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THE DECLINE OF IMPROVISATION IN WESTERN ART MUSIC:  
AN INTERPRETATION OF CHANGE

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*Abstract — Résumé*

This paper addresses itself to the gradual disappearance of improvisation from Western art music during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It confronts the puzzling fact that improvisatory performance has ceased to interest a majority of conservatory-trained musicians, despite the fact that performers of European art music in previous centuries exhibited considerable interest in improvisation, and continued to consider it an important musical skill until at least

1840. Related analysis provides a number of explanations for the reasons why improvisation has tended to disappear in terms of social change in the nineteenth century, and the ways in which such change has affected how art music is taught and heard today. The paper concludes with speculation about the implications of the recent disappearance of improvisation from art music, and suggests how it might once again be reincorporated into musical performance.

»[I]t is difficult to understand why in certain repertoires [of Western art music] some images and constructions dominate, [and] why others are prohibited, unless one has a strong sense of social history. The kind of history musicology has typically adopted is that of chronology. There are no power struggles in such histories, to say nothing of sensitive issues such as gender or sexuality. It is in part because history is presented as orderly, settled, and unproblematic that it has appeared to be largely irrelevant to the ways music itself is organized.« [Suzan McCLARY (1991:28)]

Anyone who has had occasion to pursue the study of non-Western musics, or to involve themselves in the performance of various Western popular or folk musics, will attest to the surprising number of traditions in which improvisation plays a central role. Scholars of these musics have recently shown a great deal of interest in improvisation, as illustrated by the numerous articles circu-

lating today devoted to the study of its manifestations in various culture areas.<sup>1</sup> Contrasted with these traditions, our current approach to the performance of Western art music may seem surprisingly restricting and rigid. Especially in the interpretation of canonized, largely 18th- and 19th-century derived repertoire our schools and institutions tolerate little deviation from the guidelines of the score. Similar attitudes restrict the performer's interpretation of many modern works.

Music historians today agree that modern notions governing the performance of art music, and specifically those disallowing improvisation, are a relatively recent phenomenon. The few scholars of improvisation in Western music over the past seventy five years have stressed the frequency with which descriptions of musical embellishment, ornamentation, alteration, and even freer forms of improvisation are found in historical documents. Ernst Ferand, considered by many to have been the foremost scholar in this area, and in many cases still the definitive source, could not emphasize enough the importance of improvisation to the development of Western art music from the Middle Ages until the mid 19th century:

»There is scarcely a single field in music that has remained unaffected by improvisation, scarcely a musical technique or form of composition that did not originate in improvisatory performance or was not essentially influenced by it. The whole history of the development of [Western art] music is accompanied by manifestations of the drive to improvise« (1961:5).

Written documentation supports Ferand's position on the importance of improvisation in every musical era of the Western classical tradition excepting the present. Even well into the 19th century it is clear that improvisation remained an indispensable ability for most professional musicians. We know that Brahms, Paganini, Chopin, Clara and Robert Schumann, Mendelssohn, Hummel, Cramer, Ries, Spohr, Joachim, and Schubert, to cite a few familiar names,

<sup>1</sup> Examples of closely studied present-day musical traditions which, to a greater extent than most Western art music performance, allow for spontaneous alteration of existing repertoire include: in the Near East and Central Europe, various modal improvisatory forms such as the Persian *dastgah*, the Arabic *taqasim* and Turkish *taksim*, the lexical and musical improvisations of the Yugoslav heroic ballad tradition (NETTL 1974:3), Bulgarian solo funerary lament, the dance music of various Jewish and Gypsy groups (SLOBIN 1984:182, 194), instrumental Balkan genres such as the *cifrazatok* and *kontrazas* (FERAND 1961:21); in Asia and Southeast Asia the art music and dance traditions of Java, Bali, North and South India, the Japanese *matsuri bayashi* (MALM 1975:64); Ghanian and other West African drumming ensembles, and various forms of African dance music; Spanish *flamenco* and *cante hondo*; in Latin America, textually improvisational genres such as the *copla* and traditions of »song duelling« represented by the Cuban *décima guajira*, Brazilian *desafio* and *embolada*, Chilean *contrapunto* and *paya*; non-lexical vocal improvisation of the Caribbean *güaguancó*; improvised religious drumming practices in Brazil, Cuba, and other countries of Afro-Latin influence; many forms of popular dance music including *joropo*, salsa, cumbia, calypso, reggae; and finally the numerous instances of improvisation within more familiar traditions, including the music of many Cajun and Acadian groups; bluegrass; gospel and spirituals; blues- and jazz-related styles in all of their manifestations; rhythm and blues, soul, funk, heavy metal; the guitar work of Keith Richards, Robert Fripp, the Grateful Dead; rap, hiphop, and house music, etc...

were all accomplished improvisers in addition to composers and/or performers of precomposed music. Written guides to improvisatory performance were also published into the nineteenth century in large numbers. Czerny's *Systematisches Anleitung zum Fantasieren auf dem Pianoforte* (1829) and Kalkbrenner's *Traité d'harmonie du pianiste: principes rationnels de la modulation pour apprendre à preluder et à improviser* (1849) deserve mention as being especially detailed, and influential on formal pedagogic training. Forms such as the free improvisation, prelude, ornamented recapitulation, cadenza, as well as the practice of freely improvising upon preexistent compositions, remained popular. LOESSER (1954:424) describes Franz Liszt as having an unusually casual attitude about repertoire in his younger years, and interpreting or improvising on themes from Schubert Lieder, Chopin preludes, and even keyboard adaptations of music originally intended for string orchestra.

Despite the importance of improvisation to Western art music in the nineteenth and earlier centuries, recent studies of the subject have been infrequent. The majority of scholars researching improvisation in the past fifty years have tended to focus on examples from the distant past, rather than those in recent history, and the fascinating phenomenon of their eventual disappearance. KNEPLER (1969:242) accurately summarizes the current presentation of the history of improvisation in common music texts such as that by Donald J. Grout:

»Nevertheless, musicological writings even of late tend to nonchalantly avoid the question [of improvisation's importance to Western music history] entirely. Grout's *History of Western Music*, as an example, never once clearly introduces the concept of improvisation; discussion of the term comes briefly for the first time only in an overview of the seventeenth century. The process of music's slow transference from oral tradition to the notated page is mentioned only in passing. These subjects receive similar treatment in YOUNG's *History of British Music*« (1969:242).

It is clear that only in the past hundred and fifty years attitudes towards improvisation in Western classical performance have changed drastically. The mandates of compositionally specified interpretation now supersede those of the instrumentalist. To many, improvisatory expression seems threatening, unfamiliar, or underserving of interest. This radical shift in performance aesthetic has occurred without incident and virtually without documentation. One wonders why improvisation has disappeared, and why so few scholars have remarked on its disappearance. Although complex and difficult to study, the answers to these questions deserve investigation. As an initial attempt to investigate the lack of interest in improvisation today, I have focused my research on the changing ways in which Western art music has been taught and heard since the late eighteenth century, and on the extent to which social change itself may have directly contributed to the decline of improvisational performance. The first section of the paper emphasizes the importance of social context and cultural continuity to improvisational musics of all types. In the second section, the social contexts and pedagogical practices associated with West-

ern art music prior to the late eighteenth century are illustrated using examples from the biographies of well known performers. The final section, in several parts, examines social trends in nineteenth century Europe which resulted in a greater dissemination of court music among all social classes, the establishment of new centers of musical education and new methods of pedagogy, and new attitudes about European art music.

### *Improvisation and Context*

One aspect of improvisatory music frequently overlooked in the literature is that it typically derives a majority of its structure and aesthetic identity from the pre-existent guidelines of a musical tradition. BÉHAGUE recognizes this in stating that improvisation involves »a *relative* freedom to choose elements within stylistic norms or rules proper to a given culture« (1980:118; my italics). Viewed in this way, the act of musical improvisation might be likened to other creative and yet culturally structured behaviors such as everyday conversation, ad hoc comedy sketches, or prose writing. In an important sense, improvisation is *not* free. It is only an effective means of expression when incorporating a vocabulary, whether cognitively or intuitively understood, common to a group of individuals. Although formal composition frequently also employs concepts and musical parameters with which at least some performers and audience members are familiar, it may also be much more experimental, innovative, individualistic, or foreign. Trumpeter Henry Allen has commented on the relationship between jazz improvisation and the social environment of early century New Orleans, where he was born and raised. He describes growing up in the 1920s and hearing his father's jazz group rehearse and play regularly.

»Everyone was in his brass band one time or another — Punch Miller, Papa Celestin, King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet. My father played trumpet. His brother Samuel was a bass player, and a younger brother, George, played drums... You play the blues, its a home language like two friends talking. It's the language everybody understands« (BALLIETT 1977:13).

Much as in the case of language, exposure to music at an early age provides a tremendous advantage in learning particular styles of improvisation, and other types of performance, competently. Virtually every well known improviser of non-Western, folk, and traditional music, or Western classical music prior to the mid nineteenth century, began performing at an early age or was heavily exposed to music as a child. Typically, such musicians receive initial training in the home, through a relative or friend of the family. Count Basie's first keyboard instructor was his mother; Dizzy Gillespie's father led a community brass band and kept instruments at home; Lester Young began studying music with his father at age 5; Billie Holiday's father, Clarence, played with Fletcher Henderson and Benny Carter, earning a reputation a generation before her as a virtuosic musician in his own right (FEATHER 1984).

Because of the close relationship of all musics to specific and diverse cultural modes of expression, many authors have emphasized that a knowledge or expertise in one style of performance may not prove helpful in the acquisition of another. Indeed, the reverse may be true. The substantial conceptual difficulties encountered by many performers of Western art music in attempting to learn jazz improvisation serve as one example of this phenomenon. The even greater difficulties jazz musicians would undoubtedly encounter in attempting to vocally or instrumentally improvise in Arabic *maqamat* is another. BAILEY (1980:117), after lengthy interviews with improvising musicians from various parts of the world, comes to a similar conclusion.

»The Indian player, after successful study with his master, is fitted to play Indian music. The flamenco player learns flamenco, the jazz player jazz, and so on. And in some respects the better he is at his chosen idiom the more specialized his abilities become...

The standard European instrumental education thinks of itself as being an exception to this rule. It is of course a very good example of it. It equips a musician with the ability to perform the standard European repertoire and its derivations, and ... limits its adherents' ability to perform in other musical areas.«

Acquiring a familiarity with a particular style of improvisation frequently involves performing the same piece, or limited group of pieces, over and over. This allows the musician time to become intimately familiar with one particular stylistic »groove« (FELD 1988), to experiment with different possibilities within the parameters of its aesthetic, and in so doing to »push back« the limitations of a proscribed form of spontaneous creativity to an acceptable distance. The fact that North Indian musicians tend to study and perform in a relatively small number of *raga-s* — perhaps fifteen — during the course of a lifetime illustrates this tendency. Dexter Gordon's repertoire, as another example, contained a surprisingly finite number of songs which he constantly reshaped and altered over the course of his performance career (BAILEY 1980:65). Gordon's small repertoire in no way limited the profundity of his art, or his overall development as a musician. Louis Armstrong, similarly, was known to solo, without interruption, over the changes of the same piece for half an hour at a time, constantly inventing new melodies and ways of varying his performance.

Much of the power and beauty of improvisation tends to be lost if listeners do not have an intimate familiarity with the musical style or repertoire they are hearing. This is necessarily so because traditional improvisatory performance involves »play« within familiar confines to a greater extent than exploration of the musically new. Imagine, for instance, a hypothetical night club act involving vocal improvisations over Gershwin's *Summertime*. The typical spectator at such an event in the United States would have heard the piece often, and would know the standard melody of the song as well as the musician him/herself. This basis in common musical understanding, both in terms of a general musical aesthetic and familiarity with the specific piece, allows for a height-

ened appreciation of the improvisatory event on the part of those listening. The musician is able to use group expectation to his advantage, variously deviating from and returning to the original melody, using scales, motives, timbres, rhythms, and other stylistic components derived from Afro-American vocal traditions. Gershwin's melody and harmonic sequence become referents, a backdrop against which melodic motives variously conform to or deviate from the original version.<sup>2</sup>

Imagine, in contrast, a concert improvisation by a pianist based on a theme from Stockhausen's »Mond und Sterne«. The lack of a common musical vocabulary between composer/performer and audience, or even a well known musical idea or phrase such as the melody to *Summertime*, lends the imagined Stockhausen improvisation an entirely different — and not entirely stimulating — character. Modern improvisatory performances of this type tend to be less interesting for the average listener, as most audiences cannot easily identify with them. NETTL (1974:14) mentions that in Persian and other cultures, improvisers who are innovative to the point of endangering commonly held conceptions of form or aesthetics are »chastised« for their ignorance rather than praised for their artistic contributions.

Aesthetic models for traditional genres of improvisation, to an even greater extent than those of many notated and formally composed art musics, are fixed and slow to change. Improvised performances conform to these models, and are not innovative in the sense of transgressing their stylistic boundaries. Many virtuosi of North Indian classical music, for instance, consider what we would call improvised *rāga*-s to be the mere performance of traditional repertoire. Referring to the results of a study by Jihad Racy on Arabic modal improvisation in Nahawand, NETTL (1974:14) states that »the degree to which improvising musicians adhere to [traditional] patterns« is considerable and »may exceed even their own knowledge.« Through a slow process of learning and adapting to the aesthetic parameters of one tradition, however, the improviser eventually discovers a personal way to play within established musical norms, and thus creates a performance style at once communal and unique.

Having discussed the aesthetics of traditional improvisation, and their relation to an individual's social environment and everyday experience, we may summarize by tentatively defining improvisation as: a performance- and event-based musical act deriving its structure and characteristic style from a combination of longstanding cultural models and individual interpretations of them. The models are so familiar to the performer(s) — and frequently other participants — that they have been internalized and are understood on both conscious and intuitive levels. Thus, no notated guidelines, rehearsals, or specific

<sup>2</sup> The habit of contrasting improvised deviation with a return to an initial phrase or musical statement is common to many music genres, such as the exposition of *gat* in North Indian classical music, or of South Indian *niraval* (RECK 1984:239).

idea of the music to be played are necessary prior to a given performance. The instrumentalists may freely express themselves in any fashion within stipulated and communally coherent aesthetic parameters.<sup>3</sup>

### *Traditional Contexts for Western Art Music*

Given the importance of the cultural environment surrounding performers to the process of learning improvisation, we must consider how the social contexts and transmission of art music have changed over the past hundred and fifty years, and how such changes may have affected its performance in the present day. It is commonly understood that art music prior to about 1790 tended to be performed by patronage musicians in courts and other aristocratic enclaves of Europe. Wealthy benefactors would hire performers on extended contracts to live in or near their homes and provide for their entertainment. Historian Percy YOUNG identifies the courts at Berlin, Mannheim, Dresden, Paris, Esterháza, and Vienna as especially eminent in the late 18th century, setting the standard for art music excellence in Europe. He considers the history of Western art music of the Classical era to be »in large measure a record of the people employed at, and patronized by, the rulers of the states of which these [cities] were the cultural capitals« (1980:619). Before the early 1800s, concerts in the present-day sense were rare in continental Europe. Mozart biographer Ivor KEYS, for instance, refers to public concerts in 1790s Salzburg and Vienna as »virtually unknown« (1980:27). Even the performance of art music by family members of the bourgeoisie was not yet as common at that time as hiring musicians to play for them. As late as the 1820s and 30s, well known performers of the period such as Liszt, Chopin, and Beethoven, who all came from non-aristocratic families with a history of court servitude, were performing music while their social betters listened.

It must be stressed that during the period under discussion the members of ruling families often had little personally to do with musical performance. Although exceptions might exist in the form of a particular ruler or aristocrat who participated consistently in music making, and even composed music, as a rule the patron listened, or chose not to listen, while his or her servants played.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> There is insufficient space here to defend the position, held by myself and others, that significant differences exist between improvisation in the sense described above, aleatory, and twentieth century »free« improvisation. The definition I provide is intended only to describe historically and socially grounded improvisational forms such as rap, blues, flamenco, Arabic *taqasim*, and improvisations commonly associated with the Western art music tradition until about 1840. For further reading on the differences between various forms of improvisation see COPE (1982:212) and BUDD (1982).

<sup>4</sup> Choosing not to listen carefully to the performance of art music seems to have been at least as common among Europe's aristocracy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as listening intently. Consider, for example, the following scenario documented in HILDEBRANDT (1988:8): »[violinist Joachim Spohr] These concerts at [the court of Brunswick] with the duchess took place once a week and were most distasteful to the court musicians, the custom of the time being to play cards throughout the concert. Indeed, the duchess ordered that the orchestra always play *piano* so as not to disturb her game... The result was that we heard 'I play, I pass,' etc., rather more clearly than the music itself« (1988:8). Similar accounts abound in the writings of other authors; see for instance LOESSER (1954:180) and LEVINE (1988:91).

Music making was considered a pleasant but relatively unimportant activity, and relegated to hired professionals. In a majority of instances, the music played by patronage musicians prior to the nineteenth century served not as the primary focus of elite entertainment, but rather as background or incidental music to compliment other social activity. Acquiring a position as musical entertainer within a particular court or other residence was often the result of heredity, with one member of the nuclear or extended family encouraging a younger relative to succeed him in a particular appointment.

The training of Leopold Mozart exemplifies that of many musicians under patronage. Although born into a family of bookbinders, Leopold acquired the majority of his musical education at an early age from performance and formal instruction in church groups. The expertise gained there enabled him to eventually secure a position as vice-Kapellmeister to the Prince-Archbishop von Schrattenbach in Salzburg. His son's musical education began even earlier. KENYON mentions that art music »filled« Mozart's infancy, »whether he liked it or not« (1952:44). Not only was his older sister practicing the keyboard constantly in their small flat, but his father frequently met with other musicians there. Leopold gave violin and keyboard lessons at home, and regularly played chamber music together with guests and professional associates.

In much the same way that well known improvisers of more recent times, such as Louis Armstrong or Ravi Shankar, grew up surrounded by and participating in particular music cultures, the Mozarts came to express themselves easily and naturally through the vocabulary of 1770s court music. Their friends and fellow servants, and other members of their family, played classical music. Whether at home, or in settings such as religious worship, dances, the theater, or occasions of other types, patronage musicians constantly listened to and performed music in the same style. The primary inspirations for composition or performance of art music at this time were socially derived, and the primary limitations on what any given musician could write or produce were defined by the reactions of their audience. I have come to understand Western art music of this period as existing in a unique, isolated, and »living« environment in much the same way that blues or flamenco music continues to exist today. Art music of the 18th century was a ubiquitous element of court life, transmitted orally, most likely to a greater extent than notationally, from one generation of servant-performers to the next, and functionally integrated to an extent that is now difficult to appreciate.

### *Changing Conceptions of Music and Performance*

#### Social Change

We know that the performance and patronage of European art music, once exclusively the heritage of nobility, professional musicians, and the coterie of the court, had by the late 18th and early 19th centuries become a part of bourgeois life as well. The court, as of about 1830, ceased to be the substantive locus

of political and financial power in many areas, and the middle classes instead gained increasing economic autonomy. Precise information regarding the gradual transfer of economic power from the church and traditional nobility of Europe to the middle classes remains difficult to find, but several studies do exist which focus specifically on the relationship of economic and social change to artistic development. SCHORSKE (1981), for example, analyzes the gradual rise to prominence of the Austrian bourgeoisie from the early nineteenth century. He provides a history of non-aristocratic influence in the Austrian parliament and *Rathaus*, eventual political uprising reflecting the opposing interests of various social classes, and information on prominent Austrian artists creating their work in this context. Arthur LOESSER's social history of the piano describes changing economic conditions in France in the 1830s and 40s, and the increasing importance of the middle classes there; his comments apply equally well to Europe as a whole.

»Indeed, the burghers collectively speaking, or the bourgeoisie... had for some time now been the upper class in France. In 1789 these people had been insurgents, but their grandsons in 1848 were the ruling group that stood pat on their millions, their machinery, their foreign connections, their control of parliament and the executive« (1954:419).

Performance contexts for Western art music reflected these changes by shifting from the court to the middle class parlor, and eventually to the public auditorium. No longer confined to a particular cultural context or group, art music became an aristocratically-derived commodity, a product which anyone could »consume« if they cared to expend the time and money. Sociological change in 19th century produced in this sense a democratization of Western art music. More people than ever before could hear it and perform it, following a period of formal study. Printed editions of classical music became more readily accessible than ever before, and the numbers of individuals able to afford keyboards, strings, and wind instruments also grew rapidly.

Although few scholars have described in detail the musical practices of the lower middle and working classes before the late 19th century,<sup>5</sup> we can assume that the musics associated with these groups were distinct stylistically from art musics at that time, exactly as is the case today. In the first place, the court environment tended to be exclusive, providing no means by which most people could hear art music. This was especially true before the widespread dissemination of scores. Secondly, the costs of purchasing or renting instruments associated with Western art music, or of hiring professional instructors who could play them, were preclusive, and insured that the majority of Europe's population would develop their own musical tradi-

<sup>5</sup> Most anthologies of Western music literature, such as those by RAYNOR (1978) and WEISS and TARUSKIN (1984) include virtually no documents representing popular or folk music history. This seems a significant exclusion, given that musical performance in non-aristocratic circles must have comprised the vast majority of all music making in Europe during the periods they examine.

tions. RAYNOR alludes to the popularity of music halls and cabaret-like shows in the 1860s, emphasizing the aesthetic differences between such entertainment and art music. He writes:

»The music hall invented a style of popular song developed from the tastes, habits, and manners of the industrial working class who grew up with no contact with the world of high culture except, perhaps, the language of the authorized version of the Bible« (1978b:152).

Interestingly, Raynor also mentions in passing that such music tended to incorporate improvisatory elements. The repertory of popular singers in entertainment halls and taverns often included extemporaneous comic or topical pieces. SHERA (1966:49) discusses the musical preferences of the working classes several decades later. He finds that although large numbers of the public were exposed in some way to art music, the vast majority listened to and/or performed the popular music of the day. We can assume, then, that the increasing numbers of petit bourgeois and working class individuals interested in learning to play and compose art music from about 1850 grew up in a musical environment unique to their own social background. The musics they heard among friends, at dances, on the street, or in the course of everyday life, and that many of them improvised upon, bore some resemblance to court-derived styles, but were in fact stylistically distinct.

Musicians of Western art music in late 19th century often came from poor families even further removed from high society and wealth than their counterparts a century earlier. Debussy's father ran a small china shop, for instance; his mother was a seamstress. Bartók's father was a school teacher. Both of these individuals received the majority of their musical education formally rather than in the home or community. The career of Arnold Schönberg (b. 1874) is similar. At the time of his birth, both parents struggled to make a living by selling and repairing shoes in Vienna's segregated Jewish quarter. Apparently neither of Schönberg's parents owned or played an instrument. His early musical experiences included listening to Austrian military ensembles, Jewish cantillation, popular entertainment in the *Prater* park, and dance bands (STUCKENSCHMIDT 1977:22). At the age of eight he began to study the violin, and a few years later to compose. Schönberg's family was too poor to have attended many performances of art music in the city. Until his later teens, the majority of Schönberg's exposure to art music seems to have been from scores alone, and performances of music by himself and his friends. David Bach, a schoolmate of Schönberg's, reminisces about their musical experiences at that time.

»All of us, 17- and 18-year olds, used to stand near the dividing hedge [of a park in the third district], so as to hear music for nothing. A young conductor ... used to perform excerpts from Wagner... For most of us, this was our only chance of hearing a little real [i.e. classical] music« (REICH 1980:4).

Schönberg shared with many famous improvisers of past decades, such as Mozart and Liszt, a lack of formal training in art music at an early age. His everyday musical experience as a child, however, was entirely different from theirs. Popular music surrounded him, as it was to increasingly surround all levels of society in the years to come. It is interesting to note that writing popular song did not appeal to Schönberg in the least, despite the ready market for it, and the fact that creating music to please audiences had traditionally been the intention of classical composers. Schönberg epitomizes the late 19th century musician in many ways: he was surrounded by a thriving ethnic and popular music tradition that he tended to ignore; became actively involved with art music only as a young adult; and trained as a composer in an institution rather than through involvement in the music of his larger social environment. Schönberg's career, by the standards of earlier classical musicians, seems a twisted paradox. It should not be surprising, given the substantially different life experiences of performers and composers of art music in the 1880s and 90s as opposed to those of earlier times, and related changes in pedagogic methods and contexts, that both the aesthetics of Western art music and its performance practice would change markedly during this period. The sense of communal involvement and understanding that one associates with improvisatory musical traditions, and that had existed between performer and audience in the courts of Europe, could no longer be associated with art music towards the end of the century.

### Changes in Pedagogy

Conservatory education first appears in the early 19th century, providing a means by which aspiring middle class performers could acquire expertise in aristocratic musical traditions. The Paris *Conservatoire*, for instance, which was founded shortly after the Revolution, offered musical instruction primarily to middle class citizenry from its inception (WEISS TARUSKIN 1984:319). Similarly, Vienna's first conservatory dates from 1817, owing its establishment at that time to the support of middle class social organizations such as the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (RAYNOR 1978a:329). We should expect that private centers for the study of aristocratic music would not have been established by the court itself, as it had no need of them. As long as the court functioned as a viable social unit, its hired musicians easily transferred performance expertise — including a familiarity with improvisational techniques — by example from one generation to the next. Only those individuals excluded from the court environment, or who for other reasons lacked a profound understanding of art music, would feel the need to create musical institutions designed to perpetuate and disseminate it.

The increasing importance of notation as a pedagogical tool and performance aid in the nineteenth century can similarly be explained in terms of the gradual replacement of the patronage musician at that time with the middle class performer. Scores and written arrangements for the piano were impera-

tive to the dissemination of elite music among a broader audience in two senses. First, they allowed for individual family members to learn music themselves, and to avoid the prohibitive costs of hiring professional musicians. A bank clerk or petty official might be able to eventually afford and purchase an upright piano or violin, for instance, but he certainly could not afford to hire anyone else to play it for him, as wealthier individuals tended to do. Secondly, notated music provided the detailed performative instructions necessary for those interested in learning to play a style of music with which they were unfamiliar. Sheet music became a means of learning aristocratic music for those who had no exposure to it in its original context.

Not surprisingly, accounts by professional musicians first appear in this period complaining loudly about »improper« performance on the part of musical amateurs. Leopold Mozart's comments in his *Violinschule* on improvisatory embellishment — still standard practice among musicians at the time, even when reading sheet music — provide one early example.

»Many imagine themselves to have brought something wonderfully beautifully into the world if they befill the notes of an Adagio cantabile thoroughly, and make out of one note at least a dozen. Such note-murderers expose thereby their bad judgement to the light...« (HORSLEY 1980:43)

Horsley further comments that the authors of many manuals at this time seem to have been at pains to warn that »nobody should dare embellish« others' works unless he or she had fully grasped the art of composition. Eduard Hanslick's outspoken criticisms of such things as »common and pernicious piano-playing nonsense« (HILDEBRANDT 1988:2) also date from the early 19th century. Keyboardist and composer Domenico Corri, whose sheet music began to be circulated in the late 1780s, was ostensibly the first individual to publish music scores in »complete« form, with all necessary ornamentation written out in an appropriate manner for those who might otherwise be unable to interpret the score improvisationally (HORSLEY 1980:49).

Rather than condemning the musical interpretation of art music among the middle classes at this time as »pernicious nonsense,« we might rather conceive of such interpretative changes as the natural result of a particular social class appropriating the music of another and performing it in a manner unique to themselves. Given their exposure to an entirely different sort of music in daily life, and their lack of familiarity with musical traditions and aesthetics of the court, one could only expect a fresh interpretation from them — a »new wine in old bottles« (BEN-AMOS 1972:5). The freedom these nineteenth century middle class and petit bourgeois music makers felt to alter and expound upon the compositions presented to them in graphic form should be considered an admirable quality, and one that was soon to disappear among future generations. In reinterpreting the music they played at home, performers demonstrated the extent to which they intuitively understood art music after their own fashion, and were willing to express their own musical thoughts together with those of others.

With the further development of conservatory education, the establishment of conducting as an accepted institution, the emergence of a codified body of classical repertoire, and later the introduction of sound recording, aspiring art musicians became increasingly self-conscious in the performance of canonized works, and tended to rely more heavily on the interpretative advice of influential music professionals, rather than untutored instinct. This dependence upon the advice of others reflects a desire to emulate the musical practices of social elites at the expense of individual expression. As BOURDIEU mentions, the *petits bourgeois* have a decided interest in »high« art, but know very little about it. They are filled with an »undifferentiated reverence« for art music as a result of ignorance, »a vain striving for integration into a[n aristocratic] culture to which [they are] essentially alien« and excluded (1984:323). »Uncertain of their classifications, divided between the tastes they incline to and the tastes they inspire to« (1984:326), the *petits bourgeois* force themselves away from an instinctual understanding of the classical arts, and towards an appreciation based on the opinions of others.

### Music to Educate

Initial efforts to use the performance of art music to »educate« audiences apparently date from the end of the 18th century. The rise of the educational movement corresponds roughly with the decline of patronage, the gradual contextual transferences of court music we have been describing, and the increasing numbers of non-professionals interested in playing art music. BLUME (1970:91) mentions that early champions of the educational cause, almost all of whom were German, included Goethe, Schiller, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Forkel, and Zelter. All of these figures united against the threat of a »collapse« of aristocratic musical standards. Forkel and Zelter are known to have suggested that the ruling authorities in every country financially support and promote »proper« music for its citizens against that eventuality. RAYNOR describes the same sort of sentiment rampant in Mannheim of the 1790s. Wealthy citizens there advocated and eventually formed a public music *Liebhaber* society »to raise public taste above the present linking for bad music« (1978a:315). It is worth note that the drive to educate citizenry about classical music came not from the court or aristocracy, but from wealthy burghers, whose ideas about art music were often less informed, and more reverent and limiting.

A consistent need to educate the public about classical music, whether through music appreciation classes or other means, has been perceived ever since the early 19th century in countries such as North America, England, and Germany. RAINBOW (1980:23) describes the evolution of »Young People's Concerts« in England, »encouraging children to listen,« during the latter part of the 19th century. Other countries, including the United States, developed similar programs at approximately the same time. Percy YOUNG is another to highlight the frequency of presentations designed to educate the public about art music at the turn of the century.

»The types [of educational concerts] were various, ranging from the 'Prüfungskonzert' (examination concert) of the German music school to the People's Concerts, by which the middle classes hoped to educate the working classes towards their concept of propriety in taste« (1980:620).

Young mentions that a Russian equivalent of the »people's concert« became in the 1930s and 40s a concomitant of adult education there, the idea being that state-trained classical virtuosi would travel to remote towns in the Republic in order to give common people »the best« in music. The belief that art music should educate also became prevalent among turn of the century composers. Schönberg, for instance, is said to have believed that the ultimate function of art should be »to shake us out of our complacency and comfort« (SCHORSKE 1980:358). His views contrast strikingly with those of musicians a century earlier.

Recent articles on music education have questioned the traditional practice of teaching courses about art music to the exclusion of other musics. Authors such as Sparshott, who contributes the concluding remarks to the article entitled »Music Education« in *New Grove's Dictionary of Music*, mention that instructors today voice unease about »where education begins and indoctrination ends.« SPARSHOTT feels that courses designed solely to educate frequently, and perhaps unavoidably, present a colored perspective on what »good« music is and what sorts of music one should study. According to him, courses on music education »tend to impart a confidence in making pronouncements on musical matters that reflects familiarity with what other people say rather than any grasp of the material« (1980:56). In the case of Western art music this appears especially to be so, given the substantially different sorts of pronouncements made about art music at the end of the 19th century by middle class performers and instructors as compared to those of the court environment a century earlier. Western middle class culture came to its own conclusions about the importance of various forms of music in the nineteenth century, and consistently made efforts to convince all of society that its views were the correct ones.

### Art Music and Social Status

It seems clear that the relative economic accessibility of aristocratic music in the late nineteenth century tended to make familiarity with it an excellent means of achieving distinction on many social levels. RAYNOR (1978a:322) considers the classical arts to be symbols of aristocratic refinement and prestige, suggesting the association between conservatory musicians and high culture as one reason why the financial and musical elites of the early nineteenth century came increasingly to interact on equal terms. Schorske agrees, and adds that patronage of the classical arts had always been closely associated with aristocratic lifestyles in Europe.

»Art was closely bound up with social status, especially in Austria, where the representational arts — music, theater, and architecture — were central

to the tradition of a Catholic aristocracy. If entry into the aristocracy of the genealogical table was barred to most, the aristocracy of the spirit [at the turn of the century] was open to the eager, the able, and the willing... The democratization of culture, viewed sociologically, meant the aristocratization of the middle classes« (1980:296).

These views are further supported if one considers that an increasing number of persons interested in performing and composing art music were of low or marginal status, such as Jews and working class family members. Through their desire to achieve distinction in the eyes of elite European society, composers of this time implicitly acknowledged the middle class view that popular culture was worthless. Writing music with mass appeal would have undercut their own efforts to transcend class heritage. The majority, as a result, professed to artistic aspirations incompatible with popular styles.

»Formerly if [a musician] wrote a claptrap string quartet to be played by the fiddlers of the Duke of Plaza-Toro, that still left him glowing with the tinge of the duke's greatness. But to write claptrap polkas or romances for a welter of nameless grocers' daughters — that was somehow humiliating« (LOESSER 1954:425).

If we consider that art music become more a symbol of status appropriated over time by all of Western society rather than the music of a single privileged group, as had previously been the case, we are confronted with one reason why audiences may not have cared whether it was improvised or not: they tended not to know much about it in its original form. Classical music had a new social function superseding many of its previous uses, and could meet the demands of the concert goers without being improvised. The sense of communal aural understanding that one associates with traditional improvisatory music traditions, and which had existed between performer and audience in the courts of the European aristocracy, could rarely be found towards the end of the century. Art music was not only less frequently improvised; it tended to be less a part of the lives of its patrons.

Acquiring social recognition is an important consideration for individuals in any society, and there is no reason to be disturbed by the realization that many Western attitudes about music have been defined partially in deference to pre-existent conceptions of status. More disturbing by far is the fact that, in focusing so resolutely on court-derived musical practices, large segments of the middle classes actually became antagonistic to folk and popular music styles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and blinded to the beauty, utility, and meaning of the various musics that surrounded them. Art and music function as symbols of cultural and personal value on many levels, but in order to avoid becoming empty symbols, cherished for their own sake, they must represent the experiences and values of those who see and listen to them.

## Experimentalism

Composers of art music in our century find themselves in a unique and not entirely enviable position. While retaining a position of high regard in society, and viewed by most as the epitome of creative effort, they have nevertheless lost the active support of a majority of the public. Far from enjoying a broad-based acceptance in their community, as Bach, Haydn, and Mendelssohn could boast, the modern composer finds consistent support and encouragement only from other academics. Early art music revolutionaries, who in 1890 seemed to be on the verge of fundamentally changing the musical views of all society for all time, found themselves isolated and forgotten fifty years later.

Conceptions of what »true art« should be, and how the average individual should relate to it, changed drastically at the turn of the century. Western popular culture and art became at this time, and in many ways still remains, entirely distinct from high art in the minds of the public. The very term »popular artist« carries pejorative connotations. Our culture promotes the idea that any art form accessible to large numbers of people is in some way inferior to those which are more difficult to understand.

»The exaggerated antithesis between art and life, between the aesthetic and the Philistine, the worthy and the unworthy, the pure and the tainted, embodied in the host of adjectival categories so firmly established at the turn of the century, has unquestionably colored our view of culture ever since« (LEVINE 1988:232).

Because of our current attitudes about academic art, many composers are not disturbed if they find they are unable to communicate easily to others through their music. On the contrary, some actually seem to pride themselves on maintaining such distance. Raynor is one of many Western musicologists to be disturbed by the present state of affairs, and the extent to which the role of the musician has changed since the 18th century. He wonders why many avant-garde artists so eagerly accept »the notion of a divorce between the composer and the audience, with whom it is [their] duty, as it should be [their] pleasure, to communicate.« LOESSER identifies the inherent irony of this situation. He points out that many modern composers apparently »suffer from a fatal cleft in their souls,« in that they »wish to be admired and loved by the very people whom they nervously avoid trying to please« (1954:426).

As the quest for the new began to supplant other aspirations at the turn of the century, increasing numbers of artists attempted to conceive and render their works as devoid as possible of any reference to everyday musical experience. Early *futurismo* advocate Ortega y Gasset, writing in the 1920s, expresses these ideals, asserting that the artificiality of any medium, the extent to which it is *not* formally related to other facets of life experience, is the actual extent to which it should be considered art. Rather than conceiving of art as multifaceted, and capable of evoking emotional and other associative responses, he accepts as valid only its aesthetic components.

»What has the beauty of music to do with that melting mood it may produce in me?... Instead of delighting in the artistic object, people delight in their own emotions, the work being only the cause and alcohol of their pleasure« (1968:28).

The urge to test old boundaries on the part of early-century artists was admirable in many ways, and yet it endangered the ability of art to embody cultural meaning and elicit responses from listeners on levels other than that of the intellect. Without a sense of common understanding between composer and audience, art loses much of the emotional efficacy and power it can otherwise evoke.

Ideas about the role of the classical composer in Western society may have redefined themselves somewhat since the heyday of Webern, Poulenc, and Stravinsky, but our present views resemble those of the first decades of this century more than they differ from them. An article in an underground magazine I bought on the streets of Austin, Texas recently illustrates the degree to which early-century conceptions of the artist are still prevalent. »CHEN,« a writer for *Zendik Farm Tribe Mag-zeen*, describes the importance she recognizes of consciously striving to produce experimental, and even shocking, works of art as opposed to those of a more traditional nature.

»Everybody's afraid to cut loose, but they worship people who do, they worship these toughies who break through in their Art. See, these »freaks« are alone in life and they die alone. Like I said, there's no culture for them. In a sense, they're like modern Christs, martyrs to this bullshit culture« (1990:39).

According to Chen, »building a brave new culture« in every work of art should be the aspiration of the true artist. Whether or not such an accomplishment is possible or desirable, experimental composers at the turn of the century tried as diligently as any since to realize Chen's goal. Their compositions are characterized unfailingly by experimentation and departure from tradition. One can easily imagine that these aspirations were not conducive to the continued existence of orally transmitted practices such as improvisation. As Derek BAILEY has written, »[i]mprovisation is hardly ever deliberately experimental. When the 'new' arrives, it appears to come of its own accord (1980:91)«. It remains to be determined whether Chen and her intellectual forefathers have charted the best course for Western music, or whether future generations will modify their position.

Ironically, the revolutionary changes in the music of Western society so strongly desired by turn of the century modernists occurred despite their determined efforts and eventual failures. Popular music, without the benefit of institutionalized support, had by 1910 taken the world by storm. Acknowledging no class hierarchies, and finding no venue too modest or demeaning, popular music gradually found a place in the lives of virtually everyone. Even members of the wealthiest families, who at one time might have danced to a minuet or waltz, found themselves more often than not after 1900 learning the charles-

ton or tango. The development of popular culture as an integral part of turn of the century cultural and social life enabled it to flourish while academic art steadily lost popular support.

»[T]he 'modern', truly 'contemporary' art of this century developed unexpectedly, overlooked by the guardians of cultural values, and with the speed to be expected of a genuine cultural revolution... [twentieth century art] was no longer, and could no longer be, the art of the bourgeois world and the bourgeois century... [T]his new and revolutionary medium of the masses [popular music] was stronger by far than élite culture, whose search for a new way of expressing the world fills most histories of the twentieth-century arts« (HOBSBAWM 1987:241).

Hobsbawm compares, to emphasize his argument, the careers of Schönberg and his Austrian contemporary and friend, Erich Wolfgang Korngold. As opposed to Schönberg and other academic artists, Korngold opted to compose and orchestrate popular film scores, and ended his life as a highly successful music director for Warner Brothers. Schönberg, after »revolutionizing nineteenth-century music,« ended his life without a public, his work »subsidized by more adaptable and vastly more prosperous musicians who earned money... not applying the lessons they learned from him« (1987:242).

### Historicity

One of the inherent difficulties of performing and studying historical forms of art music today, as we have seen, is that musicians cannot rely upon much of their present-day aural experience to guide them in the correct interpretation of repertoire. For this reason, among others, historical research into the performance habits of times past has become a major focus of study among music scholars. Not only are Western researchers professionally interested in musical life during the 18th century, for instance, as is the case among their counterparts in India, Egypt, or the Middle East, but they frequently desire to base modern performance on their assumptions about the specific musical practices of past centuries. Rather than being satisfied with a rendition or recreation of musical material in the manner most satisfying to performers and audiences now, many Western historians and musicians expend considerably more effort attempting to present repertoire as a reproduction of how it might have sounded originally. Interest in »original performance practice« has grown significantly in recent decades, and is especially associated with the interpretation of music written prior to the mid eighteenth century. Assuming freely that older forms of art music, and other musics, should be preserved, one nevertheless wonders whether an over-emphasis on historicity is evident in the Western musical orientation. Has Western society lost all innate musical sense in the present day, so that it cannot depend on the expertise of living musicians, or the expectations of their audiences, to determine the best possible interpretation of a score? The attempt to carry forward artwork unchanging into the future, to ascribe un-

failingly to a best imprecise notions of how art music was originally performed, seems a futile and unproductive endeavor.

Reverence for the music of past eras is in itself an impediment to improvisation. Spontaneous innovations cannot occur in music which is intended to be more a replication from 1790 than a musical event of today. Historian Jack TALBOTT likens the performance of cannonized repertoire to the preservation of ancient relics.

»I wonder whether the decline of improvisation in classical music shares some things in common with the rise of the museum as a middle class pastime? both demand reverential attitudes toward artifacts of the past. Just as a moustache is not to be drawn on the Mona Lisa, so Mozart is not to be embellished« (1989: personal communication).

Many of the problems facing modern musicians derive from a discrepancy between their own intuitive understandings of music, derived from cultural experience, and the aesthetic expectations they have of the music they create and play vocationally. Classical performers, bound both to the score and a desire to interpret it »correctly,« feel constrained by a »tyranny of tradition.« Composers, unsatisfied with the musical vocabulary of virtually all existing music, are not always able to produce meaningful statements through musical vocabularies of their own invention.

Recent controversies surrounding the increasing popularity of Suzuki violin instruction relate to our discussion of historicity in Western music. The Suzuki method depends heavily upon early childhood involvement in classical music, both in the home and elsewhere. Children are required to listen to art music to the exclusion of other types in order to develop their aural performance skills more quickly and easily. Critics of the approach, while not denying the remarkable musicians it has been known to produce, voice concern over the contrived nature of the learning environment. They feel that such a conscious control and shaping of the child's musical experience towards the past raises questions about long term effects on the individual.

»[Suzuki] methods, which bring very young children to play with remarkable precision, rely partly on sheer drill of the sort most characteristic to training, but also require that the children be exposed to good music [the author uses »good« in an ironic sense] and kept from hearing bad music... Commentators on these procedures... sometimes show themselves at a loss to assess their educational significance... A child who has learned to play Bach impeccably has been given an enviable start, but how this acquisition relates to the living musical culture of his environment is hard to understand« (SPARSHOTT 1980:56).

The Suzuki method demonstrates the crucial nature of relatively passive aural learning to proficiency within any musical system; it also underscores the aesthetic distance separating a majority of musical study in the conservatory from the common experiences of students today. Ongoing attempts to exactly codify

and preserve historical musics in the conservatory are artificial in many respects, a hindrance both to their meaningful interpretation and to the incorporation of art music more fully into modern society.

»The important thing for us to realize,« says Thurston DART, »is that a tremendous change has taken place« since the mid 19th century.

»We are imprisoned by the past. The whole upbringing of a modern [art] musician, whether he is a composer and performer, or a listener, is based on playing, hearing, reading, and analyzing old music. His musical experience has been warped away from the present towards the past« (1955:163).

Dart's comments are certainly true, yet another warping has taken place primarily among composers, as we have seen — one of movement towards the experimental future. Musical practices among contemporary art musicians seem to be represented by these polarized trends, each desperately avoiding the aesthetic present in the form of popular and traditional musics. One could say that the music played by most conservatory musicians today is not »theirs,« in a sense, in that they have lost the right to perform it in the manner of their own choosing.

### *Conclusion*

Many factors contributing to the disappearance of improvisation in Western art music have not been discussed in detail here, including several which I have come to consider significant. One of these is the effect of technological development and industrialization on the aesthetics of academic art since the late 18th century. Another is the effect of notation and literacy on the development of all Western music. A great deal remains to be learned about our improvisational past, but many of the processes I have described, such as the disappearance of original social contexts for art music; the lack of exposure in daily life to classical music on the part of modern performers; the experimentalist nature of much contemporary composition; interest in historically accurate performance practice; and reverence for art music; all seem to be significant factors contributing to the decline of improvisation.

No one denies that art music of earlier centuries is played today differently than when it was first composed; the fact that we as a culture desire so strongly to allow as little change as possible to occur, however, begs further explanation. Why should unvarying restatement be desirable? Could the present attitudes about performance have arisen if art music were a more familiar and comprehensible part of the lives of its public? The evidence suggests that it would not have. Although the performance of classical repertoire without variation brings countless music lovers satisfaction, how much more might an aesthetic which allowed for spontaneity and creative musical reinterpretation satisfy both performers and audiences?

If the tone of my article seems critical of the Western art music tradition, it is not on account of the frequently beautiful and moving compositions with which it is associated, both historical and contemporary, but rather on account of the relationship of this music to American musical culture in a larger sense. The canonized repertoire which has found such a preeminent place in our institutions of higher learning is not the only music worthy of study or performance; problematically, it is also not the music that most people in Europe and North America know best and identify with most strongly. By supporting the study and performance of Western art music to the exclusion of virtually any other sort, an historical art form associated with European elites and their servants, we effectively discriminate against ourselves and the contemporary world.

Given the grounding of all music in human activity, one might argue that the more completely it serves as a manifestation of the experiences and interests of the people who hear and perform it, the more valuable it becomes. If we accept this, then we must also accept that the value of music can be compromised if its performance is not subject to an aesthetic interpretation derived from experiences of the present. Western society today is too far removed from the Europe of earlier centuries for us to expect that today's art music repertoire should be heard or performed in the manner it was originally conceived. How stimulating it would be if music students were encouraged by their institutions to study classical repertoire, and other types of music, and then to freely alter or combine them in any way satisfying to themselves as artists. An understanding of the aesthetics and performance of art music, in an historical sense, remains critical for the classical performer; he or she must nevertheless realize that in the final analysis we must accept or reject traditional practices and compositions on the basis of how well we are able to express ourselves through them. Until musicians and historians accept this idea, and the changes in performance practice which would result from its acceptance, improvisation will remain divorced from Western art music.

Because of the relationship which exists between a lifelong familiarity and involvement with particular styles of music making and the maintenance of improvisatory traditions, the decline of improvisation in Western art music raises questions about the role of such music in modern society. Does the exacting performance of primarily seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century court repertoire today allow for the most effective communication possible between musicians and audiences? Might an abbreviated form of this music, a composite style of art and popular music, or another style entirely, better represent Western society as one of its most esteemed artistic statements? Could the growing ethnic diversity of the United States, for instance, be more satisfactorily represented in universities and public institutions through the promotion of various popular and folk music genres? Whatever the decisions of future generations on these issues, we know that music must be a familiar medium of expression if it is to be fully appreciated. If Western art composition in some form is to remain a focus of interest in music schools and conservatories, then it

would behoove modern composers to avoid the creation of historical or experimental works for their own sake, and try instead to speak more directly with the voice of their own musical understanding. And if Western art music can be changed and made more relevant in the contemporary world, it can only occur by grounding future composition and performance in the overall cultural experience of musicians and patrons, exactly as was the case in the 18th century. Theoretical pedagogy should develop as a concomitant of the constant reworking and elaboration of living traditions, and with the needs or expectations of people in mind. History should not tyrannically control the musical practices of the present, and neither should a continual quest for the musically new. If we desire improvisation in classical music once again, we must truly make some aggregate of past and modern musical practices the unselfconscious inheritance of the public today. Art music must belong to us, as performers and spectators, and become the form of musical discourse through which we naturally choose to express ourselves. We are challenged to assure that art music remains a relevant voice in a changing society.

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#### Sažetak

#### SUMRAK IMPROVIZACIJE U ZAPADNOJ UMJETNIČKOJ GLAZBI: INTERPRETACIJA PROMJENE

Članak se bavi postupnim nestajanjem improvizacije u zapadnoj umjetničkoj glazbi u drugoj polovini 19. st. i u ranom 20. st. Sučeljeni smo sa zbujujućom činjenicom da je improvizirajuće izvođenje prestalo zanimati većinu glazbenika obrazovanih na konzervatorijima, unatoč činjenici da su izvoditelji europske umjetničke glazbe u prethodnim stoljećima pokazivali znatan interes za improvizaciju i nastavili je smatrati važnom glazbenom vještinom sve do barem 1840. godine. Odgovarajuća analiza donosi niz objašnjenja za razloge zbog kojih je improvizacija težila nestati u okvirima društvenih promjena u 19. stoljeću, te za načine na koje je ta promjena utjecala na poučavanje i slušanje umjetničke glazbe danas. Članak završava razmišljanjem o implikacijama nedavnog nestanka improvizacije iz umjetničke glazbe i sugerira kako bi je se opet moglo inkorporirati u glazbeno izvođenje.