

# Free Jazz: Left by American Parents on European Doorsteps

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[Note: ["Free Jazz in Western Eyes"](#) and ["German Free Jazz in German Eyes"](#) comprise an expanded version of this paper that summarizes much of the literature it alludes to.]

## *Background*

"Free Jazz" is the descriptor most used by the media on both sides of the Atlantic for a musical movement that ignited like a flare in the African-American (roughly, late 1950s through 1960s) and Western European (mid-1960s through 1970s) jazz communities. The social context in both cases included a reaction by musicians against a mainstream jazz culture they felt to be colluding with an oppressive Western hegemony that was intrinsically racist, historically imperialistic and exploitive, venally decadent and vicious as its power was challenged. This reaction was set in the larger context of the civil rights and black nationalist movements, in America; and the student protest movements, in Europe.

The musical context of free jazz was characterized by a turn away from the conventional premises of jazz improvisation--the blues and American song forms, and eventually the metric, diatonic and then chromatic systems themselves--and toward both non-Western music traditions and the post-tonal, post-metric work of American experimental composers such as Edgard Varése and John Cage and European workers in timbre and texture such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Krzysztof Penderecki, and György Ligeti. Players such as Ornette Coleman, Don Cherry, Cecil Taylor, Albert Ayler, and Pharoah Sanders constituted the first wave of the movement; and groups such as New York's Jazz Composer's Orchestra (NYCO), Chicago's Association for the Advancement of Creative Music (AACM), and St. Louis' Black Artist's Group (BAG) extended it through their various well-known artists. Art indeed was the context, countering entertainment; art and ritual were the sites claimed for this music in its makers' conscious attempts to address cultural politics, from those of the bandstand itself (those of "leader" and "sideman," for example) to those of the entire Eurocentric music and culture

industry and academy.

A comparison of these contexts in American and Western European representations of free jazz, and their implications for jazz studies and instruction, comprise the focus of this paper.

### *Introduction*

An institution's curriculum and pedagogy reflects its culture's perception of what is historically important and why. Western classical conservatories and music schools had no jazz studies or performance programs until only a few decades ago; now many of the best of them boast jazz curricula and instruction to rival any classical or contemporary music program.

For the most part, however, a grasp of and comfort with the free jazz movement and idiom is conspicuously lacking in American higher education's jazz programs.<sup>1</sup> Academic, critical, and journalistic discourse on free jazz (as also the dearth of it) widely expresses and implies the assumption (shared by much of the music community its writers cover) that the movement was a stylistic change of its times that--unlike swing in the 1930s and bop in the 1940s--has proven to be a cul-de-sac in the ongoing history of jazz.

Following the notion that, as with "pre-free" jazz in academia, curricular inclusion and effective, appropriate pedagogy of a subject issues from a sense of its cultural significance and an awareness of the reasons thereof, I will argue here that the body of literature on this music supports the assertion that:

(1) free jazz was represented and received in two different ways, one in its American culture of origin and the other in the Western European countries where, after being virtually transplanted there, it took root enough to survive and grow, even flourish;

(2) of those two ways, American literature has displayed the least, European the most, general cultural engagement with and ongoing interest in the *music*; however

(3) American literature has been the most thorough in its journalistic coverage (especially in interviews and features) of the *musicians*, the body of which serves as ethnography for an international critical scholarship emerging from England, Canada, and Australia, to which a few American scholars are joining a handful of American musicians as contributors and participants; finally,

(4) the gist of this (most longstandingly French and German) discourse, and the development of the free jazz movement from the 1960s to an international "new and improvised music" scene

today, reflects and constitutes an alternate jazz universe, in which the dismissal of free jazz as historically dated and fruitless is Americentrically parochial, narrow, and reactionary, as is the current reification in the schools, and in cultural capitals such as New York's Lincoln Center, of a musical paradigm and idiom itself dated up to the postwar years of bop.

I will end by suggesting that the broader cultural and educational implications of that discourse are captured by the term "improvisativity." Taking a cue from performance studies and theory, the trait of "improvisativity" in art and culture applies to engagement with free jazz as, by comparison, "performativity" might to pre-free jazz and Western art music as currently taught.

(Improvisation itself is no less present in pre-free than in free jazz, but in pre-free, as in many other traditions, it is prescribed--by chords, melody, meter--and options not covered by the prescription are thus implicitly proscribed, overtly or covertly. In the free jazz that developed in both America and Europe since the 1960s, such prescriptions and proscriptions are eschewed, premises and constraints rather left to the improviser to devise in the course of spontaneously preparing and sounding the music.

Insightful readers will notice that this polarization of performativity and improvisativity expressed by a dichotomy between pre-free and free jazz could as well be seen in the more familiar classical/jazz dichotomy with which I opened this introduction. From that we might rightly infer that the project of bringing jazz from low to high cultural status has succeeded, and that now we must address the resulting damage.)

### *Current Dismissals of Free Improvisation*

I have turned more and more toward precise musical notation to insure that the improviser is consciously and physically tuned in to the overall structure of a piece. On first glance this approach would seem to inhibit the improviser. This is a valid criticism, but I believe that this inhibition is now a real necessity when one perceives that "free" or "open" improvisation has become a cliché, *a musical deadend*. (emphasis mine).

Anthony Davis<sup>2</sup>--a pianist and composer celebrated for his mastery and originality in post-1960s developments in jazz and its interfaces with contemporary Western art music--is not alone in the position espoused above. Dean (133) also cites similar remarks by Anthony Braxton, who has never dismissed free improvisation as a dead end but has often said it does not suffice as a total *Gestalt*.<sup>3</sup> Stockhausen<sup>4</sup> voiced a similar protest at the peak of free jazz' European debut (early 1970s), echoed a few years later by Jacques Attali.<sup>5</sup> Two authors cited by

Gray (see footnote six), Thiem (1982) and Berkowitz (1995), are only two examples of other European (mostly French, German, and English) articles that convey much the same message in terms of their own national scenes. (However, I will argue here that, compared to the bulk of European literature of the last three decades, and in contrast to America's, they represent the minority position. Much more prevalent are the articles and books discussing a fertile symbiosis between free improvisation and contemporary composition (e.g., Noglik [1990], Kumpf [1981], and Noll [1977]).

### *Sources*

My research sources come from bibliographer John Gray's near-comprehensive base of data organized under the categories of then-current computer/CD ROM material; book, newspaper, and periodical indexes; academic journals, and dissertations and theses indexes; biographical indexes, dictionaries, and encyclopedias; and bibliographies, discographies, and filmographies.<sup>6</sup> My scan of this data is backgrounded by my own three-decade personal and professional involvement with it; much of it I read as it emerged. Gray's superb service has been to delineate as a body of work a musical and intellectual history many of us lived; we can articulate through the lines of that work insights that living produced but provided no such "proofs" of (indeed, one of my motives for writing this paper is to alert other researchers to the potential of this resource).

Gray situates from his data free jazz players as:

- (1) on a musical and historical continuum with pre-free players (ix-xii, xvi), and
- (2) as an aspect of an African-American black nationalist movement. His organization of the material reinforces that picture, if only because the timeline he gives for both (1) and (2) (pages 1-7) is followed by a short bibliography of literature on "African-American Cultural History and the Arts." His organization after that is not so weighted in its titles, falling into the headings "The New Jazz: 1959-1990" (divided into "General Works"--on the movement itself--and "Country and Regional Studies," the latter divided into "United States" and "Europe and Beyond"), "The Jazz Collectives," "The New York Loft and Club Scene," and "Biographical and Critical Studies" (divided into "General Works" and "Individual Artists"). However, the material itself (as titles of individual pieces signal) bears out his editorial emphasis on black nationalism.

Following are seven tables showing breakdowns of Gray's data, to which I refer below by number in stating their points of interest.

Table One shows the national demographic of artists covered--over ninety per cent African Americans, from among 289 entries of U.S. subjects; and over ninety per cent Western Europeans (most from England, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy), from among 130 such entries from 19 other countries. This coverage spans the entire three decades under Gray's scrutiny. The other categories' narrower timespans signal the more transient social phenomenon of collectives, cooperatives, and free-jazz-specific alternative venues (the lofts) that did come and go with their time.

**Table 1: Subjects by Category**

	Number	Origin	Period
<b>Performers/ Groups</b>	289	USA (over 90% Af. Am.)	1959-90
	130	19 other (over 90% W. Eur.)	1959-90
<b>Jazz Collectives</b>	19	USA (13 NY)	late '60s- early '70s
	1	Canada	mid '70s- early '80s
	1	Germany	1969-90
<b>NY Lofts/Clubs</b>	10	USA	(mid-late '70s)

Table Two shows the *literature* on all subjects to be one-sidedly international, even when some of those subjects themselves are local (most obviously, "New York Loft and Club Scene")--rightly suggesting that European media have followed the American scene; it also shows the *literature* on some subjects ("New York Loft and Club Scene" and "Jazz Collectives") to have outlasted them, moving from (much) journalism to (scant) history, over time.

**Table 2: All Literature (Books/Sections of Books, Articles, Theses/Dissertations) by Quantity**

	Number	Origin	Period
<b>General Works</b>	205	international	1959-90
<b>Country/Region</b>	127	international	1959-90
<b>Jazz Collectives</b>	230	international	1959-90
<b>NY Lofts/Clubs</b>	67	international	1959-90
<b>Performers/ Groups*</b>	6,292	international	1959-90

\*Most American, on Americans, in English; exceptions are the prominent African Americans with a strong

presence in Europe, and Europeans.

Table Three details this picture by showing how those articles and books Gray saw as specific to regions and countries lined up in terms of mutuality of attention. Of the forty pieces on the U.S. regional scenes (e.g., Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New York), twelve--almost a third--were by mainstream jazz magazines or journals in Europe. By contrast, of the eighty-seven pieces on the rest of the world's free-jazz scenes, twenty-three--just over a fourth--were by more marginal, specialist publications (mostly *Cadence* and *Coda*, the latter from Canada, and both ethnographic or journalistic rather than critical or scholarly in approach) serving as alternatives to a mainstream American jazz press insensitive or hostile to the new music.

**Table 3: All Literature under "Country/Region"\***

<b>USA</b>	40 (12 by major European publications)
<b>Canada, Europe, Russia</b>	87 (23 by American/Canadian pubs., mostly <i>Coda</i> and <i>Cadence</i> , specialist/minor pubs.)

\*There is a similar pattern with "Jazz Collective" and "New York Lofts and Clubs" sections.

Table Four shows the breakdown between formats (books, articles, academic studies) by origin. Note that of the forty-eight total books, only twenty-two are by Americans, less than half; by contrast, one hundred thirty-one articles, most from the U.S. (see Table Five), were published--almost four times as many as from the rest of the world.

**Table 4: "General Works" (on "The New Jazz" and "Biographical and Critical Studies" as subjects) by Format/Origin**

Format	Number	Origin	Period
Books, Sections of Books, Theses, Dissertations	22	USA	1959-90
	26	Western Europe	1959-90
Articles	131	USA, UK	1959-90
	33	rest of W. Europe	1959-90

Table Five shows the focus of the literature and the time period of its coverage. The scant academic attention spans about half of the three decades (the middle half--as though it took awhile to consider what to say, and then all was said); the even scander sheerly musical-pedagogical studies do not emerge until the very end of that time.

**Table 5: "General Works" in English (American/British)**

Format	Number	Focus	Period
<b>22 Books, Sections of Books</b>			
Academic	7	Sociocultural	1971-85
Collections of Journalism	13	Historical, Ethnographical, Sociocultural	1959-90
Pedagogy	2	Musical	1988-90

<b>131 articles</b>				
Academic Journal	General, Pop., Trade	Jazz, Music	Alternative*	U.K.*
7	33	62	21	8

\*"Alternative" and "U.K." categories are a major source, "Jazz, Music" a minor source, of information on the European scene; others are negligible.

Tables Six and Seven show the difference between English-language and other-language coverage. Not shown, but documented in Gray, is the difference between the sources of this coverage. Most in Table Six would fall under Table Five's headings "General, Popular, Trade" and "Jazz, Music;" most in Table Seven would fall under "Academic" (internationally read journals of music scholarship), "Jazz, Music" running a distant second, and "Alternative" a third behind that.

**Table 6: European Literature [in English]\***

Musical Study	Sociocultural	Historical, Ethnographic, Academic	Collection	Journalism, Survey, Reference
Books, Sections of Books				
1	1	3	2	5
Articles				
0	1			

\*Eight are from the U.K., three translated from German; five of the eight from the U.K. are by Valerie Wilmer, a fan/photographer/journalist; two are by Carr, an academic and player; one is by Larkin, a poet. All fall toward the right, valuable for their information more than scholarship; so do two by one of the Germans (Berendt); the other (Jost) wrote the only in-depth musical study.

**Table 7: European (French, Dutch, German, Italian) Literature**

Musical Study	Sociocultural	Historical, Ethnographic, Academic	Collection	Journalism, Survey, Reference

Books, Sections of Books				
9	4	2	2	8
Articles				
5	22	1		5

The European--especially the non-English (mostly French and German)--literature comprises the bulk of scholarly and critical work on the music.

### *Examinations*

Zooming from this "topographical" overview into a perusal of some of the literature itself reveals more patterns. Only two of the twenty-two American books are by one African American, LeRoi Jones (a.k.a. Amiri Baraka); eleven of the twenty-two are collections of previously published pieces from music and general periodicals (including one by Jones), and thirteen have an overtly sociopolitical spin (but still more opinion than scholarship) on the music.

Of the one-hundred-thirty-one articles in English (one-hundred-twenty-three of which are American), all but a handful are from the music and popular (as opposed to academic) press; however, a close look reveals the category of "alternative" press, the showing of which is good, and through which a discourse worth documenting, taken with many of the more mainstream pieces, took place. Of the eight alternative journals Gray lists as devoted exclusively to free jazz as a sociomusical movement, seven were short-lived in the 1960s and 1970s; the eighth (and most recent, and English), *Wire*, has since expanded beyond such exclusive devotion. This means that virtually all of the American (and English-language) literature on free jazz contextualizes it within the larger discourses of "jazz," "music," and "arts and entertainment." The "free jazz" subdiscourse then, thus defined, stands out in this literature by having a chronological beginning, middle, and end (most of the literature dates from the late 1960s through the 1970s).

The small portion that would qualify as part of the academic (from Table Five's categories "Academic" and "Alternative") rather than the general and/or popular-music press (the latter oriented more to covering, reporting on, "jazz" as a part of the international American entertainment industry, however much it presents issues of aesthetics and culture within that context) lines up something like this:

- ten are short, general encapsulations of the movement as it emerged, usually two or three pages in length (two of the titles of those signal some critical position, beyond

mere reportage);

- seven are overtly focused on sociocultural issues (five of those on issues of race, one on aesthetics and style, and one on cultural- and musical-theoretical frameworks), and are similarly brief, and transient (with two exceptions--a twenty-seven-page article and an issue of an alternative journal); and
- only one is by a musician (Bill Dixon) on musical issues.

All of this hard data corroborates an experience widely and variously reported by many jazz musicians throughout the literature on the music in Europe: that European cultures often understand, respect, and support their (African-American) music more than the American culture does; and that the demographic of the American music press on free jazz, as it has been historically, is overwhelmingly one of European-American "professionals" (far more journalists than scholars or musicians) explaining everything about the music--including those aspects of it most distinctly and exclusively African-American--to American society at large. Not surprisingly, this has been a problematic fact for the handful of African Americans who have entered (or tried to enter) that "professionally" literate discourse.<sup>7</sup>

### *American Literature*

The ten pages (15-25) covering the American press' reaction to what it called "free jazz" (as opposed to books and articles on individual artists) reveals a riot of controversy in the titles alone: heated debate, "pleas for sanity," denunciations of the music as one of anger, hate, self-destruction, social anarchy, charlatanism, racial enmity; and scandalized refutations of such denunciations as racist, ignorant, viciously hegemonic. All this heat led to little light; there are only two entries under "Dissertations and Theses," one (Kofsky) from 1973, the other (Radano) from 1981. The special journals that crop up are short-lived, and the seepage from music to general entertainment (*Variety*, *Billboard*) and general interest (*Vogue*, *New York Times Magazine*) publications is similarly cursory and superficial.

The three pages (25-28) covering this literature's European counterpart, as we will see, suggest, by contrast, the measured response of scholarship relatively undisturbed by the American fray. The titles signal (and the work delivers mostly) dispassionate concern with things both musical and social.<sup>8</sup> Some examples, with their focus: Viera (1974), Jost (1979), and Kumpf (1981), musical; and Batel (1978), Jost (1976), Miller (1966) and Suppan (1973), sociological/philosophical/theoretical.

These German examples were not primarily focused on an American subject; the movement

written about as "free jazz" in Germany, as in England and France, was an American transplant that took root and thrived almost immediately on the local levels. European players quickly adopted the approach of free improvisation from its original African American context of protest and alternative to what they perceived as their own cultural situation, and how best to express it musically; they continued to collaborate with American free players, coming over time to provide the major source of performing and recording opportunities for many of them.

Gray's form and contents tell us other interesting things about the American and European literate responses to free jazz. He has divided his sources into *four* sections organized around the concept of the *collective* ("General Works" [again, on free jazz as a movement, concept, style], "Country and Regional Studies," "The Jazz Collectives," and "The New York Loft and Club Scene") and *one* around the concept of the *individual* ("Biographical and Critical Studies," divided into "General Works" and "Individual Artists"). Naturally enough, "Individual Artists" spans over seven times as many pages as all the (nine) others combined. This in itself tells us that the bulk of the information we have on this music is still essentially ethnographic, drawn from an array of (mostly American) interviews, features, and reviews; the music-theoretical and social analyses have begun (mostly in Europe, especially Germany) but have by no means arrived at a consensus of or debate about methodology and area of concern, let alone schools of thought framing issues as generally significant.<sup>9</sup>

The dates on Gray's American entries suggest a flurry of knee-jerk reactions, a struggle to cope with and define in jazz-traditional terms the music as it emerged, giving way throughout the mid-1970s and since to a steady trickle of discourse on what has proven decidedly to be a marginal music in America, not only in relation to the general but to the already-marginal discourse on jazz as a whole. (Again, the European entries scan more like a steady swell, throughout the same period, of a subdiscourse more or less within the larger one about jazz, signaling a general and growing sense of significance and relevance of the music to the culture at large.)

This point will suit a look at the early examples from the American literature with clear spins of their own on the music. I would characterize them so: free jazz is "a black-cultural-political thing" (Jones [1967], Kofsky [1970], Backus [1978], Sinclair/Levin [1971]); or "a nihilistic/destructive/fraudulent thing" (De Michael [1966] and Feather and Williams [1962], among many examples of journalists, and musicians [including Phil Woods and Miles Davis], offended on the same grounds). The grossness of these spins (exposed as such by time), whether reflections of hostility or sympathy, lay in their lumping of multi-voiced and -motivated musics under a narrow rubric of some agenda of profession, person, or ideology.

One might excuse them, in the light of later, more sophisticated American work (most more recent than Gray), on the grounds that it was simply too early in the free-jazz game to do any

better. But one sees in European books from around the same time (Jost [1974], Wilmer [1981], Carr [1973], Comolli/Carles [1971]) similar constraints of context (Jost: "it's a Western musicological thing;" Carr: "it's a Romantic-style-artist-against-the-Philistines thing;" along with Wilmer and Comolli/Carles' "it's a black cultural/political thing")--but, perhaps because of their distance, they have not the defensive and absolutist feel that has dated the American examples. They function more like anyone's spacetime-bound viewpoint should: an essentially tentative and fluid narrative framework for the facts being narrated, something only as fixed as it needs to be to make for morally, ethically, and aesthetically interesting interpretations of those facts, something not too fixed to tweak.

This picture of American free-jazz journalism and scholarship balances out radically when we look at the entries on individual artists, especially those most recorded and written about. We will use Ornette Coleman as an example because of his pivotal role in defining "free" in terms of the jazz narrative in the literature (Gray chose the time window of his book's title based on Coleman's 1959 arrival in New York). Also Coleman is one artist (rather than a "school" of many), and, as noted, the one first and historically identified with the advent of free jazz, so we can easily define what set his music apart from previous jazz, then look to the reception of it for tendencies that would *frame* even it as a mass "movement" rather than an individual expression.

Coleman's eschewal of just tuning standards (Hartmann, cited above, 57, 70), his alteration of conventional functions and proportions of written and improvised material (60), harmonic and tonal ambiguity (61, 63), melodic asymmetry (61), and metric flexibility (70)--all expressed through idiosyncratic tunes crafted for his own personal playing style in tandem with his equally distinct colleagues--positioned his concept and sound as provocatively, fruitfully, and, for many, shockingly "free" at the time. He took African-American musical vernacular out of its European generative grammar and let it roam freely through his own personal roots and patches of rhythmic and melodic free association, some of them more African than American, some more "folk" and "blues" than "jazz," some more American than Western, some more his own voice than anything else.

Clearly--and clearly gauged by the actual reception and subsequent events--the musical language was functioning as an analogue to the social and cultural one, and whoever, black or white, had an investment in it or in Coleman's confounding of it would polarize themselves with or against him. Coleman's significance did not lie in his particular musical language so much as in its exemplary demonstration that any number of such languages could be constructed; his effectiveness in this role lay as much in his breakthrough to the major public discourse of the jazz and academic press and the jazz and classical Western-musical world in America and Europe. [10](#)

Gray's seventeen pages (146-63, 187 entries) on Coleman reveal much more American than

European coverage; that American coverage's quantity, quality and variety reveal much more curiosity, fascination, and openness, ability to digest and explore, than does American literature on the music's *general* social or stylistic significance. This interest is sustained, even grows, over time. Gray's categories of works--first those in English then in the other Western European languages--are expanded from (in his other sections) "books," "sections of books," and "articles" to include "biographical dictionaries," "interviews," "newspaper" as well as "serial articles," "concert and recording reviews," "discographies," "bibliographies," and "media materials."

A quick look at the similar sections on other seminal figures (such as Coltrane, Albert Ayler, Anthony Braxton and Cecil Taylor) corroborates the conclusion suggested: *American journalists and scholars are much more comfortable describing this music in terms of its individual practitioners than in general theoretical or sociological terms.* Their initial and sporadic attempts to do the latter look like a body's antibodies racing to stem a bacterial invasion and succeeding, containing and holding it at bay, if not eradicating it. The Europeans, by contrast, look like an immune system adapting its body to the new germs until they pose no threat, join in the life of the organism.

We can read a couple of things in this mix of America's willful ignorance of general implications and enthusiastic acceptance of individual expressions. One is that "free jazz" is in fact many *musics*, each defined by its individual practitioner, and thus breaks down attempts to generalize it as a single *style* served by many stylists. But that begs the question of why Europeans seem to have less trouble reconciling the general with the particular. The most obvious answer to that is that the music's *general* implications (of anti-white, anti-American, anti-Western import) have proven too threatening<sup>11</sup> to the American collective, both black and white, that has come to terms with and is profitably or even only safely invested in the definitions of white, black, American, and West that are under attack; but that these threats are manageable as both social and aesthetic expressions when situated in *individuals* (especially when those individuals have been safely transplanted to Europe, as has been the case with many of the African-American players associated with the free jazz movement here in the 1960s). And that reading suggests that there *is* a unity as well as a diversity to this music, and that it *has* been cultivated in Europe more than America, though the diversity has flourished here well enough. (This, of course, resonates with America's reputation for flexibility, tolerance of diversity, respect for individualism--and concurrent inadequacy of cultural consensus, coupled with an historical anti-European, anti-intellectual distrust of such a context; and with Europe's for composing--and imposing--grand narratives and theories of history and culture, and for a relative stability of cultural consensus [when, again, it is unthreatened].)

## *European Literature*

The European literature breaks down into early (on American free jazz) and later work (on both European and American free jazz). The bulk of the European articles are from eight internationally read academic music journals, one of which (*Jazzforschung*) is the only such in the world devoted solely to the music of Gray's focus as part of larger jazz history. The four serial publications comparable to American jazz and music publications generated none of the (only two) collections or any other spinoff work, in contrast to America. The studies with a musicological and ethnomusicological focus are all more typically written by professional musicians and scholars than by journalists.

The literature on the free-jazz movement as an originally American and generally European whole, from the three main Western European countries (England, France, and Germany) that fostered then adopted it, ranges from rather thorough surveys of its key figures and/or musical aspects (Jost [1971], Berendt [1967], Rutter [1966]); to its presence in the schools (Spoerri [1972]); to (mostly French, mostly early) similarly thorough looks at its sociopolitical context as an African-American movement (Comolli [1966], Lere [1970], Kopelowicz [1967]); to close theorizing on its sociocultural and philosophical significances outside the African-American context (Miller [1966], Suppan [1973], Noglik [1987], Batel [1978]). A look at three European books on the music, by way of comparison to the American literature surveyed above, will begin to distinguish European from American discourse.

First, they were all published during the 1970s, at the height of the music's presence (especially in its American voices) in Europe. Second, like most of the twenty-six European books, they are all major studies dedicated to their respective subjects, not collections of previously published journalism thrown together in response to an event on a deadline. Third, in their different ways, they are written for a culturally literate and curious generalist readership--not a mass consumer of the popular and/or periodical press, on the one hand, nor an academic specialist, on the other--a polarization evident in the American literature. As such, they all read like something that might be published by the academic press for the general market in America, as well as like the best of America's more serious journalism. All three together and each alone *stand* alone, in their unique ways, as the scholarly and journalistic offerings of their time on their subject: timely supplements to the run of background material the American literature seems by comparison. Furthermore, each book demonstrates a certain approach that, taken with other articles and books, can characterize a national approach.

## *England: Looking At, Looking In*

Going back to Gray for a comparison of free-jazz scenes by country, only this time omitting the U.S., we see the largest number (fifty-two) of groups, artists, and collectives in Great Britain, with Germany running a rather distant (with eighteen) second.[12](#)

Interestingly, given the activity in Great Britain, and the amount of print Germany devoted to its own free-jazz scene from the beginning, the English language (American, Canadian, British, Australian) coverage of the British free-jazz scene is scant until the 1980s (an exception is Carr). The journal *The Wire* began in 1982, and has gone on to become one of the major international commercial publications covering the post-free jazz ("new and improvised music") scene in both Europe and the international arena. Articles on some of the key figures and groups appeared throughout the 1970s, the time of the emergence of the music in Europe, in a few short-lived journals (*Musics*, *Impetus*, *The Wire*) and in the mainstream *Melody Maker*.

Two articles from the 1970s pertain here: "Free For All," Steve Lake's and Chris Welch's[13](#) panel discussion with four British players and *Coda* writer Peter Riley's[14](#) "Incus Records" (1979). The first is rich for its insights into the players' consciousness of their identities both as Brits and as Europeans, and for their view of Americans; the second is a full and thoughtful look at Incus, the longest-lasting and farthest-reaching of the English free-jazz associations, the one with the most (and most vital) overlap with FMP (Free Music Production, the single European co-op listed under "Jazz Collectives,"[15](#) and one that has endured and played a seminal and productive role in producing and recording), both in philosophy/approach and in active collaboration.

The first book of the three mentioned above, Wilmer's,[16](#) is most valuable as ethnography. The extensive interviews, photographs, opinionated but unobtrusive commentary present her subjects--the seminal African-American players of the music--in their own words, on their own terms, without leaving them out on some limb as "the other." Wilmer's writerly voice places herself with her subjects without discomfiting her own (or her readers') identity as a white (and, in her case, Western European) woman intellectual; her representation makes the music and its players generally relevant and accessible. In all this, her book stands comfortably next to fellow English authors Ian Carr and Derek Bailey, who, players themselves, also wrote important books on (other aspects of) the free music scene, using similarly ethnographic approaches.

### *France: Looking On*

By contrast, the French Comolli (with Carles) produced a study from the point of view of a Continental philosopher/social critic. As the title (*Free Jazz, Black Power*) signals, the book would be of interest to a reader versed in Marxist thought; a dash of Sartre and G n t wouldn't

hurt either, to start constructing a characteristically French sense of "negritude's" vital challenge to "whiteness" in the international cultural arena, through this music. By contrast to Wilmer, one does get a sense of the musicians as "others" here, albeit others with whom the reader is exhorted to come to terms. In this, Carles and Comolli fall in a tradition that goes back through André Hodeir to Hugues Panassié, who produced not only some of the early French scholarship on blues and jazz but the first such work from anywhere. The service such literature has performed has been its contextualization of the music's general, extramusical significance to Western European culture (and its American tributaries). On the down side, it can be criticized much as has been white guilt and liberalism in general: it reifies the "otherness" and romanticizes the oppression of African-Americans, and, at worst, has a vested interest in perpetuating it.

### *Germany: Looking Into*

Jost's (1974) book<sup>17</sup> is primarily a musical-textual study (of recordings and transcriptions, much in the tradition of the Berlin school of ethnomusicology, except that Jost is also a player in the German branch of the music he studies). He wrote it when the movement had only been around for a decade, focusing on its seminal "pre-free" pioneers, and mining out their musical (compositional) rationales. He overtly states his desire to move away from sociocultural critique and into musical analysis (8-9; in this, he falls solidly within a characteristically German tradition of jazz scholarship).<sup>18</sup> Indeed, he disavows any connection with the French "*nouvelle critique*" and with "a Panassié kind of purism" in the process of explaining that he chose to write about his subjects for their *musical* preeminence, not their blackness (12). He accedes to Jones' definition of free jazz as a singularly black expression, but he sees the German relationship to it as much the same as that of earlier German composers with the "Italian" operas they wrote. He also explains why he is focused on the 1950s and early 1960s Americans, and not on European free jazz: the latter he saw as too new, and, paradoxically, too extensively and variously developed to make for an analysis manageable within this scope.

Supplementing this musical analysis weighted with a Western-analytical perspective is Jost's (1971) article.<sup>19</sup> Here he does situate the movement as an international connection between the African-American and non-Western cultures. In this, his view falls naturally in a group with those of his French colleagues Comolli, Lere and Kopelowicz, all three of whom place free jazz strongly in the context of the civil rights movement and black nationalist movements of the time.

Striking among this literature selected from Gray's listings under "Free Jazz and Europe" is the three-part series of articles by Manfred Miller<sup>20</sup> out of *Jazz Podium*. It stands out for the

seriousness with which it took the musical phenomenon of "free jazz" at a date (1966) when the French were focusing on its sociopolitical and cultural aspects, and the English (press) ignoring it (this mirrored the tendencies in the period between wars, when German scholarship was immediately musical-technical and theoretical-philosophical on Western-traditional terms; when the French was almost hagiographic in its elevation of an American negritude through the music; and when the English--with its typical detachment from Continental culture and greater closeness to the American commercial music industry, and language--was very similar to the American spectrum between controversy and neglect).

Miller appropriately begins his attempt to define, explain, analyze, and theorize by worrying over the words already attached to the musical movement. From "Anti-Jazz" to "New Thing" he notes the reactive, reflexive nature of the descriptors, and--as with the term "postmodernism" and in contrast to the more informed, less reflexive "swing," "bebop," and "cool"--he notes too the richness of a reality begging through the very inadequacy of such descriptors to be better articulated. He notes this inadequacy in the prevalence of descriptions of what the music was not: no steady beat, no harmonic "blueprints," no melodic motifs from the chromatic scale, no improvisational developments thereon. Taking the musician's point of view, he asks why such negation would be desirable. He posits all art in culture as a dialectic between convention and genius, and mastery of inherited norms as genius' natural prerequisite for either changing or revealing them. Comparing music to speech, he likens abovementioned components to the rules of grammar that allow for communication but also fossilize expressions into clichés. He then reviews the history of that musical grammar in the twentieth-century West--the challenges to hierarchical diatonicism posed by the symmetry, first, of the (French Impressionist) whole-tone then of the (German Dodecaphonist) half-tone scale as the basis of a harmonic-melodic system. He notes the sufficient response to this development by the beboppers, especially Charlie Parker, in the jazz tradition, indeed, his deconstruction and reconstruction of the Western metric framework as well, via his improvisations on it.

Free jazz, Miller concludes, was not just another stylistic development but a complete sea change, one of the language itself--a new *Gestalt* of music making, in which the "egg" of system and the "chicken" of creative play within it were inextricable and dynamic, not clearly distinct. Miller ends his Part I by citing Theodor Adorno, not on jazz but on Adorno's "new music" of choice (serialism) for the theoretician's clear sense of "legitimate" revolution revolving as a logical necessity out of, more than revolting against, that which it changes. Miller posits the free-jazz movement as a leap of faith informed by much sight, the creative expressions of artists who had mastered, in theory if not in practice, the tools and rules of the games of their time and place and were looking for new ones. In Part II Miller suggests some of those new ones.

Part III turns to the physics of general entropy and "local" formations of order therefrom as an image of free-music making, and to social dynamics, in a move to ground the process in a veritable biological and social imperative, as opposed to the abstract one of an inherited paradigm. Indeed, Miller posits free-music makers as the heralds, even progenitors, of a new, utopian society, one with roots (proclaimed by the music) in tribal cultures of shamanism, and fruits appropriate to same in the millennial visions of Western theologians such as Teilhard de Chardin.

Jost furthers this German fascination with the free-music making process, and its universal implications for and applications to the West as a whole, in an article (cited in footnote twelve) and a book<sup>21</sup> together informed by two more decades of the music's development. In the article he (like Carr, a free player who writes) corroborates Berendt's depiction<sup>22</sup> of European as a derivative of American jazz up to the free-jazz movement, circa 1965 (only a year before Miller's article), adding to it music-specific accounts (drawn from the examples of German, Dutch, and British free players) of the "Emancipation" into a European "free" style distinct from its African-American counterparts.

Suppan's<sup>23</sup> "Free Jazz and its Anthropological Background" draws on Lorenzian cultural ethnologist Otto König for a concept of art evolving from the decoration of the functional, the way a piece of pottery on display as an aesthetic object has evolved in perception and use from a simple to an elegant, then finally simply a formal, bowl. From pre-reunification East Germany, Noglik posits "Actual Aspects of Identity of Jazz and 'Improvised Music' in Europe: Obvious Differences and Internationalization."<sup>24</sup> Batel's title conveys his direct grasp of "Free Jazz as Intensive Form of Sociomusical Communication."<sup>25</sup>

Another piece is striking for its combination of scholarly sophistication and musical insight, written by one of the West German free scene's "first-hour" inner circle of players, Alexander von Schlippenbach.<sup>26</sup> He muses mostly over the musical issues that have concerned him most directly, in a way that is accessible to the culturally literate reader. German clarinetist and scholar Hans Kumpf's "Postserial Music and Free Jazz"<sup>27</sup> is yet another example of a player of the music who writes and theorizes about it as a professional scholar, a theorist (along with Jost, Berendt, Noglik, and Noll<sup>28</sup>--another phenomenon more common in Germany than elsewhere? ). His 1975 book (with an updated second edition in 1981) is indeed an exploration of the notion that the music Adorno championed is enjoying a happy and fruitful marriage with the music he (Adorno) abhorred (jazz). Berendt's three chapters "What Next? On Jazz in the 1980s and on the End of Avantgardism," "Jazz and the New Fascism" and "Jazz and the New Religiosity" all look through the music at some of its sociocultural contexts and impacts. Jost's "Is Free Jazz Dead?"<sup>29</sup> (1989) is a look back on a "new" music that had developed for roughly a quarter of a century by that point.

The point with these examples is that, as in earlier literature on American jazz in Germany and its European and German exponents, the Germans are, among all the European writers, those quickest to discuss the music in the terms of their own cultural discourses, whether musical, social, or philosophical, even as the German musicians themselves have proven most eager to embrace the most radical of the implications and expressions coming out of the African American free-jazz movement and push them even farther out in directions felt to be well beyond the pale of American and into the soul of European and German identities. All so, moreover, within an international as well as a European and German arena and milieu.

There has been nothing like this European discourse on, regard for, and support of this music in America, and America is not even aware of it, for the most part. As mentioned, *Jazzforschung* is the sole multilingual, international journal for the music. American, English, Canadian, and Australian historical retrospectives and comprehensive surveys of the present began to appear in the 1980s (from Gray, books by Litweiler [1984] and Lock [1985], and articles by McCrae [1983] and Ansell [1983, 1985]); and, since Gray, only in the 1990s did anything close to theoretical or interdisciplinary musings appear (Corbett [cited in footnote seven], Baskerville<sup>30</sup> [1994], Dean [cited above], Gabbard [cited in footnote seven]). Many of those are drawn from only a small portion of a wealth of material generated in the American press. Hardly any of it reflects much, if any, of the European, especially non-English-language, discourse.

### *Conclusion*

As with any reading of such a mass of data for its general significance, mine is only one of many, is subjective, and is offered more for consideration and discussion than as truth to accept or refute. It is the reading of a white American male who has thought long and hard about it throughout his years as a professional jazz musician with some formal training in the European classical tradition, and as an educator and scholar who has researched and followed closely the English, French and German discourses glimpsed above.

I return to the terms "performativity" and "improvisativity." Late-1970s studies of issues of performance in the theater were taken up by a wider interdisciplinary discourse comprising literature, folklore, and cultural studies.<sup>31</sup> "Performativity" is a widely used term in this discourse; it refers to the human quality of performing not only superficial social roles but that of identity itself. When we think of how deeply our identities both generate and are formed by our social and cultural "roles"--such as youth (son or daughter, sibling, student), man or woman, gay or straight, spouse or single, elder, or those of vocation (everything from working for survival to passionate callings in the professions, arts, or religion)--we get a sense of what we mean by the phenomenon of performativity. One is born to a world in which biology and

culture form a stage on which one must learn roles that are there; while their flexibility allows for one's own individual expression and uniqueness, one is nonetheless constrained by them, by one's very life force and that of the collective. One ignores or confutes their nature, power and potential at one's individual and social peril.

"Improvisativity" (my term, used so, as far as I know) could be derived similarly from musical studies. Interestingly, the vast majority of literature on improvisation--which is itself not so much, compared to the rest of music scholarship--would support the paradigm of performativity as articulated above, because it is on idiom-based and -bound improvisation, including that on pre-free jazz. The idiom essentially prescribes and proscribes certain roles and performance practices.

Improvisativity's *distinction* from performativity comes to the fore, however, when we try to understand the phenomenon of free, spontaneous music-making (indeed, whether it be by an improviser or composer). If the constraints of an idiom or its paradigm--systematic pitch organization, metric or patterned pulse, aesthetic conventions or principles--are consciously eschewed, what results? The quick and short answer, staying with the music discussed above, is that new idioms, systems, patterns, aesthetics, conventions, principles and paradigms emerge, with immediately recognizable evidence both of deep connections with and radical breaks from the old ones. The literature surveyed above charts the attempts to sort out that relationship between tradition and innovation in a specific musical history. More generally, improvisativity motivates and governs the process of challenging and changing that which performativity protects, preserves, and affirms.

It would be another and fascinating study to unearth the historical and cultural factors contributing to America's and Europe's different responses to jazz, with an eye for what, when, and why performativity or improvisativity served in each of those (broadly speaking) two worlds. It might start with the revolutions in Europe and its American colonies in the late eighteenth century, and look at the attempts in both places to move from centuries of monarchy to democracy. It would highlight the experience of slavery for both slaves and masters, and the rise and disillusioned decline of Romanticism in music, and the decline of improvisation therein as handed down through a centuries-old court tradition, and the efforts of Europeans in America and Europe to salvage and both commodify and enshrine that tradition's music (among other of its nobler aspects) even as they overturned and then tried, with the ineptness of those not to the manor born, to redirect the social histories that made it. It would include the rise from master-slave relationships between "the West and the rest" throughout the world (and within America) and their struggle toward equity and respect, friendship and intercultural intimacy. It would include a look at the international waxing of American culture and music through both World Wars and the concurrent physical and cultural decimation of America's "Old World" (and its

enemies therein). Finally, it would rest on the present reconciliation of those Old and New Worlds, the rise in the New of an American music and a black middle class, and the strategies of the Old to find its own identity in a world effectively Americanized in crucial ways. A chart and analysis of the see-saw between performativity and improvisativity in the actors of this history would be greatly edifying.

My suggestion here is that we need both in equal measure, to serve as and when needed, as complements. Improvisativity has gone far toward creating a music that has given African Americans their cultural capital and European Americans an expansion of their cultural legacy. If that increase has blossomed for both in a predominantly Eurocentric mode of performance--the classicization and canonization of jazz--perhaps it is too harsh to begrudge those of all backgrounds who favor and benefit from that context. But by the same token it is equally harsh, and detrimental to the individual potential of some and thus to that of our collective, to penalize those more inclined (again, by both nature and nurture) to the improvisativity expressed recently by free jazz, by marginalizing them in their own society, or by forcing them to an inhospitable commercial arena (Ornette Coleman, Miles Davis), or to exile in a more hospitable Europe (Steve Lacy, Anthony Braxton, Cecil Taylor) to work or even live. Such improvisativity is the same trait previously expressed by the very artists (e.g., Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, Billie Holiday) themselves canonized today--and similarly undervalued in their time, before they became such "objects of performance."

My reading of Gray's data is that in America we have learned to sport and cultivate a dazzling array of the most divergent and rare flowers, but are still trying to raise them in a garden designed for less adventuresome and varied breeds. The very European house that garden came from has been forced, more than we, to redesign it to house our blooms. We lose something we need if we ignore *its* innovations to *our* traditions now.

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## Notes

1. For a timely sense of the nature and pervasiveness of this lack, see Andrew Bartlett's "Michigan's Serath Seeks to Expand Horizons for Improvisation Students" (*Down Beat*, October [1996]: 74), whence this citation: "When he speaks of the 'whole,' Serath is trying to expand students' horizons beyond an education where they take an anonymous seat in a big band (or orchestra, for that matter) and regurgitate a score verbatim, with no room for innovation and creation. This, says Serath, is what both jazz and classical music education have come to: passive replication of the past . . . 'My method of improvisational study includes several different languages, with what we think of jazz being one among them,' said Serath. See also Steve Larson's "'Integrated Music Learning' and Improvisation: Teaching Musicianship and Theory Through 'Menus, Maps, and Models'" (*College Music Symposium*, Vol. 35 [1995]: 76-90), for a similarly alternative approach.

2. In Roger T. Dean, *New Structures in Jazz and Improvised Music Since 1960* (Milton Keynes, Philadelphia: Open University Press [1992]: 143).
3. See also Richard Woodward, "A Rage Supreme," *Village Voice* (9 August [1994]: 27); Charles O. Hartmann, *Jazz Text: Voice and Improvisation in Poetry, Jazz, and Song* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press [1991]: 20); and Kevin Whitehead, "Death to 'the Avant-Garde,'" *Village Voice* (21 March, 1995, 63), for a sense of the official neglect free jazz is seen to suffer from both musicians and press in America, and of the frustration some feel about that neglect.
4. Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991, 417
5. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music Minneapolis*. University of Minnesota Press., 1977, 137, 138-40.
6. John Gray, *Fire Music: A Bibliography of the New Jazz, 1959-1990* (New York/Westport CT/London: Greenwood Press [1991]: xvi). It would be excessive to document Gray's sources here, except for a few examined closely at the end; the interested reader can consult his Author Index for the others.
7. Having worked as a degreed, professional journalist, I presume to use quotation marks ironically. At its best, journalism in America certainly commands the respect of a profession; even so (and saying nothing about its worst), it is all too often woefully out of touch with the worthiness of its various subjects of similar respect. Some prominent examples in Gray (of scant African-American voices) are Stanley Crouch and Leroi Jones; Albert Murray's is a strong voice, but silent on free jazz. Anthony Braxton has been important too, not only in his many interviews but in his self-published books *Tri-Axium Writings* (Hanover NH: Tree Frog Music [1985]). None of these shares a common view by virtue of minority racial status or any sort of primary racial "authority/authenticity," but each has his own critical comments on how the press and academy have represented jazz history and aesthetics.
8. The German and French free scenes did have some friction with their more conventional jazz counterparts, in the beginning and during the social unrest of the student protest movement of the late 1960s, but it subsided within a few years. The French Comolli and Carles (1966, 1979) and the British Wilmer (1977) actually did write more about the American racial/cultural conflict but, again, with the detachment of the outsider, whatever their passions thereas.
9. This is changing, mostly since Gray. Graham Lock's *Forces in Motion: Anthony Braxton and the Meta-Reality of Creative Music* (London: Quartet Books [1985]), Ronald Radano's *New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton's Cultural Critique* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press [1993]), and Mike Heffley's *The Music of Anthony Braxton* (Westport, CT/NY: Greenwood Press/Excelsior [1996]) all grapple with such issues in their hard looks at Anthony Braxton, whose music and persona virtually demand such attention; and John Corbett's "Ephemera Underscored: Writing Around Free Improvisation" in Krin Gabbard, editor, *Jazz Among the Discourses* (Durham: Duke University Press [1995]) and "Peter Brötzmann: Machine Gun Etiquette" in *Extended Play: Sounding Off from John Cage to Dr. Funkenstein* (Durham: Duke University Press [1994]: 247-59); Gabbard's editions as a whole (cited above with Corbett (1995), and its companion volume *Representing Jazz*); and Hartmann (cited above) have been moving through and beyond ethnographic and musical particulars to their broader philosophical, cultural, and interdisciplinary implications.
10. Which is where its conversion from an "individual expression" into a "mass movement" took place. Hartmann (57) notes the record company's role in packaging Coleman's first releases with the epochal titles

*Change of the Century* and *The Shape of Jazz to Come*--and John Litweiler (*The Freedom Principle: Jazz After 1958* [New York: William Morrow (1984): 13]) cites Coleman's denial of any intention to start a movement (or even, presumably, another album title) when he named one of his pieces "Free Jazz."

11. As have, by the way, those of African, Turkish and Algerian cultures closer to the homes of British, French and German nationals (and even those between East and West Germans, recently).

12. As for the rest of Europe, Gray lists eleven groups or artists in France, seven in the Netherlands, and one to three each in Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, and Austria. The number of media entries corresponds roughly to those proportions, tipping exponentially upward as the numbers increase (that is, the media attention devoted to each of the most visible and active English and German players is much larger than that devoted to their other European counterparts).

13. Steve Lake and Chris Welch, "Free For All!--Are We Ignoring a Musical Revolution or is it Undisciplined Anarchy?" (*Melody Maker*, 15 December [1973]: 40-42).

14. Peter Riley, "Incus Records" (*Coda*, No. 167, June [1979]: 3-8).

15. Various versions of the self-determined musician's co-op, of course, also comprised the option in which African Americans had placed their hopes to get around their American dilemma of enslavement to the music industry and its commercial criteria; philosophically and aesthetically, they also signaled a shift away from hierarchical structures supporting a "star" (instrument, voice, person) or leader with "sidemen." Jost ("Europäische Jazz-Avantgarde--Emanzipation Wohin?" [*Jazzforschung*, Vol. 11 [1979]: 165-95]) has identified the collective as something more characteristic of European than American free jazz groups, though Gray kept that more embedded than highlit in his presentation.

16. Valerie Wilmer, *As Serious As Your Life* (Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co. [1981]).

17. Ekkehard Jost, *Free Jazz* (Graz: Universal Editions [1974]).

18. See J. Bradford Robinson, "Zur 'Jazz'-Rezeption der Weimarer Periode: Eine stilhistorische Jagd nach einer Rhythmus-Floskel" in Wolfram Knauer, editor, *Jazz und Komposition* (Jazz-Institut Darmstadt, Germany [1991]: 11-25). Robinson makes the case that German jazz developed in large part--certainly in larger part than in other European countries, most notably France and England--from its own pedagogical texts on the music. Broadcasts, recordings, and live performances certainly exposed the listening public to American jazz, but the music that sprang up for domestic consumption--both dance and concert music with jazz influences--emerged, says Robinson, from American and German books on jazz composing and arranging and style. This is interesting in the light of the central role played by itinerant German music teachers and their workbooks in the musical training of African Americans around the turn of the century in the South.

19. "Free Jazz und die Musik der Dritten Welt," *Jazzforschung* 3/4 (1971 1972): 141.

20. Manfred Miller, "Free Jazz: Eine New Thing Analyse," *Jazz Podium* (May [1966]: 128 130; June [1966]: 156 159; July [1966]: 182 184).

21. *Europas Jazz 1960-1980* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag [1987]).

22. Joachim-Ernst Berendt, "Free Jazz--der neue Jazz der sechziger Jahre," *Melos-Zeitschrift für Neue Musik* October [1967]: 345-351).
23. Wolfgang Suppan, "Free Jazz: Negation ästhetischer Kategorien--Rückkehr zur funktionalen musik," *Musikerziehung* (Vienna, 26/5 [1973]: 206-208).
24. Bert Noglik, "Aktuelle Aspekte der Identität von Jazz und 'Improvisierter Musik' in Europa: Differenziertes Selbstverständnis und Internationalisierung," in *Jazzforschung* (Vol. 19 [1987]: 177-86).
25. G. Batel, "Free Jazz als intensive Form soziomusikalischer Kommunikation," *Melos/NZ; Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (Vol. 4, No. 6 (1/8) [1978]: 507-511).
26. Alexander von Schlippenbach, "Free Jazz," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (May/June [1979]: 244-249).
27. Hans Kumpf, *Postserielle Musik und Free Jazz: Wechelswirkungen und Parallelen: Berichte, Analysen, Werkstattgespräche* (2nd ed. Rohrdorf: Rohrdorfer Musikverlag [1981]).
28. Dietrich J. Noll, *Zur Improvisation im Deutschen Free Jazz: Unters, zur Ästhetik frei improvisierter Klangflächen* (Imburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner [1977]).
29. Jost "Ist der Free Jazz tot? Anmerkungen zu einer windigen parole," *Jazz Podium*, January [1989]: 16-19).
30. John D. Baskerville, "Free Jazz: a Reflection of Black Power Ideology," *Journal of Black Studies* (Vol. 24 No. 4, June [1994]: 484-97).
31. See Richard Schechner, *Essays on Performance Theory, 1970-1976* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1977) and Janelle Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach, (eds.) *Critical Theory and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) for a sense of this terrain.

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