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SPEAKING OF MAGIC: ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT IN MUSIC'S
MODERNIST ORDINARY

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ZACHARY JOHN LOEFFLER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....		iv
ABSTRACT.....		vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....		ix
INTRODUCTION	Disenchanted Magic	1
CHAPTER 1	“The Only Real Magic”: Charting Music’s Modernist Ordinary	21
CHAPTER 2	Miniature Magic: The Untold Story of the Recital Encore	66
CHAPTER 3	Mass Magic: Singing and Wishing in Unison	130
CURTAIN CALL	Teddy’s Magic	194
APPENDIX		203
BIBLIOGRAPHY		206

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ABSTRACT

“Speaking of Magic: Enchantment and Disenchantment in Music’s Modernist Ordinary” tracks a predominant fantasy of music in global liberal-capitalist culture: music as “the only real magic.” Although discussion of music’s “magic” has been characterized as a vestige of Romanticism, I argue that it became a cornerstone of ordinary or everyday music discourse at the turn of the twentieth century, around the time that sociologists defined “modernity” as mostly bereft of magic and configured the aesthetic, and especially music, as its remaining stronghold. Juxtaposing claims of magic in ordinary music discourse with a coeval archive of these “disenchantment” narratives, I trace music’s institutionalization as a rare magic in the long historical moment from around 1900 to the present. This history reveals that music remains commonly experienced as “the only real magic” to the extent that it offers not only enjoyable but deeply ameliorative forms of affective connection felt to be scarce in other domains of life. As such, it points to the immense healing power that music has accrued over the last century while also adumbrating the conditions of scarcity from which this potency has emerged.

Chapter 1 puts a set of “disenchantment” narratives penned by sociologist Max Weber and his long line of heirs into conversation with a contemporaneous archive of ordinary/everyday music discourse, from newspaper reviews and liner notes to Instagram posts and tweets. Although magic is traditionally aligned with the extraordinary and the exceptional, this chapter shows it to be foundational to music’s modernist ordinary, arguing that since the first decades of the twentieth century “the only real magic” has come to be one of music’s normative forms in “modern” cultures. The subsequent

chapters elaborate this preliminary account of magic in two specific musical contexts while also elaborating these musical contexts through magic. Chapter 2 tells the untold story of the recital encore by tracking invocations of magic in exaltations of the solo concert's encores over its printed program and provides a novel reading of Weber's theory of magic's persistence via the recital encore. Chapter 3 recounts a peculiar passion for national anthems that is rooted not in overtly political matters but rather in magic, further developing Weber's theory through the lens of massed singing. The dissertation concludes by returning to an underexplored tension in Adorno's disenchantment narrative that brings into relief the potency music has accumulated as "the only real magic" while also pointing toward its constrictions. By excavating a vast repository of unscrutinized music discourse, this dissertation shines a spotlight on what often goes without saying in musicological contexts: magic is modernity's wish for music.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 First appearance of “Positively No Encores Allowed” in a Metropolitan Opera program, November 3, 1924.....	67
Figure 2.2 Paderewski program, March 2, 1914.....	86
Figure 2.3 Antonin Kubalek, <i>My Gift to You: A Treasury of Favorite Piano Encores</i> , Dorian DOR-90218, CD, 1996.....	97
Figure 2.4 Four early encore albums.....	107
Figure 3.1 YouTube comment: “The power of music is truly magic”.....	150
Figure 3.2 YouTube comment: “The best day of my life”.....	151
Figure 3.3 YouTube comments: “Bohemian Rhapsody” as anthem.....	152
Figure 3.4 Instagram post: “It wasn’t about the national anthem”.....	176
Appendix 1.1 The crowding of the stage during a Byron Janis encore.....	203

INTRODUCTION

Disenchanted Magic

The “All That Josh” episode of Syfy’s *The Magicians*, a television series based on the best-selling Lev Grossman novels about an edgier Hogwarts in upstate New York, ends with some very familiar magic. The “old gods” have turned off magic in retaliation for the murder of a lesser god, rendering the world “depressing” and “pointless.” Desperate to regain the magic that made their lives meaningful, the central characters—Eliot, Margo, Penny, Kady, Quentin, Julia, and Alice—embark on a quest to find seven golden keys that are supposed to reenchant existence. But disenchantment has torn the group asunder, dispersing them across the multiverse and slowing their progress.

In pursuit of the fifth key, Quentin, Kady, and Alice are transported to an endless party thrown in honor of an old friend (Josh) by a demon who feeds off the joy that Josh takes in reveling. The trio is told that if their questing business undermines the party’s light, carefree atmosphere, it will result in swift retribution from the demon’s hip, twentysomething minions. As a bribe to abandon their quest for the party, the newcomers are supplied with “party magic,” which allows them to create cocktails from thin air and perform other sundry “parlor tricks.” But this party magic, they quickly conclude, is not the “real” thing.

The trio manages to sneak away from the main group of revelers and find the fifth key. When Kady picks it up, all seven of the dispersed questers are suddenly connected as if by conference call. Upon hearing his friends and apprehending that they can hear him, Quentin concludes that this part of the quest must be about “unity” and that the

fractured group needs to “work together.” Unexpectedly, Josh, who earlier in the episode confessed how hurt he was to be excluded from the quest, chimes in: “Bullshit. You know everything was fine here until you guys got here, so just go! You know what, fuck the rule. And fuck you!” Upon Josh’s transgression of the pocket world’s law of conviviality, the demon’s minions begin brutally beating him. Quentin addresses the group: “We have to save Josh and convince him to come back with us.” The others resist, because they are dealing with their own harrowing, “life and death” situations: Eliot and Margo are chained to a ship carrying them to their deaths via massive waterfall; Julia is struggling to put herself back together after a sexual assault and trying to save an enslaved fairy who is hemorrhaging to death from her eyes, nose, and mouth; and Penny has been forced into indentured servitude at a library in the Underworld “until death and beyond.” Quentin responds: “Yes, we all fucked in our own ways, like always. But if we do not do this, then the quest is done. OK, we have to work together, and we have do it now....You are going to hear music, and I’m going to make sure everyone knows the words, but every single one of us has to sing.” Quentin then performs one of the countenanced “parlor tricks,” and the iconic bass riff of the Queen/Bowie classic “Under Pressure,” a song about love’s power to alleviate the ambient pressures of everyday life, begins to play.

The members of group sing along to the track in various combinations, and as they all join in, their recalcitrance eventually becoming enthusiasm, their “life and death” situations improve: the minions stop beating Josh; Julia, her eyes aglow, gains access to her vast supply of inner strength and reverses the course of the blood pouring from the fairy’s orifices; and the ship plunging over the waterfall takes flight and heads for safer

waters. By the time the questers reach the song's concluding unison finger snaps, the minions (who themselves have now joined the musicking) vanish, and the demon (transformed into an annoyed but innocuous German fellow) informs them that they finally passed his test and hurries them out of his world so he can indulge in "a little me time at the ashram." To those unfamiliar with contemporary adult fantasy and the acclaimed musical episodes of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Scrubs*, this scene may sound cheesy and convoluted, but it was widely celebrated by fans and critics alike. One fan called it "incredibly powerful and moving," adding, "If you didn't feel anything then you are dead inside."¹ In any case, the message of the episode is clear: in a disenchanting world, music is the only "real" magic.

This may strike the reader as an imprudently idiosyncratic example from which to draw the sorts of generalizations with which dissertations typically begin. But it instantiates, with astounding precision, the exceedingly common but largely untheorized fantasy of music that this dissertation tracks: music as "the only real magic." I have borrowed this maxim from the recently departed rocker Tom Petty, who deployed it frequently in interviews:

"Music is probably the only real magic I have encountered in my life. There's not some trick involved with it. It's pure and real. It moves, it heals, it communicates and does all these incredible things. It's been so good to me that I want to be good to it."²

¹ Nicole C, "The Magicians': The Fifth Key Is Found Under Pressure," *The Workprint*, Mar 7, 2018, <https://www.theworkprint.com/magicians-fifth-key-is-found-under-pressure/123>.

² Neil McCormick, "Tom Petty: A Rock Star for the Ages," *The Telegraph*, Jun 16, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/rockandpop/features/9334051/Tom-Petty-a-rock-star-for-the-ages.html>.

“Music is real magic: it affects human beings, it can heal, it can do wonderful things....A lot of people have told me, ‘This music got me through a really hard time,’ and I can relate to that.”³

“Music became a safe haven for me. That was where I escaped to. It really is the only true magic I’ve found in this world. Most magic is a trick of some kind. But music is actually a healing thing. It has the power to heal and inspire and to lift you right up.”⁴

“Music, as far as I have seen in the world so far, is the only real magic that I know. There’s just something really honest and clean and pure. And it touches you in your heart.”⁵

After Petty’s death in October of 2017, these quotations circulated widely in what I call “everyday” or “ordinary” music discourse, appearing on Twitter, in CNN broadcasts, in newspaper obituaries, on Facebook, and in every other domain in which people chat about their music. This dissertation argues that variations of this sentiment go back to the turn of the twentieth century, when the modernist “disenchantment” narratives penned by the sociologist Max Weber and his followers defined “modernity” as mostly bereft of magic, configuring the aesthetic, and especially music, as one of magic’s remaining outposts. In fact, I contend that over the last century “the only real magic” has become one of the central frameworks through which music, in its many diverse forms, is experienced in liberal capitalist modernities, such that, presently, the subjects of such modernities ordinarily experience music in Weberian terms. Which is not to say that music is always magical—to be sure, it can be excruciatingly painful—but that (one of) its normative form(s) in global liberal-capitalist culture is magic.

³ “Tom Petty On Cheap Speakers and George Harrison,” NPR, *All Things Considered*, Aug 4, 2014, <http://www.npr.org/2014/08/04/336608432/tom-petty-on-stage-fright-cheap-speakers-and-george-harrison>.

⁴ Greg Knot, “Tom Petty, Heartbreakers Frontman, Who Sang ‘Breakdown,’ ‘Free Fallin’ and Other Hits, Dies at 66,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 3, 2017.

⁵ “Music Legend Tom Petty Dies,” Facebook, posted by CNN, Oct 3, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/cnn/videos/10157397693326509/>.

I make my case about this fantasy of music by taking stock of the pervasiveness of claims of magic in everyday/ordinary music discourse from the turn of the twentieth century to the present. While “magic” is often said either to have no meaning or to have too much meaning, it usually appears within a set of tropes from which its significance can be readily ascertained. As the Tom Petty and *The Magicians* examples suggest, very often music is said to be “the only real magic” insofar as it mediates profoundly ameliorative forms of affective connection that are felt to be largely unavailable outside musical domains of life. This preliminary definition of musical magic makes manifest the extent to which magic not only refers to the divertissement or pleasure commonly associated with entertainment but also to a sense that music is a potent means of pain management and survival. This is particularly perspicuous in the Petty examples, which reference “healing” and the overcoming of “hard times,” but also pronounced in the magicians’ gambit, where music is depicted as the only magic that can ease the strains that are literally killing the questers. Talk like Petty’s may seem hackneyed and maudlin, but the immense healing power that music has accrued in its institutionalization as “the only real magic” should not be underestimated. Claims of musical magic often appear within discussions of depression and suicide, and what is sometimes at stake in “chitchat” about music’s magic is the very reproduction of life itself.⁶ That is to say, although talk of music’s magic may be, as many commentators have noted, “cliché,” it can also be deadly serious.

⁶ On suicide and musical magic, see John Moe, “Vol. 2 of Listeners’ Favorite Coping Songs,” *Hilarious World of Depression*, podcast, Jun 19, 2017; cactusbubbie, Instagram, posted Jun 24, 2017, now deleted; “Scott Hutchinson, lead singer for Frightened Rabbit, reported missing amid concerns for his welfare,” Reddit, posted by u/Den_of_Decadence, May 9, 2018, https://www.reddit.com/r/Music/comments/8i589u/scott_hutchinson_lead_singer_for_frightened/.

These “life and death stakes,” in the words of the *Magicians* episode, raise a number of questions beyond magic’s meaning and origins that this dissertation seeks to answer: How has music’s configuration as “the only real magic” made it such a potent medicine? That is, what exactly has music as “the only real magic” provided listeners that they have felt they cannot find elsewhere? What might this reveal about how life in this elsewhere has been experienced?

Magic and Musicology

A number of academic music history monographs have explored the imbrications of music and magic. Some have focused on early modern contexts, including Gary Tomlinson’s *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* and Penelope Gouk’s *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*.⁷ Others have concentrated on late modernity, most notably, Daniel K.L. Chua’s *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*.⁸ A number of texts penned by Joscelyn Godwin have even elaborated the relationship between music and magic in universal terms, characterizing this relationship as more or less unchanging “from antiquity to the avant-garde.”⁹

⁷ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁸ Daniel K.L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Also see, James Currie, *Music and the Politics of Negation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press), 2012.

⁹ Joscelyn Godwin, *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: The Spiritual Dimensions of Music* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1987). This was also published with the title *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: Mysticism in Music from Antiquity to the Avant-Garde*. The most baldly ahistorical articulation of Godwin’s project can be found in Joscelyn Godwin, “Preface and Acknowledgements,” in *Music, Magic, and Mysticism: A Sourcebook*, ed. Joscelyn Godwin (New York: Arkana, 1987).

None of these books mentions the pervasive modernist fantasy of music as “the only real magic.” Which is to say that they do not account for the centrality of the modernist conception of magic in structuring some of the principal ways in which music has been experienced in liberal capitalist cultures since about 1900. To be sure, Tomlinson’s and Gouk’s texts focus on discourses of magic that precede the Weberian “disenchantment” narrative. Still, as will be discussed in greater detail in the first chapter, Tomlinson’s monograph opens with the suggestion that in the book’s present of 1993 talk of music and magic was a moribund phenomenon from another time. What is more, both texts oppose magic to the ordinary and the everyday in ways that clash with the fact that magic has come to be music’s ordinary or usual form. For instance, Tomlinson’s work emphasizes the “distance,” “unfamiliarity,” and “otherness” of Renaissance magic to contemporary readers, and both books localize magic in the domain of “social elites”—of men who, in Gouk’s words, “possessed extraordinary wisdom beyond the range of normal mortals” and who assumed occult forces “to be of a different character from those of everyday experience.”¹⁰ In contrast to Gouk’s and Tomlinson’s books, Chua’s text does formulate music’s relationship to magic (or, rather, “enchantment”) in Weberian terms, but it ultimately judges magic to be a Romantic interloper that does not belong in modern discourses of music.

The primary musicological inspiration for my dissertation consists of a few wonderful passages from Martha Feldman’s *Opera and Sovereignty* that interpret the language of magic used by eighteenth-century *opera seria* observers through a set of anthropological texts on magic that grew out of the same historical scene from which

¹⁰ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 4. Penelope Gouk, Review of *Music in Renaissance Magic* by Gary Tomlinson, *Early Music History*, 13 (1994): 294; Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 12–13.

Weber's disenchantment thesis emerged, a scene in which many European and American social scientists sought to understand "modernity" in terms of concepts of magic (mana, pneuma, etc.).¹¹ The set of anthropological texts to which these passages refer includes Marcel Mauss's *A General Theory of Magic* (1902), Bronislaw Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935), and Alfred Gell's "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology" (1992). By putting these texts in dialogue with the recollections of travelers and gazetteers who reported on Italian theaters in the eighteenth century, Feldman argues that words of magic in accounts of *opera seria* point to a shared sense of music's power to "collectiviz[e]...what was otherwise a splintered crowd," "to draw audiences forth from the dispersion of their separate boxes," "to overcome the fragmentation of attentions to which the hall lent itself, enticing and transforming viewers, and putting them into states of collective trance or effervescence" (26, 28).

In a certain sense, my archives and my approach to interpreting them are very similar to Feldman's. Like her, I put accounts of musicking in which listeners make claims of magic in dialogue with modernist renderings of magic in order to try to make sense of the former. Accordingly, our results are similar: one thing that "magic" often means in music discourse, as will soon become abundantly clear, is conjuncture. However, our historical approaches and goals are very different. While Feldman puts eighteenth-century music discourse in proximity to twentieth-century magic discourse in order to formulate several readings of the former, my goal is not only to define words of magic in a specific discourse of music but also to explore how claims of musical magic read in conjunction with a contemporaneous archive of sociological literature might

¹¹ Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 21–34 and 69–83.

reveal something about their historical moment and the way music has been configured within it. This merits further elaboration.

History as Conversation

My approach to post-1900 musical magic centers on a dialogue between two archives that both date from the turn of the twentieth century to the present: a diverse collection of “ordinary” or “everyday” talk of music, from newspaper reviews to tweets; and a coeval assortment of “disenchantment” narratives (penned by the sociologist Max Weber and a long line of his disciples—Adorno, Arendt, Berman, and others) that have examined sociality in late-capitalist contexts through Neoplatonic and “primitive” conceptions of magic. My first chapter will map these archives in more detail, but a tension between them and within each requires brief elaboration before their historiographic potential is further explained.

By the word “ordinary” in “ordinary music discourse,” I mean both what Stanley Cavell meant when he wrote about the branch of analytic philosophy that attends to “ordinary language” as well as what Lauren Berlant means when she writes about ordinariness as that which is traveled through unnoticed as it dissipates into atmosphere.¹² Part of what I claim in the opening chapter is that the ordinary in which music is commonly celebrated as magic closely resembles the ordinary of and in disenchantment narratives. This may strike the reader as a peculiar claim because disenchantment narratives tend to be critical of capitalism and mass culture and to champion dissent and resistance to that which has been reified into the ordinary. However, there is a tension in

¹² E.g., Stanley Cavell, *In the Quest of the Ordinary: Lines of Skepticism and Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

many disenchantment narratives, which is also apparent in ordinary music discourse, where the “cliché” of magic is repudiated as a pernicious deception—a “so-called irrational stimulus among many others by which the members of a calculating society are calculatngly made to forget the calculation under which they suffer”—but also desperately clung to and even said to articulate music’s “truth” in ways that nothing else can.¹³

The conversation between my two archives sheds light on how music in the long historical moment from about 1900 to the present has been configured as a magic that is desperately clung to. Which is to say that the conversation is not intended to illuminate a causal relationship between modernist disenchantment narratives and the near simultaneous proliferation of words of magic in everyday talk of music. Rather, their juxtaposition makes manifest a set of recurring themes orbiting around magic in the long moment under consideration. These themes then point to a number of shared or collective continuities that emerged in the early twentieth century and have persisted into the present, including a shared sensorium and vocabulary of magic through and as which this sensorium has been inculcated.

My intention is to de-universalize the relationship between music and magic, to anchor it somewhere in space and time, as well as to provide an alternative to the familiar Romantic narrative that Chua’s history of absolute music so meticulously recounts. It is true that talk of the occult power of music in the Western tradition can be traced from the

¹³ This is perhaps most pronounced in Adorno’s oeuvre, which is where the quotes are from: Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 53–54, 58–59; Theodor Adorno, “Theses Upon Art and Religion Today, in *Notes to Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Shierry Weber Nichol森 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 294, 296. As we will see, magic is central to Adorno’s account of music, even as it grates against his philosophy of non-identity and negativity.

myths of Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion to present-day tweeters via a whole host of intervening discourses (such as those that Feldman so captivatingly describes). It is also true that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European listeners were particularly fond of words of magic—for example, one of Mozart’s early biographers wrote that Emperor Francis I called the six-year-old Mozart a *kleinen Hexenmeister* or little sorcerer; Christoph Kuffner’s text for Beethoven’s *Choral Fantasy* reads, “When music’s magic holds sway/and word’s devotion speaks/glorious things must take shape;/night and storms turn into light”; and Wagner wrote that Beethoven’s music could only be “grasped...through the idea of magic.”¹⁴ My dissertation does not deny that discourses of music from preceding epochs have shaped contemporary music discourse. Instead, it asks: in addition to reading words of magic in music discourse as the precipitate of the Orphic myth, Romantic aesthetics, and so on, how might these words also be understood as of the period extending from about 1900 to the present, since, of course, they are?

My opening chapter only gestures toward the impersonal forces undergirding our words of magic and the fantasy of music they betoken (my case studies describe these forces in greater detail). Disenchantment narratives suggest the driving forces of the “modern” liberal capitalist social order as the prime etiologies for the disappearance of magic—the dissolution of social cohesion—and its migration into the aesthetic realm. These forces include rationalization, scientization, systematization, mechanization, secularization, bureaucratization, urbanization, commodification, routinization, specialization, standardization, massification, and reification, among others. They are

¹⁴ Franz Niemetschek, *Leben des K.K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart* (Prague, 1798), 6; Kuffner quoted in Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10; Richard Wagner, *Beethoven*, trans. Edward Dannreuther (London: William Reeves, 1880), 45.

said to be responsible for producing oppressive, exploitative, and alienated forms of relationality. The causes of history are typically multiple and diffuse, but I take it as axiomatic that liberal capitalist sociality tends toward these enervating forms of relationality and that they have been exacerbated by the neoliberal privatization of all resources, creating a pervasive sense of desperation that is often palpable in celebrations of music as magic.

Magic and Religion

I will not focus on religion in the pages ahead. Let me explain why. The scholarly debate over the relation between magic and religion has been dragging on since the inception of the social sciences as academic disciplines. Anthropology's foundational texts often distinguish between the two, typically exalting religion over magic with hefty dose of white supremacism ("ethnocentrism"). For instance, Edward B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) defines religion as "the belief in Spiritual Beings" and magic as "mistaking an ideal for a real connection."¹⁵ The white supremacist ideology underpinning this distinction becomes increasingly palpable when Tylor is read in relation to other contemporaneous subordinations of magic to religion, including the philosopher Frank Byron Jevon's 1908 suggestion that "the sensible missionary" might convert the apparently senseless heathen to Christianity by exposing his magic as "silly."¹⁶

¹⁵ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871), 383 and 105.

¹⁶ Byron Jevon, *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 102–104.

Many of the modernists—Durkheim and Freud among them—reproduced this subordination of magic to religion in various forms.¹⁷ But in contrast to many in his milieu who were also thinking about modernity in terms of magic, Weber drew no sharp distinctions between magic and religion. Although *Economy and Society*, published posthumously but written between 1910 and 1914, differentiates magic (the coercion of demons) from religion (the supplication of gods), it also constantly insists on their “fluidity,” stating that religious cults “practically everywhere contain magical components” and that “even the Catholic priest continues to practice something of [magic] in executing the miracle of the mass and in exercising the power of the keys.”¹⁸ However, Weber did equate the Abrahamic religions with disenchantment and strongly opposed magic to ascetic Protestantism. “The elimination of magic from the world,” he wrote in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) and reiterated in *Economy and Society*, began “with the old Hebrew prophets...in conjunction with Hellenistic scientific thought” and reached its “logical conclusion” in Calvinistic

¹⁷ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995 [1912]), especially 39–42; Sigmund Freud, “Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thought,” in *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, trans. A.A. Brill (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918 [1913]). Freud recapitulates Frazer’s famous evolutionary view from *The Golden Bough*, where magic is described as representative of “an earlier phase of the human mind,” inferior to the more advanced phase of religion. James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 11. As we will see, the main thrust of Durkheim’s account of magic deviates from the Neoplatonic tradition on which Weber’s disenchantment narrative is based. In this tradition, magic implies the law of universal pneumatic sympathy, which, in Weber’s words, welded together “great communities like a firebrand” (see Chapter 1). Durkheim’s departure from Neoplatonism can be seen in the distinction—a bit cartoonish, in my opinion—that he drew between magic and religion. Durkheim characterized religion as social and magic as anti-social, equating the former with “the idea of Church”—“a moral community made up of the faithful”—and the latter with “the witches” of “European folklore”—disruptive individuals living on the fringes of society and working for themselves in opposition to the righteous community.

¹⁸ Max Weber, “Magic and Religion,” in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 424, 422.

Protestantism, which, in its embrace of predestination, “repudiated all magical means to salvation as superstition and sin” and replaced them with “the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs” or the “immersion in one’s worldly vocation” as the primary path to deliverance.¹⁹ But when Weber aligned Puritanism, which he viewed as the wellspring of capitalist modernity and its “rational, methodical control of life,” with the disappearance of magic, he absolved most other religions (including the other Abrahamic religions) of this charge, even suggesting that the alliance between religion and magic continued after disenchantment in some cases:

For the various popular religions of Asia, in contrast to ascetic Protestantism, the world remained a great enchanted garden, in which the practical way to orient oneself, or to find security in this world or the next, was to revere or coerce the spirits and seek salvation through ritualistic, idolatrous, or sacramental procedures. No path led from the magical religiosity of the non-intellectual strata of Asia to a rational, methodical control of life. Nor did any path lead to that methodical control from the world accommodation of Confucianism, from the world rejection of Buddhism, from the world-conquest of Islam, or from the messianic expectations and economic pariah law of Judaism.²⁰

A faint whiff of orientalism is detectable in this passage, but clearly magic is not subordinated to religion. If anything, something of the opposite might be said, especially if religion is taken to mean Christian Protestantism.

Traces of these conflicting accounts of the relationship between magic and religion can be found in modernist aesthetic discourse as well. In *The Idea of the Holy*, published the same year that Weber delivered his most famous version of the “disenchantment” thesis, the German theologian and philosopher Rudolf Otto replicated the classic distinction between magic and religion within the domain of the aesthetic,

¹⁹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 105, 80; Weber, *Economy and Society*, 630.

²⁰ Weber, *Economy and Society*, 630.

contrasting the aesthetic category of “the magical” with that of “the numinous,” the latter of which is elsewhere described as the “real religious feeling” produced by the “profoundest and sublimest creations of human art”:

Beyond dispute art has here a means of creating a unique impression—that of the magical—apart from and independent of reflection. Now the magical is nothing but a suppressed and dimmed form of the numinous, a crude form of it which art purifies and ennobles. In great art the point is reached at which we may no longer speak of the “magical,” but rather are confronted with the numinous itself, with all its impelling motive power, transcending reason, expressed in sweeping lines and rhythm.²¹

In contrast to Otto, Adorno, whose version of the disenchantment narrative will feature prominently in the pages ahead, took a more Weberian tack. In his seven theses on “the lost unity between art and religion,” he used “magic” to describe the enduring “religious” element in art—its surviving “relationship with truth” in the face of modernity’s “denial of [its] spell”:

I have stressed the sharp distinction between art and religion. . . . This should not blind us, however, to the intimate relationship which originally existed between them and which led again and again to productive interaction. Every work of art still bears the imprint of its magical origin. We should concede that, if the magic element should be extirpated from art altogether, the decline of art itself will have been reached.²²

One of this dissertation’s central claims is that words of magic in everyday music discourse can be understood in modernist terms, and many of the modernist takes on magic and religion elaborated above, incommensurable though they may be, can be detected in talk of music’s magic. On the one hand, claims of musical magic sometimes partake of a certain Weberian fluidity, combining the language of magic and the language

²¹ Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, trans. J.W. Harvey (London: Oxford University Press, 1939 [1917], 69, 126.

²² Theodor W. Adorno, “Theses Upon Art and Religion Today, in *Notes to Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Shierry Weber Nichol森 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 294, 296.

of religion: “Beautiful music is a religious experience, an all consuming magic, and a peaceful bliss.”²³ On the other hand, when listeners use the word “magic” to celebrate music, they often first acknowledge, as if proleptically, that it is “cliché,” “trite,” or “sappy,” which is not a gesture that commonly accompanies celebrations of music couched in the language of religion (“divine,” “miraculous,” “angelic”) or their concomitant aesthetic categories (the sublime, the ineffable). Which is to say that something of Otto’s hierarchy persists even as talkers insist on the incomparable “truth” of the term “magic” when it comes to expressing their experiences of music.

Although religion certainly plays a sizable role in how music is discussed today, there is much evidence that suggests magic is a more dominant musical framework. For example, the hashtag #musicismagic and its variations (for example, #musicismagical) currently have about 25,000 mentions on Instagram while #musicisreligion has about 1,500. Additionally, people often proclaim an attraction to religious music on the basis of magic rather than religion:

“Learning [the Christian hymn “When Peace Like a River” translated into Samoan]. I’m not religious, but I know the power of music & the magic of singing with others.”²⁴

“Music is magic. I’m not religious but I’d get goosebumps whenever my choir sang this one arrangement of Ave Maria.”²⁵

Today, even religious music is commonly experienced as magic.

²³ Amanda (@arnstroth), Twitter, posted on Sep 3, 2015, <https://twitter.com/amstroth/status/639666408062750721>.

²⁴ AWA (@Awa_1), Twitter, posted on Oct 2, 2017, https://twitter.com/Awa_1/status/914759135111012357.

²⁵ Ocean’s K8 (@metakate), Twitter, posted on Sep 18, 2015, <https://twitter.com/metakate/status/645055725874515968>.

Chapter Summaries: Talking About Musical Magic, Small and Large

Chapter 1 (“The Only Real Magic”: Charting Music’s Modernist Ordinary”) maps an explosion of words of magic (“magic,” “enchanting,” “bewitching”) in everyday/ordinary music discourse from about 1900 to the present and seeks to understand the pervasive fantasy of music behind the claim that music is “the only real magic.” As noted above, it does this by putting two archives into conversation: a diverse collection of everyday talk of music; and a coeval assortment of “disenchantment” narratives that have wrestled with the fracturing of collectivity in liberal capitalist “modernity” through magic. The dialogue between these archives makes manifest a prevailing and persistent “modernist” sensibility, in which music is configured as one of magic’s remaining abodes, proffering listeners not only enjoyable but therapeutic forms of affective connection that are felt to be increasingly scarce or tenuous outside music. While magic is often relegated to an extraordinary, Edenic elsewhere diametrically opposed to domains for which terms like “ordinary” and “everyday” are felicitous designations, this chapter shows magic to be the cornerstone of music’s modernist ordinary.

After mapping music’s modernist ordinary, the dissertation proceeds to two case studies, which aim not only to further elaborate music’s configuration as “the only real magic” and, relatedly, Weber’s theory of magic’s persistence (the “pianissimo”) but also to deploy musical magic to shed new light on musical phenomena that have been elided from musicology’s histories. The first case study (Chapter 2: “Miniature Magic”) tells the untold story of the recital encore, which is largely missing from musicological accounts of the solo concert. Even though the encore may seem ancillary to the main event of the printed program, it is often lauded as the locus of the recital’s “real” magic—as its “only

real magic”—while the program is increasingly characterized as a disenchanting opening act. The chapter traces the emergence of this peculiar inversion back to the turn of the twentieth century, when the celebrity piano virtuoso Ignacy Jan Paderewski’s “magical” encores were widely celebrated as the highpoint of his US concerts. I will suggest that the localization of the recital’s “real” magic in the encore rather than in the program was part of a fundamental change in the recital’s structure that occurred during Paderewski’s career: the consolidation of two distinct recital spaces, which I call program space and encore space, undergirded by divergent repertoires, rituals, and ideologies and yielding disparate affective experiences. The chapter explores the discourses that have shaped the affective contours of these spaces and argues that from the early twentieth century to the present the encore has been mediated in such ways that encore space has come to resemble the Weberian “pianissimo,” offering subjects who can afford the price of admission an intimate sociality reminiscent of the magic elaborated in modernist disenchantment narratives.

My other case study (Chapter 3: “Mass Magic”) explores a pervasive attraction to national anthems that is rationalized not through patriotism or nationalism but through magic. This is not to deny that many people are attracted to national anthems for strongly nationalistic reasons, just as many people are no doubt attracted to religious music for religious reasons. Rather, this chapter argues that claims of magic in the oddly widespread celebrations of national anthems that disavow patriotism and nationalism as prime motivations of their praise can be understood as pointing to a desire for a sense of political community that is felt to be unavailable through conventional means, such as the nation. In short, I contend that many people love national anthems because they offer the

promise of a particular form of conjuncture that the nation does not provide. I make my case by attending to the national anthem as one of the only occasions in modernity for public massed singing. I show that the massed singing of national anthems emerged in American baseball stadiums around the same time that Paderewski was enchanting American concertgoers with his encores. By reading claims of magic in everyday accounts of massed singing in conjunction with early twentieth-century theories of mass phenomena, I suggest that national anthems provide a sense of unison or oneness that is more or less homologous to what the liberal cosmopolitan political sphere purports to offer. This raises the question: if musical magic points to a wish for forms of relationality felt to be largely missing from domains of life outside music, to what extent does it fulfill this wish?

The dissertation concludes with a short “curtain call,” which returns to an underexplored tension in Adorno’s philosophy of music: his great skepticism of music’s magic and his ardent devotion to it. His insistence on applying magic to avant-garde music despite his misgivings about it in the context of consoling entertainment speaks to the extent to which it has been cathected by subjects of liberal capitalist modernities while also pointing to a narrowing of the repertory of ameliorative affective relationalities that these subjects have had at their disposal.

My dissertation builds on work by scholars like Ruth Solie that has investigated what “ordinary” and “casual” texts about music reveal about aspects of musical experience that “go without saying” in “formal” and “professional” contexts.²⁶ It does this by mining not only newspaper concert reviews, liner notes, and the like but also the

²⁶ Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1–2.

almost entirely overlooked repositories of ordinary/everyday music discourse on Twitter, Facebook, and other social media. This excavation brings into relief a number of underscrutinized cultural tropes about music and, in turn, sheds new light on the consolidation of music's power over the course of the last century. It also makes palpable people's daily struggles in this long moment—that is, the structural conditions that have made music such a potent source of amelioration in the first place—as well as the inspiring and saddening ways they have tried to manage them.

CHAPTER 1

“The Only Real Magic”: Charting Music’s Modernist Ordinary

Words are no more ornaments of thought than tears are ornaments of sadness or joy.

—Stanley Cavell¹

For me, music is this magic acoustic element that makes perfectly rational people who have come to realize the unalterable fact that they are truly alone in the world somehow feel for fleeting moments that maybe they’re not alone after all.

—Billy Joel²

Words of magic have been an inconspicuous hallmark of music discourse in liberal capitalist cultures since the turn of the twentieth century, softly reverberating through all manner of their everyday music talk, from newspaper reviews and liner notes to Reddit posts and YouTube comments. For instance, a 2011 blogpost lauds the “spine-tingling magic” of Beyoncé’s “world-class vibrato and trademark runs.”³ A recent tweet by an English music therapist describes a “real magic moment at work”: “shivers, tingles, can’t describe it, but the power of music to connect us never ceases to amaze me.”⁴ A 1976 obituary in the *Chicago Tribune*, a paper that has shown a healthy (but not atypical) predilection for the language of magic over the last century, extols the soprano Lotte

¹ Stanley Cavell, “The Philosopher in American Life (Toward Thoreau and Emerson),” in *In the Quest of the Ordinary: Lines of Skepticism and Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 23.

² Quoted in Mickey Hart, *Spirit into Sound: The Magic of Music* (Novato, CA: Grateful Dead Books, 1999), 126.

³ “Dueling Divas: ‘Star Spangled Banner’ Sing Off!,” *Diva Devotee*, Jul 4, 2011, <http://www.divadevotee.com/2011/07/duelling-divas-star-spangled-banner.html>.

⁴ Jacqui Shankly (@Moonbeamsplay), Twitter, posted Mar 27, 2014, <https://twitter.com/Moonbeamsplay/status/449309178621067264>.

Lehmann’s “magical gift of communication”—how “she becomes one with the music,” rendering her audience “spellbound.”⁵ Movies like *Music is Magic* (1935) and *There’s Magic in Music* (1941) celebrate music’s redemptive power, its promise to emancipate listeners from whatever is miring their lives. A popular series of piano miniatures called *The Magic of Music* aims to, in the words of its author, inspire “that special feeling which occurs when a certain rhythm or a colorful harmony touches the heart of the player.”⁶ A

⁵ Claudia Cassidy, “The Lehmann Magic Recalled,” *Chicago Tribune*, Sep 2, 1976. The *Chicago Tribune* (previously the *Chicago Daily Tribune*) has frequently employed the language of magic in its concert reviews, including the following (just a small taste!) printed between 1924 and 2009: Edward Moore, “Heifetz’ Magic Fiddle Shows Mastery of Art,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar 24, 1924; “New Life Put into Old Tunes of ‘Traviata,’ Lucrezia Bori Supplies Most of Magic,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jul 29, 1926; Edward Moore, “Segovia with Guitar Leads Sunday Music,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb 17, 1930; “Horowitz and Stock Attain Fresh Laurels,” Apr 11, 1931; Claudia Cassidy, “Stravinsky and Symphony Work Musical Magic at U. Of C.,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 22, 1944; Claudia Cassidy, “Heifetz and Minneapolis Symphony Spin a Magic Web,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 29, 1945; Claudia Cassidy, “Burl Ives Makes Music Magic and That Is Best of the Guild’s ‘Sing Out, Sweet Land!’” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 2, 1945; Claudia Cassidy, “Myra Hess’ Superb Performance Unlocks Inner to Citadel of Music,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 5, 1946; Claudia Cassidy, “Roland Hayes Retreats to His Last and Possibly His Most Potent Citadel of Music,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 26, 1947; Claudia Cassidy, “Bruno Walter Wields Magic and a Bewitched Orchestra Plays a Superb Concert,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 11, 1947; Claudia Cassidy, “Casals Concert Brilliant in Its Purest Form,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jul 22, 1951; Claudia Cassidy, “Fritz Reiner and His Magic Baton,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 11, 1953; Claudia Cassidy, “Segovia and That Old Magic—If the Restless Ones Let You Hear It,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 2, 1956; Claudia Cassidy, “Made Magic Real,” *Chicago Tribune*, Nov 27, 1963; John von Rhein, “Bartok Gets Slatkin’s Magic Touch,” *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 28, 1978; John von Rhein, “Soloist’s String Breaks, But His Magic Doesn’t,” *Chicago Tribune*, Jul 26, 1980; John von Rhein, “Ormandy Magic Pulls ‘His’ Sound Out of CSO,” Jan 8, 1981; John von Rhein, “Abbado Makes Magic with Mahler Seventh,” *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 7, 1984; John von Rhein, “Bernstein and Viennese Make Magic,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 27, 1984; John von Rhein, “Soviet Conductor Displays a Magic Touch,” *Chicago Tribune*, Jul 27, 1987; John von Rhein, “Chicago Symphony Brings Grainger Magic to Grant Park,” *Chicago Tribune*, Jul 16, 1987; John von Rhein, “Leinsdorf Makes CSO Soar with His Magic Chamber Touch,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 17, 1989.; John von Rhein, “Vintage Jazz from Marsalis,” July 9, 1989; John von Rhein, “Visiting Abbado Works His Magic on Tchaikovsky,” *Chicago Tribune*, Mar 15, 1991; John von Rhein, “For the Record, Perlman, Barenboim, CSO Make Magic,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 1993; John von Rhein, “Chailly Again Casts a Magic Spell on CSO in Orchestra Hall Debut,” *Chicago Tribune*, Mar 18, 1994; John von Rhein, “Haitink Works His Low-Key Magic Again,” *Chicago Tribune*, Nov 7, 2009. NB: as we will see, major metropolitan dailies from all over the world have deployed words of magic in their music reviews, some with similar frequency.

⁶ Dennis Alexander, “Foreword,” in *The Magic of Music*, Book 1 (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Music, 1998), 1.

1927 article in the *North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* describes how “the magic of the [military] band” makes “the feet of Shanghai . . . tramp in unison.”⁷ MusoMagic, a corporate team-building workshop, claims it uses “the magic of song”—“one of the most powerful and universal creative mediums”—to “unif[y] people across age, culture, and distance.”⁸ A Facebook community page called “Music is Magic” rhymes, “Music speaks what cannot be expressed, soothes the mind and gives it rest; heals the heart and makes it whole, flows from heaven to the soul.”⁹ And one of the more than 8,000 Instagram posts hailing from all over the world that bear the hashtag #musicmagic includes this heartrending caption about music’s ameliorative capacities amid conditions of scarcity impeding life’s reproduction: “I went to a @thebandmosaic show and one of the songs really resonated with me and even tho i have completely isolated myself and lost my job and have been basically starving the past couple weeks while only eating beans and just giving into depression about to give up, i feel 5% better lol. Im still in the same life situation and i wanna die but i just feel a little better. #musicmagic.”¹⁰

The literary historian Simon During has noted an explosion of the language of magic (“magic,” “enchanting,” “bewitching”) in “popular culture” around 1900, whereas

⁷ “The Magic of the Band,” *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, Apr 30, 1927.

⁸ “About MusoMagic,” *MusoMagic*, accessed Sep 12, 2017, <http://musomagic.com>.

⁹ “Music is Magic,” Facebook, accessed Nov 17, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/MusicIsMagico/>.

¹⁰ cactusbubbe, Instagram, posted Jun 24, 2017, now deleted. For the sake of specificity and manageability, this dissertation focuses on Anglophone music discourse, including examples from Australia, Canada, England, India, Ireland, Israel, Malawi, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan and the US. However, as suggested by even a casual Google or Twitter search for the German *Musik ist (ein/der) Zauber* (“music is magic”) and by the many non-Western countries represented in the previous sentence, the ubiquity of “magic” in celebrations of music extends beyond both the English-speaking world and “the West” and, as will be shown below, might be most accurately described as characteristic of global “modern” liberal-capitalist culture.

the century before, talk of art and magic in the West was affiliated with a more modest circle of “avant-garde” artists and intellectuals turning away from the apostasies of the Enlightenment.¹¹ As the bewilderingly rich inventory above suggests, perhaps no tributary of “popular culture” is now teeming with more words of magic than everyday conversations about music. After all, while associations of magic with many different types of mass media have been common since the early days of critical theory, music—celebrated since the late nineteenth century as the condition toward which “all art constantly aspires,” “the most spiritual of the arts,” “the art of arts,” intrinsically ethereal and imbued with “magical suggestiveness”—is often lauded as “the strongest form of magic” (an encomium the Twittersphere has surprisingly attributed to the provocative goth rocker Marilyn Manson).¹² This leads to the first of three mysteries: in light of During’s observation, what does the surge and pervasiveness of words of magic in everyday music discourse from 1900 to the present reveal about how music has been experienced in this period? What are we to make of the fact that music commentators after 1900, many of whom see their lives as largely bereft of magic, so frequently turn to the language of magic to celebrate their musical experiences?

¹¹ Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 39–42, 23.

¹² Associations between cinema and magic are particularly common, e.g., Rachel O. Moore, *Savage Theory: Cinema as Modern Magic* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Colin Williamson, *Hidden in Plain Sight: An Archeology of Magic and the Cinema* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015). For a more comprehensive account of mass media and magic, see William Mazzarella, *The Mana of Mass Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). The quotes are from Walter Pater, “The School of Giorgione,” in *Essays on Literature and Art*, ed. Jennifer Uglow (London: Dent, 1973 [1877]), 51; Charles M. Diserens and Harry Fine, *A Psychology of Music: The Influence of Music on Behavior* (Cincinnati: Authors for the College of Music, 1939); Joseph Conrad, “Preface,” in *The N***** of the Narcissus* (New York: Doubleday, 1914 [1897]), 13. A Twitter search for “music is the strongest form of magic” reveals 100s of tweets attributing the quote to Manson.

Some scholars have portrayed “magic” as a highly subjective, almost private word—a term meaning something different to every individual and thus bearing no shared significance.¹³ Others have assigned it a purely syntactic function, interpreting it as a placeholder with “zero symbolic value” discharged in moments of tongue-tied befuddlement (when something is very difficult and thus inaccessible to a speaker).¹⁴ However, words of magic are also commonly said to convey something essential about the experience of music that cannot be communicated otherwise. Indeed, many lay listeners regard “magic” as the “one” or “only” word through which their musical experiences can be expressed.¹⁵ Considering the hashtag #musicismagic currently has about 20,000 mentions on Instagram while #musicissublime has none, it would seem that philosophy’s traditional aesthetic categories are not (or are perhaps no longer) felt to be the principal means of fulfilling this task (“love” is a possible substitute for “magic” that we will explore later).¹⁶ This brings me to a second but related mystery: If, as listeners

¹³ R.G. Collingwood, “Art as Magic,” in *Principles of Art* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938), 57; Bernd-Christian Otto and Michael Stausberg, “Introduction,” in *Defining Magic: A Reader*, ed., Otto and Strausberg (London: Routledge, 2013) especially, 1–3, 7, and 10–11.

¹⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, trans. Felicity Baker (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 63; Victor Kennedy, *Strange Brew: Metaphors of Magic and Science in Rock Music* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 4, 17, and 19. This suturing of magic to befuddlement calls to mind a library of accounts by Europe’s scientists that define magic as the spurious other of what is sometimes called “the modern scientific outlook”—a marker of impairment and inferiority as well as a threat to “civilized” society that must be quarantined at its benighted margins. E.g., Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871); James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

¹⁵ For example: “The only word that can kind of describe music would be magic! How else does one explain the power it has.” Abijah Gupta (@AbijahGupta), Twitter, Aug 10, 2015, <https://twitter.com/AbijahGupta/status/630831089607573504>.

¹⁶ Interestingly, a Google Books Ngram search for “magic” and “sublime” between 1800 and 2018 shows an increase in “magic” inversely proportional to a decrease in “sublime.” https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=magic%2Csublime&year_start=1800&year_end=2018&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cmagic%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Csublime%3B%2Cc0. By highlighting this trend, I am not suggesting there are no

contend, words of magic convey something essential about musical experience, then what exactly do they convey? Might their individual significations adumbrate some *sensus communis*?

Third and final mystery: On the opening page of *Music in Renaissance Magic*, Gary Tomlinson informs his readers of how infrequently the apparently erstwhile phenomenon of magic rears its head in their world: “We *still* hear, *now and then*, talk of the “magic of music”” (italics mine).¹⁷ I understand the adverb “still” to indicate Tomlinson’s sense of this talk’s anteriority (perhaps his sense of its Romantic flavor) and the adverbial phrase “now and then” to bespeak his apprehension that it is only occasionally heard in the book’s present of 1993. If one accepts this reading and During’s evidence of the proliferation of claims of musical magic since 1900, then Tomlinson’s opening musing can only be regarded as inaccurate. How might one explain that a scholar as discerning as Gary Tomlinson missed the staggering abundance of “magic” in music discourse?

My approach to answering this three-fold mystery puts two contemporaneous archives into conversation: first, a diverse collection of everyday music discourse produced from the turn of the twentieth century to the present, whose various component media, from newspaper reviews to Yahoo! Answers posts, have circulated and continue

commonalities between everyday music discourse’s words of magic and traditional aesthetic categories. In fact, listeners sometimes cycle through a bunch of both in the same claim, suggesting they are bordering concepts, e.g., “You know when youre [sic] listening to something. And the music is very touching, very charming, very magnificent...and you feel so sublime, so enchanted, so amazed...What is that? I get so elevated from music sometimes. I get chills and goosebumps. Or I feel so impressed amazed [sic] and astonished.” “What’s it called when Music elevates you and you get goose-bumps and chills?,” *Yahoo! Answers*, last modified May 26, 2012, <https://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20120526091700AAkQFXg>.

¹⁷ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1.

to circulate in disparate social worlds, documenting many different scenarios in which subjects of liberal capitalist cultures use the word “magic” to talk about music; and second, a coeval assortment of Weberian “disenchantment” narratives that have wrestled with the fracturing of collectivity in “modernity” through Neoplatonic and “primitive” conceptions of magic. To briefly elaborate, around 1900 quickly expanding metropolitan newspapers—“the everyday transcribed,” as Maurice Blanchot once called such papers—began to employ one or more full-time music critics, giving them far more column space than they ever had before.¹⁸ Many of these critics couched their judgments in various forms related to the new genre of the personal essay, in which, according to Virginia Woolf, know-nothing music critics, spurred by growing access to education and mass printing, disseminated their “individual likes” in the language of magic to homes across the world.¹⁹ In other words, the turn of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of what might be termed, in the parlance of so-called ordinary language philosophy, ordinary or everyday music discourse.²⁰ Indeed, the roots of much of the social media cited above can be found here, in the emergence of mass-mediated publics of (mostly) non-elite

¹⁸ Maurice Blanchot, “Everyday Speech,” trans. Susan Hanson, *Yale French Studies* 73 (1987): 18; Oscar Thompson, “An American School of Criticism: The Legacy of Left by W.J. Henderson, Richard Aldrich and their Colleagues of the Old Guard,” *Musical Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Oct 1937): 428–439; Edward G. Lueders, “Music Criticism in America,” *American Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1951): 142–151; Warren Storey Smith, “Four Distinguished American Music Critics,” *Musical America*, Feb 15, 1954.

¹⁹ Virginia Woolf, “The Decay of Essay-Writing,” in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, ed. Andrew McNeillie (New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1986 [1905]), 24–27. Here is a sample of newspaper reviews written around 1900 that celebrate musical performances using words of magic: “Remenyi Asserts His Sway: A Washington Audience Again Hears His Magic Playing,” *Washington Post*, Mar 9, 1893; “The Magic Fiddler,” *Weekly Irish Times*, Oct 24, 1903; “Reisenauer’s Magic Music,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb 8, 1906; “Magic of Miss Edith Burnham’s Music,” *The Boston Globe*, Aug 14, 1910; “Paderewski Gives a Glowing Recital: Spontaneous Outburst Shows Pole Has Lost None of His Magic Skill,” *New York Tribune*, Mar 8, 1914.

²⁰ I am thinking first and foremost of Stanley Cavell, who, following J.L. Austin and English translators of Ludwig Wittgenstein, uses “everyday” and “ordinary” interchangeably.

listeners united by several commonalities: first, these listeners evidently enjoyed enough education, material resources, and leisure time to write and read about the satisfactions of music; second, they shared a particular experience of music, exceeding any given musical event or object, that had to do with its unique effects on the sensorium and the attendant structural processes through and in which these effects came to be inculcated and articulated.

Along with changes in the ways people felt and talked about music, the turn of the twentieth century also witnessed an “occult revival” in Europe and the US (especially among the experimental artists known as modernists)²¹; as well as the rise of magic as a central object of study in the new academic disciplines of the social sciences.²² Amid this vogue for magic, in 1918, the sociologist Max Weber put forward his enduring “disenchantment” narrative, variations of which have been told by Theodor Adorno, Hannah Arendt, Starhawk, Charles Taylor, and many others over the last century.²³

²¹ For example, Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004); Leigh Wilson, *Modernism and Magic: Experiments with Spiritualism, Theosophy, and the Occult* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

²² For example, Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871); Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (London: Routledge Classics, 2001 [1902]); Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995 [1912]); James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

²³ Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), esp. 139 and 155; Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 1, “The Concept of Enlightenment”; Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), e.g., 53–54, 58–59; Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998 [1958]), especially Chapter 2, “The Public and the Private Realm”; Starhawk, *Dreaming in the Dark: Magic, Sex, and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982); Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1991). For a particularly passionate retelling of Weber’s narrative, see Morris Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

According to this influential narrative, we (the subjects of liberal capitalist “modernity,” including those for whom life’s bare necessities are not always certain) once lived in a magic world where everything was sensuously “welded” together by virtue of the fact that an omnipresent, supernatural force—pneuma, ether, spirit, mana—suffused all things, intimately linking them into a chain of occult correspondences in which they all ineluctably participated. But thanks to the alienating mechanisms of liberal capitalist sociality, we have come to live in a magicless world where things feel oppressively disconnected. Nonetheless, magic persists in the “intimate” and “personal” realm of the aesthetic—in *pianissimo*,” as Weber described this hushed domain of affective convergences—and especially in, at least according to some disenchantment narratives, music. After all, “disenchantment” literally means songlessness, a privation that of course only music can assuage.²⁴

The contemporaneity of my two archives—their joint emergence around 1900 and persistence from the heyday of industrial capitalism through the neoliberal present—offers the possibility of understanding claims of musical magic with some historical specificity. Talk of music often contains universalizing gestures, especially when magic is part of the discussion. Take the music historian Joscelyn Godwin, from the preface of his sourcebook on “music, mysticism, and magic”: “At the higher levels of music little changes: it is always the same vehicle for voyages to another world, the same revelation of divine and cosmic laws, the same powerful tool for self-transformation, as it was in

²⁴ Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” 155; Max Weber, “Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions,” in *From Max Weber*, 342; Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003).

ancient and even prehistoric times.”²⁵ As we will see, subjects in the extended historical moment I am tracking here have good reasons for leaning on fantasies like Godwin’s, which can provide a sense of continuity and a comforting “you are not alone.” Nonetheless, this chapter endeavors to grasp the apparent explosion and continued profusion of claims of musical magic after 1900 in relation to their particular time and place.²⁶

One might believe my two archives incompatible, perhaps expecting a band of thinkers critical of capitalism to flatly reject everyday music discourse’s “magic,” a term instrumentalized by the likes of Disney and McDonald’s and carrying the strong scent of fetishization and reification. However, even Adorno, famous for his contempt of all things popular, wrote that to speak of “the magic of art” is “trite” and “cliché” but also sort of “true,” at least with respect to the autonomous work. Adorno believed that the autonomous artwork’s origins in “enchantment” (*Zauber* in the original German) would never be destroyed by the “disenchantment of the world” and, furthermore, that this enchantment held the power to break the “spell” (also *Zauber* in the original) that capitalism cast by “the overwhelming force of its spectacle and of commodity fetishism.”²⁷ Put differently, Adorno did not dismiss musical magic outright but instead

²⁵ Jocelyn Godwin, “Preface and Acknowledgements,” in *Music, Magic, and Mysticism: A Sourcebook*, ed. Jocelyn Godwin (New York: Arkana, 1987), ix.

²⁶ As I stated in the introduction, this is not to suggest that talk of music’s occult power (and, more specifically, its “magic”) appeared out of the blue around 1900. In fact, one interested in reproducing Godwin’s suprahistorical account could construct an unbroken filiation of such talk in the Western tradition extending from the myths of Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion to eighteenth-century accounts of opera seria’s magical effects on listeners and culminating with tweeters’ recent asseverations about music’s magic. On the language of magic in reports of opera seria, see Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 21–34 and 69–83.

²⁷ Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 53–54, 58–59.

distinguished between true/good magic and false/bad magic, that is, between the resistant magic of the autonomous work (of which Schoenberg's free atonal pieces were his prime musical exemplar) and the sort of disingenuous, consoling pleasure or "sensuous magic" proffered by the culture industry so that the exploited might forget about their suffering long enough to endure more.²⁸ Notwithstanding Adorno's ethical commitment to a separate domain of existence where one might cultivate resistance to the violence of capitalism, my chapter does not adjudicate between authentic and spurious musical magic, which even in the hands of scrupulous dialecticians can lead to problematic binarisms (high versus low, emancipatory versus manipulative) that smack of the white patriarchal denigration of the feminized and racialized body.²⁹ Instead of judging good musical magic from bad, this essay seeks to understand the widespread perception that the whole of music is, in words often attributed to the late Tom Petty, "the only real magic" and, furthermore, to grasp what draws listeners back to this apprehension even if it harms them in the way Adorno suggests.³⁰

²⁸ Theodor W. Adorno, "On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening," in *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 294 and 295; Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 109, 115, 116.

²⁹ I am thinking first and foremost of Adorno, "On Popular Music," in *Essays on Music*, ed. R. Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 437–69.

³⁰ E.g., Neil McCormick, "Tom Petty: A Rock Star for the Ages," *The Telegraph*, Jun 16, 2012; "Tom Petty On Cheap Speakers and George Harrison," NPR, *All Things Considered*, Aug 4, 2014; Greg Not, "Tom Petty, Heartbreakers Frontman, who Sang "Breakdown," "Free Fallin" and Other Hits, Dies at 66," Oct 3, 2017; Greg Knot, "Tom Petty, Heartbreakers Frontman, who Sang 'Breakdown,' 'Free Fallin' and Other Hits, Dies at 66," *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 3, 2017; "Music Legend Tom Petty Dies," Facebook, posted by CNN, Oct 3, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/cnn/videos/10157397693326509/>. This phrase has also been attributed to Quincy Jones. "The Man who Recorded 'Thriller' Speaks to Singers," *Voice Council*, Nov 9, 2014, <http://www.voicecouncil.com/the-man-who-recorded-thriller-speaks-to-singers/>. Note, however, that this language and the fantasy to which it points precede Petty's specific remarks, e.g., Cassidy, "Made Magic Real," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov 27, 1963.

The talkers in my archives sometimes say that music is like magic, but they also employ a number of collocations that complicate this analogical relationship, such as the curiously pervasive “music magic” (also hyphenated “music-magic”) and “musical magic.”³¹ These dyads imply that music is not just like magic but that it *is* magic, a contention that, as previously noted, is often explicitly stated. Many commentators go a step beyond “music is magic,” saying that music is this world’s “only magic” or its “only real [true, pure, actual] magic.” They regard music and magic as equivalent (or nearly equivalent) terms, noting that only two letters distinguish them and that autocorrect frequently changes one into the other.³²

In order to better understand this fantasy, I explore a set of recurring themes orbiting around “magic” in the aforementioned archives—connection, healing, transportation, transformation, and utopia. These themes point to something shared within the archives’ disparate individual accounts: a collective sense of what life in the historical moment under consideration has felt like in relation to music.³³ That is to say, they suggest one possible solution to the first two mysteries of this chapter’s tripartite puzzle: the preponderance of magic in everyday music discourse betokens a persistent “modernist” sensibility in which music is experienced as one of magic’s remaining outposts, proffering listeners forms of connection felt to be distressingly scarce or

³¹ For example, Isabel Morse Jones, “Friedman Return to Triumph: Master-Pianist Holds Large Audience in Spell Created by His Music-Magic,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 10, 1927; Don Heckman, “Zappa Creates Musical Magic,” *New York Times*, Sep 24, 1972; Taib Shuib, “Music Magic from Piano Duo,” *New Straits Times* [Kuala Lumpur], Sep 16, 1996; Kerry Purcell, “Bandinis to Perform Music Magic,” *Boston Herald*, Feb 15, 2008.

³² For example, Keywii (@Rudedude55), Twitter, posted Aug 7, 2017, <https://twitter.com/Rudedude55/status/894507688746508288>; lokillicious (@LookingClovey), Twitter, posted Jun 12, 2012, <https://twitter.com/LookingClovey/status/212707998215311360>.

³³ I learned this approach from Lauren Berlant, especially her work on the historical present in relation to Raymond Williams and others. See Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), especially 63–69.

tenuous outside musical domains of life. Put more schematically, this chapter argues that while “magic” may seem at first glance like a triviality with no shared meaning, the word typically appears in clusters of tropes central to modernist disenchantment narratives and, as such, can be understood to indicate a collective sense that music is “the only real magic” insofar as it offers uniquely soothing experiences of affective connection—with others, with oneself, with an object or scene, with humanity’s essence. Therefore, the pervasiveness of magic in everyday music discourse can be understood, first of all, as bespeaking an affective inheritance in which the intimacies of magical relationality are felt to be generally scarce; and second, as indicating that people crave these supposedly scarce intimacies and often go to music to find them. That is to say, the omnipresence of magic in everyday music talk is, I argue, a sign that listeners share a craving to share in something, a desire for some mediation that can sustain ameliorative attachment, for something to hold on to that just might become a solidarity with others, for a track to follow. In short, this chapter suggests that magic, to adapt Wittgenstein, expresses modernity’s “wish” for music.³⁴

Magic is traditionally relegated to an extraordinary, Edenic elsewhere diametrically opposed to domains for which terms like “ordinary” and “everyday” are felicitous designations.³⁵ However, my argument destabilizes this opposition, revealing magic to be, in fact, utterly ordinary in two related senses. First, as previously suggested,

³⁴ Ludwig Wittgenstein, “Remarks on Frazer’s *Golden Bough*,” in *Philosophical Occasions 1912–1951*, ed. James C. Klagge and Alfred Nordmann (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1993), 125.

³⁵ Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 37–39; Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 23; Penelope Gouk, Review of *Music in Renaissance Magic* by Gary Tomlinson, *Early Music History*, 13 (1994): 294.

musical magic resides in the realm of existence constituted in what analytic philosophers call ordinary or everyday language. This claim furnishes one explanation for Gary Tomlinson's enigmatic opener: perhaps Tomlinson may have missed the profusion of magic in music discourse because musical magic in its contemporary form lies largely outside the sphere of academic music studies.³⁶ Which is to say, he may not have missed it at all, if the pronoun "we" in "we still hear, now and then, talk of the magic of music" is understood as referring solely to present-day musicologists, for whom "magic" is indeed a seldom-used term. One might say that musical magic is a "popular" phenomenon, which is not to insinuate that it exists mainly in, as the scholar of music education Alexandra Kertz-Welzel recently suggested, talk of music conventionally taxonomized as popular (as opposed to, say, classical). Rather, it is to suggest that it resides primarily in, to mention a few concepts Stanley Cavell sees as underwriting the sense of the ordinary he derives from J. L. Austin and Ludwig Wittgenstein, the

³⁶ As I stated in my introduction, a number of musicologists have examined the imbrications of music and magic in early modern contexts, e.g., Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 21–34 and 69–83. A few have also explored music's relation to magic in the context of modernity, e.g., Daniel K.L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); James Currie, *Music and the Politics of Negation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012). Note, however, that Chua sees musical magic (or, rather, musical "enchantment," to use a word to which academics seem far less allergic) as part of a reactionary Romantic fantasy that does not belong in modern music discourse, a stance that, as Currie states, "concur[s] with the predominant musicological positions within the academy" (129). Even a 2005 special issue of the journal *Popular Music* devoted to "magic moments" in music neglects to ever address magic per se, invoking a number of traditional aesthetic concepts without explaining what these concepts have to do with the notion of magic. When music commentators say "magic," this omission suggests, they must really mean something else, apparently an academically sanctioned concept like wonder or the ineffable. "These Magic Moments," ed. Eric Weisbard, special issue, *Popular Music* 25, no. 3 (Oct 2005).

“common,” “familiar,” “near,” “low” talk of lay listeners (including newspaper reviews and other forms of criticism/journalism written for non-professionals).³⁷

This first claim suggests that “magic” describes the ordinary or usual (rather than exceptional) perception of music in the long moment I am exploring. In other words, many listeners in my archives experience music first and foremost as magic. For example, when the British radio station Classic FM recently asked its 1.5 million Facebook followers, “What’s the one word that sums up music for you?” “Magic” was among the top answers.³⁸ Of course this does not mean that music is not also sometimes irritating, annoying, and, as we have learned from America’s War on Terror, torturous.³⁹ Instead, one might say that magic is a hegemonic ideology—a prevailing structuring framework for apprehending music in the time and place under consideration in this essay, holding together a cluster of dominant fantasies that even tacitly power academic writing about music.⁴⁰

Second, one crucial way of understanding the widespread perception that magic is generally scarce is that it exists in the flow of ordinary existence, where, in Lauren

³⁷ Alexandra Kertz-Welzel, “The “Magic” of Music: Archaic Dreams in Romantic Aesthetics and an Education in Aesthetics,” *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 13, no.1 (Spring, 2005): 78. Stanley Cavell, “The Philosopher in American Life (Toward Thoreau and Emerson),” in *In the Quest of the Ordinary: Lines of Skepticism and Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 4. For more on the quotidian’s “non-intellectual” and “non-philosophical” character, see Rita Felski, “The Invention of Everyday Life,” *Cool Moves* 39 (Winter 1999): 16–17.

³⁸ Classic FM, Facebook, posted Jan 10, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/ClassicFM/posts/10156234744564260>.

³⁹ Marie Thompson, “To Soothe or Remove? Affect, Revanchism and the Weaponized Use of Classical Music,” *Communication and the Public* 2, no. 4: 272–283.

⁴⁰ For example, academics often celebrate music for its power to establish connections in the face of modern society’s centrifugal forces, its power to provide, in Victor Zuckerkandl’s words, “the shortest, least arduous, perhaps even the most natural solvent of artificial boundaries between the self and others.” Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician*, trans. Robert Guterman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 51. Also see Christopher Small on musicking, especially Christopher Small, “Prologue: Misunderstanding and Reunderstanding,” in *Music and Solidarity: Questions of Universality, Consciousness, and Connection*, ed. Felicity Laurence and Olivier Urbain (New York: Routledge, 2017 [2011]), x–xi, xvii.

Berlant's and Kathleen Stewart's related accounts of ordinariness, what is encountered is not preserved by events but passed through as it resonates into atmosphere.⁴¹ In other words, the forms of connectedness to which musical magic points often pass by unnoticed because they are not captured by their own events. As such, a magical experience of music can be understood as an evental displacement within the atmosphere of ordinary action that captures and extends these forms of connectedness. Thus, magic is not exactly the ordinary's other but rather a transformative impulse embedded within it, constituting the very core of music's modernist ordinary.

Disenchanted Magic

In his 1918 lecture "Science as a Vocation," Max Weber made several now-famous proclamations about "the disenchantment the world," including:

The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the disenchantment of the world. Precisely the most sublime values have retreated from public life into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human contact. It is not accidental that our greatest art is intimate and not monumental, nor is it accidental that today only within the smallest and intimate circles, in personal human situations, in *pianissimo*, that something is pulsating that corresponds to the prophetic *pneuma*, which in former times swept through great communities like a firebrand, welding them together.⁴²

This oft-quoted passage subtly exposes a central feature of the disenchantment with which Weber and his heirs associated the foundational institutions of modern society: alienation. Disenchantment has been linked to ennui and malaise, but here Weber aligns

⁴¹ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), especially 63–69; Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁴² Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber*, 155.

it with unweldedness, that is, disjuncture or disconnectedness.⁴³ To be sure, this mood suffuses much of Weber's writing about modernity, from his account of the attrition of shared values and meaning wrought by the triumph of science's relativistic agnosticism over religion's "final answers" to his vivid, machine-like renderings of rational bureaucratic capitalism—an "unbrotherly" system purged of any sympathetic impulse that might escape calculation, managed by "detached" specialists acting "without regard for persons," "without hate and therefore without love."⁴⁴

This "disenchantment of the world" passage also provides hints of how Weber viewed magic. Pneuma is a concept that was central to magical thinking in the West from classical antiquity through the Renaissance. It refers to a supernatural force like ether or spirit that was once believed to pervade everything in the cosmos, binding it together into a harmonic (musical) whole and establishing occult sympathies between even its most distant elements (a "musical" whole to the extent that the cosmos were believed to be euphoniously arranged such that the concentric spheres supposedly bearing the heavens produced an inaudible music). For many theorists of magic in the West, such as the third-century Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus, magic spells were thought to function through these sympathies.⁴⁵ Which is to say that for millennia magic has meant the actualization of latent sympathies, the bridging of spatial distances between and among objects, the making palpable of connections between things.

⁴³ On disenchantment and ennui/malaise, see Fredric Jameson, "The Vanishing Mediator: Narrative Structure in Max Weber," *New German Critique*, 1 (Winter, 1973): 58–60; Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1991), 3.

⁴⁴ Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 148–153; Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber*, 215–16; Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in *From Max Weber*, 331 and 334; Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 181–82.

⁴⁵ Plotinus, *Enneads*, 4.4.40, trans. Arthur Hilary Armstrong (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 261.

In particular, magic has long been associated with love, especially romantic love, which is often described as the apotheosis of human connection—a “nonrational” attraction at the height of which “the boundary between ego and object threatens to melt away” and the lover declares “‘I’ and ‘you’ are one.”⁴⁶ For example, the Renaissance occult scientists Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno equated eros with magic, both means of spiritual manipulation or seduction through which the lover/magician could bind himself to others by altering his imagination and transmitting these changes to his objects of manipulation by virtue of the law of universal pneumatic sympathy.⁴⁷ As we will see, this association with eros is common in everyday music discourse, where the terms “magic,” “love,” and “eargasm” can appear in close proximity: “Aaahhh...This musical beginning of ‘where the streets have no name’ ...I love it so much. This is eargasm and magic.”⁴⁸

In the years since Weber’s disenchantment lecture, modernist theories of magic have proliferated and continually returned to the concept of sympathy and the related idea of participation. At the turn of the twentieth century, around the same time Weber made his declaration about modernity’s magiclessness, the fledgling academic discipline of anthropology took “primitive” magic as one of its central objects of investigation, often invoking vaguely Neoplatonic notions of sympathy in its disquisitions. One of the

⁴⁶ On the Romantic rehabilitation of love as a “nonrational” phenomenon in opposition to modern capitalism’s rational abstraction, see Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, trans. Catherine Porter (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 41. The latter quotes are from Freud’s famous discussion of “oceanic” feeling. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1961 [1930]), 13.

⁴⁷ Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1987).

⁴⁸ ProudVivi (@ProudVivi), Twitter, posted Sep 24, 2013, <https://twitter.com/ProudVivi/status/382728302039142400>.

foundational anthropological studies of magic was Sir James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, which eventually reached twelve volumes in its third edition of 1914. *The Golden Bough* traces all magic to the umbrella concept of "sympathetic magic," because the particular cases of magic Frazer pursues, hailing from "a ruder and earlier phase of the human mind," assume that "things act on each other at a distance through a secret sympathy, the impulse being transmitted from one to the other by means of what we may conceive as a kind of invisible ether."⁴⁹

Participation is an adjacent concept influential in early modernist anthropological studies of magic. The concept comes from the ethnologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's discomfitingly ethnocentric *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (1910), translated in 1926 as *How Natives Think*, which contends that "primitive mentality" is governed by the law that all things "mystically" partake of one another in visceral, sensuous ways.⁵⁰ According to Lévy-Bruhl, this law of participation, through which human beings are not sharply delimited from the world, furnishes them with "a direct and intimate contact with the essence of being"—an experience of "ecstasy" outside the realm of "intellectual activity" and beyond anything modernity's "purely positive science" can proffer.⁵¹

The modernist definition of magic in terms of sympathy and participation has hardly waned since the early twentieth century. In 1981, the historian Morris Berman called for the world to be "reenchanted," arguing that some form of the "participating," "sympathetic," or "holistic" consciousness that defined the world before modern

⁴⁹ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 11–12.

⁵⁰ Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, trans. Lilian A. Clare (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 2015), Chapter 2, "The Law of Participation."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 384–385.

“disenchantment” must emerge if humans are to survive.⁵² In 1997, the scholar of Indian philosophy and theology Ariel Glucklich defined magic, largely absent from a “modern world” whose “tools of technology” and “glorification of the ego-centric worldview” discourage interaction, as “the sensory experience of interrelatedness that emerges when individuals develop a unique intimacy with natural and social environments.”⁵³ And in 2009, the literary critics Joshua Landy and Michael T. Saler wrote that the survival of magic in modernity requires that the world be re-imbued with “the promise of... a quasi-mystical union with something larger than oneself.”⁵⁴

As these examples suggest, modernist accounts of magic generally align universal or cosmic sympathy with “premodern,” “ancient,” “primitive,” or “traditional” cosmologies. Such accounts typically grant sympathy access to modernity only via the related realms of moral philosophy and aesthetics. This modernist aestheticization of sympathy, where sympathy undergoes a process of internalization and comes to signify affective connection imbued with the magical sheen of its repudiated cosmic counterpart, can be seen in the commonly omitted twist of Weber’s disenchantment story.⁵⁵

According to Weber, the “sympathy” missing from modernity’s bureaucratically organized social order endures “in *pianissimo*”—in the “personal,” “intimate,” and even taciturn realm of aesthetic experience, in which artworks serve as palladia of magic lived

⁵² Morris Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), e.g., 23 and 131.

⁵³ Ariel Glucklich, *The End of Magic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 112–113, 235.

⁵⁴ Joshua Landy and Michael Saler, “Introduction: The Varieties of Modern Enchantment,” in *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age*, ed. Landy and Saler (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 2.

⁵⁵ On the internalization of sympathy, Seth Lobis, *The Virtue of Sympathy: Magic, Philosophy, and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

as connection.⁵⁶ This twist points to a tension in Weber's writing about modernity's cultural products, such as music and the law. On the one hand, his unfinished 1911 essay *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music* elaborates modern music's rationalization, which is a sort of synecdoche for disenchantment.⁵⁷ On the other, his oeuvre is peppered with claims like that about magic's endurance in the "pianissimo" of aesthetic experience, another example of which is the following from the 1915 essay "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions": "[Art] provides a salvation...from the increasing pressures of theoretical and practical rationalism."⁵⁸

Many readers of Weber reduce him to a descendent of Friedrich Schiller, reading his theory of magic's persistence as Romantic nostalgia for a bygone world.⁵⁹ Weber is of course an heir to the Romantic tradition that equated magic with art. But in addition to Romantic nostalgia, his theory can also be understood as a modernist view of the aesthetic comparable to that of Ernst Bloch, wherein art is held to function not only as a source of phantasmagoric false consciousness but also as a container for the safekeeping

⁵⁶ Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber*, 216; Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber*, 155.

⁵⁷ Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, trans. Don Martindale et al. (New York: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958 [1911]).

⁵⁸ Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in *From Max Weber*, 342.

⁵⁹ Weber's translators put quotation marks around "disenchantment of the world" in their translation of "Science as a Vocation" and wrote in their introduction that "Weber liked to quote Friedrich Schiller's phrase 'disenchantment of the world,'" but they provided no additional evidence to support this claim. Others have argued, again without documentary evidence, that the phrase "Entzauberung der Welt" was borrowed from Schiller's "Die Götter Griechenlands," which speaks of "die entgötterte Natur." However, I have seen nothing in Weber's hand that shows he was thinking specifically of Schiller when he wrote of disenchantment. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, "Introduction: The Man and His Work," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 51; Max Weber, *Wissenschaft also Beruf, Politik als Beruf*, herausgegeben von Wolfgang J. Mommsen und Wolfgang Schlechter in Zusammenarbeit mit igitt Morgenrot (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992), 109.

of a critically inflected wish for intimacy in a time and place structurally antagonistic to it.⁶⁰

Connection

Since around 1900, claims of musical magic have been substantiated via claims of connection, a concept central to the Neoplatonic understanding of magic elaborated in Weberian disenchantment narratives. As noted above, Weber's account of disenchantment aligns modernity's magiclessness with impassive detachment and links "premodern" magic with the "irrational" realm of emotions (the sym-pathetic worldview presumes a world of pathos, after all). A number of Weber's contemporaries sutured magic to emotion in similar ways, including R. G. Collingwood, who emphasized that the basis of all magic is "emotional" rather than "scientific" and, furthermore, that "[the disappearance of magic] in a given society would seem to indicate that...emotional vulnerability has been...overcome by the deliberate cultivation of a thick-skinned or insensitive attitude."⁶¹ Similarly, words of magic in everyday music discourse often suggest a pleasurable, enigmatic, and transfigurative flooding, concentration, or elevation of affect. I use "affect" here because I am describing a structure that can take various experiential shapes, from a subtle thickening of serenity to a motivational "pumping up"

⁶⁰ E.g., Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia*, trans. Anthony A. Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). Bloch's ideas will be discussed in detail below.

⁶¹ Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber*, 216; R. G. Collingwood, "Magic," in *The Philosophy of Enchantment*, ed. David Boucher, Wendy James, and Philip Smallwood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 201, 205–206. Also see, Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Emotions: Outline of a Theory*, trans. Bernard Frechtman (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), e.g., 83–84, 59; Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion," in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1948), 53; William Mazzarella, "Affect: What is it Good for?," in *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization*, ed. Saurabh Dube (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), 291–309.

to sexual arousal to an altogether stronger experience redolent of delight, wonder, and romantic love (but minus the disquieting infinitude most commonly associated in aesthetics with the sublime, the uncanny, ecstasy, and sundry other forms of numinous awe or astonishment).⁶² This experience of affective intensification can feel private (“different for each of us”) and even autobiographical, sometimes plunging a listener into anamnesis (making “a fuzzy memory vivid & real”).⁶³ Much like Weber’s account of magic’s persistence, however, everyday claims of music-magic, even those where a single listener is responding to what they call a “personal” experience, often point to scenes of affective convergence or “connection”:

Part of the E Street Band magic was feeling a personal *connection* to the band/music. Amazing how many people tweeting share that feeling.⁶⁴

The magic of music has helped me *connect* with others showing me that whatever I’m feeling I’m not alone.⁶⁵

If we let ourselves truly *connect* to what we’re singing and the flow of that expression—those are times when true magic happens.⁶⁶

As these examples imply, talk of musical magic points to many different types of connection, for which listeners employ a variety of interrelated terms. These types are related because they are generally described in affective (“precognitive,” “prelinguistic”)

⁶² On the conception of affect as a structure that opens up to a variety of emotional consequences, see Lauren Berlant, “Thinking about Feeling Historical,” *Emotion, Space and Society* 1 (2008): 4–9.

⁶³ Beth Royal, Facebook, posted Nov 11, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/bethmail/posts/1249378451750728>; Ryan Hamilton (@TraitorRyan), Twitter, posted Apr 25, 2013, <https://twitter.com/TraitorRyan/status/327529892373725184>.

⁶⁴ Richard Robbins (@rich1), Twitter, posted Jun 19, 2011, <https://twitter.com/rich1/status/82391799922044928>.

⁶⁵ Your Better Life (@yourbetterlife), Twitter, posted Nov 9, 2013, <https://twitter.com/yourbetterlife/status/399265915185135616>.

⁶⁶ Amy Box Vocal Coach, Facebook, posted May 1, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/singingwithamy/permalink/405169939866046/>.

terms—as connection of the “heart” or “soul,” occurring at an “elemental” level “deeper” and more “direct” than “mere intellectual involvement.”⁶⁷

One thing that “magic” sometimes indicates in everyday music discourse is a sympathetic physical-emotional response to what listeners perceive as the performer’s authenticating libidinal investment or injection of their “true” feelings in(to) a musical object or event. This is a connection to the performer and/or their performance that mirrors the performer’s deep connection to the music. For example:

Whenever I hear @reneeelisegold [Renée Elise Goldsberry] singing as Angelica [Angelica Schuyler Church from the Broadway musical *Hamilton*] it gives me the chills. I can feel her emotion and that’s the magic of music.⁶⁸

With every song @laporsharenae opens a scar on her heart and lets us experience happened at the moment. It’s magic. @JLo #AmericanIdol.⁶⁹

A variation of this mirroring pops up in talk of music-magic where performers’ musical expressions of their “personal feelings” are deemed also to capture listeners’ “personal feelings”—moments of recognition, legibility, and belonging when something that feels singular is raised to the level of generality. For instance:

We [the metal band Alaska] believe the feeling that a song has been written only for you is the true magic of music....[Our] songs belong to

⁶⁷ On affect as prelinguistic and precognitive intensity, see Brian Massumi, *Parables of the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Massumi, *Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015). The latter quotes are from Joseph McLellan, “In the Realm of Pure Magic,” *Washington Post*, May 23, 1976; Thor Eckert, Jr., “When It Comes to Playing Great Music, Nothing Does It Like Genius,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec 5, 1985; Jacob Siskind, “Pianist Performs Persuasive Magic,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 4, 1990; Mickey Hart, *Spirit into Sound: The Magic of Music* (Novato, CA: Grateful Dead Books, 1999), 48.

⁶⁸ @abby_luvvv, Twitter, posted Jul 27, 2016, https://twitter.com/abby_luvvv/status/758415321204088832.

⁶⁹ Jacobi Colon, Twitter, posted Mar 17, 2016, <https://twitter.com/JaCX85/status/710656337403842560>.

everyone who enjoys them and maybe connects to them. Nevertheless these songs still carry our personal feelings.⁷⁰

I just love how @nateruessmusic [American singer-songwriter Nate Ruess] can capture my exact feelings in every song. If that isn't the magic of music, I don't know what is.⁷¹

Another form of connection to which claims of musical magic often refer is a shared mood that permeates the space where the experience of magic occurs, “encircling” all interactants and binding them together.⁷² Whereas the above examples involve both live and recorded music (and both group and individual musicking), this variety is specific to live performances, or at least experiences in which more than one listener is physically present. For example, classical music critics often invoke magic in relation to the “hush” that falls over an enraptured audience and holds them in “fascinated silence,” as one reviewer put it using a word with a magical history (“fascinated” once meant affected by magic spells).⁷³ Other critics have related the magic of music to an “electricity” in the air,⁷⁴ “great vibes,”⁷⁵ and various other experiences of attunement (“unison,”⁷⁶ “community,”⁷⁷ “kinship,”⁷⁸ and even “participation”⁷⁹) when “the magic in

⁷⁰ Alaska, Facebook, posted Jul 23, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/alazkaofficial/videos/1479549925464015/>.

⁷¹ Luisa Paniagua (@LuisaP_93), Twitter, posted Jul 3, 2015, https://twitter.com/LuisaP_93/status/617070082229866496.

⁷² The quoted word is from Neville Cardus, “Segovia and Beecham,” *The Manchester Guardian*, Nov 2, 1951.

⁷³ “Naco Finally Works Its Special Magic on Maritimes Tour,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Nov 21, 1988. Also see Isabel Morse Jones, “Friedman Return to Triumph: Master-Pianist Holds Large Audience in Spell Created by His Music-Magic,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 10, 1927; Edward Moore, “Segovia with Guitar Leads Sunday Music,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb 17, 1930; Claudia Cassidy, “Heifetz and Minneapolis Symphony Spin a Magic Web,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 29, 1945; Allen Hughes, “Pianistic Magic is Woven By Radu Lupu in Schubert,” *New York Times*, Feb 18, 1974; Tim Smith, “Battle Recital Ends on a Perfect Note,” *Sun Sentinel* [Fort Lauderdale], Jan 6, 1990.

⁷⁴ Wynne Delacoma, “Soliti Made Music—And Magic,” *Chicago Sun Times*, Sep 7, 1997.

⁷⁵ John von Rhein, “Bernstein and Viennese Make Magic,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 27, 1984.

⁷⁶ “The Magic of the Band,” *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, Apr 30, 1927; Mickey Hart, *Spirit into Sound: The Magic of Music* (Novato, CA: Grateful Dead

the hall” is felt to “make *everyone* swing”⁸⁰ or bring *everyone* to their feet⁸¹ or send *everyone* rushing to the stage to beg for encores (as was common in New York during the first decades of the twentieth century).⁸²

An additional type of connection to which claims of music-magic frequently point is a sense of universality:

Music must carry with it the magic genius....They were of all races and nationalities who spoke different languages, but they had only one ear for the music being played....the language spoken only from men’s souls....the universal language.⁸³

Music is Magic. The language of the heart, a universal language tht speaks to all ppl⁸⁴

Indeed, claims of musical magic often appear in close proximity to claims of universality, rendering music magic to the extent that it is an affective idiom that transcends all

Books, 1999), 112; “O Say Can You Hear the Area’s Best Anthem,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 26, 2012.

⁷⁷ Robert Hillburn, “Bob Marley Has Arrived,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1976; Ann Power, “The Magic of a Voice, The Unity Of Peoples,” *New York Times*, Jun 16, 1998.

⁷⁸ Charles Champlin, “The Powerful Magic of Fine Chamber Music,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 5, 1981.

⁷⁹ Michael Steinberg, “Met’s ‘Falstaff’ Magic, Electric All the Way,” *Boston Globe*, Apr 14, 1964.

⁸⁰ Dan Geringer, “25-Year Jazz Serenade: The Reading Terminals Deliver Lunchtime Riffs and Revelry,” *McClatchy Tribune Business News* [Washington], Sep 2, 2009; emphasis added.

⁸¹ Shomik Chaudhuri, “The Magic of Ravi Shankar,” *News India Times* [New York, NY], Oct 9, 1998; Katelin Dean, “The Magic of Music,” *The Bugle-Observer* [Woodstock, New Brunswick, Canada], Jun 15, 2010.

⁸² On magic and the rush, see “Paderewski Still Reigns,” *Washington Post*, Dec 20, 1899; “Fine Programme by Paderewski,” *New York Times*, Feb 3, 1909; “Paderewski Gives a Glowing Recital: Spontaneous Outburst Shows Pole Has Lost None of His Magic Skill,” *New York Tribune*, Mar 8, 1914; Richard Aldrich, “Mr. Paderewski’s Recital,” *New York Times*, Apr 23, 1923; Olin Downes, “Paderewski One of Three Masters,” *New York Times*, Jun 20, 1941; Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 287.

⁸³ William Gordon, “Music, The Universal Language,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Aug 16, 1953.

⁸⁴ Soraya (@whitediamond_S), tweet, Feb 9, 2013,

https://twitter.com/whitediamond_S/status/300284166442983424. Also see, for example, Michael Jansen, “Musical Magic from the Universal Idiom,” *Irish Times*, Oct 19, 1999; Mahan Kanda, “Music and Its Magic,” *The Hans India*, Jun 21, 2017,

<http://www.thehansindia.com/posts/index/Civil-Services/2017-06-21/Music-and-its-magic-/307705>; Jason Shadrack, “Pat Martino: A Beautiful Mind,” *Premier Guitar*, Jan 2, 2018, <https://www.premierguitar.com/articles/26661-pat-martino-a-beautiful-mind?page=3>.

differences of individuality or identity. Fantasies of universality are sometimes deemed exclusionary ethnocentrism or bourgeois ideology, but such judgments do not reveal much about listeners' motivations for invoking them. The above examples suggest a desire to be released from separateness into the generality of the sensorium, for what might be interpreted as a reprieve from aloneness.

Oneness is yet another genus of connection often referenced in talk of music-magic. In 1983, the conductor Giora Bernstein told a critic from the *Irish Times*, "There are rare moments of magic, when the orchestra, the music and the conductor all become one. You cannot plan for them, but for these rare moments, it's worth being a conductor."⁸⁵ Listeners also use "magic" to describe immersive experiences of oneness in which they are physically alone: "When your body, breath, and heart become one with the music—that's when the magic happens."⁸⁶ Some even employ words of magic to elaborate a oneness of sounds: DJ Cut Chemist recently informed a reporter that it "feels like pure magic" when he and his partner, DJ Shadow, find "the perfect blend" between records, when the records become "one" and "connect unexpectedly."⁸⁷

Finally (but certainly not exhaustively), individual performers and listeners frequently turn to the language of magic to declare their intimate, even "loving" relationships to the music they play:

Impossible to overstate how much I love this album by [Corinne Daily Rae]. Music is magic.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Ronit Lentin, "Another Bernstein," *Irish Times*, Sep 7, 1983. Also see, Maria Gallagher, "How to Enjoy a Symphony," *Philadelphia Daily News*, Sep 21, 1983.

⁸⁶ SoulCycle (@soulcycle), Twitter, posted Feb 28, 2013, <https://twitter.com/soulcycle/status/307176096732946432>.

⁸⁷ Ann Powers, "Mixing Up Their Magic Again, Cut Chemist and DJ Shadow Discuss the Synergy that Led to 'Brainfreeze,'" *Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 2006.

⁸⁸ John Stinchcomb (@John_Stinchcomb), Twitter, posted Feb 25, 2016, https://twitter.com/John_Stinchcomb/status/703011110438440960.

Do you ever hear a song and relate so well to it that you no longer feel alone? Music is magic.⁸⁹

This sort of bonding with a record or song calls to mind Arendt's version of Weber's disenchantment narrative—her “enchantment with ‘small things’”—where our intimate relationships with our commodities evince the last remnants of the “care” and “tenderness” that once defined the ancient world (a “common world” held together by the now defunct public sphere).⁹⁰

How exactly are these various types legible as a coherent phenomenon? In a 1938 essay titled “Art as Magic,” R. G. Collingwood set out to “rescue” the word “magic” from the ordinary/everyday speech in which it had, he argued, degenerated into a “meaningless term” used without “definite conception of what it connotes.”⁹¹ By contrast, Cavell famously argued in 1969 that even though we talkers often do not know and cannot say what we mean, “we ‘must’ mean by our words what those words ordinarily mean,” since we who speak with one another are, as Cavell has often noted since his seminal essay, “attuned” in speaking—sharing interests, tastes, desires, jokes, etc. Which is another way of saying that “language is an inheritance” or “always already there for every human,” meaning “words are before I am,” hence “common” or the stuff of “common [ordinary, everyday] life” and, relatedly, somehow independent of our thinking and whatever autonomy it has.⁹² The many talkers cited above certainly seem to

⁸⁹ Rachel Keiser (@rachel_keiser), Twitter, posted Oct 16, 2017, https://twitter.com/rachel_keiser/status/920034154397519873.

⁹⁰ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 53.

⁹¹ R. G. Collingwood, “Art as Magic,” in *Principles of Art* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938), 57.

⁹² Stanley Cavell, “Must We Mean What We Say?,” in *Must We Mean What We Say?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1969]), 17–18, 31. On our attunement in speaking, see (for example) Stanley Cavell, “What Is the Scandal of Skepticism?,” *Philosophy the*

have a shared if capacious sense of what musical magic is, even if none of them can produce a set of necessary and sufficient conditions that define it perfectly. Indeed, their heterogeneous accounts of avowedly “personal” experiences comprise an emergent constellation of shared significance, adumbrating a common world in which one thing that “magic” undeniably means, even in seemingly inscrutable holophrases like “Magic!,” is magic in the enduring modernist sense of connection.

Like the modernist magic of disenchantment narratives, magic in everyday music discourse is, as we have already learned, felt to be scarce outside musical domains of life—“the ONLY magic left in the world today,” as a radio station in Malawi put it.⁹³ The recently departed Tom Petty once explained this feeling of scarcity—his experience of music as “the only real [or true] magic”—as follows: “Most magic is a trick of some kind. But music is actually a healing thing. It has this power to heal and inspire and to lift you up.”⁹⁴ How does this healing power fit into the shared world constellated above?

Healing

Talk of musical magic often references music’s ameliorative capacities—its power to heal, repair, palliate, relieve—configuring music as magic to the extent that it is “medicine” employed to mitigate impairments and disorders of all varieties, if only for a

Day After Tomorrow (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 139. The final quotes are from Stanley Cavell, “Being Odd, Getting Even,” in *In the Quest of the Ordinary: Lines of Skepticism and Romanticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 113, 131, and 125.

⁹³ Zodiac FM Radio (@StudioXL5), Twitter Feb 8, 2018, <https://twitter.com/StudioXL5/status/961651036279787523>.

⁹⁴ “Tom Petty...Dies at 66,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 3, 2017.

moment.⁹⁵ As intimated in the last section, one impairment that music-magic is often said to ameliorate is a sense of aloneness or isolation that is perceived to dominate “modern” life. Predictably enough, it is often reputed to allay this aloneness by sustaining experiences of connection like those referenced in the previous section, experiences that are commonly felt to have become scarce outside musical domains of existence. For example, a 2010 lunchtime talk at the Paisley Museum in Scotland called “The Forgotten Power of Music” explored the ways “music magic” might provide “an antidote to our increasingly individualized society” and “reconnect us with each other.”⁹⁶ Similarly, a recent podcast series about how people use music to manage their depression concluded with this summation: “Music is the closest thing that we have to real, live magic in our world. Some chords get played, some words get sung, and then something happens inside of you. It doesn’t make any logical sense, but wow does it ever work.” The host then meandered to this dumbstruck peroration, which takes music and its magic as the foundation for a common world that, by virtue of its commonness, is a source of comfort: “I don’t know, I mean this is the only world we have, right, the only life that we have to live, and it sounds like a cliché, but it’s true: we’re all in it together. . . . We have each other, and we have music, which is nice.”⁹⁷ Likewise, a young man interviewed by the psychologist Alf Gabrielsson in the 1990s assiduously elaborated the “magical power” of Arvo Pärt’s *Spiegel im Spiegel* to “affect the environment around [him]” such that

⁹⁵ E.g., Michele Chan Santos, “The Healing Magic of Music” *Austin American Statesman* [Austin, TX], Aug 28, 1998; Diana Keough, “Music Works Its Magic, Soothes Burn Patients,” *The Plain Dealer* [Cleveland, Ohio], Jun 20, 2005; “Alive Inside: How the Magic of Music Proves Therapeutic for Patients with Alzheimer’s and Dementia,” *Democracy Now!*, YouTube, uploaded Jan 22, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Zo_JQZo3Y0&t=190s.

⁹⁶ “Music Magic,” *Paisley Daily Express*, Sep 30, 2010.

⁹⁷ John Moe, “Vol. 2 of Listeners’ Favorite Coping Songs,” *Hilarious World of Depression*, podcast, Jun 19, 2017.

existence became less meaningless, cold, burdensome, and parochial: everything “acquired a stamp of something universal and comprehensive....An object that perhaps isn’t used so often...acquired in this rare moment a purpose, a meaning....All your irritation, all your fixed ideas and prejudices, etc., that you now carry with you, they just sink away. For a moment, existence gets a shimmering glow, and becomes a little warmer, lighter, and simpler.”⁹⁸ Along the same lines, a 1996 concert review entitled “It’s Magic When Itzhak Perlman Plays His ‘Fiddle’” describes how the eponymous violin virtuoso provides the “real connection” that “we need, and miss, so much in these stressful times.”⁹⁹ Finally, the epilogue to the Grateful Dead drummer Mickey Hart’s book about “the magic of music” ends with talk of music as a “healing force” and “uniting force,” an “ancient” power offering relief from a “hostile” “modern Western civilization” of “mass consumption” by revealing “we are not so different after all.”¹⁰⁰

The widespread perception of music as magic to the extent that it ameliorates “modern” separateness hews closely to disenchantment narratives. For Horkheimer and Adorno, “the vanquished primeval world and its imaginary happiness” have given way to an “arid” and “barren” liberal capitalist modernity characterized by “estrangement” and “universal fungibility,” where subjects have been reduced to a “herd” and even the intimacy of private life is split between “the sullen community of marriage and the bitter solace of being entirely alone.”¹⁰¹ As Adorno sums it up elsewhere, “People no longer ‘live together’ and know each other directly, but are related to each other through

⁹⁸ Alf Gabrielsson, *Strong Experiences with Music: Music Is Much More Than Just Music*, trans. Roy Bradbury (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169–170.

⁹⁹ Melinda Bargreen, “A Rare Glimpse of the Human Spirit—It’s Magic When Itzhak Perlman Plays His ‘Fiddle,’” *Seattle Times*, Nov 17, 1996.

¹⁰⁰ Hart, *Spirit into Sound*, 194–195.

¹⁰¹ Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 10, 8, 9, 125.

intermediary objectified social processes (e.g., exchange of commodities).”¹⁰² In many versions of this story, artistic labor or, more broadly, the aesthetic (which Adorno so often described as a magical realm) is deemed a space where one might find some sort of immunity from the forces that have “damaged” modern subjects, where one might even experience what Lefebvre called “a productive form of labor freed from the characteristic of alienation”—“a unity of the product and the producer, of the individual and the social, of the natural Being and the human being.”¹⁰³

The pervasiveness of this narrative extends into music therapy discourse, where musical magic is sometimes described as a balm harnessed to allay enervating separateness. For instance, a 1997 *Newsday* article details the way “melodic medication” works its “magic”: “Bobby, a 13-year-old with a brain tumor, was emotionally isolated from his family due to his illness. But after beating a drum to release tension and inventing songs on the piano about being in a box, he began to express his feelings and

¹⁰² Theodor W. Adorno, “The Stars Down to Earth,” in *The Stars Down to Earth*, ed. Stephen Crook (London: Routledge Classics, 1994), 48–49:

¹⁰³ Henri Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, trans. John Sturrock (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009 [1940]), 153. Perhaps no author in my archive of disenchantment narratives sutures magic to the aesthetic more often than Adorno, e.g., Adorno, “Theses Upon Art and Religion Today,” in *Notes to Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholsen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 296; Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 53–54, 58–59; Max Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 13–14; Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life*, trans. E.F.N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 2005), 222; Adorno, *Towards a Theory of Musical Reproduction: Notes, a Draft, and Two Schemas*, ed. Henri Lonitz, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006). Also note, first off, that Adorno viewed the magical aspects of art as musical in nature, e.g., Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998). And second, that Adorno insisted on music’s magic element—its origin as “a collective practice of dance and cult,” and, in turn, of mimesis and magic—despite the fact that his philosophy aligns positive collectivity with the fascistic extermination of difference, e.g., Adorno, “Some Ideas on the Sociology of Music,” in *Sound figures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 9; Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 18; Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1973), 362. I will return to this tension in my “curtain call.”

reconnect with family and friends.” The piece then cites Clive Robbins, who heads the Nordoff-Robbins music therapy clinic at New York University: “Music has a lot of universality. You bypass so many barriers to communication, and it seems to reach more of the child than anything else.”¹⁰⁴ Along the same lines, the celebrity activist and teacher David Lazerson often uses variations of the equation “Music = Magic + Mystery + Medicine” in the context of discussions about music’s power “to open a door” inside children with disabilities. For example, this equation appears at the end of a book chapter on the “magic” of group singing in “special needs” classrooms, following an anecdote about “singing along, in *unison*,” with 20,000 people at a gathering for the Chabad movement that was attended by the former Prime Minister of Israel. This experience left Dr. Laz “a changed person,” apparently by facilitating some sort of integrative self-overcoming: “It was a slow and incredibly emotional melody, almost a pleading that would reach crescendos that took your breath away. People rocked or swayed back and forth, as they seemed to lose themselves in the haunting, powerful refrain. I looked around to see that not only did the Rebbe [the spiritual leader of the Chabad movement] have his eyes closed, but so did [Prime Minister Menachem Begin] and the other 19,998 people.”¹⁰⁵

This brief foray into music therapy discourse suggests something surprising about the fantasy of musical magic to which so many of the preceding examples point: its promise of connection is viewed not only as a route to enjoyment as an end in itself but also as a means of therapy, both in the Paisley Museum’s grand sense of mending

¹⁰⁴ Sharon McDonnell. “Melodic Medication, Music Seems to Work Magic with Pain, Poor Memory,” *Newsday*, Oct 14, 1997.

¹⁰⁵ David Lazerson, *Teach Me If You Can! We’re All Special Needs* (Lazerson.BDA Books, 2012), 136, 125–127. Also see “‘Music Magic’ A Tribute to Dr. Davis Lazerson,” rgc5543, YouTube, uploaded Dec 27, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ldmOHmT_s-o.

disenchanted modernity (“our individualized [fractured] society”) and in the more muted sense of managing pain or surviving as an alienated subject within this disenchanted world. Which is to say that it reveals that subjects in the moment I am tracking often use musical magic to interrupt enfeebling modes of occupying their worlds, to transport or shift themselves.

Transportation/Transformation

One way that musical magic appears to soothe the hurt that “disenchanted” relationality inflicts upon some subjects is through the concept of transportation. In a 1915 *San Francisco Chronicle* review, the screenwriter Walter Anthony wrote of the “magic thrill” of Fritz Kreisler’s violin playing, noting how Kreisler “supplied the wings” that carried listeners from “a world of chaos” to “a world of beauty” where “all your hopes were realized and all your hopes were given.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly, a 1929 concert review in *The China Press*, an English-language daily staffed by Americans and published in Shanghai from 1911 to 1949, lauded the “compelling beauty” of Jan Kubelik’s “magic violin,” through which the “charmed” audience was made to forget the “drab ugliness” of their urban surroundings and “to sense again the living poetry of purling brooks, mountain crags in sun-pierced mists, winds of the forests and all the rest of lovely nature in its more exalted moods.”¹⁰⁷ Along the same lines, the *Chicago Tribune* critic Claudia Cassidy described in 1946 how the pianist Dame Myra Hess, through “a kind of magic wrought of mind and heart and almost superhuman skill,” opened a door to the “inner citadel” of the “Kingdom

¹⁰⁶ Walter Anthony, “Kreisler’s Violin Has Magic Thrill,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct 4, 1915.

¹⁰⁷ “Jan Kubelik,” *The China Press*, May 3, 1929.

of music,” a heavenly (note the capitalized “Kingdom”) refuge offering its inhabitants the protection and community of an ensconced fortress.¹⁰⁸

Many other music commentators since the turn of the twentieth century have mixed claims of magic with claims of paradisiacal transport, celebrating music’s magical powers to weave listeners into a “paradise while it’s hell on earth”—a haven where one feels “free,” “at peace,” “in the moment,” where “everything is better” and you can find relief from “the daily BS [you] go through.”¹⁰⁹ Sometimes talkers equate this relief with the experience of being carried “out of this world” to “faraway,” “strange,” and “exotic” places.¹¹⁰ Here transportation implies a departure from the world as it is usually experienced, a vacation from what is sometimes called “real life” or “reality” (which in this language game I take to mean the drudgery of workaday life). Paradoxically, this departure to distant worlds is sometimes configured as a journey “home”—to a place of comfort, security, and warm fellowship, “to Christmas at my grandparents” house, smell

¹⁰⁸ Claudia Cassidy, “Myra Hess’ Superb Performance Unlocks Inner Door to Citadel of Music,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 5, 1946.

¹⁰⁹ Elissa (@elissakh), Twitter, posted Jul 27, 2014, <https://twitter.com/elissakh/status/493525447037030401>; Aless (@mjalexiee), Twitter, posted Apr 17, 2010, <https://twitter.com/mjalexlee/status/12358508995>; BSheltonAddict (@Shelton_Fever), Twitter, posted Nov 28, 2009, <https://twitter.com/search?q=music%20magic%20another%20world&src=typd&lang=en>; Alexia (@akbnd), Twitter, posted Dec 26, 2015, <https://twitter.com/akbnd/status/680848821199482881>; Rebecca Whalley, “Music Transports Body and Soul,” *Bay of Plenty Times* [Tauranga, New Zealand], Jun 10, 2008; hey (@Ijustgotblocked), Twitter, posted Dec 19, 2016, <https://twitter.com/ijustgotblocked/status/810834429610315776>; Julian Wolfendale, *Damaged Goods: A True Story of Adoption, Music, People, and Choices* (Lulu, 2011), 11; Lunita (@marysdval), Twitter, posted Mar 9, 2013, <https://twitter.com/marysdval/status/310450944036974592>; Maya Wysocki (@mayawyssocki), Twitter, posted Jan 30, 2015, <https://twitter.com/mayawyssocki/status/561266400799772672>; Jean-Joseph Napoleon (@jjnapoleon), Twitter, posted Jul 9, 2012, <https://twitter.com/jjnapoleon/status/222517048864014336>.

¹¹⁰ Clarity with Glass (@sallyglass1), Twitter, posted Feb 13, 2018, <https://twitter.com/sallyglass1/status/963378519979020288>; Kathleen Hendrick (@Kath_sv), Twitter, posted Mar 15, 2010, https://twitter.com/kath_sv/status/10527650068; Joseph McLellan, “A Program Across Time and Space,” *Washington Post*, Jun 24, 1999.

of pine, love.”¹¹¹ As this excerpt suggests, the journey “home” can be understood to refer primarily to the “magical” and “mythic” family sanctuary of bourgeois folklore, not, say, to the prison- or straitjacket-like home evoked in some feminist accounts of domesticity.¹¹² Not always, however. For instance, a Palestinian commentator recently explained her “magical” experience of music as “[feeling] free, as if transported to another world,” presumably a world where she might “travel freely within [her] own territories,” that is, where she might feel at home in her homeland.¹¹³ In any case, “home” in the bourgeois tradition connotes a refuge that heals the fissures wrought by disenchantment with its emancipating and de-alienating love (a love once transmitted via the parlor spinet).¹¹⁴

A number of disenchantment narratives have linked “modernity” to a feeling of homelessness and described the premodern world before disenchantment as “a place of belonging” where humans felt “at home.”¹¹⁵ According to Adorno, “dwelling” or being “at home” in modernity is “impossible” insofar as “it is part of morality not to be at

¹¹¹ Chewbacca (@poteme13), Twitter posted Feb 15, 2015, <https://twitter.com/poteme13/status/566944061287063552>; Sara Dobie Bauer (@saradobie), Twitter, posted Nov 9, 2014, <https://twitter.com/saradobie/status/531620705952333826>.

¹¹² Two examples, from the beginning and end of the historical moment I am tracking: Zach J. Payne, “Home and Heart” *Medium*, Aug 23, 2017, <https://medium.com/@ZachJPayne/home-and-heart-4ab2ba109d36>; “Magic in the Word ‘Home,’” *Boston Daily Globe*, Dec 17, 1896.

¹¹³ Salsabeel Zeineddin, “Where Words Fail, Music Speaks,” *We Are Not Numbers*, Dec 26, 2015, <https://www.wearenotnumbers.org/home/Story/138>.

¹¹⁴ While talk about music’s magic may have proliferated around 1900, it is important to note the Romantic pedigree that remains potent even today. For the experience of music as an opening up to alternate worlds was central and common to Romanticism, especially the aesthetics of Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Novalis. Moreover, music’s restorative power within the domestic sphere has roots in the affective labor done by piano-playing girls in middle-class and bourgeois homes from the early Biedermeier period to the late Victorian era. On nineteenth-century “piano girls,” see Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 93.

¹¹⁵ Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World*, e.g., 16–17.

home,” not to be comfortable with the atrocities of late capitalism.¹¹⁶ This gives the impression that musical magic’s transport home is an irresponsible abandonment of things as they are, shuttering away their horror and leaving them unchanged.

But many listeners, much like the modernists who used magic (the “science of metamorphoses”) to rethink mimesis, portray musical magic not just as an escape from “reality” but also as a transformation, rearrangement, or shift within it.¹¹⁷ Recall a few previous examples, such as David Lazerson’s description of his “magical” experiences singing with large groups: “you always left there somehow a changed person”¹¹⁸; and the psychologist Alf Gabrielsson’s informant’s take on music’s “magical power” to “affect the environment around [him].”¹¹⁹ Here is a final quotation that explains this transformative dimension of musical magic in the language of transport:

Music is magic....Enjoying music is cosmic connection....That’s why we love, laugh, or weep to songs. Like magic, with music we connect with each other. Feeling the beat keeps us dancing and tames tensions. We remember what matters. Music has no prejudice of race, religion, culture, or age. It’s our invisible, universal muse....Feeling music with our body removes the rust...and unlocks the grips of time from our heads....Every time we travel with music it’s a quantum leap. There is a sudden reset of mood, frame of mind, ease of being. Music relaxes, inspires, refreshes, or recharges. Things are not the same.¹²⁰

According to this passage, “music is magic” to the extent that when listeners “travel” with music “things are not the same.” Here “magic” implies a displacement or “leap” that is felt to alter “things,” leaving listeners “refreshed,” in part by “tam[ing] tensions” and releasing them from separateness into “cosmic connection.” To be sure, the

¹¹⁶ Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, 38–39.

¹¹⁷ Wilson, *Modernism and Magic*; Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, 105.

¹¹⁸ Lazerson, *Teach Me If You Can!*, 125.

¹¹⁹ Alf Gabrielsson, *Strong Experiences with Music*, trans. Roy Bradbury (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169–170.

¹²⁰ “Music Is Magic,” *Sensual Thinking*, <https://www.sensualthinking.com/music-is-magic/>.

transformation of individual affect does not necessarily mean, *pace* much liberal cosmopolitan thought, structural transformation. Nonetheless, remarks such as this evince a wish for some supraindividual change via music's magic that the pejorative "escapism" does not fully account for. After all, everyday music discourse's words of magic imply a reprieve from "real life," an ameliorative journey elsewhere, but the elsewhere is "home," to use Wittgenstein's word for the ordinary/everyday.¹²¹ Recall, too, that music is commonly regarded as the only "real" magic, indicating that it is embedded within the same "real life" from which it is purported to offer sanctuary. Berman captures this both/and logic in his disenchantment narrative via the surrealist poet Paul Éluard: "There is another world, but it is in this one."¹²²

Sometimes the displacement to which musical magic points is not oriented toward a future but amounts to a momentary suspension within an overwhelming present, like binging on Doritos.¹²³ Other times, however, it points toward a future, to the possibility of a better hereafter.

Utopia

The "strange shrinking of the utopian consciousness" that Adorno mentioned in a debate with Ernst Bloch in 1964 has, according to many authorities, continued unabated in the intervening decades.¹²⁴ The present epoch is often purported to be an "anti-utopian

¹²¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. P.M.S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 116 (53e).

¹²² Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World*, 153.

¹²³ On the episodic refreshment of eating and sex, see Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 115–19, 146–47.

¹²⁴ Theodor W. Adorno and Ernst Bloch, "Something's Missing: A Discussion Between Ernst Bloch and Theodor Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing," in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*, trans. Jack Zipes and Frank Mecklenburg (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 3–4.

age,”¹²⁵ in which the resurgent concept of modernity no longer asks, in the words of an older and less optimistic Fredric Jameson, “the question of how we want to live together” but now means “little else than economic and social adaptation to the supposed constraints of the global market”¹²⁶; in which progressive politicians with utopian platforms are attacked as naive and quixotic; in which it often feels as though, in the words of historian Tony Judt, “our chief task is not to imagine better worlds but rather to think how to prevent worse ones.”¹²⁷ But while much of our political discourse suggests the death of utopianism writ large, words of magic in everyday talk of music tell a different story. Suffused with the language of connection and replete with talk of amelioration, new worlds, and transformation, the phenomenon of musical magic indicates a thriving utopian impulse that parallels the modernist utopianism of the early twentieth century.

Many social theorists have described magic as fundamentally reactionary, linking it to Nazism and fascism via irrationalism, superstition, and barbarism; others have characterized it as inimical to sociality (as Durkheim famously emphasized, “There is no Church of magic”).¹²⁸ Echoing the liberal anti-utopianism mentioned above, Malinowski, in his final assessment, could only see in magic “the sublime folly of hope.”¹²⁹ Leftists have been comparably skeptical lately, describing magic as an expression of nostalgia aimed at restoring the immediacy and wholeness that modernity pilfered from experience

¹²⁵ Russell Jacoby, *Picture Imperfect: Utopian Thought for an Anti-Utopian Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

¹²⁶ Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity* (London: Verso, 2012), 9.

¹²⁷ Tony Judt, *Thinking the Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 304.

¹²⁸ Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 201–202. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 42.

¹²⁹ Bronislaw Malinowski, “Magic, Science and Religion,” in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1948), 70.

by returning to an idealized, unhistorical past—what one journalist reporting on protests during national-anthem singing at football games (famous for inspiring “magic” in the form of “unison”) called “an apolitical state of unity,” that is, a state without dissent or class struggle.¹³⁰ But theorists have also noted magic’s utopian dimensions: “its character of protest” as well as its power “to stir up in everyone some hidden mental forces, some lingering hopes in the miraculous, some dormant beliefs in man’s mysterious possibilities.”¹³¹ In 1902, Marcel Mauss argued that magical beliefs in our “modern” society are “the most alive, the most real indications of a state of social unrest and social consciousness, in which float a whole crowd of vague ideas, hopes, and vain fears.” “The world of magic,” Mauss wrote, “is full of the expectations of successive generations, their tenacious illusions, their hopes in the form of magical formulas.”¹³²

The utopian properties of magic are often on display in everyday talk of music. For example, an American Idol fan recently tweeted, “Music=magic/ a door to utopia.”¹³³ More prevalent are celebrations of pop music festivals that mix the language of magic and invocations of utopia with talk of “positive synchronistic situations,” “acceptance,” “freedom,” and “love”—intimations of, as one festivalgoer put it, “what our world could

¹³⁰ Frederic Jameson, *Archeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), chapter 5; “O Say Can You Hear the Area’s Best Anthem,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 26, 2012; Adam Glanzman, “Watching NFL Sunday Is Getting Awkward,” *New Yorker*, Oct 23, 2017.

¹³¹ G. Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, trans. J.E. Turner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986 [1933]), 548; Bronislaw Malinowski, “Magic, Science and Religion,” in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1948), 50.

¹³² Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (London: Routledge Classics, 2001), 170–171.

¹³³ Bajstar (@kritibajpai2012), Twitter, posted Apr 9, 2016, <https://twitter.com/kritibajpai2012/status/718705511303020544>; Arnab Ghosh, Facebook, posted Oct 26, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/banra168/posts/1032498570226168>.

be.”¹³⁴ This admixture of music, magic, and utopia permeates Ernst Bloch’s philosophy of music, which occupies a central position in his first major book, *The Spirit of Utopia*, published in 1918 (the same year that Weber gave his disenchantment lecture). Bloch detected a utopian spirit in all art but saw it as “really central to the magic of music.”¹³⁵ He later described this utopian spirit as a “hollow space”—a sense that “something is missing” from the present—and portrayed music as a call to and reflection of the atmosphere fermenting within this space.¹³⁶ In other words, he saw music as a “critical” structure, as a structure that expresses and nourishes a negating utopian consciousness (a sense that something is amiss, that things should not be as they are) and, relatedly, as a structure that builds hope (not “naive optimism” but hope in the sense of a negation of that which makes the opposite of the hoped-for thing possible).¹³⁷

Something similar might be said about claims of music-magic, which can be understood as structuring gratifying experiences of connection within the realm of music while giving expression to dismay over the dearth of such experiences outside this realm, that is, to the conditions of scarcity from which music has drawn its connective powers.

¹³⁴ Toni Garritsen, Facebook, posted Aug 16, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/ShambhalaMusicFestivalBC/permalink/10155260312233110/>; Jo D. Coffee, Facebook, posted Sept 12, 2017,

https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=464764533905020&id=10001114431489.
¹³⁵ Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia*, trans. Anthony A. Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 3. For a discerning account of Bloch’s philosophy of music, see Michael Gallope, *Deep Refrains: Music, Philosophy, and the Ineffable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

¹³⁶ Ernst Bloch, “Something’s Missing: A Discussion Between Ernst Bloch and Theodor Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing,” in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*, trans. Jack Zipes and Frank Mecklenburg (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 15–17; Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, vol. 3, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 1090, 1058–60. Bloch often uses the word “magic” to describe music’s utopian properties, e.g., *The Spirit of Utopia*, trans. Anthony A. Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 3, 43, 99, 137, 157.

¹³⁷ Ernst Bloch and Theodor W. Adorno, “Something’s Missing: A Discussion Between Ernst Bloch and Theodor Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing,” 16–17.

Filtering this observation through a younger and more sanguine Jameson's insight that "an ineradicable drive toward collectivity" lies at the heart of utopian projection in mass art, one might say that listeners often describe musical magic as a structure that nourishes and preserves a utopian drive toward collectivity.¹³⁸ As the "Piano Man" Billy Joel once said, to return to this chapter's epigraph, "Music is this magic acoustic element that makes perfectly rational people who have come to realize the unalterable fact that they are truly alone in the world somehow feel for fleeting moments that maybe they're not alone after all."¹³⁹ Generalizing this remark, one could say that music-magic is frequently seen as episodically negating the "unalterable fact" of alienation by fostering and safeguarding, at the level of affect, a sense that things might be (and should be) different, a sense that listeners might be (and should be) more satisfyingly connected.

I am not arguing, to paraphrase Mladen Dolar, that unification and love are barred from having a murderous, reactionary underside or that something like the death drive that Freud opposes to Eros does not have an important political function, "untying the glue of social bonds" so that nonidentical social relations might appear.¹⁴⁰ I am not even suggesting that enchantment does not foreclose demurral and so reproduce exploitation, or that fantasies of universality are not de-historicizing and homogenizing, or that we should feel no compunction about the suggestion that our love for our favorite recordings may be standing in for material and spiritual closeness to other humans. My point is this: While the mood of mainstream political discourse may seem anti-utopian (and thus at odds with modernist accounts of magic), the atmosphere of everyday talk of music—

¹³⁸ Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text* 1 (Winter 1979): 147.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Mickey Hart, *Spirit into Sound: The Magic of Music* (Novato, CA: Grateful Dead Books, 1999), 126.

¹⁴⁰ Mladen Dolar, "Freud and the Political," *Unbound* 4, no. 15 (2008): 15–29.

where musical magic has often been configured as an affective container for the safekeeping of a transformative impulse toward collectivity—is suffused with a modernist utopian spirit. The longing for political repair still exists, safeguarded, in no small measure, in music-magic.

Ordinary Magic

In the preceding pages, I have offered some ideas about how one might understand the pervasive apprehension that music is the only real magic by parsing claims of magic in everyday music discourse alongside the modernist disenchantment narratives with which they are historically imbricated. Bearing uncanny affinities with such accounts, everyday claims of musical magic often refer to a semantic field with what listeners frequently describe as a “rare” form of ameliorative connection at its center, bespeaking a shared sense that this connection is scarce and, relatedly, a shared craving for more of it. One effect of this exploration is the perforation of the line behind which many theorists quarantine magic from what ordinary language philosophers call ordinary or everyday life. Ordinary life is often reduced to the realm of necessity, the humdrum, and other pejoratives that seem to leach magic out of all the usual things. In fact, Cavell has argued that in much orthodox philosophizing the ordinary is equated with Plato’s cave—a prison of appearances that humans should endeavor to transcend so that they might enjoy true or real satisfaction and well-being.¹⁴¹ A similar trend can be seen in much talk of magic, which is traditionally viewed, in Simon During’s words, as “radically ‘other’ to ordinary

¹⁴¹ For example, Stanley Cavell, “The Wittgensteinian Event,” in *Philosophy the Day After Tomorrow* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

life.”¹⁴² For example, an essay called “The Magic of Music” by Robert H. Mounce (the former president of the Christian liberal arts college Whitworth University) reads, “Music [‘the strongest form of magic’] lifts us out of the ordinary and allows us to experience reality on a distinctly higher level.”¹⁴³

These views of the ordinary as an un-extraordinary and perfunctory realm bereft of genuine magic highlight the sense of scarcity that permeates so many accounts of workday life in “modern” liberal-capitalist cultures. However, they fail to also account for the ubiquity of phenomena like music-magic. Cavell has claimed that the ordinary constituted in ordinary speech may not be all there is, but it is certainly not the desiccated wasteland that words like “humdrum” call to my mind: “Morality is in that world, and so are force and love; so is art and a part of knowledge (the part that is about that world); and so is religion (wherever God is). Some mathematics and science, no doubt, are not. This is why you will not find out what ‘number’ or ‘neurosis’ or ‘mass’ or ‘mass society’ mean if you only listen to ordinary uses of these terms.”¹⁴⁴ As we now know, “real” magic is also there, filling every corner of the ordinary talk through which listeners so often share their experiences of music. That is to say, it is right here at “home” (to once again invoke Wittgenstein’s famous formulation of the ordinary/everyday), always close at hand for a bit of DIY therapy, offering relief and hope as it gives expression to the emotional distress that “modern” listeners have long invoked in describing their historical presents.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Simon During, *Modern Enchantments* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 39.

¹⁴³ Robert H. Mounce, “The Magic of Music,” in *So They Say* (Eugene Oregon: Resource Publication, 2014) 56.

¹⁴⁴ Stanley Cavell, “Must We Mean What We Say?,” 37.

¹⁴⁵ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 116 (53e).

Many accounts of “modernity” posit privatization, self-interestedness, competition, and profit maximization as, in the historian Ellen Wood’s words, “the fundamental rules of life.”¹⁴⁶ Other accounts argue that everyday life in “modern” societies needs “re-enchanting,” by which is meant, in the best-selling psychotherapist Thomas Moore’s view, the abandonment of narcissism for some prior, more authentic state of connection.¹⁴⁷ This account of modernity and its persistence paints a different picture, where the connection to which musical magic points is, for better or worse, a foremost wish abounding in our modernist ordinary—“the garden of the world we live in.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Ellen Meiskins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism, A Longer View* (London: Verso, 2017) 2.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Moore, *The Re-Enchantment of Everyday Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996).

¹⁴⁸ J.L. Austin, “Other Minds,” in *Philosophical Papers*, ed. J.O. Urmson and G.J. Warnock (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), 58.

CHAPTER 2

Miniature Magic: The Untold Story of the Recital Encore

This chapter is the first of two case studies that elaborate the pervasive modernist fantasy of music as “the only real magic,” focusing on one of magic’s most common sites of invocation in Western classical music culture: the recital encore. It seeks not only to enrich the previous chapter’s preliminary survey of musical magic via the specific case of the encore but also to shed new light on the encore, a phenomenon largely neglected by musicologists but central to the recital, through the lens of musical magic.

The opera encore was banished from the most elite opera houses nearly a century ago. From 1924–1950, for example, programs at the Met warned on the center of the cast page “Positively No Encores Allowed” (Fig 2.1).¹ Orchestral encores, too, are rare nowadays. Orchestras usually reserve their “lollipops,” as the delectable “sweetmeats” of Sir Thomas Beecham were known, almost exclusively for special events and tours.²

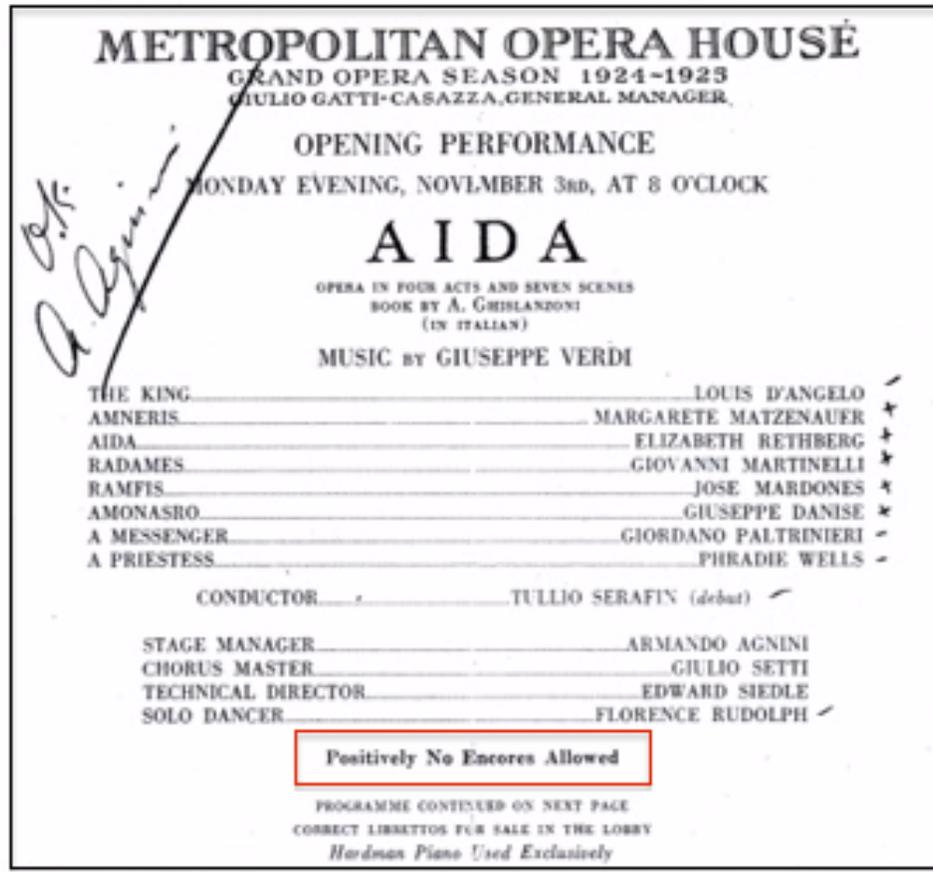
Concerto encores are far more common than the opera and orchestral varieties, but

¹ The exception that proves the rule is “Va pensiero” from Verdi’s *Nabucco*, which is routinely encored. In many cases, the audience sings along. See Tim Smith, “After ‘Nabucco,’ a grand encore—for the Audience,” *The Sun* [Baltimore], May 2, 2014. In recent years, there have been minor attempts to revive the moribund opera encore, with major opera houses like the Met slightly easing their encore interdictions and inviting superstar tenors like Juan Diego Flórez and Javier Camarena to repeat classic arias. See Charlotte Higgins, “Sing It Again: Flórez Breaks Encore Ban,” *The Guardian*, Apr 23, 2008; Tim Smith, “Keeping It Light,” *Opera News*, Apr 2008, 14–18; Daniel J. Wakin, “Ban on Solo Encores at the Met? Ban, What Ban?,” *New York Times*, Apr 23, 2008; “Javier Camarena Given Rare Encore at Met Opera,” *New York Times*, Apr 26, 2014; Michael Cooper, “A Rare Encore at the Met for Mexican Tenor,” *New York Times*, Mar 12, 2016.

² On the orchestral encore, see Wynne Delacoma, “The Anatomy of an Encore,” *Chicago Sun Times*, Feb 7, 1999; Jeremy Nicholas, “‘Applause Is a Receipt, Not a Bill’” *Gramophone*, Mar 2014, 14–15; Rick Schultz, “Encores? Hilary Hahn’s Glad to Oblige,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct 30, 2011. On Beecham’s lollipops, see Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, *Sir Thomas Beecham’s “Lollipops,”* Angel S 35506, LP, 1958. Ads for the record that appeared in *The New Yorker*, Nov 29, 1958, 77 and *High Fidelity*, Nov 1958, 88 read: “Favorite concert encores (“lollipop” is Sir Thomas’ own term for these musical sweetmeats).”

audiences cannot count on them.³ In Western classical music, only the recital encore remains a sure thing.⁴

Figure 2.1 First appearance of “Positively No Encores Allowed” in a Metropolitan Opera program, November 3, 1924.



³ For a strong condemnation of the concerto encore coeval with the aforementioned opera encore proscriptions, see Richard Holt, “The Encore Question,” *The Musical Times*, 64, no. 964 (Jun 1, 1923): 401.

⁴ Exception: encores rarely follow the last three Beethoven or Schubert sonatas. Also note that rock and jazz encores are common, but this study focuses on Western classical music. On the rock encore, see Emma Webster, “‘One More Tune!’ The Encore Ritual in Live Music Events,” *Popular Music and Society*, 35, no. 1 (Feb 2012): 93–111. To my knowledge, this is the only scholarly account of the encore.

After the conclusion of the solo performance's scheduled program, the audience almost never fails to summon the recitalist back to the platform for a handful of popular miniatures, their identities a mystery until (or unless) the performer announces them from the stage.⁵ To be sure, some classical music critics have disparaged these requisite surprises. The most high-minded critics have vehemently denounced them. Edward Said, for example, called encores "appalling, like food stains on a handsome suit."⁶ Striking a similar tone, the English pianist and blogger David Oldroyd-Bolt recently bemoaned the "stultifying torpor" and meaninglessness of the encore ritual: "I'd lay fairly heavy money that were you to attend every piano recital in a given season you'd hear the same three or four pieces given over and over again, as though set down from time immemorial: thou shalt play no other encores than these...[Schumann's *Träumerei*] I've heard so often it now has no more significance than elevator Muzak."⁷

But such invective is fairly rare, and what little disparagement of encores exists generally takes the form of more modest undercutting. Writing mainly from a perspective that equates the good in music with edification over fun and with the presentation of a work's essential notes and rhythms unimpeded by the personality of their interpreter, classical music critics have saddled encores with a panoply of ambivalent aesthetic

⁵ Recital audiences usually receive one or two encores, but the pianist Evgeny Kissin has been known to play more than a dozen. Mark Mitchell, "The Nature of the Bis," in *Virtuosi* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 79–80; Vivien Schweitzer, "Evgeny Kissin Warms Up, and He Keeps on Cooking," *New York Times*, May 5, 2007.

⁶ Edward W. Said, "Remembrances of Things Played," *Harper's*, Nov 1985, 69–75.

⁷ David Oldroyd-Bolt, "Now THIS is what a piano encore should sound like..." blog, *The Telegraph*, November 6, 2013, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/culture/davidbolt/100071459/now-this-is-what-a-piano-encore-should-sound-like/>. Also see Eric Blom, "An Essay on Listening and Performance," in *The Music Companion*, eds. A.L. Bacharach and J.R. Pearce (London: Victor Gollancz, 1977 [1934]), 712–713; Charlotte Higgins, "Enough Already," *The Guardian*, Sep 19, 2006.

categories, such as “cute,” “syrupy,” and “clever.”⁸ Here are two review excerpts, the first from 1969 and the second from 1999, that illuminate music criticism’s mixed feelings about encoring and the ideology of aesthetic worth from which they emerge: “As for the arrangement of the ‘Minstrels,’ here Rostropovich the cellist rather than Rostropovich the musician took over. This is one of those encore pieces that is clever, cute, tricky, hard to play, and a perversion of the original. But even great cellists must have their fun, and Mr. Rostropovich amused himself and his audience with this trifle”⁹; “The sizable crowd brought [François-René] Duchâble back for an encore: the [Chopin] Waltz in C Sharp Minor, played with languorously stretched second beats and dazzling acceleration through the right-hand decorations. Clever. Maybe too clever.”¹⁰

Oddly, however, many critics (as well as many lay concertgoers) have simultaneously celebrated the encore as the pinnacle of piano, violin, and song recitals.

⁸ The aesthetic categories that critics use to describe and appraise encores can be ambivalent and equivocal. The most common of these are the cute, the adorable, the delectable, the syrupy, the sentimental, the delightful, the lovely, the charming, the amusing, the witty, the clever, the tricky, the dainty, and the minor. See “Crowds Hear Great Artist,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Mar 1, 1907; Olin Downes, “Paderewski meets with an Ovation,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930; Edward Barry, “Liszt Pupil, 74, Gives a Poetic Piano Recital,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 4, 1937; Harold C. Schonberg, “In Recital: Rostropovich,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1969; Henry Trotter, “Touch and Spirit, Midori, Robert McDonald Offer Dream Recital,” *Buffalo News*, Feb 28, 1992; Kate Rivers, “Feltsman, in Fine Form,” *Washington Post*, Jun 4, 1992; Jacob Siskind, “Performance Technically Superb, But Lacked Joy and Sense of Fun,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Oct 6, 1992; Arthur Kaptainis, “Recital Clever, but Cool,” *The Gazette* [Montreal], Oct 26, 1999; Dan Tucker, “Lang’s ‘Honest’ Playing Packs Plenty of Power,” *Chicago Tribune*, Dec 10, 2000; Tim Smith, “Humidity Dampens Voight’s Impressive Recital,” *The Sun* [Baltimore], Apr 19, 2002; Grace Jean, “Classical Music: John O’Conor,” *Washington Post*, Jul 21 2003; Rick Schultz, “Lang Tends to Make Every Piece His Own,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 10 2009. On the ambivalent character of the above categories, see Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman, *Sex, or the Unbearable* (Duke University Press, 2014), 15–18; Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Rosalind Galt, *Pretty: Film and Decorative Image* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, “What is Minor Literature?,” *Mississippi Review*, 11, no. 3: 13–33; J.L. Austin, “A Plea for Excuses” in *Philosophical Papers*, eds. J. O. Urmsen and G. J. Warnock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

⁹ Harold C. Schonberg, “In Recital: Rostropovich,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1969.

¹⁰ Arthur Kaptainis, “Recital Clever, but Cool,” *The Gazette* [Montreal], Oct. 26, 1999.

Indeed, accounts of recital culture from the turn of the twentieth century (when the encore as we know it today became a standard feature of solo concerts) to the present often laud the performer's seemingly ancillary offering of encores, rather than their ontologically prior program, as the recital's "best" part¹¹—its "high point"¹²; its "finest portion"¹³; its "most enjoyable,"¹⁴ "most gripping and impassioned,"¹⁵ "most profound and elegiac,"¹⁶ and "most affecting" playing.¹⁷ Concomitantly, these accounts tend to

¹¹ Olin Downes, "Horowitz Plays for Large Crowd," *New York Times*, May 18, 1943; "Sandor in Recital at Carnegie Hall, Hungarian Pianist Gives His Best Readings in Encores," *New York Times*, Jan 22, 1948; Will Crutchfield, "Alicia de Larrocha Presents a Mozart Recital," *New York Times*, Aug 9, 1984; Edward Greenfield, "Horowitz," *The Guardian*, Jun 2, 1986; Tamara Bernstein, "Tselyakov Saves the Best for Last, Revealing Magnetism in Third Encore," *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto], Sep 30, 1995; Melinda Bargreen, "Evening of Strength Ends with Encore of Finesse," *Seattle Times*, Dec 13, 2003; Vivien Schweitzer, "Evgeny Kissin Warms Up, and He Keeps on Cooking," *New York Times*, May 5, 2007. See Jeff Bradley, "Upshaw Lieder Recital an Enchanting Show," *Denver Post*, Nov 17, 1995 for a representative example of the related "nothing was better" genre of encore approbation.

¹² Howard Klein, "Gilels Plays at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, Nov 7, 1964; "Encore High Spot of Piano Concert," *New York Times*, Oct 15, 1969; Tim, Smith, "Battle Recital Ends on a Perfect Note," *Sun Sentinel* [Fort Lauderdale], Jan 6, 1990; Kiraly Philippa, "Violin Recital's High Point Comes in the Encore," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Feb 24, 1994; Anne Midgette, "Anne Midgette on Dmitri Hvorostovsky, Sondra Radvanovsky at the Kennedy Center," *Washington Post*, Mar 31, 2010.

¹³ Robert Lawrence, "Lhévinne Gives Piano Recital at Carnegie Hall," *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov 16, 1941.

¹⁴ Theodore W. Libbey, "Galina Heifetz Performs Program for Violin," *New York Times*, Nov 22, 1981; Bryce Morrison, *My Favorite Things: Virtuoso Encore*, Stephen Hough, Nimbus Ni 2540, CD, 2009.

¹⁵ Sharon McDaniel, "Lang Lang Panders to Listeners," *Palm Beach Post*, Mar 14, 2003.

¹⁶ Paul J. Pelkonen, "Concert Review: The Human Touch," *Superconductor* (blog), Nov 16, 2012, <http://super-conductor.blogspot.com/2012/11/concert-review-human-touch.html>.

¹⁷ David Allen, "The Violinist Leila Josefowicz at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, Nov 11, 2015. Encores have also been called the recital's "most delicious morsels," "most inspired playing," and "most sustained poetry," as well as its "most eloquent" and most memorable part. See "Recital by Paderewski: Famous Pianist Plays in Symphony Hall, Thousands Listen with Delight and Applaud with Wild Enthusiasm," *Boston Daily Globe*, Feb 7, 1909; Lawrence A. Johnson, "Perlman, Less a Virtuoso Now, Still Draws a Crowd," *Sun Sentinel* [Fort Lauderdale], Feb 1, 2003; Rick Schultz, "Lang Lang Tends to Make Every Piece His Own," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 10, 2009; "Mr. Cortot's Recital," *The Manchester Guardian*, Oct 13, 1922; John von Rhein, "Lang Fans May Still Be Clapping," *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 2006. Also note "The Horowitz Recital," *The Irish Times*, Nov 7, 1932, which describes the encores as the "real start" of the performance; and "Fine Program by Paderewski," *New York Times*, Feb 3, 1909, which states that "the chief purpose of going to a concert is to obtain 'encores.'"

portray the recital program, the putative main course, as “frustratingly unremarkable”¹⁸ at worst and, at best, as a warm-up or opening act—“a prelude to encores,” as a recent Itzhak Perlman review put it.¹⁹ It seems that “what everyone really wants to hear,” as the baritone Thomas Hampson remarked in 2011, “are the encores.”²⁰ Here are four isomorphic excerpts drawn from concert reviews spanning the last four decades that elaborate this counterintuitive inversion: (1) “*But* the real fun and unexpected thrills of this wonderful demonstration were the four encores [Jorge] Bolet presented after the printed program was completed. It was a group of famed Nocturnes by Chopin....[He] laid them out with the pride, discretion and self-effacement of a jeweler displaying gems”²¹; (2) “*But* the work that actually moved me to tears was not [Beethoven’s Op. 110 sonata], but [Alfred Brendel’s] encore—Busoni’s transcription of the Bach Chorale Prelude ‘Nun komm, der Heilen Heiland’—one of those privileged, rare (and indescribable) moments of communion that performers strive for and concert-goers dream about”²²; (3) “*But* the most compelling personality did not arrive until the encores. Scarlatti’s G Major Sonata, K. 455, went at a pace considerably more manic than the ‘allegro’ marking, but with euphoric results. Hands blurred in the Yuja Wang take on [Arcadi] Volodos’ arrangement of Mozart’s ‘Turkish March.’...Wang was, in this one

¹⁸ Vivien Schweitzer, “Evgeny Kissin Warms Up, and He Keeps on Cooking,” *New York Times*, May 5, 2007.

¹⁹ Corinna da Fonesca-Wollheim, “A Prelude to Encores: Itzhak Perlman Returns for Solo Recital at Lincoln Center,” *New York Times*, Dec 4, 2014.

²⁰ Rick Schultz, “Encores? Hilary Hahn’s Glad to Oblige,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct 30, 2011.

²¹ Daniel Cariaga, “Pianist Jorge Bolet at Ambassador,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 13, 1981; emphasis added.

²² Tamara Berstein, *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto], “Pianist Alfred Brendel’s Performance at Roy Thomson Hall Achieves Some Unforgettable Moments, in Particular during His Encore, A ‘Poet of the Piano,’ Brendel Is Bewitching,” Apr 22, 1991; emphasis added.

piece, as a goddess”²³; (4) “The real highpoint, *though*, came with the encores....[Dmitri] Hvorostovsky, who earlier had dedicated the concert to the victims of the Moscow subway bombing, offered an unaccompanied folk song that was breathtaking: nuanced and skilled, vulnerable and emotional, and sheerly, hauntingly beautiful.”²⁴

The headline of the second excerpt includes the lone word of magic in these examples, noting, “In Particular in His Encore...Brendel is *Bewitching*.” Very often, however, the encore is portrayed as the “real” or “actual” highpoint of the recital by virtue of its “magic.” Here are seven additional concert reviews where the peculiar axiological inversion that the “but” syntax makes so conspicuous (the odd celebration of the seemingly ancillary encore over and often against the main event of the program) is warranted by way of magic:

[Pianist Mikhail Rudy] added part of a Stravinsky ballet as his last encore, playing with a penetration, a **magic**, and a genuine sense of theatre that eluded him throughout the remainder of the evening. Perhaps he had been saving it all for the finale....The audience in the Theatre Misonneuve jumped to its feet with one loud chorus of bravos, which in this case was well merited.

—Jacob Siskind, “Émigré Soviet Pianist Saves Best for Last,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sep 7, 1988.

The palpable charm missing in the program proper bloomed for a **magical** three minutes in the [first encore, Chopin’s G-flat Waltz]. Then, when a couple of favorite nocturnes came to mind as appropriate, [Moura Lympany], speaking for the first time in the evening, said to the audience, ‘That was a Waltz, of course. Now, it’s a Study,’ and launched into the

²³ Peter Dobrin, “An Elfin Yuja Wang Flexes Piano Brawn,” *Philadelphia Enquirer*, May 1, 2010; emphasis added.

²⁴ Midgette, “Dmitri Hvorostovsky” *Washington Post*, Mar 31, 2010; emphasis added. Another example of the “though” variation can be found in Michael Dervan, “Dynamism Waited for Second Encore,” *Irish Times* [Dublin], Mar 17, 1997. For further variations, see “Paderewski Plays to New York Crowd,” *Musical America*, Nov 9, 1907; Michael Kimmelman, “There Won’t Be Any Encore Until You Eat Your Vegetables,” *Philadelphia Enquirer*, Nov 7, 1985; Jacob Siskind, “Performance Technically Superb, But Lacked Joy and Sense of Fun,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Oct 6, 1992.

first of the two etudes, both of which she played with dash and fire, never looking back.

—Daniel Cariaga, “Pianist Moura Lympany in Recital at Ambassador Auditorium,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 19, 1988.

In an evening full high points, the highest turned out to be the very last note Kathleen Battle sang....It crowned the famed soprano’s third and final encore, “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot”....That final note, a delicate and perfectly placed pianissimo, was suspended for what seemed like several minutes. It floated the way you might imagine a disembodied soul floating, a soul truly being carried ‘home.’ The incredible beauty of it sent a hush over the theater that was **magical**. Just thinking about its still gives me shivers.

—Tim Smith, “Battle Recital Ends on a Perfect Note,” *Sun Sentinel* [Fort Lauderdale], Jan 6, 1990.

The trouble with tossing off difficulties with such ease is that after a while the whole thing becomes boring....And that nearly happened Monday evening. Only in an encore by Fritz Kreisler did [Jozsef] Lendvai allow himself to let go, become a bit sentimental. The effect was **charming** and let the audience in to a different aspect of his personality.

—Jacob Siskind, “Performance Technically Superb, But Lacked Joy and Sense of Fun,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 6, 1992.

But then the single encore—Ravel’s “Habanera”—received a perfect performance! [The violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter]...captured something utterly **magical** in the music’s fleeting sentiment, a magic that had been avoided in [the program] with an almost studied determination.

—Mark Swed, “Mutter’s Engaging Move to the 20th Century,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 26, 2000.

For all of his adventurousness, there was no doubt that the delicious irreverence of the encores contained [the violinist Maxim Vengerov’s] finest playing. Thanks to his extraordinary technical **wizardry**, Vengerov is unequalled in his ability to transfix with the most hackneyed music. In his hands, Antonio Bazzini is a composer of genius, while Fritz Kreisler is elevated to the realm of the immortals.

—Tom Service, “Vengerov/Papian: Barbican, London,” *The Guardian*, Jan 31, 2001.

Sometimes piano recitalists really do save the best for last. That happened Thursday evening...[the pianist Nikolai Lugansky's] second and final encore, a dazzling transcription of the Scherzo from Mendelssohn's "A Midsummer Night's Dream," was a dream in itself—impossibly fleet, light as a whisper, exquisitely shaded, downright **magical**....The Mendelssohn encore sent everyone home happy.
—Melinda Bargreen, "Evening of Strength Ends with Encore of Finesse," *Seattle Times*, Dec 13, 2003.

Since the turn of the twentieth century, a great many recital reviews have taken this form, with commentators curiously reserving their most impassioned approbation—their claims of magic—for the (ostensibly) auxiliary encores rather than the main fare of the printed program.²⁵ Which is to say that many concertgoers since about 1900 have described encores as what I call the "aural *punctum*" of the recital. *Punctum* is a term from Roland Barthes' theory of photography. In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes states that his attraction to a photo derives from the interaction of two elements: *studium* and *punctum*. The *studium* is a general enthusiasm, curiosity, or interest that the beholder seeks out in a photograph's scene: "the same sort of vague...interest one takes in the people, the entertainments, the books, the clothes one finds 'all right.'"²⁶ Stemming from deeply personal feelings that Barthes describes as "of the order of loving," the *punctum*, by contrast, is an essential detail in the photograph that profoundly moves the beholder, immersing them in the photo and the swirl of associations it summons forth as it takes possession of their body—"piercing" it in a way that, as Barthes puts it, smacks of "magic."²⁷

²⁵ Martha Feldman has shown that eighteenth-century encoring rituals were also lauded using magical language. I will not be tracking the public exaltation of encores over the *longue durée* in this chapter but, as I detail below, examining a more circumscribed historical scene. See Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 70.

²⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010 [1980]), 27.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 and 88.

Reading the isomorphic “but” examples in conjunction with the set of examples that employ “magic” to warrant the encore’s odd superiority to the program, the encore can be understood as the aural *punctum* of the recital to the extent that it is the locus of its “real” or “actual” magic. How might one explain this peculiar localization of the recital’s “real” magic in the “syrupy” digestifs over its main course of meaty Bach fugues and Beethoven sonatas? That is to say, how might one make sense of the peculiar relation between the encore and the printed program made manifest by the above reviews? The “but the real magic” refrain of encore eulogization recalls modernity’s prevailing fantasy of music as “the only real magic,” which yields a corollary question: What is the relation between modernity’s account of music and its treatment of the encore? Finally, what does all of this have to do with the strange tension in classical music criticism exposed above, in which high praise for the encore is mixed with its belittlement?

The set of seven “magic” reviews reference seven very different pieces: a transcription for piano of a Stravinsky ballet (presumably a bit of Guido Agosti’s arrangement of *The Firebird*, which is commonly played as an encore); a sprightly Chopin waltz; an unaccompanied African-American spiritual; an arrangement of Ravel’s “exotic” *Pièce en form de Habanera*; two pieces for violin by Kreisler, one bravura and one sentimental; and a piano arrangement of a Mendelssohn scherzo. Taking into account, first off, this compositional heterogeneity with the curious way in which critics have disparaged encores while celebrating their magic and, second, the examples’ shared alignment of magic with a thickening of affect (“palpable charm,” “a hush over the theater,” “fleeting sentiment”), I wonder if the allure of the encore is not mainly a matter of a given encore’s notes and rhythms but of the affective contours of what I call “encore

space.” Encore space is my term both for the musical site where encoring occurs and for the mass-cultural sociality extending beyond the concert hall that has come into being through the circulation of encore-related texts, such as encore albums (recordings devoted entirely to performers’ signature encores), concert reviews, tweets, and YouTube videos. Through both the rituals of live encore performance and the mediation of these rituals by practices away from their performance, encore space has come to offer its participant-consumers pleasurable affective experiences that do not primarily lie in the contemplation notes and rhythms. Incidentally, this might explain not only why critics have belittled the encore but also why the encore is missing from the musicological record. Amid the encore’s popularity, musicology, despite its ardent turn toward the popular over the last three decades, has shown no interest in telling its story.²⁸ One reason might be the encore’s upper-middlebrow uncoolness: on the one hand, encores are too “empty headed” to entice scholars who share Said’s highbrow predilections²⁹; on the other, encores are not cheesy enough to merit the sort of attention Carl Wilson has devoted to Celine Dion’s schmaltz and not edgy enough to garner the “serious” study that

²⁸ The encore is almost entirely missing from musicological accounts of the recital, such as Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jim Samson, “The Musical Work and Nineteenth-Century History,” in *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 200), 3–28; Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8–28; Jim Samson, “The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism,” in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, 2002), 110–127. Also note the meager entry in *Grove*. Peter Walls, “Encore,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec 11, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08781>.

²⁹ A reviewer recently called Yuja Wang’s encore of Horowitz’s *Carmen* variations “glittering if empty headed.” Zachary Woolfe, “So Nice, They Do It Twice: Calls of ‘Encore!’ Bring Surprise to Classical Music,” *New York Times*, Jan 9, 2015.

Simon Frith reserved for properly popular music.³⁰ But a second explanation can be found in musicology's traditional orientation toward texts and its struggle to explain the affective aspects of musicking.³¹ While we have myriad tools to analyze music's formal features, we are all too easily flummoxed by questions concerning, in Margaret Notley's words, this "expressive" dimension.³²

If the allure of encoring lies in the affective contours of encore space, then what are these contours, and what about them results in so many celebrations couched in the language of magic? In what follows, I explore the magic of encore space through several interrelated concepts: the encore as gift; the encore as home; and the encore as personal touch. I treat contemporary encoring as part of a historical moment that stretches back to the turn of the twentieth century, around the time when Weber put forward his disenchantment thesis, and show that over this long moment the encore has been mediated in such ways that encore space has come to resemble the Weberian "pianissimo," offering the subjects who have been socialized into prizing classical music and who can afford the price of admission into its temples an intimate sociality redolent

³⁰ Carl Wilson, *Let's Talk About Love: A Journey to the End of Taste*, 33 1/3 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007); Simon Frith, *Taking Popular Music Seriously* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007).

³¹ Lisa McCormick, "Performance Perspectives" in *The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music*, eds. John Shepherd and Kyle Devine (New York: Routledge, 2015), 121–122. Attempts to privilege performance and music's corporeal dimensions include Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Middletown, CT, Wesleyan University Press, 1998); Carolyn Abbate, "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?," *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 505–36; Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). On music as performance, see Nicholas Cook and Richard Pettengill, *Taking It to the Bridge: Music as Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Mary Simonson, *Body Knowledge: Performance, Intermediality, and American Entertainment at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Nina Sun Eidsheim, *Sensing Sounds: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

³² On musicology's struggle with the "expressive" dimension of music, see Margaret Notley, "Late-Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music and the Cult of the Classical Adagio," *19th-Century Music*, 23, no. 1 (Summer 1999), 61.

of the magic elaborated in modernist disenchantment narratives. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the case study will not only enrich the previous chapter's preliminary reading of the Weberian disenchantment narrative and its fantasy of music as "the only real magic" but also, by focusing on concert culture from the perspective of magic, make manifest the centrality of the encore to the recital and its history. Neither naive affirmation nor dismissive ideology critique, the following attempts to make sense of the reasons concertgoers are attracted to encores—what they feel encores provide them—while attending to the potential costs and pitfalls of relying solely on music for magic.

History in the "Minor" Mode

The piano recital as we know it today is a public concert where a single performer, usually seated at a Steinway grand on an empty stage before a hushed audience in a darkened hall, plays a 75-minute program of beefy, multi-movement "masterworks" (or sets of related pieces in the style of such compositions) split by a short intermission and followed by a batch of bite-sized encores. In his insightful account of the piano concert, Kenneth Hamilton argues that the solo piano recital in its current form was largely a product of the later nineteenth century, when Anton Rubinstein, Hans von Bülow, and Clara Schumann, among others, established it as the norm.³³ Jim Samson makes a similar claim in his history of pianistic practice, identifying the era of the early twentieth-century giants as the culminating eschaton of a now defunct "recital age" ruled by Rubinstein et al.³⁴

³³ Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 36.

³⁴ Jim Samson, "The Musical Work and Nineteenth-Century History," in *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 200), 3–

Programmatically speaking, Hamilton and Samson are correct: Anton Rubinstein certainly played a central role in consolidating modern piano recital programming through his historical survey recitals.³⁵ Their accounts, however, are incomplete. For starters, even in the last years of the nineteenth century entirely solo piano concerts were generally reserved for the homes of musical connoisseurs and the salons of the rich, with many commentators, including Liszt and Hanslick, describing these recitals as “tiresome,” “monotonous,” and just “too much” for regular concertgoers.³⁶ In fact, while Rubinstein and others played a great many entirely solo piano concerts, such concerts did not become the norm until the first decades of the twentieth century when audiences flocked to hear the coruscating monologues of Paderewski and his contemporaries (virtuosos like Rosenthal, Rachmaninov, and Hofmann).³⁷ As the respected *New York Tribune* music critic Henry Edward Krehbiel wrote in a review of Paderewski’s first American tours, “The recital idea was still in its infancy, the great virtuosi who had preceded [Paderewski], like Rubinstein and Von Bülow, having other artists associated

28; Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially 24; Jim Samson, “The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism,” in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool, 2002), 110–127.

³⁵ Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 23. See Henry Edward Krehbiel, “At a Pianoforte Recital,” in *How to Listen to Music* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1905), 167–168.

³⁶ Letter to Simon Löwy, London, 20 May 1841, in *Letters of Franz Liszt*, vol. 1, ed. La Mara, trans. Constance Bache (New York: Charles Scribner’s sons, 1894), 53; Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany: A Study in Sources, Documents, and the History of Reception* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 106–107; Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms, 1846–99*, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1950), 228.

³⁷ In the 1840s, Liszt referred to his recitals as *monologue pianistiques*. Franz Liszt, *Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. Adrian Williams (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), 106–07.

with them to give the interest of variety to their entertainments. It was soon found that Paderewski did not need such variety to draw audiences.”³⁸

In addition to overlooking variety, Hamilton’s and Samson’s origin stories circle somewhat narrowly around the canonical compositions of the program, passing over many of the typically unnoticed elements that are so essential to the contemporary recital: lighting, seating, staging, applause, dress, and, my focus here, encoring rituals. This section retells the recital’s story by reinterpreting and rearranging the elements that comprise it, shifting focus from the official to the unofficial, from the recondite to the ordinary, from the monumental to, in the words of a 1930 review of a Paderewski recital, “minor matters”—that is, from the program to the encore.³⁹ What follows, then, is an abbreviated genealogy of the piano recital, the model for violin and song recitals, that starts with its *punctum*, the locus of its “real” magic—the encore. It traces the origins of the recital as we know it today to the beloved encoring rituals established by Paderewski and his cohort in early twentieth-century US concert halls, mapping out a scene of encore playing that extends from the 1890s to the present.⁴⁰ In supplying this “counter-

³⁸ Henry T. Finck, *Success in Music and How It is Won* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 310. After his early tours Paderewski foreswore variety altogether. Note, for example, “Paderewski Angry, Halts at Musicale,” *New York Times*, Feb 12, 1916.

³⁹ Olin Downes, “Paderewski Meets with an Ovation,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, targeting similarly passed-over matters, such as staging and lighting, yields similar genealogies of the recital. Paderewski was among the first recitalists to prohibit concertgoers from sitting on the stage and to insist that the platform remain undecorated. See Olin Downes, “Paderewski Meets with an Ovation,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930; “Paderewski and the Steinway,” *The Piano Magazine*, Jan 14, 1914, 183. Contemporary lighting practices also owe much to Paderewski. A 1927 review notes, “Following the custom of Paderewski and other artists, Mr. Lhevinne played his program with the auditorium darkened and the keyboard lighted only by three great shaded lamps high above the stage.” “Plays on Liszt’s Own Piano, Lhevinne Gives ‘Liebestraum’ on Instrument Its Composer Used” *New York Times*, Oct 31, 1927. Also see “Paderewski as an Exemplar of ‘Barnumism,’” *The Musical Digest*, Mar 31, 1900, 39; M.R., “Paderewski in Chicago,” *Musical America*, Dec 13, 1913; “Mephisto’s Musings,” *Musical America*, Mar 14, 1914, 7; M.E. Will, “Rochester Throng Hails Paderewski,” *Musical America*,

memory,”⁴¹ it also provides a historiographical explanation for academic music history’s neglect of the encore: the encore only becomes a central player in a history of the recital if that history focuses on matters that are often passed over by music historians, including, of course, musical magic.

For the first three decades of the last century, Ignacy Jan Paderewski was the center of US concert life. He gave 20 US tours between 1891 and 1939, playing thousands of concerts from Maine to California and earning an estimated \$10 million. For comparison, Anton Rubinstein gave one tour in the US (1872–1873) and Von Bülow gave two (1875–1876; 1889–1890). These figures are all the more impressive given that from 1917 to 1922 Paderewski abandoned his concert career for politics, becoming the first Prime Minister of Poland and the Polish ambassador to the League of Nations. At the height of “Paddymania,” Paderewski appeared on tobacco cards and coins; in ads for iron pills, dry goods, candy, soap, and shampoo; and on the cover of *Time* magazine—twice.⁴² There were even Paderewski windup toys, dolls, and wigs, to mention just a few of the sundry knickknacks with which Paderewski fans could adorn their homes. Writing in 1928, the *New York Times* music critic Richard Aldrich attributed Paderewski’s success in the US to his special “magic,” his power to communicate “directly” to listeners, to “touch [their] heart[s]”: “The history of [Paderewski’s] conquest of America has hardly been paralleled in the history of music. There came other artists before him, but Mr.

Nov 25, 1922, 33; Ignacy Jan Paderewski, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1939), 313.

⁴¹ On Genealogy as counter-memory, see Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. D.F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 139–164.

⁴² For iron pills ads, see *Washington Post*, May 11, 1919; *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1919; *Charlotte Observer*, May 11, 1919; *Sunday Oregonian*, May 11, 1919. Variation in *San Francisco Chronicle*, Mar 16, 1919. For *Time* covers, see *Time*, Jan 23, 1928 and Feb 27, 1939.

Paderewski's achievements were of a different and a higher sort....He touched the deepest and tenderest feelings and tugged irresistibly at the heart-strings of a whole people....He seemed to speak a new language in music; he raised its poetry, its magic, its mystery, its romantic eloquence to a higher power than his listeners had known. To everyone of them it seemed as if he spoke directly in an individual appeal, touching the heart as never before."⁴³

Nothing in Paderewski's arsenal touched American hearts like his encores.⁴⁴ He was famous for his encoring, often presenting his fans with a "miniature recital after the printed list."⁴⁵ Critics were so taken with these miniature recitals that they frequently focused more on them than his programs, a phenomenon that is particularly remarkable in light of the fact that early twentieth-century reviewers typically left concert halls before the encores to get their reviews to the press.⁴⁶ The *New York Times* critic Olin Downes wrote passionately of the pianist's "encore habit," a sort of mania that "seized" him at the end of every program to the great delight of his many admirers.⁴⁷ This 1909 *Boston Daily Globe* review gives a sense of this spectacle in language reminiscent of the "but" reviews presented above: "Nobody thought of leaving the hall. It has been learned from past recitals that Paderewski is very generous in granting encore numbers, and that he saves

⁴³ Richard Aldrich, "Ignace Jan Paderewski in America," in *Paderewski, His Country and Its Progress* (New York: The Kosciuszko Foundation, 1928), 7.

⁴⁴ The same could be said about Rachmaninov. See, for example, James Gibbons Huneker, "Rachmaninoff Raises the Roof," *New York Times*, Dec 22, 1918.

⁴⁵ "Throng Stays to Hear Second Recital by Paderewski," *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov 30, 1930; "Music Academy to Hear Paderewski Play," *New York Herald Tribune*, Mar 25, 1932.

⁴⁶ "More Paderewski Encores Urged as Piano is Removed," *Washington Post*, Nov 27, 1930. On departing before the encores, see Olin Downes, "Recital Is Given by Claudio Arrau," *New York Times*, Nov 15 1941; Olin Downes, "Horowitz Draws Throng to Recital," *New York Times*, Feb 3, 1948. During the first decades of the twentieth century, critics apparently had around an hour and a half to turn in their copy after a concerto or opera. Mark N. Grant, *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America* (Boston: Northeastern University Press), 59.

⁴⁷ Olin Downes, "Paderewski One of Three Masters," *New York Times*, Jun 30, 1941.

the most delicious morsels in his repertory for last. Everybody crowded toward the stage and refused to leave until six encore numbers had been granted. The last was Paderewski's own minuet, and to many in the audience his playing of this exquisite little gem was the greatest treat of the afternoon."⁴⁸

One of the defining features of the recital since Paderewski's reign of American concert life has been the separation of the encores from the program. In addition to playing encores after the conclusion of the printed program, many early twentieth-century pianists would play encores after the first half of the program before intermission, and many would add to the program after a particularly well-received number or group, occasionally repeating a piece verbatim.⁴⁹ Printed-program interpolations fell out of

⁴⁸ "Recital by Paderewski: Famous Pianist Plays in Symphony Hall, Thousands Listen with Delight and Applaud with Wild Enthusiasm," *Boston Daily Globe*, Feb 7, 1909. Also see, "Progress of the First Recital," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 14, 1896; "Paderewski Plays to New York Crowd," *Musical America*, Nov. 9, 1907.

⁴⁹ Josef Hofmann was a particularly unpredictable encore giver. See "Hofmann in Another Recital," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb 13, 1902; "Throngs Hear Hofmann," *New York Times*, Jan 7, 1924; Francis D Perkins, "Josef Hofmann Honors Memory of Two Friends," *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan 13, 1930; Olin Downes, "18 Encores Given by Josef Hofmann," *New York Times*, Jan 31, 1937; Noel Strauss, "Hofmann at Peak at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, Jan 20, 1946. There has long been ambivalence about repetitions ("literal" encores), especially in operas and oratorios. For example, a poster advertising the public performance of Haydn's *Creation* at the Burgtheater in Vienna on March 19, 1799 contained a request to the audience, in the composer's name, to abstain from calling for encores of individual numbers: "[Haydn] would furthermore like to observe that if in the case there arises the opportunity for applause, it will be permitted him to receive it as a much appreciated mark of satisfaction, but not as a request for the *repetition* of one or the other individual pieces; for otherwise the true connection between the various single parts, from the uninterrupted succession of which should proceed the effect of the whole, would be necessarily disturbed, and therefore the pleasure, the expectance of which a perhaps too favorable reception on the public's part has awakened, would of nature be markedly reduced." Haydn's anxieties that encores might disturb the "the effect of the whole" persists in opera houses today: in response to questions about the rock-star tenor Juan Diego Flórez's encores at La Scala and the Met in 2008, a spokeswoman for the Royal Opera House, London remarked, "The expected thing here is that we carry on with the opera. An aria comes in the context of the whole piece, and would continue so that the dramatic impetus of the piece is not lost. *Creation* poster contents reproduced in full in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol.4, *The Years of 'The Creation' 1796–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 453. The latter quote is from Charlotte Higgins, "Sing It Again: Flórez Breaks Encore Ban," *The Guardian*, Apr 23, 2008.

fashion around the time the opera encore disappeared, and by the 1930s, as the *New York Herald Tribune* music critic Francis D. Perkins wrote in his review of a Josef Lhévinne recital, “[Encores], according to a laudable practice which is gaining vogue, were presented after the scheduled program was over, instead of being interspersed through its course.”⁵⁰ This delimitation of encores from the printed program was part of a larger consolidation of two distinct recital spaces, undergirded by divergent repertoires, rituals, and ideologies and yielding disparate affective experiences, that occurred during Paderewski’s career. I call these spaces program space and encore space. The mid-century Liszt recital was short and sweet. Consisting mostly of his transcriptions, paraphrases, improvisations, and virtuoso bonbons, there was little difference between Liszt’s scheduled programs and his encores.⁵¹ The Rubinstein recital of the 1880s was

⁵⁰ “Josef Lhevinne Is Heard in His Only Recital Here,” *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct 28, 1934. Also see Olin Downes, “Harold Bauer Plays,” *New York Times*, Oct 21, 1928.

⁵¹ In an 1839 letter to his rumored paramour, the Princess Cristina di Belgiojoso, Liszt gives a sense of the mid-century recital program: “For the curiosity of the thing, here is the program of one of [the tiresome *monologues pianistiques* that I concocted especially for the Romans].

1. Overture to William Tell, performed by [Monsieur Liszt]
2. Reminiscences des Puritains. Fantasy composed and performed by the above mentioned!
3. Etudes and fragments, by the same to the same!
4. Improvisations on given themes—still by the same.

And that’s all; neither more nor less, except for lively conversation during the intervals, and enthusiasm, if appropriate!”* Liszt did of course program other composers’ music. From December 1841 to March 1842, for instance, he gave 35 documented private and public concerts in Berlin, playing more than 80 pieces for the piano, including compositions by Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, Beethoven, Hummel, and Mendelssohn.** 12 of these concerts were monologues (mostly at the Singakademie), and while these solo concerts included some Bach and Beethoven, they mainly consisted of Liszt’s Schubert transcriptions, his paraphrases, and his *Grand galop chromatique**** Only private concerts, like the cloistered soirees La Belgiojoso organized at her Paris home, afforded Liszt the opportunity to play a complete Beethoven sonata (which, outside of a few adventurous performances by Mendelssohn, Moscheles, Liszt, Wieck, and Hallé in Berlin, Vienna, and London, would have been rare to find on a recital program before the late nineteenth century). Liszt did occasionally play Beethoven in his recitals, but even a single movement of an early sonata could leave audience members, as one 1843 review put it, “rather cold” (“*ziemlich kalt*”).**** Liszt did not always play encores, but when he did, they were typically improvisations or his greatest hits (for example, his *Erlkönig* transcription, *Robert le diable* Fantasy, or *Grand galop*, all of which he regularly played in both the program and encore spaces of his concerts between 1840 and 1845).*****

gargantuan, usually lasting three hours, but exhibited an inverse homogeneity, with complete Beethoven sonatas often appearing on the program as well as being offered as encores.⁵² The idea of playing even a movement of a Beethoven sonata as an encore had become quite laughable by Paderewski's heyday, and by the 1930s, program and encore space were structured much the way they are today.⁵³ That is to say, program space was primarily a domain of punctilious decorum, bourgeois self-cultivation (*Bildung*), and the highest aesthetic values, embodied above all in the "sublime" Beethoven sonata (most Paderewski, Hofmann, Rosenthal, and Rachmaninov recitals included a Beethoven sonata on the program, usually preceded by some Bach-Liszt, Bach-Taussig, Bach-d'Albert, or Bach-Busoni and followed by a longish romantic piece, an extended Chopin group, which often included longer pieces like a Scherzo or Ballade, a trifle or two foreshadowing the encores, and a big virtuoso piece like an Hungarian Rhapsody by Liszt [see Fig 2.2]). Encore space, by contrast, was usually more informal, playful,

* Franz Liszt, *Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. Adrian Williams (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), 106–07.

** See Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany: A Study in Sources, Documents, and the History of Reception* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 129–137.

*** See Saffle, Appendix C. Liszt played Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue (December 27, 1841), the *Moonlight* sonata (January 1, 1842), the *Appassionata* (January 30, 1842), and two movements from the *Hammerklavier* (February 6, 1842).

**** The movement in question is the first movement of the *Pathétique*, which Liszt played in a recital at the Odéon in Munich on October, 21 1843. Quoted in Saffle, 159–160.

***** See Saffle, Appendix C. Also see Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 45.

⁵² For example, see Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms, 1846–99*, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1950), 228.

⁵³ As a *Musical Times* journalist wrote in 1923, "After a half-dozen extra items [Vladimir de Pachmann] facetiously commenced the *Waldstein* Sonata, but smilingly desisted after a few bars—doubtless he did not wish to overtax those of inferior musical stamina." Richard Holt, "The Encore Question," *The Musical Times*, Jun 1, 1923, 401.

spontaneous—a space where performers amused their audiences with “clever, little composition[s],” “dainty” preludes, and, to repeat, “minor matters.”⁵⁴

UNIVERSITY MUSICAL SOCIETY
 F. W. KELSEY, President A. A. STANLEY, Director

CHORAL UNION SERIES, 1913-1914

THIRTY-FIFTH SEASON FIFTH CONCERT
 No. CCLXXVIII COMPLETE SERIES

Ignace Jan Paderewski
 PIANIST

HILL AUDITORIUM, MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1914
 AT EIGHT O'CLOCK

PROGRAM

FANTASIA AND FUGUE, G MINOR	BACH-LISZT
SONATA, E FLAT, OP. 27	BEETHOVEN
FANTASIA, C MAJOR	SCHUMANN
THREE ETUDES	} CHOPIN
NOCTURNE	
TWO MAZURKAS	
SCHERZO	
BARCAROLE	RUBINSTEIN
RHAPSODY	LISZT

STEINWAY PIANO USED

THE NEXT CONCERT IN THE CHORAL UNION SERIES WILL BE THE
 FIRST MAY FESTIVAL CONCERT, MAY 13, 1914, 8:00 P. M.
 THE UNIVERSITY CHORAL UNION
 THE CHICAGO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
 ALMA GLUCK, SOPRANO SOLOIST
 ALBERT A. STANLEY AND FREDERICK STOCK, CONDUCTORS

Figure 2.2 Paderewski program, March 2, 1914

⁵⁴ “Crowds Hear Great Artist,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Mar 1, 1907; Edward Barry, “Liszt Pupil, 74, Gives a Poetic Piano Recital,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 4, 1937; Olin Downes, “Paderewski meets with an Ovation,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930.

Zooming in on a February 3, 1909 Paderewski recital at Carnegie Hall may begin to clarify the divergent affective contours of these spaces. Paderewski's program consisted of Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue; Beethoven's Sonata in C minor, Op. 111; Schumann's *Etudes Symphoniques*; a long Chopin group; Debussy's *Reflets dans l'eau*; and Liszt's Twelfth Hungarian Rhapsody. There were seven encores following the program: a Chopin waltz; Sigismund Stajowski's *Chant d'armour*; two Chopin etudes, both in G flat from Op. 25 and Op. 10, respectively; one of Schumann's *Nachtstücke*; Chopin's Prelude in A flat; and Paderewski's famous Minuet, Op. 14, No. 1 (his signature encore).⁵⁵ The program concluded with what a *New York Times* reviewer, writing with the day's characteristic misogyny, described as "the impetuous rush of excited femininity to the edge of the platform," that is, the routine rush to the front of the auditorium before the encores.⁵⁶ Starting in the 1890s, in the interregnum between program and encore space, "musical Maenads,"⁵⁷ "amiable fanatics,"⁵⁸ and "encore hounds"⁵⁹ dashed to the stage just before the encore portion of the recital to receive their after-dinner treats. Until fire departments outlawed the practice in the 1940s, the so-called rush was customary at the Carnegie Hall recitals of most pianists, violinists, and singers

⁵⁵ "Fine Program by Paderewski, Carnegie Hall Packed to Hear Noted Pianist in His First Recital this Season, Same Magic in His Tone, Women Rush to the Platform to Plead for Encores after the Program Closes," *New York Times*, Feb 3, 1909.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Also see "Paderewski Still Reigns," *Washington Post*, Dec 20, 1899; "Rachmaninoff Raises the Roof," *New York Times*, Dec 22, 1918. Note that both men and women rushed to the stage for encores. See "Paderewski Gives a Glowing Recital: Spontaneous Outburst Shows Pole Has Lost None of His Magic Skill," *New York Tribune*, Mar 8, 1914

⁵⁷ James Gibbons Huneker, "A Brilliant Piano Recital," *New York Times*, Mar 16, 1919 states, "The musical Maenads were storming the bastions of the stage when we left."

⁵⁸ James Gibbons Huneker, "Rachmaninoff Raises the Roof," *New York Times*, Dec 22, 1918.

⁵⁹ Olin Downes, "Salvo of Applause for Rachmaninoff," *New York Times* Dec 6, 1936.

as well as at the recitals of headliners at other concert halls in New York, Chicago, Boston, and D.C.⁶⁰

This ritual, which lives on in the standing ovation, is emblematic of the disparate ideologies and moods of program and encore space. For starters, the music-making of program space interpellates listeners as abstemious subjects, admonishing them to be on their best behavior. Encore-space musicking hails listeners differently, inviting them to partake of more intimate (and apparently bacchanalian or maenadic) forms of sociality. To be sure, encore space, as will be discussed in more detail below, is generally felt to be more intimate than program space. The relatively stringent laws of program space discountenance most forms of interpersonal affective connection. The performer and audience alike are supposed to commune principally with the artwork presented from the altar of the stage. The audience in the darkened hall is mostly invisible to the performer, a

⁶⁰ On the rush at Carnegie Hall, see “Mme. Gadski’s Recital,” *New York Times*, Nov 8, 1911; James Gibbons Huneker, “Rachmaninoff Raises the Roof,” *New York Times*, Dec 22, 1918; Richard Aldrich, “Fritz Kreisler’s Recital,” *New York Times*, Jan 31, 1923; Francis D. Perkins, “Levitzsky Plays Vigorously in First Piano Recital,” *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan 14, 1925; “Friedman Stirs Audience,” *New York Times*, Oct 27, 1929; Francis D. Perkins, “Lhevinne Gives His First Recital of New Season,” *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct 30, 1932; Olin Downes, “Ovation to Heifetz,” *New York Times*, Oct 12, 1932; Olin Downes, “Hofmann Program Has Old Favorites,” *New York Times*, Nov 29, 1937; Olin Downes, “Artur Rubinstein Heard in Recital,” *New York Times*, Mar 12, 1940. On the rush in Chicago, Boston, and D.C., see “Applause for Moritz Rosenthal,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 18, 1896; “Rachmaninoff’s Second Recital,” *Boston Daily Globe*, Jan 11, 1919; “Paderewski Still Reigns,” *Washington Post*, Dec 20, 1899.

It should be noted that the rushing ritual did make at least one appearance after the 1940s: in 1973, the audience at Jorge Bolet’s Hunter College recital “rushed to the apron of the stage as it used to do at Carnegie in the old days before the police put a stop to that. Everyone gathered close to be near The Presence, and Mr. Bolet obliged with three encores [the Verdi-Liszt Rigoletto paraphrase, Schumann-Liszt “Widmung,” and Schubert-Liszt “Auf den Wasser zu singen”].” See Harold C. Schonberg, “Bolet’s Fans Jump for Joy, With Reason,” *New York Times*, Jan 29, 1973. Although it is beyond the purview of this project, similar rituals persisted in Russia in the latter half of the last century. The back sleeve of the Soviet pianist Byron Janis’ 1962 encore record states, “In Russia Janis audiences give as their highest accolade a steady rhythmic hand clapping, then they surge to the edge of the stage and hand up slips of paper with their special encore requests. Appendix 2, 2.1 shows this back sleeve. It features a photo of the “surging to the edge of the stage” with the caption “Byron Janis playing a typical encore.” See Byron Janis, *Encore*, Mercury MG 50305, LP, 1962.

mass of indistinct, even tenebrous figures. Moments of acknowledgement between the performer and audience are fleeting and sedate, confined to the brief, restrained plaudits and bows between pieces. Likewise, audience members are also mostly invisible to one another, and even lovers sitting elbow to elbow, out for the traditional date at the concert hall, are meant to focus their energies toward the platform rather than each other.

Audience members who become conspicuous either to one another or to the performer—say, by coughing or talking—are not welcome.

As the rush suggests, this mood softens with the arrival of the encores, sobriety giving way to revelry. This revelry generally includes the audience moving closer to the performer and to one another. One might therefore say that diffuse disjuncture gives way to magic in the modernist sense I have been tracking. Indeed, accounts of the rush are often peppered with references to magic. For instance, Leonard Liebling, the editor of the *Musical Courier* from 1911 to 1945, suggested that the rush originated at early Paderewski recitals, where audiences would stampede “as though overcome with a mad desire to get a nearer view of Paderewski performing his magic.”⁶¹

To be sure, there is an almost endless supply of early twentieth-century writing that links Paderewski to magic. Paderewski’s career was coeval with the “golden age” of

⁶¹ Liebling is quoted in Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 287. On the rush and magic, also see H.E. Krehbiel, “Hofmann’s Magic at Piano Enthralls Capacity Audience,” *New York Tribune*, Feb 9, 1920; “Kreisler’s Art Wafts Audience to Vienna: Capacity of Carnegie Hall Taxed by Admirers as Violinist Works Magic with Music,” *New York Times*, Dec 14, 1929. On Paderewski and the rush, also see “Paderewski Still Reigns,” *Washington Post*, Dec 20, 1899; “Fine Programme by Paderewski,” *New York Times*, Feb 3, 1909; Richard Aldrich, “Mr. Paderewski’s Recital,” *New York Times*, Apr 23, 1923; Olin Downes, “Paderewski One of Three Masters,” *New York Times*, Jun 20, 1941.

American music criticism⁶²; with the birth of tabloid journalism in the US⁶³; with an increased focus on entertainers in magazines like *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*⁶⁴; and with an explosive growth in publishing, radio, and film⁶⁵—in a nutshell, with the rise of celebrity culture. According to the biographer Adam Zamoyski, “Paderewski was of one the first victims—and beneficiaries—of the plot by the media to persuade their readers that some people’s lives are magic, and that by reading on they will be vouchsafed a peep into this land of dreams.”⁶⁶ The “modern immortal” with his

⁶² Paderewski rose to fame during an important moment in American music criticism, when the dozens of metropolitan dailies published in New York, Boston, and Chicago, their circulation skyrocketing, first employed one or more full-time music critics, giving them far more column space than they ever had before (or ever would again). A dozen or so celebrated critics, dubbed the “old-guard” by their junior colleague Oscar Thompson, manned the helms at the biggest papers. Richard Aldrich (*New York Tribune* and *New York Times*), W.F. Apthorp (*Atlantic Monthly* and *Boston Transcript*), Henry T. Finck (*New York Evening Post*), Philip Hale (*Boston Journal* and *Boston Herald*), W.J. Henderson (*New York Sun* and *New York Times*), James Huneker (*New York Sun*, *New York World*, *New York Times*, and *Philadelphia Press*), and the Henry E. Krehbiel (*New York Tribune*), among others not only worked for the newspapers but wrote biographies, music appreciation books, and various other texts (for example, Finck wrote books on romantic love, food, and gardening; and Henderson wrote two nautical books, the latter of which, *Elements of Navigation*, was used by the US government as a training manual for naval service men in World War I). On the “golden age” epithet see, Irving Lowens, introduction to *Practical Music Criticism*, by Oscar Thompson (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979 [1934]), V; John Ogasapian and N. Lee Orr, “Criticism’s Golden Age,” in *Music of the Gilded Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 58–60. On the history of the golden age, see Oscar Thompson, “An American School of Criticism: The Legacy of Left by W.J. Henderson, Richard Aldrich and their Colleagues of the Old Guard,” *Musical Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Oct 1937): 428–439; Edward G. Lueders, “Music Criticism in America,” *American Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1951): 142–151; Warren Storey Smith, “Four Distinguished American Music Critics,” *Musical America*, Feb 15, 1954; Mark N. Grant, “American Music Criticism’s First Empire,” in *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 58–104.

⁶³ The first American tabloid, the *New York Daily News*, rolled off the press in 1919 and by 1921 had a circulation of 400,000, the largest in New York. Margaret A. Blanchard, ed., “Tabloids,” in *History of the Mass Media in the United States: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 629.

⁶⁴ On the biographical articles in *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post* in the early twentieth century, see Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 59. Parts of Paderewski’s memoirs, published by Scribner’s in 1938, ran in an eight-part series in the *Post* between January 23, 1937 and March 20, 1937.

⁶⁵ Paderewski appeared in the film *Moonlight Sonata* in 1937.

⁶⁶ Adam Zamoyski, *Paderewski* (New York: Atheneum, 1982), 88.

brilliant “aureole” of golden hair, Paderewski was certainly described as a magical, fairytale figure—the “Prince Charming of the Pianoforte” crisscrossing the country in a private railroad car of his own design, complete with, depending on the account, his American and English tour managers, a treasurer and book keeper, a valet, his piano, a piano tuner, a masseuse, a chef, two porters, friends with whom to play bridge and billiards, and his wife and her aids.⁶⁷

This talk of Paderewski’s “magic” abounds in advertisements, reviews, newspaper and magazine articles, biographies, diaries, and films. Very often, however, it is meant to signify something beyond celebrity in Zamoyski’s sense, suturing Paderewski’s musicking to many common tropes of magic, including prestidigitation and “Barnumism” (the “arts of deception” that so thoroughly captivated crowds in the “Age of Barnum”)⁶⁸; charismatic authority⁶⁹; and mesmerism.⁷⁰ It also often links his

⁶⁷ Charles Phillips, *Paderewski, The Story of a Modern Immortal* (New York: Macmillan, 1933). On the oft-mentioned “aureole,” see, for example, ‘Paderewski Plays to New York Crowd,’ *Musical America*, Nov 9, 1907; Henry T. Finck, *Success in Music and How It Is Won* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 309; James Huneker, *Franz Liszt* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 426; Edward Moore, “Paderewski Comes Back to His World,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 22, 1923; Arthur Rubinstein, *My Young Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 75; and, last but not least, Queen Victoria, Windsor Castle, *Journal of Queen Victoria*, entry for July 2, 1891 (quoted in Adam Zamoyski, *Paderewski* [New York: Atheneum, 1982], 100). On Paderewski as Prince Charming, see James Huneker, *Unicorns* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1917), 185; “Paderewski’s Music is Inspiration to Car ‘Swipes,’” *Minneapolis Journal*, Dec 9, 1913; Charles L. Buchanan, “The Unvanquishable Paderewski,” *The Outlook*, Feb 3, 1926, 188; Olin Downes, “Paderewski, Conqueror of His Destiny,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930; Olin Downes, “Passing of a Hero,” *New York Times*, Jul 6, 1941; Abram Chasins, “The Art of Paderewski,” *Saturday Review*, Nov 24, 1956, 48; Adam Zamoyski, *Paderewski* (New York: Atheneum, 1982), 88.

⁶⁸ Henry T. Finck, *Paderewski and His Art* (New York: The Looker-On Publishing Co., 1896), 23; “Paderewski Is an Exemplar of ‘Barnumism,’” *The Musical Digest*, Mar 31, 1900, 394; Paderewski May Tour the United States,” *Musical America*, Mar 17, 1906; Charles Phillips, *Paderewski, The Story of a Modern Immortal* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 97 and 485. On Barnumism, see James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁶⁹ “Mr. Paderewski’s Recital,” *The Manchester Guardian*, Mar 18, 1901; “Paderewski Plays to New York Crowd,” *Musical America*, Nov 9, 1907; “Paderewski Again Delights,” *Washington*

musicking to the central themes analyzed in the previous chapter. Aligning the Paderewski “magic” with ameliorative transport from history into the mythic time of the fairytale and the epic romance, the critic Charles L. Buchanan wrote of “the Paderewski of the incredible Old World sighings [sic], of lamentable far-off horizons and Once-Upon-A-Timesness, the one magician of our day who can, like some adroit Pied Piper, lure us out of 1925 in the fabulous faded loveliness of Never-Never Land.” “No one,” Buchanan continued, “has ever held the power, psychic and occult, beyond question, to sound the note of regret, of retrospection, as Paderewski sounds it. . . . Who else can evoke from a piano the rich, eloquent sunsets, the tentative rain droppings of his wistful, fabulous antique lands?”⁷¹

As the Aldrich review above suggests, Paderewski’s magic is also commonly linked to affect. In 1926, for example, the American diplomat Edward M. House wrote, “The magic of [Paderewski’s] hands can touch those golden chords that stir the human heart to rapture and to tears.”⁷² Most frequently, of course, “the spell of Paderewski” is associated specifically with affective connection, say, a mood—“a glowing atmosphere,”

Post, Dec 2, 1916; Charles L. Buchanan, “The Unvanquishable Paderewski,” *The Outlook*, Feb 3, 1926, 188; Abram Chasins, “The Art of Paderewski,” *Saturday Review*, Nov 24, 1956, 48.

⁷⁰ “I once wrote a story in which a pianist figures as a mesmeriser. He sat at his instrument in a crowded, silent hall and worked his magic upon the multitude. The scene modulates into madness. People are transported. And in all the rumour and storm, the master sits at the keyboard and does not play. I assure you that I have been at Paderewski recitals where my judgments were in abeyance, where my individuality was merged with that of the mob, where I sat and wondered if I really *heard*; or was Paderewski only going through the motions, and not actually touching the keys? His is a static as well as dynamic art. The tone wells up from the instrument, is not struck. It floats languorously in the air, it seems to pause, transfixed in the air. The Sarmatian melancholy of Paderewski, his deep sensibility, his noble nature, are translated into the music. Then with a smashing chord he sets us, the prisoners of his tonal circle, free. Is this the art of a hypnotizer? No one has so mastered the trick, if trick it be.” James Huneker, *Franz Liszt* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 428.

⁷¹ Charles L. Buchanan, “The Unvanquishable Paderewski,” *The Outlook*, Feb 3, 1926, 188.

⁷² Edward M. House, “Paderewski: The Paradox of Europe,” *Harper’s Monthly Magazine*, Dec 1, 1925, 36.

“the old emotional atmosphere”—felt to hold concertgoers together.⁷³ For example, a 1914 *New York Tribune* review described his “magic skill” of “transmitting [the musical thought of composers] to everyone who hears him play,” such that he “held a throng of persons lifted to a plane of glorified musical perceptions.”⁷⁴

By all accounts, nowhere was this magic more concentrated than in Paderewski’s encores. As Olin Downes wrote of a 1930 recital, “There is no one else who matches [Paderewski]; no one else who seems to find, as he, the one tone color, the one vision and witchery of beauty beyond analysis or definition, of which magic enamours the ear and the heart. It was in this manner, after dazzling his encore audience with sorts of wizardry, that he left as a final memory the simple, wistful, unearthly music of Schubert’s Impromptu.”⁷⁵ How is it that the “glowing atmosphere” of Paderewski’s encore space—its magic—has come to glow brightly at recitals more generally, such that encore space is now widely regarded as the locus of recital’s “real” magic? I will now take stock of some of the various discourses that have contributed to this outcome, starting with encore space’s gift rhetoric.

“My Gift to You”: Action at a Distance from the Market

Encores are often called gifts, little surprises performers lavish upon their audiences over and beyond what the recital ticket buys them. Indeed the German word for “encore,” *Zugabe*, is built on the word “gift” (*Gabe*) and also means “bonus” and “give-away.”

According to the *Washington Post*’s Anne Midgette, classical music critics are often

⁷³ “The Spell of Paderewski,” *Current Literature* (Feb 1908): 202; “Paderewski: Four New York Editorials,” *Musical Courier*, Dec 7, 1922, 11.

⁷⁴ “Paderewski Gives a Glowing Recital: Spontaneous Outburst Shows Pole Has Lost None of His Magic_Skill,” *New York Tribune*, Mar 8, 1914.

⁷⁵ Olin Downes, “Paderewski Meets with an Ovation,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1930.

hesitant to review encores because “the encore is a gift from the performer to the audience, and therefore shouldn’t be judged in the same way that a concert is.”⁷⁶ In other words, to the extent that encores are gifts, they are not evaluated the same way the “billed” concert is; they feel extra special, exceeding the monetary transaction underpinning program space.

There has long been a tendency to sentimentalize and exoticize gift relations, to position gift exchange and gift economy as the prelapsarian others of late-capitalist commodity exchange and free market economy. Put in stark terms, gifts tend to be described as personal, inalienable, honest, one of a kind—as heartfelt offerings exchanged between persons in a state of reciprocal dependence, bearing, as Mauss puts it, the “soul” and “spiritual essence” of their givers.⁷⁷ In his 1982 classic *Gifts and Commodities*, C.A. Gregory noted the “anthropomorphic quality” of gifts, describing gift exchange as a magical process of personification through which things and people assume the form of persons (the opposite, in his view, of commodity exchange, where people and things assume the form of objects).⁷⁸ Building on Gregory’s work, the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro more recently described kinship and gift exchange as different faces of the same animistic ontological regime—a regime similar to the “sympathetic” cosmology with which disenchantment narratives contrast modernity, a regime in which, to use de Castro’s words, “relations between things are conceived as

⁷⁶ Anne Midgette, “Play it Again: On Encores,” *The Classical Beat* (blog), Washington Post, Mar 30 2010, http://voices.washingtonpost.com/the-classical-beat/2010/03/play_it_again_on_encores.html.

⁷⁷ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (London: Routledge Classics, 2002), 16.

⁷⁸ C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982), 20, 45, 41, 92–93.

bonds of magical influence.”⁷⁹ In contrast to gifts, commodities are often portrayed as impersonal, self-interested, spurious, insipid—as mass-produced, fetishized objects circulating in a profit-oriented marketplace, mediating and abstracting social relations and proffering only the semblance of humanity and personalization.⁸⁰

Using this economic logic, Pierre Bourdieu argued that one way artists, critics, and audiences make artworks feel sacred is by wrapping them up in the rhetoric of gift exchange, that is, by installing them in a magical gift economy far from the noisome market of commodity exchange.⁸¹ Elaborating the role of market disavowal in art consecration, this section of my chapter considers how the gift rhetoric of encore space has contributed to the localization of “real” magic within the recital’s encores, how it has given encore space the feel of a gift economy whose interactants are bound up with one another in affective transactions of personhood. It also tracks both the adverse and the ameliorative consequences of the structuring of encores as gifts. It does this in order to initiate an examination, spread over this chapter and the next, of the ways in which music’s configuration as “the only real magic” can make it feel as though it is the only thing capable of satiating needs and desires that might also be fulfilled elsewhere.

Many performers and concertgoers portray encores as gifts in the sense sketched above. One need look no further than the Czech pianist Antonin Kubalek’s 1996 encore

⁷⁹ Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, “The Gift and the Given,” in *Kinship and Beyond: The Genealogical Model Reconsidered*, eds. Sandra Bamford and James Leach (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 246–251. For a discussion of de Castro, see Marshall Sahlins, *What Kinship Is...And Is Not* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 58–59.

⁸⁰ See Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11. Discussed in James Davies, “Julia’s Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2: 292–293.

⁸¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, trans. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), chapter 2.

album *My Gift to You: A Treasury of Favorite Piano Encores* (Fig 2.3), the cover of which pictures the smiling, tuxedoed virtuoso with his cherubic baby daughter on his lap, the word “GIFT,” printed in a luminous Christmas red and ornamented with a lavish, extra-large cursive “G,” irradiating the title’s white text. As he reveals in his liner notes, Kubalek’s “YOU,” accentuated on the cover by the same calligraphic filigree that sets off “GIFT,” is a particularly capacious pronoun, referring not only to his daughter but to all of the world’s “children,” that is, to all of us: “My daughter Karolína was born in December 1994, and I wanted to leave something of me for her—a gift of music that I hope she can share with all the sweet children of this earth....So, this recording is dedicated to my Karolína. And, in the hope that it imparts some of the joy that music has always brought me, it is also dedicated to all children (and parents). I ask that you accept it as ‘My gift to you!’”⁸² A 2011 comment by “raisamassuda” on a *Washington Post* classical music blog characterizes encores in a similar way: as “special” gifts from the performer’s “heart,” hence “special” lines of communication between the performer’s soul and the audience’s. The comment reads, “Frequently it’s [the encores] that make the night great. I always look forward to encores because they are a special gift coming from the artist’s heart and a special way for the artist to communicate with the audience. I loved both encores last night. I thought [Hvorostovsky’s] ‘Oy Ty Nochenka’ was THE gem of the night.”⁸³ The Kubalek example installs the gift of the encore in an idyllic domestic imaginary, away from the fallen market of fungible, lifeless objects and private

⁸² Antonin Kubalek, liner notes to *My Gift to You: A Treasury of Favorite Piano Encores*, Antonin Kubalek, Dorian DOR-90218, CD, 1996.

⁸³ Anne Midgette, “Play it Again: On Encores,” *The Classical Beat* (blog), Washington Post, Mar 30 2010, http://voices.washingtonpost.com/the-classical-beat/2010/03/play_it_again_on_encores.html.

ownership, where his legacy is “shared” by all us, his children, as a sort of collective property. What is more, both examples configure the encore as something of the performer—a piece of his heart, in the raisamassuda’s account—that the audience partakes of. The heart is commonly understood as the seat of a person’s “real” or “true” feelings. When a musician is said to have played “from the heart,” one thing that is often meant is that performer’s feelings have been felt by a listener in a way that evinces not only vulnerability or openness but also authenticity and sincerity. In these twin accounts, then, the gift of the encore is depicted as offering an occasion for feeling the performer’s authentic feeling, a fantasy that resonates closely with the modernist fantasy of music this dissertation is tracking (that is, music as the only authentic magic to the extent that it offers forms of affection connection felt to be unavailable outside musical domains).

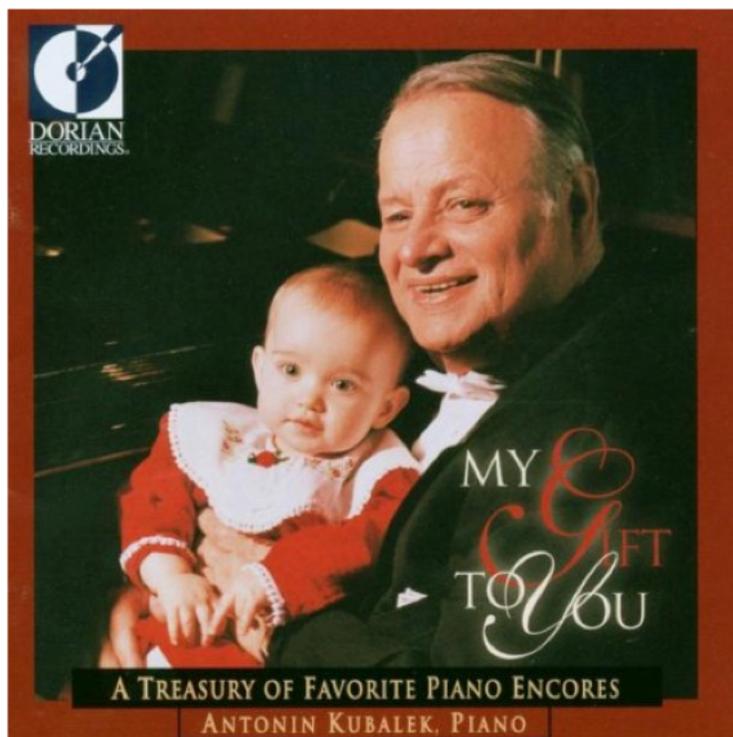


Figure 2.3 Antonin Kubalek, *My Gift to You: A Treasury of Favorite Piano Encores*, Dorian DOR-90218, CD, 1996.

It has long been argued, of course, that there are no gifts quite like Kubalek's and Horostovsky's. Nearly a century ago, for instance, Mauss contended that gifts are part of a circular economy motored by obligations to give, receive, and repay (if only in gratitude). One could argue that the gift of an encore is no exception. In fact, encore gifts are now compulsory parts of the recital. On the one hand, recitalists are expected and more or less obliged to bestow a gift upon the audience after the completion of the printed program "in gratitude for its appreciation," as states *The Art of the Song Recital*, a book that supplies singers with strategies for producing successful concerts.⁸⁴ Many concertgoers feel swindled if they do not receive their after-dinner treat. As *Los Angeles Times* critic Rick Schulz puts it, "Encores have become a formalized part of recitals. When none are offered, listeners are likely to feel cheated."⁸⁵ Just as recitalists are obliged to give encores, audiences, on the other hand, are obliged to enthusiastically solicit and graciously accept them, as well as to supply counter-gifts of applause, flowers, and bravos.

Does this mean the fantasy of the encore as a gift is tantamount to false consciousness, a pernicious "ideology" that hides the truth of encore space's subcutaneous commercialism? The language of being cheated certainly is the language of business, of customer satisfaction, bourgeois thrift, and reciprocal independence. It can be understood as representative of the dog-eat-dog logic of getting one's money's worth, not of the sort of cooperative sociality—the sharing, the altruistic giving of oneself—characteristic of the idealized gift exchange imputed to encore space in the examples

⁸⁴ Shirlee Emmons and Stanley Sonntag, *The Art of the Song Recital* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2002 [1979]), 167.

⁸⁵ Rick Schultz, "Encores? Hilary Hahn's Glad to Oblige," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct 30, 2011; Albert Hofammann, "Are Encores Desirable?," *Morning Call* [Allentown, PA], Jul 1, 1984.

above. However, instead of falling into the old routine of adjudicating between false consciousness and reality—as if there were a position outside of ideology, free from the structures that shape what can be imagined or said or felt—encore space’s gift fantasy might be more “profitably” viewed as a means of finding relief from the pressures of the market (a realm that tends toward relations of exploitation and alienation at odds with magic in the modernist, Weberian sense). This is achieved not by denying the existence of the market but by briefly relegating it to the background.

According to Derrida, the contradiction in gift exchange between the appreciation of the gift in its pure form and the recognition of the gift as a thing in a system that compels repayment, requires an “instantaneous forgetting,” an ever so brief setting aside of one what one knows full well (the gift’s entanglement with the exchange, circulation, reciprocity, and symmetry immanent to economy) so that the gift can work its magic.⁸⁶ Bourdieu has suggested something similar with respect to art, writing that the art world is an economy “based on the disavowal of the ‘economic’ present in all forms of economism,” functioning “only by virtue of a constant, collective repression of narrowly ‘economic interest,’” a sort of “alchemy” dependent upon “collective misrecognition.”⁸⁷ To clarify, art, in Bourdieu’s view, feels like art (sacred, transcendent, serious) through practices of market disavowal that serve as the currency of the art world’s economy. In a nutshell, the argument is that art is most highly esteemed when it feels like a sort of gift

⁸⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7. Also see Vincent Crapanzano, “The Moment of Prestidigitation: Magic, Illusion, and Mana in the Thought of Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss,” in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, eds. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 105.

⁸⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, trans. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 74 and 81.

without the expected return gift, the appearance of “pure generosity” masking the profits, both symbolic and material, awaiting the necessarily disinterested cultural entrepreneur.⁸⁸

Many of us, living as we do in the long shadow cast by the nineteenth-century aesthetics of autonomy, often draw a line between commercial art and noncommercial art, aligning the former with a sort of shallow, regressive, fake magic and the latter with a sort of profound, liberating, genuine magic. For example, in her review of the Harry Potter books, Booker Prize winner A. S. Byatt writes of “childish adults” who “do not have the skills to tell ersatz magic from the real thing.” “Ms. Rowling’s magic world,” she writes, “has no place for the numinous....It has become respectable to read and discuss what Roland Barthes called ‘consumable’ books. There is nothing wrong with this, but it has little to do with the shiver of awe we feel looking through Keats’s ‘magic casements, opening on the foam/Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.’”⁸⁹ The *New York Times* music critic Allen Kozinn made a similar distinction in a 1994 Pavarotti recital review, separating true “artistry” from “music as a marketable commodity,” the latter of which he claimed produced only “charm” and “the artistic placebo effect”—a sort of phony intoxication.⁹⁰

As listeners maintain this distinction between commercial and noncommercial music, however, most of them must also simultaneously understand that all music is, at

⁸⁸ Ibid., 101. Working from Bourdieu, the music theorist Eric Drott has argued that the classical music business operates according to the same economic logic, wherein commercial transactions are disavowed or downplayed and gifts of time, money, labor, and prestige are prioritized. This distancing of classical music from the vitiating influences of the market, he adds, imbues the former with a “sacred aura.” Eric Drott, “Fraudulence and the Gift Economy of Music,” “Cavell’s ‘Music Discomposed at 40,’ special issue, *Journal of Music Theory*, 54, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 61–74.

⁸⁹ A.S. Byatt, “Harry Potter and the Childish Adult,” *New York Times*, Jul 7, 2003.

⁹⁰ Allen Kozinn, “Art? Commodity? Both? Reflections on a Recital,” *New York Times*, Feb 22, 1994.

least to some degree, commercialized and incorporated into the exchange economy (it is unlikely that they do not know that their music is, say, sold on the market for profit).

How can this paradox be explained? As we saw in the previous chapter, “real” magic has been configured as something like the opposite of capitalist forms of relationality. In order to feel this “real” magic, then, listeners must “forget” or “misrecognize” music’s ineluctable imbrications with the market.

To be sure, I am not suggesting that the gift fantasy that helps to mediate the magic of encore space has no adverse effects. Let’s take a close look at an example that addresses the commercial orientation of encore playing as well as the gift fantasy through which its autonomy from pecuniary interests and, in turn, its magic are maintained. In a letter written to the London newspaper the *Daily Graphic* in 1890 (a document from the early part of the encoring scene I tracked in the previous section), the famous Victorian tenor (John) Sims Reeves condemned “the vicious encore system,” reproaching closefisted encore-consumers and exhorting musicians to require “extra pay for extra work”:

Do bakers, grocers, or butchers give us free more food just because we declare their goods are most excellent? Or do tailors or linendrapers send us in gratis more clothes because we have expressed warm approval of their goods, or literary men supply us with new books free because we admire their last work? Not exactly. Nor do doctors, lawyers, architects, nor professional artists or painters or sculptors give us freely more of their time or their artistic productions just because we bestow on them noisy but costless compliments. And yet such gratis service seems to be expected from musicians. It is a preposterous piece of dishonesty, of which all honest persons should be ashamed....The encore nuisance seeks to take a shabby advantage of the suffering professional: it is regretted that few of our performers possess sufficient courage to return to the platform, bow politely, but to indicate firmly, No! Programmes could contain an announcement, ‘No encores will be permitted.’ Artists could stipulate extra pay for extra work.⁹¹

⁹¹ Quoted in “Encores,” *The Musical Times*, Mar 1, 1890, 140.

Aged 72 and forced out of retirement by financial woes, Reeves, writing with a dash of petty-bourgeois melodrama, described Victorian musicians as exploited craftsmen—“suffering professionals” coerced to give away their wares for free by oppressive encore-collectors, beleaguered entrepreneurs in a mostly just world of autonomous artisans (that is, in a world of self-directed producers who, by dint of their own bravery and industriousness, enjoy nonalienated relationships to their labor and its products).⁹² In other words, the down-on-his-luck tenor reminded concertgoers of what needs to be momentarily forgotten about modern concert culture in order for encores to feel magical, namely, that it is a commercial enterprise—a sort of industrial economy that sells culture in the form of the performer’s “productions” to paying concertgoers (that is, cultural capital in exchange for economic capital)—and that encores are equivalent to the performer’s uncompensated (that is, exploited) surplus labor (the “*supplementary* concert of encores” being analogous to a surplus value pocketed by the “concert-culture industry”).⁹³ This sort of reminding, it should be noted, is not unique. For example,

⁹² Musicians are often lionized as workers who enjoy an immediate relation to their labor and its products, but there is a long history that suggests otherwise. According to Liszt, Chopin said, “An audience intimidates me, I feel asphyxiated by its eager breath, paralyzed by its inquisitive stare, silenced by its alien faces.” Liszt, *Frédéric Chopin*, trans. Edward N. Water (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 119. Godowsky, Horowitz, Casals, Gould, Michelangeli, Argerich, Renée Fleming, Yuja Wang and many other virtuosos have noted similar sensations. On Gould see *Piano Quarterly*, Fall 1981, 18; on Argerich see Donald Manildi, “Musician of the Year 2001,” *Musical America Worldwide*, <http://www.musicalamerica.com/features/?fid=66&fyear=2001>; on Yuja Wang see Janet Malcolm, “Yuja Wang and the Art of Performance,” *The New Yorker*, Sept 5, 2016. For more on the alienation of the pianist, see Benjamin Laude, “The Pianist Among the Masses,” *State of Art* (blog), yugacohler.com, Oct 24, 2015, <http://yugacohler.com/blog/2015/the-pianist-among-the-masses>.

⁹³ For “supplementary concert of encores,” see “Music Academy to Hear Paderewski,” *New York Herald Tribune*, Mar 25, 1932; Albert Goldberg, “Genius of Gieseking Holds Audience Rapt,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 8, 1954.

Schnabel, who was famously parsimonious with his encores, often said that encores are a way of “paying for applause.”⁹⁴

A correspondent at *The Musical Times* disagreed with Reeves, writing, “The physical exertion involved in an encore is often undoubtedly great; but it is a labour of love. And we are pretty certain that if it came to be a question of choosing between no encores and paying a percentage on their fees for the privilege of accepting them, the singer would except the latter alternative.”⁹⁵ In a manner faintly echoing the online commentator “raisamassuda” quoted above, the *Times* response describes encore giving as “a labor of love,” which suggests work that is its own reward and calls to mind the unwaged caring labor historically expected of women in the private domestic sphere as well as the affective labor typically demanded of service workers (what the sociologist Arlie Hochschild famously called “managing hearts”).⁹⁶ The response then implies that this labor of love is a sort of gift from the audience that the performer has the “privilege of accepting.” Remarks such as this are common in accounts of encore playing. Performers are often said to have “earned” their encores, and this paradoxical usage of “earn” casts more labor as just compensation for a job well done.

In comparison to the many abhorrent labor crimes committed in fin-de-siècle London, Reeves’ exploitation comes off as fairly benign. But the *Times* response to his protest strikes me as adumbrating a potential cost of the forgetting that sustains encore

⁹⁴ Artur Schnabel, *Music and the Line of Most Resistance*, eds. Lynn Matheson and Ann Schnabel Mottier (Hofheim, Germany: Wolke Verlag, 2007), 62. When asked why he refused to play encores, Schnabel once responded, “Applause is a receipt, not a note of demand” César Saerchinger, “Schnabel in Retrospect,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept 29, 1951, 46.

⁹⁵ “Encores,” *The Musical Times*, Mar, 1 1890, 140.

⁹⁶ On “the labor of love,” see Hilary Rose, “Hand, Brain, and Heart: A Feminist Epistemology for the Natural Sciences,” in *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*, ed. S. Harding (New York: Routledge, 2004), 74; Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

space's magic that is worth considering: the perpetuation of the deeply entrenched belief that certain forms of labor (artistic labor but also reproductive labor in general) do not require any recompense insofar as they amount to labors of love and are, therefore, outside the market. Which is not to say that this forgetting is nefarious. Instead, I would like to begin to draw attention to a tension in music's configuration as "the only real magic" that will be elaborated in the next chapter: one way of understanding the allure of the gift fantasy discussed in this section is that it structures encore space as the locus of "real" magic, thereby lubricating forms of affective conjuncture felt to be unavailable in the exploitative and alienating marketplace. However, one potential consequence of this fantasy is to further entrench a view of labor that is exploitative and alienating, raising the possibility that the magic in which concertgoers seek relief is producing more of the thing from which they are seeking relief—a "cruel" irony.⁹⁷

The super-virtuoso pianist Yuja Wang recently said that she plays encores "to make people happy by giving them a gift....It feels like home to play those familiar pieces." Wang sutures the happiness produced by encore gifting to the home and familiarity. As I will explore in the next section, the encore is both a demand for more labor on the part of performer to extend enjoyment and a desire for home.

The Sounds of Home

In addition to the rhetoric of gift exchange, the magic of encore space is also boosted by invocations of homecoming. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, there is, as an 1896 advertisement for the song "My Old Kentucky Home" states, "Magic in the Word

⁹⁷ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

‘Home.’”⁹⁸ To clarify, disenchantment narratives commonly equate modernity with a sense of homelessness and, by contrast, worlds of magic with feeling “at home,” with sensing one’s environment is, in Morris Berman’s words, “a place of belonging.”⁹⁹ This section argues that encores have come to be regarded as the sounds of home to the extent that they proffer comforting experiences of the familiar and the familial, further contributing to the localization of “real” magic in encore space over program space.

A 2010 blogpost by the aforementioned Anne Midgette reads, “I’m struck by how many people want to possess the encore rather than the body of the recital; many people write after a concert to say they want to buy the music they last heard.”¹⁰⁰ In yet another exaltation of the seemingly auxiliary encore over the main program, Midgette refers to the desire not only to “buy” the encore but, first off, to “possess” it. This could be interpreted as dissonant with Kubalek’s rendering of the encore as a gift for a community of the world’s children to “share” in, but “possess” not only the means to own property but also to reside in or occupy, as when a spirit occupies a body. That is to say, it suggests the sort of affective identification to which Kubalek’s liner notes also point. Midgette obliquely clarifies what she means by “possess” in her second independent clause with “buy,” but a faint whiff the latter definition, perhaps reinforced in the first

⁹⁸ “Magic in the Word ‘Home,’ *Boston Daily Globe*, Dec 17, 1896. On the persistence of this association of home with magic, see Zach J. Payne, “Home and Heart: The Gap Between YA Fiction and Real Life,” *Medium*, Aug 23, 2017, <https://medium.com/@ZachJPayne/home-and-heart-4ab2ba109d36>.

⁹⁹ Morris Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), e.g., 16–17. On the equation of modernity with homelessness, see Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life*, trans. E.F.N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 2005), 38–39; Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2004), 38–40; Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, trans. Catherine Porter (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 21–22.

¹⁰⁰ Anne Midgette, “Play it Again: On Encores” *The Classical Beat* (blog), Washington Post, Mar 30, 2010, http://voices.washingtonpost.com/the-classical-beat/2010/03/play_it_again_on_encores.html.

clause by the subtly anthropomorphizing “body,” remains after this attempted clarification, especially because it is not apparent how one can purchase an encore experience after a concert. One might therefore read Midgette’s claim about concertgoers’ desire to buy/possess the encore as bespeaking a widespread aspiration to take it home and to make it home. But how might one buy/possess an encore such that it can be taken home and made home?

There are hundreds of recordings devoted entirely to encores. Since the encore album genre took off in the early 1940s, many of classical music’s major soloists have released such albums, and the industry’s brightest stars, household names like Heifetz, Horowitz, and Perlman, have amassed sizable encore album discographies.¹⁰¹ Figure 2.4 shows the covers of four early encore albums: Piatigorsky’s *Encore Album* (1942); Heifetz’s *Heifetz Encores* (1947); Rubinstein’s *Encores by Arthur Rubinstein* (1951); and Horowitz’s *Encores* (1957).¹⁰² The first two of these early recordings, which are sets of 78s (the brief, shellac records that preceded LPs), actually look like photo albums. With its sky-blue cloth cover and heavy binding, Piatigorsky’s *Encore Album*, in particular, looks like a scrapbook, a collection of encore-keepsakes looking for a family home in which to “nestle,” as Walter Benjamin might have put.¹⁰³ While sales figures are not readily available, recordings like these appear to have been quite popular at mid-century. In 1947, for example, a full-page RCA Victor advertisement in *Life* pictured *Heifetz*

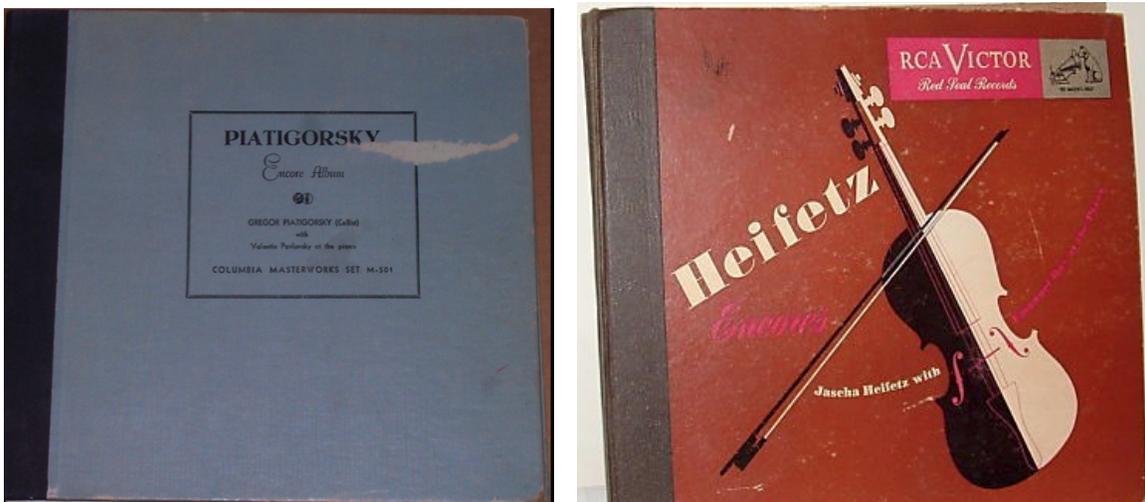
¹⁰¹ See Appendix 2, 2.2 and 2.3, which list notable encore albums released since 1947 and the encore album discographies of Heifetz, Horowitz, and Perlman.

¹⁰² Piatigorsky, *Encore Album*, Columbia Masterworks Set M-501, 78 RPM, 1942; Heifetz, *Heifetz Encores*, RCA Victor M-1158, 78 RPM, 1947; Rubenstein, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal, LM 1153, LP, 1951 (see *Billboard*, Oct. 6, 1951, 41); Horowitz, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LM 1171, LP, 1957 (see *The Long Player*, Vol. 6, 1957, 184).

¹⁰³ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: New Left Books, 1973), 55.

Encores among the record company's "most eagerly awaited records."¹⁰⁴ Even with the so-called death of the album and the concomitant triumph of playlist curation and algorithmic shuffling, enthusiasm for encore albums, in digital and analog forms, limps on. In 2013, for instance, Hilary Hahn's album *In 27 Pieces: The Hilary Hahn Encores*, which consists of 27 short pieces that Hahn herself commissioned to refresh and expand the encore repertoire, topped the Billboard classical charts for two consecutive weeks, eventually winning a Grammy and earning a spot on the *New York Times*' annual Critics' Favorite Classical Recordings list.¹⁰⁵

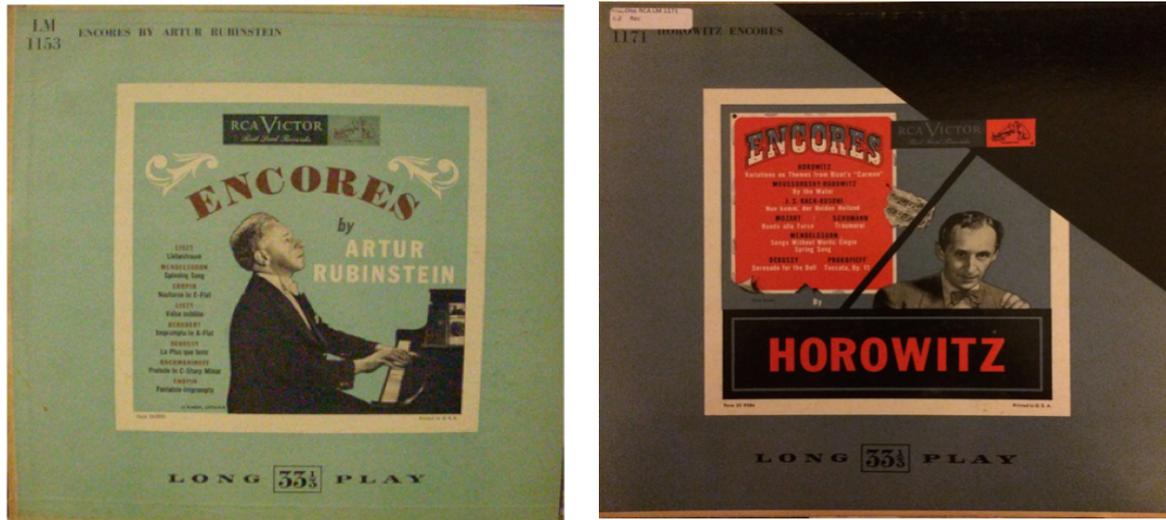
Figure 2.4 Four early encore albums (photos by Z. Loeffler)



¹⁰⁴ *Life*, Oct 27, 1947, 32.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Tommasini et al., "Favorite Sounds, Early to Environmental: Times Critics' Favorite Classical Recordings of 2013," *New York Times*, Dec 19, 2013.

Fig. 2.4, continued



Similar to the “My Favorite Piano Pieces”/“My Favorite Violin Pieces” genre and made for quick, easy listening (the tracks are usually less than five minutes long), encore albums are typically compilations of popular, nineteenth-century opuscula with a few eighteenth-century treasures mixed in. For the most part, they consist of pensive cantabiles, bravura showstoppers, and jaunty trifles that have become ubiquitous cues in the underscore of the everyday—the sounds of “home,” as one concertgoer recently put it: “So often the program consists of the unfamiliar, which is good as it broadens the listener’s experience. It is nice, therefore, to return ‘home’ for the encore(s).”¹⁰⁶ Common pieces on piano encore albums, my primary example, include the following: Scarlatti sonatas; Mozart’s Turkish March; Schubert’s *Moment musicaux* in F minor Op. 94, No. 3 (often the Godowsky arrangement); Mendelssohn *Songs Without Words*; Schumann’s *Träumerei*; Chopin’s greatest hits (including his “Black Key” and “Revolutionary” Etudes, Nocturne in E-flat major, Op. 9, No. 2, Fantasie-Impromptu in C-sharp minor,

¹⁰⁶ Janenschmidt, blog comment, May 17, 2014, from Naomi Lewin, “What’s Gone Wrong with Encores?,” *Conducting Business* (blog), WQXR NYC, May 15, 2014, <http://www.wqxr.org/#!/story/whats-gone-wrong-encores/>.

Berceuse in D-flat major, Op. 57, “Heroic” Polonaise, “Minute Waltz,” and Waltz in C-sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2; Liszt’s *Liebestraum* No. 3 and “La campanella” etude; Brahms’s Waltz in A-flat major, Op. 39, No. 15; Grieg’s *Lyrical Pieces*; Debussy’s *Clair de lune*; Moszkowski’s *Étincelles*; Szymanowski’s Etude in B-flat minor, Op. 4, No. 3; Paderewski’s “world-famous” Minuet in G, Op. 14, No.1; Rachmaninov’s Preludes in C-sharp minor, Op. 3, No. 2 and G-sharp minor, Op. 32, No. 12; De Falla’s *Ritual Fire Dance*; and sundry treatments by Liszt, Busoni, Godowsky, Rachmaninov, Siloti, Hess, and Horowitz (for example, the Bach-Siloti Prelude in B minor and Rachmaninov’s famous “Flight of the Bumblebee” transcription).¹⁰⁷

Drawn from live encore playing’s nearly unchanging repertoire, the pieces above have all appeared on many encore albums, with classics like the Turkish March, a Horowitz signature encore for decades, appearing on more than ten.¹⁰⁸ Recitalists sometimes play little-known jewels as encores, engaging their audiences in guessing games by withholding the titles, but encores are typically familiar to regular concertgoers.

¹⁰⁷ Violin encore albums mostly consist of compositions and arrangements by the great virtuosos of yesteryear that fall into the lyrical, bravura, and jaunty genres: Sarasate’s *Habañera*, Op. 21, no. 2; Otakar Nováček’s *Perpetuum mobile*; Kreisler’s *Liebeslied*; and Heifetz’s arrangements of *La fille aux cheveux de lin*, Prokofiev’s March from *The Love for Three Oranges*, and Elgar’s *Salut d’amour*. Interestingly, piano and violin encore albums sometimes overlap. For example, the pianist Ji Liu’s encore album contains Rachmaninov’s transcription of Kreisler’s *Liebeslied*, and Debussy’s *La plus que lente*, Heifetz’s transcription of which is a staple of violin encore albums, can be found on many piano encore albums. For the former, see Ji Liu, *Piano Encores*, Classic FM CFMD37, CD, 2015. And for the latter, see Arthur Rubinstein, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal, LM 1153, LP, 1951; Leonard Pennario, *Concert Piano Encores*, Capitol Records P 8338, LP, 1956; Van Cliburn, *My Favorite Encores*, RCA LSC 3185, LP, 1970; György Cziffra, *Cziffra Edition Vol. 6 “Bis” & Inédit*, EMI Classica CDM 5 65255 2, CD, 1994.

¹⁰⁸ The Turkish March appears on the following encore albums: Vladimir Horowitz, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LM 1171, LP, 1957; Wilhelm Backhaus, *Carnegie Hall Encores*, Decca BR 3097, LP, 1961; Gabriel Chodos, *A Maiden’s Prayer: Encore Favorites for Piano*, JVC VIC-2104, LP, 1978; György Cziffra, *Cziffra Edition, Vol. 6, “Bis” & Inédit*, EMI Classics CDM 5 65255 2, CD, 1994; Also Ciccolini, *I Bis*, Phoenix PH00610, CD, 1997; Kveta Novotna, *Für Elise: Berühmte Klavierzugaben*, Bella Musica BM 31 2321, CD, 2000; Shura Cherkassky, *Shura Cherkassky Live, Vol. 3: Encores*, London/Decca 433651, CD, 2007; Ji Liu, *Piano Encores*, Classic FM CFMD37, CD, 2015.

They encounter them on albums—encore albums and their close cousins: for example, “Classical Favorites,” and “Classical Chillout” compilations—as part of movie soundtracks, and as Muzak murmuring in the background of everyday life. For instance, *Clair de lune*, a piece that has appeared on more than a dozen encore albums and 100s of related compilations, has been prominently featured in a host of blockbusters, including, to cite a few recent examples, *Ocean’s Eleven* (2001), *Man on Fire* (2004), *Atonement* (2007), *The Darjeeling Limited* (2007), *Twilight* (2008), and Will Ferrell and Kevin Hart’s *Get Hard* (2015).¹⁰⁹ To summarize, then, encore albums are not only mementos that are taken home and incorporated into home life, but they also “return ‘home’” to the familiar nineteenth-century staples of everyday, domestic musicking that live on in present-day soundtracks and Muzak reels.

In addition to the fact that the pieces most often employed as encores are often experienced as a return home in the related senses sketched above, live encoring rituals are often said to make the concert hall feel homey, to produce atmospheres redolent of the traditional family home. The following is an excerpt from a 2007 *New York Times* review of Evgeny Kissin’s encore marathon at Carnegie Hall:

As the night went on, the majestic Isaac Stern Auditorium acquired a strange living-room-like ambience, with people slouched over seats and in the aisles, some couples with their arms around each other. Mr. Kissin also

¹⁰⁹ *Clair de lune* has appeared on José Iturbi, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal WEPR-32, 45 RPM EP, 1953 (see *Billboard*, Oct 25, 1953); Miki, *Encore!*, Remington RLP-1022, LP, date unknown; Walter Gieseking, *Encores*, UK Blue/Gold Columbia 33CX 1761, LP, date unknown; Julius Katchen, *Encores*, Decca LXT 5656, LP, 1961; Joseph Cooper, *Encore!*, World Record Club WRC T 414, LP, 1964; Robert Silverman, *Encore!*, Marquis Records ERA 111, LP, 1985; Van Cliburn, *My Favorite Encores*, RCA Vicotor 60726-2-RG, CD, 1991; Tzimon Barto, *Popular Encores*, EMI Classics CDC 7 54900 2, CD, 1993; Antonin Kubalek, *My Gift to You: A Treasury Of Favorite Piano Encores*, Dorian Recording DOR-90218, CD, 1996; Aldo Ciccolini, *I Bis - Encores*, Phoenix PH00610, CD, 1997; Leif Ove Andsnes, *Horizons: A Personal Collection of Encores*, EMI 3 41682 2, CD, 2006; Jouni Somero, *Encore!*, FC Records FCRCO 9745, CD, 2012; Tristan Pfaff, *Piano Encores*, Aparté AP 107, CD, 2015.

softened, relaxing his zombie-like bow and allowing his stern expression to mellow into a smile. There was also plenty for the audience, some seated onstage, to smile about, from a magical interpretation of Liszt's "Liebestraum" No. 3 to a breathtaking (and gasp inducing) rendition of Vladimir Horowitz's "Carmen" variations. By 11, when Mr. Kissin played Chopin's "Fantasie Impromptu" (his 10th encore), he must have been exhausted, but he was a great sport, continuing to indulge the foot-stomping fans, who honored him with flowers and Russian slow claps. He kept going to 11:45, finally concluding the orgy of encores with a playful, sparkling performance of the Rondo Alla Turca.... Sometimes the best things come to those who wait.¹¹⁰

The review describes encore space as infused with "a living-room-like ambiance"—the sort cozy atmosphere of the family home's communal spaces. "Couples" snuggle, relaxing into their chairs, as a smiling Kissin, his audience seated onstage as if it were a parlor, treats concertgoers to a bevy of "breathtaking" and "gasp-inducing" encores—including a "magical" performance of Liszt's *Dream of Love*—which, in contrast to what the review elsewhere calls the "frustratingly unremarkable," "soulless," "pre-encore part of concert," are the "best things" of the evening (this final sentiment is even presented as a proverb coming from parent to child).

The pianist Artur Schnabel, who rarely played encores, referred to the first part of the virtuoso recital, with its eat-your-spinach Beethoven sonata and more sober mood, as the "duty part" of the concert and the end, with its crowd-pleasing encores, as the "family part."¹¹¹ As noted in the previous paragraph, the hominess of encore space that performers, critics, and lay listeners often refer to involves not only the familiarity of the music but also a sense of that one is partaking of the familial. Like Kissin, Lang Lang is adroit at making his audiences feel like encoring is a family affair. In fact, he often draws his parents into the act. Here is an excerpt from a 2004 review of a recital in Minneapolis,

¹¹⁰ Vivien Schweitzer, "Evgeny Kissin Warms Up, and He Keeps on Cooking," *New York Times*, May 5, 2007.

¹¹¹ Artur Schnabel, *My Life and Music* (New York: Dover, 1988), 199.

where encore space is once again described in superlative language (“the biggest surprise”), this time by virtue of its association with familiarity:

The biggest surprise—the appearance onstage of Lang Lang’s father, Guoren Lang, during the encores—had been rumored for some weeks. Lang Lang played two encores, a Chopin Nocturne and “Flight of the Bumblebee” When Lang Lang walked out a third time, he wasn’t alone. “My father,” he said, and of course the audience cheered. Call it a gimmick, but even the stone-hearted would have been touched. This, after all, was a man who gave up his career as a professional musician in China in order to escort his son, then 14, to the United States.¹¹²

One additional example: At a 2015 recital at the Civic Opera House in Chicago on the eve of Mother’s Day, Lang Lang dedicated his first encore, also a Chinese folk song, to his mother, who was in attendance and, like a proud parent at a child’s recital, ran from her seat in the audience to the stage where she snapped photos of her dotting son with her smartphone.¹¹³ The crowd, of course, loved it.

These scenes set in relief an antipode to the “mania” of the devilish virtuoso: the domestic relaxation of the “piano girl,” a gentle daughter figure who consoles her alienated father figure with the musical equivalent of comfort food. The figure of the Lisztian virtuoso-lover—that is, “the Great Pianist as Great Lover” and love object, inciting mob mania in public concert halls with his devilish, pianistic frottage—has greatly shaped popular conceptions of the contemporary virtuoso recitalists.¹¹⁴ But many

¹¹² Michael Anthony, “Exuberant Pianist Lang Lang Has Some Surprises,” *Star Tribune* [Minneapolis], Oct 31, 2004. This is right out of the Pavarotti encore playbook. In 1981 Luciano and his then 66-year-old father, Fernando, sang their famous duet version of Franck’s *Panis Angelicus*, at his Met recital. “Pavarotti’s Father, Tenor, Joins Son During Encores,” *New York Times*, Jan 5, 1981. *Pavarotti: A Life in Seven Arias*, directed by David Thompson, BBC, Dec 24, 2007.

¹¹³ John von Rhein, “Showman or Serious Musician? Lang Lang a Bit of Both,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 10, 2015.

¹¹⁴ Ivan Raykoff, *Dreams of Love: Playing the Romantic Pianist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4; Kevin Kopelson, *Beethoven’s Kiss: Pianism, Perversion, and the Mastery of Desire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 91.

of the encore-givers mentioned so far have more in common with the figure of the Victorian “piano girl”—the “Liszt in petticoat,” harmonizing the bourgeois domestic sphere with her prodigious musical “gifts.”¹¹⁵ As late as 1900, the “daughter of the house” worked to “soothe” the hearts of the *Kleinfamilie* from the family spinet, laboring to “offset her father’s alienated experience of the daily work grind” with “a pensive bit of Schumann.”¹¹⁶ Encores have been called “comfort pieces,” the musical version of comfort food, and encore giving can be read as analogous to the caring labor of cooking up these soothing “bonbons” and “confections” for an audience of alienated papas.¹¹⁷

Thinking of encores and encore-givers in this way suggests one way that encore space’s familial, “living-room-like” atmosphere can be understood to lubricate the magic said to be missing from the “pre-encore part of the concert.” On the one hand, the bourgeois home was (and its vestiges remain) the ultimate bastion of commercialism, a space organized around the consumption of commodities like encore records. On the

¹¹⁵ James Hunecker, *Overtones: A Book of Temperaments* (New York, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1919 [1904]), 291. Hunecker apparently coined the sobriquet “piano girl.” See Ivan Raykoff, *Dreams of Love: Playing the Romantic Pianist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 180–183. For extended studies of the piano girl, see Judith Tick, “Passed Away Is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870–1900,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Tradition 1150–1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 325–348; Ruth Solie, “Girling at the Parlor Piano, in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 85–117.

¹¹⁶ “When the day’s work is over, and before the lamps are brought in, while one lounges in slippers and house-jacket in the easy-chair watching the fall of night through the windows, then blessing on the daughter of the house who goes quietly to the piano, puts her foot on the soft pedal and turns the hour to poetry by playing a Chopin nocturne, a pensive bit of Schumann, or a *nuit blanche* of Heller. Sweet, with a touch of sadness, such music composes the mind while it stimulates imagination; the home grows cozier and dearer, and the night comes more soothingly.” Charles Skinner, “The Home Piano,” *The Saturday Evening Post*, Jan 13 1900, 613; Solie, “Girling at the Parlor Piano, in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 93.

¹¹⁷ ClassicFMOOfficial, “Ji Liu on Piano Encores,” YouTube video, 7:55, posted Jan 15, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XCtn_FUfZrU. Paradoxically, the virtuoso has almost unlimited charismatic authority but often has to be “forced” back to the stage to perform an encore. See “Mr. Paderewski Again,” *New York Times*, Jan 3, 1893; “Paderewski Still Reigns,” *Washington Post*, Dec 20, 1899; “Throngs Hear Hofmann,” *New York Times*, Jan 7, 1924.

other hand, it was (and continues to be) a refuge from commercialism. Recall the common “home life” / “work life” opposition, alluded to in the previous paragraph, that still structures many working- and middle-class existences. Like the gift economy, then, the home of middle-class folklore is often imagined to be sequestered from (and an antidote to) the “alienated experience” of work life. As Berman’s disenchantment narrative suggests, it is commonly felt to be “a place of belonging” that promises the sort of affective bonding with which magic has long been associated, especially love (note the adages “a house is made of brick and stone, but a home is made of love alone” and “home is where the heart is”).

All of which is not to say that commodity consumption does not play a role in casting home’s spell. I briefly mentioned Arendt’s disenchantment narrative in the last chapter and would like to revisit it here because her language is strikingly apposite. In 1958, around the time *encores* records took off, Hannah Arendt expressed ambivalence about the “infectious charm” of our cute, little commodities—of “modern enchantment with ‘small things,’” of the pleasures of domesticity and easy consumption, of the contentment of bourgeois life, of life “within the space of [our] own four walls, between chest and bed, table and chair, dog and cat and flowerpot.”¹¹⁸ She described an ever-expanding sense of fulfillment—a bewitching *petit bonheur* or what Marcuse would six years later call a “euphoria in unhappiness”—that had almost entirely replaced the eudaemonia or authentic well-being of Aristotle’s defunct *bios politicos*.¹¹⁹ This “political life” was life in the political public sphere, life in what Arendt described as a “common world” that “has the power to gather [people] together, to relate and to separate

¹¹⁸ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 52.

¹¹⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (London: Routledge Classics, 2002), 7.

them,” that is, the power to produce not only real individuals but also real community.¹²⁰ With the decline of the public sphere and in the face of a concomitant “mass phenomenon of loneliness,” modern subjects, Arendt wrote, turned toward enchanting small things for a whisper of the authentic well-being and community of the old, discarded world, “extending to these things care and tenderness which, in a world where rapid industrialization constantly kills off the things of yesterday to produce today’s objects, may even appear to be the world’s last, purely human corner.”¹²¹ A decade after Arendt, Stanley Cavell wrote that “objects of art do not merely interest and absorb, they move us; we are not merely involved with them, but concerned with them, and care about them; we treat them in special ways, invest them with a value which normal people otherwise reserve only for people.”¹²² It is almost as if Arendt and Cavell had the pint-sized encore in mind. Encores comfort concertgoers, and concertgoers care for them—this is one way of thinking of their magic. In a paragraph above, I made a passing reference to Benjamin’s famous line about the soul of the commodity: “If the soul of the commodity which Marx occasionally mentions in jest existed, it would be the most empathetic ever encountered in the realm of souls, for it would have to see in everyone the buyer in whose hand and house it wants to nestle.”¹²³ It would seem that encores have some of the most empathetic souls of all.

So far this chapter has elaborated two interrelated discourses about encores that have shaped encore space as the recital’s *punctum*, the locus of its “real” magic: the

¹²⁰ Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 53.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 59 and 52.

¹²² Stanley Cavell, “Music Discomposed,” in *Must We Mean What We Say?* (New York: Scribner, 1969), 197–198.

¹²³ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: New Left Books, 1973), 55.

encore as gift is a labor of love through which concertgoers find momentary relief from the forms of relationality supplied by the market; and the encore as home is an invitation to partake of the familiar and the familial—home remedies, perhaps, for “mass loneliness.” I now turn to the third manifestation—the encore as personal touch—which reveals the encore’s personalism to be central to encore space’s configuration as the nexus of the recital’s “real” magic.

A Personal Touch

As indicated in the previous sections, encoring is felt to heighten closeness. Increased bodily closeness was a particularly conspicuous attribute of encoring between the 1890s and 1940s, when concertgoers rushed to the stage for the encore portion of the recital, packing together at the front of the platform in order to partake of the recitalist “performing [their] magic.”¹²⁴ Although fire departments banned the rush seven decades ago, elevated closeness is still a distinguishing feature of encore space. In its configuration as a gift economy and as home, for example, encore space promises concertgoers a ready supply of the intimate sociality impeded by program-space strictures. There is also something more intimate about the way the performer addresses their audience during the encore ritual than during the performance of the scheduled program. After the pre-encore clapping has subsided, performers usually break the fourth wall and tell their audiences what they are about to play, sometimes cracking jokes or making heartfelt dedications. At a 2011 recital, the pianist, writer, and bodybuilder Tzimon Barto took this ritual to its apogee: dressed in a ruffled shirt with a sexy,

¹²⁴ James Gibbons Huneker, “A Brilliant Piano Recital,” *New York Times*, Mar 16, 1919; Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 287.

plunging neckline, he recited his poetry to the audience before feeding them their musical dessert.¹²⁵

Central to the configuration of encore space as the principal site of the recital's heightened closeness—which is to say, its magic—is the encore's personalism. Encore-space participants tend to characterize encore giving as a form of self-disclosure, self-revelation, and self-articulation, often invoking the word “personal.” For instance, the back sleeve of Alfred Cortot's 1954 encore record states, “What is wanted [in encores] is a series of pieces bearing the performer's *personal* trademark—pieces to which he can give a touch of charm or flash of wit” (emphasis added).¹²⁶ More recently, in 2011, Hilary Hahn said, “Violinists have a very *personal* relationship to the encores they play. They become...calling cards, a way to uncover the past” (emphasis added).¹²⁷ The language of trademarks, calling cards, and signatures is common among encore-space participants (indeed, the French pianist Alexandre Tharaud's encore album is actually entitled *Autograph*),¹²⁸ and this language points to a desire for the encore to express the performer's personhood.

¹²⁵ Anne Midgette, “Tzimon Barto: An Unconventional Pianist, Philosopher, Reformed Drug Addict,” *Washington Post*, Jan 16, 2011. Another example: the pianist Gabriela Montero often asks concertgoers to shout out tunes on which to improvise an encore (in some cases, as when an Austin, Texas audience alighted upon the UT school spirit song “The Eye of Texas,” requesting they whistle. Naomi Lewin, “What's Gone Wrong with Encores?,” *Conducting Business* (blog), WQXR NYC, May 15, 2014, <http://www.wqxr.org/#!/story/whats-gone-wrong-encores/>.

¹²⁶ Eric Harrison, liner notes to *Cortot Plays Popular Encores*, Alred Cortot, His Master's Voice ALP 1197 (UK), LP, 1954. Also note the liner notes to Margaret Fingerhut's recording *Endless Song, Encores for the Piano*, the first sentence of which reads: “This is a very personal CD.” “It is,” she continues, “an unashamedly indulgent collection of some of my favorite pieces by my favorite composers.” Liner notes to *Endless Song, Encores for Piano*, Margaret Fingerhut, Chandos CHAN 10826, CD, 2014.

¹²⁷ Rick Schultz, “Encores? Hilary Hahn's Glad to Oblige,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct 30, 2011.

¹²⁸ Alexandre Tharaud, *Autograph*, Erato 934137 2, CD, 2013. On the locution “signature encore,” see Raykoff, *Dreams of Love*, 13; David Dubal, *Evenings with Horowitz: A Personal Portrait* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 1991), 118; Terry King, *Gregor Piatigorsky: The Life and Career of the Virtuoso Cellist* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 82.

Encore albums often wear their relation to the personal on their sleeves, as in the case of the many encore albums with titles similar to the pianist Stephen Hough's *My Favorite Things*, the possessive pronoun advertising the album's contents as the passions of a particular person.¹²⁹ Some go much further than this. Perhaps no encore album is more emphatically "personal" than *Horizons, A Personal Collection of Piano Encores*, released by the Norwegian pianist Leif Ove Andsnes in 2006.¹³⁰ The first and last pages of the CD booklet feature warmly filtered, double-truck photos of the performer staring pensively at the sea and at the trees, with mawkish reminiscences enclosed by oversized quotation marks, reminding his fans, as if that could miss it, that this is his story. Here is a sample in which Andsnes forms a connection between his personal encore album and home: "My home country has shaped me as a person and musician, and its pulling force is still very strong. It is the combination of the sky, sea, the mountains, the seasons—the wind and the silence. These horizons have made their impression on me, and continue to nurture me each time I return." The booklet also includes a foreword to the liner notes titled "Horizons, a personal note by Leif Ove Andsnes," wherein the pianist narrates the personal significance of the encores on the album by linking them to his formative years: "I must have played [Ibert's "The Little White Donkey"]...when I was six or seven years old—it is one of those pieces, of course, which is in every child's repertoire. I played the Sibelius Etude when I was nine, and then a little later came the first Chopin Impromptu and the Liszt *Liebestraum*."

¹²⁹ Stephen Hough, *My Favorite Things*, Nimbus Records NI 2540, CD, 2009; Van Cliburn, *My Favorite Encores*, RCA Victor 60726-2-RG, CD, 1991; Walter Hautzig, *My Favorite Encores*, Americus AMR20031028, CD, 2003.

¹³⁰ Leif Ove Andsnes, *Horizons, A Personal Collection of Piano Encores*, EMI Classics 3 41682 2, CD, 2006.

All of which is to say that encore givers often describe the encore ritual—no matter what genre of miniature is played during the ritual, be it a syrupy character piece, bravura etude, romping humoresque, or folk-song arrangement—as an occasion for them to share something deeply personal with their audiences—“something of me” (Kubalek), a glimpse of my past (Hahn, Andsnes). Many concertgoers share this view. Here are four excerpts where concertgoers explain their attraction to encores over the pieces of printed program by way of the encore’s personalism: (1) “Witnessing an encore is a special experience: personal and direct...Often the performer announces the pieces from the stage, the audience for the first time hearing her speaking voice. Whatever she says, they understand: ‘I’m about to play this for you....That moment at the end...remains with us in a special way, sealing the connection established between the performer and listener, like a musical goodnight kiss’¹³¹; (2) “Could it be that the very essence of the concert is to be found in concentrated form [in the encore]? There is no other moment in which the audience feels so acutely that the artist is addressing himself not to an amorphous crowd that never changed from one evening to next, but to the unique audience present only on that evening”¹³²; (3) The pianist Marcantonio Barone’s program was “mostly faceless,” but “at the end of his eclectic recital...he finally made a personal statement. It was Chopin’s C-Major Mazurka, Opus 24, No. 2, played as Barone’s single encore, and it showed the young pianist’s ability to...communicate from the piano directly to his audience....A sense of conversation...marked this brief moment....True conviction and

¹³¹ Robert Kirzinger, “More, please!,” liner notes to *In 27 Pieces*, Hilary Hahn, Deutsche Grammophon B0019103-02, CD, 2013.

¹³² Nicholas Southon, liner notes to *Autograph/Bis-Encores*, Alexandre Tharaud, Erato 934137 2, CD, 2013.

real engagement arrived only after the program proper had ended¹³³; (4) “[Grammy Award-winning pianist Radu Lupu] seems to play for himself alone....For [listeners] who see musical performance as a two-way thoroughfare, [being allowed to watch the performer commune with himself] is much too little. At the end of the evening...Lupu did mesmerize the serious observer with an exquisite encore: the slow movement from Schubert’s Sonata in A, Opus 120. The exquisite performance, in a movement so inward-looking it almost became inaudible, reinstated one’s admiration for Lupu’s pianism.”¹³⁴ Together these examples yield a picture of encore space in which the performance of the encore is “mesmerizing”—that is, magic—to the extent that it feels like a “two-way thoroughfare” rather than a form of self-communion or communion primarily with the music. Strangely, however, this sense that the performer is really playing for individual members of the audience—that they are addressing “unique” persons rather than “an amorphous crowd”—is said to begin with looking “inward,” with a “personal statement.” This personalism is rendered as the key to the localization of the recital’s “real” and “true” magic in encore space. That is to say, it is said to produce the feeling that “no other moment” provides “a sense of conversation” or “the connection between performer and listener.”

Schnabel’s concerts, bereft as they were of encores, are useful in bringing into relief what this encore personalism might offer concertgoers that the program’s virtuosic impersonality does not. As opposed to the personalism of encore space, the likes of Schnabel dwelled exclusively in the impersonalism of program space. Schnabel was

¹³³ Daniel Cariaga, “Pianist Barone in Recital at Loyola Marymount,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 22, 1988.

¹³⁴ Daniel Cariaga, “Radu Lupu in Piano Recital at Chandler Pavilion,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 6, 1990.

largely apathetic about his audiences' feelings. He seems to have had little interest in connecting with them, sometimes mocking, as noted above, their affinities for the "family part" of the concert. At a 1945 lecture at the University of Chicago, for example, he said, "When I am asked, 'What do you think of our audience?' I answer, 'I know two kinds of audiences—one coughing, one not coughing.' . . . That disappoints the people who ask me, for they want me to say, 'I have never had an audience like the one in your city here.'"¹³⁵ At another lecture in the same series, he suggested, "The music should occupy our whole capacity when we perform any kind of work. Music gives us enough to do, to think and to feel, and we really have no time to find out what kind of people the audience is composed of and how they react."¹³⁶ For Schnabel, performance seems to have been almost a form of self-abnegation, wherein the performer, wholly "occupied" by music, functioned as a sort of empty vessel through which the music would make itself manifest, not so much for any person in the audience but for some apparently greater moral and spiritual purpose¹³⁷. If encore space says "I am playing for you," "I care about you," "You are welcome here," etc., then perhaps program space, at least in this extreme articulation, says "I care only the music, not about you."

The personal has been present across the previous two sections. A personal touch is key to presenting a gift and to building a home. But it was also present in the previous

¹³⁵ Artur Schnabel, *My Life and Music* (New York: Dover, 1988), 204.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹³⁷ Lydia Goehr argues that two conflicting performance conceptions have dominated the practice of performance since 1800: "the perfect performance of music," where the performer makes herself invisible so that the "work" may speak; and "the perfect musical performance," wherein the work vanishes and the performer becomes a sort of conjurer who produces the music as she plays it. One could align Schnabel with the first tradition and my encore-givers with the second. Lydia Goehr, "Conflicting Ideals of Performance Perfection in an Imperfect Practice," in *The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

chapter, which, for example, cited the following tweet: “Part of the E Street Band magic was feeling a personal connection to the band/music. Amazing how many people tweeting share that feeling.”¹³⁸ In fact, invocations of the personal such as this commonly appear in everyday music discourse’s claims of magic. Writing in 2005 issue of *Popular Music* devoted to music’s “magic moments,” the Americanist Eric Weisbard stated, “A magic moment is often a personal moment,” that is, a moment of personal *connection*.¹³⁹ According to Enrico Caruso’s son, Enrico Jr., “The magic of my father’s singing was inseparable from his person and personality.”¹⁴⁰ A 2014 tweet reads, “Magic today @pgsymphony—Maestro’s personal connection to the music was obvious & intense....Heinz Hall was electric.”¹⁴¹ The personal is also central to Weber’s theory of magic’s persistence, demonstrating, once again, the extent to which our musical ordinary is modernist. I will now return to Weber’s disenchantment narrative by way of conclusion.

The Pianissimo as Encore Space

As stated in the first chapter, forty years before Arendt wrote of “modern enchantment with small things,” at the moment when the encore as we know it today made its triumphant debut, Max Weber expressed something similar in antithetical terms,

¹³⁸ Richard Robbins (@rich1), Twitter, posted Jun 19, 2011, <https://twitter.com/rich1/status/82391799922044928>.

¹³⁹ Eric Weisbard, “Introduction: These Magic Moments: Pop, Writing, and the Little Stuff,” in “These Magic Moments,” ed. Eric Weisbard, special issue, *Popular Music* 25, no. 3 (Oct 2005): 309.

¹⁴⁰ Enrico Caruso, Jr. and Andrew Farkas, *Enrico Caruso: My Father and My Family* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1997), 343.

¹⁴¹ Bobbie Townsend (@BobbieTownsend1), Twitter, posted on Jun 8, 2014, <https://twitter.com/BobbieTownsend1/status/475757183209328640>.

describing a “disenchanted world” where magic had taken up residence in “pianissimo.”

Here is the most famous articulation his argument once again:

The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the disenchantment of the world. Precisely the most sublime values have retreated from public life into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human contact. It is not accidental that our greatest art is intimate and not monumental, nor is it accidental that today only within the smallest and intimate circles, in personal human situations, in *pianissimo*, that something is pulsating that corresponds to the prophetic *pneuma*, which in former times swept through great communities like a firebrand, welding them together.¹⁴²

In Weber’s account of modernity, much like in Arendt’s, magic is not said to have vanished but to have undergone a sort of miniaturization, changing comportment and scale, leaving behind, as Arendt put it, the “once great and glorious public realm” to make a home “in *pianissimo*.”¹⁴³ It is there—“in the smallest and intimate circles” [*kleinsten Gemeinschaftskreise*] and “personal human situations [*Mensch zu Mensch*]—and not in the realms of the “monumental” where Weber locates the affective energies that made the world magic, “welding” it together and providing its denizens with a comforting certainty (by “prophetic,” Weber is alluding to certainty: as he contends elsewhere in the lecture from which the above is excerpted, the premodern world’s religious visionaries offered the “final answers” that he believed the modern social sciences could not).

¹⁴² Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 155. Gerth and Wright put quotation marks around “disenchantment of the world” and suggest that Weber was making allusion to Schiller’s “Die Götter Griechenlands,” which speaks of “die entgötterte Natur” (“the un-godding of nature”). There are, however, no quotation marks in the original German, and I have left the quotation marks out.

¹⁴³ I am indebted to Leela Gandhi for first directing my attention to the “pianissimo” and for inspiring this reading. See Leela Gandhi, *The Common Cause: Postcolonial Ethics and the Practice of Democracy, 1900 to 1955* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 74–76.

This chapter has suggested that encore space has come to closely resemble Weber's "pianissimo." Recall the review of Kathleen Battle's 1990 "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" encore, the "highpoint" of her Fort Lauderdale recital: the "magical" final note—"a delicate pianissimo"—"sent a hush over the theater," giving the reviewer "shivers" and reminding him of "a soul truly being carried home."¹⁴⁴ This review is chock full of Weber's language, but most (if not all) of the accounts of encoring I have quoted in this chapter have contained many of the most common words in his most famous "disenchantment" passage: "personal," "direct," "human," "intimate," "small," "inaudible."

So what might this resonance reveal about the peculiar relation between program space and encore space, that is, about the pervasive feeling that encore space is the locus of the recital's "real" magic while program space is tantamount to the "pre-encore part of the concert"? Insofar as encores have been called "supplementary concerts," one might interpret the relation between encore space and program space as supplementary in the classic Derridean sense, with encore space functioning both as a superfluous addition to program space and as a fervently pursued substitution meant to fill something "missing" from it (recall reviews such as the following: "The palpable charm *missing* in the program proper bloomed for a magical three minutes in the [first encore]").¹⁴⁵ However, reading encore space as an instantiation of the Weberian/Arendtian miniaturization of magic yields a different reading, a reading that resonates more closely with modernity's

¹⁴⁴ Tim Smith, "Battle Recital Ends on a Perfect Note," *Sun Sentinel* [Fort Lauderdale], Jan 6, 1990.

¹⁴⁵ For "supplementary concert of encores," see "Music Academy to Hear Paderewski," *New York Herald Tribune*, Mar 25, 1932; Albert Goldberg, "Genius of Gieseking Holds Audience Rapt," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 8, 1954. The final quote is from Daniel Cariaga, "Pianist Moura Lympany in Recital at Ambassador Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 19, 1988.

predominant fantasy about music. I argued in the previous chapter that music is often said to be “the only the real magic” to the extent that it offers experiences of affective connection felt to be missing from most realms of life outside music. This, I furthermore contended, strikes me as odd because ordinary life is filled with moments of affective convergence that are not mediated by music. Working from Lauren Berlant’s and Katie Stewart’s theories of the ordinary, I said that such moments usually do not register but are passed through as they resonate into atmosphere because they generally lack events that have acquired the power to capture, extend, and intensify them. I then suggested that music, almost above all else, has acquired this power since about 1900. The relation between the encore and the printed program can be understood in similar terms. Perhaps the recital’s “real” or “true” magic is felt to be localized in encore space instead of program space because the encore is an event that has acquired the power to capture, extend, and intensify affective energies that in program space seem dispersed and distributed, restively churning in the atmosphere produced by long stretches of musicking where direct human interaction is discouraged. In sum, then, the localization of “real” magic in encore space can be read as equivalent to the sort of miniaturization of magic described by Weber and Arendt. The affective energies suffusing the vast program space, with its “sublime” and “monumental” Beethoven sonatas, are felt to mostly pass by unnoticed while the bite-sized encore, to the extent that has been rendered a gift, home, and a personal touch, is experienced as concentrating these energies into magic.

So what is the allure of this magic? Weber aligns magic with community and the comforting certainty thereof. Arendt equates it with care, tenderness, and humanity, all of which, she suggests, provide a “little happiness” in the face of “mass loneliness.” In a

similar vein, Berman stitches magic to “belonging.” The accounts of encoring above contain similar moves. Employing language reminiscent of Arendt’s, many commentators have noted that encores “send ‘em home happy.”¹⁴⁶ Which is perhaps to say that they lighten concertgoers’ loads and make the world outside the concert hall a little brighter: “Just when we thought that was going to be that, [the pianist Stephen Hough] strode out again, smilingly raised a finger to say ‘one more,’ and put across one of the sweetest, most polished and yet tender performances of Chopin’s F# major Nocturne (op. 15 #2) I’ve ever heard or hope to hear. All of those solid qualities that I archly ascribed to the British [e.g., emotional understatement] were again on full display, and in addition, a warmth which buoyed my steps and gave a bit of a glow to the flowering trees as I walked out into the first real spring evening of the year.”¹⁴⁷

Mozart indicated a connection between magic and happiness in a 1778 letter to Joseph Bullinger: “To live respectably and to live happily are two very different things, and the latter will not be possible for me without some kind of magic; for this, something truly supernatural would have to happen.” Quoting this letter, Giorgio Agamben has argued that real happiness finds us only when we do not pursue it, only through magic: “Whatever we can achieve through merit and effort cannot make us truly happy. Only

¹⁴⁶ Martin Bernheimer, “A Song Recital for Connoisseurs, *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 14, 1992; Martin Bernheimer, “Jerry Hadley Sings a Bemusing Recital, *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 17, 1993; Melinda Bargreen, “Evening of Strength Ends with Encore of Finesse,” *Seattle Times*, Dec 13, 2003; ClassicFMOfficial, “Ji Liu on Piano Encores,” YouTube video, 7:55, posted Jan 15, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XCtn_FUfZrU; Anne Midgette, “Mastering the Art of Entertainment: Renée Fleming in Recital,” *The Washington Post*, Feb 24, 2015. Encores also “show ‘em a good time”; see Richard Dyer, “Milstein Recital A Celebration,” *Boston Globe*, Oct 8, 1979.

¹⁴⁷ Jeff Winslow, “Review: Pianist Stephen Hough,” *Oregon ArtsWatch*, Apr 10, 2014, <http://www.orartswatch.org/review-pianist-stephen-hough/>.

magic can do that.”¹⁴⁸ This reminds me of the modernist rendering of music as “the only real magic,” in which magic is centralized in music such that music is experienced as the primary and even the sole source of “true happiness.” If magic means true happiness, and if magic is felt to be localized in fleeting musical events, then one would expect these events to constitute a particularly potent means of managing pain or unhappiness. As I argued in the previous chapter, this is certainly the case: many subjects in the moment under consideration here have relied on music and its enchantments not only for pleasure but also for survival and the management of their enfeeblements. At the same time, the potency that music has accrued in its institutionalization as “the only real magic” often opens up to statements like Agamben’s, where happiness is said to be achievable not through “effort” but only down the narrowest path of the aesthetic. To be fair, Agamben may be saying something like Adorno: because our capitalist world is fundamentally miserable and its products can at the most provide consolation for this misery, something otherworldly—something magical—is needed for true happiness.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, his claim points to one of the peculiar aspects of “the only real magic” fantasy: while music has accrued an immense healing power as the sole magic, this concentration of power in music alone appears to have reinforced the narrowing of paths to happiness from which it emerged in the first place. In other words, with the miniaturization and concentration of magic into music, routes to happiness and what amounts to happiness seem to have become further constricted, leaving many subjects stuck in an ever-shrinking field of ameliorative potentiality.

¹⁴⁸ Giorgio Agamben, “Magic and Happiness,” in *Profanations* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 19.

¹⁴⁹ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

Encore: Returning Home

On April 20, 1986, Horowitz returned to Russia, his homeland, after 61 years of exile in the US to give a recital at the Moscow Conservatory as part of the Soviet-US cultural exchange pledges outlined by Reagan and Gorbachev the previous year in Geneva. “I have never forgotten Russia. I remember the smells when the snow melts and the spring arrives,” he explained in language similar to that of Leif Ove Andsnes. “I had to go back to Russia before I died.”¹⁵⁰ The recital was broadcast on a special edition of CBS’s *Sunday Morning*, which spliced short interviews and sappy scenes from the trip between the pieces of the scheduled program. For instance, the broadcast showed Horowitz reading a letter from a niece he had not seen since 1925: “Here we can feel spring coming, and it is beginning to get warm. It is warmer because you are coming. We will be so happy to see you. One of my dreams has always been to hear you in concert, and now it is coming true. We are waiting for you.”¹⁵¹

The Monday papers applauded Horowitz’s performance, with many journalists focusing their praise on his first encore: “Perhaps the most moving moment of all came during the first encore, Schumann’s ‘*Träumerei*,’ when a camera froze upon a graying middle-aged Muscovite sitting there staring forward with an absolute poker face, tears streaming down his cheeks.”¹⁵² The teary-eyed man appeared on screen as Horowitz was lissomely tip-toeing through the modulating middle section of *Träumerei*: G minor, B-flat major, D minor; and the tears welling up in his eyes fell just as Horowitz reached the perfect authentic cadence that brings the music “home” to the famous opening theme in F

¹⁵⁰ Michael Walsh, “The Prodigal Returns,” *Time*, May 5, 1986, 56–58.

¹⁵¹ *CBS News Sunday Morning*, “With Horowitz in Moscow,” senior executive producer Robert Northshield, aired Apr 20, 1986, CBS. I obtained a copy of the complete broadcast directly from *Sunday Morning*.

¹⁵² Lon Tuck, “Horowitz’s Russian Overture,” *Washington Post*, Apr 21, 1986.

major. One YouTuber describes this encore as follows: “Heartbreakingly beautiful. Magic.”¹⁵³

The week before Horowitz’s recital, at a time eerily like the present (but also not), the US bombed Libya, a Soviet ally, in retaliation for a bombing of a Berlin discotheque frequented by American military personnel. Although the Reagan administration characterized it as an act of “self-defense,” the US attack on what it referred to as a “terrorist haven,” which killed 37 Libyans (including civilians), was condemned by the vast majority of the UN General Assembly, and tensions between the US and the Soviet Union were high. Then came Horowitz, Reagan’s “ambassador of peace,” with his oneiric “scene from childhood,” magically lulling the world into everlasting neoliberal unison, inoculating it against dissent with the highly contagious magic of Reaganism, as he intoned its deepest Post-Cold War hopes and desires for better forms of collective life. As the television essayist and syndicated columnist Andrew Rooney wrote the day after the recital:

During [the encores], watching this 82-year old genius play, I found mist forming in my eyes for some mysterious reason I could not explain. I was not sad. I was exultant. It had something to do with my pride, at that very moment, in being part of the same civilization that this great and endearing man playing the piano was part of.

Almost at the same instant I felt the suggestion of tears in my eyes, the television camera left Horowitz’s fingers on the keyboard and dissolved to the face of a Soviet citizen in the audience. He did not look like the enemy. His eyes were closed, his head tilted slightly backward so that his face was up and one lone teardrop ran down his cheek. It was the same teardrop running down mine.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Comment by collumww, “Horowitz plays [sic] Schumann Traumerei in Moscow,” Volowitz, YouTube, uploaded Jun 7, 2006, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qq7ncjhSqtK>.

¹⁵⁴ Andy Rooney, “Horowitz A True Heavyweight Champ,” *Tribune Media Services*, Apr 24, 1986.

CHAPTER 3

Mass Magic: Singing and Wishing in Unison

In a March 30, 2016 *Fresh Air* interview with Terry Gross, the comedian Ray Romano, speaking in his trademark Lawn Guyland accent, touted his newfound enjoyment of strong feeling by way of a peculiar musical object: “I’m at an age where crying is easier for me now, and I like it....This is a running joke in my house, but I like a good ‘Star-Spangled Banner.’ A good ‘Star-Spangled Banner’ can make me cry. No, I’m not kidding. I look them up on YouTube, and I find the most emotional ones. And I like a good cry. It’s cathartic; it’s a release.”¹ Granted it is not all that strange that in the face of an unnamed interdiction against crying as a younger man, Romano sutures his strong feeling to the aesthetic domain, one of the few realms where male crying has been deemed a sign of cultivation rather than of weakness. And not only does he suture his feeling to the aesthetic, but he stitches it to the martial national anthem genre; and not just to the martial national anthem but to the exceedingly bellicose “Star-Spangled Banner,” which, insofar as it typically performed before sporting events, belongs to a long tradition of inculcating manliness, fighting spirit, and the other soldierly virtues through sport. Rendering the situation less strange still, Romano characterizes his predilection as a family joke, as a matter of domestic privacy or of the household, a domain also aligned with feeling, most commonly in conventional divisions of public and private.

Nonetheless, the statement was felt to be odd enough at the time of its recording that

¹ Ray Romano, Interview by Terry Gross, “Ray Romano Gets Deep, Dark and Angsty for Martin Scorsese’s ‘Vinyl,’” *Fresh Air*, NPR, Mar 30, 2016, <https://www.npr.org/programs/fresh-air/2016/03/30/472416179/fresh-air-for-march-30-2016>.

Romano had to reassure a giggling and apparently incredulous Gross of his earnestness (“I’m not kidding”). So what is weird, if only mildly so, about Romano’s remark?

It strikes me as at least a bit odd that amid the 5.6 million “emotional musical performances” currently available on YouTube—“Pianist in tears!!!. Most moving piano performance” (19 million views); “Adele cries singing Someone Like You” (5.3 million views); “Watch Aretha Franklin Make President Obama Emotional” (3.7 million views)—that a YouTuber, now or in 2016, would routinely turn to Banner videos for their good cries.² Of course, in America, where mainstream politics is exceptionally sentimental, many citizens are deeply stirred by their national anthem. Nonetheless, I still find it surprising that Romano deploys the Banner as his prime exemplar of a musical object saturated with affect. Why might Romano have offered up anthem videos over, say, vids of Susan Boyle, the 2009 *Britain’s Got Talent* contestant who made the entire internet weep with her rendition of “I Dreamed a Dream” from *Les Mis*?

This brings me to another aspect of the confession’s peculiarity, which lies in the fact that the rationale Romano adduces for his interest in the national anthem bears traces of neither the rightwing #murica jingoism nor the polite Democratic love of country that became commonplace in celebrations of the anthem after 9/11 and that now, in the wake of Colin Kaepernick’s “take a knee” protest, are almost synonymous with the Banner. In fact, his rationale does not contain any of the overtly political or civic language that one might expect to find in a Banner dithyramb. Words such as “nation,” “flag,” “troops,”

² Pianist [Nobuyuki Tsujii] in tears!!!. Most moving piano performance,” YouTube, posted by Homo Music’s, Mar 30, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqoV4ZW7xTA>; “Adele cries singing Some Like You,” YouTube, posted by Justin Tan, Sep 7, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jhOursPOa-c>; Watch Aretha Franklin Make President Obama Emotional,” YouTube, posted by TV360NIGERIA, Dec 30, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=diwF1-xJwZM>.

“liberty,” “rights,” “citizen” are conspicuously absent. Which is to say that the things that might make this passage feel unremarkable—say, indications of patriotism and nationalism or, more broadly, of the overtly political—are missing. The anthem is not presented as a patriotic song proffering affective identification with the imagined community of the nation, that is, as a song that, in the words of a more predictable anthem fan, “draw[s] us together in feelings of love toward our country.”³ Interestingly, it is not presented as an entertainment object consumed solely for pleasure either. As I read him, Romano watches Banner videos not only because they’re entertaining but also because they serve a therapeutic function, emancipating or “releasing” him from the attachments and investments in which he feels himself to be mired. (Here I am reminded of Cavell: “catharsis...is a matter of purging attachment from everything but the present, from pity for the past and terror of the future.”⁴)

A final aspect of the peculiarity in Romano’s statement that I am inching toward involves the way an attachment to a set of musical objects is foregrounded while a rich network of attachments to other people is deemphasized, that is, the way his relationship with Banner videos is imbued with the power of emancipation while his relationship to other people—the family with whom he shares his Banner passion—is presented as a peripheral figure invoked for vaguely proleptic purposes. (This reminds me a bit of the opening of Don McClean’s pop epic “American Pie”: what deeply touches the song’s narrator, for whom music offers a potent but fleeting happiness, is not the news of an unnamed man’s “widowed bride” but of “the day the music died,” which, McClean has

³ John Shaw, “199th Anniversary Guest Post: Our National Anthems,” *Star Spangled Music Foundation*, Sep 29, 2013, <http://starspangledmusic.org/199th-anniversary-guest-post-our-national-anthems-author-john-shaw/>.

⁴ Stanley Cavell, “The Avoidance of Love: A Reading of *King Lear*,” in *Must We Mean What We Say? A Book of Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1969]), 311.

said, is meant to refer to deaths of rockers Buddy Holly, Ritchie Valens, and the Big Bopper in a 1959 plane crash but might be read more literally as referring not to *their* deaths but to death of their *music*.) Why is the meat of Romano’s confession not about the inside joke (the “running joke in [his] house”)? That is to say, why is it not about the connections Romano has forged with the people with whom he lives (inside jokes of course presume loads of intimacy built over time)? I am not suggesting that Romano loves Banner videos more than he loves his family (or not *not* suggesting it), but once again calling attention to our proximity to modernity’s wish for music—music as “the only real magic”—where music is purported to offer affective convergences that are felt to be, or presented as if they were, tenuous or unavailable outside musical domains of life.

Magic—the imperious apparition haunting even those bits of everyday music discourse in which it is not explicitly invoked—supplies a missing piece to the Romano puzzle. This is not overreading: national anthems have long been celebrated as magic; in fact, the association between national anthems and magic is roughly coextensive with the long historical moment I have been tracking, emerging in the first decades of twentieth century and thriving into the present.⁵ More surprising still, the magic spell of national

⁵ Here is a sample of more traditional media from the 1930s to the present that celebrate national anthems as magic. As we will see, however, Twitter, Facebook, and all other of forms of social media are teeming with examples as well. William Hamilton Cline, “Key’s Birthday,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug 9, 1930; R.G. Collingwood, “Art as Magic,” in *Principles of Art* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938), 73–77; Mahendra N. Pandia, “The Significance of National Anthems,” *The Times of India*, Aug 15, 1960; “Chisox Abandon Anthem,” *Washington Post*, Apr 22, 1966; Prentis Rogers, “When Coatie Sings Anthem The Hawks Go Out and Win,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Jul 16, 1978; John Hall, “The National Anthem Is Right On Key,” *Orange County Register*, Feb 10, 1991; Mal Gray, “Why I love the National Anthems,” *The Guardian*, Feb 6, 1998; Phil Jasper, “Mo?; Yo! Cheeks the Choice, But There Are Other Candidates, Too,” *Philadelphia Daily News*, May 27, 2003; Hal Habib, “A Star-Spangled Salute,” *Palm Beach Post*, July 4, 2003; Carl Hoover, “Let’s Be United by Group Singing All Year Long,” *Waco Tribune-Herald*, Dec 9, 2007; “When Tears Well Up in the Eyes,” *The New Nation* [Dhaka], Jun 23, 2010; Nick Patch,

anthems often extends beyond ardent patriots and nationalists. As a *Guardian* reporter remarked with respect to the “magic” and “curious mystical attraction” of the 1972 Olympics: “Even card-carrying skeptics feel it—like radicals who find to their fury and confusion that their eyes water at the sound of the national anthem.”⁶

One reasonable explanation for the national anthem’s association with magic is that the nation-state, as Michael Taussig and Fernando Coronil have each suggested in their own ways, is a magical entity, not just insofar as it has been, as Taussig contends, imbued with its own life force but also, I would argue, because “magic” is a modernist term that expresses hopes and anxieties over how subjects after disenchantment have been held together in collectivities, including the collectivity of the nation.⁷ Perhaps another good reason is that national anthems are firmly anchored in the realm of sports, and sports are equated with magic almost as frequently as music is. Scroll through ESPN.com and you’re likely to find articles such as “Is it Greatness or Is It Magic? It’s Year 15 of Lebron”; or watch the Olympics on TV and you’re likely to hear former ski racer and

“Singing National Anthem Provides a Rush,” *The Times-Transcript* [Moncton, N.B.], Jul 2, 2010; Bruce Maiman, “Music and Its Transformative Power, Its Magic Is Personal and Universal—How It Moves Us Remains a Mystery,” *The Sacramento Bee*, Feb 13, 2011; “O Say Can You Hear the Area’s Best Anthem,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 26, 2012; Dick Heller, “Magic Moments: The Star-Spangled Banner,” *The National Pastime Museum*, Oct 7, 2013, <https://www.thenationalpastimemuseum.com/article/magic-moments-star-spangled-banner>; Pete Grathoff, “Whoa Canada: Arena Full of Oilers Fans Sing US National Anthem After Microphone Fails,” *Kansas City Star*, May 1, 2017; Troy Gil, “Don’t Change the Anthem—Just Add a Stanza,” *Jerusalem Post*, May 2, 2015; Paula Bolyard, “Watch: 20,000 Fans in Cleveland Just Made Something Magical Happen with the National Anthem at the NBA Finals,” *PJ Media*, Jun 8, 2016, <https://pjmedia.com/video/watch-20000-fans-in-cleveland-just-made-something-magical-happen-with-the-national-anthem-at-the-nba-finals/>; Jan Felix, “Letter: A Magical Moment with the National Anthem,” *Deseret News*, Oct 25, 2017.

⁶ Geoffrey Nicholson, “Blend of Charm and Magic,” *The Guardian*, Aug 28, 1972.

⁷ Michael Taussig, *The Magic of the State* (Routledge: New York, 1997); Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

NBC commentator Bode Miller chatting about “those kind of magical runs where somebody really gets the very best out of themselves.”⁸

However, the most obvious reason for national anthems’ association with magic is that anthems are music, and as I have discussed at length in the previous chapters, magic has been a dominant framework through which music has been experienced in liberal capitalist cultures since the turn of the twentieth century. Which is to say that music has been configured as modernity’s mass magic. What is more, anthems are intended for what is commonly called massed singing or large-scale communal singing, meaning that they are most commonly sung (and have been since the First World War) by what have been called “mass choirs,” that is, by stadium crowds.⁹ In fact, as myriad commentators have noted, national anthems, along with sports anthems/chants (“Take Me Out to the Ball Game,” “Sweet Caroline,” etc.) and what might be called pop anthems (the crowd singalongs that take place at stadium, arena, and festival concerts) have, since the early twentieth century, offered adults one of the few occasions through which to participate in massed singing.¹⁰ And if music, as I have previously asserted, is often regarded as magic

⁸ Brian Windhorst, “Is It Greatness or Is It Magic? It’s Year 15 of Lebron,” *ESPN*, May 26, 2018, http://www.espn.com/nba/story/_/id/23609203/lebron-james-dominates-another-postseason-home-game-cleveland-cavaliers-nba; Josh Peter, “Bode Miller, Now a Commentator for NBC, Hopes to See Some ‘Magical’ Skiing,” *USA Today*, Feb 10, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/winter-olympics-2018/2018/02/10/skiing-legend-bode-miller-now-commentator-nbc-looks-those-magical-runs/326994002/>.

⁹ Comment by Fam Alam, “Best crowds Singing Moment (INCREDIBLE),” posted by Romano Music, Jul 6, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnWF2GZg6RU>. Also see Comment by Dave Sherie, The Two, Facebook, posted Jul 7, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/zbthetwo/posts/664835107042884>.

¹⁰ For example, David Bauder, “Occupy Wall Street: Music Central To Protest,” *Huffington Post*, Nov 13, 2011, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/13/occupy-wall-street-music_n_1091176.html; Karen Loew, “How Communal Singing Disappeared From American Life,” *The Atlantic*, Mar 28, 2012, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/03/how-communal-singing-disappeared-from-american-life/255094/>; Sheryl Kaskowitz, *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), especially 150–154.

insofar as it offers listeners a sense of connection, then what music could be more magical than anthems, which are occasions for a type of group musicking whose very designation (communal or massed singing) screams connection on a grand scale?

This chapter charts a widespread passion for national anthems whose rationale is not rooted in the overtly political but in magic. It does this by attending to the national anthem not primarily as a patriotic song but as one of the last occasions in modernity for massed singing (or at the very least, as in moments when anthem proceedings are led by pop superstars, one of last occasions for massed musicking in which the crowd is more than an observing or cheering audience). My argument is that claims of magic in the pervasive celebrations of national anthems that disavow patriotism and nationalism as prime motivations of their praise can be understood as pointing to a desire for a sense of political community that is felt to be unavailable through conventional means, such as the nation. Put simply, I contend that many people love national anthems because they offer the promise of a particular form of connectedness that the nation cannot (or perhaps can no longer) provide. After all, as an *Irish Times* reporter claimed in 1999, “musical magic” is a “universal idiom,” “breaking the barriers raised by nationalism.”¹¹

What follows consists of three sections. The first juxtaposes massed national anthem singing with the crowd singing that commonly occurs at stadium and festival concerts, making manifest a pair of complementary peculiarities that points to a broader massed singing culture whose draw lies in its promise of a sense of political community that is felt to be inaccessible via other routes. The chapter then proceeds to two further sections—“The Mass Mood: Unison,” which maps the affective shape of this sense of political community by reading claims of magic in everyday accounts of massed singing

¹¹ Michael Jansen, “Musical Magic from the Universal Idiom,” *Irish Times*, Oct 19, 1999.

in conjunction with early twentieth century mass psychology; and a concluding essay on “anthem fails.” This final section argues that massed singing’s magic, in spite of its radical undertone, is more or less homologous with what the liberal cosmopolitan political sphere promises—fleeting moments of conflict-free affective integration.¹² It then asks, in light of the fact that the accommodation of incommensurable aims is, in many traditions of thought, part and parcel of the cultivation of the sorts of enduring worlds that so many people turn to massed singing for in the first place, if this magic can fulfill these people’s wishes for it.

In the first chapter, I described the “pianissimo” in which Max Weber understood magic to persist in disenchanted modernity as a domain of affective convergences, as an almost wordless or even ineffable (hence hushed) sphere of aesthesis. I argued that Weber’s theory and the many similar theories it spawned read in conjunction with a concurrent explosion of claims of magic in everyday music discourse point to modernity’s wish for music: music as the only remaining source of “pure magic,” of “pure soul-to-soul communication...for which our language has no name.”¹³ In my second chapter, I enriched this first pass over the Weberian “pianissimo” by detailing how the magic so often invoked in celebrations of the encore miniature usually appears in close proximity to talk of gift-giving, home, and the personal, holding up encore space as a homology for the miniaturization of magic that Weber and his followers were endeavoring to describe, that is, magic’s migration from “the once great and glorious public realm” to “the smallest and intimate circles.” In this final chapter, I will examine Weber’s theory of the “pianissimo” in relation to a musical phenomenon that, on the

¹² E.g., Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 2.

¹³ Joseph McLellan, “In the Realm of Pure Magic,” *Washington Post*, May 23, 1976.

surface, would seem a strange bedfellow: the stentorian massed singing that occurs at stadiums, arenas, and other venues where masses assemble to take in games, matches, and concerts. On this third pass, I read the “pianissimo” in opposition to a tradition of leftist politics based on “incommensurability,” that is, as a realm that cannot accommodate dissent, deviation, and so on. Which once again brings to the fore the anxiety that concluded the previous chapter, or at least a variation of it: although music has accrued a vast ameliorative potency in its configuration as “the only real magic,” to what extent can it be relied upon to solve the sorts of political problems that lie at the heart of modernity’s wish for it? I argued in the first chapter that in its institutionalization as a scarce magic music has acquired the power to hold people together in the sorts of collectivities that they feel are missing from most domains of their lives and, in turn, to preserve a deep drive toward collectivity in a time and place that is largely antagonistic to it. This chapter suggests, at the same time, the widespread apprehension that music is the sole magic points to an equally pervasive constriction or stuckness that seems to militate against the cultivation of the forms of togetherness that bring people to music in the first place.

Red, White, Blue, and Green: Two Occasions for Massed Singing in Modernity

This section juxtaposes massed national anthem singing with another form of crowd singing that commonly takes place at stadiums and festivals—pop anthem singing. This makes manifest a peculiar resonance that points to a culture of massed singing that is undergirded by a desire for a form of political community that is unavailable through normative political channels and institutions, such as, paradoxically, the nation.

My gambit emphasized the idiosyncrasies of Romano’s anthem story, but it also suggested that the story points to something general—a collective passion for national anthems rooted in their “emotional” intensity. YouTube searches for “emotional star spangled banner” and “emotional national anthem” together yield more than half a million different videos, the most popular of which have millions of views, hundreds of thousands of likes, and tens of thousands of comments, pointing to a massive mass-mediated public of anthem fans looking for, in Romano’s words, “the emotional ones.” As previously indicated, the vast majority of these videos are set at sporting events: baseball, football, basketball, and hockey games but also (and especially when the anthems hail from outside North America) rugby, soccer, and cricket matches as well as swim meets, fun runs, and every other sporting event imaginable.¹⁴ The most popular videos can be classified into the following categories: videos that feature pop superstars such as Whitney Houston and Marvin Gaye (pop stars usually lead the crowd in the singing of the anthem at America’s biggest sporting events: for example, the Super Bowl, the World Series, the NBA Finals, the Stanley Cup Finals, and Big Four All-Star Games)¹⁵; videos that specifically celebrate the crowd’s role in the performance of the anthem (for instance, “Toronto Maple Leafs fans finish singing US anthem after technical difficulties,” “Top 5 crowds singing the USA National anthem,” “Epic Incredible

¹⁴ YouTube results are listed in a curious algorithmically determined way that is not based on views, and a searcher’s top results may therefore include videos such as “War heroes emotionally touched by National Anthem”(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QkXYj8YEPPk), which features a performance of the Banner at the Capitol Rotunda rather than a sporting event. But this video has a paltry 4,000 views, whereas the most popular anthem performances at stadiums can have nearly 20 million views.

¹⁵ “Whitney Houston - Star Spangled Banner,” YouTube, posted by CavBuffaloSoldier, Feb 13, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_ICmBvYMRs; “Marvin Gaye Sings American National Anthem,” Youtube, posted by Mark Dury, Jul 18, 2006, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QRvVzaQ6i8A.

moment - Crowd refused to stop singing the Brazilian anthem,” “Top 15 National Anthems by fans”¹⁶); videos featuring child prodigies, including a large number of disabled children¹⁷; and lastly, performances commemorating mass murders of American citizens, such as the Boston Marathon bombing, 9/11, and the 2017 Las Vegas shooting of concertgoers at the Route 91 Harvest music festival.¹⁸

Strangely, the commemoration videos, which are the most conspicuously patriotic of the bunch, are by far the least numerous and the least popular of these genres, garnering several hundred thousand views at the most and, in turn, suggesting, once again, that patriotism and nationalism do not entirely explain the attraction of anthem videos to many fans. The most popular genres—the most watched and the most uploaded—are those that feature pop superstars and those that feature crowds. For instance, the aforementioned Whitney Houston video has almost 18 million views and the Leafs fans video has about 8 million as of July 2018.

¹⁶ “Toronto Maple Leafs fans finish singing US anthem after technical difficulties,” YouTube, posted by bagabus, Nov 19, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHSaHRd4Q48>; “Top 5 crowds singing the USA National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by Spicy Morale, Jan 19, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RReGiZAvfac&t=249s>; “Epic Incredible moment - Crowd refused to stop singing the Brazilian anthem,” YouTube, posted by NetflixUnited, Dec 9, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aGH3e5PhSo>; “Top 15 National Anthems by fans,” YouTube, posted by Anthony Taffin, May 15, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XcapEZwERPQ&t=115s>.

¹⁷ “Blind Disabled Girl Sings a Breathtaking Star Spangled Banner,” posted by Amy Herrmann, May 27, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBzT3TD8hMs>; “Carly Rose Sonenclar age 13 - The National Anthem @ The New York Mets Game!,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ksa0Pdt7R10>.

¹⁸ For example, “Bruins fans sing national anthem in emotional pregame ceremony,” YouTube, posted by CBSEyeOnHockey, Apr 17, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUr0Y3kAiBw>; “9-11-2011 National Anthem - Atlanta Falcons at the Chicago Bears,” YouTube, posted by bgoogley, Sep 11, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B7BQV93tFLs>; “EMOTIONAL US National Anthem - NY Yankees v. Minn. Twins - 10/3/17,” YouTube, posted by R Az, Oct 3, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHknnx4r6Lo>.

Despite widespread adoration for Houston’s Super Bowl XXV anthem (it was released as a single in 1991, debuting at number 32 on the *Billboard* Hot 100 Singles chart and selling more than 750,000 copies in its first eight days on the market), anthem singing helmed by pop superstars is a relatively recent and rare phenomenon. Beginning in the 1940s, when loudspeakers and outdoor PA systems were installed in most American stadiums, singers in the US began to perform the national anthem at special baseball games, including opening day and the World Series.¹⁹ For example, Lucy Monroe, “The Star Spangled Soprano” made a career out of singing the anthem and sang the Banner at every New York Yankees opening day and World Series home game between 1945 and 1960.²⁰ In 1959, the owner of the Chicago White Sox, Bill Veeck, invited what was advertised as a “Parade of Stars” (Nat King Cole among them) to sing the anthem at the World Series.²¹ However, such celebrity anthem performances were rare in the US until the 1980s, when it became the norm for pop superstars to sing the national anthem at major sporting events. Surprisingly, the first Super Bowl to feature a pop superstar in the pre-game anthem ritual took place in 1982, when Diana Ross led the crowd in a mass singalong—“Can we sing our national anthem with authority? Sing with me!”²² Even nowadays, with all of the hoopla around Super Bowl national anthem performances, the pop superstar anthem remains relatively rare, reserved for the Big Four

¹⁹ On PAs in ballparks, see Mark Clague, “Banner Mythconception #5: The Banner as Baseball Ritual Begins with Babe Ruth & the 1918 World Series,” *Star Spangled Music Foundation*, Jun 12, 2014, <http://starspangledmusic.org/spangled-mythconception-5-the-banner-as-baseball-ritual-begins-with-babe-ruth-the-1918-world-series/>; Sheryl Kaskowitz, *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 120.

²⁰ Lisa Belkin, “Lucy Mono Dies, A Celebrated Singer of National Anthems,” *New York Times*, Oct 16, 1987.

²¹ “That’s Alright, Mr. Alston, Our Sox Were Very Different, too,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct 3, 1959.

²² “The Star Spangled Banner,” YouTube, posted by Scott Pangburn, Dec 23, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oGAKi6VTx1Y>.

championships in America. In the hundreds of regular season baseball, basketball, football, and hockey games in the US and Canada, a local or team singer typically leads the crowd. And outside North America, recordings are generally used instead of singers.

The massed singing of the anthem at sporting events without a singer to lead the crowd is a much older and more common phenomenon. In fact, some evidence suggests that it began in 1918, which is the year that Weber delivered his disenchantment lecture in Munich. Technically, there was no singing of the US national anthem as it is known today until 1931, when an act of Congress made “The Star Spangled Banner” the official anthem of the United States. However, US citizens treated the Banner as America’s anthem long before it was officially so,²³ and brass bands often played it at important baseball games (as previously stated, it was not played at every baseball game until the 1930s because brass bands were expensive and the first permanent public address system through which a recording could be played was not installed in a ballpark until 1929²⁴). The earliest documented performance of the Banner at a professional sporting event was on opening day at a baseball game in 1862, which took place at the Union Baseball and Cricket Grounds in Brooklyn.²⁵ But the massed singing of the Banner at sporting events, especially in numbers permitted by stadiums (the first of which were not built in the US until the turn of the twentieth century²⁶), was a later development. The 1918 *New York*

²³ For example, William Hamilton Cline, “Key’s Birthday,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug 9, 1930: “Yes, it’s our national anthem....Our bands play it and our Army and Navy revere it....Real, red-blooded Americans stand up for it and love it.”

²⁴ Sheryl Kaskowitz, *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 120.

²⁵ “Out Door Sports,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, May 16, 1862.

²⁶ Robert C. Trumpbour, *The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

Times article most often quoted as evidence of the Banner's first performance at a baseball game may actually testify to several other firsts:

Far different from any incident that has ever occurred in the history of baseball was the great moment of the first world's series game....As the crowd of 19,274 spectators...stood up to take their afternoon yawn [the Seventh Inning Stretch]...the band broke forth to the strains of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The yawn was checked and heads were bared as the ball players turned quickly about and faced the music....First the song was taken up by a few, then others joined, and when the final notes came, a great volume of melody rolled across the field. It was at the very end that the onlookers exploded into thunderous applause and rent the air with a cheer that marked the highest point of the day's enthusiasm.²⁷

It is not entirely clear what made this moment "far different from any incident that has ever occurred in the history of baseball," but given the Banner's frequent performance at baseball games in the second decade of the twentieth century, it could have been "the great volume of melody"—the massed singing of the Banner—and the concomitant enthusiasm, which overshadowed the main event of the game (like the encore, the national anthem plays an ostensibly auxiliary function in the event of the game but is often lauded as the event's best part).

YouTube videos that feature and celebrate a mass of anthem singers over a single, virtuosic pop star fall into different subcategories: videos featuring massed anthem singing at major sporting events outside the US and Canada, where, as previously noted, recordings are often used instead of virtuosic singers, such that the performer-audience dynamic is not really at play (for example, "40000 Indian Cricket Fans Singing The National Anthem Ind VS Pak Wc 2015"²⁸); videos featuring massed anthem singing where the crowd is prompted by a representative of the team or a special guest to sing the

²⁷ "Red Sox Beat Cubs in Initial Battle of World's Series, *New York Times*, September 6, 1918.

²⁸ "40000 Indian Cricket Fans Singing The National Anthem Ind VS Pak Wc 2015," YouTube, posted by Crazy Trending Videos, Feb 20, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LlirOOPL9d8&t=3s>.

anthem together a cappella in lieu of singing along with a singer (“Cleveland Crowd Sings Game 3 National Anthem”; “Red Sox Crowd Sing National Anthem - First Post-Bombing Game”²⁹); and videos featuring massed anthem singing where the crowd sings a cappella due to “technical difficulties,” usually a glitch in the PA system or the singer forgetting the words (for example, “Goosebumps Music Stops But Anthem Never stops pakvswi Karachi”; “Devils fans belt out anthem to aid singer”; “U.S. Swimming fans instantly unite to sing National Anthem when the singer’s microphone fails”; “Sound Fails But Crowd Keeps Singing National Anthem (South Africa vs World XV 2014); “Toronto Maple Leafs fans finish singing US anthem after technical difficulties,”; “Crowd Takes Over national Anthem - Manchester Road race 2014”; “Crowd takes over singing Nat’l Anthem after technical difficulties. AMAZING!”³⁰).

²⁹ “Cleveland Crowd Sings Game 3 National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by NBA, Jun 9, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8Dfza9JMLQ>; “Red Sox Crowd Sings National Anthem - First Post-Bombing Game,” YouTube, posted by T-Rex Randomness, Apr 20, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6Mri1Yb0LI&t=51s>.

³⁰ “Goosebumps Music Stops But Anthem Never stops pakvswi Karachi,” YouTube, posted by Kashif Dop, Apr 1, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8MgEitCwlNA> (also see, “PakVsWI, Crowd Complete the National anthem When Sound System Fails During National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by Siyasat Nama, Apr 1, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cT-Unm7ig0Q>); “Devils fans belt out anthem to aid singer,” YouTube, posted by NHL, Oct 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThXtw-KDp5o>; “U.S. Swimming fans instantly unite to sing National Anthem when the singer’s microphone fails,” YouTube, posted by Sam Kendricks, Jun 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dll-gKgtBAM>; “Sound Fails But Crowd Keep Singing National Anthem (South Africa vs World XV 2014),” YouTube, posted by Jono Wittstock, Jun 10, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Juw0yZHjG1Q>; “Crowd Takes Over national Anthem - Manchester Road race 2014,” YouTube, posted by Kacee Erhard, Nov 20, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJPgskNTifw>; “Crowd takes over singing Nat’l Anthem after technical difficulties. AMAZING!,” YouTube, posted by Howard Koepka, Sep 30, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFPsIwqjRYI>. Also: “Autistic Man Singing National Anthem Gets Some Help,” YouTube, posted by MrAnonSC, Jan 25, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1uyFh1Nu-k>; “national Anthem Fenway Park,” YouTube, posted by Natalie Ramirez, Jul 3, 2007. For the special case of Canadians singing the American national anthem amid technical difficulties, see “Toronto Maple Leafs fans finish singing US anthem after technical difficulties,” YouTube, posted by bagabus, Nov 19, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHSaHRd4Q48>; “Edmonton Oilers Fans Sing The Star Spangled Banner,” YouTube, posted by NHL, May 1, 2017,

As intimated above, this chapter is about two masses—the masses that do the massed anthem singing in the YouTube videos; and the publics in which media about this massed singing circulates. These publics tend to celebrate the sorts of anthem videos discussed in the previous paragraph in the language of magic, often explicitly indicating that the magic is not just a simple matter of patriotism—“To hear the entire stadium singing the national anthem. I’m not essentially a patriot, but.. this was magical”³¹—or even a matter of affective identification with the political community of a particular nation—“I am not american but the american national anthem is magic and melodious !!”³² Interestingly, this Romano-type attachment to the national anthem, in which the attachment seems to exceed the expected motivations of patriotism and nationalism, extends beyond the United States. To be sure, “The Star Spangled Banner,” whose dramatic, wide-ranging tune (“To Anacreon in Heaven”) was used in many an early nineteenth-century broadside ballad, is very different from most national anthems: it smacks of the sentimental parlor song, whereas most national anthems are close to hymns, folk songs, or military marches. Accordingly, the Banner courts its fair share of sentimental tributes from people who say they are not American. However, YouTube is full of comments that say “I am not a citizen of x, but I love this performance of x’s

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v324_vjrDr8. A related and highly celebrated case occurred during the 2003 NBA Playoffs when Maurice Cheeks, then the head coach of the Portland Trailblazers, helped a struggling teenaged singer, Natalie Gilbert, finish the anthem after she stumbled over Key’s lyrics, eventually conducting the crowd in the massed singing of the anthem. “Mo Cheeks National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by mangwansi, Aug 8, 2006, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4880PjNo2E>; “Natalie Gilbert Anthem Maurice Cheeks Help,” YouTube, posted by Portland Trail Blazers, Jun 2, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dSzjIKtVcA>; “Maurice Cheeks National Anthem with Natalie Gilbert,” YouTube, posted by jayshox, Jan 7, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sin9M9boANo>.

³¹ Eepsita Gupta (@Eepsite), Twitter, posted Feb 14, 2015, <https://twitter.com/Eepsita/status/566802057256910850>.

³² christian (@christianbrill), Twitter, posted Jul 17, 2011, <https://twitter.com/christianbrill/status/92668255826755584>.

national anthem,” where x is not the US: “Wow I’m not an indian but it gave me goosebumps hearing so many people sing it so passionately!”³³

Anthem paeans in which the term “magic” (as opposed to, say, the language of patriotism) plays a central role in communicating the anthem’s allure often focus on the “technical difficulties” subcategory. To be sure, the Twittersphere is teeming with such magic-based encomia: “Nothing quite like having the crowd take over & sing the national anthem. #Magic”; “When the mic failed on the national anthem at tonight’s basketball game, the LCC crowd sang acapella [sic]. Magic”; “Aaaaand the English national anthem fails to play. So the team leads the crowd singing it. MAGIC.”³⁴ YouTube comments sections, too, contain these celebrations. Under the video “Toronto Maple Leafs fans finish singing US anthem after technical difficulties,” one finds appraisals like the following: “most magical moment” (sai tej) and “HONOR and RESPECT Thank You for Sharing this Magical Moment” (1sparkme). Similar celebrations can also be found in newspapers and popular books. For example, the Christian self-help book *Accept No Mediocre Life* describes the singing of the anthem at a 2003 NBA Western conference playoff game between the Portland Trailblazers and the Dallas Mavericks where the teenaged singer Natalie Gilbert forgot Francis Scott Key’s oft-forgotten lyrics: “Maurice Cheeks, the head coach of the Trail Blazers, left his team and walked out to stand with Natalie. He put his arm around her and began singing with her....As Cheeks whispered

³³ Comment by Nepali Problems, “40000 Indian Cricket Fans Singing The National Anthem Ind VS Pak Wc 2015,” YouTube, posted by Crazy Trending Videos, Feb 20, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LlirOOpL9d8&t=12s>.

³⁴ Robert Grilli (@Grilli1), Twitter, posted Apr 23, 2017, <https://twitter.com/Eepsita/status/566802057256910850>; Bjorn Paige (@BjornPaige), posted Jan 15, 2013, <https://twitter.com/search?f=tweets&q=mic%20failed%20anthem%20magic&src=typd>; Ollie Williams (@OllieW), Twitter, posted Jul 10, 2010, <https://twitter.com/OllieW/status/18194914934>.

the lyrics to Natalie, he moved his arm as if leading a 20,000-voice choir....By the time Natalie sang, ‘and the home of the brave,’ every player, coach, and all the fans in the arena were singing. What started out as a humiliation for a young teenaged singer turned into a magic moment with a little help from her newfound friends.”³⁵

Examples such as these contain many of the tropes that, as previously detailed, often appear in close proximity to words of magic in music discourse, especially the trope of ameliorative connection. According to commentators, Natalie Gilbert was “alone and visibly in despair,” and Mo Cheeks, in his words, “just didn’t want her to be out there all alone.”³⁶ As the next section will explore in greater detail, the magic attributed to moments of massed singing such as the one Gilbert and Cheeks inspired is frequently linked to the mitigation of isolation or disjuncture. Such moments, especially when they are experienced as unrehearsed and impromptu, offer an intensely stirring, goosebumps-triggering “unison”—a sense of “different people” merging into “one voice.” This unison is said not only to alleviate aloneness such as Gilbert’s but even to hold the potential to mend our “politically fragmented country” and to offer vaguely utopian intimations of “how the world should work.”³⁷ Expectedly, the magic of such moments is often felt to be something scarce and rare, something that is generally missing from domains of life

³⁵ David Foster, *Accept No Mediocre Life* (New York: Warner Faith, 2005).

³⁶ Michael Wilbon, “Playoff: Cheeks’ Humanity,” *Chicago Tribune*, Apr 30, 2003; David DuPree, “Cheeks’ Assist on Anthem Shines as One of NBA’s Brightest Moments,” *USA Today*, Feb 15, 2005.

³⁷ “O Say Can You Hear the Area’s Best Anthem,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 26, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-02-26/site/ct-oped-0226-zorn-20120226_1_national-anthem-basketball-game-michigan-alum; Michael Wilbon, “Cheeks Lends Harmony to 1st Round of Playoffs,” *Washington Post*, Apr 29, 2003; Christopher C. Cuomo (@ChrisCuomo), Twitter, Posted May 1, 2017, <https://twitter.com/ChrisCuomo/status/859033159169605652>; Carl Hoover, “Let’s Be United by Group Singing All Year Long,” *Waco Tribune-Herald*, Dec 9, 2007; Freedom Forever (@Minus31), Twitter, posted May 1, 2017, <https://twitter.com/search?f=tweets&q=anthem%20this%20how%20world%20should%20work&src=typ>.

outside music. For example, the sports journalist Michael Wilbon called Mo Cheeks' conducting of the 20,000-voice choir "the best story of these playoffs," a moment that left a "lasting, even impacting impression" in way that the main events (the non-musical basketball games) had not.³⁸

Before taking this analysis of magic qua unison any further, I would like to bring national anthem singing into conversation with another type of massed singing that is comparably popular—pop anthem singing. Perhaps the designation "pop anthem" calls to mind what are commonly referred as rock anthems, such as Queen's "We Will Rock You," the first track on the 1998 compilation album *The Best Rock Anthems...Ever!*, recorded to give the impression of a stadium crowd singing the chorus and clapping the song's signature short-short-long ostinato.³⁹ But by pop anthem, I mean pop songs to which stadium crowds commonly sing along, with and without the singer of the concertizing ensemble but such that this official singer temporarily recedes to the background. The most well-known example is perhaps "Hey Jude," with its concluding altogether-now nah-nah's, but since at least the 1970s crowd singing has been a highly revered staple of most stadium pop acts, from Journey to Kendrick Lamar, Rage Against the Machine to Taylor Swift, Garth Brooks to Adele, such that nowadays most acts have songs to which crowds ceremoniously sing along with little or no prompting. The tradition appears to have emerged well before the 1970s. Elvis began performing at open-air baseball fields and sports arenas in 1950s, including at the 30,000-seat Cotton Bowl

³⁸ Michael Wilbon, "Playoff: Cheeks' Humanity," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr 30, 2003.

³⁹ *The Best Rock Anthems...Ever!*, Virgin VTDCD 215, CD, 1998.

on October 11, 1956,⁴⁰ and comparable crowds were assembling at the Hollywood Bowl to hear popular performers as early as 1936.⁴¹ Note, too, that group singing has long been a cherished aspect of the adjacent folk tradition. According to the musician Rik Elswit, “The first concert I went to where magic happened was in the early 60s, when I saw Pete Seeger at the Hollywood Bowl, leading 10,000 people in a number of singalongs....He changed the course of my life right there.”⁴²

One might even say that massed singing at stadium and festival concerts has now become so popular that crowds are beginning to take over. One extreme case supporting this proposition is Sing Along Social, a group that leads crowds in singalongs to recordings of pop favorites, gesturing from the stage, like concertizing musicians, but without the requisite microphones, musical instruments, and such. It should come as no surprise that one commentator recently called them “pure, wholesome magic.”⁴³

In any case, the massed singing at these events seems to be on the rise. Crowds now commonly sing along with the music playing over the PA system before the billed act takes the stage, a phenomenon that also frequently occurs at various points during sporting events.⁴⁴ For example the “pop punk” band Green Day always plays Queen’s “Bohemian Rhapsody” through the PA before they go on stage, and the crowd typically

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Roessner, “From ‘Mach Schau’ to Mock Show: The Beatles, Shea Stadium and Rock Spectacle,” in *The Arena Concert Music, Media and Mass Entertainment*, eds. Robert Edgar et al. (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 18.

⁴¹ “Lily Pons Well Star in Bowl Concert Thursday,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug 29, 1954.

⁴² Rik Elswit, answer, “Why do musicians get the audience to sing along at live concerts?,” *Quora*, posted Feb 15, 2017, <https://www.quora.com/Why-do-musicians-get-the-audience-to-sing-along-at-live-concerts>.

⁴³ “‘It’s About Caterwauling at the Top of Your Lungs’: The Pure, Wholesome Magic of Sing Along Social,” *The Daily Edge*, <http://www.dailyedge.ie/sing-along-social-3466279-Jul2017/>.

⁴⁴ For example, Cork Gaines, “Video of 90,000 Gator Fans Singing A Tribute to Tom Petty in Unison Is Amazing,” *Business Insider*, Oct 8, 2017, <http://www.businessinsider.com/gators-fans-sing-tribute-to-tom-petty-2017-10>.

sings the entire song, including Brian May’s guitar solo. This recently occurred at a punk festival in London’s Hyde Park, when around 65,000 Green Day fans took up the Queen favorite. The band, apparently enamored by the crowd’s performance, uploaded a video of the singalong to their official YouTube channel, where it currently has about 12.5 million views, 190,000 likes, and 9,000 comments.⁴⁵

For the most part, the comments are typical. Among the top comments, of course, is the following claim of magic, which currently has more than 1,100 likes:

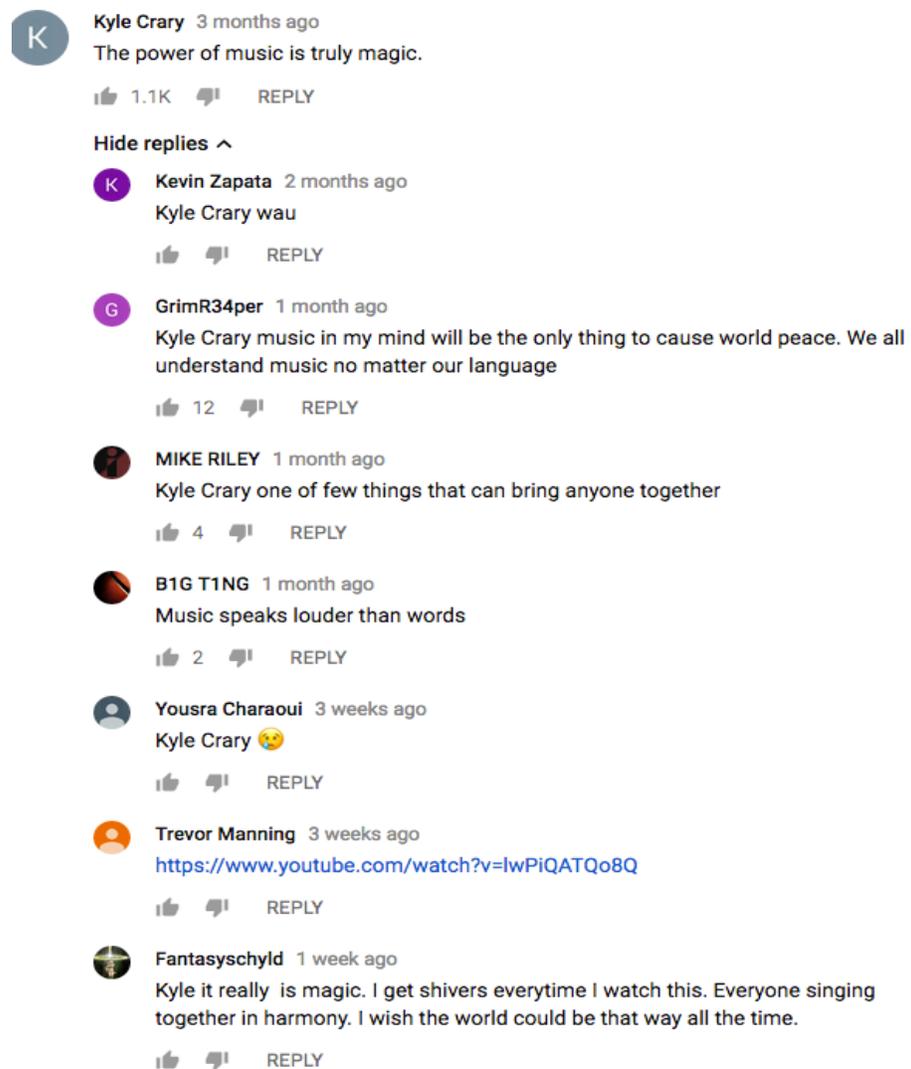


Fig 3.1
YouTube
comment: “The
power of music
is truly
powerful”

⁴⁵ “LONDON, ENGLAND Green Day Crowd Singing Bohemian Rhapsody - Hyde Park July 1st, 2017,” YouTube, posted by Green Day, Jul 3, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZnBNuqqz5g>.

Predictably, “magic” is surrounded by suggestions of ameliorative connection (“world peace,” togetherness, “harmony”) at the wordless level of affect (“shivers”), which is portrayed as scarce outside the domain of music (“*one of the few things* that bring anyone together”; “*the only thing* to cause world peace”; an exception to the way world is “all the time”), hinting once again at modernity’s wish for music.⁴⁶ The vehemence with which this experience of musical magic’s scarcity outside musical domains is articulated throughout the comments section is noteworthy. Many of the comments describe the singalong as the greatest moment of a singer’s life with no indications of hyperbole, indicating a sense that life is mostly bereft of comparable experiences:



Fig 3.2 YouTube comment: “the best day of my life”

⁴⁶ Of course, similar sentiments can be found in profusion beyond YouTube, for example, Facebook: “This is pretty magical - 65,000 fans singing Bohemian Rhapsody while waiting for a Green Day concert to begin. The power of music to unite”; Twitter: “MAGIC! Crowd sang whole Bohemian Rhapsody before Green Day Concert. I have never seen something like this before”; and various websites: “Think about how fantastic it would be if thousands of like-minded people joined you to create something that is simply magical... People together, supporting one another while enjoying their passion—could anything be more glorious?”; “When you get to a rock concert and you’re in a sea of people just like you, magic happens, just like it did earlier this summer at a Green Day concert in Hyde Park when 65,000 fans awaiting in the sweltering heat united for one seriously epic singalong.” The Two, Facebook, posted Jul 7, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/zbthetwo/posts/664835107042884>; West Coast (@GunsOblivion), Twitter, posted Jun 12, 2013, <https://twitter.com/GunsOblivion/status/344806698910892032>; “65,000 Fans Waiting for Band to Perform, Sing Classic Queen Song in Chilling Harmony,” *Metaspoon*, <http://www.metaspoon.com/crowd-sings-queen?cat=celebrities>; “65,000 Hear ‘Bohemian Rhapsody’—What Happens Next Would Have Brought Freddie Mercury to Tears,” *Daily Rock Box*, <http://dailyrockbox.com/65000-hear-bohemian-rhapsody-what-happens-next-would-have-brought-freddie-mercury-to-tears/>.

Amid all of these familiar and expected elements, there are a hefty number of unexpected comments that explicitly link the “Bohemian Rhapsody” singalong to the national anthem:

 **justoneserb** 9 months ago
Bohemian Rhapsody should be proclaimed as Earth's anthem!
👍 9 🗨️ REPLY

 **Makii** 3 months ago
International Anthem
👍 72 🗨️ REPLY

 **arnold gerardy** 6 months ago
more than a national anthem..
👍 620 🗨️ REPLY

Hide replies ^

 **Trinity Jimenez** 5 months ago
arnold gerardy dude more like humanity's anthem
👍 30 🗨️ REPLY

 **Jake** 5 months ago
Global anthem
👍 14 🗨️ REPLY

Fig 3.3 YouTube comments: “Bohemian Rhapsody” as anthem

Fig 3.3, continued



Anthems (in the above senses) represent and help to constitute political communities (collectivities bound together in common political undertakings), and these final comments therefore indicate that something vaguely political is at work in a situation that is not overtly political.⁴⁷ This reminds me of the peculiarity I alighted upon in the more overtly political situation of the national anthem—in celebrations of the national anthem where its overtly political element was deemphasized and magic was emphasized (“I’m

⁴⁷ This is something like what Lauren Berlant calls the “juxtapolitical.” Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), viii, 2–3, 10–11, 29, 150; Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 20.

not a patriot, but this national anthem is magic”; “I’m not a citizen of x, but x’s national anthem is magic”). Both of these situations seem to betoken a desire not only for connection (recall: magic = connection) but, more specifically, for a sense of political community that is not routed through what is normatively political. To clarify, the “Bohemian Rhapsody” comments suggest a scavenging for connection not in the official anthem of the nation but in the unofficial pop anthem, which is felt to better represent the experience of momentarily occupying the cosmopolitan (“galactic”) political community that exists only via massed singing (perhaps because it is felt to arise spontaneously from the people rather than being demanded by the state). Likewise, many of the national anthem fans referenced above unstitch the magic of massed singing from the nation, implicitly pointing toward a broader form of music-based sociality, one that is not predicated on territory or on “blood and soil” but on the “universal language” of music (this is one of many points that separates the massed singing discussed in this chapter from the massed choral singing that proliferated in German-speaking Europe in the early nineteenth century, which was seen as a way of cultivating a *völkisch* sense of nation in the absence of the nation as such⁴⁸). In sum, these two situations can be read as complementary instances of massed singing, in which singers appear to be searching out political community away from what Rancière calls the “proper places”—“assemblies where discussion and legislation take place, spheres of state where decisions are made,

⁴⁸ Karen Ahlquist, “Men and Women of the Chorus: Music, Governance, and Social Models in Nineteenth Century German-Speaking Europe,” in *Chorus and Community*, ed. Karen Ahlquist (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Ryan Minor, *Choral Fantasies: Music, Festivity, Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Celia Applegate, “The Building of Community Through Choral Singing,” in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia (New York: Routledge, 2013).

supreme courts that check whether such deliberations and decisions conform to the laws on which society is based.”⁴⁹

Paradoxically, then, many people appear to be attracted to massed national anthem singing because it provides a sense of political community that the nation does not. This reading gives massed singing and its magic a radical flavor. I have ventured similar readings about words of magic in music discourse before, arguing that they bespeak modernity’s wish for a missing public intimacy. As such, I have imbued musical magic with a utopian, almost revolutionary character that stands in contrast to the numerous fascistic readings of modernity’s enchantments. But I fear that an important aspect of musical magic’s political character has been elided in this vacillation between extremes. What follows attempts to supply this missing piece. In order to do so, it first examines the particular form of connection that massed singing proffers its devotees—what is this *sense* of political community? The sociologist of sport Janet Lever once wrote of how fans at sporting events “leave their private shells to enter the mass mood” when they do things like sing “Take Me Out to the Ball Game.”⁵⁰ What is this mass mood?

The Mass Mood: Unison

As previously stated, everyday music discourse often equates magic with various forms of affective connection, “unison” among them. For example, magic is often associated with what is commonly called “singing in unison,” a form of synchronization that arises

⁴⁹ Jacques Rancière, *Dis-agreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), viii.

⁵⁰ Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness: Brazil’s Passion for the World’s Most Popular Sport* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press 1995), 16.

in a wide range of non-concert singing contexts, from the car radio duet to the stadium anthem:

“Puff The Magic Dragon came on the radio on my way home with my dad from getting @littlecaesars and we both sang in unison. It was magical.”⁵¹

“Lucky by Britney Spears came on and me and the guy in the dressing room next to me both sang along in unison it was...magic.”⁵²

“The voice of the soloist faded to nothing after the first line of the national anthem...So, with no musical accompaniment, it was left to us in the stands...to carry the tune together. Kind of a magical moment...A sellout crowd of some 8,000 joined in patriotic unison.”⁵³

From “Why concerts are magical”: “I get chills every time I hear a crowd singing an artist’s song in unison. You can have the worst singing voice in the world, but when you mix it with thousands of other voices, the sound is beautiful. It’s incredible to think that that many people know every word to all the songs being performed.”⁵⁴

“Nothing can top a crowd singing in unison, ‘Everything is gonna be alright. Be strong, believe.’ That was magic.”⁵⁵

⁵¹ Aulann (@Aulann_Lulu), Twitter, posted on Mar 22, 2017, https://twitter.com/Aulann_Lulu/status/844742255818637312.

⁵² Jem (@BiniBabies), Twitter, posted Nov 19, 2016, <https://twitter.com/BiniBabies/status/800057397574246401>.

⁵³ “O Say Can You Hear the Area’s Best Anthem,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 26, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-02-26/site/ct-oped-0226-zorn-20120226_1_national-anthem-basketball-game-michigan-alum.

⁵⁴ Claudia Cartaya, “10 reasons Why Concerts Are Magical,” *Odyssey*, Mar 27, 2018, <https://www.theodysseyonline.com/concerts-magical>.

⁵⁵ [Barks internally] (@kingmeggers), Twitter, posted on Apr 22, 2011, <https://twitter.com/kingmeggers/status/61615019418329089>. Other examples from twitter include: MadJustMad (@MadJustMad), Twitter, posted Jun 10, 2009, <https://twitter.com/MadJustMad/status/2103595880>; Amanda Wenek (@AmandaWenek), Twitter, posted Jun 3, 2011, <https://twitter.com/AmandaWenek/status/76841333809094656>; DEFUNCT ACCOUNT (@peaflower), Twitter, posted Dec 4, 2013, <https://twitter.com/peaflower/status/408293394671091712>; Erika Cole (@ErikaColeMusic), Twitter, posted Mar 24, 2015, <https://twitter.com/ErikaColeMusic/status/580576926747795456>; H-E_B Center (@HEBCenter), Twitter, posted on Jul 3, 2015, <https://twitter.com/HEBCenter/status/617177733164986368>; Rach (@rchtdll), Twitter, posted Mar 4, 2016, <https://twitter.com/rchtdll/status/705910592331239424>; Festive Owl (@TheFestiveOwl), Twitter, posted on Jun 25, 2017, <https://twitter.com/TheFestiveOwl/status/879027384648945664>.

“In every show there is this moment when the crowd and the band become one, and there is a magical unison in the room. And sometimes the band isn’t even on stage...”⁵⁶

These examples contain many of the themes so often embedded in claims of musical magic: most conspicuously, of course, connection (here in the form of “unison”) but also affective intensification (chills), music as a unique magic (“nothing can top [the magic of] a crowd singing in unison”), amelioration (unison singing’s transmutation of the “worst” into something “beautiful”; its comforting “everything is gonna be alright”), the sense that music makes shared worlds palpable (“it’s incredible...that that many people know every word”), the sense of, on the one hand, unrehearsed spontaneity and specialness (an impromptu duet with a stranger) and, on the other, ordinariness, commonness, and reliability (“in *every* show there is this moment”; “I get chills *every* time”), and so on. Some of these tropes will receive additional attention below, but the coming section focuses primarily on the particular form of affective connection at the heart of massed singing’s magic—unison—reading it in light of modernist mass theory as the affective shape of the sense of political community discussed in the last section. A

⁵⁶ West Mitten Media, Facebook. Posted Jul 23, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/westmittenmedia/posts/10158975153300507>. This post is a response to the Green Day video discussed in the previous section (“LONDON, ENGLAND Green Day Crowd Singing Bohemian Rhapsody - Hyde Park July 1st, 2017,” YouTube, posted by Green Day, Jul 3, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZnBNuqqz5g>). Additional reflections about the magic of unison crowd singing written in response to this video include: “Sick of Waiting for Band, 65,000 Fans Start Singing Queen Classic in Chilling Unison,” Bonviral, <http://bonviral.com/sick-of-waiting-for-band-65000-fans-start-singing-queen-classic-in-chilling-unison/>; Jeff Giles, “Watch 60,000 Fans Sing Queens ‘Bohemian Rhapsody,’” *Ultimate Classic Rock*, <http://ultimateclassicrock.com/queen-bohemian-rhapsody-60000-sing/>; Beverly L. Jenkins, “65,000 Fans Start Singing Queen Song in Unison and the Sound Is Hauntingly Beautiful,” *Inspire More*, Jan 29, 2018, <https://www.inspiremore.com/queen-green-day-sing-along/>; Comment by Liv Nicole, “LONDON, ENGLAND Green Day Crowd Singing Bohemian Rhapsody - Hyde Park July 1st, 2017,” YouTube, posted by Green Day, Jul 3, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZnBNuqqz5g>.

Facebook poster recently wrote, “Theres [sic] something about a crowd singing in unison that feels magical to me.”⁵⁷ What is this “something”?

Ordinarily when I see “singing in unison,” I, as a musicologist (that is, as a historian working in a discipline that has institutionalized composers and their compositions as the primary and, many cases, sole agents of history), first think in strictly musical terms. Which is to say that I think first of the synchronization of voices at the level of pitch (class) and rhythm, that is, of the simultaneous performance of the same melody at exactly the same pitch or in different octaves. Following this approach further still, I also think of the interval formed by a tone and its duplication—a maximally harmonious harmony, if you will. What I have not ever much considered before now, and what I reckon most music scholars have not often considered either, is that the “unison” in “singing in unison” is also a mood—a form of affective entrainment occurring at the level of atmosphere.⁵⁸ The language of the final example in the set above—“there is a magical unison in the room”—captures this atmospheric dimension of singing in unison, suggesting that “unison” refers to a sort of affectively charged ether enveloping the musicking crowd and band. To be sure, this dimension is also present in music theory’s harmonic argot: “unison,” “consonance,” “dissonance,” even “harmony” itself—these terms all suggest something akin to mood in addition to their pitch-based meanings. “Singing in unison,” then, needs to be understood not only as describing the

⁵⁷ Dylan Sk Soh, Facebook, Nov 22, 2010, <https://www.facebook.com/Dylansk.Soh/posts/175587422466796>.

⁵⁸ Of course, mood has long been ascribed to keys, from Beethoven’s “C minor mood” to Helmholtz’s famous discussion of key character—C Major: “Expressive of feeling in a pure, certain and decisive manner, of innocence, powerful resolve manly earnestness, deep religious feeling”). But mood is not often discussed as foundational to intervals or harmonies. Hermann von Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, trans. Alexander J. Ellis (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1895), 551.

synchronization of pitches and rhythms but also the synchronization of the affective intensities that emerge in the interplay between monophonically singing bodies, the music produced by these bodies, and the ecologies in which they are embedded. Benedict Anderson seems to have been trying to capture some of this in the neologism “unisonance,” which is his word for “the experience of simultaneity” with the nation that is, in his view, produced in national anthem singing:

No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia’s Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community....How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.⁵⁹

Although Anderson suggests otherwise, the experience of simultaneity described herein is especially central to the political mythology of the United States, whose motto is *e pluribus unum* (“out of many one”) and which, as Stanley Cavell remarked at the outset of the Vietnam War, desires “union” above all else: “People say it is isolationist, but so obviously it is not isolationist: since it asserted its existence in a war of secession and asserted its identity in war against secession it has never been able to bear its separateness: *Union* is what it wanted. And it has never felt that union has been achieved. Hence its terror of dissent, which does not threaten its power but its integrity. So it is

⁵⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread and Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 145.

killing itself and killing another country in order not to admit its helplessness in the face of suffering, in order not to acknowledge its separateness.”⁶⁰

The final “singing in unison” example in this section’s opening paragraph provides some additional information about the affective synchronization suggested by the word “unison,” referring to it as a “moment when the crowd and band become *one*.” The example says that this becoming “one” can happen even if the band is not present, suggesting (in tones evocative of Anderson) a suturing that exceeds the delimited acoustic space from which the music originates as sound waves. As I argued in the first chapter, oneness is a form of connection to which words of magic in everyday music discourse often point. It commonly appears together with “magic” and “unison” in accounts of crowd musicking, especially massed singing. For instance:

“I don’t think there are many things more #magical than a crowd enchanted in unison as one soul through the beauty that is music.”⁶¹

“Hearing the crowd singing the lyrics ‘I love you and I know you love me’ in unison possible louder than [Michael Nesmith] singing those lyrics himself from the mic coming through the speakers itself was an absolutely magical moment. This may seem cliché to say, but it felt like especially at that instance we were all One.”⁶²

Before turning to oneness, I would be remiss not to mention the common elevation of music to a special, even scarce sort of magic (“I don’t think there are many things more magical...”), which once again makes palpable, if only obliquely, the omnipresence of modernity’s wish for music—music as “the only real magic.”

⁶⁰ Stanley Cavell, “The Avoidance of Love: A Reading of *King Lear*,” in *Must We Mean What We Say? A Book of Essays*, 318.

⁶¹ Michelle Machay, Facebook, posted June 6, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/michellemachaycoaching/photos/a.657392210946402.1073741829.635101793175444/791203020898653/?type=3>.

⁶² Aubrey Winter, Facebook, posted Jan 26, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/ZilchMonkeescast/permalink/797733053762855/>.

Returning to unison, the capitalized “One” and “one soul” in these passages, along with the cosmic oneness evoked by the “sometimes the band isn’t even on stage” example, suggests that unison is a spiritual synchronization. Some may be reminded of Schopenhauer, the Romantic Buddhist, who, in language strikingly similar to the examples above, repudiated the realm of embodied experience (the realm of feeling, of both unhappiness and happiness) for the realm of “pure, will-less knowing” (a sort of pure contemplation), writing that music above all the other arts makes possible “the magic” of existing as a “pure subject of knowledge,” as “that *one* eye of the world.”⁶³ Alluring as the Schopenhauerian resonance is, however, it also grates against the preceding examples. For instance, the second of the most recent pair presents the oneness of unison as a “feeling” (“it felt like...we were all One), which to me implies affect, all the more so because musical magic is so often presented as embodied intensity (chills, goosebumps, tears) and also because accounts of crowd musicking (especially crowd singing) frequently foreground the body—what one writer has described as the “loudness, sweaty armpits, and poking elbows” of lovemaking.⁶⁴ Thus, a resonance between the musical magic I am tracking and its nineteenth-century counterpart, the latter of which from afar appears not only as an echo of the former but its wellspring, again turns a bit cacophonous under close inspection. Instead of searching for the answer to unison’s “something” in Romantic aesthetics, I will once more put my archive of everyday music discourse in dialogue with a roughly coeval archive of theorizing about modernity, which not only sets the stage to solve the mystery of the specific “something” posed above but

⁶³ Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, vol. 1, trans. E.F.J Payne (New York: Dover Publications), 197–198; emphasis original.

⁶⁴ Jos Mulder, “Intimacy in Public,” in *The Arena Concert Music, Media and Mass Entertainment*, eds. Robert Edgar et al. (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 278.

also endeavors to show how this singular “something” is part of a common historical experience for which the modernist term “mass” (rather than, say, the Romantic terms “people” or *Volk*) is most felicitous.

There are parallels between the oneness described in the examples above and what Plotinus called the One, which was the cornerstone of Neoplatonism’s sympathetic cosmology and, in turn, of Weber’s Neoplatonic understanding of magic. But because my first chapter already elaborated this connection, I would like to focus on a different resonance here. Strong reverberations of the “mass mood” to which so many of the claims of magic in accounts of massed singing point can be detected in the mass theory that emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century, during the smoke-stacked heyday of industrial modernity when crowd singing at ballparks emerged as “the highest point of [a game’s] enthusiasm.” The deployment of the word “mass” as sociological category—as in mass assembly, mass production, mass mediation, mass transportation, mass culture, the masses as more than an occasional social formation—is often traced to the time of French Revolution and the emergence of popular sovereignty, industrialization, and urbanization.⁶⁵ Writing of the French Revolution in 1790, for example, the conservative liberal Edmund Burke famously lamented the revolutionaries’ confounding of “all sorts of citizens...into one homogeneous mass.”⁶⁶ But the field of mass psychology or, more broadly, mass theory emerged well after Burke—in the wake of Gustave Le Bon’s exceedingly popular *Psychologie des foules* (1895), as well as of contemporary work by Gabriel Tarde, Georg Simmel, and others. Mass theory coalesced

⁶⁵ See, for example, *Crowds*, ed. Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Mathew Tiews (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), x–xvi.

⁶⁶ Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1868 [1790], 210).

around, to cite but a very few of the many early twentieth-century studies of mass phenomena, Freud's *Massepsychologie and Ich-Analyse* (1921), Theodor Geiger's *Die Masse und ihre Aktion* (1926), Kracauer's "Mass Ornament" essay (1927) and study of the "salaried masses" in Weimar Germany (1929), Ortega y Gasset's *Revolt of the Masses* (1930), Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933), as well as later writing like Adorno and Horkheimer's work on the "mass deception" of mass culture (or the culture industry), Arendt's work on the "the mass phenomenon of loneliness" (based in part on David Riesman's bestseller *The Lonely Crowd*), C. Wright Mills's work on "The Mass Society" in *The Power Elite*, and Canetti's *Masse und Macht*.⁶⁷

Many of these studies defined modernity in terms of mass phenomena and their primary affective consequence: unison/oneness. In words redolent of Le Bon's famous dubbing of "the modern age" as "the era of crowds," the reactionary liberal thinker Jose Ortega y Gasset called modernity "the epoch of the masses," which he explained as follows:

Towns are full of people, houses full of tenets, hotels full of guests, trains full of travelers, cafes full of customer, parks full of promenaders,

⁶⁷ Gustav Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896 [1895]); Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology [Massepsychologie] and the Analysis of the Ego*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1959 [1921]); Theodor Geiger, *Die Masse und ihre Aktion. Eoin Beitrag zur Soziologie der Revolution* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1926); Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. and ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar Germany*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Verso, 1998); José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993); Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, ed. Mary Higgins and Chester M. Raphael (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1970); Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002 [1947]); Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998 [1958]), 59; David Riesman with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Elias Canetti, *Crowds [Masse] and Power*, trans. Carol Stewart (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1973 [1960]).

consulting-rooms of famous doctors full of patients, theaters full of spectators, and beaches full of bathers. . . . The multitude has suddenly become visible, installing itself in the preferential positions in society. Before, if it existed, it passed unnoticed, occupying the background of the social stage; now it has advanced to the footlights and is the principal character. There are longer protagonists; there is only the chorus.⁶⁸

This formulation of modernity as the epoch the masses qua the epoch of the chorus is indeed titillating. Ortega's figure of the "chorus"—an ensemble bereft of all protagonists or, translating the theatrical element into more stringently musical terms, soloists—is shorthand for what the mass theorists typically decried as the deindividualizing oneness of mass agglomeration, where "the sentiments and ideas of all persons. . . take one and the same direction" and everybody feels "as one with everybody else."⁶⁹ In the mass, the individual was believed to lose his [sic] clear-headed autonomy and regress to the level of destructive "femininity," a state in which the "heightening of affectivity" was said to coincide with the "inhibition of intellectual functions," rendering the mass all "spinal chord" and no "brain," all "flesh" and no "reasoning."⁷⁰ This should sound familiar, for it deploys the same misogynistic language that was commonly applied to rushing encore "maenads," those intoxicated, effete fanatics who ran to the stage at the conclusion of the printed program for their fix of encore magic. This resonance is all the more striking because many mass theorists aligned mass phenomena with another modernist object of study that was typically seen as belonging to purview of "primitives," children, and women—magic. Even Freud, whose *Massepsychologie* is far more nuanced than the vast majority of his anti-democratic contemporaries, notes the mass's "sense of omnipotence,"

⁶⁸ Gustav Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896 [1895]), xv; José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993), 19, 11–13).

⁶⁹ Le Bon, 2; Ortega y Gasset, 15.

⁷⁰ Freud, 20; Le Bon, 17–21; Ortega y Gasset, 85.

the way “the notion of impossibility disappears for the individual in a [mass]” and then, in a footnote, refers the reader to the third essay of his *Totem and Taboo* (“Animism, Magic, and the Omnipotence of Thought”), where he likens magical thinking to the faith that “savages,” children, and neurotics mistakenly place in the power of wishes.⁷¹ In sum, mass theory configured modernity’s emblematic masses as magical choruses whose primary characteristic was heightened affective synchronization tending toward oneness. And this perception lives on in current scholarship. As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri wrote in *Multitude* (2004), for example, “All differences are submerged and drowned in the masses. All the colors of the population fade to gray. These masses are able to move in unison only because they form an indistinct, uniform conglomerate.”⁷²

Obviously, the magical “something” of singing in unison is unison, to the extent that magic means affective connection and unison is a type of that connection. But what about this unison explains the celebration that the word “magical” implies as it also points to connection? Which is to say, what might unison be offering our Facebooker such that it elicits his praise? Canetti wrote that in the mass—in that “blessed moment” when “suddenly it is as though everything were happening in one and the same body,” when “distinctions are thrown off and all *feel* equal”—people “become free of [the] fear of being touched,” finding “relief” from the “burdens of distance,” from the dread that

⁷¹ Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology [Massepsychologie] and the Analysis of the Ego*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1959 [1921]), 13; Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, trans. A.A. Brill (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918). For more magic and mass phenomena, see, for example, Le Bon, *The Crowd*, 11, 99–100, 192.

⁷² Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), xiv.

every touch is “alien,” as “body presses against body.”⁷³ For Canetti, the unison of mass agglomeration has an almost therapeutic quality. It comes off as something that can be counted on to ameliorate an oppressive “distance” from “alien” others. A similar confluence of themes appears in accounts in unison singing. Writing of one of Bruce Springsteen’s marathon concerts in 2009, a *Tuscaloosa News* reporter commented, “It was like group therapy. Everybody knew the words to almost all the songs. When Springsteen sang ‘Thunder Road,’ people around me were heavy into it, singing in unison.”⁷⁴ A number of responses to Green Day’s video of the “Bohemian Rhapsody” singalong suggest what impairment the “group therapy” of singing in unison can be understood to ameliorate: Ranger75: “The world is falling apart, everyone hates everyone else.... but sometimes.... it just takes one song to unite the masses”; Liv Nicole: “Singing in unison with complete strangers is and forever will be one of the best feelings in the world”; Meytal laor: “this is an experience that people will never forget and it will remind them of the possibility of uniting with complete strangers, at least just for a moment”; Jeremiah Hix: “music....bringing a massive crowd of strangers together in a way very few things can.”⁷⁵ These comments allude to an ordinary that is “falling apart,” dominated by relations of “hate,” and devoid of worlds of “strangers” with whom the commenters feel in-sync. Against this ordinary redolent of Canetti’s alienated modernity, massed singing in unison is configured as one of the few things that can be counted upon to assuage this dire situation of everyday existence, lubricating closeness among strangers

⁷³ Elias Canetti, *Crowds [Masse] and Power*, trans. Carol Stewart (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1973 [1960]), 15, 16, 18, 21.

⁷⁴ “Southern Lights: Springsteen Still Has Fire to Excite a Crowd,” *The Tuscaloosa News*, Nov 29, 2009.

⁷⁵ Comments, “LONDON, ENGLAND Green Day Crowd Singing Bohemian Rhapsody - Hyde Park July 1st, 2017,” YouTube, posted by Green Day, Jul 3, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZnBNUqqz5g>.

and, in turn, reminding them that, thanks to music, there are worlds of strangers that to which they can (or perhaps already do) belong on an affective level. This is one way to understand the “something” about massed singing in unison that is magic. (Interestingly, Benedict Anderson gestures toward this take, when, in a footnote to the passage above, he contrasts the “unisonance” of the “a cappella chorus” with divisive “the language of everyday life.”⁷⁶)

One way of synthesizing my two readings of claims of magic in accounts of massed singing, where “magic” points to a sense of and aspiration for political community and to the unison of mass agglomeration, is to propose that the affective contours of the sense of political community to which magic points is unison—a sort of mass identification. In the previous section, I suggested that the sense of political community that massed singing’s magic betokens is routed through what is not normatively political, giving it radical undertones. But mass affective identification is precisely what mainstream politics, especially in the US, tends to offer subjects in lieu of structural remedies that might reconfigure their ordinaries such that they provide them what they seem to really want—more enduring and intimate worlds of strangers in which they are welcome and forms of political community that are currently unavailable. Canetti points to this irony in his writing about the “illusion” and “danger” at the heart of the moment, “so desired and so happy,” of mass agglomeration: “The people who suddenly feel equal have not really become equal. . . . They return to their separate houses, they lie down on their own beds, they keep their possessions and their names.”⁷⁷ These suggestions raise the matter of musical magic’s political stakes, to which I will now turn

⁷⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 145, FN 6.

⁷⁷ Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 18.

by charting the position of musical magic qua unison in relation to liberal cosmopolitanism and fascism; and then trying to make sense of the radical associations that are often imputed to musical magic even though it is, at least in many cases, a state of synchronization that cannot accommodate the dissent at the heart of most radical thought.

Loudmouthed Barr and Silent Kaep: Twin Cases of the “Failure” of Mass Magic

This section tracks two resonances—between the animus directed at Roseanne Barr’s 1990 “anthem fail” and that directed at Colin Kaepernick’s 2016 anthem protest; and between conservative objections to Kaepernick’s protest and his stated aspirations. These resonances suggest that the commonly supplied rationales for the flood of invective aimed at the “take a knee” movement—racism and fascism—do not tell the whole story (though they certainly explain a lot of it), pointing to magic qua unison as a candidate for filling some of the surplus that these explanations leave behind. Functioning as a foil against which to better understand the politics of magic/unison, Barr’s and Kaep’s twin “fails” elucidate a tension in the accounts of massed singing presented in the previous sections: a utopian, heterodox hue that also smacks of a political orthodoxy in which the tenebrous outlines of fascistic sociality are also present. Nonetheless, music, I will show, has accrued such immense power in its configuration as the sole magic that even though it may be inimical to the aspirations of massed singing’s devotees, its reconsideration as a principal path to more livable forms of sociality is almost unimaginable.

Surprisingly, “anthem fails” captivate YouTubers almost as much as “magical” anthems do. Indeed, the most popular “fails” compilation—“Top 10 American National

Anthem Performance Fails”—has received nearly 12 million views, which evinces a level of enthusiasm reserved only for the most beloved anthem videos.⁷⁸ These compilations typically include three types of “fails.” The first type is what many a staid commentator has decried as the “oversung” or “oversouled” rendition—the anthem performance that is too ornamented, too melismatic, too expressive (too feminine? too black?), where singers, in one *Albuquerque Journal* reporter’s words, “forget the song is about us, not them.”⁷⁹ The second type is the out of tune anthem, what one chortling ESPN broadcaster, responding to the track star Carl Lewis’s anthem screeching at the 1993 NBA Finals, called “The Francis Scott Off-Key.”⁸⁰ The third type of common anthem fail occurs when a performer loses their way through Key’s frequently butchered bramble of lyrics, such as when Michael Bolton, in his 2003 ALCS Banner performance, blanked on “were so gallantly streaming” and then, much to the crowd’s consternation, peeked at

⁷⁸ “Top 10 American National Anthem Performance Fails,” YouTube, WatchMojo.com, posted Jan 18, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XffxvV1PAEI&t=526s>. Also see, for example, Another Top 10 National Anthem Fails,” YouTube, WatchMojo.com, posted Mar 8, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AnIJBQ9zucw>; “Star Spangled Banner Fails Compilation,” YouTube, Decode, posted on Jan 10, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FrKwj0KC4g>; “Top 5 Worst National Anthem Fails,” Scott Jensen, posted Jun 14, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qe7ZStXicY>; “10 National Anthem Fails that Made Us Cringe,” YouTube, TPS, posted on Feb 20, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tQtI4xrwSMM>; “Carl Lewis National Anthem Fail,” YouTube, OscarGamblesAfro, posted on Dec 28, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3kU9XwcOIfI>; “Top 10 USA National Anthem Fails (Famous Singers),” xxxTIN0xxx, posted on Feb 4, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHpXkyL6s0E>; “Top 6 Funniest National Anthem Fans From Around the World,” KestrelTapes, posted on Oct 1, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmpfDcZREMw>.

⁷⁹ Jim Belshaw, “the Sound of Silence,” *Albuquerque Journal*, Jul 9, 2004. Also see, Bob S. Levey, “The Sad Butchery of the National Anthem,” *Washington Post*, Sep 22, 1998; John Eskow, “Christina Aguilera and the Hideous Cult of Oversouling,” *Huffington Post*, May 25, 2011, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-eskow/christina-aguilera-and-th_b_819979.html; Rod Dreher, “Oversinging and Murdering the National Anthem,” *The American Conservative*, Jul 29, 2012, <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/oversinging-national-anthem/>. For a troubling academic account of this, see Jeanette Bicknell, “Excess in Art: The Case of Oversinging,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 76, no.1 (2018): 83–92.

⁸⁰ “Carl Lewis National Anthem Fail,” YouTube, OscarGamblesAfro, posted on Dec 28, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3kU9XwcOIfI>.

crib notes written on the palm of his hand.⁸¹ Of course, elements of these main types often appear together, perhaps best exemplified by Ezra Harris, the Chattanooga Sheriff's Deputy who in 2008 flubbed the Banner at a police memorial service by missing not only most of the notoriously difficult lyrics ("And the home of the free!") but also much of the tune.⁸²

As Carl Wilson has said, "We love bad singing," from the Cherry Sisters to Florence Foster Jenkins to American Idol's season 3 reject William Hung.⁸³ Among the most beloved examples of bad singing on YouTube is Roseanne Barr's caterwauling of the "Star Spangled Banner" between a Padres and Reds doubleheader on July 25, 1990, which was advertised "Working Women's Night" at San Diego's Jack Murphy Stadium. In fact, it tops many listicles and compilations of "anthem fails." But Barr's anthem fail does not fit neatly into the typology presented above because she appears to be singing the anthem badly by design (although in a press conference she convened after the performance she insisted that she, an "average" singer, had done her best, adding later, in a 2015 *Washington Post* interview, that she "started too high" and "just tried to get through it"⁸⁴). In any case, the hallmarks of a traditional fail are missing. Her shrieking is unflinchingly resolute and her comportment is breezy ("Tell me when I can start. Right now?"), even playful (she plugs her ears with her index fingers for a time; she chuckles over "through the perilous fight"; and she dons an expression approaching a smile,

⁸¹ "Michael Bolton Screws Up the Anthem," YouTube, Mikey Bolton, posted Jul 24, 2006, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MZrK_kOk8Lw.

⁸² "Worst National Anthem in Chattanooga Tennessee," WDEF News 12, posted Mar 21, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8SHnpWohrg0>.

⁸³ Carl Wilson, "Why Do We Love Bad Singing?," Aug 12, 2016, http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/music_box/2016/08/florence_foster_jenkins_and_the_history_of_bad_singing.html.

⁸⁴ George Edgers, "Roseanne On the Day She Shrieked 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' Grabbed Her Crotch and Earned a Rebuke from President Bush," *Washington Post*, Jul 23, 2015.

instead of the usual visage of solemnity, for much of the performance). But this playful quality precipitously vanishes at the conclusion of the singing, when, her expression souring, Barr grabs her crotch and spits on the ground, as if to rebuke the now hostile crowd of 30,000 booing fans, and then, smirking once again, raises her arms and tilts her head back as if to bask in what one writer called “the chorus of stadium boos.”⁸⁵ All of this gives Roseanne’s fail an air of defiance and indignation that stands in opposition to the contrite awkwardness of most adventitious anthem fails and bloopers.

YouTube commenters writing from both the political left and right largely adore this video, mostly as irreverent comedy (the LOLs, LMAOs, LMFAOs, etc. are abundant) but also as leftist protest (Chris: “Epic. Fuck Nationalism.”) and, most commonly, as reactionary trolling (Commie Killer: “as a patriot, Im upset. But as a troll, I am truly in awe”).⁸⁶ Note that trolling, as the moniker Commie Killer suggests, is the mode of political speech preferred by the alt-right, with whom Barr, a former Green Party presidential candidate and vehement anti-Zionist, has unexpectedly allied herself in recent years. Some YouTubers have proclaimed Roseanne’s Banner the “best” rendition of the anthem, and a very few Tweepers have even called it “magic”: “I just finished watching the magic that is Roseanne Barr singing the national anthem. What is seen cannot be unseen...”⁸⁷ However, there are also many comments on YouTube and elsewhere that express violently misogynistic outrage. This video inspires not only heaps of approbation but also “disgust,” a sentiment that is perhaps present even in the “magic”

⁸⁵ Barry M. Horstman, “The Boos Swell Roseanne in Rockets’ Red Glare,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jul 27, 1990.

⁸⁶ “Roseanne Sings the National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by analog36, Jan 12, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkhbpeL-8sY>. Comments by Chris and Commie Killer.

⁸⁷ Justin Koeppen (@jdkoeppen), Twitter, posted on Apr 7, 2009, <https://twitter.com/jdkoeppen/status/1472553967>. Also see, Mike Metzler (@MTZLER), Twitter, posted Feb 19, 2018, <https://twitter.com/MTZLER/status/965642558721482755>.

example above, in the suggestion that the fail “cannot be unseen,” an expression that typically refers to something disturbing has been made vexingly indelible. In fact, Roseanne’s anthem performance was described by a *Washington Post* reporter as “the foul breath” that was thankfully “washed...away” only a few months later by the “magic” of Whitney Houston’s 1991 Super Bowl performance.⁸⁸ So how is Barr’s anthem “disgusting” in a sense that is at odds with the anthem magic elaborated in the previous section?

While YouTube may now be teeming with panegyrics to Barr, her anthem fail had few admirers in 1990. Most commentators—reporters, politicians, the 4,291 exasperated Orlando residents who called the radio station Sound Off in the days following the performance—thought it “disgraceful,” “disrespectful,” or some variation thereof.⁸⁹ Talking to reporters aboard Air Force One on a flight to his summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, President George H.W. Bush’s responded to the fail in typical fashion: “My reaction is it’s disgraceful.”⁹⁰ Bush’s comment—passed down from the lofty heights of a private jet en route to a family estate built by Bush’s robber baron forefathers—sounds like aristocratic, patriarchal moralizing, suggesting that Barr’s crime was not only a working-class breach of civic decorum but also a violation of ladylike elegance and charm (of social grace). This latter interpretation is especially palpable when Bush’s remark is read in conjunction with Barr’s other (male) detractors, most of whom viewed her performance not as a minor solecism, as bad manners, but as “disgusting” in ways that are often tightly sutured to gender. For instance, the opera

⁸⁸ Tom Callahan, “A Little Gin Rummy? First, the Anthem,” *Washington Post*, Mar 3, 1991. Also see, Joann Cantamessa, Facebook, posted Feb 15, 2012, <https://www.facebook.com/jcantamessa/posts/112896685503166>.

⁸⁹ “Majority of Callers Trash Roseanne Barr’s Anthem Act,” *Orlando Sentinel*, Jul 31, 1990.

⁹⁰ Paul Farhi, “Red Glares for Roseanne,” *Washington Post*, July 28, 1990.

singer Robert Merrill, who sang the anthem at Yankee Stadium for more than a decade, responded to Barr's performance such that his disgust seemed to originate specifically from the fact that she was a woman: "This woman, who obviously has no taste at all, went out to sing the national anthem and distorted the song....She's a disgrace...I almost upchucked my dinner. I was ill to my stomach. I don't know if I've ever felt that angry."⁹¹ Sianne Ngai has noted disgust's "appropriation by the political right throughout history, as a means of reinforcing the boundaries between self and 'contaminating' others that has perpetuated racism, anti-semitism, homophobia, and misogyny."⁹² During the hullabaloo that followed Barr's fail, she and her husband, the comedian Tom Arnold, emphasized that Rosie, to use Arnold's pet-name for Barr, was not an "opera singer" but "just an average singer": "Most people can't sing the song. She represented those people. She did the best she could."⁹³ But despite their invocations of liberal democracy's *l'homme moyen* (average man)—that is, despite their inclusive rhetoric of averageness, commonness, majority, mass—Barr and her anthem were branded foreign pathogens that had to be expurgated ("run out of town on a rail," in Barr's words) from the sickened body politic.⁹⁴

The YouTube comments and their bloodthirsty misogyny (some of which, I warn the reader, will appear below) bring this reading into excruciatingly clear focus. Many YouTubers have expressed their aversion to Barr's performance as "disgust" or revulsion for her as a woman with the traditionally abhorred body thereof, a body that has generally

⁹¹ Barry M. Horstman, "The Boos Swell Roseanne in Rockets' Red Glare," *Los Angeles Times*, Jul 27, 1990; "Barr's Display Lewd, Crude" *The Gazette* [Montreal], Jul 27, 1990.

⁹² Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 338–339.

⁹³ AP, "Fans Cry Foul Over Barr's Anthem Singing," *Orlando Sentinel*, Jul 27, 1990; "Barr Unrepentant Over Anthem, Obscene Gestures at Ball Game," *The Vancouver Sun*, Jul 28, 1990.

⁹⁴ Bill Center, "Roseanne Is Sorry She 'Didn't Sing So Good,'" *San Diego Union*, Jul 28, 1990.

been viewed as repugnant and lacking grace in all but those instances in which it is pleasuring the men to which it is betrothed. For example: Allison O: “she makes me want to vomit right now”; Moodmuzik: “her voice/body is disgusting!!”; SesameYoung08: “DISGUSTING BITCH”; Jplarkey: “this trashy whore deserves to get shot”; Max H: “Fat cunt.”⁹⁵ Many comments furthermore emphasize that Barr, as a vile woman, is not one of “us” and cannot be counted among “we the people” (Kimmie6209). These comments say, in other words, that “shes [sic] not american” (shelby corliss), that she does not belong here and should be “deported” (Marksranger; MrCarlsvideos). In sum, YouTubers’ antipathy for Barr’s performance can be understood as “disgust” for a “trashy” female alterity that must be cleansed from the political body. As the YouTuber Yodelingjoe put it, “I think a mouth rinsing with buckshot is in order.” One might say, then, that the “disgusting” anthem fail, while exhibiting a certain amount of affective synchronization around an abhorred object, proffers something like the opposite of the unison to which claims of magic in celebrations of anthem singing often point. Rather than oneness, it suggests the presence of deviation, dissent, alterity.

The fascistic nature of these brutally misogynistic comments, which I tried to evoke in the previous paragraph through the word “cleansed” (as in “ethnic cleansing”), will be discussed in more detail below. Before I explore the relation between the misogyny directed at Barr and what I call the fascistic aesthetics of uniformity, I would like to bring an additional object to bear upon this developing discussion of the anthem fail as that which inspires disgust in the sense of an affective disposition at odds with magic qua unison. The comments sections of all of the YouTube videos featuring Barr’s

⁹⁵ All comments in this paragraph are from “Roseanne sings the National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by analog36, Jan 12, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkhbpEL-8sY>.

anthem fail contain comparisons between Barr and the “take a knee” protests inaugurated by the San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick in 2016, in which athletes silently kneel during the performance of the “Star-Spangled Banner” in protest of, as Kaepernick put it, “a country that oppresses black people and people of color.” Here are a few examples that juxtapose Barr and Kaepernick. BlueDragon992: “The fact that Americans take the national anthem as seriously as they do is nothing new to me. Before people were freaking out over football players kneeling during it out of protest, they were freaking out over people singing it badly like they did here. LOL!”; Wrathofachilles: “And you guys love her because she kisses Dear Leader’s ass and get mad at black football players for kneeling silently during the anthem”; License2break: “Oh but a few players kneeling is unpatriotic...but this is completely fine tho? Smh.”⁹⁶ It is hard to know why the latter two commenters missed the surfeit of vicious abuse mixed in with the decidedly ecumenical admiration aimed at Barr’s anthem. No doubt, as Wrathofachilles indicates, it has something to do with Barr’s recent comments supporting President Donald Trump as well as her history of Islamophobic and racist tweets (including at least two that compare prominent women of color to apes and thus closely resemble the Right’s common use of disgust to reduce nondominant subjects to animals). Perhaps, in other words, she is perceived as an ally of Kaep’s primary attackers and thus immune to their attacks. Indeed, many commentators speaking from the liberal center

⁹⁶ Steve Wyche, “Colin Kaepernick Explains Why He Sat During National Anthem,” *NFL*, Aug 27, 2016, <http://www.nfl.com/news/story/0ap3000000691077/article/colin-kaepernick-explains-why-he-sat-during-national-anthem>. The comments are from “Roseanne sings the National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by analog36, Jan 12, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkhbpeL-8sY>; “Roseanne Singing National Anthem,” YouTube, posted by ultimatejonasfans, Apr 13, 2009, the <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Is1YVhcLD2c>; “FULL: Roseanne Barr sings National Anthem 1990,” YouTube, posted by SunReOo, Feb 11, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ru2BYd3c90w>.

have elided Barr's brutalization from current discussions around the anthem in order to bring into sharper relief the racism suffusing objections to Kaepernick's protest. For instance:



jeremyjokeshere
Hard Rock Stadium

Follow



Fig 3.4 Instagram post: "It wasn't about the national anthem"

In doing so, some have even reproduced the Right's misogyny in their critiques of Barr's racism: "This bitch has been problematic. I guess all of her new, conservative fans forgot

about how she DISGRACED the National Anthem. Bye bitch!”⁹⁷ Nonetheless, there is, as BlueDragon992 suggests, a palpable affinity between reactions to Barr’s screeching and to Kaepernick’s silent kneeling. So what is the nature of this resonance?

Let me begin with Kaep’s story told in the words of its protagonists, words that very often begin with Latin prefix uni- (from *unus*, meaning “one”). On August 14, 2016, Colin Kaepernick, the former 49ers quarterback who became a fan favorite in 2013 when he led his team to the Super Bowl with his dazzling speed and powerful, tattoo-covered arm(s), began sitting during the performance of the “Star Spangled Banner” before his preseason games. No one noticed this silent protest until August 26, when a reporter spotted Kaepernick sitting on the bench in an unrelated tweet and asked him about it, to which Kaep replied:

I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color....There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder.”⁹⁸ On August 28, he elaborated his position in an 18-minute locker room interview: “I’m going to continue to stand with the people that are being oppressed. To me, this is something that has to change....It’s something that we have to come together. We have to unite. We have to unify and make a change....I don’t see it being a distraction. It’s something that can unify this team. It’s something that can unify this country. If we have these real conversations that are uncomfortable for a lot of people, if we have these conversations, there’s a better understanding of where both sides are coming from. And if we reach common ground and can understand what everybody’s going through, we can really affect change.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ BigLiz’sConjure (@BigLizConjure), Twitter, posted May 29, 2018, <https://twitter.com/BigLizConjure/status/1001615312255639552>.

⁹⁸ Steve Wyche, “Colin Kaepernick Explains Why He Sat During National Anthem,” *NFL*, Aug 27, 2016, <http://www.nfl.com/news/story/0ap3000000691077/article/colin-kaepernick-explains-why-he-sat-during-national-anthem>.

⁹⁹ “Transcript of Colin Kaepernick’s Comments About Sitting During National Anthem,” *ESPN*, Aug 28, 2016, http://www.espn.com/blog/san-francisco-49ers/post/_/id/18957/transcript-of-colin-kaepernicks-comments-about-sitting-during-national-anthem.

At the next game, on September 1, Kaepernick, per the advice of former Green Beret and brief NFL long snapper Nate Boyer, kneeled during the performance of anthem, this time joined by teammate Eric Reid. On September 4, soccer player Megan Rapinoe knelt during the performance of the anthem before a game with her team, the Seattle Reign, as “a nod to Kaepernick.” Later she said, “Being a gay American, I know what it means to look at the flag and not have it protect all of your liberties.”¹⁰⁰ On September 9, Denver Broncos linebacker Brandon Marshall took a knee during the performance of the anthem at the NFL’s regular season opener: “I’m against social injustice. Kaep, he’s using his platform...to reach the masses. We have freedom of speech. But then we use our platform, and we get bashed for it. It’s almost like they want us to only go with the grain. And once we go against the grain, it’s an issue. I feel for Kaep.”¹⁰¹ CenturyLink, the third largest telecommunications company in the US, responded by terminating its sponsorship agreement with Marshall: “While we acknowledge Brandon’s right, we also believe that whatever issues we face, we also occasionally must stand together to show our allegiance to our common bond as a nation. In our view, the anthem is one of those moments.”¹⁰² On September 11, the first Sunday of the NFL season, players from the Seahawks, Dolphins, Chiefs, and Patriots demonstrated during the singing of the anthem—kneeling, locking arms, and raising fists à la John Carlos and Tommie Smith at the 1968 Olympic Games. In the months thereafter, “taking a knee” became, as Marshall presaged, a mass protest, including high school football players, college cheerleaders, high school and

¹⁰⁰ “Megan Rapinoe Kneels During Anthem Before US National Team Match,” *Chicago Tribune*, Sep 15, 2016.

¹⁰¹ Sam Farmer, “Broncos Linebacker Kneels During National Anthem in Season Opener,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sep 8, 2016.

¹⁰² Nicki Jhanvala, “Brandon Marshall Loses Another Endorsement, Says He Will Kneel Again for National Anthem,” *Denver Post*, Sep 12, 2016.

college bands, WBA teams, and even anthem singers, who began regularly singing the anthem from a kneeling position.

Along with all of this support, however, there was much vituperation from both conservatives and liberals, almost always oozing with racism and Islamophobia. In language eerily redolent of Roseanne's critics, NFL greats like Jerry Rice, Ray Lewis, and Drew Brees excoriated Kaepernick for being "disrespectful."¹⁰³ Similarly, liberal Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg called him "dumb" and "disrespectful."¹⁰⁴ Republican Congressman Steve King of Iowa, mirroring others on the right promoting the idea that the quarterback's protest was fueled mainly by his ties to Islam, said, "This is activism that's sympathetic to ISIS."¹⁰⁵ Presidential nominee Trump called Kaepernick "disgraceful," suggesting "maybe he should find a country that works better for him."¹⁰⁶ An Alabama pastor working as a high school football announcer said national anthem protestors should be shot.¹⁰⁷ At a game in Buffalo, fans sported t-shirts with "Wanted: Notorious Disgrace to America" emblazoned over an image of Kaep in a gun's crosshairs.¹⁰⁸ An NFL executive called Kaepernick a "traitor," and after the 2016 season, when Kaepernick became a free agent, he was blackballed, leading to a

¹⁰³ "Jerry Rice Says 'All Lives Matter,' Kaepernick Should 'Respect the Flag,'" *USA Today*, Aug 30, 2016; Mike Triplett, "Drew Brees 'Wholeheartedly' Disagrees with Colin Kaepernick's Method of Protest," *ESPN*, Aug 29, 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Christina Hauser, "Ruth Bader Ginsburg Calls Colin Kaepernick's national Anthem Protest 'Dumb,'" *New York Times*, Oct 11, 2016.

¹⁰⁵ Khaled A. Beydoun, "Colin Kaepernick: Mix of Racism, Anti-Islam Rhetoric Are Increasingly Toxic," *The Undeclared*, Sep 2, 2016, <https://theundefeated.com/features/colin-kaepernick-mix-of-racism-anti-islam-rhetoric-are-increasingly-toxic/>; Victoria M. Masse "Rep. Steve King Wonders if Colin Kaepernick Is 'Sympathetic to ISIS' Because His Girlfriend Is Muslim," *Vox*, Sep 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ Stanley Kay, "Here Is What Politicians Have Said About Colin Kaepernick's Protest," *Sport Illustrated*, Oct 4, 2016.

¹⁰⁷ Breanna Edwards, "Alabama High School Announcer: National Anthem protestors Should be Shot," *The Root*, Sep 12, 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Cindy Boren and Scott Allen, "Ugly Protests Mix with Support for Colin Kaepnick in Buffalo," *Washington Post*, Oct 16, 2016.

December 2017 grievance accusing the league of colluding to keep him out of work because of his protests.¹⁰⁹

The “take a knee” protests continued without Kaepernick in the 2017 NFL season, prompting now President Trump to say at a campaign rally for Alabama senator Luther Strange on September 22, 2017, “Wouldn’t you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag, to say, ‘Get that son of a bitch off the field right now. Out! He’s fired! He’s fired!’”¹¹⁰ The NFL, whose owners had donated millions to Trumps campaign, responded to this remark with a show of “unity,” which was presented as a heroic rebuke of Trump while simultaneously quashing dissent in precisely the way the President had been advocating for (in fact, Trump eventually took credit for catalyzing this display of unity, positioning it as a virtuous alternative to kneeling).¹¹¹ The NFL commissioner, Roger Goodell, responded to Trump by saying, “The NFL and our players are at our best when we help create a sense of unity in our country and our culture. Divisive comments like these demonstrate an unfortunate lack of respect for the NFL, our great game and all of our players.”¹¹² Then, on Sunday Night Football, the NFL aired its infamous “unity” ad, in which a Forrest Whitaker voiceover proclaims, “Inside these lines, we don’t have to come from the same place to help each other reach the same destination. Inside these lines, we may have our differences, but recognize there’s more

¹⁰⁹ Mike Freeman, “Kaepernick Anger Intense in NFL Front Offices,” *Bleacher Report*, Aug 31, 2016; Ken Belson, “Kaepernick vs. The NFL: A Primer on His Collusion Case,” *New York Times*, Dec 8, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Bryan Armen Graham, “Donald Trump Blasts NFL Anthem Protesters,” *The Guardian*, Sep 23, 2017.

¹¹¹ Chris Isidore, “NFL Owners Donated Big Money to trump,” *CNN*, Sep 25, 2017, <http://money.cnn.com/2017/09/25/news/companies/trump-nfl-owners-donations/index.html>; Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Twitter, posted Sep 24, 2017, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/912018945158402049>.

¹¹² Bryan Armen Graham, “Donald Trump Blasts NFL Anthem Protesters,” *The Guardian*, Sep 23, 2017.

that unites us...Inside these lines, we can bring out the best in each other, and live united, inside these lines.”¹¹³ Finally, on Monday Night Football, *all* of the players and staff from both the Dallas Cowboys and Arizona Cardinals locked arms during the performance of the anthem, which the Cowboys owner, Jerry Jones, characterized not only as a exhibition of unity but also of equality in an enigmatic sense that variously suggests liberal cosmopolitanism (the *feeling* of equality—we’re all men—independent of the actual distribution of material resources), the NFL’s owners’ capitalist egalitarianism (green is the only color we see), the related US doctrine of colorblindness, and the white American fight against what they call “reverse racism” (equality with nondominant subjects felt as a loss of consolidated power): “Our players wanted to make a statement about unity, and we wanted to make a statement about equality...It was real easy for everybody in our organization to see the message of unity. The message of equality was getting, if you will, pushed aside or diminished by the controversy. We even had the circumstances that it was being made into a controversy.”¹¹⁴ Taking this elevation of unity to its logical conclusion, the NFL owners, under direct pressure from President Trump, recently instituted a new policy that bans kneeling during the anthem.¹¹⁵ In May 24, 2018 interview on “Fox & Friends,” Trump praised this new policy, again calling into

¹¹³ Jason Lynch, “NFL Airing Unity Ad During Sunday Night Football as Trump Fuels Controversy Over Protests,” *Ad Week*, September 24, 2017, <https://www.adweek.com/tv-video/nfl-airing-unity-ad-during-sunday-night-football-as-trump-fuels-controversy-over-protests/>.

¹¹⁴ Dave Zirin, “Taking a Knee Is Not About Abstract Unity but Racial Justice,” *The Nation*, Sep 26, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Andrew Beaton, “How Trump’s Pressure Influenced the NFL to Change Its Anthem Rules,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 2018.

question protestors' citizenship in terms reminiscent of Barr's detractors: "Maybe you shouldn't be in the country" if you do not "stand proudly for the national anthem."¹¹⁶

As suggested above, much of the invective hurled at Kaepernick and the other "take a knee" protestors smacks of that launched at Barr. Beyond the mobilization of the rhetoric of "disgrace" and "disrespect," this criticism often deploys the language of disgust toward Trump's reactionary ends of casting doubt on protestors' inclusion in the body politic, not only their belonging to an American citizenry with all of the legal rights thereof but even to humanity: "If you kneel during the national anthem ur a disgusting human and don't deserve the rights your soldiers fight everyday for"; "I will spit on anyone who knells for the National Anthem in my presence. Disgusting pigs."¹¹⁷

The rightwing writer Melissa MacKenzie, in a piece for *The American Spectator* that compares the NFL to the American auto industry insofar as the former is being eviscerated by its kneeling players in the way that the latter was "sabotaged" by rapacious unions seeking "excessive benefits for workers," links disgust for anthem protests to the disappearance of magic: "Families who used to gather around the TV...hoping for a win, maybe the only win for the week, instead get smashed in the face with rich crybabies lamenting the State of Things....The NFL doesn't know it, but it has reached its zenith....The magic is gone. Taking a knee is taking it too far. A disgusted fanbase will turn its attention elsewhere. Colin Kaepernick, like so many line workers in Michigan

¹¹⁶ AP, "Trump Praises NFL After It Changes Policy on National Anthem Protests," *Boston Globe*, May 24, 2018.

¹¹⁷ Tess (@tess_colegrove), Twitter, posted Sep 24, 2017, https://twitter.com/tess_colegrove/status/912082350355439616; Netskers (@ctgponylvr), Twitter, posted Apr 22, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ctgponylvr/status/988109978270650368>.

and Pennsylvania, thought the jobs would come back.”¹¹⁸ “The magic is gone” has become something of a refrain among racist conservatives on Twitter: Barry Hart: “Not watching @nfl anymore. Magic is gone. Thugs run the org”; Camden Forse: “I won’t listen to anyone who think it’s ok for people to kneel for the Flag. The magic is gone”; Totally Trumped: “Rush is right. The magic of the NFL is gone forever. Liberals politicized it & destroyed it”; The Real Machiavelli: “No more support for thug millionaire @NFL players who hate our country, disrespect our flag and anthem. The magic is GONE.”¹¹⁹ The “politicization” of the anthem that Totally Trumped cites as the cause of the NFL’s disenchantment is also sometimes linked specifically to the attenuation of the anthem’s magic. For instance, an amateur anthem singer named Janice Koresko Sbei’s wrote in a Facebook post that she was “heartbroken” by the “take a knee” protests: “Singing [the national anthem] live sparks a charge and excitement that adds...magic. Yesterday was the first time I had opposing coaches kneeling and had to silence on the field to start....Politics does not belong at a kids sport’s [sic]. I respect your right to protest I just don’t think youth sport’s [sic] is the proper vehicle.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Melissa Mackenzie, “Taking a Knee and Killing the Golden Goose: How the NFL Is Going the Way of Detroit,” *The American Spectator*, Sep 27, 2017, <https://spectator.org/why-trump-must-fire-obama-holdover-cordray/>.

¹¹⁹ Barry Hart (@BarryHart7), Twitter, posted on Oct 1, 2017, <https://twitter.com/BarryHart7/status/914632958178406402>; Camden Forse (@cforse1500), Twitter, posted Oct 18, 2017, <https://twitter.com/cforse1500/status/920759336854532097>; Totally Trumped (@RealTrumpDoc), Twitter, posted on Sep 25, 2017, <https://twitter.com/RealTrumpDoc/status/912457620186857472>; The Real Machiavelli (@MachiavelliReal), Twitter, posted on Oct 23, 2017, <https://twitter.com/MachiavelliReal/status/922456982606532614>.

¹²⁰ Janice Koresko Sbei, Facebook, Oct 1, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/janice.sbei/posts/10155848176334374>. Also see, Shara Bobbitt Flair, Facebook, Sep 24, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/sharaflair/posts/10213863358040166>.

Rancière has defined politics as “the introduction of an incommensurable at the heart of the distribution of speaking bodies.”¹²¹ Working in a similar direction, Lauren Berlant has argued that Americans have purged the political of politics, such that the normative political sphere in the US is now a realm sustained mainly by affective attunement, affective identification, and empathy—by “feeling political together,” by feeling “a vaguely warm sense of already-established, autonomic, and atmospheric solidarity with the body politic”—rather than by politics in the traditional sense of “embodied processes of making solidarity,” that is, the messy work of “adjudicating incommensurate visions of the better good life.”¹²² On some level, conservatives seem to share this view, opposing politics and the unison of anthem singing, the latter of which is seen as emblematic of the normative political sphere comprised of “We the People”: “The players can be united in standing for anthem.... We the People can be entertained w/o politics”; “#PositiveVibes my Redskins wont [sic] kneel during #NationalAnthem No politics we’re united.”¹²³ Thus, the introduction of politics—of incommensurability, of antagonism, of dissent—into anthem-singing is rendered as militating against its magic, that is, against the unison or oneness it mediates and that is portrayed as the affective shape of the now missing sense of political community. Faintly recalling Romano’s anthem anecdote, the comments above re-configure the singing of a political song as containing no politics.

¹²¹ Jacques Rancière, *Dis-agreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 19.

¹²² Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 226, 260, 228.

¹²³ Bells Rides (@bellsride), Twitter, posted on Sep 26, 2017, <https://twitter.com/bellsride/status/912797223586480128>; Marci OBrien (@ObrienMarci), Twitter, posted on Sep 24, 2017, <https://twitter.com/ObrienMarci/status/912024405093507072>.

These insights raise an additional way of making sense of the similarity of the attacks leveled at two scenes of massed national anthem singing that are often described as divergent. As noted above, commentators writing from a liberal position commonly supply racism as an explanation for conservative attacks on anthem-kneeling. To be sure, many of the attacks against Kaepernick can be explained by racism. For instance, Barry Hart's objections to anthem kneeling stem from what he senses as the undoing of the structural marginalization of African Americans, that is, from his sense that the "thugs run the org." In other words, it evinces a white supremacist or racist ideology. One imagines Hart bristling as this suggestion, as most conservatives do when they are linked to racism. But the symbolic order has been structured such that "thug" is tantamount to the n-word, meaning conspicuous, obtrusive, or excessive male blackness (recall Michael Dunn, who shot a teenaged boy of color, Jordan Davis, in a dispute over the loud rap music coming from the boy's car, what Dunn allegedly called "thug music"¹²⁴). All of which is to say that systemic or structural racism does in fact explain much of Hart's reaction to Kaepernick's kneeling. However, the resonances between Barr's and Kaepernick's abuse suggest that racism does not tell the whole story here. What is the common element between both scenes—the first an emblem of white "working women," the second of black activism—that might explain the comparably vehement and structurally similar animus they elicited?

Fascism is also supplied as explanation for conservative ire to anthem kneeling. As a simple Twitter search reveals, the argument, in short, is that conservatives want kneelers to stand for the anthem because they (that is, the conservatives) are fascists (strangely, conservatives have made this same argument with respect to kneelers—the

¹²⁴ William Cheng, "His Music Was Not a Weapon': Black Noise, Breakable Skin, and the Plundered Voice of Jordan Russell Davis," paper presented at the University of Chicago Music Colloquium Series, Chicago, IL, Apr 13, 2018.

kneelers are the fascists, conservatives say). To be sure, the right's attacks on both Barr and Kaepernick have all the hallmarks of what might be called a fascistic aesthetics of uniformity, especially to the extent that they call for cleansing the body politic of alterity and that they lament the loss of magic qua unison. In his sedulously documented and widely celebrated dissertation, *Male Fantasies*, Klaus Theweleit puts forward a theory of fascism rooted in the violent misogyny of the *Freikorpsmen*, the soldiers of the volunteer armies that fought and triumphed over the German working class in the years immediately after the First World War and that became the core of Hitler's SA. At the heart of fascism, Theweleit's archive vividly suggests, lies what Barbara Ehrenreich's foreword to the first volume of *Male Fantasies* calls, "the dread that perhaps lies in the hearts of all men, a dread of engulfment by the other," that is, by vile, devouring female sexuality: "All that is rich and various must be smoothed over (to become like the blank facades of fascist architecture); all that is wet and luscious must be dammed up and contained; all that is 'exotic' (dark, Jewish) must be eliminated" until the fascists "finally produce the perfect uniformity."¹²⁵ Clearly, both the animus directed at Barr and at Kaep, teeming as they are with references to cleansing the country of a "disgusting" alterity in name of unity, can be read as emblematic of this fascistic sensibility. And the smoothing out of all that is "rich and various" extends beyond the conservative rhetoric of disgust. In response to Barr's performance in 1990, for example, a reporter from the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* the primary daily in Virginia's capital city, wrote, "My suggestion is we pick one singer with a superb voice to make a recording of the national anthem. This recording would be distributed to every sports arena in America and played

¹²⁵ Barbara Ehrenreich, foreword to *Male Fantasies, Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, by Klaus Theweleit, trans. Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), xv, xvi.

before every game. No live singing of national anthem would be allowed. Just this recording.”¹²⁶

Kaepernick’s conservative detractors’ invocations of magic also have a fascist flavor—a reactionary, nostalgic hue as well as a basis in the oneness of mass agglomeration that resonates with the Third Reich’s frequent deployments of magic (Nazi magic smacks not only of, as is often noted, Teutonic paganism but also of the unison of mass assembly elaborated in mass theory). Theweleit points to two masses in the fascist imaginary: the “despised” revolutionary mass— “flowing, slimy, teeming,” shapeless and “riddled with contagious lust, threatening [the fascist man] with dissolution”—and the “celebrated” fascist mass of strict soldierly formations, above which towers the charismatic leader.¹²⁷ In the latter mass, as Hitler suggested in *Mein Kampf*, the lonely individual merges with “a greater community” through a sort of “magic”: “The mass meeting is necessary if only for the reason that in it the individual, who in becoming an adherent of a new movement, feels lonely and is easily seized with the fear of being alone, receives for the first time the picture of a greater community, something that has a strengthening and an encouraging effect on most people....If he steps for the first time out of his small workshop or out of the big enterprise, in which he feels very small, in the mass meeting and is now surrounded by thousands and thousands of people with the same conviction...he himself succumbs to the magic influence of what we call mass

¹²⁶ Steve Clark, “First Amendment Doesn’t Promise the Right of Free Screech,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Oct 13, 1990.

¹²⁷ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, Vol. 2, *Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, trans. Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 4, 25.

suggestion.”¹²⁸ Hitler’s account of mass magic hews closely to the account of unison presented in the previous section, and although his celebration of the loss of individuality in the mass conflicts with many of the early mass theorists, it resonates with Canetti’s latter work and, in turn, with so many of the celebrations of massed singing examined in this chapter.

This fascist rendering could be extended further, but like the explanation of racism, fascism does not tell the whole story here. Not only is Jerry Jones’s mix of unity and equality incongruent with a fascistic aesthetics of uniformity, where the unison or harmony of the mass might be best construed as a rigidly hierarchical ordering imposed by a leader (*Führer*), but it and other conservative calls for unity share explicit commonalities with Kaep’s ostensibly radical comments. For all of the counterhegemonic, “against the grain,” heterodox qualities of his protest, Kaep has said from the beginning that he aspires to “unity.” Granted that, in stark contrast with his reactionary detractors, he imagines this unity as a product of something akin to politics in Rancière’s and Berlant’s senses—“uncomfortable conversations.” Still, Kaep repeats his goal of “unity” over and over again in his August 28 interview, and “unity” is the central watchword of mainstream American politics, employed by conservatives such as those above but also by Democrats (recent examples include the Democratic Party’s Unity Reform Commission, established to “unite” the Sanders and Clinton wings of the Party, and Dan Rather’s bestseller *What Unites Us*; even Bernie Sanders, who is calls himself a democratic socialist often says things like this: “The truth is that the American people

¹²⁸ Quoted in Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933–44* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009 [1942]), 439. Neumann goes on to discuss the way “magic becomes the major concern of National Socialist culture.”

are, by and large, not divided when it comes to social and economic issues”¹²⁹). As Cavell wrote more than a half century ago, in other words, American citizens (Kaep included) appear to be primarily concerned with the pursuit of oneness.

In addition to his fixation with this orthodox oneness, Kaep equates the social “change” he desires with “understand[ing] what everybody’s going through,” conflating structural transformation with the transformation of individual emotion. This is redolent of the liberal cosmopolitanism of which so many of the above comments are instantiations. Martha Nussbaum famously defined liberal cosmopolitanism as a “commitment to the equal worth of humanity” based on the cultivation of “sympathy” with humans that live beyond one’s national borders.¹³⁰ The apparent goal of this political project, in short, is fellow feeling, not, say, the configuration of a common space in which irreconcilable parties, “with and beside each other” but “not as one,” might redress the institutionalized impunity with which police officers murder black citizens.¹³¹ It smacks of what Berlant has called “the liberal promise of a conflict-free and integrated world” as well as what she has termed “national sentimentality”— “a rhetoric of promise that a nation can be built across fields of social difference through channels of affective identification and empathy.”¹³² All of which is to say: along with their radical hue,

¹²⁹ Dino-Ray Ramos, “Bernie Sanders Talks Unity & Divide in Trumps America,” *Deadline*, Mar 9, 2018, <https://deadline.com/2018/03/bernie-sanders-sxsw-cnn-jake-tapper-politics-trump-stormy-daniels-1202324872/>.

¹³⁰ Martha C. Nussbaum, “Introduction: Cosmopolitan Emotions?,” in *For Love of Country?*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Beacon: Boston, 1996), xiv; Martha C. Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” in *For Love of Country?*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Beacon: Boston, 1996).

¹³¹ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 39.

¹³² The quoted material is from Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 2; Lauren Berlant, “The Subject of True Feeling: Pain, Privacy, and Politics,” in *Cultural Pluralism, Identity Politics, and the Law*, ed. Austin Sarat and Thomas R. Kearns (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 53.

Kaep's stated aspirations also resonate, if only faintly, with conservatives' liberal cosmopolitan motivations, pointing to a desire for the affective attunement characteristic of the normative political sphere.

This analysis is no way intended to defend the political right or their bigotry or to elevate Barr while belittling Kaep. Instead, I wonder if there is another "something" at play in all of the conservative "freaking out" around the anthem that remains unaccounted for. My tentative hypothesis is that that unstated something is magic. The "magic" to which conservatives refer—magic that is felt to be "gone"—can be read as reactionary nostalgia for a sort of Edenic wholeness that was only maintained by repressing critiques such as Kaep's, by keeping oppressed blackness from disturbing a meticulously staged and enforced consonance. But it also points to a liberal cosmopolitan desire whose structure is very similar to the structure of Kaep's more radical motivations (and perhaps even to the call of the socialist "Internationale" to "unite the human race"). Which is to say that in addition to symptoms of misogyny, racism, and fascism, perhaps both sets of attacks, and the "terror of dissent" evinced by them, might also be read as bespeaking an intense desperation for an increasingly enervated or scarce magic—that is, for a form of political community that is now, in the wake of the triumph of the libertarian ideals that conservatives champion, felt to be increasingly unavailable even to the most privileged political subjects among us (including the conservatives). As Weber suggested a century ago, after all, magic can only survive in disenchanted modernity in the *Mensch-zu-Mensch* pianissimo of affective synchronization, in those "intimate," "personal," "brotherly" realms containing none of the discordant screeching or silence of politics—no incommensurability, no antagonism—but only a sort of mellifluous

unison.¹³³ By introducing incommensurability into the pianissimo of the musical domain, therefore, disenchantment reaches its conclusion—the magic is gone; there are no more wins. If this scarce magic is, as I argued in the opening chapter and intimated in the previous section, relied upon for survival, then its disappearance might throw into question the entire process of reproducing life.

This chapter has offered a reading of musical magic in the sense of unison as nearly homologous with the normatively political, that is, with a liberal cosmopolitan sensibility that underpins both conservative and liberal aspirations for unity. Even in cases such as the “Bohemian Rhapsody” singalong, when magic/unison seems to point to a desire for that which is not normatively political or that which is unavailable in the “proper places,” the upshot is tantamount to that of mainstream politics: an evanescent moment of affective identification. This is, to adapt Berlant, the “cruel optimism” of this magic.¹³⁴ The scenes of massed singing detailed above are sites where subjects search out a sense of political community felt to be largely missing from ordinary life. But, to return to Canetti, a fleeting experience of unison does not enduring political community make. To the contrary, when unison becomes installed as the normative object of survival—the object to which subjects customarily return for “group therapy”—the possibility of producing new worlds of strangers in which subjects feel linked in some common political undertaking may actually be inhibited, because the cultivation of such common spaces requires something like the opposite of unison—politics in Berlant’s sense of adjudicating incommensurabilities.

¹³³ Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 155.

¹³⁴ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), especially Chapter 7, “On the Desire for the Political.”

In addition to proposing a link between magic and liberal cosmopolitanism, this section has also pointed to several fascistic elements of magic qua unison. Adorno saw fascism in all unison, including the liberal cosmopolitan variety: “Genocide is the absolute integration. It is on its way wherever men are leveled off—‘polished off,’ as the German military called it—until one exterminates them literally, as deviations from the concept of their total nullity. Auschwitz confirmed the philosopheme of pure identity as death.”¹³⁵ According to Adorno, in other words, unison (pure identity, absolute integration) always leads inexorably to the destruction of all nonidentity, deviation, otherness (an outcome that is conspicuous in the rhetoric of disgust above but also detectable in the “unity” talk of the NFL owners and perhaps even in Kaep’s rationale for his protest). The famous “pure identity as death” quotation captures the essence of Adorno’s philosophical project, but this fundamental axiom often seems to fray a bit when music enters the picture. For instance, Adorno repeatedly emphasized that music has retained its origins in “the collective practices of dance and cult”—which are also, he suggested throughout his theory of art, its origins in mimesis and magic—despite “the disenchantment of the world”:

That music altogether, and especially polyphony...arose out of the collective practices of dance and cult is not simply left behind as a mere ‘point of departure’ through music’s development toward freedom. Rather, the historical origin remains palpably implied long after music has broken away from collective practice. Polyphonic music says ‘we’ even when it lives uniquely in the imagination of the composer without ever reaching another living person.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1973), 362.

¹³⁶ Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 18. On the connection between dance, cult, mimesis, and magic, see Adorno, *Towards a Theory of Musical Reproduction: Notes, a Draft, and Two Schemas*, ed. Henri Lonitz, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 169–170; Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

All music, however individual it may be in stylistic terms, possesses an inalienable collective substance: every sound says “we.”¹³⁷

To me, Adorno’s insight that music always says “we” bears a strange resemblance to many conservatives who feel in the national anthem a certain magic that points toward “We the People.” Of course, this is not all that surprising. For better or worse, such magic is modernity’s wish for music. From leftwing radicals to Trumpist reactionaries, we are all in unison in this regard. If music were not magic, as Adorno occasionally implied, perhaps it would not be music anymore.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Adorno, “Some Ideas on the Sociology of Music,” in *Sound figures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 9.

¹³⁸ Adorno, “Theses Upon Art and Religion Today, in *Notes to Literature*, vol. 2, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholsen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 296; Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 7.

CURTAIN CALL

Teddy's Magic

Reading Weberian “disenchantment” narratives together with contemporaneous claims of magic in everyday music discourse as articulations of a shared musical sensibility, I have argued that in the long historical moment from about 1900 to the present music has been configured as “the only true magic.” In the twin archives I have surveyed, music is sometimes said to be a “rare” magic insofar it gives fractured groups of people a track to follow, a way to hold on to one other when the centrifugal forces driving them apart are felt to be otherwise insurmountable. That is to say, music is sometimes called “the only real magic” because it has come to be regarded as uniquely suited to holding together “strangers” in socialites verging toward political publics (even encore space, a site of “excited femininity’s” rebellion against its fascistic policing, bears faint traces of Habermas’s idea of a critical public sphere). Perhaps indicative of my own wish for music, the two case studies largely focused on this version of “the only real magic” fantasy.

As my first chapter emphasized, however, there are other tributaries of this fantasy, some moving ever farther from flesh-and-blood people and all of their vexing difference toward fantasmatic silhouettes of humans that are all consonant generality and no discordant idiosyncrasy. Take the following tweets:

“Do you ever hear a song and relate so well to it that you no longer feel alone? Music is magic.”¹

¹ Rachel Keiser (@rachel_keiser), Twitter, posted Oct 16, 2017, https://twitter.com/rachel_keiser/status/920034154397519873.

“Listening to a new record, feels like it was pulled from your bones, you know for sure you’re not alone. Music is magic.”²

“Discovering a song that you relate to perfectly, listening to it over and over, & you realize you’re not alone. That is the magic of music.”³

“Music gives meaning to life! It reminds you you’re not alone....The magic of a complete stranger’s art touching your soul.”⁴

In these tweets, music is deemed magic to the extent that even though it is produced by “a complete stranger,” it is felt to capture something from inside its listener (even all listeners—note the recurring second person “you”). It thereby demonstrates that this something is not singular but points to a common world that the stranger who produced it also partakes of and, in turn, reminds the listeners that they are not alone. While this sense of belonging to a shared world may be initiated by the apprehension of a connection to another real person (the performer), I do not see much collectivity in these lonely scenes of individual musicking. In fact, the shared worlds that listeners such as these sense their feelings to partake of often end up looking entirely depopulated of other embodied humans, which is perhaps most conspicuous in cases that equate this common world with a monolithic humanity bound by the “universal language” of music: “Music is Magic. The language of the heart, a universal language tht speaks to all ppl.”⁵ Sensing that one belongs to “all ppl” may relieve aloneness, but it is not the same as trying to coexist with a group of annoyingly different people. All of which is to say that music has

² Andrea Warner (@_AndreaWarner), Twitter, posted Aug 5, 2015, https://twitter.com/_AndreaWarner/status/629013641258364928.

³ Kenzie sellers (@mc_kenzzz), Twitter, posted Jul 18, 2014, https://twitter.com/mc__kenzzz/status/490266010780323841.

⁴ RaphaSOSYK (@Raphasosyk), Twitter, posted Mar 11, 2013, <https://twitter.com/Raphasosyk/status/311339508106940416>.

⁵ Soraya (@whitediamond_S), Twitter, posted Feb 9, 2013, https://twitter.com/whitediamond_S/status/300284166442983424.

come to be regarded as “the only real magic” not only to the extent that it can provide an agglomeration of strangers that coalesce around a performance or a YouTube video with an experience of collectivity, but also insofar as it can give individuals a sense that their feelings are general in ways that do not necessarily require being proximate to any actual people.

As the four tweets above suggest, this dissertation is no fairytale but rather an account of both enchantment *and* disenchantment in music’s modernist ordinary. In this ordinary, the language of magic betokens, to borrow Adorno’s words, both “a dream image of a better life” and “the misery from which this image is wrested.”⁶ “The only real magic” fantasy is predicated on the widespread perception, present in both of my archives, that the global “modern” liberal-capitalist social order does not countenance and militates against worlds of strangers in which people feel at home, welcome, cared for. In the historical moment sketched in the preceding pages, even the “mass society” that replaced “the great and glorious public realm” in Arendt’s disenchantment narrative has withered away, such that many people now feel, as Thatcher famously said in 1987, “there is no such thing as society” but only “individual men and women” and “families.”⁷ As we have already seen, Billy Joel memorably referred to this as “the unalterable fact” of our “world”—“true” aloneness (which is perhaps “true” or “real” magic’s constant companion).⁸

⁶ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 12.

⁷ Quoted in Lauren Berlant, “Thinking About Feeling Historical,” *Emotion, Space, Society*, 1 (2008), 4.

⁸ Quoted in Mickey Hart, *Spirit into Sound: The Magic of Music* (Novato, CA: Grateful Dead Books, 1999), 126.

Against this backdrop, music's power as "the only real magic" can appear immense. I have argued that in its institutionalization as the sole "true" magic, music has become capable of producing the experiences of collective life for which many subjects have become increasingly desperate and of preserving or safeguarding a shared impulse toward collectivity in a time and place openly hostile to anything but individualism and familiarity. As my final case study demonstrates, the experiences of collectivity music has come to provide as "the only real magic" can be largely affirmative of the status quo, but, as I argued via Bloch in my opening chapter, they can also be critical, pointing toward a desire for the nonidentical.

More generally, music, in its configuration as "the only true magic," has become a reliable medicine for many subjects struggling to reproduce their lives, offering fleeting relief from the "unalterable fact" of aloneness (among other ailments) so that they can face this fact again. I have been deeply moved and shaken by this aspect of music/magic. Take the following Instagram post, which I cited in my first chapter: "I went to a @thebandmosaic show and one of the songs really resonated with me and even tho i have completely isolated myself and lost my job and have been basically starving the past couple weeks while only eating beans and just giving into depression about to give up, i feel 5% better lol. Im still in the same life situation and i wanna die but i just feel a little better. #musicmagic."⁹ The account from which this post originated has been deleted, and I fear that this person did "give up." Which leads me to wonder if in its institutionalization as the sole magic music has become an immensely potent means of safeguarding, preserving, and managing but not exactly a path to flourishing or thriving. Lauren Berlant has said that although survival may resemble a triumph in a crisis

⁹ cactusbubbe, Instagram, posted Jun 24, 2017, now deleted.

ordinary, it is not flourishing.¹⁰ In pursuit of the latter, Berlant has aimed “to expand the field of affective potentialities, latent and explicit fantasies, and infrastructures for how to live beyond survival, toward flourishing not later but in the ongoing now.”¹¹ The long moment of music’s configuration as “the only true magic” is not only suffused by a sense of “true” aloneness but also by a palpable constriction: the “only” pointing to a narrowing of paths to happiness, best days, citizenship, ameliorative relationality, and so on.

According to Agamben’s musing on Mozart, for instance, true happiness can only be happened upon through magic; it cannot be cultivated through any effort, calculation, or labor. One might say, then, that “the only real magic” fantasy points toward something like the opposite of the expansion that Berlant has in mind.

Interestingly, Adorno’s disenchantment narrative captures much of this. I want to end by returning to it because his insistence on theorizing music via the “cliché” of magic, the hackneyed sentimentality of which is so incongruous with his reputation as a cantankerous elitist, brings into relief the sort of expansion that Berlant has discussed, even as it stops a bit too short. Perhaps no disenchantment story sutures magic to the aesthetic more often than Adorno’s account of art. In my opening chapter, I alluded to a passage in *Aesthetic Theory* where Adorno writes, “To speak of ‘the magic of art’ is trite because art is allergic to any relapses into magic. Art is a stage in the process of what Max Weber called the disenchantment of the world, and it is entwined with

¹⁰ Lauren Berlant, “‘On the Risk of a New Relationality’: An Interview with Lauren Berlant and Michael Hardt,” Heather Davis and Paige Darlin, *Reviews in Cultural Theory* 2.3, <http://reviewsinculture.com/2012/10/15/on-the-risk-of-a-new-relationality-an-interview-with-lauren-berlant-and-michael-hardt/>.

¹¹ Berlant, *Sex, or the Unbearable* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 5.

rationalization.”¹² However, he continues, “The cliché about the magic of art has something true about it. The survival of mimesis, the nonconceptual affinity of the subjectively produced with its unposited other, defines art as knowledge and to that extent as ‘rational’....Art completes knowledge with what is excluded from knowledge.” Throughout much of his writing, Adorno eschews the “sensuous magic” of the culture industry’s affirmative products—their pornographic or culinary “pleasures”—as well as art’s classification among “those Sunday institutions that provide solace” and the “alluring” idea, formerly reserved for religion and philosophy, that art is an “integrating force,” signifying “human solidarity, brotherly love, and all-comprising universality.”¹³ But as I noted in my first chapter, Adorno’s account of art includes two varieties of magic, one that is affirmative and offers consolation and another that is critical and promises something more than solace. Indeed, magic is not only central to Adorno’s theory of the culture industry’s deceptions but also to the autonomous artwork’s “truth.” He even insists on it even when it doesn’t quite fit: “As components of ritual praxis the magical and animistic predecessors of art were not autonomous; yet precisely because they were sacred they were not objects of enjoyment.”¹⁴

So what does magic have to do with the art’s “truth”? Throughout *Aesthetic Theory*, Adorno aligns magic with mimesis, which he defines as an “unmediated” and “sensual” opening up to and merging with alterity—both the subject’s “making [it]self

¹² Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 54.

¹³ On “sensuous magic,” see Theodor W. Adorno, “On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening,” in *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 294. On pornographic/culinary pleasure and consolation, see *Aesthetic Theory*, 12–13 and 2. The last quote is from Theodor Adorno, “Theses Upon Art and Religion Today, in *Notes to Literature*, vol. 2, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholzen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 295.

¹⁴ Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, 13.

like the artwork” in the sense of “expos[ing] itself...to its other” and the artwork’s making itself like the empirical reality from which it is traditionally viewed as autonomous.¹⁵ In other words, mimesis, for Adorno, is something like what he calls negation or nonidentity. Art, Adorno suggests in bits and pieces, partakes of the mimetic when it “refuses to play along” with or negates art’s traditional “*promesse de bonheur*,” rejecting the “happiness” that it normally provides subjects as “consolation” for lives where “praxis [as the rule of brutal self-preservation at the heart of the status quo and in its service] has blocked happiness” and “happiness is beyond praxis” (12). It negates this promise by “conjuring up [the image of catastrophe]” (33) or by engaging in a “mimesis of the hardened and alienated” (21)—that is, by doing what the “repulsive” works of Schoenberg and a handful of other “experimental” artists did around 1910. Through the denial of the consoling happiness it normally provides, Adorno writes, art reveals to the subject who has mimetically bonded with it a special kind of knowledge—a “truth”—that remains foreign to “rational knowledge”: the subject’s “suffering” (18), “the chasm between praxis and happiness” (12). This may sound like an austere asceticism, and it is true that Adorno writes, “The bourgeois wants art voluptuous and life ascetic; the reverse would be better” (13). But he also sees in this moment of sensuous truth the possibility of a true pleasure or happiness redolent of the “culmination” of “sexual experience” (176).

Adorno calls the autonomous artwork’s truth “the dialectic of rationality and mimesis immanent to art.” In these more abstract terms, the above can be reformulated as follows: art participates in rationality insofar as “its enchantment, a vestige of its magical phase, is constantly repudiated as unmediated sensual immediacy by the progressive disenchantment of the world” (54). However, it is also mimesis, meaning something

¹⁵ Ibid., 58, 17, 53.

“magical” and “irrational,” and it levels a “critique” at “a rationality that has become absolute” by “its sheer existence” as rationality’s magical other. This critique, he writes, constitutes “its truth” (58).

Adorno often characterizes music as the most magical of the arts in both of the senses mentioned above, that is, both to the extent that it is the most affirmative, transporting, and consoling of the arts and to the extent that its language is the most “pure objectification of the mimetic impulse, free of concreteness or denotation.”¹⁶ He writes that music is “the most *free* of all the arts.”¹⁷ In contrast to literature and painting, it is “dissolved in the autonomy of form,” meaning it does not have the same sort of materiality and therefore resides entirely within “the charmed aesthetic circle.” Which leads him to wonder, “Perhaps the pure, strict concept of art can be derived only from music.” He even goes so far as to equate Benjamin’s concept of aura with “the music-like quality of all art.” One might say, then, that Adorno views music as the strongest form of the only “true” magic or even that he understands the “true” magic of all art to be musical, suggesting that he sees music as the only “true” magic.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Adorno insists on music’s magic element—its origin as “a collective practice of dance and cult,” and, in turn, of mimesis and magic—despite the fact that his philosophy aligns positive collectivity with the fascistic extermination of difference.¹⁸ Which is to say that despite his misgivings about magic’s

¹⁶ Adorno, *Beethoven: The Philosophy of Music*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 6–7; Adorno, *Towards a Theory of Musical Reproduction: Notes, a Draft, and Two Schemas*, ed. Henri Lonitz, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 169–170.

¹⁷ Adorno, *Beethoven*, 7

¹⁸ Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 18; Adorno, “Some Ideas on the Sociology of Music,” in *Sound figures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 9.

connections to pleasure, ritual, and integration, and even though these are strongly discordant with the essential tenets of his philosophy of nonidentity, Adorno cannot conceive of music without magic. In the first sentences of his Beethoven book, he reveals the centrality of magic to his lifelong affinity for music and his view of it as a powerful emancipating force: “From my childhood I can clearly remember the magic emanating from a score which named the instruments, showing exactly what was played by each. Flute, clarinet, oboe—they promised no less than colorful railway tickets or names of places.”¹⁹

Reading Adorno’s philosophy of music with an eye toward magic can be a deeply moving experience. One can feel how potent music is for him as magic. At the same time, however, he wants more from and for music, more than consolation and self-preservation. As such, he expands musical magic beyond its usual connotations—beyond affirmation and survival toward flourishing. Adorno focuses his relentless pursuit of this flourishing solely on the aesthetic because he sees in art, and especially in music, a glimmer of freedom from a wholly tainted reality. On this point, however, the punctilious dialectician could have been, I think, a bit more dialectical. It appears that even the philosopher who disavowed “dwelling” made a home in musical magic’s tight embrace. Many other subjects in the story I have told have also found home there, and finding home in the epoch of homelessness is certainly nothing to sneeze at. But the great enchanted garden of the world we live in, to combine Weber and Austin, is rich with many different forms of relationality that might be of use to those working toward thriving now. Even when the music stops.

¹⁹ Adorno, *Beethoven*, 3.

1.2 Selection of notable encore albums released between 1942 and 2012

Gregor Piatigorsky, *Encore Album*, Columbia Masterworks Set M-501, 78 RPM, 1942; Jascha Heifetz, *Heifetz Encores*, RCA Victor M-1158, 78 RPM, 1947; Arthur Rubinstein, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal, LM 1153, LP, 1951 (see *Billboard*, Oct. 6, 1951, 41); Alfred Cortot, *Cortot Plays Popular Encores*, His Master's Voice ALP 1197 (UK), LP, 1954; Vladimir Horowitz, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LM 1171, LP, 1957 (see *The Long Player*, Vol. 6, 1957, 184); David Oistrakh, *Encores*, Angel 35354, LP, 1957; Alexander Brailowsky, *Brailowsky Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LM 2276, 1959, LP; Wilhelm Backhaus, *Carnegie Hall Encores*, Decca BR 3097, LP, 1961; Rubinstein, *Favorite Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LSC 2566, LP, 1962; Rostropovich, *Encores!*, Monitor MC 2119, 1967, LP (see *Billboard*, Apr 1, 1967, 40); Van Cliburn, *My Favorite Encores*, RCA LSC 3185, LP, 1970; Itzhak Perlman, *Encores*, His Master's Voice ASD 3001, LP, 1971; Alicia de Larrocha, *Favorite Spanish Encores*, Decca SXL 6734, LP, 1976; Jorge Bolet, *Encores*, London LON 417361, CD, 1987; Isaac Stern, *Humoresque: Favorite Violin Encores*, Sony Classical SK 45816, CD, 1990; Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, *Encores*, EMI CDM 7 63654 2, CD, 1990; Stephen Hough, *My Favorite Things: Virtuoso Encores*, Musical Heritage Society 912968M, LP, 1991; Fritz Kreisler, *Encores*, Pearl 9324, CD, 1992; Midori, *Encore!*, Sony Classical SK 52568, CD, 1992; György Cziffra, *Cziffra Edition Vol. 6 "Bis" & Inédit*, EMI Classica CDM 5 65255 2, CD, 1994; Shura Cherkassky, *The Art of the Encore*, Nimbus NI 7708, CD, 1995; Nathan Milstein, *Encores*, EMI Classics 66872, CD, 1999; Josef Hofmann, *Chopin & Encores*, Nimbus NI 8819, CD, 2000; Marc-André Hamelin, *Kaleidoscope*, Hyperion CDA67275, CD, 2001; Dina Lipatti, *Encore Pieces for Piano*, EMI Classics 14025, CD, 2007; Wilhelm Kempff, *Für Elise: Kempff Transcriptions and Encores*, Decca 480 1288, CD, 2010; Yehudi Menuhin, *Encores*, Hallmark 707162, CD, 2010; Martha Argerich et al., *Piano Encores*, Deutsche Grammophon 478 3370, CD, 2011; Vladimir Ashkenazy, *Russian Piano Encores*, Decca 480 3607, CD, 2012.

1.3 The encore album discographies of Heifetz, Horowitz, and Perlman

Jascha Heifetz

Heifetz, *Heifetz Encores*, RCA Victor M-1158, 78 RPM, 1947; Heifetz, *Heifetz Concert Encores*, Decca DL 8521, LP, 1951; Heifetz, *Encores*, RCA Red Seal LSC-3233, LP, 1971; Heifetz, *Encores, Vol. 2*, RCA LSC 3256, LP, date unknown; Heifetz, *Heifetz Plays Gershwin and Encores*, RCA Victor Gold Seal 60928, CD, 1992.

Vladimir Horowitz

Horowitz, *Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal LM 1171, LP, 1957; Horowitz, *The Horowitz Collection: Concert Encores*, RCA Victor Red Seal ARMI-2717, LP, 1975; Horowitz, *Encores*, CBS 35118, LP, 1978; Horowitz, *Favorite Encores*, CBS Masterworks MK 42305, CD, 1987; Horowitz, *Encores*, RCA Victor Gold Seal 7755-2-RG, CD, 1990; Horowitz, *Favorite Encores*, Sony Classical SK

93975, CD, 2004; Horowitz, *Horowitz Encores*, RCA Victor ERA-59, 45 RPM Red Wax EP, date unknown.

Itzhak Perlman

Perlman, *Encores*, His Master's Voice ASD 3001, LP, 1971; Perlman, *Encores*, Angel R-153746, LP, 1979; Perlman, *A Tribute to Jascha Heifetz/Encores*, Musical Heritage Society, CD, 1994; Perlman, *The Perlman Edition/Encores*, EMI Classics, 5 62596-2, CD, 2004; Perlman, *Violin Encores*, EMI Classics 76957, CD, 2005; Perlman, *Encores*, Warner Classics 50879, CD, 2006.

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