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**Crossing Over in the 21st Century: New Perspectives on
Classical Music through the Work of Mark O'Connor,
Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck**

A thesis presented for the Master of Music degree

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the effect that the crossover music of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck has on current societal perceptions of classical music. In the past, society has seen classical music as a highbrow cultural activity, inaccessible to the majority of American people. In the course of this research, I explore the music of these artists from several perspectives.

Through a technocultural examination of the violin, fiddle, double bass, and banjo, I determine that these instruments are used prominently in many styles of music and therefore facilitate crossover. I identify how different musical domains come together as crossover in the music and recordings of these performers. I discover that the music of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck draws from classical music, as well as musical domains specific to the United States, including jazz, bluegrass, and old-time country.

In addition, I attended concerts and conducted interviews with audience members. I also spoke with administrators at several symphony orchestras in the United States. After Clifford Geertz, I developed a "thick description" of a particular Mark O'Connor concert, in which I analyzed the audience behavior and relationship to the musicians (1973). In interviews with audience members, I asked them about the concert experience and explored reasons for attendance at the performance. I asked symphony administrators about their reasons for including these crossover artists in their concert season, as well as their views on changing trends in classical audiences. This research led me to apply Holt's interpretation of Bourdieu's theory of taste to the formation of crossover audiences.

My application of Bourdieu's theory to crossover audiences reveals the broad base of audience participation for these composer/performers and demonstrates the potency of American musical styles for contemporary American audiences. Finally, I conclude that O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck combine classical music and musical idioms of the United States to create a newly accessible crossover music that extends the boundaries of classical music consumption.

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1. Aspects of Genre, Style and Domain: Past and Present

The State of Classical Music

The changing nature of the composition and reception of “classical” or “art” music in the 21st-century United States calls for examination of these styles from different perspectives. In the past we have relied too exclusively on such methods as music theoretical, structural and formal analysis to determine aspects of genre, to identify specific characteristics that mark compositions as classical, and to place them into particular categories or sub-categories. While these types of analysis can prove useful for establishing aspects of style and genre, such techniques should be integrated into a cultural model in order to decipher meaning. Since early in its integration into the United States, classical music, particularly instrumental music, has been viewed as an elite form of culture inaccessible to the masses. There are now musicians, however, who choose to disregard previous notions of classical music, and instead incorporate it with other styles, creating “crossover” music, thus changing the ways in which audiences, performers, and composers view classical music. These 21st-century crossover musicians play an integral role in redefining art music and increasing its accessibility. In this section, I will discuss the historical state of classical music in the United States, tracing its roots through its current position in culture.

The tradition of classical or art music in the United States has centered on what historian Lawrence Levine (1988) has labeled a “highbrow culture” that emerged during the latter part of the 19th century. This “highbrow” culture was intricately tied to the notion of “sacralization” within the arts. *Sacralization* is the process of endowing

something with sacred qualities, often involving the semi-deification of an individual or object, or in this case, a concept, music (Horowitz, 1998, p. 313). Opera in the 1860's exemplifies this sentiment as it was "controlled by a few rich men who [thought] it a part of the life of a great city that there should [have been] an opera house with a fine orchestra, fine scenery, and the greatest singers available. It [did] not exist for the good of the whole city, but rather for those of plethoric purses" (Surette in Levine, 1988, p. 101). Music critic Thomas Whitney Surette argues for the mid 19th-century association between this art music and a more affluent audience. Yet this view grew in opposition to previous notions that all people could enjoy opera. Earlier in the century, opera was "simultaneously popular and elite," often performed in translation, with arrangers and performers making many alterations to the subject matter and liberties in the score, thus "vulgarizing" it (Levine, 1988, pp. 86-94). Opera was nearly always translated into English so that the masses could understand the words and the story. As wealthy elites began to criticize as vulgar this practice of translation of the libretto and transformation of the score, such practices soon became a thing of the past (Levine, 1988, p. 95). Increasingly, and by the 20th century, attendance at the opera became a sign of wealth and prestige (Levine, 1988, p. 101).

Symphonic music never gained the widespread mass popularity that opera enjoyed in the United States during the 19th century, although the repertoire played at symphony concerts varied widely among classical compositions and popular pieces. This practice included, for example, positioning a Bach overture with the song "Oh, None Can Love Like an Irish Man," and other such pairings (Levine, 1988, p. 108). Theodore Thomas (1835-1905), known as the father of the American symphony orchestra, played

an important role in the formation of the symphony as both a popular and a “sacralized” form (Horowitz, 1998, p. 313). With an orchestra he formed in New York, he traveled to twenty-eight cities so often that they became known as the “Thomas Highway.” Early in his travels, Thomas swore to bring classical music to a wider audience: he “seduced the uninitiated with overtures and dances, then subjected them to symphonies one movement at a time,” explaining the meaning of the pieces in what he called his “Sermons in Tones” (Horowitz, 1998, p. 314, 315). He appealed to both high and low culture: high because of his insistence on “[canonizing] the German masters,” and low because of his “pronounced ‘masculinity,’” as well as his willingness to educate the “uninitiated” about classical music and highbrow culture (Horowitz, 1998, p. 315). Thanks to the beginnings of a system of patronage, which would alleviate the public of the financial burdens of an orchestra, C. Norman Fay offered Thomas a permanent full-time orchestra in Chicago in 1889 (Levine, 1988, p. 116). However, when he accepted this proposal, he no longer needed to tour in order to keep the musicians employed. Instead he focused his attention on consecrating the German masters as the standard part of the repertoire. He tired of preaching, and often complained of “the indifference of the mass of the people to the higher forms of music” (Levine, 1988, p. 116).

Thomas and other conductors, Anton Seidl (1850-1898), a Wagnerite and successor to Thomas in New York, and later Toscanini (also in New York), all enjoyed great success, and even a form of deification bestowed on them by the people. The rich women of the Seidl Society (a society based on both the worship of Seidl and the worship of his Wagnerite ideals) needed something to occupy their time, and used a semi-religious/Christian view of Wagnerism to do so (Horowitz, 1994, p. 194-5). As a part of

this sacralization process, endowing the conductor of symphonic music with sacred qualities exemplified the highbrow tendencies that started to form in American symphonic music at the turn of the 20th century. These tendencies relied on a few factors: the sacralization of the conductors and the art music; the solidification of the German masters such as Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms as the most important composers; and the continued reliance on patronage, rather than appeal to the masses, for financial support.

Henry Lee Higginson's (1834-1918) establishment of the Boston Symphony Orchestra shows one aspect of patronage and its upper-class connotations. Because of his independent wealth, desire for philanthropy, and love of music, he quit his job to form a symphony of his own in Boston (Levine, 1988, p. 123). He financed the orchestra as its sole benefactor and gave members not only a permanent job, but eventually also a pension, in return for their "acceptance of his paternalistic rule" (Levine, 1988, p. 123). This control extended to not allowing the members of the symphony to play for any conductor other than his and threatening to replace them with European musicians if they did not agree to his terms (Levine, 1988, pp. 124-125). He also changed the programming of the concerts so that they reflected his tastes and what he perceived as "great" music. Previously, orchestras, like the early ones of Thomas, included music that was considered "lighter," such as dance types and other popular forms as a major portion of the program. Since Higginson no longer needed to appease the masses in order to bring in a crowd to pay the bills, he no longer needed to program this "lighter" music. He could program what "he and his conductors considered worthy," regardless of its popularity (Levine, 1988, p. 127). His symphonic programming rejected popular tastes, to such a degree that audiences began to reject him (leading eventually to the formation

of the Boston Pops Orchestra, which remains a separate entity). Higginson's programming and the sacralized status he bestowed on the German master composers, as well as his philanthropy, all mark the beginning of both a restrictive and destructive tradition in the American symphony. His complete financial jurisdiction over the symphony extended to him complete control over all of its aspects, including programming, musicians, finances, etc.

Eventually, as conductors and philanthropists began to establish permanent symphonies in more cities at the turn of the 20th century, both the repertoire and accessibility of the music in these concerts changed. Individuals who created and funded these orchestras did so with the intention of furthering "art" (that which was not popular), such as Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, and Mendelssohn (Levine, 1988, p. 132). Since these orchestras were funded privately, either through one individual or through donations from several people, the repertoire decisions fell to those who provided the means for the orchestra. Many of them saw classical music as "divine" or a higher, more artistic form of expression and even loathed more popular forms. The role of the conductor became one of "[pursuer and preserver] of what was often referred to as the 'divine art,'" making this position one of great prestige (Levine, 1988, p. 136). As this tradition took hold into the 20th century, the attitudes of prestige and high culture became synonymous with the "Eurocentric products of the concert hall, the opera house, the museum and the library, all of which, the American people were taught, must be approached with a disciplined, knowledgeable seriousness of purpose, and... with a feeling of reverence" (Levine, 1988, p. 146). Many people still maintain this attitude of classical music as a "high" art form,

due, for the most part, to modernist ideals that emerged in the 20th century, separating the audience from new music.

The efforts of modernism in classical music in the late 19th and into the 20th centuries sought to subvert the canonized masters of European classical composition and replace them with performance practices that were “anti-sentimental” and rejected the previous notions of “emotional” music, tonality, and musical form (Botstein, 2004, n. p.). The music of modernism resulted in a schism between the audience and musicians/composers (Botstein, 2004, n. p.). In some cases, this new music intentionally alienated the audience to a great degree, becoming music for the academic circle of composers for the sake of laboratory-like experimentation (Babbitt, 1958/1999).

In the later 20th century, postmodernist scholarship and music worked to destabilize the theories of modernism, and create music that is again accessible to audiences. Composers created accessible music by returning to past traditions of harmony and form, while also incorporating popular musical and narrative idioms in order to convey a sense of newness in the music (Pasler, 2004, n. p.). Postmodernism expressed a cooperative and collaborative effort in the musical experience (Pasler, 2004, n. p.). Through the above aspects, postmodern composers and musicians also make an effort to reconnect with their audience. Moreover, Garth Alper argues that crossing over domains also constitutes a prominent characteristic of postmodern music, using examples of music that combine classical with popular styles such as rap, jazz, rock, and various world music styles (2000, pp. 1-2). The ideas of postmodernism have led to crossover, which is apparent in the music of O’Connor, Meyer, and Fleck. Using this idea of cooperation between musical domains, these artists combine different styles of music.

Further, through their numerous collaborations with one another and other contemporary artists, they represent this ideal. In embodying these aspects of postmodernism, they create crossover music that is more accessible to today's audiences. Their crossover music combines classical music with American domains, such as jazz, bluegrass, and fiddling; music with which audiences in the United States identify. However, classical music still has a long way to go before it regains the popularity it shared before the elitist rise of modernism (Pasler, 2004, n. p.).

Further "privileging" of classical music today is reflected in the minority of people who listen to it: classical records only account for about three percent of all record sales (Small, 1998, p. 3). This small minority of people who participate in classical music as record consumers, as well as the highbrow attitude associated with it, show two things about the current reception of classical music in the United States: first, an aura of inaccessibility surrounds this music, and second, a majority of people are not interested in this type of music for one reason or another. This notion of inaccessibility threatens classical music because as the audience for this music diminishes, so does the funding (Symes, 1997, pp.81-82). Orchestral institutions, which were founded on a system of patronage, are increasingly losing this benefaction as interest in classical music wanes. This threat to the integrity of the symphony leads groups such as the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL) to study ways that they can expand their audience. The 1992 ASOL study of the "condition of the American orchestra" has sparked many reports on themes such as "tactics for audience development, for music education, [and] for transforming the concert experience" (Horowitz, 1995, p.200). In trying to develop a larger audience for classical music, these elements of highbrow connotation and

inaccessibility play a major role, and not only for the orchestras, but also for classical music record companies and solo artists.

Musicologist Joseph Horowitz offers two solutions to this “predicament” in classical music, which, like crossover music, attempt to place classical music within a more popular context (1995). First, classical music can gain mass appeal if it is simplified, as in the movie, *Amadeus*. This movie portrays Mozart as a fantastic person with whom the audiences for this movie could identify, rather than the “fallible self-promoter” he actually was (Horowitz, 1995, p. 15). The second reason this movie appealed to the masses (and consequently, another example of the successful marketing of classical music) was that, while it presented a greatly simplified version of Mozart’s life and music, it still retained the highbrow associations prominent in classical music by portraying Mozart in such a way that makes him seem almost flawless (Horowitz, 1995, p. 16-18). This phenomenon of “hybridization of mass appeal and snob appeal is... called ‘midcult’” and represents another attempt to make classical music accessible to more people while still retaining the elitist connotations that exemplify much about classical music (Horowitz, 1995, p. 16). Other examples of this “midcult” as an attempt to popularize art music include such works as “A Fifth of Beethoven,” by Walter Murphy, which sets the first movement of Beethoven’s *Fifth Symphony* to a disco backbeat (1976). Likewise, “Nature’s Nutcracker” juxtaposes portions of Tchaikovsky’s *Nutcracker Suite* against a background of natural sounds (1994). Numerous classical “compilation” albums also exist, such as ***Sensual Classics***,¹ ***Classical Stressbusters***,

¹ In the interest of clarity, I am citing album titles in bold and italics, multi-movement compositions in italics, and song titles in quotes.

Gardening Classics, *Beautiful Dreamer*, and many others, which collect different classical composers into an accessible format that evokes a particular mood or sense (Symes, 1997, pp. 90-92).

These examples are among many that take “higher” classical pieces, and combine them with some other, mass appeal element to market them to a wider audience. The first example de-mystifies and energizes what may be perceived as a stale practice (art music), using a disco beat to modernize the more than 200 year old symphony. This can be seen as an attempt to make it more fun, to give an artifact of highbrow culture wider appeal. “A Fifth of Beethoven” may also be interpreted as a parody of the original, or as social commentary fusing the “old” with “new” styles of music. The second example appeals to those who need more than a listening experience from their music. “Nature’s Nutcracker” encourages relaxation and escape from the everyday worries of the working world by invoking nature as a refuge outside of busy city life. Scholars may construe classical recordings that call on nature sounds as social commentary about the fast pace of society and the need to escape from it. This reference to nature sounds brings the listener to a soundscape beyond the setting of the performance, and nostalgia for nature (Schafer, 1996, p. 225-6). The third example of various compilation albums takes sections or movements of different classical pieces and places them with other pieces that may call to mind certain feelings. These compilations recall the idea of reevaluation of expressivity and emotion in postmodernist music. All of these attempt to place the higher art into a midcult frame and thus increase consumption. Midcult is one approach in trying to popularize classical music. Crossover music represents a different tactic,

combining musical domains in order to make classical music appeal to broader audiences.

Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck are composers and performers who are alleviating “member’s only” or “laboratory” attitudes in art music through their own work in “crossover.” These musicians perform and write music fused with classical and other types of music, and seek to redefine what classical music means today for themselves, for their own audiences, and for audiences of conventional classical music. Through their music, they draw upon various styles, uniting them in performance to provide audiences with a new listening experience, and therefore broadening the scope of classical music.

The Concept of Crossing Over

Genre has many changing definitions. Before breaking down the study of genre, it is important to explain the reasons that it may be useful. First, in order to facilitate scholarly discourse about music, it is vital to have terminology to express meaning and delineation between different types of music. These terms are constantly examined and redefined by scholars in order to clarify the terminology and expand on their musical significance. Genre terms also aid in marketing music to people. Marketing for record stores and radio stations use labels to indicate style of music, such as rock, classical, hip-hop. In scholarly writings, genre more often delineates a type of music, such as the sonata, or character piece. In either case, genres have boundaries that are fluid and changing, and therefore boundaries between genres are often blurred and broken. This is

the present case as well because crossover music breaks down stylistic notions of genre, as we shall begin to see.

Crossover is sometimes a problematic term, partially because the process of categorization or classification of pieces of music into neat genre categories proves a complicated task. Crossover, in the broadest sense, means working between two or more genres or styles with the effect of either bringing them together or erasing the lines that separate them. The term has been increasingly used in music since World War II, perhaps most frequently in discussions about jazz and early rock ‘n’ roll, where the term “[accounts] for the rise of rock and roll in the 1950s out of elements of a combination of R&B [rhythm and blues], C&W [country and western], and mainstream pop elements” (Covach, 2000, p. 113). I propose that this definition not only accounts for combinations within popular domains, but also for other combinations such as jazz and classical elements. Problems exist with such shifting and broad terminology, which I will address subsequently.

Although the task of defining genres and their boundaries is immensely complicated, the fact that the concept of crossover exists implies that genre boundaries must also exist, along with the fluidity of these categories (Brackett, 1995, p. 23). As Robert Walser states: “genre boundaries are not solid or clear; they are conceptual sites of struggles over the meanings and prestige of social signs” (1993, p. 4). Thus, genre is not entirely static, but rather it adapts to innovations, as well as performance decisions and other social factors, which act as catalysts for the fluctuation of genre boundaries. Common terms that delineate different genres further complicate the study of genre because they “are words in ordinary language, subject to vagueness, synonymy, and

historical changes” (Ben-Amos, 1997, p. 410). Many factors also contribute to the fluidity of genre boundaries: compositional intention (Samson, 1989, p. 216), performance practice (Hamm, 1995, p.372-5), convention as defined by the “musical community” (Fabbri, 1982, p. 59; Samson, 2004, n. p.), or other more general ways of finding “some similarity between certain works” (Hernadi, 1972, p.4).

The concept of genre creates a contract, something akin to the notion of “truth in advertising,” between composer and audience. This contract, of course, can be broken, but often, it is this contract that enables us to define genre, both as a concept and in particular (Dubrow, 1982; Kallberg, 1998; Fabbri, 1981). In the introduction to her book, *Genre*, Heather Dubrow deals with the generic contract in literature (1982). For my purposes here I have translated her ideals into terminology that more closely relates to music. After Dubrow, I argue that convention assumes an established discourse among audience and composer and performer. By identifying a piece of music as a certain type (a symphony, a ballad, etc.), the composer invites the audience to have a specific expectation, based on previously established norms. As Dubrow asserts “a well-established genre transmits certain cultural attitudes, attitudes which it is *shaped by* and in turn *helps shape* [italics added]” (1982, p. 4).

According to Jim Samson, genre, in its narrowest sense, is “a class, type or category (of music), sanctioned by convention” (2004, n. p.). Codification of genre occurs due to repetition of these conventions, which both solidifies past genre labels and encourages future repetition of them. Genre, then, is categorization and labeling, which facilitates discussion about a particular subject. Take, for example, the sonata: the label, sonata, alone implies certain expectations with regard to a typical “form” containing

exposition, development, and recapitulation, as well as conventional key relationships and modulations (although there are exceptions). Discussed at length by many scholars, these parameters are now held to be more or less standard among practitioners. This established definition of the genre, “sonata,” is the codification of past repetitions. Genre as an invitation for future repetition can also be explained through this example. If a composer writes a piece that follows sonata conventions, and calls it a “sonata,” the composer has prolonged the usage of this term to define the genre by satisfying the audience’s expectations of its title. The availability of this codified term, sonata, in turn invites future repetitions of this genre. This codification, of course, also leads to ambiguities when a composer invokes a particular genre in the title of a work, but then proceeds to compose a work that does not follow the conventions held for that type.

Therefore, genre constantly undergoes change, defined not only by what it has been, but also by what it is perceived to be and what it is perceived to become. Within this broad scope, genre itself becomes an increasingly difficult thing to define specifically. More broadly, genre can be defined as identifying “some similarity between certain works” (Hernadi, 1972, p. 4). The introduction of a genre (such as in the title of a work) creates certain expectations in the audience perception, which are consequently proved or disproved in listening and analysis (Todorov, 1976, p. 162). A composer can introduce a genre merely in a title, such as Chopin did with his *Études*, *Scherzos*, and other forms as explained below, and the listening audience can choose either to accept or reject the composer’s intention through the title, depending on the nature of the piece. This discourse of genre not only exists between the composition or composer and the audience, but also throughout what Franco Fabbri terms the “musical community,” which

consists of performers, composers, audience members, critics, and everyone else who creates, transmits, receives, or analyzes music (1982, p. 59).

Factors besides formal structure constitute genre, even across multiple musical/social domains,² such as instrumentation, mode of composition, as well as performance context. The choice of musical forces at work signifies many things about a piece and its meaning (Taylor, 2001, p. 70, 83-4). In the rock domain, for example, the most basic instrumentation consists of electric guitar, bass guitar, and drums. While this instrumentation can be augmented in various ways, such as the number of guitars, types of drums and cymbals, and even the addition of other instruments, the basic orchestration remains consistent. This convention, repeated time and again, has defined rock music. In the classical domain, a standard instrumentation is more difficult to define, since classical music has a longer history than rock, and in the last century the work of contemporary composers has challenged its standards. However, most orchestral music in the United States, even today, adheres to the traditional instrumentation, which typically includes a combination of strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion.

Methods of performance and relationships between performance and composition further define genre. According to Ruth Finnegan (1986) there are two basic classifications of composition, that which is oral, and that which is written, or literate. In her discussion, she notes the problems that occur when only looking at the literate forms of music; she posits “performance elements are essential to the art form, but are totally missed if we concentrate on text alone” (p. 74). She continues by saying that scholars

² When discussing larger musical/social categories, such as popular or classical, I will use the word domain, in order to avoid confusion between this and a more specific notion of genre.

traditionally describe music in terms of its “written formulations – the score – rather than... the act of performance” (p. 75). She calls for consideration of performance, composition, rehearsal and transmission as part of the study of music, and I purport that all of these factors should also be considered in the study of musical classifications.

Classical music, since the common practice period, is traditionally a literate domain, while, according to Finnegan, jazz and rock lie within the oral tradition (p. 77-81). According to this logic, musicians improvising on what are traditionally considered classical instruments (improvisation is not considered a literate form), would therefore not be considered to be performing classical music. The binary juxtaposition of oral and literate in music is problematic in Finnegan’s work, however. Consider, for example that oral aspects exist within art music, a category Finnegan reserves as strictly literate. The process of learning to play an instrument through both the Suzuki and European traditional methods has many oral aspects. In both of these practices, teachers show students how to hold the instrument and the means of producing sounds, and verbally explore other aspects of technique during private lessons and group classes. In the Suzuki method in particular, aspects of the oral tradition take prominence in that students do not even learn to read music in the beginning, but are rather taught by rote to imitate the sounds and technique of the teacher. In master classes, pedagogues transmit to students ways of interpreting the music that are not always apparent in the score. These sessions also serve to teach students how to “feel” musical expressions that are explicit in the written music (Kingsbury, 1988, p. 87). Likewise, conductors often interpret and transmit their wishes to the orchestra verbally, particularly when there is a question of meaning or interpretation of the composer’s written intention. In fact, although classical

music contains many literate characteristics, musicians of this tradition do not rely solely on the score (the literate) in their practice.

Similarly, elements of the literate exist in popular music (which Finnegan considers oral), such as the need to analyze “musical meaning in terms of literate conception” (Walser, 1993, p. 40). Robert Walser challenges musicologists to examine popular music in a way that looks beyond the obviously literate aspects of lyrics and interviews, and promotes analysis of the “musical production of meaning within a discursive framework that is sensitive to many kinds of social experience even as it focuses on specifically musical practices” (Walser, 1993, pp. 40-41). As Walser demonstrates with heavy metal music, analysis of popular music provides a means of expressing popular music as a literate form.

The mode of composition also affects categories and their definitions. In popular music, a great deal of oral tradition still exists as is evidenced by the communication of musicians about what to play through words and demonstration on their instruments (Finnegan, 1986, p. 80; Gay, 1999, pp. 10-11). Most of the time, this communication occurs among the performers, who also act as the composers. This works well in a group such as a rock band due to its small size and because this relatively repetitive music is usually composed aloud among the members of the group, making it less fixed within the confines of a text, manuscript, or score. However, in an orchestral setting it would be inefficient to teach the players of each instrumental section their parts orally. The greater number of participants in an orchestra leaves too much room for error and would make this process quite time consuming. Therefore, the standard mode of performing for

orchestra and larger ensembles is to rely on both the written composition and the oral cues of a conductor to aid in interpretation and ensemble.

Other aspects of performance context affect genre in addition to the oral and literate discussion. As Walser argues for popular music, genre boundaries are “fluid,” not rigidly defined, and “musicians are ceaselessly creating new fusions and extensions” of music that continue to blur the distinct lines once thought to separate genres (1993, pp. 27). I would argue that this concept also extends to genres within classical music in particular, as well as to the designations between larger musical domains. Variances in the context of the performance and the intention of the composer or performer contribute to the expansion of genre boundaries. Compositional intention is especially apparent in songs because of their association with their text. Charles Hamm makes a case that, for this exact reason, the instability of genre should be a prominent consideration: the plethora of factors, outside of description and analysis that influence the boundaries of genre also add to the wavering of the boundaries themselves (Hamm, 1995, p. 372).

For example, in the “coon” songs of Irving Berlin, as analyzed by Hamm, we can see genre boundaries blurred by the performance. Berlin composed the songs with a particular African American protagonist in mind. If these songs are performed in such a way as to obscure Berlin’s intended “protagonist,” then the meaning of the songs themselves change, and therefore so does their genre (Hamm, 1995, p. 375). In other words, when the songs are performed by an African American, they take on one meaning, that of the “coon” song. Both the music and the text give clues (which would have been obvious to audiences in the early 20th century) that the singer is black, poor, uneducated, and longing to return to the southern United States, where he was thought to “belong”

(Hamm, 1995, p. 375). However, if a non-African American singer performs these songs, Hamm argues that their meaning and therefore, the genre changes. They are no longer “coon songs,” but rather rustic or ragtime songs conveying lower class longings for a simpler time and place (Hamm, 1995, p. 376). It is both the interpretation of the performer and the reception by the listener that affects the genre of these pieces.

Although the identity of the performer as the protagonist of a song does not always imply a racial meaning, such contextual and performative factors shape concepts of genre.

In consideration of the intention of the composer, we can look to the works of Chopin, many of which have been carefully analyzed. In his works after 1830, Chopin took the liberty of introducing new genres into the repertory as well as redefining older genres, and therefore redefining the boundaries within classical music. These genres included the Étude, the Scherzo, the Prélude, the Nocturne and the Impromptu (Samson, 1989, p. 216)³. Before Chopin, Beethoven ignored the previously constructed conventions of genre and pushed these limitations to redefine what classical music was during his time by, for example, replacing the standard minuet with the scherzo, in his second, third, fifth, and ninth symphonies, among other compositional and stylistic alterations (MacDonald, 2004, n. p.). Other examples of challenging norms existed in the 20th century; for example, composers such as John Cage and Philip Glass also pushed the limits of the classical style through their work in indeterminacy and minimalism, respectively. Cage’s *Music of Changes* (1951) disputed the standards of the solo piano

³ For a more comprehensive study of Chopin and his influence on genres in piano literature see J. Kallberg, (1998, Spring). The rhetoric of genre: Chopin’s Nocturne in g minor. *19th Century Music*, 11(3), 238-261, and J. Samson, (1989, October). Chopin and genre. *Music Analysis*, 8(3), 213-231.

genre, by replacing the conventional music score with chance applications of pitches, rhythms, tempos, and dynamics, based on his charts. Likewise, Glass defied the traditions of classical music, invoking “highly amplified, diatonic, harmonically static, additive and subtractive styles in mechanical rhythms and initially in simple unison” pitches in his classical compositions (Strickland, 2004, n. p.). Compositions of this type include *Music in Contrary Motion* (1969), *Music in Fifths* (1969), *Music in Similar Motion* (1969), *Music in Eight Parts* (1969), *Music with Changing Parts* (1970), and *Music in Twelve Parts* (1974) (Strickland, 2004, n. p.). Each of these composers challenges the conventions of genre in classical music.

When looking at crossover music, as both a style of music and a component in the perception of classical music (and other types of music), it is important to consider the above factors in determining genre. Again, in the broadest sense, crossover indicates working with two or more styles or genres with the intent to fuse them, erase the lines that separate them, and create new music. Media industries also use the term to refer to “chart crossover” where musicians record an album for one market category, but executives also advertise it on other market categories in order to increase record sales. For example, country star, Shania Twain, has produced albums that also attract fans of pop and rock music (Stark, 2003, p. 73).

Yet another definition identifies crossover as stylistic crossover, which entails the combination of larger stylistic elements. This idea has been well established within the popular domain (Brackett, 1995, p. 23; Jones, 1995, p. 167), but I propose that it is equally applicable to crossover between classical music and other styles such as jazz, popular, or country. In this type of crossover, the musicians themselves, rather than the

media, are affecting the crossover. An artist will work in one style, refining the specific skills and traits it requires, and then expand and work in other areas where he is equally skilled.

But, what happens when a piece does not belong to one specific genre, or when an argument can be made for said piece to belong to more than one domain? Into what category, then, can the piece be placed? Often, a hyphenated category is sufficient, such as jazz-rock or pop-rock, but the insufficiency of this becomes apparent when these hyphenations get out of hand (Covach, 2000, p. 120). It is useful to have a term that encompasses all of the pieces that do not fit into a particular already established genre, and here, the term “crossover” suffices. Of course, the problem inherent in this term, which is not encountered when using the hyphenated terminology, is that it can be too broad, encompassing, as stated above, any music that incorporates elements of two or more styles. One solution for this lies in analysis. When analyzing music that a scholar determines to be crossover, the scholar must define his terminology in the context of the study by clearly delineating the styles over which the piece crosses. Regardless of the ambiguity surrounding this particular terminology, I still feel that this term has merit, and can stand as another category, but only if defined and used carefully by the researcher.

A comprehensive list of current crossover artists would be large, and would include such performers as Frank Zappa (and his so-called “musical schizophrenia” which spans the rock, jazz, and classical domains), Yo-Yo Ma (and his work with the art music of non-Western countries such as the Middle East and China), Miles Davis (and the fusion movement combining jazz with rock music), and others (Bernard, 2000, p. 157). For the purposes of this study, I have chosen three performers/composers: Mark

O'Connor, Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck. I am focusing on them for a variety of reasons. First, the traditional styles they utilize are commonly found in the area in which I currently reside, East Tennessee, facilitating my ethnographic research. Second, they are all string players whose performances and reception as performers challenge boundaries between stylistic conventions. Third, they represent a group of American composers whose music embodies the crossover style between the classical domain and traditional musics of the southern United States as well as some jazz influences. In appealing to a wider audience, their music offers a 21st-century solution to a fundamental 20th-century problem in classical music. For most of the 20th-century, composers of the United States struggled to create classical music that was distinctly American, and as prestigious as the canonized European works, but that did not alienate audiences in the United States. O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck solve these conundrums by crossing over various domains, redefining the boundaries of the classical music domain.

The influences on these musicians are similar, with each one drawing from bluegrass, country, jazz, and classical styles in their music. For these musicians, composing and performing music is not necessarily a matter of purposeful and premeditated "crossover," but rather a matter of expansion of their personal musical styles. Interestingly, this new label, crossover, does not mean much to these people because they perceive themselves as just playing music that they find interesting, without designating a specific genre or style for it (Rankin, 2004 p. C3). The music they play emerges from their particular background and personal soundscapes.

In the case of Mark O'Connor, his instrument has been involved in stylistic crossover for centuries. He plays violin, or fiddle, and just as the style of playing

changes depending on the name for the instrument, Mark O'Connor's style has changed and developed throughout his life. Edgar Meyer fits the crossover profile in a different way, not only through his instrument choice, a modified bass used as a solo instrument (as I will explore later), but also through his work with Béla Fleck, a banjo virtuoso, and Meyer's friend of over twenty years. Their collaborative work is changing the ways audiences perceive the literature of the classical milieu. These musicians deal with the conventional boundaries that define classical music by breaking them down rather than adhering to them. Through their compositions, innovations, and performance practices, they reshape this music to include a greater number of crossover aspects, thus appealing to a larger audience, and challenge the preconceived notions of classical music.

Methodology

I use the following methods and procedures in order to study the effects of crossover music on classical music domains and what these effects mean for musicians in 21st-century United States. First, I propose a technocultural examination of the violin, fiddle, double bass, and banjo in order to explore the cultural meanings of these instrument technologies. In so doing, I explore the morphology of these instruments in defining what the instruments are. I provide historical uses of these instruments and the changing nature of their use in the hands of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck. Further, I propose the cultural significance of these instruments that arises from this use, and provide information on the way these instruments are seen in society, as well as how O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck affect a changing perception through their music. Through this study, I prove that these instruments have a prominent role in many musical domains,

through which they facilitate crossover performance and composition. In addition to their musical instruments, I also provide biographical information, arguing that their diverse musical upbringing shapes their musical expressions in crossover music.

Next, I analyze music recordings and scores of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck. In my analysis of recordings, I am concerned with identifying items that exemplify crossover between classical and other domains, including instrumentation, the composer's intention, and reception in the musical community. The instrumentation of the music can determine whether these pieces are intended for what is considered a traditional⁴ classical ensemble, or whether the ensemble itself has been modified to fit the combination of genres and styles. In his book, *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology, and Culture*, Timothy D. Taylor assigns musical meaning to extra-musical aspects of the musical works, such as cover art and liner notes, aspects which in turn further determine cultural significance (2001, pp. 69-71, 86-93). These facets of contemporary music determine important cultural attributes that prove useful in my study.

In my score analysis of some of these crossover pieces, I consider the same musical aspects as in my analysis of the recordings, as well as the formal structure of the pieces and whether they follow a traditional structure or if they broaden the definition of classical music by disregarding these traditions. Within pieces that have many traditionally classical characteristics, I discover rhythmic patterns and melodic motives that are prominently found in fiddle and bluegrass music. Score analysis is essential to this research. In identifying elements of various domains in O'Connor, Meyer, and

⁴ For my purposes here, I am using the word traditional in order to indicate that which has been the socially accepted standard for many years as put forth by composers and musicologists.

Fleck's music, I reveal cultural factors that shape classical music perception. This analysis establishes these works within the written tradition associated mostly with classical music, but also shows how they invoke other musical domains, most prominently bluegrass and fiddling. In addition to the salient features of different musical domains, this analysis provides clues to discovering how crossover compositional elements work at reshaping the classical domain and make it more accessible to American audiences.

It is essential to observe live performances by the groups or individuals in order to determine how their music affects audiences. In this particular avenue of my research, I observed both the performers and the audience, whose participation and reaction helps to establish the musical community, an aspect that informs a definition of musical genre (Fabbri, 1982, p. 59-60). Fabbri states that an audience does not have to be "physically present in the moment in which the sounds may be heard," but their reaction to and considerations of the music codifies the concept of genre (1982, p. 59). Music communities create the conventions or traditions by which a genre is defined, and audience is an integral part of this community. Therefore, public reactions and relationships with crossover music, and ultimately with classical music re-defined, centrally informs my study of culture and crossover music.

Audience research conducted by Douglas Holt and Richard Peterson proves particularly applicable to my work (1997; 1992). Crossover music encourages a broader consumption of musical styles and provides a means to market the highbrow associations of classical music to a larger audience. The people who are interested in any particular artist can represent a "fandom" in ways such as attending concerts, buying albums, and

participating in internet mailing lists, activities that keep them in contact with the artists and their music (Cavicchi, 1998). I have also considered theories of “subculture,” since crossover audiences participate in a form of music that stands as an alternative to both the mainstream of music audiences,⁵ as well as the majority of classical music audiences (Lewis, 1992; Negus, 1996). However, I believe that in crossover and classical audiences, the concepts of fandom and subculture are of limited usefulness because they do not address the multiplicity of tastes involved in crossover music. Alternatively, Peterson’s concept of the “omnivore” more adequately describes the consumption practices of this group because it addresses the multiple musical tastes involved in crossover (1992).

In my field research, I interviewed Mark O’Connor, his trio members Jon Burr and Natalie Haas, Béla Fleck’s manager, and some of their record producers, symphony orchestra personnel, especially at symphonies where these artists have premiered their works, and audience members who attended a particular Mark O’Connor concert. During the interview process, I posed descriptive questions following the methods put forth in sources such as James P. Spradley’s *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979), Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley’s collection of essays, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (1997), and Susan D. Crafts, Daniel Cavicchi, and Charles Kiel’s *My Music* (1993). These methods include how to develop a rapport between myself and my informants, the types and timing of questions to pose, and hints on the creation and use of field notes (Spradley, 1979, pp. 55-91). *Shadows in the Field*

⁵ The mainstream audiences of music are typically interested in popular forms of music such as rock, pop, and rap, as evidenced by such companies as Billboard, as well as the fact that almost any record store has a larger selection of these types of music than anything else.

presents several ways of interpreting the information I gathered during my research, including field notes and recorded interviews. This source also presents varying ways to interpret music within a culture and music as an expression of a culture (Barz & Cooley, 1997). *My Music*, presents a series of interviews that examine how individuals participate in music as well as its role as a cultural phenomenon that crosses cultural, social, and geographic boundaries (Crafts, Cavicchi, & Kiel, 1993). The authors of this study present this study from the perspective of what music means for different people (Crafts, Cavicchi, & Kiel, 1993, p. 2).

In interviews with performers, I asked about each one's particular goals in his music, and how they see their role in crossover and classical music. For the most part, these artists do not see their music as crossover, necessarily, but rather as creating music that a larger number of people can enjoy. In my interviews with public relations and marketing executives at symphonies, I discovered how people in classical music view crossover in general and specifically, O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck. Questions for orchestral staff members pertained to why they see these artists as an important group for them to include in their season and ascertained the state of the audience's reaction at these concerts. I spoke with management and booking agents for other venues that have included these crossover musicians among their performances, establishing answers to similar questions of audience type and reaction as well as reasons for booking. Through this process, I discovered that these groups and venues scheduled performances with O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck for a couple of reasons. First, because of their talent and virtuosity, these artists fit into the classical standard. Second, their crossover appeal attracts new audience members to their concerts. Some of these organizations see these

new audiences as potential audiences for future performances as well. When interviewing audience members for a Mark O'Connor Hot Swing Trio concert, I discovered why audiences find this music appealing and how they identify with the various aspects of it. Through these interviews, I learned about the changing nature of society's perception of classical music, and how these crossover artists affect this change.

As a part of my research, I observed a Mark O'Connor Hot Swing Trio concert in January at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville (Holt, 1997). Through the use of a "thick description" of this concert, I discovered many things about the attending audience (Geertz, 1973). Applying Bourdieu's ideas of cultural capital as an analytical frame (1984), I observed that within this audience, several taste cultures were present, and each displayed varying levels of knowledge about O'Connor, the music, and the appropriate behavior at this event (Holt, 1997). Members of this audience were interested in this new style of music that combines jazz, classical, and traditional fiddling. I saw great variety in the types of people who attend these concerts, which indicated a broader musical community associated with crossover and classical music. This expansion of the musical community indicates a change in the classical music domain.

In addition to interviews, observations, and music analysis, I analyzed popular press materials that address the recordings and performances of these individuals. These materials signify trends in culture and identify the consumer portion of the music industry (Théberge, 2003; Taylor, 2001). Most of this information takes the form of newspaper articles or reviews in popular magazines, as well as internet websites of the artists and their fans. These are valuable because they contain source material such as interviews

with the artists and insight into popular responses to crossover music. This information further confirms how crossover is reshaping society's perception of classical music.

Review of Literature

I have analyzed scholarly research concerning concepts of genre, crossover, interview processes, the state of classical music in today's society and its place in culture. These studies aided in my research process substantially as they allowed me to gain an understanding of the current state of classical music, as well as how crossover music is reshaping this domain. This research also helped in determining the role of these musicians (and others who aim to follow in their footsteps) within the newly defined boundaries of classical and crossover music.

Many scholars have explored concepts involving genre in a variety of fields. In folklore, Dan Ben-Amos considers genre in terms of both its history and the directions in which the field is headed (1997). He explores genre's origins from Plato's *Poetics*, and discusses the difficulties in constructing meanings for different categories, and considers the conception of genre as a category of cultural discourse, or a way to distinguish the interaction of the reader and the author in different types of folklore (1997, p. 410, 413). Heather Dubrow further examines this concept in literature by introducing the concept of a "contract" between author and audience, and the ways in which this contract is either upheld or broken through both titles and content (1982). In Franco Fabbri's studies in genre and the Italian song style, he designates the term "musical community," explaining that everyone who participates in music has a role in determining genre; further he explores some of the problems with the terminology that delineates genre (1982a, 1982b).

Ruth Finnegan observes concepts of repetition and convention in genre by examining the conventions codified by both performance and composition (1986). Her exploration of both oral and literate genres includes jazz, classical, and rock groups in a small English town. James Samson also scrutinizes this notion in two articles: he investigates genre title conventions and the ways that Chopin redefined it (1989), and also explores genre as a social practice, built on the conventions of society's acceptance/rejection of genres (2004).

Some scholars have examined the possibility of the disappearance of genre altogether due to the blurred distinctions between genres once thought to be well-defined. In her attempt to re-legitimize the study of genre, Christine Brooke-Rose says that different genres "belong to the possibility of discourse and not the 'realities'" of said discourses (1976, p. 163). Paul Hernadi's book, *Beyond Genre: New Directions in Literary Criticism*, also explores this concept of re-defining genre and its boundaries in order to see beyond the constraints that currently exist (1972). Charles Hamm further explores this concept by claiming that description or analysis of pieces should no longer be the sole factors in determining genre, but instead proposes that scholars should look at social factors such as the performer's race and gender, among others (1995).

The vagueness implicit in genre definitions further complicates the issue of genre and perpetuates what some scholars refer to as its breakdown (Walser, 1993). Carl Dahlhaus addresses this issue and examines what he describes as the "breakdown" of musical genre in the late 19th century (1987). He attributes this dissolution of genre to the breaking of a contract between composer and audience, with titles no longer meaning the same thing as they did before, as well as a rise in individualism (pp. 32-44). One

example of this breakdown is the ways in which Chopin's *Nocturne in G Minor* dissolves this contract (Kalberg, 1988, pp. 246-258). The artists who are the focus of this study also break down these boundaries through individualism. The label, crossover, means little to them; ultimately, they compose and perform music that relates to their personal soundscapes.

In the study of genre, the concept of crossover inevitably surfaces, due to the increasing difficulty in the categorization process. What makes a piece classical or jazz or rock is not necessarily something that is clear. Simon Jones proposes a couple of possible reasons for the need for a crossover label. First a marketing need arose to facilitate commerce, a phenomenon Jones calls chart crossover (Jones, 1995, p. 167). Second, some music is inherently poly-stylistic in nature, a phenomenon he calls stylistic crossover (1995, p. 168). One study on the existence of a billboard "crossover" chart, examines compilation albums that contain classical compositions set to "a discreet (sic) rock beat to pep up some of the numbers" and asks to which chart do these compilations belong ("Blurring," 1996, p. 2). David Brackett also looks at the effectiveness and meaning of chart crossover while examining trends in this crossover in 1960s popular songs (1995). His study, and others, leads him to questions about race and politics that impact crossover music and also to question the effectiveness of the term, crossover (Brackett, 1995; Covach, 2000).

Other studies have sought to clarify the hyphenated terms that are often used to indicate stylistic crossover. One of these considers the origins of rock music and jazz in order to clarify the styles and labels that have grown from these traditions, including funk, fusion and jazz-rock (Gridley, 1990). Ethnomusicologist Timothy Taylor also

portrays this stylistic crossover, although he uses different terminology such as hybridity and poly-stylistic (1997). While most scholars study crossover under these terms, some analyze it within the context of a specific performance, such as a symphony concert that combines the works of Ellington and Grieg, or a single composer, such as Frank Zappa, whose work entails “crossover” (Mendel, 1999; Bernard, 2000).

In the consideration of aspects of crossover it is important to also deal with concepts of style within both the classical and popular domains. In addition to the scholars above, who have researched classical music, I will draw on research that pertains generally to other domains, including bluegrass, country, and fiddle music (Burman-Hall, 1967, 1975, 1984; Cansler, 1991-1992; Conway, 1995; Daniel, 1990; Emblidge, 1976; Fox, 2004; Frisch, 1987; Gura & Bollman, 1999; Kochman, 1984; Linn, 1991; Livingston, 1999; Quigley, 1995; Sweet, 1996; Thede, 1967; Wolfe, 1996, 1997; Yurcherico, 1991). As I am studying crossover through the music of a violinist/fiddler, a bassist, and a banjoist, it is relevant for me to look at studies that examine the roles these instruments play within the genres crossed. Other scholars have focused on the roles of specific instruments in different types of music: the bass in jazz (Schuller, 2004; Shipton, 2004; Welborn, 1978), the bass in classical music (Christensen, 1993; Elgar, 1960, 1963; Keiler, 1981; Slatford, 2004), and fiddle music in country and bluegrass (Burman-Hall, 1967, 1975, 1984; Cansler, 1991-1992; Daniel, 1990; Frisch, 1987; Thede, 1967; Wolfe, 1997) the violin in jazz (Anger, 2002), the violin in classical (Farga, 1969; Holman, 2004; Joachim, 1932; Nelson, 1964; Rattray, 2000; Schwarz, 1983), and the banjo (Conway, 1995; Gura & Bollman, 1999; Kochman, 1984; Linn, 1991). The violin, fiddle, double bass, and banjo fit well within each of the domains that are crossed over,

and this flexibility makes them especially suitable for crossing these boundaries. In addition to these studies of the particular instruments in my study, I draw on other research about the cultural significance of instrument technologies as models for my research (Becker, 1979; Gay, 1998, 1999, 2003; Lysloff & Gay, 2003; Parakilas & Wheelock, 1999; Turino, 1983; Waksman, 1999).

With regard to classical music, my research has led me to many articles involving the historical and modern placement of classical music in the United States. Lawrence Levine chronicles the United States history of classical music, tracing its roots from a “simplified” form conducive to the masses, to a “highbrow” form that catered to a wealthy elite and excluded the less affluent masses (1988). Christopher Small, a music educator and historian in England, explores the privileging of classical music in the United States due to the interactions between performers and audience, the social and individual meanings inherent in it, and his theory of “musicking” (1998). He also traces some 20th-century trends in classical music, such as the move from tonalism to serialism, as a means to discover the way musicians, performers, and composers interact with listeners (1980). Moreover, I have referenced studies concerning changes in classical music in terms of modernism and postmodernism, especially how these ideologies have affected the relationship between musicians, composers, and performers, and their audiences (Botstein, 2004; Broyles, 2004; Lebrecht, 1997; Pasler, 2004). These articles describe changing trends in audiences, which is useful for determining how crossover music affects classical music audiences.

Joseph Horowitz examines several aspects of the state of classical music in the United States (1994, 1995, 1998, 2001a, 2001b). He compares the influence of Dvorak

in New York, where Dvorak's ideas to create an "American" music were embraced, and Boston, where critics and conductors alike criticized Dvorak's attempt to create "American" art music as an excuse to infuse symphonic music with the traditional music of his Bohemian origin (2001a, 2001b). He also explores the influence that the Wagner cult had on women of highbrow culture (1994). Horowitz further examines the role Theodore Thomas played in "sacralizing" classical music, as I discussed above (1998). Horowitz explores the modern place of classical music in American society, both by examining the ways in which it still exists in the elitist world, and by chronicling some of the ways it has been presented as something accessible to the masses (1995). Another study by Colin Symes shows the current value of marketing and presentation on the way people are introduced to classical music and how they continue to view it and participate in it (1997).

Many studies address questions about audiences and culture groups that arise around particular sensibilities, offering a majority versus minority presentation. One early essay by Theodor Adorno on this subject concludes that music consumption is dictated by the music industry's determination of audience tastes. According to his theory, the industrialized world created a need for predigested music. The record industry met this need through producing standardized popular music, which, although pseudo-individualized, appealed to mass culture because its predigestion did not require them to think (Adorno, 1941/1990). Another scholar, David Reisman proposes, through the use of an ethnographic study of a small sample, the use of the terms, majority and minority, to differentiate between youth culture groups. In his research, Reisman argues that the

majority tends to follow the herd mentality, while the minority contemplates music and makes choices regardless of advertising (1950/1990).

Scholars have begun to challenge the notion of majority and minority audience groups because of the implied hierarchy that this juxtaposition implies as well as the many subdivisions that are found within both of these groups (Gendron, 1986; Holt, 1997; Lewis, 1992; Negus, 1996; Peterson, 1992; Théberge, 1995; Thornton, 1995). These scholars attempt to make a case for audience cultures as membership in a group of people with similar interests. Instead of ranking these cultures in terms of serious against popular music, Bernard Gendron has opted to describe “core” and “periphery” groups within popular music audiences (1986, p.22). Through the introduction of a notion of subcultures, or cultures within cultures, some scholars explore the differences in music consumption, although they recognize the possible problems that come from the implied hierarchy (Thornton, 1995; Negus, 1996). I have also explored research on aspects of consumption and production as a means of creating an identity within a group (Lewis, 1992; Théberge, 1995; Willis, 1990). Other scholars consider very specific groups such as “fandoms” (Cavicchi, 1998) or “music scenes” (Dowd, Liddle, & Nelson, 2004; Peterson & Bennett, 2004).

These concepts of studying genre, crossover, instrument roles, and audiences are not new to musicological discourse. Through the course of this paper, I will use them to discover some of the ways in which Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck are effectively reshaping the nature of classical music and its reception in the United States. The instruments they play and their musical background provide the foundation for crossing over several musical domains. Their compositions and performances represent a

new American classical music that challenges perceptions of classical music, making it more accessible to a broadening audience through the invocation of American idioms. Further, crossover changes the expectation for classical music performers and composers in the United States by giving them a model of music that both reaches the American people and remains within the “high” setting of the classical domain. Crossover music suggests new expectations for audiences of classical music and creates new cultural meanings, thus influencing the future of performance and participation in American music.

2. A Technocultural Approach to Crossover

Instruments, Technology and Culture

Studies of technology as part of culture, that is, as technoculture, explore the depths to which different technologies interact with and are shaped by a society. Music “technology,” for most people, invokes the idea of modern electronic devices, CDs, synthesizers, iPods, and so forth. However, technology also includes non-electronic devices, such as acoustic instruments, sheet music, and the piano (Gay, 2003; Parakilas, 1999; Waksman, 1999). Technology can include objects that serve to make life easier, or more practical, as well as devices used in entertainment, such as VCRs and DVD players. Beyond the physical, technologies also constitute “a culturally saturated component of human activity” (Lysloff & Gay, 2003, p. 7). Therefore, it is the *use* of technologies that shapes their definition and associated meanings. For crossover music, musical instrument technologies, their changing uses in performance, and roles as culturally salient symbols prove significant factors in enabling musicians/composers such as O’Connor, Meyer, and Fleck to bridge musical and social domains, to crossover, and effectively to redefine notions of classical music.

This phenomenon is not without parallels in several musical cultures where instruments symbolize and reference significant parts of the society’s larger culture. The Javanese gamelan, for example, can be seen as a representation of the cyclical and binary aspects of this culture’s conception of time and space (Becker, 1979). Likewise, the guitar-like *charango* ties to courting rituals and mythological beliefs in the southern Peruvian province of Canas, Cusco (Turino, 1983).

Music cultures often respond, sometimes dramatically, to changes in instrument technology. For example, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the piano replaced the harpsichord as the predominant keyboard instrument in Europe and, eventually, the United States, the new technology created a need for new methods in teaching, methods that further drove sheet music printing (Parakilas & Wheelock, 1999, p. 84). Much research in music and technoculture looks specifically at aspects of music and music technology to determine the ways these technologies interact with current practices or act as catalysts for new ones (Becker, 1979; Gay, 1998; Haraway, 1991; Lysloff and Gay, 2003; Parakilas et al., 1999; Taylor, 2001; Théberge, 1997, 2003; Turino, 1983; Waksman, 1999).

Specific instruments are often linked to particular styles of music within a culture, such as the electric guitar in rock music or the saxophone in jazz. Although the guitar can exist within several musical domains, the way rock musicians use it to create their sound shapes the musical style and cultural meaning of rock music, and the perception of rock guitarists (Waksman, 1999). Musicians create their musical identity and social status through the ways they manipulate their technological gear (Gay, 1998, p. 85). Further, this manipulation of guitar technology shapes the musician's sound identity, which in turn, defines the instrument in terms of its stylistic domain (Gay, 1998).

In Leslie Gay's article investigating technoculture and sheet music publishing in late-19th-century Galveston, Texas, he points to the piano as a central force in this music culture, a domestic focal point as a parlor instrument for home entertainment, and he cites the increasing sales of popular song sheet compositions as a result of the rising popularity of the piano (2003, pp. 205-206). This interaction between the piano and the song sheets

exposes an interesting perspective into this technocultural community of late-19th-century Galveston, revealing that the changing uses for the piano created new cultural meanings around song sheets (Gay, 2003, p. 223). John Bailey and Peter Driver consider aspects of instrument morphology in terms of spatio-motor thinking and guitar performance and the ways this thinking ties technical design to cognition and compositional style, specifically within the context of folk blues guitar style (1992). This spatio-motor way of thinking demonstrates that the technological design of an instrument shapes human use, and that it is this use rather than solely the instrument that creates its cultural impact. These brief examples begin to illustrate how different applications of instrument technology relate the cultural significance of the instruments to the musical styles of which they are a part.

Although musical instruments themselves prove an integral part of any technocultural study, it is use and function that affects their cultural significance. This type of analysis helps explicate the meanings of all musical instruments. For my study of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck, and their influence in classical music, I will explore their main instruments, violin and fiddle, double bass, and banjo, respectively. Relationships between technologies and culture may be studied through three analytical concepts: the ontological, pragmatic, and phenomenological, which respectively explore the design, use, and significance of these instruments and the ways these aspects affect crossover (Lysloff and Gay, 2003, p. 6). Each of these analytical frames deserves further explanation.

Viewing technology from an ontological perspective focuses on what the technology is, its morphology, its construction, and its historical design changes. The emphasis is on the object itself, for example, a guitar or a CD. A pragmatic analytic

perspective focuses on the way a technology is used, including both its intended use and other adaptations, and the types of knowledge that arise from these uses. This perspective refers to the implementation of the technology, such as the knowledge of playing the guitar or listening to a CD. The phenomenological perspective is concerned with the ways a technology impacts society that are not directly related to the musical performance function of it. In other words, the phenomenological looks beyond intended uses of the technology and focuses on aspects of this technology that arise from cultural perception, its significance and culturally-defined meanings, like the electric guitar as a symbol of sexual potency, or an expensive car as an economic or status symbol (Waksman, 1999, pp. 186-205; Lysloff and Gay, 2003, p. 7). These three facets show how musical instruments are not just objects, but rather part of a “material culture that people use and experience in ways meaningful to their particular lives” (Lysloff & Gay, 2003, p. 7). In the next sections, I examine the ontological, pragmatic, and phenomenological aspects of the fiddle and violin, the double bass, and the banjo. To this end, I look at their construction and physical developments, their performative uses across several domains and contexts, and their cultural significance and meanings that facilitate the crossing of stylistic boundaries.

The Violin/Fiddle

The fiddle and violin exist as separate instruments that share a similar morphology. Ontologically, they are nearly identical bowed chordophones in the lute family with necked boxes, which can be found within several musical domains, including classical, country, bluegrass, and jazz. They share several organological characteristics,

which became standardized in the 16th century, including the types of wood used in constructing the body, usually maple and spruce (Holman, 2004, n. p.). The typical length of a full size instrument is approximately 24 inches, from the top of the scroll to the bottom of the tail piece (Rattray, 2000). The tuning pegs, fingerboard, and tailpieces are made out of harder wood, ebony or rosewood, although on some newer instruments these parts may be a carbon fiber compound. Generally, both instruments have a shoulder rest, which elevates the instrument from the body, and a chin rest; together these features increase comfort while playing. The bows are Brazilian pernambuco wood or some similarly dense and pliable wood, measuring approximately 30 inches in length (Nelson, 1964, p. 96). A system including the bridge, an internal bass bar, and a sound post work together to project the sound on these instruments. White horse hair, which can be loosened or tightened to fit the player's desired tension, is attached to the bow to produce sound. Players often adjust specific aspects such as bridge height, fingerboard length, types of strings and rosin to use, and other aspects that may affect the sound of the instrument. Compared with the standard violin tuning of g, d', a', e", fiddlers, in particular, often make slight adjustments to tunings of the strings to various open tunings and flatten the bridge to facilitate triple stops (Thede, 1967, p. 12; Burman-Hall, 1975, p. 57-62; Wolfe, 1997, p. xviii). Sound is typically produced by drawing the bow across the strings, although the player can also produce sound by plucking the string with the index or second finger of the right hand, a technique called "pizzicato."

As European colonizers, especially those from the British Isles, began to settle in the United States, they brought their fiddle traditions with them (Burman-Hall, 1984, pp. 150-151). When these settlers embarked on the difficult journey through the

Appalachian mountains, leaving the coastal region also meant leaving many of their belongings. However, the small and lightweight fiddle proved perfect for this type of travel. Many people of this region also crafted their own instruments upon making their homes. These homemade instruments represent a large part of the fiddling tradition. Fiddles were made from materials at hand, commonly apple or pear tree stumps, although any wood without knotholes would suffice (Thede, 1967, p. 142). Strings, bridges, bows, and other accessories were made from whatever materials were available as well (Thede, 1967, pp. 142-143). Later, people began to turn to store-bought instruments as these became less expensive. According to Tim Worman, a fiddle teacher and third generation fiddler in Knoxville, when mail order catalogs became prominent, more people began to order instruments from these, such as Sears and Roebuck, for a very small price, usually around one or two dollars (personal communication, March 11, 2005).

The violin tradition also traveled to the United States with European immigrants and was integrated into the band tradition⁶ in the 19th century (Levine, 1988, p. 104). As the symphonic orchestra separated from the band in the later 19th century, it underwent a process of “sacralization” (Chapter One) that placed the orchestra within a bracket of “highbrow” culture (Levine, 1988). As a byproduct of this transformation, and in contrast to the fiddle, violin traditions also came to be referenced within these highbrow notions.

Historically, both violin and fiddle performance traditions stem from their use in dance music, with the violin more often associated with European court traditions and the

⁶ Bands during this time functioned as both marching bands and symphonic orchestras (Levine, 1988, p. 104).

fiddle more often found in folk music traditions (Farga, 1969, p. 8; Burman-Hall, 1984, p. 150; Wolfe, 1996, p. 15). As time progressed, the violin became associated with chamber, soloist, and symphonic music traditions, while the fiddle remained a fixture in the dance music of several cultures (Farga, 1969, p. 119).

Other pragmatic differences in the violin and fiddle traditions are marked mostly by performance style. Fiddle players typically hold the instrument on the chest or neck, sometimes up under the chin, sometimes in a more vertical position (Burman-Hall, 1975, p. 48). They grip the bow somewhere on the stick, and play with a very relaxed wrist. As Tim Worman explained to me, fiddlers base their bowing on a “circular” technique, enabling them to cross strings more easily and to allow the melody to ring more freely in “drone” style fiddling (personal communication, March 11, 2005; see also Frisch, 1987, pp. 90-92). The bowing technique is central to the fiddling, because it is in this arena that performers develop the dance-like “feel” for the fiddle style according to Tim Worman as well as Sean McCollough, an Appalachian music professor (personal communications, March 11, 2005; February 23, 2005; see also Frisch, 1987, p. 100; Burman-Hall, 1984, p. 165; Burman-Hall, 1975, p. 48; Thede, 1967, p. 13).

Violinists, in contrast, hold the violin on the shoulder and the bow at the frog, a position that varies very little among players. Although there are various schools of thought for specific aspects of violin technique such as fingerings and bowings, it is often these technical aspects that are given prominence above the “feel” of the music (Sean McCollough, personal communication, February 23, 2005; see also Fox, 2004, pp. 161-165). Fiddlers have historically tended to play within the confines of first position; however, today, there is a large (and not unprecedented) movement to combine the

technical diversity of the violin with the fiddle style of playing (Sean McCollough and Tim Worman personal communications, February 23, 2005; March 11, 2005). The separation of the fiddle and violin performance styles in the United States was a blurred line, even into the 20th century, as many players participated in both styles (Tim Worman, personal communication, March 11, 2005; see also Levine, 1988, pp. 124-125). In the 21st century, Mark O'Connor again enacts this conflation, performing fiddle style on what he calls a "normal beautiful violin" (Mark O'Connor, personal communication, December 17, 2004). His instrument is a French Vuillaume made around the 1830's. This merger of techniques, especially through the performance style of Mark O'Connor, is transforming the fiddle tradition, allowing performers greater range on the instrument, as well as more respect from people who had previously thought of fiddling as a "simplistic" form of music (Sean McCollough, personal communication, February 23, 2005).

The violin is also slowly gaining a place in the jazz tradition with players such as Stéphane Grapelli, Mark Feldman, Regina Carter, Johnny Frigo, Joe Kennedy, Vassar Clements (who is also known as a bluegrass artist), and Matt Glaser, to name a few (Anger, 2002, p. 60). According to jazz violin pedagogue Matt Glaser, the fiddle tradition lends itself to jazz performance because its association with dance music facilitates the "swing" sense with which many classical players have difficulty (Anger, 2002, p. 62). Although it does not have a large place in jazz, this instrument is crossing over, gaining prominence in this domain through the work of violinists such as Stéphane Grapelli and Mark O'Connor. Grapelli merits especial note in this group, as he was one of the pioneers in jazz violin style and served as O'Connor's jazz mentor for many years.

In particular, O'Connor's Hot Swing Trio, a group including bassist Jon Burr and guitarist Frank Vignola, formed in order to pay tribute to O'Connor's jazz mentor, Grapelli. This trio works to combine some traditional jazz harmonies and sensibilities with elements of the traditional fiddle styles, a subject I will discuss further in Chapter Three.

Musicians did not always believe that the violin would adapt to the jazz style as readily as brass instruments, which are typically used in jazz music, for a variety of reasons. It has been suggested that the violin does not resonate as well in the flat keys that are prominent in jazz, and that its fretless neck makes it more difficult to translate to "the complicated harmonic schemes of jazz" (Anger, 2002, p. 59). Moreover, as a small acoustic instrument, the violin has difficulty competing with the bombastic fanfare quality of the horns (Anger, 2002, p. 59). As such, composers and performers are beginning to compensate for these challenges by transposing tunes to keys which resonate better on the violin, such as G or D (Anger, 2002, p. 59). Other jazz violinists, such as Claude Williams, who grew up around horn players and also played guitar, easily played in the flat keys because he was so assimilated to its sound that he "figured out a way to do it" and still produce quality sounds (Anger, 2002, p. 59). Jazz violinists have tended to play in ensembles with other string players, therefore alleviating much of the perceived struggle between the louder brass and the violin (Anger, 2002, p. 59).

The phenomenological associations of these instruments cover a wide range of cultural meanings and perceptions, including the ways these instruments symbolize the styles of music in which they are played. The variety of these meanings and perceptions, as well as the fluidity between musical domains, explains why these particular

instruments are particularly appropriate in crossover music. The violin is most often thought of as a leader within the classical or art music tradition, and even acts as a symbol of this music. Within this tradition it has many roles: virtuosic solo instrument, high-range melodic instrument in an orchestra, and leader of a chamber ensemble, among others. In orchestral music, the concertmaster, or principal first violinist, is seen as the leader of the orchestra. The concertmaster stands up to signal the orchestra's tuning process, and, historically, also served as the conductor in the infancy of the symphonic orchestral tradition (Levine, 1988, p. 105). One example of the violinist as conductor (leader) in the American symphony is Harvey B. Dodworth when the New York Philharmonic was first founded in the early 19th century (Levine, 1988, p. 105). Dodworth's dual role as conductor and concertmaster helped solidify the identification of the violin as a symbol of the symphony in the United States. As part of a continuing tradition that identifies the violin as the leader in the symphonic world, the instrument itself has thus become a symbol of classical music.

In rural and mountain areas of the United States, the fiddle was (and to a certain degree still is) often seen as a sign of the devil because of the "sinful" dancing, wild behavior, and alcohol drinking aspects associated with listening to fiddle music (Cansler, 1991-1993, pp. 32-34; Wolfe, 1997, p. xv). These instruments were banned from churches and only "sinners" went to fiddle dances. For this reason, many fiddlers would lock their instruments in closets or hide them in walls or floorboards after converting to or being reborn in Christianity, since "the fiddle was good for tunes and strong drink" (Wolfe, 1997, p. xv). Some of the fiddle tunes associated with this idea include the famous "Devil's Dream," as well as "Devil in the Woodpile," "Hell Broke Loose in

Georgia,” “Hell Among the Yearlings,” and “Hell Bound for Alabama.” Although its association with the devil has, for the most part, dissipated over time, fiddle music is still seen as an energetic expression of entertainment among rural people (Cansler, 1991-1992, p. 39).

The fiddle cannot claim exclusive rights to deviltry, however. Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) was one of the greatest violin virtuosos ever to live, and he still retains his fame as such, thus serving as another symbol of the classical world. His technical abilities reached many audiences; rich and poor would come to see him display his talent (Schwarz, 1983, p. 181). His colossal popularity transcended social strata, helping to establish a crossing over of the notions of highbrow/lowbrow music in Europe. He is known as the father of modern virtuosity, having spurred the beginnings of this trend in the 19th century, a trend that changed the perception of classical music (Schwarz, 1983, p. 185-187).

Paganini’s performance style and compositions also inspired generations of violinists to attain the great mastery he maintained on the instrument. In 19th century, a Faustian myth surrounded his virtuosity, claiming he was a spawn of hell and that the devil himself aided Paganini’s superhuman technical ability (Schwarz, 1983, p. 184). This myth was further instigated by his passion for women and the seductive power of his playing (Joachim, 1932, p. 1082). The Paganini myth proves that both the classical and the fiddle realm can perpetuate this interesting association between the instrument and the devil. This association is especially prominent when considered in light of the enraptured ways listeners reacted both to Paganini’s playing and to fiddle music.

His technical perfection and iconic status have inspired many compositions and songs, both inside and outside the classical domain, which give tribute to his mastery. One piece inspired by Paganini is the *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*, for piano and orchestra composed by Serge Rachmaninoff (1873-1943) in 1934, which still retains popular appeal today and often appears on compilation albums of “classical hits,” a concept discussed in Chapter One. Paganini’s influence also crosses over into musical realms outside of the classical domain, such as in the jazz song “(If You Can’t Sing It) You’ll Have To Swing It,” performed by Ella Fitzgerald. The song was composed in 1936, for the movie *Rhythm on the Range*, by Sam Coslow, an American pop and show tunes composer who was most active in the 1920s and 30s. Through lyrics such as “Mister Paganini, please play my rhapsody,” Fitzgerald invokes the spirit of Paganini to guide her own virtuosity. Another Paganini piece which has crossed into non-classical domains is Béla Fleck’s banjo and bluegrass interpretations of “Perpetual Motion for Violin and Orchestra” (1831-2). I will look more at this association in the next chapter.

Other contemporary artists in the United States are also working to change the perception of the violin, in terms of creating a more popular appeal. Vanessa Mae redefines the violin as a sexy and hip instrument through her playing style, media images, and the cover art of her numerous solo albums (Mae, 2002a, n. p.). Her recordings cross over musical domains including classical, rock, jazz, and other popular styles. For example, a video clip on her webpage features her performing J.S. Bach’s *Toccatà and Fugue in D Minor*, while a techno beat sounds on a drum machine in the background (Mae, 2002b, n. p.). Besides combining classical repertoire with modern dance beats she appears as a featured artist on the title track of Janet Jackson’s album, *The Velvet Rope*

(1997). Because of her work in these various musical domains, as well as the sexuality of the cover art of her own albums, Mae is creating new perceptions of the violin in society.

The 1999 film, *The Red Violin*, presents an alternative perspective on the different uses of this instrument, portraying it as the keeper of classical music through the history of one violin. The film traces a single instrument from its creation in the 17th century through an auction in 20th-century Montréal. In the process, the film portrays the violin in a variety contexts and in the hands of several diverse owners, including the maker in 17th-century Crémone, a child prodigy in 18th-century Vienna, a group of gypsies and a virtuoso performer in 19th-century England, and a woman in 20th-century China forced to choose between her passion for the violin and her loyalty to the new political regime. Further, the film shows audiences how the instrument can be more than a symbol of classical music by portraying it as an object of affection, of personal impediment, of unknown value, of passion, and finally of political rebellion. Joshua Bell, a classical violinist who often performs with Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck, recorded the soundtrack for this movie, bringing the classical violin music of Academy Award winner John Corigliano into the popular domain (Carl, 2000, p. 245).

Other examples include using the violin in conjunction with modern technology, and commenting on society's continued reliance on these technologies in daily life. Laurie Anderson, a visual and recording artist as well as a social commentator, works to create multi-media meaning for the instrument, playing the violin in conjunction with works of art or literature, such as Melville's *Moby Dick*. She uses acoustic and electric sounds and incorporates singing, film, and other visual media into her performance art (Davies, 2002, n. p.).

Her album ***Big Science*** (1982) displays a new use of the violin that appeals to popular audiences. On this recording, she uses instruments that include the violin, bagpipes, drum set, saxophones, flute, piccolo, percussion, trombones, accordion, hand clapping, rototoms, Farfisa and Casio keyboards, and sound effects created by electronics. This diverse mix of instruments from the classical and popular music domains demonstrates crossover between these styles. In the music of this album, Anderson draws on “both the abstraction of ‘modern’ classical music and straightforward pop” (Anderson, 1982, n. p.). It is a rather melancholy comment on society’s overuse of technology. She addresses the effect of building shopping malls and sport centers in this song with vocal lines such as “long cars in long lines,” “golden cities, golden towns,” and “every man for himself” (Anderson, 1982, n. p.). Another song on this album, “O Superman” portrays Anderson as a crossover artist because it crossed over into the popular domain, becoming a hit on the British popular charts. This song addresses themes of Man against Machine, emphasizing the ambiguity that exists in the postmodern world between these two aspects through the juxtaposition of an A-flat major chord in first inversion, with a root position C minor chord (McClary, 1991, p. 142). Her use of the violin on this album includes modifying it in such ways as to combine modern technologies with it changing its traditional sound.

She uses the violin in conjunction with other musical and technological forces creating an eclecticism that reshapes society’s perception of the violin appealing to the avant-garde art society and to popular audiences because of the alienation of man through technology that she explores. Further, because of her ideals against the societal norm, as

well as her somewhat anti-establishment appearance (short spiky hair and androgynous clothing), Laurie Anderson often has a “punk” or youth market appeal.

The association of the violin as a symbol of classical music also invokes the string quartet, another prominent ensemble in classical music. The well-known string quartet, Kronos Quartet, like Anderson, embodies the “punk” ideal in the classical domain, allowing Kronos a niche in youth culture. Kronos is dedicated to the performance of new works, and the expansion of the range and context of the string quartet through the use of multimedia, including film and dance, as well as through their musical direction (Kronos Quartet, 2004, n. p.). As their first violinist, David Harrington says of the group, “I’ve always wanted the string quartet to be vital, and energetic, and alive, and cool, and not afraid to kick ass and be absolutely beautiful and ugly if it has to be” (Harrington, 2004, n. p.).

Kronos’ recordings range from composers such as Bartók and Webern to Arvo Pärt and Alfred Schnittke, to jazz artists like Ornette Coleman and Charles Mingus, to rock legend Jimi Hendrix and more. Their use of a classical ensemble, the string quartet, crosses over many domains, especially bridging the classical avant-garde and the popular styles in their numerous recordings. Their album ***Black Angels*** features the title work, composed by George Crumb in 1970, for electric string quartet with percussion and other sound effects. This work uses the popular medium, electronic instruments, in a futuristic setting of a string quartet. The other pieces on this album include a 40-voice, 16th-century motet arranged by the quartet; a string quartet written in 1989 by a Hungarian composer, István Márta; a satirical Charles Ives song, *They Are There: Freedom for the People’s New Free World* from 1917 (revised in 1942); and a Shostakovich string quartet

from 1960. The eclectic mix of compositions on this recording exemplifies how the Kronos Quartet is not restricted by traditional boundaries associated with classical music as well as appealing to a broader audience than a typical classical recording. Other albums include arrangements of works by popular works such as Jimi Hendrix's *Purple Haze*, further showing the expanded and crossover principles of this group. The Kronos Quartet takes risks with their repertoire, aligning themselves with an aesthetic of rebellion against the status quo of classical music. In their conscious efforts to be "cool," they succeed in creating a hip perception of the string quartet and thus classical music. These examples show the violin in a variety of uses, challenging its perception as only a symbol of classical music.

Mark O'Connor further reshapes the violin/fiddle perception through his work, combining other styles within the classical domain. In addition to his solo albums such as *Midnight on the Water* (1998) and *Liberty! The American Revolution* (1997), his classical compositions combine traditional American music such as fiddling and bluegrass with conventional symphonic practices, such as *The Fiddle Concerto* (1994) and *The American Seasons* (2001). O'Connor also performs with a jazz group, called Hot Swing Trio, and a group that combines classical music with Appalachian fiddling traditions, the Appalachia Waltz Trio.

Like other contemporary musicians, his performance style is unique and helps to redefine society's perceptions of his instrument. However, O'Connor brings something particularly distinctive to contemporary violin playing. Where many of his contemporaries try to create classical and popular styles through performance of popular music or by placing a techno beat under a classical work, O'Connor blends domains

together smoothly. In his music, the styles he combines do not exist as separate entities, but rather, as one type of music that draws on the idioms of several styles. His works in all of these projects help reshape the American view of the violin and classical music as a more popular music accessible to many people. His music retains both the classical sensibility, which continues to have highbrow associations, and draws on the music of the United States in order to create an American classical music.

The Double Bass

The double bass (sometimes called the upright or string bass) shares some organological characteristics with the violin and fiddle. It is also a bowed chordophone in the lute family with necked boxes, and holds a prominent place within several musical domains, including classical, bluegrass, jazz, and country. Most commonly, the type of wood used in construction is spruce or perhaps pine for the top, while the back and sides are maple. Embellishments, such as the fingerboard and tailpiece are ebony. The tuning pegs for a double bass are called machines, consisting of a brass shank attached to a cog that turns and tunes the string (Elgar, 1960, p. 41). The double bass also uses a resonating system, including a bridge, bass bar and sound post, which work together to affect the resonance of the sound. Tuning for the double bass is E', A', D, and G for orchestral and chamber performance, and today, most basses are equipped with an extension that gives the player the option of lowering the E string to C'. In the solo repertoire, performers usually play in a scordatura tuning, typically F#, B', E, A, which makes the bass ring more loudly and brightly (Slatford, 2004, n. p.). These tunings were

standardized around the beginning of the 20th century by Alexandrovitch Koussevitzky (1874-1951) (Elgar, 1963, p. 88).

Like the violin, sound production on the double bass occurs either through pizzicato or by drawing a bow across the string. Despite the many innovations the double bass bow has undergone in the centuries since its inception, today, bass players use two standard types of bows: the German and French models. The German bow has either a straight or almost convex curve in the stick, held with the palm perpendicular to the stick in a position relying heavily on the first and second fingers and thumb. Another model, the French bow, takes after the other bows of the violin family, with a concave stick that allows the hair to continually tighten as the player bows on the string. The hold of this type of bow is with the palm parallel to the stick and with the use of all fingers and thumb for maximum control (Elgar, 1960, pp. 78-82). Because of the amount of power required to produce sound on an instrument as large as the bass, bass bows often utilize the stronger and coarser black horse hair (Elgar, 1960, p.82).

The dimensions of the double bass were not standardized until within the last century, and over time, the height of the instrument has varied. The smallest of these historical basses were a little larger than a modern cello, five feet or so, and the largest known double bass, which is on display at the Paris Conservatory, is called the “octobass” and stands around twelve feet tall. It required players to operate foot pedals that would trigger leather padded metal bars to depress the strings (Elgar, 1960, p. 25). Today, the height of a bass is more standardized, with a full-size bass reaching about eight feet. The full-size bass is rather cumbersome both to transport and to play and therefore many players prefer to play a 3/4 size which stands about six and a quarter feet

tall. The 5/8 size bass, which stands approximately five feet in length, is most often used in solo bass playing. These latter sizes are the most common in modern performance practice. According to an interview with bass instructor and Meyer's long time friend, Rusty Holloway, Edgar Meyer performs on one of these 5/8 size basses from the 18th century because of its "deep resonance [in the lower register, and its] rich, slightly scraped upper register, an area where Meyer's fingers love to roam" (Rusty Holloway, personal communication, October 12, 2004; see also Hicks, 2004, p. D03). This combination of deep resonance in the bass register along with rich tone in the treble is specific to his bass, and allows him to have a unique and virtuosic playing style.

The pragmatic aspects of the double bass have changed over time, mostly through innovations of its players, who have expanded its role as a melodic solo instrument and placed it as a standard instrument in several musical domains. Historically, the role of the double bass in classical music has been to provide the harmonic and metric foundation upon which the orchestra relies. The low pitches accessible on the bass, typically those sounding from C1 through C4, were often used to support harmonic structure, such as to realize figured bass and to create chord inversions. These lower pitches also affect the scarcity of melodic material available to bassists. The realization of chord inversions, or realized figured bass, as explained by Rameau in the 18th century, was a means by which music was conceived as "discrete harmonic units that were controlled by a temporal bass line" or a way to realize the "fundamental" bass line (Christenson, 1993, p. 51). This fundamental bass line served to both emphasize the bass line, and define the importance of horizontal triadic harmony in composition (Keiler, 1981, p. 84). Since the pitches on the double bass lie within such a low range, the

instrument often takes on this role of emphasizing the fundamental bass line, and furthering the idea of horizontal harmony. Classical compositions also utilize the double bass to drive rhythmic forces through ground bass ostinati and other similar techniques.

Three bassists in history, Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846), Giovanni Bottesini (1821-1889), and Alexandrovitch Koussevitzky (1874-1951), have used the bass in innovative ways as soloists, and these innovations have helped to change the use of the bass and its perception in society. Paul Théberge defines innovation as a process that includes the conception of an idea, the development of said idea, and, finally, the public acceptance of the idea (1997, p. 41). All three stages in the process are necessary for innovation to occur. These historical bassists were crucial in creating a place for the bass as a solo instrument within the classical domain, modifying its perceived role in both the orchestra and society. These historical changes created new ideas about the perception of the double bass in musical society.

The double bass also holds a prominent place in many other styles of music, including jazz, country, bluegrass, and sometimes even rock (although the electric bass is more often found in this last domain). In each of these styles, its musical role overlaps with that of the orchestral bass as a foundation instrument. For example, like in classical music, the bass in bluegrass music serves in part as a rhythm instrument. Typically it outlines the tonic and dominant of the progression, through an exaggerated pizzicato technique called “slapping.” This technique involves pulling the string away from, or across the fingerboard at high tension and then suddenly releasing it; as Shipton describes, “the resulting note is accompanied by a percussive click or slapping sound as the string hits the fingerboard” (2004, n. p.). Slapping gives the double bass a dual role

in this domain: the pitches of each slap promote the bass as a harmonic foundation, while the “slap” identifies the bass as a rhythmically driving force.

In the jazz domain, the bass primarily serves to establish meter, usually a four-beat, swing pattern, through the performance of a “walking bass” line. This method emphasizes “a line played pizzicato on a double bass in regular [quarter notes] in 4/4 meter, the notes usually moving stepwise or in intervallic patterns not necessarily restricted to the main pitches of the harmony” (Schuller, 2004, n. p.). However, it sometimes comes to the forefront as a solo instrument, using the bow in order to project and articulate in a more varied way than plucking allows. The changes in the ensemble when the bass takes a solo further emphasize its role as a foundation instrument. During such solo improvisations the other instruments of the ensemble either have to stop playing, or to accompany with sparse “comping” (a type of chordal accompaniment), because the low register of the bass does not project well as a solo instrument.

Because the double bass holds a permanent place in several music domains, it easily transcends the boundaries that divide them, allowing the performer or composer to draw on aspects of several of these styles in crossover music. Meyer incorporates many of these techniques into his playing style and compositions, as I will further explore in the next chapter.

The double bass symbolizes the power, support and strength within an ensemble. These perceptions of power and support affect orchestration and composition of bass parts in the classical repertoire, which then, in turn, continue to codify these perceptions. For example, Schubert exploits this notion of power in his *Unfinished Symphony* (1822), where the main theme is written for the bass to go below its E string, using an extension

to get to the very lowest C. Richard Strauss's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (1896) also demonstrates the power inherent in the double bass's lowest note by sustaining it throughout most of the first movement of this tone poem. Perhaps in part because of the low-register power it wields sonically, the double bass is also often seen as an "anonymous" instrument, "lurking in the nether regions of the orchestra," despite the growing tradition of solo bassists (Schaefer, 2002, p. 10).

In jazz, the double bass often functions as the "harmonic workhorse" of the rhythm section, the core of the ensemble, which includes percussion and a chording instrument such as piano or guitar (Welborn, 1978, p. 21). The "walking bass" line described above anchors a jazz ensemble, emphasizing the double bass' role as fundamental to the group. Through this use, the bass came to be a symbol of rhythmic and harmonic stability in a jazz ensemble.

Many performers on this instrument have worked to create and alter society's perception of the double bass. Bassist Barry Green, the author of the influential *Inner Game of Music*, has reshaped perception of the bass through his classical and jazz combination albums, including *Ole Cool*, (1991-2) which combines Spanish classical music with American jazz. He also made a recording of various double bass music including composers such as Corelli, Vivaldi, Schumann, Bruch, Rachmaninoff, Palambo, Milborn (b. 1938) and Mays (b. 1941), called *Baroque, Romantic, and Contemporary Music for Double Bass* (1973). Bertrum Turetzky is probably the most recorded contemporary bass soloist, including compositions by contemporary composers such as Martin William Carlins (b. 1932), Paul Chihara (b. 1938), and Roger Reynolds (b. 1934), as well as some of his own works. His performances solidify the perception of

the bass as a solo instrument. Jazz bassist Charles Mingus is often credited with creating a fingering for the bass allowing it to resurface (above its electric counterpart) in jazz music (Welborn, 1978, p. 20). These musicians, along with countless others, indicate a rising societal awareness of the double bass and its role in different types of music.

Edgar Meyer's performance style (in addition to historical figures such as Dragonetti and Bottesini) further dismantles the notion of the bass as an anonymous anchor in an ensemble, and legitimizes it as a serious solo instrument, while incorporating elements of various musical domains. He continues to use the instrument to convey power in his virtuosic technique, while retaining association of the double bass as a symbol of strength and foundation in his numerous collaborative works. Like O'Connor, Meyer combines classical music expressions with music of the United States, including jazz, bluegrass, and fiddling, in order to expand American classical music. In working sinuously within several domains, both in performance and composition, his music reshapes the notions of the double bass and classical music. His double bass performance style has changed the way people see this instrument from one of anonymity and support to one of predominance and power. Meyer's public appearances, such as his performance with the IRIS Chamber Orchestra, have been cited for helping orchestras to sell more tickets (Blank, 2004, p. F3). In American classical music, Meyer's contributions in performance generate understanding of the versatility of this instrument, which manifests itself in the greater number of people who attend his concerts.

The Banjo

The banjo is a chordophone in the lute family with a necked box that has a skin sound resonator. According to two Knoxville banjo makers, David Ball and Matt Morelock, today's banjos are typically modeled after the instrument Earl Scruggs played in the mid 20th-century. Scruggs' instrument was a Gibson Mastertone with an 11 inch rim (this is the round part with the skin), and about a 26 inch "scale," the term used to designate the length the neck or fingerboard (personal communications, March 12, 2005; March 10, 2005; see also Conway, 1995, p. 166). The rim is typically made of brass or sometimes stainless steel (although in the 19th century makers commonly used wood as well) with a membrane stretched over it (Conway, 1995, pp. 173-178). Historically this membrane was usually made of either goat or sheep skin, but today the membrane consists of plastic or other similar synthetic material (Conway, 1995, pp. 169-171). Modern strings are made of steel, like the modern acoustic guitar; historically, players and makers could make strings out of a variety of materials, including gut, silk, horse hair, twine, and vine (Conway, 1995, p. 169). The rim consists of either open back, commonly found in the old-time string band tradition, or closed back, more often found in the bluegrass tradition because the closed back increases the volume of the instrument. Sound is produced by plucking the strings in a variety of different styles, which I will elaborate below. Banjoists usually tune to an "open tuning," which means that the strings form a chord when played without stopping any notes on them. Typically, they use a G tuning, g', d, g, b, d', but in order to play in various keys for different songs, the performer will use other tunings including g', c, g, b, d'; g', c, g, c', d'; g', d, g, c', d' and g', d, g, a, d'

(Odell and Winans, 2004, n. p.). The head on the rim can also be tuned, either to a pitch (D or G) or to a desired tension (Matt Morelock, personal communication, March 10, 2005).

Scholars trace the origins of the banjo back to similar instruments made with a gourd rim in Africa that the slave trade brought to the United States (Linn, 1991, p. 1; Conway, 1995, pp. xiii, 160-162; Gura & Bollman, 1999, p. 11). African and then African American banjo music was often played on plantations to accompany a solo dancer (Gura & Bollman, 1999, p. 140; Conway, 1995, p. 65). This tradition moved from the plantations into the minstrel shows in the 19th century, where the banjo was used in conjunction with the fiddle to stereotype its African American performers (Linn, 1991, pp. 2-4, Gura & Bollman, 1999, p. 17; Conway, 2004, pp. 79-81). In the 19th century, people actively campaigned to “whiten” or “legitimize” the banjo and crafted a mythology of its origins as America’s only true folk instrument (David Ball and Matt Morelock, personal communications, March 12, 2005; March 10, 2005; see also Conway, 1995, p. 160).

In the string band tradition of the mountains in the 19th century, it acted, for the most part, as a rhythmic instrument, accompanying the fiddle by strumming or arpeggiating chords and driving the dance tempo (David Ball, personal communication, March 12, 2005; see also Kochman, 1984, p. 1; Wolfe, 1996, p. 20). There are two ways of producing sound: either through strumming with the backs of the fingernails, known as “claw hammer style,” or through plucking with the thumb, index, and middle fingers, known as “three finger style” or just “finger style” banjo. The first of these is most often employed in the minstrel and old-time string band traditions, while the “finger style” is

most common in bluegrass playing (Matt Morelock, personal communication, March 10, 2005; see also Conway, 1995, pp. 194-204).

The banjo became a parlor instrument at the beginning of the 20th century, and in this tradition, orchestras made of different sized banjos took prominence over its minstrel background (Conway, 1995, p. 201; Gura & Bollman, 1999, p. 3). The parlor tradition associated with the banjo served to further promote an American mythology of it as an American classical instrument and, moreover, to legitimize its use by white players and audiences. The banjo became a staple in popular music beginning with the integration of the minstrel shows into the Tin Pan Alley era, when the banjo arose as a ragtime and cakewalk instrument, and later in the jazz orchestras almost exclusively as a rhythm instrument (Conway, 1995, p. 62; Linn, 1981, p. 85).

Although historically the banjo has roots in many musical domains, today it is most often associated with the bluegrass and old-time string band traditions, and exists as what Cecilia Conway terms a “crossroads” instrument linking the early banjo traditions to its modern day associations (1995, p. 137-138). Bluegrass music, a relatively new musical form that combines the African American blues and the old-time string band style of the 1950s, uses the banjo as one of the lead instruments, based around virtuosic and riff oriented performance practices (David Ball, personal communication, March 12, 2005; see also Kochman, 1984, p. 1; Linn, 1991, p. 142). The old-time tradition is probably what many people refer to as the mountain tradition of banjo playing. Old-time music combines the minstrel tradition, which had saturated the country by the middle of the 19th century, and the Celtic and African American traditions that existed in this mountain region (Conway, 1995, pp. 121, 159). In each case, performative aspects of the

instrument define the instrument itself and its perceived role within these musical domains. Béla Fleck plays in the bluegrass finger picking style, but also translates the dexterity of this three finger style to classical performance, aspects I will explore further in the next chapter.

The banjo, likewise, serves as “an emblem of white mountain folk” and also a symbol of the musics with which it is associated, especially bluegrass and old-time country (Conway, 1999, p. 160). In the earlier dance traditions, it had provided a way for African Americans to assert their identity and also provided a distraction from their plight in the plantation slave institution (Conway, 1999, p. 63). Then as the banjo became associated with white traditions such as in the North Carolina Piedmont Mountains and other areas, ideals of identity carried over into the old-time string and bluegrass traditions (Conway, 1995, p. 143). In these cultures, the banjo represented a chance to escape the mundane hardships of everyday life through music.

Paul Henning wrote the theme song for *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1960s), which featured a banjo tune called “The Ballad of Jed Clampett,” cementing the association in America between the banjo and mountain dwellers (Kochman, 1984, p. 186). Around the same time, the famous Earl Scruggs, who recorded the *Beverly Hillbillies* theme, also developed the “three finger,” or “finger” style of playing (Kochman, 1984, p. 186). His innovations as a bluegrass banjoist fostered the perception of bluegrass music, via the banjo (Kochman, 1984, p. 187). Today, the banjo is seen as a symbol of bluegrass music, as evidenced by its use as a symbol for such organizations as the International Bluegrass Music Association (IBMA) (see website, <http://www.ibma.org/>). Another important implication of bluegrass music, and thus the banjo, is the way it signifies Appalachia.

This perception, while a potent phenomenon, is a misguided connection with the place where bluegrass only partly originated (Conway, 1995; Sweet, 1996).

Banjoist Pete Seeger came to prominence as an icon in the 1960s folk revival movement, using the banjo as a means of political protest. Seeger joined the Almanac Singers in the 1930s, where he met Woody Guthrie. Later, in the 1950s, he started his own vocal quartet, The Weavers, with whom he recorded several hit albums, including *Kisses Sweeter than Wine* (1951/1994), which features songs such as “This Land is Your Land,” “On Top of Old Smokey,” and “Brother Can You Spare a Dime?” This album and others centered around social conscience and political protest and led to Seeger’s blacklisting during the MacCarthy era from concert halls around the United States (Laing, 2004, n. p.). As another form of protest, Seeger inscribed on his banjo the slogan, “this machine surrounds hate and forces it to surrender,” a less aggressive version of Woody Guthrie’s guitar epithet, “this machine kills facists” (Malan, 2000, n. p.). These slogans represent sentiments of political protest against capitalism and politics of hate, and portray these instruments specifically as machines of political and social change. In addition, Seeger published technique books, such as *How to Play the 5-String Banjo* (1948), *The 12-String Guitar as Played by Leadbelly: an Instruction Manual*, (1965) to explain his style of playing banjo and guitar. This style, in connection with the music he played so prominently, allowed people to see the banjo as a means of political protest, associated with the voice of the masses.

In addition to its role as a voice of political protest, the banjo’s connection with “mountain,” or “hillbilly” music and bluegrass was also prominent, and remains the most common perception of this instrument today (Matt Morelock, personal communication,

March 10, 2005; see also Sweet, 1996, p. 38). These styles of playing solidified the banjo's associations with mountain life and a rural and laid-back sensibility. In the United States today, the banjo still symbolizes the supposedly laid-back traditions of living an isolated life in the mountains of Appalachia (Sweet, 1996, p. 40).

Béla Fleck still embodies this laid-back model, but through his performance style he works to break down misconceptions of the limitations of the banjo. His music functions as a means of integrating different music domains, including jazz, bluegrass, and country, and also serves to reintroduce the banjo musical force in classical music. Through his music, Fleck expands the repertoire and the societal perception of the banjo. Fleck has consistently worked to find new settings for the banjo as a solo instrument, from including it in the quasi-jazz and electronic medium of his band, Béla Fleck and the Flecktones, to bringing it back as a classical solo and chamber instrument in his numerous collaborations with Edgar Meyer. Audiences from both these projects come to hear him perform in different settings. Just as Meyer can help sell tickets for a symphony performance, Fleck's projects also influence audiences: he says "the Flecktones draw out the younger crowds... The audience who comes to hear me with the Flecktones, will often come and hear me play with Edgar" (Bowlin, 2004, p. 11). This influx of Flecktones fans shows that his music, while it retains some highbrow sensibility of classical music, creates a new awareness and interest in this music as well. Because of its long history in the United States, the banjo can symbolize many American musics, and through Fleck's integration of these with the classical domain, his banjo performance works to shape an American classical music.

Technoculture in Crossover

In this chapter, I have examined the ontological, pragmatic, and phenomenological distinctions of these musical instrument technologies. My analysis revealed that it is their use, rather than their physical characteristics, that enables composers and performers such as O'Connor, Meyer and Fleck to bridge domains and effectively produce crossover music. Perhaps the most salient impact of these instrument technologies resides in their versatility among several musical domains, which challenges the societal stereotypes of these instruments through crossover. O'Connor brings together the violin and fiddle traditions in much of his music. That music presents his instrument as neither the highbrow symbol of classical or the lowbrow instrument of the fiddle tradition, but rather a combination of both. Meyer reshapes the public's preconceived notions of the double bass by integrating jazz, bluegrass, and classical styles, and further developing the repertoire of the bass as a legitimate solo instrument. Fleck reintroduces the banjo to the classical music audiences by incorporating jazz and bluegrass into his solo playing. He further appeals to younger audiences through his work with the Flecktones.

Through the use of these instruments in innovative directions, O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck challenge the codification of the genres and domains in which these instruments are traditionally found. The association of these instruments with several different styles of music allows these musicians, who grew up exposed to many of these styles, the fluidity to transcend the boundaries separating these musical domains and to create a new music. The effect of crossover music on the perception of the fiddle, violin,

double bass, and banjo is also large. Just as their crossover music changes the perception of classical music, O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck also contest the preconceived limitations of these instruments by using them in several combined musical domains. These instruments' associations have been codified over many years through their repeated use in various domains (see Chapter One). As an integral part of crossover music, they assume new phenomenological meanings and associations that extend their significance in popular perception.

3. Crossover Artists and Their Music

The musical backgrounds of these performers and composers and the multiple musical styles they learned throughout their lives have shaped their own perceptions of music, and allowed them to merge larger musical domains and create new styles of music. There has been very little scholarly writing about Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck. To show how their musical development shaped their personal soundscapes, I will include biographical information, using interviews and their own marketing material, along with my analysis of their compositions. I examine aspects of music style, as well as other extra-musical factors, including album presentation through cover art, liner notes and popular press materials in order to examine crossover elements within the music and how these elements help to restructure the perception of classical music. All of these varying aspects of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck's music are presented together because of the homologous aspects of crossover between them. The compositions and album packages reveal an amalgamation of classical music with American musical domains, including bluegrass, fiddle, and jazz, a fusion that directly results from the diversity of their musical experiences.

Mark O'Connor (b. 1961)

In some respects, Mark O'Connor's musical background is not unlike many virtuoso players. He began musical instruction at the age of five on classical guitar in his native Seattle. However, his training differs from many classical soloists in that, in 1973 at the age of eleven, he began to study the fiddle, with an emphasis on the traditional

fiddle styles of Texas with teachers such as Benny Thomasson (Mark O'Connor, personal communication, December 17, 2004; see also "Mark O'Connor: Press Material," 2003). Within his first year of studying fiddle, he won first place in the junior division at the National Old-Time Fiddlers Contest (Himes, 2004, n. p.). This award led Rounder Records to produce his first album, *National Junior Fiddling Champion* (1973). In 1975 O'Connor won the Grand Master's Fiddling Championship, and this led to a second album, *Pickin' In The Wind* (1975), also on Rounder. By the time he had graduated high school in 1979, he had put out a third album called *Markology* (1978). Moreover, at only seventeen years of age, O'Connor was hired for a two year tour as guitarist with renowned jazz violinist, Stéphane Grapelli. When Grapelli discovered O'Connor was also a fiddle player, he insisted O'Connor play for him, and soon he was playing together with Grapelli on fiddles at the end of every show. Throughout this tour, Grapelli became a mentor for O'Connor, helping him to incorporate jazz into his technical vocabulary (Himes, 2004, n. p.).

Following his tour with Grapelli, O'Connor decided to become a full-time musician and moved to Atlanta in order to be closer to the country music center. In 1981 he joined a touring band called the Dixie Dregs, which played mostly a fusion of jazz and rock. Two years later the band broke up, possibly because of mounting competition between O'Connor and Dregs front man, guitarist Steve Moss, O'Connor took his last seven dollars and moved to Nashville, the home of country music (O'Connor in Himes, 2004, n. p.). Because of his numerous fiddle championship awards and his extensive background playing in this style, O'Connor was naturally drawn to country music. In 1985, he performed a fiddle solo on a Nitty Gritty Dirt Band recording, "High Horse,"

which went to number two on the country charts (Himes, 2004, n. p.). This proved to be the break O'Connor needed because after this he worked two or three recording sessions a day for the next few years, appearing on albums by country stars such as Randy Travis, Travis Tritt, Mary Chapin Carpenter, Waylon Jennings, Patty Loveless, Steve Earle, Reba McEntire, Kathy Mattea, and Lyle Lovett, among many others (Himes, 2004, n. p.). In 1991 and 1992, O'Connor received the Country Music Association's award for Musician of the Year in recognition of his session work. During this time he recorded an instrumental album with other artists including Béla Fleck, Edgar Meyer, Sam Bush, Jerry Douglas, Vince Gill, Ricky Skaggs, and Russ Barenberg called *The New Nashville Cats* (1991). This album won a Grammy award for Best Country Instrumental in the following year.

In 1991, O'Connor abruptly stopped working as a session musician in order to focus more fully on his own solo career. He had become increasingly interested in experimenting as a performer in other musical domains, apart from the country that was demanded of him as session fiddle player, including jazz and classical. Soon after, he had composed and recorded his first classical composition *The Fiddle Concerto* (1993), recorded on Warner Bros. This concerto has been hailed as "the most performed contemporary violin concerto," with over 200 performances (O'Connor in "Mark O'Connor: Press Material," 2003, n. p.). Its success prompted Sony Classical to record six more albums with him over the next few years. In 1996, he released *Appalachia Waltz*, a combination of both traditional American music and original compositions with Edgar Meyer and Yo-Yo Ma, followed by *Liberty!* (1997), a soundtrack of both original and traditional American works for a PBS documentary about the American Revolution.

Midnight on the Water (1998), focuses on O'Connor's solo capability with live recital featuring his *Six Caprices for Solo Violin*. The state of Tennessee commissioned *Fanfare for the Volunteer* (1999), to celebrate its bicentennial. *Appalachian Journey* (2000) is a Grammy winning recording that recreates the previous recording with Ma and Meyer. Finally, *The American Seasons: Seasons of an American Life* (2001) draws influence from both Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* and the Shakespeare play *As You Like It*. Each of these recordings focuses on O'Connor's goal of creating an American classical music (O'Connor in Himes, 2004, n. p.). During this time of prolific composing, recording, and touring, in 1998, O'Connor moved away from the steady work and income of Nashville to San Diego, California, to focus more exclusively on his composition (Himes, 2004, n. p.).

In 1997, O'Connor's mentor, Grappelli, died. In an effort to pay tribute to him, O'Connor formed the Hot Swing Trio, with whom he still tours today. Members of this fiddle-infused jazz group include bassist, Jon Burr, and guitarist, Frank Vignola. Burr also toured with Grapelli, and Vignola cited Grapelli's compilations with French jazz guitarist Django Reinhardt as part of his reasons for becoming a musician. This group released its first album, a recording of their 1997 tribute concert, in 2001, called *Hot Swing!* with O'Connor's own production company, OMAC. In 2003, the Hot Swing Trio released a second album, *In Full Swing*, which featured jazz trumpeter, Winton Marsalis, and vocalist and violinist, Jane Manheit.

In 2004, he joined forces with two younger musicians, Carol Cook and Natalie Haas, to release the first album of his Appalachian Waltz Trio, *Crossing Bridges*. This trio was formed to recreate and expand on the repertoire of the successful *Appalachian*

Waltz album with Meyer and Yo-Yo Ma. Cook plays viola and is well versed in the traditional styles of her native Scotland, as well as classical music, having received degrees from the Oberlin Conservatory and the Julliard School. Haas plays cello for this ensemble and currently attends Julliard to study classical music. She has also been attending O'Connor's fiddle camps for many years and now teaches there annually (O'Connor, 2003, n. p.).

Mark O'Connor has received various types of recognition that recognize his presence in various realms of American society. In 1998 he received a "Meet the Composer Grant" from the McKim Fund of the Library of Congress for composition. In addition to writing his own classical compositions, O'Connor has been sought out to perform by those seeking his distinct playing style, blending fiddle and violin. Among these are performances for the Atlanta Summer Olympics and for the 1997 inauguration of President Bill Clinton. He also performed for Hollywood movie soundtracks including John Williams' *The Patriot* (2000) and Ron Maxwell's *Gods and Generals* (2003).

When O'Connor is not performing or composing, he is actively teaching masterclasses and conducting symposia at many schools of music including the Julliard School of Music, Tanglewood, Aspen, Berkeley College of Music, University of California in Los Angeles, the Eastman School of Music, and the Blair School of Music at Vanderbilt University ("Mark O'Connor: Press Material," 2003, n. p.). He also volunteers his expertise to such outreach organizations as Opus 118, Midori and Friends, Sphinx, Arts4All, and the Music for Life Alliance. Additionally, he runs the Mark O'Connor Fiddle Camp outside of Nashville and the Strings Conference in San Diego. These week-long camps take place during the summer and emphasize performance in a

variety of styles taught by a world renowned faculty (“Mark O’Connor: Press Material,” 2003, n. p.).

Robert L. Doerschuk, of the popular performance magazine, *Onstage*, reports on O’Connor: “He’s spent much of his career visiting one style of music, mastering it, and then moving on to something new,” yet at the same time, O’Connor does not see it so linearly. He prefers to view it as “looking inward (to discover one’s own musical ability) rather than fixating outward toward real or imagined hurdles” (Doerschuk, 2003, p. 3). Thus, even as others may perceive his style as incorporating different outside musical sources, O’Connor wants to express his style as a natural outgrowth of his own background.

Throughout his career, Mark O’Connor has had the willingness and capability to transcend previously accepted boundaries of musical domains. Even during his years as a young session player in Nashville, he refused to conform to older playing styles of fiddling, such as that of his then idols, Tommy Jackson, Buddy Spicer, and Johnny Gimble. Instead he opted to fuse their styles with his own musicality to form what he calls “something that was more personal” (Doerschuk, 2003, p. 3).

O’Connor incorporates different musical styles, moving across several domains, within his own compositions, such as the *Fiddle Concerto*, *Appalachia Waltz*, and *The American Seasons*. In an interview with Rob Lowman (2003) of *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, O’Connor talks of how classical audiences and critics reacted to his first composition: “When I first started [with *The Fiddle Concerto*] bringing roots music to the concerto form, people scoffed... It turned out to be a pretty good idea for me, and now it’s led me to amazing places” (p. U11). O’Connor continues to expand the perception of

classical music by incorporating American idioms in the classical domain. Because of the various influences he had as he developed his musical skills, from fiddling to jazz to country to classical, O'Connor is able to incorporate several domains into the classical music domain fluidly. This fluidity influences the changing perception of classical music in the United States.

Examples of this fluid crossover are found in O'Connor's first composition, *The Fiddle Concerto* (1993), in which he merges classical elements of the three movement concerto form with fiddling idioms throughout. Through the development of this concerto, the fiddle and orchestral violins are on a "journey to find a place in the middle where fiddler meets the classical violins" (O'Connor, 1995, n. p.). The first movement embodies crossover in the first part of O'Connor's journey, through the use of traditional fiddle genres presented in a classical sonata form. The main subjects of this movement are a hoedown and a waltz, which O'Connor says are "the genres [he] studied most as a child" (O'Connor, 1995, n. p.). He presents these in a quasi-sonata form with the exposition measures 1-132, the first section in D major, and the second in the relative b minor. The development occurs in measures 133-491, and the recapitulation begins in 492. O'Connor positions the D major hoedown figure first in measures 1-10 in the violins and violas (see Figure 1). This theme features the eighth note and two sixteenth note rhythm, or shuffle rhythm, which acts as an integral foundation for the dance step in the hoedown genre (Frisch, 1987, p. 91), and is extended to include two extra eighth notes as a means of creating a melodic sequence. In fiddle performances, especially dance scenarios, the lead fiddle player will play four groups of this shuffle rhythm to set the tempo and key before the rest of the band enters (Frisch, 1987, p. 91).



Figure 1: Theme 1 from *The Fiddle Concerto*



Figure 2: Theme 2 from *The Fiddle Concerto*

The first and second violins and violas play this theme in the beginning, with seconds and violas playing in double stops with their open D strings. This mimics the “drone” fiddle style, produced by playing melody and open strings in these three sections of the orchestra. O’Connor juxtaposes this theme against a more lyrical melody in measures 11-18 (see Figure 2). In this second theme, most slurs are connected rather than hooked, as they had been previously, making this melody smoother and more lyrical. Whereas the first theme featured the upper strings accompanied only by a few quarter note downbeats, the accompaniment in this section includes sustained long D’s and A’s in the oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, trombones, cellos, and basses. The two instances in which slurs are separated recall the original theme.

These two themes represent the fiddle and classical traditions, respectively, alternating until measure 89, where the lyrical waltz starts (see Figure 3). Here the melody is played in the winds, with the harp and strings providing the traditional waltz accompaniment of a strong downbeat and lighter second and third beats. Although O'Connor notates the passage in 6/8, he invokes the traditional classical 3/4 waltz by providing this style of accompaniment, and placing strong impulses on beats one and four, dividing the measures into two parts. Notably, waltzes are also a part of the fiddle tradition, where they are often notated in 6/8 meter, as in Bill Monroe's "Mississippi Waltz" (Monroe, 1981, p. 68). In the waltz theme, O'Connor invokes the bluegrass domain through meter, as well as the classical tradition with the accompaniment figure; through this combination he creates crossover music.

The solo violin also represents elements of crossover by embodying both the virtuosity of a classical cadenza and fiddle improvisational variations. The solo violin begins at measure 133 with an unaccompanied and cadenza-like restatement of the main hoedown theme. True to the fiddle tradition, which relies heavily on variation, the solo violin does not simply play the theme as it was in the beginning. Rather, the solo provides ornamentation, accents, differing articulation, and developments of the short melodic motive into 16th notes and groups of sextuplets. This cadenza also references concertos in the classical domain because it enters unaccompanied, reveals virtuosic variations of the main theme, and begins after the orchestra stops on an inconclusive chord, in this case, the dominant (Badura-Skoda & Jones, 2004, n. p.).



Figure 3: Waltz theme from *The Fiddle Concerto*

At measure 386, the violin solo shifts from the hoedown variations to an expansion of the first waltz theme, once again adding ornaments such as slides and trills, and shifting to the relative b minor. When the solo violin plays the hoedown theme again at measure 492, this time, the orchestra slowly enters to accompany it. While in its first entrance the solo violin entered alone, this time string accompaniment mimics the hoedown motive until, in measure 541, the entire string section plays some form of the melody in unison.

This first movement places two important fiddle genres, the hoedown and the waltz, within the classical style. Invoking the classical concerto form of a double exposition, the movement also retains the variation elements of the fiddle tradition. In this double exposition, the orchestra plays both themes, the hoedown and the waltz, before the soloist enters playing these themes again. Although this movement does not follow sonata form exactly, there are elements of a development in the fiddle's variation of the hoedown theme before it plays the waltz. In the final restatement of the hoedown theme, it returns to the original key of D major, as in the traditional classical recapitulation.

The second movement includes a slow, haunting waltz, once again, using a genre found in both the classical and fiddle domains. The theme is presented in the parallel key

of d minor, with early baroque-style accompaniment. In this movement, O'Connor symbolizes another segment of a journey, traveling back in time to discover a common thread between the fiddle and violin (O'Connor, 1995, n. p.). The form of this movement is ABA, a rounded binary, common in the baroque era. In the A sections, the fiddle presents a slow and somber theme with a homorhythmic string accompaniment. O'Connor invokes the fiddle and early baroque traditions through his solo in a Dorian mode melody in the B section. This fiddle solo uses melodic grace notes and glissandi reminiscent of the ballad tradition, while the strings provide a pizzicato accompaniment. During the baroque era, the fiddle and violin traditions were less segregated than they are today, and it is through invoking this time that O'Connor searches for a link between the two styles. Because he uses elements of this style period and the fiddle tradition, O'Connor effects crossover between the two styles in this movement. A coda recalling an augmented version of the first theme in the first movement leads directly into the third movement.

The third movement is a lively jig, a genre that exists in both the fiddle and classical domains as a dance style, and it is in this movement that the two styles meet in O'Connor's intended journey (see Figure 4) (O'Connor, 1995, n. p.). Fiddle jigs are used as lively dances, while in classical music this genre is found often in instrumental dance suites, especially those of the baroque era. It is characterized by the quick tempo 6/8. O'Connor's particular theme for this movement invokes dancing characteristics, infusing it with fiddle idioms such as double stops and syncopated accents. This represents a genre in which these two instrumental styles, violin and fiddle, can exist together, and symbolizes the end of the journey to find a common ground for these instruments.

Solo Violin

Moderately fast $\text{♩} = 174$ elegantly, gallantly

f

mp

f *ff*

Figure 4: Jig theme, Third Movement from *The Fiddle Concerto*

This movement also includes a cadenza incorporating the fiddle genres of hoedown, waltz, and jig, in a virtuosic display, the likes of which are found at “hundreds of fiddle contests throughout the United States and Canada” (O’Connor, 1995, n. p.). Through the medley presentation of these different fiddle genres, this cadenza invokes the sounds and atmosphere of these fiddle contests. Further, this movement incorporates elements of classical music as well, by employing a rondo form, ABACABA, with the C section containing the cadenza. The use of this classical form, as well as the jig melody and the fiddle genres in the cadenza, represent elements of crossover in this movement.

O'Connor's explicit goal in the composition of this work was to incorporate the fiddle and classical traditions, not only by setting them apart from one another as he does in the first movement, but also by finding common ground in the second movement, and then combining them into a homogenous crossover style in the third movement.

O'Connor blends these traditional fiddle style elements within a classical genre with a fluidity that blurs the distinction between the two domains, making this piece an example of crossover and a new American classical music. While the concerto itself exemplifies elements of crossover, O'Connor takes the concept further, incorporating elements of differing domains in the album's presentation.

Extra-musical aspects of this piece and its recording exemplify crossover aspects particularly in the cover art, the title of the CD and the work, and the liner notes. The *Fiddle Concerto* appears as the title track on this album, recorded in 1995 with the Concordia Orchestra. On the cover of this recording, O'Connor's profile stands out against his black dress and the black background (see Figure 5). He caressingly embraces his violin facing forward, showing off its beauty, at the same time its acoustic pick up, which he uses to project its sound. O'Connor's closed eyes and close engagement with the fiddle imply a somber, quasi-religious reverie between musician and instrument that evokes the sacralization of classical music. The dark background of the cover invokes the sense of a blank stage, against which O'Connor and his instrument prominently stand out, in the same way O'Connor's music stands out as an American classical music. The meditative appearance of player and instrument symbolize the reverence O'Connor has for both classical and fiddle styles as well as his mission to incorporate the two in this recording.

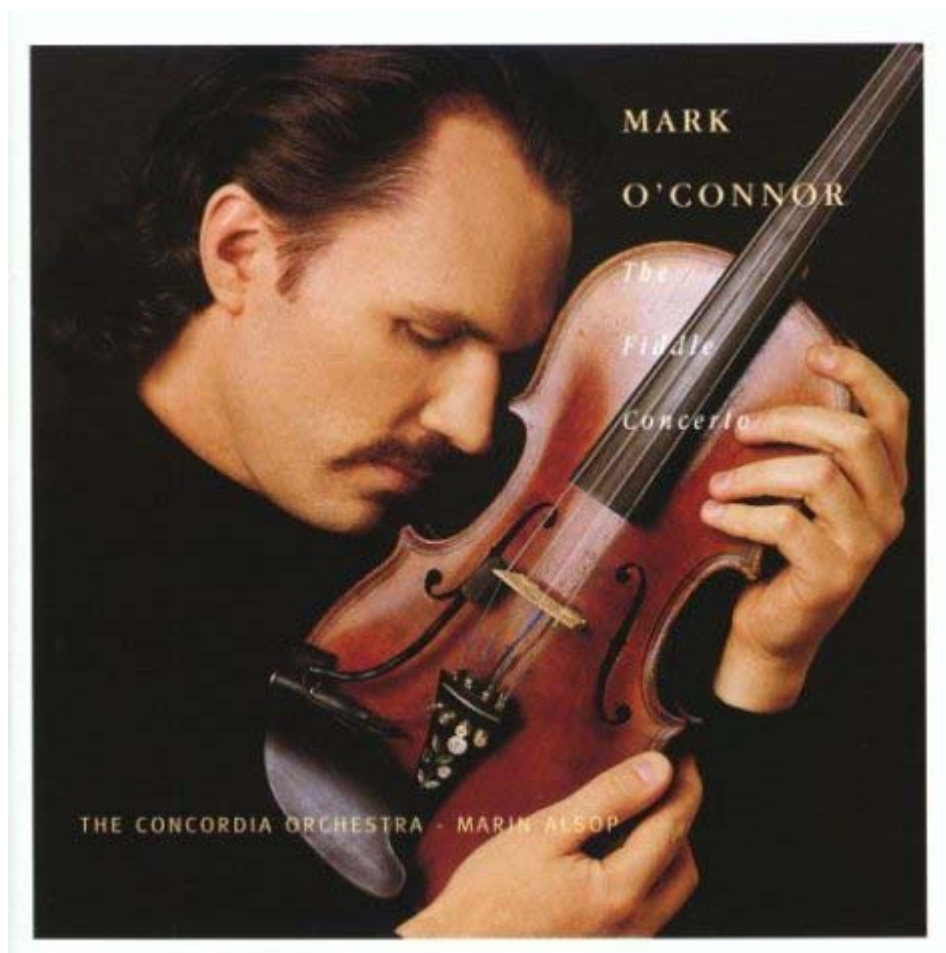


Figure 5: Mark O'Connor, *The Fiddle Concerto*, (1995), album cover.

The title of the album and the featured work on it, *The Fiddle Concerto*, also indicates the merger of the boundaries between fiddle music and the classical concerto. The title implies what the music presents, that traditional fiddle music will be incorporated into the classical concerto in an effort to present the two as different yet related styles. Inside the notes, the mission statement of the Concordia Orchestra states “Concordia is dedicated to breaking down the barriers between jazz and classical music... [and] fostering the preservation, presentation and public awareness of the American musical tradition” (1995, n. p.). This breaking down of barriers further promotes O’Connor’s goals to bring together musical domains of the American idiom.

Edgar Meyer (b. 1960)

Edgar Meyer’s music also redefines boundaries of classical music and promotes American styles within it. Meyer was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma and grew up in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. At age five he began learning the bass, first from his father, a school music teacher and bass player. Meyer was surrounded by the plethora of musical styles an Appalachian locale boasts, including bluegrass, country, jazz, and classical (Rusty Holloway, personal communication, October 12, 2004). He continued to study the instrument with Stuart Sankey, and later at Indiana University’s School of Music, where he worked with performance teacher, James Buswell. In his performance style, he always embodied the ideas of crossing over, playing just as easily in a classical ensemble as with popular Nashville country artists. In his early twenties, Meyer recorded with such country stars as Garth Brooks, Bruce Cockburn, Mary Chapin Carpenter, James Taylor, Lyle Lovett, T-Bone Burnett, Reba McEntire, and Travis Tritt (Meyer, 2003, n. p.).

From 1986 to 1992, he was a member of the Nashville band, Strength in Numbers, which included Fleck and O'Connor and boasted a repertoire of progressive bluegrass, sometimes referred to as "new grass" (Will, 2004, p. F-03).

He began to compose in 1990, and premiered his first work, a bass concerto, in 1993 with the Minnesota Symphony. His compositions are influenced by many styles, which according to Meyer are not intentionally crossover, but merely music that he enjoys (Meyer in Rankin, 2004, p. C3). In 1995, he had two premieres, his *Quintet for Bass and String Quartet* with the Emerson String Quartet, and later that year, his *Double Concerto for Bass and Cello* with Carter Brey, cello, and the San Luis Obispo Mozart Festival Orchestra. Meyer recorded the *Quintet* in 1996 on the Deutsche Grammophon label with the Schubert *Trout Quintet*. He later recorded his two concerti on an album that includes two of Bottesini's works: *Concerto for Double Bass* and *Gran Duo Concertante* for violin, double bass and chamber orchestra. This album, called ***Meyer and Bottesini Concertos*** (2002), features Yo-Yo Ma, cello; Joshua Bell, violin; and the Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra.

His 1996 collaboration on *Appalachia Waltz* with O'Connor and Ma remained at the top of the classical charts for 16 weeks and led to a performance on *Late Night with David Letterman* (Meyer, 2003, n. p.). In 1997 he reunited with his friend Béla Fleck from Strength in Numbers and mandolinist Mike Marshall to record a classical and bluegrass combination album, ***Uncommon Ritual***. This trio toured for a year, performing at the opening of the 1997-98 season of the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center. In 1999, Meyer had a busy year with the premiere of his composition, the *Violin Concerto*, commissioned by Hilary Hahn (who recorded it in 2000 under the title ***Barber***

and Meyer Violin Concertos); a jazz and classical album with Winton Marsalis, *At the Octoroon Balls*; and a fusion of classical and bluegrass styles, *Short Trip Home*, with Sam Bush, Mike Marshall and Joshua Bell. That year, *Short Trip Home* was nominated for a Best Classical Crossover Grammy. In addition to *Appalachian Journey*, in 2000, Meyer also recorded the three of the *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello* by J.S. Bach in honor of the 250th anniversary of the composer's death (recorded in 2000; Meyer, 2003, n. p.).

Meyer once again united with Fleck in 2001 for the recording of *Perpetual Motion*, an album that features classical works by composers such as Bach, Chopin and Paganini arranged for instruments including banjo, bass, piano, vibraphones and mandolin. Two years later, Meyer and Fleck once again collaborated on a recording called *Music For Two*, which they released in 2004. This album includes classical works arranged for banjo and double bass, as well as original works by both Meyer and Fleck (Fleck & Meyer, 2004, n. p.; Meyer, 2003, n. p.).

In addition to Grammy nominations, Meyer has received other awards for excellence in his pursuit of American music. In 1994 he became the only bassist to receive the Avery Fisher Career Grant and, again, in 2000, he became the only bassist to receive the \$50,000 Avery Fisher Prize (Meyer, 2003, n. p.). These awards were named for the late philanthropist and were established in 1974 to recognize Americans for outstanding achievement and excellence in music. They have only gone to 16 people in 26 years. In 2002 he was one of two Tennesseans ever to receive the MacArthur Foundation "Genius" Grant (Bostick, 2002, p. 1). Awarded to individuals who show

originality and dedication in their creative pursuits, this grant includes a \$500,000 stipend to be paid over five years (Bostick, 2002, p. 1).

Since 1994, he has been a member of the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center. Meyer also actively performs and composes for music festivals including Aspen, Tanglewood, Caramoor, Chamber Music Northwest, and Marlboro. He teaches at the Blair School of Music at Vanderbilt University and is a visiting professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London. In his teaching, he inspires open-mindedness, as well as a willingness to “[explore] a variety of musical approaches” (Rankin, 2004, p. C3).

Although he maintains that the term “crossover” is meaningless to him, Meyer’s style encompasses the term to a great degree. He says in an interview with Bill Rankin for the *Edmonton Journal in Alberta* (2004), “I never thought of anything as a crossover. I simply like music” (p. C3). In the same interview, Meyer goes on to tell Rankin that he began to think about composing early, looking at his father’s music textbooks when he was just in elementary school. As a bass player, he looked at the limits that had been placed on classical bassists as something “to be eliminated” (Rankin, 2004, p. C3).

Meyer’s various projects and collaborations show him as a crossover artist exploring various combinations of American musics in different contexts. He further aims to change the perception of the classical bass as an instrument of limited capabilities to one of soloist and virtuosic display. His compositions display both this capability of the instrument and create a new classical music style, distinctively combining American idioms that he learned from the beginning of his musical development. Despite his immense technical ability in classical music, he refuses to restrict his skills to a singular domain, but rather applies his virtuosity to several domains.

One of Meyer's collaborations, *Short Trip Home* (1999), features classical performer Joshua Bell on violin, bluegrass artists Mike Marshall on guitar, and Sam Bush on mandolin. The title of this recording invokes the idea of a journey, a theme common also to Meyer's crossover compilation with Ma and O'Connor, *Appalachian Journey*, as well as O'Connor's *Fiddle Concerto*. This so-called "short trip" exists in crossover music: it is not difficult to return to his musical roots, "home," if, through the crossover music Meyer performs and composes, he never strays far from it. Because he learned many styles of music as part of his early training, and applies them to his current musical ventures, he has stayed close to his musical roots. This meaning of a "short trip" can also represent the idea of retaining one's roots in the face of stardom, something that Meyer's career exemplifies.

In addition to the implications of its title, the album's cover features crossover because the artists, who are variously involved in classical and bluegrass music, sit around in an informal jam session, while a dog sniffs at their feet. They are dressed casually and smile at one another as they play (see Figure 6). This rural farmhouse setting and informal "jam session" environment symbolize a relaxed perception of bluegrass music and also the laid-back ideals associated with this domain. These works were premiered at Alice Tully Hall, in New York City, one of the world's most important classical venues. Indeed, this particular event was not what one might refer to as "a normal classical music event," (Sandow, 1999. n. p.). The performance of a crossover group in a typically classical venue further represents the implications crossover music has on perceptions of classical music.



Figure 6: Joshua Bell and Edgar Meyer, *Short Trip Home*, (1999), album cover.

The concert represents a fusion of classical and bluegrass, which reviewer Greg Sandow feels “can’t be classified at all” (Sandow, 1999. n. p.). Meyer composed most of the music for this recording, which, because of its instrumentation and style, feels like bluegrass. Yet, it also contains a multi-movement classical style work, *Concert Duo*, which invokes bluegrass idioms.

The music on the album reflects the ideals of the cover art, skillfully combining traditional bluegrass pieces with a classical style multi-movement work. The first track, *Short Trip Home*, invokes the spirit of an American folk song, and demonstrates how these musicians are compatible with one another, despite their different backgrounds. Meyer and Marshall’s co-composed *Hang Hang*, which displays Bell’s classical technique and tone in a bluegrass setting, accompanied by finger picking mandolins and

syncopated dance rhythms. The next track, *BT*, composed by Meyer, features the mandolin, with Marshall playing a mandocello, a tenor version of the mandolin with a deeper sound used in filling out the harmonies. *BT* is a playful bluegrass piece featuring each member of the quartet as both melody and accompaniment. Another Meyer original, *BP*, features Bell playing in a fiddle style, with running sixteenth notes and glissandi. When other members play the main theme (see Figure 7), Bell accompanies with either typical fiddle double stops or a fiddle style counter melody. The accompaniment of this piece features syncopation that provides a dance feel. This piece especially features the classical virtuosity of Joshua Bell within a fiddle setting.

In the piece *Ok, Alright*, Meyer recalls a stylistic staple of his earlier band, Strength in Numbers, combining bluegrass melodies with a reggae beat. The track *Death By Triple Fiddle* was composed by all four members and invokes the hoedown tradition of fiddling style. The introduction features Bell and Meyer both playing double stops before launching into a virtuosic display in single line melodies (see Figure 8). The accompaniment features sixteenth notes in the mandolins, but they are accented in such a way as to invoke the traditional eighth note and two sixteenths that are integral to the hoedown rhythm.

While the above examples are mostly fiddle or bluegrass style works, they are juxtaposed on this album with the multi-movement classical piece, *Concert Duo*, which Meyer and Bell perform alone, making for crossover not just within single works, but within the context of the album.



Figure 7: Main theme from *BP*⁷

Figure 8: Theme and shuffle accompaniment from *Death By Triple Fiddle*

⁷ Figures 7 and 8 transcribed by Daniel Kimbro.

This work sounds mostly classical with its four-movement form, and use of classical instruments, but is infused with bluegrass and fiddle elements, such as syncopated rhythms and double stops in octaves, fourths, and fifths. The first movement presents bass and violin as melodic and rhythmic instruments through the use of a driving rhythm juxtaposed with sections of slow melodic lyricism. The second movement opens with bass pizzicato alongside short, racing melodic motives in the violin. Meyer's bass pizzicato is reminiscent of its traditional role as support and foundation, while Bell's soaring violin fragments invoke virtuosic fiddle performance practices. This theme is interspersed with modernist 20th-century composition elements such as short, atonal, melodic fragments in the violin. The double bass, however, retains its traditional American sound through the walking bass line accompaniment. In the third movement, Meyer displays his own virtuosity as well as the double bass' capability as a solo instrument by playing a lyrical melody in different octaves on the instrument. When the violin enters, after about two minutes of solo bass, the bass continues to stay in a register close to that of the violin.

The traditional roles of the instrument are often reversed in this movement, because the violin features many accompanimental ostinati, while the bass continues its lyrical melody. The fourth movement invokes the equality between the instruments of the first movement, with both violin and bass playing melody and rhythmic accompaniment. This movement is a theme and variations, with the main theme presented simultaneously by violin and bass. In the variations, the instruments engage in several different types of dialogue, including call and response between them, alternating between the violin playing the melody using harmonics with a sparse bass

accompaniment, and finally, a bass solo with violin ostinati accompaniment in a higher range. Overall, the *Concert Duo* invokes classical compositional genres and forms, yet infuses it with elements of bluegrass and fiddle traditions. It is the culmination of an album that crosses over these various styles.

Meyer's *Double Concerto for Cello and Double Bass* (performed with Yo-Yo Ma on Meyer's *Meyer and Bottesini Concertos* album) is another example of Meyer combining the musical domains he learned as a child. This work combines classical, bluegrass, and fiddle music, the European with the American, in a manner that appeals to American audiences. The piece is structured in the classical style, and follows classical harmonic simplicity, but is infused with bluegrass and fiddle gestures. The first movement begins with a strong "American accent" – a blues influenced opening four note figure: E, G, G#, and D (see Figure 9) (Schaefer, 2002, p. 8). In the recording, as well as in the score, several facets of the soloists' parts reference the music of the United States. For example, the altered third of the opening seventh chord is a blue note, invoking the blues.



Figure 9: Opening figure from the *Double Concerto for Cello and Double Bass*

The glissandi in every note of the entering phrases remind one of this technique as it is used in fiddle music, jazz, and blues styles, particularly in sliding, sung blues melodies. Later, the syncopated dissonances recall the dance rhythms of bluegrass fiddling. Finally, the showy quasi-cadenza section conjures up the spirit of American fiddle music with its fast pace and dance quality.

The second movement alternates dramatic, racing orchestral sections with rhapsodic solo lines, emphasizing the American blues in these rhapsodic lines, while referencing the baroque era of classical music with terraced dynamic contrasts. The form is roughly ABABCABA, with the C section serving as an improvisational development (the score indicates no notation for the double bass during this section), where the bluesy bass pizzicato supports the lyrical and free flowing, singing melody (a half speed version of the opening tutti) of the cello (see Figures 10 and 11). Meyer modeled the third movement structurally after the third movement of Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* but infused it with an "American" sound (Schaefer, 2002, p. 8). Like his collaborations with O'Connor and Ma on *Appalachia Waltz* and *Appalachian Journey*, the third movement of Meyer's *Double Concerto* presents Appalachian idioms within a classical context. Meyer calls it "a hybrid music," comparing it also to the nationalist tendencies of composers like Dvorák and Bartók (Meyer in Schaefer, 2002, pp. 9-10).

The third movement opens with the violas playing a syncopated drone while the violins play a fiddle-like melody over it, invoking through these instrumental sections, the idea of a fiddle improvisation.



Figure 10: Opening tutti (first violin part) from the *Double Concerto for Cello and Double Bass*



Figure 11: Solo cello in C section from the *Double Concerto for Cello and Double Bass*

When the solo cello enters at measure 45, its triplet rhythm and disjunct melody invoke a fiddle “jig,” which the double bass imitates at its entrance in 53. Later in the movement, at measure 127, both instruments enter emphasizing their melody around a drone E, again referencing a fiddle “drone” style (discussed in Chapter Two). Classical elements include formal parallels to the Mozart concerto, as well as the orchestral and soloist alternation. While Meyer does not exactly quote Mozart’s musical material, he borrows significantly and consciously, from the *Sinfonia*’s form. Meyer comments on the relationship between the two pieces, saying, “I tried to maintain the relationships between sections in the *Double Concerto* that I was aware of in the Mozart” (Meyer in Schafer, 2002, p. 8). Both Meyer and Mozart have twelve sections before they repeat any musical material, and solo sections of Meyer’s piece correspond to those in Mozart. Meyer also reduces the instrumentation of this movement to only strings, oboe, and French horn, the same as the *Sinfonia*. The orchestration of this chamber ensemble for the entire piece includes classical instruments: two oboes, two horns, strings, and solo cello and bass. Overall, this crossover work embraces elements of the classical, bluegrass, and fiddle traditions, a fusion that appeals to audiences of these different domains.

Béla Fleck (b. 1958)

Béla Fleck’s was named by his parents Béla Anton Leos Fleck, after the composers Bartók, Dvorak, and Janáček, reflecting their own interest in classical music. He was born and raised in New York City where his cellist stepfather played string quartets while a teenaged Fleck often listened. When Fleck was about five years old, he

heard Earl Scruggs performing the theme song for *The Beverly Hillbillies*, “The ballad of Jed Clampett,” and was instantly attracted to its sound. His grandfather bought Fleck a banjo when he was fifteen, in 1973. In the same year, he began high school at the New York City High School of Music and Art, a prestigious school that emphasizes arts education, where he played the French horn and sang in the choir. Since banjo was not an acceptable musical instrument at the school, he took lessons privately from several teachers including Erik Darling, who taught mostly old-time string band music, Marc Horowitz, who specialized in teaching bluegrass, and Tony Trischka, a famous banjoist whose bluegrass style appealed to Fleck. In the evenings during high school he, with some of his school friends, played in a band called Wicker’s Creek. After graduation, he enrolled in the Julliard Extension School, but decided it was not the right place for him and moved to Boston (Fleck, 2005, n. p.). This childhood of varied musical training ranging from classical to bluegrass shaped Fleck’s style of playing.

In 1978 Fleck played on the self-titled album released by the bluegrass band Tasty Licks, his first recorded appearance. After Tasty Licks broke up, Fleck and a friend, bassist Mark Schatz, stayed in Boston for the summer, performing on the streets. Shortly after, the two moved to Lexington, Kentucky, and formed the band, Spectrum, with whom they toured for two years. In 1981 Fleck joined bluegrass mandolinist Sam Bush’s band, New Grass Revival, which featured many artists from around the Kentucky area. This group was interested in creating a fusion between bluegrass, rock, and country, a style they dubbed “new grass.” After nine years and five albums with New Grass Revival, a group that received critical and audience acclaim, the band decided to break up (Torkington, 2003, n. p.).

During his nine year tenure with New Grass Revival, Fleck also embarked upon other projects, among these several solo albums on Rounder Records, including *Crossing the Tracks* (1979), *Natural Bridge* (1982), *Double Time* (1984), and the Grammy winning *Drive* (1988). In 1989 Fleck joined Bush, Meyer, and O'Connor as a member of Strength in Numbers, who performed annually at the Telluride Bluegrass Festival, releasing a recording of highlights from these performances, *The Telluride Sessions* (1989). Toward the end of his tenure with New Grass Revival, Fleck met Howard Levy, who introduced him to bassist Victor Wooton and his brother Roy (FutureMan), who played a drumitar, a MIDI device that triggered drum sounds when played like a guitar. This group formed the Flecktones with which Fleck still tours, a group he describes as “a mixture of acoustic and electric with a lot of roots in folk and bluegrass as well as funk and jazz” (Fleck, 2003, n. p.). Their first performance took place in 1989, on a PBS series called *Lonesome Pine*. The Flecktones released their first album, self titled, in 1990 on Warner Bros. This album, as well as their second, *Flight of the Cosmic Hippo* (1991), was nominated for Grammy awards. This group is primarily a touring band that has appeared with artists such as Dave Matthew's Band, Bonnie Raitt, Sting, and the Grateful Dead. In addition, they have made guest appearances on television shows including *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson*, *The Arsenio Hall Show*, *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*, *Saturday Night Live*, and *The Late Show with David Letterman* (Fleck, 2003, n. p.).

Béla Fleck's work on the banjo shows him as a crossover artist, especially in his classical collaborations with long time friend Meyer on *Perpetual Motion* (2001), *Music For Two* (2004), and their most recent collaboration, a *Concerto for Double Bass and*

Banjo (premiered 2003 with the Nashville Symphony, not yet published). Fleck also uses this instrument in his jazz influenced band, Béla Fleck and the Flecktones. Of his own playing, he says he practices the banjo in as many different ways as he can, realizing the range of styles that can be played on the banjo (Rauschart, 2004, p. M02). Ultimately, he is creating a new banjo style by playing fluidly in the bluegrass, jazz, and classical domains, combining elements of composed classical music with the improvisatory and virtuosic practices often found in jazz and bluegrass banjo music. As a soloist he references the 19th-century American parlor music and classical traditions through his skilled and virtuosic musicianship. Further, his tour manager, Richard Battaglia, says of Fleck's musical goals: "[Fleck] is a driven artist...He enjoys putting the banjo in many different, unusual situations...trying to push the limits of the genre [of banjo music] as well as his own personal limitations" (personal communication, March 3, 2005).

Since the banjo is typically thought of as a bluegrass instrument associated with mountain music (see Chapter Two), Fleck has had to work especially hard to fight against this stigma, and to forge a path for the banjo in the highbrow world of classical music. He says of his instrument and this stereotype, "It's a mistake just to connect the banjo to a rural idea...You can play anything on the banjo." And he does, from bluegrass, to rock, to classical, to country, to Bach (Rauschart, 2004, p. M02).

Invoking a common theme found in classical music, Béla Fleck names his album, *Perpetual Motion*, for a piece of the same title recorded on the album. This piece was originally composed by Paganini for violin with piano accompaniment. In addition to referencing the famous Paganini work, the concept of perpetual motion describes continuous movement in music and invokes dance forms such as the tarantella, as well as

the driving rhythms common to bluegrass (Tilmouth, 2004, n. p.). As discussed in Chapter Two, there is a virtuosity associated with the violin and Paganini. Fleck takes this virtuosity and applies it to the banjo, first by using Paganini's work, and second through his own virtuosic playing style.

The cover of this album features Fleck wearing a tuxedo, with the shirt unbuttoned and the bow tie missing (see Figure 12). He sits in a chair, reclining a bit, looking relaxed with his banjo. The words "bela fleck" and "perpetual motion" are surrounded by tracers, as if to give the impression of constantly moving up and down (further invoking perpetual motion) around him. Fleck's hands reside in the center of these moving words, reflecting the fact that they perpetrate this constant movement. Inside, there is another picture of Fleck, in the same outfit, stretched out over a couch, with his leg over the arm of the sofa. Although this time he is not playing, he holds his banjo and wears a serene and happy expression on his face.



Figure 12: Béla Fleck, *Perpetual Motion*, (2001), album cover.

Another image shows Fleck playing the banjo, with only the rim and part of the fingerboard visible, once again with the tracers that mark his constant motion. These images invoke the conventional classical performance attire in the tuxedo, and simultaneously suggest the laid-back, and anything but “highbrow” nature associated with bluegrass.

This album contains entirely of classical music arranged for non-classical combinations of instruments. It marks Fleck’s second collaboration with Meyer, after *Uncommon Ritual*, where the two paired up with guitarist Mike Marshall to play both jazz and bluegrass music. Fleck learned the music through banjo tablature, as he does not read traditional western notation well. There are no original works featured on this album, but rather original arrangements of classical works ranging from Scarlatti and Bach to Chopin and Beethoven. Paganini’s *Moto Perpetuo* is featured twice. In the first arrangement, the banjo plays the violin solo, with the accompaniment, originally for orchestra, played on piano. The second arrangement is performed as a bluegrass arrangement, where the banjo plays the violin part, but with a more active bluegrass guitar accompaniment. This second version retains the harmony and solo of the original; however, the difference lies in the accompaniment. The guitarist, James Bryan Sutton, embellishes the accompaniment often with a bluegrass “finger picking” performance style. While each work on this album challenges the classical traditions by reorchestrating the compositions to include the banjo as a prominent instrument, this arrangement of Paganini’s work particularly merges the classical and bluegrass domains to create a crossover style.

Further demonstrating collaboration between artists, the crossover album *Appalachian Journey* (2000), features a partnership between Mark O'Connor, Yo-Yo Ma, and Edgar Meyer as well as folk-revival singer/songwriter James Taylor and fiddler/vocalist Alison Krauss. This album signifies crossover in its title, cover art, and combination of songs. The title of the album, in conjunction with the performing forces (fiddle, violin, cello, double bass, guitar, and voice) references both classical and traditional Appalachian musics. Further, the title implies the idea of a journey, a concept that this album reflects in several ways. First, these three musicians of relatively different styles come together and form their own style. This journey began with *Appalachia Waltz*, recorded four years before. This album also symbolizes a journey toward finding an American music through the use of traditional American idioms, in this case, of Appalachia. This journey represents one in which O'Connor and Meyer are particularly interested, as part of their compositional goal remains to create "American" music. A third journey invoked in this album is the journey of settlers into the Appalachian Mountain region. The trio refers to this passage through the use of both arrangements of traditional works and original compositions that refer to the style of these traditional works.

On the cover, Ma, O'Connor and Meyer play together in a pastoral landscape immersed in Appalachia (see Figure 13). The ensemble suggests a slightly altered classical trio, with the cello replacing the viola's role, and the bass taking on that of the cello. The three are dressed informally, invoking the laid-back nature of the music of this region.

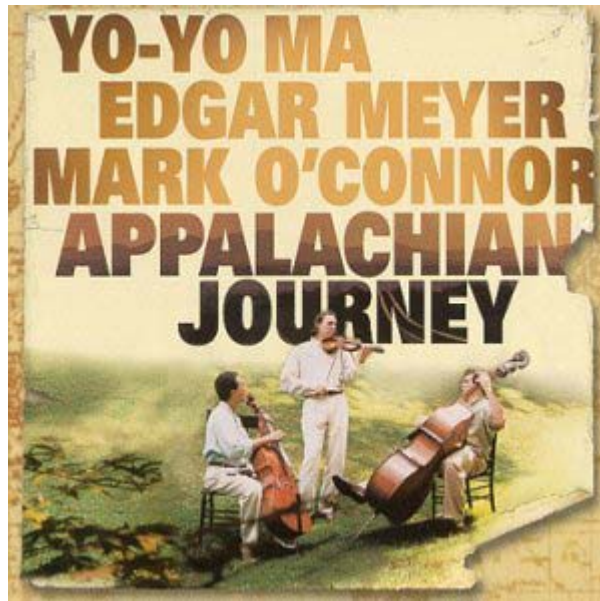


Figure 13: Yo-Yo Ma, Edgar Meyer, and Mark O’Connor, *Appalachian Journey*, (2000), album cover.

The relaxed nature of the performance portrayed is further marked by the nonchalant look on O’Connor’s face and Meyer leaning back in his chair, allowing his foot to come off the ground, a movement that further implies the journey of the musicians discussed above. The image on the cover further identifies the journey of these three musicians to finding musical commonality by portraying them as comfortable and relaxed among one another.

Many of the works on this album are composed by Meyer such as “1B,” “Duet for Cello and Bass,” “Cloverfoot Reel,” and “Second Time Around,” with others by O’Connor, including “Misty Moonlight Waltz,” “Emily’s Reel,” “Poem for Carlita,” “Caprice for Three,” and “Vistas.” The artists for this ensemble also arranged works that are part of the traditional repertoire of Appalachian music, such as “Limerock” and “Fisher’s Hornpipe.” The liner notes, written by John Schaefer, Producer of Music

Programming for WNYC Radio in New York, explains the cultural significance of this album as both an extension of the nationalist movement in 19th- and 20th-century classical music and a definition of “classical music’s new sound” (2000, pp. 5-6). This new sound of classical music embraces “styles and traditions that were previously thought to be incompatible with the great Western tradition of Bach and Beethoven” (Schaefer, 2000, p. 5).

These recordings of these crossover artists show fluidity between classical and other American domains. None of their pieces rests rigidly within one particular style, but instead draws on elements of many styles. This produces an interesting new style of music that receives much critical acclaim, due in part to its innovative form, but also to the extreme musical capabilities of these performers to capture effortlessly aspects of many styles. The works of these artists reflect their musical backgrounds, which are rich in the traditional musics of the United States, including jazz, country, fiddling, and bluegrass. Because of the multiple domains in their musical development, these composers naturally combine these idioms within their classical compositions, changing the nature of classical music in the United States, to create new classical music that is intrinsically American, yet still is on par with its European counterpart. Their music appeals to wide audiences and their performances in different musical venues reshape the ways society views classical music performance, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

4. Challenging Distinctions among Taste Cultures

Studies of audience reception of music have largely been devoted to popular musics. With few exceptions (Fabbri, 1982a, 1982b; Small, 1998; Peterson, 1992), researchers have neglected reception among classical music audiences. However, many of the methods applied to the study of popular music can be directly applied to the classical realm. Audience response to music depends on several social factors, including media presentations of music, such as advertising and marketing, personal tastes, and how these tastes shape self identification and personal interaction (Holt, 1997; Lewis, 1992; Lebrecht, 1997).

In this chapter, I will draw from theories of musical taste as a major factor in determining the characteristics of audience members and their knowledge about a particular style of music. Through the utilization of sociologist Richard Peterson's (1992) redefined notion of audience segmentation, I will show how Peterson's theory of "omnivore" consumption supports crossover music as a means of redefining classical music in society. Through a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of a Mark O'Connor concert I observed, I will analyze the ways one particular audience exemplifies theories of taste, and apply this analysis to other audiences for O'Connor, Meyer and Fleck. I also address the ways in which crossover audiences differ from the typical audience for the classical domain in order to discover how crossover music influences the nature of classical music audiences.

Crossover music reflects the consumption practices of classical music in terms of three groups: composers, orchestral management, and audiences. Consumption practices

among high socioeconomic audience groups are no longer restricted to elite arts, as scholars once thought (Adorno, 1941/1990; Hall & Whannel, 1965; Reisman, 1950/1990). Today, the “higher status groups” consume in what Richard Peterson terms an omnivorous way: rather than participating in one “elite” form of culture, those at the top, with more resources, tend to take part in many cultural activities (Peterson, 1992, p. 252). Some of the activities in which higher status groups now participate were once considered “non-elite,” including sports, home and auto repair, and television viewing (Peterson, 1992, pp. 250-251). Crossover music represents another form of omnivorous consumption. Through the combination of classical music with American musical domains, including jazz, fiddling, and bluegrass, crossover musicians create a new American classical music. This music appeals to American audiences because it fuses American idioms with a European classical music aesthetic, reflecting a democracy among musical domains, which manifests in an egalitarian music, accessible by a variety of audiences, and creating a new perception of classical music among these audiences.

Theories of Taste

Several scholars have theorized about the development of musical taste and the factors that encourage its development (Holt, 1997; Lewis, 1992; Negus, 1996; Willis, 1990). Musical taste is a means through which people express their identity and communicate meaning to others in social groups (Lewis, 1992, p. 135). Cultural capital plays a role in relating one’s own tastes to others (Holt, 1997; Thornton, 1995; Willis, 1990). Cultural capital is represented by the knowledge a person has about culture as well as the ways in which they use this knowledge through consumption and social

reproduction (Holt, 1997). Since delineations among status hierarchies have been considerably blurred in the age of postmodernism, distinctions of consumption among them are also blurred.

Tastes manifest in social settings creating “taste cultures,” which are defined by similar characteristics within a social group. “Taste” implies that people have various feelings about the particular worth of different types of music (Lewis, 1992, p. 139). As an expression of identity and form of communication, taste means that “we pretty much listen to, and enjoy, the same music that is listened to by other people whom we like or with whom we identify” (Lewis, 1992, p. 137). Further, taste is expressed in numerous consumption fields, through which individuals consume goods and participate in cultural activities (Holt, 1997, p. 99). Expression in consumption fields occurs not only by consuming particular objects, but also by communicating about these objects through conversations at work, home, parties, schools, churches, and other social settings, as well as through displays in a person or group’s habitué (Holt, 1997, pp. 95, 99). Sociologist George Lewis defines taste as an entity tied to social groups and divides social aspects that influence taste into three expansive dimensions (Lewis, 1992, pp. 137; 140). The first dimension shows how “demographics” such as class, age, race, religion, and geographic location influence one’s taste in music. The second dimension, “aesthetics,” explores how what one values as sound in music determines one’s taste. The third dimension is “politics,” which concerns the relationship between musicians, music, and fans, as compared with the tastes of the larger society (Lewis, 1992, pp. 144-146). Political dimensions determine taste in terms of whether one has the desire to be

supportive of, alternative to, or in opposition to taste patterns found in the larger society (Lewis, 1992, p. 145).

Cultural capital serves to maintain hierarchies among taste cultures, further separating them. Cultural capital is a concept put forth by Pierre Bourdieu (1984); defined as a set of knowledge, skills, and education pertaining to a certain cultural context, a complex that confers social status (Thornton, 1995, p. 10). It is accumulated through upbringing, behavior, and discourse regarding distinctions in taste, consumption of particular cultural goods, participation in cultural activities, and communications about cultural objects and activities (Holt, 1997, pp. 95-96; 99). Cultural capital resides within all types of cultural and leisure activities; however, for my purposes, I will focus on how this concept exists within musical domains and practices. Holt's interpretation of Bourdieu can be used to understand how varying forms of knowledge and uses of that knowledge are valued differently among various taste cultures (1997, pp. 96-98; 103). Members of these taste cultures express their taste through "micro-political acts of attracting and distancing" in the ways they interact and communicate their consumption practices (Holt, 1997, p. 99). This expands Lewis' formulation of the "political" from his emphasis on musical objects and performances to a new emphasis on taste cultures and contexts surrounding those objects.

Although cultural capital is not always directly related to economic capital (wealth), the two may be linked in that those with greater economic capital presumably have the necessary fiscal resources to expend in their consumption practices that build cultural capital (Holt, 1997, p. 116; Peterson, 1992, p. 247; Thornton, 1995, p. 10). However, in some instances, such as Anglo-American Appalachian and African-

American urban rap and hip hop musics, low economic capital may create high cultural capital because the economic hardships of these regions constitute a large part of their musical identity (Lewis, 1992, p. 147; Willis, 1990, pp. 64-65).

Some scholars describe a hierarchy of tastes, which they often delineate in binary terms, such as elite versus mass audiences (Adorno, 1941/1990; Hall & Whannel, 1965; Holt, 1997; Reisman, 1950/1990). According to Adorno's paradigm, one group follows the herd and its tastes in music thus agree with the majority, whereas the smaller second group consciously objects to and rejects identification with the masses with their tastes in music in opposition to that of the masses (Adorno, 1941/1990; Riesman, 1950/1990). In this social hierarchy, classical music audiences are seen as the elite and distinguishing minority, held in opposition to mass interpretations of music. Fans of more popular domains, such as bluegrass, rock, and country, are often perceived as part of the undifferentiating mainstream, mass, or majority.

However, binary constructions usually juxtapose too broadly the culture of larger musical domains, not taking into account the variety of musical tastes that may exist within each domain. For example, in classical music there are various styles and genres that are preferred by different people. Within musical domains, there are many different culture groups that have been variously called "subcultures" (Thornton, 1995), "fandoms" (Cavicchi, 1998), and "music scenes" (Negus, 1996), which are dependent on differing values within the group. People create these groups, in part, by seeking others with similar musical tastes.

Peterson's model presents two pyramids to illustrate taste hierarchies and consumption patterns. The first of these represents how American people view the

hierarchy of tastes in music. At the top of this pyramid lies classical music, viewed by most as the most elite taste. As the hierarchy moves toward the bottom of the pyramid, more musical styles are ranked in a less rigid order (Peterson, 1992, p. 254). Although the styles ranked below classical music vary depending on several factors, the majority of people classified three distinctly American domains just below classical music: jazz, folk, and musicals (Peterson, 1992, pp. 246; 248). Significantly, two of these idioms, jazz and folk, are two of the common idioms used by O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck in their crossover music. The top of this pyramid represents the European ideal, followed closely by these American musics. This scheme suggests crossover music's potential for success in the United States, invoking the idea of American democracy in the combination of high and low musics.

Peterson's second pyramid, which is inverted, represents consumption practices by specific individuals or groups (Peterson, 1992, p. 254). As mentioned earlier, no longer are people with higher economic capital expected to participate in one elite musical practice, but rather in several (Peterson, 1992, p. 252). Moreover, it is now a general contention that those at the bottom of the social hierarchy tend to participate in one or few cultural activities, prompting Peterson to label them "univores" (1992, p. 252). Univore consumption is restricted by factors such as limited temporal and economic resources, the valuing of practical and functional consumption over self-actualization or individuality (Holt, 1997, pp. 109-117; Peterson, 1992, pp. 250-251). In contrast to the univores, "omnivores" reside at the top of this inverted pyramid, where they command status by displaying a range of several tastes and participating in many cultural activities, dependent on the context (Peterson, 1992, pp. 252, 254). Crossover

music appeals especially to people of this group because of their many varied tastes. It further promotes the American aspects of this music, because the omnivorous consumption of crossover reflects democratization of consumption. When these elements of taste and consumption are applied to a group of people who share similar tastes, a taste culture emerges based on the omnivore consumption practices of crossover music.

Rather than adopting binary explanations, I argue that the different tastes that account for the various types of people in an audience at a crossover concert directly relate to Peterson's proposed omnivore/univore explanation of taste culture, which challenges the previous elite-to-mass construction discussed above. Omnivore consumption not only accounts for the combining of musical domains by composers, but also for more inclusive audience consumption. Because crossover music has a wider appeal, it reflects omnivore consumption, which allows classical music marketing departments to retain the "high" status often associated with classical music while increasing audience membership. This crossover allows for omnivorous consumption of music that simultaneously invokes the European model of classical music while democratizes it in such a way as to include American musical idioms.

Determining Taste in Classical Music

Lewis applies his dimensions of taste culture to popular music domains, but I propose an application of these ideas to classical audience taste cultures. In determining the taste culture of typical classical music audiences, I conducted interviews with management at different symphonies, including Jessica Etton, Marketing Director, and Barry Kempton, General Manager, both of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra (SPCO);

Makiko Freeman, Director of Artistic Planning, and Alan Valentine, General Manager of the Nashville Symphony Orchestra (NSO); Alan Kay, Program Coordinator of the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra (OCO); and Greg Heltman, Founder and General Manager of the Santa Fe Symphony (SFS). According to some of these sources, typical audiences for classical music share several uniform demographics (Makiko Freeman, Jessica Etton, personal interviews, January 20, 2005, February 18, 2005). Audience members are usually in an age bracket of 50 and older. They are not always wealthy, but are usually middle- to upper-middle class in terms of income. Classical music audiences tend to be professional, mostly in careers that require education (Makiko Freeman, Jessica Etton, personal interviews, January 20, 2005, February 18, 2005). Echoing Lewis, Alan Valentine, general manager of the NSO, notes that typical classical audience members value a certain “aesthetic experience;” they are “looking for a deeper kind of experience” than they may have enjoyed at a younger age. The deeper experience they look for includes valuing this music on a “spiritual and emotional” level (personal communication, January 20, 2005). This search for sounds with personal and emotional meaning strengthens the audience’s perception of worth in classical music. From a political perspective, classical music is usually seen to support the structures of the larger society. In particular, classical music is often viewed as a model of musical elitism because it resides outside of the popular domain, where many political transcripts, or messages, are overtly displayed (Shelemay, 2001, p. 281).⁸ In general, the messages in classical music in the United States do not challenge the status quo so to speak.

⁸ The social and performance contexts of specific classical music works are important. Some classical pieces, such as many of the works of Shostakovich, can be seen as oppositional in the context of

Overall, these dimensions account for typical characteristics of classical music audiences. Crossover music, however, expands the demographic to include a wider range of ages and incomes, broadening audiences by incorporating into classical music highly-valued, American idioms. Specifically in the cases of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck, their crossover music creates a political alternative to the typical classical music culture, thus challenging perceptions of classical music.

A large part of the literal audience (those participating in the concert experience) of classical music is, in general, made up of season ticket holders. In fact, symphony orchestras rely on the season ticket holders for most of their income (Greg Heltman, Jessica Etton, Alan Kay, and Makiko Freeman, personal communications, February 21, 2005; February 18, 2005; March 6, 2005; January 20, 2005). These people go to see the symphony or the opera once or twice a month and sit in the same seat, usually surrounded by others who are there for a similar set of reasons. Some people like to support the arts, others enjoy the music and the chance for a night where they can dress up and go out. Either way there is a certain "higher" social status associated with this activity. Often these people establish relationships and engage in related activities together, such as going for dinner or socializing before and after the concert (Small, 1998, p. 41). This scenario of performances as social activity for groups of people is of course not limited to the classical world, as Cavicchi exemplifies in his recounting of the interactions at Bruce Springsteen concerts (1998, pp. 21-35). Although these two performance activities are different in many ways, they do share these aspects of people coming together for a

the communist regime under which he composed, while the works of some experimental composers in the 20th-century United States can be viewed as alternative when they are looked at in terms of their original setting and significance.

specific purpose: the enjoyment of a type of music with which the audience identifies or relates. These audiences reminisce about past concert experiences, further reinforcing their sense of belonging and identity within this group. In this way, a group of like-minded and like-interested people come together to form and perpetuate a taste culture.

The Concert

A “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of a Mark O’Connor concert I recently attended offers a useful approach to these concepts of taste culture and cultural capital in terms of crossover music. This type of ethnographic analysis provides insight into the social structure of the concert and audience members.

On January 19, 2005, Mark O’Connor and his Hot Swing Trio played a concert at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville’s Alumni Memorial Building. I arrived early in order to observe some of the pre-concert events. I overheard friendly conversations between friends, anticipatory and exited questions: “What kind of music does he play again?” “Is he a fiddler, or a violinist?” “What do you think they will play tonight?” These were accompanied by knowledgeable responses from different people as I walked to my seat: “Well, with this group, he plays a combination of jazz and fiddle.” “Well, he’s both. I guess a fiddling violinist.” “I hope they play some of their original stuff.”

Through these comments, the audience members question concepts of genre and domain in an endeavor to label what kind of concert they are attending. Attempting to utilize the language of established musical boundaries, and finding this language inadequate, the audience challenges established notions of domain. This challenge refers to the idea of the audience acceptance/rejection of convention (see Chapter One).

Audience members bring in preconceived notions about this music, but find their knowledge is only partially correct. This questioning represents crossover within the different taste cultures present in this audience. Crossover music encourages interaction among taste cultures, which leads to a break down of the boundaries distinguishing them.

The remarks made by audience members also exemplify varying amounts of knowledge about Mark O'Connor and his Hot Swing Trio. Some of the audience member's observations implied that they knew him in only one musical domain, while others understood the use of crossover in his music. These differing expectations among audience members show how O'Connor's music reshapes the perception of classical music. He enlarges his audience base by appealing to fans of many musical styles and challenging their established sense of association within the hierarchy of taste cultures. I took my seat and got out my notebook and pen, and began to take notes.

One of the first things that struck me was the different varieties of dress. Some people, mostly younger, early to mid-20s, wore jeans and sweatshirts, which reflected the concert's locale on the university campus, while others, older, probably around 50 and above, dressed in stylish suits and lavish dresses, as one might see at a typical symphony concert. Still others, of an in-between age, wore business and casual dress attire. The different ideas of appropriate dress for this event led me to assume, once again, varying expectations among this group, another key factor in the way audiences use pre-existing conventions to determine the boundaries of musical domain. It was interesting to see so many different types of dress at this concert venue compared with more specifically classical concerts I have observed. Some people expected this event to be as formal as a symphony orchestra concert and others expected it to be no more formal than the local

club (personal communications, January 20-February 5, 2005). The members of this audience who dressed with the expectation of classical music, in more formal concert attire, expected a more classical oriented performance, with more classical behaviors expected from the audience.

As I settled into my seat and began to determine whom I might try to interview later about the evening's entertainment, the Hot Swing Trio entered the stage to what I can only call welcoming applause, and immediately started their first set. This particular O'Connor group plays mostly in the jazz style, although it also incorporates some elements of the fiddle and other traditions. In addition to Mark O'Connor, this trio includes Jon Burr on the double bass and Frank Vignola playing the guitar. The musicians appeared very involved with the music, and seemed at this point only to interact with one another, giving silent cues and acknowledgement through eye contact and nods, a common practice in ensemble music of all domains. The first piece, "Momo," began with the introduction of the main theme, typical for a jazz piece, followed by O'Connor improvising the first solo chorus. This part was interesting, because, in addition to being an obvious variation on the main theme, he incorporated glissandi, string hammer-ons, and pull-offs that resonated idiomatically with traditional fiddle music.

After O'Connor played this solo, I began to notice differing levels of knowledge about the appropriate behavior for a jazz concert. Various audience members had differing expectations as to what style of music the Hot Swing Trio would perform and the appropriate ways of responding to this music. Some audience members clapped vigorously after his virtuosic display, while others (presumably expecting a classical

concert environment) looked around and reluctantly followed suit, uncomfortable and unsure about applauding while music was continuing. The applause implies that some people were familiar with and probably attended jazz performances, and that many people did not, as evidenced by their unfamiliarity with the process and conventions of interaction with the musicians. Presumably, the level of discomfort stems from the sacralized, attentive practices in classical performances. After playing this solo, O'Connor lowered his violin and began to strum chord-outlines, comping softly while Vignola improvised a very free jazzy solo on guitar. Next, Burr improvised a chorus on the double bass, switching between arco and pizzicato for effect. The audience as a whole began to understand this convention of acknowledgement and their applause at the end of each solo became more natural. At the end of the performance, the entire room applauded appropriately, and the performers nodded in appreciation.

The outward appearance of these audiences indicates the different taste cultures present, and knowledge of the appropriate behavior in this context further emphasizes aspects of these taste groups. Both jazz and classical taste cultures were represented in this crossover audience, and the nature of this combination creates new meanings in this audience. Interestingly, within this audience, an inversion of the typical beliefs concerning high and low cultural capital manifests. In other settings, having knowledge of the proper actions in a classical setting would signify high cultural capital. However, within this context, high cultural capital is represented by knowledge of the appropriate behavior within a jazz concert. Those members of the audience familiar with jazz decorum, who demonstrated when one should applaud during this performance, established their high cultural capital. The applause reveals a teaching and learning

communication between these taste cultures that, by the end of the concert, resulted in a new level of understanding among members of this audience.

After two more pieces, the audience had become quite at ease with this routine, and O'Connor addressed the audience. He thanked them for coming to the show and announced the compositions they had played ("Momo," an original work, "Ain't Misbehavin,'" written by Fats Waller for Louis Armstrong, and "Cherokee," an "up tempo" song by Ray Noble that was influential in the formation of bebop) and introduced the next piece, an original ballad by guitarist Frank Vignola, "One Beautiful Evening." This composition had a slower and mellower tone than the previous more up-tempo works. This change in character confused those in the audience who had limited knowledge of the appropriate behavioral and consumption practices for jazz performances. O'Connor again improvised the first chorus, but this time something very lyrical and straight forward, without a plethora of showy, virtuosic embellishment. A few of the members of the audience began to clap, but when they realized they were alone, they stopped, not willing to risk this faux pas again. The comfort level with recognition through applause during the music did not again rise until after the intermission.

At the intermission, I walked around and talked to different members of the audience asking if they would be interested in talking further with me about their experiences of the concert, and discussing with them how they found out about the concert and why they attended. I discovered that there were two main reasons for attendance at the concert. Most people were either familiar with and enjoyed O'Connor's work both as a soloist and in his other ensembles (surprisingly, very few were familiar with this particular group) or they came because this concert was part of a series put on

by the university's Cultural Attractions Committee. This student organization has 26 members who program a balance of different types of performing arts (dance, music, etc.) with the mission, according to chairman of the committee, Anthony Barr, to bring popular and high art to campus (personal communication, February 4, 2005). In programming The Hot Swing Trio, the committee felt it met the requirement of both popular and high art. The committee also felt this crossover appeal would attract both students and members of the Knoxville community interested in supporting the arts (Anthony Barr, personal communication, February 4, 2005). Different types of people, including students, professionals, and community members, in attendance at this concert proved this theory of the committee correct.

The second half of the concert opened with bassist Jon Burr improvising alone onstage, a solo that included quotes from orchestral "hits" such as the theme from Steven Spielberg's *Jaws* and the opening fifths of Richard Strauss' *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (also known for its use in Stanley Kubrick's film, *2001: A Space Odyssey*). Burr's choice to include these quotes within his improvisation further represents crossover. In these quotes, he draws on the pragmatic conventions of the bass as foundation and support, as displayed in these bass themes, which feature the lower register of the instrument, combining them with his virtuosic improvised display. Quoting Strauss also represents a crossover between the oral aspects of improvisation in jazz and the literate aspects of a codified German tone poem, a specific genre within the classical repertoire. Moreover, since both of these pieces appear in popular Hollywood movies, they already represent the crossing over of classical music into a popular milieu.

Burr was followed by guitarist Vignola improvising a medley of music styles ranging from jazz to classical to flamenco, including some rock and roll riffs reminiscent of Chuck Berry. Like Burr, Vignola displays crossover drawing on stereotypical guitar genres, such as the Spanish flamenco and the origins of rock and roll, within the context of an improvised solo. These separate solo performances reveal these performers invoking iconic styles of conventional guitar and bass roles, and simultaneously challenging convention by including them in this crossover setting. These two solo performances delighted the audience, who responded with vigorous applause, whistling, and yelling. As O'Connor and Burr rejoined Vignola on the stage the audience settled down for the remainder of the show.

The second half of the concert differed from the first in two significant and related ways. First, the performers in this half improvised more elaborate solos. O'Connor bowed double-stops and other extended techniques at phenomenal speeds, while Vignola and Burr traversed the necks of their respective instruments with great accuracy and technical capability, reflecting the virtuosity often associated with the violin or fiddle. The result of these elaborations was a more dazzling and virtuosic second half. The second difference, directly related to the different performance style was an increased level of comfort and understanding in the audience. Members of the audience felt comfortable applauding for licks that were especially flashy and expressed similar appreciation as the opening of this half. In the second half, the audience had a greater understanding of this setting: those with higher cultural capital in this context, here jazz fans, taught by example those who had lower cultural capital, allowing them to gain knowledge and understanding. These changes in the tone of the performance indicate

ways in which O'Connor's audience learned to behave from other members of his audience and further exemplifies the ways that audiences define musical domains. Further, this display of behavioral change in the audience indicates a point at which crossover music changes the reception of unfamiliar music, in this case the way classical audiences expect to act and interact during a performance.

After the show, O'Connor announced that they would meet and greet the audience in the lobby to sign CDs and give out information about his upcoming Fiddle Camps in Nashville. At this impromptu "Meet and Greet," the Hot Swing Trio graciously accepted the outpouring of compliments and comments from the audience as they gave autographs and talked about their music, and I continued to listen to and observe their reactions. The audience members lined up throughout the lobby and the Hot Swing Trio took 1-2 minutes with each person, thanking them for coming to the show and asking them if they enjoyed the performance. Many people commented on how nice it was that they took this time to interact with members of the audience, and how it made them feel "connected" to the artist on a more personal level through this conversation. Once again, here behavior evidences crossover aspects affecting classical expectations. Through this micro-political act of inviting the audience to interact with him and his group, O'Connor subverts the notion of the sacralized performer codified in the 19th and 20th centuries. Over time, the sacralization of classical music has led to the distancing between performers and audiences that was solidified by modernist thinking. However, O'Connor and the Hot Swing Trio deliberately deny this separation and interact with the audience during and after the concert.

My interviews with members of this audience, as well as others, offer insight into the way these artists are reshaping the perception of classical music. This concert experience offers valuable insight into the range of musical tastes and identities within an audience for a crossover artist like Mark O'Connor. Furthermore, in my interviews with audience members of this and other concerts, I discovered that they had a wide range of musical tastes, including classical, jazz, country, alternative rock, classic rock, rhythm and blues (R & B), as well as other crossover artists especially Edgar Meyer and Béla Fleck (personal communications, January 19-February 5, 2005). This wide range of musical tastes in the audience indicates an omnivorous audience in this crossover setting.

Reception Among Audiences

This concert, in connection with my interviews, presents evidence of how reception and trends among audiences for crossover music reshapes perceptions of classical music by broadening audiences to include younger members with more varied tastes. As discussed earlier, the typical classical audience tends to be older, while audiences for O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck, seem to be younger. The two age groups come together; however, when these artists perform in conjunction with symphony orchestras. In such instances, the audience discovers commonalities between musical domains in this crossover music that they may not have otherwise realized. Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel's work, *The Popular Arts*, delineates the idea of majority and minority categories for cultural consumption, associating them with age and youth, respectively (1965). Hall and Whannel declare that youth challenge the conventions of the majority (adults), fulfilling a need to express themselves and their identity in

opposition to the majority (1965). In typical cases of elders and youth, the two groups are often positioned against one another and often with one disregarding the tastes of the other. In the case of crossover music, these two groups are not pitted against one another as Hall and Whannel argue, but rather embody Peterson's idea of omnivorous consumption by drawing many people and groups into a concert that involves several styles of music. Makiko Freeman (NSO Director of Artistic Planning), Alan Valentine (NSO General manager), Jessica Etton (SPCO Marketing Executive), and Greg Heltman (SFS Founder and Director), each remarked on a noticeable difference between the ages for typical classical audiences and audiences attending symphony events that feature Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, or Béla Fleck (Makiko Freeman, Alan Valentine, Jessica Etton, Greg Heltman, personal communications, January 20, 2005; February 18, 2005; February 21, 2005).

The younger people who attend these concerts are more often not fans of classical music per se, but rather fans of O'Connor, Meyer and Fleck. Some aspects of the audience group's participation in crossover music parallel components of Cavicchi's concept of a "fandom," although other elements are also present. According to Daniel Cavicchi, "fandom" has a multiple definition:

1. as "a phenomenon of public performance," taking into account the "live" show as a large factor in participation;
2. as "a phenomenon of Western industrial capitalism since the late 1700's" with the introduction of the media and advertising as a means by which people gather and decipher information;

3. as “a creation of much needed meaning in the daily lives of otherwise ordinary people, a way in which members of this modern media-driven society make sense of their selves and their relations to others” (1998, pp. 6, 8-9).

A crossover fandom participates in the music of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck by attending their concerts regardless of the type of performance (whether at a small venue or with a symphony orchestra), purchasing their recordings, and participating in fan mailing lists on these artists' web sites. They experience this music from an American perspective, drawn to it because of the American musics it combines with classical. Because, as Cavicchi defines it for Springsteen fans, a fandom is bound to the concert experience and capitalist consumption practices, crossover consumption, through purchasing CDs and participating in web-based conversation about the artists, shares similarities with a fandom (1998, p. 21). However, this crossover taste culture differs from Cavicchi's notion of a fandom in that the members are bound to a particular aesthetic, which embodies several musical domains (allowing for omnivorous consumption), rather than a single musical entity in a fandom, such as Bruce Springsteen. Cavicchi may see this as a kind of fandom, but I propose rather, that the consumption practices of crossover music are expressed through micro-political acts, such as those listed above, which serve to both mark cultural capital among crossover audiences and encourage omnivorous consumption (Holt, 1997, p. 99, Peterson, 1992).

People who know the other music of O'Connor, Meyer, or Fleck may come to symphony concerts to see them perform, but may not come back to see other classical music concerts (Makiko Freeman, Alan Valentine, Jessica Etton, Greg Heltman, personal

communications, January 20, 2005; February 18, 2005; February 21, 2005). However, these artists are often programmed on concerts containing other pieces that may appeal to a typical crossover audience, such as other American music, or pieces that have jazz influences (Copland, Milhaud, Bernstein, etc.). Such performances of this music may draw O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck fans back to the concert hall. According to Alan Valentine, general manager of NSO and Greg Heltman, general director of SFS, their organizations consider themselves teaching and community orchestras because they try to teach the audiences to enjoy all kinds of different music (personal communications, January 20, 2005; February 21, 2005). Valentine, in particular, feels that once audiences are introduced to new styles of classical music, they are more readily able to accept education and contexts of other new music, which thus staves off the alienation often associated with elitist stereotypes of classical music (personal communication, January 20, 2005). These orchestras have worked hard not to be pigeon-holed into conventional notions of the symphony orchestra only performing great German masters (codified in the 19th century) or the so-called classical hits (as presented by media marketing of classical music). Because of their desire to simultaneously expand the repertoire and the audience, these organizations see artists such as O'Connor, Meyer and Fleck as opportunities to present new American classical music, on par with its European counterpart, that they feel is "accessible" to a greater number of people through its evocation of traditional American idioms.

The concept of accessibility among audiences deserves some further explanation in terms of the concepts of modernism/postmodernism. Much classical music, especially experimental classical music of the 20th century, carries a stigma of inaccessibility,

spurred by the elitist modernist approach favored in the early-to-mid-20th century.

Classical music during the 20th century, according to Adorno, requires an active listener who is willing to participate in the music, rather than approach the music from a purely entertainment standpoint (1941/1990). The idea that music should be composed for the academic composer, and no longer for the pleasure of the audience furthered this separation of the public from classical (or in this vein sometimes referred to as “serious”) music (Babbitt, 1958/1999). New musical works were no longer well received by the populace because composers no longer made any attempt to relate their music to a mass audience. In order to compensate for the decline in audiences due to this split, orchestras no longer programmed such new music since it did not draw audiences to the concert hall (Botstein, 2004, n. p.; Lebrecht, 1997, p. 19). Instead they opted for programming of canonized symphonic music, which was rooted very much in the past. This further distanced some potential audience members from the music because traditionally people listened to contemporary music, and since this music was unavailable to these 20th-century audiences, they opted to listen to other musics, which filled this void.

Twentieth-century American composers thus faced a dilemma. They wanted to compose works that contained a distinctly American sound, which would be taken seriously compared to the sacralized European works, and which did not alienate the audience. Some American composers who tried to combat this dilemma include Copland and Gershwin, who included popular styles like jazz within their classical compositions early in the 20th century. However, as the century progressed, the prominence of modernist composers such as Babbitt and Carter diminished these earlier attempts at creating an American classical music as a democratizing force and something for all the

American people. The damage of modernism's elite attitude has been far-reaching and still affects society's perception of classical music as inaccessible and elite today (Peterson, 1992, p. 253).⁹

The open eclecticism that often characterizes postmodernism offers a solution to the modernist segregation of music and audiences by inviting audiences once again to play an active role in new music. Combining American idioms within classical forms, postmodernism aims to make music more accessible and educate audiences (Pasler, 2004, n. p.). Crossover music and omnivorous consumption practices reflect the ideals of postmodernism in musicians, performers, and composers' efforts to reintroduce American audiences to a classical music with which they can identify. As I mentioned in Chapter One, crossover music is inextricably linked to postmodernism through accessibility, a relationship between audiences and music/musicians, and the collaborative process. These aspects were shown in the concert described above in various ways, including the collaborative process between the musicians in the jazz and fiddle domains, the cooperation among audience members in demonstrating and imitating proper behavior, and the "Meet and Greet" session after the concert in the lobby. The latter of these factors especially demonstrates the importance of the audience's access to both music and musicians in this postmodern era.

⁹ I base this statement on a number of reasons as follows: Peterson (1992) makes a point that if society ranked musical taste in a hierarchical fashion, classical music seems to always be indicated at the top, yet all other musical domains are ranked differently depending on demographic factors of the group involved. Another indicator of the inaccessible stigma in classical music is the small number of people who participate in it compared to other musical domains (see Chapter One). I also draw this conclusion from numerous personal communications I have had with people throughout my academic life.

Moreover, O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck successfully embody this solution to the problem that modernism created through crossover music in the 21st century. Their music further breaks down modernist assumptions of inaccessibility and disdain for the audience by creating music that appeals to a greater number of people. Through their use of the musical idioms of the United States, such as bluegrass, jazz, and fiddling, O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck are reopening the doors of accessibility in classical music, and further creating crossover music. Combining these musical idioms in composition was a logical step in combating elitist notions posed by modernist thinking. These composers present a fusion of musical domains that were never separated in their own musical development, creating music that attracts postmodern omnivorous consumers. Audiences who also enjoy these other musical styles develop a musical identity in the music of these artists, and see their form of classical music as both accessible to them and as an American brand of classical music. These artists further break down the modernist segregation of audience and music by directly interacting with their audiences, as I observed, for example, in the case of O'Connor's Hot Swing Trio.

Crossover artists such as Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck create new forms of music that then generate new audience members and forms of participation. By combining classical music with American styles, this crossover music appeals to a greater number of people. These American idioms appeal to the ideals of democracy in music, an American symphonic music for the American people, an expansion of the principles of Copland's compositions. Often symphonies will program these artists, hoping that they will sell tickets to crossover fans as well as to a symphony's typical audience members, and eventually create a new awareness in these audiences for

classical music. In addition to the regular subscription audience, the crossover fandoms of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck attend classical concerts in which these artists perform. In many cases these concerts are some of the highest selling concerts in the symphony's season (Makiko Freeman, Jessica Etton, Greg Heltman, Anthony Barr, personal communications, January 20, 2005; February 18, 2005; February 21, 2005; February 4, 2005). However, each organization stated that they did not program these artists simply because of their ability to "fill the house." Each of these artists is celebrated as an extremely talented musician who plays "quality music." This is the type of validation that earlier 20th-century composers sought, to create music that embodies an American identity and is on par with the European model. Orchestral marketing directors program these artists because their music retains a semblance of the highbrow association of classical music, yet allows them to increase audience numbers by appealing to a greater number of taste cultures.

Society most often views classical music as a "high" aspect of culture due to its often "elitist" and "pretentious" followers who make it seem inaccessible to the masses. However, crossover artists are effecting a great deal of change in classical music perception; by making this "high" art accessible to more people they are disintegrating some of these highbrow associations. The fusion of other, mostly American, styles in the music of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck dissolves the inaccessible and intimidating notions of classical music, and moreover, broadens the conception of what includes popular music, creating an avenue through which more people can participate.

5. Crossover Music and Change

Summary

The performances and compositions of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck illustrate how audiences in the United States have begun to view classical music from broader perspectives. Through crossing over, combining classical music with musical domains of the United States, such as jazz, old-time country, and bluegrass, these musicians challenge notions of inaccessibility often associated with modernist musical expression and canonized, elite compositions in classical music. In this challenge, they draw upon their own richly diverse musical backgrounds to create a distinctly American classical music that both appeals to American audiences and retains the high quality associated with classical music.

In Chapter One, I presented the changing state of classical music from the 19th century into the early 20th as it underwent a process of sacralization. In the early 19th century, classical music appealed to many people because it combined popular and classical works, such as positioning a Bach overture and the popular song, “Oh, None Can Love Like an Irish Man,” in the same program (Levine, 1988, p. 108). As this practice waned, conductors, patrons, and others in a developing cultural elite sought to canonize European, especially German, classical music to make it “sacred,” and superior to all others. Audiences placed a sacralized value on conductors and performers, viewing them as godlike authorities of the classical world. The sacralization of conductors and the canonization of European repertoire in the symphony in the 19th-century United States began a process of distancing the classical domain from popular audiences,

wherein it began to be associated with wealthy, elite audiences. Further distancing occurred in the 20th century as modernists rejected the canonized works as too “emotional” (Botstein, 2004, n. p.). Modernists from Charles Ives to Milton Babbitt sought, in their music, to create a music that was often anti-sentimental through the subversion of conventions of tonality, form and emotion. Because modernist composers produced music that audiences either did not understand, or with which they were unable to identify, these new forms of music alienated audiences. This alienation led to a decline in attendance of classical music performances (Botstein, 2004, n. p.).

Crossover music alleviates this segregation between music and audiences by combining classical and other musical genres and domains in such a way that makes music accessible to a broader audience (Apler, 2000). Because crossover music transcends the concept of codified genres, I examined issues scholars and others have raised about this codification. Genre has many definitions and uses, which scholars constantly examine and redefine, including labeling musical styles in record stores, or facilitating scholarly discourse about types of music, such as a sonata or concerto. Genre boundaries are fluid and changing, and therefore, these delineations break down. Crossover music fosters this breakdown by combining musical domains and erasing distinctions between them. O’Connor, Meyer, and Fleck’s crossover works reintroduce audiences to classical forms merged with other traditional American musical domains in which audiences find identity and meaning.

In Chapter Two I analyzed O’Connor, Meyer, and Fleck’s instruments, the violin, fiddle, double bass, and banjo, from a technocultural perspective and found that the use of these instruments shapes the way society perceives them (Lysloff & Gay, 2003). I

discovered that these musical instruments are prominent performance forces in several musical domains, including classical, fiddling, old-time country, bluegrass, and jazz, and they convey cultural meanings that tie them to these domains. I argued that their use and prominence in these domains makes them ideal instruments in crossover music because they enable musicians/composers to bridge musical and social domains, to crossover, and effectively to redefine notions of classical music.

The violin and fiddle, for example, act as prominent symbols of classical and country music, respectively, and symbolize virtuosity while often having associations with the devil. Many artists create changing meaning for these instruments therefore altering society's perception of their associated domains. Mark O'Connor's compositions in particular, incorporate the fiddle and violin as one instrument, blurring the distinctions between these two performance styles and bringing them together in a manner that appeals to broader audiences.

In the case of the double bass, historical performers such as Dragonetti and Bottesini sought to legitimize the bass as a solo instrument, but it was not until the 20th century that this practice was fully recognized. Edgar Meyer, in addition to solidifying the double bass as a legitimate solo instrument, has also expanded the instrument's repertoire. He additionally alters society's perception of the double bass: where it was once seen as supportive and anonymous, Meyer's crossover music explores its virtuosity and prominence, showing how the bass can move fluidly among many musical styles.

Society typically associates the banjo with bluegrass and hillbilly music, but Béla Fleck broadens this perception. In performing mainstays of the classical repertoire arranged for banjo he challenges the limited abilities society sees for it. Moreover, in his

original collaborations with Meyer, he expands the available classical repertoire for this instrument. O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck's performances with symphony orchestras and in their own ensembles foster new cultural meanings for the roles of these instruments in classical music and of classical music in general. Because of their music, society is beginning to see the limitless possibilities these instruments have.

In Chapter Three, I argued that O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck's exposure to various domains during their musical development shaped their personal soundscapes, which further influenced the crossover aspects of their performances and compositions. Their introduction to several musical styles (fiddling, jazz, country, bluegrass, and classical) throughout their musical development strongly impacted each musician's choice to produce music that integrates each of these styles. In this chapter my musical analysis of forms and themes revealed references both to classical techniques and to elements of jazz, bluegrass, and fiddling styles. These musical features shape their music as crossover, creating an American classical music. O'Connor merges themes that reflect the fiddle and classical traditions in his *Fiddle Concerto*, and takes the audience on a musical journey to discover a historical common ground that reemerges as the orchestra and soloist are united by the end of the piece.

Meyer's album, *Short Trip Home* represents crossover by juxtaposing pieces that rely heavily on bluegrass styles with a multi-movement classical composition, *Concert Duo for Violin and Double Bass*. Further, this album includes a crossover of collaborators with classical virtuoso Joshua Bell and bluegrass sensations Sam Bush and Mike Marshall. Another Meyer composition, *Double Concerto for Cello and Double*

Bass exemplifies crossover in its mirroring of Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* infused with bluegrass and fiddle idioms.

Fleck's album, *Perpetual Motion* reflects crossover in that Fleck performs traditional classical music arranged for solo banjo. His collaboration with Meyer, *Music for Two*, further invokes this idea and also includes some original compositions. *Appalachian Journey*, featuring Yo-Yo Ma, Edgar Meyer, and Mark O'Connor, combines traditional fiddle songs and original works in a standard classical ensemble, a string trio.

These artists also promote crossover through extra-musical aspects, such as album art and liner notes. These elements promote combinations of highbrow aspects of classical music, such as the sacralized presentation of O'Connor and his fiddle or Fleck donning a tuxedo, with symbols of other domains, including rural scenes and Fleck's laid-back posture, despite his classical attire. By identifying aspects of several musical domains in representative compositions, and also through an analysis of other cultural meanings through extra-musical factors, I demonstrated how this music is implicated in changing perceptions of classical music in the United States. The fluidity with which these composers/musicians cross over many domains creates a unique American classical music that is revered as a familiar music of high quality, like its European counterpart.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I examined aspects of musical taste as shown by audiences of crossover music through the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's principal of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1997) and Peterson's models of consumption practices (1992). I developed this discussion from the perspectives of three groups: composers, audiences, and orchestral management and marketing in order to demonstrate

how crossover changes society's perception of classical music. Peterson's model uses the concept of the omnivore, and its correlate univore, to show how higher status groups no longer consume one elite cultural product, but rather several (thus, omnivore), while those of lower social status tend to participate in one or few cultural practices (and therefore are univores). Because crossover music combines several musical domains, it aligns with omnivorous consumption practices and perhaps could be seen as omnivorous music, blending classical music with American styles. For these composers, who have participated in many musical domains over their lifetimes, crossover music creates a means of expressing a wide array of musics within a single domain. These composers/performers' efforts present a solution to the modernist alienation of audiences to classical music.

Crossover music merges classical music with other musical styles of the United States that display cultural capital nearly as high as that of classical music (Peterson, 1992, pp. 246; 248). This combination invites audiences once estranged from much classical music back into the concert halls. Orchestral management and marketing personnel view crossover music as classical music that retains highbrow notions found within the canonized European masters while offering an opportunity to increase audience membership. Because this music combines classical music with the specifically American musical domains of jazz, bluegrass, and traditional fiddle music, it appeals to a wide variety of taste cultures. Consumption patterns for audiences of crossover music suggest that new perceptions of classical music have begun to emerge: rather than elite, highbrow, and inaccessible, classical music now acts as a domain with which audiences

in the United States can identify. No longer alienating a popular audience, crossover music in fact encourages audience participation within the classical domain.

The State of Classical Music: Revisited

My findings speak to the present and future states of classical music in the United States. The performance and compositional styles of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck incorporate many musical domains into one crossover style. The result emerges as an American classical music, perceived as on par with the European tradition.

The crossover music of O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck represents only a small portion of the growing tradition of classical crossover music. Other contemporary artists also combine classical music with other musical domains. Classical music icon, Yo-Yo Ma, for example, explores the classical musics of Asia in his Silk Road Project in order to introduce this music to Western audiences. Others, such as Laurie Anderson and Vanessa Mae, discussed in Chapter Two, look to cross over the boundaries between acoustic and electronic musical styles. Wynton Marsalis, acclaimed jazz trumpet player, has recorded in both the classical and jazz domains for more than 20 years. As seen in his crossover recording, *The Fiddler's Tale* (1999), which quotes musical gestures, motives, and forms from Stravinsky's *L'Histoire de Soldat* (1918). These artists represent only a handful of the many crossover musicians combining classical music with other domains. Future studies should look to these and other types of crossover, and consider how they also reshape classical music in the United States.

Further Research Opportunities

My work here raises several questions that I have not yet addressed and suggests new avenues for further research related to crossover music. For instance, processes of crossing over are not one-way, and my point of view has mostly been from the perspective of the classical domain; one must wonder how crossover music has begun to shape assumptions and perceptions about jazz, country, and bluegrass. Does this crossover music further legitimize these so-called lowbrow domains so that one day we can expect to see all such music taught at the university level? Further, how do aspects of marketing and the media affect crossover music, both in terms of its effect on classical music and on the perception of other styles employed in crossover? Moreover, how has crossover music changed the outlook for the diminishing numbers in classical music audiences? Because composers such as O'Connor, Meyer, and Fleck are still relatively new, it will be a number of years before scholars can determine the long-term impact of their music. However, because of their growing popularity, both within and beyond classical music venues, perhaps their presence not only creates a larger audience in general for classical music, but also sets a standard for future generations of musicians to follow.

In conclusion, the crossover music of Mark O'Connor, Edgar Meyer, and Béla Fleck, informed by their personal soundscapes, plays a large role in reshaping the classical domain. Every aspect of their musicianship embodies crossover, from their musical backgrounds, to the instruments they play, to the music they compose and perform. These artists do not see themselves as crossing over, per se, but rather as

creating an American style of music that reaches many people. Their intention is simply to create quality music that draws upon the musical domains that they themselves embody; they do not preoccupy themselves with the concept of crossover, but simply enact it. Audience response to this music also proves important in this process. By seeking out and accepting crossover music, audiences thus codify it as a uniquely American classical music for the 21st century. Together, musicians and audiences cross over domains, reshaping classical music in the United States into a music accessible to a wide audience, and one that compellingly engages its listeners and consumers through its strong use of American idioms.

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Vita

Louanne Iannaccone was born April 10, 1980 in New York, and moved to Texas in 1988. She began her musical education at age ten when she joined the orchestra program at school. After graduating with honors from high school in Arlington, Texas in 1998, she decided to follow music as a career. In 2002, she earned a Bachelor of Music degree, *summa cum laude*, from the University of Texas at Arlington, with a concentration in cello performance. Her experience as a cellist, performing in solo recitals and as a member of several orchestras, led her to question the meanings and significance of music in culture. These questions ultimately led her to pursue further education in musicology.

Ms. Iannaccone completed a Master of Music degree with an emphasis in Musicology in 2005, at the University of Tennessee. Over the course of this degree, she performed research in areas concerning the role of women in music, western appropriations of non-western cultures, and Russian nationalist music. In 2004, she presented her paper, "Defining Tchaikovsky Nationally," on the University of Tennessee's Musicology Distinguished Lecture Series, for which she won a prize in the Musicology Student Research Contest. In addition to her musicological studies, Ms. Iannaccone participated in the University of Tennessee Symphony Orchestra, including serving as principal cellist. Her current research interests include musical instruments as technology and expressions of identity and culture, as well as music of the United States.
