REPEATING OURSELVES

AMERICAN MINIMAL MUSIC AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

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ROTH FAMILY FOUNDATION

Music in America Imprint

Michael P. Roth and Sukey Garcetti have endowed this imprint to honor the memory of their parents, Julia and Harry Roth, whose deep love of music they wish to share with others.
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lectual influence shines from every paragraph of this study. It is no exaggeration to say that I would not have produced this or any other scholarly work without her pioneering critical thought; actually working beside and with her at UCLA on a daily basis is even more inspiring. I also want to acknowledge some quite specific and fundamental propositions about music, temporality, and desire gratefully borrowed; I hope their idiosyncratic use here provides payback with (at least some degree of) interest. This book’s long gestation period spanned a sea change in musicological ideology, and it seems absolutely incumbent on me to remind the reader that in 1990, when I began this work in earnest, Susan McClary was not only a powerful musicological example — she was the only musicological example of the kind of scholar I sought someday to be. Someday, is, as these things turn out, just about ... now. I hope she will be pleased at what I wrote — and she has wrought.

Pride of place overall must go to Kimberly Fox, my life companion on this long intellectual journey. She met me when I was a stressed-out graduate student casting about for a dissertation topic and has thus drunk the relationship cup labeled “married to a writer” right to the dregs. Words cannot express the depth and complexity of my debt to her as a person and a thinker. (To acknowledge just the most obvious debt, the title of this book is hers.) All I know is that she is surely as relieved as I am that this is the last sentence of the first book I ever wrote.

INTRODUCTION

The Culture of Repetition

Is a sacrifice necessary? Hurry up with it, because — if we are still within earshot — the World, by repeating itself, is dissolving into Noise and Violence.

Jacques Attali, Noise: The Political Economy of Music
(1977)

I woke up this morning thinking that I might not want to listen to repetitive music ever again — the endless looping of images yesterday was enough for me for quite some time.

Message posted to the .micr sound e-list on September 12, 2001

It is late on a Friday night in the industrial consumer society at the turn of the twenty-first century. The culture of repetition is in full swing.

In a converted warehouse near the urban core, hundreds of dancers are moving in rhythm to highly repetitive electronic music; many of them are under the influence of controlled substances, most notably 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA), known to them as E, X, or Ecstasy. The DJ, who has been building erotic tension for 45 minutes by carefully interweaving current hard trance with classic disco tracks from the 1970s, pulls a prized 12-inch record from his crate: the 17-minute dance remix of Donna Summer and Giorgio Moroder’s “Love to Love You Baby.” He spins the record to the halfway point and begins to inter-
cut Summers's elaborately structured moans into the driving groove that issues from his other turntable; as the crowd realizes what he is doing, they begin to scream and moan along with the record. Everyone reaches climax together as the bass drum kicks in . . .

A solitary late-night shopper wheels her cart down the soup aisle of a nearby supermarket; she finds the repeating pattern of the colored labels vaguely relaxing as she glides by. (Clinical monitoring of her eye-blink rate would show that she has entered the first stage of hypnoid trance.) She wonders, as she does every time she traverses this aisle, why there are so many different brands of soup and who buys them all. She remembers, suddenly, that she has been wanting for a long time to try some chunky chicken noodle. The music drifting down from speakers embedded in the ceiling hardly registers on her consciousness . . .

A writer sits in his suburban study watching a videotape of network television. He has almost 100 sets of tapes, 24 hours of every channel available from his local cable provider on a given day almost two months ago. He is watching them all, trying to make sense of the torrential flow of information pouring from the nation's TV sets. He has seen dozens of sitcoms, hundreds of reruns, literally thousands of commercials, and he has thousands more to go. He is exhausted — and a little terrified. Downtown, a junior advertising executive sits in a conference room with a computer printout. He is engaged in a strangely similar task, tallying against the agency's media plan the thousands of television and radio buys they executed last week for a major soft-drink account. The plan, carefully calibrated to maximize both audience reach and frequency, plots bursts of advertising in various mass-media vehicles (the vertical axis) against time (the horizontal axis); it looks rather like the output of a MIDI sequencer in piano-roll notation . . .

A college student sets out to read 150 pages of an overdue sociology assignment. Settling down at her desk with pencil, highlighter, and a small bottle of Diet Coke, she decides the only thing lacking for her invariable study ritual is some sonic ambiance. Thumbing through her collection, and passing over the many pop and rock CDs, she picks her favorite relaxing-and-study music, a bargain reissue of a 1958 recording of Vivaldi violin concertos that includes the famous Four Seasons. She figures that if she mixes up the 20-odd movements on the 65-minute CD with random and repeat play, she should have enough familiar music in the background to keep her focused for several hours. Absently tapping her pencil in time with the soft music, she begins to read . . .

Down the hall, the girl's mother silently enters the darkened bedroom of her six-year-old son. The headphones have slipped off, so she gently puts them back before flipping the cassette tape over. The music begins again (it is a Vivaldi concerto from the same set that her daughter is half-listening to next door), and she thinks, not for the first time, how strange it is that the Suzuki teacher demands they listen to the same few tracks over and over, even when sleeping. Their first, equally strange, group lesson was the previous afternoon: she was amused and a little intimidated by the repetition and discipline, her little boy sawing away in line with 12 other children at an exercise that sounded like "peanut-butter sandwich" over and over — his teacher said, laughing, "Let's do it ichi-man," which she later found out meant, in Japanese, 10,000 repetitions! — and then bowing ceremonially at the end of the lesson. It's not music; it's just playing the same thing over and over; repetitious like factory work, she thinks, or like beginning meditation, like the idea of "just sitting" that cropped up in a little book her yoga teacher gave her, called Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind. Turning out the light, she says a short mantra that it works. After all, taking up classical music can help improve performance in school, especially for boys, and it's never too soon to start thinking about college for this last one . . .

In a university electronic music studio, a sophomore composition major is fiddling with a keyboard and computer sequencing software. She has been listening obsessively to Steve Reich's 1976 Music for Eighteen Musicians and, trying to get the same effect, has created several slow, overlapping analog-string melodies and some faster figures for a sampled marimba. (The dot-dash piano-roll notation she is staring at looks oddly like the ad executive's media plan.) She clicks the mouse a few times, putting virtual repeat signs around all the loops, and starts playback. Cool. Very cool. Of course she'll never show this to her composition teacher — he'd just frown and sentence her to 10 more hours of Schoenberg. And, to tell the truth, if he asked her why anybody should care about two idiotic minimal loops repeating over and over and slowly going out of phase, she'd have no answer.

Except that it sounds like, feels like . . .

Her life.

The fundamental claim of this book is that the single-minded focus on repetition and process that has come to define what we think of as "minimal music" can be interpreted as both the sonic analogue and, at times,
a sonorous constituent of a characteristic repetitive experience of self in mass-media consumer society. Repetition, regimentation, and process are, of course, basic to any form of human organization more complex than hunter-gatherer bands. But the rationalized techno-world that
took final shape in industrialized societies during the long post-
war boom of the 1950s and 1960s created for the first time the theoretical
possibility of a strange feedback loop, whose many paradoxical
complexities I want to fold into the single notion of a “culture of repetition.”
A culture of repetition arises when the extremely high level of repetitive
structuring necessary to sustain capitalist modernity becomes salient
in its own right, experienced directly as constituent of subjectivity; it is in
this sense that we are constantly “repeating ourselves,” fashioning and
regulating our lived selves through manifold experiences of repetition.
“Pure” control of/by repetition has become a familiar yet unacknow-
ledged aesthetic effect of late modernity, sometimes experienced as pleas-
urable and erotic, but more often as painfully excessive, alienating, and
(thus) sublime.

Often very repetitive musical experiences literally structure a given
culture—as at the discotheque, in the Suzuki violin class, on classic FM
radio, or at the experimental music concert—and thus analyzing the
complicated way various kinds of repetitive musicking function within
very broadly construed cultural contexts will be one of the central aims of
my study.1 (We’ll need to consider along the way such seemingly extra-
musical issues as the precise number of orgasms simulated by Donna
Summer in her 1975 hit “Love to Love You Baby,” the unintended con-
sequences for listening practices of the 1948 “battle of the speeds” fought
by Columbia and RCA-Victor, and the doctrinal debate between Rinzai
and Soto Zen lineages on the most effective path to enlightenment.) But
understanding repetitive music as a cultural practice must also include the
possibility that repetitive minimal music itself, taken as an autonomous,
not overly representational cultural practice, might have a hermeneutic
aspect: a set of “hidden” meanings that might point at much larger con-
temporary cultures of repetition, might tropo off them, even signify on
them in some ambivalent and not easily reducible way.

Eros and Thanatos: Music, Subjectivity, and
the Culture(s) of Repetition

The few critical studies to date that attempt a hermeneutic of minimalism
have limited themselves, it seems to me, by a pair of reductive assump-
tions. First, following (at whatever critical distance) the later Freud, they
assume that the tendency to repeat is essential to human psychology, a
kind of built-in homeostatic mechanism for reducing tension. Freud, bio-
logical essentialist to the core, postulated that all organic life strove
toward the inorganic, a tendency he identified with Thanatos, the phan-
tasmagorical “death drive.” Critics of repetitive music have not forgotten
that Freud invented the death instinct to explain a particular war neuro-
sis, the compulsion to repeat traumatic events that seemed to seize shell-
shocked veterans, in direct defiance of what had seemed an unvarying
principle, that organisms always act to avoid unpleasure. With Freud,
modern interpreters seek the cultural significance of musical repetition
“beyond the pleasure principle”: repetition in music is thought to negate
teleological desire, and thus repetitive music is allied with any and all
psychic forces antithetical to Eros, to the goal-directed patterns of ten-
sion and release that define the ego-creating “life instinct.”

It follows, second, that many psychoanalytic readings simply assume
repetition-structures in music are unequivocal markers of regression—if not
all the way back to the inorganic, than certainly back before the
human subject, back to the nondialectical psychic states (infancy, schizo-
phrenia) that precede ego differentiaton. Theodor Adorno set the tone in
Philosophy of Modern Music when he attacked Stravinsky’s frozen osti-
natos as musical “catatonia”; Wim Mertens, whose 1980 monograph
still stands as the single extended culture-critical treatment of American
minimalism, provides an explicit Frankfurt School echo, turning sud-
denly at the end of a long and detailed survey to denounce repetitive
music as regressive and infantile. He himself appears in the grip of a rep-
etition compulsion, reproducing a sonorous psychoanalytic diagnosis out
of prewar Adorno as if by rote: “In repetitive music, repetition in the ser-
vice of the death instinct prevails. Repetition is not repetition of identical
elements, so it is not reproduction, but the repetition of the identical in
another guise. In traditional music, repetition is a device for creating rec-
ognizability, reproduction for the sake of the representing ego. In repeti-
tive music, repetition does not refer to eros and the ego, but to the libido
and to the death instinct.”2

Mertens is, of course, aware that within experimental musical circles
repetition is prized precisely for its ability to dissolve traditional formal
dialectics, unleashing strange and unpredictable surges of intensity; as
Fluxus composer Dick Higgins once noted, implicit within extreme bore-
dom is extreme danger, and thus extreme excitement.3 Critics less politi-
cally worried by minimalism have followed Mertens in linking those
nondialectical fluctuations of intensity to Lacanian tendencies in French thought, turning for an interpretive matrix to the antiteleological "invis-
sance of French feminism and the anti-Oedipal "libidinal philosophy"
practiced by Jean-François Lyotard and Gilles Deleuze. Here repetitive
music is valued precisely for its refusal to route musical pleasure through
the symbolic order, for its self-negating regression to a pre-subjective
space that Lacanian psychoanalysis calls "the Real." In a memorable
turn of phrase, David Schwarz has argued that the repetitions of John
Adams's Nixon in China, by cutting us off from memory and anticipa-
tion—that is, from Eros—cut us off from the self, "trapping us in a nar-
row acoustic corridor of the Real." By Naomi Cumming's account, the
motoric string ostinatos in Reich's Different Trains are not just train
sounds. They are sonorous pieces of what Julia Kristeva called the "pre-
articulate," of the Real as refuge from the Holocaust and its "horror of
identification."

These psychoanalytical approaches can be elegant, suggestive, and
highly ramified; they also demand attention because no one has, as yet,
proposed a viable hermeneutic alternative. Lacanian theory has done a
service—it has empowered at least a few scholars to "read" minimalist
musical repetition as a cultural practice—but its assumptions can lock a
critic into a rigid explanatory matrix where repetition is an abstract,
purely psychic construct, and its singular meaning is always some form
of self-an nihilating regression unto death (or birth). One goal of this
study is to wean the reader from attachment to such psychoanalytic rigor
by linking repetitive music, flexibly and at multiple epistemological
levels, to specific historical formations of material culture presented in their
thickest, most irreducibly contingent aspects. It will be neither possible
nor desirable to read musical repetition as the single aesthetic effect of
any one cultural cause. "Culture of repetition" is a neat name for a deliber-
ately shaggy portmanteau concept, useful precisely insofar as it refuses
to assert a unitary psychological model or a single chain of cause and
effect; rather than assume that one innate subjective drive to repeat
always, everywhere, and in the same way weaves culture, why not
explore the many different ways that our repetitive subjectivity is consti-
tuted, over and over, within the multiple, complex webs of material cul-
ture we weave? Reified categories handed down through the Frankfurt
School and its epigones will be of little use here. For instance, it is simply
not true, as Mertens claims, that teleological desire and subjectivity,
the domain of Eros, are irrelevant to this new, supposedly "nondialectical"
musical style. In the pages that follow, we'll trace the presence in mini-

alist music of both Eros and Thanatos, of dialectical entainment to
desire as well as libidinal liberation from it, never forgetting that these
lofty psychoanalytic terms are just metaphors for the bodily effects of
material social constructions.

The nearest precedent in methodology and scope for the current study
is undoubtedly the fourth chapter, "Repeating," of Noise, Jacques
Attali's influential 1977 treatise on the political economy of music. An
alert reader will have recalled that Attali used transformations in the pro-
duction and consumption of music to predict the advent of "repetitive
society," a radical and general transformation of lived experience in
postindustrial capitalism:

Repetition is established through the supplanting, by mass production,
of every present-day mode of commodity production. Mass production, a final
form, signifies the repetition of all consumption, individual or collective, the
replacement of the restaurant by precooked meals, of custom-made clothes
by ready-to-wear, of the individual house built from personal designs by
tract houses based on stereotyped designs, of the politician by the anony-
mous bureaucrat, of skilled labor by standardized tasks, of the spectacle
by recordings of it.

Clearly Attali is not trapped in psychoanalytic categories; his inter-
pretive field takes in the key twentieth-century material developments in
media, technology, and the consumer society. But psychoanalytic obser-
vation with repetition as Thanatos, as drive to death, provides his analysis
with its grim subtext. The sound object, infinitely reproducible as com-
modity and endlessly repeatable as experience, is nothing less, it turns
out, than a harbinger of mass cultural suicide. Stamped en masse from a
model at basically no cost, pumped up with ersatz exchange-value by crude
manipulation of demand, stockpiled uselessly by consumers who
thereby mortgage the very time they would need to consume them, mass-
produced musical recordings enact the collapse of all systems of value
and the cancerous proliferation of meaningless, pleasureless sign ex-
change. "Death," intones Attali, "is present in the very structure of the
repetitive economy: the stockpiling of use-time in the commodity object
is fundamentally a herald of death."

Attali deals with repetitive music per se only once in his dark medita-
tion on the repetitive society: minimalism, as it gives rise to the autonomy-
negating relationships inside the Philip Glass Ensemble, makes a brief
cameo appearance as pseudodemocratic "background noise for a repeti-
tive and perfectly mastered anonymity." In her afterword, Susan
McClary tries to revise Noise so that Downtown minimalist composers
like Laurie Anderson and Philip Glass, both linked by noisy immediacy and outsider status to the punk and New Wave explosions just over Attali's critical horizon, can participate in the “collective play” that he awaited under the utopian rubric Composing. But I suspect that Attali would likely disagree with his musicological interlocutor, preferring to read the pervasive repetition of minimalism as a nightmaresh simulacrum of the fully repetitive society, the nonstop refrain of an all-embracing round dance of death. Noise is intentionally (and problematically) vague about what styles might ensue once the musical means of production are liberated, but a fully notated, high-tech, nonimprovisatory music performed by professionals, disseminated on recordings, even in recent years stockpiled in bulky and expensive box sets is certainly not on the menu.10

Itinerary: Among the Cultures of Repetition

Attali's broad grasp of socioeconomic realities is unmatched, as is his materialist understanding of how technological advances in production and reproduction engender pervasive repetition in consumer society—but he is too in love with Thanatos to see how complex and multivariate our experience of that repetition might be. The absolute dystopia of Attali's repetitive society is a powerful polemical construct, but an inflexible hermeneutic tool. Accordingly, in the interpretive excursions that follow, I will take up in turn various cultures of repetition, seeking flexible, ad hoc contexts for diverse moments of musical repetition. Some of these have indeed little to recommend them; but we'll also visit repetition cultures of liberation, self-gratification, even subliminal resistance to authority.

Repeating Ourselves can be divided, on the largest scale, into two not-quite balanced halves, correlated loosely with the two ways that repetition and subjectivity have traditionally been understood to interact, giving rise to formations that I will refer to, in metaphorical Freudian shorthand, as the culture of Eros and the culture of Thanatos. In the culture of Eros, repetition is a technique of desire creation, a more-or-less elaborately structured repetitive entrainment of human subjects toward culturally adaptive goals and behaviors. In Chapter 1 we confront repetition as desire creation in its most unabashed form, the genre of popular music that the Reverend Jesse Jackson once denounced from the pulpit as “disco sex rock.” Under the rubric “Do It (‘til You’re Satisfied),” we'll uncover through close musical analysis the presence of a complex syntax of goal-direction in disco, taking as our text one of the most famously urgent dance floor meditations on sexual desire and, in early 1976, the occasion for one of the first extended dance mixes ever released, Donna Summer and Giorgio Moroder's notorious 17-minute version of “Love to Love You Baby.” Moving from disco to what critics of the time liked to call “the higher disco,” a correlate analysis of similar linear-harmonic structures in Steve Reich's exactly contemporaneous Music for Eighteen Musicians will uncover a similar syntax. Disco and minimalism appear as two linked instances of a new theoretical possibility in late-twentieth-century Western music: not the absence of desire, but the recombination of new experiences of desire and new experiments in musical form across a bewildering spectrum of teleological mutation. Process music's recombinant teleology supports a revisionist (and perhaps transgressive) interpretive conclusion: its repetition is not the negation of desire, but a powerful and totalizing metastasis. Minimalism is no more celibate than disco; processed desire turns out to be the biggest thrill of all.

The two chapters that follow make an attempt to excavate the material cultural framework for these new musical thrills. It was clear to most observers that 1970s disco was equal parts sexual desire and consumer display, perhaps even sexual desire as consumer display; Chapters 2 and 3 will move back to the 1950s to uncover the mercantile roots of repetitive desire creation in the higher disco. We'll be tracking down the most elusive species of hermeneutic game imaginable, attempting to argue that the pulse-pattern minimalism of Riley, Reich, and Glass uses the incessant pulsed repetition of mass-media advertising campaigns as what Lawrence Kramer would call a structural trope, a musical “procedure, capable of various practical realizations, that also functions as a typical expressive act within a certain cultural/historical framework.”11 It may be disconcerting to realize that within the cultural-historical framework of postindustrial consumer society, executing a media plan to deploy the thousands of advertising messages deemed necessary to sell automobiles and underarm deodorant qualifies as a “typical expressive act.” It will no doubt be just as deeply dispiriting for partisans of musical minimalism to see the structural tropes of advertising used as a plate-glass hermeneutic window into the “blank” music they have consistently portrayed as resistant to commercialization by virtue of its very opacity.

Though the first wave of 1960s repetitive music has always been positioned as a particularly countercultural kind of noncommercial music (thus the pervasive anxiety of early partisans in the face of its subsequent success), it actually has more in common with Thomas Frank's mor-
dantly expressed alternate view of the 1960s counterculture as “a colorful installment in the twentieth-century drama of consumer subjectivity.” Chapter 2 will link minimalism’s recombinations of teleology to the post–World War II debates over formations of subjectivity and desire in what was being understood for the first time as a newly “affluent” consumer society. Economists and sociologists outlined what appears in retrospect as a crisis of consumption: as rising productivity threatened to flood industrialized economies with a glut of goods, attention shifted to theories of desire, and desire creation, that could rationalize a society dependent for the first time on the systematic mass production of desire for objects—in other words, a society dependent on advertising. Advertising executives, proclaiming that “what makes this country great is the creation of wants and desires,” began to harness repetitive marketing strategies to transform the rather incoherent field of people’s lived desire for objects into a fully rationalized system—a system that, as sociologist Jean Baudrillard points out, only at this postwar moment achieved the discipline and functionality of the preexisting system of mass-produced consumer objects. The subjective experience of desire within this system of objects was radically transformed through repetitive process. Consumer telos thus underwent in the 1960s the same recombination as did tonal desire in repetitive music. The isomorphism will become clear when we compare the representation of this experience within contemporary literature with the unmarked yet identical phenomenology of minimalist process music. (We’ll read closely for structural tropes in George Perec’s remarkable experimental novel-of-consumption, Things: A Story of the Sixties.) Thus forarmed, we can trace the phenomenology of consumer desire deep into the rhythmic and tonal structures of a pivotal text of musical minimalism, Steve Reich’s 1973 Music for Mallet Instruments, Voices, and Organ.

As Chapter 3 will make clear, the point is not to trash an influential compositional style, but to use close reading of its characteristic forms to illuminate both the music and a revisionist claim of materialist historical causality. Whatever their ideological relation to Fluxus experimentalism, Hindu mysticism, Ghanaian drumming, or any other countercultural scene you care to name, the repetition-structures of American minimalist music broke into the Western cultural mainstream around 1965, the precise moment that the complete transformation of American network television by commercial advertising established the medium’s distinctively atomized, repetitive programming sequence. Minimalism, whatever judgment of taste one might pronounce upon it, whatever local cultures of repetition it might abet, thus takes on a unique cultural significance: it is the single instance within contemporary art music of what Raymond Williams called “flow,” the most relentless, all-pervasive structural trope of twentieth-century global media culture. The sheer scope and intensity of this media torrent index an aesthetic effect that we might call the media sublime. Minimal music turns out to structure its repetitious desiring-production in much the same polyphonic way as a spot advertising campaign spreads out across diversified media vehicles (we’ll look quite carefully at just how such campaigns are conceptualized and realized); its effect on the listener is the sublime perception of all those campaigns and all that desire creation perpetually coruscating across the huge expanse of mass-media flow. Once again, in an aesthetic effect absolutely characteristic of consumer society, the sheer excess of processed desire turns out to be the biggest thrill of all.

The painful thrill of the media sublime has more than a little self-abnegating death drive in it, but the second large section of this study is devoted to the recuperation of Thanatos, to a sympathetic look at the use within industrial culture of ambient repetition as a form of homeostatic mood regulation. If the major issue in the first half of the book is the repetitive disciplining of desire—and thus the major focus socioeconomically—the overriding concern of the final two chapters is the use of repetition to discipline and control attention. Here technology comes to the fore, specifically as it facilitated a postwar culture of repetitive listening. The fortuitous combination of two technologies that had been invented to fight it out—Columbia’s microgroove LP and RCA-Victor’s super-fast 45 rpm record changer—created by about 1950 an entirely new and unintended possibility for repetitive musicking. One might place a single disc of “Music for Relaxation” on the changer and listen to it over and over—or, better yet, stack a half-dozen records, sit back, relax, and let the changer homogenize them for you into a home-made evening of musical flow. Like television—and actually a little before the broadcasting world caught on to its power—long-playing records could provide controlled ambience, dispensing hours of what the industry was happy to market (discreetly) as a seductive flow of “continuous and uninterrupted pleasure.” (The technical language of repetitive listening echoes that of television; as instructional booklets continue to inform users, CD players that hold more than one disc are designed to allow the “programming” of multiple recordings into a smooth “sequence.”)

One of the most popular types of recording to pile on the spindle featured instrumental music of the eighteenth century. Baroque music had,
until this time, been a rather esoteric taste, but the advent of the LP and
the record changer ushered in a revival, not so much of the Baroque per
se, but of the kind of brisk, impersonal, generally upbeat concerto move-
ments produced in large numbers by composers like Albinoni, Geminiani, Locatelli, and, of course, Vivaldi—a style of music so perfect
for repetitive listening that it was quickly disparaged by musical critics with the generic label barocco. Chapter 4 is built around one of
the most powerful denunciations of the Baroque revival ever to see print,
H. C. Robbins Landon’s calling down of “A Pox on Manfredini” in the June 1961 issue of High Fidelity. Attacking in the harshest possible
terms, he fashioned a sweeping indictment of barocco as corrosive sol-
vent of traditional musical, cultural, class, and even sex-role distinctions.
His hysterical overreaction betrays a profound unease at the effect on
musical traditions of Artali’s “repetitive society”; the technologically
mediated modernity exemplified by mass-produced box sets of concerto
grosso consumed repetitively and subliminally on the record changer.

Robbins Landon denounced the new use of eighteenth-century con-
certed music as sonic “wallpaper,” a term that prefigures 1980s attacks
on minimalism; in both cases the real danger is a soi-disant classical
music that submits to inarticulate flow, that allows its structures to dis-
solve under the antistructural bath of repetitive listening. It will be simple
to uncover the sociojournalistic trope that casts minimalism as the “new
Baroque,” the repetitively patterned wallpaper music of its day; what
may be less obvious is how the critical portrayal of composers like
Vivaldi during the barocco revival had already cast them as unwitting
purveyors of minimalist process music, an overdose of which on the
record changer would make for a strikingly reductive, even hypnotic
experience. (Adjectives like stripped-down, flat, and minimal start show-
ing up in 1950s record liner notes—in descriptions of interchangeably
motoric concertos by Telemann and Vivaldi—well before they crop up in
art-magazine reviews of gallery events featuring Young, Reich, and
Glass.)

Musicologists professed not to be surprised—just a little depressed—
that the obscure eighteenth-century suites and concerti they had gone to
such trouble to exhume sometimes ended up providing ambience at fas-
tionable cocktail parties; after all, most of this music was in fact originally
designed to function as background music. Yet barocco on the 1960s
record changer was hardly just the technologically enhanced return of
Tafelmusik. The most characteristic venue for Vivaldi was not the party
where he was ignored, but the study or office, where he was indeed lis-
tened to, but in a new way. Barocco minimalism is music not for pleasure (Eros), but music for mental discipline, for mood regulation, for the
homeostatic equalization of tension encapsulated in the very idea of
“easy listening.” The repetitive listening habits of the barocco revival
were early harbingers of the way most music is consumed now, which in
turn is a constituent of the way most people are now.

Anahid Kasabian has hypothesized that we live in a world of ubiqui-
tous music, of repetitive, slowly changing tints and ambiances of sound
used to regulate mood and construct loose nodal associations of subjec-
tivities. Minimalism pioneered the deliberate creation of this kind of
musical ambience in the 1960s, but it was not the first music to address
itself successfully to the ubiquitous subject—in other words, like televi-
sion, to influence everyone and be fully attended to by no one. Barocco
concerto sets on the living-room record changer hold that controversial
distinction. Satie’s infamous musique d’ameublement was no more than a
visionary failed attempt at “easy listening,” as the composer, prodding
his too-respectful audience to talk over his deliberately banal and repeti-
tive musical wallpaper, must quickly have realized. What was needed, it
turns out, was not furniture music, but just the right piece—from Philco,
Decca, or RCA — of musical furniture.

Barocco concerto movements were not only fodder for repetitive lis-
tening; they also formed the raw material out of which Shinichi Suzuki,
inventor of the Saino-Kyokku, or Talent Education Method, of violin
instruction, constructed perhaps the most systematic exercise in repetitive
performance as cultural mood regulation ever attempted. In the final
chapter of Repeating Ourselves, we’ll investigate the way this gentle,
unworldly pedagogue set out quite literally to repeat the world’s children
into better, more compassionate versions of their young selves. One of
the most seductive cultural hypotheses about minimalism is that it is the
revivifying result of the direct encounter of post-Cage experimental com-
posers like Young, Riley, Reich, and Glass, under the sign of 1960s coun-
terculture, with Eastern philosophies and cultures, followed by wholesale
transfer of those philosophies into a dying Eurocentric musical dis-
course. Minimalism has certainly had a whiff of incense and patchouli
about it from the beginning; nor is it useful to deny the obvious analogies
between time-honored technologies of Vedic mood regulation like drones
and mantras and what critic Tom Johnson, trying to make the point
nominatively, dubbed the “New York Hypnotic School.”

But most such accounts are suffused with a gentle Orientalist longing,
as Eastern culture quiets the vain striving of the modern Western compo-
sitional soul through its repetition-drenched otherness. Typically, whether
the framework is Zen, Confucianism, or the Rig Veda, non-Western
musics are characterized—with little regard to the complexities even
superficial ethnographic research would uncover—as pure, unspoiled
cultures of Thanatos, traditions of disciplined mood regulation as unitary
and unchanging as their various musical forms are imagined to be. Even
though minimalist composers rightly reject the “exotic” borrowing of
musical instruments and textures, goes the argument, they have enriched
Western musical culture through their openness to the radical structural
difference of Eastern music, its use of “static nondevelopmental forms,”
and their willingness to imagine those forms as the basis of a new,
Western musical *Thanatopia.* My suspicion of this self-congratulatory
histrionic trope should be obvious, but I have chosen to recoil from
it in what might seem an idiosyncratic direction. Rather than attempt
to attack the existence, accuracy, or motivation of Western appropriations
of Eastern music, I hope to let the Oriental subaltern speak. We’ll con-
sider, and identify as an unsung minimalist art music, the Suzuki Method,
one of the most singular and successful appropriations of Western art
music into Eastern culture and philosophy ever attempted.

This intense, cross-cultural culture of musical repetition was formed when a young Japanese violin teacher, steeped in both the formal study
of Zen and a pedagogical method derived from Buddhist techniques of
character formation, attempted to teach his young pupils to play the
Mozart he had grown to love on recordings as naturally as they learned
their mother tongue at home. Suzuki’s Method fused distinctly Japanese
repetitive mood-regulation techniques from Zen Buddhist philosophy
(teaching as repetitive drill; *katachi de haitu,* or “entering in through
basic forms”) with the American-style industrial repetition of his father’s
violin factory and the new technological possibilities for immersive repeti-
tive listening provided by long-playing records and cassette tapes. The
pedagogical spectacle that ensued took 1960s America by storm: the
parents who had gotten into the habit of piling Vivaldi concertos on the
home stereo were now watching, slack-jawed, as those same concertos
were played in brisk, inhuman unison by platoons of perfectly turned-out
children, some no more than four years old, in military formation on
gymnasium floors.

We’ll consider Suzuki’s pedagogical Method as a unique hermeneutic
window into the possible relation of Eastern philosophy and 1960s musi-
cal culture—can we really talk about “Zen-like minimalism” in music,
and what happens when it crops up within Western musical practices?

Contemporary American accounts of Suzuki and his Method show the
traces of profound cultural anxiety; evidently the Western subject did not
recognize itself—or the musical practices long thought to underpin that
self—when mirrored back through the *ongaku-do,* Suzuki’s explicitly
spiritual “way of music.” The material metaphors that Western journalists
reached for—machines, robots, factories, mass production—show
Americans misreading Suzuki’s Zen-inspired repetition according to their
own deep-seated ambivalence over the fate of individual subjectivity in a
repetitive and industrialized society.

Suzuki explicitly denied any desire to manufacture musical automa-
tions, returning time and again to a fundamental Buddhist truth: that rep-
etition leads not to the abnegation of the minimal self, but to an expan-
sive mental state where, to quote the title of one of his most famous
books, “love is deep.” The road to deep compassion passes through the
powerful cross-cultural idea of repetitive performance as “practice.” In
Western musical culture repetitive practice is indeed an industrial con-
cept, a legacy of the nineteenth-century need to rationalize and systematize
the mass production of musicality. But in the Soto Zen tradition
from which Suzuki’s *Sampo-Kyōiku* sprung, repetitive practice was valued
for its own sake; the endless repetition of what Soto practitioners called
“just sitting” (*shikaku tazu*) was not a means to some other end, but the
goal itself: “These forms are not the means of obtaining the right state of
mind. To take this posture is itself to have the right state of mind.”

Thus Suzuki’s Method transmuted one of the least inspiring aspects
of Western musical culture, its use of repetitive practice in soul-destroying
industrial models of pedagogy and performance, into an avant-garde
redemption of musical repetition as a self-justifying act.

Suzuki himself, a lover of Fritz Kreisler’s Beethoven and Mischa
Elman’s recording of Schubert’s “Ave Maria,” would undoubtedly have
been confused by minimalist process music; but his tonalization exer-
cises, short minimalist musical fragments designed to be repeated tens,
even hundreds, of thousands of times, epitomize “Zen-like minimalism”
in music. As an experiment, Suzuki himself once decided to repeat the
most basic of his tonalizations, a single long tone, 100,000 times. (The
year was 1957, and it took him 25 days.) Had he done this in a Soho loft,
he would now be hailed as an avant-garde originator of musical mini-
malism; since hundreds of thousands of Suzuki students now do less
strenuous versions of that experiment across the world every day, it
seems that, taken as a form of musical minimalism, the Suzuki Method is
the most powerful culture of repetition, and the most pervasive and suc-
The successful form of experimental musical practice, ever to come out of the fusion of Occident and Orient.

We in the West would do well to remember that the fusion was not on our terms, but theirs.

**Minimalism Rescued from Its Devotees**

I would like to finish this Introduction by acknowledging that my investigation into musical minimalism as a cultural practice is bound to appear extremely idiosyncratic in several fundamental ways to those familiar with the extant literature. Some of the motivation for these idiosyncrasies is doubtless to be found in the personality of the author, and its justification found in the overall success or failure of his work as it proceeds from here; but there are a few important methodological choices that, to avoid confusion, I feel it necessary to justify with some degree of formality before we begin.

First, the very act of interpreting minimalist process music as a cultural practice contravenes musicalological and critical orthodoxy. This is not simply a matter of twentieth-century musicology’s built-in bias toward formalism. Minimalism sits squarely within the “New Sensibility” of the mid-1960s, and Susan Sontag was speaking for many when she observed that the key aesthetic stance tying together the diverse cultural productions — avant-garde Happenings, process art, pop music, New Wave cinema, etc. — that outlined sensibility was an unrelenting hostility toward the interpretation of art. In her 1965 manifesto “Against Interpretation,” Sontag imagined cultural hermeneutics (the task of the present study, alas) as subjecting the pristine works of New Sensibility to a kind of environmental degradation, “like the fumes of the automobile and of heavy industry which befoul the urban atmosphere.” Some quite extreme contemporary art strategies were understandable as part of an ongoing rear-guard action against interpretive pollution: art could flee into pure decoration, parody, even nonart. The defensive posture Sontag most admired has more than a tang of the minimalist aesthetic: “Ideally, it is possible to elude the interpreters in another way, by making works of art whose surface is so unified and clean, whose momentum is so rapid, whose address is so direct that the work can be ... just what it is.”

If the minimal work of art is to be “just what it is,” there is little profit in worrying about what it might mean. Minimalist composers, like their compatriots in the visual arts, have tended to take extreme anti-interpretive stances for granted. Steve Reich, who studied analytic philosophy in college, was particularly fond, at least in early years, of pronouncements that echo the prohibition encoded in the magnificent final axiom — Whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent — of Ludwig Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*: “Music Dance Theatre Video and Film are arts in time. Artists in those fields who keep this in mind seem to go further than those mainly concerned with psychology or personality.” Most twentieth-century compositional theory has tended to this stern formalism; what is striking about the discourse around minimalist music is how many supposedly independent critical voices are also silent on that about which they assume they cannot speak.

One reason, of course, is that much of the critical discourse around a experimental genre like minimalism has been that of insiders: overwhelmingly until the 1980s, and still significantly thereafter, those who wrote about minimalism also wrote minimalism, and the result has been criticism of a quite remarkable deadpan literalism: “[Music for a Large Ensemble] is a very colorful work, bright in its opening, a little darker in the second section, brighter again as it moves into the third. The first section’s timbral blending of women’s voices with cellos and basses is very effective within the texture. The mallet instruments, clear and solid at the beginning, gradually blend into the background as trumpets and soprano saxophones surge forward. One could watch and feel the rhythmic patterns lock into place as the players relaxed into the performance. It is a bright, joyous, and exciting work.”

Joan La Barbara clearly felt it her duty to report that Reich’s work was ... just what it was, in as much blankly descriptive detail as her editors would allow; clearly she is a supporter of minimalism, as her final simulacrum of a critical judgment attests. But it is not clear why we should care. Self-consciously “minimalist” criticism of minimalism — and examples could be multiplied from the pens of Tom Johnson, William Duckworth, K. Robert Schwarz, and others — limits itself to careful, systematic description of the surface details of musical structures followed by testimony as to their sensuous effects on the critic. Sontag argues — and I would agree — that there is immense cultural value in providing “a really accurate, sharp, loving description” of an artwork; and minimalist insiders have excelled at the kind of “transparent” criticism she championed: “Transparency is the highest, most liberating value in art — and in criticism today. Transparency means experiencing the luminousness of the thing in itself, of things being what they are.” Especially in the early days of experimental minimalism, providing a transparent critical reflection of this strange, exotic luminosity was a worthy, even heroic, task.
given the complete disregard of repetitive music by the critical and academic establishment, the gleam of that reflection was often the only light anyone outside a small coterie could see.

But a generation has passed, and there is less need to carry a torch for minimalism. The critical landscape around this music has become cluttered with aging technical descriptions and restatements of compositional manifestos. At least in the neighborhood of contemporary music, the New Sensibility is growing old, and it may be time for Sontag’s critical pendulum to swing back. Unfortunately the belated intervention of academic music theory has only exacerbated matters: after decades of ignoring minimalism because it had so obviously upset their modernist compositional heroes, some music theorists began to realize in the 1980s that this music in fact resonated perfectly with the extreme formalism in musical analysis that held sway within their discipline. Pioneering studies by Richard Cohn and Paul Epstein were undertaken at no little risk of apostasy from the high modernist church; but in each case the analytical methodologies that had served to parse Schubert and Schoenberg, tweaked somewhat so as to pay attention less to harmonic stasis and more to rhythmic complexities, seemed to work just as well on Steve Reich and Philip Glass. Jonathan Bernard has been the only American theorist to push past “the music itself,” seeking to analyze the structures of minimal music in the context of minimalist and process aesthetics in painting and sculpture. This is indeed a species of musical hermeneutics, but with a strangely tautological aspect: the ascetic formalism of minimalist music simply bounces back off the formalist asceticism of 1960s visual art, highly polished mirrors reflecting each other’s cultural emptiness in infinite analytical regress. Pure musical formalism is breached (for which we must be grateful), but the larger formalism, that of the autonomous work of art with no relation to material culture or history, remains inviolate.

A true cultural hermeneutic of minimal music must do more than describe or analyze minimalism: it must attempt to make its emptied-out formal language signify. Success will come, in all likelihood, against the collective will of its creators and partisans. In fact, the one reliable source of hermeneutic intuitions about minimalist music is the taunting and jeering of its myriad enemies within the critical community. Minimalism’s attackers have tended to show little sympathy for the New Sensibility and feel no compulsion toward a transparent, nonideological criticism. They are unimpressed by the way minimal music is just what it is—because they don’t feel that what it is adds up to very much. Faced with the uncomfortable sociological truth that such a simple-minded music has been vastly more popular than, by their estimation, it should be, they are almost forced to hypothesize about its cultural significance. If minimalism makes no sense on its own terms, perhaps it can be understood as a kind of social pathology, as an aural sign that American audiences are primitive and uneducated (Pierre Boulez); that kids nowadays just want to get stoned (Donal Henahan and Harold Schonberg in the New York Times); that traditional Western cultural values have eroded in the liberal wake of the 1960s (Samuel Lipman); that minimalist repetition is dangerously seductive propaganda, akin to Hitler’s speeches and advertising (Elliott Carter); even that the commodity-fetishism of modern capitalism has fatally trapped the autonomous self in minimalist narcissism (Christopher Lasch).

Rather than abuse these critics, I want to use them, to gather clues about minimalism as a powerful cultural practice from those who would prefer to see it as a pathological cultural symptom. A truly idiosyncratic feature of the following study is the way it takes such critical putdowns with a kind of inspired literalism, applying hermeneutic jiujitsu to flip and then open up dismissive analogies normally used to close off critical discourse. In the process, the implied value judgments are summarily suspended. Thus, a series of five disreputable diagnoses—metaphorical propositions of the form “Minimalism is just . . .” —provides the chapters of this book with an alternate structure, one that’s set in the Table of Contents as subliminal commentary in editorial brackets:

- Minimalism is just . . . the higher disco (Chapter 1)
- Minimalism is just . . . like a soap commercial (Chapter 2)
- Minimalism is just . . . what television should be (Chapter 3)
- Minimalism is just . . . wallpaper music (Chapter 4)
- Minimalism is just . . . sitting (Chapter 5)

The final idiosyncrasy follows, to some extent, from the decision to follow those who take minimalism as an illness, and that illness as a metaphor: I am going to define “minimal music,” the subject of inquiry, in a deliberately antinomian way. The idea that there is a coherent genre of music called “minimalism” is a belated journalistic construction that I am not anxious to reify further. It has become standard parlance because it is terminologically vague enough to encompass the quite different musical strategies followed by a loose coterie of musicians who,
conveniently enough for the cultural historian, all knew each other and lived near one another — if not always in amicable proximity — in downtown New York City during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Other names — drone music, hypnotic music, repetitive music, pulse music, modular music — would have cut deeper, and in different ways, through the historical record; in what follows I will not discard entirely the label “minimalist,” but the body of music I want to discuss hardly follows the conventional boundaries that term outlines.

In a study of minimal music and late-twentieth-century cultures of repetition, we are primarily concerned, of course, with minimalism as repetition, particularly as repetition with a regular pulse, a pulse that underlies the complex evolution of musical patterns to alter listener perceptions of time and telos in systematic, culturally influential ways. In terms of experimental music of the 1960s and beyond, this repertoire includes at its center what I will refer to as pulse-pattern minimalism: the music of Terry Riley in his post—In C vein, Steve Reich, Philip Glass, and their immediate followers. It does not include most of the drone minimalism of La Monte Young, excepting early works like arabic number (any integer) to Henry Flynt, one of the rare Young works structured by rhythmically regular repetition; nor does it include any composers who followed Young down the reductive path of sustained microtonal drones. Thus I am not invested in the historical revisionism that animates Edward Strickland’s heavily researched study on the origins of minimalism; I have no brief in this book to recoup critical attention away from the “famous” minimalists — the pulse-pattern composers — back to the unsullied avant-garde attitude of “original” drone minimalists like Young (the invocative terms are insider-critic Tom Johnson’s). If we are interested in minimalism as a cultural practice, we will be drawn not to its purest, most uncompromising instances, but precisely to where minimalism is most “famous,” where the cultural practice is widest and most significant. (This is not to deny that microtonal drone music is also readable as cultural practice — but the practice would be a very different one.)

Having disentangled from minimalism its core of repetitive music, we can add to it some key instances of repetitive music. Latent in the structure of this study, but worth stating openly, is the assumption that certain ways of performing, recording, disseminating, and consuming music can be considered to be forms of musical minimalism — insofar as “minimalism” is the name we give to musicking implicated in contemporary cultures of repetition — even if the music involved has little to do with the experimental avant-garde. Disco and electronic dance music are “minimalist” in this way. It is not so much that any given dance track or record itself is like an autonomous, self-contained “piece” of minimalism; rather, it is the entire cultural matrix within which these tracks are chosen, combined, and listened to that defines a repetitive musical practice. Perhaps even more outlandish is my implicit claim in the final two chapters that, in postwar America, a certain subset of eighteenth-century instrumental music, epitomized by the concertos of Antonio Vivaldi, was transformed through advances in reproductive technology into the first widely available minimalist trance music. Obviously any given Manfredini concerto is not “really” minimalist or repetitive, except in a loose metaphorical sense when compared with, for instance, the dense complexities of the elder Bach. But stacking dozens of such workday concertos on the record changer, turning down the volume, and half-following them in an atmosphere of studious concentration — that is minimalism as a form of repetitive musicking. (Christopher Small’s definition of musicking includes all types of listening to music.) And learning a Vivaldi concerto by playing through its melodic patterns 10,000 times and then submerging your musical ego by performing it in unison along with 900 other students is, conversely, repetitive musicking as a form of minimalism.

One final thought: If the subject of this book is, at the most basic level, the implications within our culture of a widespread taste for repetitive musicking, then, as Small would be quick to point out, what is really at stake is a taste for certain kinds of repetitive relationships. “Musicking,” he writes, “is about relationships, not so much about those which actually exist in our lives as about those we desire to exist and long to experience.” It is my belief that most commentators have shied away from a cultural reading of minimalist repetition because they cannot believe that we really desire the types of deadly, inhuman relationships (I want my MTV!) such musicking would seem to encode. To be sure, not all repetitive cultures set up human relationships that are death-obsessed and oppressive, as the diametrically opposed, vigorously life-affirming examples of disco and Zen make clear. But perhaps the act of musicking is more complex than even Small gives it credit for; need every act of music making express the desire to actualize and idealize the often problematic relationships encoded in its structures? As will become clear in the explorations that follow, repetitive musicking rarely expresses a longing for
authentic relationships that don't exist, and in this way has at least the virtue of honesty that more traditionally avant-garde musicking often lacks. More often repetitive music provides an acknowledgment, a warning, a defense — or even just an aesthetic thrill — in the face of the myriad repetitive relationships that, in late-capitalist consumer society, we all must face over and over (and over and over . . . ).

We repeated ourselves into this culture.
We may be able to repeat ourselves out.

THE CULTURE OF EROS

Repetition as Desire Creation