesting position. They are not performing men "in-passing" like the women in the Glenn Miller recreation. But they also are not in-passing by ensconcing themselves on the male rock stage and saying "we're just musicians." First of all, their project precludes making this statement—it just doesn't play in an overt form of embodying male musicians. Instead, Lez Zeppelin rewrites back into history the presence of femininity and masculinity that is available to all. Their recreation is an example of re-signification and of playing with context to create new meanings.

But what of this yearning by many women to be accepted as "just musicians," not as "women musicians"? Mary Lou William's desire to have it be "just about the music"

has been echoed by contemporary musicians like Matana Roberts, but has been also referenced by jazz scholar Ingrid Monson as an example of how women must "disappear" as women in order to be accepted as musicians.[15] When women refuse to acknowledge how their gender is inscribed onto them in jazz performance, no matter how much they wish they and others could ignore it, they risk continuing to write women as aberrant elements in jazz, even as they perform in "full view." In discussing the improvisative as an embodied technique that can help against the interpellations of gender, I offer a model of how women can possibly deal "just with the music" while at the same time not have to accept some type of in-passer status. By focusing attention on aurality and sentient corporeality, women *can* experience themselves *in* the music. Such focus helps them keep their eye on the ball no matter what the distractions, including the painful "hate speech" that may be directed their way by some of their male colleagues. This is clearly not the only tactic, however, it can often provide the "ground" and stability from which women can engage in other forms of response.

4.8.2 Improvisativity and Replay

If one viewed performativity as a continuum, Replay would be at the end characterized by "perfect" reiteration. The other end of this continuum could be the pure improvisative, the purely original event, something which would surely be as impossible as a perfect repetition. Looking at various musical responses to the replay of stereotypes, this paper has suggested that improvisers consciously practice loosening the constriction of expectations inherent in the performative, allowing them to perform amidst, as well as against, musical clichés—both formal and social. Understood in this way, performative agency can be found not only in the possibilities inherent in misfired signification, but

also in a practice that works to attenuate the power of signs over the performer. Examining such a practice may help elucidate larger operations of identity and ways of negotiating agency within a world of signs always already defining us. If we want to act, to have real protest rather than the recreation of protests of old, we need to learn how to abide more thoroughly and with more awareness in the moment, in the place where action occurs and is not just commented upon, critiqued or evaluated. Foucault imagined a future "intellectual destroyer of evidence and universalities, the one who, in the inertias and constraints of the present, locates and marks the weak points, the openings, the lines of force, who incessantly displaces herself, doesn't know exactly where she is heading nor what she'll think tomorrow because she is too attentive to the present" (Foucault 1996:back cover).[16] To find (or become) this intellectual, perhaps we need only give a listen to the practices of women improvisers and the lessons they offer for negotiating the larger cultural stage on which we all perform.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Portions of the epilogue have been reprinted from my article "Corpo-Realities: Keepin' it Real in 'Music and Embodiment' Scholarship," in *Current Musicology*, No. 82 (Fall 2006). I was the sole investigator and author of this article.

Notes

[1] An African-American comedian who began in minstrelsy and vaudeville and was best known for his "wide-eyed" antics as Birmingham Brown, sidekick to Charlie Chan, in a series of fifteen films in the 1940s.

[2] Comen states: "When I give workshops, I use a blindfold test with a tape of men and women musicians. I ask the participants to guess who is the man and who is the woman. For piano, for example, I play Gil Evans and Joanne Brackeen. Guess who they pick!" (Ottinger 1997)

[3] See page 15 of the Diva e-press kit, available at http://www.divajazz.com/e-press/e-press.html. Such tests are reminiscent of the famous Roy Eldridge blindfold test where the trumpeter boasted to Leonard Feather that he could easily discern white from black players. In the test, however, Eldridge was correct less than half the time. For a recounting of this blindfold test, see Gennari (2006:56). A similar claim was made regarding women jazz musicians by a recent blogger. He wrote, "When women play jazz, they don't sound at all like men. I think there is something to that. Something mentally that makes the two sexes think different, attributes to women playing so differently than men do. I wish I could describe this better, but it's hard to explain. It's just weird, but I can usually tell which players are male, and which are female, just by listening" (posted August 19, 2000, by josh [*sic*] Appleby on http://jazzcornertalk.com/speakeasyarchive/thread.php?forumid=5558). It is important to acknowledge that whereas racialized meanings in jazz aurality produce a complex story of cross-pollination and include misreadings in various directions among black, white, Latino, Jewish, etc., women instrumentalists are still perceived as playing "like a man" until it is revealed that they are "good—for a woman." This chapter "brackets out" the question of the gendered nature of musical sound that equates superior instrumental performance with male instrumental performance.

[4] Whitney Chadwick has shown that famous artworks by men that were later attributed to women lose their value and indeed, regain value if re-attributed again to a man (2002).

[5] For more on "Coin Coin," see http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/.

[6] Clearly Roberts uses the tactic of blogging and exposing her situation, a brave move not many women musicians take. However, Roberts blog is not devoted to such experiences and in the entry where she discussed it, she does preface it with an apology of sorts, writing, "Gender. Dirty word folks. But there it is. Gender!!!!!!! (Take a deep breath, cause I'm about to release a little.)" http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/

[7] Along with Oliveros, the research team consists of musican/educator/occupational therapist, Leaf Miller; electrical engineer Don Millard; music educator, improviser and trombonist David Dove; composer and programmer Zevin Polzin; and musician and programmer Zane Van Duzen. For more information, see http://www.deeplistening.org/site/adaptiveuse.

[8] Conant herself initiated these tests in order to provide some "objectivity" in the situation, eerily they may call to mind the long-standing scientific pursuit for biologically-based categories of difference. For a recent installment in this ongoing saga, see the investigation into how gay men allegedly react differently than straight men do to

"pheromones" (Savic, Berglund, and Lindström 2005). I thank Sherrie Tucker for this reference.

[9] Note that Conant's focus has been on embodied performance. Indeed, she does *not* like to record her music. She states, rather poignantly, "A lot of musicians play in a sense to become invisible, to become only sound. And I guess maybe I started out that way, you know, but I changed. And I think [it is important], the fact of me, a female . . . playing the trombone . . . showing myself . . . : That I have a big horn! [Laughter] That my voice can be loud, my voice can reach the ends of the earth. Trying to show myself that all my life and never getting it, quite." Although I would argue Conant is "getting it" more than she realizes, I also surmise that Conant's sensuous corporeal practices may be even more emancipatory than, or at least a necessary foundation to, the courageous act of "showing herself" to herself and others. When listeners still must "look away" to hear the "truth" of women instrumentalists (as demonstrated above in the example of the all-woman big band, Diva), the use of corporeal practices to *feel* her body in music, to practice it, to listen to it, and to train it over a period of time, may more effectively produce the belief, knowledge, and actuality that she is commensurate with "solo trombone chair" than would any effort to show it.

[10] To "get the body out of the way" is a common explanation made by musicians and teachers for why we practice: to eliminate any awkwardness the body presents to instrumental facility, making us less and less burdened by such limitations. I thank Vijay Iyer for reminding me of this phrase and its connection to the pervasive idealism of much Western art music.

[11] Baudrillard writes, "To dissimulate is to pretend not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one doesn't have. One implies a presence, the other an absence. But it is more complicated than that because simulating is not pretending: 'Whoever fakes an illness can simply stay in bed and make everyone believe he is ill. Whoever simulates an illness produces in himself some of the symptoms' (Littré). Therefore, pretending, or dissimulating, leaves the principle of reality intact: the difference is always clear, it is simply masked, whereas simulation threatens the difference between the 'true' and the 'false,' the 'real' and the 'imaginary'"(Baudrillard [1994] 2006:3).

[12] Conant reveals the truth of men playing lead trombone as a simulation and indeed her performance is also a simulacrum. And as Baudrillard quotes Ecclesiastes, "The simulacrum is true." (Baudrillard [1994] 2006:1)

[13] This is the title of an important essay on music and embodiment by George Fisher and Judy Lochhead (2002). The article gives a very helpful primer on the main philosophical theorizations of embodiment and how theses theorizations relate to extant scholarship on music and embodiment. The authors then offer various approaches to analyzing music via embodiment theories and conclude with two examples of such analysis, examining Joan Tower's *Fantasy (those harbor lights)* and Johannes Brahms's *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano in Eb,* Op. 120, no. 2*,* third movement.

[14] For more on Conant's experience in Munich see Osborne 1994. From1979–80 Conant had been solo trombonist of the Royal Opera of Turin before winning the solo chair in Munich where she stayed until 1993. In 1992 the Baden-Würtenburg State Ministry for Education, "in recognition of her international reputation as a trombonist," named her full tenured Professor of Trombone at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik in Trossingen.

Recently she has focused on a solo career, performing in over 115 American and European cities. Her highly acclaimed "International Trombone Camp" draws students from all over the world. For more information on Conant and Osborne, see http://www.osborne-conant.org/index.html.

[15] Roberts writes, “To paraphrase the great jazz pianist Mary Lou Williams once said something along the lines of ‘in the end it’s not about the gender, it’s about the music.’ Amen sister. Amen”(http://www.shadowsofapeople.blogspot.com/). Monson made this comment in an address she gave at the 2005 Annual Guelph Jazz Festival and Colloquium.

[16] I have changed the pronouns to the feminine.

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