THE CONDUCTING BODY

THE CONDUCTING BODY:
THE GESTURAL VOCABULARY OF MASCULINITY, POWER, TRANSGRESSION, AND METAPHOR

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ABSTRACT

The conductor is one of the most recognizable figures in modern music performance. His or her gestures elicit numerous different responses from those in the orchestra. If the premise that music is a cultural practice is accepted, it would follow that the bodily movements of the conductor reflect, intentionally or not the ways in which the body has been culturally theorized. In my opinion, analysis of conducting bodies has not been done to an adequate degree. I argue that this is a product of the long-standing mind/body split. In this thesis, I explore the ways in which the conducting body operates in culture, as well as in musical performance. I make use of standards of the orchestral repertoire by the composers Beethoven, Wagner, Shostakovich, Orff, and Strauss conducted by such figures as Claudio Abbado, Georg Solti, Seiji Ozawa, and Herbert von Karajan.

Observing that orchestral conductors are overwhelmingly male, I examine critical discourse on gender to account for the ways in which conducting has been framed as a masculine practice, with the intent of arguing that the conducting body frequently problematizes constructions of manhood. I also examine how conducting gestures enact cultural tropes around power from the angles of discipline, surveillance and cultural prestige. I then move on to discussions of Mikhail Bakhtin's discourse on carnival and grotesque bodies in order to observe how conductors may be interpreted as transgressing "acceptable" constructions of the body. Finally, I examine how the body enacts metaphors that assist in our understanding of existence. By arguing that the body possesses linguistic capabilities, I argue that conducting disavows the mind/body split by placing the body in the mind, and the mind in the body.

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A good deal of people, faculty and students alike, deserve my gratitude. My first acknowledgment goes to Dr. Susan Fast; nearly five years ago, she taught an undergraduate course devoted to the history of Western music in the nineteenth century. Her approach, particularly the articles she assigned were instrumental in showing me that music was much more than simply autonomous artistic expression, but a powerful method of dealing with the politics of culture. I was rather resistant to these ideas at first, as I still believed in the supposedly "transcendent" qualities of music, but I was eventually won over. This was where my interest in scholastic study of music was sparked, leading to the document that follows.

As helpful and personable as the other members of the music faculty at McMaster have been, I must single out my thesis advisor, Dr. Keith Kinder, for particular tribute. Of all the associations I have had with the various professors over the past six years, the one with Dr. Kinder has been the longest. As the conductor of the McMaster Concert Band, he did much to make the experience as enjoyable as it was for the six years I was a member. I have also had the privilege of engaging in numerous edifying conversations about our musical tastes and some of our philosophies regarding the study of music. In his capacity as thesis advisor, his conducting experience proved quite efficacious in grounding the interpretations contained within these pages. In addition, he gave me ample opportunity to practice the art of defending the validity of my approach whenever he was sceptical of my approaches. That I was able to convince him more often than not hopefully speaks well.

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Introduction

THE TRANSGRESSIVE CONDUCTOR: THE BODY AND THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL MEANING

I. *Preamble*

I am watching documentary footage from 1964 of a recording session for the opera *Götterdämmerung* by Richard Wagner.[1] Sir Georg Solti is conducting the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra with great enthusiasm. His beat pattern is large, with much movement of the arms, appropriate for the intensity of the music being played. He often leans to one side, then the other, as if he is trying to make his body move along with the music. At a particularly dramatic cadence, he leaps. A few moments later, to prepare a heavy downbeat, Solti raises his arms over his head; his shirt rides up, exposing part of his bare belly as well as some of his boxer shorts. His enthusiasm for conducting this music seems to be so great that he does not mind this potentially embarrassing exposure. Later, I watch a brief clip of Richard Strauss conducting his tone poem *Till Eulenspiegel* in 1944.[2] His beat patterns are regimented, with no differences in size. His face shows no emotion, no particular interest in the music and he moves no part of his body except for his arm. Given that the character of the two pieces are vastly different, I nonetheless find myself asking how two men renowned for their conducting

[1] As seen on the BBC documentary *The Golden Ring* (Decca 071 153-9).
[2] *The Art of Conducting: Great Conductors of the Past* (Teldec 0927-42667-2).

prowess can show such completely different amounts of bodily engagement. What meanings are being created through their performances?

The conductor is one of the most recognizable figures in modern classical music performance. Covers of recordings generally place the conductor's name in a prominent position, concerts are often promoted based on who is conducting, and reviews often credit the conductor with the successes and charge him/her for the failures of the performance. The act of conducting is considered by some to be "the most demanding, musically all-embracing, and complex of the various disciplines that constitute the field of music performance."[3] The truth of such a statement is debatable, but there is no doubt that conducting places significant demands on practitioners. The conductor is required to know every detail of the score, to be able to hear all the instrumental textures in his/her mind and to communicate to the ensemble how s/he wishes the work to be performed. These demonstrations occur through the conductor's gestures and bodily movements; for example, a forceful arm movement on the downbeat of a measure might suggest a *fortissimo*, whereas a slight flick of the wrist might suggest a very light attack on a particular note. Observing conductors perform these and many other gestures prompt me to ask: how does the body of the conductor function in culture and in musical performance? Throughout this study, I will endeavour to demonstrate how the bodily performance of the conductor creates social meaning, through issues such as gender, power, and

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[3]Gunther Schuller, *The Compleat Conductor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3.

metaphor, for those observing such a performance. In this section, I will account for some of the ways the body has been theorized and suggest potential applications to conducting, which I will explore in greater detail throughout the thesis.

II. *The Mind/Body Split and "High" Art*

A common trope in Western culture is the mind/body split: Descartes' declaration "I think, therefore, I am" effectively demonstrates this split. Western culture privileges the mind, the act of thinking and reasoning. Conversely, the body is marginalized. According to Mark Johnson, academic scholarship often ignores the body

> Because it has been thought to introduce subjective elements alleged to be irrelevant to the objective nature of meaning. The body has been ignored because reason has been thought to be abstract and transcendent, that is, not tied to any of the bodily aspects of human understanding. The body has been ignored because it seems to have no role in our reasoning about abstract matters.[4]

The above passage helps account for the way the disavowal of the body is justified. This disavowal often maps onto cultural production through the separation of "high" from "low" culture. Popular culture tends to foreground the image of the body, to the point of obsession. Think of music videos, where the locus of the spectacle is often the dance moves of the sundry performers as well as the often provocative attire. The commercialism of popular music is often tied

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[4]Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xiv.

to the bodies of those who make it. The "debased" nature of popular culture is held up against the "non-embodied" quality of "high" culture.

Lawrence W. Levine accounts for an example of how the disavowal of the commercial has worked in his book *Highbrow/Lowbrow*. Levine comprehensively discusses what he calls the "sacralization" of culture in nineteenth-century America. This was a gradual process which positioned European orchestral music and opera as the pinnacle of musical achievement. As a result, this music was "wrenched away from a variety of popular contexts and made to serve the social agenda of a powerful minority of Americans," namely the wealthy and the politically powerful.[5] The sacralization of what is now termed "classical" music "endowed the music...with unique aesthetic and spiritual properties that rendered it inviolate, exclusive, and eternal. This was not the mere ephemera of the world of entertainment but something lasting, something permanent."[6] The "masterworks" of the European canon were considered sacrosanct, transcending matters of entertainment and cultural context. As Levine writes, "the urge to deprecate popular musical genres"—parlour songs for example—"was an important element in the process of sacralization. If symphonic music was...divine, then it followed that other genres must occupy a lesser region."[7] Conductors' function "had become no less than the pursuance

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[5]Robert Walser, *Running With the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 60.

[6]Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 132.

[7]Ibid., 136.

and preservation of what was often referred to as the 'divine art.'"[8] It was considered blasphemy to present at a concert any less than the unabridged composition by the undisputed masters (this same aesthetic was applied to opera: only the full score in the original language was acceptable). These masters were invariably German composers, such as Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Brahms, and Beethoven. The positioning of German music as the pinnacle of the "canon" of great works has continued today, with the canon extended to include such figures as Wagner, Strauss, and Mahler. These are the figures most frequently programmed during concerts, with some room made for such names as Tchaikovsky, Dvořák, and Elgar (in the operatic realm, things are somewhat different, with Verdi occupying a sacralized position similar to Wagner). The sacralization of orchestral music and opera removed these musics from the commercial, made them more than "just" entertainment.

The denial of "art" music's commercial value also served to deny its embodied nature. As Suzanne Cusick writes:

> Music, an art which self-evidently does not exist until bodies make it and/or receive it, is thought about as if it were a *mind-mind* game. Thus, when we think analytically about music, what we ordinarily do is describe practices of the mind (the composer's choices) for the sake of informing the practices of other minds (who will assign meaning to the resulting sounds).[9]

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[8]Ibid.

[9]Suzanne G. Cusick, "Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem," *Perspectives of New Music*, 32/1 (Winter 1994): 16.

The body is thought of as a mere conduit for the product of the composer's mind (Cusick's article specifically discusses the classical repertoire); thus, "we have changed an art that exists only when, so to speak, the Word is made Flesh, into an art which is only the Word."[10] Can the body so easily be exscripted when it comes to conducting, however? The members of an orchestra take their cues from a conductor's body; the conductor's body demonstrates his/her interpretation of the work; the conductor's body becomes a focal point for the audience's attention, because of its prominent placement on-stage.

The proliferation of conducting DVDs—my forthcoming analyses will be based on DVD footage, necessitating this digression—adds a few interesting wrinkles to the placement of the conductor's body in supposedly non-commodified music, as well as the "sacralization" of the classical canon.[11] Upon entering a record store with a sizable classical music department, one will often find an entire section devoted to DVDs. Why have these materials come out in such numbers. Why are they still coming out? It would appear that recordings are not enough to sate certain consumers; they need to *see* the conductor and the orchestra making music. This is probably also why concerts are regularly attended, but video allows audiences to see particular orchestras and conductors. For example, those of us living in Southern Ontario can now easily see a performance of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra without having to fly to Berlin,

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[10]Ibid.

[11]Most of the available DVDs are of concerts, but some featuring rehearsals and/or recording sessions are extant.

or wait until they embark on a North American tour. Is it possible that recordings, which essentially erase the body, are thought of as too distancing from the visual performance of the conductor and the orchestra? Does the sight of embodied sound provide more connection between audiences, either live or mediated, and performers, making the performance seem more "real"? Lawrence Kramer, commenting on videos of opera performances writes,

> The video medium in particular means that, by comparison to the opera house, we always see more than we are supposed to. Not only do we get too close, but we move too much; in reading the camera we must so to speak read around or through the convention that demands changes in angle and distance regardless of the subject matter of the scene.[12]

Similarly, the conducting DVD shows us more than we "should" see: we are allowed to see through close-ups the conductor's baton and left-hand techniques, as well as facial expressions. Generally, audiences at a concert would only see the conductor's back.[13] At times, we can even see the sweat glistening on his/her brow. We are also shown the instrumentalists playing up close, their fingering styles, and the engagement with the music that they show through their physiognomy. This kind of observational detail eludes us in the concert hall, where we cannot scrutinize any particular person, especially the conductor, with such detail. In a sense, the concert DVD serves as a "hyper-real" object: we are privy to more reality than what we see at the originating concert.

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[12]Lawrence Kramer, *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 174.

[13]A notable exception is Roy Thomson Hall in Toronto, where the mezzanine and balcony seats surround the stage.

The presentation of and the actual contents of the conducting DVD are of some importance as well. The DVD cover will often emphasize the identity of the featured conductor instead of the name of the composer(s) and the works performed. This is a reversal of how recordings tend to be packaged, where prominence is usually given to the composer and the title of the piece. In such a case, it is the conductor, not the music that is the selling point for the DVD. The repertoire that appears on these DVDs consists of the expected "great" works from the acknowledged "masters." Works by Bach will be featured, but not Telemann; from the numerous English composers of the early twentieth century, we would expect to see material for Holst, Vaughan Williams, or Elgar, but almost certainly not Gordon Jacob. Even the lesser known works from famous composers tend to be overlooked, so one should not expect to see a multitude of DVDs featuring performances of Dvořák's early symphonies, or Wagner's *Das Liebesverbot* (nor are they performed much in concert). In other words, the conducting DVD serves to fortify the canon of what has been defined as the "great" works of music, continuing the process of sacralization.

III. *Mind, Body, and Discourses of Manhood*

Returning to the mind/body split, scholarship has shown that the split has clear gendered implications in terms of the creation and performance of music. As Susan McClary writes:

> Throughout its history in the West, music has been an activity fought over bitterly in terms of gender identity. The charge that musicians or devotees of music are "effeminate" goes back as far as recorded documentation

> about music, and music's association with the body (in dance or for sensuous pleasure) and with subjectivity has led to its being relegated in many historical periods to what was understood as a "feminine" realm.[14]

Throughout history, the primary creators of notated music have been men. If music and its performance are "effeminate," what effect would this have on male identity? According to McClary, "male musicians have retaliated in a number of ways: by defining music as the most ideal (that is, the least physical) of the arts; by insisting emphatically on its 'rational' dimension."[15] The creation of music is considered to be an act of the mind. Yet, music is meant to be heard and it cannot be heard until it is performed, performance being a bodily act. How can music be the purview of the masculine if it requires the body to be realized? By removing the body from the performance of music, it can continue to be thought of as a masculine pursuit. How has conducting come to be framed as a masculine practice?

When great conductors are discussed, among the names that frequently appear are Hector Berlioz, Gustav Mahler, Georg Solti, Herbert von Karajan, Leonard Bernstein, George Szell and Sergiu Celibidache. All of these men come from different backgrounds and have different approaches to music making; that they are men is what unites them. There has been a paucity of female instrumental conductors and none have been elevated to the status of any of the acknowledged "masters." Thus, the profession of conducting, particularly

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[14]Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, & Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 17.

[15]Ibid.

instrumental conducting, would be considered traditionally male domain. If musical performance (of which conducting is an example) is often considered feminine, how could conducting have been reclaimed as masculine? Robert Walser has written about how control and technical facility are mapped onto masculinity, while flamboyance, emotion and sensitivity are coded as feminine. As Walser writes about the myth of Orpheus:

> Orpheus must sing in such a way as to demonstrate his rhetorical mastery of the world, yet such elaborate vocal display threatens to undermine Orpheus's masculine identity. Flamboyant display of his emotions is required as evidence of his manipulative powers, but such excess makes him into an object of display himself and suggests a disturbing similarity to the disdained emotional outbursts of women.[16]

Orpheus's control of his vocal technique demonstrates his masculinity, yet his emotional investment in his performances conveys femininity.[17] Walser is expounding upon how gender maps onto musical performance in general, but how does it map onto conducting specifically?

In order to answer how conducting was framed as a male occupation, it would be wise to start with how manhood was defined in the nineteenth century, when conducting as we know it today developed. Gail Bederman has accounted for the ways in which constructions of manhood transformed in America during this time period. One of the most overarching changes was the paradigm shift

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[16]Walser, *Running With the Devil*, 108.

[17]When Orpheus looks back at Eurydice before leaving Hades, thus banishing her there, it is as if he has allowed his masculine discipline to lapse. Perhaps his musicianship was always a marker of difference and his lack of discipline reinforced it.

from discussions of "manliness" to those of "masculinity." Bederman sets up the definition of manliness as such:

> Between 1820 and 1860, as increasing numbers of men had begun to earn comfortable livings as entrepreneurs, professionals, and managers, the middle class had begun to differentiate itself from other classes by stressing its gentility and respectability...True manhood was...crucial to antebellum middle-class identity. Middle-class parents taught their sons to build a strong, manly "character" as they would build a muscle, through repetitive exercises of control over impulse.[18]

During this period of time in the United States, manhood was defined as the ability to "control powerful masculine passions through strong character and a powerful will."[19] Mastery over emotions, self-determination, and devotion to respectability were encapsulated in the term "manliness." Bederman notes that a middle-class male's social clout was predicated on his manliness, his ability to rein in emotional and sexual urges, to maintain authority over women and lower classes, and to earn enough money to provide for his family. The ideology of manliness, based in Victorian ideals of identity, was quite different from that of masculinity, as the term was employed during that time: manliness was the ideal to which all men aspired, but only the "best" men attained (usually of European descent), while masculinity consisted of traits all men supposedly possessed by nature, such as aggression and virility.

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[18]Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12.

[19]Ibid., 12-13.

Bederman notes that several socio-economic factors resulted in turn-of-the-century ideologies of manhood shifting from manliness to masculinity. The working class was growing in numbers, competing with middle-class men for control over the politics of manhood. Women's suffrage movements were also threatening male control over society by allowing female access to employment and education opportunities previously unavailable to them. In addition, increasing immigration made competition for jobs more intense. As a result, the manly ideal of strength of character, autonomy, and economic self-reliance became more difficult to achieve. The response to these challenges to male identity, manhood was culturally reshaped, according to an ideal of masculinity:

> Many men tried to revitalize manhood by celebrating all things male. Millions joined fraternal orders like the Red Men, the Freemasons, and the Oddfellows. Others concentrated on making boys into men through organizations like the Boy Scouts and YMCA. Many...glorified the athletic male body through muscular sports like prizefighting, college football, and bodybuilding.[20]

The "masculinizing" of manhood retained the ideals of individualism and emotional restraint, but physical strength, aggression, and virility were added to the requirements of a model male. These were values previously attributed to working class males and as such, scorned by the middle class as "coarse and backward." However, "by the 1880's...as the power of Victorian manliness eroded, many middle-class men began to find this rough working class masculinity powerfully attractive." Towards the end of the century, men "coined

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[20]Ibid., 16.

the new epithets 'sissy,' 'pussyfoot,' 'cold feet' and 'stuffed shirt' to denote behavior which had once appeared self-possessed and manly but now seemed overcivilized and effeminate."[21] The discursive shift from manliness to masculinity changed the ideal from the educated and civilized man to the rugged individualist.

Manliness and masculinity were not only constructed through gender, but through race as well. As Bederman writes, "white Americans had long associated powerful manhood with white supremacy."[22] These associations intensified towards the end of the century when

> middle-class white Americans were discovering an extraordinary variety of ways to link male power to race. Sometimes they linked manly power with the racial supremacy of civilized white men...Similarly, Anglo-Saxonist imperialists insisted that civilized white men had a racial genius to exercise "manhood rights."[23]

Racial discourses positioned non-whites, particularly those of African descent as "savages," slaves to the prurient drives that the civilized white man was supposedly able to control through their innate superiority. The savage trope was thus used to formulate the trope of the racialized Other, and a justification for colonialist campaigns.

Many of the ideals of nineteenth-century manliness may be used to account for the ways in which conducting (and public musical performance in

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[21]Ibid., 17.
[22]Ibid., 20.
[23]Ibid., 21-22.

general) came to be historically framed as a "manly" pursuit. To start with, conducting coincided with the increasing professionalization of musical performance. Earlier in the nineteenth century,

> Only in opera houses were there anything like fully professional full-time orchestras, and even there, in all but the largest houses, local artisans and tradesmen formed a substantial part of orchestras as well as choruses...The coming of the traveling virtuoso-entrepreneur ended that situation.[24]

Virtuoso performers such as Liszt and Paganini played with such technical prowess, that amateurs could not match them. Moreover, "composers, beginning possibly, with the later Beethoven, were beginning to make demands on orchestral musicians that amateurs could not meet."[25] To meet the technical demands of new music, professional symphony orchestras gradually supplanted amateur ensembles. For example, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra was founded in 1842, while the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra was formed in 1882 (court orchestras still existed at the time). Musical life followed a similar trajectory in the United States: Lawrence Levine accounts for the formation of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1842, the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881, and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1891 as part of the sacralization of orchestral music.[26] Concurrent with these developments was the arrival of conducting as we know it today. During this time, the most influential conductors, such as Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner, were also composers. This meant

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[24]Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 73.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 111-115, 122-128, 116-119.

that for these men, "conducting had to take a secondary role in their careers."[27] With the ascendancy of Hans von Bülow, "something new came on the scene—the re-creative rather than the creative musician, the man whose destiny it is to interpret the works of other men."[28] The conductor became a fully professionalized position, devoted solely to leading the orchestra in the performance of works composed by others. Bülow became the template for the modern conductor, who is appointed to a particular orchestra (he was conductor for such groups as the Munich Royal Opera, the court orchestra for the Duke of Meiningen, and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra) for a contractually determined period of time (I am referring specifically to modern conductors, not Bülow here), while travelling to other cities to perform as a guest conductor. Conducting became a way to make a living.

The situation of conducting as a professional position that a man uses to make a living maps directly onto middle-class definitions of manliness. Conducting functions as a "respectable" middle-class occupation that allows a man to make a good living and provide for his family. Additionally, performing "sacralized" art demonstrates a man's "civilized" tastes.

The manly pursuit of emotional restraint also shows up in the aesthetics of nineteenth-century concert life, where "musical performance space became increasingly disciplined. As virtuoso display (aural and visual) reigned on stage,

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[27]Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 163.

[28]Ibid.

listening became its opposite...for bourgeois men in particular, listening meant showing no reaction."[29] Deviation from the norm was regarded with contempt:

> To sneer at people who showed their emotions at a play or concert became de rigueur by the mid-19th Century. Restraint of emotion in the theater became a way for middle-class audiences to mark the line between themselves and the working class. A "respectable" audience by the 1850's was an audience that could control its feelings through silence.[30]

Such governing of passions was expected of concert audiences, but the techniques of conducting allowed its practitioners to construct reserved, manly bodies.

In his genealogical account of conducting, Harold Schonberg characterizes Hector Berlioz as the progenitor of modern conducting. Berlioz's treatise on conducting lays out many of the paradigms that will become integral to orchestral conducting: the observance of metronome marks, the ability to beat time and to subdivide the beat, and the necessity of conducting from the full score. Berlioz's writing on time beating is of particular interest, as he includes diagrams of beat patterns. From here modern conductors get the "down-up" pattern for a 2/4 measure, a triangular pattern for 3/4, etc. Berlioz writes "it is important that the conductor use his arm as little as possible for these movements, and consequently does not let the baton cover too much space."[31] If a conductor's movements are too flamboyant, it becomes harder for the orchestra to understand what the

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[29]Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life With the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 263.

[30]Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man: On the Social Psychology of Capitalism* (New York, 1978), quoted in Leppert, 263.

[31]Hector Berlioz, quoted in Schonberg, 112.

conductor's intentions. Although Berlioz does not advocate a curbing of emotion or enthusiasm (he believed that only bad conductors are indifferent to emotion), he still advocates a reining in of bodily display, which may be read as a restraint of passion. This has carried over even into modern times: for example, whenever I attend a performance of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra conducted by current music director, Peter Oundjian, the first thing that comes to my mind is the gracefulness of his conducting. He does not stand rigid and he leans over to give cues, but there is always a smooth fluidity to his movements. Every gesture seems carefully considered and refined. I do not doubt his engagement with the music, nor the effectiveness of the performances he elicits, but he controls his passions and does not display them ostentatiously. Oundjian comes across as a figure of nineteenth-century middle-class manliness. Needless to say, there are many who have not and do not conduct in this fashion. Leppert accounts for more energetic conducting styles by arguing "frenetic performers, and equally frenetic conductors and their disciplined orchestras, constituted via sight the aesthetic transformation of human mass labor."[32] According to Leppert, hectic conductors could be characterized as an image of the high-speed technological sophistication of industry. With conductors positioned as management in this industrial machine, we see an example of the manly ideal of middle-class control over those of lesser stature, such as women, children, minorities, and lower classes.

[32]Leppert, 267.

As Bederman has noted, discourses surrounding manhood shifted to position masculinity as ideal as opposed to manliness. Recall that masculinity used to be defined as the traits all men possessed by nature, such as aggression and strong sexual drives. With the shift to discussing masculinity as opposed to manliness, such traits were venerated through such terms as "physicality," "virility," "ruggedness," and "individuality." One of the foremost scholars on masculinity and its constructions is R.W. Connell: his study of the ways in which masculinity has been formulated uses ethnographic studies of how everyday citizens consider what it is like to be a man in modern society. Connell maintains that it is impossible to separate how manhood is perceived from the culture that we live in. As such, epistemic definitions of masculinity are difficult because those definitions are consistently reworked as the cultural makeup changes. As Connell writes:

> Rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object...we need to focus on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives. 'Masculinity', to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture.[33]

I now wish to expound upon some of the ways bodies are situated as masculine and suggest ways in which they can be mapped onto conducting.

According to Connell, one of the methods of constructing a masculine body is through physical labour. "Heavy manual work calls for strength,

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[33]R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 71.

endurance, a degree of insensitivity and toughness, and group solidarity. Emphasizing the masculinity of industrial labour has been...a means of asserting superiority over women."[34] In addition to the demonstration of strength and endurance, labour allows men to earn money, perhaps to support a family, a carry-over from the earlier ideal of manliness. The conductor uses his body to elicit sounds from the orchestra and to direct their performance. As such, conducting functions as physical labour. When conducting works such as Wagner operas or Mahler symphonies, when continuous time-beating must be employed over an extended period of time, the possibility always exists of the arm becoming tired, especially if the music is consistently forceful, requiring heavy beats. Additionally, remaining standing in one spot for such a long time may be fatiguing. As a result, conducting becomes an endurance test, a chance to demonstrate masculinity to the orchestra and the audience. When observing the physical styles of such conductors as Georg Solti, or Seiji Ozawa, the vigorous gestures and sometimes strained looks on their faces suggest to us that conducting is truly "hard work," making their stamina more impressive.

Connell also notes that much writing about male bodies metaphorically describes them as machines. "The body 'functions' and operates.' Researchers discover biological 'mechanisms' in behaviour. Brains are 'hardwired' to produce masculinity; men are genetically 'programmed' for dominance;

[34]Ibid., 55.

aggression is in our 'biogram.'"[35] This is reminiscent of Bederman's argument that certain traits were considered a natural part of a man's biological makeup. Describing masculinity in technological terms seems like an apt metaphor for the ways in which manhood is theorized. Facility with technology is an example of mastery of the complex. Recall that Leppert noted that the conductor's gesticulations, particularly when they appeared frenetic, could be mapped onto the fast, efficient industrial technologies. While physical conducting may be interpreted in terms of the complex, high-speed mechanisms of industry, conductors who are more reserved and give clear and regimented beat patterns, may be interpreted as demonstrating "machine-like" precision. Either way, the conductor demonstrates his "programming" for masculinity, through aggression or through precision. The notion that the modern ideals of manhood are part of a man's genetic coding represents one of the largest changes in the way manhood is conceived. For the nineteenth-century middle-class, it is a constant struggle to attain ideal manhood, the struggle being a sign of one's manly character. The suggestion in modern times that masculine ideals of physicality, virility, dominance, and autonomy are part of a man's innate being (meaning if a man does not act on these instincts, he is showing deficiency) posits that patriarchal domination is part of the natural order of things, and thus should not be a struggle.

Yet at the same time, conducting has the potential to problematize masculinity. A conductor who is histrionic in his gestures, who conducts with a

[35]Ibid., 48.

look of reverie on his face may be seen as engaging in a "feminine"-like emotional display. Although discipline and control are coded as masculine traits, if a conductor's gestures are too "small," too "light," he runs the risk of being seen as demonstrating weakness and submissiveness as opposed to strength. As such, a conductor would seem to have a tenuous hold on a stable gendered identity. Chapter One, "'Masculine' Downbeats: Conducting Beethoven and Constructions of Gender," deals specifically with this problem. I take as my object of study a performance of Beethoven's Third Symphony (first movement) conducted by Claudio Abbado. After accounting for various cultural discourses regarding masculine and feminine identities, I discuss the ways in which Beethoven has been framed as a "masculine" composer. I then analyze Abbado's gestures and bodily language and how he performs Beethoven's music. By incorporating the writing of Judith Butler—specifically her theory that gender is a performative act—I argue that the symphony's musical rhetoric and Abbado's bodily constructions problematize definitions of masculinity, essentially revealing masculinity's status as performative. My intent is to show that orchestral conducting cannot be constructed as a masculine pursuit if masculinity has no basis in objective, epistemological truth. It is regrettable that limitations of space preclude me from dealing with female conductors (not only in this chapter, but in the thesis as a whole); it is not my intention to tacitly re-inscribe gendered divisions by excluding women from the discussion. Without a doubt, it would be highly worthwhile to examine women who conduct orchestras with the intent of

exploring how the presence of women in a male dominated field affects the gendering of the profession. Given that orchestral conductors are still predominantly male, it is most useful to use my limited space to deal with issues of masculinity in conducting.

IV. *Powerful Bodies*

Michel Foucault has written a great deal about how power operates in society, one of his major contributions to critical theory. In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, he maintains that "power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations."[36] People do not "have" power. Rather, people engage in power. That he characterizes the use of power as "nonegalitarian" divorces power from individual agency, a tack he takes in *Discipline and Punish*, a tome devoted for the most part to the issue of power enacted on bodies. According to Foucault, "the classical age discovered the body as object and target of power.[37] It is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body—to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces."[38] Foucault's examples of these "signs of attention" included "empirical and calculated methods relating to the army, the school and the

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[36]Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 94.

[37]Although the "classical age" would normally bring to mind Greco-Roman times, Foucault appears to be referring to the 18th century. This period is where he begins his study.

[38]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 136.

hospital," all institutions devoted to "controlling or correcting operations of the body."[39] The ideal state for the body is docility, which is "a body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved."[40] Society demands that a body be disciplined (reserved, restrained, no wild movements) so it can easily be trained (or moulded) into whatever those in power see fit. As Bryan Turner writes:

> The rationalization of Western society...found a new object of exploration and control—the human body itself. The spread of scientific and techno-rational procedures, having gained a foothold onto a new terrain, the body of individuals and the body of populations. The institutionalization of the body...made possible a statistics of populations and new practices of quantification.[41]

The body was formed into something scientific, an element of discourse. A body that was not disciplined would have been seen as a threat because it could not be shaped. Foucault would likely argue that this is why there is always controversy when public figures engage in spectacular bodily display: a spectacular body needs to be condemned, shown to be morally wrong so that it may revert to docility.[42]

To foster discipline, society sets up numerous systems designed to mould bodies as well as minds. Foucault refers to these systems as "control of

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[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Bryan S. Turner, *The Body & Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 160.

[42]A recent example would be the run-up to the 2004 presidential election in the United States, specifically the primaries to decide the Democratic candidate. Howard Dean seemed to be the front-runner, until the infamous "Dean scream." Suddenly, people decided he was unstable, wild, over-emotional, not "presidential material" and his approval numbers sharply dropped.

activity."[43] One of these systems was the timetable; "its three great methods—establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition—were soon to be found in schools, workshops and hospitals."[44] Schools hold classes at specific places at specific times, where students obediently walk from class to class, day after day. Routine equals discipline. The education system holds power over the body of the student. Similarly, a rehearsal schedule for an orchestra is created that the players must follow. They are required to show up at rehearsals on time, or they may be subject to a reprimand and a fine, or even dismissal in the case of a repeat offender. The conductor's very position in rehearsal and performance is a display of power over the orchestra: s/he stands on a podium looking down on the players. In this instance, the sight of the conductor's body suggests a position of power.

Another of Foucault's systems of control, "the correlation of the body and the gesture," further empowers the body of the conductor, while at the same time regulates it.[45] According to Foucault:

> Disciplinary control does not consist simply in teaching or imposing a series of particular gestures; it imposes the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed. In the correct use of the body...nothing must remain idle or useless: everything must be called upon to form the support of the act required.[46]

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[43]Foucault, 149.
[44]Ibid.
[45]Ibid., 152.
[46]Ibid.

The conductor's beat pattern demonstrates the tempo and placement of beats, which the orchestra must follow in order for the performance to be coherent. Also, the size of the beat pattern and the left-hand gestures show the orchestra how the piece should be played in terms of dynamics, as well as cuing players and creating a textural balance (demonstrating that sections or soloists need to play louder or softer). However, the conductor's technique is the result of training and practice; the performance of the conductor enacts the power his/her instructors held over him/her.

The training of conductors brings to mind an experience from my time as an undergraduate music student. In my conducting classes, taught by Dr. Keith Kinder (who would come to be my thesis supervisor), I was taught "proper" ways to show beat patterns. I was told that patterns should not be too broad because it would be difficult for the group to understand my gestures. They would find it hard to tell where the beats were. Also, when I was on the podium, Kinder would watch my preparatory position and tell me my arms should be higher or lower; closer together or farther apart. At one point, the fingers of my left hand were spread apart, which may have been distracting to the players (it looked like a claw). Kinder physically closed my fingers. Although he meant this as a joke (it worked, as the class laughed), he was demonstrating power. My body was being disciplined to behave in certain ways. The conductor's body both enacts power and has power enacted on it; it is a docile body.

Christopher Small has explored the conductor's relationship with power admirably in his book *Musicking*, where he devotes much of his focus towards the social meanings of the symphonic concert. One of his chapters examines the conductor, particularly how s/he is constructed as a powerful figure. For example, Small sees great significance in the gesture of stepping on the podium and facing the musicians, turning his/her back on the audience:

> From the strictly utilitarian point of view it is clearly necessary that he turn his back to the audience in order to do the job of directing the musicians, but in this highly charged ceremonial space no gesture is without its ritual significance. Turning one's back is an ambiguous gesture; on the one hand it can signify arrogant authority that cares little for those on whom its back is turned, while on the other it is the gesture of the leader who says "Follow me" as he leads us—to where only he knows.[47]

Small runs through the litany of the ways in which the conductor maintains privileged status: s/he is the only person with access to the full score, and who can interpret the music in its totality. S/he is the one who initiates orchestral sound; s/he receives the audience's applause after the performance has ended; s/he has the ability to direct approval to particular members of the orchestra. S/he is the individual responsible for coordinating the sundry players into a unified whole. Small's analysis is certainly invaluable in demonstrating the conductor's status in the ritual of symphonic performance, but he does little in terms of examining how specific gestures enact tropes of power. My approach in this study will take steps towards filling in that gap.

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[47]Small, *Musicking*, 79.

I further explore the above issues in Chapter Two, "The Ictus of Power: Images of Discipline, Panopticism, and Symbolic Capital in Wagner and Shostakovich." I focus on Sir Georg Solti at two periods in his career: his "peak" period in the 1960s, specifically the recording sessions for *Götterdämmerung* by Richard Wagner (already mentioned at the outset of this chapter), and a performance of Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 10* from 1992, towards the end of his life.[48] Through these performances, I examine how the body of the conductor becomes a site where issues of cultural power are contested, specifically how the conductor enacts power and how power is enacted on the conductor. How do conducting gestures foster discipline among members of the orchestra? How does the conductor create authority for himself?[49] By constructing a disciplined body, is the conductor allowing society to enact power on him? What if his body does not meet the standard of discipline? How does that affect issues of power? In this introduction, I discussed Foucault's ideas and their applications to conducting in rather generalized and unproblematic terms. In Chapter Two, I add necessary nuances by utilizing critiques of Foucault's approach. In addition to the issues of discipline, I discuss Foucault's writings about "panopticism," the issue of implied surveillance. I then argue that it is possible to read the body of the conductor as an instrument of surveillance, to enact power over the orchestra. Finally, I expand my earlier discussion of sacralization to analyze Solti's conducting in terms of

[48]Using a Russian composer, although a very highly regarded one, in the context of this particular subject, serves as something of a challenge to the hierarchy that places German music as the apex of musical culture.

[49]Again, I exclusively use "himself" because I will be discussing a male conductor.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the artistic field; how Solti accumulates cultural prestige or "symbolic capital" through conducting and how he uses "cultural capital," or artistic knowledge, to bestow symbolic capital on the music he conducts. My discussion demonstrates that through conducting, power is worked out on a number of levels—authority, domination, and the pursuit of and bestowing of prestige. Moreover, I argue that locating issues of power within the body reveals the contingencies of power, that power is not merely an issue of coercer and the coerced. Rather, individual volition is also at play.

V. *Grotesque Time-beating*

If conducting engages the body, could it be considered a subversion of the traditional mind/body split, a transgressive act? Mikhail Bakhtin addresses the issue of bodily transgression in the form of grotesque bodies in his landmark study *Rabelais and His World.* According to Bakhtin, exaggeration is an example of grotesquery: "the grotesque is first of all a caricature but a caricature that has reached fantastic dimension." Moreover, "the exaggeration of the inappropriate to incredible and monstrous dimension is...the basic nature of the grotesque."[50] But what is considered inappropriate? Bakhtin addresses this point when he writes:

> The grotesque body...is a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed...This is why the essential role belongs to those

[50]Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 306.

> parts of the grotesque body in which it outgrows its own self, transgressing its own body, in which it conceives a new second body.[51]

The inappropriate, the grotesque, were parts of the body that could be extended past the body's normal confines. The bowels provide a method of eliminating non-digestible foodstuffs through the act of defecation, conceiving a second body through "fertilization." Similarly, the phallus eliminates through urination and procreates through sexual intercourse. Clearly, Bakhtin defines the lower body as well as anything with a connection to the lower body as grotesque. For example, the mouth is where food is consumed, after which it passes through the digestive system before being expelled. However, according to Bakhtin, any body part that becomes exaggerated results in comical imagery, and becomes grotesque. For example

> The eyes have no part in these comic images; they express an individual, so to speak self-sufficient human life...The grotesque is interested only in protruding eyes...It is looking for that which protrudes from the body, all that seeks to go out beyond the body's confines.[52]

With this definition, it would appear that almost every body part has the capacity to be grotesque. For example, an arm might not initially appear to have comical possibilities. But, if an arm is exaggerated in any way, be it with tattoos, excessive hair or unusually large hands, it becomes grotesque. It would seem that one of the only parts of the body that are unique, that cannot protrude from the

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[51]Ibid., 317.
[52]Ibid., 316.

body's confines, is the brain. The grotesque body is an example of the aforementioned mind/body split. The upper body houses the mind, our ability to reason; things privileged in our society. The lower body and everything connected to it, is the source of pleasure and thus coded as subaltern, a source of vulgarity.

If parts of the body not related to the mind and with the capacity to be extended are grotesque, then acts that engage them would be considered acts of transgression. Bakhtin used the adjective "carnivalesque" to describe comic images and transgressive acts. Carnival "embraced ritual spectacles such as fairs, popular feasts and wakes, processions and competitions, comic shows, mummery and dancing, open-air amusement with costumes and masks, giants, dwarfs, monsters, trained animals and so forth."[53] Bakhtin considered it "both a populist utopian vision of the world seen from below and a festive critique, through the inversion of hierarchy, of the 'high' culture."[54] In Bakhtin's words:

> As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrates temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order; it marks the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and complete.[55]

Bakhtin's use of such words as "becoming" and "complete" are reminiscent of his description of the grotesque body. Carnival would appear to be a space where the

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[53]Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 8.

[54]Ibid., 7.

[55]Bakhtin, 10.

grotesque body would be considered not only acceptable, but also ideal. Carnival is the one place where bodily performance would not be considered vulgar.

Conducting relies on bodily movement and gesture in order to elicit a performance from the ensemble. The movements of the arm show the players the correct tempo, the placement of beats, cues, and releases. Since the movement of the conductor's body results in musical sound, it may be considered a body in the act of "becoming." For example, the waving of the baton initiates sound from the orchestra while expressive left hand gestures, movements of the head, facial expressions, etc. are part of how the conductor interprets the score. Moreover, when conductors make flamboyant gestures such as excessively large beat patterns that move out of the beat point line, extremely heavy downbeats, or such left-hand gestures as clenched fists may be considered exaggerated movements.[56] The conductor's body may be seen as grotesque, particularly when engaging in extravagant gestures. For example, Leonard Bernstein was described as "a specialist in the clenched fist, the hip swivel, the pelvic thrust...the uppercut, the haymaker."[57] A memorable performance that I experienced recently featured Sir Andrew Davis conducting the Toronto Symphony Orchestra in an all-Wagner program. I remember Davis sporting a five-o-clock shadow (I would normally

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[56]The beat-point line is an imaginary plane (in my conducting class, it was described as an imaginary table top), where all the beats in a conducting pattern should land. Moving out of it might entail moving the baton very far away from the body, or providing an up-beat much higher than any previously established.

[57]Harold Schonberg, *The Great Conductors* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 357. Schonberg may be surreptitiously referring (whether he is aware of it or not) to Bernstein's sexuality in this quote. He refers to Bernstein as the most "choreographic" of modern conductors; others are more "literal." Schonberg points to Bernstein's "difference," which can be mapped onto his bisexuality.

expect a conductor to be either clean-shaven or wearing a full beard). During the performance, he frequently bobbed up and down and leaned backward. Sitting four rows from the stage, I could hear him exhaling loudly. This was clearly not a reserved use of the body. Perhaps when conductors are histrionic, they are practicing the carnivalesque, transgressing normative methods of constructing the body.

Richard Leppert's writing on Franz Liszt and the visual spectacle of the virtuoso is of particular interest.[58] He argues that for nineteenth-century audiences, Liszt's spectacular performances became a scopohilic fascination:

> The cultural semiotics of musical virtuosity were inscribed onto performers' bodies; the abstract quality of artistry and the paradoxical immateriality of sonority itself were experienced and made concrete by the presence of performers creating sound. In *Those Who Are Carried Away*, Gustav Doré's acid caricature, otherwise-sober gentlemen are shown to have surrendered to irrational musical enthusiasms.[59]

Doré's caricature shows male spectators with unkempt beards, pointed noses, and oversized heads leaning over a balcony as if to be closer to the performance. If Liszt's spectacular gestures are grotesque (another caricature depicts Liszt as playing so fast that he appears to have multiple arms), he also inspires grotesquery from his audience. The concert hall would appear to be a safe space for bravura performance, for transgression of traditional bodily performance. However,

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[58]Leppert discusses the piano virtuoso. Since conductors have also been lauded as virtuosos, I feel the discussion is relevant.

[59]Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life With the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 258.

"open display—performance bravura—was often regarded by music critics as an appeal to popular (read vulgar) taste."[60] In addition, "Liszt's own highly physical conducting style, in an age when men were expected to behave always with decorum, also drew attention—whether awe or contempt."[61] Virtuoso performances, with spectacular body display, can convey transgression. The transgressive conductor displays bodily freedom, seemingly enacting a struggle between carnival and the official feast.[62]

The struggle I suggest is central to Chapter Three, "Conducting the Carnivalesque: Ritual, Transgression, and Pleasure in Orff's *Carmina Burana*." In that chapter, I provide more detail on Bakhtin's discussion of carnival, focusing on its status as ritual spectacle, its transgressive qualities, and its veneration of bodily pleasure. I account for various reactions from "official culture" to these aspects of carnival before moving on to a performance of Carl Orff's composition, conducted by Seiji Ozawa. My discussion will account for the text's carnivalesque status and how Ozawa's gestures either enact or repudiate carnivalesque tropes. I argue that conducting is a ritual spectacle and when a work like *Carmina Burana* is performed, an intermingling of constructions of "official" and "folk" culture occurs. The end result is that the performance becomes more than a simple struggle between "high" and "low" culture, but also the site of a deconstruction of such a binary. The conductor's body functions as

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[60]Ibid., 265-267.

[61]Ibid., 268.

[62]The point should be made that conducting gestures must reflect the musical rhetoric in order to be effective. Flamboyance would be appropriate for a work like Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*, but not for a Mozart symphony.

the locus of both the struggle between and the mélange of carnival and official feasts. In addition, my choice of conductor necessitates that I offer some commentary on how the issue of race, how the body of a non-Caucasian conductor, affects the discussion of carnivalesque bodies.

VI. *Metaphorical Conducting*

The act of conducting appears to be the end result of an intense intellectual process: the mental preparation (creating rehearsal plans, deciding how to communicate with the ensemble), analysis of the score, hearing every part (in the mind's ear when doing analysis as well as when the group is playing). Yet conducting requires the body in order to communicate with an ensemble.[63] How might conducting be theorized in a way that collapses the mind/body split? Mark Johnson's theory of "image schemata" may be a way to address this question. According to Johnson, "human bodily movement, manipulation of objects, and perceptual interactions involve recurring patterns without which our experiences would be chaotic and incomprehensible."[64] Johnson refers to these patterns as "image schemata"; he explains that "they are gestalt structures, consisting of parts standing in relations and organized into unified wholes, by means of which our experience manifests discernible order."[65] Image schemata are not images in and of themselves, but ways in which the mind organizes how the body experiences the world.

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[63]In effect, a synthesis of "carnival" and the "official feast."
[64]Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*, xix.
[65]Ibid.

One of Johnson's image schemata is called *path*, which he illustrates by showing a vector moving from initial point A to terminal point B.[66] The *path* schema has numerous "metaphorical projections," or ways of enacting this schema. As Johnson writes:

> Our lives are filled with paths that connect up our spatial world. There is the path from your bed to the bathroom, from the stove to the kitchen table, from your house to the grocery store, from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and from the Earth to the Moon...In all of these cases there is a single, recurring image-schematic pattern with a definite internal structure. In every case of PATHS there are always the same parts: (1) a source, or starting point; (2) a goal, or endpoint; and (3) a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal.[67]

When a conductor conducts a piece of tonal music, s/he enacts several paths. When the conductor gives the preparatory beat to begin a piece, the source is the upward movement of the baton while the goal is the first downbeat. This downbeat initiates a path to the final release that ends the piece (or movement). The beat patterns, tempo changes, and expressive left-hand gestures are examples of the contiguous locations that connect the beginning and ending of the work. The orchestra traverses a related path (a metaphorical path: the musicians do not go anywhere themselves, but perform the music which travels along a path): they move towards the final cadence of the piece (this assumes that a piece of tonal music is being performed, where the "goal" of the piece is easier to audibly discern). New themes, modulations, and tempo changes provide contiguity.

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[66]Ibid., 28.
[67]Ibid., 113.

Since the conductor's beat patterns and expressive gestures lead the orchestra's performance, they navigate related paths, which coalesce to create a sonoric event. In Chapter Four, "Conducting as Image Schemata: Speechless Speech Acts, Metaphorical Syntax and Strauss," I explore how conducting functions as metaphorical projections of other image schemata, focusing on Herbert Von Karajan conducting *Tod und Verklärung* by Richard Strauss. My larger purpose is to use Johnson's work as well as the writing of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and David Lidov to examine the body's status in language, arguing that the body possesses the ability to function as a discursive agent in place of actual speech.

Johnson's theory of image schemata seeks to reconcile the traditional mind/body dichotomy by arguing that the mind organizes our physical experiences in terms of metaphor. He wishes to explain "how it is possible, and necessary, after all, for abstract meanings, and for reason and imagination, to have a bodily basis."[68] If the body is part of the mind and vice-versa, then there is no need for a mind/body split. My study intends to show that through conducting, this split is reconciled. Conducting requires the participation of both mind and body; the performance of a piece of music provides them with a common purpose. Comparing Solti's and Strauss' conducting styles at the beginning of this Introduction demonstrated dichotomies of excess/restraint, physical/intellectual, and body/mind. I hope that this study will show that Solti and Strauss are not so far apart after all.

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[68]Ibid., xvi.

Chapter One

"MASCULINE" DOWNBEATS: CONDUCTING BEETHOVEN AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER

I. *A Male Dominated Field*

In terms of instrumental conducting, women remain underrepresented, even in the supposedly "enlightened" early 21st century. Indeed, if one were to ask me to name a female conductor of a symphony orchestra, I would be hard pressed to provide a quick response.[1] "The idea of a woman managing the performance of [orchestral] music remains anathema even in societies where women have achieved the highest office," writes Norman Lebrecht in *The Maestro Myth.*[2] Lebrecht also notes, "Whether they act tough or soft, women conductors have been given a hard time by male-dominated orchestras."[3] Before 1997, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra would not even allow female players (with the exception of harpists) into the orchestra, let alone conductors. Since orchestral conducting remains a male dominated field, it begs the question of how the act of conducting has acquired and maintains masculine status. In this chapter, I intend to explore how the sight of the male conductor and his construction of the body ontologizes conducting as a "masculine" act. I will focus

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[1]Tania Miller conducts the Victoria Symphony Orchestra, Joanne Faletta works with the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra, and Agnes Grossman is Principle Guest Conductor for the Kitchener-Waterloo Symphony Orchestra. I thank my advisor, Dr. Keith Kinder for pointing this out to me after reading an earlier draft of this chapter.

[2]Norman Lebrecht, *The Maestro Myth: Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1991), 263-264.

[3]Ibid., 264.

on a performance of the first movement of the Third Symphony "*Eroica*" by Beethoven, performed in Rome, Italy in 2001 by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and conducted by Claudio Abbado. My argument will proceed along the following trajectory: I will discuss how the male body has been culturally constructed and its relationship with "femininity." This discussion will incorporate the gendering of dualisms such as objectivity/subjectivity, reason/emotion, and aggression/passivity, with regard to the sometimes contradictory signifiers of "manliness" and "masculinity." Since the performance I will be analyzing is a modern cultural product, much of my interpretations will be directed to twentieth-century constructions of masculinity as discussed by R.W. Connell. However, I will also deal with ideologies of early nineteenth century "manliness" (as elucidated in my introduction), concomitant with the period in which Beethoven worked. I will then account for Beethoven's status as a quintessential "masculine" composer and the musical hermeneutics in his work that led to that status, in the view of certain critics. Finally, I will analyze Abbado's conducting of the Beethoven symphony, emphasizing how his bodily movements enact (or counteract) semiotics of masculinity. A fulcrum of my argument will be Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, the theory that gender is based not upon biological determinism, but the repeated enactment of culturally mediated discursive signs, what Gail Bederman refers to as a "historical, ideological process."[4] Through this destabilization of identity, I will

[4]Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in*

account for slippages in the supposedly traditional masculine narratives of Beethoven's music, and Abbado's performance of those slippages. My intent will be to argue that Abbado is not performing an epistemic masculinity, but an unstable cultural trope that only maintains orthodoxy through repeated performance. Through such an argument, I will problematize the situation of orchestral conducting within the realm of the masculine.

II. *Patriarchy and Bodily Inscription*

Throughout history, the tendency has been to regard many societies, including Western, as patriarchal. There are numerous explanations for the perpetuation of male dominance and the construction of masculinity and femininity as binary opposites. One of these is what Bryan Turner refers to as the "nature/culture argument":

> The result of this association with nature is that men are seen to be liberated from natural functions in order to occupy themselves with higher status activities, namely the creation of a cultural, symbolic environment...In this division of labour, men create enduring symbols, while women reproduce perishable bodies.[5]

In addition, the theory accounts for the positioning of upper and middle-class white men in the nineteenth century as innately superior to lower classes as well as "inferior" races. Turner comments on—without necessarily accepting—another cultural trope explaining patriarchy, known as the "property argument":

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the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7.

[5]Bryan S. Turner, *The Body & Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 115-116.

> The property argument suggests that patriarchal attitudes are an ideological outcrop of a more basic economic requirement, that is the regular distribution of property through legitimate heirs. Behind patriarchy, there lies the problem of paternity, namely the flow of property between generations according to male inheritance. This control of wealth through kinship requires both the control of wives and the control of children.[6]

Whether by nature or the ownership of property, these narratives seem to predestine men for cultural domination. The perpetuation of patriarchy served to sustain cultural capital for men. As R.W. Connell writes, "men gain a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige, and the right to command."[7] Connell elaborates:

> In the rich capitalist countries, men's average incomes are approximately *double* women's average incomes...Men are vastly more likely to control a major block of capital as chief executive officer of a major corporation, or as direct owner...Men are much more likely to hold state power...Perhaps men do most of the work? No: in the rich countries, time-budget studies show women and men work on average about the same number of hours in the year.[8]

Such situations frame middle to upper-class men as the source of cultural and economic power, regardless of whatever valuable contributions women have to make, but what are the reasons for this? One possible explanation is the denial of dependence on women. As John Shepherd writes, "children of both sexes...first experience their world as being almost totally constituted by a

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[6]Ibid., 117-118.
[7]R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 82.
[8]Ibid.

woman."[9] The child is born and then nursed by the woman; she is in essence the source of the child's first emotional attachment and the male child is initially dependent on her. Shepherd elaborates, "There is a sense, therefore, in which the male adolescent enters his particular stage of life with a certain inbuilt insecurity. The source of life is always external to him."[10] Admittedly, this interpretation presents a pretty essentialist view of what constitutes femininity, suggesting that nurturing is the essence of women. Since this chapter will advocate a non-essentialist definition of masculinity, it will not do to advocate only one definition of femininity. However, for the sake of expediency, I will accept the above as one way in which femininity has been theorized. Moving on from that clarification, if a male child depends on a woman for survival, how would that affect the tropes of self-reliance that surround ideal manhood? A common solution to this quandary is to position women as inferior, consigning them to a domestic role, while the male learns to be autonomous and self-determining. As Shepherd writes, "so long as women do not engage in the 'real world,' but are kept safe at home or in traditional 'female' occupations, male supremacy in the 'real world' will go unchallenged."[11] It is difficult to uncritically accept this claim nowadays, considering the number of high-paying jobs women now occupy. That said, it is clear that Shepherd is tapping into long-standing discourses of domesticated females. Shepherd's reading suggests that male

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[9]John Shepherd, "Music and Male Hegemony," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, eds. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 153.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., 153-154.

identity is predicated on a rejection of any need for the feminine, as defined in the above terms, at all.

In addition to masculine tropes that deny any sense of reliance on females as well as agency over how women participate in the "real world," there exist discourses that deny female identity and signification altogether. In the first chapter of her book *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler elucidates one of the theories of French feminist Luce Irigaray:

> Women constitute a paradox, if not a contradiction, within the discourse of identity itself. Women are the "sex" which is not "one." Within a language pervasively masculinist, a phallogocentric language, women constitute the *unrepresentable*. In other words, women represent the sex that cannot be thought, a linguistic absence and opacity.[12]

Butler notes that many feminist discourses position women as an Other to the male. Irigaray, however, argues that in a masculinist economy, female identity is completely exscripted. Self and Other are "masculine mainstays of a closed phallogocentric signifying economy that achieves its totalitizing goal through the exclusion of the feminine altogether."[13] Elsewhere, Butler expands on this point, writing

> The "feminine" which cannot be said to *be* anything, to participate in ontology at all, is...set under erasure as the impossible necessity that enables any ontology. The feminine, to use a catachresis, is domesticated and rendered unintelligible within a phallogocentrism that claims to be self-constituting. Disavowed, the remnant of the feminine survives as the

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[12]Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 14.

[13]Ibid.

> *inscriptional space* of that phallogocentrism, the specular surface which receives the marks of a masculine signifying act.[14]

The result, according to Irigaray (as communicated by Butler) is that "the feminine is cast outside the form/matter and universal/particular binarisms. She will be neither the one nor the other, but the permanent and changeable condition of both."[15] In other words, the feminine represents the beginning of life (consider such colloquialisms as "Mother Nature" and "Mother Earth"), but agency over bodily inscription, the formation of an autonomous identity, becomes the purview of the masculine. The female is denied signification (except as possibly a "lack" compared to the male) as well as the right to signify. Irigaray's discourse could hardly be considered the final word on gender politics, as other compelling interpretations exist, but her theory (and Butler's appraisal thereof) provides illuminating insight into the "separation of women from the cultural production of meaning," where women "become subjects only insofar as they are taken as objects of male interpretation."[16] With the exscription of the female from the realm of the corporeal, the masculine is positioned as the only identity rooted in epistemic truth, with no feasible threat to male hegemony.

III. *Binaries, Manliness, and Masculinity*

Manliness and masculinity's relationship to truth has crucial implications when considering the gendering of objectivity/subjectivity binary. As I have

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[14]Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 39.

[15]Ibid., 42.

[16]Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 108.

noted in the Introduction, Western society privileges objectivity, rationality, and truth. As Mark Johnson has written, "objectivity" is the striving to create epistemologies that are "universal" in their meaning:

> The Objectivist theory of meaning is compatible with, and supports, the epistemological claim that there exists a "God's-Eye" point of view, that is, a perspective that transcends all human limitation and constitutes a universally valid reflective stance.[17]

Objectivity purports to explain the world in ways that are true for all; subjectivity deals with individual experience. In the Introduction, I wrote that according to Johnson, the body is coded as subjective. Our response to physical and emotional stimuli is contingent upon our own inner drives. Objectivity is not interested in the heterogeneity of emotion and pleasure, only in "hard" epistemology. If one invokes Irigaray's theory of the construction of masculine identity as the only true, worldly identity, then objectivity's commitment to universal truth would seem to suggest a commitment to manhood. Invoking binary oppositions of male/female and mind/body and mapping them onto the objectivity/subjectivity binary suggests that subjectivity, femininity, and the bodily all occupy subaltern positions. Thus, the pursuit of objectivity becomes the pursuit of masculinity.

The act of conducting would seem to problematize objectivity's basis in the masculine. The conductor makes use of patterns and gestures that everyone in the orchestra recognizes and responds to accordingly. On that level, conducting

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[17]Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xxiii.

appears to be an exercise in objective truths. Yet the ways in which the conductor uses those gestures (how large the beat pattern, shape, direction of movement, and style, etc.) are chosen by each individual conductor. The choice of how to display the body is a subjective act. As such, conducting becomes an intermingling of objectivity and subjectivity, suggesting that the act falls along a performative continuum as opposed to creating an essentialized (gendered) identity. I will return to this conundrum when I discuss the specific performances of Beethoven.

The binary of reason/emotion may also be mapped onto a masculine/feminine binary. According to R.W. Connell, "a familiar theme in patriarchal ideology is that men are rational while women are emotional."[18] Connell also notes that "hegemonic masculinity establishes its hegemony partly by its claim to embody the power of reason, and thus represent the interests of the whole society."[19] The regulation of emotion is where the archaic definitions of manliness and the modern definitions of masculinity intersect. As Bederman writes, the middle-class man of the nineteenth century saw "the ability control powerful masculine passions through strong character and a powerful will as a primary source of men's strength."[20] Witnessing representations of male identity in twentieth-century media, it is hard to dispute these tropes of manhood: we have been inundated with images of John Wayne and Gary Cooper. These were men who did "what a man's gotta do" and did not permit their passions to overtake

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[18]Connell, *Masculinities*, 164.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 12.

them. Indeed, one would think that if they even indulged in a wide smile, their faces would crack in half. Their status as heroes positioned them as potential models for how to construct an ideal male self. The expression of emotion is thus framed as deleterious to a man's identity. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has written about gendered narratives with regard to sentimentality:

> "The sentimental" is seen as a derogatory code name for female bodies and the female domestic and "reproductive" preoccupations of birth, socialization, illness, and death. The devaluation of "the sentimental," it is argued, has been of a piece with the devaluation of many aspects of women's characteristic experience and culture: in this view "the sentimental"...is typically located in the private or domestic realm....[21]

By positioning the expression of emotion as belonging "behind closed doors," it is tied to the notion of female domesticity. Emotion is "downgraded to a second-class status—something vaguely undesirable and intimately associated with women—to be controlled by superior, 'rational' men."[22]

The subaltern positioning of emotion has frequently appeared in musical discourse. Such abjection is invoked in the nineteenth-century music criticism of Eduard Hanslick, who argued that music had no emotional content.[23] He argued that music's sole content was the relationships between tones. Although music could inspire a subjective emotional reaction in the listener, it could not express emotion in and of itself. One possible reason for Hanslick's extreme position may

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[21]Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 144.

[22]Shepherd, "Music and Male Hegemony," 154.

[23]See Eduard Hanslick, *On The Musically Beautiful*, 8th ed., trans. and ed. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986).

be located in a need to distance "absolute" music from the concurrent virtuoso recital. As I noted in the Introduction, this atmosphere was one of emotional intensity on the part of the performer; the virtuoso's prowess had the ability to provoke passionate emotional responses from the audience. As such, the recital took attention away from the tonal relationships, the "beautiful" in music. In eighteenth-century English discourse, the emotional element of music was dispersed by constructing it as a science as opposed to an art:

> *Music* is a *science* established on the most sublime parts of mathematical truths; its *theory* founded on the doctrine of *Proportion*; on the most *wonderful*, though the most *simple* and *few Principles*; the knowledge of which, fills the enquiring mind with the most transcendent pleasure, and admiration of the wisdom of the Creator, who "*hath filled all things with good.*"[24]

Constructing music as "pure abstraction" served to remove the emotional qualities of music, justifying music's "existence as a masculine and mental practice." Thus, music was valued "not for aesthetic reasons or for its inherent mathematical logic, but as a means to an end...a tool for domination."[25] In the discussion of Beethoven, I will note that the paradigm of symphonic music in the late Classical/early Romantic periods was the "purging" of the softer, emotional, even sentimental second theme by the resurgent primary theme. When conducting such music, the conductor would ideally avoid emotional displays, according to

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[24] *Euterpe; or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education* (London, 1778), quoted in Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 65. This attitude towards emotion in music would seem to come from the concomitant philosophical current of the Enlightenment, the privileging of reason and science above emotion.

[25] Ibid.

the discourses quoted above, be it through bodily movements or physiognomy, in order to construct a masculine body. However, the music of the first movement of Beethoven's Third Symphony's problematizes the pursuit of masculine identity, as does Abbado's conducting.

Moving on to another way in which masculinity is framed, I offer the issue of aggression. As Connell has written, the use of violence is a way of maintaining dominance:

> It is, overwhelmingly, the dominant gender who hold and use the means of violence. Men are armed far more often than women...Patriarchal definitions of femininity (dependence, fearfulness) amount to a cultural disarmament that may be quite as effective as the physical kind...Many members of the privileged group use violence to sustain their dominance...Violence can become a way of claiming or asserting masculinity in group struggles.[26]

As I noted in my introduction, manliness and masculinity were reconstructed in the nineteenth century to include Caucasian dominance over non-white races, often leading to colonialist campaigns. Connell has noted that the coding of aggression as masculine has crucial implications regarding the issues of globalization and imperialism:

> The growing emphasis on gender difference in European culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided symbols of overall superiority and inferiority...The conqueror was virile, while the colonized were dirty, sexualized and effeminate or childlike.[27]

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[26]Connell, *Masculinities*, 83.

[27]R.W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 49.

As the above quote indicates, the deployment of aggression on a global scale suggests a subjugation of an Other, a colonized culture. Indeed, Bederman observes that the male fascination with violence was due to a belief that "true manhood involved a primal virility...called the 'masculine primitive.'"[28] The fascination with "savage" impulses led to a resurgence of such activities as hunting, fishing, and camping. The middle class, as something of a colonizing gesture, appropriated the "primitiveness" of less "civilized" cultures. The colonized culture thus became the global equivalent of the domesticated female. Violence suggests the politics of domination—of women, other men, children, and other cultures—and the prevailing of the masculine self.

IV. *One is Not Born a Man...*

To facilitate a deconstruction of the above masculine tropes, I offer Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity. According to Butler, gender is not a stable ontology, but "the cultural meanings the sexed body assumes."[29] As a result, "the sex/gender distinction suggests a radical discontinuity between sexed bodies and culturally constructed genders."[30] Gender is not predicated on biological sex. Rather, one's gendered identity is based upon the enactment of culturally mediated signs, inscribed upon the "variable boundary" of the body.[31] According to Butler, it is the repeated actualization of these discursive signs that forms the locus of one's gender:

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[28]Bederman, 22.
[29]Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 10.
[30]Ibid.
[31]Ibid., 177.

> As in other ritual dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated.* This repetition is at once a re-enactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established...Gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which acts follow; rather gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts.*[32]

"Masculinity" and "femininity" thus have no basis in hard epistemology; instead, they are constituted through the performance of culturally delineated markers. For example, objectivity is not inherently "masculine," just as subjectivity is not "feminine"; they are only framed as such, because they have been culturally coded that way. Similarly, the display of emotion is not simply a case of *being* feminine, but the acting out of a socially inscribed marker of femininity. Acts of aggression and violence are not scientifically masculine. Rather, they are ritualistic performances of the way men are "supposed" to behave. Butler's theory suggests that gender cannot be reduced to such diametric opposites as "male" and "female." If gender is indeed performative, then there exists the possibility for individual volition. Gender would take on the properties of a liminal space, a continuum between what is considered "masculine" and "feminine." Of course, this possibility is not usually exploited. The "tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders" results in "punishments that attend not agreeing to believe in them," such as public displays of drag being regarded as "deviant" or "grotesque."[33]

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[32]Ibid., 178.
[33]Ibid.

Nonetheless, the performativity of gender provides an opportunity to give the lie to essentialized gender roles. Through an intermingling of "masculine" and "feminine" acts, one could reveal the constructed nature of gendered identities. The act of conducting, through its basis in bodily performance, is an ideal venue for theorizing gender performativity; the conductor simultaneously offers his/her own body for display and performs the narrative agendas of the music. As I will demonstrate, critical discourse tends to construct an agenda of masculine demonstration, a masculinity based in aggression and rugged individualism. However, both the music and Abbado's conducting contain slippages that render problematic a purely masculine narrative. I intend to argue that Beethoven's music and Abbado's conducting situate masculinity within the realm of the performative and as a result, reveal gender roles as enacted fictions. This would assist in preventing the door being slammed shut on the participation of women and other marginalized groups, such as gay men and women, and racial and ethnic minorities in Beethoven's music with absolute proclamations like "this is *men's* music."

V. *Why Beethoven?*

The prevailing tendency of a good deal of music criticism has been to consider Beethoven as a quintessentially "masculine" composer. The primary reason is the tendency, particularly in the orchestral works, towards such aggressive gestures as forceful (and often repeated) cadences, and stentorian dynamics. Susan McClary suggests that "many of Beethoven's symphonies

exhibit considerable anxiety with respect to feminine moments and respond to them with extraordinary violence."[34] The "feminine moments" McClary refers to is the secondary theme in a sonata-allegro structure, which is generally softer, lyrical, passive, and "feminine."[35] Marcia Citron has provided cogent accounts of the ways in which critical writing has ascribed gendered narratives to sonata form. As Citron writes, "the two themes of the exposition are set up as a hierarchy that exhibits stylistic traits considered characteristic of man and woman, respectively...The basic model is one of ideological domination of man over woman."[36] Citron hypothesizes that the gendered dualism of the themes arose out of the need of the "newly emergent bourgeois society" of the nineteenth century to "assert and maintain social control over women. Sonata form became a metaphor for the gendered struggle."[37] Citron quotes several prominent figures in nineteenth-century musical discourse, such as Vincent D'Indy, A.B. Marx, and Hugo Riemann, all of whom characterize the primary theme as male and the secondary as female. Riemann postulates that the second theme's recapitulation is a softening of its initial opposition to the "male" theme, what Citron calls a "taming of a disruptive Other" which "reflects and affirms societal practices that in fact controlled women."[38] D'Indy personifies the second theme as an alluring female, using such descriptors as "supple and elegant" which "spreads out

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[34]Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, & Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 69.

[35]See McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 13-16.

[36]Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 133.

[37]Ibid., 134.

[38]Ibid., 135.

progressively the curve of its ornamented melody."[39] The sexualized language could not be more clear; the "feminine" theme is characterized as a temptress that threatens the manly self-control of the protagonist, a conflict that will be resolved when the "feminine" theme is brought under control through its statement in the tonic. Thus, the sonata-allegro principle may be read (as one of many possible interpretations) as a "masculine protest," which is "an obsessive need to be 'manly'—autonomous, combative, rugged, dominating—in all things. Its basis is a dread of being feminized in relation to...other men."[40]

In Beethoven's Third Symphony, the violent suppression of difference—through the return of the primary theme after a bombastic cadence and the statement of the second theme in the tonic—at the point of recapitulation becomes a form of "protest." The music takes on the properties of "combativeness" and "dominance." The brute force in which the main theme achieves its apotheosis also serves to reject the sentimental. In addition, the theme's firm rooting in E-flat major without excessive chromatic slips would seem to position the theme as "rational," a notion that bears problematizing, as we shall see.

The masculinization of Beethoven's music has important racial implications, as one would expect from an ideology steeped in racialized as well as gendered language. As Michael Kater has written, Beethoven was considered a Nazi icon, a symbol of Aryan purity and the supremacy of German culture.

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[39]Vincent D'Indy, *Cours de composition musicale,* Book 2, Part I (Paris 1909), quoted in Citron, 136.

[40]Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 183.

Beethoven stood for "the heroic spirit with which Hitler himself identified."[41] With that in mind, as well as the knowledge that ideals of "manhood" tended to be mapped onto white bodies, the dualism of sonata form could acquire a narrative of whiteness versus non-whiteness. The Other would be racialized as opposed to gendered, the victory of the tonic bearing the impress of cultures determined to justify the hierarchization of society, with the white male perpetually at the top.

Beethoven's symphonic music, particularly in what is known as his "heroic" period (the term "hero" also serving to situate his music in the "masculine" realm), has also been theorized as having something to say about the relationship of the individual to society. According to Rose Subotnik in her analysis of Theodor Adorno's critique of Beethoven's second and late period styles, works from the second period style articulated a triumph of an autonomous identity. They provided a "basis for thinking of musical structure as a totality that could accommodate a concept (e.g., subject, individual, or freedom) and its opposite (object, society, or form) in a resolution that preserved the essence of each."[42] According to this paradigm, the musical subject stood in for the individual's sense of self while the music's form took on the characteristics of the exterior world. As Subotnik writes:

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[41]Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 31.

[42]Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Adorno's Diagnosis of Beethoven's Late Style: Early Symptom of a Fatal Condition," in *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 20. Note that this is a somewhat different delineation of the objectivity/subjectivity binary than the one I discussed earlier. Adorno's critique frames the binary as opposing autonomy and heterogeneity, while the gendered reading opposes commitment to "truth" and commitment to the "personal."

> The general principle of form through which Beethoven's second-period subject asserts its freedom is what Adorno...calls 'developing variation.' By this is meant a process whereby a musical element subjects itself to logical dynamic change while simultaneously retaining its original identity, thus overcoming the contradiction between identity and non-identity. The most obvious embodiment of this principle occurs in the development and recapitulation if the sonata allegro...Development is the process through which the musical subject demonstrates its self-generated powers as it "goes out"...from itself into the generalizing world of Other or object.[43]

For Adorno, the expanded development represented the subject's ability to overcome even the most oppressive forces society had to offer in order to maintain an autonomous identity. The moment of recapitulation represented the "emphatic reassertion of self" where "the subject demonstrates its power to return to itself."[44] Recalling the elements of "masculine protest," namely the need for autonomy and domination, Adorno's narrative might be interpreted as framing the triumph of the self as a triumph of the masculine. One must not forget, however, that Adorno contended that the third period style revealed the possibility of synthesis between individual and society to be specious.[45]

Those who framed Beethoven's "heroic" music as "masculine" may well have perceived the narrative of the second-period style on some level. Indeed, in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Carl Dahlhaus positions Beethoven as a "hero" in music history, a composer who "virtually in one fell swoop, claimed for music the strong concept of art, without which music would be unable to stand on a par with

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[43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid., 21.
[45]See Subotnik, 24-41.

literature and the visual arts."[46] Dahlhaus seems to consider Beethoven something of a saviour for music, an attitude common to critical discourse around his music. In *Beethoven Hero*, Scott Burnham accounts for such writing. According to Burnham, Beethoven's music "epitomized musical vitality, becoming the paradigm of Western compositional logic and of all the positive virtues that music can embody for humanity."[47] Writers as diverse as Nietzsche and Victor Hugo contributed to the heroic discourse around Beethoven's music, framing his work as "a privileged testimony to the human will and its struggles, both with itself and with a recalcitrant external world."[48] With the Third Symphony in particular, Beethoven became "the hero of Western music, 'The Man Who Freed Music'" from eighteenth-century royal patronage, showing that music transcended everyday life and that those composers were self-determining who composed solely out of artistic concerns.[49] The use of language such as "heroic" and "autonomous" helps facilitate the interpretation of Beethoven's music as "masculine."

It is problematic to accept such ideas about Beethoven's music at face value. Susan McClary contends that even if Beethoven succeeded in "constructing what has been accepted as an ideal of masculinity in music," such

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[46]Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 9.

[47]Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), xiii.

[48]Ibid., xiv.

[49]Ibid., xv-xvi.

constructions are open to questioning.[50] McClary argues that "we might hear Beethoven's greater tendency to violence not as strength of confidence, but as overcompensation for fears of inadequacy."[51] The sonata-allegro movement thus may be read not as a solipsistic narrative where the autonomous individual triumphs decisively over oppressive outside forces, but as a struggle to establish an identity where the outcome is in doubt. The aggressive moments in Beethoven's music might suggest not a globalizing sweep enforcing male hegemony, but a crisis of identity where the male subject is threatened by various Others. It is this deconstructive tack that I wish to follow in my discussion of Abbado's performance of Beethoven.

VI. *And Now, the Third Symphony*

The first movement of the Third Symphony commences with unequivocal aggression: two E-flat major chords sounded by the entire orchestra at *forte* with a *marcato* articulation (Ex. 1).[52] These two chords, sounding like two quick punches to the gut—the common parlance for this type of sonority is "hammer chord"—would appear to characterize the music as quick to action, rugged, an ideal of "manliness." When Abbado conducts these two chords, he is not particularly aggressive and does not show a great deal of "into the point" motion, providing little more than a clear downbeat. He does not make eye contact with

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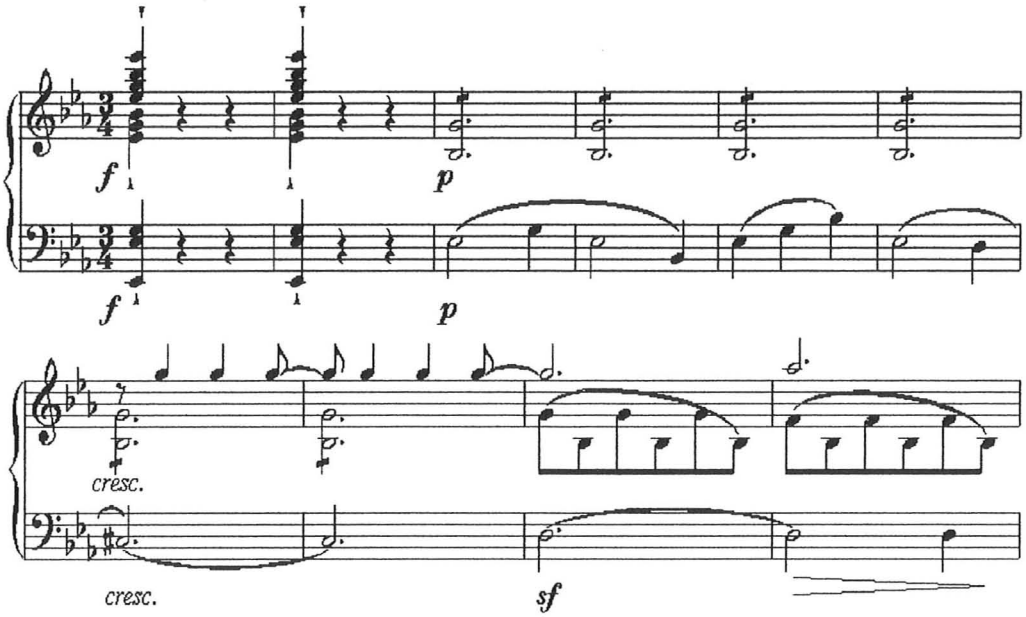
[50]Susan McClary, "Constructions of Subjectivity in Schubert's Music," in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, eds. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994), 214.

[51]Ibid.

[52]All of the music examples are reductions derived from the recent Urtext editions of the symphonies, edited by Jonathan Del Mar.

Example 1 (mm. 1-10)



the orchestra either, perhaps as another method of softening the opening. Abbado appears to be resisting the construction of masculinity that requires him to be insistent, to "take charge." Abbado constructs a more passive, aloof body at this opening, seemingly sure that the orchestra is well aware of how to play these chords and does not need a demonstration. Nonetheless, he counteracts the music's assertive character, seemingly refusing to construct a body that reads masculine. His aloofness may also convey a commitment to rationality over emotionalism, in essence constructing masculinity in another fashion. However, Abbado's act reveals indecision over whether he is constructing a masculine body. In a mere two chords, Abbado goes a long way towards revealing the instability of gendered identity.

Measure three marks the beginning of the primary theme, initially played *piano* by the cellos. The theme is almost comical in its simplicity, merely an arpeggiation of the E-flat major triad. This is the theme for a major symphonic work? Dahlhaus notes that "Beethoven's themes may be terse or almost non-existent without doing serious damage to the key issue, form."[53] This theme is as close to non-existent as one could get. It is what McClary refers to as "little more than a snippet" which will earn "a stable identity by means of annexing whatever it encounters."[54] The globalizing rhetoric McClary utilizes foreshadows a hegemonic, "masculine" narrative for the theme. Some of this foreshadowing may be discerned in the way the theme is constructed: it is aggressively diatonic, firmly in the tonic key, and rhythmically simple. It is a "rational" theme.

Abbado conducts this motive in a similarly rational manner. He conducts one beat to the measure, with a smooth beat pattern, fluid left hand, and no ornamentation. Trouble rears its head in measure 7 when the cello strikes a C-sharp, supporting what appears to be a diminished seventh chord. However, there is no third in this chord. Is the C-sharp actually an enharmonic D-flat, creating a G-diminished chord? Is not a second inversion diminished triad a part-writing error? This single chromatic slip has effectively destabilized the theme's sense of self. Chromaticism adds expressionism, a greater sense of emotion. On the other hand, the music makes less "sense" as a result. As McClary writes,

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[53]Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, quoted in Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge*, 47.

[54]Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 122.

"chromaticism, which enriches tonal music but which must finally be resolved to the triad for the sake of closure, takes on the cultural cast of 'femininity.'"[55] Chromaticism invokes emotion, sensuality, subjectivity and "excess."[56] That single C-sharp, as well as the syncopated G's in the first violins problematize the theme's masculine status. One could interpret this moment as the onset of the feminine Other that must eventually be vanquished, or as a intimation of masculinity's status as a mere act. As it happens, this single pitch is one of the most discussed moments in the entire work. Burnham has noted that many who have analyzed this movement have assigned some sort of program to the movement, usually that of a military hero leading troops into battle. In these narratives, the ambiguity of the C# is explained as "external to the hero," an element that "impede[s] the forward progress" of the protagonist but does not "signify weakness or vacillation on the part of the great general." Such "moments of tonal vacillation" are invariably followed "by an even more decisive statement of the theme, and a pattern of statement-liquidation-stronger statement is established. Not only does the hero persist; he grows stronger."[57] As such, the C# does not destabilize the hero's "masculine" status, because it is not part of his character at all. This narrative seems motivated from the need to rescue the theme from any contradiction or wavering of an "authentic" heroic identity. Abbado also appears to resist my reading of the moment as an ontological slip. He

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[55]McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 16.

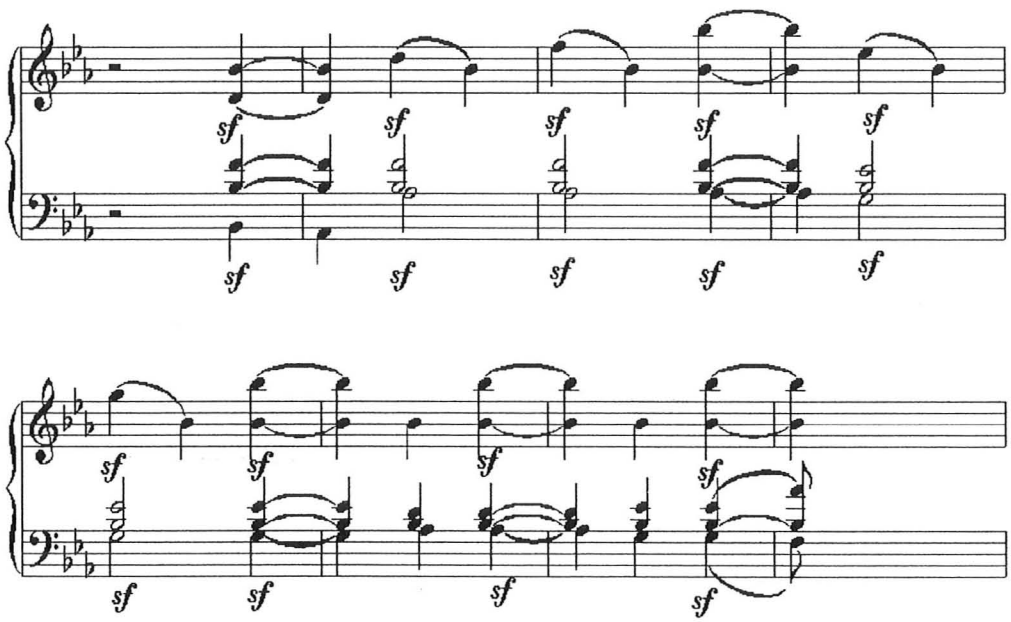
[56]See McClary's discussions of Bizet's *Carmen* and Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* in *Feminine Endings*, pp. 56-67 and 90-99.

[57]Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 5.

maintains his reserved bodily performance, as though he were holding onto a sense of objectivity, his manhood, in the face of such musical adversity.

At measure 25, the music increases momentum as all instruments (without timpani) play together in lock-step.

Example 2 (mm. 28-35)



The *sforzandos* and the dominant harmony build toward a seemingly inevitable monumental release. The music, to my ears, suggests a build-up of aggression. However, this aggression is destabilized by the use of hemiola. The duple feel of the music conflicts with the written triple meter. Placing the accents on the "wrong" beats thwarts the logic of the piece; the music leaves the realm of the objective towards the subjective, although I am not arguing that hemiola "feminizes" the piece. The passage suggests that the male identity is plagued by contradictory impulses, that masculinity has no objective "truth." Abbado's

gestures here are rich in hermeneutic implications. He stands straight, looking upwards in an almost haughty way. He engages in almost no movement whatsoever, only using the minimum amount of motion in his body and baton hand to show the pulse and the accents. What could this mean? Perhaps he is performing passivity, subordinating his body in the face of domineering music. Is this gesture placing him in a "feminine" caste in order to demonstrate the tenuous nature of gender? Or is Abbado performing a resistance to the music's destabilization of the masculine aesthetic of aggression? Is he enacting a "manly" ideal of bodily restraint? Is it possible that he is doing all three simultaneously?

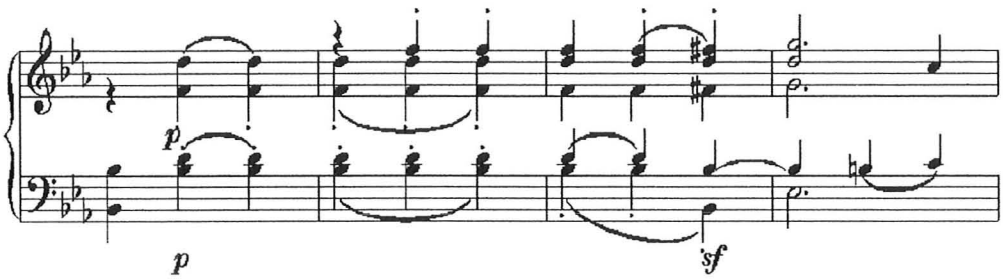
The above passage leads into what we had been waiting anxiously for: a full-blooded statement of the theme by the full orchestra, occurring at measure 37. This is the "heroic" theme in all its glory. Counterpoint is almost totally obliterated as the orchestral forces combine for a unified assault, a globalizing sweep with the intent of conquest. The addition of the timpani strokes furthers the sense of militarism, resulting in a musical production of a "hegemonic masculinity on a world scale…a dominant form of masculinity which embodies, organizes and legitimates men's domination in the gender order as a whole."[58] At this moment of fleeting triumph, Abbado gives a strong downbeat accompanied by a sweeping left hand gesture that traverses over the top of his head. Abbado has a look of reverie on his face; his gesture and physiognomy suggest elation at this eruption of masculine energy. That energy wilts away at measure 45 as the

[58]Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, 46.

dynamic level drops and we get a falling three-note motive, serving as the second part of the primary thematic area. The imitation of the motive fractures the sense of a unified identity. Similarly, Abbado's conducting, making use of circular gestures, becomes less urgent at this point.

The second thematic area commences at measure 83.

Example 3 (mm. 83-86)



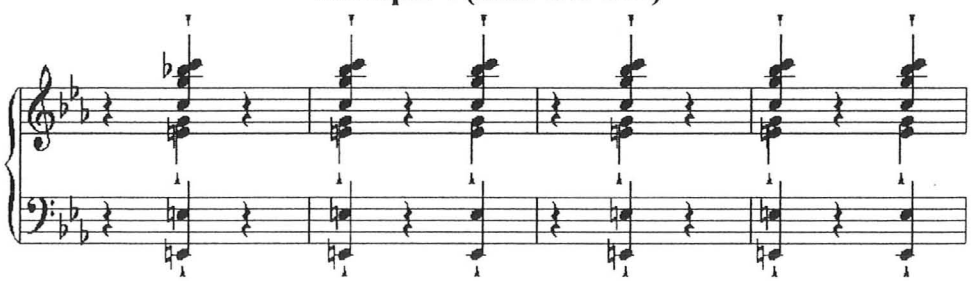
The theme, homophonic and dominated by repeated quarter notes, is divided between the winds and strings. It is an example of "the tender motives that keep cropping up during the exposition" that "must be resisted or annexed for the sake of satisfactory self-development."[59] The theme is more passive in opposition to the primary theme's insistence and the chromatic inflections add a hint of excess and sensuality. Nonetheless, the crescendo and the *sf* on the third beats suggest that the aggressive identity is trying to re-emerge even though the accent once again occurs on the "wrong" beat. At the beginning of this segment, Abbado conducts the music more with his left hand. Left-hand technique is often the domain of expressive gestures. They are subjective interpretive choices as opposed to the more objective time beating of the right hand. In a sense, Abbado "feminizes" his conducting in order to reflect the "feminine" nature of the music.

[59]McClary, "Subjectivity in Schubert," 213.

However, as I have pointed out earlier, left hand gestures are not entirely subjective since the orchestra collectively (in most cases) understands the meaning of the gestures and implements the conductor's wishes accordingly. Interestingly, at measure 99, where the music becomes more active in an attempt to "annex" the second theme, Abbado moves hardly at all. Is he resisting the resistance?

Measure 123 begins one of the moments of "extraordinary violence" to which McClary has referred. The entire orchestra coalesces into homophonic chords on the second and third beats. At measure 128, the brutality is intensified with a series of C7 "hammer" chords played *sf.*

Example 4 (mm. 128-131)



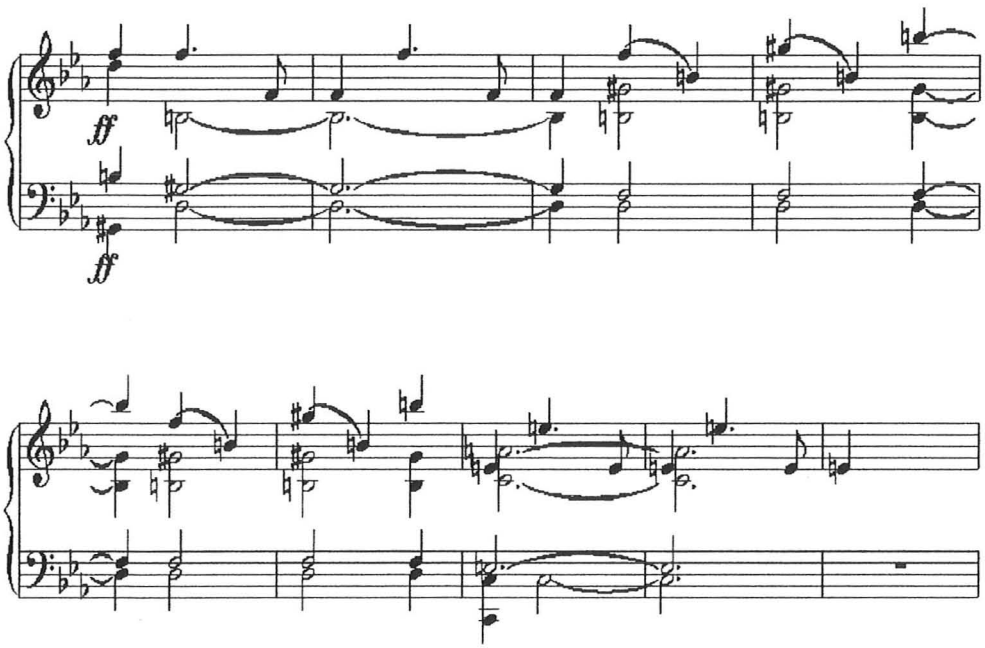
The use of the timpani striking insistent B-flats further characterizes these chords as quick punches similar to the opening chords. Yet the first of these shots occur on the second beat of the measure, disrupting the meter and serving as a cruel rejoinder to the ideals of masculinity, just as the similar occurrence at measure 26 was. Once again, Abbado is somewhat reserved with his conducting: he gives clear beats (efficacious at co-ordinating the group) but not a great deal of attack on these chords. However, his head noticeably snaps back and forth along with

each chord. Once again, the question that comes to mind is whether Abbado's performance is designed to resist the undermining of masculinity contained in the music—in effect showing manliness through his bodily reserve—or if he is succumbing to the music's totalizing pounding. In any case, the sense of "unknowing" is yet another method that the performance renders illusory any epistemic sense of masculinity. Abbado is similarly frugal in his gestures at the close of the exposition, with its B-flat "hammer" chords and arpeggiations, seemingly leaving the state of manhood in doubt.

The development goes about destabilizing the primary theme's sense of autonomous self by fragmenting it, going through a number of keys in sequence, and pitting it against the numerous transitional motives (interestingly, the second "feminine" theme is not developed). The whole process comes to a head at measure 248 (Ex. 5). This is the moment of greatest crisis in the movement. Of course, moments of great crisis occur in other works by Beethoven; McClary contends that "the point of recapitulation in the first movement of...[the] Ninth Symphony unleashes one of the most horrifyingly violent episodes in the history of music."[60] The lengthy timpani roll and fierce repetitions of the main D-minor theme was an example of what McClary calls "murderous rage."[61] I would argue that the passage beginning at measure 248 of the Third Symphony makes a legitimate claim to the status as "most horrifyingly violent" and may also be characterized as expressing "murderous rage." Beginning on a G-sharp

[60]McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 128.
[61]Ibid.

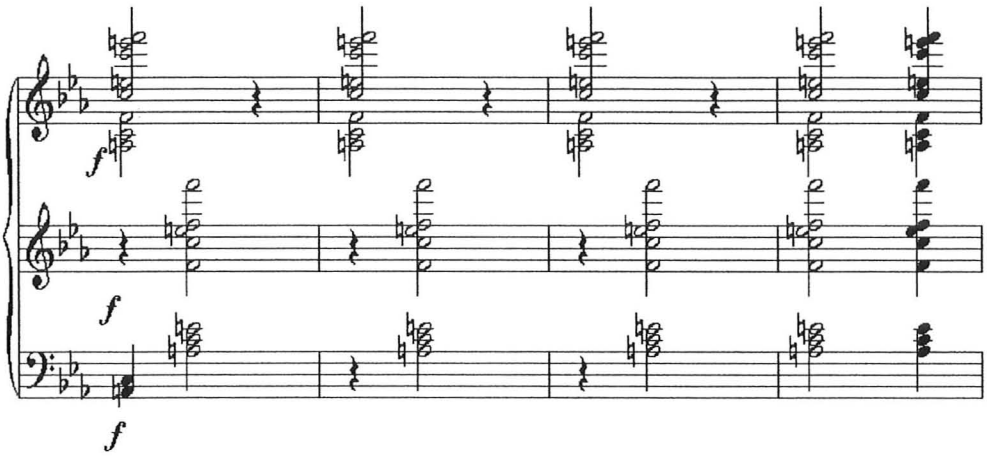
Example 5 (mm. 248-256)



diminished seventh chord, the entire orchestra works its way through a series of dissonant harmonies (I refer to the entire passage, not merely the measures shown in the example above) at the dynamic level of *fortissimo*. On the surface, this passage may appear to be what causes Beethoven "to be received as more serious, more virile, more consequential." He does not "pull punches," but goes "all the way to the mat."[62] However, the accents once again place the music in the "wrong" meter. None of the dissonances resolve in a stable cadence and the passage reaches its apex at measure 276 on a Neapolitan-sixth chord in E minor, with an E included in the upper voices (Ex. 6). Rather than a simple portrayal of masculine aggression, the passage conveys a desire for release that is constantly frustrated. The music has the semiotic value of abject terror at the possibility of

[62]Ibid., 127-128

Example 6 (mm. 276-279)



the Self being subsumed by Others, at the possibility of failure, with all of the possible meanings the word implies. Such fear results in an expression of irrational hostility; "masculine" aggression is taken too far, resembling the primitive savagery despised by the middle-class male of the early 1800s. Abbado performs this terror by acting frenzied in comparison to his rather conservative style throughout the rest of the movement. He uses short, fast beat patterns and often leans forward, seemingly into the dissonance. His head quickly nods back and forth and he frequently thrusts out his left hand. When the Neapolitan chords occur, Abbado closes his eyes and his teeth bared, as though the dissonance, the crisis of identity is causing him great pain. Notably, he alternates these violent gestures with reserved bodily movements, possibly adumbrating a resolution of this crisis. Nonetheless, Abbado's bodily performance and the music make a potent case that the often contradictory ideals of manliness and masculinity will inevitably clash in a modern context, exposing the whole enterprise as a cultural façade.

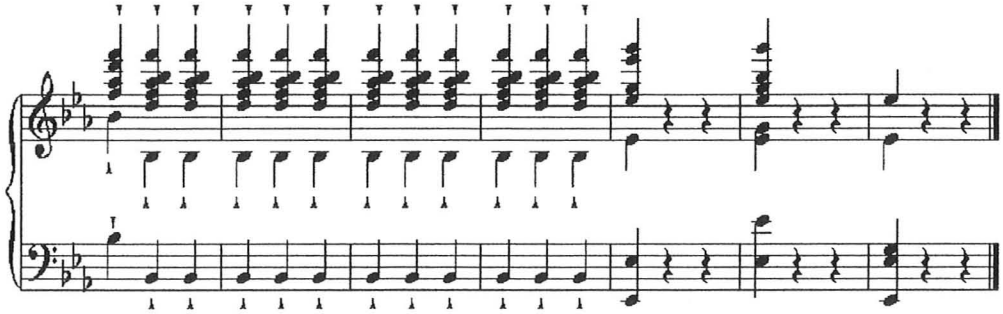
As I have mentioned, the recapitulation is ostensibly where the sense of Self is reclaimed. Difference is purged; Others are subordinated under the iron fist of the tonic key. The statement of the second theme in the tonic may be theorized in Irigaray's terms as taking away the feminine's status of signification, as the "masculine" tonic appropriating the Other in order to facilitate hegemonic dominance. However, this particular recapitulation reveals that this is merely a cultural construction; over sparse violin tremolos on B-flat and A-flat, a lone horn states at measure 394 the opening two measures of the theme at *pianissimo*, prepared by 25 measures of quiet music, with gradually dissipating rhythms. This is then violently cut off with a dominant seventh chord by the entire orchestra before the "real" recapitulation begins. The premature statement suggests tentativeness, indecision over whether the "hero" should re-emerge, but a sudden display of force instantly yanks the music forward. During the horn entry, we witness an extreme close-up of Abbado's face, making it difficult to discern his technique. At the orchestral entry, he gives a heavy downbeat with his patented all-encompassing left-hand gesture. Abbado constructs his body to resemble the music. Thus he shows that the re-assertion of masculine identity is a mere act and/or a constant struggle to maintain it, consistent with notions of manliness.

Throughout the recapitulation, Abbado's gestures follow a similar trajectory to those in the exposition. Following this is the lengthy coda where closure on E-flat is thwarted by an abrupt shift to D-flat major at measure 557. Four measures later is an equally sudden move to C major. The end result is a

return at 581 of the E minor theme introduced in the development, heard this time in F minor. As Lawrence Kramer writes, in a sonata form "the self may be transformed by the other it masters; or the other, supposedly mastered may take over the discourse."[63] In any case, the seemingly hard won sense of (masculine) Self has been snatched away. At the C major chord, Abbado gives a muscular downbeat and shakes his head assertively, providing an aggressive performance at a moment where identity has been destabilized. The apotheosis of the movement occurs at measure 655 when the theme appears in the trumpets. As Burnham writes, "the theme becomes more like a real theme, for it is now an actual melody."[64] The affect of the piece is that of transcendence over all the forces that attempted to block the assertion of an autonomous identity. Accordingly, Abbado articulates this supposed triumph by holding his head high, smiling and singing the theme while holding his arms out wide in a gesture of all-embracing exaltation. Abbado seems to be revelling in this victory of the self, although the cathexis he shows here would seem to counteract a masculine ideal of rationality. In the final measures of the movement, the orchestra repeatedly strikes a dominant seventh chord leading to three tonic chords on the downbeats of each of the final three measures, similar to the opening of the movement (Ex. 7). These come across as an exclamation point, a "knockout blow" that closes the door on all that resisted the patriarchal campaign throughout the movement. However, Abbado does not follow the script at this point; his downbeats on those final

[63]Kramer, *Classical Music*, 45.
[64]Burnham, 19.

Example 7 (mm. 685-691)



chords are not at all aggressive. He is not showing a swift, staccato "punch" and the orchestra responds in kind with a softer attack and holding the last chord longer than what one would normally expect. The music puts the cap on the narrative of compulsory masculinity. At the same time, Abbado puts the cap on his demonstration of masculinity's status as a series of performative acts that requires repetition in order to solidify cultural eminence.

VII. ***Is Conducting Masculine or Not?***

Susan McClary has noted about this symphony that "when the subject finally appears in its definitive form in the coda, the listener can scarcely help cheering the strength and self-denial that made this hard-won, heroic identity feasible."[65] This would go some way towards accounting for why "compositions such as the *Eroica*" have been "embraced not merely as *the* standard in music, but also as *the* model of German manhood," a standard "against which everyone else is measured and...found wanting."[66] However, my interpretation has attempted to show that the combination of the music and the conductor's choices of bodily

[65]McClary, "Subjectivity in Schubert," 213.
[66]Ibid.

expression undermines an ideal of manhood that has its basis in biological fixity; it is the act of performance that such an ideal is realized. In addition, such performances can reveal the contingency of constructions of gender. When conducting Beethoven, or other composers coded as "masculine," the conductor may engage in "performative gender configurations outside the restricting frames of masculinist domination."[67] Such configurations serve to convey the message that one can only *act* "masculine" but can never actually *be* "masculine."

[67]Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 180.

Chapter Two

THE ICTUS OF POWER: IMAGES OF DISCIPLINE, PANOPTICISM, AND SYMBOLIC CAPITAL IN WAGNER AND SHOSTAKOVICH

I. *Conductor's Privileges*

That the conductor occupies a privileged position in the concert milieu is practically a *prima facie* statement. With the exception of works featuring instrumental or vocal soloists, orchestral concerts position conductors as the centre of attention for audience and musicians alike. Consider that the conductor stands while everyone else sits; the conductor appears as a unique individual while each player sublimates his/her identity into a collective mass. The conductor is the only person who sees the full score and as result is the only one who can interpret the work in its entirety, rather than its individual parts. The very function of the conductor places him/her at the top of a hierarchy. S/he essentially "plays" the orchestra. The conductor indicates his/her intentions (tempo, performing style, expression) for the piece through time-beating and left-hand gestures, and the orchestra dutifully responds.[1] Although there is often a sense of democratic give-and-take between orchestra and conductor in rehearsal, the actual performance places the conductor in a position of power.

In this chapter, I intend to explore the ways in which issues of power are worked out through the sight of the body of the conductor. However, I do not

[1]Christopher Small, as seen in the introduction, has previously noted all of these points in his analysis of the rituals of the orchestral concert.

limit my analysis to strictly a totalitarian definition of power. I will consider the conductor's enactment of cultural power from two angles: authority and prestige. Initially, I focus on Michel Foucault's discourse on disciplined bodies. How does the body of the conductor discipline the orchestra, thereby constructing his/her body as authoritarian? What effect might the power of the orchestra have on such constructions? In addition, how does society's ideal of a disciplined body enact power on the conductor? How might one resist such ideals? I will then move on to Foucault's discussion of what he refers to as "panopticism," with the intent of examining how the conductor may be interpreted as an instrument of surveillance. Finally, I will discuss Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production, specifically, how cultural prestige is created and bestowed. I argue that the conductor's gestures function as an attempt to accumulate "symbolic capital" while at the same time imparting prestige on the music being performed. Bourdieu's premise thus functions as a method of accumulating and enacting a different form of power. By locating such sundry discourses of power within bodily performance, a deconstruction of power is facilitated through the argument that power is based not in the epistemic, but in the performative.

The musical works on which I will focus are Richard Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* and Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 10*, both conducted by Georg Solti (the former with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, at a recording session in 1964, the latter during a concert in Munich with the Bavarian Radio

Symphony Orchestra in 1992).[2] Several issues dictated my choice of repertoire. On the most prosaic level would be my personal tastes, but the character of the music discussed (particularly Wagner's), heavily scored for large orchestras, lends itself well to analyses of power. Additionally, availability of video footage of the two works allows me to contrast Solti's technique during two different points in his career: his "prime" in the 1960s for the Wagner, and then the 1990s, shortly before his death for the Shostakovich. This chapter will not be as tied to specific score examples as other chapters of this thesis. Rather, it is Solti himself that interests me here.

II. *Temporality, Respect, and Management*

Before delving into Foucault, I wish to offer more general ideas of how music and conducting function as discourses where issues of power are contested. Music as a conceptual entity has had a historically complex association with social power. As John Shepherd writes, "within the contemporary industrialized world, music is conceptualized and maintained either as cultural capital, the property of those with power and influence, or as leisure and entertainment, a diversion and distraction for those without power."[3] Although Shepherd would seem to be simplistically drawing a binary opposition where one does not necessarily exist, his comment carries a valid implication that the use of music is

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[2]The performance of Wagner is observed during the BBC documentary *The Golden Ring* produced in 1965, which chronicled the recording sessions for Solti's epochal recording of the *Ring* cycle.

[3]John Shepherd, "Difference and Power in Music," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 51.

often tied to negotiations of cultural status. Consider the atmosphere of attending a concert of classical music and that of hearing music on the radio: the concert is ostensibly a gathering of aficionados and members of "high" society. These concerts and the organizations that stage them often receive funding from local and federal governments. Concerts would appear to be consecrations of cultural prestige, an issue I will discuss in further detail later in this chapter. Conversely, music on the radio or one's stereo system function as private entertainments, which one may listen to while performing other tasks. The same music has the potential to function on multiple levels of the social strata. Nonetheless, Shepherd argues that music has the potential to enact power:

> As discursively constituted, music can evoke and refer to, give life to, our corporeal existence...Music is ideally suited to coding homologously, and therefore to evoking powerfully yet symbolically, the structures, rhythms, and textures of the external social world; and the order of relations between them...Because music can enter, grip, and position us symbolically, it can act powerfully to structure and mediate individual awareness as the ultimate seat of social and cultural reproduction.[4]

Since music has the ability to sketch the problems of the outside world as well as suggest solutions through its musical rhetoric, those who create music are placed in positions of power. If human affairs are a determinant of music, then we situate composers as cultural authorities who offer musical commentaries on those affairs.

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[4]Ibid., 51-52.

Conductors partake in such commentaries, but according to Theodor Adorno, the act of conducting acquires power in other methods as well. In his discussion of Wagner's operas he writes:

> Wagner's work...actually gives grounds for the supposition that the conductor, in analysing and reproducing the music, traverses the same path as Wagner had done in creating it, but in the opposite direction. The giant packages of his operas are divided up by the notion of striking, of beating time.[5]

According to Adorno, conducting functions as an abstract "use of the beat to control time...the idea of time as something articulated by the beat and then projected onto larger periods."[6] Through the speed with which s/he waves the baton, the conductor sets the tempo. By controlling how the work will unfold, by setting the tempo and controlling the pacing of the music, the conductor stakes a claim for controlling (if only metaphorically) the passage of time. When conducting large scale works, the conductor further demonstrates mastery of temporality, holding the attention of both the musicians and the audience and attempting to make all concerned unaware of how much time is passing. Through conducting, one acquires power over people and time alike.

Through such acquisitions of power, the conductor may take on something of a heroic, even mythical position in the eyes of others. The conductor becomes "not a popular hero, but a hero's hero: the incarnation of power in the eyes of the

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[5]Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1984), 32.

[6]Ibid., 33.

all-powerful."[7] Even though the conductor "plays no instrument" and "produces no noise," s/he still "conveys an image of music-making that is credible enough to let him take the rewards of applause away from those who actually created the sound."[8] Intellectually, one realizes that the conductor makes music through the interpretation of the score, but do all in the audience truly understand the process of conducting, the amount of analysis and communication with the orchestra? With that in mind, why would a person who merely waves a white stick at 100 musicians receive such adulation? Adorno writes:

> The conductor can do as an expert what the amateur in the auditorium would like to achieve for himself, and by switching on his own excitement he can give objective form to the latter's secondary enthusiasm. He is 'neither king nor emperor', but one of the mass of citizens; yet he enjoys unlimited symbolic power over them.[9]

Adorno suggests that conductors achieve power over the audience by vicariously fulfilling their own wishes for fame, power, and public exposure. Norman Lebrecht writes along similar lines, claiming that audiences and orchestras bend to the conductor's will "because mankind demands a visible leader."[10] Or as Foucault writes, "confronted by a power that is law, the subject who is constituted as subject—who is 'subjected'—is he who obeys."[11] Lebrecht's analysis is

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[7]Norman Lebrecht, *The Maestro Myth: Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1991), 3. In this specific context, "all-powerful" would seem to mean the so-called cultural elite, as well as those who hold political power.

[8]Ibid., 2.

[9]Adorno, 30.

[10]Lebrecht, 2.

[11]Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 85.

undeniably flawed in its lack of nuance; following the conductor's lead is not solely an issue of a desire for a strong leader to maintain order. The orchestral players would know that individually, they cannot perform all of the music of any particular composition. It is the conductor's job to use his/her knowledge of the entire score to provide the necessary tutelage to the players in order to make the performance work. The orchestra functions as a division of labour where each individual contributes to the whole by performing an assigned task. Similarly, the conductor makes his/her own contribution by functioning as something of a manager, overseeing the musical production of each member and making sure all of the parts coalesce smoothly. The orchestra therefore may be interpreted as an allegory for the function of an industrialized society (an apt metaphor, as industry became more efficient and sophisticated in the nineteenth century, the same period when orchestral conducting was developed), where the instrumentalists provide manual labour, in the capacity of being skilled artisans, while the conductor acts as a foreman. Skilled conductors serve as effective industrial managers, supervising production and making sure it is of highest possible quality. The conductor holds an empowered position, but at the same time is a part of the distribution of work.

Consequently, power is not simply a matter of authority. One must consider the musician's respect for the conductor's position under ideal conditions, that s/he is not exercising dictatorial rule, but doing a part to make the entire enterprise function by overseeing the implementation of the entire group's

tasks. Such respect is another way of empowering the conductor. However, I would consider Lebrecht correct in that in terms of the semiotic value of observing an orchestral performance, the conductor appears to be placed in a position of being a strong leader, who bends the group to his/her will. The combination of the appearance of authority and the orchestra's respect for the required duties likely accounts for the conductor's powerful standing in modern music performance and why s/he is so admired. Now, I wish to turn from the empowered *position* of the conductor and discuss methods in which the conductor's body both enacts and subjects itself to power.

III. ***Disciplining Bodies and Embodying Discipline***

According to Foucault, the disciplining of bodies was a crucial element of establishing power. Recalling section IV of my Introduction, the cultural standard was a docile body that could be easily shaped, moulded, and "improved." Disciplined bodies are how society regulates individuals. Foucault writes that as civilization moved into the eighteenth century:

> The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A 'political anatomy', which was also a 'mechanics of power', was being born; it defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience).[12]

[12]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 138.

In other words, the more "docile" the body was, the more efficient it was. Regulated bodies were efficacious in allowing a society to prosper. Foucault singles out the eighteenth century when making these points, because of a variety of social apparatuses which began to blossom in that period. The most important of these were the onset of the Industrial Revolution, with its clocks and shift-work in factories, and the birth of the penal system, which shifted the focus of criminal punishment away from public torture and executions towards incarceration and isolation of offenders from society. Bryan Turner, in a commentary on Foucault, notes that "capital could profit from the accumulation of men and the enlargement of markets only when the health and docility of the population had been made possible by a network of regulations and controls."[13] Docile, regulated bodies were more likely to conform to authority, committing their labour and thus allowing authorities to increase economic and cultural power. An unregulated, less restrained body would be perilous to a "machinery of power" because efficiency is decreased. As well, a freer construction of the body invokes subjectivity and autonomy. The more autonomous the body, the less conducive to conformity it would be. Hence, the "networks of regulations and controls" exist to refine bodily movement, to regulate one's subjectivity.

I have already discussed in my introduction two of these systems of control, so I will briefly summarize my points. The first system I discussed was

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[13]Bryan S. Turner, *The Body & Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 161.

the timetable, which has obviously become ubiquitous in such sundry institutions as schools, factories, and transportation. These institutions regulate the movement of the body by requiring that individuals be in certain places at certain times. The timetable not only controlled the body, but may be interpreted as an attempt to control time as well. I noted that orchestral rehearsals function on timetables as well. Rehearsal times and lengths, presumably determined by the conductor within the restrictions imposed by musicians union's bargaining agreement with management, serve to regulate the bodies of conductor and players alike by making sure they are in a particular place for a certain amount of time.

The second system I discussed was what Foucault referred to as the "correlation of the body and the gesture."[14] This system teaches persons to engage in the most "efficient" gestures possible. According to Foucault, nothing could go to waste; correct use of the body was predicated on whether the body was effective in carrying out the act required. For example, "good handwriting...presupposes a gymnastics—a whole routine whose rigorous code invests the body in its entirety, from the points of the feet to the tip of the index finger."[15] All aspects of the body must be co-ordinated. So it is with conducting. The baton hand and the left hand giving expressive gestures must act in tandem to serve the composition. However, conductors are taught that it is not wise to be too grandiose or histrionic, as it can obscure the beat pattern, as well as draw the

[14]Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 152.
[15]Ibid.

orchestra's attention away from the music. If the musicians cannot understand the conductor's gestures, then they become useless. As the conducting aphorism goes, "thou shall not give meaningless gestures." Regardless of the efficacy of such teachings in producing a successful performance, they nonetheless function as a method of regulating the body of the potential conductor. When practicing conductors regulate their gestures, they demonstrate the social power enacted over them. When they become more flamboyant (remembering that there are many compositions where ostentatious gestures are not appropriate), they could theorized as resisting that power, by imposing more of their personality, their subjectivity, onto the performance.

I now wish to introduce two other systems of exerting power over bodies. The first is the technique of enclosure, "the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself...the protected place of disciplinary monotony."[16] Foucault notes that among the reasons for implanting enclosure were:

> The great 'confinement' of vagabonds and paupers; there were other more discreet, but insidious and effective [purposes]. There were the *colleges*, or secondary schools: the monastic model was gradually imposed; boarding appeared as the most perfect, if not most frequent educational regime...There were the military barracks: the army, that vagabond mass, has to be held in place; looting and violence must be prevented...conflicts with the civil authorities must be avoided; desertion must be stopped, expenditure controlled.[17]

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[16]Ibid., 141.
[17]Ibid., 141-142.

Enclosing the body assisted in regulating movement; enclosure lowered the possibility of unrestrained uses of the body. Now imagine the seating of a symphony orchestra: numerous musicians are seated close together in a semi-circle. There is enough space to allow the necessary movements required to play the instruments, but little else. The confined space disciplines the collective body of the orchestra. It is similar to military and industrial division of activity: the enclosed seating limits expenditure of energy and makes "desertion" difficult (a player would have to practically climb over everyone in order to leave) in order to increase production. Standing over this confined space is the conductor who seemingly watches over this particular "barracks." In this instance, the conductor's body carries the hermeneutic value of enacting power over a large group.[18] However, the conductor's body is also enclosed; while conducting, s/he must remain on the podium in order to remain visible to the entire orchestra. The podium does not possess significant area, so the conductor is almost as confined as the players are. In this sense, the conductor's body is subject to the same coercion as the bodies of the musicians.

Bodily coercion is also achieved through what Foucault calls "partitioning":

> Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual. Avoid distributions in groups; break up collective dispositions; analyse confused, massive or transient pluralities. Disciplinary space tends to be divided

[18]However, it would be something of a fallacy to intimate that the enclosure of bodies is the direct result of the conductor's actions; conductors do not necessarily have total say over seating. Nonetheless, in my opinion, the visual signifier of power enacted remains.

> into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed...Its aim was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications.[19]

In the symphony orchestra, each individual player sublimates him/herself into a collective section (first violins, clarinets, etc.) and these sections are then "partitioned." This goes against Foucault's observation that partitioning is to "avoid distributions in groups," of course, but the technique does resonate within conducting through the ability to "analyse massive pluralities." Each section has its place on the stage so that the conductor may "establish presences and absences" and "know where to locate individuals" and "set up useful communications." Seating arrangements in symphony orchestras are now traditional, having developed over the better part of two-hundred years, although modifications to the customary arrangements are possible (and often occur). One cannot assume that the seating arrangements at any given concert were determined entirely by the conductor. However, whenever a conductor directs his/her time beating to a particular section, or gives a cue to a particular player, the gesture and the look may be interpreted as dividing the orchestra into sections, distributing his/her gaze. In essence, s/he performs a partitioning of the orchestra. I will return to the implications of partitioning when I discuss the issue of panopticism.

Before moving forward into my musical examples, it is necessary to add a few nuances to Foucault's theoretical approach. For all the valuable insights

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[19]Foucault, 143.

Foucault has into the mechanics of power, his work is not above critique. In *The Body and the French Revolution*, Dorinda Outram provides a cogent analysis of the gradations that Foucault fails to account for in his arguments regarding the disciplining of bodies. Foucault's genealogy of the body and discipline argues that "bodies are constructed objects in knowledge as much as, if not more than, 'natural' entities."[20] The reduction of the body to that of a discursive object "often runs the risk of reducing the individual agent or speaker to the level of a socialized parrot."[21] As the above quotations indicate, Foucault concerns himself with the enacting of power on a mass body, such as shift workers, students, and soldiers. He shows no interest in the bodies of individuals, or in the agency of those individuals. Foucault's analysis of social effects on the body is solely top-down, focusing on the societal body coerced by the agents of power. Those in power construct systems of regulating bodies and those bodies invariably obey. As Outram writes:

> Discourses are never uniform in their effects or unified in context. There is, in any case...a plurality of discourses on competing regimens and images of the body; neither discourses nor disciplines are free-floating or autonomous, but are deeply embedded features of a social group, modified according to the range of options available and the perceived nature of the situations in which the group finds itself.[22]

Outram's critique allows the individual agency of reaction to coercive actions imposed by society as opposed to Foucault, who allows "no theoretical

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[20]Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 19.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., 19-20.

space...for human resistance to discourse, since, it is alleged, we are determined by what we are permitted to know."[23] Finally, Foucault's resistance to discussing the effect of coercive attempts on individuals results in questions of "'Whose body?': Foucault's account makes it difficult to talk about the separate physical experiences of rich and poor, men and women."[24] Foucault only pontificates on a collective body, rather than the autonomous experiences of individuals. As a result, Foucault's genealogy of power draws a simplistic distinction between the empowered elements of society and a docile, coerced mass. While Foucault offers much penetrating analysis, it is necessary to be aware of these overlooked complexities when applying his theories.

Such complexities are of the utmost importance when discussing the performance of power in conducting. As I will show shortly, the sight of conducting gestures and the orchestra's responses creates a visual narrative which positions the conductor's body as ontologically powerful, a coercive agent, while at the same suggesting that his/her body is also socially disciplined. Certainly, these images have validity and should be accounted for. However, while reading my interpretations of the conductor's gestures, one should keep in mind the power that the members of the orchestra possess. Orchestral musicians seat themselves in an arrangement that confines their movement and partitions them into sections, but each of them chose to enter an environment where their bodies would be regulated. A conductor may give a cue to a percussionist to give a cymbal crash,

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[23]Ibid., 20.
[24]Ibid.

which carries the semiotic value of coercion. However, although the conductor would expect the percussionist to respond accordingly, s/he cannot predict if the player will choose that moment to assert agency and refuse (such an occurrence in a professional environment is highly unlikely, but as a free-thinking individual, the percussionist always has the option of choosing such action). This potential scenario applies to everyone else in the orchestra as well. Although the conductor's gestures convey a visual representation of projecting his/her will onto a large group of people, these representations must be mediated by the knowledge that the orchestral musicians possess the power to decide whether or not to follow. In fact, many orchestras have been known to resist a conductor's tempi and dynamics as a collective body if they do not respect the conductor or his/her interpretive decisions. Since the conductor also chooses how to construct his/her body, we see that power is located within performance, not possession. The conductor performs coercion, while the orchestra performs submission.

Many of my ruminations on the negotiation of power through conducting have focused on the actual performance, i.e. what the audience sees. However, power is contested through more than just the performance or the rehearsals. In *Between Theater and Anthropology*, Richard Schechner lays out a series of what he refers to as "points of contact between theatre and anthropology." One of these is "the whole performance sequence":

> Generally, scholars have paid attention to the show, not to the whole seven-part sequence of training, workshops, rehearsals, warm-ups, performance, cool-down, and aftermath. Theater people have investigated

> training, rehearsals, and performances but have slighted workshops, warm-up, cool-down, and aftermath. Just as the phases of the public performance itself make a system, so the whole "performance sequence" makes a larger, more inclusive system.[25]

To apply some these steps in the sequence to the orchestra, let us start with training: each of the musicians receives lessons on his/her instrument in order to learn how to play it. Once trained, s/he practices his/her part when a concert approaches. Meanwhile the conductor receives his/her own training. After becoming a professional conductor, s/he analyzes scores, formulates interpretations, and decides on particular gestures. The warm-up portion of the performance, where the players practice at home and backstage before coming out on stage and play random phrases (often difficult passages from the works to be performed at that concert), is the last moment that the musicians can exert autonomy without concern for what anyone else is playing. When the concertmaster comes out to lead the tuning, the players become part of the whole rather than a collection of individuals. Then there is the aftermath, "the long-term consequences or follow-through of a performance," which include "the reviews and criticism that so deeply influence some performances and performers."[26] During the performance, power is enacted on the audience: they are expected to sit in silence, paying complete attention to the musicians. The aftermath bequeaths power *to* the audience, who have the ability to pass judgment on the

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[25]Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 16.

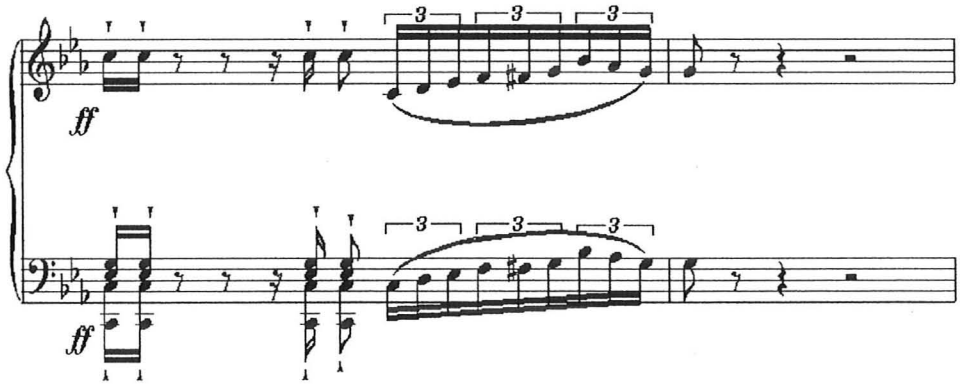
[26]Ibid., 19.

successes and/or failures of the performances they have just witnessed. While my following interpretations will focus on the performances captured by the cameras, it is important to remember that issues of power are not confined to what we are permitted to see.

IV. *Georg Solti a Disciplined Body?*

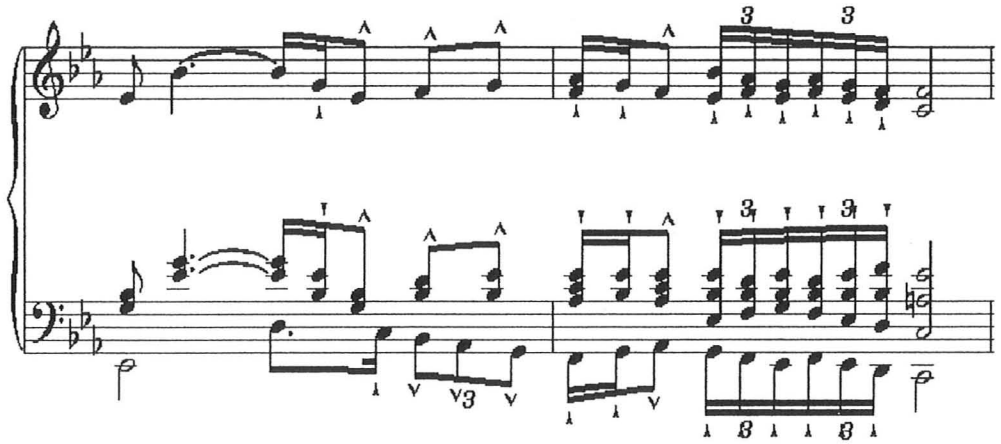
One of the most memorable segments from *Götterdämmerung* is the funeral procession for Siegfried at the end of Act III, Scene 2.

Example 1 (Act III, Scene 2, mm. 424-425)



The music for this sequence is appropriately militaristic and lugubrious: the orchestration consists of pounding timpani, snare drum, and overpowering brass and the tempo is mournfully languid. While conducting the fulminating music in this section of the opera, Solti gives extremely heavy downbeats with his arms moving high over his head. Towards the end of the passage, the entire brass section comes together to effulgently articulate a theme associated with Siegfried, derived from the familiar horn call motive (Ex. 2). While conducting this passage, Solti often aggressively propels his arms out to the orchestra, making

Example 2 (Act III, Scene 2, mm. 469-470)



fists. One must consider this section's placement, nearly four hours into the opera. During an actual staging, the players may be fighting exhaustion and such aggressive gestures may be required to maintain a convincing performance. In the context of this performance, the more staid atmosphere of the recording studio coupled with the amount of time already spent at the session and the number of takes may lead to boredom on the orchestra's part. Solti's dynamism might be required to hold the players attention. At the same time, the effect of all of this aggression suggests to the viewer that the body of the conductor is disciplining the collective body of the orchestra. Solti's violent gestures coerce the orchestra to obey his commands, creating a docile orchestral body. Furthermore, Solti can be seen scowling at the orchestra; such a severe appearance also encouraging obedience. Solti further disciplines the orchestra through cuing various sections (one notable cue consists of him pointing in one direction—the musicians are off screen, making it difficult to determine where he is pointing—while facing in the

opposite direction). These cues serve to partition the group, breaking the orchestra down into subsets Solti can monitor.

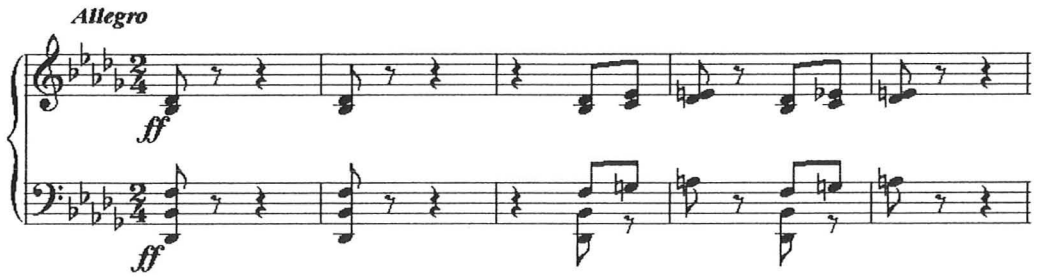
Although Solti's bodily rhetoric regulates the communal body of the orchestra, Solti himself often counteracts the ideal construction of a disciplined body. At the very beginning of this thesis on the first page, I mentioned how Solti's shirt rides up to reveal his undergarments when he gives large beats, and this occurs a few times during this section. His body seems to move in all directions and he often crouches. During a particularly grandiose brass entry, he leaps when giving the downbeat. At the aforementioned entry of the "Siegfried" theme, he moves side to side and his arms appear to flail. His beat pattern also varies: often, the point of ictus alternates between the standard position and below his waist. This is not a regulated, docile body. It is a more subjective, autonomous body. As Harold Schonberg has written about Solti's style: "Solti is the least graceful conductor since Dimitri Mitropoulos. His motions are jittery; his whole body is in motion; his shoulders as well as his hands are responding to the rhythm; his beat is a series of jabs, and he looks as though he is shadow boxing."[27] One could theorize that Solti is resisting conformity, defying the cultural systems designed to "correct" bodily movement. However, at quiet and lyrical sections, Solti stands straight, gives a regular beat pattern, and moves only as much as necessary to make his intentions understandable. In these sections, Solti acts as though he were an object of coercion. But, is Solti truly being

[27]Harold Schonberg, "Karajan is Apollo, Solti is Dionysus," in *Facing the Music* (New York: Summit Books, 1981), 360.

coerced by training and societal expectations or is his alternation of "docile" and free movement an act of agency, a performance of the different ways in which power is inscribed onto the body?

As a contrast to Solti's interpretation of Wagner in what would have been the prime of his career, I offer his reading of the scherzo from Shostakovich's Tenth Symphony, dating from 1992, five years before his death. This movement frequently borders on chaotic, with a very fast tempo and virtuosic wind writing, often in upper registers. The freneticism is grounded by a rhythmic motive, introduced by the strings in the opening measures, that is ubiquitous throughout the movement.

Example 3 (2nd Movement, mm. 1-5)



If Solti's conducting persisted with the same style as before, then much physicality and erratic movement would be evidenced. However, this is not the case. Although some of the traits he evinced during the Wagner recording sessions are present, they are scaled back noticeably. There are points where he thrusts his arms out to the orchestra, or hops slightly, but all of these movements are tempered with restraint. This curbing of energy and aggression provides a noteworthy contrast to the near frenzy the music frequently exhibits. Solti's beat pattern is less ornamented and thus clearer than in the Wagner example, and he

keeps the baton above the music stand. He also tends to look at the score more often than before, and his face betrays little emotion. Additionally, Solti gives many of his cues with his face, rather than the left hand. In practical terms, Solti's restraint would likely be necessitated by his age (eighty years old), which would limit his mobility.[28] Also, the occasion and setting are different from the Wagner performance; this is a live performance in a concert hall. Everyone is in formal dress as opposed to the everyday clothes that the Vienna musicians wore. Solti's gestural rhetoric would seem to match the atmosphere of decorum. Since this is a concert, perhaps a conductor does not to gesticulate as much to hold the orchestra's attention, especially since a concert will invariably be shorter than a recording session. However, the visuality of Solti's construction of the body carries significant social semiotics; he is performing a regulated, disciplined body that is committed to the efficient performance of challenging music. He subjects himself to the tactical expediency of social dictums that require a body conform to the status quo so that public order is not disrupted. In this performance of Shostakovich, Solti resists the pandemonium of the score and allows his body to be an object of cultural power.

V. *The Mechanics of Surveillance*

Foucault's commentary on the Panopticon offers intriguing insight into the conductor's position of power. The Panopticon was a design for a prison made by Jeremy Bentham in 1791. Foucault's description of the design is as follows:

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[28]Solti had also suffered from an injury to his neck and upper body that made moving his head difficult. He dealt with this problem all his life, but it became more noticeable in later years.

> At the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other...By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery.[29]

The most important element of the Panopticon was that those in the tower could see into every cell, but the occupants of those cells could not see into the tower. They had no idea if anyone was present at any particular time, nor did they know for certain if they were being monitored. The intent would be to inculcate in each prisoner a permanent sense of implied surveillance. In Foucault's words, the major effect of the Panopticon was

> to induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effect, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary...Bentham laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable. Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so.[30]

The panoptic principle served to regulate bodies: all in the Panopticon had to behave "properly" because they never knew when they were being monitored. This principle naturally has implications beyond those of prisons. In schools

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[29]Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 200.
[30]Ibid., 201.

during test situations, each individual student does not know if the teacher is watching him/her at a specific moment. Computer users do not know if their internet activities are being monitored or by whom. According to Bryan Turner, "panoptic disciplines produce an intensification of aptitudes and abilities, while they also increase subordination by self-controlled mastery of the body."[31]

It is possible to think of conducting as an enactment of panopticism, although it is not a one-to-one application. As I have mentioned, the orchestra tends to be arranged in a semi-circle. The conductor stands on the podium in the centre of that semi-circle and has the ability to see all the players. Each musician cannot be certain if the conductor is watching him/her specifically, since attention is divided between the conductor and his/her part. Moreover, the conductor's monitoring is aural as well as visual as s/he listens for mistakes such as wrong notes or entries. The ear allows a greater degree of surveillance: although the conductor's gaze can only be directed to a particular area, s/he has the ability to hear all sections at once. Unlike the inmates of the Panopticon, the musicians know if their supervisor is actually present, and they can see if s/he is watching a particular section, but they have no idea if the conductor is *listening* to a particular section or if they will be singled out at some point. For example, Harold Schonberg notes that Gustav Mahler was "the kind of conductor who would go out of his way to pick on weak players, then make them stand and play solo."[32]

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[31]Turner, *The Body & Society*, 164.

[32]Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 224.

By humiliating particular musicians, Mahler may very well have been sending a message that he was monitoring everyone and each player could be targeted at any time. Of course, such behaviour did not win Mahler the affection of those he conducted. For such conduct "an orchestral musician would gladly cut a conductor's throat."[33] Nevertheless, such anecdotes suggest that part of the purpose of positioning the conductor in such a way is to imply surveillance in order to coerce the bodies of the orchestra. The body of the conductor would appear to be functioning as something of a synecdoche for the observation tower in the Panopticon, an instrument of surveillance and a symbol of power.

VI. *The Panopticon in Practice*

The climax of Wagner's opera and to the *Ring* tetralogy as a whole is the "Immolation Scene" where Brünnhilde, with the aid of her horse, leaps onto a funeral pyre. As a result, flames consume Valhalla, the fortress of the gods. Solti's conducting during the recording of this scene may well demonstrate the panoptic principle in action. The orchestral writing during Brünnhilde's monologue (sung by Birgit Nilsson) is brass heavy. During these segments, particularly when the low brass is prominent in the texture, Solti points to and nods at this group. Solti often turns towards particular instrumental groups at cues. During the lengthy instrumental passage that closes the opera, Solti uses an interesting left-hand gesture: he uses a beckoning "come here" motion with his fingers to draw certain lines forward. However, Solti is not always focusing his

[33]Ibid.

gaze on the orchestra (or Nilsson); he sometimes has his eyes on the score. All of these actions suggest implied surveillance. The various cues given to specific instrumental groups lets the orchestra know that Solti is monitoring the orchestra. He has certainly thoroughly analyzed the score, knows where all the entries are, and is scrutinizing to make sure they are performed correctly. Solti's summoning left hand gesture further implies a state of observance.

Returning momentarily to the "Funeral March", when Solti cues a group with his left hand while looking in the opposite direction, it suggests that Solti is positioning his look as omnipresent, as if he has the ability to monitor everyone at once. When Solti is looking at the score, it intensifies the sense of panopticism. Each member of the orchestra cannot be sure when exactly he will look up from the score and if his gaze will turn to a particular player. Will Solti notice if someone makes a mistake, or if a musician decides to take a short respite from playing? If he does notice, how will he react?

Such questions intensify when observing Solti's conducting of the Shostakovich symphony. In the two movements I am focusing on—the Scherzo and the Finale—Solti directs a great deal more of his attention toward the score. In fact, it seems to me that eye contact with the orchestra in these two movements borders on sporadic. However, his momentary glances (which, admittedly occur frequently at cue points, structural changes, etc.) increase the implication of surveillance, especially when considering the style of those glances. When Solti looks up from the score, he often makes very little movement. He does not turn

his head towards a particular group, but merely looks up, with his head straight and perpendicular to his body. His left eye often appears to be cocked; coupled with his frequently stern and emotionless visage, these movements suggest a surreptitious verification of the orchestra's obedience. That Solti looks at the score for great deal of time might suggest that deviations from that pattern could come at any moment. As such, the musicians need to be on their best behaviour in case Solti decides to turn his stare on to them. Although in practical terms, the orchestra could likely predict when Solti will look up, considering his tendency to make eye contact during structurally significant segments, the visual of the performance suggests a panoptic performance. Solti's bodily presentation becomes a display of power by disciplining a collective body through a surveillance that is implied and potentially unceasing.

VII. *The Power of Prestige*

Moving on to a different construction of power, I offer the work of French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu. One of Bourdieu's projects was to examine how art functioned as a cultural product. To aid this project, Bourdieu developed the concept of "field." As Randal Johnson explains:

> Any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organized series of fields (the economic field, the educational field, the political field, the cultural field, etc.), each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy, except, obviously, in the cases of the

> economic and political fields. Each field is relatively autonomous but structurally homologous with the others.[34]

Bourdieu termed the field devoted to art "the field of cultural production." Regarding this field and its relation to other fields, Bourdieu writes:

> The literary and artistic field is contained within the field of power, while possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it...It occupies a *dominated position* (at the negative pole) in this field, which is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations. It is thus the site of a double hierarchy: the *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization...is *success*, as measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments, etc. The *autonomous* principle of hierarchization...is *degree specific consecration* (literary or artistic prestige), i.e. the degree of recognition accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognize.[35]

In the artistic field, the goal is not necessarily the acquisition of financial wealth, or "economic capital." According to Bourdieu, the field of cultural production is predicated on a "disavowal of the economy."[36] Rank in this field was achieved not through economic capital, but the acquisition of *symbolic capital*. This type of capital "refers to degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and

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[34]Randal Johnson, "Editor's Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu on Art, Literature and Culture," in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 6.

[35]Pierre Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 37-38.

[36]Pierre Bourdieu, "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 75.

recognition (*reconnaissance*)."[37] Symbolic capital denotes value to connoisseurs (see below), so the field of cultural production functions as a *de facto* economy where metaphorical, as opposed to literal, currency is traded. Bourdieu also notes that symbolic capital "is to be understood as economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a 'credit' which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees 'economic' profits."[38] Bourdieu makes it clear that capital is not necessarily transferable across all fields: for example, economic capital does not always facilitate accumulation of symbolic capital. In fact, Bourdieu refers to the artistic field as an "economic world reversed" which utilizes a "'winner loses' logic, since economic success (in literary terms, for example, writing a best seller) may well signal a barrier to specific consecration and symbolic power."[39] Bourdieu describes the field as a struggle between "the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically...and the autonomous principle (e.g. 'art for art's sake')."[40] Art that is created solely to increase economic capital tends to be devalued in the eyes of "consecrators."[41] Work that is concerned with purely "artistic" concerns is deemed worthy of symbolic capital, although financially successful work may possess symbolic

[37]Johnson, "Pierre Bourdieu," 7.
[38]Bourdieu, "The Production of Belief," 75.
[39]Johnson, 8.
[40]Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production," 40.
[41]Bourdieu does not quantify whether he believes this is a "proper" view of art.

capital, but it likely would have been consecrated before achieving economic success.[42]

Who are the ones capable of consecrating art and bestowing symbolic capital? To answer this question, I refer to Bourdieu's other system of capital important to the field of cultural production: *cultural capital*, consisting of "forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions."[43] Cultural capital functions as a "form of knowledge, an internalized code or cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts."[44] Those who possess cultural capital have sufficient knowledge of what constitutes "good" art and thus have the authority to consecrate art, to bestow the work with symbolic capital.[45]

The politics of the field of cultural production may be interpreted as a pursuit of cultural power. Symbolic capital for artworks and their creators increase one's authority in the field. S/he receives more prestige and more respect from other participants. Similarly, those possessing cultural capital have the power to consecrate art. I would argue that conducting is a method of obtaining and enacting power in the artistic field. By conducting music that has already

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[42]This seeming divide between "symbolic" and "economic" capital is quite interesting when discussing conducting DVDs; here we have music and performers that have been consecrated in the artistic field while being put out to consumers as economic product. Similarly, the existence of these DVDs suggests that the conductor has commodity value as someone audiences want to *see*. The audio recording does not provide a sufficient connection between performer and audience. At the same time, this footage allows students of conducting to observe how the "masters" worked. Thus, the DVDs have educational value as well. In short, conducting DVDs are items that manage to straddle the artistic, economic, and educational fields.

[43]Johnson, 7.

[44]Ibid.

[45]This is also a case where capital may be transferable across fields: academic capital in the academic field may be used to create cultural capital in the artistic field.

been consecrated—in my introduction, I accounted for this consecration through a process in the nineteenth-century that Lawrence W. Levine termed the "sacralization," of culture—conductors may increase their own symbolic capital by receiving critical praise for their interpretations or plaudits if they conduct notably challenging music. In this sense, conducting might function as a pursuit of consecration. At the same time, conductors, having received education and training as well as demonstrating a thorough knowledge of the score being played, would seem to hold a degree of cultural capital. Through their knowledge of music, conductors have the ability to consecrate the works they conduct. For example, if a respected conductor like the late Herbert von Karajan felt that a Liszt symphonic poem was worthy of his time, it might raise the work's prestige in the eyes of audiences. I now intend to observe how conducting gestures may convey possession and pursuit of symbolic and cultural capital and with it, a pursuit of power.

Over the past century, Wagner's music has been consecrated and infused with much symbolic capital. As Carl Dahlhaus writes of Wagner's legacy:

> Richard Wagner provoked the admiration and revulsion of a century which he, more than almost anyone else, may be said to represent...Wagner took a genre previously half ceremonial pomp, half entertainment, and declared it to be the ne plus ultra of art; this is the full import of the festival that he envisaged and attempted to realize in Bayreuth. And the astonishing thing is that Wagner succeeded in imposing on his age the "revolution of aesthetic values" and in raising for

> opera the same lofty claims that Beethoven had achieved for the symphony. In so doing, he transformed opera into music drama.[46]

John Culshaw, producer of Solti's landmark recording of the *Ring* cycle had this to say:

> Every now and then the creative impulse of man suddenly erupts and produces something so extraordinary, so incalculable, that from the moment it comes into being the history of an art is irrevocably changed. The past can no longer look the same; the future trend can no longer *be* the same. Such a work is Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen.*[47]

Both of these men obtained cultural capital in their various disciplines in the field of cultural production: Dahlhaus was a renowned musicologist, while Culshaw was a producer for Decca, a label that devoted itself to recordings of classical music which routinely embraced the latest technological advances in recording techniques. In the above quotes, both used the cultural capital they had accumulated to consecrate Wagner and his work. There are of course countless more examples of consecration, but the result is that Wagner's music now carries significant cultural prestige. This was not always the case of course; it is well known that Wagner was Hitler's favourite composer, and the Third Reich appropriated his music as compatible with their hateful ideology.[48] This inevitably led to a decline in the music's cultural prestige after the end of the Second World War. Indeed, Hitler's murderous campaign against Jews, in

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[46]Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 195.

[47]John Culshaw, liner notes to *Götterdämmerung* (Decca 455 569-2).

[48]See Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 34-36.

conjunction with Wagner's own virulent anti-Semitism, is still something of an albatross hanging over the music's head. It sometimes seems as if one cannot admit to enjoying Wagner's music without acknowledging the composer's considerable personal shortcomings. A composer's symbolic capital is therefore not permanent and can change with the culture.

Wagner's music has managed to recover its prestige in North America over the past few decades. The *Ring* cycle in particular has become particularly esteemed. The music and the libretto alone contain such scope that Adorno characterizes the work as a "metaphor for the totality of world history."[49] Stagings of the cycle become significant cultural events. For example, the Canadian Opera Company's cycle, planned for September of 2006, has been prominently advertised as the first performance of the entire cycle in Canada. Tickets went on sale a full two years before the first performance and renowned directors such as Atom Egoyan have been recruited. Those who perform music with such symbolic capital have the opportunity to be consecrated themselves. Indeed, the recording of the *Ring* cycle may well have been the project that elevated Solti to legendary status. Schonberg characterizes Solti's recording as displaying "color and passion." He also characterized it as "vital" and "monumental."[50] When Schonberg wrote this notice in 1976, he remarked that Solti "appears now to have arrived at full maturity, and he brings to his music an

[49]Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, 130.
[50]Schonberg, "Karajan is Apollo, Solti is Dionysus," 362.

awesome combination of ear, mind, and heart."[51] With such words, this renowned critic for the *New York Times*, considered the "paper of record" in the United States, conferred significant symbolic capital on Solti. On the other hand, it is arguable that Solti, through his knowledge of music theory and history, and his training in conducting, possessed cultural capital. Through his gestures, Solti had the ability to infuse the music performed with symbolic capital.

VIII. ***Consecrating Gestures***

Returning to the "Immolation Scene" in *Götterdämmerung*, particularly the instrumental apex, one can argue that the music consecrates itself. The sophisticated interweaving of the various motifs and the scale and skill of the orchestration provide a suitably grandiose climax to this magisterial four-opera cycle, in essence creating its own symbolic capital. However, Adorno held the opposite view; *leitmotif* was a technique he regarded with considerable dubiousness. In his words "the motiv is a sign that transmits a particle of congealed meaning," an allegorical symbol for characters and concepts which "rescinds" the music's sense of "temporal flow," giving the music a sense of "rigid stasis." The motifs serve as "miniature pictures, and their supposed psychological variations involve only a change of lighting."[52] For Adorno, the interplay of various motifs from the entire cycle at the climax of the opera was not a consecrating element, but something akin to a series of reified musical snapshots which would easily situate the listener within the complex texture.

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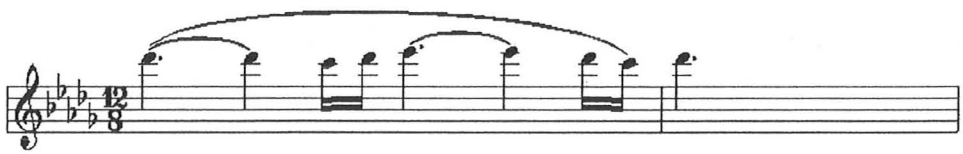
[51]Ibid., 361.
[52]Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, 45.

Adorno expounded on the ideological pitfall of the leitmotif: "even in Wagner's own day the public made a crude link between the leitmotivs and the persons they characterized."[53] For Adorno, the motifs served as little more than compositional shortcuts that made such lengthy works easily digestible by breaking the work down into small, easily understood units. It would seem that he believed the leitmotif contributed to a regression of structural listening on the part of the audience.[54] In this sense, Wagner's leitmotif operas, such as *Tristan und Isolde* and the *Ring* cycle, functioned as a cultural commodity, designed for the economic field and thus not worthy of consecration in the field of cultural production.

Solti does his part to sanctify the work during this section through his bodily movement. One of the prominent motifs in this passage is known as "Redemption Through Love," a theme frequently articulated passionately by the first violins.

Example 4



Before this, it appears during Brünnhilde's monologue preceding her sacrifice. When this theme arrives, Solti dramatically changes his gestural idiom. During

[53]Ibid., 46.

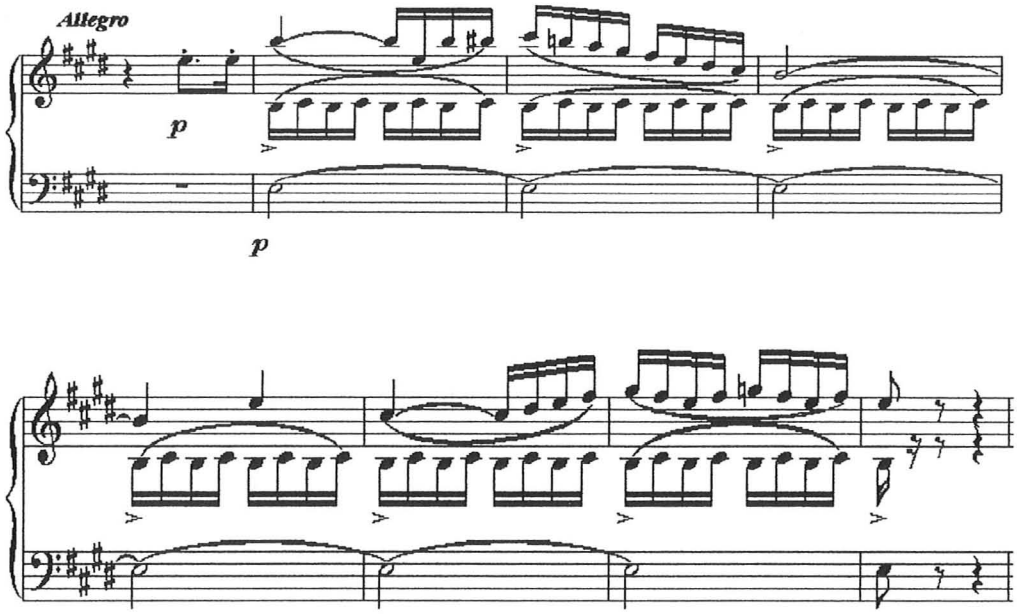
[54]See "On the Fetish-Character of Music and the Regression of Listening," in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 288-317.

this scene, he had been quite aggressive in his conducting, similar to what he did during the "Funeral March." When the "love" theme arrives, Solti stands straight, provides a smooth beat pattern, holds out a beseeching left hand to soprano Nilsson, and smiles. The shift in bodily rhetoric marks the theme as particularly special; the theme has been provided with prestige in the context of the scene.

The opera, and the cycle, closes on a final statement of the "love" theme followed by a large *crescendo* in the full orchestra on a D-flat major chord. A *diminuendo* follows, the music closing on the winds sustaining the chord. Solti consecrates this passage with smooth time beating, holding the baton high over his head. He stands straight, with closed eyes, and an open mouth, conveying a sense of the sheer joy of conducting this music. Overall, his large, spectacular gestures suit the monumentality of this denouement. By using movements that portray the music as a coruscating close to an epochal work, Solti simultaneously confirms the music's cachet while bequeathing prestige himself. He concurrently acquires and demonstrates cultural power.

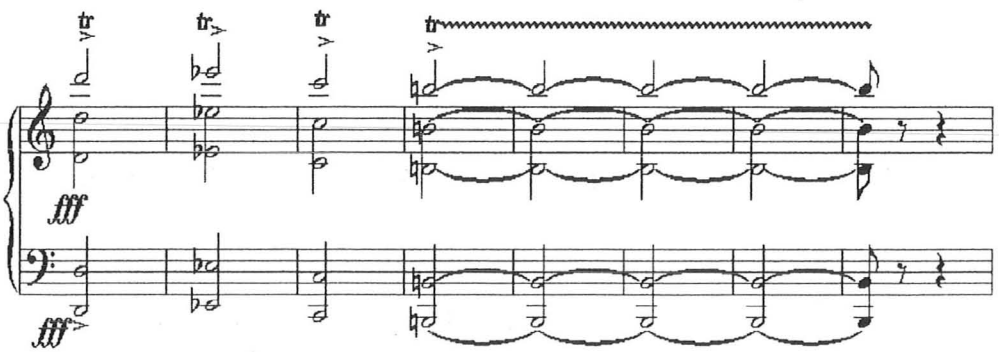
The fourth and final movement of Shostakovich's Tenth Symphony begins with a long introduction dominated by basses and winds. The anacrusis to measure 69 marks the arrival of the first actual theme, a lively sixteenth-note tune in the violins, played over an E drone (Ex. 5). At the arrival of this theme, Solti provides a large preparatory beat, the baton high over his head. Solti's pattern had been rather restrained prior to this (consistent with the tense, mysterious character of the music). The dramatic change in his pattern marks this section as

Example 5 (4th movement, mm. 68-75)



structurally important, imbuing the theme with musical prestige. The second segment I wish to consider occurs at measure 336: the entire orchestra sounds out the pitches D-Eb-C-B in octaves. In German notation, the pitches are D-S-C-H, forming something of an abbreviation for Shostakovich's name, which is ubiquitous in his later works.[55]

Example 6 (mm. 336-343)



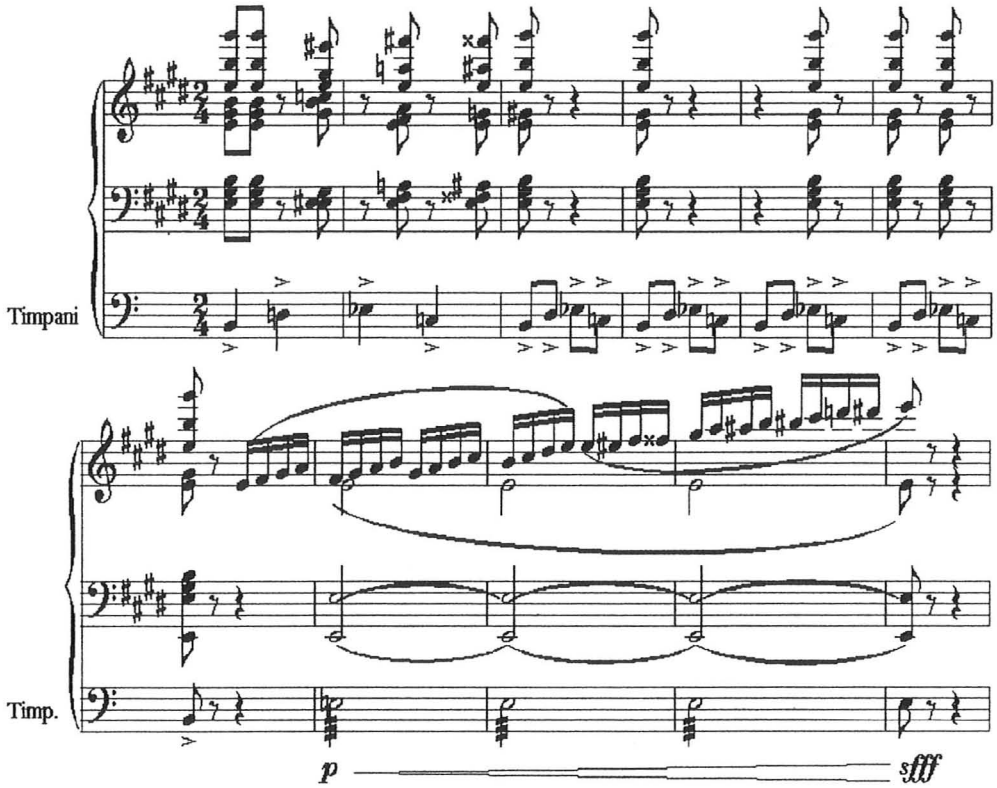
[55]This, of course is nothing new: J.S. Bach and Schumann both included similar types of signatures in their music.

Such a forceful statement of this motive suggests that this is a moment of triumph, an emphatic assertion of the composer's identity. As is well known, this particular symphony was composed in 1953, shortly after the death of Stalin. Shostakovich's reputation came under attack from Stalin's regime on several occasions, in particular the fallout from official reactions to his opera *Lady Macbeth*, leading to the first of several times he was accused of being an "enemy of the people"; the emphatic articulation would appear to be a declaration of triumph over the adversity he faced.[56] Solti's conducting serves to consecrate this moment, to consecrate Shostakovich himself, although he accomplishes this in a subtle manner. His stance is very straight and dignified. Solti's downbeat is not particularly forceful, but he does give an extremely clear pattern and raises the baton rather high. Solti seems to insist on letting the music speak for itself in this case and would appear to be an understated consecration. He uses a lack of movement to suggest that this is a high point in the symphony and may stand on its own merits. Although Solti in essence allows the music to consecrate itself, he may in fact have acquired more stature for himself, by not allowing himself to overshadow the music.

The D-S-C-H motive is an integral element of the triumphant final measures (Ex. 7). The timpani pounds out the motive in increasing rhythmic diminution while the harmony remains on the tonic. The entire orchestra plays

[56]An exhaustive account of the problems Shostakovich and other Soviet composers faced under the Stalin regime may be found in Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia: Enlarged Edition, 1917-1981* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

Example 7 (mm. 610-620)



lock-stepped eighth-notes in syncopation, eventually giving way to sixteenth-note scale passages at the work's close. This music is clearly designed to thrill the audience and get them on their feet. Solti uses his capital as a conductor to demonstrate that excitement, to provide a visual intimation that the music is meant to be rousing. He uses quick thrusting arm movements to bodily articulate the syncopated eighth notes. He also moves on the podium rather noticeably, a reminder of the kinetic energy of the sound. To extinguish the music, he uses a vigorous release that moves across his torso in a slightly downward motion. One may certainly argue that the music as written and as heard enacted power on Solti's body, that he was compelled to show excitement. However, it is also

possible that Solti is enacting power over the music. He uses his own acquired expertise to conclude that this apotheosis is a rousing finish and his movements provide a visual cue to that excitement. In this sense, Solti bestows excitement on the music.

IX. *Performing Power*

At the end of this chapter, it has hopefully become clear that conductors, whether they intend to or not, constitute powerful visual narratives regarding the acquisition and use of cultural power. When observing a conductor in action, it is easy to notice the working out of disciplinary tropes. The conductor appears to use his/her body to discipline bodies of musicians while at the same time allowing social constructions to discipline his/her own body. Along similar lines, the position of the conductor in relation to the orchestra allows an observer to interpret such a body as an instrument of surveillance, a panoptic mechanism. Finally, the conductor's respected cultural status gives him/her an important role in Bourdieu's artistic field; the body of the conductor becomes a possible receptor of consecration, symbolic capital, and artistic prestige as well as an agent that can impart such desired qualities on a work of art (consecrating it anew). Thus, the body of the conductor becomes an important site in the contestation of power, both as an agent and as an object. At the same time, by locating power within the body, I submit that power is a complex cultural construct that acquires meaning through performance. As a consequence, power is something that no one can *have*.

Chapter Three

CONDUCTING THE CARNIVALESQUE: RITUAL, TRANSGRESSION, AND PLEASURE IN ORFF'S *CARMINA BURANA*

I. *Are Symphony Concerts Truly "High" Culture?*

When one attends an orchestral concert, it is customary to see the conductor wearing white tie and tails. It is also common to notice both the players and the members of the audience wearing formal accoutrements. The musicians sit at attention while the conductor directs the performance. Spectators sit in respectful silence and after the work's conclusion, reward all involved with enthusiastic, but polite applause. Such conditions carry visual signifiers of "high" culture, as we define it today; on a practical level, audience silence and focused attention help ensure a successful performance. Audience and musicians alike are models of austerity and discipline, while standing as master of ceremonies, the centre of the spectator's attention, is the conductor. Given these conditions, how could I possibly interpret the conductor as a participant in folk culture? How could conducting be a populist act? How might a work whose text idealizes physical pleasure affect the perceived austerity of conducting?

In this chapter, I will situate conducting within discourses on folk culture and bodily pleasure; I will focus on Mikhail Bakhtin's writings on carnival as well as texts on bodily pleasure and sexuality. I intend to argue that the orchestral performance is a ritualistic spectacle and the conductor's bodily display forms the

locus of that spectacle. Through his/her choice of gestures and bodily movements, the conductor may satisfy Bakhtin's characteristics of carnival. Examining a performance of Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*—a choral/symphonic work about such earthly pleasures as games, drink, and physical love—conducted by Seiji Ozawa with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1989, I will interpret the various gestures as a communication of the text's aesthetics of pleasure and festive critique of "official" culture. Situated within the formal context of a modern concert hall, the sight of Ozawa's body—mediated by how much of his gestures and his body the producers of the footage allow us to see—becomes the site of a "war of worlds" between constructions of "high" bourgeois culture and Orff's carnivalesque critique of said culture. As I will be basing my interpretation on DVD footage, I will also comment on the mediation of the camera, how editing choices and camera placement direct my reading. In essence, I argue that the concert DVD contributes to how the social implications of concerts are observed. Through my interpretations, I wish to deconstruct the binary of the two cultures, to argue that performances of transgressive texts facilitate an intermingling of these cultures.

II. *The Spectacle of Conducting*

In my introduction, I provided brief elucidation of Bakhtin's theories on carnival and the grotesque body. Bakhtin considered carnival a Dionysian spectacle where all hierarchical rank was temporarily suspended. Through its utilization of such sundry elements as outlandish disguises and caricatures, games,

and copious consumption of food and drink, carnival allowed for a mockery of authority and an opportunity for society to liberate itself from traditional definitions of morality. The grotesque body was an example of a carnivalesque image. Bakhtin described the grotesque body as consisting of parts that were capable of exaggeration, of protruding from the body's confines. The grotesque body was the source of comic images; its transgressive quality was an integral aspect of the carnivalesque. I now wish to provide a deeper reading of elements of carnival, their cultural implications, and their possible applications to conducting.

At the outset of his study, Bakhtin identifies as an element of folk culture "*ritual spectacles*: carnival pageants, comic shows of the marketplace."[1] In medieval Europe, carnival was a "specific calendrical ritual" that "occurred around February each year, ineluctably followed by Lenten fasting and abstinence bound tightly to laws, structures and institutions which had briefly been denied during its reign."[2] Common rituals during carnival were "parish feasts, usually marked by fairs and varied open-air amusements, with the participation of giants, dwarfs, monsters, and trained animals."[3] That these events were regular occurrences during carnival and that carnival transpired every year lent it the quality of ritualistic spectacle.

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[1]Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 5.

[2]Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 15.

[3]Bakhtin, 5.

Although the modern orchestral concert contains no trained animals or any obvious aspects of medieval carnival, it still carries the signifiers of a ritual spectacle. I offer these words about concerts from Elizabeth Green's *The Modern Conductor*:

> Walk onto the stage with confidence and authority. Create a feeling of friendliness within yourself, toward the audience and their welcoming applause. Smile when you make your bow, stage front. Bow, preferably before stepping on the podium...During all of this, be thinking your tempo and the first notes of the music you are about to conduct.[4]

Regarding stage protocol, Green states that

> There is a formalized stage etiquette that should be observed. Before stepping onto the podium, it is always permissible at the beginning of the concert to shake hands with the concertmaster...When you leave the stage, do not delay your re-entrance after your first exit. Return almost immediately. A hesitation may kill the applause. Modesty at this time is not good showmanship...When the conductor motions the orchestra to rise, they stand up simultaneously with the concertmaster. When the conductor leaves the stage, the players again watch the concertmaster and resume their chairs as he or she sits down.[5]

Consider other standard occurrences at concerts: the players gradually seat themselves before warming up. The concertmaster walks out on stage to applause and signals the orchestra to begin tuning their instruments. The conductor walks out to applause and steps up to the podium and the audience sits in respectful

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[4]Elizabeth A.H. Green, *The Modern Conductor*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997), 246.

[5]Ibid., 246-247.

silence, holding applause until after all movements of the composition have ended. At the conclusion of the performance, the conductor turns to acknowledge the audience's applause and then leaves the stage before returning for a "curtain call."

In previous discussions, I have drawn attention to Christopher Small's examination of the orchestral concert.[6] In his study, Small argues that the ritual goes beyond merely the performance; the concert ritual encompasses such elements as the acquisition of tickets and congregation in the theatre's foyer, not to mention the orchestral rehearsals in preparation for the show. The actual performance functions as the center of gravity for the entire spectacle of the concert. With repetition of these events, the concert becomes a ritual spectacle. During the performance, the musicians pay constant attention to the conductor's time beating and expressive gestures. With his/her privileged rank (being the last to walk on stage, standing on a podium at the center of the front row), s/he becomes the object of the spectators' gaze. The sight of the conductor's body becomes a central facet of the spectacle.

According to Bakhtin, carnival was a subversive act that criticized authority through its spectacle. It was a "festive celebration of the...gaps and holes in all the mappings of the world laid out in systematic theologies, legal codes, normative poetics, and class hierarchies."[7] Carnival implemented such a

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[6]Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

[7]Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin*; quoted in Lawrence Kramer, "*Carnival*, Cross-Dressing, and the Woman in the Mirror," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender*

cultural critique through several methods, the first of which was a subversion of the paradigms of "official feasts" in aristocratic/bourgeois culture. Such feasts

> did not lead the people out of the existing world order and created no second life. On the contrary, they sanctioned the existing pattern of things and reinforced it...The official feast asserted all that was stable, unchanging, perennial: the existing hierarchy, the existing religious, political, and moral values, norms and prohibitions. It was the triumph of a truth that was put forward as eternal and indisputable.[8]

Rituals associated with "official" culture carried the semiotic value of permanence, of maintaining the status quo and societal order. According to Bakthin, "rank was especially evident during official feasts; everyone was expected to appear in the full regalia of his calling rank, and merits and to take the place according to his position."[9] As I have already mentioned, carnival and folk culture challenged such notions of cultural orthodoxy. Such challenges resulted in "special forms of marketplace speech and gesture, frank and free, permitting no distance between those who came in contact with each other and liberating from norms of etiquette and decency imposed at other times."[10] By celebrating community, freedom, disruption, and renewal, carnival placed folk culture in direct opposition to official culture; as opposition, carnival frequently offered criticism of the perceived follies of the aristocracy/papacy/bourgeoisie.[11]

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and Sexuality in Music Scholarship, ed. Ruth A. Solie, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 306.

[8]Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 9.

[9]Ibid., 10.

[10]Ibid.

[11]I interpret "renewal" to mean "re-birth." Bakhtin considered carnival a time when popular festivity was resurrected, essentially made new again.

Anthropologist Victor Turner expounds upon ritual performance's dislocation from "official" aspirations towards permanence by characterizing ritualistic performances, carnival among them as liminal events. According to Turner, the liminality of ritual removes the participant from the paradigms of everyday life into "a time and place lodged between all times and spaces."[12] As the performance is occurring, "the cognitive schemata that give sense and order to everyday life no longer apply, but are, as it were, suspended."[13] During all ritual spectacles, whether they belong to "high" or "low" culture, the ordinary progression of existence is suspended. The spectacle operates according its own set of rules not necessarily commensurate with those outside the performing space. While the symphony concert is not exactly utopian, what with its hierarchical seating arrangements, but the concert hall may still be interpreted as a space where the day-to-day problems of the outside world, such as earning a living and political turmoil, are put on hold for approximately two hours in the common interest of hearing the performance.

Criticism of authority was the intent of what Bakhtin referred to as "uncrowning"; authority figures were depicted with comedic images that mocked them, made them appear comical, and subjected them to physical and verbal abuse. These depictions were part of Bakhtin's second element of carnival: that

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[12]Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 84.

[13]Ibid.

of "comic verbal compositions (oral and written) such as parodies, travesties and vulgar farce."[14] As Bakthin writes:

> In such a system the king is the clown. He is elected by all the people and is mocked by all the people. He is abused and beaten when the time of his reign is over, just as the carnival dummy of winter or of the dying year is mocked, beaten, torn to pieces, burned, or drowned even in our time...The clown was first disguised as a king, but once his reign had come to an end his costume was changed, 'travestied,' to turn him once more into a clown...Abuse reveals the other, true face of the abused, it tears off his disguise and mask. It is the king's uncrowning.[15]

One of the poems in *Carmina Burana*, titled "Ego Sum Abbas (I am the Abbott)," depicts a man who identifies himself as an Abbott, a religious position, who regularly patronizes taverns and enjoys drink. The poem "travesties" a respected cultural position, turning the Abbott into a clown; his "official" status is torn asunder. Traditional cultural hierarchies are inverted: members of "high" culture are debased.[16] In my discussion of Orff's composition, I will delve into how Ozawa's bodily movements contribute to the Abbott's uncrowning.

Later in his discussion, Bakhtin notes that such images of ridicule

> present the character of a popular-festive comic performance: it is a gay and free play, but it is also full of deep meaning. Its hero and author is time itself, which uncrowns, covers with ridicule, kills the old world (the old authority and truth), and at the same time gives birth to the new.[17]

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[14]Stallybrass and White, *Politics and Poetics*, 8.

[15]Bakthin, 197.

[16]Of course, the poems of the *Carmina Burana* were written monk/monks, a case of mocking one's superiors, while still being a member of the cultural "elite." Still, on its own, the poem reads as a debasing of a culturally privileged figure, knocking him down to a lower level.

[17]Ibid. 207.

Bakhtin's references to temporality are interesting in their implication of popular festivity as inherently impermanent; ritual spectacle invariably ends, marking a return to everyday existence. Carnival is a time of disruption of the "old world," a challenge to "the way things are," an impermanent spectacle that is consistently renewed. The "new world" of proletarian carousing is a utopian fantasy that must be resurrected repeatedly in order to maintain its cultural currency. Authority, on the other hand, seeks to maintain rule in perpetuity; official feasts that display symbols of rank and privilege seek to convey the timelessness of hierarchical positions. Official culture is opposed to change. The spectacle of uncrowning, of mocking those in authority and its dismissal of everything permanent is thus one aspect of the transgressive quality of carnival.

III. *The Significance of the Grotesque*

The image of the grotesque body provides another transgressive element to carnivalesque imagery. It is a body delineated as

> Multiple, bulging, over-or under-sized, protuberant and incomplete. The openings and orifices of this carnival body are emphasized, not its closure and finish. It is an image of impure corporeal bulk with its orifices (mouth, flared nostrils, anus) yawning wide and its lower regions (belly, legs, feet, buttocks and genitals) given priority over its upper regions (head, 'spirit', reason).[18]

As I have noted previously, Bakhtin termed a grotesque body to be a body "in the act of becoming"—a body that always seeks to extend itself.[19] In my

[18]Stallybrass and White, 9.
[19]Bakhtin, 317.

Introduction, I posited that the very act of conducting enacts discursive signs of the becoming body. For example, at the outset of a performance, the conductor's first downbeat results in the initiation of the composition. When the beat pattern is large, with forceful arm movement, the orchestra responds with loud dynamics. If the conductor motions towards a particular group with an open palm, they respond by playing quieter. Essentially, the sonorities that the orchestra generates become a semiotic extension of the conductor's gestures. Consider what Bakhtin postulates as follows:

> Actually, if we consider the grotesque image in its extreme aspect, it never presents an individual body: the image consists of orifices and convexities that present another, newly conceived body. It is a point of transition in a life eternally renewed, the inexhaustible vessel of death and conception.[20]

It is, of course, problematic to attempt to draw a one-to-one correlation between the above quote and conducting, but there is some applicability; the "convexities" of gestures—time beating, cueing, left-hand technique, etc.—initiate sounds and interpretations, creating a metaphorical new body, that of musical sound. The collective body of the orchestra becomes an extension of the conductor's body. Through musical performance, the conductor becomes the locus of "life eternally renewed."

The above passage accounts for hermeneutic readings of the conductor's ontological basis in the grotesque. What about the gestures themselves? The grotesque body consists of "flesh conceptualized as corpulent excess," with the

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[20]Ibid., 318.

operative word (in my opinion) being "excess."[21] The grotesque body takes a body part and exaggerates it to a ludicrous degree, in order to create a parodic image. With that in mind, imagine a conductor who imparts resplendent physicality into his/her gestures: beat patterns are enormous, arms moving every which way with the location of the beat-point line similarly shifting. The conductor crouches down frequently, hops, and generally makes a spectacle of him or herself. The conductor's movements have been exacerbated and become an aberrant, ostentatious act.

On this point, I offer analyses of caricatures of Gustav Mahler's conducting as compared to Richard Strauss:

> Strauss is a "German" conductor: with his left hand at his side and making a small gesture with his right hand, he appears calm and unruffled. Mahler is...leaning forward, and his hand is clenched in a threatening fist as he grimaces at the orchestra. His weight has been shifted to one foot, and even his coattails are in motion.[22]

Another caricature depicts

> the same excessive and awkward movement...Nothing is straight here: Mahler's back is bent, both his arms and legs are contorted at odd angles, even his clothes seem to be misshapen. His glasses slip down his nose, he seems to be kicking over the music stand, and sheets of music fly everywhere.[23]

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[21]Stallybrass and White, 9.

[22]K.M. Knittel, "'Ein hypermoderner Dirigent': Mahler and Anti-Semitism in *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna," *19th-Century Music*, 18/3 (Spring 1995): 270. The depiction described is not an accurate representation, but an exaggeration of Mahler's histrionic style.

[23]Knittel, 272.

The depiction of Mahler's enthusiasm, his theatricality, marks his body as grotesque according to the Bakhtinian definition. His display, and that of other conductors who engage in similar bodily discourse, performs a travesty of "the demands of bourgeois decorum, reserve, and respectability."[24] As such, the grotesque body carries significant cultural semiotics. Bakhtin maintains that:

> In grotesque realism, the bodily element is deeply positive. It is presented not in a private egotistic form, but as something universal, representing all the people. As such it is opposed to the severance from the material and bodily roots of the world; it makes no pretense [sic] to renunciation of the earthy, or independence of the earthy and body.[25]

However, the grotesque body is not merely egalitarian as Bakhtin would have it: the caricatures of Mahler were the product of a *fin-de-siècle* Viennese culture steeped in anti-Semitism. The depictions were created not to mock Mahler's privileged position, but to disparage his Jewish-ness as grotesque (Mahler was not a practicing Jew; he converted to Christianity in order to maintain his career as a conductor). Indeed Knittel's article quoted above includes a number of cartoons from the time depicting Jews as grotesque. So, carnivalesque imagery is not just a comical subversion of "high" culture; it can also be used as a weapon against despised minorities, an issue I will return to when I discuss Seiji Ozawa. Getting back to Bakhtinian definitions, the grotesque body functions as a transgression of "high" cultures idealization of formality and asceticism; it positions itself in

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[24]Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life With the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 259.

[25]Bakhtin, 19.

dialectic opposition to the "official feast." Similarly, on the surface, the conductor who employs bravura display opens a hermeneutic window: the transgression of traditional constructions of the "cultured" body.[26] There exist complications to such an interpretation, as I will discuss shortly.

IV. *Carnivalesque Pleasures*

Bakhtin framed the act of eating and drinking as a significant carnivalesque image and manifestation of the grotesque body. In Bakhtin's words, "these traits are most fully and concretely revealed in the act of eating; the body transgresses here its own limits: it swallows, devours, rends the world apart, is enriched and grows at the world's expense."[27] Bakthin argues further that

> In the oldest system of images food was related to work. It concluded work and struggle and was the crown of glory. Work triumphed in food. Human labor's encounter with the world and the struggle against it ended in food, in the swallowing of that which had been wrested from the world.[28]

The consumption of victuals was the reward for proletarian struggle; consumption occurred at banquets, popular feasts. It was a "banquet for all the world," a space of folk revelry.[29] In addition to cultural critique, the image of consumption beatified physical pleasure. In carnivalesque discourse, the everyday struggles of labour were rewarded with a celebration of sensation. Enjoying an unchecked

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[26]In the simplest terms, this is defined as a moment that invites interpretation. See Lawrence Kramer, "Tropes and Windows: An Outline of Musical Hermeneutics," in *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1-20.

[27]Bakhtin, 281.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., 278.

degree of bodily pleasure—whether through food or sexual activity—without regard for standards of "decency" became a method to resist the formality and decorum that tends to be associated with official culture. The experience of unbridled pleasure celebrated the incomplete, "grotesque" elements of the body, the mouth, the stomach, and the genitals.

Official culture has been roundly criticized through carnivalesque imagery, but it has clearly not accepted the criticism with aplomb. Several discourses position folk culture and carnival as a threat to traditional cultural morality. Bakhtin noted a paradigm shift in depictions of the body in European literature post-Renaissance:

> The new bodily canon, in all its historic variations and different genres, presents an entirely finished, completed, strictly limited body, which is shown from the outside as something individual. That which protrudes, bulges, sprouts, or branches off (when a body transgresses its limits and a new one begins) is eliminated, hidden, or moderated. All orifices of the body are closed.[30]

Later, Bakhtin notes that

> In the modern image of the individual body, sexual life, eating, drinking, and defecation have radically changed their meaning: they have transferred to the private and psychological level where their connotation becomes narrow and specific, torn away from the direct relation to the life of society and to the cosmic whole.[31]

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[30]Bakthin, 320.
[31]Ibid., 321.

The sight of the body and its functions has been effectively erased: bodily activity as public spectacle has been discouraged. The body is something private, consigned to the closet. In modern culture, people are arrested for "indecent exposure" when they engage in public nudity. Films featuring nudity routinely carry "R" ratings, regardless of context. Displays of physical affection between couples are often considered inappropriate anywhere except behind drawn curtains. In other words, the body has been constructed as an object of shame.

The body's capacity for experiencing pleasure has been similarly made abject in favour of intellectual pursuits. The eighteenth century saw a proliferation of coffee houses which bourgeois discourse placed in diametric opposition to taverns. Coffee houses were considered "places of free discussion" where "key groups of Enlightenment intellectuals" gathered.[32] The following quotation is a typical description from this time-period:

> It is a merit of the coffeehouse that you can sit there the whole day and half the night amongst people of all classes. The coffeehouse is the only place where conversation may be made to come true, where extravagant plans, utopian dreams and political plots are hatched without anyone even leaving their seat.[33]

The consumption of coffee seems like an afterthought compared to the engagement of the intellect. Compare the above quote to this one from *A Dissertation upon Drunkenness* (1727) regarding taverns:

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[32]Stallybrass and White, 95.
[33]H. Kesten, *Dichter im Café.* Quoted in Stallybrass and White, 95.

> The vile obscene talk, noise, nonsense and ribaldry discourses together with the fumes of tobacco, belchings and other foul breakings of wind, that are generally found in the ale-room...are enough to make any rational creature amongst them almost ashamed of his being. But all this the rude rabble esteem the highest degree of happiness and run themselves into the greatest straits imaginable to attain it.[34]

Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's commentary on the above quote is as follows:

> This is not to be taken simply as the isolated and excessively severe judgment of an early teetotaller. As we have seen, the terms in which it casts its argument, pitting the desires and habits of 'any rational creature' against those of 'the rude rabble' were key terms in the *will to refinement* which so marked the struggle to establish the public sphere in the period...His attack on drink and the alehouse is part of a wider attack on the 'grotesque body' and the physical conditions and norms of assembly favoured by the lower classes of the time. By implication and contrast, 'any rational creature' will favour polite and decent conversation, quietness, no nonsense, ribaldry or drunkenness, and a much stricter control of the body.[35]

Such eighteenth-century discourse against drink (and likely massive consumption of food) morally problematized physical pleasure. Sensation was thought's subaltern.

Sexual pleasure underwent similar treatment as far back (and even farther) as the ancient Greeks, although as Michel Foucault points out, sex itself was not thought of as inherently immoral. Rather, "sexual activity was perceived as natural (natural and indispensable) since it was through this activity that living

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[34]P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (London, 1983); quoted in Stallybrass and White, 94.

[35]Stallybrass and White, 94.

creatures were able to reproduce."[36] Nevertheless, the amount that one engaged in sexual activity and the pleasure s/he derived from it became a moral concern. Moderation of pleasure, if not a complete repudiation of it, was an ideal to which one aspired. As Foucault writes:

> the virtuoso hero who is able to turn aside from pleasure...is a familiar figure in Christianity....But equally well known in pagan antiquity was the figure of those athletes of self-restraint who were sufficiently masters of themselves and their cravings to be able to renounce sexual pleasure.[37]

Furthermore, the Greeks also postulated theories on the dangers of untempered physical pleasure. For example,

> Aristotle remarks that the brain is the first organ to feel the consequences of the sexual act, for it is the "coldest part of the whole body; by withdrawing a "pure natural heat" from the organism, the emission of semen induces a general cooling effect. Diocles places the gall bladder, kidneys, lungs, eyes, and spinal cord among the organs that are particularly exposed to the effects of pleasure's excesses.[38]

Pleasure's capacity for deleterious effects on the self appears in descriptions of bourgeois reactions to carnivalesque imagery, specifically the implication that the sight of intemperate displays of pleasure and the grotesque body lead to hysteria:

> many of the images and symbols which were once the focus of various pleasures in European carnival have become transformed into the morbid symptoms of private terror. Again and again these patients suffer acute

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[36]Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 48.

[37]Ibid., 20.

[38]Ibid., 118.

> attacks of disgust, literally vomiting out horrors and obsessions which look surprisingly like the rotted residue of traditional carnival practices.[39]

These reactions of disgust were emblematic of a "gradual, relentless attack on the 'grotesque body' of carnival by the emergent middle and professional classes from the Renaissance onwards."[40] The bourgeoisie coded carnivalesque display and the perceived excess of bodily pleasure as a threat to individual well-being.[41] Sexual pleasure was greeted with notable suspicion. As Lawrence Kramer writes, "socially, the supposed need to regulate the anarchic force of sexuality produced a vast population of 'deviants,' 'neurotics,' and 'debauchees' (the latter mostly slum dwellers) from whom 'normal' people had to be protected."[42] Treatment of these supposed "undesirables" could be quite harsh. For example, "the British Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s—laws that empowered the police to 'arrest women, subject them to internal examination and incarcerate them in lock-hospitals if they were suffering from gonorrhoea or syphilis'" were passed.[43] Such treatment carried the implication that excessive sexuality was dangerous, and "normal," "moral" people should be wary of pleasures of the flesh. The construction of the pleasures of carnival as a site of moral and psychological deficit was an element of

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[39]Stallybrass and White, 175.

[40]Ibid., 176.

[41]As Dr. Kinder pointed out to me, restrictions on sexual activity during medieval times were also implemented to keep populations manageable, to reduce the number of orphans who would have been dependant on the Church.

[42]Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice,* 139.

[43]Judith Wallkowitz, *Prosecution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1980), quoted in Kramer, 139.

> a gradual reconstruction of the idea of carnival as the culture of the Other. This act of disavowal on the part of the emergent bourgeoisie, with its sentimentalism and its disgust, *made* carnival into the festival of the Other. It encoded all that which the proper bourgeois must strive *not to be* in order to preserve a stable and 'correct' sense of self.[44]

So far, I have described something of a culture war; popular folk culture offers a critique of "high" culture through the spectacle of carnival, while "high" culture answers back by positing carnival as a threat to public health and morality. I intend to argue that through the choice of particular repertoire, the orchestral concert may be seen as a modern enactment of elements of this conflict. When conducting a work like *Carmina Burana*, one may interpret the conductor's gestures, movements, and physiognomy as enacting the text's narratives of ritual, transgression, and bodily pleasure. At the same time, the confines of the podium limit the conductor's movements. In addition, the orchestral musicians, who sit relatively rigidly in their chairs, contrast the gesticulations of the conductor and their potential for excess.[45] Finally, the formal attire of all involved repudiates any connection with popular culture. Through the conductor's performance, s/he becomes the centre of a cultural exchange between the carnival and the official feast.

V. *Orff and Discourses of Race*

[44]Stallybrass and White, 178.

[45]Of course, instrumentalists do possess the potential for excess. For example, expelling too much air into the instrument results in an excess of sound, which can seriously imbalance the musical texture. The grotesque body enters into the equation when dealing with such unpleasantries as spit valves.

Before discussing the performance of *Carmina Burana*, it is necessary to discuss the ideological concerns surrounding the work, as well as my choice of conductor. Seiji Ozawa's Asian background prompts the question of how discourses of race and ethnicity concatenate with those of carnivalesque bodies. Such a discussion is predicated on the controversy over Orff's and his works' association with the Nazi regime in the 1930s. Although there is no concrete proof that Orff ever belonged to the National Socialist party, nor that he was ideologically sympathetic to their agenda, questions still remain. As Michael Kater points out, two schools of thought exist with regards to Orff and his music: that he was stridently anti-Nazi and "if not a direct victim of the Nazis," he was "seriously wronged by them and at best tolerated," a belief that is based on several falsehoods, as we shall see. The other line of thinking is that he was a knowing collaborator with the party and that "his music too was symptomatic, particularly of Nazi ideology."[46]

Kater notes numerous instances of critical discourse characterizing the music as fascist. For example, the opening chorus has been described as "terrifying when the singers spit out their Latin fricatives like powerful jack-booted automatons."[47] Why does such writing exist when, as mentioned, no direct evidence exists to label Orff a Nazi? The answer to that question derives from Orff's conduct during the time of the Third Reich's dominance in Germany.

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[46]Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 111.

[47]Elissa Poole, *The Globe and Mail*, 28 Sept. 1996, quoted in Kater, 114.

It is well known that Orff's pedagogical *Schulwerk* project received considerable funding from the party. Moreover, he accepted a commission to compose incidental music for Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the Nazis apparently intending Orff's work to supplant the well-known music by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, as part of their anti-Semitic agenda. As for *Carmina Burana*, the work was highly successful in Nazi Germany, despite some initial resistance to its Bacchanalian content, receiving numerous performances. Many in the party championed the piece. According to Kater, Orff's rhythmically complex, but harmonically and contrapuntally simple music was "subsumed under a special rubric of modernism—of a type the Nazis, and specifically Goebbels [the minister of propaganda], actually desired, in order to lend credence and legitimacy to their overall revolutionary intentions in the cultural field."[48]

Orff's associations with the Nazis led him to concoct two apocryphal stories after Germany's surrender in order to rescue his post-war reputation. The first story was that the work "had been banned outright from 1936 to 1940 and had been generally declared 'undesirable' for the entire Third Reich." The second legend is that "at the time of the scenic oratorio he had informed his publisher Strecker henceforth to forget everything he had composed before 1937." The veracity of these stories is dubious to say the least, but Orff's purpose behind these tales is to position himself "as the alleged victim of Nazi blacklisting," which would "establish him as a creator of anti-Nazi art and hence as an anti-Nazi

[48]Kater, 128.

himself."[49] Orff's acceptance of Nazi commissions, the ideological appropriations by the party, and his disingenuousness in terms of accounting for the reception history of his music has tainted Orff and his work in the eyes of many.

The above serves as a prelude to the commentary on how the body of a non-Caucasian conductor works its way into discussions of the carnivalesque. As previous chapters have shown, many discourses on race equated ideal manhood with white supremacy, well known as a goal of the Third Reich. In such a context, the discussion of "cultured" and "grotesque" bodies takes on the caste of Aryan and non-Aryan bodies. Recalling my discussion of the caricatures of Mahler and Strauss, the depiction of Mahler's gesticulations as grotesque (according to Bakhtinian definitions) carries clear racial implications: the non-Caucasian, Jewish body was positioned as the abject to Strauss' "pure" construction of the body. Similarly, with Ozawa, whenever he engages in histrionic display, such discourses of raced bodies are resurrected. The concern at hand is how Ozawa's gestures are situated within the discourse of grotesque bodies. There is a long history of Western culture positioning those of the East as exotic and even grotesque Others.[50] If Ozawa performs carnivalesque imagery, his body may be situated discursively as "different" and "Other." When reading my interpretations of Ozawa's gestures, one should keep in mind such how constructions of race may resonate within the discourse of grotesque bodies.

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[49]Ibid., 125.

[50]See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

VI. *Interpreting Carmina Burana*

Carmina Burana (Songs of Benediktbeuern) is derived from a set of medieval poems—some in Latin, others in German—that was discovered in a Bavarian monastery in 1803. In 1847, "the Bavarian dialect scholar Johann Andreas Schmeller edited the collection...under the title of 'Carmina Burana.'"[51] Carl Orff composed his setting between 1935 and 1936. As Andrea Liess writes, "Orff came across Schmeller's edition...in 1935. His theatrical imagination was fired by the very first page—*O Fortuna Velut Luna*, a miniature of the Wheel of Fortune."[52] Orff divided the texts into the following sections: *Im Frühling (Springtime)* and *Uf dem Anger (On the Lawn)*; *In Taberna (In the Tavern)*; *Cour d'Amours(The Court of Love)*; *Blanziflor und Helena.* These sections are bookended with *Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi (Fortune, Empress of the World).* The piece is scored for mixed choir, boys choir, soprano, tenor, baritone, and orchestra—including a large percussion section and two pianos.

The work opens with the choral piece *O Fortuna.* The text reads:

1.	2.	3.
O Fortuna,	Sors immanis	Sors salutis
velut luna	et inanis,	et virutis
statu variabilis,	rota tu volubilis,	mihi nunc contraria,
semper crescis	status malus,	est affectus
aut decrescis;	vana salus	et defectus
vita detestabilis	simper dissolubilis,	semper in angaria;
nunc obdurate	obumbratum	hac in hora
et tunc curat	et velatam	sine mora

[51]Karl Schumann, liner notes to Carl Orff, *Carmina Burana*, trans. Francis Català, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Shin-Yu Kai Chorus, Seiji Ozawa, Philips DVD 074 3060.

[52]Andreas Liess, *Carl Orff*, trans. Adelheid and Herbert Parkin (London: Calder and Boyars, 1966), 83.

ludo mentis aciem, egestatem potestatem dissolvit ut glaciem.	mihi quoque niteris, nunc per ludum dorsum nudum fero tui sceleris.	cordis pulsum tangite, quod per sortem sternit fortem mecum omnes plangite.
O Fortune/like the moon/ever changing/rising first/then declining/hateful life treats us badly/then with kindness/making sport with our desires/causing power/and poverty alike/to melt like ice.	Dread Destiny/and empty fate/an ever turning wheel/who make adversity/and fickle health/alike turn to nothing/in the dark/and secretly/you work against me/how through your trickery/my naked back/is turned to you unarmed.	Good fortune/and strength/now are turned from me/affection/and defeat/are always on duty/come now/pluck the strings/without delay/and since by fate/the strong are overthrown/weep ye all with me.

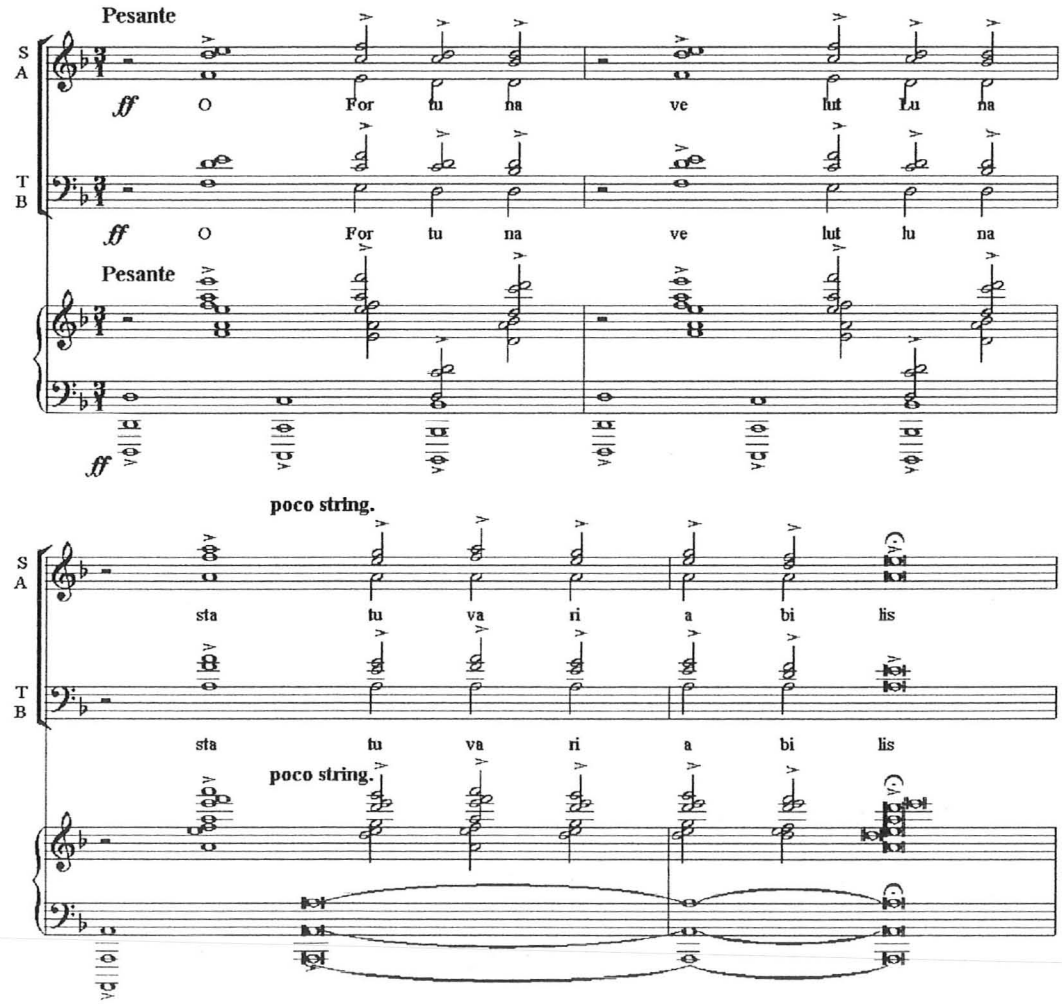
The second stanza invokes the image of the Wheel of Fortune, whose unpredictable turns of fate can change one's fortune from positive to disastrous at a moment's notice. The spinning of the wheel becomes something of a game, where one tests his/her fate. According to Bakhtin, games were an integral element of carnival; they were "also closely related to time and to the future...The images of games were seen as a condensed formula of life and of the historic process: fortune, misfortune, gain and loss, crowning and uncrowning."[53] Furthermore, "games drew the players out of the bounds of everyday life, liberated them from usual laws and regulations, and replaced established conventions by other lighter conventionalities."[54] Through the unpredictability of their outcomes, games potentially challenged the official precepts of permanence

[53]Bakhtin, 235.
[54]Ibid.

and universality. Moreover, the playing of games becomes a ritual spectacle, where fate is tempted time and again.

Orff's setting of "O Fortuna" commences with the choir declaiming the first three lines of text, doubled by the full orchestra.

Example 1 (No. 1, mm. 1-4)

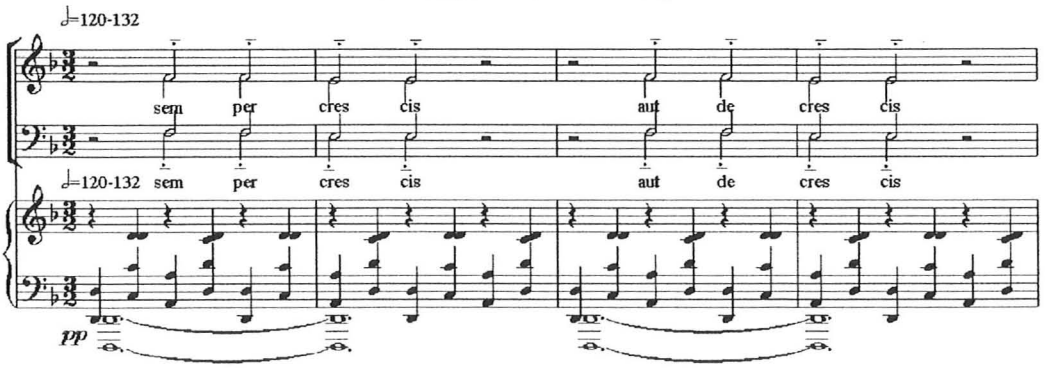


The homophony, diatonicism, and modal harmony are folk-like in their simplicity, situating them within the carnivalesque nature of games. The use of tone clusters, particularly at the text "statu variabilis," infuses dissonance into the

proceedings, conveying the callous capriciousness of fortune. The *fortissimo* dynamic and the constantly accented attacks suggest that this opening is a fervent plea for this "Empress of the World" to be merciful. For the beginning of the performance I am viewing, the director chooses a high-angle long-shot from behind Seiji Ozawa, as if the audience were witnessing the performance from Fortune's point of view.[55] Ozawa stands rigid and straight; at the *poco stringendo* in measure three, he aggressively thrusts his left arm outward, as if he is attempting to transgress his body's limits. His arm movement draws one's attention, essentially becoming a spectacle. At the same time, in the context of the musical narrative, Ozawa is performing a bold defiance of Fortune's fickleness.

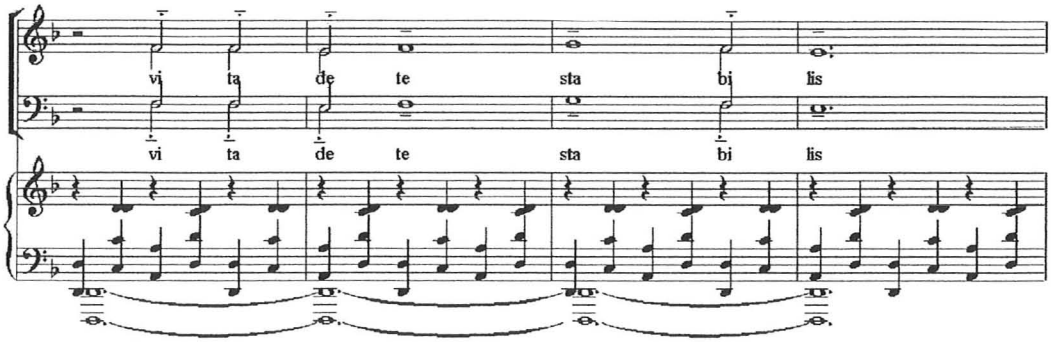
At measure five the metre shifts from a slow 3/1 into a fast 3/2. The text, starting with "semper crescis" is expressed through a recurring pattern of four half-notes. Starting on the second beat, the rhythmic motif is written against the triple meter, making the part sound as if it is in four.

Example 2 (mm. 5-12)



[55]Ozawa's gestures are quite similar in the reprise at the end of the work, so there is no need to analyze this section.

Example 2 Continued



The hushed dynamic combined with the sharp articulation by the choir suggests fear and awe of this ruthless deity. The phrase repeats continuously, accompanied by the low strings in an ostinato of constantly undulating quarter notes. Additionally, the harmony maintains a constant D minor sonority. The music suggests the ritualism of spinning the Wheel of Fortune, not knowing where it will land, not knowing what one's fate will be. Additionally, there is a sense of stasis, of freezing a particular moment in time, as if denying temporal progress will indefinitely put off the outcome of the spinning of the Wheel. During this section, Ozawa stands very straight; he demonstrates a controlled three-beat pattern, with a clear ictus on each beat. His body's rigidity suggests tension, of the game's outcome, of possible destruction by fate. Note that the first time the camera returns to Ozawa after the introduction is at the text "nunc per ludum." The text pronounces resignation to Fortune's inevitable assault, giving good reason to show tension in his performance.[56] On the one hand, Ozawa's parsimonious movement seems a model of bourgeois modesty. However, by utilizing ritualistic conducting technique, Ozawa creates a ritual spectacle out of

[56]I should point out once again that the director's choices mediate the image. The choice of shots helps construct the narrative that I discern here.

the performance of the piece. The repetition of the music and the repetition of gesture result in an attempt to make the ritual one for all time, without surcease.

Stasis is broken one measure after rehearsal number six: a bass drum stroke signals a slight speeding-up of the tempo while the sopranos move up an octave, and the ensemble suddenly changes its dynamic to a stentorian *forte*. Ozawa appears to be initiating a large, ostentatious downbeat, but the camera immediately cuts away to members of the orchestra. This is a common practice throughout the performance: the film's producers do not show Ozawa for any great length of time. Contrasting his freer movements are the sights of the musicians, who mostly remain steadfast in their chairs, only moving as much as necessary to play their instruments. The conflict between Ozawa's exuberance and the players' reserve (based on what the camera allows to see; there may well be portion where the players show great energy in their movements) establishes a visual narrative, based on a series of "snapshots" that may or may not be representative of the entire performance, that erases as much of the conductor's body as possible, to avoid the possibility of a grotesque spectacle. However, at the final cadence, after a flurry of incandescent brass, Ozawa holds out a closed fist and hops when he gives the release. His mouth is also slightly open. Ozawa draws attention to his body through vigorous gestures and movements; the open mouth providing a window to the "material bodily lower stratum" so despised by

the bourgeoisie.[57] As a result, Ozawa's body at the close of the piece becomes carnivalesque in its imagery.

The "Uf dem Anger" section of the work commences with the instrumental "Tanz (Dance)." The presence of a dance movement, which implies physical motion and carries potential for exhibiting semiotics of pleasure, cannot help but be culturally contested. As Richard Leppert writes, "dance was dangerous to the spiritual purity of men."[58] A writer in the seventeenth century also wrote:

> For, amongst the frivolous pleasures, which, as I may so term it, ravish men's senses with delight, not any one is more coveted than that of dancing; from which nothing proceedeth, but that which favoureth of lust, hateful to every honest man, and ought, in general, to be a disgrace to all.[59]

Further, "[folk] dance was movement" that served "no purpose (it accomplished nothing)."[60] Dance, according to the above description, carries cultural semiotics of excess, both of bodily display and pleasure.[61] Orff's inclusion of a folk-dance movement in his composition would appear to be rich in cultural implication; the piece's presence seems to be a veneration of the "folk" body.

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[57]See Bakhtin, 368-437.

[58]Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 73.

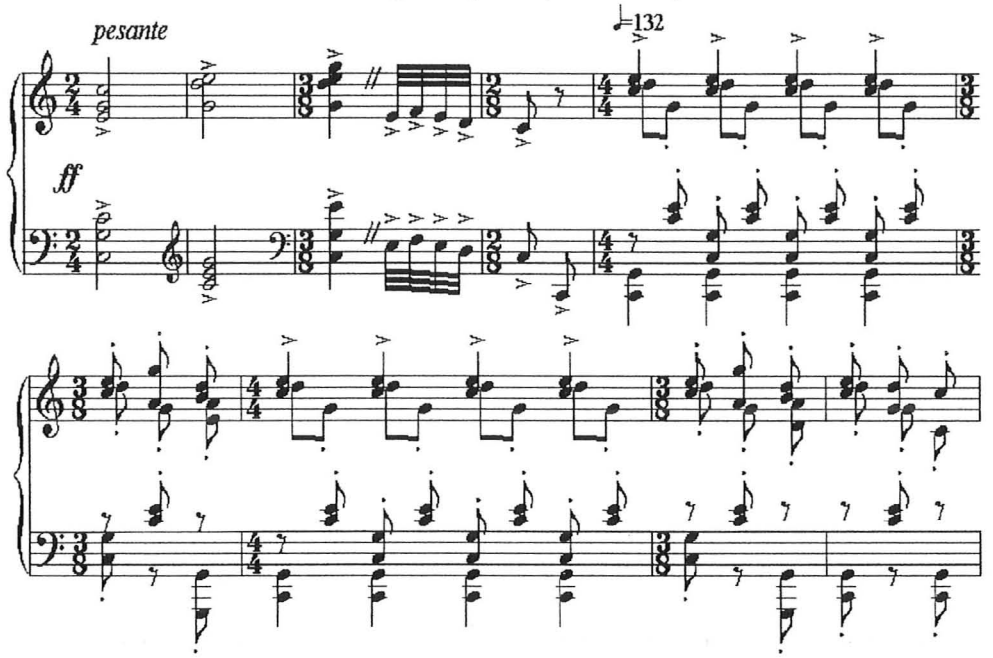
[59]I. H. Æ., *The Mirror of Worldly Fame* (London, 1603), quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 73.

[60]Ibid. It should be noted that Leppert's point refers to men and dance; in the context he discusses, dance was feminized. However, the moral problematization of dance suits my purposes as well.

[61]Dance may also be theorized as a disciplining of the body.

After a brief, four measure introduction that outlines the C major triad and sets up the predominant use of meter in the piece (since a constant eighth-note pulse is maintained, the 2/4 measures would actually be in four), the dance begins.

Example 3 (No. 6, mm. 1-4)



It is a vigorous dance, consisting of many accented pitches. Ternary form is apparent, with the A section built on a repeating figure that mixes 4/4 and 3/8 meters, and a B section consisting of a duet between solo flute and timpani. The piece is constructed as a folk dance: the opening tempo marking reads *pesante*; the repeated notes and aggressive diatonicism (there is no movement away from the chords I, IV, and V) lend it an extreme simplicity. Moreover, the basses maintain an almost constant tonic pedal point, another common trait of folk music. The shifting meter, the disruption and displacement of downbeats, challenge "official" notions of permanence, taking on carnivalesque aspects. In addition, the metric irregularity suggests that the music is unrefined, that the

music-makers are unable to maintain a steady pulse. This suggestion of amateurism helps give the piece its folk-like quality. Yet, the repetition of the 4/4-3/8 pattern promotes a sense of regularity, as if an attempt to deny the carnivalesque nature were taking place. However, the repudiation is then repudiated itself when a new rhythmic pattern (mixing 3/8, 4/4, 2/8, and 2/4) is introduced four measures before rehearsal number 37 (the harmony also moves to IV for the first time). Similarly, the B section is built on another pattern of 4/4, 6/8, 3/8, and 12/8. What is occurring is a fusion between permanence and disruption, official culture and carnival.

Ozawa's conducting choices enacts this fusion/struggle. At the outset of the piece, he moves head down and then back up. There is also noticeable tongue movement inside his mouth, which could be read as a somewhat lascivious gesture. These movements defy notions of bodily regularity; since they do not seem to contribute much to the interpretation of the music, they are movements that "serve no useful purpose." They are possibly movements that simply signify the pleasure of engaging one's body. The camera then cuts away to a slide bearing the title. One could read the placement of the cut as suggesting impermissibility of witnessing such a disruption of social norms.

Ozawa is seen once again three measures before 38, at the return of the main dance theme. He is seen from the side, a view unique to this movement. Ozawa crouches at the 3/8 measures and stands up straight when the meter changes back to 4/4, as if his movements were choreographed as a dance (they are

also efficacious in making the meter changes clear to the players). That he drastically alters his stance at a point of disruption of the quarter-note pulse may signify a resistance to the "old world," and a commitment to a "free play" of bodily motion. On the other hand, that his disruption occurs at regular intervals returns a sense of regularity and permanence to the proceedings.

When the A section returns at the *a tempo*, Ozawa is seen giving a heavy downbeat, but he stands very straight. He appears again just before 42, with the horns stating the second rhythmic pattern. The string accompaniment places an accent on every second eighth note, creating cross rhythms when the meter shifts to 3/8 and 2/8. While this is occurring, Ozawa stands straight, his time beating and gestures very conservative, suggesting that may be counteracting the irregularity, the folk nature of the music with a more culturally acceptable construction of the body while simultaneously co-ordinating the group in the midst of rhythmic complexity. This brief, seemingly simple piece and its performance turn out to be a highly complex negotiation of "high" and "low" ontologies of the body.

The eighth movement of the work bears the title "Chramer, gip die varwe mir."[62] The text is as follows:

1.	2.	3.
Chramer, gip die varwe mir Diu min wengel roete,	Minnet, tugentliche man, Minnekliche vrauwen! Minne tuet eu hoch	Wol dir werlit, daz du bist Also vreudenriche!

[62]I would surmise that the text is in German because it would be more colloquial and thus more in keeping with the atmosphere of a marketplace.

da mit ich die iungen man an ir danch der minnenliebe noete. Seht mich an, iungen man! Lat mich eu gevallen!	gemüt, unde lat euch in hohen eren schauwen. Seht mich an *etc.*	Ich wil dir sin undertan Durch din liebe immer sicherliche Seht mich an *etc.*
Hawker, give me the rouge/to make my cheeks red/so that I can invite the young men to welcome love/Look at me/young men! /Let me please you!	Gallant men, love/lovely women!/Love puts you in high spirits/and does you great credit/Look at me, *etc.*	Hail, world/so rich in joys!/I will always be subject to you/through love of you/Look at me, *etc.*

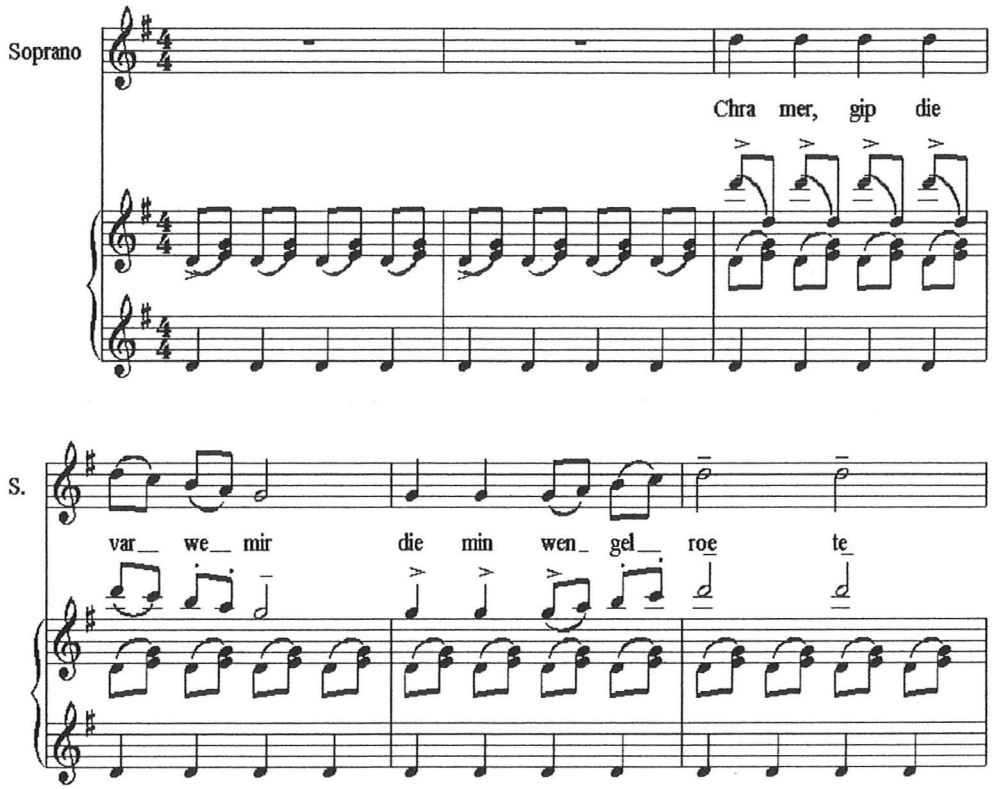
Within this text, there exist several carnivalesque tropes. The first is the merchant selling the makeup. Bakhtin considered the marketplace to be a space of populist discourse: "a marketplace is the epitome of local identity."[63] The marketplace was a "popular domain created outside, and beyond, the official sites of authority."[64] There was a sense of "anything goes" at such an event: one could say anything and could find anything for sale. As Bakhtin writes, those who patronized the marketplace were "a group of people initiated in familiar intercourse, who are frank and free in expressing themselves verbally. The marketplace crowd was such a collectivity, especially the festive, carnivalesque crowd at the fair."[65] The market was thus an eruption of free-spiritedness and festive revelry. That the narrator of the text is inquiring about makeup further

[63]Stallybrass and White, 27.
[64]Ibid., 28.
[65]Bakhtin, 188.

entrenches the poem in the carnivalesque. Disguises were a vital element of carnival. They provided a temporary disruption of identity. The wearing of makeup changes one's appearance, however subtly. The "disguise" of the rouge destabilizes the permanence of the narrator's persona and allows her to revel in a new one. Finally, her purpose for purchasing the rouge is also bacchanalian: she desires makeup to attract young men. She wishes to "welcome love" and offers "let me please you." That she is attempting use physical pulchritude to attract potential suitors suggests that she is interested in sexual pleasure. That she is not attempting to draw the affection of any particular man suggests that she is putting out an open invitation to "come and get it." Such an immoderate desire for the pleasures of the flesh is a mockery of aesthetics of bodily stoicism. The text's veneration of sexual desire serves to capsize the traditional cultural morals.

Orff's musical setting is sparse, as if to emphasize the text's transgressive qualities. The piece is set in the mixolydian mode on D, the modality placing the music in the context of a medieval or renaissance fair. The first couplet of the strophic song is set with utmost simplicity: the sopranos sing four quarter notes on D followed by falling eighth notes and coming to a rest on a half note on G (Ex. 4). The process is inverted in the following measures, coming to a rest on D. The next couplet is set similarly, although the eighth note descents are elaborated, with the result being an antecedent/consequent phrase. The entire setting is confined to a G hexachord, while the accompaniment maintains pedal points on D in the violas, and G in the second violins (harmonized by an E in the first violins).

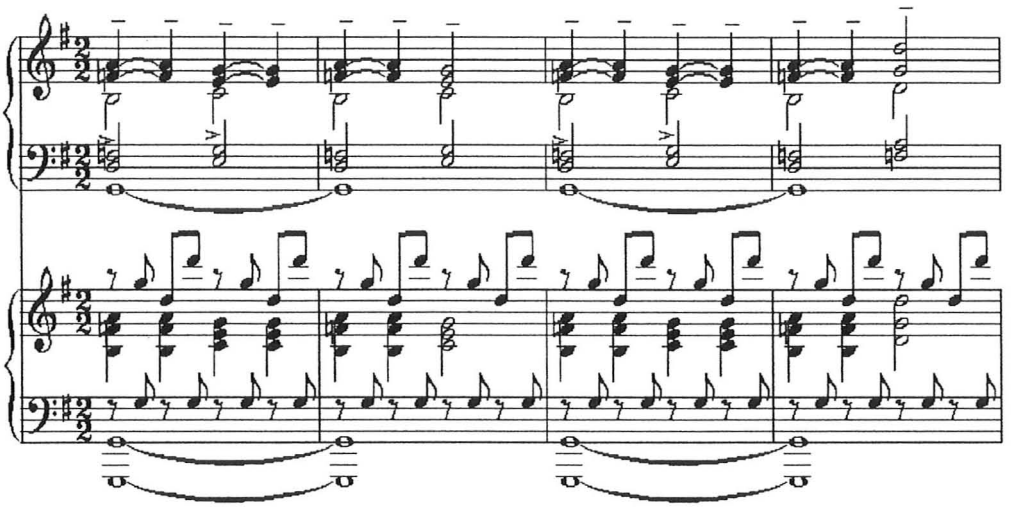
Example 4 (No. 8, mm. 1-6)



During this entire section, we do not see any of Ozawa's conducting.[66] Instead, the focus is on the sopranos, who stand rigid. However, one measure after 62, the camera cuts to Ozawa, who conducts without a baton. The music in this section is serene. The choir maintains a dominant seventh chord on G for eight measures at the dynamic of *pianissimo* (Ex. 5). The affect is that of tension and an incessant delay of resolution. This follows the narrator's invitation to "welcome love." As a result, the prolonged tension depicts the possibility of prolonged pleasure. During this section, Ozawa sways from side to side. His left

[66]For reasons that are not explicated, only the third verse is shown. This is an oddity as other strophic songs in the work are shown in their entirety.

Example 5 (mm. 12-15)



arm moves in a similar swaying motion and he is smiling. His movement and physiognomy convey a sense of bliss and contentment. Ozawa's bodily performance becomes an enactment of the narrator's pleasure. That the narrator is female harkens back to my discussion of gender in Chapter One. A male performing female pleasure blurs distinctions between genders. Is Ozawa acting "feminine" as part of the text's "disguise" motif? Is he appropriating femininity into a male ontology?

One of the more memorable selections from the "In Taberna" section is "Ego sum abbas." The text is as follows:

Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis,
et consilium meum est cum biblius,
et in secta Decii voluntas mea est,
et qui mane me quesierit in taberna,
post vespram nudus egredietur
et sic denudatus veste clamabit:
Wafna, wafna!
Quid fecisti sors turpissima?
Nostre vite gaudia

Absulisti omnia!

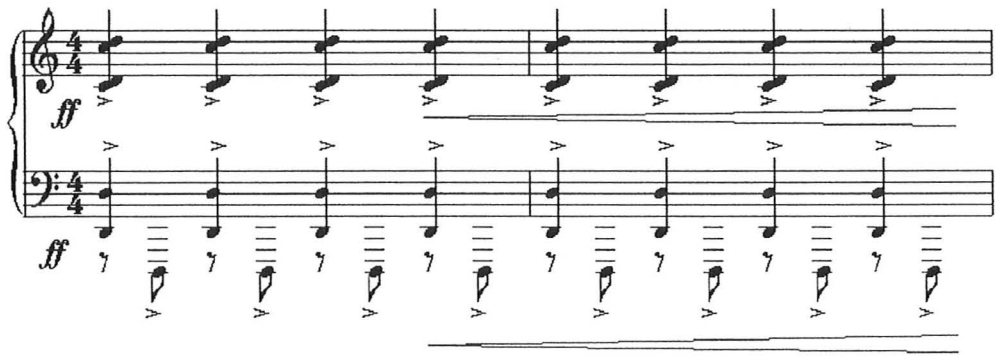
I am the Abbot of Cucany/and my associates are drinkers/and my adherence is to the sect of Decius/and whoever meets me in the tavern/over dice in the morning/will go out naked by the end of the evening/and, stripped of his clothes will cry/Wafna, wafna!/What have you done, evil fate?/You have stolen away/all the joys of my life!

An abbot is the head of a monastery, a respected religious position. By positioning this particular abbot as one who enjoys drink, who enjoys satiating bodily desires and playing games of chance, especially in what was considered such a debauched establishment as a tavern, the text engages in a carnivalesque "uncrowning." Furthermore, the abbot declares that his monastery is in Cockaigne, an imaginary land of idleness and luxury. That a religious figure would be devoted to such earthy pursuits also serves to "uncrown" him. The poem also proclaims that he belongs to the sect of Decius, a Roman emperor noted for his persecution of Christians. The conflation of a Christian title with an anti-Christian figure completes the jape at an authority figure's expense.[67]

Orff's setting of this text contributes to the abbot's shaming. A solo baritone sings in recitative. The repeated A's are reminiscent of a reciting tone in chant. In the second strain, there are several *glissandi* from F to A. This blurring of pitch creates a "drunken" affect, debasing a genre of sacred music. Following the abbot's declarations is an orchestral outburst; the brass and percussion provide a flurry of accented quarter notes at the dynamic of *fortissimo* and get louder from there.

[67]In addition, "Decius" may be a pun on "dice."

Example 6 (No. 13, mm. 2-3)



The sonority seems to emulate that of bells, perhaps a satirical reference to sistrum bells in a church. The pitches, C and D, rub against each other. The dissonance of the passage explicates the abbot's (and presumably all authority figures) fatuousness. The text and the music show that even the most austere officials are not above pursuing base interests, whether they are comestible or prurient.

Ozawa's conducting during these sections is highly physical, bordering on frenzied. He thrusts his arms out towards the orchestra and then back, as if he were trying to reach out beyond the limits of his body. In addition, his mouth opens wide at the crescendos and his head jerks back and forth, his hair becoming a dishevelled mop. Sweat is noticeable as well. Ozawa's raucous bodily exhibition constructs a grotesque body for himself and the abbot alike. In the final measures of the piece, a tuba sounds a G flat. The pitch is played at *fortissimo*, accented, and is followed by a *diminuendo*. The note, with its ostentatious attack and subsequent fading, may be interpreted as representing a breaking of wind. At this point, Ozawa scowls and has his nose in the air, as if he

is showing contempt for the abbot's crudity. Through the Bakhtinian uncrowning—textual, musical, and physical—of the abbot in the context of a performance of supposedly "high" art, we are witness to one of the most pungent cultural critiques of the entire concert.

The final movement I will discuss is "Circa mea pectoral," the fourth number from the "Cour d'amours" segment of the work. The piece is scored for solo baritone, choir, and orchestra; it is constructed as a strophic song in three stanzas. The text is as follows:

1.	2.	3.
Circa mea pectoral multa sunt suspiria de tua pulchritudine, que me ledunt misere.	Tui lucent oculi sicut solis radij, sicut splendor fulguris, qui lucem donat tenebris.	Vellet deus, vellent dii, quod mente proposui, ut eius virgnea reserassem vincula.
My heart is filled/with many sighs/which give me grievous pain/because of your beauty.	Your eyes shine/like the rays of the sun/as the brilliance of lightning/gives light to the dark night.	May the gods approve/my resolve/to/undo the bonds/of her virginity.

Each stanza ends with the refrain *Manda liet, manda liet/min geselle chumet niet* (Manda liet, manda liet/my love does not come). The baritone sings the first four lines of each stanza, answered by the chorus. The chorus then takes the refrain. The poem tells of a man lamenting his intense feelings of love for a woman who seemingly spurns him. The text refers to her physical beauty and in the last stanza, the narrator wishes to "undo the bonds" of the woman's virginity. It would appear that his primary desire is for sex instead of romantic love. The

narrator's desire for physical pleasure has brought him utter misery; his passions are his undoing.

Earlier, I mentioned Foucault's description of ancient Greek theories on how unrestrained pleasure could be harmful to the physical self. It would appear that desire for pleasure has the potential for a similar detrimental effect on emotional well being. Indeed, as Foucault writes in *Madness and Civilization*:

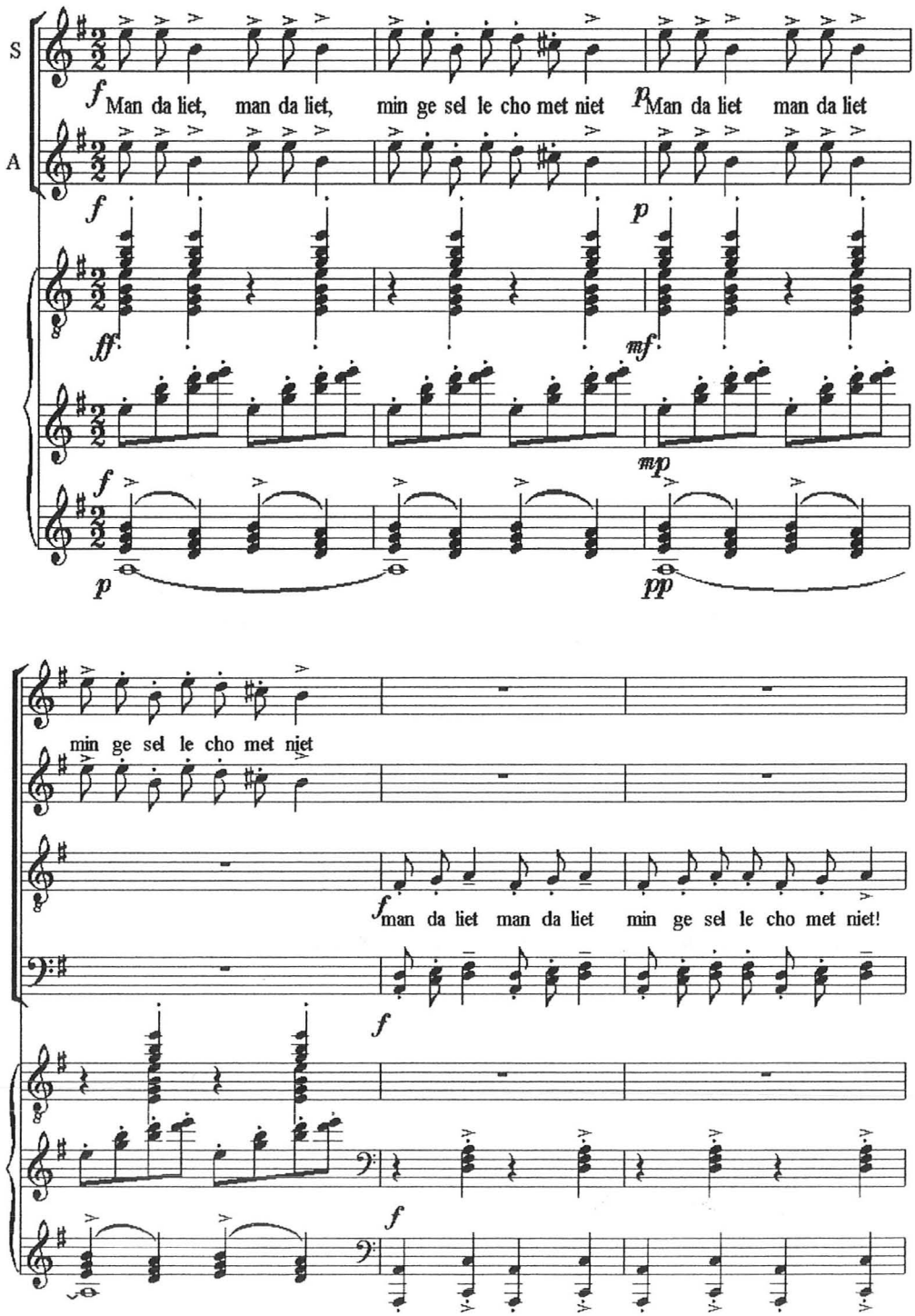
> there can be diseases such as madness which are from the start diseases of the body *and* of the soul, maladies in which the affection of the brain is of the same quality, of the same origin, of the same nature, finally, as the affection of the soul.
> The possibility of madness is therefore implicit in the very phenomenon of passion.[68]

One may interpret the narrator as carnivalesque in his pursuit of gratification. His resulting torment, his potential for madness, may imply an imposition of his sense of puritanical morality, as if he were punishing his emotional excess. Carnivalesque action necessitates an official reaction.

The only point where Ozawa is visible is during the refrains. The female voices sing in agitated eighth notes, with emphasis on a downward leap of a fourth (Ex. 7). The males answer for two bars, the downward motion inverted, before the females take up the refrain again. The contrast of the downward leap and the upward interval suggests the female's rejection, and the male's insistence. The *accelerando* increases the piece's sense

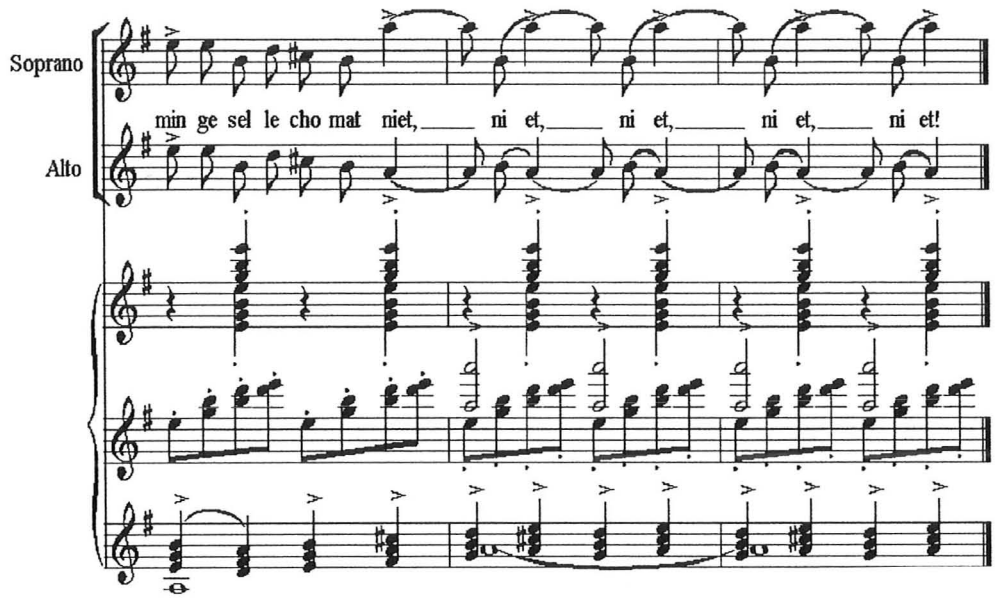
[68]Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Robert Howard (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), 88.

Example 7 (No. 18, mm. 12-17)



of agitation, conveying the narrator's distress over his rejection. The piece reaches its apex with the repetition of the word "niet," or "not."

Example 8 (mm. 21-23)



Since females sing this, it is possible to interpret the passage simultaneously as the moment of greatest anguish for the narrator and as the female's rejection of the narrator. Accented quarter notes occur on the second and third beats, metrically weaker portions of the measure. This rhythmic disruption suggests the narrator's irrationality over his inability to couple with the object of his desire. Each time this segment returns, Ozawa's bodily rhetoric is different. During the first refrain, his time beating is restrained and his hands are close to his face (often an intimate gesture in conducting), as if he is resisting the music's semiotics of passion and desire. At the release, his left hand seems to slap away the sopranos and altos, as if he were castigating both the narrator's desire and the female's temptation of him. Following the release, Ozawa turns away, with his back

towards the television audience. It is as if he is turning his back on love, desire, and pleasure. The second time, Ozawa is more energetic; his entire body moves up and down and his hair becomes even more displaced. Here, he is performing the narrator's torment and yearning. His release takes an inverted, parabolic shape. The direction is toward the lower body, the portion of the body the narrator seeks to gratify. However, Ozawa counters this by again turning away, from the audience and the representation of "low" pleasures he has just performed. At the end of the final refrain, Ozawa terminates the piece by thrusting his arms outwards, perhaps a symbolic pelvic thrust representing frustrated carnal desire. By giving the "last word" to bodily flamboyance, Ozawa seems to allow carnivalesque bodily imagery to win out. However, his actions during the entire piece function as a complex negotiation of differing attitudes towards emotion, physical pleasure, and spectacle. Ozawa at once performs both carnival and the official feast.

VII. *Carnivalesque Concerts*

The concert atmosphere during a performance of Orff's *Carmina Burana* becomes a culturally contested space. The attire, the instruments, and the design of the concert hall bear traditional markers of "high" culture. The disciplined bodies of the audience and performers alike carry, in purely visual terms, the semiotic value of a bourgeois aesthetic of the body (again, not taking into account the practical considerations required for a successful performance). The sight of the conductor, his/her choices of gesture, serves to problematize this aesthetic.

The conductor's gestures may either enact or oppose this work's hedonistic agenda. Thus, the conductor's body becomes the most prominent link in a chain of signification, a chain that denotes a conflict between populist and official culture. The ritual spectacle of the concert, the transgressive bodily acts by the conductor, and the cultural critique contained in the music are opposed by the symbols of cultural rank (tuxedos, gowns, etc.) worn by all present and the bodily decorum of the audience. Each time *Carmina Burana* is performed, this struggle is renewed. It is the site of a temporary disruption of the orchestral concert, considered in modern times (for better or worse) to be an *a priori* part of "high" culture. It serves as a challenge to the elitist paradigm of classical music. As a result, a performance of Orff's work blurs distinctions between cultures, deconstructing traditional oppositions. Such a meeting of cultures is itself a ritual spectacle. The prurient aesthetics of Orff's work ultimately serve to root symphonic concerts in the carnivalesque.

Chapter Four

CONDUCTING AS IMAGE SCHEMATA: SPEECHLESS SPEECH ACTS, METAPHORICAL SYNTAX, AND STRAUSS

I. *The Mind/Body Synthesis?*

At the outset of this study, I noted that a great deal of scholarship (musical and otherwise) has ignored the body in favour of purely intellectual inquiry. Through selected quotations, I demonstrated that one of the undertakings of critical musicology, through the influence of postmodernist methodologies, was to examine the cultural basis for the body's abject status in musical discourse in order to argue for a greater accounting for the bodily basis of musical production and meaning. Having observed that, in my opinion, not enough of this type of scrutiny has been applied to conductors, I resolved to do just that. By utilizing such cultural topoi as gender, power, ritual and transgression, I have attempted to retrieve the body of the conductor from the constraints of the mind/body dichotomy that has dominated much of Western thought for centuries. I have endeavoured to illustrate that the conductor's body provides powerful images that assist in negotiating the ways in which identities are formed through the issues listed above. In this final chapter, I return to the discussion of image schemata that I presented at the end of the Introduction. I propose that conducting consists of "metaphorical projections" of several image schemata. Thus, the conductor becomes an important focus for the argument that the body enacts recurring

metaphorical concepts that organize how we perceive the world. Bodily movement and gesture convey meaning while perception of the body facilitates understanding and interpretation of such meanings. The crux of the chapter is a reading of Herbert von Karajan conducting a performance of Richard Strauss' *Tod und Verklärung* from 1984 by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. I will interpret the metaphorical syntax of his gestures, positing that since conductors' bodies function as image schemata, they may be read as forms of illocution, speech acts without speech, the body not as a source of degradation, but as an important element of human understanding.

II. *Disavowing the Body Through Language*

As I noted in my introduction, much scholastic thought has ignored the body in the study of meaning. In Chapter One, I noted that the body is often associated with subjectivity; the positioning of objective truth as a standard for intellectual inquiry does much to account for attempts to obviate the body in society. As Mark Johnson writes, "Objectivism" purports that "meaning is an abstract relation between symbolic representations (either words or mental representations) and objective (i.e., mind-independent) reality."[1] According to an objectivist definition of truth, "concepts are 'disembodied' in the sense that they are not tied to the particular mind that experiences them in the way that, say, images are."[2] The image one has of a violin is subjective perception, but the

[1]Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xxii.
[2]Ibid.

concept of a violin is an abstract, universal truth. Such aesthetics of experience frame "truth" as being arrived at through intellectual consideration of such abstract "objective" concepts. Consequently, one educates others through discourse on these concepts. In a sense, truth is the result of thought and language.

Language has an interesting relationship to the body when one considers the theory of speech acts, "a theory in which language as action takes precedence over language as assertion."[3] J.L. Austin developed this theory in his book *How to Do Things with Words*.[4] Speech acts, or illocutions, are performative utterances that attempt "to achieve something, and are accordingly evaluated as successful or unsuccessful."[5] An illocutionary statement, such as naming or warning, performs an action simply through its utterance. It is as if language, through its capability to perform, exscripts the body. If discourse is performative, it takes the place of the body in its capacity to carry out actions. I do not intend to argue that speech act theory is an intentional attempt to remove the body from the production of meaning. Speech acts in this particular context situate action in language. As a result, some might argue that action would reside in the intellect as opposed to the body. However, I intend to incorporate writings that demonstrate that language is in fact embodied and the attempt to frame discourse as an abstract intellectual exercise is fallacious.

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[3]Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 7.

[4]See J.L Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

[5]Kramer, 7.

The attempt to divorce the body from the mind has numerous implications for the study of music. David Lidov notes that we may account for the mind/body problem in music by contrasting

> 'freedom of composition' and 'freedom of performance'...Freedom of performance is essential to art but not specific to mentality. In fact, it may seem to display the subjugation of intellect to passion, instinct, or other powers...Freedom of composition is specific to semiosis and occurs nowhere else. Freedom of composition resides in the possibility of choice among alternatives and is a capacity of the relationship between an articulated formal system and its users.[6]

Performance is an act of subjective interpretation, and requires the body to realize that interpretation, whereas composition would appear, according to the above outline (I do not believe that composition necessarily subjugates passion to intellect), to be a more "objective" act of putting notes on the page. The composer thinks through the composition, organizing the structure, the use of motives, etc. and puts it into a concrete, abstract form: the score. The printed score provides analysts with a window into the composer's intellectual process without the subjective flux of performance. This is likely why so much music scholarship has devoted itself to the static text of the score; it is absolute and unchanging (assuming the composition has not been revised and there are no competing editions, errors, etc.), the blueprint for the composer's intentions. Analyzing performance means analyzing the body as well as physically manifested sound, a hindrance to the pursuit of absolute truth.

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[6]David Lidov, "Mind and Body in Music," *Semiotica* 66 (1987): 71.

Christopher Small has noted that one of the prevailing tropes of discourse on music is that "the musical performance plays no part in the creative process, being only the medium through which the isolated, self-contained work has to pass in order to reach its goal, the listener."[7] Small writes that such thinking has gone so far as to posit that "music's inner meanings can never be properly yielded up in performance. They can be discovered only by those who can read and study the score," a line of thought which reaches its zenith (or nadir depending on one's point of view) with the contention that "only those who can read a score have access to the inner meanings of music."[8] In essence, the dominance of score study obviates "the often satisfying intuitions we gain from...listening to music, and performing it."[9] Study of such a static text bypasses the pleasure, both emotional and bodily, that we experience when hearing music. Of course, I am not saying that textual analysis is valueless, for I could not have accomplished any of my interpretive work in this thesis without knowledge of form, keys, meter, etc. Nonetheless, the privileging of score study in both theory and positivistic musicology appears to situate music within the realm of pure language. The tacit message may be that the score *is* the music, or at least the foundation for music. In a sense, the score functions as a speech act, without actual speech: it is illocutionary in that it demonstrates its own form, essentially analyzing itself through such printed signifiers as key signatures, accidentals, rehearsal marks,

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[7]Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 5.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Robert Walser, "The Body in the Music: Epistemology and Musical Semiotics," *College Music Symposium* 31 (1991): 118.

double bar lines, etc. The score also invites us to analyze, functioning as "*illocutionary force*, the pressure or power that a speech act exerts on a situation."[10] Such pressure from the utterance is designed not simply to perform an action, but to achieve a result from its statement.[11] In this case, the metaphorical speech act of the musical score achieves two results: analysis and performance. Thus the score is situated within language. It is a self-contained performative utterance with actual performance and the body positioned as a by-product, desirable but not necessary for appreciating the music.

The body's abject status in the reception of music is further elucidated through what Roland Barthes refers to as "the grain of the voice." According to Barthes, the ideal singing voice was one that possessed such "grain." In his words, "the 'grain' is the body in the voice as it sings, the hand as it writes, the limb as it performs."[12] The "grain" of the voice is not simply a matter of timbre or technique; the grain will inject the entire body into the performance, "the materiality of the body speaking its mother tongue."[13] The singer's own life experiences will be expressed in his/her vocalizing, rather than mere academic

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[10]Kramer, 7.

[11]The achievement of a particular effect from a performative utterance is also referred to as a perlocutionary force. Kramer argues that the distinction provides unnecessary complications and thus conflates the two terms under the same meaning.

[12]Roland Barthes, "The Grain of the Voice," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 188.

[13]Ibid., 182.

training.[14] A voice with and without grain is the difference between what Barthes calls *geno-song* and *pheno-song*. As Barthes writes:

> The *pheno-song*...covers all the phenomena, all the features which belong to the structure of the language being sung, the rules of the genre, the coded form of the melisma, the composer's idiolect, the style of the interpretation; in short, everything in the performance which is in the service of communication, representation, expression....The *geno-song* is the volume of the singing and speaking voice, the space where significations germinate 'from within language and in its very materiality';[15] it forms a signifying play having nothing to do with communication, representation (of feelings), expression.[16]

The pheno-song is situated within language, while the geno-song—which displays "grain"—is associated with bodily production. Barthes prefers a voice with "grain." He singles out for praise Charles Panzera, who is "no longer heard," while expressing disapproval of the "grainless" Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau who we hear "no one but."[17] Barthes notes that Fischer-Dieskau's vocal technique is usually beyond reproach as is his expressiveness, but his voice lacks grain. "With FD, I seem only to hear the lungs, never the tongue, the glottis, the teeth, the mucous membranes, the nose."[18] When Barthes hears Fischer-Dieskau sing, he hears only technique, the results of his training. He never hears the body engaged in the music. This lack of bodily engagement accounts for his success:

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[14]Dr. Kinder communicated a useful point to me. To paraphrase: "it may actually be more organic than just 'life experiences.' Singers identify the actual spot in their physiognomy that resonates with each pitch (in their face, head, chest, etc.) and constantly attempt to direct each note to that spot in order to achieve maximum resonance (maximum grain?) in every pitch." In this sense, the body is always present in the voice, even if Barthes does not hear it.

[15]Judging from the larger context of the particular paragraph, it appears that Barthes is quoting Julia Kristeva, although the exact source is not identified.

[16]Barthes, "The Grain of the Voice," 182.

[17]Ibid. 181.

[18]Ibid., 183.

> FD now reigns more or less unchallenged over the recording of vocal music; he has recorded everything...His art—expressive, dramatic, *sentimentally clear*, borne by a voice lacking in any 'grain', in signifying weight, fits well with the demands of an *average* culture. Such a culture...wants art, wants music...an art that inoculates pleasure (by reducing it to a known, coded emotion) and reconciles the subject to what in music *can be said.*[19]

The artist who lacks "grain," who erases the body from his/her performance, locating his art in language, achieves great success. Conversely, a vocalist like Panzera (about whom I know very little, proving Barthes' point), who possesses "grain" fades into obscurity. Barthes' concept would appear to account for another method in which the body is exscripted from discourse on music, and for the positioning of musical creation and performance in the realm of language and the mind.

III. *Can the Body Speak?*

If musical discourse has, intentionally or not, positioned music as an intellectual exercise and an illocutionary force, I ask why the body cannot function as a speech act. To assist in ameliorating this marginalization of the body, I wish to draw attention to theoretical writings that suggest that the body has an important presence in linguistics and contributes to the production of meaning through bodily metaphor. In *The Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty extrapolates on the nature of speech, perception, and meaning. One of his intentions was to dissolve the rupture between language and

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[19]Ibid., 184-185.

the body. As he writes: "the possession of language is in the first place understood as no more than the actual existence of 'verbal images', or traces left in us by words spoken or heard."[20] Merleau-Ponty argues that there is no such thing as abstract thought, only spoken language. Thus, meaning and understanding is predicated on speech (although not necessarily literal speech, as we shall see) which requires bodies to both enunciate it and receive it. As Susan Fast writes, "even when language exists in one's head, for most people it is there as a result of having been previously heard, words thus have textures, timbres, intonations associated with them; that is, they are embodied gestures."[21] Merleau-Ponty notes later that actual gestures convey linguistic meaning:

> Faced with an angry or threatening gesture, I have no need, in order to understand it, to recall the feelings which I myself experienced when I used these gestures on my own account...I do not see anger or a threatening attitude as a psychic fact hidden behind the gesture, I read anger in it. The gesture *does not make me think* of anger, it is anger itself.[22]

Similarly, when a conductor holds his/her palm out to the orchestra, the gesture itself says "play quieter." The body expresses the illocutionary force that otherwise would be taken up by the voice. The gesture is "play quieter" in and of itself. As a result, "the body must in the last analysis become the thought or

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[20]Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2003), 203.

[21]Susan Fast, *In the Houses of the Holy: Led Zeppelin and the Power of Rock Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 130.

[22]Merleau-Ponty, 214.

intention that it signifies for us. It is the body which points out, and which speaks."[23]

David Lidov has written on relationships between music and bodily gesture. Indeed, the thesis statement of his article "Mind and Body in Music" reads, "anterior to its status as a sign, music is an action on and of the body."[24] He begins with the premise that language and action are not as mutually exclusive as one would think:

> Linguistic habit has us think of conditions and behaviors as quite distinct, but in some cases they are like two sides of a coin. A hungry animal is one that seeks food, a sad man one who sighs and so on. Sound appears to us as a kind of behavior, but its behavior is integrated as a state or condition.[25]

In other words, our bodily movements provide a window of insight into our thought processes and our emotional states. I do not need to state whether I am hungry; my gazing longingly at food, or the sound of my stomach growling, states this condition for me. In essence, my body provides the locution that my voice does not. My body functions as speech. Lidov then argues that the body metaphorically "speaks" by conveying the emotional responses music generates. Lidov cites a series of experiments by Manfred Clynes which "required professional musicians to tap the pulse, expressively (as if they were conducting or playing) for various compositions which he asked them to perform in the

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[23]Merleau-Ponty, quoted in Fast, *In the Houses of the Holy*, 131.
[24]Lidov, "Mind and Body in Music," 69.
[25]Ibid., 77.

imagination."[26] The experiment resulted in a series of graphs that took a different shape for a particular emotion (provoked by verbal cues), seeming to "demonstrate a precise correlation between specific emotion states and specific neuro-muscular patterns."[27] There is little need to delve into the details of the experiment, nor to critique the methods employed, but the study assists in making Lidov's point that music has clear ties to bodily movement. As examples of the ways in which particular musical rhetoric effect one's emotional state, and—as a consequence—the body, Lidov writes:

> Subordinated rapid beating within a predominant slow pulse (an extreme example, the extended trills in Beethoven's slow [piano sonata] movements) indexes an inner, contained excitement. Subordinated slower beats, hypermetrical accents over predominant fast measures, also index an internal state, a relatively calmer framework in which the faster action is perceived.[28]

I would also argue that it bolsters my point that the body has just as much a place in language as words do; the movements of the body express emotions and convey meaning. The body, consistent with Merleau-Ponty's view, speaks for the mind.

Merleau-Ponty's and Lidov's writings may be read as stepping stones to Mark Johnson's concept of image schemata (although Lidov's article was published in the same year as Johnson's *The Body in the Mind*). The introductory

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[26]Ibid., 79.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid., 82.

chapter already defined this concept, but I will reiterate it. Simply put, image schemata are recurring patterns that infiltrate our bodily movements and our perceptions of bodies and inanimate objects alike. These patterns are "prelinguistic structures which organize our experience and comprehension," providing a sense of order for our perceptions of the everyday world.[29] As Johnson writes, "understanding is the way we 'have a world,' the way we experience our world as a comprehensible reality."[30] In Johnson's view, image schemata allow us to comprehend our experiences. As already noted, image schema are not actual images, but "patterns of activity"[31] which "emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions."[32] Johnson's theory thus "challenges the common view that only words and sentences can have 'meanings,' and that meaning must be propositional—that is, linguistic and abstract."[33] The body functions just as much as discourse as words do and is a crucial element that facilitates understanding of our existence. In other words, the body is hermeneutic.

IV. *Strauss, Karajan, and the Performance of Metaphor*

The tone poems of Richard Strauss are ideal for discussing bodily metaphor in music performance. Situated within the genre of program music, these works are designed to possess extra-musical associations, be it a literary text

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[29]Robert Walser, "The Body in the Music," 119.
[30]Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*, 102.
[31]Walser, 119.
[32]Johnson, 29.
[33]Walser, 119.

or a philosophical concept. As such, there would be a significant use of metaphorical syntax within the musical rhetoric. For example, consider the "Of Science" section of *Also Sprach Zarathustra*: an intellectually demanding field is represented by a fugue—one of the most complex of musical processes—whose subject utilizes all twelve tones of the chromatic scale. The music functions as a metaphor and an illocutionary agent (of course, the previous chapters of this thesis have shown that metaphorical constructions appear in all forms of music). The above description typifies Strauss's predilection for vivid representation in his music. This tendency has not always been universally admired as an affirmation of his compositional skill, however. Theodor Adorno, who was particularly antipathetic towards Strauss's music, harshly criticized such use of metaphorical composition from both aesthetic and ideological standpoints. Concerning *Zarathustra*, Adorno writes that Strauss' attempt to translate Nietzsche's philosophical work into program music meant that

> philosophy, as well as religion or as the *l'art pour l'art* doctrine of symbolism, is for sale in Strauss's music, and that the very way it is treated as subject matter destroys it as the true life basis of the works which so glibly deal with all kinds of philosophical ideals and values. Everything becomes a cultural good to be looked at, to be bought, to be enjoyed as a stimulus for the nerves of the big but tired businessman.[34]

Adorno considered Strauss's use of extra-musical associations to be a further degeneration of Wagner's *leitmotif* technique, about which, as I demonstrated in

[34]Theodor Adorno, "What National Socialism Has Done to the Arts," in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans, Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 379. The translator citation is for the collection as a whole; Adorno wrote this particular essay in English.

Chapter Two, Adorno was quite dubious. As he writes, "via the ingenious illustrative technique of Richard Strauss it [the leitmotif] leads directly to cinema music where the sole function of the leitmotiv is to announce heroes or situations so as to help the audience to orientate itself more easily."[35] Strauss's representational tendencies were to Adorno not a sign of sophistication, but an example of compositional shorthand that contributes to the work's reification as an easily consumable cultural product, fortifying the dominance of bourgeois capitalism. Adorno felt that music "sketches in the clearest possible lines the contradictions and flaws which cut through our present day society," but not through a conscious effort by the composer.[36] The purely artistic concerns of the composer parallel the social concerns of the world around him/her, so that the music conveys social relevance through its own autonomous form. Although Adorno's writings have been justly important to critical musicology, his approach serves to frame music appreciation as solely an intellectual "game," which ironically is very much in keeping with the beliefs of those who would consider music to transcend social concerns. In addition to his ideological approach to music criticism, Adorno's disdain for Strauss' metaphorical syntax makes the composer an ideal subject for exploring the illocutionary and image schematic qualities of music performance.

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[35]Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1984), 46.

[36]Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," in *Essays on Music*, 391.

Herbert von Karajan is a fine conductor to analyze with the intent of exploding dichotomies of mind and body, reason and emotion, objectivity and subjectivity. Harold Schonberg characterized Karajan as an "objectivist" in his conducting style, writing "Karajan is the complete technician. He works hard for polish...He is an organizer who strives for balance and proportion; he is a literalist who insists on every note being played accurately."[37] Schonberg also writes that "Karajan has an intellectual view toward music, and conducts with tight emotional control."[38] Theorizing the discursive body of a conductor who has been characterized as eschewing emotional, subjective displays is quite efficacious for problematizing notions of language and thought as abstract and transcendent.

V. *Image Schemata in Tod und Verklärung*

The first image schema I wish to examine in the performance of *Tod und Verklärung* is "balance." Johnson writes

> The experience of balance is so pervasive and so absolutely basic for our coherent experience of the world, and for our survival in it, that we are seldom ever aware of its presence...It is crucially important to see that balancing is an *activity we learn with our bodies* and not by grasping a set of rules or concepts. First and foremost, balancing is something we *do*.[39]

Robert Walser elaborates on this point, writing

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[37]Harold Schonberg, "Karajan is Apollo, Solti is Dionysus," in *Facing the Music* (New York: Summit Books, 1981), 360.

[38]Ibid., 361.

[39]Johnson, 74.

> No one can teach you how to ride a bicycle through words alone. Bike riding can be learned, but only experientially; this is simply not a type of knowledge that can be communicated propositionally...Balancing is an activity we learn with our bodies, preconceptually, and our abstract concept of balance emerges from that experience.[40]

Johnson lists several ways in which the balancing of the body allows us to conceptualize existence in terms of our physical experience of balance. Among them are systemic balance where "interconnected, interdependent individuals or elements work together to form a functional unity"; psychological balance, an example of which would be emotions which "*simmer, well up, overflow, boil over, erupt*, and *explode* when the pressure builds up. In such cases an equilibrium must be reestablished. One can express, release, or let out the emotions...to lessen the strain."[41]

Karajan's conducting contains several projections of the "balance" schema. The opening measures of the piece, which Strauss characterized as "the dying hours of a man who had striven towards the highest idealistic aims, maybe indeed those of an artist," suggests a musical lack of balance.[42] The second violins and violas articulate a harmonized major third (Eb-G), in irregular rhythms consisting of mixed triplets and duplets. Triplets are tied over the downbeats and barlines, resulting in an obscured pulse, suggesting "the sporadic pulse and heart-beat of the ill man."[43] The lack of a clearly defined beat and sense of meter

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[40]Walser, 119.

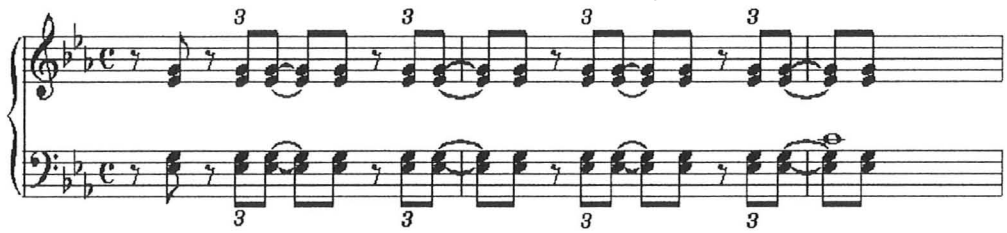
[41]Johnson, 87-88.

[42]From a letter Strauss wrote in 1894, quoted in Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works Volume 1* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), 77.

[43]Ibid., 79.

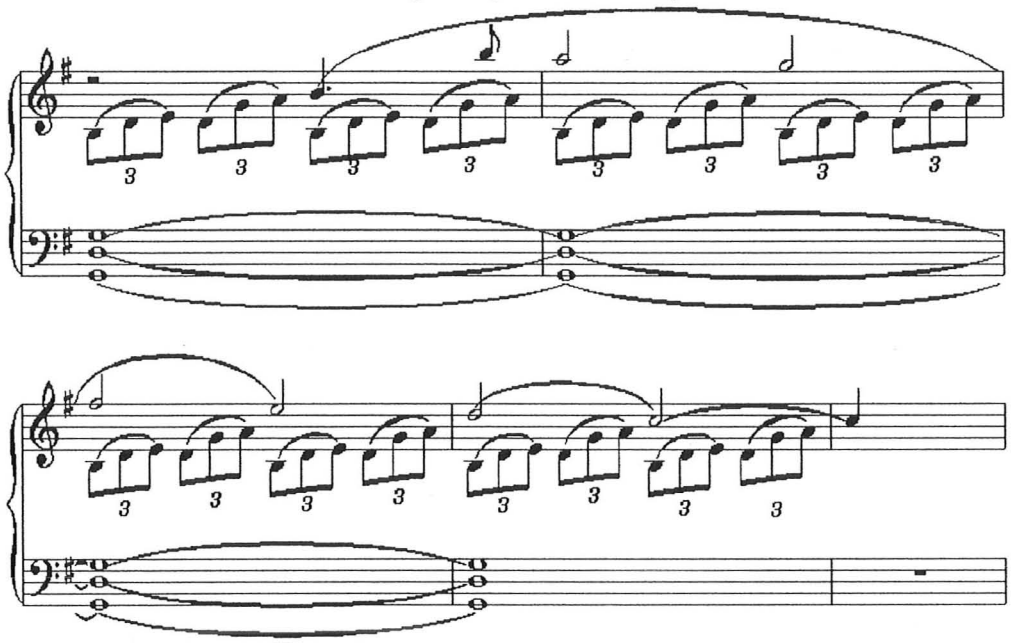
allows the listener to perceive a lack of musical equilibrium; we hear that something is not quite right. The texture is further imbalanced by the lack of the tonic C, which does not appear until the third measure, in the bassoons. As a result, one wonders if the tonality is E-flat major or C minor.

Example 1 (mm. 1-3)



Observing Karajan's conducting, at first glance it would appear that he is attempting a return of some semblance of balance to the proceedings. He stands very straight and gives a very clear beat pattern, utilizing a light ictus. However, during this section, Karajan often holds his baton up rather high, above his chest. His left arm sits at the same level, tending to mirror the beat pattern, but his elbow juts outwards. Karajan's body position thwarts the sense of balance, that everything is proportioned. At fast sections, featuring greater rhythmic activity and chromatic melodies and harmonies, Karajan further imbalances his body by leaning towards the orchestra at cue points. During these rapidly paced segments, his left hand shakes rapidly, appropriate for the restless character of the music but creating a further loss of balance. At measure 186, the music turns gentle, with the flute articulating the "nostalgia" theme in G major (Ex. 2). Karajan further thwarts our perception of a balanced body by conducting purely with the left hand, the baton held idle near his waist. Symmetry is lost because one hand is

Example 2 (mm. 186-190)



doing all of the work while the other does nothing, which functions as a visual cue that while the music may have settled down, the piece is far from completed. At the work's end, Karajan returns to the conducting style that opened the piece; his beat pattern is diminutive, reflecting the quiet nature of the music, with the baton at the upper chest level. What earlier seemed to be a thwarting of bodily balance now functions as a balancing act for the performance as a whole. This particular style of beat pattern appears at slow, quiet passages. Such regularity conveys a sense that Karajan's conducting is proportionate, satisfying our innate need for balance and order, even in something as supposedly subjective as the body.

The next image schema I wish to discuss is the schema pertaining to "force." Our bodies experience many different types of forces: gravity compels us to stay grounded, strong winds impede progress when one is walking, and

excessive consumption of food puts pressure on the stomach.[44] Because the presence of force in our daily existence is ubiquitous, we often are not aware of it. However, the concept of "force" is a recurrent pattern that helps structure our perceptions. We become aware of force through interaction, "as it affects us or some object in our perceptual field. When you enter an unfamiliar dark room and bump into the edge of a table, you are experiencing the interactional character of force."[45] Johnson also notes that forces involve movement of an object through space in a particular direction, with typically a single path of motion. Forces have origins and are directed to targets, degrees of intensity, and a causal sequence. What I have listed is what Johnson calls a "gestalt structure," meaning "an organized, unified whole within our experience and understanding that manifests a repeatable pattern or structure."[46] The metaphorical projections of force schema onto music and conducting in particular will become clear shortly.

There are several examples of the "force" schema in Strauss' music and Karajan's conducting. Even the most subtle of gestures, such as Karajan's beat pattern at the beginning of the piece, are examples of force. The conductor's beat pattern is an example of "compulsion," a common "force structure," which Johnson characterizes as "the experience of being moved by external forces."[47] Time beating compels the orchestra to respond with musical sound in the tempo that the conductor prescribes. Conducting gestures thus function as a bodily

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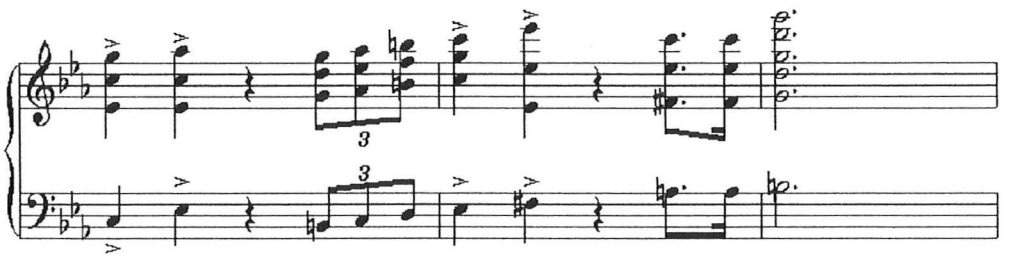
[44]Johnson uses these as specific examples in *The Body in the Mind*, 42-43.
[45]Ibid., 43.
[46]Ibid., 44.
[47]Ibid., 45.

illocutionary force, putting pressure on the orchestra to respond to the speech act in the desired way. At measure 67, with the tempo change to *Allegro molto agitato*, the music appropriately becomes agitated, continuing the rhythmic irregularity previously established and intensifying the chromaticism. Karajan provides a more traditional demonstration of the force schema, giving a heavy downbeat and engaging in more aggressive time beating (taking into account that Karajan's gestures, consistent with Schonberg's appraisal, are rather reined in even at their most insistent). Once again, this schematic projection functions as an illocutionary force, compelling the orchestra to respond with appropriate dynamics. At measure 96, the entire orchestra coalesces into a bold statement of a theme depicting struggle against death. As Norman Del Mar writes, "this defiant gesture may be taken as representing the invalid's determination to withstand the threatening approach of death."[48]

Example 3 (mm. 96-98)

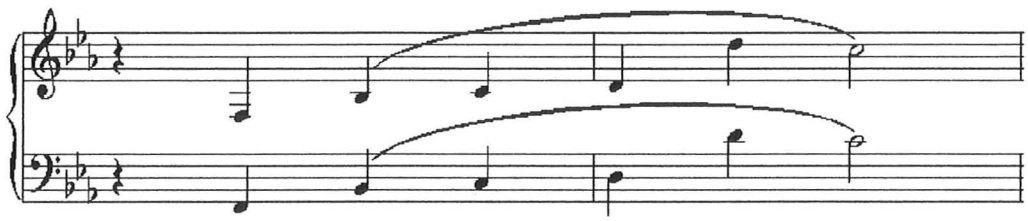


Karajan articulates this resolve with more forceful downbeats while thrusting his arms outwards. His arms occasionally go over his head, suggesting an ostentatious attack to the orchestra. At the same time, the music's display of force

[48]Del Mar, *Richard* Strauss, 80.

is a compulsive agent, inducing Karajan to provide an appropriate gesture. At measure 163, what turns out to be the pivotal motif in the work is introduced in the brass. The theme, associated with the ideology of the artist, achieves its dramatic quality through its wide range and climactic octave leap.

Example 4 (mm. 163-164)



At this section, Karajan grits his teeth and raises his arms high over his head. To use terminology from chapter two, Karajan consecrates this theme as particularly important, while simultaneously demonstrating force by compelling the musicians to bring the motif to prominence. Throughout these passages, Karajan never needs to *speak* his wishes because his bodily projections of force schema complete the speech act without a single word.

The "cycle" image schema may be metaphorically projected onto conducting in general and this particular tone poem in particular. According to Johnson, our bodies function based on numerous cycles, which inform how we understand the unfolding of our being:

> We come into existence as the culmination of a reproductive cycle. Our bodily maintenance depends upon the regular recurrence of complex interacting cycles: heartbeat, breathing, digestion, menstruation, waking and sleeping, circulation, emotional build-up followed by release, etc. We experience the world and everything in it as embedded within cyclic

> processes: day and night, the seasons, the course of life (birth through death), the stages of development in plants and animals, the revolutions of the heavenly bodies.[49]

The cycle in its simplest form is a circle, beginning at an initial point, proceeding through a series of related events, and ending at the same place it began. "The circle represents the return to the original state...Backtracking is not permitted, so that once a certain stage in a cycle is passed through it is not repeated in that cycle."[50] In terms of conducting, the enactment of this simple form of a cycle is the beat pattern; the baton gives the downbeat, passes through the other beats in the measure, and then comes up for the final beat which also serves as the preparation for the downbeat of the next measure. Following iterations of the beat pattern represents a new cycle.

Johnson maintains that such a simplistic view of the cycle schema fails to take into account how we tend to experience cycles: "for us, life patterns do not simply repeat; they exhibit a character of build-up and release."[51] Cycles tend to reach a climax, often followed by a "falling off" before the cycle ends, although Johnson points out that "the climactic pattern is typically *imposed* by us." For example, "the yearly cycle has no intrinsic high point, but we tend to experience it as having a nadir (winter) which builds to the heights of summer (or spring?). Likewise, we experience the life cycle as moving from birth to the fullness of

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[49]Johnson, 119.
[50]Ibid.
[51]Ibid.

maturation followed by a decline toward death."[52] Strauss's scenario for the program for *Tod und Verklärung*, expanded by Alexander Ritter into the poem that prefaces the score, positions the music as following a similar cycle. I have already mentioned that the music is designed to reflect the dying hours of a man. The details of the narrative are as follows:

> The sick man lies in bed, asleep, with heavy irregular breathing; friendly dreams conjure a smile on the features of the deeply suffering man; he wakes up; he is once more racked with horrible agonies; his limbs shake with fever...his childhood passes before him, the time of his youth with its strivings and passions and then, as the pains already begin to return, there appears to him the fruit of his life's path, the conception, the ideal which he has sought to realize...but which he has not been able to accomplish...The hour of death approaches, the soul leaves the body in order to find gloriously achieved in everlasting space those things which could not be fulfilled here below.[53]

The program is a paradigmatic example of a cycle with a climactic structure; beginning with the man's suffering, continuing with the struggle against his fate and pain, and reaching its nadir with death. The cycle then builds to its pinnacle when transcendence is achieved in the afterlife and then tapers off into a peaceful denouement.[54]

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[52]Ibid., 120.

[53]Del Mar, *Richard Strauss*, 77-78.

[54]By characterizing the narrative's protagonist as a man, some interesting relationships to my interpretations of the Beethoven Third Symphony in Chapter One arise. I interpreted the musical rhetoric and Abbado's performance thereof as problematizing the traditional masculine narratives that have developed about the symphony; constructions of "ideal" manhood were constantly disrupted, destabilizing masculine ontologies. The struggle to create a solidly masculine identity was revealed as a performative act. In the Strauss piece, a man engages in another struggle, this time with his own mortality. That he fails and succumbs to death suggests another blow to the sense of masculine self, which was not strong enough to conquer nature. That he achieves transcendence in the afterlife is of little consolation since he is no longer corporeal. Can a spirit still be a figure of ideal manhood?

Karajan's conducting provides a bodily metaphor for this cycle. His light time beating at the outset of the piece conveys the weakened state of the "artist" with his faint pulse and irregular breathing. His serious, unemotional visage suggests the lugubrious nature of the situation. When the man's suffering intensifies and he begins to struggle with his fate at the anacrusis to measure 67, the entire orchestra enters and the tempo picks up. The music in this section alternates between frenetic—with chromatic harmonies, complex counterpoint, active (and often irregular rhythms) and harsh brass—and tranquil, suggesting Strauss' scenario of nostalgia for childhood. Karajan conveys this segment through his illocutionary gestures. At the "struggle" passages, he gives aggressive downbeats, occasionally thrusting his arms out towards the orchestra. The jerky motions of his left hand suggest frenzy and an erratic quality, which becomes associated with the man's terrified struggle with death in the context of the program. For nostalgic passages, Karajan straightens his body and often returns to his pattern of time-beating above his chest. The cycle reaches its depths at measure 394 when the texture is reduced to pedal C's in the basses, a timpani roll on C, and soft tam-tam strokes. The moment of death is suggested here. Karajan conducts this portion only with his left hand, with the baton sitting idly near his waist. The bodily imbalance conveys not the nostalgia that it did before, but the sense that the musical narrative has reached its low point; time beating with the left hand, with no baton activity suggests that something is missing, resulting in a cognitive dissonance. It would seem unnatural to end the music and

the bodily performance at this point, at the cycle's lowest point. Our sense of order would be skewed.

Starting at measure 429, with the "Ideology" theme returning in the full orchestra, Karajan builds towards the apotheosis of the cycle when he holds his head high and places his beat pattern near the top of his head with his arms greatly outstretched. To paraphrase Merleau-Ponty, the gesture does not make me think of exaltation, the gesture is exaltation. The piece, and the cycle, reaches an apotheosis at measures 468 through 478. The "Ideology" theme is stated in full resplendence by the brass over the tonic (C major) harmony, accompanied by tremolo strings and cascading harp arpeggios. Karajan continues to provide grandiose gestures in the vein just described as spiritual transcendence and the titular transfiguration is achieved. In the closing measures, as the music fades away on sustained C major chords, as already mentioned, Karajan returns to holding the baton above his chest, seemingly his default position. In this context, the gesture is transformed from the sombre nature it acquired at the beginning, to one of tranquility. In the context of the music and its program, Karajan's conducting provides a bodily metaphor of a cycle from suffering to struggle, nostalgia, death, transfiguration, and finally, serenity. Without this context, one may still discern an image schematic cycle in his performance encompassing staidness, aggression, exaltation, and tranquility.

VI. *Conclusion: The Embodied Mind*

Since the overarching theme for thesis has been the mind/body split that has permeated Western culture for centuries, it is only appropriate that I conclude with it. As I have already explained, the disavowal of the body in Western society is based upon the privileging of thought, reason, and language. The body is thought of as concrete and subjective and thus has no place within the supposedly abstract and transcendent milieu of rationality, even though according to Mark Johnson

> Our reality is shaped by the patterns of our bodily movement, the contours of our spatial and temporal orientation, and the forms of our interaction with objects. It is never merely a matter of abstract conceptualization and propositional judgments.[55]

Therein is the essential paradox of the mind/body dichotomy: negotiating the meanings of our existence are supposedly acts of thought, yet physical interactions with the world are an integral element of human experience. The vehemence of the sundry abjurations of the body, many of which I have enumerated upon throughout this thesis, perhaps demonstrate that those who would renounce the body are aware of what is at stake.

The dialectical division of mind and body resonates particularly strongly within music. According to Susan McClary, the mind/body split "shows up most paradoxically in attitudes towards music: the most cerebral, nonmaterial of media

[55]Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*, xix.

is at the same time the medium most capable of engaging the body."[56] Music cannot be heard until realized by performing bodies. I have argued that the emphasis on score study is a strategy that serves to obviate the body, as though the appreciation of a composition's intricacies comes more from studying the published score than actually hearing the piece performed. Since conducting is by its very nature a bodily act, it proves useful in confronting the mind/body split in music performance. Indeed, in this chapter, I have invoked writings that in each of their own way attempt to collapse the Cartesian mind/body split. By arguing that the body has linguistic capability, the ability to speak and convey metaphors, I hope to have shown that attempting to frame language as an element of abstract, "objective" thought is ultimately specious. Through the theory of image schemata, the body is shown to be a fundamental part of our perception and understanding of our existence.

The ultimate purpose of this study has been an attempt to disassociate conductors from language such as "autonomous" and "transcendent," similar to the ways in which critical musicology has successfully divorced written musical texts from such terminology. Such strategies are based on a "demand for human interest" which "chafes at the scholastic isolation of music, equally impatient whether heaps of facts or arcane technical anatomies furnish the scholar's frigid cell."[57] This thesis has attempted to infuse "human interest" into conductor's

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[56]Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, & Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 151.

[57]Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 1.

bodies, to argue against the "scholastic isolation" of conducting into mere descriptions of technique. Conductor's motions and gestures enact powerful metaphors that "speak" to us and resonate within our understanding of our culture, as well as shape culture. As a consequence, we can no longer think of conducting as influenced only by musical concerns. If it is accepted that music is culturally mediated, then surely conducting is as well. In conclusion, the body is an important venue for negotiating culture and for interpretation and comprehension of our being. The body is in the mind and the mind is in the body.

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