Beatlestudies 2

History, Identity, Authenticity

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University of Jyväskylä
Department of Music: Research Reports 23

Edited by Yrjö Heinonen, Jouni Koskimäki, Seppo Niemi,
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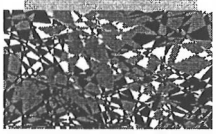

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Yrjö Heinonen *(PhD)*, Adjunct Professor (Docent) in Contemporary Culture (Department of Arts and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä), founder and leader of the BEATLES 2000 Research Project. Heinonen's doctoral dissertation (1995) presented a general model of the compositional process and applied it to the analysis of the songwriting and recording process of the Beatles. His recent research has focused on critical discourse analysis of music, with a special reference to historicity, autobiographicality and nostalgia in popular music.

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Terhi Skaniakos (formerly Nurmesjärvi) *(Lic. Phil.)*, Doctoral Student in Contemporary Culture (Department of Arts and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä). Skaniakos' Licentiate's Thesis (2000) examined the concept of form and its change in the music of the Beatles. Presently she is preparing her doctoral dissertation on the articulation of identities in Aki and Mika Kaurismäki's rock documentary *Saimaa-ilmiö* (*The Saimaa Gesture*).

PREFACE

Beatlestudies 2 is the second joint publication of the BEATLES 2000 research project. *Beatlestudies 1* (Heinonen *et al*, 1998), published in late 1998, concentrated mainly on questions relating to songwriting, recording, and stylistic change. While *Beatlestudies 1* emphasized the psychological orientation (both theoretically and methodologically), all of the articles in *Beatlestudies 2* deal, in one way or another, with questions of history, identity, or authenticity – all of which are key concepts in popular music.

history, identity, authenticity

In order to place *Beatlestudies 2* into a broader context, we begin with a brief review of how Roy Shuker has defined the principal meanings of these three concepts in his recent book *Key Concepts in Popular Music* (Shuker 1998). According to Shuker, the history of popular music, particularly that of rock, "has usually been presented in a fairly standard form, based around a chronological sequence of genres". However, "other writers have paid greater attention to the social, economic, and demographic situation". Still other writers have asserted that "the social history (of popular music) is a field of study in itself". (Shuker, 165-167.)

With respect to the concept of identity, popular music is, according to Shuker, "an aspect of attempts to define identity at the levels of the self, community, and national". On the level of the self it "expresses self-identity through the use of music consumption to indicate cultural capital, especially in subcultures" – in other words, "[a]dherence to a musical genre can be used to distance oneself from the parent culture/community/social authority". At the community level, popular music expresses identity "through notions of local sounds and scenes". Eventually, national identity may be expressed "through cultural policies [...] aimed at promoting locally produced music, and the association of particular genres and national settings". (Shuker 1998, 169.)

In popular music research, the concept of authenticity is often closely connected to the left-wing political ideology of the 1960s, which regarded it as a central evaluative criterion. Leading American critics (Landau, Marsh, and Christgau, the *Rolling Stone* magazine) saw authenticity "as

underpinned by a series of oppositions: mainstream versus independent; pop versus rock; and commercialism versus creativity; or art versus commerce". On this basis, the music industry was dichotomized into independent record labels (more authentic, less commercial) and the "majors" (more commercial, less authentic). An opposing view states that popular culture "reflects the complex interrelationship of corporate interests, the intentions of those who create the music, and the audience perceptions and use of musical texts". (Shuker, 20-21.)

In *Beatlestudies 2*, the concept of history is seen from the "relative autonomy" point of view rather than from that of social history. The BEATLES 2000 project is not concerned with the social history of the Beatles as a field of study in itself. We assume that the approach "chronological sequence of genres" can be meaningfully combined with the social history approach. With respect to the concept of identity, the emphasis is on the individual, or group of individuals, rather than local or national identities (although many articles also deal with local and global scenes). Moreover, using rock music as a means to distance oneself from the family or "parent culture/community/social authority" is considered to be but one aspect of the individual identity. Finally, in *Beatlestudies 2*, the concept of authenticity is understood in the sense "that there is an element of originality or creativity present, along with connotations of seriousness, sincerity, and uniqueness" – not, for example, as an opposition between "street creativity" and "business and market domination" (cf. Shuker 1998, 20-21). The term 'authenticity' is also connected with source criticism and the (often lacking) accuracy of sheet music transcriptions of the Beatles' music.

summary of the articles

In "The Beatles and Their Times" Heinonen and Eerola apply the "relative autonomy" point of view to position the music of the Beatles onto the rapidly changing context in which it was born and in which it evolved. The basic assumption behind the concept of relative autonomy is that stylistic change depends partly on the cultural context in which it takes place, yet, is partly autonomous in the sense that it tends to follow a certain pattern in different contexts at different times. The authors also emphasize that cultural influences tend to have their effects on individual musicians and groups via

personal and interpersonal contacts rather than faceless social institutions. Whether this is a universal truth, is not a matter for this article, but in any case it seems to hold true for the Beatles.

Niemi's article "Band on the Record" is both historical and technological. Taken that the Beatles were extremely successful recording artists, he questions their contribution to the development of recording technology. He then locates the Beatles along a time continuum of sound technology and recorded music as well as on the rapidly evolving rock music scene. His approach is not very far from the "relative autonomy" view of Heinonen and Eerola. Niemi concludes that although the impact of the Beatles on the development of studio technology was probably not as significant as is sometimes (somewhat romantically) implied, they – together with other contemporary rock groups – had a significant effect on the studio practice itself.

Nurmesjärvi's first article, "The Liverpudlian Identity of the Beatles from 1957-63", belongs to the type of local identity or scene studies referred to above. Her study is mainly based on writings of Sara Cohen, concerning Liverpool's music scene, issues of identity and the construction of locality through music. Nurmesjärvi claims that while Merseybeat did not decisively renew the music, it reinforced the local identity. She further suggests that this identity was more of a social, political, and even economic phenomenon rather than a musical one, even though it combined all factors. She closes the article by raising the question of whether Merseybeat would have occurred at all without the prior existence of a strong local identity.

Heinonen's "A Man on a Flaming Pie" presents a new theory concerning the origin of the name the Beatles. The article moves from the global cultural scene (beat movement, early rock 'n' roll) through the local scene (Liverpool, Merseybeat) to the personal experiences of the members (Lennon, Sutcliffe, and McCartney in particular) of the group. Heinonen points out problems in all existing theories concerning the naming of the Beatles and presents his own, according to which the immediate impulse for the curious name came directly from Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*. Heinonen further claims that the name Beatles was chosen since it was not only spry and catchy but was – and which was probably more important – something with which they could easily identify.

The second article by Nurmesjärvi, titled "You Need Another Chorus", criticizes the views according to which all popular music forms are simple

and, as a result, their analysis non-complex. Also questioned is the fact that analytical procedures have been based on the intuitive use of musician's parlance. Nurmesjärvi shows that this parlance is, in fact, highly self-contradictory and concepts originally referring to a particular form type within a particular genre are loosely applied to new genres. The main body of the article is an attempt to explore certain key concepts – verse, chorus, refrain, bridge, middle-eight, and so on – in their historical context. Nurmesjärvi also demonstrates how differently a basically simple song, 'I Saw Her Standing There', can be understood within different conceptual frameworks.

Koskimäki's article "Happiness Is A ... Good Transcription" deals with one aspect of the reception history of the Beatles – that is, the sheet music publication business. The main point concerns the authenticity of the sheet music publications of the Beatles. Taking as a case study 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun', Koskimäki explores how accurately the music, in particular the rhythm, has been transcribed in different sheet music publications. He also takes into account how well these transcriptions serve musicians to learn and play the music. Unfortunately, the average quality of these publications seems to be little more than fair and there are publications that cannot be imagined to serve anybody. The state of the sheet music transcriptions of the Beatles probably reflects the overall state of popular music publications.

The concluding article by Heinonen, "In Search of Lost Order", criticizes the views that take the connection between 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' and LSD for granted, without trying to understand the consequences of long-term usage for the personal identity of the consumer. Heinonen shows that, in the case of Lennon, these long-term effects were further enhanced by the advice from Timothy Leary's book *The Psychedelic Experience*, which presented LSD as a means to "liberate" oneself from the "imprisonment" of his or her ego. According to Heinonen, the fantastic lyrical and musical images of 'Lucy In The Sky' cannot be fully understood without comprehending what it meant "to get rid of your ego", as Lennon himself put it. At the moment of ego-loss – whether due to fatigue, LSD, or death – the mind seems to spontaneously create a hallucinatory order that may be interpreted as an escape to an imaginary paradise from the distress felt by the individual.

acknowledgements

The editors wish to thank the Department of Music at the University of Jyväskylä for accepting *Beatlestudies 2* to be published in the department's Research Report series. We owe deep gratitude to many persons that have supported us and provided feedback and advice. Special thanks must be addressed to Alf Björnberg, Walter Everett, Robert O. Gjerdingen, Stan Hawkins, Juha Henrikson, Antti-Ville Kärjä, Tim Riley, and Sheila Whiteley. We also wish to thank Francis Kiernan who has made our "broken congress English" fairly readable.

Jyväskylä, on 7 June, 2000

Editors

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BEATLESTUDIES 2 IN RETROSPECT
Preface to the Second Edition

It was eight years ago *Beatlestudies 2* was rush-released so that it would be available at the BEATLES 2000 Conference (15-18 June 2000, Jyväskylä, Finland). There is no reason to rewrite the Preface of the first edition; nor are there any reasons for omitting it from the second edition. So, let it be as it was in mid-June 2000, when the book was first published. The Preface to the second edition serves two purposes: (1) putting *Beatlestudies 2*(BS 2) into the context in which it was written, edited, and published, and (2) reconsidering it in retrospect.

Contextual Background

As the title implies, *Beatlestudies 2* is the second volume of essays in a series called *Beatlestudies*. The series was published by the BEATLES 2000 Research Project in the research report series of the Department of Music at the University of Jyväskylä. BEATLES 2000 was founded in 1997 to describe and explain the songwriting and recording process of the Beatles, with a special reference to stylistic change. The project ended with a joint panel presentation at the 11th International IASPM Conference (July 6-11, 2001, Turku). The permanent line-up of the project – the "Finnish Fab Four", as Russel Reising (2002a, 14) has put it – was Jouni Koskimäki, Seppo Niemi, Terhi Skaniakos (formerly Nurmesjärvi) and me.

The motivation for the series was discussed to some extent in the Preface to *Beatlestudies 1*. The very idea of a series of essay collections concentrating on a single band was inspired by *Beethoven Studies 1-3*, edited by Alan Tyson (this was also acknowledged in the title of the series). As far as the research group itself was concerned, the most important function of the *Beatlestudies* series was providing a workshop-like forum for the publication of the group members' post-graduate and -doctoral research. This involved not only writing articles based on the research, but also becoming trained in the editing and publishing of academic books.

The first volume of the series appeared in 1998 under the title *Beatlestudies 1 – Songwriting, Recording, and Style Change* (Heinonen & al. 1998). Its publication was accompanied by a lengthy article about the research project in *Helsingin Sanomat* (the leading daily newspaper in Finland). The book raised quite heated discussion, probably due to the publicity it gained. For example, Janne Mäkelä (1999) criticized the book for leaning on "traditional" musicology and cognitive science at the cost of "new" musicology and cultural studies. Antti-Ville Kärjä's review (1999a) included somewhat similar tones, but his conclusion was by and large more favourable. Journalist and critic Kari Salminen's (1999) arrogant attack in Suomen Kuvalehti (the leading "quality" magazine in Finland) replicated Mäkelä's key arguments with a harsher tone and led to a counterclaim by Kärjä (1999b), on behalf of the Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology. In his counterclaim Kärjä defended the research team's view

that popular music deserves to be studied not only as a subject of history and sociology, but also in its sonic form.

Beatlestudies 2 was partly written as a response to this critique. When the team gathered together again after the summer vacation in August 1999, it was unanimously decided that the second volume would concentrate more on themes current in contemporary popular music research and less on cognitive science and statistical methods. Yet, BS 2 was only partly a response to the afore-mentioned critique, since most of the material was already written in one form or another before the editing began in August 1999.

Indeed, versions of three chapters of *Beatlestudies 2* had already appeared in Finnish in *Musiikin suunta* 1/1999. These include Chapter 2 ("Band on the Record"), Chapter 3 ("Liverpudlian Identity"), and Chapter 6 ("Happiness"). The chapters published in *Beatlestudies 2* were not, however, mere translations, but substantially revised versions of these articles. Some chapters have a history reaching even further back than to the early months of 1999. The opening chapter ("The Beatles and Their Times"), co-written by Tuomas Eerola and me, grew out of my doctoral dissertation (1995) and Eerola's MA thesis (1997). Some ideas were also brought in from my review of Walter Everett's *Beatles as Musicians* (1998), issued in *Music Theory Online* (Heinonen 2000). Three chapters, in turn, were written specifically for *Beatlestudies 2*. These include Chapter 4 ("Flaming Pie"), Chapter 5 ("Another Chorus"), and Chapter 7 ("In Search of Lost Order").

The order of the chapters was a compromise between several organizational principles. One obvious principle was organizing them according to the general themes of the book – history, identity, and authenticity. Accordingly, Chapters 1 and 2 are primarily about historical matters, while Chapters 3 and 4 focus on identity. Chapters 5-7 are more loosely connected with the overall themes of the book. Chapter 6, however, deals with authenticity from the source-critical point of view (as do, in a sense, also Chapters 3 and 4), whereas Chapter 7 returns, again, to the question of identity. Another organizational principle, already used in *Beatlestudies 1*, was to begin with articles focusing on broader questions and to conclude with case studies on a single song. A third principle was to avoid an order, in which chapters written or co-written by a certain author would follow each other.

The main contents of the first edition of *Beatlestudies 2* – Preface and Chapters 1-7 – have all been retained in the second edition. In fact, without a few exceptions, the second edition is technically a facsimile of the first one. Only one of the seven chapters has undergone minor revisions. Jouni Koskimäki made some small corrections to Chapter 6 ("Happiness") when he included it in his doctoral dissertation (Koskimäki 2006), and this chapter is presented here as it is in the dissertation. These revisions do not, however, change the original pagination.

Eight Years Later

In retrospect, the afore-mentioned "paradigmatic" shift from BS 1 to BS 2 appears to be quite modest – at least in the light of the increasing critique towards canonical structures during the last decade. For example, in his review of (at the time) recent popular music studies, David Buckley (2002) proclaimed that "it's time for academia to leave Dylan, the Beatles and, for that matter, Madonna alone". *Beatlestudies 2* was one of the studies Buckley explicitly referred to.

Canonizing and de-canonizing popular music has indeed been a topic of several recent special issues of academic journals (e.g. *Popular Music*, 2005: 1) and conferences (e.g. "De-Canonizing Music History: International Symposium for Histories of Popular Music, Jazz and Folk Music; Sibelius Academy, Helsinki, Nov 20 – Dec 1, 2007). The question was also set forth by Morten Michelsen in his keynote presentation at the conference on "The Local, the Regional, and the Global in the Emergence of Popular Music Cultures" (Copenhagen, 24-26 October, 2005). I quote the abstract:

> The basic narrative structures of the Anglo-American history of rock have proven extremely resilient to several decades of criticism from diverse agents. Canonic names may have been forgotten, formerly excluded persons may have been included, notions of authenticity may have changed; but canonic structures themselves, the very principles of exclusion, and basic notions of authenticity are still at work in relation to different forms of youth music. And they appear to be still popular as they may be found in modern US popular music museums, in British magazines devoted to older genres and acts, in several television programs, and in academic textbooks. (Michelsen & al. 2005, 11.)

Apparently BS 2 can be seen as a piece of work maintaining the basic narrative structures of the Anglo-American history of rock, including the canonical structures themselves and – in spite of what is said in the original Preface (p. ii) – the basic notions of authenticity. Yet, the book at the same time attempted to reflect another key issue mentioned by Michelsen at the same conference, according to which it is important to:

> address such [canonical] processes and examine how the exchange between local, regional and global musics mix and interchange in dialogue as a result of political, social, and cultural encounters mediated in various ways, thus forming new possibilities for social formations and constructions of identities. (Michelsen & al. 2005, 5.)

Attempts to tackle these kinds of processes are evident in almost all of the chapters of BS 2, most prominently in Chapters 1 ("The Beatles and Their Times"), 2 ("Band on the Record"), 3 ("Liverpudlian Identity"), 4 ("Flaming Pie"), and 7 ("In Search of Lost Order"). Many articles also question certain myths that have become part of the Anglo-American history of rock in general and that of the Beatles in particular. This is most evident in Niemi's reconsideration of the

place of the Beatles in the history of sound recording (Ch. 2), in Skaniakos' exploration of Merseybeat (Ch. 3), as well as in my articles focusing on the naming of the Beatles (Ch. 4) and 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' as a "drug song" (Ch. 7). By saying this I do not wish to undermine the importance of the critique of canonical structures.

Any book is, after all, a turn in a (Bakhtinian) dialogue rather than an autonomous, self-sufficient "work". Obviously the BEATLES 2000 Research Project "tapped into the current zeitgeist" (Richardson 2000), since its active years coincided with and partly preceded a huge increase in the academic literature on the Beatles.[1] Chapter 1 ("The Beatles and Their Times") of *Beatlestudies 2* provides a brief review of the popular and academic literature on the Beatles up to 2000, while Koskimäki (2006, 9-10) updates this up to 2006. Regarding academic Beatles literature published during the last decade, the following books deserve to be mentioned: *The Beatles as Musicians 1 & 2* (Everett 1999, 2001), *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society* (Inglis 2000), *Every Sound There Is* (Reising 2002b), *The Songwriting Secrets of the Beatles* (Pedler 2003), *Reading the Beatles – Cultural Studies, Literary Criticism, and the Fab Four* (Womack & Davis 2006) and *Sgt. Pepper and the Beatles* (Julien 2008). In spite of the (justified) critique of maintaining canonical structures, there is still room for the academic study of the Beatles.

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Robert O. Gjerdingen and Carol L. Krumhansl I wish to thank for their contributions during the early stages of the project, particularly for their unprejudiced and encouraging attitude towards applying theoretical concepts from cognitive psychology to the study of popular music. Alf Björnberg deserves special thanks for supervising Terhi Skaniakos (Nurmesjärvi). Morten Michelsen, Juha Henriksson, Antti-Ville Kärjä and Janne Mäkelä deserve thanks for their support, valuable opinions and constructive critique during the later stages of the project and afterwards.

[1] As for the international reception of the *Beatlestudies* series and the BEATLES 2000 Research Project in general, cf. Jónsson 1999 (BS 1), Whiteley 2001 (BS 1 & 2), Buckley) 2002 (BS 2) and Kaminsky 2005 (BS 3); cf. also Everett 2000 and 2001, Reising 2002a and Pedler 2003.

The BEATLES 2000 Research Project is also indebted to all of the participants of the BEATLES 2000 Conference. It has been a pleasure to share opinions about the Beatles, popular music research and life with many of them in IASPM 2001 (Turku), 2003 (Montreal), 2005 (Rome), 2007 (Mexico City) and/or elsewhere. In addition to the participants already acknowledged above (Sheila Whiteley, John Richardson, Antti-Ville Kärjä, Janne Mäkelä), special thanks must be addressed to Ulrich D. Einbrodt , Walter Everett, Markus Heuger, Bruce Johnson, Juul Mulder, Russell Reising, Derek Scott and Ger Tillekens.

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Yrjö Heinonen

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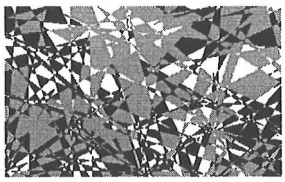

BEATLES 2000

THE BEATLES AND THEIR TIMES
Thoughts on the "Relative Autonomy" of Stylistic Change

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The music of the Beatles is, and has always been a great source of interest, which has yielded volumes of books and articles. This article is an attempt to explore the change in the musical style of the Beatles as part of the dramatic global evolution that took place after World War II (1945-70). In other words, we try to place the music of the Beatles into the rapidly changing context in which it was born and in which it developed. The key concept of our paper is the "relative autonomy" of stylistic change, according to which style change depends partly on the cultural context in which it takes place but is partly autonomous in the sense that it tends to follow a certain pattern in different contexts at different times. We begin with a brief survey of the Beatles literature, reviewing it in order from popular press to academic writings.

popular books and articles on the Beatles

The popular literature, of which the most notable areas for the research of music are biographies, is very heterogeneous. Different opinions based on the taste or sensational aspects, written from the journalistic point of view, tend to permeate articles or books in one way or another. Partly responsible for the plethora of interpretations are the Beatles themselves. John Lennon and Paul McCartney, who wrote most of the Beatles' songs, gave – especially in the late sixties and early seventies – conflicting comments concerning their work. In brief, these comments need to be examined critically, comparing information from several sources.[1]

Despite the above-mentioned problems, biographical authors compile information from several sources. Hunter Davies's (1968 and 1992), Philip Norman's (1981), Chet Flippo's (1988), Pete Shotton's (Shotton & Shaffner 1983), and Ray Coleman's (1984 & 1995) biographies are regarded as the most important but there are also other good references. George Martin's biography (Martin & Hornsby 1979) and his book on the making of the Sgt Pepper (Martin & Pearson 1994) illuminate his role as the Beatles' musical aid and arranger (see also Denyer 1985a and 1985b).

Information concerning the songwriting process is found in many interviews given by the band members to various newspapers and magazines. Exceptional in this regard is the interview which John Lennon gave to Playboy magazine (Sheff 1981a, Sheff 1981b) where he candidly summarized the Beatles' career. Most of the interviews are available as compilations or reprints (Cott 1968; Miles 1969, 1978, and 1995; Wenner 1971a and 1971b; Giuliano 1995). William Dowlding (1989), Steve Turner (1994), and Mark Hertsgaard (1995) have all collected details and commentaries by the Beatles from a great number of various references, some of which are nowadays hard to come by, listing the information song by song.

Mark Lewisohn has meticulously reported with the cooperation of the recording companies EMI and Apple (nearly) everything that the Beatles did

[1] In his article concerning the songwriting and recording process of the Beatles, Heinonen (1994) tried to establish some tentative criteria for studying the Beatles from the source-critical point of view. These ideas have been carried on in Heinonen & Eerola (1998) as well as in Heinonen's article "A Man on a Flaming Pie" and Nurmesjärvi's article concerning the Liverpudlian identity of the early Beatles, both in this book.

in the studio (Lewisohn 1988) and elsewhere (Lewisohn 1990). Robertson (1995) and Miles (1998) have published similar chronologies. Sulpy & Schweighardt (1994) have documented the last moments of the Beatles based on the "Get Back" tapes. There are also general analyses of their music. Amongst those deserving of favorable mention are Riley's (1987, 1988), Robertson's (1990), and MacDonald's (1994) books, which all illuminate the cultural situation of the sixties at the same time.

academic research on the Beatles

During the last three decades much of popular music research has been done within the musicological field as well as cultural studies (including for example sociology, cultural history, communication studies and the like). The Beatles and their music have, of course, received a great deal of attention. Much of the musicological research on the Beatles has primarily dealt with the music "itself", using terms and values of Western art music in their analyses. This holds true to Erkki Salmenhaara (1970) and Wilfrid Mellers (1973), although both authors also make frequent references to various cultural trends of the 1960s. Steven Porter's dissertation (1979) relates to the rhythm and harmony in the music of the Beatles and he uses Schenkerian analysis as the main method of analyzing the harmony. Dale Cockrell's dissertation (1973) is about the two concept albums that the Beatles made.

Walter Everett's prolific output includes several articles (1986, 1987, 1990, 1995) on the Beatles, often using (Schenkerian) voice-leading analysis to recover extra-musical issues like fantasy, remembrance, and grief in various songs of their repertoire. His two-volume book The Beatles as Musicians (of which the first volume, "Revolver through the Anthology" was published in 1999) is undoubtedly one of the most thorough analyses of the Beatles and their music. The book provides a detailed music analysis of the group's musical output, combined with equally throughout biographical and historical (cultural) information.

Turning to the more "cultural" side of the research, English musicologists Richard Middleton (1990) and Allan F Moore (1993) consider briefly the music of the Beatles in their books where they try to devise new ways of analyzing popular music. Moore (1997) has also presented a detailed analysis of the Sgt Pepper album – including its "making", the songs

themselves, and the reception of this album. Sheila Whiteley (1992) devotes an entire chapter to the Beatles in her book dealing with the psychedelic coding of the music of the 1960s. All three British musicologists continue the tradition started by Mellers and they all try to bridge the gap between the "traditional" musicology and the various "cultural" approaches.[2] The same also holds true for the BEATLES 2000 project, although this project tends to emphasize the psychological rather than the cultural aspect (without denying the significance of the latter).

This paper attempts to explore the change of the musical style (as manifest in certain audible features) in relation to the development of the Beatles as a group and the rapidly changing cultural atmosphere of the 1960s. In other words, the article is an attempt to write a stylistic history of the Beatles that takes both the cultural and the social psychological points of view into account.

THOUGHTS ON THE RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF STYLISTIC CHANGE

In this chapter we try to clarify the concept 'relative autonomy' and how this concept is related to various approaches commonly used in the study of music history. We first offer a brief survey on the basic approaches of historiography, then turn to the concept of relative autonomy itself, and conclude by making a distinction between external (roughly cultural) and internal (here belonging to the area of social psychology) factors that are assumed to have an effect on stylistic change.

[2] Notable articles dealing with the topic include Campbell & Murphy (1980), West & Martindale (1996), Whissell (1996), Inglis (1995 and 1996), and Compton (1988). Good summaries of the Beatles' music include the writings of Stuessy (1994) and Marcus (1992).

basic approaches in historiography

Most approaches used in historiography may be interpreted as representing one of the following basic approaches, or indeed a combination of two or all of them:

- chronological narrative
- cyclical metaphor
- historical relativism

The main idea behind the chronological narrative approach is given in the *Encyclopedia Britannica (Micropaedia),* according to which the term 'history' refers to "the discipline that studies the chronological record of events (as affecting a nation or people), based on a critical examination of source materials, and usually presenting an explanation of their causes". A contemporary version of the chronological narrative approach, as applied to the history of music, has been presented by Carl Dahlhaus (1985) who maintains that music history research should take the musical "work" as the unit of chronology, instead of various "events" associated with music. Consequently, the resulting narrative should consist of musical works arranged in a chronological order according to the novelty principle (that is, according to the date of the premiere or publishing of the work), rather than its reception or later performances.

According to the cyclical metaphor, particular long-term processes of history can be treated in terms of a cycle consisting of birth, growth and decay. The basic methodological principles of this approach are presented as early as in Hugo Adler's (the founder of musicology as an independent discipline) writings:

> "In the course of the origin, flowering and decline of a style, the intermediate period invariably serves the principal basis for comparison. [...] At the same time, the significance and relevance of preliminary stages and later offshoots can, and indeed must, be recognised, even if at times they are at variance with certain crucial determinants of the style." (Quoted in Dahlhaus 1985, 15.)

A contemporary version of this approach, supported by findings in cognitive psychology (and memory research in particular), has been presented by Gjerdingen (1988) and applied to Beatles research by Eerola (1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b) and Heinonen (1998a). Usually this approach is not in contradiction to the chronological narrative approach; in fact, making a

chronological presentation of "works" – or, rather, features – is a necessary requirement in studying whether or not there is a cycle (Heinonen and Eerola 1998).

Historical relativists have held that "any historian inevitably writes in terms of his own time and cultural setting; that is, he is influenced by a particular bias, by certain prejudices, likes and dislikes, and other similar factors that constitute his 'frame of reference'" (Haydon 1941, 258). They tend to deny that historical events in themselves possess continuity and pattern but, rather, this pattern is presented as "a matter of construction or interpretation of actual processes on the part of the historian" (Haydon 1941, 258). A highly influential version of this approach has been presented by Leo Treitler, according to whom all history – including the previous literature of history – is "present" in the sense that in practice it is always perceived and interpreted in the present. This viewpoint has, according to Treitler, "the important implication that temporal order and the associated concept of change are not of the essence in historical judgment." (Treitler 1990, 43.) Treitler's view is known as historical criticism and, as the term 'criticism' implies, he encourages music historians to evaluate the music they are studying. As a consequence, the study of music history should become part of (general) music criticism.

These three basic approaches are *basic* also in the sense that they are built on three fundamental notions of time. The chronological narrative approach assumes time to be linear, ordered, and dividable into units of equal duration. The cyclical metaphor is, as the name indicates, based on a cyclical conception of time – often mirroring "the ordered shapes of nature itself".[3] Historical relativism, in turn, assumes neither the linear nor the cyclical notions of time but emphasizes the uniqueness of events and the phenomenological quality of the perceived present. Being anchored to the three fundamental or archetypal ways of perceiving or experiencing time, none of these basic approaches cannot be taken as absolutely right or wrong.

There are two combinations of the narrative and cyclic approaches that are worth mentioning here. The first combination may be called the dialectic

[3] These "ordered shapes of nature itself" may include according to Solomon (1990, 13), for example "the turning of the seasons, the ceaseless interchange between life and death, the movement of the heavenly spheres, the rhythms of biological existence and natural phenomena".

approach. According to this view, the course of history is dividable into time periods, each showing a "rise and fall" type of evolution, and in this sense the approach is similar to the cyclic one. However, the course of history is, at the same time, linear and points in a certain direction. Marxist "historical materialism" may be taken as an example of this approach. Their belief was that feudalism and the bourgeoisie were merely necessary stepping stones in the evolution towards communism. The succession of adjacent stages was thought to follow the principles of Hegelian dialectic (thesis, antithesis, and synthesis).

Another combination of chronological and psychological accounts of style is often called historiometry or stylometry. According to this, the basic requirement of art (originality) may hold the most important key to the question of stylistic change. Style can be said to change because of the pressures for novelty, which is also required to compensate for habituation. As the terms used suggest, this approach has its roots in biology and the findings of experimental aesthetics. For example, in Berlyne's (1974) theory of aesthetic preference, the function of art is to optimize the arousal level of person and the major determinants of arousal are the collative aspects of stimuli, i.e. novelty, ambiguity, incongruity or complexity of the aesthetic stimuli. Several studies (reviews in Fung 1995; North and Hargreaves 1995) have investigated the predictions of Berlyne's theory with considerable success. There are also successful applications of these principles in literature (e.g. Martindale 1975, 1990 and the stylistic change of British poetry) and music (Simonton, 1984, 1994 and the originality of the melodies of the classical music repertoire.)

the concept of the relative autonomy of music

Roughly speaking, a great deal of 20th-Century musicology can be seen as a series of attempts to take a stand concerning the notion of the autonomy of music. Within this, three basic orientations may be distinguished: formalism or aestheticism (emphasizes the autonomy of music), functionalism (maintains that music is not autonomous but stands for a function superior to it), and the mediating view trying to balance between the two extremes (sometimes called the 'relative autonomy' point of view). According to Bowman, the *formalistic* approach is based on

> "the belief that an understanding of music's nature and value is not to be found in its effects, the insights it affords, the feelings it arouses, or indeed, its connections with anything outside itself. Its value, on this view, is strictly its own, strictly intrinsic, located wholly within a purely musical realm. Interesting and important though people's subjective musical experiences may be, it is the 'objective' cause of those experiences that interests philosophers who prefer formalistic perspectives. Not just any response to music is musically relevant: only the response that ensues from perception of qualities that are 'out there', in the 'work' or the music itself. The genuinely musical experience, then is a response to objective features – and more specifically, to features ordered and structured." (Bowman 1998, 133.)

It is safe to assume that an exclusively formalistic conception of music is accepted by very few, if any, popular music researchers (and it must also be added that its proponents form a minority among today's "traditional" musicologists).

Turning to functionalism, there are two basic (and partly conflicting) ways to define the function of music: one (originally Marxist) view maintains that the function of music is basically social or cultural, the other (originally Freudian) emphasizes its cathartic function for individuals.[4] The conception of the function of music as social and political force "grows out of "convictions that whatever else it may be, music is fundamentally social" (Bowman 1998, 034). According to this view, music

> "[...] is a cultural phenomenon, and not just incidentally or parenthetically. 'The social' does not relate to music as 'context', a container into which music proper is somehow inserted, a background against which 'music itself' is perceived. The social is an inextricable part of what music is, and accounts that presume it can be understood apart from that sociocultural situatedness err, and err profoundly." (Bowman 1998, 133.)

Needless to remark, this conception, which may be regarded as a modified Marxist functionalism – a kind of "applied Marxism" without referring to Marx or his disciples –, is the prevailing one amongst contemporary popular music researchers.

The Freudian view is maintained particularly within biographical research. Solomon has described the relation of this approach to the formalistic point of view as follows:

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[4] The Marxists treated music and other arts as belonging to the "superstructure", which was considered to be only an expression of the "base" (the underlying economic relations in society). Freud, in turn, maintained that the value of art lies in its therapeutic (or self-therapeutic) use; in this context the Freudian term 'sublimation' refers to a process in which both the artist and the audience are coping with inner conflicts and discharging tensions.

> "We sense that the artist's personality is reflected in his work – that his 'individual style' reflects not only his technical preoccupations and his assimilation of available styles but also his psychological attitudes, conscious choices, and unconscious mental processes." (Solomon, 1990, 102.)

Solomon has also outlined certain methodological principles which could (or should) be taken into account in psycho-analytically oriented biographical research.[5] Although many popular music scholars (e.g. Frith 1987, Middleton 1990, and Richardson 1998) have referred to certain Freudian concepts – especially in relation to the *pleasure principle* and its counterpart, the *death drive* – serious attempts to apply Freudian depth psychology have been rare. However, Heinonen has applied Freudian (and also Jungian) concepts in what he has called psychodynamic music analysis to several songs by the Beatles, and others.[6]

The concept of the 'relative' autonomy of art and art history is originally Marxist. However, according to Dahlhaus (1985, 108), the precise meaning of this principle was by no means clear even "within Marxism itself, or among those authors who wish[ed] to pass for Marxists".[7] Although music, belonging to the "superstructure", is an expression of the "base" it has a "relative autonomy" – that is, it is partly autonomous or independent from the "base" (the underlying economic relations of society).[8] The principle of 'relative autonomy' is not, however, restricted only to Marxist parlance, as is apparent in the following quotation of Agnes Heller:

> "It may be reasonably assumed that once an institution has already been established it 'lives' a life of its own, even though only relatively. Its later development is but the unfolding of all potentialities inherent in it from the beginning. It may be assumed, further, that interplay with other structures may only hinder or accelerate this inherent process. As long as the basic structure

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[5] According to Solomon (1990, 105), the biographer may begin with some distant events and "attempt to trace their putative reverberations in long-term patterns of creativity and, eventually, in finished works of art". He or she may also "begin with what appear to be biographical precipitates in a given work and seek their analogues in experiences of the author". The third approach is "to construct a dynamic model of the artist's personality out of the interplay between known biographical data and the psychological materials embodied in his works". Finally, the biographer may "begin with the seemingly simple, external factor closest in time to the creative act." Needless to say, two or more of these four approaches may be combined in one study.

[6] For example, Heinonen 1998b and two articles in this book ("A Man on a Flaming Pie" and "In Search of Lost Order").

[7] Dahlhaus himself (1985, 115) defined the Marxist sense of the concept as "the expression of the belief that music goes beyond its deceitful ideological function to propoind a partial utopia".

[8] Astonishing as it may seem, Marx and his followers seemed to consider music much more autonomous than do many contemporary supporters of the cultural approach.

> preserves its identity, every change can be accounted for as the effect of the original establishment, be it an institution or a social form." (Heller 1982, 176-177.)

In this paper, music – or rather, stylistic change – is considered to be relatively autonomous (with the addition that here the principle of 'relative autonomy' should not be understood in the strict Marxist sense). It follows that music is considered to be relatively functional at the same time. The function of music may be divided into external and internal functions, which are next to be discussed.

internal and external factors

The question of whether it is internal (personal or individual) or external (communal or cultural) factors that influence the songwriting process and, consequently, style change is an extremely problematic one to resolve since "it is through the choices made by composers that both internally generated style changes and externally influenced ones are actualized as musical relationships" (Meyer 1989, 106). However, a meaningful theoretical distinction can be made. Meyer defines – for his purposes – internal factors (or, "constraints", as he calls them) as follows:

> "[...] the composer's temperament and ingrained habits of mind, however formed, as well as native talent, as refined by early learning, will be considered internal to the parameter of music. Though these attributes are undoubtedly affected by cultural milieu, composers are conduits through which the traditions of music are transmitted, and only when a composer's nature has been ascertained can the influence or external impingement be discerned at all." (Meyer 1989, 106-109.)

This definition does not apply as such to the Beatles for the obvious reason that the Beatles were a group of individuals with four different temperaments and "ingrained habits of minds". So, in this article, the degree of internal factors refer to the dynamics and development of the Beatles as a group.[9] For external factors (constraints) Meyer gives the following definition:

> "Strategic innovation may be either encouraged or discouraged by the cultural circumstances in which compositional choices are made. Such circumstances may be broad and encompassing, having to do with the culture's general attitude

[9] It is emphasized, however, that the individual level is by no means considered irrelevant here – quite the contrary. The cultural, group-related, and individual levels are all taken into account in, for example, Heinonen (1995). So the omission of the individual aspect here is only due to the necessarily limited scope of this article.

> toward change per se, or they may be quite specific, having to do with the function of music in the culture, political and economical conditions, particular currents in the intellectual history, and so on." (Meyer 1989, 111-112.)

This definition applies to individual composers as well as to small groups like the Beatles, so there is no need to redefine it. However, one assumption behind this paper is that also cultural influences tend to have their effects on individual musicians and groups via personal and interpersonal contacts as well as memberships in small (often exclusive) cliques rather than through faceless social institutions. Whether or not this is a universal truth, is of no concern for this paper, but it in any case it does appear to hold true for the Beatles.

The organization of the following account of the relative autonomy of stylistic change proceeds by first separating internal and external factors. Here the external factors consist of current affairs (social, political, economical issues) and the internal factors refer to the group development. Interpersonal contacts, in turn, refer to events which mediate between external and internal factors. The stylistic features of the Beatles' music are outlined within this framework.

THE BEATLES AND THEIR TIMES

The music of the Beatles cannot be fully understood without comprehending the overall cultural and intellectual atmosphere of the 1960s.[10] This atmosphere, in turn, cannot be understood without first understanding the 1950s. Eventually, understanding of the cultural and intellectual atmosphere of either of these decades is impossible without prior understanding of the gloomy heritage of World War II. This heritage was largely shadowed by the following three states of affair: (1) the balance of power between the two superpowers, the capitalist US and communist Soviet Union; (2) the division of Europe by a military curtain (the "Iron Curtain") into a capitalist West and communist East; (3) the birth of the Third World (roughly, countries not

[10] The main sources for the cultural atmosphere of the fifties and sixties have been Pichaske 1979, Lamb and Hamm 1981, Frith, 1987, Aquila 1989, Miller 1981, Lewisohn 1990, Heinonen 1995, Funk & Wagnalls 1995.

belonging to the above-mentioned categories) together with a tendency to divide it to the allies of the capitalist West and the allies to the communist East.

During the winter of 1946-47 a large portion of Europeans were threatened with starvation due to a dramatic decrease in agricultural production and coal mining caused by World War II. The US decided on a program of financial assistance to help to rebuild West European nations devastated by the war. This program is commonly called the Marshall Plan, after US Secretary of State George Marshall. Despite humane interests for the plan there were also underlying motivations. Funk & Wagnalls (1995) lists them as follows. Firstly, Europe had been a great market for American goods, thus a prosperous Europe would save the US from a severe economic depression. Secondly, without American aid, Western Europe might turn to the use of Socialist or Communist methods of rebuilding, which, of course, would threaten the position of the US. Thirdly, Western Europe might appear open to the influence of the USSR. Finally, West Germany, the industrial "motor" of Western Europe, should be strong enough to buffer against Soviet expansion (integrating West Germany into a larger Europe would also lessen the fears of Germans born during the Nazi regime).

As cold war tensions grew in 1949, funds were increasingly channeled into military efforts rather than industrial rebuilding. In spite of this, the Marshall Plan achieved its immediate aims: by 1952 West European industrial production stood 35% above prewar levels, and West Germany was not only independent but also re-arming and economically booming. Certain postwar events – such as the rejection by Eastern European nations of the Marshall Plan, the creation of Cominform, and the Brussels Treaty – led to the forming of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1949.

What has all this to do with the development of rock music and the style of the Beatles? Pretty much, indeed. Actually, one could claim that it was World War II, and its immediate aftermath that offered not only the atmosphere but also the immediate requirements for the birth of rock music:

- new media, through which to distribute the new music to the new markets;

- new markets, for which to offer music based on these new genres (the "baby boom" generation);

- new musical genres (rock 'n' roll and its subspecies), which emerged from the older genres (popular song, jazz, blues) originally developed in late 19th-and early 20th-Century;

The birth or rock 'n' roll and its spread around the world may be taken as a good example of how a profound change, taking place at all levels of culture, provides the requirements for the advent of a totally new music culture. In the case of rock 'n' roll, this chance was due to World War II and involved the Western culture as a whole. At the spiritual level the change meant that American beliefs, values, and norms were strengthened at the cost of European ones.[11] On the social level, the baby boom changed the social structure by making the youth, for the first time, a subculture of its own. Indeed, the word 'youth culture' was born in the 1950s to describe this "new" subculture. At the level of material basis, new technology – largely a by-product of wartime and postwar military industry – was developed to distribute the American values to the adults and the members of the emerging youth culture. Furthermore, during the war, American black and white people had been in contact with oneanother much more and existed together with unprecedented equality. This pushed forward an acculturation process, in which certain musical elements of these formerly more strictly separated subcultures began to combine.

early rock 'n' roll – conflict or consensus?

When rock 'n' roll broke through, it encountered an immediate resistance from adults. This resistance was partly due to adult fear (or even paranoia), according to which rock 'n' roll had "sinister potential for corrupting American society" (Aquila 1989, 21). In addition, as rock 'n' roll spread across the UK and the Continent, the same suspicions concerning its "sinister potential" arose. There were, of course, elements of rebellion and protest in early rock 'n' roll. To quote Aquila:

> "The music's close ties to black rhythm and blues were a direct affront to segregationalist views of the era. The sexuality and uninhibited nature of the

[11] The Eurovision Song-contest, launched in 1956, was a direct reaction against American domination of popular music and the aim of the competition was to raise the consciousness of national musical identities within European countries.

> music were an assault on the conservative, strait-laced, button-down attitudes of the 1950s and early 1960s. And rock & roll songs like Link Way's 'Rumble' or Ivan's 'Wild Child,' along with rock dances and fashions, did challenge parental attitudes of propriety. Furthermore, if Marshall McLuhan was right – that the medium is the message – then for many teens rock's driving beat and blaring sound meant outright rebellion. This rebellious side of rock & roll undoubtedly sparked the growth of some teen subcultures which thrived on alienation." (Aquila 1989, 21.)

Aquila maintains, however, that "the elements of acquiescence", inherent in early rock 'n' roll, "outweighed the elements of rebellion". He further claims that, in most cases, "teenagers' adherence to rock & roll music signifies their acceptance, not rejection, of society and culture". Even though the music itself "may have sounded strange to some adult ears", the message it conveyed "should have sounded quite familiar".

> "The 1950s and early 1960s are generally viewed as a period of consensus and conformity in American history, an era marked by fears of communism and praise for traditional American values. Rock & roll's treatment of religion, the home, the family, and love of country frequently reflected the era's conservatism. Likewise, commonly held American myths, folktales, and stereotypes abound in early rock & roll, as do contemporary middle-class rituals involving courtship, marriage, school, and cars." (Aquila 1989, 22.)

Aquila gives a convincing list of songs reflecting this tendency towards consensus. The list is, of course, too large to be examined here in detail and there is no need for it either. His opinions are recognized easily enough by anyone familiar with the early rock 'n' roll and related styles from, circa 1954-1963. Connecting cold war, nuclear threat, decolonialization, and the space odyssey, directly to the development of the early rock 'n' roll may appear to be twisting things ideas in order to claim that they did not actually exist. Aquila's book shows, however, that actually all these themes were reflected in many hit songs of the era in a very concrete manner.[12] Aquila ends his discussion on this topic as follows:

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[12] Songs referring to cold war included 'Mr. Khurschev' (Bo Diddley, 1962), 'Dear Ivan' (Jimmy Dean, 1962), 'My Daddy Is President' (Little Jo Ann, 1962), 'Soldier Boy' (the Shirelles, 1962), and 'The First Family' (Vaughn Meander, 1962). Songs associated with the nuclear threat included, for example, 'Sh-Boom' (Chords, 1954) and 'A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall' (Bob Dylan, 1963). The number of songs protesting against war increased during the late 1950s and early 1960s and led eventually to the birth of the protest song movement (Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez) in 1963. Examples of songs associated with the space odyssey include 'Flying Saucer' (Buchanan and Goodman, 1956), 'The Astronaut' (Jose Jiminez, 1961), 'Fly Me To The Moon' (Joe Harnell, 1962), and 'Telstar' (the Tornadoes, 1962). In many cases the names of the performers reflected topical issues (e.g. Swedish instrumental group the Spotnicks). A more comprehensive list of examples is presented by Aquila (1989).

> "Much of the 1950s and early 1960s rock & roll proves adults and teens shared similar beliefs, values, interests, and pastimes. It also indicates both adults and teens were concerned about the same sources of tensions and insecurities in American life. In short, early rock & roll reveals more consensus than conflict between the generations. The generation gap would not open for another few years." (Aquila 1989, 31.)

There is undoubtedly considerably truth in this statement. It is, however, a view based on retrospective comparison. It is easier to find common features after 30 years than it could have been during the actual time of the events. In fact, from the phenomenological point of view, both teens and adults of the 1950s and early 1960s obviously *felt* a deeper generation gap than can be inferred on the basis of the hindsight.

stylistic features of early rock 'n' roll

Dividing fifties youth music into different styles is a problematic task and the literature shows that each writer creates a taxonomy that best suits his or her own orientation. In this paper, four principal genres are distinguished, from which youth music of the 1950s and early 1960s primarily developed. These were Tin Pan Alley (popular song, musical), Anglo-American folk music tradition (ballads, country & western), blues and jazz, and the black gospel tradition. Additionally, four new genres are introduced, which developed as combinations of the four principal genres.

Turning to the new genres, black rock 'n' roll adopted features from blues and gospel, arranged in a moderately fast 4/4 jazz tempo. White rock 'n' roll (rock 'a' billy in particular) was a fusion of elements borrowed from white country & western and black blues – again in a fast 4/4 tempo. Most rock 'n' roll (both black and white) was based on the 12-bar blues progression, either as such or as a variation of it. Doo-wop combined features from black gospel and white Tin Pan Alley traditions. The tempo was usually slower than that used in rock 'n' roll. AABA (often extended by an extra BA) was the most common form – the A-section, often being based on the I-vi-ii-V (or I-vi-IV-V) chord changes. White pop-rock (teen-rock) combined elements from white rock 'n' roll, arranged in similar forms and chord progressions to those of black doo-wop. Thus, white rock 'n' roll was a "bleached" version of black rock 'n' roll (rhythm 'n' blues) – just as white pop-rock was comparably a "bleached" version of black doo-wop. The mutual relations of these genres

are displayed in Figure 1. The white half represents genres based primarily on European traditions, whereas the darkened half represents the genres based primarily on the African-American tradition.

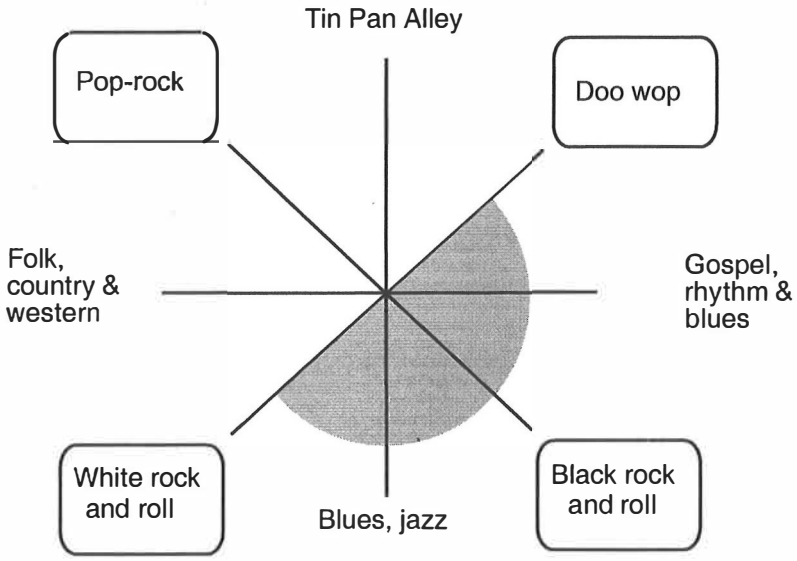

Figure 1. The most important stylistic trends of popular music in 1954-63 and the traditions to which they are based on.

the formative years of the Beatles

By the mid-1950s many teenage Liverpudlians – John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and George Harrison included – were connected by a mutual interest: music. Lennon and McCartney had somewhat similar musical backgrounds. Lennon's mother loved the Tin Pan Alley stuff – ballads as well as comic songs – and played also the banjo. McCartney's formative years were influenced by his father's passion for traditional jazz and Tin Pan Alley standards. To quote McCartney:

> "When people of my generation – who would have been born in the 1940s and obviously be around forty now – when they were growing up, rock 'n' roll hadn't been invited yet. Blues had started, but that was nowhere near as popular; you had to be a real folkie to be into blues. Anything up to the 1950s was the old traditions in Britain that was music hall – or vaudeville, as you call it [in America].
>
> My dad, sitting around the house tapping things like 'Chicago' on the ivories, he used to get told of by his dad for playing what his dad called 'tin can

> music.' To Me, it's the great old standards now. It's silly to realize, but the waltz was once a scandalous dance and 'Chicago' was considered raucous pop. If anyone wanted to go into show business before the mid-1950s, you were looking at a Sinatra-type person as the most rocking you were gonna get. Then suddenly Elvis arrived and Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, Little Richard, Jerry Lee [Lewis], and all the guys. From then on, that was the whole direction.
>
> Anyway, as a result, my father was very sympathetic when I was getting into music and consequently there was a lot of that music hall music around our house on the radio and the telly." (Quoted in Flippo 1988, 20.)

In 1956 many Liverpudlian youngsters went crazy for skiffle (Lonnie Donegan, the Vipers) and from 1957 their main passion turned to rock 'n' roll. Lennon's mother taught her son some banjo chords (Lennon's guitar was tuned like a banjo), and in March 1957 he formed a skiffle group, called the Quarry Men, which McCartney was to join later in that year. George Harrison was to follow in early 1958. During 1957-60 the group (called the Quarry Men from 1957 to 1959) is best described as an amateur schoolboy band. The line-up was in constant flux but the core of the Beatles – John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and George Harrison – emerged from this period. Besides the family, the most influential personal contacts were associated with school. Lennon befriended with Stuart Sutcliffe and Bill Harry in the Liverpool Art Institute. It was during the Liverpool Art Institute days when Lennon was first introduced to the philosophy of the beat movement. McCartney and Harrison were soon to follow.

From 1960 to 1962, the group (now called the Beatles) became a professional group, performing mainly in the nightclubs of Hamburg and ballrooms and clubs of Liverpool. The line-up was Lennon (lead singer, rhythm guitar), McCartney (lead singer, various instruments during 1960-61, from 1961 on bass), Harrison (lead guitar, background vocals), Stuart Sutcliffe (bass, only in 1960-61), and Pete Best (drums). The group was associated with different promoters, Alan Williams and Bruno Koschmider, succeeded by Brian Epstein who became their manager at the end of 1961. In 1962 the Beatles signed a recording contract with EMI. At the same time drummer Pete Best was replaced by Ringo Starr (Richard Starkey). In Hamburg the Beatles befriended German art students (Astrid Kirchherr, Klaus Voorman, and Jürgen Vollmer in particular). This gang of students, maintaining a contemporary existential line of thought, had a profound influence on the Beatles – first, on their outer appearance (hair-style,

clothing) and life-style, and later, on their musical style.[13] Hamburg also taught them hard work and humbleness: it has been said that it was Hamburg, which made the Beatles.

1962-64 ("I Have A Dream")

Reasons for the phenomenal success of the Beatles in the US often include: (1) a carefully planned advertisement campaign, which was carried out effectively (credit mainly due to manager Brian Epstein), (2) the need for new cultural heroes to alleviate the shock following the Kennedy assassination in late 1963, and, naturally, (3) the Beatles themselves – both as a group and separately (i.e. *that* mystically magic combination of uniformity and individuality which they formed in 1963-65), and last but not least, (4) their music. The advertisement campaign is not an issue to be explored here but the other issues deserve a closer look.

current affairs and cultural atmosphere

According to Lester Bangs (1981), a *Rolling Stone* journalist, the fact that the Beatles conquered America immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy was not a coincidence:

> "Consider the time, early 1964, America – perhaps young America in particular – had just lost a president who had seemed a godlike embodiment of national ideals, who had been a youth-cult superstar himself. We were down, we needed a shot of cultural speed, something high, fast, loud and superficial to fill the gap; we needed a fling after the wake. It was no accident that the Beatles had their overwhelmingly successful Ed Sullivan show debut shortly after JFK was shot (the date was February 9th, 1964)."

John F Kennedy was elected the President of the United States of America in late 1960. For Americans, he represented justice, optimism, and youthful idealism. However, as soon as he came to office, he was battered by a series of international crises. In April 1961, Kennedy approved an invasion of Cuba,

[13] In Hamburg they also were introduced to drugs. They were told to use "Prellies" (that is Preludine, an amphetamine derivative) in order to be able to play for eight hours each night.

which failed.[14] A month later, he established the Apollo space program, which was designed to land a man on the moon and return him safely to earth "before the decade is out". In the August of the same year, the DDR (East Germany) erected a wall that divided Berlin into eastern and western sections.[15] A serious crisis arose in October 1962 when it was revealed that the Soviet Union had placed nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba.[16] In June 1963, Kennedy visited West Berlin, where he pledged continued support for West Germany and delivered his famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech. In the same month he delivered another important foreign policy speech, now calling for an end to the cold war.[17]

Kennedy was active in civil rights questions as well. In 1960, Martin Luther King had given up his pastorate in Montgomery, Alabama, to participate more effectively in national civil rights movement. Although King's principle of non-violent resistance was not accepted by all blacks, it was in any case the official mode. In 1962, after Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black had ordered the University of Mississippi to accept a black student, Kennedy ordered federal troops to the campus to quell the ensuing riots. In 1963, King led a massive civil rights campaign in Birmingham, Alabama – and Kennedy used the threat of federal force to enhance de-segregation. On 28 August, 1963, King led the historical March on Washington, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. In September of the same year, Kennedy sent, in order to strengthen the civil rights further, a special message to Congress. Two months later – on 22 November 1963 – he was shot dead in Dallas, Texas. The assassination was a shock to the entire world, and particularly to the young Americans to whom he had become the icon of justice, optimism, and idealism. At the same time, Beatlemania swept across Great Britain and was to spread throughout the world within a few months.

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[14] This plan was inherited from the previous administration and became to be known as the Bay of Pigs Invasion. Needless to say, the unfortunate invasion only worsened the already hostile relations between Cuba and the US.

[15] Kennedy responded to this by sending 1500 US troops over the land route to Berlin to reaffirm access rights there.

[16] The peak of this crisis was reached when President Kennedy threatened nuclear retaliation. Eventually the Soviets withdraw the missiles in return for Kennedy's promise not to invade Cuba.

[17] As a consequence, the superpowers now agreed to establish a "hot line" between Moscow and Washington DC, to facilitate communication in time of crisis. Something was ultimately learned from the Cuban crisis.

the Beatles and the popular music scene of the early 1960s

The morning after their enormously successful Ed Sullivan debut – which had a record audience of 73,000,000 – the Herald Tribune wrote that the Beatles were "75 per cent publicity, 20 per cent haircut and 5 per cent lilting lament" (quoted in Davies 1992, 273-274). Lamb and Hamm has summed up the elements of their success in the following way:

> "Part of the Beatles' appeal lay in their charm, their apparent innocence and their direct and happy texts. They were a rock and roll group that even parents could enjoy. They were successful because they were enormously talented in using familiar musical elements to create songs of such apparent simplicity that one wonders why other musicians could not or did not do just what they were doing. John Lennon, George Harrison, and Paul McCartney were able to produce lyrics and tunes that resembled those of other writers but were significantly better." (Lamb & Hamm 1981, 114-115.)

Despite being merely charming neighbours'-boys singing "lilting lament", the Beatles had their rough edge too. This was noticed by the Daily News, which commented the first Ed Sullivan show performance as follows: "The Presleyan gyrations and caterwauling were but luke warm dandelion tea compared to the 100 proof elixir served up by the Beatles" (quoted in Davies 1992, 274.) The same was noticed by many American musicians who either had broken through during the early 1960s or were to break through in the immediate future – Bob Dylan, the Beach Boys, and the Byrds.[18]

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[18] Bob Dylan (1971, in Anthony Scaduto's biography): " They were doing things nobody was doing. Their chords were outrageous, just outrageous, and their harmonies made it all valid...But I kept it to myself that I really dug them. Everybody else thought they were for the teenyboppers, that they were gonna pass right away. But it was obvious to me that they had staying power. I knew they were pointing the direction where music had to go...in my head, the Beatles were it. In Colorado, I started thinking but it was so far out I couldn't deal with it – eight in the top ten. It seemed to me a definite line was being drawn. This was something that never happened before." (Quoted from Marcus 1992, 179-180.)
Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys have said: "What I saw impressed me. The Beatles looked sharp, especially compared to the silly, juvenile stripped shirts and white pants the Beach Boys were wearing on stage. I suddenly felt unhip, as if we looked more like golf caddies than rock 'n' roll stars. Mike was equally concerned. Both of us saw them as a threat." (Quoted from Giuliano 1995, 259.)
Roger McGuinn of the Byrds have said: "I loved it! The first time I heard the Beatles I was living in the Earl Hotel on Washington Square Park [in New York City]. I was scuffling. I had just stopped for Bobby Darin's publishing company and started working in little coffee houses for a living. I saw a clip of the Beatles on television, the one Brian Epstein had sent over, with the screaming girls going after them and everything. I guess this was just as 'I Want To Hold Your Hand' and 'She Loves You' were released. I loved that stuff, and I went out and bought the album, took it back to my apartment, and learned all the songs." (Quoted from Somach, Somach & Gunn 1989, 211.)

It was characteristic of the Beatles' overall musical style that they played a more varied combination of music than their American counterparts, who mostly played songs belonging to one or two styles. Figure 2 portrays the main American styles or genres which noticeably influenced the Beatles.

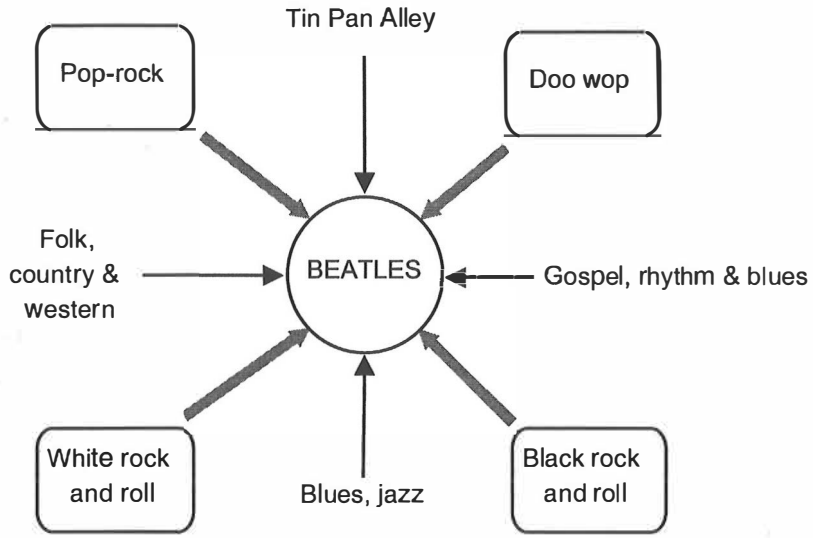

Figure 2. The most important stylistic basis for the Beatles' songwriting influences in 1962-64 (Heinonen 1995b, 79).

The boxed genres are assumed to be the more influential. In the figure it is also attempted to illustrate roughly how the different styles were interconnected. The genres shown in Figure 2 also represent a great majority of the cover songs which the Beatles played and recorded during their early period. Table 1 displays musical features frequently referred to in the literature as being characteristic of the early period.[19]

[19] This table (and similar Tables 2 & 3) has originally been presented in Eerola (1997). The main sources for tables include Lamb & Hamm 1981, 112-117; Heinonen 1995, 74-88; Porter 1979, 374-382; Stuessy 1994, 131-153; Nurmesjärvi 1998, 69-79; Everett 1999, 146-147.

Parameter	Features
Rhythm & Form	Steady beat and tempo, mostly in 4/4 meter, with an emphasis on the second and on the fourth beat. Internal phrases were typically four bars long and the overall form was usually an extension of a standard form, most often AABA or ABAB. A tendency to begin a song with a chorus instead of a verse
Melody	Simple, often syncopated melodies and ensemble singing in unison or harmony (mostly in thirds or in sixths), melismatic figures especially at the end of phrases. Embellishing III and IV chords in melody was often typical.
Texture	Usually the texture consists of solo and backing vocals, three electric guitars (lead, rhythm, bass), sometimes supplemented by piano, harmonica, or different percussion instruments. Since 1964, electric guitars (lead and/or rhythm) were often substituted by one or two acoustic guitars. Lead vocals often included various kind of utterances and meaningless vowels.
Harmony & Tonality	Usually quite simple tonal structures in a major mode, beginning the contrasting sections (B, C) in the tonality of VI or III (supertonic and mediant). The chords themselves were quite simple (triads, sevenths, ninths) but their combinations were often unexpected.
Lyrics	The lyrics dealt mostly with various "boy-girl" situations (often in adoring manner).

Table 1. Stylistic features characteristic of the early style period of the Beatles.

The two first albums by the Beatles (*Please Please Me* and *With The Beatles*) comprised of eight original songs and six cover versions. The third album, *A Hard Days Night*, included only original material, mainly written by Lennon. *Beatles For Sale*, the fourth album, was a return to the old format with eight original songs and six covers. *Help!* included twelve originals and only two covers. *A Hard Day's Night* – the only album with exclusively original material – may stand out as an obstacle in this development. It was, however, preceded by a line of singles ('From Me To You', 'She Loves You', 'I Want To

Hold Your Hand') as well as some album tracks ('It Won't Be Long' and 'All My Loving').

group development

During the period from 1963 to 1965 there was quite a clear division of labor between the members of the group as well as between the group and Epstein. On the other hand a corresponding division existed between the staff of EMI (especially the producer George Martin and the recording engineer Norman Smith) and the band. The Beatles performed and released both cover versions and songs of their own. Their own songs were written by Lennon and McCartney, either separately or in collaboration. Lennon and McCartney also wrote songs for other members of Epstein's office NEMS. Lennon was the principal lead singer, McCartney replacing him on occasion. When Lennon sang the lead, McCartney and Harrison usually sang the harmony or backing. When McCartney sang the lead, Lennon and Harrison sang backing. Harrison played lead guitar, Lennon the rhythm guitar, McCartney the bass, and Starr on drums. There was also a clear-cut division of labor between the Beatles and the EMI staff. The final sound as well as the format of the records was to a reasonably large extent created by George Martin, with the help of recording engineer Norman Smith. Actually, the "concise commercial statement", characteristic of the early records, was by and large created in the studio by Martin and Smith. A considerable amount of work was done in the control room after the songs were recorded – in the absence of the Beatles. Epstein and Martin expected the Beatles to release three singles and two albums each year. This happened – and the result was soon known as Beatlemania.

interpersonal contacts

During 1963-65 the Beatles were key figures in many of the overlapping cliques that formed amongst the elite of what became known as "Swinging London". One circle was centered around songwriter Lionel Bart (who is best known for his musical *Oliver*, 1960) and singer Alma Cogan. It has been said that Cogan threw the best parties in the whole of London at the time. Another circle was centered around the family of Jane Asher – McCartney's "steady" from 1963 to 1968. Jane's father, Richard Asher, was a well-known

psychiatrist and her mother, Margaret Asher, was an oboe teacher who had taught George Martin in the early 50s. Jane's brother Peter formed an Everly Brothers –like duo with Gordon Waller. Peter and Gordon were, in turn, friends of author John Dunbar who was married to singer Marianne Faithful. The third circle consisted of members of British rhythm 'n' blues groups like the Rolling Stones and the Animals. Lennon once said that he himself, together with Eric Burdon of the Animals, and Mick Jagger and Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones formed a kind of "men's smoking club" and were "the kings of the jungle" at the time. In August 1964, the Beatles met Bob Dylan who – besides introduced them to marijuana – had a profound impact on their songs, both lyrically and musically. This was also a major step from the (almost) exclusively British circles to more international ones.

1965-67 (the psychedelic dream)

current affairs and the cultural atmosphere

A major external factor was undoubtedly the cultural situation affecting all other factors. Ideology, which in the mid-sixties stressed complexity, was known as the psychedelic period, lasting approximately from 1966 to 1969, culminating in 1967. The use of drugs, and war and liberalism protests were all related to this ideology. An essential part of the mystical nature of the psychedelic ideology was drawn from various Eastern ideologies. (Lamb & Hamm 1981, 116-117; see also Whiteley 1992.)

During the entire 1960s – but particularly after the assassination of President Kennedy – the US had serious troubles in their national as well as international affairs. The most acute problem in national affairs was the fight for civil rights, whereas the Vietnam War caused problems in international relations (which was soon to become a national concern).[20] President

[20] The US had inherited the Vietnam conflict from France in the mid-1950s. According to the so-called domino theory, the US government assumed that if communists were allowed to take control of South Vietnam, the rest of the Far East would follow like falling dominos. After ten years of increasing unrest, the war began to escalate as the North Vietnamese torpedo boats were reported to have attacked US destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. The international unrest was further increased shortly after the Gulf of Tonkin crisis, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschew was replaced by a leader troika consisting of Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgornyi. In February 1965, US planes began regular bombing raids over North Vietnam. During 1965-67 President Johnson made several attempts to initiatise peace negotiations but no avail.

Johnson's government confronted extremely angry opposition both within the US and around the world. Different counter-cultural movements combined various political, philosophical, and artistic approaches and made ordinary people aware of them.

In general, it seems safe to say that Marxism and existentialism – often a combination of the two – were the most important politico-philosophical starting points for postwar European intelligentsia. The most influential existentialists were French author-philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre, who openly admired the communist system, and Albert Camus. In the US, the underground movement sought influences from modern jazz, avant-garde, and Eastern philosophies. The most important representatives of these movements include the Beat poets Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg who both offered biting social comments flavored with oriental influences as early as in the 1950s. It is worth mentioning that John Steinbeck, who had described the San Francisco and Monterey area – the cradle of hippiedom – in his books was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962. In the mid-1960s, Timothy Leary (former psychologist at Harvard University) stepped into the limelight with his open campaign for LSD. The civil rights movement helped black philosophers (Martin Luther King) and authors (James Baldwin) to gain general publicity. King's affection towards Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts strongly coincided with the oriental tendencies in current philosophy.

the Beatles and the popular music scene of the mid-1960s

The British Invasion had forced American recording companies to rethink their attitude concerning the clear segregation of different genres within popular music. Towards the mid-1960s genres were combined and fused more freely also in the US, which, in turn, led to the birth of new genres like folk-rock, psychedelic rock, progressive rock, and soul.

Active competition with other bands and between the Beatles themselves provided an incentive to develop new ideas (cf. Hertsgaard 1995, 11). Even if the task of distinguishing all of the influential persons or bands is impossible, the major figures can be listed as follows. Bob Dylan had a strong influence on the Beatles. Besides admiring and having met him, the influence of Dylan's lyrics and music – as well as other folk musicians – is noticeable in

their music and especially motivated John Lennon.[21] Lennon began to add more personal statements to his lyrics and described the change as such (Sheff 1981b, 192); "'In My Life' – It was the first song I wrote that was consciously about my life. Before, we were just writing songs à la Everly Brothers, Buddy Holly – pop songs with no more thought to them." (See also Miles 1995, 57; Cott 1968, 51.) Other inspirational persons or bands include Brian Wilson and the Beach Boys (especially their innovative album Pet Sounds – 1966) and the Byrds.

During 1965-67 the Beatles widened their own range of musical styles. The main sources of inspiration now included the new folk-rock scene (Dylan and his followers), Western art music (especially the baroque and the contemporary avant-garde), soul (Tamla Motown, Stax), and North-Indian art music. Figure 3 shows how certain traditions and styles became more influential (broader arrows), although the musical styles that had formed the basis of their early period were still present to a greater or lesser extent. In spite of having many different stylistic influences, the music of the Beatles during their psychedelic period can be characterized in a coherent way. This is seen in Table 2, which summarizes the stylistic features frequently referred to in the acknowledged literature.

According to producer George Martin, it was Rubber Soul that presented a new Beatles to the world. Indeed, Rubber Soul seems to jump out from a "logical" line of development much in the same way as A Hard Day's Night. However, Rubber Soul did not appear from nowhere – again the preceding singles ('I Feel Fine'/'She's A Woman' and 'Help!'/'I'm Down' in particular) and album tracks ('I'm A Loser', 'I'll Follow The Sun', 'You've Got To Hide Your Love Away', 'The Night Before', 'I Need You', and 'Yesterday') had made the soil fertile.

group development

The established division of labor changed between 1965 and 1967. Now the band had three songwriters (Lennon, McCartney, and Harrison) but no fixed line-up. The Beatles began to release only original material. Lennon and McCartney stopped writing for the other artists of Epstein's stable (NEMS)

[21] Lennon's interest in the literary side of art (and Bob Dylan) resulted also in his books (In His Own Write, published in March 1964; A Spaniard in the Works, published in June 1965.)

and concentrated solely on the Beatles. Harrison was still the principal lead guitarist but also began to play sitar and other Indian instruments (swordmandel, tambura). Occasionally Lennon and McCartney also played the lead guitar. McCartney continued on bass but also played the piano. Starr kept playing drums and percussion. Lennon's role as a performing musician became more obscure: he now played also the harmonium, electric organ, and various percussion instruments (the maracas and tambourine). Session musicians were hired to play strings, brass, or woodwind, sometimes even Indian instruments like the tablas and tambura.

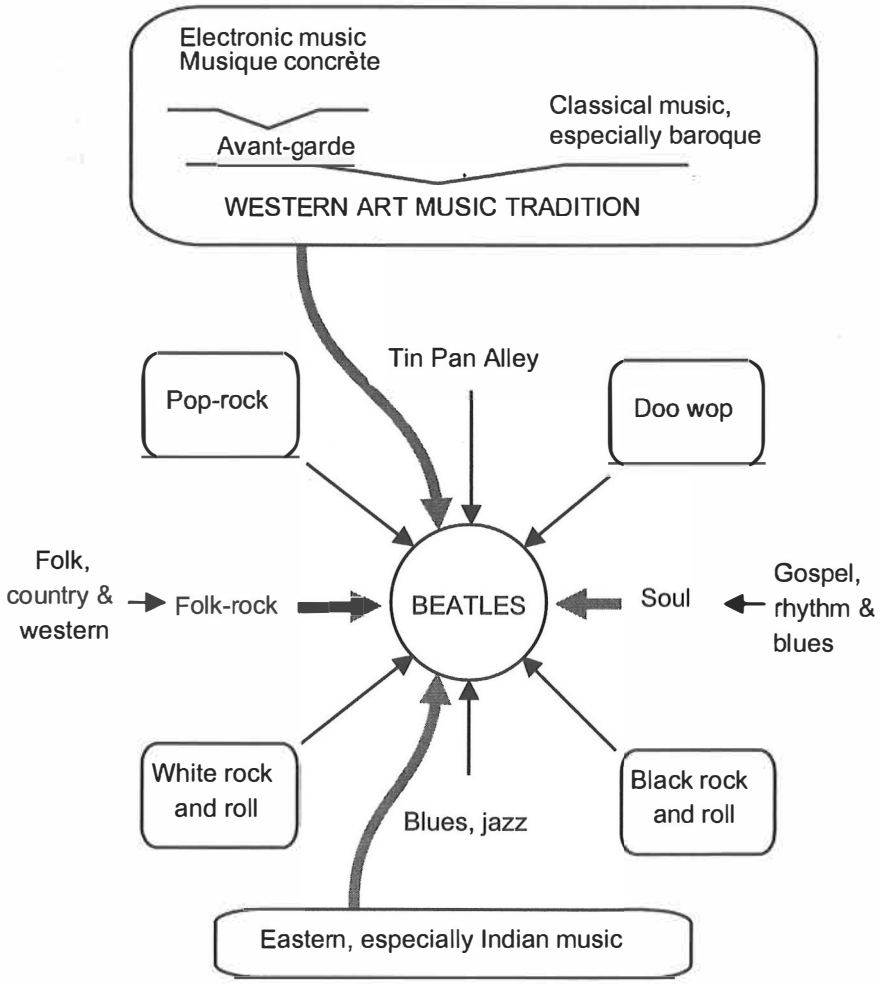

Figure 3. The most important stylistic premises in 1965-67 (Heinonen 1995b, 84).

Parameters	Features
Rhythm & Form	Changing meters and irregular phrase lengths, a tendency to prefer various strophic forms with or without a refrain (AAB, AB, AAA) instead of standard forms as a basis of the overall form.
Melody	Basically as in the early period, although there was an Increasing tendency to favor tone repetition, either immediate (on a note to note level) or structural, together with Oriental (especially Indian) influences.
Texture	Basic line-up was the same as it was during the early period, although all instruments were not necessarily used simultaneously. Instead, a wide range of new instruments ("borrowed" from the symphony orchestra, jazz groups, or Indian ensembles and mostly played by session musicians) were often added). More complex vocal polyphony (canons and other contrapuntal devices) was common, together with linear passacaglia-like bass lines. Various sound effects (electronic as well as musique concrete type) were used.
Harmony & Tonality	On the one hand there was a tendency to use more sophisticated chords, especially bVII and other modal chords (bIII, bVI), on the other hand there was a tendency to reduce the quantity of chords used in a single song (many were based only on two or three chords).
Lyrics	Lyrics dealing with boy-girl situations were substituted for new topics (fantasy, social commentary, nostalgia, and a more universal concept of love).

Table 2. Stylistic features characteristic of the middle style period of the Beatles.

The Beatles started to contribute more to the production process (recording, mixing, and releasing). George Martin still produced the records but now he also wrote the arrangements for the session musicians. The roles of the recording engineer (mainly Geoff Emerick) as well as the tape operators (mainly Phil McDonald and Richard Lush) became more important. The fascinating soundscape of *Revolver* and *Sgt Pepper* was created through a close-knit cooperation of the Beatles and the EMI recording team:

George Martin (producer/arranger), Geoff Emerick (recording engineer), and Phil McDonald or Richard Lush (tape operators). Geoff Emerick's work on *Sgt Pepper* was awarded a Grammy for the best-engineered album in 1967. The "art rock" character of the middle period records was created by the Beatles and the EMI recording staff (Martin, Emerick, McDonald, and Lush) during the lengthy sessions in which all five stages of the production process – songwriting, arranging, recording, mixing, and releasing – constantly overlapped.

interpersonal contacts

During 1965-67 the Beatles became close friends with Dylan and Donovan (who broke through as Dylan's British "folkie" counterpart). This folk-rock circle was soon expanded to include the members of the Byrds. They were an American group who performed Dylan's songs and those of other folk singers, such as Pete Seeger, which were arranged in a style similar to that of the Beatles. At this time the Beatles, especially McCartney, befriended with another American west coast group, namely the Beach Boys. Along with these folk-rock and west coast contacts came the European avant-garde scene. Peter Asher and John Dunbar founded, together with Barry Miles, an avant-garde book shop and gallery called Indica (Miles, 1997). Miles introduced McCartney to contemporary avant-garde music (including both art music and jazz) as well as to avant-garde art, literature, and film. The idea of using tape loops in 'Tomorrow Never Knows' (and in many later songs as well) can be traced back to Luciano Berio's concert on February 1966, which Paul McCartney attended. In late 1966, John Lennon first met Yoko Ono, when he visited Ono's exhibition at the Indica Gallery.

Also the more traditional art music influences (e.g. the use of string quartet, or baroque-like counterpoint) came quite directly from Asher's circle, although producer George Martin was more than willing to use them on the records. Folk-rock, avant-garde, and more traditional Western art music largely contributed to the birth of "art rock". There was still at least one important ingredient to be added – traditional Eastern art music. Obviously, George Harrison was immediately struck when he heard the "first eerie sound of sitar" during the filming of *Help!*. He bought a cheap sitar and began to practice. In June 1966 he attended Ravi Shankar's concert in London and later in the same year went to India to have formal training on the instrument.

Shankar together with Shambu Das, introduced Harrison not only to the secrets of the sitar but to Indian culture, philosophy, and also the religion. With Ono, Shankar, and Shambu Das, the Beatles' inner circle was further expanded to include people from Eastern cultures.

1967-70 (the dream is over)

current affairs and cultural atmosphere

The late 1960s were characterized by politicization of practically all sub-areas of the youth culture. The European counter-culture sought inspiration openly from Marxism and was fascinated by radical socialist ideas. In the US, the counter culture was focused around more pacifist ideas, as is apparent in the anti-war and the civil rights movements as well as in the "peace" and "flower power" statements of the hippie movement.

By early 1968, much of the American public had concluded that the US could not win the Vietnam War. On March 31, President Johnson offered a new peace gesture by announcing a halt in US bombings over North Vietnam. This time the offer evoked a positive response from Hanoi and in May negotiations between the US and North Vietnam commenced in Paris. In October 1969, the US began to withdraw from Vietnam. Flower power seemed to overcome suspicion in Europe too, when the "Prague Spring" blossomed in full in early 1968. However, radical changes were to come. In August of the same year, the flowers of the "Prague Spring" were crushed under Soviet tanks. A new batch of assassinations and executions had begun on 9 October, 1967, when the Bolivian army had captured and shot Ernesto "Che" Guevara near Vallegrande. The body of Ernesto died but the myth of Che Guevara, the eternal revolutionist, was born. Martin Luther King's nonviolent resistance came to an end on 4 April, 1968, when he was shot dead in Memphis, Tennessee. Robert Kennedy, who was following the footsteps of his big brother to the White House, was shot on 5 June, 1968. He died the following day.

In Europe, beside the "Prague Spring", the most memorable "events" of 1968 were associated with student riots, which were a consequence of Marxist-oriented student demonstrations in France. Radical student movement soon spread throughout most of the West Europe, resulting in riots

in several countries. 1968 was also the year of violent racial riots in the US. In China, Chairman Mao's main project of the late 1960s was the Great Proletarian Cultural revolution, which had begun in 1966. Mao was revered in China and studied as well in the Third World as among many Marxist movements in the West. Together with Ernesto "Che" Guevara, he was an icon of the left-wing sympathetic intelligentsia all over the world. However, the cultural revolution lasted only three years: after much rioting and the near destruction of the Communist party, Chairman Mao buried the project in 1969 and allowed the army to restore order so that the party would be rebuilt.

Despite the collapse of so many of the Sixties dreams, there was one of them – and perhaps not the most probable one – which was to be fulfilled. In 1961, President Kennedy had proclaimed that, before the decade is out, the US will land a man on the moon and return him safely to earth. After several test flights, the historical Apollo 11 flight was launched on July 16, 1969. The lunar module descended to the moon on July 20. A few hours later, astronaut Neil Armstrong descended the ladder and stepped onto the lunar surface, saying the legendary words: "That's one small step for man . . . one giant leap for mankind". At the same time, the Beatles were engaged in their last recording sessions as a group at the Abbey Road studios. The phenomenal career of the Beatles (including its predecessors) lasted from the launching of the first earth-orbiting satellite (Sputnik 1, in 1957) to the landing of man on the moon (Apollo 11, 1969).

the Beatles and the popular music scene of the late 1960s

It was during the late period that the Beatles began to include open or only thinly disguised political comments in their songs (open – 'Revolution', thinly disguised – 'Blackbird') as well as comments on their own financial issues ('You Never Give Me Your Money'). All in all, however, the stylistic features of this period consist to a great extent on features common to the previous style periods. It was typical of this period that none of the single sources of inspiration was stronger than another (Heinonen 1995, 87). Therefore it is difficult to characterize the late period as a one coherent style. It is more correct to speak of several distinct stylistic ideas, which were not necessarily compatible with each other. One example of the extremes of these different styles is the presence of acoustic folk and raucous rock 'n' roll (e.g. Everett 1998, 149.) Figure 4 is an attempt to illustrate the most important stylistic

influences on the late style period of the Beatles. The main difference of Figure 4, as compared to Figure 3, is that no single influence is described as being more prominent than another. Further difference between the figures is the presence of Latin American influences (apparent for example in 'Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da' and 'Sun King') in Figure 4. Table 3, in turn, is an attempt to describe the wide spectrum of the features characteristic of the late musical style of the Beatles.

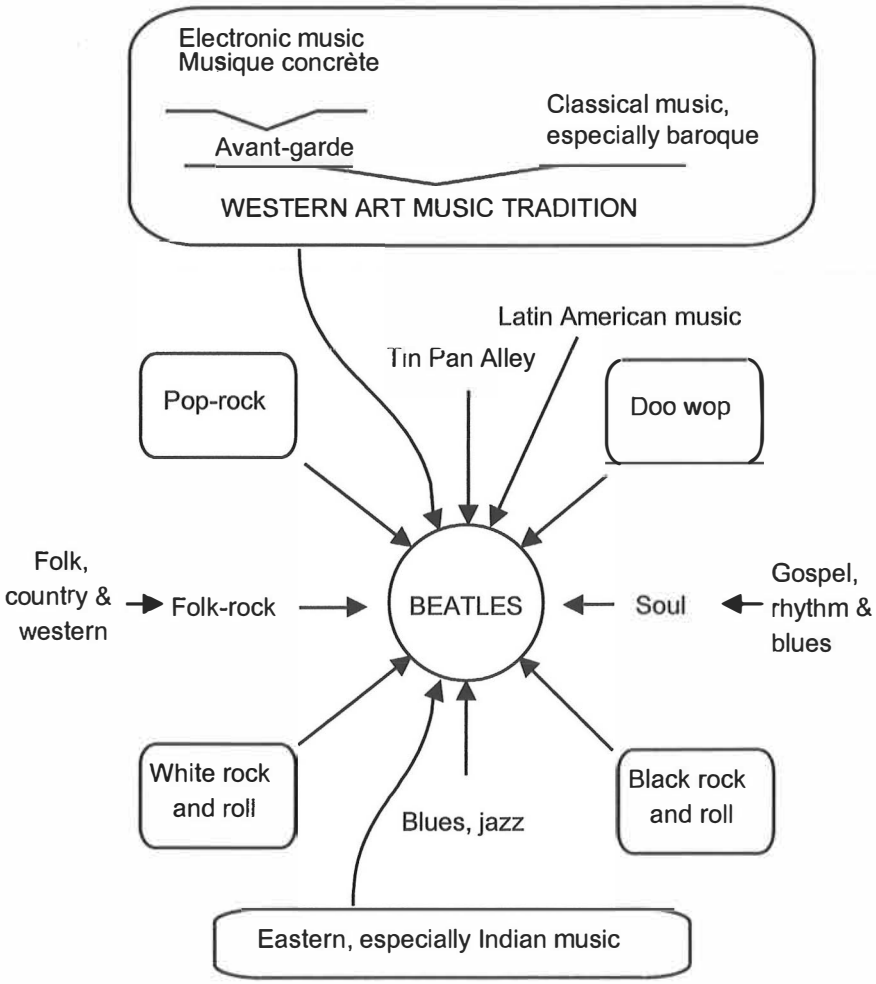

Figure 4. The most important stylistic basis for the Beatles' songwriting influences in 1968-70 (Heinonen 1995, 90).

Parameters	Features
Rhythm & Form	Changing meters and irregular phrase lengths, experimental forms (that is, forms that were based neither on standard forms nor strophic forms with a refrain), the new verse-chorus form.
Melody	Basically as in the early and middle period, with an increasing tendency to favor extended repetition of a neighboring-note formula.
Texture	Ranging from the use of lead vocals plus a basic lineup (guitars and/or keyboards, bass, drums) to lead and backing vocals combined with various instrumental and vocal ensembles; introducing new instruments (like the synthesizer).
Harmony & Tonality	Ranging from extremely simple to extremely sophisticated chord changes; continued use of counterpoint
Lyrics	Topics characteristic of the middle period (fantasy, social commentary, nostalgia, and a more universal concept of love) were typical for the late period; a tendency towards more biting social commentaries and more openly sexual lyrics, together with increasing simplicity.

Table 3. Stylistic features characteristic of the late style period of the Beatles.

Despite the lack of any particular direction leading towards a unified style in the late period, the following three tendencies were evident: (1) the return to simpler musical expression,[22] (2) the change towards more intricate use of existing stylistic devices,[23] (3) the continuous absorption of new musical

[22] This tendency manifested itself best in their intent to get back to their roots – to the basic rock 'n' roll and live performances – in the beginning of 1969. A concrete attempt to follow this plan was the Get Back project in early 1969, which eventually amounted to the Let It Be album more than a year later.

[23] The second tendency was often associated with the use of devices "borrowed" from Western art music (especially from the baroque and contemporary avant-garde). The avant-garde influences apparent in Revolver ('Tomorrow Never Knows'), Sgt Pepper ('A Day In The Life'), and Magical Mystery Tour ('I Am The Walrus') led to their logical climatic follow-up in 'Revolution 9'. The tendency to combine originally separate song ideas to one single song (as in 'A Day In The Life', 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds', and 'I Am The Walrus') led to 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun', 'I've Got A Feeling' (where two originally separate songs, one by McCartney and the other by

influences,[24] (4) often in a form of parody.[25] Obviously the "kaleidoscopic" variety of the late period style was partly due to the fact that these tendencies were to a certain extent contradictory.

Pichaske (1979) has associated this eclectic tendency with the implicit or explicit professionalism of the art rock movement. According to Pichaske (1979, 195) one problem with this kind of professionalism is that it "discourages innovation, lay participation, and content while encouraging elitism and style". Pichaske saw that it is this drive for professionalism, which separates rock musicians from their audiences because, like original rock 'n' roll or folk music, rock was never intended to be professional. "Sophisticated, maybe", says Pichaske, "but professional, never". According to Pichaske, Dylan and Beatles were, again, cases in point – especially the Beatles and their *White Album*.

> "It [White Album] is so professional that every one of its thirty songs is absolutely first-rate, and it is so ultimately disappointing because of its eclectic professionalism. You want a calypso? Okay. You want a country ballad. Okay, too. How about a heavy blues? We can do that as well." (Pichaske 1979, 195.)

Yet the *White Album* has its rough edges (in the sense that it gives an impression of being partly unfinished), as has its follow-up *Let It Be* (which was the next album to be recorded after the *White Album*, although it was released only after *Abbey Road*). *Abbey Road* was completely professional production, without any rough edges (in spite – or because – of the B-side rock cantata consisting of a handful of unfinished songs). Indeed, Mellers (1973) has perceived a logical stylistic evolution from *Revolver* through to *Sgt*

Lennon, are presented first as separate section of the song and in the end as forming a contrapuntal texture in a similar manner as in 'Eleanor Rigby' or 'God Only Knows'). Eventually, the "rock opera" (or, in fact, cantata) of the B side of *Abbey Road* consists of a handful of unfinished and originally separate songs.

[24] The third tendency, absorbing new musical influences from the ever-changing popular music scene, was apparent in, for example, 'Helter Skelter' (the Who), 'Sun King' ('Albatross' by Fleetwood Mac), 'Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da' (reggae), 'Yer Blues' and many other (the blues boom), and 'Get Back' ('Proud Mary' by Creedence Clearwater Revival).

[25] An essential part of the late style was parody – 'Back In The USSR' aimed at Chuck Berry's 'Back In The USA and Beach Boys' 'California Girls'; 'Glass Onion' aimed at themselves (referring to 'I Am The Walrus', 'Lady Madonna', 'The Fool On The Hill', 'Fixing A Hole', and 'Strawberry Fields Forever'); 'All You Need Is Love' aimed both at music in general and themselves (beginning with 'La Marseillaise' and containing references to J.S. Bach's Invention in F Major, Glenn Miller's 'In The Mood'; 'Greensleeves', and their own 'She Loves You' and 'Yesterday').

Pepper and *Magical Mystery Tour* to *Abbey Road*, disrupted by the *White Album* and *Let It Be*.

group development

As for the group development, the end of public performances in 1966 had made the role of the manager Brian Epstein less important than before. After the death of Epstein in 1967 things began to go wrong. Although the Beatles founded their own company called Apple, it was obvious that the group was not working as a team anymore. Rather they were four independent musicians, each of them writing and singing their own songs and using the others as if they were session musicians. Occasionally a single member – usually McCartney – played all the instruments on a track. Also other rock musicians (Eric Clapton, Billy Preston) were allowed to contribute to the records. Lennon, McCartney, and Harrison began to write songs for solo releases as well as for other artists (who had been contracted to the Apple Records).

The role of the EMI staff became weaker because, in practice, the Beatles wrote, arranged, recorded, and produced many of their songs. There was neither a clear-cut division of labor nor close-knit cooperation between the members of the Beatles or between the group and the EMI recording staff. There was no fixed EMI recording team either. Producers, recording engineers, and tape operators came and went. George Martin did not contribute to the *Let It Be* album at all. In early 1969 the project was given to recording engineer Glyn Johns but it was eventually Phil Spector who finished the work during March and April 1970. Both George Martin and Paul McCartney were very dissatisfied with the end result. *Abbey Road*, recorded after *Let It Be* but released before it, was the true swan song of the Beatles. This album was, again, produced by George Martin and engineered mainly by Geoff Emerick and Phil McDonald. The result was, once again, awarded a Grammy as the best-engineered album of 1969. In 1968, Lennon and Harrison had already released their first solo albums. McCartney and Starr followed suit in 1970. The Beatles disbanded during the same year. The "let it be" character of the late period was partly due to the conflicts within the Beatles but also due to the fact that neither a clear division of labor nor true cooperation between the Beatles and the EMI staff, with the exception of *Abbey Road*, existed anymore.

interpersonal contacts

With respect to interpersonal contacts, the late period (1967-70) was marked by breaking existing ties and by making new commitments. During 1966-67 the early Swinging London circle, centered around Brian Epstein, Alma Cogan, and Lionel Bart, had collapsed. Cogan died of cancer in late 1966, Epstein was to follow in August 1967 with an accidental barbiturate overdose, and Bart had sunk into depression after his musical *Twang!!* (premiered in December 1965) had been a critical failure. Dylan was not around due to a motorcycle accident and the folk-rock circle began to be substituted for a new psychedelic scene. Donovan was, together with the Beatles, one of the first proponents of this scene.

The avant-garde circle strengthened and expanded to include such continental contacts as the Dutch artistic duo who called themselves the Fool, and Magic Alex, the Greek-born "electrical prodigy". The Eastern circle strengthened and expanded as well. Patti Harrison had become familiar with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's transcendental meditation and succeeded in persuading her husband to attend Maharish's lecture. The other Beatles (and, for example, Mick Jagger) also attended. In August 1967 all the four Beatles attended Maharishi's weekend course at Bangor, Wales – it was there that they heard the news of the death of Epstein – and decided to travel to Rishikesh, India to learn Maharishi's teachings for several months. They were, however, disappointed with the time they spent in Rishikesh and came back sooner than planned.

The staff of the Apple consisted of The Beatles' inner circle rather than professional administrative staff – there were Peter Asher, Alistair Taylor, the Fool, Magic Alex, Pete Shotton and so on. In the following year two "insiders" were to leave. In April 1968, soon after arriving from India, Cynthia Lennon came home and found her husband with Yoko Ono, who was dressed in Cynthia's night-dress. That was enough for Cynthia. Three months later, Jane Asher came home unexpectedly early from her tour and found McCartney in a compromising situation with another woman. It was Jane's turn to leave. Consequently, Peter Asher's presence at Apple was short-lived. Within less than a year Lennon was married to Ono and McCartney to Linda Eastman. Ono's influence on Lennon – together with her insistent presence at the recording sessions of the White Album – worsened the already decreasing coherence within the group. But things would get even worse.

Within months, Apple turned into an economical catastrophe. It was decided that the group needed a manager (and the company a director). McCartney negotiated with his father-in-law, Lee Eastman, while Lennon had his own negotiations with Allen Klein. Lennon, Harrison, and Starr signed with Klein, whereas McCartney refused to sign. In late 1969 Lennon was ready to quit. Klein and McCartney persuaded him not to tell his news in public. Lennon agreed, reluctantly. In April 1970, a week before the release of his first solo album, McCartney announced that it is improbable that he would continue recording with the Beatles. Although it took more than five years to dissolve the Beatles legally, in practice the group was disbanded in 1970.

AFTERTHOUGHTS

The above summary of the change of the musical style of the Beatles gives a brief sketch for a huge change in popular music within a very short time span. Apparently this change has very much to do "with the culture's general attitude toward change per se", to quote once more the words of Meyer (1989). It is safe to say that the attitude of the sixties culture towards change was extremely positive. The stylistic change itself was caused by multiple factors ranging from cultural influences, group development, and interpersonal contacts to adopting new musical styles, significant advances in music technology, enhanced performing and playing skills, as well as financial security. All of these contribute to the speed and direction of the stylistic change.

The intention of this article was to outline the parallel levels of change – both internal and external – and attempt to juggle between broad cultural narratives and specific elements of the known influences of one group of musicians and the specific elements of their music. One aim was to present a chronological map of the Beatles' stylistic periods by citing relevant literature and providing a summary of the studies completed to date. Another aim was to place the stylistic change and synthesis of earlier approaches within the trends of music history and to demonstrate how these may work in parallel. The latter task was not especially easy. The most important limitation inherent

in this approach was to do justice to the various other approaches quoted herein. A more profound problem when disentangling internal (personal or individual) or external (communal or cultural) factors influencing stylistic change is that it is *an individual* who creates music, although, he/she is undoubtedly subject to external influences (see Meyer 1989, 106).

Placing considerations of parallel explanatory models of music history aside and considering the most fruitful approach for future analysis of popular music, a few especially tantalizing approaches that either have been used little or would yield interesting results in conjunction with other approaches may be specified. These include quantitative comparisons of stylistic features of the Beatles and those of their contemporaries. The historiometric approach mentioned earlier should be extended to the analysis of popular music and one might assume that the results yielded would be interesting if they were contrasted to a careful portrayal of the cultural milieu. Another promising approach could be to highlight the pivotal elements of style through a series of case studies that cover as many different explanatory levels as possible and attempts to unravel the relationships between these levels.

Studying music that has undergone tremendous stylistic change, has its advantages. Both the elements and the direction of the change are usually straightforward. In the case of the Beatles, historical events and features of the overall musical style are well known, therefore various influences can be more easily recognized and compared. We cannot, however, be certain that the components brought together during the 1960s outline a common process in the creation of music. Consequently, Beatles research should not be limited to just one band. It should, however, take steps to explore whether or not similar processes have been utilized in the work of other groups, performers, songwriters, or composers.

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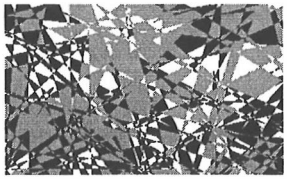

BEATLES 2000

BAND ON THE RECORD

The Beatles Recordings From The Historical And Technological Point Of View

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Great events, remarkable persons and powerful groups of individuals remain in history – sound recording history included – as milestones of their era, some of them gaining not less than a status of a legend. This is certainly true as far as the most famous music band of our time – the Beatles – is concerned. The Beatles' relatively short recording career spanned from 1962 to 1970, yet resulting in an incredible amount of top-selling music, singles and albums. Their songs are recognised even in the most distant parts of the globe, and today, about thirty years after their split, the band still is current and commercially potent. The Beatles became somewhat of a symbol for the entire culture of the sixties that has pierced more or less not only the young but all generations.

A question arises: the Beatles were successful on record, so what was their contribution to the technology of recording studios? May the four musicians justifiably be regarded as innovators in the history of sound recording? Was there something exceptional in how they acted in the studio paving the way for their success? How should the band be appraised and located on the time continuum of sound technology and recorded music?

To see what happened in the long run of audio technology, let us first take a look back to the 19th-Century, when the new business started to emerge. Then, what was the situation about fifty years later, in the twenties and the thirties? Furthermore, how did the equipment develop during and after the Second World War? What individuals warrant a special mention in this regard? What was the rock 'n' roll scene in Britain and at EMI, the recording company that was to give the Beatles a chance? How did the Beatles progress in making records during their career, as a band?

The method of this study is an analysis of existing material: music records, books and guides on sound manipulation, including books on history of record companies. I have also utilised university studies. Besides these, articles from periodicals such as Audio, Keyboard Magazine, Modern Drummer, Studio Sound have provided additional sources of information. In addition to the references mentioned, I have exploited studies by Cunningham (1996), Gottfridsson (1997), Lewisohn (1988), Martin (1979), Southall (1997), Wiener (1992) and some videos as well as some expert pages of Internet like Schoenherr and Kendall. If no specific reference is mentioned, the studio diary notes of Mark Lewisohn's books (1988 and 1992) have been used here.[1] A good backbone is my own work as a recording engineer and a performing musician – the latter ever since the times of the early Beatles. The study is divided into three main sections:

A) Overall history of recording technology and studios
B) First years of rock 'n' roll in studios
C) The Beatles in studio

While the first two sections A and B represent an overall history of sound recording and rock 'n' roll music, the C-section is a step-by-step study of how things were going with the Beatles in the studio; it is a study of methods of

[1] See: Welch & Burt (1994), Heinonen (1995), Millard (1995/1996), Jones (1992).

exploitation and adaptation of audio technology during the band's studio sessions. Not at all songs recorded are examined, but rather those concerning technical progress. Besides observing the recording methods used by the Beatles, the band's development as a working group during the hectic years of success is also explored.

BEGINNING – HISTORICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The main features of sound manipulation during the last 120 years are obvious. From the beginning of the industry around the end of the 19th century until the first two decades of the 20th century, the basis of the recording process was purely mechanical. Along with the advent of electricity a new phase began; it was analogue sound manipulation that then became the convention. Today, at the beginning of a new millennium, we have entered the digitally mastered world of sound. On the other hand, the recorded sound was first monophonic, then stereo, it was one-track manipulation first, then multitrack.

early years of sound recording

The essence of sound and the idea of capturing a sound to move it from one place to another remained a puzzle to scientists for ages. In Europe and in America, there were several experts during the 19th century who focused on this problem: Lussac, Argo, Savart, Helmholtz, Lissajous, Tyndall, Reis, Cros, Scott, Tainter – to name but a few.

Today, we are endebted to those who directed their efforts towards researching and inventing sound recording technology that later was to become one of the largest industries in the world. Many innovations began to change everyday-life on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean or, in fact, all over the world; camera, electric light, automobile, telephone and – phonograph.
It is worth noting that around the mid-19th, Europeans have conducted the majority of research into acoustics, electricity and mechanics. Then findings

have provided the basis for many of inventions. Americans have held most of the patents on the various inventions incorporated into the phonograph, for example. Scientists of the old continent were for the most part scholars, whereas their colleagues in America were more interested in the application of science.

The relationship between different forms of the phonograph towards the development of other acoustical inventions such as telephone and telegraph is obvious. And, as a matter of fact, the best known inventors of the first phonographs or talking machines – Alexander Bell, Emile Berliner and Thomas Edison – had previously been researching telegraphic and telephonic fields. (Welch & Burt 1994, 1-7.)

In the US, Thomas Edison was well aware of the work of other inventors. He knew the theories of the German scientist Hermann Helmholtz on the nature of sound waves, he also knew of Leon Scott's – a Frenchman – phonautograph with its stylus attached to a membrane diaphragm. Telephone transmitters familiarised Edison with thin metal disks or animal membrane, which were ment to act as diaphragm by vibrating to produce sound waves. Before too long, he put all of this and other information together to produce a remarkable invention in 1877: the phonograph. The phonograph was patented in 1878, Edison's patents being original enough to form the basis of sound recording. The phonograph provided a service, which had been unimaginable before 1877 – it was, indeed, modern technology.

Thomas Edison was also a visionary, who thought that the phonograph would become one of life's universal pleasures. Music – traditionally regarded as the preserve of upper-class society – was to become mass-produced consumer product via sound recordings, designed to be cheap enough to be available to all. (Millard 1995, 1-24.)

Not only did Edison see into the future. Emile Berliner foresaw, in 1888, the decades to come like this:

> "Prominent singers, speakers, or performers, may derive an income from royalties on the sale of their phonautograms and valuable plates may be printed and registered to protect against unauthorised publication. Collections of phonautograms may become very valuable and whole evenings will be spent at home going through a long list of interesting performances."(Martland 1997, 11).

Berliner's vision of spreading art and culture through the gramophone inspired him to go on developing his inventions and to train the first generation of sound engineers and industry executives. Although not at all

the first in the field, it was Emile Berliner who more or less established the disk record business in America. It was he who, in 1897, sent William Barry Owen to London to establish a European gramophone trade, too. (Martland 1997, 11.)

Towards the end of the 19th century, several companies trading phonographs were established. There were Edison's Speaking Phonograph Company, Bell-Tainter's Volta Graphophone Company, Berliner's Gramophone Company, The Columbia Graphophone Company and many more. Emile Berliner's Gramophone Company and Columbia Graphophone Company became merged some tens of years later, in 1931, thus forming Electric and Musical Industries, better known as EMI.

The machines being manufactured in those days were of various types; the records were not interchangeable. They were either cylinders or disks, the sound was cut into a groove either vertically or horizontally, the cylinders were of different sizes, no standardisation existed. But, like Andre Millard writes in his excellent book: "It was not long until a capitalist came along with the money and a plan to create order"(Millard 1995, 40). Sooner or later, the machines and the records had to be standardised, they had to be reliable in use and they had to be properly priced to gain mass market.

between the world wars

transition from acoustic to electric

By the 1920s a new generation of researchers realised that they might still continue to improve the old acoustic sound system that, however, was reaching its limits. On the other hand, they could adopt the new electronic amplification as the foundation for their field of study. Scientists at Western Electric chose the latter; they decided to utilise electrical condenser microphones, newly developed vacuum tubes for amplification of currents, amplifier driven loudspeakers, electrical filters. Electrical recording and sound reproduction was superior in quality compared to acoustic. Acoustic recordings had a frequency range from about 160 to 2000 Hz, electric from about 50 to 5000 cycles per second. The human audio response is normally considered to be from 20 to 20000 Hz.

The executives of the record companies were certainly interested, however it took a few years before they were sufficiently impressed to accept the new system. It was the Victor Company that introduced in 1925 the Ortophonic playback equipment that thereby set the standard in sound reproduction. Of the big record companies it was Edison who were the last to make the transition to electrical recording in the end of the 1920s. At the same time, some talking-machine companies produced combined equipment housing both a phonograph and a radio set, hitherto – and even hereafter – a powerful rival of the phonograph. For listening, there was, instead of an acoustic horn, a loudspeaker. (Welch & Burt 1994, 111-126; Millard 1995, 139-147)

The Western Electric system was introduced into the studios of Columbia in 1925, and one of the first electrical recordings was released in Britain during the same year, six years before the alliance that formed a new company known as EMI. Old mechanical disk-cutters had to learn the modern engineering skills or they would become *studio and artist managers.* New electrical engineers were to take care of the disk cutting process.

In London, Alan Blumlein constructed his own system for electrical recording, and planning of one of the world's first music studio complexes at Abbey Road was started. The studios were opened in 1931, and Blumlein's system was installed there. Four years later, Blumlein demonstrated in public his patented (1931) idea of stereophony. However, stereo did not become the standard for many years. In fact, it was not generally appreciated until the late fifties. (Martland 1996, 120-152.)

radio, film, television

Towards the end of the twenties, engineers of radio networks were more and more acquainted with the newest sound technology. They experimented, tested and worked in large complexes consisting of several studios that could be used separately or in combination. Some were large enough to accommodate even big orchestras.

The same can be said for film studios. Along with talking pictures the development of their sound technology was prompt. Both radio and film studios very soon adopted multi-microphone technique, whereas big music studios still favoured single miking.

By the mid-40s several new important gadgets – familiar in today's studio – began to see the daylight: different kinds of condenser and dynamic microphones, mixers for not only balancing sound levels but also for equalising frequencies, compression of sound amplitudes, dubbing technique. The idea of binaural (stereo) sound reproduction was tempting, and some experiments were conducted during the 40s.

The soundcrew of film studios utilised their equipment to construct a most perfect illusion of something that perhaps did not exist at all. Multiple takes of sound were mixed and spliced together to yield the maximum output for the final product. On the other extreme, music recording studios emphasised on the capturing performances as exactly as possible; heavy editing was regarded more or less as being inauthentic.

The transition to multi-microphone technique in recording studios was slow. However, by the end of the 40s the use of this method had come into general use. Studios were built much in the same way as today. There were studios for the musicians or other performers with special acoustic design and preparation; there was also a separate control room behind a glass window with disk recorders, tape recorders, a mixing console and a loudspeaker for monitoring. (Millard 1996, 221-288.)

An interesting yet lesser known period of development was Nazi-German television – Deutscher Fernseh-Rundfunk – which spanned from the 30s until 1944, the end of the Second World War. Film documentaries and other evidence firmly demonstrate the strong similarity between the construction of TV-studios of then and now. The sonic brilliance of German transmissions depended on top class condenser microphones as well as the advanced magnetic tape technique. Successors to the Neumann microphones are highly valued even in today's studios. (MTV3 Documentary, 1999.)

magnetic tape recording

In Germany, during the mid-30s the engineers of BASF and AEG had developed both a new magnetic tape and a machine for recording and playback of audio data. The new device – Magnetophone – was tested thoroughly for the first time, when the London Philharmonic Orchestra gave a concert conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham in Ludwigshafen, Germany in the

autumn of 1936. A good sounding document of Mozart's Symphony No 39 was obtained on this historic tape. (Angus 1984, 31.)

After the second world war, two US Army Signal Corpsmen, John Mullin and John Orr, transported a couple of AEG Magnetophones and some 50 BASF reels of tape from Radio Frankfurt into the United States. In 1947, Mullin introduced the system to Bing Crosby Enterprises. Bing Crosby himself was very impressed.

Crosby was a big star already in 1935, the year Elvis Presley was born. He shone in several media: on the radio, in film and on music records. He was the first artist to be signed by Decca Records. Crosby favoured electrically amplified condenser microphones and close-miking that allowed him to sing softer, in more natural style – even croon – than the traditional live stage Tin Pan Alley style. His shows for radio from then on were recorded and edited on tape and only then transferred onto disks for broadcast. The alternative was recording on several basic disks to be edited and cut on master disks – a time consuming task which also resulted in poor sound quality.

Tape editing eliminated gaps and glitches which may occur in the pre-recorded program that would last approximately 60 minutes. The sound quality of the 1/2 inch 20 minute-tapes was considerably better than that of the aluminium disks covered with the same kind of wax that Edison had used almost fifty years before. As Crosby describes in his autobiography, it was the editing that was crucial:

> "By using tape, I could do a thirty-five or forty-minute show, then edit it down to the twenty-six or twenty-seven minutes the program ran. In that way, we could take out jokes, gags, or situations that didn't play well and finish with only the prime meat of the show; the solid stuff that played big. We could also take out the songs that didn't sound good. It gave us a chance to first try a recording of the songs in the afternoon without an audience, then another one in front of a studio audience. We'd dub the one that came off best into the final transcription. It gave us a chance to ad lib as much as we wanted, knowing that excess ad libbing could be sliced from the final product. If I made a mistake in singing a song or in the script, I could have some fun with it, then retain any of the fun that sounded amusing."(Schoenherr 1996, 1-4).

John Mullin remembers those days of experimental recordings:

> "In the evening, Crosby did the whole show before an audience. If he muffed a song then, the audience loved it - thought it was very funny - but we would have to take out the show version and put in one of the rehearsal takes. Sometimes, if Crosby was having fun with a song and not really working at it, we had to make it up out of two or three parts. This ad lib way of working is

> commonplace in the recording studios today, but it was all new to us." (Schoenherr 1996, 1-4).

After Mullin's introduction of the equipment to some US manufacturers and specialists it was not long before the first Ampex tape recorders, replicas of the Magnetophone, and the first 3M tapes were available on the market. Bing Crosby, an artist and a businessman invested in Ampex for better machines. Decca soon produced records with fantastic frequency response of 80 to 15000 cycles per second. (Angus 1984, 96-97; Schoenherr 1996, 1-4.)

The first machines were monaural decks, followed by stereo decks. Until the beginning of the 60s the magnetic recording was made on 1/2 inch or 1/4 inch tape (width). It was full-track recording, where the complete width of the tape was used; no further recording on the same tape was possible without erasing the original track. Along with stereo LP disks, so-called half-track recording was developed. The heads are built in such a way that there are two gaps and a guard band separating the two channels and the signals. Half-track recording allows the two tracks to be recorded independently. (Hurtig 1988, 7.)

post-war developments

multitrack recording

A great American inventor and guitarist Lester Polfus alias Les Paul, who is best known for his design of the legendary Les Paul electric guitar for Gibson in 1952, had been doing his own recordings for several years. His procedure of "multitrack recording" was a result of personal experiments: sound-on-sound by means of two disk recorders.

Bing Crosby, who had been working with Les Paul, brought in 1949 an Ampex tape recorder into the guitarist's garage, where he used to cut his (and Mary Ford's) records. This was of the utmost importance to the future of sound recording. Les Paul soon realised he could add one more head to the recorder, and so sound-on-sound recording was possible. He would record his guitar direct to the tape machine, the least important parts first, the important parts last. He could record even as many as 37 generations before finishing. It is clear that the sound quality deteriorated. Yet, in general, his

works after several layers of tracks are very hi-fi, crisp sounding, so good, in fact, that they were used as test records.

On disk recorders, Paul could easily gain *delay* by using different headspaces, but on the tape machine this was not possible. As he recalls:

> "The repeating of the delay was a matter of choice, as to how much delay you wanted and how much repeat you wanted, although the timing between each delay was about one-tenth of a second to avoid a reverb effect. It was very easy for me to space the heads on a disc recorder, but on a tape machine I didn't have that privilege because you just can't take a head and move it further away or closer to the preceding head. So what I did was change the speed of the tape machine." (Cunningham 1996, 25.)

Les Paul's microphone was for years an RCA 44BX ribbon mike. He changed over to German-made *Neumann* mikes in 1952. Placing of microphones had been a common topic for discussion from the early days of inventing electrical condensers. Les Paul says:

> "The unwritten rules stated that a vocalist should be placed no closer than two feet away from the microphone, but I wanted to capture every little breath and nuance in Mary's voice. So I had her stand right on the mic, just a couple of inches away. Then, what happened? Everybody started to record vocals in that way!"(Cunningham 1996, 20-25).

The Ampex Corporation introduced in 1950 their Model 500, a tape recorder with four tracks, the world's first true multitrack machine, primarily meant for military purpose: data recording. Two years later, a new 7-track version came out. The machines were not designed for overdubbing, they could only record all the tracks at once by one head and after that play back by another. Les Paul was then introduced to the Model 500. He saw that the machine ought to be able to record and play back tracks simultaneously, in order to be used for music overdubbing. This, on the other hand, preconceives track synchronisation; i.e. a pre-recorded track should be played in sync with a track being recorded. Ampex solved the problem on Paul's request by developing a system called Sel-Sync.

However, the multitrack recording, as tempting as it was to music makers, did not take the world by storm. The situation was very much similar to the idea of stereophony – it took years for the industry to adopt the new way of layering tracks. In Britain, it was 2-track or 4-track multitracking that was used in making several global hit records, including those of the Beatles during the early 1960s. (Hurtig 1988, 7-10.)

In mid-sixties, the multitrack rapidly became favoured in the field of pop-music, and the number of tracks hugely increased resulting in sixteen, even twenty-four tracks as a standard in the late 60s. Synchronising multitrack recorders to run together further increased the track number. Since the introduction of digital media in the eighties, new kinds of recording equipment became available. The situation somehow parallels that of a hundred years ago in so far as there are now different formats of sound equipment in use that are not compatible with each other. The sound quality, too, is sometimes criticised for being breathless and cold. On the other hand, the ease of manipulation and the modest cost of investment are as often praised.

rock 'n' roll gets on the go

After the Second World War, a lot of military sound equipment was sold off in the United States. The machinery was not very expensive and being relatively rough in quality, it was quite suitable for use in rock 'n' roll recordings. Besides that, many ex-servicemen, being involved in audio and interested in sound business, invested in such equipment and started their own recording studios.

Sam Phillips, a former technician at WREC radio station, built a studio of his own in Memphis. He first favoured recording on 16-inch acetates, but during 1951 he became more and more involved in tape recording. In roughly the same way as Les Paul, Phillips built an echo system in his studio using tape recorders. Known as *slapback tape delay echo* it soon turned into a trademark of his Sun Records label, formed in 1952. The studio consisted of two Ampex 350 tape recorders and a RCA broadcast mixer. One of the two recorders was used mainly for the slapback tape delay echo. Phillips liked to experiment while recording. As early as on his first released record – featuring sax player Johnny London on 'Drivin' Slow' – he had built a kind of echo box above the musician resulting in typical dark spicing of the normal sound. (Cunningham 1996, 30-34.)

The meeting of Elvis Presley and Sam Phillips in 1953 was a milestone of rock. Phillips and his assistant Marion Keisker realised Presley's potential and after the first recording of two songs as a birthday present for Elvis' mother, Phillips later invited the singer to audition for Sun Records, in June 1954. The result was a single 'That's All Right, Mama' on side A and 'Blue Moon Of Kentucky' on side B. Scotty Moore was on guitar and Bill Black on

double bass. The record turned out to be a hit and was produced more or less by Elvis himself. At this session Phillips utilised the slapback delay that later was used not only on several Presley's recordings, but also on many other recordings on the Sun label, including Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis and Roy Orbison. Five Presley singles (issued on HMV in Britain) were recorded at Sun before Elvis moved to RCA. (Hardy & Laing 1976, 254-257.)

Phillips sold Presley's contract to RCA, but even on the new label the RCA producer Sholes tried to achieve the sound and atmosphere of Sun. More than the tape delay Sholes wished to achieve the sense of the ambience of Sun. He also invited drummer Dominic Fontana, guitarist Chet Atkins, pianist Floyd Cramer and a trio of gospel singers – the Jordanaires – to back up Presley, Moore and Black. The problem of Presley's movement during the recording was solved by Sholes placing three microphones around the singer, denying threat of phase errors on tape. Thus Elvis might turn into any position and there always was a mike close to him. What then was captured on tape and released as *Heartbreak Hotel* record in 1956, is a proof of rockabilly singer Presley's transformation into a rock 'n' roll singer. (Cunningham 1996, 33-35; Hardy & Laing 1976, 256.)

Two successful songwriters, Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, contracted to RCA in the 50s. They perhaps were the first "blue-eyed" bluesmen who had been writing songs and lyrics successfully since the latter part of the 40s. Their lyrics contained even criticism and social statement. Many artists have entered the charts thanks to their music, including early groups like the Drifters and the Coasters. In Drifters' million seller (1959) 'There Goes My Baby', Leiber and Stoller combined strings with electric guitars and Latin rhythm section. This gave the popular music industry totally new ideas. Elvis had recorded their 'Hound Dog' in 1956, but now the duo was more deeply committed to production and began writing songs for Presley on a regular basis. They were regarded more or less as producers. Officially it was Steve Sholes who was Presley's A&R man.[2] These were times, when young Phil Spector as well as the early Beatles were learning new sounds of rock 'n' roll

[2] Leiber has said: "It was always the A&R man who made a choice of song for the artist, then get the artist familiarised with the material before hiring an arranger who in turn would instruct a session fixer to book the musicians for the session. Things were very organised...and not very conductive to artistry...we did get involved...But we did make our feelings and suggestions known...Basically we knew how to make great songs into great records." (Cunningham 1996, 34).

and particularly those of black performers. (Cunningham 1996, 33-35; Hardy & Laing 1976, 192-194.)

Chess Records was one of the best known record companies to specialise in blues and rhythm 'n' blues and then rock 'n' roll. The founders of the company were Polish immigrants Leonard and Phil Chess who started in the alcohol and bar business. They had good performers in their bar in Chicago, where demand for Afro-American records was growing. Their record company was first named Aristocrat in 1947, three years later Chess. Well-known Chess artists include Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, Elmore James and Willie Dixon. Leonard Chess gained the rights of Jackie Brenson's (1951) 'Rocket 88' from Sam Phillips of Sun Records; it is often regarded as the first true rock 'n' roll record. (Hardy & Laing 1976, 71-73).[3]

Around the same time that Les Paul was doing his experiments on the sound-on-sound method, a young Texan country singer Buddy Holly performed for the first time in public. Seven years later, in 1956, he made his first record, but soon came into conflict with his record company Decca. The contract with Decca prevented him to make records elsewhere using his own name. So, instead, he continued recording in New Mexico under the name of his band the Crickets. In the town of Clovis, there was a private recording studio owned by Norman Petty, a producer, musician and sound engineer.

Joe Mauldin of the Crickets remembers Petty having had a sharp ear for details of sounds and he was keen that everything was taped carefully. He, too, was willing to experiment. For example, he placed a microphone right in front of Holly's electric guitar to catch the sound of the plectrum, although Holly was playing through an amplifier. He also used to tape the sound of electric guitar unplugged. Petty had two Ampex tape recorders, which he would put to use in a similar way to Les Paul: he would tape backgrounds on one recorder and, during playback, superimpose both backgrounds and new signals onto the second recorder. Petty also placed baffles between musicians to prevent sound leakage. He even had the drumkit placed in a separate room. Petty liked to use a tiny microphone right on the sound hole of the double bass and he would use large RCA-microphones for recording the kickdrum. The mixer was monophonic with four channels.

Norman Petty's building housed an office, a small control room and – behind glass – a large and a small studio. Upstairs, there was a self-made

[3] The pianist on the record was Ike Turner.

echo chamber with an Altec speaker and two Sennheiser microphones. In the house, there was also an apartment for the artists to rest and live in daytime, when recordings could not be done due to noise from an automobile shop in the neighbourhood (owned by Petty's father). The recordings were done at night, with no other time limits. Experiments were favoured. Petty would exploit even errors done during recording. (Cunningham 1996, 36-40.)

Although the roots of rock 'n' roll can be traced back as early as the forties, it was really Bill Haley and His Comets who transmitted the fever with their Number One Hit 'Rock Around The Clock' recorded on April 12, 1954. In the Pythian Temple studio, New York, the song was completed in about ten minutes, live, due to lack of time. For conservative engineers it must have been an awful experience to hear the powerful wild play and see the meters of the mixer vividly swing into the red. To be honest, many more takes are usually needed before the best one is on tape, rarely is the first one good enough to be picked. (Cunningham 1996, 29-34; Hardy & Laing 1976, 71-73, 300-301; Jones 1992, 39.)

Abbey Road

As stated earlier, a man named Barry Owen had been sent, in 1897, from the US to London to establish a European gramophone trade. Now, let us take a glance at how things were proceeding before the Beatles started their professional recording career in EMI studios at Abbey Road in the beginning of the 60s.

In the London area, there was a small lane leading to Kilburn Abbey several centuries ago. Today, the route has grown to be known as Abbey Road, situated in the North London area called St John's Wood. Number 2 Abbey Road – a big house – was built there in the19th-Century, but was promoted to number 3 in 1872. The residence was purchased by The Gramophone Company Limited in 1929. Two years later, The Gramophone Company merged with the Columbia company resulting in the formation of EMI. David Bicknell of EMI looks back on the early years:

> "...there was an enormous pressure on the company for recording time and my boss, Trevor Osmond Williams, who was manager of the International Artistes Department and the Technical Recording Department, had the idea to build a studio of our own. This was at a time when no recording or broadcasting company anywhere in the world had a custom-built studio." (Southall 1997, 17).

It took two years to convert the residence into a recording studio. Because more area was needed, the neighbouring number 5 with its garden and some more land were also purchased. The result was the world's largest building devoted to recording consisting of three separate studios, mastering rooms, offices etc. The modern technology[4] of the EMI studios, often developed by the company's own engineer Alan Blumlein, quickly earned a reputation amongst artists.

Despite of the fact that it was all EMI, there was still heavy rivalry between old Columbia and Gramophone, the latter being known as HMV label. Parlophone had been purchased by The Gramophone Company in 1927 from Germany. The label could not be left unused because of the contract deal, although there were many people following the war who wished the label to be forgotten. As it could not be left totally unused, it was decided to keep its existence modest.

The emphasis was on classical music, but after the Second World War, the greatest changes took place in pop music. Norrie Paramor was employed as conductor and arranger by Columbia (later producing Cliff Richard and the Shadows). Wally Ridley worked for HMV. Oscar Preuss was running Parlophone. In 1950, George Martin joined Parlophone as Preuss' assistant giving up his plans to become a classical pianist. He soon saw the rivalry between the labels and realised Parlophone's situation. Along with the advanced technology, new engineers moved into the area of pop music, one of them being Stuart Eltham. The new multitrack technology was tested both in America and in England. The three-track method was well established in the US, but did not suit to EMI. Later, four-track method was developed by EMI, with the help of the German Siemens Telefunken technology.

The EMI Studios, located at that very London street, are known today simply as Abbey Road. (Southall 1997, 15-39.)

[4] Not only Americans, but also some British, including EMI's Berth Jones, became familiar with German advanced recording technology right after the Second World War. EMI could then manufacture some of their new recording equipment on this basis.

THE BEATLES

The emergence of independent recording studios in the US during the 50s corresponds with the international rise of rock 'n' roll. The young generation of the days of war and post-war was longing for entertainment and new stimuli. Fast growing Anglo-American media – records, radio, movies, television – provided a channel for transmitting new music to the market (Heinonen 1995, 73). Britain, with its well-established record industry, was ideally placed for the growth of numerous skiffle and rock 'n' roll bands in the latter part of the fifties. One of these groups were the Quarry Men, founded by John Lennon in Liverpool in 1957. After a couple of years and several name and personnel changes, the group became known as the Beatles. (Miles 1998, 15-24.)

before 1962

early recordings

Written documents, tapes and acetates, as well as some commercial records, clearly demonstrate that the Beatles already in their early state made quite a lot of recordings, years before their deal with EMI. Because the focus of this study is on the Beatles' British recordings released by EMI, I only briefly refer to these early recordings.

The first recordings took place in the summer of 1957. Schoolmates often carried them through, but – according to Paul McCartney – the musicians themselves made tape recordings, whenever possible. Later, along with growing fame, rehearsals were taped at the Jacaranda Club and Cavern Club in Liverpool. The Beatles were recorded professionally for the first time in Hamburg in 1961, together with *Tony Sheridan*.[5] Since the name 'Beatles' may sound somewhat vulgar in the ears of Hamburgers – in their dialect, in fact – it gave way to a band name Beat Brothers on the record.

[5] Karl Hintze was a master sound technician and Bert Kaempfert a conductor. Says Hintze: "[...] I think we must have done that [stereo][...]They presented something new to us. It was loud, loud, loud! They looked pretty wild. (the chief of production said) You can't show them on TV. They look terrible." (Gottfridsson 1997, 83).

Furthermore, the Beat Brothers was a collective name used on several Sheridan recordings no matter who the musicians were. Besides recordings mentioned above, there are also several radio recordings and films about the Beatles. The Granada Television of Manchester, in particular, seems to have been interested in the group's promising career. (Gottfridsson 1997, 66-87, 154-156.)

To rival the American rock music, the British started to seek out their own stars. By the beginning of the sixties, EMI in London had already made a deal with Cliff Richard and the Shadows, who quickly became popular in Europe. The bands in Liverpool particularly did their best to be different from the Shadows. Yet, it is interesting to note that the American favourites of the British were often common. The creator of the style of the Shadows, Hank B. Marvin remembers:

> "It was Elvis Presley's guitarist Scotty Moore and Gene Vincent's Cliff Gallop who had a great influence upon our style. In the beginning of the fifties, they had a quite different, new and inspiring sound."

Marvin confesses that in the early phase of his career he just tried to imitate Moore and Gallop. This in return, happened to lead him to create another sound, adapted by so many guitar bands later (Newspaper Kaleva 13.9.1998, 30). (Martland 1997, 231-255.)

the EMI contract

In the sixties, bands tended to be auditioned in the studios of recording companies and then contracted. The Beatles, too, were test-recorded in London's Decca studio, but they were turned down.

A few months later, their manager Brian Epstein met George Martin, then already the head of Artists & Repertoire for EMI's Parlophone label, to let him hear the acetates made from the good sounding Decca tape. This took place in May 1962. George Martin wanted not only to hear the band but to see them, too. The date was fixed for the following month, Wednesday 6 June. It was the distinctive sound of the Beatles that captivated to Martin, not necessarily the music per se.[6] The overall sound of the Beatles and their

[6] Like so many musicians of their time, the early Beatles also played cover versions of their favourites. In a way, it is touching to see how close their evening program was to other rock bands or dance groups back then.

harmony singing may come, every now and then, close to the sound of country music. Some of their early idols were pop and country rockers like Everly Brothers and Roy Orbison who in turn were produced by Chet Atkins. Atkins pioneered a pop-flavoured country music style that became known as the Nashville Sound. George Harrison, on the other hand, often played Gretsch guitar that was favoured by Chet Atkins, too. However, it must not be forgotten that the band loved the sound of black American performers and wished for that kind of sound to be also captured on their records.[7]

The meeting of the producer and the band brought sympathy on both sides and resulted in the audition at Abbey Road in June 1962. That, in turn, led to a recording contract and the first EMI recording of the Beatles three months later.

The eight years of the Beatles at EMI and their professional work in studios as a group, may be divided into three distinctive periods[8]

- First Period 1962-1965,
  from album *Please Please Me* to album *Help!*

- Second Period 1965-1967,
  the years of experiments from *Rubber Soul* to *Magical Mystery Tour*

- Third Period 1968-1970,
  attempt back to the roots, from *The Beatles* to *Let It Be*

first period 1962-65

pop music on a two-track recorder

In 1962-1965, the Beatles released in Britain eleven singles and six LPs. In addition, there were ten EPs that might include both single and LP songs.

The rules of studio practice in the beginning of the 60s were very strict in Britain and elsewhere, too. There were three 3-hour shifts per day: 10am to

[7] Sound engineer Norman Smith recalls:"[...] they kept saying to me, 'Haven't you heard the latest American disc? It has an amazing sound to it'. " (Prichard & Lysaght 1998, 202)

[8] See Heinonen & Eerola 1998, 3, in Beatlestudies 1.

1pm, 2.30pm to 5.30pm and 7pm to 10pm. Officially, no exceptions existed to the timetable; unofficially, this was not the case. At EMI's Abbey Road studios it was quite normal that the late recording sessions were not arranged at all. The recording equipment at Abbey Road was good: British REDD mixers and BTR tape recorders, Austrian AKG microphones, German Neumann microphones, Swiss/German Studer recorders etc. A qualified staff took good care of the equipment. (Cunningham 1996, 122-123.)

The Beatles' sound was based on two guitars, electric bass, drums and vocals, in other words they were like most rock 'n' roll groups of the time. During the first years, George Harrison favoured Gretsch guitar, John Lennon often used Rickenbacker guitar, while Paul McCartney played German-made Höfner electric bass, until he changed over to Rickenbacker bass. The amplifiers being used were Vox amps made in Britain. Ringo Starr's drumkits were first Premiers, later Ludwigs (Montgomery, Patrick; Page Pamela 1985, video). It was not long, however, before the band began to broaden their selection of instruments: more guitars like Gibsons, Epiphones and Fenders, more electric basses and quite new instruments were used on records. Yet, the sound of the Beatles remained easily recognisable during the band's entire career. According to George Harrison, the sound and style of the band matured during the long live sessions in Germany before the years at EMI.

A normal studio set-up was that two microphones were used to record the drums; vocals and guitars were miked separately. Leakage from one sound source to another was not considered disturbing enough in the sense that separate rooms or sound baffles should have been used. A two-track recorder was employed to record the instruments onto one track; the vocals were recorded on the second track. In the case of dubbing or superimposing or post-recordings, the only method was to copy the previously recorded and the new overdub material onto another tape. This, of course, reduced the sound quality, typically 3 decibels each time the copy was made. The width of the tape was standardised at a quarter of an inch (6,3 cm); for 4-track recorders the width was one inch. The wider the magnetic tape is, the better the sound quality, the faster the tape speed, the better the sound quality.[9]

For their first recording at Abbey Road, the Beatles rehearsed in the studio on September 4 in 1962 during the afternoon. They then started the

[9] Typically the signal-to-noise ratio (or dynamics) improves by 3 decibels each time the tape width is doubled or the tape speed doubles; the difference audibly exceeds the hearing threshold.

actual recording at 7pm and stopped at about 10 o'clock. There were some twenty takes of two songs on the tape. 'Love Me Do' was mixed mono from take number two that was at that time "deemed" to be the best. A week later, this song was recorded eighteen more times and 'P.S. I Love You' ten times. The last takes of the both songs were the selected and they finally made it onto the record. A new song 'Please Please Me' was attempted a few times, but was rejected. All mixings were monophonic. The band was absent during the mixing process which was totally left to the producer. It was normal procedure at the time but was to change within a couple of years.

The first single 'Love Me Do / P.S I Love You' was released in October 5 1962. Recording of a new single 'Please Please Me' was started as early as November as was that of the two songs 'Ask Me Why' and 'Tip Of My Tongue'. Released as 'Please Please Me / Ask Me Why' the single was a success, so an entire LP had to be launched onto the market as soon as possible. Work was started in February 1963. Ten new songs were recorded within ten hours. The Beatles, experienced on numerous gigs, were able to stand the physical stress on fingers and throats. It was exactly what producer George Martin had expected.

During the session, the studio staff noted something exceptional, if not incredible: the band would not have a lunch break, but rehearsed, instead. On the other hand, the band did not want to leave the studio in the evening, not before they had listened to what they had been recording. This was prophetic enough – the change had begun. In general, the bands were not allowed to enter the control room. During the next few days, George Martin edited and overdubbed – he played piano – with Norman Smith, Stuart Eltham and young Geoff Emerick. The band was not present.

Two singles and one more LP *With the Beatles* after the successful *Please Please Me* disk were recorded using the traditional method: each take was a performance with overdubs done when needed. Separate takes could be edited together. This was made easier by Ringo Starr's drumming that was unassuming, yet precise. In fact, it is only recently that Ringo Starr has been given credit for his musicianship (Flans 1997).

Mixing of the singles and LPs was done in mono for the market, but the LPs were mixed also stereo. A good example of the sound work done at Abbey Road was the song 'Money'. It had been copied and overdubbed so many times that, to avoid yet another copy, the stereo version was done by

merging two separate mono versions together. It was only years later – in 1968 – that stereo mixing began to dominate.

tempting multitrack

In October 1963, a new era at Abbey Road began along with a transition to four-track. The four-track recorders had been in use before, but only for classical music, opera in particular. It should be noted here that in the US, 3-track recording was favoured. By using multitrack, it is possible to record accompanying music on dedicated tracks, solos on their own tracks and vocals, for example, simultaneously or invidually on separate tracks. The tracks may be erased, mixed together and re-recorded, whilst leaving the others untouched. Finally, all of the signals are mixed together in mono or stereo. The freedom gained through multitrack technique, however, tends to be time consuming because of postproduction. The flexibility of multitrack was sufficient to tempt the musicians and the technical staff as well, into musical and technical experiments.

The first 4-track recording of the Beatles was the single 'I Want To Hold Your Hand / This Boy'. Comparing separate takes, their indisputable similarity indicates that the songs were well prepared before the studio sessions. The procedure changed thoroughly later, when even the rehearsing was done in studio and the music could be composed piece by piece from very different acoustic motifs.

Within one year, the Beatles had recorded five singles and two LPs in twelve days, or about 40 hours. After their trip to France and the US during the first half of 1964, the band recorded music for their film A Hard Day's Night. After two more singles, their third LP record *A Hard Day's Nigh*t was released in July 1964.

In August, recording of a new single and LP was commenced. A new gimmick was taken into practice by John Lennon. In the intro of 'I Feel Fine' there is a controlled feedback of his guitar, a phenomena that has since become standard amongst electric guitarists. More fresh ideas emerged: Ringo Starr played timpani on 'Every Little Thing' that was previously unheard of rock music. Further: EMI engineers had built a system of their own to produce Sun-type echo and delay. Called STEED[10] it was used heavily on

[10] Single (or Send) Tape Echo and Echo Delay is explained – as follows – by Geoff Emerick: " [...] delaying the signal into the echo chamber via a tape machine. It was

Carl Perkins' composition 'Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby' performed by George Harrison.

In 1964, the Beatles and the studio staff worked on three singles and two LPs for about 34 days or circa 130 hours.

new practices in the studio

In 1965, since February's session, a tape recorder was in use all of the time. A good take was chosen the basis, other recordings were done on adjacent tracks. The fact remained that there still were only four tracks, and mixing or bouncing had to be done to make space for new recordings. In other words, two or three tracks were mixed together onto one, the other tracks now could be used again, finally even the initial track could be re-recorded. This track to track copying resulted in loss of sound quality, so the amount of overdubbing was kept to a minimum.

This new method was tried for the first time while recording 'Ticket To Ride' for their new movie and new album *Help!*. Although the takes have been written down in the studio diary, the total number of the takes remains unknown due to heavy overdubbing and mixing. It was during these sessions that a musician other than one of the band since their first single took part in their recording: flautist John Scott performed on 'You've Got To Hide Your Love Away'. The rock 'n' roll band did not record a single electric instrument for this song!

Doubling voices was a means that the Beatles really exploited a lot from its beginning. The doubling procedure was time consuming and painstaking in its early years. During the sessions of *Help!* a pedal for regulating the amplitude of electric guitar was used. The pedal, though, was not a novelty, it had been in use as early as in the 50s (Thompson 1992). Now, however, the volume-pedal and wah-pedal that regulates the tone became well known and widely used by the guitarists. Paul McCartney had composed a song called Yesterday that was recorded with a string quartet; it is the first Beatle song to be recorded by a single member of the band.

When *Help!* was released in August 1965, the total working time for both LP and single had taken about 20 days, more than 80 hours.

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effectively delayed as a send. The signal which was to be echoed was sent to the quarter-inch machine, and we would take the signal from the replay head, send it to one speaker in the chamber with two condenser mics picking up the sound and then return it to the console." (Cunningham 1996, 133).

studio as a workshop

The recording contract pushed the Beatles to making one more album in 1965. The result was *Rubber Soul.* Although the task was incredibly demanding, the record was released on time. It may be regarded as a watershed. Chronically *Rubber Soul* was positioned between *Help!* which truly represented pop music and *Revolver* which was band's obvious example of experimentation. John Lennon later recalled: "[...] I think *Rubber Soul* was about when it started happening." (Anthology 1995). Further, in Lennon's words: "When we began to record [...] we just performed for them [...] we really didn't have much to say [...] recording *Rubber Soul* (...) we started to get involved [...] both technically and musically [...] Paul always wanted to get more bass into the sound, like Motown did."(Pritchard & Lysaght 1998, 200.). Lennon also admitted that he had to turn to other artists' recordings in searching of new ideas. The recording sessions began in October, and the record was released in early December. George Martin says this was the first record to be regarded as one unity.

One of the new technical concepts on *Rubber Soul* was a gadget called the fuzz box that overdrives the signal thus distorting it. At Abbey Road, the engineers built the box themselves. Although most often used by guitarists, it now was connected to McCartney's electric bass. In fact, it was the Rolling Stones who made the fuzz box world famous through their hit 'Satisfaction' recorded in the Chess studio in May 1965 (Cunningham 1996, 104). Besides doubling voices, using different tape speeds was typical of the Beatles recordings. Piano part of 'In My Life' on *Rubber Soul* was played by George Martin in half tempo that was then speeded up to regular tempo in the final mix. The result comes close to the sound of a baroque harpsichord. A signal recorded at lower speed and played back at normal speed, often gains extra "juiciness" to the sound.

The release of a new album was agreed for the beginning of December. As no extra time existed, studio bookings were extended far beyond midnight with no actual time constraints. For example the November 1 session started at 4pm; work was done practically with no break until 7am.

The Beatles did not go on tours as often as they used to, but stayed in the studio instead. The global fame of the band was profitable to EMI and guaranteed certain liberties for the group that normally would have been out of question. The strict rules of the studio didn't touch them, the time limits

were not for them, and the music could be written, rehearsed, experimented and recorded from the very beginning to the end product, all Abbey Road. The studio from now on acted as a workshop.

After twenty-one days and nights of labour totalling in about 130 hours, *Rubber Soul* was ready for release. The traditional Beatles Christmas record, too, had been recorded within that time. Thus the two LPs and three singles recorded in 1965 took about 41 days and nights or around 123 hours of studio work.

George Martin had left EMI to form his own company AIR in August 1965. Martin, however, continued as Beatles' producer on a freelance basis. Sound engineer Norman Smith was then promoted to producer, and he would also be the chief of Parlophone. He did not continue recording the Beatles, but started to produce the new London group, Pink Floyd.

To put it briefly, the making of Beatles' records during their early period at EMI was quite traditional. The whole band performed in the studio with only a few microphones placed for the instruments and vocals. The background was recorded on track one, vocals and solos on track two. Leakage between microphones was not regarded as a serious matter. It was typical recording for that time: overdubbing when needed, mono mixing with deliberately minor use of effects. Yet, everything was mixed stereo, although the mono versions were primary for the release. The band did not take part in mixing sessions at first, not until a transformation began – thanks to the advent of four-track recording – at the end of 1963. A new tradition was seeing daylight, when new procedures of studio work were adopted. The studio from then on was to become a workshop, where a musical idea proceeded through various stages resulting in a releasable product at the end.[11]

second period 1966-67

new staff, new tricks

During the second period, five singles, two EPs, one double-EP and three albums of the Beatles were released.

[11] See Heinonen, 1995.

The Beatles had been working for five years practically without any kind of vacation. After *Rubber Soul* was released, the band took a break for three months. However, in April 1966, the four guys were back in the studio again to start recording of a new album that later was named *Revolver*. Although the band had evolved in recent years into a powerful professional music group, it advanced enormously during this period.

A new man behind the desk, Geoff Emerick, knew the productive course of action of his skilful predecessor; yet, he soon started to develop his own new ideas. Jerry Boys, a tape-op then,[12] remembers Emerick having been experimenting continually, testing different microphones with drums or bass, various placing of mics etc. One the most significant ideas then was that of Ken Townsend's to automate the voice doubling. He built a system called ADT[13] that made it possible to avoid the time consuming recording of two identical tracks – vocal or instrumental – separately. Now the doubling was done at the same time along with the primary recording. ADT makes it possible to assign a signal from a tape recorder's playback head to be recorded onto another machine equipped with varispeed. The slightly altered signal is then delegated back onto the first machine to be recorded with the original signal thus simulating the effect of more performers and enhancing the sound.

John Lennon did not like to repeat vocal lines or overdub, but he liked the new sound. No wonder it was Lennon, in particular, who was very fond of ADT. Almost every song of *Revolver* was ADT'ed! The method of automated doubling – flanging – spread rapidly throughout recording studios and stages. The idea or the method was developed further resulting in factory produced technology. Today, anybody may walk into a music store and buy a flanger. John Lennon used to ask for Ken's flanger (flange) each time he wished for doubling; the name survived.

New tricks were adopted from the first song on 'Tomorrow Never Knows'. The four Beatles owned Brenell tape recorders[14] for home recordings. It was easy to mute Brenell's erase-head. Now, recordings could be carried out without erasing others using an endless tape-loop until tape saturation. Tape-loops were used as source of effects on actual recordings.

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[12] Tape-op is a commonly used term for a studio recording assistant.

[13] ADT, Artificial Double Tracking, named by Stuart Eltham.

[14] George Martin says that the guys were using Grundig tape recorders. (Pritchard & Lysaght 1998, 209.)

Paul McCartney was a particularly enthusiastic loop-recording artist, who used to bring heaps of tape reels into the studio. On 'Tomorrow Never Knows', a kind of seabird screech is, in fact, a loop of an electric guitar. The tape loops, of course, could be slowed down or speeded up. During the recording, five tape recorders were connected to the mixing board in the control room, where two engineers, Emerick and McDonald, "played" the console, fading in and out the tape loops. The loops were run and spooled by a group of studio staff. The tapes were also run backwards. In fact, it seemed that the Beatles wanted almost everything to be taped backwards, speeded up or slowed down just to hear how it sounded. Music might be written backwards, played and recorded, the tape turned then backwards and recorded that way on the final take.[15]

Lennon's vocals were routed through a Leslie, a rotating speaker system, which gave a special swirling effect. The Leslie was originally built for organ, but the Beatles wanted to put much more through it including guitars, piano, drums...Lennon, in fact, wished to be dangled from the ceiling, while singing, to be a rotating source of sound himself. This intention apparently never materialised.

The bass drum was now miked closer than ever before, ignoring the possibility of breaking the costly microphone. Emerick stuffed a woollen jumper inside the drum to deaden the sound, and the signal was routed through Fairchild limiters and compressors. That was *the* sound of *Revolver* (and later *Pepper*). Compressor-limiter "tightens" the sound; it prevents overdrive in the signal, the energy of the sound may be "pressed" to a certain degree.

The electric bass was stressed more than ever before on the single 'Paperback Writer'. With his new Rickenbacker Paul McCartney could now play in tune even very high notes, which was not possible with his old Höfner. It was Townsend's idea to record the bass through a loudspeaker, not a microphone, located right in front of the bass cabinet. Essentially, a microphone and a loudspeaker are similar in stucture; both may pickup and

[15] According to Ringo Starr: "The amateurish way [...] gives the music a certain quality, whereas a trained pianist gives it another quality. That's why John and Paul played a lot of the piano on the Beatle records, because it gave it a different quality than having a real pianist. If we wanted a real pianist, then we would have had George Martin, because he'd know where the actual notes were; we'd be guessing." (Flans 1997, 59).

transduce sound signals. Townsend was reprimanded by a chief because of this daring deed.

invading the control room, working at night

During the *Revolver* sessions, the band would take part in the mixing process. They realised it was in the control room where they could have more influence upon the overall sound of their music. As McCartney has later recalled: "We figured that if anyone's going to know how much bass there should be on a record, or how loud the guitar solo should be [...] it ought to be us." (Martland 1997, 313).

It was not at all unusual at that time to have other musicians than the four guys playing in the sessions. A typical situation was where "an outsider" learned by hearing what a Beatle wished him to play. All kind of sound gear was exploited during the sessions for 'Yellow Submarine' to gain new sounds and effects. There were girl friends, staff, fellow musicians like Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones, Marianne Faithfull – singing along...

A double string quartet for 'Eleanor Rigby' was recorded with microphones almost touching the strings of violins and cellos. McCartney and Emerick wanted it to "get a sound different from any previously wrought from the instruments since gramophone had been invented 68 years previously." (Lewisohn 1988, 77). The eight instruments were recorded on all the tracks, two on each track, that were then mixed by bouncing them together thus leaving a free track for McCartney's vocal.

An EMI-designed machine called Automatic Transient Overload Control or ATOC was taken in use. During disk cutting process, it limits peak overload of signals resulting in a sound quality that is audibly better.

Single 'Paperback Writer/Rain' was released in June, LP *Revolver* and single 'Eleanor Rigby/Yellow Submarine' in August 1966. In about three months, 37 days and nights or circa 380 hours of studio work had been done. More than half of the work had extended past midnight, often until dawn.

"what do you mean, can't?"

A Collection Of Beatles Oldies was released for Christmas market 1966. A brand new album could not be released because of lack of time. A fresh record was started in November, however, being titled 'Strawberry Fields

Forever'. Advantage was taken of the technique that was by then familiar: four-track recording, backward tapes, tape loops, varispeed. New instruments, too, were played like mellotron that could produce sounds of real instruments.

Lennon's choice of mixing technique for 'Strawberry Fields Forever' made Martin and Emerick scratch their heads: he wanted two separate takes to be merged together although they differed quite a lot from each other. The takes were not in the same key, they were not in the same tempo. Said Lennon: "Well, you can fix it!" (Lewisohn 1988, 90). It was typical of Lennon, whose know-how of technology was relatively modest; he simply refused to believe that something he figured out could be impossible to carry out. Unbelievable as it is, speeding up the remixed beginning of take seven and slowing down the remixed latter part of take 26, Martin and Emerick managed to join the two parts well enough, so that it's hard to tell where the edit occurs. The employees of the studio had come to know the Beatles as a band unwilling to compromise their artistic intentions because of technological restrictions. Phil McDonald remembers: "There's one thing they always used to say. There's no such word as *can't*. What do you mean, *can't?* The word just wasn't in their vocabulary. There was always a way around any problem. If they had an idea – any idea – they thought it must be possible to do it. That's how *Sgt Pepper* was recorded. " (Lewisohn 1988, 114).

In December, during a session that was not controlled by Martin or Emerick, a recording saturated with high frequency was attempted. The Beatles demanded it; Dave Harris had neither guts nor urge to disobey. Regardless of that it was not acceptable, sounds with too much treble were often exploited from then on.

Single 'Strawberry Fields Forever/Penny Lane' was released in February 1967, and recording of a new album was also started then. It was to be *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band.* Some new technology was once more developed. Electric instruments like guitars could be now connected directly to a mixing console through a Direct Injection (DI) box. Using DI boxes made the instrument's signal level match the mixer's signal level. It was now possible to choose whether to record the instrument directly or traditionally from an amplifier via microphone – or both. One story tells of John Lennon wondering, if it was possible to record also his voice "directly", via DI. According to Emerick, George Martin replied: "Yes, if you go and have

an operation. It means sticking a jackplug into your neck!" (Lewisohn 1988, 95).

In February 1967, the Beatles were – for the first time after their contract to EMI – recording in a studio other than EMI Studios. The Abbey Road studios were fully booked. The band hired the independent Regent Sound Studio in London in order to record the background of a song called 'Fixing A Hole'. Producer Martin was the only member of the regular staff to take part in the session. The follow-up recording was done at Abbey Road.

Forty classical musicians entered Abbey Road Studio One on Friday 10 February to record a part for *Sgt Pepper*'s finale 'A Day In The Life', which perhaps is the song that best characterises the experimentalism of the album. There was an empty gap of 24 bars in the song to be filled by a huge glissando from the lowest note to highest of each instrument played softly in the beginning and loudly in the end. It was taped simultaneously on two four-track recorders. Running two multitracks together in sync was a technical novelty again, suggested by George Martin and put into effect by Ken Townsend. The orchestra was recorded several times on tracks, so the result is like 160 musicians playing at the same time. While recording, Emerick used the faders in the control room to stress the crescendo of the orchestra. Studio One was built exclusively for classical music with 100 loudspeakers installed along the walls allowing extra delay delegated into the hall. That night the musicians were wearing full evening dress – at the Beatles' request – and they were also wearing red clown's noses, funny hats, balloons etc. The atmosphere must have been both crazy and dramatic. The scene was filmed.

Furthermore, to gain a magical feel of a circus on the song 'Being For The Benefit Of Mr. Kite', Emerick did what Martin had proposed. He cut a magnetic tape consisting of sounds of a calliope into pieces and joined the pieces again in random order. The sound was then assigned onto multitrack and mixed in with other material. The honky-tonk sound of a piano on 'Lovely Rita' was prepared by Emerick who wrapped a piece of tape around the capstan driver of the recorder thus disturbing its normal run. The previous methods like slowing down and speeding up the tape run were, of course, utilised besides the other earlier gimmicks.

A self-evident fact was that the Beatles now participated the mixing sessions. The band also became more and more interested in stereophonic sound reproduction. These were times when the four guys were allowed to

work in the studio with practically no time limits. The personnel were at hand whenever needed, whenever the band chose to show up. It is not hard to believe that some twiddling of the thumbs occurred amongst the staff.

Tapes of effects had been stored away for years at Abbey Road, ever since the days of Peter Sellers' comic records produced by George Martin in the mid-fifties. Studio engineer Stuart Eltham had taken care of the archive. Now the Beatles were getting familiar with these tapes. The guys – particularly John Lennon – were fascinated. John wanted to end the song 'Good Morning, Good Morning' with animal sound effects. They were not recorded at random, but in order where the animals escape being afraid of the next: a cock runs away from a cat, cat away from dogs etc. Brass instruments needed to be flanged and compressed to make the sound unlike that which is expected of brass. Richard Lush says Lennon always wanted something odd: "(...) he just wanted it to sound weird." (Lewisohn 1988, 102).

Sgt Pepper was mixed first in mono, then stereo. Sound engineer Lush prefers the mono version that contains all of the sound details and effects, some of which are not heard on the stereo version. On the other hand, Emerick tells that monitoring was through one loudspeaker only; so the set-up was really monophonic. Another new feature in pop music was the way the songs of *Sgt Pepper* were mixed together – "segued" – using crossfading and other musical or audio manipulation; no ordinary silence of 3 to 4 seconds was left between the songs.

The single 'Strawberry Fields Forever/Penny Lane' was released in February, whereas the album *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* was released on the first of June 1967. Completing the two records between November 1966 and April 1967 had taken 450 to 500 hours during 70 days and nights according to the studio dairy; mixed information about this exists.[16] More than fifty times the sessions were extended past midnight or even until the morning. The sessions usually began after 7pm with no time limit.

[16] Geoff Emerick remembers:"During the recording of *Sgt. Pepper*, [...] We did the hours out and it was roughly 700 hours of recording time..."(Pritchard & Lysaght 1998, 236.)

new studios, new projects

Paul McCartney travelled to the US after the *Sgt Pepper* sessions were finished in early April. During the trip he would plan a TV-film for the band. He showed his plans to other Beatles and they made a decision that it was to be called Magical Mystery Tour, a 60-minute special for TV. Music was needed. The work was planned to begin in Abbey Road at the end of April. The personnel and the technique were familiar. The plan, however, was not known to Emerick or Townsend, who then did not agree to go back on their promise to work elsewhere at the same time. That is why Malcolm Addey and Richard Lush were the session engineers that night. Of course, they had been working with George Martin and during the earlier Beatles recordings.

The first Beatle song that was recorded entirely in a studio other than Abbey Road was 'Baby, You're A Rich Man'. The band booked Olympic Studio in London for recording and mixing. The whole job was done in a few hours. A bunch of friends were brought to sing along. After a couple of weeks at Abbey Road, the Beatles visited again a fresh studio. This time 'It's All Too Much' was started in De Lane Lea Recording Studios in London. The song was a part of a film project called Yellow Submarine that was launched at about the same time as the project of the Magical Mystery Tour.

In June 1967, the Beatles were in Olympic Studio again. A contract for a direct worldwide satellite broadcast by the BBC on Sunday 25 June was signed. The band would be filmed in the studio recording a new song. It was to be live, but recorded tracks were to be used. After the television show linking five continents, the song 'All You Need Is Love' was finalised at Abbey Road and a decision was made that the song deserved to be released as a single.

A couple of months later, the Beatles recorded a song called 'Your Mother Should Know' in Chappell Recording studio in London. Their manager Brian Epstein was also in the studio. It was the last time he was to partake in a recording session; he died a few days later. Despite the upset surrounding, the unexpected death of Epstein, the Beatles delved into the project of the Magical Mystery Tour. George Martin saw the poor planning of the project and he regarded the overall situation as a kind of chaos. Yet, there were things he was proud about such as the song 'I Am The Walrus'. To him it was organised chaos. Emerick saw the things in the same way. Magical Mystery Tour *perhaps* was to be an LP, or *perhaps* a single, or *maybe* a

movie... Ken Scott, who was Emerick's substitute for a while, says he was the right hand of the band, not that of producer Martin. It was the Beatles who ruled in the studio now. They knew what they wanted, but usually not before they had tried all the alternatives one can imagine. What they constantly and clearly strived for was *difference.* For example, while working on 'I Am The Walrus', John Lennon wanted an extract from a BBC broadcast, heard that very night, recorded and inserted in the mix. For the reverse side of 'Walrus', a new song was recorded: 'Hello, Goodby' by McCartney.

Single 'Hello, Goodbye/I Am The Walrus' was released in November; thereafter the band would start recording their traditional Christmas greeting for the fans. In the beginning of December, the music of Magical Mystery Tour project was released on two EP records. From April until November, 49 days were dedicated to recording, mixing and copying over about 270 hours. It was not at all unusual that the sessions extended throughout the night.

In summary, a new record engineer started his work with the Beatles, a lot of experimenting was done, close-miking was a daily practice, a lot of bouncing was used, new equipment was built, tape recorders were connected in sync to increase the number of tracks, outside assistance was utilised, even mistakes were exploited, recordings were done not only at Abbey Road but in small independent studios, too. The Beatles were present at mixing sessions and they were involved in the process more than ever. Mixing was first done in mono. Although the basic concept was four-track recording with its restrictions, the band, the producer and the studio personnel were able, however, to compose very complex musical structures that would pave the path for the whole community of pop music. Generally speaking, these were also times when the members of the band proceeded to working on their private projects away from the Beatles recordings.

third period 1968-70

embarras de richesses - too much to choose from

During the third period, six singles and four albums by the Beatles were released. The albums were *The Beatles* (*White Album*), *Yellow Submarine, Abbey Road, Let It Be.* The four men were gradually drifting away from each

other and their producer; they had solo projects as musicians, composers and producers of other groups. Finally, the band broke up.

Over the period from 1968 to 1970, the technique and the methods used in the studio remained basically the same as before. A major advancement was a transition into eight-track recording. Coming of independent studios was a challenge to the big companies such as EMI and Decca in the end of the 60s. Several new studios were built in London, which were more up-to-date including eight-track facility. (Martland 1997, 326.)

Besides the independent studios mentioned above – and Abbey Road – the Beatles also recorded in Trident studio, London, where they utilised an eight-track system for the first time in July 1968. The song was 'Hey Jude', their first song under their own Apple label. It was not long before the recording sessions at Abbey Road resumed, since a new eight-track system was established there also. An interesting detail concerning 'Hey Jude' is that when EMI found out about the Trident sessions, the band was asked to mix the song at Abbey Road. However, the tape could not be played back on EMI machines. The reason was that the Trident recorders ran too slowly, so the speed of the tape on normal machine was too fast. Whether this was intentional in order to maintain customers or not, is unknown. (Cunningham 1996, 137-138.)

George Martin's company AIR had taken on Chris Thomas in the late 60s. He was not only Martin's assistant but also a producer of some Beatles sessions. Geoff Emerick, Ken Scott and Glyn Johns were usually the main engineers. The first album on the band's Apple label was to be *The Beatles*, better known as *White Album.* Of course, EMI and Parlophone still had the rights of production. After having returned from India in spring 1968, the band started to record this album. A large number of songs had been composed, new ones were born all the time. It really was an *embarras de richesses*, and yet no-one was willing to abandon any song. There was an increasing contradiction between the musicians who were unable to settle differences. The result was a double album against George Martin's wish, who did not think all of the songs deserved to be recorded by the Beatles.

The music was now rehearsed in the studio, everything was taped and often only after tens of takes the best take could be chosen to start overdubbing and bouncing. It was impossible to keep a reliable number of takes in these circumstances. Where recording of *Sgt Pepper* seldom exceeded ten takes, mixing of *White Album* could seldom begin with fewer

than ten takes. For example, the song 'Not Guilty' needed 102 takes and yet it was rejected. Unlike later, members of the band still were recording the basic tracks together.

Varispeed, doubling, reverse tapes, tape loops, compressors and limiters, ADT and STEED were all used as before. Still, there was a constant urge to be different. It was typical of the band that even mistakes were taken into service. A good example of this was in the making of 'Revolution 9' – all three Abbey Road studios were used simultaneously! – when the delay tape ran out during tracking and it was spooled back without interruption; the engineers did not dare to stop recording. So a "tittering" sound of spooling was taped and used in the remix. 'Yer Blues' was recorded from a small room next to the control room without any acceptable sound isolation between the two rooms. By doing so, the band wished to gain some kind of live sound. The recording of 'Helter Skelter' slipped out of normal control resulting in punkish cacophony that, in fact, Paul McCartney was after. At that time McCartney recorded some songs without other Beatles being at present. He was also some fifteen years ahead of his time, as he wanted the drums to be recorded in a large reverberating room. Not only McCartney but also Lennon recorded a solo on *White Album.* The song 'Julia' was, however, the only one that he recorded alone as a Beatle.

The Beatles now ruled even more than before in the control room and they were their own producers whenever they wished. The band was daring enough to abuse the technical equipment in a positive and progressive manner. They plugged electric guitar and bass directly in the mixing console and let signals overdrive without a worry; they also added lots of highs and lows to signals in an effort to gain something different. As Ken Scott recalls, the Beatles were not necessarily looking for natural sounds at all.

The worsening atmosphere was not aided by the musicians' unexpected trips abroad eventhough studio sessions had been booked. Sessions were cancelled. The players and the staff were irritated. In the middle of recording of 'Cry Baby Cry', in July 1968, Geoff Emerick felt he had had enough. He wanted to leave right away and he wanted to let the band know. Lennon answered: "Look, we're not moaning and getting uptight about you, we're complaining about EMI (...)" Emerick remembers: "(...) but I knew this was just an outlet for a bigger problem. They were falling apart." (Lewisohn 1988, 143). As if this was not enough, the white coats that had been abandoned years ago were worn again by the technical personnel.

Later in the autumn, George Harrison said: "(...) the rot had already set in." (Lewisohn 1988, 163). During the recording of 'Back In The USSR' in August, Ringo Starr, tired of the situation, left the band. In the meantime, McCartney played drums. Ringo came back a few days later. The remix of the album began in October 1968, but Ringo Starr had left the country with his family; George Harrison also went abroad. It was John Lennon, Paul McCartney, Ken Scott, John Smith and George Martin who did the job and decided the running order of the 30 songs, which was not at all easy.

The Beatles album was released on Friday 22 November in 1968. The work had been done in circa 90 days or about 700 hours. Some of the sessions were real marathons, the longest one lasting 24 hours. About seventy times the sessions passed dawn.

longing for the past, grudge and morality

It has been criticised that about two months after *The White Album* another LP *Yellow Submarine* was released. The movie Yellow Submarine had been a success some seven months earlier, but it was felt that this new record containing "old" Beatles music came out too soon after the fresh double album. In January 1969, Paul McCartney put forward a proposal for the band to get back to their roots, to go on as a live rock 'n' roll band. George Harrison, however, did not want to perform in public. He had also quit the group in January and returned, just as Ringo Starr had done half a year beforehand. During the break, Harrison was convinced that he did not want to perform live on stage, nor on TV. Instead, he was ready, like the rest of the band, to start recording and the recording of an album could be filmed. The method of tracking was planned to be very basic with no studio trickery, no overdubbing, no backward tapes, no tape loops, no ADT, no STEED. Everything should be recorded as it was played and sung, including mistakes. The project was named Get Back.

The equipment of the Beatles' new Apple studio did not work at all; it was taken to pieces and sold off. EMI allowed two four-track mixers and an eight-track recorder to be moved from Abbey Road to the Apple studio; Alan Parsons would take care of the equipment. For a while, George Martin was producer for the Beatles, but John Glyns was a full member of the project. Pianist Billy Preston, who had been gigging with Little Richard, was involved during the following months. No exact studio diary was kept, so the takes and

hours of work are impossible to count. Paul McCartney wrote down something about the sessions on the tape boxes after use. The sessions took place between 10am and 5pm extending occasionally to 10pm as was the case before 1965.

On the 30th of January 1969, the Beatles made a compromise: they gave a live performance – their last – on the roof of the Apple building in Savile Row, London. The performance was filmed and recorded on two eight-track machines. The tapes are kept at EMI. The songs that could not be played live on the roof were recorded next day in the studio. Dispite of plans to get back to the roots, overdubbing and other manipulation of the recordings were done.

The Beatles had to give way to the installation of new equipment in their Apple studio. So they were first in Trident studio, then in Olympic studio and finally back at Abbey Road. Glyn Johns was given a task to mix an album *Get Back* at the Olympic studio. Stereo mixing overtook mono now. Yet, Jeff Jarrat mixed some time later a mono version of *Get Back* at Abbey Road. This was not, however, a final version. Even the stereophonic mixing was done over in Olympic studio in April. Single 'Get Back/Don't Let Me Down' was released in April 1969.

From then on, the Beatles remained at the studios of Abbey Road and Olympic together and separately, their producer often being Chris Thomas. Engineers were Jeff Jarratt, Glyn Johns, John Kurlander and veteran Richard Langham. Before the end of May, the stereo mix of *Get Back* was finished. The only Beatle who was in England then was George Harrison. No *Get Back* album was ever released. Geoff Emerick had returned in mid-April and George Martin was producing once again. Single 'The Ballad Of John And Yoko/Old Brown Shoe' was released in the end of May.

A brief new era dawned in July 1969, when the Beatles decided to overcome bad feelings and come together to work at Abbey Road. The job was done almost daily for about forty-five days. Sessions were of the old style in the sense that they were started and finished in daytime with only a few exceptions. What they had done in a studio before was done even now, all kind of trickery being moderate, however. No ambitious experiments were taken into practice; even the new Moog synthesiser was used with care. The earlier Trident tapes were once again utilised. The final editing of the new record was done at Abbey on Monday 25 August. Then Geoff Emerick took the finished stereo master tape and its copy to Apple for cutting by Malcolm

Davies. It was the first British Beatles album that was not cut at EMI or by Harry Moss. The new *Abbey Road* album, Parlophone PCS 7088, was released on Friday the 26th of September 1969. It should be considered the last Beatles album, although *Let It Be* was to arrive on the shelves at a later date despite being recorded before. A single 'Something/Come Together' was released in October 1969.

get back – let it be

On the 3rd of January 1970, the Beatles with the exception of Lennon came to Abbey Road to do something about the troublesome Get Back project. Sixteen takes of 'I Me Mine' were then recorded. A day later, several inserts were taped for the song 'Let It Be' on take number 27. The Beatles were recording for the last time as a band.

At the end of January, Lennon and Harrison were working in the studio. Harrison put forward a proposal to invite Phil Spector from the US to produce them. Spector arrived and started working on the Get Back tapes in the late March 1970. His vision of how to work differed from that of his British colleagues'. His touch can be heard on the Get Back tapes that had now been manipulated for the last time.

After the *White Album* 's release, the Beatles and their work mates had been in studio for approximately 85 days. The hours are impossible to calculate, since documentation of session details in studio diaries was erratic; this however cannot be said of Abbey Road.

In March 1970, single 'Let It Be/You Know My Name' was released. About a month later on Friday the 8th of May, the project Get Back was finally ready. An album was then released, newly treated and freshly named *Let It Be.* (Wiener 1992, 113.)

The era of the Beatles as a band had now drawn to a close.

THE END – DISCUSSION

During this paper, I have described some phases of the history of sound recording and rock 'n' roll music, especially in regard to the Beatles' career

as a recording band. Now it is time to bind the things together to see them as a whole.

The role of the producer

In 1962, when the Beatles entered the Abbey Road studios, George Martin had been responsible since 1955 for the relatively modest record label Parlophone. One of his many interests was experimenting with magnetic tapes. He saw the tremendous potential of tape editing compared to traditional acetate disk editing, especially when it comes to creating various sound collages and compositions.

Some comedians had been signed to Parlophone, including Peter Sellers and Peter Ustinov. There is no doubt that their kind of art, so full of sound effects, influenced George Martin. Martin himself was largely involved the funny sound world of Seller and Ustinov. It was around mid-fifties, indeed, that the staff of EMI Parlophone started to compile their huge collection of sound effects.

The Beatles were very fond of Peter Sellers brand of humour. They soon became familiar with the effects resource stored in a side-room at Abbey Road. It is no wonder that George Martin grasped Beatle-like humour and also wished to contribute to their music: advising, arranging, playing etc. (Martin 1979, 120-124; Martland 1997, 316.) The job of producer was changing from the lofty state of Artistes & Repertoire Man to a position where traditional leading gave way to an artistically oriented goal. Demand for profit, however, did not change.

other studios, fellow competitors

Looking back over the 120-year-old development of studio technology, we can position the 8 year recording career of the Beatles. In the entire history of sound recording, they obviously ought to be placed onto the late phase of the continuum. But if we consider the 80 years old span of electronic recording, the band ought to be placed towards the centre. The prevailing method of recording, when the band started at EMI was two-track method, being rather

new then.[17] When the Beatles broke up a few years later, it was eight or even sixteen tracks that were used as standard. The four guys clearly expressed their ever-growing thirst for increasingly complicated manipulations of their music. Building a studio of their own – the Apple Studio – was a true manifestation of this passion.

Being an extremely profitable investment for the company, the Beatles had a strong hand in their overall production – and they could exploit the highly capable studio staff. It was partly as a result of their work habits that the strict practice of having three recording sessions a day, was rejected at EMI. Little by little night sessions were extended even until the early morning. It is worth remembering that evening recording, before the Beatles, was not typical practice at Abbey Road. George Martin, since quitting EMI for his own company AIR, was more likely to book studio time at Abbey Road for late sessions on a free-lance basis. Towards the mid-sixties, the Beatles, unlike earlier, were more and more involved in the mixing process of their music; as a result they practically took over the studio and control room – whenever they wished.

It is evident that the metamorphosis of a traditional recording studio into a modern sound workshop was global phenomena. For instance, the activities of Buddy Holly and the Crickets in Norman Petty's studio about ten years earlier were far from strict rules. There was no time limit: the band was living – days and nights – in the studio attempting various sound experiments. Even in the studios of major companies, experimentation and night-work was done, although unofficially and behind closed doors. On the other hand, there were those such as Joe Meek who had a private studio in London. Former television engineer Meek settled in London in mid-fifties and, before too long, built a studio of his own to record and produce music independently. During the first half of the 60s, Meek and his artists had several hits. The Tornadoes' instrumental 'Telstar' was an international success and so was the song 'Have I The Right?' by the Honeycombs (Simon 1996). Meek's own recording *I Hear A New World* (1960) is often regarded as the first concept album ever. (Cunningham 1996, 77-84.)

[17] The days of recording on acetates had not long passed. In the USA, recording on three tracks was common practice in the beginning of the 60s.

Like any rock 'n' roll band the Beatles had to become familiar, to some extent, with amplifiers, loudspeakers, microphones and other equipment.[18] Yet, as far as is known they were not directly responsible for any serious technical developments, unlike Les Paul was, for instance. Their influence could be considered as being more indirect. The band acted more or less like Bing Crosby had acted twenty years earlier: they quickly saw the possibilities of advanced technology and they were strong enough to put into effect their desires. The dedicated staff, however, overcame technical difficulties in order to meet the innovative demands of the Beatles.

The technical apparatus at Abbey Road studios was mainly European having been developed either by EMI's own staff or by continental engineers who were deeply competitive with American counterparts. In fact, it was often Britain and EMI that showed the path of development in sound technology both in studios, on stage and eventually even in homes. The Beatles with their firm and uncompromising demands were undoubted catalysts in this progress.

The authority of the Beatles together with their endless urge to experiment and search for new sounds was one key to take British pop music into multitrack era that had previously been reservered solely for classical music. The progression from four-track to 8- and 16-track was fairly rapid. Even 24-track technology became commonplace towards the end of the 60s. Yet, it must not be forgotten that in the days of *Sgt Pepper* it was still four-track technology that reigned in EMI's studios. The idea of a studio as a workshop spread fast. More time was spent in studios, therefore more studios were needed and more studios – especially independent – were built. A new era was about to dawn. During the next decade, reasonably good multitrack recording systems were available at a moderate price even for average home recording. Today, digital signal manipulation dominates; inexpensive computers and recording applications with their virtual effects and practically unlimited number of tracks are at hand. Both professional and home studios share this trend.

The Beatles – during their earlier years – were challengers. They wanted to sound, like many other bands in Liverpool then, hard, even harsh unlike the Shadows. Even their early inspiration Elvis Presley was a challenge for them. The band was fully aware of the trends in popular music

[18] see Gottfridsson 1997: 154-156.

of their time, but there is no reason not to believe they were aware of other kinds of music, too. It is known that Paul McCartney, for instance, was familiar with European experimental classical music and composers such as Karlheinz Stockhausen. (Miles 1997; Pritchard & Lysaght 1998, 209). On the other hand, the influence of contemporary jazz musicians such as Ornette Coleman with his pioneering record Free Jazz (1960) or John Coltrane and his revolutionary Ascension (1965), amongst others, should not be neglected.

The Beatles were challenged, of course, by other poprock bands of the 60s. They were closely watched by such British groups as the Searchers, Rolling Stones, Kinks, Dave Clark Five, Hollies, Swinging Blue Jeans, Gerry & The Pacemakers, a few to mention, as well as by Americans such as the Beach Boys. The Beach Boys in particular were competing with the Beatles – and on the contrary. The two bands did their best to outstrip each other both in quality of sounds and in charm of songs. Yet, after the Beatles' album *Sgt Pepper* was released in 1967, the Beach Boys – said Brian Wilson – raised their hands up, as this album overshadowed their 1966 masterpiece Pet Sounds.[19] (Martland 1997, 329).

conclusion

In conclusion: the Beatles had no extraordinary impact on the development of studio technology. However, the band did have an influence upon studio practice and in many ways they were innovators or "door openers".[20] Throughout their era of success, the group changed from a stage band into a media band and, finally, into a professional studio band. Hard working, determined and demanding, the Beatles were, with the assistance of producers and technical staff, able to carry out most of their imaginative visions of music. This in turn paved the way to stardom. From then on the Beatles would be regarded as a reference to which those who followed could calibrate.

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[19] Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys, in 1990:"I heard the album *Rubber Soul* by the Beatles. It was definitely a challenge for me. I saw that every cut was very artistically interesting and stimulating. I immediately went to work on the songs for *Pet Sounds*."(Pet Sound's CD sheet)

[20] Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones: "To us the Beatles were always the door opener."(Pritchard & Lysaght 1998, 170)

The essence of the Beatles on the record may be crystallised by George Martin's words concerning their innovation value: "[...] the innovation of Sgt Pepper [...] was more artistic than technical." (Southall 1997, 100).

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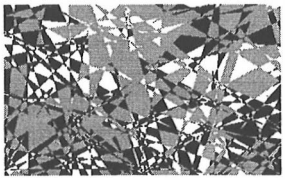

BEATLES 2000

LIVERPUDLIAN IDENTITY OF THE BEATLES FROM 1957-62

Terhi Nurmesjärvi

The Beatles was formed at the turn of the 1960's in Liverpool, Northwest England. At the same time and in that same place there developed a style or sound called Merseybeat.[1] It was considered to be a typical Liverpudlian style of playing beat music or rock'n'roll. The purpose of this study is to examine the Liverpudlian identity of the Beatles through the development of Merseybeat. The term "early" Beatles refers to the period from the formation and development of the band from 1957, when the first skiffle group formed by John Lennon was called Quarry Men, to the end of 1962 when the Beatles started their recording career.

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[1] Merseybeat is also known as Mersey Sound or Liverpool Sound.

There are some studies of the music scene and Merseybeat in Liverpool that are related to this study[2] but most of them are more biographical than analytical or speculative. This study of the Liverpudlian identity and especially its expression Merseybeat and the Beatles, is based mainly on the writings of Sara Cohen who discussed the musical scene in Liverpool in the 1980's (1991) and also her article "Identity, Place and the 'Liverpool Sound' " (1994), in which she deals with "the issue of identity and the construction of locality through music".

LOCALITY AND IDENTITY

The key concepts of this study are locality and identity. Locale "refers to the physical setting of social activity as situated geographically" (Giddens 1990, 18; quoted in Stokes 1994, 3). Our activities are tied into the surrounding space and locale, also to the geographical location. The sense of place and locality

> "may reflect political motivations and geopolitical assertions of affiliation, roots or ethnicity, economic motivations, [...], ideological motivations [...], or social motivations resulting in other assertions of difference" (Cohen 1994, 129-130).

In his book "Key Concepts of Popular Music" Roy Shuker (1997) describes locality as "the notion of localized sounds", which in this case means strongly Liverpudlian style Merseybeat.[3] The concept of locality is also related to the study of Cultural Geography, which according to Shuker means the way in which music may serve as a marker of identity. As Shuker writes, one of the main questions to be asked is, "Why they [sounds] develop at a specific location at a particular time" (Shuker 1997, 179). Why Merseybeat came into being in Liverpool in the end of the 50's?

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[2] Sara Cohen has written about the Liverpudlian identity (1991, 1994). Also Janne Mäkelä wrote a chapter concerning the Liverpudlian identity of the Beatles in his Licentiate theses (1998). "Merseybeat – Let's Go Down to Cavern" by Spencer Leigh (1984) is a biographical book about the scene.

[3] In this connection, the alternative term for Merseybeat, the Liverpool sound, indicates more clearly its location.

The other concept, identity, is closely related to that of locality. Identity in this case is to be understood as the collective identity created through the music. Cohen's research has

> "indicated various ways in which people create an image or sense of place in the production and consumption of music. This may be revealed in processes of musical composition and rehearsal, in the collective memories embodied in the music, in patterns of buying and use, and in discourse surrounding the music which can involve territorial negotiation and conflict over sound and meaning." (Cohen 1994, 129)

Several factors influence and mark the formation and existence of identity and locality. Based on Cohen's work (1994) I have constructed the following figure, which presents the essential aspects that are dealt with in this particular study.[4]

Locality and identity reflect social, economic and political factors. Social factors deal with the people, the history and background of the inhabitants of the location, as well as the traditions that have influenced them. Political and economic factors are not isolated to the social factors but they have a specific impact on the production of music and the music industry, which has to be taken into account.

The concepts of locality and identity are closely linked together and it is not always sensible to use them separately.[5] The interaction between them is affective in both ways. Cohen talks about *local identity*, which in this case is found to be a more useful concept than the separate notions locality and identity. However, locality may be seen as a more concrete and physically binding factor, as opposed to identity which is more abstract and difficult to quantify, yet a powerful presence in subjectivity and its discourses.

The construction of identity requires separation of *us* from *others*. In England it meant opposing Liverpool against the rest of Britain (north / south opposition), especially against Manchester (Cohen 1994, 124). The social meaning of music emerges because it offers means through which people may identify identities, locations and borders that distinguish them. In Liverpool this comparison was evident particularly in the sharp contrast within the musical scenes of its neighbouring Manchester, and the music industry

[4] Some of the aspects that were listed by Cohen have not been considered in this case, e.g. ethnicity, gender and religion.

[5] However, collective identity is not always tied into a specific location, especially when it has nothing to do with ethnicity.

capital, London. Through this contrast it was possible to find the essential characteristics which separated "us" from the "others".

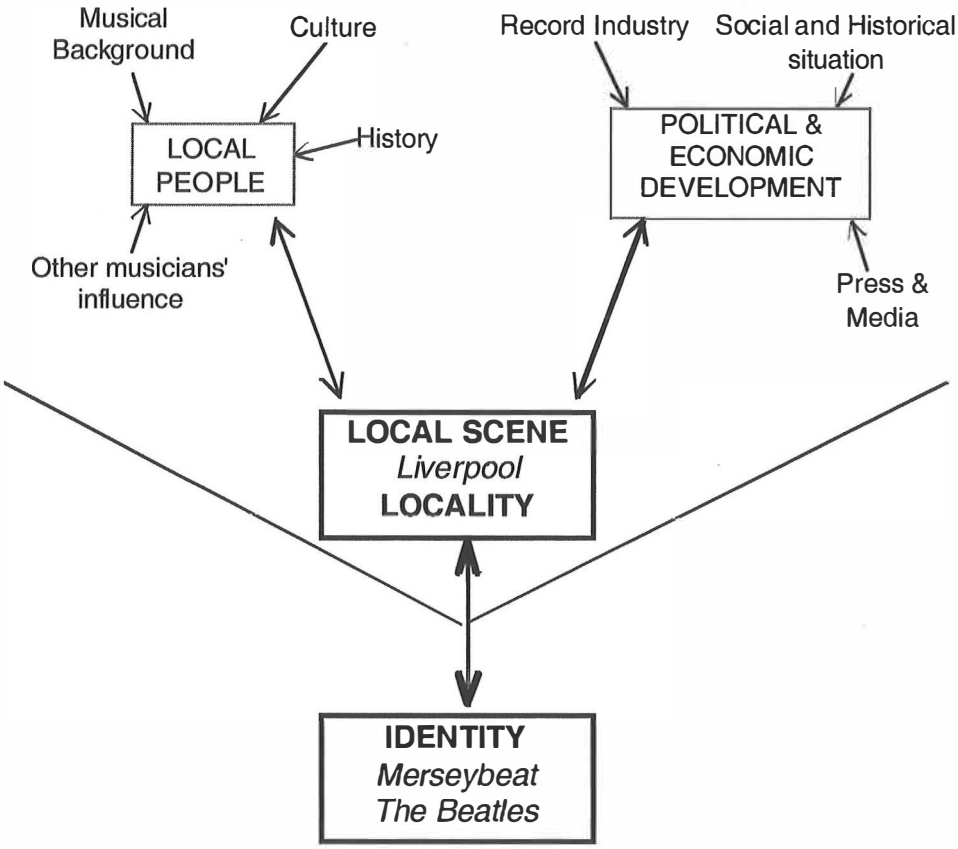

Figure 1. The Construction of Locality and Identity based on Cohen (1994).

SOME NOTES ON SOURCE CRITICISM

The research material includes mainly biographical literature, often reproduced by journalists. Some of the material was documented during the

1960's (Davies 1968; Braun 1964) but most of the interviews etc. have been compiled during the 1980's and 90's.[6]

The material about the careers and lives of the Beatles was not documented by scientific researchers. Those who were on the scene or whom have written about the Beatles were not "fieldworkers" with theoretical frameworks and methods, neither were they troubled by the questions of reliability and validity, nor objectivity.[7]

The primary documents in biographies and journalistic writings are often oral sources,[8] which are by no means valuable in historical documentation. That involves, however, some problematic aspects:

> Written records speak to the point of *what happened*, while oral sources almost invariably provide insights into *how people felt about what happened*. Written history is, ideally, objective and unbiased, although historians are increasingly coming to recognize the ideal of "objectivity" as illusory, since any historical account is necessarily biased in some respect. Orally communicated history, on the other hand, deriving as it does from the personal experiences of individuals, tends to be more subjective and evaluative, so that individual and community attitudes are clearly expressed in oral accounts of historical events." (Allen & Montell 1981, 20-21)

Oral presentations also reflect attitudes, opinions, emotions, values, and beliefs. A factor, which is clearly tied into the problems of oral history, is memory, which influences the accuracy of the interviews and biographies.

> "Memory is known to be fallible due to such factors as passive decay (e.g. Brown, 1957), systematic distortion of the memory traces (e.g. Wulf, 1922), interference between traces such that similar memories cannot be distinguished (e.g. Postman 1972), motivated forgetting, retrieval failure (e.g. Tulving, 1969), and displacement of existing memories by incoming material (e.g. Waugh and Norman, 1965). Additionally, physical trauma, drug abuse and senility are other causes of forgetting."[9] (Bull & Clifford 1979, 154)

The factors influencing memory are numerous. If the informant is interviewed alone, he/she is always "right" and things are easily coloured, embellished and/or changed. Furthermore, it is possible that leading questions or pressure from the interviewer may lure the informant to "remember"

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[6] See also Heinonen, pp. 111-146 in this book.

[7] See Kirk & Miller, Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research, 1986.

[8] Oral sources include conversations and interviews, but also orally communicated secondary data in the form of written material, including *letters*, *autobiographies* (which can include materials derived from oral sources), *family histories*, *diaries*, *travel accounts*, and *newspaper columns*. (Allen & Montell 1981, 22.)

[9] Stress is also one influential factor (Jones 1979). About the drug abuse see also *Alcohol and Human Memory* 1977 (Introduction), Idzikowski 1988, and Lowe 1988.

something that has not really happened. This is partially unintentional; the mind has a "need" to fill in empty spaces. Pictures in our mind may also be forgotten, distorted or made complete due to the wish to forget, the time that has passed, or the external interferences. Another influencing factor may be the information received after the event, which makes the person believe he/she has seen or experienced something that he/she really has not. These complementary images may come from others involved but also from the media, whose impact can be great. The statements must not be seen as black and white but in proportion to the overall context and other sources (Rasilainen 1995, 65).

In the case of the Beatles there are also other motivations that might influence the material. Those who were close to the members of the Beatles were few. It is possible that some informants like to come forward because of the guaranteed publicity it brings. However, there are always those who would like to tell the stories about those times, some just for fun. It is possible that the informant made use of the situation and turned it into his/her advantage by colouring the stories, which after a while began a life of their own. In some cases the same events have simply been experienced and understood in different ways. Drugs and alcohol were a part of everyday life for the Beatles and their friends.

There are contradictory statements from Lennon and McCartney for example about the author of some songs – they both claim them to be their own.[10] The two have also confessed that they have made up stories for the press, because they knew that they wanted new and juicy stories. John Lennon stated about the Beatlemania times: "We were funny at Press conferences because it was all a joke. [...] They'd ask joke questions so you'd give joke answers" (Davies 1968, 196). The informants are the same in various writings and the authors use cross-references. Yet the original sources are often poorly marked if marked at all.

The most reliable sources could be those, which have been published shortly after the events took place. On the other hand at that time the Beatles intentionally gave misleading statements, which have to be critically interpreted. (Heinonen 1994, 153.) It must also be noticed that contemporary people can not have the same perspective to see the whole context nor the

[10] There are two of these songs, *Eleanor Rigby* (Miles 1997, 283-4; Dowlding 1989, 133-136) and *In My Life* (Dowlding 1989, 122)

ability to distinguish the essential elements. This is always the task of future generations. The more sources that contain the same information the more reliable is the information. However, it should be remembered, that mistakes in small details are not of great importance in the evaluation of the entirety. (Rasilainen 1995, 61,64.) Further, underneath the factual accuracy there are truths contained in values, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings (Allen & Montell 1981, 89).[11]

LIVERPOOL AND THE BEATLES – HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

King John founded Liverpool in 1207. It was a suitable port from which to launch an army to Ireland. A castle was build first, and was soon surrounded by a growing town. In the 18Th century, Liverpool became one of world's most important ports as a result of the slave trade. By then, the number of inhabitants had tripled from the mere 2000 to 6000. The main exports from Liverpool were tobacco and cotton. They were taken to Africa as payment for slaves, who were then shipped to America where they were sold. The slave trade ended in 1807 but the city maintained its status as a major port.

People from all over the Europe started to "voluntarily" emigrate to America, Canada and Australia seeking a better life, many sailing from Liverpool. The town grew rapidly during the 19Th century. During the First World War Liverpool was once more a place of importance because of its port and geographical location. Its development was seriously compromised in 1918 when a deep recession reduced trade drastically. (Harry 1992, 398-99; Miles 1997, 1-4.)

The population of Liverpool was and still is multicultural. Most of the inhabitants were originally from Ireland or Wales, but there was also a relatively large Chinese population, and, because of the slave trade, a considerable black community. (Miles 1997, 1-4.) In the year, 1951 there were approximately 900 000 inhabitants in Liverpool (Cohen 1991, 2).

[11] Unfortunately there is no possibility to deliberate upon every statement and source. Yet it should be acknowledged that these 'truths' do exist.

During the Second World War Liverpool suffered greatly from successive German bombings. Men were recruited into the armed services; the economic situation was poor and life difficult. Liverpudlians were, however, known to have a strong differentiated identity, which they maintained during the war. The presence of sailors throughout the town's history, contributed to the hard-living, hard-drinking and aggressive character often associated with the stereotypical Liverpudlian. (Harry 1992, 398-99; Miles 1997, 1-4; Cohen 1991, 10-11.)

Liverpool's musical background

Liverpool enjoyed a vivid musical culture from the beginning of the 20th century, and still throughout the 1950's various musical traditions, from old Music Hall to new skiffle, were very much alive. Jazz has traditionally been popular in Liverpool, and a style has even been named after a local river: Merseysippi Jazz. Other musical influences were American Tin Pan Alley and Big Band music, as well as the latest popular music styles Rhythm & Blues and Country & Western. (Leigh 1984, 28.) The influence of Irish music owing to the large Irish population in Liverpool was also evident (Harry 1992, 339; Leigh 1984, 21).

The backgrounds of the members of the Beatles were not uncharacteristic of average Liverpudlian. John Lennon's mother Julia had taught him to play some banjo (Davies 1974: 19; Howlett & Lewisohn, 1990, 19). Paul McCartney's father was an amateur musician and they frequently used to play at home, with Jim McCartney on piano and Paul singing harmonies with his brother Mike. McCartney also took some lessons in trumpet and piano. According to McCartney himself, however, the greatest influence has been rock'n'roll. (Leigh 1991, 12; Miles 1997, 23-24.) Like all of the others, George Harrison became interested in playing during the skiffle boom, and Richard Starkey also bought his first drum set in 1957 (Harry 1992, 292, 623).

The influence of comedy was strong in Liverpool, where the local Music Hall tradition had always attracted stand-up comedians. The hard lifestyle promoted the belief among sailors that one had to be a comedian in order to live in Liverpool! (Harry 1992, 399). Life after the Second World War was

marked by poverty, slum-life, and unemployment. Humour helped the people to bare the everyday life. (Harry 1992, 399.)

skiffle

During the 1950's the most important new musical style before rock'n'roll in Britain, and in particular Liverpool, was skiffle. It is a musical style adopted from America, where it came into being during the 1930's. It started from the Southern States of the U.S.A were people had rent parties, "which encompassed blues, barrelhouse, boogie-woogie, and other styles of black popular music" (Skiffle 1988, 464).

> "If one of the guys was short of rent, he'd hold a party and people would come round with bottles and guitars for a bit of a whoop-up. He'd pass the hat round during the proceedings just like Phil the Fluter's Ball 400 years earlier." (Leigh 1996, 29)

It was at the time of the folk revival in early 1950's the skiffle revived among white people. In Europe the style became popular in Germany, though flourished mainly in Great Britain. (Skiffle 1988, 464.) Skiffle was "poor peoples" music; the instruments – acoustic guitar, washing board, jug, and tea-chest bass – did not cost a lot of money. The repertoire included old tunes, therefore the music was easy to play. (Lewisohn 1992, 12; Miles 1997, 25.)

The models were Lonnie Donegan[12] and a band called the Vipers[13]. Their music was even played by Radio Luxembourg. In 1956 Lonnie Donegan had his first skiffle hit both in the U.K and U.S.A – 'Rock Island Line' – which was an American folk song from the beginning of the century, though he had learned it from a Leadbelly song (Norman 1996, 34; Leigh 1996, 29; Donegan 1991, 718). Within only one year there had been three skiffle groups ranked in U.K top 30 and during the next five years Donegan had thirty-one top 30 hits. In the whole of Britain there were approximately 5000 skiffle bands, of which hundreds emerged from Liverpool. (Lewisohn 1992, 12; Miles 1997, 25.) "[...] sales of guitars doubled as hundreds of skiffle

[12] Lonnie Donegan was a banjo player who had played in Chris Barber Jazz Band (Norman 1996, 34).

[13] Tommy Steel, who was one of the first rock stars in Great Britain, played with the Vipers (Vipers 1989, 1202).

groups were formed all over the country – among them the Quarry Men, started by John Lennon." (Miles 1997, 25).

new influences from overseas

The main influences from America were country & western and rock'n'roll. The port played a central role, with ships arriving directly from overseas carrying sailors who brought, among other merchandise, new recordings which they sold to the locals. New influences thus arrived regularly into Liverpool before reaching London. Hank Williams, Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins and Buddy Holly, for example, were known in Liverpool long before their records were released in Britain (Leigh 1984, 47); the Beatles heard those records locally.

Groups arrived from America to perform in England in the late 1950's, beginning with Bill Haley, Crew Cuts and Buddy Holly (Leigh 1984, 109; Miles 1997, 18).[14] The U.S influences also spread through the media, primarily through radio and TV, which played a pivotal role in the early developmental stage. The two radio stations available were BBC and Radio Luxembourg. Some sources emphasise the role of Radio Luxembourg over BBC (Norman 1996, 34; Miles, 1997, 24). BBC did not seem to play a lot of rock'n'roll during the 1950's, only few times per week.

> "The BBC did not play rock'n'roll. Popular music on the radio was played by BBC combos like the NDO, the Northern Dance Orchestra. They just played the tunes, sometimes making a feeble effort to imitate the arrangement of the original record. [...] The main way to hear rock'n'roll in Britain was to tune in to Radio Luxembourg, broadcast at 208 metres on the medium wave from the tiny European principality."[15] (Miles 1997, 24)

George Harrison confirms the role of BBC in a book *Ticket To Ride* (Somach, Somach, Gunn 1989, 300): "In England, there was the BBC and they played very middle-of-the-road stuff" – that was Rosemary Clooney, Doris Day, Frankie Laine, Vera Lynn and Frank Sinatra (Miles 1997, 18). Also Bill Harry

[14] Bill Haley's song 'Rock Around The Clock', which was featured in several movies, and had a great influence on the youth of Liverpool. There were even riots on the streets after it was shown in the cinema (Pawlowski 1989, 6).

[15] Paul used to listen to the rare English broadcasts in the evenings in bed. His father had provided the brothers with headphones they could listen to on an extension chord leading from the radio in the living room. (Miles 1997, 24.)

presented Radio Luxembourg as an alternative to BBC. "It promoted pop music and one of its most popular programmes was weekly Top Twenty chart programme which played the twenty leading records in each week's *New Musical Express* chart listings" (Harry 1991, 543). It played a wider variety of records that were directed towards young people and it also gave greater opportunities to new artists, which might have appealed to the young musicians. The signal of the station was stronger in Northern England, and was heard clearly in Liverpool. (Harry 1991, 543.)

This is contradictory to the statement of Charles Hamm (1989, 113): "By early 1956, the Armed Forces Network, Radio Luxembourg and the BBC were broadcasting many hours of Haley, Presley, Berry and the like." Regardless of the amount of rock'n'roll each station played Radio Luxembourg seems to have been a source of inspiration for many. Lennon and McCartney used to learn new songs by listening to the radio and watching TV, as McCartney remembers:

> "I watched the Shadows backing Cliff Richard one night. I'd heard them play very clever introduction to 'Move It' on the record, but could never work out how they did it. Then I saw them do it on TV. I rushed out of the house straight away. It gave us a little bit of flash to start off our numbers. I also got some good chords from listening to 'Blue Moon." (Davis 1996, 57.)

The few radio and TV programs that played popular music were listened to with dedication.

Merseybeat

Most of the young musicians started off by playing skiffle in the 1950's. As soon as they had money for more expensive instruments the style was replaced by rock'n'roll and beat music. When the music of Elvis Presley and Chuck Berry spread to Liverpool it created another band boom. The old dancing halls, which used to have jazz combos, started to turn into beat clubs, because the younger generation would otherwise not attend. At first both jazz and rock'n'roll were played in the same venues, for instance, jazz was played as dance music and rock'n'roll during the intermission. (Leigh 1984, 30-32.) Rock groups have remained an essential part of Liverpool's culture and identity since the 1950's (Cohen 1991, 1).

The new beat style in Liverpool was named Merseybeat.[16] It was a typical Liverpudlian style that started to develop in 1959, flourishing in 1961 and reaching its peak in 1963. The legend of Liverpool as the 'Beat City' started in that year through a BBC documentary 'The Sound of the City', after which Merseybeat started to gain national attention (May&Phillips 1974, 6).

The style was given the same name as the newspaper, Mersey Beat, founded in June 1961. The name was conceived by the paper's founder Bill Harry after the river that flows through Liverpool, which has always been of great importance in the lives of Liverpudlians. Harry was a fellow student of John Lennon at Art School, and so was involved with the Beatles. Although the paper was supposed to deal with jazz, he preferred to write about beat music. (Leigh 1984, 49.) The first issue of Mersey Beat ran to 5000 copies, it was published every fortnight (Harry 1977, 6).

The newspaper influenced the development and popularity of Merseybeat. It reported the latest news on local musicians and gigs, and consolidated the already strong musical scene in Liverpool. In addition, musicians themselves, including John Lennon, wrote for Mersey Beat (Harry 1977, 6).[17] Brian Epstein also contributed record reviews (Leigh 1984, 49).

The main influences on Merseybeat came from rock'n'roll stars, such as Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, Everly Brothers, Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Carl Perkins and Roy Orbison; black vocal groups Shirelles, Coasters, Drifters and Miracles; country&western singer Hank Williams and from skiffle (May&Phillips 1974, 5-6). In addition films such as *Rock Around the Clock*, *Jailhouse Rock*, TV-shows, (*Perry Como*) and the tours of the American rock'n'roll stars, provided models and inspiration for those wishing to play. Most of the groups wrote very little material of their own, and the Merseybeat standards were covers, such as *Money*, *Twist and Shout*, *Love Potion no. 9* and *The Hippy Hippy Shake* (May&Phillips 1974, 5). Most groups played their own arrangements of the standard repertoire.

The gigs primarily took place in clubs, most important of which was the Cavern in central Liverpool. Other important clubs were the Jacaranda and Blue Angel Clubs, owned by Alan Williams, and the Casbah club, which was

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[16] Note the difference between 'Merseybeat', referring to the style, as opposed to 'Mersey Beat', referring to the newspaper. See also Heinonen pp. XX-XX in this book.

[17] The first issue of Mersey Beat included Lennon's column: "Being a Short Diversion on the Dubious Origins of Beatles - Translated from the John Lennon" (Harry 1977, 17).

organised by Mona Best. Other venues outside the town included congregation halls, dance halls, social clubs, town halls etc. Music was played at the lunch sessions as well as at night. (Leigh 1984, 109.)

An important musical feature of Merseybeat was the drumbeat, with the bass drum stroke on every fourth beat (Leigh 1984, 39; Davies 1974, 144). The volume as well as the image of Merseybeat has been described as 'harder' than, for example, Manchester music. The stereotype of the whole style including its performance image was primitive, individualistic, harsh, combative and aggressive. These adjectives are also often related to the music. They do, however, relate more to the people than music. Therefore it has even been said that Merseybeat was more like an attitude rather than a sound. In subchapter 'Musical Background of Liverpool' humour was presented as one of the typical features of the stereotypical Liverpudlian. That is related to the hard life, as Cynthia Lennon has said (Somach, Somach, Gunn 1989, 160): "They say to live in Liverpool you must have a sense of humour – it's born in you. You have to, to exist and survive there, because it's a very tough place to live."

There is also another side to this story. Gerry Marsden (from Gerry and the Pacemakers) raises another typical feature of the Mersey Sound (1989, 46):

> "It was all nice and light, with not too many messages. Even the slow ballads were pleasant, no moaning, all nice romantic things. We've always been a bit romantic in Liverpool. To come from Liverpool – you've got to be a comedian or a romantic."

The romantic attitude is present in the music of many Mersey Beat bands and it broadens the image of Liverpudlians and makes it more real.[18] Romanticism is a large part of teenage music. Rock'n'roll surely gave the possibility to express aggressiveness but one should not forget that many ballads were also played.

Contrary to the previous history of popular music in Britain, this was the first time that a particular style was identified so strongly with one particular town. Liverpool, hitherto regarded as having produced nothing of cultural interest, provided quite a surprise with this sudden explosion of musical talent.

[18] This observation is based on listening music.

formation of the Beatles

In early 1957 John Winston Lennon formed his first skiffle band, The *Quarry Men*, with Pete Shotton.[19] Other members came and went. In the July of the same year, Lennon met Paul McCartney, who was accepted into the band a short time later. (Leigh 1984, 12-14.) In March 1958, McCartney introduced a 15-year old guitarist George Harrison to Lennon. He joined the band – however in the beginning of 1959 he played in other bands as well. (Lewisohn 1992, 12-14.)

Even though the Quarry Men started as a skiffle band it was rock'n'roll that had a strong affect on the young lads. They were exited, thrilled and they wanted to learn every song. John, Paul and George listened to the songs, noted down the words and chords, and sometimes added them to their act. (Miles 1997 26 & 47.) It was an influence that changed it all. John Lennon was especially influenced by the King of rock'n'roll:

> "One day in 1956, his mother played an Elvis Presley record for him on the gramophone. The music made him feel as if he had never gotten out of bed before. It was a new start. It was emancipation. He heard not so much a singer on the gramophone as a disembodied voice gliding through the air on a magic carpet woven of teenage secrets. It made him take flight as the music of the dwarves makes Tolkien's Bilbo Baggins suddenly want to trade in his walking stick for a sword. Lennon had of course heard rock'n'roll before, but it was rock'n'roll by Elvis that took him over" (O'Donnell 1996, 43)

They shifted from skiffle to rock'n'roll as soon as they could afford better instruments. This occurred soon after July 1957, around the time when McCartney joined the band. Even though it was an important factor for the development of their musical interests, the skiffle period was quite short in the history of Quarry Men. Most of the songs they played were soon rock'n'roll standards. (Lewisohn 1992, 13.) As a horror to their parents they had become teddy boys. However, their repertoire varied depending on the occasion, in 1957 they advertised Quarry Men on their business card as a band playing country, western, rock'n'roll and skiffle (O'Donnell 1996, 46).

During 1958-59, the gigs of The Quarry Men were few and far between. They auditioned a couple of times without success. Allan Williams, their promoter from 1960-61, organised their first tour of Scotland, backing up

[19] For more detailed history of the history of the band and the name "the Beatles" see Heinonen p. XX in this book.

Johnny Gentle. At that time, the band was called *the Silver Beetles* .[20] (Lewisohn 1992, 19.) After couple of months and drummers Pete Best joined the group in August 1960. His mother Mona owned Casbah Club, where they began a residency. Alan Williams owned Cafe Jacaranda where they also played on Mondays, and they even played for one week in a strip club also owned by Williams. Through his contacts in strip clubs Williams was able to book Liverpudlian bands to play in Red Light district in Hamburg, Germany. The Beatles played there in five separate occasions during 1960-62. (Lewisohn 1992, 86; Leigh 1984, 36.)

A crucial point in their growth of popularity is said to have been a gig in Litherland Town Hall in December 27th 1960, after the first trip to Hamburg. They were advertised as a group "straight from Hamburg", which mislead the people to think that they were a German band. They had a tough image and the music was described as raw and brutal (Leigh 1984, 38-39), in increasing contrast to the prevailing style in Britain at that time as typified in the neat, restrained style of the Shadows. However, Merseybeat was the dominant style in Liverpool and The Beatles came to represent it. The change in their style towards more aggressive playing is said to have started in Germany. John Lennon himself stated that:

> "It was Hamburg that had done it [...] That's where we'd really developed. To get the Germans going and keep it up for twelve hours at the time, we'd really had to hammer. We would never have developed as much if we'd stayed home. We had to try anything that came into our heads in Hamburg. There was nobody to copy from. We played what we liked best. And Germans liked it, as long as it was loud.
>
> But it was only back in Liverpool that we realized the difference and was what had happened. Everyone else saw playing Cliff Richard shit." (Davies 1996, 93.)

In December 1961, The Beatles signed their first contract with manager Brian Epstein, who was determined to help the band on their path to success. He owned a NEMS record store, which provided him with suitable contacts and colleagues in the music business. This turned out to be crucial since Liverpool had no music industry of its own. Epstein was able to organise an audition for Decca records in January 1962, which did not prove very successful. They also tried several other record companies but were rejected.

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[20] The trip was not a great success for the Silver Beetles and they were rather happy to return home, nevertheless, it was good experience for them. The drummer at the time was Tommy Moore, with Stu Sutcliffe on the bass. (Lewisohn 1992, 19.)

However, persistent Epstein arranged an audition with EMI/Parlophone, whose producer was George Martin. Parlophone's reputation at that time was based mainly on light classical music and popular comedy releases such as those of Peter Sellers. However, Martin had decided to let the Beatles record and so the first contract was signed. (Leigh 1984, 60; Harry 1992, 224-229.)

At the same time the drummer Pete Best was let go from the band.[21] The boys knew a drummer called Richard Starkey who played in another Liverpudlian band called Rory Storm and the Hurricanes. Lennon and McCartney simply went to ask him if he would like to join the band. He agreed. From 1962 they enjoyed increasing success, and with the explosion of Beatlemania in 1963, there was no turning back.

The members of the Beatles were the first fully professional Liverpudlian popular musicians with no other occupations, and who became nationally, and later internationally, successful. It inspired hope in other musicians, and hundreds of new bands spawned in Liverpool. (Braun 1964, 58.)

the Beatles and the Merseybeat

The Beatles emerged simultaneously with Merseybeat. The 275 performances and over 800 hours they played in Hamburg influenced their individual style, sound and cohesive group playing. John McNally from the Searchers has described their sound using Phil Spector's concept of "a wall of sound". This was before effective PA systems were invented. They played rock'n'roll but with Liverpool accent. (Leigh 1984, 39.)

Why the music of the Beatles was said to be louder than that of other bands? There was no difference in the PA systems, so how is it possible that they played louder than others? There are at least two possible explanations. They were not afraid to raise the volume controls. When the volume was turned up this produced other changes that made them sound different to others. In addition, the reason why they started to play loudly was because of

[21] For many years there has been frequent speculation over the reasons for this. One of the suggested explanations was that George Martin was not satisfied with his drumming skills (Davies 1996, 138), or that Lennon, McCartney and Harrison were going to let him go anyway and Martin's reaction was just the last straw (Leigh 1984, 62). It has also been said that Best was too good looking, or that there had been a disagreement with Mona Best about the band's management, which she wanted to take over (Leigh 1984, 63; Harry 1992, 94).

the high noise level in the Hamburg clubs, with audiences of sailors and prostitutes, amongst others, who liked loud music. In spring 1961 Sutcliffe resigned from the band and McCartney took over on the bass. It was the first time they had both a good drummer and a bass player. (Leigh 1984, 38, 47; Lewisohn 1992, 86; Miles 1998, 4.)

The Beatles often used vocal harmonies in their music. McCartney had a history of playing and singing with his brother and father.[22] His first public performance was in August 1957 duetting with his brother Michael in a talent competition, where they sang Everly Brothers' 'Bye Bye Love' as the McCartney Brothers (Miles 1997, 29). The backing vocals of doo wop style (e.g. the Drifters, Platters, Silhouettes), and the harmony singing of the Everly Brothers in the end of the 1950's seems to have been one of their first influences. In the arrangements of the Beatles, McCartney often sang the harmonies to the songs from the very beginning of their musical careers. The Quarry Men made their first demonstration record in mid-1958, Lennon sang lead on both sides of this two-sided shellac disk.[23] The topside was Buddy Holly's 'That'll Be The Day', but on the other side was a Harrison-McCartney song, 'In Spite Of All Danger', sung in late 1950's doo-wop style. (Lewisohn 1996, 13.)

In the beginning of the 1960s the doo wop singing style was adopted by the girl-groups and Motown groups that had become popular. (Miles 1997, 23-24.) Those were popular among the Beatles, as well, and it reinforced singing in harmonies. McCartney himself says:

> "We used to steel consciously particularly from American black acts like the Marvellettes and after a bit. Something you love, something you're passionate about, is always a great starting point." (Miles 1997,92.)

They made six girl-group and Motown covers during 1962-63 – 'Chains' (performed by "The Cookies" in 1962), 'Boys' (performed by "The Shirelles" in 1962), 'Please Mister Postman' (performed by "The Marvellettes" in 1961), 'You Really Got A Hold On Me' (performed by "Smokey Robinson and The Miracles" in 1962), 'Devil In Her Heart' (performed by "The Donays" in 1962), and 'Money' (written by Bradford & Gordy). Furthermore, 'Ask Me Why' has

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[22] See "Musical Background of Liverpool", p. xx.

[23] The musicians were John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and John Lowe, Colin Hanton did not participate. It was recorded in the back room of a house at 53 Kensington (Lewisohn 1996, 13.)

been said to be inspired by Smokey Robinson and the Miracles – one of their favourite Motown groups, and 'P.S. I Love You' as being written in the style of The Shirelles – one of their favourite girl-groups. (Miles 1997, 92.) In the BBC's radio show "Saturday Club" and "Here We Go" McCartney sang songs like The Coasters 'Searchin', Lennon and McCartney duetted on Everly Brothers 'So How Come (No One Loves Me)', and all three of them sang the Coasters' 'Three Cool Cats'. Over all the Beatles seemed to be interested in pop music and hits than the black American blues tradition, which led bands like Rolling Stones, Yardbirds and Who. (Riley 1988, 39.)

The main question, however, is what actually was the influence of the Beatles upon Merseybeat? It has even been said that the Beatles created Merseybeat. Yet it has to be remembered that there were hundreds of beat groups in Liverpool simultaneously. Hamburg seems to have been an important factor in the development of the sound. Many Liverpudlian bands were playing there, e.g. Rory Storm and the Hurricanes, Derry and the Seniors, Kingsize Taylor and the Dominoes and Swinging Blue Jeans (Leigh 1984, 36). They have also influenced Merseybeat. The fact is that Williams was requiting Liverpudlian bands to Hamburg and he chose the Beatles simply because no other bands were available at the time. (Lewisohn 1992, 21.)

The Beatles is remembered above all because they were the first full time rock musicians from Liverpool to gain national and international success. This helped to put Liverpool on the map as a place of musical importance in Britain; yet Leigh (1984, 71) states that "Liverpool would have become a focal point for the music industry even if the Beatles had emigrated to Australia in 1961". Gerry Marsden confirms:

> "I don't think it could have happened anywhere because there were so many bands in and around Liverpool. I don't think there were as many bands in London, Birmingham, or Newcastle. So when we made the records and came out, there were lots of bands to follow. So I think that the reason was there were loads of bands playing in Liverpool." (Somach, Somach, Gunn 1989, 46)

The beat movement in Liverpool was strong.

LOCALITY AND IDENTITY – SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

It is common to link musical styles, instruments, sounds, characteristics and stereotypes with places (Cohen 1994, 121). Merseybeat was acknowledged in Liverpool. The recognition itself represents a symbolic desire to nurture difference and local identity. The factors involved with the connections between Liverpool, Merseybeat and the Beatles were presented in Figure 1. They are either social (people) or economic-political (society, history, music industry), which are generally reflected in local identity (Cohen 1994, 117).

unemployment

After the Second World War life in Liverpool was tough, it was a poor area with a high unemployment. This is by no means a minor or incidental factor in the city's musical life. When studying the rock scene in Liverpool in the 1980's Cohen (1991) noticed, that the number of bands increased rapidly at the time of high unemployment rate. In the 1980's Liverpool was shuck by a similar wave of unemployment than in the 1950's. Ironically, though for clear logical reasons, this was musically enriching. Playing in a group gives social pleasure, enabling one to maintain relationships with other people, spend time and be creative. It also gives hope that there is always a chance to succeed and gain social and economic benefits. (Cohen 1991, 2-3.) Unemployment in the 1950's did not affect members of the Beatles directly, since they were at school at that time, and they moved directly into their professional musician careers. Significant consequences, however, were seen and heard in Liverpool, where the Beatles lived, in the form of 1950's skiffle and 1960's Merseybeat booms and the city's intense musical life.

music politics and geographical location of Liverpool

The music industry at that time was mainly centred in London, which controlled political and economic power. In order for a regional band to make it to the top groups had to be able to convince the business moguls in capital.

This was not an easy task. Liverpool was considered to be a marginal town and the Beatles faced many problems in their early days. Liverpool was just not taken seriously. The move to London was problematic for the whole group. Paul McCartney described the situation:

> "I had this strange entrance into London, coming from Liverpool where everyone had said, 'You'll never make it, coming from Liverpool'. Which had angered us a bit, so we stayed up in Liverpool a lot. We didn't just all move down to London, we tried to prove ourselves from Liverpool. Hamburg, Liverpool, the north - you know, 'Fuck you!' And we had our original success up in the Cavern. But this got us national success and then came the inevitable move to London. (Miles 1997, 97.)

Magazines did not want to write stories about Liverpudlian bands because the town and its music were considered off-centre.

Brian Epstein, their manager, encountered his share of scepticism: "You'll never make it, from the provinces. Move down to London and you'll really get moving." (Braun 1964, 31.) He and promoter Alan Williams, had to pull a lot of strings just to get the Beatles into auditions and tours. Later, after the second single when the Beatles were recording *Please Please Me* in 1962, the producer George Martin introduced the band to his friend, music publisher Dick James. The initial reaction was: "Liverpool? ... You're joking. So what's from Liverpool?" (Davies 1996, 166). The Beatles' early career was therefore somewhat unstable, however, the attitude of the music industry changed dramatically following their success. This can be seen as the record companies sent talent scouts in search of new acts particularly in Liverpool (May & Phillips 1974, 6).

At the same time there was a need to emphasise the contrast between the various geographical locations. It has been pointed out several times that the Liverpudlians were "different", mainly in relation to Londoners (since it was the centre of the just about everything in Britain at that time), and Manchester (due to its proximity to Liverpool). The Liverpudlians themselves emphasised a distinctive identity (Cohen 1991, 1994; Leigh 1984). Thus, Merseybeat was not the sole factor that made Liverpool different. Its characteristic identity already existed and Merseybeat was a timely phenomenon to strengthen it. In all probability, it was the strong pre-existing identity helped to nurture the style.

In the case of the Beatles there is another influencing factor. Playing in Hamburg on five separate occasions, they naturally spent a lot of time in Germany. There are interesting connections between Liverpool and

Hamburg. Both are towns in which the port plays a major role. There were a lot of foreigners and sailors and both towns are characterised by tough and harsh lifestyles. Both climates are wet and windy, since they are located by the sea, and on almost the same latitudes. They both have nasal accents, even though the languages are different.[24] Hamburg hardly created new identities for the lads but; rather, it reinforced certain pre-existing features of their own Liverpudlian identity. Hamburg was twice as big and harsh as Liverpool. The trips to there from 1960-62 gave important experiences to the band.

> "The atmosphere in Hamburg was electric, and it was pretty rough. The Reeperbahn was a very rough area of Hamburg. The people that John and the Beatles had to play to were mostly drunks. There were a lot of fights. There was a tremendous atmosphere.
>
> But they learned their trade and their skills there. They learned how to project themselves across. They didn't have time to be smart. They just had to get in there. It was raw rock'n'roll. They got years of good experience there." (Cynthia Lennon in Somach, Somach, Gunn 1989, 163-4)

Their playing, especially their sound was shaped from having to play loudly in noisy clubs. Furthermore, they played together for hundreds of hours, which dramatically improved the group's cohesion.

MERSEYBEAT – MUSICAL STYLE OR ATTITUDE

On the basis of the proceeding text one may ask what Merseybeat actually was? How it could be defined as a style? It seems, as there are only few musical features identifiable as typical to this style. Sound is the most important of them. The loudness was related to the playing style of the Beatles, which they adopted in Hamburg, but also in the Cavern club, a "cave", the number one club in Liverpool. There the bands had to play loud because it reduced the huge echo of the venue. Other features are relatively difficult to identify. Musically Merseybeat was not a unique phenomenon. The songs were mainly the same rock'n'roll standards played by various other

[24] Heinonen's (1998) study of a band called Dingo indicated a similar relationship between the unemployment rate and a band boom in Pori, Finland, during the 1980's. An interesting point is that Pori is also a town located by the sea and a harbour has been a major employer there.

groups. In her report Cohen tested Liverpudlians ability to differentiate Liverpudlian bands from others. They claimed to be able to do it, but consistent characteristics could not be identified (Cohen 1991, 14). Nonetheless, Merseybeat existed. It was essential and significant to the locals as part of their local identity that differentiated them from others.

The same thought has been confirmed by members of the Beatles. George Harrison stated in 1963:

> "we don't like to call it anything but the critics, you know, the people who write about it, you know, they have to call it something so, they didn't want to say it was rock'n'roll because rock is supposed to have gone out about five years ago, so they decided, it wasn't really rhythm and blues, so they decided to call it Liverpool, the Liverpool sound, which is, you know, it is stupid really because as far as we were concerned it was just, you know, the same as the rock from five years ago. Oh, it's more like the old rock, it's just, you know, everything is bit louder and more bass and bass drum. And everybody sort of sings louder and shouts louder, that's it. All the records now everybody's sort of making records in that style". (Giuliano 1995.)

During the course of this study some aspects of the Liverpudlian identity, Merseybeat and the Beatles emerged. During the 1950's Liverpool already had a strong identity. The Merseybeat style was clearly a local phenomenon, which reflected and reinforced that identity. The Beatles represented Merseybeat, later becoming its public icon. Many factors influenced the beginning of the Merseybeat, and the identity, formation and development of the Beatles. The most important of these were the lively and active musical scene in Liverpool, particular individuals, such as Epstein and Williams, that had helped the lads to start their careers, the Mersey Beat newspaper, Cavern club and the trips to Hamburg.

While Merseybeat did not decisively renew the music, it reinforced the local identity. Merseybeat influenced the Beatles and later the band in turn influenced the style. One must be bare in mind, however, that there were several other bands influencing the scene at the same time. Furthermore, an extensive social youth movement underpinned the birth of the style. The study indicates that the local identity expressed through Merseybeat was more of a social, and even economic and political phenomenon rather than a musical one, even though it was both.[25] In addition Cohen states that the Liverpool Sound, "does reflect the desire to *symbolically* assert difference and a sense of local identity" (1994, 129). I raise the question, then, of

[25] An idea for future study could be to extend the study of Merseybeat to music analysis in order so study the musical features and differences in detail.

whether Merseybeat would have occurred at all without the prior existence of a strong local identity.

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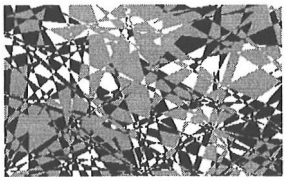

BEATLES 2000

A MAN ON A FLAMING PIE
The Dubious Origin of the Beatles Revisited

Yrjö Heinonen

Why to call the group the Beatles? How did they think of such a curious name? These were questions the Beatles were frequently asked during their early days. Actually, it was only in 1963 when "Britain's adults became aware that 'Beatles' was not a misprint" (Braun 1995, 10). The next year the rest of the world was to follow. A decisive step in the Beatles' progress had already taken place in 1961 when Brian Epstein, a local record retailer, became involved with so curiously named group. In 1964, after the phenomenal success of the group, he remembered this step as follows:

> "The name 'Beatle' meant nothing to me though I vaguely recalled seeing it on a poster advertising a university dance at New Brighton Tower and I remembered thinking it was an odd and purposeless spelling.
>
> Raymond Jones was one of any average dozen customers who called in daily for unknown discs and there seems now no valid reason why, beyond my moral efforts to satisfy a customer, I should have gone to such lengths to trace

> the actual r[e]cording artistes. But I did and I wonder sometimes whether there is not something mystically magnetic about the name 'Beatle'?
>
> Now they are world famous, the Beatles defy analysis as to the specific ingredients of their success but I do wonder whether they would have been quite as big if they had [< 41/42 >] been called, for example, The Liverpool Four or something equally prosaic." (Epstein: noise, 41-42.)

Just three months earlier the *Mersey Beat* newspaper had published a "biography" of the Beatles, "translated from the John Lennon" by Bill Harry, editor of the newspaper. The title of the "biography", coined by Bill Harry, was "Being a Short Diversion on the Dubious Origin of the Beatles".

> "Many people ask what are Beatles. Why Beatles? Uh, Beatles, how did the name arrive. So we will tell you. It came in a vision – a man appeared on a flaming pie and said unto them 'From this day on you are Beatles with an a'. Thank you, Mister Man, they said, thanking him." (Quoted from Davies 1992, 174.)

I do not try to analyze here how much the name Beatles contributed to the phenomenal success of the group. Rather, I try to explore how (and why) the name Beatles came into being. I begin my exploration with a "short diversion" on the foundation of the Beatles.

FROM BLACK JACKS TO BEATLES

It may be said that the story of the Beatles began in March 1957, when John Lennon formed a skiffle group, first called the Black Jacks.[1] The group was soon re-named as the Quarry Men, after the line "Quarry Men, strong before our birth" in the school song of the Quarry Back High School for Boys. The members of the group came and went. On Saturday 6 July 1957, Paul McCartney attended the Quarry Men's performance at the summer fête of St Peter's Parish Church in Woolton, Liverpool. Some two weeks later he was asked to join the group. During the same summer, 15-years-old George Harrison formed another skiffle group, called the Rebels. This group performed only once, at the British Legion Club in Speke, Liverpool. The line-up of the Quarry Men was still undergoing constant change and Harrison joined early in 1958.

[1] This chronicle is based on Lewisohn (1995).

By late 1958 and early 1959 the bookings dried up and the group was drifting aimlessly. Former drummer Colin Hanton left the group, which was to remain without a permanent drummer until Pete Best joined them in August 1960. The Quarry Men had their brief swan song during the Autumn 1959. They played at the Casbah Coffee Club, owned by Mona Best, every Saturday night from 29 August until early October. The line-up was four guitars: Lennon, McCartney, Harrison, and Ken Brown – a temporary member of the group. In early October, there was a disagreement with Brown, following which the Quarry Men disbanded. In October and November 1959 Lennon, McCartney, and Harrison attended the Carroll Levis talent competitions as a trio, now re-christened Johnny & the Moondogs. Preliminary qualification rounds and the local finals took place in Liverpool and the final round was held in Manchester. Johnny & the Moondogs were qualified for the finals but failed to win.

In January 1960, Stuart Sutcliffe joined the group as bassist. On Tuesday 10 May, impresario Larry Parnes arranged an audition because he needed backing groups for the solo singers of his stable. The former Quarry Men attended the audition, now calling themselves the Silver Beetles. Next Saturday (14 May) they performed as the Silver Beats at Lathom Hall, Liverpool. On Friday 20 May they began their first professional tour as the backing group for Johnny Gentle. However, in the advertisement of the Northern Meeting Ballroom, Inverness, on Saturday 21 May, they were only introduced as Gentle's backing group. The exact words in the advertisement were "another TV and Decca Recording Star, JOHNNY GENTLE and his Group". The group remained as the Silver Beetles until early July, when the second 'E' of the Beetles was replaced by an 'A'; thus, the Silver Beatles. In mid-August 1960 drummer Pete Best joined, the group went to Hamburg for three and a half months – and dropped the word 'Silver' from their name. From now on they were simply known as the Beatles.

EXISTING THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME BEATLES

Many theories have been presented to explain the origin of the name Beatles. The variety of them can, however, be reduced to only a few basic stories (the rest being variants of the basic versions). Here I distinguish between three basic theories, which I call the traditional version, the prevailing version, and a recent version.

traditional theory

According to the traditional theory, first presented by the Beatles themselves, the name was thought up by Lennon, as a pun on 'Beetles' – a tongue-in-cheek tribute to Buddy Holly & the Crickets – and 'beat music'. This is also the theory presented in the only authorized biography of the Beatles, written by Hunter Davies:

> "This [late 1959] is when the idea of calling themselves the Beatles came up for the first time. No one is definitely sure how it happened. Paul and George just remember John arriving with it one day.
>
> They'd always been fans of Buddy Holly and the Crickets. They liked his music; and the name of his group. It had a nice double meaning, one of them a purely English meaning which Americans couldn't have appreciated. They wished they'd thought of calling themselves the Crickets.
>
> Thinking of the name Crickets, John thought of other insects with a name which could be played around with. He'd filled books as a child with similar word play. 'The idea of beetles came into my head. I decided to spell it BEAtles to make it look like beat music, just as a joke.'
>
> That was the real and simple origin of their name, though for years afterwards they made up different daft reasons each time anyone asked them." (Davies 1992, 135.)

Supporting evidence may be found from several press conference and interview statements, given by the members of the Beatles during 1963-65 (cf. Giuliano & Giuliano1995). The following one was given by Paul McCartney, probably in late 1963:

> "John thought it first at all; it's just a name, just for a group. We just didn't have any name ... oh yeah, we did have a name – we had about ten of them during a week. We didn't like these ideas, we had to set one month for a particular name ... and John came up with the name 'Beatles' one night. He sort of explained, 'It's spelled with an 'A' – oh yeah, it's a joke'." (Giuliano 1995.)

This statement supports that Lennon conceived the name as a pun on beetles, spelled with an 'A'. Neither 'crickets' nor 'beat' are mentioned. Obviously all members of the group made suggestions, although it was Lennon who eventually came up with the 'Beatles'.

prevailing theory

According to a rivalling theory, it was Stuart Sutcliffe – not Lennon – who came up with the name Beetles. To my knowledge, the earliest source to suggest this opinion is Michael Braun's *Love Me Do*, first published in 1964. To quote Braun:

> "I also talked with the owner, Beryl Williams, a Chinese woman, who showed me the murals of Merseyside in the basement. They had been painted by Stuart Sutcliffe who had played guitar with the Beatles until he died of leukaemia at the age of twenty-two. It was Sutcliffe who, in bed one night, had thought of the name for the group. They had been called the Quarrymen, after a local school, and also Johnny and the Moondogs. Buddy Holly and the Crickets were popular at the time and they wanted an animal name. Sutcliffe thought of Beetles, and John, unable to leave a word alone, changed it to Beatles." (Braun 1996, 57-58.)

This version is presented, for example, in *Shout: the Beatles in Their Generation* by Philip Norman (1981). Most books published during the 1980s and early 1990s paraphrase this theory. It is further supported by a sketch for a letter, written by Sutcliffe who obviously intended to be sent to an unidentified impresario. In this sketch the name of the group is spelled 'Beatals'.[2]

There are, however, at least two problems with this sketch, one being that the exact writing date of the sketch is not known. According to Lewisohn (1995, 18), the letter was drafted in early 1960. Indeed, the "vital changeover from Quarry Men to Beatals" (Lewisohn 1995, 18) implies late 1959 or early 1960 since the name Quarry Men was rejected in October 1959. This is supported by Davies (1992, 135), according to whom it was "later in 1959" when the group "started seriously trying to think of what to call themselves, just as they'd done for the Carroll Levis audition". Indeed, Sutcliffe's words that they "have won many competitions including Carroll Levis" reveals that, in any case, the draft was written after October 1959 when the group – then

[2] A facsimile of this letter is included in Lewisohn (1995).

called Johnny & the Moondogs – passed both the preliminary qualification rounds and the local finals of the Carroll Levis talent competitions. Bill Harry (1992, 68) mentions that the group was called the Beatals as early as in January 1960.

There is, however, another equally plausible date. The pressure for changing the name may have been due to the audition for Larry Parnes in early May 1960. The course of events leading to this audition was as follows. In March 1960, Larry Parnes promoted a pop package show at the Liverpool Empire, with Eddie Cochran and Gene Vincent topping the bill. The show was an enormous success and Allan Williams was later to tell that he "could smell money...lots of it".[3] After the show, Williams contacted Parnes and they decided to arrange a joint Parnes-Williams one-night show on 3 May at Liverpool Stadium, again featuring Cochran and Vincent. This plan was changed due to a tragic accident – on 17 April, Cochran was killed in a road crash outside of Chippenham, Wiltshire. In spite of this, the show was not cancelled. Gene Vincent topped the bill and other performers included artists from Parnes's stable as well as several local acts.[4] Although the drummerless – and possibly nameless – group of Lennon, McCartney, Harrison, and Sutcliffe were not invited to play, they still attended the performance. (Lewisohn 1995, 18.) After the Liverpool Stadium show of 3 May, Sutcliffe approached Williams and asked him to do something for his group. Williams advised them to find a drummer. He also arranged for them to audition for Parnes, who was now looking for a backing group for Billy Fury. (Harry 1992, 636-637; 694.) In light of this evidence there is a good reason to assume that the drafted letter was originally intended to be sent to Larry Parnes. If so, it would – with all probability – have been written between 3-10 May 1960.

The other problem with the sketch is that most writers have, uncritically, taken it as self-evident that the name was thought up by Sutcliffe. Nevertheless, from the fact that Sutcliffe wrote the name down as 'Beatals' does not necessarily follow that it was he who initially conceived it. This may have been so but there are also other – perhaps even more plausible –

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[3] Ian MacDonald (1995, 300) suggests that "The Quarry Men change[d] their name to The Beatals" in March 1960. However, he does not provide any supporting evidence.

[4] These local acts included Cass & the Cassanovas, Rory Storm & the Hurricanes, Gerry & the Pacemakers, Bob Evans & his Five Shillings, and Mal Perry & the Connaughts (Lewisohn 1995).

possibilities. One is that the name was actually invented by Lennon – as the traditional theory states – but written down by Sutcliffe. The person who invents something and the one who writes it down are not necessarily the same. Another matter is that the name 'Beatals' looks very odd. The 'Beatles' itself is, of course, puzzling enough but its origin is easily explained by its double meaning. 'Beatals', on the other hand, is only clumsy and does not mean anything, even as a pun. It simply does not make sense. Thus, it may be that the name of the group was never intended to be the Beatals.

Actually, it may very well be that it was Lennon who came up with the name 'Beatles' and Sutcliffe simply wrote it down (before this, Sutcliffe may have suggested 'beetles' to Lennon). What Lennon said next, may have been something like: "It's spelled with an 'A' – to make it look like beat music, just a joke". Sutcliffe then wrote the name down but misspelled it. This may easily have happened since the words 'Beetles', 'Beatles', and 'Beatals' are all pronounced the same.[5]

recent theory

Still another theory was presented by George Harrison in the early 1980s. In the introduction for the 1985 printing of his Beatles biography, Hunter Davies wrote as follows:

> "I learned the other day through Derek Taylor (formerly their press man) that George thinks it [the name Beatles] came from Marlon Brando's film, The Wild One. There is a group of motorcyclists in the film, all in black leather, called the Beetles, though they are only referred to as such in passing. Stu Sutcliffe saw this film, heard the remark, and came back and suggested it to John as the new name for their group. John said yeh, but we'll spell it Beatles, as we're a beat group. Well, that's the latest theory. No doubt, in the years to come, there will be many new suggestions." (Davies 1992, 58.)

In early 1990s, Paul McCartney took the trouble to check whether there were any beetles in The Wild One. There were. These beetles were "biker's molls" – that is, the girls in the motorcycle gang. Seeing the film convinced McCartney enough to subscribe this theory.

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[5] This has been confirmed by two natives, John Richardson (the proof reader of Beatlestudies 1) and Francis Kiernan (the proof reader of this volume). The pun in the name 'Beatles' is, indeed, based on the same pronunciation as in 'beetles' but different spelling.

This theory is not unproblematic either. To begin with, the motorcycle gang in *The Wild One* did not call themselves The Beetles but The Black Rebels. The beetles were, as Paul McCartney noticed, "biker's molls'. According to the *Dictionary of American Slang*, compiled and edited by Wentworth & Flexner (1960), the word 'beetle' refers simply to a girl. More specifically, the word 'beetle' to "an independent, ultramodern, somewhat tomboyish girl, typically one with a short hair style, a preference for wearing slacks, a good education, and an interest in jazz, bullfighting, and motorcycles" (Wentworth & Flexner 1960). The dictionary adds that a beetle is "close to the 'lost generation' and has contributed much to the 'beat generation'."

All this is, of course, in full agreement with the use of the word 'beetles' in *The Wild One.* It also fits perfectly to the well-known connection between the beat movement and the Beatles (especially Lennon and Sutcliffe). There is, however, one fact that makes this theory at least suspicious. Bill Harry (1992, 68-69) has put it bluntly:

> "George Harrison's assumption that the name might have been inspired by a motorcycle gang called the Beetles in the film The Wild One is wrong; the film was barred from British screens until the late sixties and they couldn't possibly have seen the film at the time of their name change."

Harry's claim is supported by *The Motion Picture Guide 1927-84* (Nash & Ross 1987), according to which the film "was banned in England for 14 years for fear that would it incite British teenagers to riot". Accordingly, the film was not presented in England until 1968 – which, somewhat ironically, was the year of violent riots both in Europe and America.

One should bear in mind, however, that the fact that the film was banned in England until 1968 does not necessarily imply that Lennon and Sutcliffe could not have seen it in 1960. Liverpool was a prominent seaport and seamen imported different sorts of goods – legally as well as illegally – from America and other countries. According to one Beatle myth, which also has been denied by Harry, the members of the Quarry Men purchased early rock 'n' roll records directly from the Cunard Line ships (whether true or not, this is not a matter for this article). In any case, it seems possible that copies of *The Wild One* were brought illegally into Liverpool as well as other British cities. In the case that Lennon and Sutcliffe did not see the film, they – and the other members of the group – surely heard about it from the newspapers and radio.

There is, however, still another possibility, which – if true – falsifies the theory of *The Wild One* as the source of inspiration altogether: Lennon and Sutcliffe may very well have seen the film in Hamburg. The Beatles left from Liverpool to Hamburg in August 1960 and came back in the November of the same year. It was during this first visit when they underwent a profound change of image. When they left, they were like teddy boys. When they came back, they were dressed in black leather (as were the motorcyclists in *The Wild One*). This change of image was inspired by a clique of German existentialist art students – most notably Astrid Kirchherr, Klaus Voorman, and Jürgen Vollmer. To quote McCartney:

> "There was Klaus and Jürgen and Astrid, who were like the gang, and they used to have a couple of other mates of theirs who were from art school. They used to hang around the club, and got to like our band particularly because we were sort of different, too, from all the other groups. We were bit more into the black leather and black polo sweaters. It was a different look at that time, like new wave or punk later. Astrid and her friends were great. They were like a different race of people because they dressed very differently. They dressed in all the black leather and black polo necks, and she had blonde, short-cut hair. She looked really great." (Coleman 1985, 106.)

That Kircherr's clique indeed was the inspiration for the new image, has been confirmed by Kirchherr herself:

> "They'd never seen anything like the way we looked. [...] The Beatles were dressed like teddy boys, with these very, very pointed shoes which we in Hamburg had never seen before. We were fascinated with those, just like they were with our things. [...] And their very tight trousers and little tiny grey [gray] jackets. They didn't have many clothes, of course. And their hair was combed back with sideburns, like teddy boys." (Coleman 1985, 106.)

If one compares the photographs from late 1959 to early 1961 (that is, from the Quarry Men at Casbah to their first come-back from Hamburg) one will be convinced that the change in their image – from teddy look to black leather – actually took place in Hamburg during the Autumn of 1960.

Indeed, the connection between the Beatles and *The Wild One* seems to fit much better to this picture – even discounting the film's ban – than to the Liverpool scene. I would like to suggest that the Beatles – or, at least Lennon and Sutcliffe – did in fact see the film in Hamburg and, quite probably, were amused by the association between their name and the beetles (girls) in the

film. It was only afterwards that George Harrison thought that the name Beatles was inspired by the film.[6]

Furthermore, let us not forget that Harrison also remembered incorrectly that the 'beetles' was the name of the motorcycle gang, whilst in fact referred to the girls in the gang. This is, of course, typical of the way autobiographical memory works, as will be described below. It is, nonetheless, crucial that the name of the motorcycle gang was the Black Rebels. What I think Harrison remembers correctly is that some group, which he was a member of during his teens, was named after a film dealing with young rebellion. What I think he remembers incorrectly is that the group was the Beatles and the film was *The Wild One.* I rather believe that the group was his own skiffle-group the Rebels, which, I assume, was named after the James Dean film *Rebel Without a Cause.* When saying that the Beatles was named after the beetles in *The Wild One*, Harrison simply mixed two groups and two films in his mind. This is highly understandable because both films concerned young rebellion.

SETTING

The following exploration is mainly anchored in the psychological realm (particularly in psycho-analysis and cognitive psychology), although relying on certain principles of historical research is necessary due to the nature of the topic. I begin by relating my approach to the two leading – and at least partly conflicting – contemporary paradigms in psychological research, namely the traditional paradigm (experimental research) and the "new paradigm" (qualitative research).

According to Erich Fromm, a psycho-analyst and member of the Frankfurt School, the methods traditionally used in natural and social sciences are based on the following four principles (Fromm 1980):

- the researcher does not start from scratch but is influenced by his or her previous knowledge on the research area in question,

[6] Some writers (Hertsgaard 1996, Miles 1998) have tried to combine the "prevailing" theory and the "recent" theory. However, these theories are true only to the extent the theories on which they are based are true.

- the researcher's basic assumptions are in line with widely accepted theories,

- optimal objectivity requires as critical and detailed study of the phenomenon as possible,

- the researcher is capable of changing his or her presuppositions if they are against the facts.

The first two principles are in sharp contradiction with the extreme side of the qualitative paradigm, especially with the basic principles of so-called grounded theory. According to these approaches, researchers "should (a) enter a research situation with no prior theoretical preconceptions, and (b) create, refine and revise theory in the light of further data collected" (Coolican 1991, 236). According to Patton's famous slogan, "The theory emerges from the data; it is not imposed on the data" (quoted from Coolican 1991, 236).

I think, however, that all researchers are inevitably armed by some preconceptions. Extreme efforts to avoid prior theoretical preconceptions lead only to the use of implicit theories (which, quite easily, involves nothing but common sense theorizing). This is partly due to the way we perceive the world – it is extremely difficult (if not impossible) to categorically distinguish between data and theory. To quote Coolican:

> "Facts are not data. [...] FACTS are DATA interpreted through THEORY. DATA are what we get through EMPIRICAL observation, where 'empirical' refers to information obtained through our senses. It is difficult to get raw data. We almost always interpret it immediately. [...] If we lie on the beach looking at the night sky and see a 'star' moving steadily we 'know' it's a satellite, but only because we have a lot of received astronomical knowledge, from our culture, in our heads." (Coolican 1991, 3-4.)

According to Fromm, it is important that the researcher can, in each stage of his or her study, take new information into account. This information may be contrary to his/her own basic assumptions and thus lead to refining and revision– *ad infinitum*. This is well in line with the qualitative approach:

> "Qualitative researchers go around the 'research cycle' several times. The researcher checks and re-checks the early assumptions and inferences made. As patterns and theories are developed, so the researcher goes back in again to gather more information which should confirm tentative hypotheses and/or help to further refine, deepen and clarify categories." (Coolican 1991, 237.)

The requirement of objectivity is much more complicated in this context. Qualitative research emphasizes the importance of the *meanings* of actions in a social context – not as isolated, "objective" units of behavior (Coolican 1991, 123). Psycho-analysis further emphasizes the autobiographical background of these meanings.

According to Fromm (1980), if one wishes to understand a person at all, this person must be understood in all his/her subjectiveness. This is extremely crucial if one wishes to understand the meanings of the actions or the words of the person in question. Each person has his or her own meanings for the words they use. The meaning given in a dictionary is only an abstraction compared to the subjective meanings intended by the speaker. Anyone who thinks that "the word 'word' is a word" communicates at a very abstract and imaginary level. A spoken word is a linguistic sign for a unique experience – not something to be reduced into the meaning given in a dictionary.

theoretical foundations

In *Beatlestudies 1*, I wrote (Heinonen & Eerola 1998, 8-9) that the main sources of inspiration for writing a song include professional pressures, aesthetic ambitions, and personal experiences. I also think that often the same requirements hold true in the naming a musical ensemble.

To begin with professional pressures: The Larry Parnes audition, referred to above, took place on 10 May 1960. Philip Norman (1981) has written: "One pressing requirement, before Larry Parnes saw them, was for a change of name. What they needed was something spry and catchy, like Buddy Holly's Crickets." A "spry and catchy" name was, indeed, what any rock 'n' roll or beat group who wished to be "rich and famous" needed at the time. The name should be marked by a clever conception, which, at the same time, would be capable of catching the interest or attention of impresarios, reporters, and, of course, the audience.

However, calling musical groups by catchy names is by no means self-evident. For example, during the 1930s and 1940s, the groups were named

simply by the band leaders.[7] There were solo singers – usually both a female and a male soloist – but their name was not necessarily mentioned in record labels or advertisements. During the 1950s, many rock 'n' roll singers (or band leaders) began to name their backing groups by clever names. Examples of this practice include Bill Haley & His Comets, Buddy Holly & the Crickets, Duane Eddy & the Rebels, Danny & the Juniors, Johnny & the Hurricanes, to name but a few. Actually, in the black doo-wop tradition, it had already been a habit to use a catchy group name without mentioning the name of the soloist or leader (if there was one) at all. Names in this category include, for example, the Ink Spots, the Chords, the Drifters, the Platters, the Penguins, the Moonglows, the Silhouettes, and the Rays.[8] So this is the context within which the professional pressures for having a "spry and catchy" name arose.

My starting point is not, however, to explain the name Beatles primarily by professional pressures. Rather, I desire to stress that when a group is naming themselves, they try to find a name they can easily identify with. The name should somehow reflect the distinguishing character of the group so that its members can conceive themselves as united (as in spirit, outlook, and so on) compared to others. In this sense, preferably, the name should reflect the common aesthetic ideals and ambitions as well as common personal experiences shared by the individual members of the group. In other words, the name should contribute to the group's identity.

With this in mind I assume that thinking of the name 'Beatles' – or any name – is similar to any creative act and can thus be explained by the same theoretical framework as, say, thinking of the idea of a song. On this basis, the theoretical background of this study is basically the same as the one I used in my analysis of 'Michelle', published in Beatlestudies 1 (Heinonen 1998), or in other similar case studies. This framework is based primarily on Sigmund

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[7] Glenn Miller & His Orchestra, Artie Shaw & His Orchestra, Benny Goodman & His Orchestra, Tommy Dorsey & His Orchestra, Harry James & His Orchestra, Duke Ellington & His Orchestra, Count Basie & His Orchestra, Woody Herman & His Orchestra, and so on.

[8] Actually, the 1950s practice came close to that of the traditional jazz (which was born in New Orleans and later developed in Chicago), where some of the most famous bands included the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, New Orleans Rhythm Kings, Clarence Williams's Blue Five, Russell's Hot Six, King Oliver & His Dixie Syncopators, Jelly Roll Morton's Red Hot Peppers, New Orleans Owls as well as Louis Armstrong & his Hot Five (+ Hot Seven). Coincidentally, in the 1910s Paul McCartney's father led a ragtime group called the Masked Melody Makers and, in the 1920s another group called Jim Mac's Jazz Band.

Freud's (1981) concept of creativity, Maynard Solomon's (1990) psycho-analytical view of biography, and Endel Tulving's (1983) theory of episodic memory. According to my previous work, getting an idea is related to some personal life-experiences. These life-experiences include roughly

- *a remote event* (or a complex of remote events), usually belonging to a person's childhood;
- a complex of *interpolated events* the person associates with the original complex of remote events; and
- *a recent event* (or a complex or recent events) the person associates with the original event and/or the interpolated events.

The recent event usually works as an immediate impulse for the creative work. It is, however, only tipping the iceberg in the sense that being provoked by it could not be possible without the more remote events. The term 'event' refers here to an emotionally significant situation where the person in question encounters something that he or she later associates – directly or indirectly – with the product of his or her own creative work. The associations are provoked mainly by perceivable similarity.

This article concerns names and naming – particularly names bearing double or multiple meanings. Regarding names and naming, similarity may concern either the literal expression – pronunciation and/or spelling – or the meaning of a name. The name 'Beatles' is similar to 'beetles' – in both cases the pronunciation is identical and the spelling differs only as to the second 'E' (substituted by an 'A' in 'Beatles'). The first syllable of the name 'Beatles' is, of course, identical with the word 'beat' – both with respect to the pronunciation and spelling. The resulting name – the Beatles – is, of course, a pun on 'beetles' and 'beat'. Lewis Carroll – the author of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* – had a specific word for this kind of puns; the term he used was *portmanteau*.[9] The term Freud used – and which is still used in Freudian psycho-analytic theory – is *condensation*. In this sense, the

[9] In chapter VI of *Through the Looking-Glass*, Humpty Dumpty explains the first verse of *Jabberwocky* to Alice. The term 'portmanteau' is first used when he explains the moniker 'slithy': "Well, '*slithy*' means 'lithe and slimy'. 'Lithe' is the same as 'active'. You see it's like a portmanteau – there are two meanings packed into one word." (Carroll 1977, 198) As anybody familiar with Lennon's way of thinking knows, Carroll's Alice books were his favorites since his childhood and from very early on he used to write his own "Jabberwockies".

name 'Beatles' is a condensation (*portmanteau*) of the words 'beetles' and 'beat'.

With respect to the similarity by meaning, the name 'Beatles' is similar to the name 'Crickets' in the sense that both names refer to an insect (although 'Beatles' is a deliberately misspelt insect name). The misspelling, on the other hand, is due to the word 'beat'. The name 'Beatles' is similar to the word 'beat' in the sense that both refer to a certain kind of music, rock 'n' roll, which was also called beat music. Freud assumed that one's mind does not produce condensations (or other products of regressive transformation) for nothing. It produces them for a good reason. This reason may be conscious but more often it is, at least partly, preconscious. In the case of the Beatles, the intertwined meanings of 'cricket', 'beetle', and 'beat' was obviously intended: the group was deliberately seeking for an insect name bearing a double meaning similar to the Crickets. However, the process through which they ended up with the name Beatles was, to my opinion, largely preconscious or even unconscious. In any case, the end product – the Beatles – was something they all could immediately identify with.

In light of this framework, most of the existing theories concerning the origin of the name Beatles succeed in relating a recent event – the pressure to invent a new name for the Larry Parnes audition – to a few intermediate events – encountering beat music (that is, rock 'n' roll), beat movement, Buddy Holly & the Crickets. What is missing is (1) the most immediate source of inspiration – the cue –, (2) the remote event belonging preferably to the childhood of the group members, and (3) the connection between the cue and the remote event.

method

the research cycle

Any scholarly method consists of certain stages, each containing certain operations. In experimental research the stages – at least ideally – follow each other in a fixed order, without overlapping or returning back to any previous stage. In qualitative research, as stated above, the research cycle is repeated as many times as is considered necessary or favorable. In this case, the research cycle consisted of the following stages: data collection,

absorption, analysis, relating, synthesizing, and reporting. During this study, the cycle was repeated several times, with constant overlaps and returns.[10]

When dealing with a topic like this, the researcher will inevitably begin with practically inexhaustible supply of various kinds of information (books, newspapers and magazines, audio and video recordings). He or she has no choice but to select only a small portion of the available documentation. Traditionally, historical materials consist of fragmentary by-products of everyday life (birth records, correspondence, financial accounts, contracts, and the like). Various kinds of narratives (such as chronicles, confessions, autobiographies, eyewitness reports) may, and have been used, although they are considered less reliable. Most of my own materials consist of similar sources. Absorbing the data is perhaps the most "creative" part of the method. Although many operations made during analyzing, relating, and synthesizing data may and, at least ideally, should be based on explicit rules or principles, many of which are more likely to be based on some unspecified means – primarily the researcher's intuition.

Analysis involves the selection – identification and separation – and categorization of the relevant information from the sources. In this case, descriptions concerning the naming of the Beatles were first identified, separated, and tentatively categorized. These descriptions, in turn, provoked further relevant questions (for example the relation of the Beatles to Buddy Holly or the beat movement), and so on. All these pieces of information had to be related, compared, and judged critically. Contradictory sources were noted and evaluated and a logical – that is, logical in terms of the theoretical framework and other evidence – solution was suggested. In the synthesis stage such a new composition/compilation of the relevant information (as to the naming of the Beatles) was created that was consistent both in terms of the theoretical framework and what was suggested by the data.

[10] This procedure has, of course, common features with the hermeneutic method (or, the hermeneutic cycle) as well as with the dialectic method (Hegel, Marx). At a more concrete level, this approach share common features with many qualitative approaches (see Coolican 1991 and Fromm 1980), as well as methods used in historiography (see Tilly 1981).

on source criticism

Much of our knowledge about the Beatles is based on secondary sources. A common problem in using secondary sources is that information, true or untrue, is repeated uncritically from one secondary source to another. In the Beatles literature, a still more serious problem is that authors, who usually are journalists, do not bother to include verbatim quotations from the original sources but, rather, tend to borrow the information somewhere and then tell it "in their own words" – actually, they just like to add their own blueprint on the vast Beatles literature. This practice leads to a chain in which the original information gradually changes so that the last link in the chain may have little or nothing to do with the original information.[11] To quote Dowlding:

> "Many print sources have used previously published material, often misquoting or misinterpreting crucial information, so I've attempted to use original sources whenever possible. Unfortunately, there are as many myths about the Beatles as there are facts, and it's difficult to winnow falsehoods from the truth. I have spent hundreds of hours trying to do so. Nevertheless, there is still disagreement on many points." (Dowlding 1989, 17-18.)

In his book, Dowlding provides references to several sources, notes agreements as well as disagreements between sources, and gives brief evaluative descriptions of the sources in the end of his book.

Another problem is that at least some authors use their own files, which may have been originally collected without any intent to publish their content in any form. *The Beatles in Their Own Words* (Miles & Marchbank 1978) is one of these:

> "The material in this book is taken from an extensive file of interviews and clippings assembled by the compiler over the years. The sources are too diverse to list separately, even if all of them were known. Most of the short quotes and one-liners are taken from press conferences in New York City and London from the very early days. Many of the longer quotes from McCartney, Lennon and Harrison come from interviews done in 1966 and 1968 by the compiler." (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 6-7.)

Dowlding (1989, 314) critiques this book by saying that it is "Interesting but with several flaws. It blends quotes together without indicating some words

[11] A good example of this is how Michael Braun's original description concerning the naming of the Beatles – based on what Beryl Williams told him in early December 1963 – has changed in the hands of Norman (1981, 74), Shotton & Shaffner (1984, 63), Coleman (1985, 95), Elson (1986, 35), Salewicz (1986, 85), Benson (1992, 36), and Kozinn (1997, 27).

are missing, doesn't credit its sources, and doesn't disclose when things were said (so there's little perspective)."

Many of the original sources – including interviews and autobiographical recollections – are not so reliable, either. Even when the person in question sincerely tries to remember correctly – which is not always the case – his/her recollection may be impaired. This is due to the workings of human memory. Remembering is neither a simple *activation* of a latent memory trace of past events, nor is it a *reconstruction* of that event by activation of several intertwined memory traces. Rather, it is a *constructive* activity that combines information from autobiographical (episodic) memory and the cue.[12] The end result is "a mental experience that the rememberer subjectively identifies as remembering an event" (Tulving 1983, 180.) This leads to suspecting the veridicality of autobiographical recollections:

> "Although a good deal of remembering is more or less veridical, a good deal is not. We cannot, therefore, safely infer from a rememberer's recollective experience that a remembered event actually occurred, or that its characteristics were as described by the rememberer." (Tulving 1983, 187.)

There are also other conditions that affect the recollection – "motives, interests, feeling states, biochemical (hormone, drug) states, alertness, fatigue, and so on." (Tulving 1983, 187.)

Actually, this is what understanding a person as a whole in all his/her subjectiveness means (it surely does not mean the subjectivity of the researcher him/herself). The researcher must take the possibility of inevitable memory slips into account, yet at the same time understand the motives – as well as other conditions – affecting the interview statements and other recollections. It is due to the inevitable subjectivity of the statements that *the researcher* should try to be as objective as possible.

[12] The contents of episodic memory include characteristics of the original event intertwined with later intermediate events, which have been associated with the original event. The cue, which is some – any – feature of the provoking occasion, works as the immediate impulse that activates the recall.

PUN ON 'BEAT'

As has been mentioned above, the name 'Beatles' was intended to be a pun on 'beat'. If one wishes to build a pun on the word 'beat', he or she should be aware of the fact that, instead of only one double meaning, the resulting pun will bear an innumerable quantity of meanings. This is due to the multiple meanings of the word 'beat' itself.[13] In the following, I explore more closely three intertwined but yet distinguishable contexts that I consider relevant with respect to the meaning of the word 'beat' as a part of the pun in the name Beatles. These contexts are (1) the *beat movement*, (2) *beat music*, and (3) *Merseybeat* (as equivalent to 'Liverpool Sound' or 'Mersey Sound').

beat movement

The term 'beat movement' or 'beat generation' refers to a group of American intelligentsia of the 1950s, consisting predominately of writers, artists, and their adherents, whose unconventional writing style – together with equally unconventional life-style – reflected alienation and the dropping out from conventional society. The beat movement was born in San Francisco's North Beach, from where it spread to other bohemian artistic communities such as California's Venice West and New York City's Greenwich Village. Obviously, the term 'beat', in the sense referred to by the members of the beat movement, was first coined by Jack Kerouac. One of the earliest public accounts on the 'beat' movement came from J.C. Holmes who himself was a 'beat', *New York Times* 16 November 1952:

> "It was the face of a Beat Generation ... It was Jack Kerouac ... who ... several years ago ... said 'You know, this is really a beat generation'. The origins of the word beat are obscure, but the meaning is only too clear to most Americans. More than the feeling of weariness, it implies the feeling of having been used, of being raw. It involves a sort of nakedness of mind." (Quoted from the *Oxford Dictionary of English*, s.v. beat generation.)

[13] *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) gives seven main entries for the word 'beat'. The first entry lists 43 different meanings (many of which can de further divided into subcategories) and the third entry 16 different meanings for 'beat'. Although most of these meanings are overlapping, it is clear that 'beat' is a highly ambiguous word whose ambiguity becomes even more evident when it is used as a part of a pun.

Kerouac's novel *On the Road* (1957) is probably the best known and most influential of the works of the 'beat' writers. Other comparable works include *The Howl* (1956) by Allen Ginsberg and *The Naked Lunch* (1960) by William Burroughs. Films like *The Wild One* and *Rebel Without a Cause* were associated with this movement as well. The term 'beatnik' was coined in 1958, as a derivative of 'beat' and 'sputnik'. On 14 September 1958, the Observer observed that the beat generation "is beginning to acquire the same kind of dubious place in American culture as the Young Angries in Britain" (quoted from the *Oxford Dictionary of English*:, s.v. beat generation).

The best known British beat poet, Royston Ellis (author of *Jiving to Gyp: A Sequence of Poems*, 1959) met the Beatles during the summer 1960 and persuaded them to back him for reading his poems at the Jacaranda (reading poetry to the accompaniment of progressive jazz was a common practice among the American Beat writers). In July 1960, the national Sunday tabloid the People wrote about Liverpudlian beatniks under the headline "The Beatnik Horror – for though they don't know it they are on the road to hell". The story was illustrated by a photograph taken at Gambier Terrace, a flat below the apartment of Stuart Sutcliffe and John Lennon at the time.[14] A teenage John Lennon (then 19 years) was one of the beatniks lying on the floor. The People wrote:

> "Most beatniks like dirt. They dress in filthy clothes. Their 'homes' are strewn with muck. This, for example, is the flat of a beatnik group in Liverpool. The man on the extreme left, Allan Williams, is a little out of place in these surroundings. He is the only one who is not a beatnik and who dresses in clean clothes." (Quoted from Miles 1997, 53.)

All the beatnik "horror" was, however, carefully set up by the reporter of People and Alan Williams, the quasi-manager of the Silver Beetles at the time.

Lennon, Sutcliffe, and Bill Harry had become close friends in the Art Institute. Harry, who whose main interest was writing, told to Lennon and Sutcliffe that the whole of the "creative thing" of them was actually dominated by the beat poets. At the time Harry himself dreamed of launching a jazz magazine called *Storyville/52nd Street*. The three art students used to gather at the *Ye Crack* pub near the Art Institute and fancy that Lennon could make Liverpool famous by his music, Sutcliffe with his paintings, and Harry with his

[14] Millie Sutcliffe (Stuart's mother) was later to claim that the name Beatles was actually coined by her son, as a pun on 'beetles' and 'beatnik' (Harry 1992, 637.)

writings. Lennon surely made Liverpool famous by beat music. Harry invented the name 'Mersey Beat', after which this music was to be called all over the world. Sutcliffe's fate was to become famous only posthumously. In any case, all three were strongly influenced by the beat movement at the time of the renaming the group as the Beatles.

beat music

What is 'beat music'? When and how did the term originate? Bill Harry, who founded the *Mersey Beat* newspaper in July 1961, claims that Liverpudlian rock 'n' roll groups began to call themselves beat groups only after the first numbers of *Mersey Beat* had been issued: "At that time [Summer 1961] the local groups were referred to as rock 'n' roll groups and most of the venues were called jive hives. The term 'beat' was seldom used." (Harry 1992, 461.) Obviously Harry remembers incorrectly since the term 'beat' or 'beat music' had already been used in local newspapers and dance advertisements at least as early as in Spring 1960 – that is, almost exactly at the time the name Beatles was coined.[15] Of course the name of the newspaper referred to beat music but it referred to it as an existing concept instead of being the first to coin it.[16] In spite of this, the Mersey Beat newspaper had a prominent role in bringing the musical term 'Merseybeat' into common awareness.

What about the meaning of the term 'beat music' itself?

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[15] Examples of this may be found in Lewisohn (1995), which includes several facsimiles of advertisements and newspaper reviews. The Northern Meeting Ballroom in Inverness, Scotland "proudly presented" Johnny Gentle and his Group (the Silver Beetles) as the star of "Modern Dancing to THE BEAT BALLAD SHOW". This took place on Saturday 21 May, 1960. Some two weeks later the Silver Beetles played the Grosvenor Ballroom, Wallasey. They played both on Saturday 4 June and on Whit Monday 6 June, 1960. Saturday's bill was titled as a "Swing Session", featuring the "Sensational New Group, THE SILVER BEETLES", whereas on Whit Monday the bill included "2 BIG BEAT BANDS", the Silver Beetles and Gerry & the Pacemakers. Both occasions were noticed by a local newspaper, which referred them briefly under the title "Big 'beat' night". In the article, the Silver Beetles as well as Gerry and the Pace-Makers were referred to as "jive and rock specialists".

[16] Actually, the original meaning of the word 'beat' in the name of the newspaper referred to the 'normal round of policeman'. To quote Harry (who speaks of himself in the third person): "It was while Harry was sitting in the office late one night that the conceived the name. He was visualizing the area he would cover and defined it in his mind as reaching 'across the water' to the Wirrall, extending out to the seaside resort of Southport and to nearby towns such as Widnes and Warrington. He pictured it as a policeman's beat across Merseyside and came up with the name Mersey Beat." (Harry 1992, 461.)

According to the *Oxford Companion to Popular Music* (Gammond 1991) the term 'beat music' was a "fortunate coincidence of name and achievement led to the successors of the Beatles c. 1960 specifically appropriating the categorical label of beat music or Merseybeat" (Gammond 1991, s.v. beat music). The same source defines the term 'beat' as follows:

> "Regularly accented pulse in a bar of music, spoken of as so many beats to the bar – three = 3/4, two = 2/4, and so on. In jazz and subsequent popular music the word has an added meaning. Because the basic character of jazz depends upon a regular and impelling disposition of the beats and, in the melodic line, phrasing which variously anticipates or moves away from the beat, to say that a group has a good beat is synonymous with saying, in jazz terms, that it swings. The beat is also the insistent foundation of every type of rock music, all embraced by the name 'beat music'. This usage has become intertwined with the hipster connotation, the 'beat generation' who regard pop music as a necessary adjunct to life. (Gammond 1991, s.v. beat.)

So, the term 'beat' associates both the swinging quality of jazz rhythm and the counter cultural attitude of the beat movement with rock music.

When did this connection actually originate?

The Oxford Dictionary of English (1989) traces the connection between the swing of jazz and 'beat' back to April 1956, when there was an advertisement for a phonograph record in the *Metronome* magazine including the following slogan: "Swinging jazz with an audible beat". In Europe, especially in Britain, it was common to refer to rock 'n' roll as 'big beat' music. Actually, terms 'beat' and 'big beat' had been used in rock 'n' roll song lyrics and titles as far back as 1957. 'Daddy Cool' (Rays, 1957) begins with lines "(Spoken) I saw a crazy chick a-runnin' down the street, / I said 'Ooh! Pretty baby, why the great big beat?" And, in early 1958, Fats Domino – one of the leading black rhythm 'n' blues singers – released a single called 'Big Beat'.[17] In September 1959, Sandy Nelson had his first Billboard hit (No. 4) with 'Teen Beat', which also was a minor hit in Britain (it entered the charts on 17 October and reached No. 13 with a chart life of four weeks).[18] 'Teen Beat' was dominated by Nelson's drumming and large portions of it, including the introduction, is dominated by the drum beat. What Nelson presents in this

[17] This single entered the British charts on 29 March 1958 and reached number 15 with a chart life of three weeks. All references to the UK and US charts in this article are based on Jasper (1983) and McAlen 1996, respectively.

[18] Sander 'Sandy' Nelson, a prominent studio musician, was an influential figure within the rock or beat music scene of the late 1950s and early 1960s. He was heard on various hits like 'To Know Him Is To Love Him' (1959) by Teddy Bears, 'Bongo Rock' (1959) by Johnny Epps – an obvious pun on 'Bongo Bop' by Charlie Parker –, and 'Alley Oop' (1960) by the Hollywood Argyles.

record is, literally, 'teen beat' – the beat of the teens – instead of the more adult beat of the beat movement.

In this light, it seems to be around 1959-60 when the term 'beat music' was adopted in Liverpool. Obviously, beat movement contributed much to the term. The beat poets were, however, generally at least twice as old as the teens who attended the "big beat nights" and modern jazz surely was too complicated for dance purposes. Fats Domino's 'Big Beat' (1958) and Sandy Nelson's 'Teen Beat' (1959) – which fantastically captured the beat of the teens – were probably at least partly responsible for the origin of the term 'beat music'.

Merseybeat (Mersey sound, Liverpool sound)

As mentioned above, the musical style called Merseybeat was named after the Mersey Beat newspaper, edited by Bill Harry. What was Merseybeat ("Liverpool Sound" or "Mersey Sound") like? *The Britannica Book of the Year 1964* described the style as follows:

> "Their [the Beatles'] 'Liverpool' or 'Mersey' sound was derived from a big, incessant, throbbing beat from drummer Ringo Starr and bass guitarist Paul McCartney; set on to this was the fine guitar work of lead guitarist George Harrison, with strong rhythm fill-ins full of tone from rhythm guitarist John Lennon. The vocal work was shared mainly between John and Paul, with George supplying harmonies, but often broke into three- and four-part harmonies shared by all." (*Britannica Book of the Year 1964*: jazz & popular music, 282.)

Many sources agree with this description. How and when did this sound originate? Mona Best (Pete Best's mother) has claimed that it was actually her son who was responsible for the birth of the style: "Pete's beat had made them" (Davies 1992, 210.) Pete Best himself largely agrees with his mother:

> "When we came back from Germany I was playing using my bass drum very loud and laying down a very solid beat. This was unheard of at the time in Liverpool as all the groups were playing the Shadow's style. Even Ringo in Rory Storm's group copied our beat and it wasn't long before most drummers in Liverpool were playing the same style. This way of drumming had a great deal to do with the big sound we were producing." (Davies 1992, 210-11.)

In a courtroom a witness is asked to tell the truth – "the whole truth and nothing but the truth". In my opinion, what Best says here is the truth only in the sense of "nothing but the truth" – not in the sense of "the whole truth".

Gerry Marsden of Gerry & the Pacemakers described Pete Best's drumming as follows: "They had Pete Best on drums, and he used to drive like crazy. He was great." However, he also said that "Pete played what they wanted at the time" (Somach & Somach & Gunn 1989). To whom Marsden refers to with the word 'they'? Obviously to the Beatles. Did he actually mean all five Beatles – Lennon, McCartney, Harrison, Sutcliffe and Best himself? I do not think so. I rather think that he referred primarily to Lennon, McCartney, and Harrison. Further, there is good reason to assume that it was actually Paul McCartney who had told Pete Best how to play. My argument is based on McCartney's sketch for a letter, intended to be sent to a mysterious Mr Low (the sketch was written some three months before Best joined). The portion of the letter to which I am referring reads as follows:

> "This line-up may at first seem dull but it must be appreciated that as the boys have above average instrumental ability they achieve surprisingly varied effects. Their basis beat is off-beat, but this has recently tended to be accompanied by a faint on-beat; thus the overall sound is rather reminiscent of the four in the bar of traditional jazz. This could possibly be put down to the influence of Mr McCartney [Paul McCartney's father James] who led one of the top local jazz bands (Jim Mac's Jazz Band) in the 1920s." (Davies 1992, 133.)

Actually, if one wishes to find the earliest document witnessing the origin of Merseybeat, I would like to suggest this as a plausible candidate. It seems that Paul McCartney had a very concrete image of what Merseybeat should sound long before the group had a permanent drummer (and a proper bassist). On the basis of this evidence it also seems that Pete Best indeed played what *Paul McCartney* wanted at the time.[19]

Whether or not the beat of traditional jazz actually was "four in the bar" has been a matter of dispute. In any case, this was how Paul McCartney perceived it – probably with a little help from his father Jim Mac – early in 1960. Lawrence Gushee, a writer with some authority, has described the beat of New Orleans jazz as "relying on four pulses to the bar with 'on-beat' accents by bass drum and bass instrument to establish the rhythmic

[19] By the way, this was often the case with Ringo Starr as well. The very characteristic "heavy" drums part of 'Ticket To Ride' was originally McCartney's suggestion. During the *White Album* sessions he frequently told Starr how to play. He was unsatisfied with Starr's work and finally played the drum part of 'Back In The USSR' himself. Starr was hurt and left the group temporarily. Further, George Martin has told that while Lennon's ideas were usually quite vague – in 'Being For The Benefit Of Mr Kite' he wanted "the feeling of the sawdust and the feel of the ring" –, McCartney was usually very accurate and also had a clear image of how to achieve the sound for which he was seeking (Coleman 1992, 219).

background associated with 'two-beat' jazz" (Gushee 1981, 1969). Quite close to how Paul defined the beat of the then unnamed Beatles?

AN INSECT NAME WITH A DOUBLE MEANING

Buddy Holly & the Crickets

All theories seem to agree that the original source of inspiration for the name Beatles was Buddy Holly's backing group the Crickets. The opinions vary, however, as to who wanted a name like the Crickets in the first place. Davies (1995, 135) says simply "they" – obviously implying that they all wanted it regardless who came up with it in the first place. According to Coleman (1985, 95), it was Lennon. Shotton & Shaffner (1984, 63) claim it for both Lennon and Sutcliffe. Salewicz (1986, 85), Harry (1992, 68), and Kozinn (1997, 27) hold that it was Sutcliffe alone.

Paul McCartney has recently taken the credit of suggesting the double meaning of 'cricket' to John Lennon to himself:

> "I remember talking to John about this. 'Cricket. What a fantastic idea, it's a little grasshopper, and it's a game.' Well, they came over, they had no fucking idea cricket was a game, to them it was just a little chirping grasshopper from Texas, so it was actually quite a boring name. But we turned on like nobody's business by the idea of a double meaning, so with our wit and wisdom and whatever, we wanted something that would have a double meaning. Beetles were little insects, so that took care of that, but with an 'A' it become something to do with beat." (Miles 1997, 52.)

McCartney's statement is credible in the light of other evidence. According to Harry (1992, 313), "Paul McCartney was the major Holly fan".[20] Salewicz (1986, 85) agrees with him. However, McCartney was not the only Buddy Holly fan in the group. As Coleman (1985, 95) has said, stylistically "no pop act came near Buddy Holly in John and Paul's affection at that time". But Holly was a vast influence on George Harrison as well:

[20] He even later purchased the Buddy Holly music catalogue of some 38 Holly compositions. From 1976 he began to run an annual Buddy Holly Week on the anniversary of Holly's birth. Holly's widow, Maria Elana, was to comment: "Paul told me that Buddy had more influence on his early songwriting than any other singer. Paul was very gracious and I appreciated what he had to say." (Harry 1992, 313.)

> "For this we dreamed up a new name, Johnny & the Moondogs. There were just the three of us and I remember we were on a Buddy Holly & the Crickets kick at the time. So, of course, we sang 'Think It Over' and 'It's So Easy'." (Harry 1992, 346.)

Buddy Holly, with or without the Crickets, was indeed a seminal influence on the Beatles and its precedessors, who played several of his numbers on their gigs during 1957-62.[21] Most of them had been included in their repertoire before Sutcliffe joined the group. On this basis, it seems that the initiative for seeking an insect name with a double meaning – a tongue-in-cheek tribute to Buddy Holly – came primarily from the Lennon-McCartney-Harrison side, possibly from McCartney.

It was not only the name, with its double meaning, that attracted them. Buddy Holly's attitude on making music was very similar to that of the Beatles. Holly's songs as well as his performances reflected his "amazing capacity" to synthesize different musical influences (folk, country, rock 'n' roll, gospel, Tin Pan Alley). According to Jonathan Cott (1981), it was Buddy Holly through whom all these musical strands "were later taken up and developed in the Sixties". In Britain, where he was extremely popular, he influenced Lennon's and McCartney's songwriting as well as the performing style of "the Entire Mersey school". And the Beatles were not the only ones who were named after him (or his backing group) – he also gave the name for the Hollies.

Malcolm Jones has said that despite of being a mere "synthesizer" of different musical influences, Holly also "scored with a dazzling series of firsts in an era when everyone followed the flock" (quoted from Cott 1981, 81.) According to Jones, these firsts included the following:

> "He was one of the first white rock stars to rely almost exclusively on his own material. The Crickets were probably the first white rock group to feature the lead/rhythm/bass/drums lineup. He was the first rock singer to double-track his voice and guitar. He was the first to use strings on a rock and roll record. In addition, he popularized the Fender Stratocaster and was probably the only rock star to wear glasses onstage." (Quoted from Cott 1981, 82-83.)

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[21] Mark Lewisohn (1995) lists the following 15 Buddy Holly and/or the Crickets songs the Beatles and its predecessors included in their repertoire during 1957-62: 'Midnight Shift' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1956); 'Everyday' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1957); 'Mailman, Bring Me No More Blues' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1957); 'Peggy Sue' (Buddy Holly, 1957); 'That'll Be The Day' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1957); 'Words Of Love' (Buddy Holly, 1957); 'Baby I Don't Care (You're So Square)' (Buddy Holly, 1958; Elvis Presley 1957); 'It's So Easy' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1958); 'Maybe Baby' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1958); 'Think It Over' (Buddy Holly & the Crickets, 1958); 'Crying, Waiting, Hoping' (Buddy Holly, 1959); 'Raining In My Heart' (Buddy Holly, 1959); 'More Than I Can Say' (the Crickets, 1960); 'Don't Ever Change' (Crickets, 1962); 'Reminiscing' (Buddy Holly, 1962).

Many of these characteristics – at least relying on own material, featuring the lead + rhythm + bass + drum lineup, double-tracking (or, more generally, experimentation in the studio), using strings – became later inseparable characteristics of the Beatles.

At a still more concrete level, the Beatles aimed at communicating as directly as possible with their audience. In the Cavern and the nightclubs of Hamburg they used to throw shouts to the audience between and during the songs. Later they wrote songs with their fans in their minds and, when performing them, took direct eye contacts with the fans in the audience. As the songs and song titles were written around personal pronouns, the fans in the audience felt that the Beatles were singing right to them.[22] Buddy Holly had quite a similar attitude, as Cott (1981) has pointed out.[23]

When the group, formerly called the Quarry Men, adopted the name Beatles in Summer 1960, Buddy Holly had been dead for more than a year. He died on 3 February 1959 in a plane crash, together with the Big Bopper and Ritchie Valens. Holly's death was a shock to Lennon.[24] So, although the

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[22] "We wrote for our own market. We knew that if we wrote a song called 'Thank You Girl' that a lot of the girls who wrote us fan letters would take it as a genuine thank you. So a lot of our songs – 'From Me To You' is another – were directly addressed to the fans. I remember one of my daughters, when she was very little, seeing Donny Osmond sing 'The Twelfth Of Never' and she said 'He loves me' because he sang it right at her off the telly. We were aware that that happened when you sang to an audience. So 'From *Me* To *You*', 'Please Please *Me*', '*She* Loves *You*'. Personal pronouns. We always used to do that. '*I* Want To Hold *Your* Hand'. It was always something personal. 'Love *Me* Do', 'Please Please *Me*'..." (Lewisohn 1988, 9.)

[23] To quote Cott: "When adults communicate with infants, they use the language of baby talk, exaggerating changes in pitch, speaking almost in singsong, uttering their words more slowly, reduplicating syllables and rhymes, and employing simple sentence structures. It is clear that Buddy Holly absorbed, transformed and revitalized this mode of expression in his use of titles and phrases like 'Maybe Baby,' 'Oh Boy,' 'oops a daisy,' 'riddle dee pat,' and 'hey a hey hey'; in his embellished, rollicking six-syllable delivery of the word 'well' at the beginning of 'Rave On'; in lines like 'Pretty, pretty, pretty, pretty Peggy Sue' (reminding you of a child talking to a little animal in order to tame it) or 'You know my love not fade away' (telegraphing its message like a Chinese ideogram); and, most obviously, in his famous 'hiccup' signature or in the sudden glides from deep bass to falsetto (and back again), revealing the child inside the man, the man inside the child." (Cott: 1981, 78.)

[24] Ray Coleman has described Lennon's reaction to this: "On 4 February 1959 John walked solemnly into the classroom, visibly shaken. It was not often that students saw John Lennon vulnerable, broken, unhappy. 'Oh God, Buddy Holly's dead,' he muttered. Holly, a vital pioneer of early rock 'n' roll, a singer of plaintive love songs wedded to jerky, haunting melodies, was one of John's idols. He had died in a plane crash in America. Unlike many of the students John did not cry over the news, but went silent for the day and took some time to snap out the shock. Lennon always buried his feelings deeply." (Coleman 1992, 7.)

name Beatles surely was a tongue-in-cheek pun typical to Lennon and the other boys, it also was a genuine tribute to Buddy Holly and his music.

'Beatnik Fly' by Johnny & the Hurricanes

In this context, one interesting "insect name with a double meaning" is an instrumental hit called 'Beatnik Fly' by Johnny & the Hurricanes, released early in 1960. Johnny & the Hurricanes have been regarded as the most representative instrumental rock group of the late 1950s and early 1960s (Greg Shaw 1981). The group charted with 'Crossfire' in early 1959 and had a smash hit in August 1959 with 'Red River Rock'. The name of the group was used as the model Johnny & the Moondogs as well as Rory Storm & the Hurricanes. The third single of Johnny & the Hurricanes, 'Reveille Rock', was released for the Christmas market. The tune was vaguely based on the army bugle call 'Reveille'. In the USA the single reached number 25 in December 1959. In Britain it did better when it entered the chart on 26 December and reached number 8 on 9 January 1960 with a chart life of four weeks.

The next single, 'Beatnik Fly' was released in February. It was a moderate hit in both sides of the Atlantic. In the USA it reached number 15. In Britain it entered the charts on 14 March, eventually reaching number nine for two weeks (9 and 16 April) with a chart life of 10 weeks. It dropped out from the British charts on 28 May. Tony Jasper (1983) describes the year 1960 as "the year of the 'Itsy Bitsy Teeny Weeny Yellow Polka Dot Bikini', 'Beatnik Fly', 'Tie Me Kangaroo Down Sport', 'Even More Party Pops' and 'Ooh! La La'" and sighs that such a list is "hardly likely to excite any pop connoisseur." The group destined to be called the Beatles were desperately seeking for a good name. Whether they were pop connoisseurs or not, it is likely that 'Beatnik Fly' excited them enough to take its title as a model for their name. Why?

In my opinion, the answer lies in the double meaning of the title 'Beatnik Fly'. According to Greg Shaw (1981), 'Beatnik fly' was "a thinly disguised 'Bluetail Fly'." What, then, was 'Bluetail Fly'? Irvin Silber (1965, 134) gives the following answer:

> "Originally it was a black-face minstrel song. Most authorities agree that Dan Emmett (author of 'Dixie') wrote it. Emmett was an instinctive artist who could not help but find the essential truth even in this seemingly silly ballad. And he knew that a slave, even a black-face stage slave, would sing of his master's untimely

> death with a healthy glee. Perhaps this is why the song lasted and became a folk favorite."

Actually, 'Blue Tail Fly' may be said to belong to the same body of repertoire as many 19th century American skiffle standards – for example 'Rock Island Line' and 'Cumberland Gap', both of which were a part of the Quarry Men's repertoire in 1957-59.

Burl Ives made a version of 'Blue Tail Fly' with the Andrew Sisters in 1948 and since this it was part of his repertory. David Ewen, the writer of American Songwriters, has described the origin and transmission of the song as follows:

> "After the tour of England the Virginia Minstrels broke up, but Emmett and Frank Brower formed a new troupe. Emmett also became a popular solo performer and often appeared in theaters with minstrel troupes that copied the style of his original band. About 1846 he wrote 'Blue Tail Fly,' also known as 'Jimmy Crack Corn.' A minstrel-show classic, it is thought to have been a favorite of President Lincoln's. The modern folksinger Burl Ives had made it a staple in his repertory, and it is Ives who is credited with having given the song its alternative title of 'Jimmy Crack Corn.' Ives has explained that Emmett's lyric 'was give me cracked corn that cracked when you heated it. That didn't mean much to me so I changed it to 'Jimmy Crack Corn'. ... It still doesn't mean anything. It's a nonsense syllable." (Ewen 1987, 153.)

Burl Ives played in many Broadway musicals and movies. His films include *So Dear to my Heart* (1948), *East of Eden* (1955), and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958). In *East of Eden* – with James Dean as Cain – he played the role of Sam. With all probability Lennon and McCartney were familiar with 'Blue Tail Fly', at least with some of the versions made by Ives. And Ives was familiar at least from the James Dean film *East of Eden*.

The title 'Beatnik Fly' itself is, of course, a pun with 'Blue Tail Fly' and 'beatnik' – or, more generally 'beat' (including references to the beat generation as well as to beat music). Further, a name of an insect – 'fly' – is included both in the title of the original song by Emmett and in the title of the revamped version made by Johnny & the Hurricanes. A coincidence?

looking-glass insects

It is well known that *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* by Lewis Carroll were John Lennon's favorite books since his childhood. Quite early he also tried to imitate Carroll's writing style, creating his own

"Jabberwockies". Pete Shotton has described Lennon's early favorites as follows:

> "Along with Richmal Compton, his favorite authors included Edgar Allan Poe, James Thurber, Edward Lear, Kenneth Grahame (of *Wind in the Willows* fame), Robert Louis Stevenson (specifically, *Treasure Island*), and Lewis Carroll – whose *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* were like the Bible to us both. (John must have recited the poem 'Jabberwocky' to me at leas a few hundred times.) From a very early age, John's ultimate ambition was to one day 'write an *Alice*' himself." (Shotton & Shaffner, 33.)

It is also well known that Lennon used the "Wool and Water" scene from *Through the Looking-Glass* as an important source of inspiration for 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' and the poem 'Walrus and Carpenter' from the same book as a source of inspiration for 'I Am The Walrus'.

What is relevant here is that the third chapter of *Through the Looking Glass* is titled "The Looking-Glass Insects". The chapter begins with a scene in which Alice is on the top of a hill and tries to get a picture of the landscape. She sees enormous creatures making honey – first thinking that they are regular bees but then conceiving that they are honey-making elephants bustling amongst enormous flowers. She decides to avoid meeting these creatures, runs down the hill, and jumps over six little brooks. She enters a train and sits down. The guard, a gentleman (dressed in white paper) and a Goat discuss with other passengers on what should be done since Alice does not have ticket. What follows then is a scene from which the name 'Beatles' is almost certainly derived. The scene goes as follows:

> "There was a Beetle sitting next the Goat (it was a very queer carriage-full of passengers altogether), and, as the rule seemed to be that they should all speak in turn, he went on with 'She'll have to go back from here as luggage!'
>
> Alice couldn't see who was sitting beyond the Beetle, but a hoarse voice spoke next. 'Change engines –' it said, and there it chocked and was obliged to leave off.
>
> 'It sounds like a horse,' Alice thought to herself. And an extremely small voice, close to her ear, said 'You might make a joke on that – something about 'horse' and 'hoarse', you know.'" (Carroll 1977, 156-157.)

First of all, in this scene there is a Beetle (with a capital B). Secondly, there is also a pun based on the identical pronunciation but different spelling of the words 'horse' and 'hoarse'. This difference is due to the 'A', which is included in 'hoarse' but missing from 'horse'. In other words, the pun is built exactly as Lennon did in the case of 'Beetles' and 'BEAtles'.

The similarity between "The Looking-Glass Insects" and naming of the Beatles is not limited to the above-quoted fragment. The insect with the

"extremely small voice" turns out to be a *very* large Gnat, "about the size of a chicken". Alice and the Gnat then speak of naming and the importance of having a name. Alice then lists some insect names, which the Gnat immediately change into word-play: the horse-fly becomes the "Rocking-horse-fly", the dragon-fly becomes the "Snap-dragon-fly", and the butterfly becomes the "Bread-and-butter-fly". It is the Gnat's description concerning the Snap-dragon-fly that is relevant here. The dialogue goes as follows:

> "And there's the Dragon-fly."
> "Look on the branch above your head", said the Gnat, "and there you'll find a Snap-dragon-fly. Its body is made of plum-pudding, its wings of holly-leaves, and its head is a raisin burning in brandy."
> "And what does it live on?" Alice asked, as before.
> "Frumenty and mince-pie," the Gnat replied; "and it makes its nest in a Christmas-box." (Carroll 1977, 159-160.)

The double meaning of Crickets – the backing group of Buddy Holly – was the starting point for seeking a proper insect name on which a pun could have been built. Buddy Holly's family name is mentioned also in the Gnat's description of the Snap-dragon-fly, according to which *the wings of the Snap-dragon-fly are made of holly-leaves*. But there is even more than that in the brief description. In his infamous "biography" – *Being a Short Diversion on the Dubious Origin of the Beatles* – Lennon wrote that the name Beatles "came in a vision – a man appeared on a flaming pie and said unto them [the Beatles] 'From this day on you are Beatles with an A'." The "flaming pie" image is a combination of the Snap-dragon-fly's head, which is a burning raisin, and its favorite food, which is mince-pie. So, speaking of the vision of a man on a flaming pie is not mere nonsense word-play *á la* Lewis Carroll – rather it is word-play directly based upon a certain image presented within Carroll's book.

After the conversation with the Gnat Alice walked on and came to an open field, the other side of which things have no names. As she walked into the wood, she wondered what will become of her name when she goes in. In the wood she was surprised because she was not being able to think names or words at all. Just then a Fawn came wandering by. It looked at Alice but did not seem at all frightened. They walked on together through the wood until they came out into another open field. A sudden look of alarm came into the eyes of the Fawn and soon it darted away at full speed. Alice stood looking after it and was sad because of having lost her dear little fellow-traveler so

suddenly. "However, I know my name now," she said. So did the Beatles in August 1960.

DISCUSSION

The basic assumption behind this study was that thinking of a name for a group is a creative process and thus can be best explained by a theory of the creative process. Here the act of creation was considered to be a result of the following conditions: a remote event (usually belonging to childhood), intermediate events (which are associated with the remote event) and a recent event (which acts as the immediate impulse).

It was stated above that the existing theories – particularly Davies (1992) and Norman (1981) – can explain both the recent event (the professional pressure to have a name) and some of the intermediate events (contacts with Buddy Holly & the Crickets and the beat movement). What they fail to explain is (1) the most immediate source of inspiration – the cue –, (2) the remote event, preferably belonging to the childhood of the group members, and (3) the connection between the cue and the remote event. This study completes the existing theories with respect to these questions.

It was suggested further that 'Beatnik Fly' by Johnny & the Hurricanes may have been a link between the idea of a pun on an insect name and 'beat'. Did 'Beatnik Fly' actually influence the naming of the Beatles? Let us put it this way. Consider there being a group who wanted to name themselves after an insect's with a double meaning preferably referring to the style of music they played (beat music). They also were closely associated with the beatnik movement. Would they have missed such a current song title as 'Beatnik Fly'? I don't think so.

However, the most immediate source of inspiration – that is, the immediate cue – for the name Beatles was apparently chapter III, "Looking Glass Insects", in Lewis Carroll's *Through The Looking-Glass*. In this chapter there is a Beetle (with a capital B) and, only a few lines below, a Gnat who suggests that Alice would make a pun on the words 'horse' and 'hoarse' – that is, 'horse' with an 'A'. All that Lennon needed was a pressure to think of a

name and a desire for an insect name with double meaning – the rest was already there in his favorite book, just waiting for him to pick it up.

Lennon's vision of a man appearing on a flaming pie has usually been taken as a daft explanation – just another product of his highly weird imagination. A close reading of *Through the Looking-Glass* reveals, however, that this is only partly true. Lennon's imagination was weird – yes. But in chapter III of this book there is a Snap-dragon-fly (cf. an insect) whose "wings are made of holly-leaves" (cf. Buddy Holly), whose head is "a raisin burning in brandy" (cf. flaming), and who lives on "frumenty and mince-pie" (cf. pie). When Lennon wrote his famous story on the origin of the name Beatles, he took the fantastic vision straight from the same source where the idea of the name itself had been taken!

The theory presented here is in contradiction with the prevailing version, according to which the name Beatles was suggested by Sutcliffe, and with the recent version, which states that the name was taken from *The Wild One*. It does not, however, conflict with the traditional theory presented by the Beatles in various interviews during 1963-64, and in their authorized biography by Hunter Davies (originally published in 1968). To repeat what Lennon said in this book: "The idea of beetles came into my head. I decided to spell it BEAtles to make it look like beat music". My theory, presented above, explains both *whence* the idea was first conceived and *why* he decided to spell it BEAtles.

This 'why' is also associated with deeper undercurrents. The link between *Through the Looking-Glass* and Lennon's childhood has already been mentioned: the book was Lennon's favorite already as a child. Moreover, Lennon himself has emphasized how his love for Lewis Carroll, or his art student days, or his rebellion and being a "loudmouthed lunatic musician", were closely connected to his tragic childhood experiences. When David Sheff or the Playboy magazine asked Lennon if he was able to find others to share his visions with, Lennon answered:

> "Only dead people in books. Lewis Carroll, certain paintings. Surrealism had a great effect on me, because then I realized that my imagery and my mind wasn't insanity; that if it was insane, I belong in an exclusive club that sees the world in those terms. Surrealism to me is reality. Psychic vision to me is reality. Even as a child. When I looked at myself in the mirror or when I was 12, 13, I used to literally trance out into alpha. I didn't know what it was called then. I found out years later there is a name for those conditions. But I would find myself seeing hallucinatory images of my face changing and becoming cosmic and complete. It caused me to always be a rebel. This thing gave me a chip on the shoulder; but, on the other hand, I wanted to be loved and accepted. Part of me would like to be accepted

> by all facets of society and not be this loudmouthed lunatic musician. But I cannot be what I am not." (Sheff 1981, 108.)

So it was a question of identity. It was easy for Lennon to identify with the world of Lewis Carroll and his Alice books. Carroll's fantastic visions were reality to him. But Lennon was not the only one. To quote McCartney (1997, 312): "Both of us had read the Alice books and always referred to them, we were always talking about 'Jabberwocky' and we knew those more than any other books really".

Actually, it is impossible to know for sure who suggested what. Obviously, all group members made suggestions. McCartney, who was the major Buddy Holly fan in the group, may well have been the first to suggest thinking of a name similar to Holly's backing group. He also seems to have been the one most interested in the word 'beat' in a musical sense – indeed, it was he who, probably for the first time, defined the *beat* of the musical style later known as Merseybeat in a sketch of a letter to the mysterious Mr Low in May 1960. Sutcliffe may have come up with the Beetles. The capital B in the name Beetle may have rang a bell in Lennon's mind, inspiring him to consult his favorite book and, as a result, change one 'E' to an 'A'. Lennon and Sutcliffe were much more involved with the beat movement than McCartney and Harrison. From their point of view, the word 'beat' might have referred to the rebellious character of the beat movement as much as to the 'beat' of their music. But this rebellion was, as is evident from the above quotation by Lennon, only the other half of the truth – perhaps it was even the meaningless one, later referred to in the song 'Julia'. In any case, the name Beatles was "spry and catchy" enough and, which was probably much more important for the members, it was something with which they could easily identify.

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BEATLES 2000

YOU NEED ANOTHER CHORUS
Problems with Formal Concepts in Popular Music

Terhi Nurmesjärvi

Popular music is often undermined in musicological sense and its forms are commonly considered to be simple. Despite the fact that it played a central part in the traditional music analysis, form is seldom discussed in regard popular music. However, it offers intriguing challenges for the researcher.

Many studies have emphasised a holistic approach towards the analysis of popular music, that is, to comprise both intra- and extramusical aspects in the analytical process (e.g. Tagg 1979, Middleton 1990). According to this idealistic approach, one should be able to cover several issues in the analysis: basic musical parameters (melody, rhythm, harmony, sound), levels of meaning in music (e.g. musical and textual connotations and denotations), and the social and/or cultural context within which the music is presented. However, I believe that in order to develop a better holistic approach studies that concentrate on only one or a few selected

features are needed. The synthesis of several aspects that comprise into one complex method cannot be formulated overnight.

By careful consideration of form one has the possibility to shed light on the subject and the methodology used in the analysis. There is still room for discussion concerning the interaction between various musical parameters that are, indeed, the ones that construct and articulate form, which is by no means an autonomous element of the music. There are several questions to be asked and discussed in relation to the concepts and analysis of form. In this article I wish to express some aspects related to popular music form, which will then be demonstrated through a comparative case study of the Beatles song 'I Saw Her Standing There' (1963).

TWO ILLUSIONS CONCERNING FORM IN POPULAR MUSIC

The problematic aspects in the study of form are related to analytical concepts and methodology. Often the analysis is based on implicit principles and preassumed unanimity regarding the terminology, based on which the "result" of the analysis is then explicitly presented. Form is often taken for granted, or disregarded entirely. There are, however, some studies in which form is one of the analysed aspects. One such example is Alf Björnberg's dissertation (1984) in which he deals with form as one of the main parameters of the musical analysis of Swedish Eurovision Song Contest representatives during the years 1959-83. Sheila Davis (1985) has successfully dealt with form types in her book concerning lyric writing which I refer to often in this text. Also Jon Fitzgerald (1996a, 1996b) has dealt with form in his more general musical analysis of the popular songs of the 1950's and 1960's.

The general interest in the study of popular music has increased during the past few decades. Allan F. Moore's book *Rock: The Primary Text* (1993) draws attention to the music and its sound as the main focus of the study of rock music. He summarises this awakening from the 1970's on:

> "Fortunately, over the past twenty years, a few musicologists have begun to focus their attention on rock and its related musics, and it is to them that I now turn. Although these writers have adopted a number of different approaches, they seek one of three goals. The first is to elucidate theoretical approaches pertinent to music. This activity is best considered preanalytical, since any analysis must be based on theoretical preconceptions, which too often remain implicit. [...] The remaining approaches are both strictly analytical. Of these, one aims to unearth the 'meaning' of individual songs, while the other aims to discover the characteristic features of particular styles." (Moore 1994, 11)

In popular music research, the aim of the theoretical and analytical approaches has often been to underline the inappropriateness of the tools of the traditional music analysis in the analysis of popular music. There are no doubt problematic aspects that have been discussed, for example, by Richard Middleton (1990, 103-107). Many of the concepts in use, however, have remained the unchanged – for instance, harmony, melody and form – even though their contents have been, and should be, redefined.

Despite the increased attention towards popular music its analytical approaches, such as analysis of form, have not been considered as important subjects for study. According to prevailing conception all forms may be discussed in terms of 'verse' and 'chorus' and their implicit criteria, explicit criteria or principles are considered unnecessary. This applies to analysts as well as musicians, who traditionally have relied on these concepts. For Moore form does not play central part in the analytical musicology of rock. Instead, the analysis of form is just an intermediate stage towards the analysis of harmony.

> "Contrary to critical belief, rock is rich in harmonic formulae (see Moore 1992). In order to investigate the various strategies used, it will be necessary first to call attention to the conventional formal divisions found in rock: verse, refrain (or chorus), bridge, introduction, coda and solo (break). These are categories frequently used by writers and performers, and **their ubiquity is sufficient to ensure their analytical value.** " (Moore 1993, 47-48. My bolds)

I cannot agree with the last sentence. It is true that two people may have mutual understanding in everyday discussion, for instance, about the verses and chorus of a song, as two musicians would when about making music. This is sufficient for those discourses and its contexts. The musicologist, however, should not be content with these implicit assumptions. In the analysis concepts of form require explicit questioning and discussion.

Based mainly on unexpressed, tacit knowledge of the musical structures, there appears to be two illusions concerning form in popular music that I would like to express. Since form does not *seem* to deserve attention,

there are underlying thoughts, that (1) all forms utilised in popular music are simple; and (2) analysis of form is a simple, non-complex procedure.

simple and/or standard?

These thoughts are embodied in Adorno's much critisised culturally homogeneous view of form as a standardised schemata, in which the

> "whole is pre-given and pre-accepted, even before the actual experience of the music starts: therefore, it is not likely to influence, to any great extent, the reaction to the details, except to give them varying degrees of emphasis. [...] no stress is ever placed upon the whole as a musical event, nor does the structure of the whole ever depend upon the details." (Adorno 1990, 302.)

Adorno denies the originality, creativity or individuality that should be seen, or indeed heard in popular music.[1] Everything can be reduced into a standard. This is all, naturally, opposed to "serious music" (i.e. classical), in which every detail and affects the whole and changes the unique experience. (Adorno 1990, 305-307.)

Adorno's view is narrow and one-sided. It undermines the musical events that constitute form. Furthermore, he, among many others, all too often equates "standard" and "simple". I cannot agree with his view, that the standardised form is a specific feature of popular music. It can be easily shown that similar examples of Tin Pan Alley music can be easily found within "serious music" (many forms utilised in Renaissance, Baroque or Classical Era, for instance) and other music traditions. Middleton (1990, 46) points out some of these exceptions to standardisation in Tin Pan Alley songs.[2]

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[1] The differentiation of details, according to Adorno, is explained by pseudo-individualization. "By pseudo-individualization we mean endowing cultural mass production with the halo of free choise or open market on the basis of standardization itself. Standardization of song hits keeps the customers in line by doing their listening for them, as it were. Pseudo-individualization [...] keeps them in line by making them forget that what they listen to is already listened to for them, or "pre-digested". (Adorno 1990, 308). This is all on contrast to "serious music", where "the significance on the details and of the totality mutually create each other, with the result that every piece is unique" (Ibid, 45). Adorno gives examples from Tin Pan Alley music in order to verify his view. Middleton discusses the theory with credit and he points out Adorno's problematic starting point and several missing element.

[2] See also Lee 1970, 220 and Koskimäki & Heinonen 1998, 130.

In spite of Adorno's disparagement towards popular music some of his thoughts can be viewed in a positive manner. As Middleton says, it can be agreed that "at this macro-structural level it is certainly true that almost all popular music works within the sphere of the known" (Middleton 1990, 49). The form functions as a frame or schemata, of which the most are "standardised" (Lilliestam 1994, 215; Middleton 1990, 49). The pre-existing knowledge of a competent listener does play a great role in the musical experience and creating it's meaning. The whole question of standardisation is style related.

> "In a broader perspective [...] standardization, with its pejorative implications, might be more usefully renamed 'formula'. Formulaic schemes are common in very many kinds of music" (Middleton 1990, 55.)

The formulae used in music can be harmonic, rhythmic, melodic, etc.[3] Form types are kinds of formulae used, for instance, in songwriting.[4] (Lilliestam 1994, 215.) Formulae are, however, different kinds in different styles.

As well as standardisation, repetition is a common feature of popular music. This has also caused confusion in the understanding of form.

> "Form, in this sense of architectonic structure, is easily dealt with in considering popular music, since almost without exception, it consists, as it always has, of the immediate repetition of a tune several times." (Lee 1970, 175)

It is true that musical elements like tunes, are often repeated in popular music and that helps to identify the formal units. That does not, however, make the identification of various form types any easier since repetition of tunes or sections is not the character that separates them from one another. There are, however, different modes of repetition that may be of use within the analysis.[5]

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[3] 'Formula' is an equivalent term to 'schema' used in cognitive musicology (Bartlett 1932; Treitler 1974).

[4] The Swedish term used by Lilliestam is 'formel'.

[5] This refers to terms 'musematic' and 'discursive' repetition by Middleton (1983, 1990) and 'formative', 'focal' and 'textural' repetition by Lidov (1978) (also Nurmesjärvi 1997). Their use as distinctive features in analysis is yet to be studied further.

about the analysis of form

The second statement – *the analysis of form is a simple, non-complex procedure* – contradicts my experiences of formal analysis. There are several factors complicating the procedure. The use of concepts and their criteria are not analogous due to the lack of definitions given to them. Forms vary and sometimes become quite complicated in which case the commonly used concepts, for instance, verse and chorus, are not solely sufficient to discuss and explain all forms, and changes in form. Definitions of these concepts are ambiguous. These problems become even more problematic when the material includes a large number of songs. The more songs the material includes the more difficult it is to find consistent principles and rules that apply to all cases, especially when dealing with an extended time period.

According to common opinion, popular music is constructed in a assembly line manner from simple and four square 8-bar blocks, creating similarly simple and four square 32-bar standard forms. The reality is not, however, that simple.

> "This statement about 8-bar units is the one most commonly made, but needs qualification, since a not insubstantial number of tunes (e.g. 'How High the Moon') are built up of sections which can only satisfactorily be analysed as two 16-bar units. Furthermore, though in practice 8- and 16-bar units are the normal length of comprehensible sections, or 'sentences', the fact that the fundamental unit of popular music composition is really 2 bars becomes important in considering exceptions." (Lee 1970, 220.)

This is also evident in the music of the Beatles. Most songs are, indeed, constructed of something other than four square blocks. In many songs the blocks are not even dividable by even numbers, the lengths of seven, nine or eleven bars are not rare. Yet, it is a surprising that ten bars is very popular. Furthermore, the length of various formal sections within one song is often different.[6]

It is up to the analyst to make decisions concerning the concepts and the principles of the analysis. Their choice should be based on at least two considerations. Firstly, one must consider the aim and purpose of analysis. Secondly, drawn from the first, one must consider what are the appropriate

[6] There are many examples of such songs. For instance, see detailed analysis of 'Cry Baby Cry' by the Beatles (1968) in Beatlestudies 1 (Koskimäki & Heinonen 1998). For the uneven length of the sections of the songs 'Michelle' and ' Yesterday' see Heinonen 1992.

means and concepts to approach the task. Further, the material itself as the starting point sets requirements for the analysis and it should be seen in an historical context. The question should be about the choices that the analyst has to make, the procedures and interpretation that are evident in every analysis. The question cannot be about revealing the "absolute truth" since it does not exist.

Perhaps as a result of the two illusions the concepts of verse and chorus are commonly – and uncritically – used in the analysis of form in popular music. This results in unavoidable analytical problems. The aim of this article is not to try to reveal the truth in this matter for I do not believe it is "out there". Instead, the purpose is to elucidate some of the aspects related to form, its terminology, methodology and analysis in popular music, based on the discussion above. I will proceed by examining the historical aspects of the development of form in popular music and discussing the possible explanations behind the obscurities and confusions. Finally, some of the problematic aspects are presented in three analyses of the Beatles' song 'I Saw Her Standing There' (1963).

TANGLE OF CONCEPTS

'Verse' and 'chorus' are widely used concepts of form. Even so, more concepts are needed in the study of popular music form. Those, which do exist, are problematic because of the way in which they are used (or not used). The same concepts often have different (implicit) meanings in different contexts, which complicates the understanding of them. Historically there have been many types of form and their variations used in various styles of popular music. Some forms have remained basically the same throughout the 20th-Century (strophic forms, e.g. blues form, AAA-ballad form), some of them have undergone changes (standard forms, verse/chorus), merged and influenced each other.[7]

[7] I would like to thank my supervisor Yrjö Heinonen and musicologist and musician Olli Heikkinen for the discussions concerning this following chapter.

As stated above verse and chorus are commonly and uncritically used concepts. This causes several problems. Firstly, there is not only one kind of verse/chorus form. During the first half of the 20th-Century an older verse/chorus form was utilised and evolved into a new distinctive form that became evident by the beginning of the second half of 20th-Century. Secondly, there are other form types such as standard forms and strophic forms. Contrary to general belief verse and chorus are not concepts that can automatically be used to describe all form types. Various form types require different terminology. Thirdly, if and when the terms 'verse' and/or 'chorus' are used to define individual sections of music, it must be acknowledged that they are not equal to the verse/chorus form type.

The use of abstract symbols, letters (A, B, C ...), is common in the analysis of traditional music analysis. For example A A B A form is used also in folk and lied music as well as in popular music. (Fiedler 1996, 74). According to Bent (1980, 374) the basis of form-building includes three processes: 'recurrence' (A A), 'contrast' (A B), and 'variation' (A A'). The forms derived from these are called, for instance, binary forms or ternary forms, which are also the basic aspects in the implication realisation model of music by Narmour (1991). Although Bent talks about these processes in the context of classical music, they are the basic processes involved in music of any kind or genre.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

In order to clarify the differences between the two verse/chorus forms and other form types, the historical context of popular music forms must be considered. The historical discussion is based on interpretation of the development of popular music form by Yrjö Heinonen (Figure 1), which he has presented in his popular music history lectures.

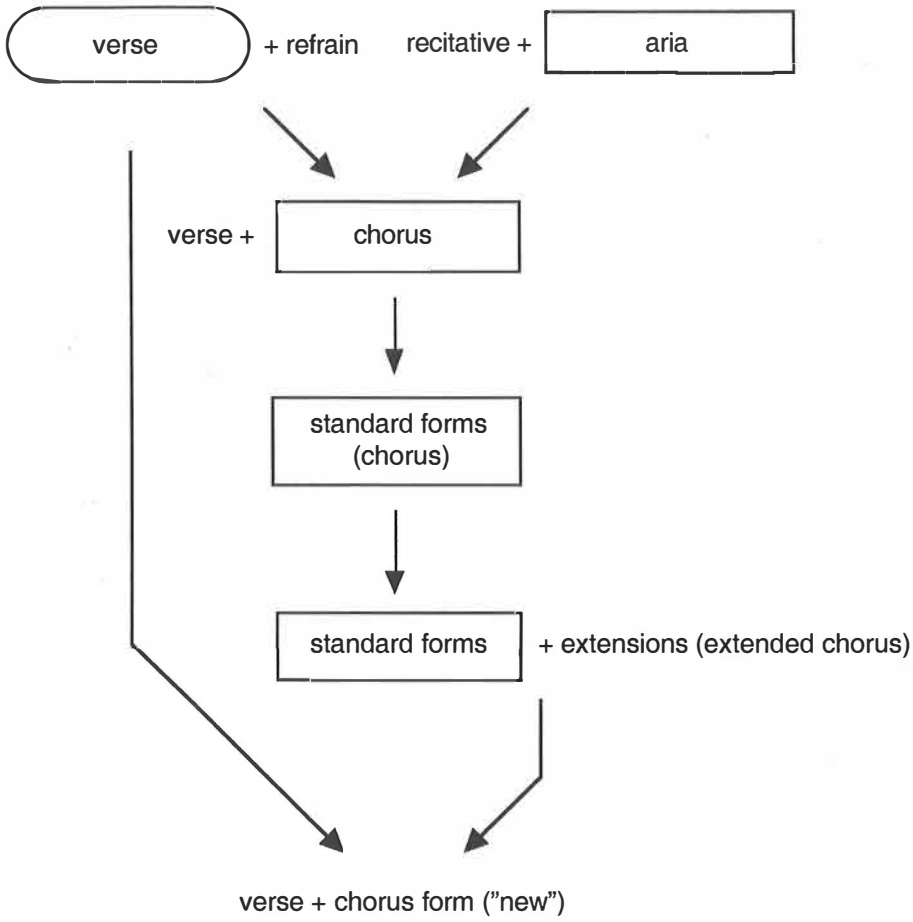

Figure 1. The historical development of verse and chorus form (Heinonen).

There are many concepts in the Figure 1, some of which are perhaps surprising. One will notice links between opera and the today's verse/chorus form. The following is a general overview of the history, with the intention to outline some of the influences on these form types

roots of the verse-chorus form

Originally, the verse/chorus form is an old popular song form that is different from the verse/chorus form we know today. This "old" version was used

especially at the beginning of the 20th-Century in Tin Pan Alley[8] music by famous composers such as Cole Porter, George Gershwin, Richard Rogers, Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, to mention but a few. Sometimes it is called a standard form, which more precisely refers to the form of the chorus of the old verse/chorus form[9].

In the 19th-Century an average verse/chorus song included six or seven verses consisting of about ten lines, and a chorus, sometimes called also the refrain[10] (Davis 1985, 61). Verses were quite long and their nature was generally narrative – the text varied. The chorus was not a repeated, unvaried section as it is now but, rather a contrast to the verses that functioned more as a bridge[11]. Chorus included the main message and the title of the song (Davis 1985, 31). Today we remember many of the choruses of old verse/chorus songs – such as 'Over The Rainbow' - and the verses have been forgotten.

recitative and aria

Recitative and aria are clearly concepts of classical music, which have been rarely used in popular music discourse. They are, however, not irrelevant in the history and development of popular music form. As popular music evolved in the 19th-Century it was partly influenced by the opera, operetta and musical comedy.

Recitative and aria were the fundamental elements of the 18th-Century opera from in which the "lighter" and more entertaining, "semi-classical" style, operetta, was born. Opera had been popular and entertaining until the release of more "serious" and demanding operas of Wagner and Verdi. This resulted in the need for a "new" popular form of theatrical music. (Lamb

[8] Tin Pan Alley refers to a centre of popular music industry in Manhattan, New York, in the beginning of the 20th-Century. It is actually a city block where many songwriters worked. Tin Pan Alley also includes the music of Broadway songwriters.

[9] More about standard form in the next section.

[10] 'Refrain' is sometimes used as a synonym for 'chorus', which might cause confusion. In this case, however, I wish to separate these concepts. The definition of 'refrain' will be given further in this chapter. Another synonym for chorus is 'reprise'.

[11] A bridge is the contrasting part in AABA and it is fundamental to that form. The 'bridge' can appear as an optional part of a verse/chorus song, though it is not essential. An instrumental break may also serve as a bridge. (Davis 1985, 32.) It works to provide contrast in lyrical content, metre, melody. A bridge usually occurs only once, and rarely employs the primary hook. (Fitzgerald 1999, 227.)

1980c, 90.) In the narrative sense the function of opera recitative was quite similar to that of popular song verse - they both tell a story which is developed. Choruses and arias, on the other hand, allow one to stop for the sake of sentiment and enjoy the moment. The concentration is lyrical and focuses on the main message of the song, which is emphasised and perhaps repeated. The most popular arias were sung in popular concerts and became widely known by the general public. (Westrup & Walkner & Heart 1980, 573-579; Westrup 1980, 643-648)

"The term 'popular music' has most commonly been applied to the music of, and since, the 'Tin Pan Alley' era, i.e. the 1880s onwards in the USA and the early years of the 20th century in Europe" (Lamb 1980c, 87). Popular music included not only popular songs from popular theatre, but also hymns and ballads that were often played at home, orchestral pieces of waltz, polka, quadrille, overture, aria, and marches that were played by military bands, nickleodeons and fairground organs. (Lamb 1980c, 89-90.) The Music Hall was the predominant form of popular music in England, especially in London[12]. The repertoire consisted largely of ballet and opera pieces, the songs had to be both comic and entertaining. (Lamb 1980c, 91.)

Musical Comedy developed from comic opera and burlesque in London during the 1890s and it has been the chief form of popular music theatre of the 20th-Century. Musically it encompasses catchy songs, ensembles and dances (Lamb 1980a, 815). The equivalent form of entertainment in USA, which developed from the Musical Comedy of Broadway, New York, was Musical Play. The more general term 'Musical' became commonplace around the time of World War II.[13] The popular song employed in the Tin Pan Alley and the Music Hall traditions was influenced by the "hits" of Musicals and several tunes by the Musical composers were included in the repertoire. In England Music Hall genre was moving nearer to the variety theatre and family entertainment since the drinking was banned from the body of the hall. Operetta on the other hand was increasingly acquiring some of the characteristics of Music Hall entertainment. (Lamb 1980c, 92.) Popular song at the end of the 19th-Century employed the old verse chorus form. The songs

[12] In Paris, France, the similar entertainment was provided in *Cafés chantants* and *Vaudeville operettas* (Lamb 1980 [c], 91).

[13] For more detailed history see Lamb 1980a, pp. 815-823.

were quite long (when compared to the typical three minute format in popular music), perhaps as a result of the influence of opera and operetta traditions.

strophic forms with a refrain

At the same time as the standard form another evolvement was influenced by the ballad and folk traditions. These two musical styles employ the strophic form of AAA.... They consist of successive verses in which the hook (title) or the main message is often repeated at the end of each verse. The term 'refrain' refers to this phrase (a line or two), that often occurs at the end of the verse and recurs in successive verses. (Davis 1985, 33; Björnberg 1989, 55; Lilliestam 1994, 212.) The same technique was and is used in 12-bar blues, where in a piece lyrically structured A A B the text of the last B-phrase is often repeated - a refrain. Folk and ballad songs have influenced popular songs since the beginning of its development.

> "Before the advent of Tin Pan Alley strophic forms had been the norm; whether texts were narrative or contemplative, popular songs had been written, performed and printed with several verses to the same music. Some had a short refrain or chorus (often for four voices) at the end of the verse; the music for this was often a repetition or extension of the music for the verse and could be omitted without serious damage to the song. It was for the music of the verse that the song was known and remembered. But in the late 19th century and the early 20th the chief melodic material began to be put in the chorus, and the verse took on the nature of preliminary or introductory music; these songs came to be known by their choruses and it is by their choruses that they are remembered." (Hamm 1980, 105.)

Strophic forms dominated both folk and ballad music. The refrain could have been placed at the end of the song, as in 'When The Saints Go Marching In'. Sometimes a song included a chorus, which was melodically similar to the verse but with a different text, as in 'John Brown's Body'. The changes to the chorus led to the development of standardised forms.

standard forms and their extensions

The old verse/chorus form started to undergo changes during the early 20th-Century.

> "By the 1920's both the number of verses and their length had been greatly reduced. By the mid-thirties, even the one- or two-verse introduction had become an optional feature. What slowly evolved was a 32-bar chorus composed of four

> sections of equal length: within that tight structure a number of musical patterns emerged the ABAB, ABAC and AABC, the most enduring of them all, the AABA." (Davis 1989, 59.)

This 32-bar chorus, *standard form,* was all that was left of the popular song form. Sometimes an introductory verse was included (until the mid 1940's). It was not really an essential part of the song, its main function was "to give the stage or screen star more to perform by way of a charming set-up for the chorus" (Davis 1989, 59).

The most typical standard form is AABA, in which the B-section is often called a bridge or release. The song could not finish before all of these sections have been presented. The hook is often the song title which is usually placed within the A-section. Another typical standard form is ABAB. The title is usually placed within the B-section (Davis 1985, 73). Another standard form is ABAC. Standard forms are not comparable to the newer verse/chorus form (A=verse, B=chorus), the B-section is not a chorus. (Davis 1985, 31-32; Collier 1977, 99.)

Standard forms were soon extended and altered to form longer entities in order to accommodate the longer, three to four minute record format. New sections were then added to the end of – for instance, AABA : **BA**. (Davis 1989, 67-68.) Standard forms and their extensions were typical in the 1950's and 1960's in Brill Building[14] music.

Another problematic aspect in addition to the definitions of the form types presented above concern the term 'chorus'. The chorus of the old verse/chorus form is partly the same, partly contradictory to the term 'chorus' that is used widely, for instance, in jazz music.

> "Popular songs usually have two sections: a verse, which is often through-composed (i.e., having no repeated phrases) and ends on the dominant; and a refrain (also called chorus). In jazz performances the verse is little used, if at all; in early jazz it was usually placed only once, at the beginning of the piece, and after the 1920s it was generally discarded altogether and the refrain was taken as the sole material for the piece. Thus in jazz the term "song form" or **"popular song form" refers to the structure of the refrain alone**. The refrain is usually 16 or 32 bars long and made up of four- or right-bar phrases grouped into designs such as *aaba* (or *aa'ba'*, or *aaa'a*), *abac*, or *abcb*.
>
> In *aaba* form the *b* section is called the "bridge", "channel", "release", "middle eight", or "inside"; the contrast it provides with the *a* section is not only melodic and harmonic but also tonal, for it often modulates to the subdominant, dominant, submediant, or mediant." (Owens 1988, 396)

[14] Brill Building is alike Tin Pan Alley related to professional songwriters in New York, however, during 1950's and 1960's.

The chorus is borrowed from the old verse/chorus form but, since in jazz there is no verse it is just a "chorus song". Form in this 'chorus' can be, for example, that of standard form. Nevertheless, the term 'chorus' is commonly used to indicate any repeated pattern or cycle that is repeated. The plan or form of the song is chosen beforehand by deciding the number of repeated choruses and their function in the song. This allows the musicians to improvise and play solos etc.

> "(1) In general usage the refrain of a song or hymn, that section which is repeated, always with the same tune and text, after each verse; for the use of harmonic and metric structures of song refrains as the basis of jazz piece.
> (2) In jazz any statement, or, more particularly, any restatement with variations, of a theme. The term is commonly applied to those clear cut forms that consist of a theme, followed by a series of variations on the theme, and then a repetition of the theme itself; it is not generally used in discussing those styles of jazz in which free improvisation takes place of the series of variations on the theme." (Chorus 1988, 208)

Many choruses of popular songs have been used as a harmonic and thematic basis for jazz pieces. Then there is no contradiction in the use of the term 'chorus'. The form of these pieces is actually an extended standard form - the first chorus is the AABA, after which it is repeated a number of times.

The chorus can, however, be based on any theme or music that has nothing to the old or new verse/chorus form. The use of the 'chorus' concept was established amongst jazz musicians and this must be acknowledged in the analysis of form.

new verse and chorus form

There are two main contributors in the development of the verse and chorus form as it is known today. One is standard form. Gradually the bridge (i.e. B in AABA) started to become more independent and evolved into a separate musical statement from the A-section, as opposed to the standard form AABA, which had been a seamless entity. Another source is the refrain of strophic form. It was during the folk boom in the 1960's that folk songs influenced other popular music and the use of refrain became increasingly common in pop and rock music (Lilliestam 1994, 214). Emphasis on the refrain grew and it developed into a more independent and stronger part of the song. An extended refrain became the chorus, which now had an independent formal function and was clearly separated from the verse (e.g. in story line, length,

harmonic structure). Strophic songs with refrain or standard form/refrain songs should be separated from the newer verse/chorus songs. (Davis 1985, 32-33, 47; Lilliestam 1994, 214.)

The strophic AAA form was also bent, with the refrain. This resulted in forms such as AA+refrain AA+refrain (= AAB AAB).[15] This differs from the general AAA form due to the placement of the refrain - it is not within every A-section but rather a separate segment that follows only every second verse. Its purpose is to divide the song into parts. (Davis 1989, 40.)

In today's verse/chorus form both sections are repeated, usually several times, and their number varies depending on the song. There are usually 2-3 verses, which alternate with a second musical section, the chorus. The most typical distinction between a verse and a chorus is the text. Verse normally conveys the song's information or story, lyrics tend to change from one verse to the next. In a verse-verse-verse form, each section contains the primary a hook[16] – often on the last line; but in a verse-chorus form, the verse does not normally contain the primary hook. (Fitzgerald 1999, 229.) The arrangement of the verse is repeated unvaried or with slight changes (e.g., V1 appears again at the end of the song), or the verses may be repeated successively identically, with the hook may then be in the verse, not the chorus (Fiedler 1996, 74).

The chorus is a separate musical statement from the verse in which the text is often unvaried, unlike the verse. It contains the song title and the main hook – it summarises the message of the song. Even if the text of the chorus is partly changed it must still maintain distinctive characteristics and the title must appear according to expectations. The chorus is a necessary part of the verse/chorus form, without it the song would not survive. (Davis 1985; Fiedler 1996, 74; Fitzgerald 1999, 227; Björnberg 1986, 55.)

These concepts and their brief history are sufficient for the analysis of the popular music the 1960's. Some have been modified during the last decades of the 20th-Century and new styles, for example, hip hop, techno, rap, ambient, etc. have set new challenges for the analysis of form. They are, however, beyond the essence of this article. The description of the new

[15] AAB is known as Bar form in musicology, it also appears in folk music (Koskimäki&Heinonen 1998, 130).

[16] A hook is a repeated element, which is intended to grab the listener's attention (lyric, melody, rhythm etc. – or combination of these), "hooks" them like a fish" (Fitzgerald 1999, 227). A successful song will normally feature one primary (i.e. especially notable or prominent) and a number of secondary hooks.

verse/chorus form primarily applies to today's mainstream popular music. In order to illustrate the tangle presented above the following chapter will take this theoretical discussion and put it into practise by means of an example.

ANALYSIS EXAMPLE: 'I SAW HER STANDING THERE' BY THE BEATLES

Lennon and McCartney have themselves used concepts of form, such as 'verse', 'chorus', 'middle eight', 'bridge' (Miles 1990, 177). [17] Even though they did not have formal musical education it is likely that they picked up some of the terminology from the studio staff and producer George Martin. They were also familiar with the older verse/chorus and standard forms, which were alive and in common use as they were growing up. During the early years Lennon and McCartney utilised mainly standard forms in their music, strophic forms (ballads or blues form) were not so frequent, and the new verse/chorus form was just developing during the 1960's[18]. When recording it was Martin who, at least in some cases suggested that the song should have more "choruses" ('Please Please Me') or to start the song with a "chorus ('Can't Buy Me Love') (Martin 1979, 132-133).

'I Saw Her Standing There'[19] is a suitable example to demonstrate how some of the conceptual and analytical problems discussed above may affect the analysis. I will present three analysis of the Beatles' song, the first by Alan W. Pollack, the second by Jon Fitzgerald, and the last by myself, in order to demonstrate the various analytical possibilities for this song. The analyses are presented in Table 2.

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[17] Sheff 1981, Playboy 4/1981, The Compleat Beatles (originally in Hit Parader 1972).

[18] Verse/chorus form became more popular in their songs in the end of their career as the Beatles.

[19] The song is the first track from the first Beatles album *Please Please Me* published in March 22, 1963 in UK. The lead vocal is sung by McCartney. The authorship of the song is listed for Lennon and McCartney, though the main contribution was made by McCartney, whereas Lennon helped with the lyrics (Dowlding 1989, 23).

	POLLACK:			
form	**V 1**	**V 2**	**Bridge**	**V 3**
bars	16	16	10	16
	FITZGERALD:			
form	**A**	**A**	**B**	**A**
bars	16	16	10	16

	NURMESJÄRVI:																				
bars	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	4	4
phrases	a1	a2	b1	c1	d	a3	a4	b2	c2	d	e1	e2	e3	f	a5	a6	b'2	c3	d
form	**A 1**			**B**		**A 2**			**B'**		**C**				**A 3**			**B''**	
bars	8			8		8			8		10				8			8	
	She was just 17...			How could I dance with another...		Well, she looked at me...			She wouldn't dance with another...		Well my heart went. boom...				We danced through the night...			I never danced with another...	

Table 1. The Forms of the Beatles' song 'I Saw Her Standing There' (1963) by Pollack (1999), Fitzgerald (1994) and Nurmesjärvi[20]

The Table 1 presents the first 62 bars of the song, which are sufficient to illustrate the differences in analyses.[21] The differences in these analyses are on several levels. Firstly, the concepts used to describe the form vary. Secondly, the lengths of the sections are not similar. There is one link between all presented analyses: the length of the bridge in Pollack's analysis, the section B in Fitzgerald's analysis and the section C in my analysis is the same.

Allan W. Pollack published his first comments on the Beatles music through the Internet in May, 1989. Of the 28 published songs he also included 'I Saw Her Standing There'.[22] (Pollack 1999.) He is a musicologists

[20] In my analysis I have chosen to represent the changing lyrics in A sections by numbers (A1, A2 ...). The lyrics in B-sections, however, change only in the first two bars of the total eight bars, the rest is always the same.

[21] The complete form of the song according to my analysis is *In - A1 - B - A2 - B' - C - A3 - B'' - S - C - A3 - B - co.*

[22] He completed his notes in February, 2000 – now the pages cover all the Beatles songs. The analysis of 'I Saw Her Standing There' is identical in 1999 and 2000 sources.

with musicological ambitions concerning the "Notes on ...Series".[23] However, his publication is not a scientific study and cannot be judged from those bases. Furthermore, form is only one aspect of his work and it is not on the main focus of his interest.[24] Pollack presents 'I Saw Her Standing There' as a song with "a strong bluesy flavor " (Pollack 2000). With regard to the form he writes that it "[...] is quite fully cranked out with two bridges, a guitar solo, intro, and full outro" (Pollack 1999). He interprets the song, not as a verse and chorus song, but a verse/bridge song. One could also view his VVB as AABA.

Fitzgerald (1996a, 1996b) has interpreted 'I Saw Her Standing There' as an AABA.[25] He does not present detailed analyses of any songs or their principles of the analysis – he simply presents a list of AABA songs, which includes 'I Saw Her Standing There'. The sections are of the same length as in Pollack's analysis but Fitzgerald does not used the term 'verse', instead he refers directly to the established standard form type of AABA. Fitzgerald writes about the songs of the Beatles:

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[23] He lists (good) reasons that made him start this enormous task that took him over ten years to complete (compressed) (Pollack 2000, authors bold):

- Rediscovery of the Beatles albums on CD [...]
- The Suggestion and proof-by-existence that the Beatles were a worthy subject of "formal Scholarship" provided by the examples of Lewisohn's *Recording Sessions book* [...] and [...] the newsgroup rec.music.beatles [...]
- The slow realization that **even the most scholarly treatments of the wealth of Beatle bootleg material to-date were focused almost entirely on issues of discography and provenance, while largely missing out on the profound musicological significance of the material** in terms of the light shed on the Beatles' compositional processes.
- [...]

In his interview (presented on the Internet pages) he was asked about the usefulness of the 'school' tools in the task. Pollack answers:
"the overall success of the series rests on the extend to which my tool set for the project is a not-too-doctrinaire personal synthesis of a number of music theory "schools," further adapted to the particular challenges of the material under study. The downside of this approach is that it allows my work to potentially "fall between two stools;" i.e. my lay readership finds the tech talk inscrutable such as it is, while my academic colleagues resent that this same tech talk is not cast in terms of a more rigorous and easily identifiable doctrine."

[24] Other aspects that he deals with (depending on the song in question) include words, harmony and modality, melody, and arrangement, and A-section-by-section walkthrough (Pollack 1999, 2000). The form is always dealt with in terms of verse, chorus and bridge.

[25] In hid dissertation (1996b, 37-38) *Popular Songwriting 1963-1966* he divides form types into following categories: verse/chorus; verse/chorus/bridge; AABA; AAA; irregular.

> " Lennon-McCartney use very simple and regular forms, and clearly prefer the A A B A scheme. Several of their A A B A songs (e.g. 'Love Me Do,' 'A Hard Day's Night,' 'I Don't Want to Spoil the Party') involve an immediate statement of the lyric hook, rather than placing it (as is more common) at the end of the 'A' section. " (Fitzgerald 1996b, 215.)

Contrary to the 'typical' Beatles AABA song the title of 'I Saw Her Standing There' is placed at the end of the A-section. This, however, according to Davis (1985, 63) is typical of AABA songs: "Traditionally, there are two title spots in the AABA; in either the first line or the last line of the verse".

Fitzgerald's analysis is in taken to the macro level: the sections are the largest possible repeated units in this song. This results in a discursive pattern in which B-section is understood as a bridge, after which A-section is repeated again. The song could not end after the B-section. This analysis does not, however, confirm the idea of symmetry in the length of the sections. The standard forms were often 32 bars long (4x8 bars). In this analysis sections are not of same length, not so unusual in popular music, but the four times eight bar structure (ABAB) is found in the song on another level.

The result of my analysis presented in Table 1 is an ABABCAB form. In this case I would interpret the first ABAB as a standard form, even though all songs that begin with ABAB are not necessarily standardised forms. However, in this song there are several factors that support the idea of an ABAB standard form.[26] The length of the sections is that of the normative standard forms – four times eight bars. The hook is stated early in the song, as is also typical of an AABA song. The title is often the closing line of the each AB-unit, as is the case in this Beatles' song (Davis 1985, 75).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the comparison of these analyses is not to pinpoint right or wrong results but rather to present the different possible ways of interpreting and understanding the form, depending on the analyst and the purpose of the

[26] The cognitive principles for my analysis are presented in Beatlestudies 1 (Nurmesjärvi, 1998).

analysis. The implicit information – definitions of the concepts, principles of the analysis – are crucial in understanding the result of the analysis. The main problem concerns the terminology commonly used by musician that is "borrowed" to the analysis (e.g. verse/chorus). These examples show that however useful they are, these concepts do not apply to all form types. Standard form, for example, is a case in point. Therefore it is suggested that this "borrowed" terminology should not be used uncritically. There is also an "unintentional" factor that affects the understanding of the various verse/chorus form types. The younger generation, including myself, do not have much contact with the older verse/chorus form. It is rarely heard, even though the choruses are still played, the tradition no longer continues. Standard forms are more familiar, and they are still used. Extended AABA is still quite common in mainstream pop music.

There are indeed problems with the actual analysis procedure. Even though one tries to formulate as consistent and logical principles as possible difficulties still occur. Pollack (2000) states same difficult aspects of analysis that are familiar also in the present body of research:

- a form that could not be easily pigeonholed into the standard pop designs;
- chord Progressions that relied on voice leading rather than root movement;
- uneven phrase lengths or meter changes.

Even though 'I Saw Her Standing There' appears to be a very standardised pop song the above comparison showed that there are many possible ways to interpret form. Much more complex examples could be pointed out within the Beaites' vast repertoire.

Since the concepts of verse and chorus are not applicable to all songs other indicators must be chosen. The alphabets (A, B, C ...) representing each section of form are neutral in the sense that they do not refer to any specific form type. However, there is a danger that the form is interpreted as, for instance, AABA form (a standard form) yet the analyst can eliminate this by explicitly stating the grounds upon which the analysis is based. The compatibility of the results of the analysis becomes necessary when the forms are compared or statistical methods are used.

Confusing the letters from the beginning of alphabets, A, B, C etc. with the standard forms (AABA, ABAB) is possible and highly likely. However, it is as arbitrary as using other letters, for instance, O, P, Q, R, or X, Y, Z, and so on. The confusion exists in the mind of the reader since the principles and basis of the use of the concepts are not explicitly identified. For myself, as an analyst, the analytical procedure requires careful thought and consideration before the concept of form, and its changes, can be placed under close examination from a broader perspective.

Finally, I would like to return to Adorno. It is true that standardisation is a feature of popular music, as it is in many other musical genres. For instance, Tin Pan Alley is a very homogeneous style also in the sense of form (Hamm 1980, 105). Could the form be more standardised than an AABA of four times eight bars? However, there are also complex cases in mainstream pop music, not to mention other styles that perhaps require new or redefined terminology. A standard is not always simple and what appears to be simple on one level is sometimes complex on another.

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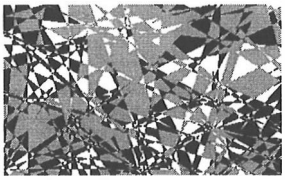


BEATLES 2000

HAPPINESS IS ... A GOOD TRANSCRIPTION

Shortcomings in Sheet Music Publications of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun'

Jouni Koskimäki

It is common knowledge that neither John Lennon nor Paul McCartney could read or write music – that is, they were not familiar with the common notation system. Nevertheless, although both of them were suspicious of music theory, they were not against writing music down. They simply found it problematic. In Lennon's own words:

> "In the early days they were always asking us 'Would you and Paul consider learning music?' and we always said, 'No, No, it would wreck our style' or whatever we said would ruin it. That's what we said. Sometimes it's annoying not to be able to write down something, but to write down a bit of music I have to go through a whole complicated thing to remember it. I've lost lots of good music through not being able to write it down. But if we could write it there would be some counter loss. I tape-record it so there's no need for it. I think writing music would be all right if it was up-dated, they use a very old fashioned style of note

> formation. Most of my songs, on the sheet music, have always been incorrect. If ever I get anybody to play me the notes on the sheet music, it's all wrong. There seem to be minor notes against major, I'm always singing minor notes against major because I think it's bluesy but it turns out that it isn't. It's a mistake they keep telling me, so they never write it like that, they always write a major note. All those bands who read from the sheet music, they're just playing the wrong tunes altogether. So there's certain notes you can't write down. If they are going to have written music then somebody should invent a new musical notation, which covers *all* the notes. But there always seems to be something wrong." (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 76.)

It seems, however, that the problem was not so much in the notation system as such but, rather, in the way the music was written down. The difficulty was in and between the ears of the transcribers.

The aim of my study is to compare how accurately the music and especially the rhythm has been transcribed in different sheet music publications of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun', which is, in my opinion, the most complex of the Beatles songs from a rhythmic point of view. Actually, because of the rhythmic complexity of the song, the Beatles spent quite a long time in the studio when recording it. The sessions lasted three days (from 23 to 25 September, 1968) and the number of the different takes rose up to 70, which is one of the highest amount of takes for a single song they ever recorded. The final version was edited from two takes (53 and 65) (see for example Lewisohn 1988, 157 and Lewisohn 1997, 300). I will also take into account how well the transcriptions serve musicians who want to learn and play the songs from these publications. Through the analysis of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' I will also demonstrate the problems in the authenticity and shortcomings of sheet music publications. Naturally the record is considered as the authentic source, to which the notations are compared.

PROBLEMS IN MAKING A CORRECT TRANSCRIPTION OF RHYTMICALLY COMPLEX MUSIC

main sheet music formats

If the arrangements for non-original instruments and line-ups are not taken into account, most of publications fall into one of the following publication formats:

- sheet music editions (mainly the so called vocal/piano edition)
- lead sheet editions
- full score editions
- editions containing transcriptions of an instrumental part
- simplified editions (called mainly the easy edition)

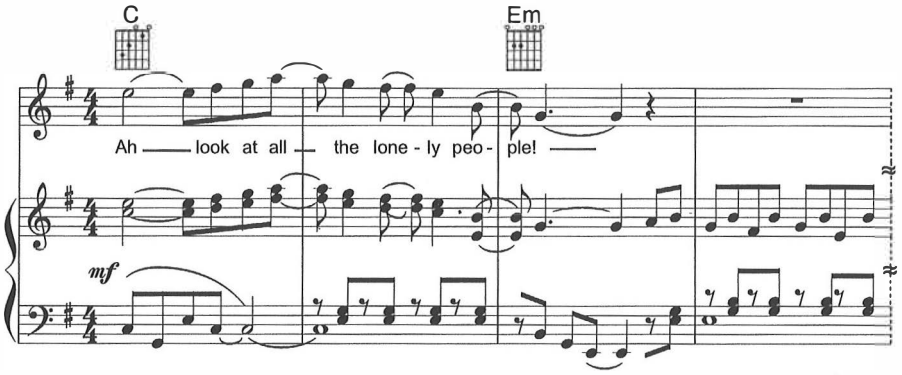
Sheet music editions are probably the most commonly used in popular music. There are two types of this format: piano (or other keyboard staves) *with* or *without* vocal stave. It is, at least in principle, an arrangement of the main sections of the song for piano (or other keyboard instrument). Piano staves are in principle the same in both types of sheet music. In these formats, the upper piano stave – treble clef, intended to be played with the right hand – includes the main melody (occasionally incorporating secondary melodies) together with some supporting chord tones where appropriate. The lower stave – bass clef, intended to be played with the left hand – occasionally coincides with the actual bass line heard on the record but is more often arranged for the left hand of the piano. The lyrics are written under the upper stave and the chord symbols over the upper stave in the case of format without a vocal stave. With the vocal stave lyrics are also placed underneath but the chord symbols are either in between of piano staves or over the vocal staff. Previously (in the sixties and often in seventies the chord symbols were placed under the lower stave in both sheet music formats. Guitar diagrams may also be added, usually so that they, together with the chord symbols, are written above the upper stave (see Example 1).

The *lead sheet format* comprises only a single stave for the main melody (other vocal or instrumental parts may occasionally be added), above which the chord symbols – with or without diagrams – are written. Sometimes all chord diagrams are given in the space between the song title and the first stave, so that only the chord symbols are written above the staves.

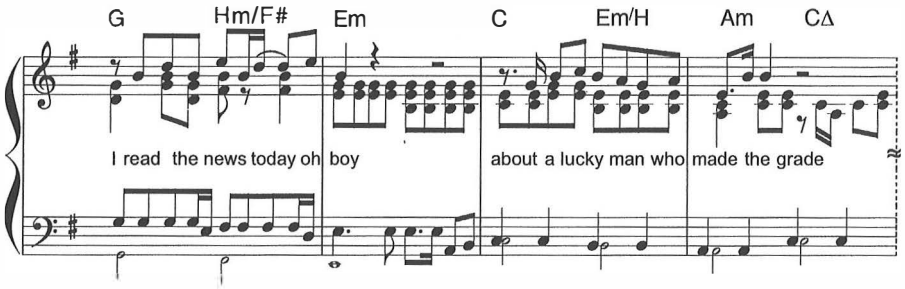
In popular music, the *full score format* has not been common before the 1980s. As its name implies, a full score is intended to represent all of the instruments heard on an actual record (or performance) as accurately as possible. The parameters indicated in a full score usually include the pitch (as in melody or harmony) and the rhythm. Such aspects as dynamics or phrasing are more rarely indicated. Actually, many publications titled "full scores" or "complete scores" are in practice far from full or complete: certain instruments as well as entire sections of a song may be omitted altogether –

actually in the majority of publications these shortcomings exist. During the entire publishing history of the Beatles it was only at the beginning of eighties that the first editions of their music in the original key were released (Milton Okun's edited and arranged books 'Compleat Beatles I & II' almost all songs are in the original key). Also in the end of this decade the first accurately transcribed improvised guitar solos, and also the first so-called full score publications of the Beatles were released – unfortunately the first issues of these full scores were rather poor, omitting both a large amount of sections and quite many instruments.

A) With vocal stave



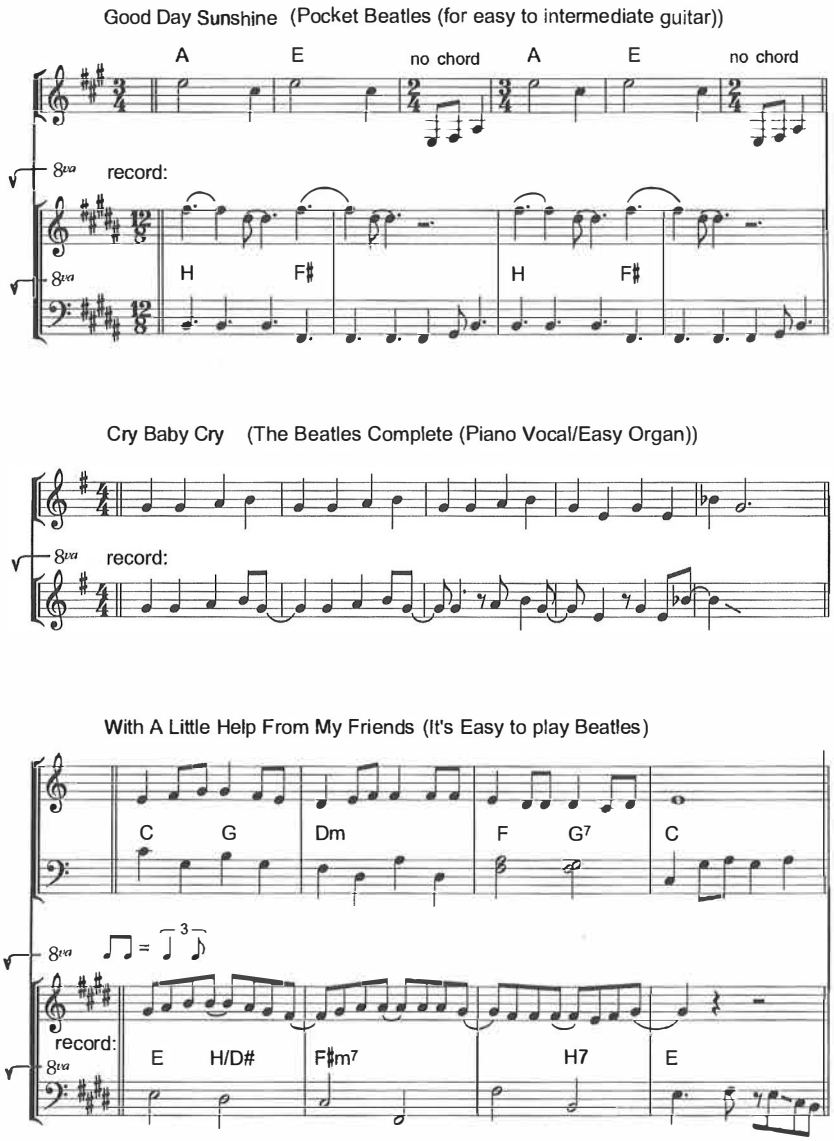
B) Without vocal stave



Example 1. Two types of Sheet music format

One category of sheet music publications includes *transcriptions of an Individual instrumental part*, originally played by a member of the Beatles on a recording. Most of these transcriptions concern the guitar part.[1] The

[1] The first accurate transcriptions of improvised rock guitar solos were published in thebeginning of the 1980s. One of the leading pioneers in this field was guitar virtuoso



Example 2. Simplified Beatles notations and comparison to the record (transcriptions by Koskimäki)

first transcriptions of solo guitar improvisations by the Beatles were also published in the 1980s. However, more accurate transcriptions were to be

Steve Vai, whose early transcriptions – mostly published in the leading popular music magazines such as Guitar Player – included solos by Eddie Van Halen.

published only in the beginning of the 1990s. These transcriptions include *The Beatles Guitar Book* by Joff Jones (1990) and *The Beatles Guitar Techniques* by Jesse Gress (1993). There are also some publications for other instruments, for example *Basslines: The Beatles* (1992). There are also keyboard-oriented publications such as *The Beatles Keyboard*, The *Complete Piano Player*, and *Creative Keyboard Series: The Beatles*. There is, however, no corresponding publication for percussion, although it is probable that such a publication will be published in the near future.

A full chapter of its own could have been devoted to the so-called *easy* or *simplified editions*. Such editions are very common in popular music. As for the Beatles, this category too is exceptionally large. The titles of these editions are usually something like "The Beatles – Easy Edition" or "It's Easy to Play the Beatles". The title immediately implies the essence of the publication: the music is simplified to the degree that a even a novice is assumed to be able to play it. The most common simplifications concern the chords (usually there are less chord changes and/or the chords themselves are simpler) or the rhythm (usually there is less syncopation, the time-values are less complex, and/or grace notes or figures are omitted). From the basic music elements the rhythm is the mostly simplified parameter (see Example 2).

transcribing rhythmically complex music

To begin with, I would like to suggest that anyone who wishes to make a good transcription, should keep in mind the following three principles:

- the transcription should always make the organization of music as clear as possible – it should make it easier to comprehend and perform.

- transcriptions may have different functions and the level of details vary according to its function[2] – in any case, the transcriber should make the purpose of his or her transcription explicit at the outset.

[2] It must be remembered that no transcription of any musical piece can ever be totally complete. It is simply impossible to translate all the information included in one musical performance into a visual representation (which all transcriptions and notations are). For example, there is no effective, accurate and objective way or tools to transcribe and notate sound.

- the transcriber should trust his or her own ears – it is amazing how a trained ear can (with a little help of technology) figure out and select information even from a very complex texture.[3]

The most important element in making a transcription of a rhythmically complex piece of music is to identify the rhythm: how it is perceived and should be performed. Also, on this basis, how a transcription could, as stated above, "make the organization of music as clear as possible". To follow I will give a brief definition of musical rhythm and the basic concepts associated with it. These definitions are based on two articles (Kernfeld, 1988 and Dürr & Gerstenberg, 1980) and one compilation of Web-sites by Mitchell and Logan, 2000.

musical rhythm

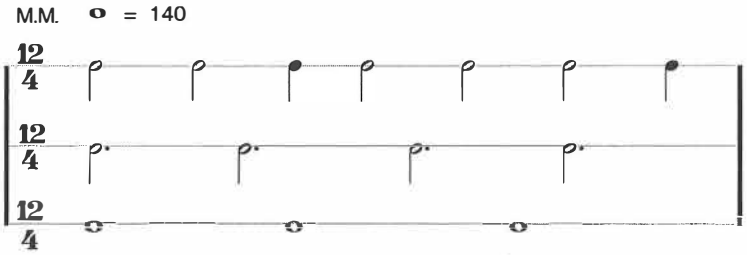
Musical rhythm is the grouping of musical sounds principally by means of duration and stress. It is one of the four basic parameters of music – the others being melody, harmony, and sound – and is, since the others contribute to the rhythm and are activated only in association with the rhythm, inseparably linked to the others. Meter, tempo, and pulse are the basic comer stones of musical rhythm.

[3] During the last decade some computer software for automatic transcription of music have appeared on the market. Some of them are intended for scientific study (for example Maher 89 & 90, Illinois University; Katayose 89, Osaka University; Kashino93 & 95, Tokyo University; Martin 96, MIT) as well as commercial applications (for example SmartScore, Logic Audio, Studio Vision Pro, IntelliScore). As for a review of softwares for automatic transcription see Klapuri 2000. One of the most recently published and developed programs on the transcription software market is 'Transcriber': it can slow down the tempo yet retaining the pitches of notes. This is a considerably benefit trying to figure out fast and complex passages. Although many of above mentioned software packages are capable of reproducing pitches and time-values very accurately, they can not sufficiently analyze the rhythmic organization of music. In other words, they can not represent the music as it is perceived and performed by humans. Moreover, the end result depends too much on how well the defaults – which are determined by the user – suit to the music to be transcribed. So, in the end, it is the musical competence of the transcriber that counts, instead of the properties of the software. A method based on simultaneous use of the original record and notation software has been presented by Koskimäki & Heinonen 1998.

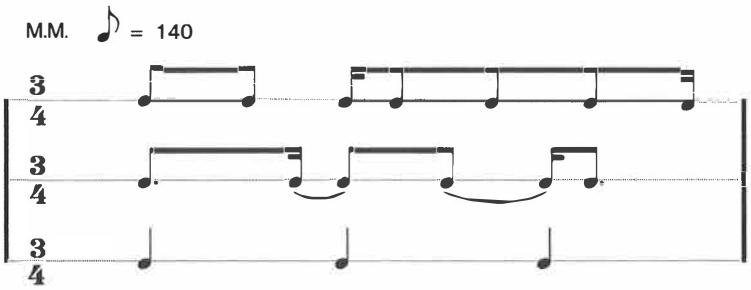
beat, pulse, and tempo

The beat is the most basic rhythmic unit while the pulse is a recurring time pattern that consists of a succession of beats (a steady pulse resembles the ticking of a clock). In popular music, the pulse is usually explicitly stated by a regular accompaniment pattern played by drums and bass. Tempo determines the speed or rate of the pulse. Sometimes, especially when the texture is complex, the pulse is only implied and may be difficult to determine. In such cases there are at least two ways to identify the basic pulse: (1) the so-called majority principle (that is, the pulse of the majority of instruments), and (2) the pulse of the basic accompaniment (particularly drums and bass). It could also be misleading if you choose note-values that are too long combined with tempo values that are too fast. It is hard to understand and play with fast tempo if the notes are whole note or dotted half notes especially in polyrhythmic texture – the common practice has been that long note-values means also slow tempo. This kind of difficulty is demonstrated in Example 3.

A)



B)

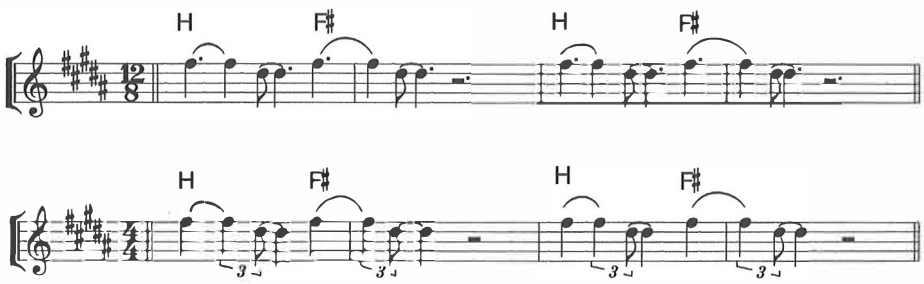


Example 3. Prolonged tempo marking and note values (A) and more acceptable time signature and metronome marking (B)

meter, time values, and time signature

Meter forms the temporal framework through which the rhythm is perceived and established by grouping the unaccented flow of the pulse into patterns based on a hierarchy of accents. The most basic unit of this kind of accent hierarchy is the bar. Bars are formed by stressing the first in a series of two or more beats, so that the beats group themselves into a pattern. Time values refer to the lengths of individual notes. For the pulse to be heard as a common denominator, the time values of individual notes must be exact multiples or subdivisions of the time value to the basic pulse. Time signature consists of two Arabic numerals, the upper numeral of which indicates the number of beats in one bar while the lower indicates the time value accorded to each beat. 1/4 -notes and 1/8 -notes are the most common time values used in time signatures. In simple meters (such as 3/8 and 2/4) the first beat in a series of two or three beats is stressed. In compound meters (such as 6/8 and 4/4), each measure has, in addition to the principal accent on the first beat, one or more subsidiary accents (the same hold true to such irregular meters as 5/4 and 7/8).

One essential factor is identify the most suitable time-signature and pulse to each rhythm. Sometimes it can be difficult: "should I use 12/8 and 1/8 -note pulse, or, 4/4 -time and 1/4 -notes and lots of triplets?" Example 4 ('Good Day Sunshine') shows the same excerpt with two different time signatures (12/8 and 4/4). Both notations have good properties but also some shortcomings. The preference depends largely on the users earlier experience of music and notation.



Example 4. 'Good Day Sunshine' with two different time signatures

accentuation

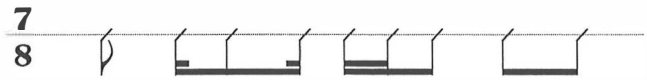
An accent may be defined as intensification in length or loudness of an individual note as compared to its surrounding notes. Much of the rhythmic interest in music depends on accentuation – especially in the case of popular music, where accents occur against the regular accented pattern. In the common notation system, accents are indicated by various accentuation marks (light, moderate, heavy etc.). However, most are not notated within the music but are inserted into the music by the "interpretation" of the performer. To be able to place accents correctly, the performer must, then, be familiar with the genre and style which the song represents.

phrasing and beaming

The phrase is the shortest self-sustaining musical expression (self sustaining in the sense that it has a perceivable beginning, middle, and end). In popular music, phrases tend to be two or four bars long. In notation, correct phrasing can be indicated by phrasing marks or slurs. Beaming – that is, joining a group of eighth-notes, sixteenth-notes and so on together with a beam – is a very useful way of highlighting small-scale rhythmical patterns and accentuation without using accentuation marks. Usually beaming implies accentuation: the first note of any group of beamed notes is typically assumed to have a stress or accent on it. This is why it is extremely important to use beaming in such a way that it complies with the musical context. Incorrect beaming only leads to a performance that corresponds neither to the original source nor what was intended by the transcriber. In example 5 there's a demonstration of misleading beaming.[4]

[4] This real life example which actually occurred in my arrangement-class, one student notated the rhythm of a quartet as in example 5A. However, her phrasing and accentuation in the piano-part was as presented in example 5B. The notated beaming different considerably from what was actually played by the transcriber. Other band members could not follow her lead due to discrepancy between performance and score. Onomatopoetic representation of example 5A where the accents are with **bold** fonts is as follows: "**ton te**-kont-te **te**-ke-ton **ton**-ton" whereas example 5B is: "**tonk**-ke **tonk**-ke **te**-ke **ton**-ton-ton". With false outlining of the rhythmic phrase and incorrect beaming, the result of the music is noticeably different: the notation does not make the music more understandable, on the contrary: it changes the music to something else.

A) notated rhythm



B) performed rhythm

Example 5. Misleading beaming

complex rhythms

Although much popular music is based on regular rhythmic patterns, there are numerous examples avoiding this kind of regularity. Commonly used devices in breaking from overly regular rhythmical patterns include

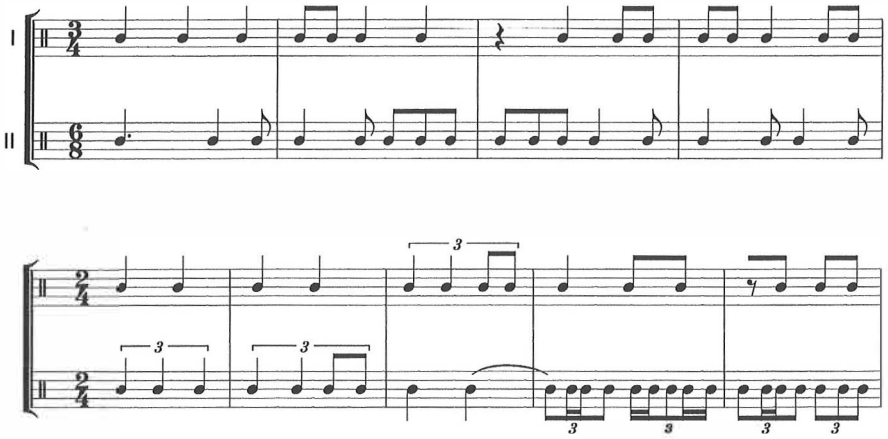
- the use of irregular meters (5/4, 7/8; here the irregularity only takes place within a bar)

- altering the lengths of measures (for example, a series of four measures with time signatures 3/8, 4/8, 2/8, and 5/8)

- the use of polyrhythm (that is, the simultaneous use of different meters in different parts) The most common variations in polyrhythmic texture are two against three (for example 1/4-note duplets and 3/4, or, 6/8 and 3/4, in which 6/8 has two beats in one bar)

All of these devices can be combined into a single piece or even in one short section of a piece. Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* is a good example of this. 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' by the Beatles is another. It goes without saying that, in the case of complex rhythms, it Is extremely important to chose the most natural pulse (including tempo indications) and time signature as well as to indicate the metrical structure within a bar by using beaming in a logical

and illustrative way (the use of phrasing and accentuation marks may also be helpful). In example 6 there is a demonstration of a typical polyrhythmic texture.



Example 6. Polyrhythmic texture

PROCEDURE AND MATERIALS

The basic procedure of this study is to compare a collection of published sheet music representations of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' to the actual recording. The main point is to explore how accurately the transcriptions reproduce that which is audible on the record. Furthermore, I will explore how these transcriptions work from the musician's point of view (for example how easy, illustrative, and unambiguous they are to learn and play). I will pay attention particularly to the aspects referred to in the previous section.

Gathering of a representative collection of published transcriptions is not an easy task due to the enormous quantity of publications available. Because of the lack of a complete sheet music bibliography, it is rather difficult to estimate how many transcriptions of a particular song are available. Another matter is that, in this case, the array material would easily become too large and difficult to deal with, therefore the best solution is to choose a

representative selection. In this case, the eligibility of the selection was determined by choosing

- some of the best known and widely used publications,
- examples representing different publication formats, and
- editions from different time periods, from the early 1970s to the late1990s.

The selected publications as well as information concerning them is presented in Table 1.[5] The most well-known and widely used publications include James (the authorized publisher), Okun (the first in which songs were transcribed in original keys and where most of the instrumental solos were also included), and Scores (the first and to date the only full score publication of all Beatles songs). Unfortunately an example could not be found of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' in the lead sheet format, so there are eight transcriptions in sheet music format (three in piano format and five in vocal/piano format), one full score (Scores), and one analysis of the song's rhythm (MacDonald). There is only one explicitly simplified edition (Complete/Easy) in the selection. Two of the selected editions (*Complete/Easy* and *The Beatles*) have no release date printed.[6]

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON

In the following, I will present my own analysis of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' and compare the transcriptions presented in the sheet music publications belonging to the sample of this study within my analysis. The comparison and analysis proceed section by section, in the order in which sections appear in the original song.

[5] After the name and other information concerning the publication there is a shortcut name of the edition in *italics*. From here on, I will use these shortcuts in the analyzes, in the text, tables and examples.

[6] According to adjustments made by the Jyväskylä city library the *Complete/Easy* publication was released in the beginning of seventies (most probably in 1973) and *The Beatles* publication in the middle-seventies (most probably year with this edition 1975) (Mäkelä 1999).

Publication	Sheet music format	Shortcut
The third book of 50 Hit songs by John Lennon & Paul McCartney, edit. Dick James (1970)	Sheet music (vocal/piano)	*James*
The Beatles Complete Piano Vocal/Easy Organ (197-?)	Sheet music (piano); Easy edition	*Complete/Easy*
The Beatles (Wise Publications) (197-?)	Sheet music (vocal/piano)	*The Beatles*
The Beatles Bumper Songbook (1980)	Sheet music (vocal/piano)	*Bumper*
The Compleat Beatles, volume two, edit. Milton Okun (1981)	Sheet music (piano)	*Okun*
The Beatles Complete. Piano/Organ/Vocal Edition (1983)	Sheet music (piano)	*Complete/Piano*
The Complete Beatles, volume one, A-I, arr. Lowry (1988)	Sheet music (vocal/piano)	*Lowry*
The Beatles Complete Scores. Transcriptions: Tetsua Fujita, Hagino Youji, Kubo Hajime and Sato Goro (1989)	Full score	*Scores*
The Beatles: The White Album (1992)	Sheet music (vocal/piano)	*White Album*
Ian MacDonald: Revolution in the Head (1998)	Rhythm analysis	*MacDonald*

Table 1. The selected publications

overview

The song consists of four sections each section being based on a different pulse. Moreover, the lengths of the sections are different and the meter (time signature) varies from 4/4 via 3/8, 3/16, and 4/8 back 4/4. There are also similar variations concerning the rhythm within certain sections (C and D). Table 2 illustrates the overall rhythmic complexity of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun'.

During the first half of the song the pulse doubles on two occasions: from the 4/4 of section A to the 3/8 of section B and from the 3/8 of section B to the 3/16 of the beginning of section C. In the end of the song the pulse changes just the opposite direction: from the 3/6 at the beginning of section C to the 3/8 (4/8) at the end of the same section and from the 4/8 of the end of section C to the 4/4 of section D. So, at the conclusion the pulse returns to that with which the song began.

Section	**A** (She's not a girl..)	**B** (instru-mental & I need a fix..)	**C** (three times repeated) (Mother Superior jump the gun)				**D** (Happi-ness...)	(When I ...)	(Be-cause.)
Sub-section			C1	C2	C1'	C2'	D1	D2	D3
Most natural pulse	**4/4**	**3/8**	**3/16** (4 x 3/16 in the melody or 2 x 6/16)	**3/8** (only one bar)	**3/16** (4 x 3/16 in the melody or 2 x 6/16)	**4/8** (only one bar)	**4/4**	**3/8**	**4/4**
Time	(0'00"-0'44")	(0'44"-1'12")	(1'13" - 1'15")	(1'15"-1'16")	(1'16"-1'18")	(1'18" - 1'19")	(1'34"-0'44")	(1'47" - 2'02")	(2'02"-2'41")

Table 2. The pulse changes in 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun'

section A – "She's not a girl who misses much..."

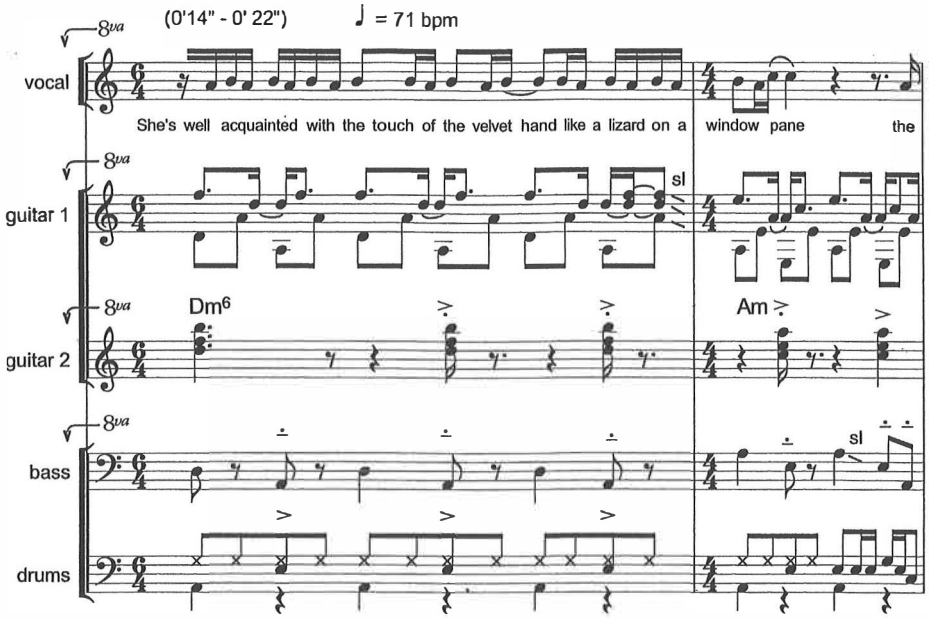
analysis

Determining the basic pulse of the section is by no means problematic. The vocals and the finger-picking guitar play mostly in 1/8 -notes and 1/16 -notes, while the bass and drums play mostly in 1/4 -notes. Because the basic accompaniment (bass & drums) has a major impact on the overall feel of the rhythm, the most natural pulse of the section is based on quarter notes. According to the majority principle, the most natural pulse of this section is based on quarter notes. The section itself consists of six phrases as follows:

1	"She's not a girl..."	0'00"
2	"Do do do do..."	0'07"
3	"She's well acquainted..."	0'14"
4	"The man in the crowd..."	0'23"
5	"Lying with his eyes..."	0'30"
6	"A soap impression..."	0'37"

Taking the quarter note pulse, the lengths and time signatures of the six phrases of section A are as follows. The first two phrases are eight 1/4 -notes long each and form two bars in a 4/4 meter. Contrary to this, the third phrase consists of ten 1/4 -notes and is most naturally divided into two bars, one in 6/4 and the other in 4/4 (See Example 7).

The fourth and fifth phrases are similar to the first two bars (eight 1/4 -notes, forming two 4/4 bars). The sixth bar is once different again, consisting of nine 1/4 -notes, which are naturally divided in two bars, one in 5/4 and the other in 4/4 meter. Section A is based only on two chords and it is most natural to try to fit the bar lines to the chord changes where possible. On this basis, it is better to write the sixth phrase as suggested above (that is, one bar in a 6/4 meter) rather than dividing the beginning of the phrase into one 4/4 and one 2/4 phrase, as has been done in many publications.



Example 7. The third phrase of A-section as in a full score format by Koskimäki

comparison of the publications

For one reason or another the variety concerning the rhythm of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun's A-section is astonishingly large amongst the published transcriptions. This is astonishing because section A is *not* particularly complex compared to the rest of the song. Within the ten chosen publications there are seven different notations of the rhythm for this section. This variety is shown in Table 3.

The phrases consisting of eight 1/4 -notes (1, 2, 4, and 5) are calculated correctly in all publications. Contrary to that, the two phrases of irregular length (3 and 6) are in my opinion understood incorrectly in these publications. In principle, the third phrase is represented basically the same way but, because two publications have chosen half note as the basic pulse, the length of this phrase is different between the publications. Strangely enough,in all publications the third phrase (based on the progression Dm6–Am) is divided into three measures, despite the fact that there is no musical reason to support this. As stated above, it is much more natural, and

consistent, to notate the beginning (Dm6) as one 6/4 measure rather than dividing it to two bars (4/4 + 2/4).

For some irritating reason four publications (James, Bumper, Okun and The Beatles) change the pulse, even though nothing in the music supports such an alteration. Moreover, all publications, with the exception of Scores, divide the sixth phrase into three bars. The natural division is, however, two bars as in the case of the third phrase (see Ex. 7). The only difference to the third bar is that now there are five beats as opposed to six. Thus the most natural time signature is 5/4 (instead of the 6/4 of the third bar). In fact, this is the way the sixth phrase is notated in Scores. In Complete/Easy there is yet another mistake: the sixth phrase is shortened to eight beats instead of nine.

section B – "I need a fix 'cause I'm going down..."

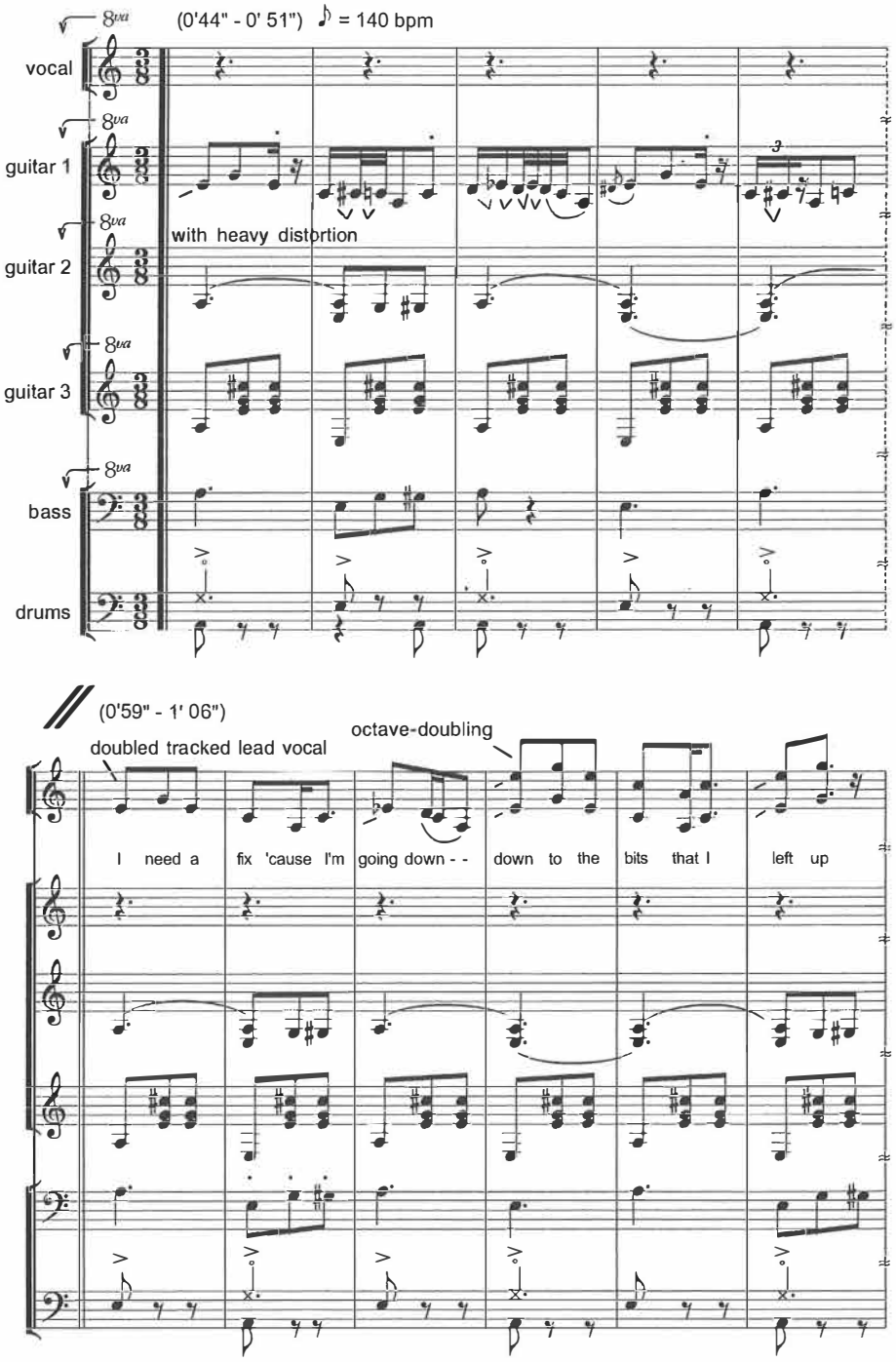
analysis

In section B the pulse changes for the first time in the song. The rather slow 4/4 time of section A is now substituted for a faster 3/8 pulse. Along with this change of pulse comes the polyrhythm, with drums playing dotted 1/4 -notes over the basic 3/8 pulse (this accompaniment kept throughout the entire section). The first dotted 1/4 -note occurs on cymbal while the latter occurs on the snare. The meter of this accompaniment is basically even 2/4 (where each 1/4 -note played by the drums is equal to the dotted 1/4 -notes sung by Lennon and played by the other instruments.) The resulting texture is very polyrhythmic (see Example 8)

As the section proceeds, the complexity reaches an even higher level. This is due to two factors: (1) the varying lengths of phrases, and as mentioned above, (2) the 2/4 -feeling drum accompaniment in 3/8 time signature through the whole section (although the lengths of the drum beats are mostly dotted quarters). The first phrase comprises of three bars while the second and third each comprise four bars. In the beginning of the second phrase (at 0'48"), the percussion accompaniment is inverted: now the first beat occurs on the snare (instead of the cymbal) and vice versa. Again, when this irregular 3+4+4 bar structure is repeated, the drum accompaniment is switched back to a more standard accompaniment figure. This takes place eight bars before the end of the section (at 1'02").

	Time signatures	Number of bars
Koskimäki	2 x 4/4 (first phrase) (0' 00"- 0'06") 2 x 4/4 (second) (0'07" - 0'14") 6/4 + 4/4 (third) (0'14"- 0'22") 2 x 4/4 (fourth) (0'23"-0' 29") 2 x 4/4 (fifth) (0'30" - 0'36") 5/4 + 4/4 (sixth) (0'37" - 0'44")	12
James	2 x 8/8 (first) 2 x 8/8 (second), 8/8 + 4/8 + 8/8 (third), 2 x 8/8 (fourth), 2 x 8/8 (fifth), 4/8 + 6/8 + 8/8 (sixth)	14
Complete/Easy	25 x 4/4	25
The Beatles	2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 2/4 + 6/8 + 4/4 (sixth)	14
Bumper	2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 2/4 + 6/8 + 4/4 (sixth)	14
Okun	2 x 4/4 (extra intro), 2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 2/4 + 6/8 + 4/4 (sixth)	16
Complete/Piano	22 x 4/4 alla breve, 2 x 6/4 + 2 x 4/4 alla breve, moderato	26
Lowry	2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 2/4 + 3/4 + 4/4 (sixth)	14
Scores	2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 5/4 + 4/4 (sixth)	13
White Album	2 x 4/4 (first), 2 x 4/4 (second), 4/4 + 2/4 + 4/4 (third), 2 x 4/4 (fourth), 2 x 4/4 (fifth), 2/4 + 3/4 + 4/4 (sixth)	14
MacDonald	4 x 4/4, 1 x 4/4, 1 x 2/4, 6 x 4/4, 1 x 1/4 and 1 x 4/4	14

Table 3. A-section's time-signatures and the time-signatures in the studied publications



Example 8. Polyrhythm in B-section in full score format by Koskimäki

comparison of the transcriptions of section B in sheet music publications

Even though the transcriptions of section B are much more homogeneous compared to those of section A, there is still considerable variation between them (Table 4).

	Time signatures	Number of bars
Koskimäki	11 x 3/8 (instrumental) (0'44" - 0'58") 11 x 3/8 (I need a fix 'cause...) (0'59" - 1'22")	22
James	22 x 3/8	22
Complete/Easy	11 x 3/4	11
The Beatles	11 x 3/4	11
Bumper	11 x 3/4	11
Okun	22 x 3/4, slow waltz, ♩ = ♩.	22
Complete/Piano	11 x 3/4, moderate waltz	11
Lowry	22 x 3/4, double tempo	22
Scores	9/8, 2 x 12/8, 9/8 and 2 x 12/8	6
White Album	22 x 3/4, double tempo	22
MacDonald	22 x 3/8	22

Table 4. B-section's time-signatures and the time-signatures in the studied publications

Basically section B has been transcribed in three different ways: (1) in 3/4 meter (Complete/Easy, The Beatles, Bumper, Okun, Complete/Piano, White Album, and Lowry), (2) in 3/8 meter (James, MacDonald), (3) alternating between 9/8 and 12/8 (Scores).

In some publications the rhythm has been simplified. Four publications (Complete/Easy, The Beatles, Bumper, and Complete/Piano) have completly omitted the instrumental parts (11 bars). In three publications (Compleat/Easy, The Beatles, and Bumper) there is no sign of a change of pulse. James has utilised the same pulse for section B as for section A (instead of being a 1/4 -note it is a 1/8 -note for both A- and B-sections). *Scores* favours the utilization of more

beats per bar: according to it, section B consists only of six bars while half of the publications present it as being 22 bars. Time signatures in Scores are either 9/8 or 12/8 while all the other editions have either 3/8 or 3/4. For musicians it very difficult to comprehend especially the lead guitar solo from Scores: the notation also includes many grace notes, 16th triplets and 32nd notes. The psychological impact of compressing multiple rhythmic alterations into one bar is considerably greater than by dividing the same passage over a series of bars.

section C – the Beatles go Balkan

analysis

Section C is undoubtedly the most complex and rhythmically rich of all sections of the song. It simultaneously combines complex polyrhythms and frequent changes of pulse (11 in total). In Example 9 is presented the entire C-section transcription in full score format by Koskimäki. Although the majority of the instruments are playing in 3/8 time signature in the 2nd and 5th bars, I have chosen the 6/16 time signature to those bars, since the vocal part is so dominating.

Section C consists of a unit of two melodic phrases (both with the lyrics "Mother Superior jump the gun") repeated three times. The pulse of the first phrase is based on 1/16 -notes (3/16) while the pulse of the second is based on 1/8 -notes (3/8). This kind of rhythm is called additive rhythm and it is common all over the world but particularly in Balkan areas.[7] Indeed, in the C-section of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' the Beatles do go Balkan! The most prominent features of this kind of additive rhythm includes (1) a rapid change of between a duple and triple meter and (2) a specific figuring of the pulse. By the 'specific figuring' I mean that it is natural to notate the duple meter in slower time values than the triple meter (usually twice as slow).[8]

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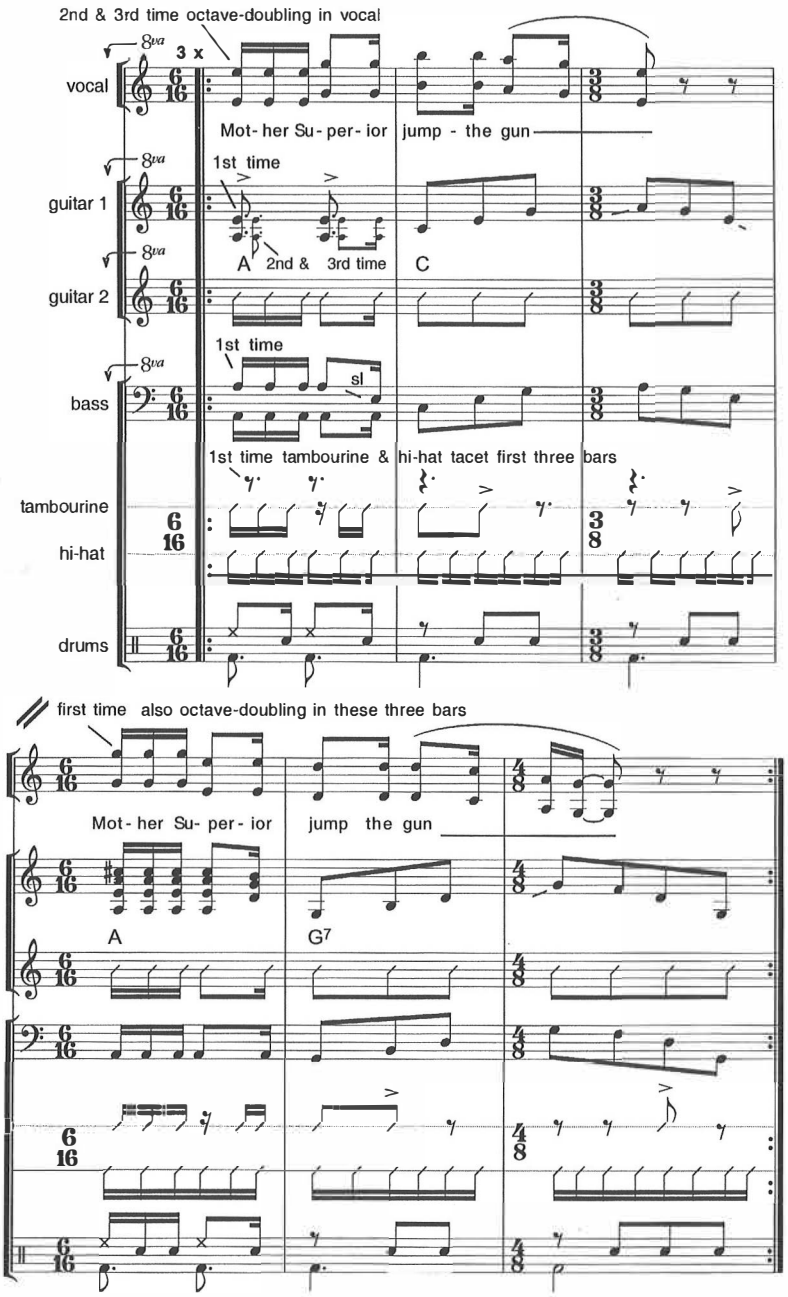
[7] Bela Bartok used the term 'Bulgarian rhythms' to describe this kind of additive rhythm. For example, in his Microcosmos VI there is a movement entitled 'Six Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm'. Although it is common all over the world, this kind of additive rhythms became known as "Bulgarian" since they were first analyzed in Bulgaria by Bartók. (Kaufman 1981, 432.)

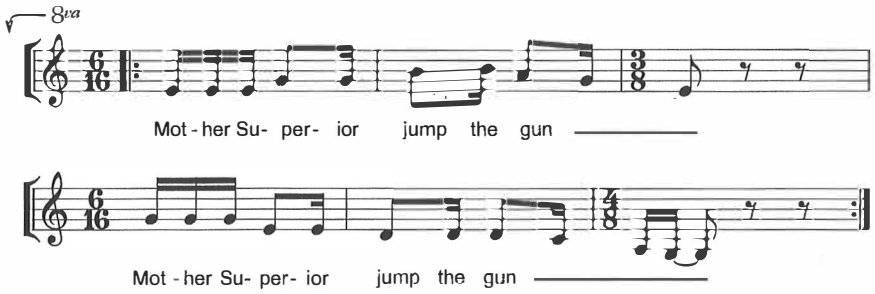
[8] I got a good lesson of this in 1987 when I had an opportunity to be acquainted with local Bulgarian folk musicians working habits – as well as playing with them. When they taught new songs, they consistently used the above-mentioned method of outlining the changes of pulse. For example, the very common rachenitsa rhythm – which is in a 7/8 meter and mostly played with a division of 2+2+3 – was taught by singing it with onomatopoetic syllables as "ton-ton + te-ke-te" and clapping it as



Example 9: C-section in full score format by Koskimäki

♩ ♩ ♫♫. Another well-known dance rhythm, kopanitsa, which is in 11/8 meter, was taught as "ton-ton – te-ke-te – ton ton", clapping it as ♩ ♩ ♫♫ ♩ ♩ .

As to its rhythm, the section C of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' is "pure Balkan". Perhaps the way this "Balkan" beat works in section C is best illustrated by illustrating how the accents are positioned in the lyrics. If written as "MOther SuPErior JUMP the GUN" (where the capitalized syllables indicate accents), all the accentuated notes function at the same time as the first notes of each bar in a 3/16 meter. In the last bar of both phrases, the basic pulse is changed from 1/16 -notes to 1/8 -notes. First time this concluding bar consists of three eight-notes (3/8) and the second time of four eight-notes (4/8). Thus, the rhythm of section C is genuinely "Balkan" in the sense that its phrases are naturally written in the same manner as the additive Balkan rhythms are taught by local musicians: the first phrase goes as 3+3+3+3 + 2+2+2 and the second one as 3+3+3+3 + 2+2+2+2 (Example 10).



Example 10. The melody of the C-section notated in "Balkan style" (transcribtion by Koskimäki)

comparison of the transcriptions

Once again there is a huge variety in the way in which the section C of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' has been transcribed in sheet music publications. There are, yet again, seven different ways – as was the case in transcribing sections A and B – presented in Table 5.

Among the selected material, little attention has been paid to the "Balkan-type" rhythmic quality of the section. Most editions have not noticed it at all and only some show a tiny glimpse of this kind of rhythmic structuring.

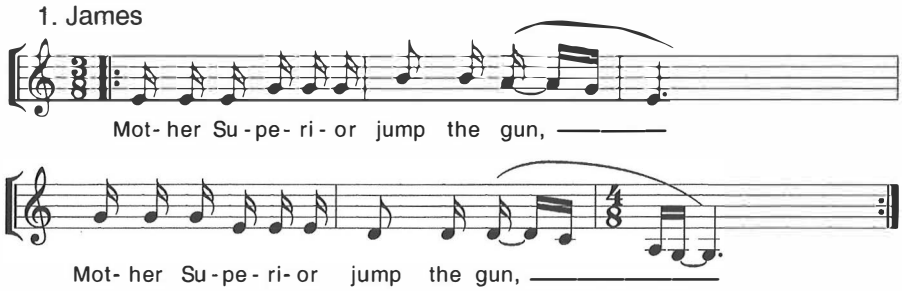
	Time signatures	Number of bars
Koskimäki	2 x 6/16 "Mother Superior jump the gun.." (1'13" - 1'15") 1 x 3/8 (1'15" - 1'16") 2 x 6/16 "Mother Superior jump the gun.." (1'16" - 1'18") 1 x 4/8 (1'18" - 1'19") 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
James	5 x 3/8 and 1 x 4/8, 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
Complete/Easy	4 x 6/8, 3 times	3 x 4 (12)
The Beatles	6 x 3/4, 2 times	2 x 6 (12)
Bumper	6 x 3/4, 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
Okun	5 x 3/4 and 1 x 4/4, 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
Complete/Piano	5 x 3/4 and 1 x 4/4, 2 times faster	2 x 6 (12)
Lowry	5 x 3/4 and 1 x 4/4, 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
Scores	9/8 and 10/8, 2 times	2 x 2 (4)
White Album	5 x 3/4 and 1 x 4/4, 3 times	3 x 6 (18)
MacDonald	1 x 6/8, 1 x 8/8, 1 x 4/8, 1 x 6/8, 1 x 8/8 and 1 x 6/8	(3 x 6) (18)

Table 5. C-section's time-signatures and the time-signatures in the studied publications

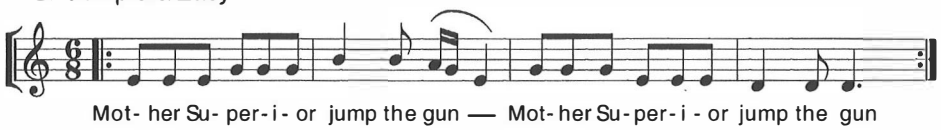
Example 11 shows how the melody of this section is presented in the publications belonging to the selection of my study. Two publications (Bumper, The Beatles) omit the last beat of the last bar altogether. In Complete/Easy the last bar of each phrase are omitted and the rhythm is transcribed incorrectly in the second and fourth measure (there is also a discrepancy in the melody of the last bar). Other flaws concerning the melody (that is, the pitches) are rare – only Okun, Complete/Piano and Scores include tiny idiosyncrasies concerning this matter. Scores is the only one that has the first

two words ("Mother Superior") positioned correctly – that is ♫♫♩ ♪ instead of ♫♩♫♫.

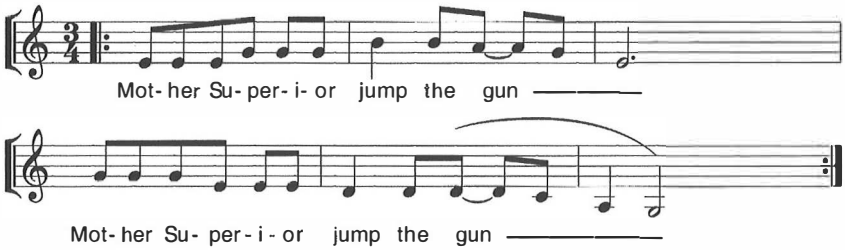
1. James



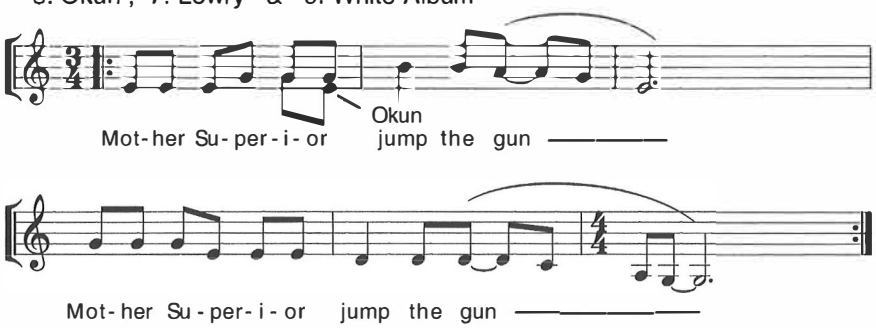
2. Complete/Easy



3. The Beatles & 4. Bumber



5. Okun , 7. Lowry & 9. White Album



6. Complete (Piano)

Mot - her Su - per - i - or jump the gun

Mot - her Su - per - i - or jump the gun

8. Scores

Mot - her Su - per - ior jump the gun

Mot - her Su - per - ior jump the gun

10. MacDonald

Example 11. C-section's melody in the studied publications (7 different versions)

Choosing the correct time signature for each section is crucial to outlining and determining the essence of the rhythm. Moreover, it is highly important to use logical beaming – and it is the beaming that is perhaps the most flawed and misleading aspect of the transcriptions, at least with respect to section C. For example, when the meter is 6/16 and the logical beaming would be 3+3, the sheet music publications prefer writing it either as 2+2+2 or as 4+2 (cf. Example 11). If you try play this C-section through with "non-Balkan" notations, as printed, it is extremely difficult due to the false beaming.[9]

[9] If you play with these misleading rhythms within this section, the resulting rhythm would be rather different. Somewhat similar to Leonard Bernstein's famous 'America' from 'West Side Story' which has been notated as 2+2+2+3+3+3 (or in onomatopoetic

With respect to beaming (as well as syncopation, phrasing, and the overall layout), the most illogical and confusing publication is undoubtedly Scores, however, there are also mistakes and shortcomings within other publications.

James, the pioneer of all Beatles sheet music publications, has for some reason left the whole section without any beaming. This makes the transcription very difficult to read and comprehend. McDonald is the only one where there is a change in time signature in every bar of C-section. This is understandable from the melodic point of view but given the whole texture (including instruments, especially the basic rhythm section) the frequent changes in time signature only make the transcription unnecessarily restless.

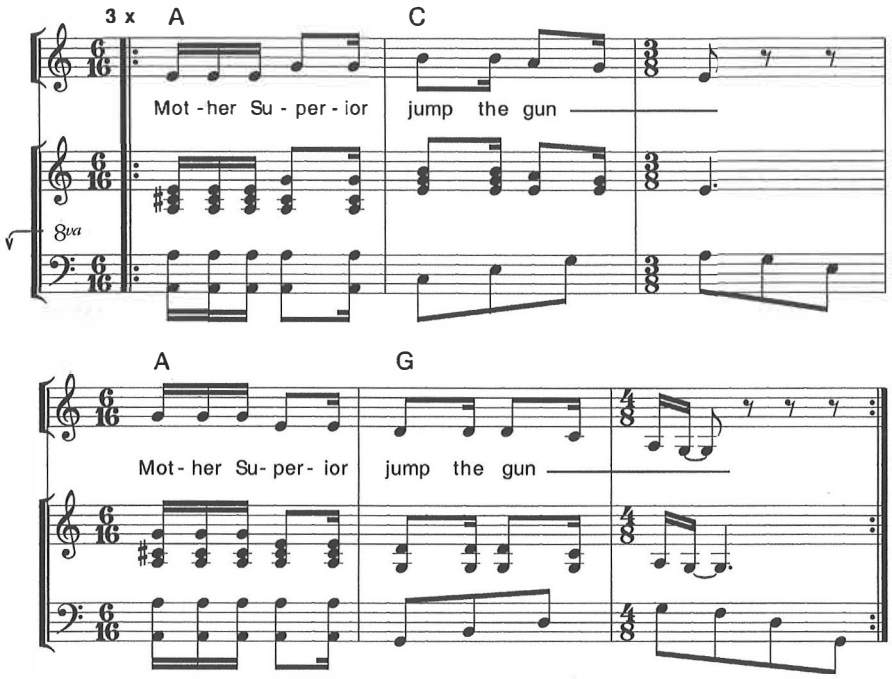
Although the beaming is, in most cases, against the natural pulse of music, there are quite many examples of how a natural articulation is indicated by phrasing marks. The most accurate publications as to the phrasing marks are James, Okun, Lowry, and White Album. In Scores, the phrase markings begin too late and this also holds true for the phrasing marks given in Complete/Piano. The only phrasing mark Complete/Easy provides is correct but this does not help much since the rhythm of that particular phrase is incorrectly notated.

Of the nine publications (the tenth is MacDonald's analysis of the rhythm) only four have paid some attention to the rich polyrhythm so evident in section C. In this regard, the best ones are White Album and Lowry. Both have transcribed the most important elements into a piano notation format (which is by no means an easy task). In Scores the time values are correct but they are obscured by an unclear layout – in fact, misleading beamings and syncopation marks make this edition extremely difficult to read and/or comprehend. James has transcribed the polyrhythm quite accurately, only in the first measures of the section are there some inaccuracies. The rest of the publications pay little attention to the polyrhythm and the notation is often unconvincing in relation to the beaming, phrasing, and syncopation. In Complete/Easy there is no indication as to the polyrhythm. An obvious explanation for this would be that polyrhythm is seldom easy!

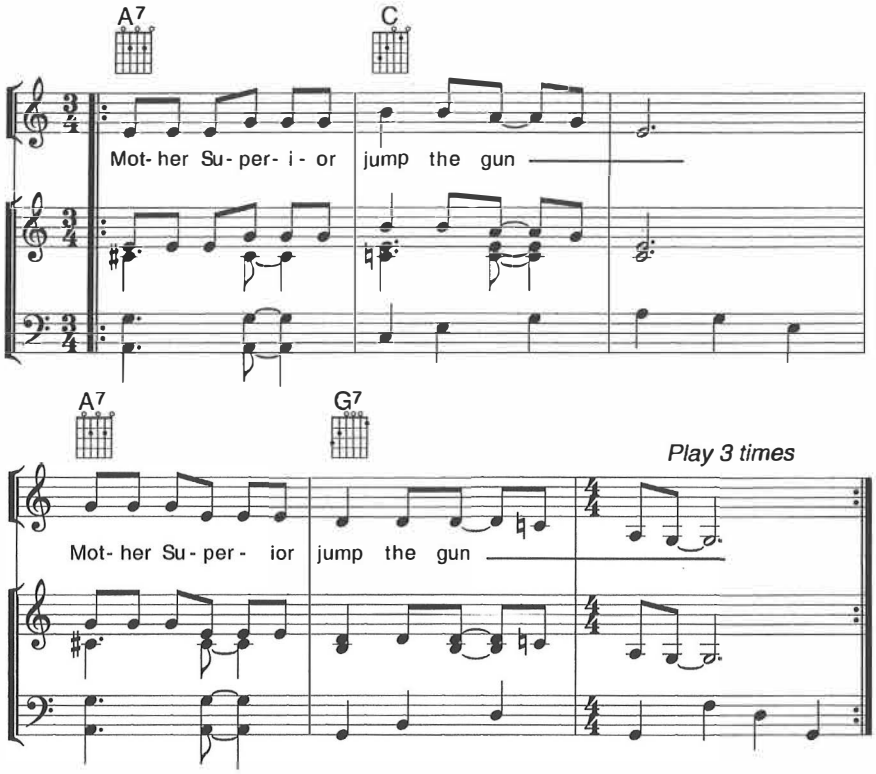
terms "ton-ton-ton – te-ke-te – te-ke-te – te-ke-te "), The correct figured pulse is totally contrary: 3+3+2+2+2: in syllables " te-ke-te – te-ke-te – ton-ton-ton".

Example 12 shows my own transcription of section C, together with three others – one good (White Album), one bad (Complete/Easy), and one average (Complete/Piano).

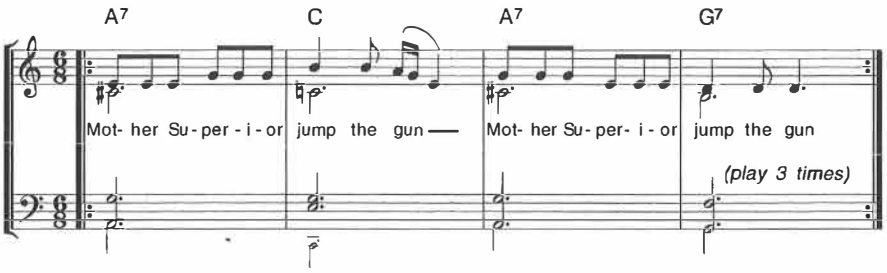
A) Koskimäki



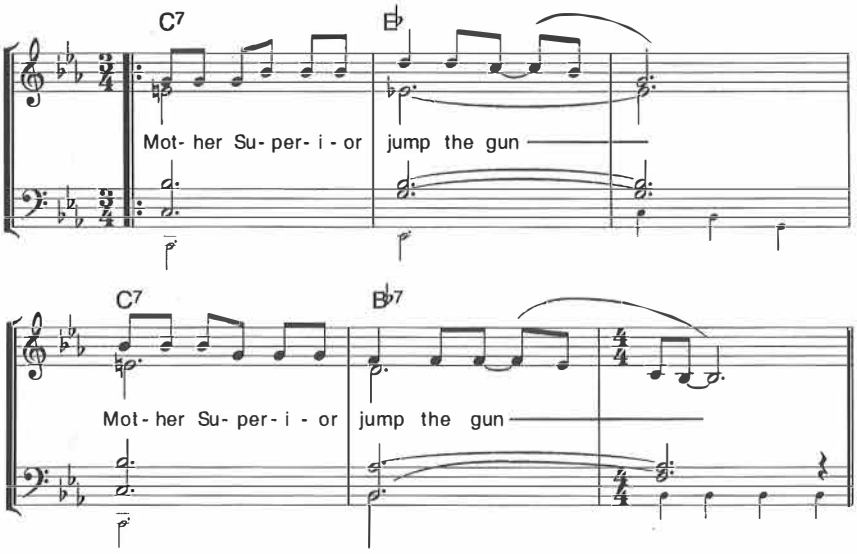
B) White Album



C) Complete/Easy



D) Complete/Piano



Example 12. Four transcriptions of the C-section as sheet music (Koskimäki, White Album, Complete/Easy, and Complete/Piano)

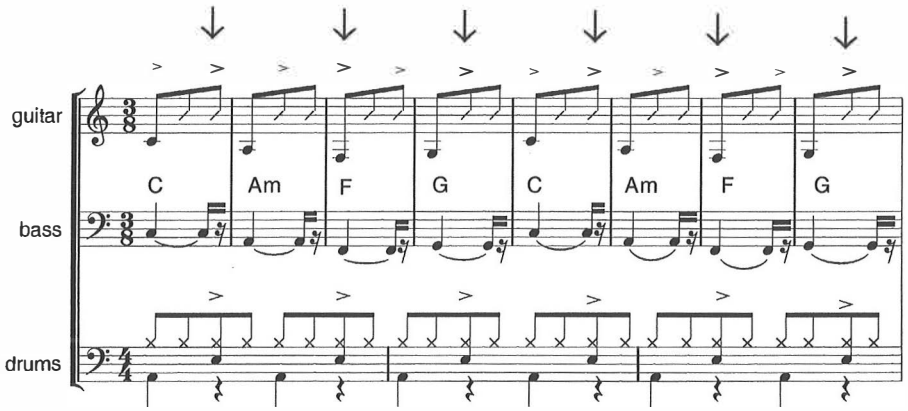
section D – "Happiness is a warm gun..."

analysis

Section D consists of three sub-sections, the second of which is heavily polyrhythmic (Example 13). All instruments and vocals are in 3/8 pulse, with the exception of the drums which continue even beat (3 x 4/4 and 1 x 2/4). While the basic beat of the drums is 4/4 the snare drum plays accents that coincide with the 3/8 pulse of the other instruments and the bass drum adds tricky kicks to this polyrhythmic texture.

The final sub-section offers another kind of polyrhythm. It consists of contrapuntal melodies with different rhythms. The background vocals add polyrhythmic complexity to the free and recitative-like lead. In the third and last sub-section (from 2'02"– 2'41") there is a one-bar cadence (on Fm7 chord), with ritardando and fermata. After this comes the last five bars (2'21" - 2'39"), which are a variation of the opening melody of the section with respect

to both the music and lyrics. The song ends with a drum solo consisting of a pair of additional coda-like beats.



Example 13. Polyrhythm in section D

comparison of the transcriptions

Once again, a great variety is apparent within the transcriptions of section D: there are seven different ways to notate this section amongst the ten publications (Table 6). Obviously, the most misleading and inaccurate transcription is offered by Complete/Easy, in which the entire 26-bar section is compressed, for some peculiar and unknown reason, to only six measures. Even though this publication is explicitly an "easy" edition, it is unforgivable to omit 80% of an entire section. Two other publications (The Beatles and Bumper) have made serious cuts. In Complete/Easy, there is also another serious blunder: the melody of the six bars that *have* been transcribed, has been transcribed so inaccurately that the notation of section D in this publication has virtually nothing to do with the original. Even the lyrics have been reorganized. For example, the title phrase ("Happiness is a warm gun") is repeated only three times. *O transcriptiones, o mores!*

A common shortcoming in notating this section is that in three publications there is no sign of the change of pulse that occurs in the central sub-section. The others have noticed this change of pulse more or less accurately – only in Complete/Piano this change is notated in an unnatural

way (from 4/4 to 6/8 instead of from 4/4 to 3/8). The most confusing factor in that publication is, however, that the time value indications beside the time signatures – first slow 4 (♩= ♪) then 6/8 (♪= ♪.) – simply do not make any sense.

	Time signatures		Number of bars
Koskimäki	4 x 4/4 (Happiness is a...)	(1'34" - 1'47")	26
	12 x 3/8 (When I hold you ...)	(1'47" - 2'02")	
	4 x 4/4 (Because..is a warm..)	(2'02" - 2'15")	
	1 x rit. 4/4 + ferm. (Happiness is .)	(2'15" - 2'20")	
	5 x 4/4 (Gu--n.....)	(2'21" - 2'39")	
	extra coda beats on drums	(2'40" - 2'41")	
James	4 x 8/8, 12 x 3/8 and 11 x 8/8		27
Complete/Easy	6 x 4/4		6
The Beatles	4 x 4/4, 12 x 3/4 and 6 x 4/4		22
Bumper	4 x 4/4, 12 x 3/4 and 6 x 4/4		22
Okun	half tempo: 4 x 4/4		26
	double tempo: 12 x 3/4		
	half tempo: 10 x 4/4		
Complete/Piano	slow 4, (♩ = ♪) 4 x 4/4; (♪ = ♪.), 6 x 6/8		20
	slow 4, 10 x 4/4		
Lowry	half tempo:4 x 4/4,		26
	double tempo: 12 x 3/4		
	half tempo: 10 x 4/4		
Scores	4 x 4/4, 3 x 12/8, 5 x 4/4, 1 x 2/4 and 5 x 4/4		19
White Album	half tempo:4 x 4/4		26
	double tempo: 12 x 3/4		
	half tempo: 10 x 4/4		
MacDonald	4 x 4/4, 12 x 3/8		26
	4 x 4/4, 1 x out of tempo & pause		
	5 x 4/4		

Table 6. D-section's time-signatures and the time-signatures in the studied publications

The most accurate transcriptions concerning section D are undoubtedly James and MacDonald (in the latter only the rhythm part is transcribed). Scores is consistent to the style the transcribers have chosen: it prefers time signatures based on long time values. According to Scores, the central sub-section of section D comprises of only three bars in a 12/8 meter while the others use a much more natural 3/8 signature.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above analysis on a selection of transcriptions of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' shows that the making a good transcription of rhythmically complex music is quite a task to undertake. Most of the publications in the selection were simply illogical, hard to read, and more or less full of mistakes. To sum up; this paper has illustrated that the state of Beatles sheet music publications lack reliability and certainly leave a lot to be desired. One may assume that the same holds true, more-or-less, for all published popular sheet music. One reason for the poor quality of the transcriptions is undoubtedly the complexity of the song itself. It is no wonder that cover versions of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' are extremely rare compared to the songs of the Beatles in general.[10] Making a transcription of rhythmically complex music is not, however, an impossible task if one keeps in mind the three requirements suggested at the outset:

- making the structure of the music as clear and unambiguous as possible,

[10] There is only one cover version of this song (by Bobby Bryant) referred to in acknowledged literature (Okun 1982, 66). There are little less than 200 original Beatles compositions in total and there are several cover versions of most of them. It is possible that 'Revolution 9' is the only song in the entire Beatles catalogue without any cover versions. 'Yesterday' is the most covered individual song in the history of popular music. Walter Everett (1999, 278) estimated that there were more than 2500 released recordings of 'Yesterday' by mid-1995. An obvious reason for the fact that there may be only one cover version of 'Happiness Is A Warm Gun', is the rhythmical difficulties and complexity of the song.

- making the best you can within the limits of the format (as well as making the limits explicit),
- and using a combination of a trained ear and available technology.

I am fully aware that all of these sheet music publications were not made with the intention to reproduce all the information audible in the original recording. It is, however, obvious that the majority of the transcriptions (at least Dick James, Milton Okun, Todd Lowry and Scores) were published with the intention to provide a fairly good transcription within the limits of the given notation format. Unfortunately, most transcribers have succeeded rather badly. The average quality of the transcriptions being but little more than fair. Among the publications there was one explicitly simplified edition (Complete/Easy). It is so inaccurate that it might be considered as a rape of the original song. It is hard to imagine that this kind of publication could serve anybody – especially a beginner who will get a wrong impression of the music. Unfortunately there were similar examples amongst the publications without any indication of them being simplified (Complete/Piano).

'Happiness Is A Warm Gun' is full of pulse changes. The ideal notation method is to change the time-signature along with the pulse. For example, the accurate transcription in one case would be a transition from 4/4 to 3/8-time, in which case the pulse change is implied. An alternate, and often used method, is to make the transition from 4/4 to 3/4 with an additional tempo change (for example ♩=♪).

Unfortunately a considerable number (Okun, Complete/Piano, Lowry and White Album) of the analyzed publications have largely or completely used the latter method notation. In the case of this song, various types of tempo markings ("double-tempo" and "half-tempo") frequently occur. In the case of three publications, these transitions have given no indication of the pulse change. (i.e. 4/4 to 3/4-time without visible tempo alteration) The result of such an edition is a very bizarre sounding composition which only distantly resembles the original. From a rhythmical point of view one will be totally lost. In particular three editions (Complete/Easy, The Beatles and Bumper) exemplify this violation of the originally intended musical idea.

The number of sheet music publications of the Beatles repertoire is so enormous that everybody who wants to play the Beatles can easily find his or her favorite songs in the local music library or store. The most essential factor

in the search for a proper sheet music publication should be source criticism: the best way to check whether or not the transcription is good is to compare it to the original recording. The most common way to learn popular music as well as folk music has always been the method of learning by ear.

In spite of the flops there were also a few good – or, at least satisfactory – transcriptions in the selected material of this study (White Album, Lowry, and partly James). The increasing tendency to make full score transcriptions of popular pieces may be taken as a sign of a better future. In fact, with the improvement of historical Beatles' literature (the turning point was Mark Lewisohn's first books in late eighties), there is no reason to doubt that this tendency will, in the near future, also be reflected in sheet music publications.

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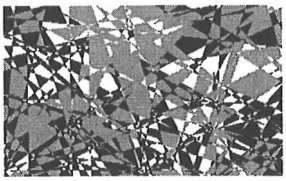

BEATLES 2000

IN SEARCH OF LOST ORDER
Archetypal Meanings in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'

YRJÖ HEINONEN

This article is my first and yet only tentative attempt to tackle the meaning of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' in a written form. 'Lucy In The Sky', released in June 1967 as the third track on the A side of *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album, is commonly associated with the drug LSD. There is no reason to deny this connection. Some writers, including Sheila Whiteley (1992), have taken the drug connection for granted and considerered 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' as an example of psychedelic coding (a way of referring to psychedelic drugs in such a way that the reference is clear to those who are "in", yet presenting an alternate explanation for those who are "out").[1] According to them, the wild

[1] Beside the wild verbal and musical imagery of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds', the most apparent reason for this interpretation is that the "key initials" of the song are the same than the common abbreviation of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD). According to this view, Lennon's claim that the song was actually based on his son's drawing of his schoolmate Lucy O'Donnell, called "Lucy in the sky with diamonds", is an alternate

imagery of 'Lucy In The Sky' is a poetical and musical description of an actual or imagined LSD "trip".

Other writers, including Wilfrid Mellers (1973), have seen 'Lucy In The Sky' as referring to a dreamy state or children's play. According to Mellers, "for both musical and verbal reasons" the psychedelic music of the Beatles "comes out as childlishly merry yet dreamily wild at the same time". The above description is about 'Penny Lane' (which, in fact, is not a drug song at all) but also suits perfectly to 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. Mellers does not deny the drug connection but, instead, tries to understand what LSD meant to the Beatles at the time. Mellers makes, in my opinion, an important point in suggesting that the hallucinatory feeling of the psychedelic songs of the Beatles "concerns problems of identity rather than drugs spicifically, asking what, among our childhood memories, is reality and what is illusion" (1973, 83).

I take the question of identity, suggested by Mellers, as my starting point and attempt to develop it further by demonstrating that there were, below the "childlishly merry yet dreamily wild" hallucinatory feeling, also much deeper undercurrents connected with identity problems. To be more specific, my aim is to demonstrate that 'Lucy In The Sky' is not an apotheosis of LSD – rather it reflects escapism into an imaginary paradise as well as a search for inner order, lost at least partly because of the drug use.

THE PSYCHEDELIC EXPERIENCE

"... that "Trying to get rid of your ego" bit ..."

The name of the first journalist who associated the Beatles publicly with LSD is not mentioned in the standard literature on the Beatles. Paul McCartney was the first Beatle to announce publicly that he had taken the drug. This "big announcement", as Lennon later called it, took place on 17 June 1967, when the Life magazine ran an interview, in which McCartney revealed that he had

explanation for those who were "out". The "insiders" are thought to have known the psychedelic code anyway.

taken LSD. However, the records of the Beatles had already been banned because of the alleged references to the drug even before McCartney's announcement.[2]

In the US, LSD had been making headlines since 1963 and especially after the publication of a manual called *The Psychedelic Experience*, written by Timothy Leary, Ralph Mezner, and Richard Alpert, in 1964. John Lennon and George Harrison took the drug accidentally in June or July 1965 and deliberately – together with the Byrds, Peter Fonda, and some other people – in August of the same year.[3] There had been open references to LSD at least in 'Tomorrow Never Knows' by the Beatles as well as in songs of other groups like the Mothers of Invention ('Who Are The Brain Police') and Jefferson Airplane ('White Rabbitt').[4] Given this background, a journalist – his or her name not being mentioned in the vast Beatles literature – coined the idea that the "key initials" of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' are exactly the same as the common abbreviation of LSD.

There is no doubt that LSD had a profound effect on Lennon. According to his first wife Cynthia, this effect was at least partly positive:

> "The psychedelic and hallucinatory qualities of the drug LSD were absorbed and directed into their music; they painted incredibly colourful pictures with words and music. As an artist and musician John found LSD creative and stimulating, his senses were filled with revelations and hallucinations he experienced each time the took it. John was like a little boy again. His enthusiasm for life and love reached a new peak; he had opened the floodgates of his mind and had escaped

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[2] On 19th May, 1967, manager Brian Epstein hosted a party at his Chapel Street house to launch *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* to selected members of the press and broadcasting media. Next day the BBC put a radio and television ban on the playing of 'A Day In The Life' because of the fear that its lyrics might encourage taking LSD. During the same day Kenny Everett gave an exclusive preview of *Sgt Pepper* on the BBC Light programme *Where It's At*. The programme included a pre-recorded interview with Paul McCartney. Everett was unable to play 'A Day In The Life' because of the ban.

[3] Lennon later announced that 'She Said She Said' was based on an incident that took place during that trip: "That ['She Said She Said'] was written after an acid trip in L.A. during a break in the Beatles' tour [August 1965 – his second acid trip] where we were having fun with the Byrds and lots of girls ... Peter Fonda came in when we were on acid and he kept coming up to me and sitting next to me and whispering, 'I know what it's like to be dead.' He was describing an acid trip he'd been on." (Quoted in Dowlding 1989, 140.) Roger McGuinn of the Byrds remember the incident as follows: "He [Fonda] kept telling John about his scar and how he'd been dead for a while. He had some sort of operation and had technically died and came back to life." (Somach & Somach & Gunn 1989, 213.) I will return to the question of near-death experiences in the closing section of this article.

[4] The opening line ("Turn off your mind, relax, and float downstream") of 'Tomorrow Never Knows' was taken directly from *The Psychedelic Experience* and most of the ideas of the rest of the lyrics were more or less directly based on the same book.

> from the imprisonment which fame had entailed. In many ways it was a wonderful thing to watch." (Lennon 1978, 141-142.)

According to John Lennon himself, he and Harrison were "pretty heavy on it", being "probably the most cracked" of the Beatles. Paul McCartney and Ringo Starr were "a bit more stable" than the two others. Lennon also thought that LSD profoundly shocked McCartney and Starr, and that they probably regret taking the drug. Lennon himself was a constant abuser: "It went on for years, I must have had a thousand trips. A thousand. I used to just eat it all the time." (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 115.)

The long-term effects of LSD were not favorable, partly due to so-called bad trips: "I had many bad trips, Jesus Christ, I stopped taking it because of that. I just couldn't stand it." (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 116.) There was, however, another and a more severe problem with the long-term abuse of LSD, which was connected with the deliberate attempt to "liberate" oneself from the "imprisonment" of the ego. To quote Lennon:

> "I stopped it for I don't know how long, and then I started to take it again just before I met Yoko. Derek [Taylor] came over and ... you see, I got the message that I should destroy my ego and I did, you know. I was reading that stupid book of Leary's; we were going through a whole game that everybody went through, and I destroyed myself. I was slowly putting myself together round about the Maharishi time. Bit by bit over a two year period, I had destroyed me ego." (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 116.)

The "message" of "liberating" oneself by destroying one's ego came, of course, from *The Psychedelic Experience* ("that stupid book of Leary's"). A further consequence of long-term abuse of LSD is, in addition to other psychic problems, a decrease in creativity and motivation (Stein 1973, 131-138). In Lennon's own words:

> "The two years before I met Yoko – I think the others were going through the same thing – of real big depression after Maharishi, and Brian dying. It wasn't really to do with Maharishi, it was just that period, I was really going on through a 'What's it all about? This songwriting is nothing, it's pointless and I'm no good, not talented and I'm a shit and I couldn't do anything but be a Beatle and what am I going to do about...' And it lasted nearly two years! I was still in it in Pepper!" (Miles & Marchbank 1978, 118.)

In the end there was nothing left of what had first seemed to be "a wonderful thing to watch". Once again, in Lennon's own words:

> "I was going through murder around those periods. I was just about coming out of it around Maharishi, even though Brian had died and that knocked us back again, with the acid trip scene we all went through. That 'Trying to get rid of your ego'

> bit. So I really had a massive ego and for three or four years after that I spent the time trying to destroy my ego – until I had nothing left!" (Miles: own words, 188.)

This negative aspect of LSD use has gone without discussion in aknowledged literature concerning the meaning of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds', even though it is, in my opinion, the key to the understanding the song. To be more specific, I assume that the fantastic lyrics of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' cannot be understood without understanding what it meant "to get rid of your ego" through the use of LSD with (a little) help from the manual written by Leary et al. Moreover, I assume that the music reflects quite perfectly the moods of the lyrics.

"... that stupid book of Leary's ..."

The Psychedelic Experience (Leary & al 2000)[5] is dedicated to Aldous Huxley and consists of (1) a general introduction (including tributes to W.Y. Evans-Wentz, Carl Gustav Jung, and lama Angarika Govinda), (2) the authors' version of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* as applied to the psychedelic experience (particularly that of an LSD trip), (3) some technical comments about psychedelic sessions (including dosages of hallucinogenic drugs like LSD, mescaline, and psilocybin), and (4) instructions for use during a psychedelic session (the last chapter is presented in the form of a series of poems).[6] The authors define the psychedelic experience as follows:

> "A psychedelic experience is a journey to the realms of consciousness. The scope and content of the experience is limitless, but its characteristic features are the transcendence of verbal concepts, of space-time dimensions, and of the ego or identity. Such experiences of enlarged consciousness can occur in a variety of ways: sensory deprivation, yoga exercises, disciplined meditation, religious or aesthetic ecstasies, or spontaneously. Most recently they have become available to anyone through the ingestion of psychedelic drugs such as LSD, psilocybin, mescaline, DMT, etc." (Leary & al 2000, the beginning of the general introduction.)

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[5] The version I used as a source was available, in typewritten form, at the URL: http://www.anarchyrules.com/departments/drugs/psychedelics/leary/psychedelic on 12 March, 2000. At the time of finishing this paper, the above-mentioned URL could not be retrieved anymore (I have, however, a paper copy of the text). Another problem with this source is that I cannot be sure that the typewritten version is completely faithful to the original (there are, at least, some typing errors in the text).

[6] Pictures of both Aldous Huxley and Carl Gustav Jung appeared in the famous cover of Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band. Huxley was the author of The Doors of Perception (Huxley 1954) and Heaven & Hell (Huxley 1956), both dealing with experiences with hallucinogenic drugs (mescaline, psilocybin, LSD).

According to the authors, it is not the drug dose that produces the transcendental experience. Instead, the nature of the experience "depends almost entirely on set and setting" while the drug dosage "merely acts as a chemical key" – it "opens them mind" and "frees the nervous system of its ordinary patterns and structures".[7] The purpose of the manual is (1) "to enable a person to understand the new realities of expanded consciousness" as well as (2) "to serve as road maps for new interior territories which modern science has made accessible".

As mentioned above, *The Psychedelic Experience* was based on a text known as the Tibetan Book of the Dead (*Bardo Thödol*). The original name 'Bardo Thödol' means literally "Liberation through Hearing in the In-between State". In this book the process of death and rebirth is described as three phases or intermediary states as follows: In the first Bardo – that of the moment of death (*dharmakaya*) – a dazzling white light appears. In the second Bardo – that of supreme reality (*sambhogakaya*) – lights of five colors appear in the forms of mandalas, which emanate from the basic structure of the five *buddhakulas*. In the third Bardo – that of becoming (*nirmanakaya*) – light phenomena of lesser brilliance appear. These correspond to the six modes of existence (*bhavachakra*). (Fischer-Schreiber & al 1989, s.v. Bardo Thödol.)

In their manual the authors of *The Psychedelic Experience* apply the instructions of *Bardo Thödol* to an LSD (mescaline, psilocybin) trip in order to offer a "tripper" a possibility to experience "liberation" from his/her ego and the "game-reality" (characterized by the waking-state consciousness of a "normal" adult person).[8] Leary's starting point was that "LSD itself provides a state that of itself resolves psychological problems and consciousness" (Cohen 1967, 329). In this sense it may, to a certain extent, be compared to the psychedelic psychotherapy technique (used during the 1960s), in which one or a few large amounts of a hallucinogen (usually LSD) was used in order to produce "a psychic death-rebirth sequence" (Cohen 1967, 329).

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[7] The term 'set' refers to "the preparation of the individual, including his personality structure and his mood at the time" while 'setting' refers to the physical (the weather and the room's atmosphere), social (feelings of persons present towards one another), and cultural (prevailing views as to what is real).

[8] "Games" are, according to the writers, "behavioral sequences defined by roles, rules, rituals, goals, strategies, values, language, characteristic space-time locations and characteristic patterns of movement". Any behavior not having these nine features – including physiological reflexes, spontaneous play, and transcendent awareness – is non-game.

Leary's point of departure differed from the techniques of psychedelic psychotherapy in-sofar as

- it was, rather than a therapy technique, "a religion based on the use of hallucinogens" (Cohen 1967, 329)

- there was no expert support when things began to go wrong (Leary's manual only adviced that inexperienced trippers should not have a trip without the guidance of experienced ones)

- the manual told the tripper not to try to resist whatever he or she is going to experience during the trip because the "liberation" takes place only if you "turn off your mind, relax, and float downstream".

That is, even if a person is entering a psychotic state induced by LSD, he or she should not try to struggle against it but welcome it as a "liberation". The "prize" is an ego-less state in which the person is free form his or her "game existence".

Following the Tibetan model, the authors of *The Psychedelic Experience* distinguish between the following three phases of the psychedelic experience: first Bardo (the period of ego-loss), second Bardo (the period of hallucinations), and third Bardo (the period of re-entry). It seems that 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds is most closely related to the hallucinogenic period. The contents of this period are described in Leary (et al) as follows:

> "Read from this perspective, we see that the lamas have listed or named a thousand images which can boil up in the ever-changing jeweled mosaic of the retina (that multi-layered swamp of billions of rods and cones, infiltrated, like a Persian rug or a Mayan carving, with countless multi-colored capillaries). By preparatory reading of the manual and by its repetition during the experience, the novice is led via suggestion to recognize this fantastic retinal kaleidoscope." (Leary &al 2000, second Bardo/introduction)

It also seems that one source of the much-discussed expression "a girl with kaleidoscope eyes" is the expression "retinal kaleidoscope" in the forementioned quotation from *The Psychedelic Experience*.

The second vision of the second Bardo consists of "the internal flow of archetypes". The authors describe this vision as follows:

> "The mind sweeps in and out of this evolutionary stream, creating cosmological revelations. Dozens of mythical and Darwinian insights flash into awareness. The person is allowed to glance back down the flow of time and to perceive how the life energy continually manifests itself in forms, transient, always changing, reforming. Microscopic forms merge with primal creative myths. The mirror of consciousness is held up to the life stream." (Leary & al 2000, second Bardo/vision 2.)

Although many images in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' might be understood as "mythical and Darwinian insights" in the sense referred to by the authors of *The Psychedelic Experience*, they may be better understood as trying to bring order into Lennon's drug-distorted mind. In this sense, they might be understood as transformations of certain archetypal images not necessarily in connection to the drug LSD. In the following section, basic terms related to ego and imagery will be discussed from the points of view of Carl Gustav Jung and Daniel A Stern.

THE EGO TO GET RID OF

Jungian theory

Jung uses the term 'self' to refer to "the totality of one's being, known and unknown, conscious and unconscious", whereas he uses the term 'ego' to refer only to "what you are conscious of, what you know to be yourself". Thus, for Jung, the concept of 'self' designates the whole personality, whereas the concept of 'ego' covers only that part of the personality of which one is conscious. Jung further assumes that one can observe the emergence of an ego to a certain extent with a child because "a child definitely begins in a state where there is no ego." (McGuire & Hull 1977, 285.) Roger Brooke describes the relations between Jung's basic concepts as follows:

> "The collective unconscious is the matrix of consciousness, the source out of which the ego develops and to which, particularly in death and sleep, it returns. The contents of the collective unconscious are the instincts and the archetypes." (Brooke 1991, 15.)

Jung calls archetypes "the images of instincts". In common parlance the term 'image' refers to a mental picture of something that is not actually present. Images are products of imagery, or imagination, both meaning simply the art

of making images. According to Jung (1990), an image appears in consciousness somewhat in the same manner as vision or hallucination but never has the quasi-real character of these. Jung makes a distinction between primordial images (archetypes), which he assumes to be common to all people at all times and thus based on the collective unconscious; and personal images, which are to a great extent unique and express the contents of the personal unconscious.[9] Here the emphasis is on primordial images (archetypes).

According to Jung, archetypes are founded on an instinctual basis but are mental rather than physiological in nature.[10] In Jung's own words:

> "It [an archetype] is a biological order of our mental functioning, just as our biological or physiological functioning follows a pattern. The behavior of any bird or insect follows a pattern, and it is the same with us. Man has a certain pattern that makes him specifically human, and no man is born without it." (McGuire & Hull 1977, 295.)

As mentioned above, Jung considered archetypes to be "images of instincts" – not solely the instincts themselves. Thus, an archetype as such is a potentiality, an empty form, and its specific content as a realized image is supplied by culture and personal experience. It is the archetype that is innate, not the image. It follows that "for any archetype there is a large variety of archetypal images" which vary according to "the different cultural [and personal] settings in which the archetype is realised" (Brooke 1991, 16).

Archetypes are closely associated with affects or emotions (Jung himself used these terms interchangeably). On one hand, archetypal images "portray the meaning of the affects" and "act as a cue for the release of these affects". On the other hand affects are "the media through which archetypal

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[9] It seems safe to assume that the main difference between Freud and Jung's thought was that Freud was interested in the dynamics of the personal unconscious, whereas Jung's interest lay in the dynamics of the collective unconscious. The term 'personal unconscious' refers to "that part of the psyche which contains the personal thoughts, experiences, memories, and so on that have been forgotten or repressed", whereas the term 'collective unconscious' refers to "that part of the psyche which is inherited, which the individual therefore shares with others". (Brooke 1991, 15.)

[10] In zoology and animal psychology, the term 'instinct' refers to "the innate programming characteristic of a particular animal species that organizes complex patterns of behavior, enabling members of species to respond appropriately to a wide range of situations in the natural world." Instinctual behaviors tend to follow "fairly involved patterns of responses to particular stimuli and are often characteristic patterns of feeding, mating, parenting, and expression of aggression." (Funk & Wagnalls 1995, s.v. Instinct). Similarly, typical situations in which archetypes tend to be realized include intitiation, abandonment, marriage, childbirth, parenting, menstruation, dawn and dusk, seasonal, changes, and death (Brooke 1991, 16).

images are realised" (Brooke 1991, 16). Brooke summarizes the relation of affects and emotions to arhetypes as follows: "The closer an experience is to an archetypal core the greater is its emotional impact and the fascinating power of its image" (1991, 16).

Jung's theory has received much criticism for being metaphysical and unscientific – many skeptics consider it as a mere pseudoscience.[11] However, Jung himself emphasized the empiristic nature of his study: "In the first place, I have no system, no doctrine, nothing of that kind. I am an empiricist, with no metaphysical views at all. I have only hypotheses. From them I have gained some basic principles." (McGuire & Hull 1977, 400.) Thus, concepts such as the collective unconscious and archetypes are only hypothetical constructs that attempt to explain "the great structural similarity in behaviour and experience across cultures and times where this similarity cannot be put down to 'learning'." (Brooke 1991, 15.)

Furthermore, it must be added that Jung developed these concepts in a very systematic way. He began to develop the concept of archetype having noticed that some experiences (delusions) of his relatively uneducated psychotic patients in fact seemed to be based on universal religious and mythological symbols. Like Freud, Jung also studied his own dreams and waking fantasies (which he thought to be products of the collective unconscious), the dreams and fantasies of other "normal" persons, and children's drawings. He then expanded the scope of his study to include a cross-cultural comparison of religious symbolism, mythology, and tribal lore. He studied "primitive" religions, such as shamanism, in its various forms. He also studied "higher" religious systems, including Christianity (both Protestantism and Catholicism), Judaism, Hinduism as well as Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism. Moreover, he did not hesitate to include such occult disciplines as alchemy in the scope of his study (Coan 1994, 100; Brooke 1991, 16.). indeed, Coan (1994, 100) says that "his conclusions can be said to rest on an extremely broad base of observational base".

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[11] Todd Carroll, editor of the Internet's *Skeptic's Dictionary* (http://skepdic.com/jung.html), reviews Jung's theory as follows: "Mythology, Jung claimed, bases its stories on the archetypes. Mythology is the reservoir of deep, hidden wondrous truths. Dreams and psychological crises, fevers and derangement, chance encounters resonating with 'meaningful coincidences,' all are gateways to the collective unconscious, which is ready to restore the individual psyche to health with its insights. Jung maintained that these metaphysical notions are scientifically grounded, but they are not empirically testable in any meaningful way. In short, they are not scientific at all, but pseudoscientific." (Carroll 2000.)

four senses of the self as described by Daniel Stern

Stern's (1985) distinction between the *conceptual awareness* of self and the *sense* of self is somewhat similar to that of the ego and the self made by Jung. By conceptual awareness of self Stern refers to that sense of self, which is readily observable and shareable with other after self-reflexive awareness and language are present. Stern assumes, however, that some senses of the self *do* exist long prior to self-awareness and language. These senses are based on non-self-reflexive awareness, which is found on the level of direct experience which is non-conceptual in nature.

Stern assumes four different senses of self (three preverbal and one verbal), each of them defining a different domain of self-experience and social relatedness. These senses include

- the sense of an *emergent self* (forms from birth to age of 2 months)
- the sense of a *core self* (forms between 2 to 6 months)
- the sense of a *subjective self* (forms between 7 to 15 months)
- the sense of a *verbal self* (after 15 months)

These four senses of self are not regarded as successive phases that replace one another. Once formed, each sense of self continues to grow and coexist throughout life.

the sense of an emergent self

Stern postulates three qualities of experience to describe the mental functioning of an infant (from birth to age of 2 months): *amodal perception*, *categorical affects*, and *vitality affects*. Amodal perception refers to the experiencing of some properties of environment (people, things) – such as shape, intensity level, motion, number, and rhythm – directly as global perceptual qualities. These infants appear to have general innate capacity to take information received in one sensory modality and translate it into another. This is what Stern calls amodal perception. In amodal perception the information is not experienced as belonging to any one particular sensory

mode but is encoded into amodal representations, which can be recognized in any of the sensory modes. (Stern 1985, 53.)

The affective (or emotional) experience of a newborn may be described in terms of categorical affects – happiness, sadness, fear, anger, disgust, surprise, interest shame, and combinations of the above. Darwin suggested that each of these categorical affects (basic emotions) had an innate and discrete facial display combined with a distinct quality of feeling.[12] He also pointed that these innate patterns evolved as social signals, which were "understood" by all members of a species in order to enhance its potential for survival. The first – and most elementary – categorization concerning the experience of affect is the distinction an infant makes between the subjective experience of pleasure (tension reduction) and displeasure (tension or excitation buildup). This categorization is called the hedonic tone of an experience and is the basic assumption behind the Freudian pleasure principle. (Stern 1985, 54-55.)

By "vitality affects" Stern refers to certain dynamic, kinetic, or elusive qualities – such as "'surging,' 'fading away,' 'fleeting,' 'explosive,' 'crescendo,' 'decrescendo,' 'bursting,' 'drawn out,' and so on". He continues by stating that these qualities are "most certainly sensible to inants and of great daily, even momentary, importance" and that these feelings "will be elicited by changes in motivational states, appetites, and tensions" (Stern 1985, 54.)

the sense of a core self

The sense of a core self includes experiences of self-agency, self-coherence, self-affectivity, and self-history (Stern 1985, 71). Self-agency is related to "the sense of authorship of own actions and nonauthoship of the actions of others". Moreover, it is related to the sense of "having volition, control over self-generated action (your arm moves when you want to), and expecting consequences of one's actions (when you shut your eyes it gets dark)". Self-coherence is related to the sense of "having a sense of being nonfragmented, physical whole with boundaries and a locus of intergrated action, both while moving (behaving) and when still". Self-affectivity is related to "experiencing patterned inner qualities of feelings (affects) that belong with other

[12] Later research has supported this assumption and showed that this kind of discrete facial display really is innate and not only culture-specific (Stem 1985).

experiences of the self". Finally, self-history is related to "having the sense of enduring, of a continuity with one's own past so that one 'goes on being' and can even change while remaining the same". The sense of core self is formed through two phases: first the self is seen as distinct from the others (self *versus* other), then as related to them (self *with* other). It is worth mentioning that, according to Stern (1985, 71), "many higher nonhuman animals form such a sense of a core self".

the sense of a subjective self

The sense of a subjective self forms between the seventh and 9th month of life, as the infant discovers "that he or she has a mind and that other people have minds as well". The infant becomes aware of his or her subjective experiences and the fact that these experiences are "potentially shareable with someone else". (Stern 1985, 124.) This discovery leads the infant into "a new domain of intersubjective relatedness" and encourages him or her to "the performance of behaviours that express the quality of feeling of a shared affect state without imitation the exact behavioral expression of the inner state" (Stern 1985, 142).

the sense of a verbal self

The sense of a verbal self forms after 15th month of life. On one hand, language is a remarkable advantage for the augmentation of interpersonal experiences – now, with language, infants "for the first time can share their personal experience of the world with others, including 'being with' other in intimacy, isolation, loneliness, fear, awe, and love". On the other hand, language causes a split in the experience of the self by forcing a space between interpersonal experience as lived and as verbally represented. (Stern 1985, 182.) Relatedness is now moved "onto the impersonal, abstract level intrinsic to language and away from the personal, immediate level intrinsic to the other domains of relatedness" (Stern 1985, 163). Here I want to point out, however, that language is obviously not so abstract or arbitrary as it was thought even as recently as two decades ago. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980) most of our conceptual system is metaphorically structured (that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts). There are, however, some that are understood directly. These most

fundamental metaphors are organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors, such as up-down, front-back, in-out, near-far, and so on. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 17-18; 56.) If so, most or all of our conceptions are based, ultimately, on the way we are situated in the physical world.

common experiences during an LSD trip

LSD is a very potent hallucinogen. The effects of the drug – as experienced during an LSD "trip" – may be summarized as follows:

> "Changes in visual perception are frequently reported after taking the drugs. With the eyes open, colors appear quite vivid and they glow; there is a relity to the space between the objects; and the world looks beautiful. When the eyes are closed, among other things the subject can 'see' all kinds of imaginary people and animals, and they appear in all kinds of fanciful places. The kinds of perceptual experiences the individual has are not always pleasant. The blackness that he can see is associated with 'gloom and isolation.' He may also sense his own body as if it were decaying and becoming distorted. People may appear as if dead, and if they are moving, as puppets. The disturbing effects of these perceptions can last even after the drug effects have worn off.
>
> In addition to visual alteration, there are also alterations in the auditory sphere. The subject may hear voices talking to each other. Odors and tastes may be hallucinated. Synaesthesia may also be experienced: thus, a sound or combination of sounds may stimulate the perception of a variety of colors. There are also changes in the experience of time – it may be slow, pleasant, or very boring. He may feel as if he exists beyond time.
>
> The sense of oneself and one's body is also affected. The subject may lose the sense of his own physical boundaries, of where he begins and ends, or of his inside and outside." (Stein 1973, 131-132.)

On the basis of Stern's theory, it may be assumed that the psychedelic experience is a form of regression in which the verbal self, the subjective self, and the core self (which, taken together, come close to what Jung refers to as ego) are temporarily transcended and the experience is dominated by the characteristics of the emerging self – that is, by amodal perception, categorical affects, and vitality affects.[13] In the following commentary, the "internal flow of archetypal processes" so apparent in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is discussed both from lyrical and musical points of view.

[13] It may be added that such "strange" kinds of experience as mystical experience (cf. Hepburn 1967), visionary experience (cf. Huxley 1956), and peak experience (cf. Maslow 1987) are probably based on a similar kind of regression.

ARCHETYPAL IMAGES – PART I: THE LYRICS

Here the "flow of archetypes" is discussed on the basis of how certain key images in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' are understood in Jungian depth psychology. The discussion is limited to the refrain (the title phrase), the first verse ("picture yourself..."), and the first bridge ("cellophane flowers"), which contain the most basic archetypal images.

refrain

The title phrase of the song 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' itself forms a complex of interrelated archetypes (Lucy = Light, Sky, Diamond). The archetype of diamond is closely associated with the archetype of mandala; both being basic archetypes in the Jungian sense. Mandala, in turn, is the visible counterpart of audible mantra, which can also be considered to be a basic archetype (or, at least, belonging to the basic archetype of chant). These three archetypes – diamond, mandala, mantra – are discussed in some detail, together with the image of "Lucy" or "the girl with kaleidoscope eyes" as an expression of the anima archetype.

the archetype of diamond

The diamond – like a stone and the mandala – is a common symbol of the self. As an archetype, the diamond suggests permanence and the resolution of psychic conflict. Because it is a symbol of the goal of individuation – wholeness and centredness – it often appears as the symbol of transformation when the ego is lost and disorientated. (Brooke 1991, 24.) In Tibetan Buddhism, a diamond (*vajra*) is the symbol of the indestructible, which stands for true reality, emptiness (*shunyata*), which is the being or essence of everything that exists. (Fischer-Schreiber 1989, s.v. vajra.) The literal meaning of the Sanskrit term 'shunyata' is 'emptiness' or 'void'.[14] *Shunyata*, a key concept in Buddhism, carries and permeates all phenomena

[14] The title originally intended for 'Tomorrow Never Knows' (whose lyrics are largely based on *The Psychedelic Experience*) was 'Void'.

and makes their development possible. (Fischer-Schreiber et al 1989, *shunyata*.) It seems, then, that the image of the diamond in the title reflects Lennon's attempt to maintain the sense of self and find a resolution to the psychic conflict – or the "murder", to quote is own words – which he was going through at the time of writing 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'.

the archetype of mandala

The mandala is the commonest and most perfect symbol of the inner order of the self. Jung described the mandala as an archetype or archetypal symbol in the following manner:

> "The mandala is a very important archetype. It is the archetype of inner order, and it is always used in that sense, either to make an arrangement of the many, many aspects of the universe, a world scheme, or to make a scheme out of our psyche. It expresses the fact that there is a center and a periphery, and it tries to embrace the whole. It is the symbol of wholeness. You see, when during the treatment there is a great disorder and chaos in a man's mind, this symbol can appear in the form of a mandala in a dream, or else he makes imaginary, fantastical drawings, or something of that sort. The mandala appears spontaneously as a compensatory archetype, bringing order, showing the possibility of order. It denotes a center which is not coincident with the ego but with the wholeness which I call the self – this is the term for wholeness. I am not whole in my ego, my ego is a fragment of my personality, the center of my personality." (Quoted from McGuire & Hull 1977, 327-328.)

By expressing both the centre and the periphery, the mandala is the archetype of wholeness.[15] According to Jung, one "could easily say that it is the main archetype" (McGuire & Hull 1977, 328). One could also say that mandala is a key archetype gor 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'.

[15] Similar archetypal forms to the mandala appear in various world cultures. According to Khanna (1979, 24), mandala-like forms may be found in the crystalline patterns of Islamic art, in the sand-paintings of the Navaho Indians, in Celtic motifs, and the circular dance-forms of the Sufi order. Thus, mandalas are not only characteristic of a particular cult – rather they are primordial "imprints" of consciousness "that cut all cultural barriers and are the heritage of all mankind" (Khanna 1979, 24).

the archetype of mantra

The audible counterpart of the visible mandala is called mantra. The most important and oldest mantra of Tibetan Buddhism is 'Om mani padme hum' (OM, jewel in the lotus, hum). The mandala presented in Figure 1 is a visible representation of the "jewel in the lotus" idea (both the diamond and the lotus are commonly used symbols in mandalas).[16]

Figure 1. A mandala with a jewel in the lotus (Khanna 1979, 32).

The 'jewel' refers to enlightenment-mind (*boddhichitta*), whereas the 'lotus' refers to human consciousness. Thus, the two words, enclosed by the seed-syllables, mean something like "enlightenment-mind (*boddhichitta*) arising in the human consciousness". The syllables OM and HUM are so-called seed-syllables, 'OM' (also AUM) being the most comprehensive and venerable symbol of spiritual knowledge in Hinduism and Tibetan Buddhism (Fischer-Schreiber et al 1989, s.v. OM). To quote Jung:

[16] Actually, the jewel (diamond) in the center of the mandala comes very close to the diamonds (stars) in Julian Lennon's original drawing, at least according to the following description by Paul McCartney: "Julian had drawn stars, and then he thought they were diamonds. They were child's stars, there's a way to draw them with two triangles, but he said diamonds because they can be interpreted as diamonds or stars." (Miles 1997, 311-312.) See also Turner 1994.

> "I remember a marvellous sight I beheld one evening in India at the Darjeeling observatory. Sikkim was already in shadow, the mountains blue to about four thousand meters, violet to about seven thousand. And there in the middle of that ring of mountains was Kanchenjunga in all its glory, resplendent as a ruby. It was the lotus with the jewel without price in its center. And all the savants and scientists, lost in wonder at this spectacle, said 'OM' without realizing it. That's the primal word, the sound that passes from mother to child, and what some primitives say when they approach a stranger." (Quoted from McGuire & Hull 1977, 406-407.)

The OM symbol consists of three curves, a semicircle, and a point. It stands for three states of consciousness – the waking state, the dream state, and the state of deep sleep – as well as the self (that is, the supreme consciousness). The waking state is symbolized by the large lower curve (1), the dream state by the small curve (2), whereas the deep sleep state is symbolized by the upper curve. Although the deep sleep state is associated with the unconscious, it is also a connective link being simultaneously closest to the point that represents absolute consciousness symbolized by the point (4). (Fischer-Schreiber et al 1989, s.v. OM.) There is a certain mantra-like quality in the title-phrase of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. Even the title itself resembles the "OM Mani Padme Hum' (OM, jevel in the lotus, HUM) mantra both with respect to the general tone and details (diamond > < jewel).

the archetype of anima

The mysterious image of "Lucy" – or "the girl with kaleidoscope eyes" – seems to be based on the anima archetype. According to Jung, this archetype expresses "the fact that a man has a minority of female genes, and that is something that does not disappear in him". The anima is constantly present and works as a female in a man. It is typical of all archetypes but perhaps it is the anima archetype in particular that the person succumbs "to the fascinating influence" of the archetype (Jung 1990). Jung describes the anima archetype from this point of view as follows:

> "The [anima] archetype is a force. It has an autonomy and it can suddenly seize you. It is like a seizure. Falling in love at first sight is something like that. You see, you have a certain image in yourself, without knowing it, of woman, of *the* woman. Then you see that girl, or at least a good imitation of your type, and instantly you get a seizure and you are gone. And afterwards you may discover that it was a hell of a mistake. A man is quite able, he is intelligent enough, to see that the woman of his 'choice,' as one says, was no choice, he has been caught! He sees that she is no good at all, that she is a hell of a business, and he tells me so. He says, 'For God's sake, doctor, help me to get rid of that woman!' He can't, though, he is like clay in her fingers. That is the archetype, the archetype of the anima." (Quoted from McGuire & Hull 1977, 294.)

The above description sheds light to the personal/archetypal meaning of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' as well as many other more or less personal "girl songs" written by Lennon. According to MacDonald (1994, 181), "Lucy" or "the girl with kaleidoscope eyes" was for Lennon "the lover/mother of his most helpless fantasies" – the "dream girl" of 'Girl', for which he had "mourned for" in 'Yes It Is', "bewildered by" in 'She Said She Said' who "was originally his mother, Julia, a role subsequently assumed by Yoko Ono".

After Lennon fell in love with Ono in the spring of 1968, many of his closest friends – including the three other Beatles – considered him to be "possessed" by Ono. Jung called this kind of state an "anima-possession". In the case of such an "anima-possession", the patient "will want to change himself into a woman through self-castration, or he is afraid that something of the sort will be done to him by force". It is commonly known that, during the late 1960s, Lennon and Ono planned to change themselves into the opposite sexes by surgery and, although this plan never became true, Lennon changed his name to John Ono Lennon, instead of his original name John Winston Lennon.

verse and bridge

The verses undoubtedly include many basically archetypal images, of which the following three are chosen for more detailed exploration: the archetypes of water ("boat on a river"), tree ("tangerine trees'), and flower ("cellophane flowers").

the archetype of water

Water is, according to Jung (speaking, 314), the commonest symbol for the unconscious. The lake in the valley symbolizes the unconscious, which lies underneath consciousness (this is why it is often referred as the 'subconscious'). Jung has also said that consciousness floats upon the collective unconscious as a boat upon a sea. The image of "picture yourself on a boat on a river" is not too far form this. Jung also compared the play of the archetypes in the unconscious to a stream.

> "For instance, they are not conscious of the fact that while they live conscious life, all the time a myth is being played out in the unconscious, a myth that extends over centuries, a stream of archetypal ideas that goes on through the centuries through an individual." (Quoted from McGuire & Hull 1977, 300.)

This notion of "a stream of archetypal ideas" is not far from the "internal flow of archetypal processes" referred to by Leary et al. It also comes close to the notion of the stream of consciousness, originally coined by William James. In a Jungian sense, the archetypes form a deep undercurrent below the surface of the bright consciousness. The term undercurrent suitably applies in this case since, according to a common shamanistic myth, the abode of the dead exists under the water. This belief is found, for example, among the Sami people of Northern Scandinavia, Finland, and neighboring parts of Northern Russia, as well as among the inuits and certain Indian tribes of North America. For example, when an ancient Finnish shaman fell into trance, he was thought to "dive into the underwater abode of the dead" to meet his helper spirit (Haavio 1967). Jung also regarded water as an archetype of danger:

> "The crossing of the river, now is an archetypal situation. It's an important moment, a risk. There is danger in the water, on the banks. Not for nothing did Christianity invent great St. Christopher, the giant who carried the infant Jesus through the water. Today men don't have that experience very often, or others of that sort either. I remember river crossings in Africa with crocodiles, and unknown tribes on the other side; on feels that one's destiny – human destiny, almost – is at stake. Every man has his own way of approaching the crossing, you see." (Quoted from McGuire & Hull 1977, 401.)

So, below the happy and dreamy image of floating in a boat on a river, the archetype of water (river) also contains the deep undercurrent associated with the danger of the death.

the archetype of the tree

As a symbol, the tree has a cosmic significance. Its crown (top, the highest branches) reaches to the highest heights (upper world), whereas its roots touch the deepest depths (underworld). In many cultures, the crown of the tree is believed to be the abode of the gods.[17] This symbolism is, of course,

[17] Gathering round the village tree is an archetype. It is known, for example, in India and Germany, where the tree is known as the village linden tree, as well as in USA, where the tree is usually an apple tree ("Don't sit under the apple tree with anyone else but me"). To sit under the village tree is to sit in the shadow of the gods. (McGuire & Hull 1977, 354-355.)

apparent in the Christmas tree tradition. However, the illuminated and decorated tree is also found in non-Christian contexts. Actually, the shining globes on the Christmas tree symbolize nothing less than the heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon, and stars). The Christmas tree is one version of the world tree. (McGuire & Hull 1977, 353-358.) The tree connects man not only to the highest heights but also to the deepest depths. To quote Schneider:

> "Whenever it [the tree] is given a more precise description in the literature, it is portrayed as a hollow, singing tree that grows up out of a pond or a spring. Its three roots, which reach to the waters of the land of the dead, end at a stone that block she entrance to a funnel-shaped cavern." (Schneider 1989b, 76.)

The tree is also a symbol of the process of self-realization and knowledge. In some shamanistic traditions, the shaman, in an ecstasy, climbs the magical tree (the tree of knowledge) in order to reach the upper world where he will find his true self and gain possession of his spiritual personality. According to Jung, this shamanistic symbolism is a projected representation of the process of individuation. (McGuire & Hull 1977, 356-357.) The tree of life and the tree of knowledge – or, to be more accurate, the tree of knowledge of good and evil – are, of course, found in Genesis, the first book of the Bible. From the Jungian point of view it seems, then, that the expression "tangerine trees and marmalade skies" is, in the end, based on the archetype of tree in the sense referred to above.

the archetype of flowers (lotus)

Flower symbolism is common across the world. The lotus (water lily) is the most sacred flower in many parts of the Orient and the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. As mentioned above, the lotus is one of the principal archetypal symbols used in mandalas (see Figure 1 above). Generally centred on the axis with its geometrically abstract petals pointing towards the circumference, it is considered to be "the appropriate image to illustrate the unfolding of power or the divine essence." (Khanna 1979, 32.) In ancient Egypt, the lotus, or sacred water lily, was associated with the life-giving power of the Nile River and with Osiris (the lord of the dead). The Indian lotus was sacred to the Hindus, since they hold it to be the birth-place of the god Brahma. In both Hindu and Buddhist art the deities are frequently represented seated on a lotus thorne. In Hinduism, the lotus has three main

symbolical meanings. Firstly, it is a symbol for various centres of consciousness in the body. Secondly, the rounded lotus petal is regarded as a symbol of nonattachment ("just as the lotus floats on the water and yet remains dry, so should the spiritual aspirant live in the world without being affected by it"). Thirdly, iconographically, it is a symbol of beauty and sacredness – saints and deities are often said to have "lotus eyes" or "lotus feet". In Buddhism, the lotus is a symbol of the true nature of beings, which remains "unstained by the mud of the world" of *samsara* and ignorance, and which is realized through enlightenment (*bodhi*). Often the lotus is also a symbol of the world with the stem as its axis. (Fischer-Schreiber et al 1989, s.v. Lotus.) In this sense, the symbol of lotus becomes close to that of the symbol of the tree as a world-tree or world-axis. Thus, the "cellophane flowers" in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' have an archetypal basis that is connected to the archetypes of mandala (diamond), water, and tree.

* * *

As the above discussion shows, the basic archetypal images referred to in the lyrics of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' form a coherent network in which one archetype is associated to others either directly or according to the principle of a "family resemblance". Together they reflect a search for order and self-knowledge as well as an attempt to maintain life, consciousness, and a sense of self. The archetypes of water and tree, which are connected to the unconscious and death, however reflect the fear of sinking permanently into unconscious or falling into the underwater abode of the dead.

ARCHETYPAL IMAGES – PART II: THE MUSIC

In a broad sense, musical imagery may be said to cover all aspects of forming auditory images of something which is not aurally present. In this paper, the emphasis is on synaesthetic and amodal musical imagery. Synaesthesia is a subjective sensation or image of a sense (as of color) other than that (as of sound) being stimulated. Amodal perception is perception of such qualities as shapes, intensities, and temporal patterns in any sensory mode from any form of human expressive behavior. These qualities are represented in

supra-modal form, amodal representation, which can be transposed to any modality. It is assumed here that pictorial imagery in music is possible because of the synaesthetic, kinesthetic, and amodal representations. Here these representations (images) are assumed to be largely innate (primordial, archetypal).

There are several ways in which the music of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' conveys synaesthetic (intermodal), kinesthetic, and amodal imagery. Many of them are associated with rhythm and sound. The opening words of the song ("picture yourself in a boat on a river") simply ask the listener to tune into the world of the rowing scene from the chapter "Wool and Water" in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass.*[18] The kinesthetic image of the movement of the water and the boat is produced by the lilting triple meter – a basic characteristic of the barcarolle (Venetian boat song). The synaesthetic image of the shimmering sunset sky – similar to the color of tangerine marmalade – is produced by the ethereal, celesta-like sound of the Lowry organ and the buzzing sound of the tambura drone. The archetypal quality of the verse and the bridge is still enhanced by Lennon's lead vocals, which imitate natural speech by reciting the text mostly on a single tone and inflecting it by raising or lowering the pitch mostly towards the ends of phrases. The mantra-like quality of the verbal content of the title-phrase has already been referred to above. This resemblance is enhanced even further by its mantra-like repetitions (the entire refrain is solely based on the repetition of this phrase). It is this chant-like character in 'Lucy In The Sky', which I have chosen as the topic of a more detailed exploration.

the archetype of chant

According to producer George Martin, Lennon first sang the verse and the bridge almost monotonously, reciting practically upon one unvaried pitch:

> "He sang it almost on one single note, as a monotone over the top of the backing. It was only as we went on with the various takes that he saw the advantages of being a bit more elaborate with the vocal line." (Martin & Pearson 1995, 103.)

[18] This chapter is, as Lennon has mentioned, the main source of inspiration for most of the lyrics of the first verse and bridge.

Indeed, from the melodic point of view, the verse and bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' comes close to the tradition of chanting.[19] Chant has been used in religious ceremonies and rites since ancient times. The simplest type of chant is called the *reciting tone* (or *lection tone*) whereby long sections of sacred prose texts are recited on a single pitch. This practice was common in medieval Christian church, which adopted it from the Jewish synagogue tradition. Comparable public recitation of sacred texts can be found in various Christian traditions as well as amongst other religious rites (for example, in Manichaeism and Tibetan Buddhism).[20] The way Lennon first sang the verse and bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' was apparently quite close to the reciting tone.[21]

A slightly more elaborate type of chanting is the *psalm tone*, which was developed in medieval Christian church for singing the Old Testament psalms. In psalm tones, as in reciting tones, most of the text is recited on one ongoing pitch. In spite of being more complex, the psalm tone is much more rigidly structured than the lection tone. All psalm tones follow the same basic structure: the reciting tone is inflected at its beginning (*intonatio*), midpoint (*mediatio*), and ending (*terminatio*). Of these three types of inflection, the ending is the most important, whereas the intonation can be more easily omitted. If the first half-verse is long, it is often divided by a slight inflection called flexa.[22] The lead vocal part of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' comes very close to the style of the psalm tones.

Like psalm tones, the melody of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is modal (it is based on traditional church modes). One problem with psalm tones is, however, that they cannot be said to correspond perfectly to church

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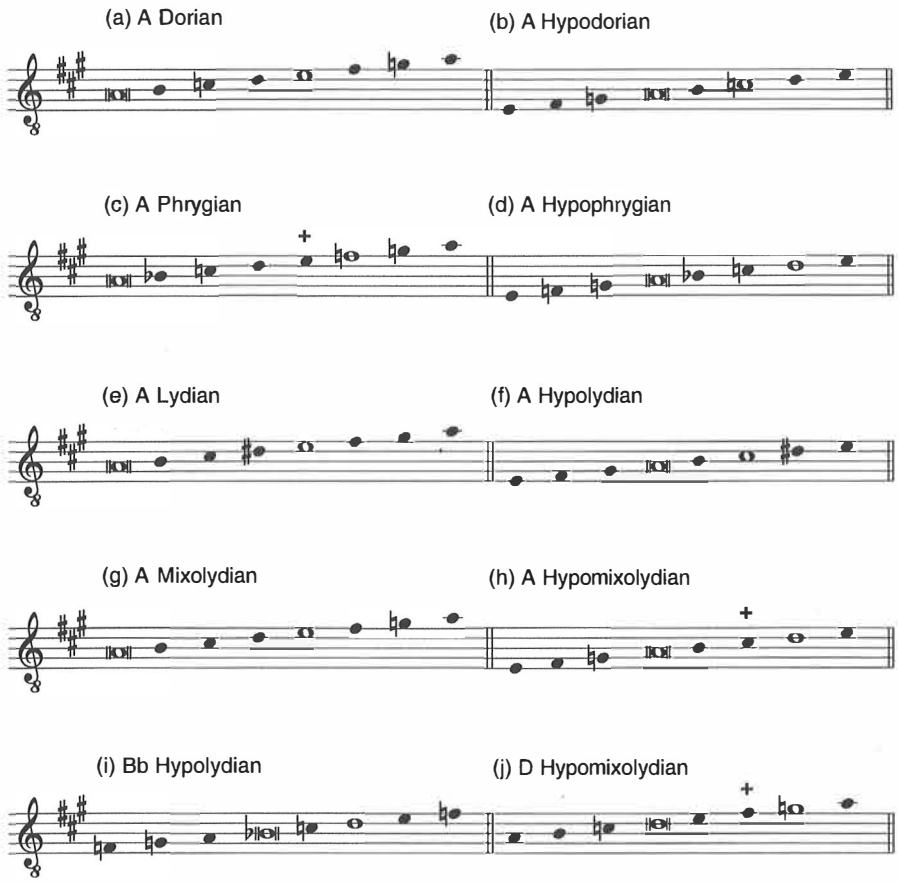
[19] It is obvious that this similarity is not a mere coincidence. For example, Lennon explicitly associated 'Tomorrow Never Knows' with chanting. To quote him: "Often the backing I think of early on never comes off. With 'Tomorrow Never Knows' I'd imagined in my head that in the background you would hear thousands of monks chanting. That was impractical, of couse, and we did something different. It was a bit of drag, and I didn't really like it. I should have tried to get near my original idea, the monks singing; I realize now that was what it wanted." (Quoted in Dowlding 1989, 146.) In 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds', his own singing style comes close to that of chant.

[20] Chew 1981, Levy, 1981, Grout 1996, Rosenstiel 1982, Crossley-Holland 1981a, Crossley-Holland 1981b, Idelsohn 1967, Schwandron 1980. With respect to the nature of "primitive" singing, see also Schneider 1989a and 1969.

[21] Remnants of this can be heard in the final version (particularly the bridge) and even more apparent in the take six, released as a track on The Beatles Anthology CD, where the bars 1-2 of the verse are recited monotone (the stepwise descent to the tonic occurs only in measure 3; that is, one bar later than in the final version).

[22] Connolly 1981, Frere 1981, Grout 1996, Rosenstiel 1982.

modes because of their narrow ambitus (Connolly 1981). The same holds true for 'Lucy In The Sky'. There is, however, one psalm tone for each of the church modes (Ex. 1).[23]



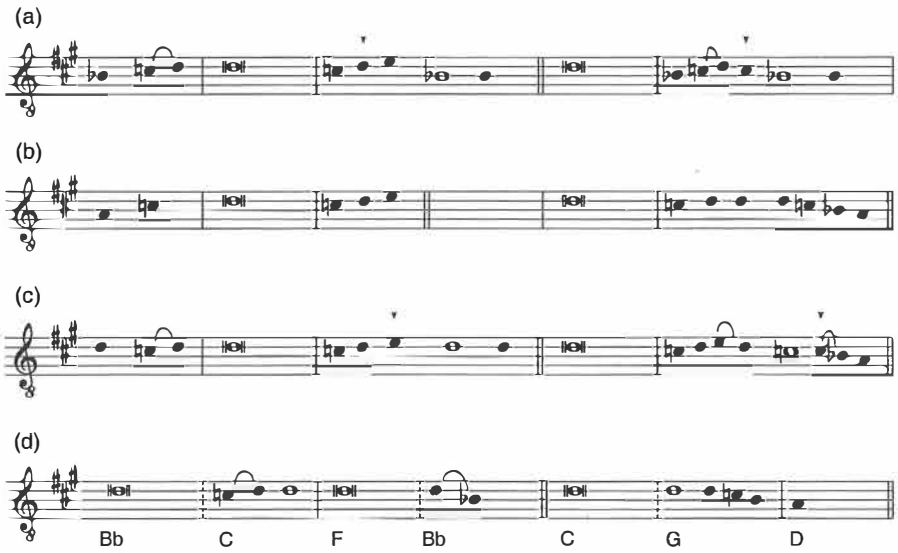
Example 1. The medieval church modes (modes I-VIII are transposed into A in order to facilitate comparison to 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds').

The modes were identified by numbers and grouped in pairs in such a way that the odd-numbered ones were called *authentic* and the even-numbered ones, *plagal*. A plagal mode always had the same final as its corresponding authentic mode. There was an "inherent tendency" to recite a 5th above the final in authentic modes and a 3rd above in plagal ones (Connolly 1981).[24]

[23] There is also an extra one called *Tonus peregrinus*, or "wandering tone".

[24] This conflicts with the medieval custom of substituting B for C as the reciting note. There is, however, considerable evidence to show that B was used in early times as a

The verse of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is in A Hypomixolydian mode, with the 3rd as the reciting note (instead of the 4th). The mode of the melody of the bridge is Bb Hypolydian. In the bridge there is, due to the lowered 2nd and 3rd degrees, a strong Phrygian flavor and an alternate interpretation concerning the mode of the bridge would be A Hypophrygian. This interpretation is further justified by the fact that the final (that is, the ending note) of the bridge is A. Example 2 shows the Vatican version of office psalm tone for mode VI (Hypolydian) and the *Commemoratio brevis* version of the office psalm tone for mode IV (Hypophrygian), as well as a "Gregorian" reduction of the bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'.



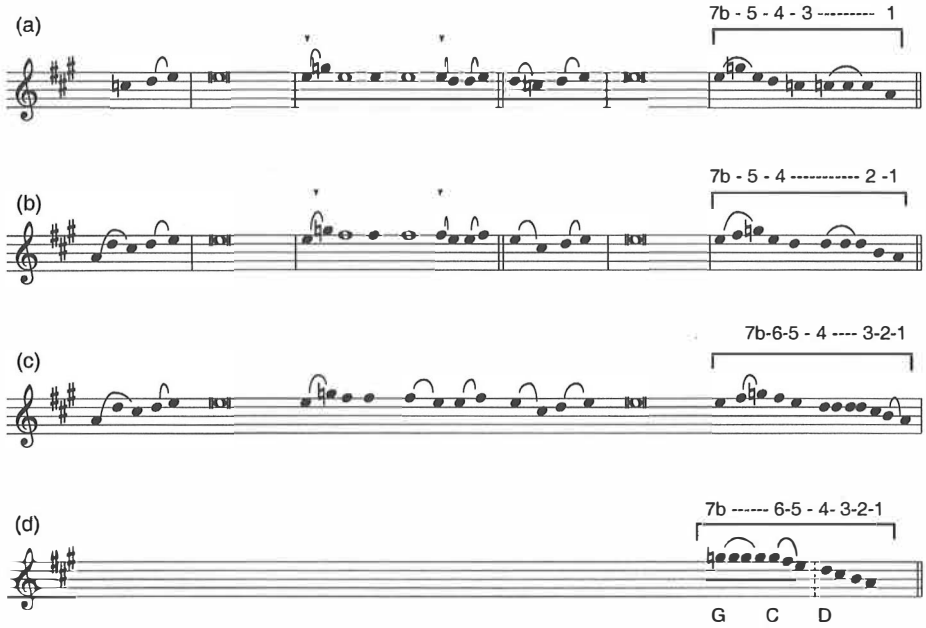
Example 2. (a) Vatican version (Office psalms) for Hypolydian (originally F plagal); (b) the *Commemoratio brevis* version (Office psalms) for Hypophrygian (originally E plagal); (c) Vatican version (Office psalms) for Hypophrygian; and (d) a 'Gregorian' reduction of the bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. The psalm tones are transposed into A in order to facilitate comparison with 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds. The Vatican and *Commemoratio brevis* versions are based on Connolly (1981).

Even though the mode (key) of the refrain appears to be relatively simple to determine – it seems to be G major (or G Ionian, which is the same) – it is, in fact, the most ambiguous of all. However, in terms of the psalm tones, the most suitable candidate would be D Hypomixolydian, now with the

reciting note in the 3rd (corresponding to Phrygian) and 8th (corresponding to Hypomixolydian) psalm tones. (Connolly 1981.)

4th being used as the reciting note. This interpretation is further supported by Mellers (1973, 89):

> "The refrain yells, in hammering repeated notes, Lucy (whose name means light) in the sky with diamonds, in what looks like G major, counteracting the B flat key signature, but is perhaps a plagal approach to the triad on D, a magic talismantic Ah, highly equivocal in effect."



Example 3. (a) Vatican version (Canticles and Introits) for Dorian (originally D authentic); (b) Vatican version (Canticles and Introits) for Mixolydian (originally G authentic); (c) Paris version of the Gloria for Mixolydian; (d) a 'Gregorian' reduction of the melody of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds's refrain. The psalm tones are transposed into A in order to facilitate comparison with 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. The Vatican and *Commemoratio brevis* versions are based on Connolly (1981), and the Paris version is presented in Rosenstiel (1982).

If the melody of the refrain is analyzed according to the main tonality (A) which is at the same time the ending note of title phrase, its mode would be A Dorian. Actually, quite similar fixed ending formulas from the flatted 7th to the final can be found in the Vatican versions of Canticles and Introits for mode I (Dorian) and mode VII (Mixolydian), as well as in the Paris version of the *Gloria* in mode VII (Example 3).

The above comparison shows that, from the melodic point of view, 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' comes very close to chanting, particularly to that

of medieval Christian tradition. In this sense, the music of 'Lucy' also seems to contain profound archetypal (religious) meanings. It is further assumed that the choice of the modes – together with the particular order in which they appear in the song – is based on certain archetypal (amodal or intermodal) qualities associated with these modes.

"archetypal" qualities of the modes

The following discussion is based on an assumption that music is metaphorical in the very same sense that Lakoff & Johnson claim language to be. That is, musical meanings are basically metaphoric in the sense that (1) musical "events" (motifs, phrases, short chord progressions and rhythmic figures and the like) are understood in terms of other similar "events", and (2) there are few basic orientational (spatializing) metaphors that are understood directly. The grounds provided by Deryck Cooke for the analysis of the metaphorical meaning of music in his famous book *The Language of Music* (1978), are essentially the same provided by Lakoff & Johnson in their *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).[25]

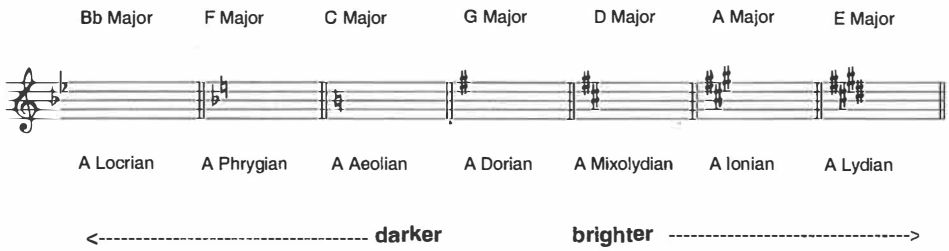
In Western major-minor tonality there seems to be two underlying principles governing the expressive qualities of different keys. One is that the major mode is, in general, considered to be bright and joyous, whereas the minor mode is regarded as being dark and sad. The other principle states that the increase in the number of sharps (#) in the key signature corresponds to a heightening feel of "brightness" of the key, whereas the increase in flats (b) seems to reflect a growing feel of "darkness" of the key. (Auhagen 1983, 404.) The principle according to which major is joyful and minor sad is based on the hedonic tone associated with the two modes (Cooke 1978), whereas the "brightness" principle is obviously based on amodal perception.

Furthermore, it is well known that the modes used in ancient Greek – on which medieval church modes were based – were associated with particular affective and moral characteristics (ethos). Even though the

[25] Even the basic metaphor of major = happy and minor = sad, on which much of Cooke's discussion is based, is essentially the same as the orientational metaphor happy = UP, sad = DOWN presented by Lakoff & Johnson. Meyer (1989) has discussed the metaphoric meanings of music by referring explicitly to Lakoff & Johnson.

character of the medieval church modes cannot be directly compared to the major-minor system, it is safe to say that the modes with a minor third (Dorian, Phrygian) tended to be felt sadder or more severe than those with a major third (Lydian, Mixolydian). (Auhagen 1984, Zarlino 1983.) It seems that the brightness principle also hold true for the "church" modes used by many 19th- and 20th-Century composers. To quote Persichetti (1962, 35):

> "The greatest number of flats that can be applied to a modal scale on a particular tone will produce the 'darkest' mode, the locrian. Subtracting flats (and then adding sharps) in diatonic signature order will produce an arrangement of modes from 'darkest' to 'brighest.' The dorian mode is the middle point and sets the norm."



Example 4. The "brightness principle" in the major-minor tonality and the late 19th-Century and early 20th-Century modality.

Example 4 illustrates how the *brightness principle* is interpreted in the major-minor tonality and the late 19th- and early 20th-Century modality.

The two above-mentioned principles are not only limited to Western music but similar associations can also be found in Oriental music. North Indian (Hindustani) ragas are organized according to scales (*thats*), many of which are similar to church modes. Ragas are said to evoke specific moods, which, in turn, are related to certain watches of day. (Wade 1979 and 1980, Jairazbhoy 1971.) The appropriateness of associating a raga with a specific watch of day is related to the moods that certain pitch combinations are assumed to muster. Ragas having lowered 2nd and 6th degrees of the scale are associated with earlier periods of day – for example, Rag *Malgosh* (belonging to the *Bhairavi that*, which is identical with Phrygian mode) should be performed at night, whereas Rag *Asavari* (belonging to the *Asavari that*, identical with Aeolian mode) should be performed in the morning. Ragas with *tivra* Ma (augmented 4th) are associated with later parts of day or night. (Wade

1979.) Moreover, ragas with lowered 3rd and 7th are considered to be sad or unhappy. The most unhappy note is *tivra* Ma (augmented 4th); that is, the tritone – which in Medieval music theory was called a "diabolus i musica". (Rao 1984.)

The ancient Chinese Lü system provides a further, even clearer, example of the brightness principle. This system was based on twelve notes (roughly approximating to the twelve notes of the Western chromatic scale), which were arranged according to a circle of fifths in such a way that each note was associated with a certain watch of the day (Figure 2). There are, however, three major limitations in applying this system to Western major-minor system. Firstly, the Lü scale was only a theoretical one and was never used in practical music making. Secondly, as already mentioned, the notes of the Lü scale are not exactly the same as the notes used in Western music theory – they only approximate or are to their Western correlates. Thirdly, the Lü scale is not based on enharmonic equivalence – that is, C# is not the same note as Db. (Malm 1977, Malm & Norrstöm 1978, Han & Mark 1980, Reinhard 1956, Tame 1984, Lauer 1989.)

In spite of these incongruences, there is a noticeable similarity in the way the different systems are (or, at least, are thought to be) capable of conveying expressive qualities based on amodal perception and categorical affects in particular. In this sense, both the hedonic tone (joyful/sad) and the degree of brightness/darkness associated by certain scales, modes, or keys may be considered to be archetypal qualities of the modes or of broader music-theoretical systems.

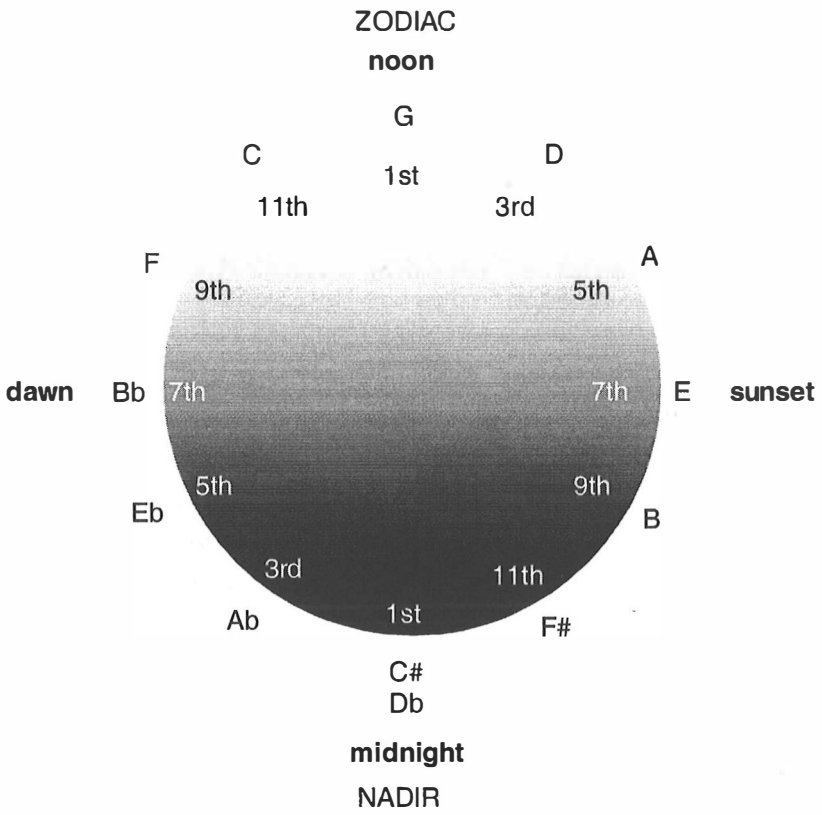


Figure 2. Associations between the 12 notes and the 12 watches of day in ancient Chinese Lü system.

the expressive characteristics of the modes used in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'

The expressive characteristics of the modes used in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' are now to be discussed. As for Western tonal music, the discussion is based mainly on Cooke (1978) and Auhagen (1984). With respect ot the expressive characters attributed to church modes, Zarlino is the main authority.[26] Some comments on the Indian system are included from Rao (1984).

[26] It is worth adding here that Zarlino's descriptions are mostly in line with the characterizations of Jewish biblical and prayer modes that correspond to the

verse

In Western music, the tonic is the stable note, the basis, often called "home". It represent the context of finality (tonal pieces usually end on tonic) and is, in itself, considered to be emotionally neutral. The specific emotional content of the "finality" represented by the tonic depends on the other notes of the key that are related to the tonic. (Cooke 1978.) In Indian system, the expressive content of the tonic (Sa) has been described as follows:

> "In singing Sa there is cognition and feeling of pleasure, which is of a massive nature. The attentive element is directed inwards and there arises a condition of deep sleep or self-absorption, on lower plane, of the kind which rishies attain in meditation upon the Supreme Being. The mass of incoming currents through all other senses is kept out and, in the words of an eminent psychologist [whose name Rao does not mention], 'The sensation of sound is flowing, unperceived like a tiny rill, through a broad flowery mead.' Other currents may show their faces at the door but they are turned back. Consciousness may, therefore, be said, so far as the outer world is concerned, to be at the zero point. It is also said to be plunged in a condition of 'deep sleep.'" (Rao 1984, 24.)

It is easy to see connections between this description and the lyrics of the first verse of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' ("picture yourself..."). Moreover, the description comes quite close to the "pure existence" state of the Clear Light stage (of the first Bardo) in *The Psychedelic Experience*. It must, however, be bore in mind that almost all tonal pieces begin in the tonic key; so, in this sense, the above description would apply to most tonal and much of the modal songs as well.

As suggested, the melody of the verse is in Hypomixolydian mode (mode VI). Zarlino described the expressive quality of this mode as follows:

> "Practicing musicians say that the eighth mode contains a certain natural softness and an abundant sweetness which fills the spirits of the listeners with joy combined with great gaiety and sweetness. They also claim that it is completely removed from lasciviousness and every vice. Hence they use it with words or subjects which are tame, civilized, and grave, and which contain profound, speculative, and divine thoughts, such as those suited for entreating the grace of the Lord." (Zarlino 1983, 74.)

Outstanding Western composers have, in turn, described the expressive quality of A major as follows:

Mixolydian (or major), Phrygian, and Dorian modes, as given by Idelsohn (1967). See also Schwadron 1980.

composer	description of the character
Bach	exuberant joy, glorified blessedness
Handel	joyful, irresistible love
Mozart	increasing joy of living, shining or glimmering light
Beethoven	clarity or light, loveliness, sweetness
Schubert	springtime, satisfaction, friendly nature
Schumann	shining or glimmering light, springtime, flowering nature, love
Brahms	joyful or funny; tricky, mischievous, or absurd
Wolf	love, springtime

Table 1. The expressive character of A major according to some outstanding Western composers (Auhagen 1984).

It seems fair to say that the above characterizations of A major come astonishingly close to the surrealist lyrics of the first and second verses of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' ("picture yourself..." and "follow her down to...", respectively). On a more general note, all of the above characterizations may be said to reflect the overall tone of the lyrics of the first verse.[27]

modulation to the bridge

The modulation from the A major (Hypomixolydian) of the verse to the Bb major (Hypolydian) of the bridge takes place via D minor (or D Aeolian, if you wish). Zarlino describes the expressive character of the Aeolian mode (mode IX in his system) as follows:

> "Some have called the ninth mode open and terse, very suitable for lyric poetry. One can use this mode with words containing cheerful, sweet, soft, and

[27] In Jewish chant, the biblical mode of *Job* and the prayer mode *Viddui* correspond roughly to various psalm modes incorporationg the major third. Both modes differ from a true major since the upper tetrachord is missing. The mode of *Job* is associated with serious and meditative contexts. According to the Arabic tradition, whenever this mode is sung, "the angels as well as the devils gather to listen, because it influences the good as well as the evil spirits". (Idelsohn 1967.) The *Viddui* mode (Viddui = confession) is based on the mode of Job and does not rise above the 5th or 6th, so that the melodic line never climbs up to the octave. It expresses sternness and dignity related to confident proclamation of the truth – regardless of whether that truth "be the proclamation of the Almighty's glory or the self-humiliating confessing of one's own sins". (Idelsohn 1967.)

sonorous subjects, because (as it is claimed) it possesses a pleasant severity, mixed with a certain cheerfulness and sweet softness." (Zarlino 1983, 77.)

In the major-minor system, the expressive character of D minor is somewhat different. Outstanding Western composers have described it in the following way:

composer	description of the character
Bach	desperate, sad, gloomy, dark
Handel	tempest
Mozart	revenge, extrasensory or supernatural forces
Beethoven	death, deception, tragic, dramatic
Schubert	longing, melancholy
Schumann	melancholy or darkmindedness, anxiously quiet longing
Pfitzner	desperate love, love getting chilly

Table 2. The expressive character of D minor according to some outstanding Western composers (Auhagen 1984).

There are apparent differences between the characterizations of the Aeolian mode and D minor, Aeolian being "sweet" and "cheerful" and D minor being "gloomy" and "anxious".[28] In the case of the modulation from the verse to the bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' the "gloomy" interpretation is preferred. Firstly, the key signature of D minor is "four flats darker" than that of A major. Secondly, moving from major to minor is perceived as a change towards sad or dark direction. Thirdly, the subdominant itself weakens the tonic and, again, turns the mode in a sadder or darker direction. In this sense, the happy, beautiful, and bright mode of the verse is substituted for a more unhappy, gloomy, and dark mode anticipating the bridge.

[28] It is most probable that these differences are due to that D minor is "one flat darker" that the Aeolian mode (commonly associated with natural A minor). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the character attributed to A minor by the same Western composers comes close to Zarlino's description concerning the character of the Aeolian mode.

bridge

The tonality of the bridge is built on a Neapolitan 2nd. Cooke has described the expressive quality of the minor second – in relation to the tonic – as follows:

> "Its tension is obviously akin to that of the minor sixth, it is an acute dissonace in relation to the minor triad, but whereas the sixth is drawn by semitonal tension down to the dominant, the minor second is drawn by semitonal tension down to tonic. This means that whereas the minor sixth is an expression in a context of flux, the minor second is an expression of anguish in a context of finality, in other words, the minor sixth expresses an active anguish, the minor second a hopeless anguish." (Cooke 1978, 78.)

In Indian music, the effect of the minor second (Ra 1) occuring after the tonic (Sa) is regarded as a slight disturbance:

> "This note slighlty upsets the mind, but the feeling given to is one of disturbance of a very mild kind, with a tendency to drop down to Sa. The eyes are partially opened, the state of feeling is similar to that slight disturbanced which a preson in sound sleep feels when waked up, and soon after falls into slumber without exercising the will." (Rao 1984, 24-25.)

It was suggested earlier that the mode of (the melody of) the bridge is Bb Hypolydian. Zarlino gives the following description of the expressive character of the Hypolydian mode:

> "They [the churchmen] felt that the sixth mode was not very cheerful or elegant, and therefore they used it in serious and devout compositions containing commiseration, and accommodated it to matters containing tears. So they called it a devout and tearful mode to distinguish it from the second mode [Hypodorian], which is more funeral and calamitous." (Zarlino 1983, 70.)

As has already been mentioned, the flatted second and third add a Phrygian flavor to a major mode. Indeed, there are considerable similarities between the bridge of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' and the fourth psalm tone (corresponding to the Hypophrygian mode).[29] Zarlino's description of the expressive character of the Hypophrygian mode reads as follows:

> "This mode is said by musical practitioners to be marvelously suited to lamentful words or subjects that contains sadness or supplical lamentation, such as matters of love, and to words which express languor, quiet, tranquillity, adulation,

[29] In Jewish chant, the biblical *Pentateuch* mode and the prayer mode *Tefilla* correspond to the Phrygian mode. The *Pentateuch* mode is said to express dignity and is considered to be elevation in spirit, while the character of the *Tefilla* mode is "soulful, almost dreamy, character, suitable for devout prayer". (Idelsohn 1967.)

deception, and slander. Because of this effect, some have called it a flattering mode. This mode is somewhat sadder than its principal [that is, Lydian], especially when it proceeds in a motion contrary [to that of its principal], namely, downward, and in slow tempo." (Zarlino 1983, 64.)

Major Western composers of the tonal era have described the expressive character of Bb major as follows:

composer	description of the character
Bach	trustful, solemn
Handel	heroic affect, anger
Haydn	love, joy of living, kindness, peace
Beethoven	enthusiasm, vigor (con brio), joyful, funny
Schubert	love
Schumann	heroic, vigorous
Verdi	love

Table 3. The expressive character of Bb major according to some outstanding Western composers (Auhagen 1984).

Even though many of the above attributes (joy and love in particular) are common to most major keys, Bb major is characterized by such attributes as solemnity, heroic affect, vigor, and even anger. The descriptions of the expressive qualities resulting from the flatted 2nd as well as the Hypolydian and Phrygian modes, further suggest the disturbed or unhappy (musical) character of the bridge.

modulation to the refrain

The modulation from the Bb major (Hypomixolydian) of the bridge to the G major (Ionian) in the refrain takes place via D major. The expressive character of D major has been described by major Western composers as follows:

composer	description of the character
Bach	joy
Handel	heroic affect
Haydn	glorifying, majestetic, war-like
Beethoven	strong, march, longing, pain
Schumann	fresh, joyous, "green color", youthful, struggle/battle
Verdi	love
Strauss (Richard)	early, flightly, war-like

Table 4. The expressive character of D major according to some outstanding Western composers (Auhagen 1984).

There are, again, two mentions of joy (Bach, Schumann), but the main characteristics of D major are clearly associated with war, power, and battle. Because the key signature of D major is "four sharps brighter" than that of Bb major, this modulation might be thought as a victorous struggle from the disturbed and unhappy state of the bridge to the more joyous and bright mode of the refrain.

refrain

With respect to the degree on which it is based (the flatted 7th), the mode of the refrain seems to cast a shadow over its happiness. According to Cooke (1978), the flatted 7th is the "lost" note of the scale, associated with mournfulness. In Indian music, the lowered 7th has been associated with emotions that are said bo be disagreeable and full of unease, a plaintive mood, and a slight pain. It is regarded as the note of unhappy persons (Rao 1984, 21 and 25.) But, when compared to the key immediately preceding it (ie. to Bb) its propensity is undoubtedly toward happiness.

The refrain, being in a major key, might be characterized as joyful. This interpretation is further supported by Zarlino who describes the character of the Ionian mode (mode XI in his system) as follows:

> "The eleventh mode is by its nature very suitable for dances and balli, and therefore we find that ost balli heard in Italy are played in this mode. Hence it has happened that some have called it a lascivious mode." (Zarlingo 1983.)

This dignity and lasciviousness associated with the Ionian mode is slightly diminished by the Dorian flavor the tonic and subdominant of G major (G and C, respectively) add to the overall A major context. Zarlino's description of the expressive character of the Dorian mode reads as follows:

> "The first mode has a certain effect midway between sad and cheerful because of the semiditone which is heard in the concentus above the extreme notes of the diapente and diatessaron, and because of the absence of the ditone in the lower part [of the diapente]. By nature, this mode is relogious and devout and somewhat sad; hence we can best use it with words that are full of gravity and that deal with lofty and edifying things." (Zarlino 1983, 58.)

Table 5 presents how major Western composers have described the expressive character of G major.

composer	description of the character
Bach	joyful, graceful, satisfied, pastoral
Handel	joyful affect
Mozart	simple joy of living, clarity or lightness, comic
Beethoven	easy, joyful, clear and light
Schumann	love, springtime, graceful, easy, natural
Brahms	love, longing
Verdi	prayer
Wolf	love, springtime
Pfitzner	joyful songs of love

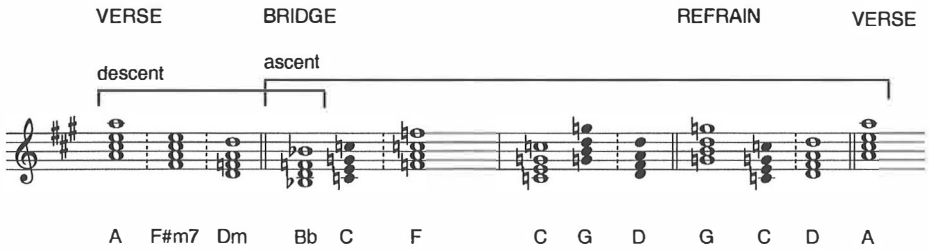
Table 5. The expressive character of G major according to some outstanding Western composers (Auhagen 1984).

According to these descriptions, G major is a joyous key associated with love, gracefulness, easiness & simplicity, clarity & lightness, and nature (pastoral, spring). There are neither traces of the stoic, heroic solemnity of Bb major nor those of war/battle attributed to D major. But, in spite of these positive and pleasurable attributes there are darker and more unpleasant ones: a mode based on the flattened 7th is "lost" (Cooke) or "unhappy" (Rao) and the Dorian

flavor adds even sadness to it. So, the mood of the refrain might be characterized as something like "smiling through the tears".[30]

the descent/ascent "archetype"

The overall tonal plan of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' comprises a motion towards the flat side of the circle of fifths, followed by a reverse motion back to the tonic. The song ends in a key with two sharps less than the key in which it began (Example 5) . On the basis of what has been said above, it seems that the "weakening" of the tonic (the motion from the tonic towards the flat side of the circle of fifths) is associated with increasing darkness and gloom, whereas the reverse motion is associated with increasing brightness and joy.



Example 5. The descent/ascent "archetype" in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds".

Eric Chafe (1991, 2000) has shown that many Bach cantatas are in fact based on the above-mentioned principles. I also believe that understanding this aspect of Bach's tonal allegories may bring insights to the meaning of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. To quote Chafe:

> "Nevertheless, although the cantatas that feature conspicuous tonal planning cover a wide range of themes and affective spheres, one particular set of associantions for the sharp and flat directions runs throughout many works: modulations in the flat direction for the world (and its particular attributes, such as

[30] In Jewish chant, the biblical mode of the *Prophets* and the prayer mode *Selicha* consist of the same notes as the Dorian mode. Despite the character of the minor, these modes are capable of expressing "a fine and tender sentiment" and may frequently turn "to a bright or even joyous mood" – there is always "a bright note of hope in a better future". (Idelsohn 1967, 74-77.)

> tribulation) and the reverse for the anticipation of eternity, the realm of God, and the like." (Chafe 1991, 152.)

According to Chafe (1991) there are four main methods of designing a tonal plan according to these principles: *descent/ascent*, *anabasis* (ends in a higher key to which it begins), *catabasis* (ends on a lower key to which it begins), and the *ascent/descent* type. It is the descent/ascent type that is most relevant here. Bach often associated the descent/ascent pattern "with the idea of destruction followed by restoration" (Chafe 2000, 50). The "descent" (flatward motion through the circle of keys) is associated with worldly or earthly perspectives ("flesh", sin, and tribulation) while the "ascent" (sharpward motion through the circle of keys) represents "progressions from relatively worldly or historical to spiritual or eschatologically oriented perspectives" (Chafe 2000, 50). One of the recurring themes of Chafe's books is that "the endings of many Bach cantatas – above all their sense of completeness or incompleteness – reflect the extent to which their theological concerns are oriented toward eschatological or present perspectives" (Chafe 2000, 220). Tonally incomplete endings – especially when the piece concludes in a key that is on the "flatward" side of the original – are "most likely associated with the idea of human imperfection" (Chafe 2000, 220). Bach chose tonal catabasis "when the texts suggested mankind's awareness of the human condition and the need to submit to God's will" (1991, 201-202).

Although the tonal plan of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is very similar to the descent/ascent type of tonal planning apparent in many Bach's cantatas, my intention is not to imply that 'Lucy In The Sky' was based on Bach's thinking or, for that matter, on his cantatas. Neither do I believe that the similarities were due to "pure chance". The tonal allegories in Bach's cantatas were obviously not characteristic only of Bach's style, or the late baroque style in general, but were based on broader, "archetypal", meanings associated with keys, modes, or tonal systems. I believe that both the descent/ascent pattern and the incomplete "catabasis" ending reflect in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' quite similar contents as they do in Bach cantatas.

DISCUSSION

According to the above interpretation, the fantastic imagery (both lyrical and musical) of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is largely based on amodal perception, categorical affects, and vitality affects and are basically archetypal in nature. The basic archetypal images in the lyrics form a coherent network in which one archetype is associated to the others either directly or according to family resemblance. Taken together, they seem to reflect an escape into an imaginary paradise, a search for order, and an attempt to maintain the sense of self. Two of the archetypes (water and tree) are commonly associated with the unconscious and death (the tree can symbolize both life and death but also the knowledge of both good and bad). These archetypes may be considered to reflect the fear of sinking permanently into the unconscious or falling into the underwater abode of the dead.

Turning to the music, the lead vocal style of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' comes very close to chant, which has been an inseparable part of religious ceremonies and rites since ancient times. The vocal melody of 'Lucy In The Sky' comes particularly close to the medieval Christian tradition of reciting the Old Testament psalms. There are, in fact, several noticeable similarities between 'Lucy In The Sky' and certain Office psalm tones. In this sense, also the music of 'Lucy In The Sky' seems to contain profound archetypal (religious) meanings. The main mode (A major, A Hypomixolydian) seems to be associated on one hand with paradisic feelings and landscapes (in Western tonal music), and on the other hand, with a serious search for the truth (in Western and Eastern modality). The modulation from the verse to the bridge takes place via D minor. This, in A major context, represents a change from the joyful and bright state towards a sadder and darker state. The mode of the bridge (Bb major/Bb Hypolydian) is, in the Western tonal context, associated with an heroic affect, vigor and anger. The modulation from the bridge to the refrain takes place via D major, which, in turn, is associated with struggle or battle. The mode of the refrain (G major/G Ionian) is, once again, quite happy and bright, close to the A major of the verse.

The modulation from verse to bridge takes place by a chord sequence of falling thirds from the tonic to the Neapolitan 2nd (I-vi-iv-bII). This falling

sequence may be interpreted to be a metaphor of sinking (or drowning). The resurfacing image is expressed by a multiple-plagal large-scale cadence (bII-bVI-bIII-bVII-IV-I) from the beginning of the bridge through the refrain and back to the repeat of the verse. This kind of tonal planning was typical of Bach's cantatas in which he apparently associated the descent/ascent plan "with the idea of destruction followed by restoration" (Chafe). Ending in a key with fewer sharps (i.e. a flatter key) than the opening key was, in turn, associated with texts dealing with human incompleteness before God. Bach's use of tonal allegory is in line with more archetypal interpretations of key or mode relations also appears to provide insights into the "extra-musical" meanings conveyed by the tonal plan of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'. The third verse is followed by the refrain, without restating the bridge at all. After this the refrain is repeated and subsequently fades away. Taken together, the repetition and the fade-out seem to imply that the song ends in a state of human incompleteness before higher powers.

counter-arguments against the above analysis

Many readers may feel themselves uncomfortable with the Jungian framework. There are, however, many reasons that support the use of Jung's concepts in this context. One group of reasons has to do with the fact that Lennon was familiar with Jung's thoughts. Jung had lived and worked for several years in Liverpool and his thoughts were referred to in *The Psychedelic Experience*. Moreover, his picture was included – together with that of Aldous Huxley's – on the famous cover of the *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album. With respect to the content of the psychedelic experience (or, an LSD trip), an "internal flow of archetypal processes" is, according to Leary et al, an essential part of the period of hallucinations, from the second Bardo.

However, it does not follow from the fact that Lennon was familiar with Jung's thoughts that his mind worked in the way which Jung assumed man's mind to work. In this sense, the most serious problem in the above analysis is related to the assumption concerning the contents of collective unconscious, the archetypes. It may very well be that Jung himself went too far in many of his speculations. However, a considerable amount of experimental research has been done within the realm of psychology that appears to agree rather

than to conflict with the assumptions of collective unconscious and archetypes. I have already referred to Stern (1985) and Lakoff & Johnson (1980), who assume that humans are not mere empty tables onto which culture makes its imprint. Another relevant field of research is animal psychology, which has shown that animal behavior ranges from extremely simple instinctual stimulus-response patterns to very complex communication systems.

From the musical point of view, many readers undoubtedly find it problematic that the above musical analysis is based on the assumption that there are certain musical universals – that is, musical factors common to all music cultures. A lot of the work in early ethnomusicology was connected with an attempt to find musical universals. This approach was later substituted for one which emphasized the differences between music cultures and attempted to deny the possibility of musical universals altogether (Nettl 1980). Deryck Cooke wrote and published his book *The Language of Music* (1978, first published 1959) in a climate which preferred differences rather than common features. Moreover, with respect to art music research, the climate was almost exclusively based on the formalist (art for art's sake) ideal, which tried to deny any references outside "the music itself". Given this background, it is only understandable that Cooke's book confronted much negative criticism. During the last two decades the situation has changed. Many ethnomusicologists are, once again, interested in universals (Nettl 1980). Moreover, the grounds on which Cooke's theory was based are essentially the same as those of Lakoff and Johnson. Accordingly, both language and music may be considered to be basically metaphorical and in both cases there seem to be only a few basic metaphors upon which all of the more complex metaphors are based. Meyer (1989) speaks of the metaphorical nature of music, referring explicitly to Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

There is a final caveat to be added. One cornerstone of the above interpretation is that the imagery in 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' is basically amodal or synaesthetic in nature. Early research in synaesthesia showed that little more than one out of ten people could associate sounds with visual imagery.[31] It follows from this that most people probably cannot

[31] According to Bleuer & Lehmann's study, conducted in 1881, 76 out of 596 persons (that is, 12.7%) gave affirmative replies as to synaesthesia. Colman's estimation (12%), based on a study, carried out 17 years later, confirmed Bleuer & Lehmann's results. (Critchley 1978, 220).

experience 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' in the way presented in the above analysis. Synaesthesia seems to be "the endowment of those with artistic, sensitive or aesthetic personalities, especially musicians" (Critchley 1978, 220). Moreover, according to Binet's and Sokolov's studies, (published in 1889 and 1910, respectively) synaesthetics tend to possess "a lively imagination, deep sensitivity, a predominant visual imagery, and an inability to cope with pure abstractions" (Critchley 1978, 220). All these attributes are well in line with what we know about John Lennon's personality. It is also known that producer George Martin was himself a synaesthetic. Further support for the above analysis may be found when one takes into account that LSD commonly produces synaesthetic experiences even in people who are normally non-synaesthetics.

".. I know what it's like to be dead ..."

The psychedelic experience may be considered to be a specific form of regression during which the verbal self, the subjective self, and the core self (in the sense referred to by Stern 1985) are temporarily transcended and the experience is dominated by the characteristics of the emerging self – that is, by amodal perception, categorical affects, and vitality affects. In this sense, the psychedelic experience is literally "liberation" from the ego (the "higher" layers of the self). However, as a consequence of the ego-loss, people tend to feel loss of control, awe, and terror instead of liberation. And it is, according to Jung, at the moment of chaos and extreme distress that the mind tends to spontaneously produce images representing order. The resulting flow of images may on one hand be fragmented and kaleidoscopic but, on the other hand, may be based on archetypes showing the possibility of order.

It seems safe to say that the moment of death represents for most people a moment of extreme chaos and distress. From the description of people who have visited the final frontier – that is, been temporarily clinically dead – we know something about what it is like to die. Maurice Rawlings has been researching near-death experiences for a long time.[32] According to Rawlings (1997), as well as Halevi (1986), a near-death experience usually

[32] Rawlings is a specialist in heart disease who has been concentrated on retrieval methods, especially in CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitaiton). He is also the author of several books on near-death experiences.

follows a pattern, whose content depends on the length and depth of the experience. One common feature is the feeling of "going from this world into another world through a tunnel, or something similar" (Rawlings 1997, xiii). As the person enters the tunnel and goes on, he or she encounters a "wonderful experience of light", which can be in the form of a beam of light or in the form of an "Angel of Light". Another common experience is to see oneself watching one's own life "flash before one's eyes", life-events possibly occurring in reversed sequence. As they enter the next world, they "meet people, their friends, who have already died and describe strolling arm in arm across a beutiful Garden of Eden or seeing pearly white gates or golden streets, and then encountering a barrier beyond which they cannot go" (Rawlings 1997, xiii). This point is felt to be the extreme frontier between life and death and those who come back usually feel that they are "drawn back into the body, often with great regret, because they experienced a wonderful ecstasy in being discarnate" (Halevi: 1986, 37). The experience of "wonderful ecstasy" may be regarded as an escape from an extremely distressing present to an imaginary paradise.

The near-death experience belongs to the phenomenological realm. It seems, however, that this is not categorically distinct from the neurophysiological realm. According to Rawlings (1997, xi), the first tissue to die is the brain. This is because the brain is most sensitive to blood flow. Tissue death starts to occur in brain cells within four minutes, and, in ten minutes without CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation) normally results in brain damage. Near-death experiences usually happen during this critical period. A near-death experience and an LSD trip share certain common features both on a phenomenological and on a neurophysiological level. During an LSD trip, one is freed "from a stereotyped organization built up over the years ... deautomatization is not a regression but rather an undoing of a pattern in order to permit a new and perhaps more advanced experience" (quoted in Stein 1973, 115). Similar "deautomatization" and "undoing a pattern" or "organization built over the years" is exactly what happens in death.[33] It also seems that the mind spontaneously produces "a

[33] From the neuropsychological point of view, patterns are represented in the brain in the form of connections between brain cells. Roughly, the more "stereotyped" the organization or pattern is, the more probable the connections between certain brain cells (or masses of brain cells). To say that "a stereotyped organization is built up over the years" means that connections between certain cells have been formed and reinforced "up over the years". The "undoing of a pattern" means, then, that the

new and perhaps more advanced" experience regardless whether the deautomatization is caused by LSD (or any hallucinogen) or whether it is caused by death. It seems to be an inherent property of the mind to respond to "undoing of a pattern".

a girl with kaleidoscope eyes and the three-million-old man

It was suggested earlier that the "Lucy" or "the girl with kaleidoscopic eyes" is actually based on the anima archetype. But, beside being based on the anima archetype, the image of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds" also seems to based on the archetype of God or Savior, as is evident from Lennon's Playboy interview:

> "There was also the image of the female who would someday come save me — a 'girl with kaleidoscope eyes' who would come out of the sky. It turned out to be Yoko, though I hadn't met Yoko yet. So maybe it should be 'Yoko in the sky with Diamonds'." (Sheff 1981: 105.)

The God- or Saviour-like character of the heroine in the song has also been reinforced by McCartney:

> "Every so often it [the "story" part of the lyrics of 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds'] broke off and you saw 'Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds' all over the sky. This Lucy was God, the big figure, the white rabbit. You can just write a song with imagination on *words* and that's what we did." (Miles & Marchbank 1978.)

In light of the above quotations, the comparison of the tonal plan of 'Lucy In The Sky' to the descent/ascent type commonly used by JS Bach, with more or less similar extra-musical associations, does not necessarily appear to be twisting things too far.

Although there is no reason to deny the connection between 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' and LSD, interpretations emphasizing this connection without exploring what it means in the first place, seem – in light of the above analysis – quite straightforward. Rather than promoting LSD (or drugs in general), 'Lucy In The Sky' seems to be about bringing order to a drug-distorted mind. Dealing with ego-loss is surely a question of identity

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existing connections between brain cells are "undone". This is what happens during a psychedelic experience (it also explains the regression to the ego-less state of a newborn referred to above). And it is what happens at the moment of death.

and, in this sense, 'Lucy In The Sky' is about the experience of fragmentation of identity. On a more profound level, however, it deals with the most basic questions of life, death, and human existence.

Jung spoke of the two million year old man (the Wise Old Man) in all human beings as a metaphor for the collective unconscious. At this time, man was thought to have existed two million years. This belief only changed upon the discovery of a three-million-old skeleton of *Australopithecus afarensis* (the oldest known skeleton of a human being), Kenya (1974). The excavators named it "Lucy" after 'Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds' (Dowlding 1989). I think they could not have thought up a more suitable name.

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