Heffley, Mike. 2005. *Northern Sun, Southern Moon: Europe's Reinvention of Jazz.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reviewed by George E. Lewis

With the publication of Mike Heffley's *Northern Sun, Southern Moon: Europe's Reinvention of Jazz*, Yale University Press joins the ranks of the few American academic presses that have published serious scholarly work on post-1965 experimental improvised musics in Europe. This book documents an important period in recent European music history that is only beginning to be addressed by scholars writing in English, and in the process, uses a unique combination of historical inquiry and ethnographic practice that brings out a series of fascinating and contentious issues surrounding this network of players and their music.

Between roughly 1957 and 1965, no sound was seen as alien to the investigations of Ornette Coleman, Don Cherry, Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor, Marion Brown, Roswell Rudd, Sunny Murray, and many others who were scandalizing audiences and critics with their "free jazz." As Amiri Baraka remembered in *The Autobiography of Leroi Jones*,

> We knew the music was hip and new and out beyond anything anyone downtown was doing, in music, painting, poetry, dance, or whatever the fuck. And we felt, I know I did, that we were linked to that music that Trane and Ornette and C. T., Shepp and Dolphy and the others, were making, so the old white arrogance and elitism of Europe as Center Art was stupid on its face. (1984:266–67)

These wide-ranging challenges to musical form and cultural hegemony, however, have received relatively short shrift by Anglophone academic music historians, even given the recent rise of jazz studies as a potent metadiscipline. In particular, the historical record between 1965 and the emergence of Wynton Marsalis in the early 1980s appears to have been swallowed by a black hole. John Litweiler's survey of the period (1984) still stands out among the popular histories written in English that do cross over into the relatively uncharted waters of post-1965 free music. In recent years, academic publishers have belatedly followed suit with detailed studies of particular issues of the period, instead of the usual, more commercially oriented jazz survey texts. Two excellent early entries were David Such's ethnography of 1980s free jazz musicians living on New York's Lower East Side (1993), and Ronald Radano's important study of the work of Anthony

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Braxton (1993).

Since the turn of the new century, the study of post-1965 improvised music has slowly been gathering critical mass in Anglophone scholarship, with Eric Porter's analysis of the writings of African American experimental musicians such as Braxton, Leo Smith, and Marion Brown (2002), and Canadian literary theorist Ajay Heble's set of critical essays, *Landing On The Wrong Note* (2000). Most recently, sociologist Herman Gray's work has focused on Steve Coleman and other younger-generation experimentalists (2005), while ethnomusicologist Deborah Wong has extensively documented histories and practices in Asian American jazz and improvisation movements (2004). Other recent and important studies are published in two notable anthologies: Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble's *The Other Side of Nowhere* (2004) and *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies* (2004), edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin.[1]

One reason for the apparent dearth of American writing on this period in music history can be read profitably through the reception of the work of John Coltrane. In the wake of his 1964 four-movement suite, *A Love Supreme*, Coltrane had reached a pinnacle of public acclaim and international influence that crossed lines of genre and practice[2], influencing not only jazz-identified artists, but early minimalists Terry Riley and LaMonte Young, as well as rock bands The Doors and The Byrds. Nonetheless, starting around 1965, Coltrane—who like nearly all black musicians, had no presence in the cozy Cold War academic consensus that insulated white American composers from the financial consequences of their musical actions—bet his career on his embrace of the even more transgressive and hotly contested work of his younger colleagues—most notably Albert Ayler, Archie Shepp, and Pharaoh Sanders.

Four important tropes that emerged to describe the work of Coltrane and his experimentalist colleagues were "anger," "noise," "insanity," and "failure." A 1966 *New York Times Magazine* headline combined the first two tropes, announcing to its largely white middle-class readership that the new music was "Black, Angry and Hard to Understand" (Hentoff 1966).[3] However, charges of a lack of basic musicianship, routinely ascribed to free jazz musicians at the time, could not be applied to Coltrane, whose mastery was evident and widely admired among both musicians and listeners. As a result, "insanity" was frequently asserted to "explain" his post-1965 work. The important jazz critic Dan Morgenstern, faced with a post-1965 Coltrane concert at Lincoln Center that featured Ayler, Sanders, Carlos Ward, and Alice Coltrane, wondered impassionedly, "Is he the prisoner of a band of hypnotists? Has he lost all musical judgment? Or is he putting on his audience?" (1966:35)[4]

The trope of failure was exemplified by Morgenstern's conclusion that the Coltrane event was "saddening" and "unworthy of a great musician" (1966:35). Some thirty years later, the "failure" trope continues to be worked in some circles with no small degree of alacrity. For instance, what cultural historian Gerald Early heard as a "despairing 'cul-de-sac' quality about a good deal of Coltrane's late-period music of 1965 to 1967" constituted merely a prologue to his wide-ranging 1999 attack on Coltrane's music, spiritual conceptions, and even his personality. Around the same time, critic John McDonough, referring to the free jazz musicians as "The Lost Generation," called Coltrane "a profoundly false prophet who used his prestige and charisma, even in death, to lead jazz down a dead end from which it would not begin to emerge for 20 years" (1998:378). McDonough dated the period of Coltrane's "decline" from 1964, and it should not be lost on readers that his notion of jazz's emergence from an ensuing two-decade "dead end" appears to coincide with the advent of the neoclassical revival in jazz, which is still in progress.[5]

As Mike Heffley's work makes abundantly clear, these portrayals of Coltrane as a great artist in decline (which appear to be at considerable variance with the saxophonist's ongoing influence among listeners in the United States, where Coltrane's recordings remain in print) were certainly not shared on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, around 1964, free jazz, far from being seen as a failure, was providing the spark for the emergence of a new generation of European jazz musicians. If prior to this period European jazz musicians were said to inhabit a landscape in which aesthetic, methodological, and stylistic direction flowed for the overwhelming part from America, after 1964, a new move toward aesthetic self-determination was taking shape, with a new generation of European musicians promulgating a specifically European practice of free jazz that succeeded in breaking away from American stylistic directions and jazz signifiers.

Borrowing from a critically important event in nineteenth-century American history, the end of chattel slavery, this declaration of difference and independence has entered German jazz history as *Die Emanzipation*. Heffley sees the term *Emanzipation* as having been introduced by the German critic Joachim Ernst Berendt in 1986; in fact, Berendt uses and explains the term in his 1977 book *Ein Fenster aus Jazz* (222). In any event, by the time the post-1965 European improvisation movement began in earnest, jazz was already serving as an international symbol of freedom and mobility. Thus, it seems entirely fitting that jazz, among the most powerful and influential symbolic expressions of one emancipation, would become in turn the inspiration for another.

Heffley's book focuses on the *Emanzipation* of the German free jazz

scene, and draws substantially from his massive, 1,700-page dissertation on *Freie Musik Produktion* (Free Music Production), the important musicians' collective and record label founded in the late 1960s by Jost Gebers, his partner Dagmar Gebers, and the saxophonist Peter Brötzmann (Heffley 2000). Most of the author's interviews in *Northern Sun* are with musicians who are either part of that scene or have had close associations with it.

In contrast to the situation in the United States, serious musical analyses of the music of Coltrane and his colleagues were in relative abundance in the Europe of the mid-1970s. Not coincidentally, one of the first such analyses of American free jazz was written (in English) in 1975 by a German scholar, Ekkehard Jost, and published in the United States in 1981. It is no exaggeration to say that Jost's body of work constitutes one of the most important historical and critical contributions to scholarship on black American experimental music. Nonetheless, none of Jost's other important books on American music, such as his 1991 *Sozialgeschichte des Jazz in den USA,* have been translated into English.

In fact, French, German, Japanese, and Italian studies of improvised music rarely make it to the United States. In a globalized environment, American scholars' neglect of very well-developed writing on improvisation by people like Jost, Wolfram Knauer, Bert Noglik, Hans Kumpf, Christian Broecking, and the late Peter Niklas Wilson (one of the few whose writings have been rendered in English) can be seen as a serious lacuna that impoverishes Stateside scholarship. Indeed, this is one of the major issues that the Heffley book addresses, and for which his book provides a welcome corrective.

The classic French-language treatise on the "new thing," Philippe Carles and Jean-Louis Comolli's 1971 *Free Jazz/Black Power* is still practically unknown in the United States. More of a scholarly than a journalistic work, yet written in accessible language, *Free Jazz/Black Power* articulated a proto-postcolonial emphasis which stood in sharp contrast with nearly all American accounts of the history of black music. The two authors draw upon the work of Amiri Baraka and Frank Kofsky in identifying in black music a dynamic of resistance to colonization, in direct opposition to "white American capitalism, its ideology and its system of values" (Carles and Comolli [1971] 2000:49).[6]

Furthermore, the two French writers maintained that mainstream American critics were essentially complicit in these race-based systems of domination—a topic that was rarely addressed in the United States until Baraka's famous essay "Jazz and the White Critic" placed the issue squarely on the table (Baraka [1963] 1998). Carles and Comolli found Baraka's analysis particularly compelling for its inclusion of the social at a time when

American jazz writing followed traditional musicology in relying upon apolitical constructions of the radical autonomy of the artwork. In this respect, Carles and Comolli maintained that for many years, "European criticism has played—on the cultural plane if not directly on the commercial plane—a relatively more important role than American criticism." ([1971] 2000:83).[7]

Northern Sun is refreshingly ecumenical, refusing the polemical stance that marked British critic Ben Watson's hefty volume on guitarist Derek Bailey (Watson 2004). Heffley draws from Bailey's lasting contribution to theorizing on improvisation, the notion of improvisation as having "idiomatic" and "non-idiomatic" practices (Bailey 1992). This binary is most often used by later commentators to create a distinction between free jazz—deemed idiomatic and therefore bound to particular histories and codified practices—and free improvisation, which is said to eschew precisely those codifications. Commentators who compare European and African American improvisors most often place the African Americans on the "idiomatic" side of the line—placing Europeans in the mobility position, and allowing white identity free rein.[8]

Those advocating a similarly bright line may be annoyed at the way Heffley freely mixes and conflates the two terms, thereby denying a racialized cast to them. Nonetheless, Heffley's position on this "free jazz versus free improvisation debate" at times appears to support a commonly asserted evolutionary narrative in which British improvisors, according to British writer Kenneth Ansell, used free jazz "as merely a developmental stage to a yet more radical form of music making" (Heffley 2004:90). Interestingly, notions of tempo and rhythm often play a decisive role in establishing the evolutionary taxonomy. In particular, the absence of fixed tempi is often framed as a sign of "advanced" music. For instance, the claim made by a number of European free players (as reported by Heffley), that the work of drummers Tony Williams and Elvin Jones in "confounding the steady beat in the drums opened up the door to the complete 'no-time' percussive colorisms of Paul Lovens and Tony Oxley," draws upon this framing. At the same time, the presumption of the anteriority of European free jazz musicians regarding the "liberation of time" is at variance with Berendt's 1976 observation that first-generation European free musicians—who by 1965 had heard at first hand not only the tempo-based work of Williams and Jones, but also the "no-time" work of Albert Ayler, Roswell Rudd, and drummers Sunny Murray, Milford Graves, and Beaver Harris—were particularly impressed with the way that American free jazz pursued a freedom from fixed rhythmic pulses that had yet to be explored in their own work (Berendt 1976:370).

Heffley's dissertation does not really cover any scenes other than the

German, but the book expands this focus to Europe proper. At the same time, the relatively brief treatment of the non-German scenes provoked this reader to wonder why the work was expanded to include material whose implications could not be more fully explored. While the sketches of free jazz scenes in France, Scandinavia, and particularly Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are welcome and valuable, certainly the German scene, with its large number of players who came to prominence in the wake of the *Emanzipation* and the substantial theorizing that continues to inform its history, was sufficiently diverse to merit a book on its own. Hopefully the author did not feel undue pressure to produce more of a survey text than a detailed study; in any case, the majority of the book leans quite effectively toward the latter, while at the same time prompting a reader's reflection on the need for further work on the post-1960s internationalization of jazz and improvised music.

Readers expecting a straightforward chronological narrative of European free music will be disabused of that expectation within the first hundred or so pages. The organization of the book is episodic, traversing a wide range of discourses and histories. In particular, large swathes of the narrative are devoted to the exploration of origin stories, or what Heffley calls "big history"—not only the immediate geopolitical environment, which is well covered, but also the large-scale historical and cultural network within which European free jazz can be situated. Perhaps inspired by Curt Sachs's popular 1961 text *The Wellsprings of Music*, Heffley's origin narratives range across vast tracts of European history.

The effect is bracing. The seeming torrent of references sprinkled throughout the book establishes the author's familiarity with subjects ranging from neuroscience to the Masons to sociobiology. The points of reference are too many to count, and yet one seems to move rapidly through them, sometimes barely stopping to smell the flowers. Then, suddenly and without warning, we zoom in from Heffley's frequent and often fascinating disquisitions into the symbolic, the arcane, the occult, and the generally spiritual, to the microlevel of the actual subject, the musicians.

For instance, Heffley's references to the work of musicologist and composer Jacques Chailley, known for his contention that *The Magic Flute*'s libretto was written to incorporate Masonic ritual, amply establish Heffley's method with respect to the relationship of history, sound, and spirit (1971). As Heffley sees it, Chailley's work illuminates the "relationship between harmonic moment and the West's unfolding of it into temporal flows" (Heflley 2004:34). Later, Heffley zooms in, hearing the "big and dirty" timbre of Brötzmann's tenor saxophone as an example of "Chailley's first-octave OM" (138). At the same time, while one understands how the history of Western

harmony might inform an understanding of the overall historical context from which European free jazz emanated, a more proximate connection between these histories and the work of these players remains, in my view, tantalizingly undertheorized by the author.

One quibble that I have with Heffley's account concerns the lack of attention to the continuing and intense ferment in the African American community regarding the place of jazz in both American society and Afro-American culture. To claim that African Americans "did not ply their own minds and voice to [jazz's] body of print until the 1960s" (5) overlooks a great deal, including most prominently, the work of the philosopher and aesthetician Alain Locke, who wrote extensively on jazz despite his ambivalence about it ([1936] 1969). Ted Vincent's book on black reception of 1920s and 1930s jazz (1995) also contradicts *Northern Sun*'s thesis, as does Paul Burgett (1990).[9] The absence of an account of this ferment affects Heffley's analysis of European free jazz. In particular, the lack of theorizing of the relation between first-generation American free jazz musicians and American black cultural nationalism (except as this is filtered either through Amiri Baraka, or through the work of European writers on jazz) makes it more difficult to see how European free jazz musicians actually drew upon the example of black cultural nationalism, aligning themselves with a complementary European nativism as part of their identity construction process. In fact, several of Heffley's interviewees draw upon this trope of European/white cultural nationalism, and even Heffley himself identifies the search for his own German heritage (7) as a primary motivation for his research.

Heffley's interview with East German drummer Günter "Baby" Sommer, makes the German strategy plain:

> How could we, with all that we had developed in European music culture, develop something of a worthy response to American jazz culture? And that was the moment when I, with [pianist] Ulrich Gumpert, began to dig around in German soil. Just as America had the blues, we felt, so have we ancient German folk music, Prussian marches. (2004:212)[10]

One of the more interesting aspects of the book concerns the alacrity with which European free jazz musicians asserted the Oedipal regarding their African American influences. One important theme in the book concerns bassist Peter Kowald's exhortation to "kill the fathers"—in more genteel terms, combating the anxiety of influence. Both this anxiety and Heffley's analysis of it, however, seem predicated upon an underestimation of the impact of race on musical reception and practice. If we decide to acknowledge the potential impact of race here, it is difficult to avoid the possibility that at least part of that anxiety had to do with the source of the influence,

an Afrodiasporic music that, in World War II Germany in particular, had been regarded as a locus of the primitive—certainly not to be taken seriously as a source of culture. In any event, one way to "kill the fathers" would be to write them out of your history; Heffley's narrative, to its credit, rather substantially writes them back in.

Nonetheless, Heffley prefers to discuss class in analyzing the European musical situation—for example, framing the connection between pianist Alexander von Schlippenbach, a hereditary *Graf*, and Brötzmann, a "local grassroots working man" as emblematic of "the Class Unity the West needed to forge for itself before unifying with the rest of the world" (158). Here, Heffley's analysis might feel pressure from Stuart Hall's observation that "race is the modality through which class is lived" (1996:55)—itself an attempt by Hall to turn conventional Marxism toward a confrontation with the reality that the dislocations of race could not simply be subsumed under the class struggle.

The fruits of Heffley's own research, in fact, could lead one to side with Hall. Heffley points out that free improvisation, despite its problematization of the divide between high and low culture, is nonetheless classified by the German performing rights society GEMA[11] as a form of *U-Musik—Unterhaltungsmusik*, or music for conversation, as opposed to *E-Musik—ernst* or serious music from the European high culture (2004:216–17). This fact indicates the degree to which even European free jazz musicians, with few or no African Americans around, still experience the reception of their art through the modalities of race; in Europe, as in the United States, jazz performances on recordings, radio, and television are paid at a much lower rate, reflecting the connection between the music's lower class status and its presumed racial origins.

In this context, it is hardly surprising that, as Heffley notes, "As European jazz players have turned to their own cultures to find their musical identities, they have turned more to art music than folk tradition" (233). As Heffley recounts, a similar development was envisioned by von Schlippenbach as early as 1975, when he advocated that his Globe Unity Orchestra receive "the opportunity to work with art music composers," a development that would take free improvisation "into the common cultural discourse" (155).[12] In this context, it is tempting to entertain the possibility that one pragmatic reason for these prodigal sons to kill their adopted black fathers was to regain acceptance by their "natural" white ones. More recently, the retrospective folding of European improvisors (but not their black American colleagues) into a revised high-culture consensus has been a critical feature of recent European scholarly and popular writing, as in any recent issue of the popular British music magazine *The Wire*.

The drive to de-emphasize race leads Heffley to rather uncritically endorse a contention that appears consistently among the European musicians—namely, that Europe, unlike the United States, had "no race problem." This recapitulates, at least in part, the experiences of earlier generations of visiting African American jazz musicians, some of whom found in Europe a measure of acceptance for their art and for themselves as persons. Curiously, however, the book never references the extensive literature on the experiences of African Americans or other persons of color in Europe, preferring to draw conclusions regarding European racial attitudes directly from Europeans themselves.

In this light, this declaration of "no racism" may be meant either to foreclose considerations of race as a factor in the production of European free music, or simply to assert European identity through distance and difference from the conditions of production of black American music. This presumed absence of racism, however, can also be viewed as a critically important mediating factor, in that European free improvisors were apparently free to pursue their art unburdened by the dynamics associated with being part of a minority people or a racially oppressed or otherwise subaltern group.

Heffley is rather unkind to Jacques Attali, accusing him of calling free jazz a "dated dead end" (307n5), when in fact the theorist saw free jazz as representing "a profound attempt to win creative autonomy" (Attali 1989:138). Perhaps the author is referring to Attali's view of the ultimate fate of free jazz—to be "contained, repressed, limited, censored, expelled" by the dominant culture (1989:140). Similarly, at times, Heffley's generally careful field notes fail him, as when he reports on a lecture I gave in which I was said to assert that Brötzmann's 1967 "Machine Gun" was a "blatant imitation" of John Coltrane's 1965 "Ascension" (Heffley 2004:134). In fact, the piece in question was the first movement of Coltrane's 1966 "Meditations"; Heffley treats the (misreported) contention as fanciful, and an informed reader can be forgiven for doing the same.[13]

Heffley's interviews elicit much of interest regarding the connection European free musicians feel to history. Sometimes, however, this reader longed for a sense of the evolution of the artists' thinking and practices. How did their ideas on their chosen practice—improvisation—develop, change, and grow over the years? Were there any doubts about the practice and its creative possibilities? Did they rethink the ambivalence of their relationship with the tradition of European composition, as both a source of national, even racial pride, and a standard against which they defined themselves?

It should be kept in mind that these artists are part of an internationally

recognized movement that has elicited a vast amount of recordings, commentary, and interviews over a forty-year span. Few of these earlier interviews with the improvisors were referenced in the Heffley text, however. In their stead we have a very helpful series of interviews from 1997, done by the author, for which, nonetheless, the function of hindsight-enhanced memories becomes an issue for the reader to sort out.

Of course, researchers working on jazz are eventually obliged to confront philosopher Theodor Adorno's scathing critique of jazz and popular music. One of the most thoroughgoing critiques was published in German in 1992 by the German sociologist Heinz Steinert, whose work is not referenced in *Northern Sun*'s encounter with Adorno's ideas. Steinert's book-length critique thoroughly contextualizes Adorno's jazz writing at length; by way of contrast, practically all English-language work on the subject consists of essay-sized contributions.[14]

Various commentators have attempted to explain (or to explain away) the shrillness, vehemence, and frequent ahistoricism connected with Adorno's views on this matter. To that end, some critics have settled on the justification that Adorno never heard "real jazz," meaning the transgressive avant-garde modernism that emerged either with Ellington, Parker, Coltrane, or Ayler, depending on the critic's affinities. Heffley is in this category, insisting that Adorno's work is actually in sympathy with the spirit of "the post-free aesthetic" (183), and in particular, with the music of Anthony Braxton. The author even optimistically suggests that Adorno, had he lived long enough, would have written a book "lauding the ways the free-jazz movement in both America and Europe addressed concerns and righted wrongs he had declared throughout his life" (185).

Steinert is not as generous as Heffley, pointing out that despite the fact that the philosopher could have heard not only bebop, but also the earliest stirrings of free jazz, "wäre er wirklich interessiert gewesen" (1992:17), his "polemic" against jazz extended well into the 1960s. Moreover, Heffley's optimism could be said to miss Adorno's contention that the transgression attributed to jazz was merely a chimera in any case, its notion of the primacy of the "individual voice" a mere fiction concealing the howling pain emanating from the wound of (black) castration that constituted the fundamental psychological basis of the music.[15] On this view, it seems just as likely that Adorno would have denounced European free jazz musicians, not only for succumbing to the blandishments of the music's ephemerality, but also for a kind of social and intellectual self-mutilation unworthy of their historical and ethnic provenance.

With the exception of Tuvan singer Sainkho Namchylak, women improvisors, and the analysis of gender more broadly, play a relatively minor

role in the book. Uschi Bruning was the only woman musician interviewed for the book; other important women improvisors, such as singer Maggie Nicols, saxophonist and bassoonist Lindsay Cooper, and the Swiss pianist Irene Schweizer—despite her status as "the one woman in Europe's *Emanzipation* history with as much stature as the men"—are marginalized to a footnote (Heffley 2004:323n28). Moreover, the author's contention that free jazz "served to defuse glaring polarizations and imbalances of power, including those of patriarchal heterosexuality as normative" (88) is contradicted by the recollections of Schweitzer and Nicols, as recounted in Julie Dawn Smith's 2004 article on women in post-*Emanzipation* free improvisation. Valerie Wilmer's much earlier and better-known survey of black American free jazz, *As Serious As Your Life* (1977), recounts the difficulties African American female musicians encountered with their male peers, while her 1989 book *Mama Said There'd Be Days Like This* discussed similar issues with both patriarchy and heteronormative thinking in the European free improvisation theater of operations. While Heffley seems content to "out" Cecil Taylor and Sun Ra, his otherwise careful tiptoeing around issues of gender and sexuality seems at variance with his stated purpose of uncovering the nature of *Eros* as a "big history" musical determinant.

Finally, as I read this intriguing and very valuable narrative, I was left with the impression that for all the talk of *Emanzipation*, African American musical culture and its experimental musicians still loom large in the discussions with these European musicians—whether as revered antecedents, favored colleagues, as objects of critique or ambivalence, or as foils for a negative aesthetic. Indeed, the centrality of African American culture to the narrative of European free music cannot be overlooked, and Heffley, unlike some commentators, is not at pains to disguise this evident fact.

With that in mind, I give the final word to Muhal Richard Abrams, a musician who, like most members of the AACM, the other important experimental musicians' collective that emerged in the mid-1960s, never collaborated with any of the *Emanzipated* Europeans. Ekkehard Jost, interviewing Abrams for a volume published in 1982, engages the pianist-composer on the question of European jazz. In fact, Abrams is far more accepting than Jost on the question of the centrality of the European experience:

> What they did in reality is finally, that they mixed in something from their own culture, so that there, another direction came about. And they should do that. But then, it's not about black creativity any more. It's a process of blending . . . I think that what they are doing is a hybrid . . . And this hybrid is exactly what you in Germany, the German musicians, have before you.

> I'm sure that these musicians are developing something. But they're developing it on the basis of who they themselves are as Germans. (Jost 1982:199–200; translation author's)[16]

Notes

1. Among the younger scholars represented in these two anthologies, Jason Robinson, Julie Dawn Smith, Michael Dessen, Dana Reason, Stephen Lehman, Salim Washington, Tamar Barzel, Kevin McNeilly, Ellen Waterman, and Jason Stanyek explore experimental improvisation by combining ethnographic and historical practice.

2. See Kahn (2002).

3. This reflection of critical reception in the jazz field, ominously linking the music to Black Power and other black political movements, can be read in light of historian Jon Cruz's observation that the trope of "noise" not only characterized white overseers' reception of slave music during the period of American chattel slavery, but continued to be asserted throughout the Jazz Age and beyond. See Cruz (1999).

4. As rap artist Chuck D put it, comparing his own experience with that of his predecessor, "Writers treat me like Coltrane, insane" (Public Enemy 1988).

5. Curiously, however, McDonough undercuts his own argument by deploying Leonard Meyer's notion of "fluctuating stasis," a kind of multiple-canon theory that proposed a future in which no single movement or approach would dominate a given artistic field. Indeed, beneath the notice of the powerful American megamedia's embrace of Wynton Marsalis as the quintessential jazz hero, revised practices of free jazz and its offshoots continued to proliferate, gather adherents and audiences, and exercise considerable influence. Many of these ongoing developments were indeed taking place in Europe, mostly unnoticed by American publishers and editors, if not by musicians and audiences. In that light, Kevin Whitehead's popular history/ethnography of experimental music in the Netherlands (1998) is perhaps a natural precursor to *Northern Sun*.

6. "Le capitalisme blanc américain, son idéologie et son système de valeurs."

7. "… la critique européenne a joué—au plan culturel sinon directement au plan commercial—un rôle relativement plus important que la critique américaine." An excellent recent review of French reception of post-1960s black experimentalism is found in Lehman (2005).

8. See, for instance, LeBaron (2002). For an account of this history that is less ideologically invested in asserting black/white binaries, however cryptically, see Couldry (1995).

9. Vincent's book (1995) is cited in Heffley's bibliography.

10. In a way, the adoption of African American free jazz by Europeans more or less automatically brought race to the table of European music history in a new way, even as more historically distant eruptions of musical race-consciousness in Europe are only beginning to be explored, notably by musicologists such as Jann Pasler (2004). Increasingly, younger scholars working on musical topics are beginning to avail themselves of the tools that scholars in other fields, such as Michael Omi and Howard Winant, Henry Louis Gates, Herman Gray, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Robin D. G. Kelley, Hazel Carby, and Emanuel Chukwudi Eze, among many others, have developed for accounting for the dynamics of race. This integration of race is particularly trenchantly exemplified in Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000).

11. The acronym GEMA stands for "Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und

mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte."

12. I discuss this attempt to enter the European cultural consensus at greater length in Lewis (2004).

13. For a discussion of the Brötzmann/Coltrane gloss, see Lewis (2004).

14. See, for example, Gracyk (1992) and Witkin (1998). For a more recent and more philosophically oriented critique of Adorno's jazz interpretations, see Béthune (2003).

15. "The aim of jazz is the mechanical reproduction of a regressive moment, a castration symbolism. 'Give up your masculinity, let yourself be castrated,' the eunuchlike sound of the jazz band both mocks and proclaims, 'and you will be rewarded, accepted into a fraternity which shares the mystery of impotence with you, a mystery revealed at the moment of the initiation rite.'" (Adorno [1953] 1981:129).

16. "Was sie in Wirklichkeit getan haben ist letztlich, dass sie etwas von ihrer eigenen Kultur hineingemengt haben, so dass da eine andere Wendung entstanden ist. Und das sollen sie auch machen. Aber dabei handelt es sich nicht mehr um Schwarze Kreativität. Es ist ein Verschmelzungsprozess . . . ich glaube, was sie machen, ist ein Hybrid . . . Und dieses Hybrid ist genau dass was ihr in Deutschland, die deutschen Musiker, vor euch habt. Ich bin ganz sicher, dass diese Musiker etwas entwickeln. Aber sie entwickeln es auf der Basis dessen, was sie selbst als Deutsche sind."

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