

Constructing a Canon: Studying Forty Years of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music*

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In 1980, Yale University musicologist Claude Palisca began a long and important relationship with W. W. Norton & Company by creating an anthology of music to accompany *A History of Western Music (HWM)*. The textbook, written by Cornell University musicologist Donald Jay Grout and first published in 1960, was already in its third edition. Palisca's partnership with Grout and W. W. Norton & Company would last decades and encompass numerous editions of the textbook and anthology. In 1980 Palisca and Grout were credited as coauthors of *HWM*, an arrangement that was sustained until the sixth edition of the textbook. Palisca (as sole editor) published three further editions of his anthology. Peter Burkholder took over further development of both the *Norton Anthology of Western Music (NAWM)* and *HWM* in the fifth and seventh editions respectively; he has continued in this role through the most recent edition of both resources.

Over the course of their many editions, *HWM* and *NAWM* have exerted a considerable force in college music history classrooms. They are certainly not the only resources of their kind, nor were they the first.¹ However, they stand out from other textbook-anthology pairings for their long-standing centrality in the field. Although other texts have challenged its supremacy, none has had the same sustained presence and influence on the field of music history. A college junior who cracked open the first edition of *NAWM* in 1980 would be nearing retirement today. This anthology has shaped notions of the pedagogical canon of Western music with almost every college-trained musician in the field today.² An anthology does not necessarily create a performance

1. See for example Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel's *Historical Anthology of Music*, vols. 1 and 2, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, 1950). This anthology will receive further consideration in the discussion of Palisca's first edition of *NAWM*.

2. Canon is a broad term with numerous definitions. Joseph Kerman demonstrates the degree to which both canons and repertoires are constructs that shift with time. See Joseph

canon; as Stephen Meyer puts it, anthologies are, after all, “pedagogical tools and not measurements of canonicity.”³ But over the last forty years, *NAWM* has shaped its readers’ notions of what should comprise a history of Western music—its representative composers, nationalities, styles, genres, and traditions. These repertoire decisions are important because of the authority that accompanies such essential college resources compiled by leading scholars in the field. As a musicologist, I find the collective expertise of the scholars listed in the acknowledgments of the editions daunting. How much more do students perceive this collective weight of authority? These considerations are why a case study exploring the creation and subsequent editions of *NAWM* is especially important and urgent. At a time when our field is reckoning with its colonialist past, we need to extend our reflection and scrutiny to our most central and long-standing pedagogical tools.⁴

This case study stands alongside predecessors that have also explored the repertoire of music history classrooms through various lenses. Most specifically related to the repertoire of *NAWM* is Jelena Dj. Simonović Schiff’s dissertation, “Music History Pedagogy: Content Analysis of Six Editions of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music* (1980–2009),” which is “an analysis focused toward the frequency of occurrence of specific composers” over the first six editions of *NAWM*.⁵ Simonović Schiff’s work also includes a close reading of Palisca’s pedagogical publications. Her article “Claude V. Palisca as Music Educator: The Yale Seminar on Music Education and the *Norton Anthology of Western Music*,” coauthored with Jere T. Humphreys, extends the work of Simonović Schiff’s dissertation to consider Palisca’s pedagogical intent for his anthology. Building on his involvement with the 1959 Yale Seminar on Music Education, Palisca clarified many of his views on the role of music education and its priorities

Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” in *Canons*, ed. Robert von Halberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 177–95. Here, I distinguish a pedagogical canon from a performance canon, in part using William Weber’s work to provide a foundation. A work’s prominence in the pedagogical canon does not necessarily have any connection to its prominence (or even presence) in a performance canon. William Weber, “The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47, no. 3 (1994): 489–90.

3. Stephen Meyer, “Leaving the Wolf’s Glen: Measuring Decanonization in the Digital Age,” *Musica Docta: Rivista Digitale di Pedagogia e Didattica della Musica* 6 (2016): 63.

4. By keeping this study focused on *NAWM*, we can better understand the field’s changing considerations of the pedagogical canon over time through a leading anthological series. A study of all major textbook/anthology pairings would enrich these considerations and help to reveal cross influences between competing sources. That objective was beyond the scope of this study but would be an excellent question for further study.

5. Jelena Simonović Schiff, “Music History Pedagogy: Content Analysis of Six Editions of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music* (1980–2009),” (PhD diss., Boston University, 2012), 138.

throughout high school and college. Examining *NAWM* through the lens of Palisca's own writings, Simonović Schiff and Humphreys find an anthology intended not to train the next generation of performers, but to create a better understanding of music through listening within a historical and theoretical context.⁶

This study will tread some familiar ground, particularly in tracing a history through the editions of *NAWM*. I will not reach the depth of Simonović Schiff's work in this area, but my work extends further chronologically because of the two editions that have come out since her dissertation. A study of *NAWM*'s history is not an end in itself but a means for establishing an aerial view in order to connect the threads between these eight editions. This study will use that perspective to focus on the current identity of *NAWM*, looking at the ways that it is a beneficiary of the editions that preceded it. But just as much as the current *NAWM* has benefited from its long, successful past, it also has to grapple with the weight of its legacy. To what extent do these previous editions influence and even stymie the ability to create a next edition of the anthology that embraces a radically different identity? Is a shift of that degree even possible?

Alongside these grander questions of identity and intent, this article will address some smaller and more technical considerations. After all, anthologies are the product of numerous pragmatic concessions and are limited in their ability to represent a pedagogical canon. Factors that may influence decisions about the inclusion of specific works in any anthology include copyright clearance, access to adequate recordings and editions, and length, to name a few. As Meyer so eloquently explains:

The presence or absence of a particular work in an anthology may have more to do with [these] peripheral issues . . . than with its canonical status. Many canonical works (such as Beethoven's Ninth Symphony) might be excluded simply because they are too familiar, or because they carry too much contextual baggage.⁷

As such, certain works that are central to one's conception of a musical canon might not find a suitable home in an anthology.

To Meyer's point, *NAWM* has grappled in recent editions with the idea that the notated score is an adequate or necessary representation of the work. It has included transcriptions of improvised jazz solos and works that do not lend

6. Jelena Simonović Schiff and Jere T. Humphreys, "Claude V. Palisca as Music Educator: The Yale Seminar on Music Education and the *Norton Anthology of Western Music*," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, 41, no. 2 (2020): 187.

7. Meyer, "Leaving the Wolf's Glen," 63.

themselves to standard notation.⁸ Beyond even the most flexible methods of inclusion, there are still numerous works and entire genres that elude representation in an anthology. Mahler's Symphony No. 8, for example, poses challenges not just of length, but also of page formatting. Reproducing even a part of the massive orchestral score might require altering the physical dimensions of the entire print anthology. Recent popular music (especially that created after the 1980s) is perhaps even less well suited for inclusion in an anthology. Copyright restrictions would doubtless make the reproduction of many potential examples prohibitively expensive, and many of its most distinctive qualities would be very difficult to represent in a conventional music anthology. The electronic manipulation of sound in the music of Radiohead, for example, poses challenges to notation that are as difficult to notate as those in any modernist work of the twentieth or twenty-first century.

Palisca and Burkholder have made countless difficult decisions. They have had to select a handful of works that would represent an immense body of repertoire from widely varying times, places, and styles. Generations of musicians have encountered 397 different works across eight editions. With each edition, the editors made adjustments to reflect changes within the musicological field and its shifting values and priorities. Still, each decision comes with certain concessions and the preface to each edition laments the inability to include every deserving work. To select one work over another is to determine that there are compelling reasons for introducing it to thousands of students. The inclusion of a given work in any of the eight editions is, therefore, an act of advocacy. The decision to grow the repertoire in the anthology also came with pedagogical implications. There was no one choice without positive and negative outcomes. But the anthology's editors made these difficult choices and, in doing so, contributed to a generation of musicians' notions of Western music. That influence deserves careful exploration.

Beginning with the first edition and working through the eighth, I will look at the development of the pedagogical canon of Western music represented in *NAWM*.⁹ To view each edition in turn means to study them in a continuum. Each edition moves in a slightly different direction than its predecessor, but

8. Duke Ellington's *Cotton Tail* and Charlie Parker's *Anthropology* are examples of scores with transcriptions of improvised solos; Edgard Varèse's *Poème électronique* is an example of a piece that does not have a score, and Krzysztof Penderecki's *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima* is an example with graphic notation.

9. Throughout the article, all pieces mentioned in the editions are categorized by the following period designations: Ancient, Medieval, Baroque, Classic, Romantic, and Modern. This method of organization stems from the period descriptors used in the first editions of *NAWM*. The designation "modern" seems to have presented the editors with the most problems as it changed in various editions: Modern (eds. 1–4), Twentieth Century (eds. 5 and 6), Twentieth

each of them also starts with its predecessor as the point of departure. Although the development of the anthology reflects the general broadening of musicology's subject matter, as one might expect, I identify reactionary inclusion criteria that depart from that trajectory. I also address *NAWM*'s growth throughout the latter half of its history. Ostensibly this expansion was partly to increase diversity and inclusion; however, when these additions are viewed in a larger context, *NAWM*'s commitment to that initiative comes into question. I then consider Burkholder's and Palisca's differing definitions of a comprehensive view of Western music. As we will see, the choice of works that each editor made is sometimes at odds with the views articulated in their respective prefaces. Finally, I will discuss the degree to which *NAWM* has existed as a paired resource with *HWM* and the role that technology could play in future editions.¹⁰

The Palisca Years: 1980–2001

First edition, 1980

Today the anthology is supervised by an Editorial Advisory Board and guided by the input of hundreds of musicologists, but the first two-volume edition was essentially the product of Palisca alone. He benefited from the assistance of graduate students and colleagues, mostly those at his own institution, but it seems that this support was sought out primarily by invitation. The notion of Western music represented in the first edition of this anthology was primarily Palisca's. His singular role in choosing repertoire might account in part for the fact that approximately half of the repertoire in the anthology came from the Renaissance and Baroque periods—Palisca's own area of expertise. It is also possible that Palisca followed the example of earlier anthologies such as Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel's *Historical Anthology of Music*, which appeared in two volumes: vol. 1, *Oriental, Medieval, and Renaissance Music* [1949] and vol. 2, *Baroque, Rococo, and Pre-Classical Music* [1950]. Davison and Apel treated music before the common practice period as the necessary

Century and After (eds. 7 and 8). This study identifies all repertoire after the Romantic period as Modern, despite the inherent limitations of that designation.

10. It would be misleading to suggest that one can study *NAWM* independently of *HWM*. The repertoire in *NAWM* reflects the narrative of *HWM*—to explore one is to remark tangentially on the other. Still, this study endeavors to look first at the repertoire of *NAWM* as the primary resource in establishing students' notions of the comprehensive repertoire of Western music. After all, these are the works that the students hear and analyze in their history courses daily. Kristy Johns Swift has provided an in-depth exploration of Grout's early editions of *HWM*. Her article explores Grout's work before the involvement of Palisca and Burkholder and provides key insights with the lens squarely focused on *HWM* instead of *NAWM*. "Grappling with Donald Jay Grout's *Essays on Music Historiography*," this *Journal* 1, no. 2 (2011): 135–66.

focus of anthologies because such scores were largely inaccessible to undergraduate music students.¹¹ Regardless of Palisca's motive, the size of the Renaissance and Baroque periods (calculating the number of pieces as a percentage of the complete anthology) declined in each subsequent edition, representing approximately one-third of the repertoire in the most recent edition.

The preface to the Davison and Apel anthology states the following two objectives:

First, the compilation of a body of music which, by itself and without regard to any practical usefulness, represents a comprehensive survey of the music of any given period; and second, the selection where choice is possible, of material which will prove profitable to the most varied types of music interest.¹²

While this work precedes Palisca's and certainly must have influenced his thinking, Palisca's anthology is entirely different in scope, chronology, and approach. Palisca spends most of the preface explaining the methodology for choosing the repertoire, and this explanation is kept substantively intact in each of his subsequent three editions. There are two central guidelines that explain Palisca's decisions: first, he chose works that demonstrate *connections* between composers and style periods, and second, he chose works that he thought represented a *comprehensive* history of Western art music.

Regarding the issue of interconnectedness, Palisca explains that the historian "is interested in products of the imagination great and small as they exist in a continuum of such works." He writes, "Just as composers did not create in a musical void, standing aloof from the models of their predecessors and contemporaries, so the historically-oriented student and analyst must have the primary material that permits establishing historical connections."¹³

Using a composer-centric vision of music history, Palisca demonstrated the influence of prior works upon their successors with a brief chronological survey. Beginning with the Medieval period, he showed sweeping lines of influence

11. While a contrast of Palisca's anthology with contemporaries is not the primary focus of this study, the difference in repertoire between his anthology and that of Davison and Apel merits consideration. Palisca's work is far more geographically and chronologically sweeping in scope, moving through the periods up to 1945 (Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*, op. 33: Act III). Davison and Apel's anthology finishes in 1780 and includes, in total, one work from America. From this perspective, it is not difficult to imagine that *NAWM* was a field-shifting resource on a scale with its counterpart, *HWM*.

12. Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), v.

13. Claude V. Palisca, ed., *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, 2 vols. 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1980), 1:xv.

that moved through each of the periods, eventually up to the variation procedure as seen in Schoenberg's and Copland's music in the twentieth century. As a subset of this throughline concept, Palisca noted the importance of "foreign influences" within the continuum. In later editions the word "foreign" denotes non-Western musics, but here Palisca is referring to cross-cultural influences within continental Europe, such as the Italian influence on English music.

If works that show connections to their predecessors represent one side of the interconnectedness coin, the other side comprises works that deliberately break with traditions. Again, Palisca noted the importance of pioneering works, citing examples that spanned the periods from Adrian Willaert's "Aspro core" (from his *Musica nova*) to Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*.¹⁴

With a considerable focus on influence, Palisca draws a linear narrative, an arrow that guides the reader through a clear lineage of works. This tightly contrived line of style development creates an evolutionary view of music history, which has problematic implications.¹⁵ Palisca may have taken this evolutionary approach because he was matching what he saw in *HWM*. In his 1977 article "Current Trends in Historical Musicology," perhaps written in preparation for his editorship of *NAWM*, Palisca writes,

Historians of music have relied since at least the 19th century, on an evolutionary approach to explaining musical change, partly in response to the impulse of Darwin, but also because it is inviting to scale music, a product of creative energy, to the model of biological growth and maturation. The evolutionary view was appealing to historians of music who wanted to see changes in musical styles as a self-generating process largely independent of social and intellectual change. Such a view was particularly strong in England (*The Oxford History of Music*, 1901–05) and is reflected in such histories as those of Gustave Reese (1954), Donald Grout (1960) and Richard Crocker (1966).¹⁶

14. The titles of these works and following listings are presented as formatted in their *NAWM* introductions.

15. According to queer theorist Valerie Traub, "A teleological perspective views the present as a necessary outcome of the past—the point toward which all prior events were trending." A teleological historical perspective in music dismisses and suppresses diverse voices, precisely because they do not fit within the dominant narrative. See Valerie Traub, "The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 128, no. 1 (2013): 21.

16. Claude Palisca, "Current Trends in Historical Musicology," *The World of Music* 19, nos. 3/4 (1977): 138–39. This article details the different approaches to the study of repertoire and the implications of each. While the article maintains a mostly neutral viewpoint to these contrasting approaches, Palisca demonstrated in the *NAWM* preface and in his repertoire choices a clear preference for a teleological approach. His discussion of the interconnectedness of these works and the necessity of viewing them in context certainly resonates with his remarks in the article about Joseph Kerman's approach. While Palisca perceived an evolutionary perspective

Palisca's remarks here pertain to an evolutionary view presented specifically in history texts, not anthologies. The anthologies that precede Palisca's favored diversity over teleology. Interestingly, Palisca notes later in his article that he did not embrace this evolutionary view in his prior text, *Baroque Music*. For this work, he inquired "into the evidence for a period's own view of itself."¹⁷ Perhaps Palisca embraced the evolutionary view in *NAWM* because of its pairing with *HWM*, which he believed employed this perspective.

In contrast to the straight line of influence through music history, Palisca also wanted to make sure that his anthology was comprehensive, stating that it "was intended to stand by itself as a selection of music representing every important trend, genre, national school and historical development or innovation."¹⁸ Of course, any notion of this repertoire as truly comprehensive was only possible when considered under the umbrella of a narrow teleological view of musical development. Palisca created this comprehensive repertoire in order to shape the way that performing musicians think about music through a listening and score study curriculum. As he explained in his 1977 article, solutions to "problems in which others besides musicologists have a stake have obvious priority. Musicology must continue to benefit performers and conductors and through them their public." He explained the relationship between musicology and the performing musician at the end of his article:

Our primary aim should be to contribute to the understanding of musical works, whether great or small, popular or esoteric, so long as they are honest, authentic, unique products of man's creativity. Musicology can put in the hands of anyone who cares, the tools for an informed, critical experience of music. Thus musicology is indissolubly bound up with education and the world of music-making.¹⁹

Although Palisca argued in his preface that the anthology functioned equally well when used with *HWM* or alone, some decisions reflected the importance of their pairing. Palisca chose in his early editions to not include an essay after

in Grout's 1960 edition of *HWM*, Kristy Johns Swift demonstrates that Grout reconsidered his theories of progress and evolution in music throughout his work with *HWM*. Swift, "Grappling with Donald Jay Grout's Essays on Music Historiography," 147–49.

17. Palisca, "Current Trends in Historical Musicology," 140; Claude Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968).

18. Palisca, *NAWM*, 1st ed., 1:xviii.

19. Palisca, "Current Trends in Historical Musicology," 136, 142. Simonović Schiff and Humphreys explain that Palisca held this same view as early as 1959 with his Yale Seminar. They note Palisca's "determination to impose a balance between what he saw as excessive emphasis on performance in American public school music programs, as opposed to the study of music that led to knowledge and understanding." Simonović Schiff and Humphreys, "Claude V. Palisca as Music Educator," 192.

each selection. He noted that brief discussions of almost the entire anthology's repertoire could be found in *HWM*. While Palisca was almost singularly responsible for the vision and contents of this anthology, he was also constrained by all of the same considerations that influence any anthology. For example, the availability of recordings and scores certainly influenced his choices of repertoire. The liner notes to the vinyl discs that accompany this first edition reflect some of those limitations. "In order to keep the size and the price of the album within reasonable limits," Palisca wrote, "certain well-known pieces have been omitted."²⁰

Second edition, 1988

Palisca took on a more significant role with *HWM* after Grout's death in 1987. However, his role as primary author/editor of the textbook seems to have had little impact on the contents of the second edition of *NAWM*. Like every subsequent edition, this one followed a new edition of *HWM*, which was published eight years after the first.²¹ Palisca's satisfaction with his first edition is reflected in the almost verbatim reproduction of the next preface eight years later. While some selections changed between the two editions, the governing rationale remained unchanged. The most notable addition to the preface is the mention of LP and cassette recordings that accompany the anthology; recordings were available with the first edition but not discussed in its introduction. While these recordings received little fanfare in the preface to the second edition, the work of collecting (and sometimes creating) suitable recordings became an important initiative for later editions.

In the Classic, Romantic, and Modern periods there are a total of nine repertoire changes, four of which are substitutions of new works by composers already present in the anthology, totaling eight of the nine changes (Pergolesi, Berlioz, Crumb, and Stravinsky). Steve Reich's *Violin Phase* was the only new work from a new composer. In the Renaissance and Baroque periods there are twenty-six changes. The changes between the first and second editions might reflect the flourishing of scholarship in these areas during the 1980s, scholarship that may have reshaped Palisca's own view of Renaissance and Baroque music.

20. "Recordings for A History of Western Music and Norton Anthology of Western Music," Columbia Special Products, 1980, LP.

21. It is worth noting that eight years separate each of the first three editions (1980, 1988, 1996). After that, the gaps between editions shrink to approximately four years (2001, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2019). Some have significant changes from their predecessor that demonstrate clearly the need for a new edition and perhaps a field that is changing more quickly than before, while the similarity between others introduces the question of outside pressures by publishers to present new editions.

Third edition, 1996

While the changes to the second edition were comparatively insubstantial, Palisca endeavored in the third edition to include works by some previously unrepresented styles and demographics. As he explains in the preface, “several selections document the influence of vernacular and traditional music on art music.”²² He cites as examples some works that had been in the anthology from the very beginning (Debussy’s *Nuages*, Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du printemps*, and Bartók’s *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta*), but he also notes some new additions (Gunther Schuller’s selections from *Seven Studies on Themes of Paul Klee* and the third movement of William Grant Still’s *Afro-American Symphony*), which bring jazz into the anthology, if at a distance. Palisca still considers the anthology to be a comprehensive representation of Western music, despite the fact that he continues to exclude examples of “vernacular and traditional” music—the very music that informs the examples mentioned above. This viewpoint is not surprising considering his 1977 article, where he explained, “if music history and theory are becoming more interdependent, the division of musical scholarship into Western historical on the one hand and ethnic, non-Western and folk on the other may be acknowledged as a *fait accompli*.”²³ Simonović Schiff and Humphreys have demonstrated that Palisca had held these regressive views since 1959, when first arguing for the distinction between the “humane” arts and the “booming popular arts” dedicated to “amusement and entertainment.”²⁴

Still’s inclusion in the third edition is the first instance of an African American composer in the anthology, despite the fact that Grout included a limited discussion of African American composers in his second edition (1973).²⁵ *NAWM* joined other anthologies in the 1990s that included greater racial diversity, yet it struggled against its narrow definition of Western music. In 1990, the fifth edition of *The Norton Scores* included an excerpt from Scott Joplin’s 1911 opera *Treemonisha*. Although the work posthumously won a Pulitzer Prize and was later reconstructed for full performance, it was a curious choice for inclusion. Joplin was a highly influential American composer of popular rags, but the inclusion of this opera side-stepped that influence. By the seventh edition (1995) of *The Norton Scores* (in order to align the anthology with the textbook the sixth edition was skipped), Joplin had disappeared again, apparently

22. . Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xii.

23. Palisca, “Current Trends in Historical Musicology,” 141.

24. Simonović Schiff and Humphreys, “Claude V. Palisca as Music Educator,” 191–93.

25. Swift, “Grappling with Donald Jay Grout’s Essays on Music Historiography,” 156–60. There is a marked difference between reading about a composer’s music and experiencing it in the anthology. It took Palisca twenty years to follow suit.

replaced by Louis Armstrong's "West End Blues." In the eighth edition (1999) Joplin was back with "Maple Leaf Rag," and Lillian Hardin's "Hotter than That" replaced the Armstrong example. While *The Norton Scores* legitimized blues as part of their representation of Western music in 1995, Palisca held firm with *NAWM* in 1996 by including only, as he described them, "art works" that were influenced by "vernacular and traditional" musics, but not including any of those musics themselves. It seems that the logic of exclusivity that created an almost exclusively white male canon was (at least at this point) directed more against musical genres than against particular composers.

Palisca also decided to include more works of women composers, explaining that, "in keeping with the recent interest in the work of women composers, this anthology has been enriched to include music by Hildegard of Bingen, Comtessa Beatriz de Dia, Barbara Strozzi, Clara Wieck Schumann, Sofia Gubaidulina, and Ruth Crawford Seeger."²⁶ Although this is the first time Palisca draws attention to the inclusion of women composers in the preface, he had already included Comtessa de Dia's canso, *A chantar m'er de so queu no voiria* in the second edition. She was the only female composer in that edition and there were none in the first.²⁷

Despite what could be read as a reactionary response to the inclusion of women composers, there are some indications that would suggest a firmer commitment to them in this third edition than some of the most recent editions. Most notably, Palisca reduced the overall number of pieces to 152, a reduction of eleven works. While reducing the overall number of works, he increased the number of women composers represented in the anthology by five. He kept all

26. Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xiii. The inclusion of women in the edition matched Palisca's use of pronouns in the preface, although the changes were slow coming. In the first edition, Palisca writes, "A historian cannot confine *himself* to studying the great works in splendid isolation that are the usual stuff of anthologies." The second edition acknowledges the presence of women historians in the field with a change of pronoun: "Historians cannot confine *themselves*..." Despite that change and the presence of the Comtessa's work in the edition, the second edition still suggests the presence of only male composers: "The proportion of space assigned to a composer or work is not a reflection of my estimation of *his* greatness..." (emphasis added). By the third edition the passage reads: "The proportion of space assigned to a person or work does not reflect my valuation of *the composer's greatness*" (emphasis added).

27. Of course, anthologies cannot include scores that do not yet exist in modern edition. It was indeed research on women composers that made possible their inclusion in *NAWM*. Some of these works could have found their place into earlier editions, such as Barbara Strozzi's "Lagrime mie" (New York: Norton, 1973) and Ruth Crawford Seeger's Violin Sonata (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Merion Music: T. Presser Co., 1984), while others were truly newly available, such as Sofia Gubaidulina's *Rejoice! Sonata for Violin and Violoncello* (Hamburg: H. Sikorski, 1992) and Clara Wieck Schumann's "Geheimes Flüstern heir und dort" (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990). Consideration of access to scores and recordings will receive further scrutiny in the latter half of this article.

four of his editions between 150 and 163 selections, in fact reducing the total number of selections in his third edition and then further reducing them in his fourth.²⁸ The choice to include women composers was made in the face of the exclusion of works in his previous edition, a stance of advocacy that is in contrast to the approach of later *NAWM* editions.

Palisca's next significant change to the third edition involved performance practice issues:

For the Baroque and early Classic periods, I have favored ensembles that use period instruments. Although the extension of this practice to later music is still controversial, I have included very attractive renditions with period instruments of the excerpts from the symphonies of Beethoven and Berlioz, in part to stimulate discussion and consideration of this option.²⁹

Here, Palisca voices unmitigated support. He wants to use the anthology to advance the conversation and promote this practice.

Palisca drew greater attention to the importance of reception history in the preface to this edition, despite the fact that the works included did not change. In previous editions, Palisca had explained that these works “won a place because they were singled out by contemporary critics.”³⁰ These works include Arcadelt's *Ahime, dov'è'l bel viso*; Monteverdi's *Cruda Amarilli*; Caccini's *Perfidissimo volto*; “Intorno all'idol mio” from Cesti's *Orontea*; “Enfin, il est en ma puissance” from Lully's *Armide*; and excerpts from Carissimi's *Jephte*, Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 (first movement), and “Danse des adolescentes” from Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, all of which were present in the prior two editions. Now these works received a more thorough explanation for their inclusion, namely because they contribute to a better understanding of reception history. A disproportionate five of the eight works mentioned here are from the Baroque period—a theme that follows much of the Palisca years.

Perhaps the most substantive change in the edition is the inclusion of “commentaries and analytical notes” after each selection, which surprisingly received very little discussion or rationale in the preface. Palisca notes that *NAWM* serves as a resource for *HWM* and that the essays that now amplify the anthology have been omitted from *HWM*. While this change certainly tied the two resources more closely together, Palisca persisted with his usual statement immediately

28. Palisca's choice to change the anthology primarily by the exchange of works as opposed to the addition of works in a process of general growth seems to reflect Grout's views of a flexible canon, one that “has to be written anew for each generation.” Donald J. Grout, *Principles and Practice of Writing Music History*, (Brussels: Palais der Academiën, 1972), 7.

29. Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xiv.

30. Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xii.

thereafter: “Although this anthology was conceived as a companion to *HWM*, it is also intended to stand by itself as a selection of music representing major trends, genres, national schools, and historical developments or innovations.”³¹ This anthology was also the first to use CDs, which allowed for track markings within works for targeted listening of internal sections.

Between the release of the 1996 *HWM* and *NAWM* editions and the next set of editions in 2001, Norton decided to offer a new paired resource. In 1998, they released the *Concise History of Western Music (CHWM)* by Barbara Russano Hanning. *CHWM* included a concise set of recordings, a sampling of works that spanned the chronological entirety of *NAWM* but offered only about one-third the number of works.³²

Fourth edition, 2001

The next edition (Palisca’s last), continued much of the trajectory of the third. He maintained but did not increase the number of works influenced by vernacular and traditional musics. By this point, Palisca’s decision to not include jazz, blues, and ragtime in *NAWM* was decidedly conservative, particularly as compared with his publisher’s counterpart anthology, *The Norton Scores*. He did, however, moderately increase the number of works by women composers to eight, now including Amy Beach and Ellen Taaffe Zwilich. He notes in the preface that women composers “are represented across the centuries.”³³ He could not say that they are represented in each period; none of the eight editions has ever included a woman composer from the Classic period. In the section of the preface describing works that have earned a place because of their reception, he reduced the number of Renaissance and Baroque works and added a selection from Shostakovich’s *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*. This helped to shift the balance of periods represented in the category and to broaden its geographic scope.

Most notably, it is in the preface to the fourth edition that Palisca mentions input from the broader musicological community for the first time, explaining, “In adjusting the content to the changing needs of the field, I benefited from the advice of Norton’s music editor, Michael Ochs, and of those who answered

31. Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xiv.

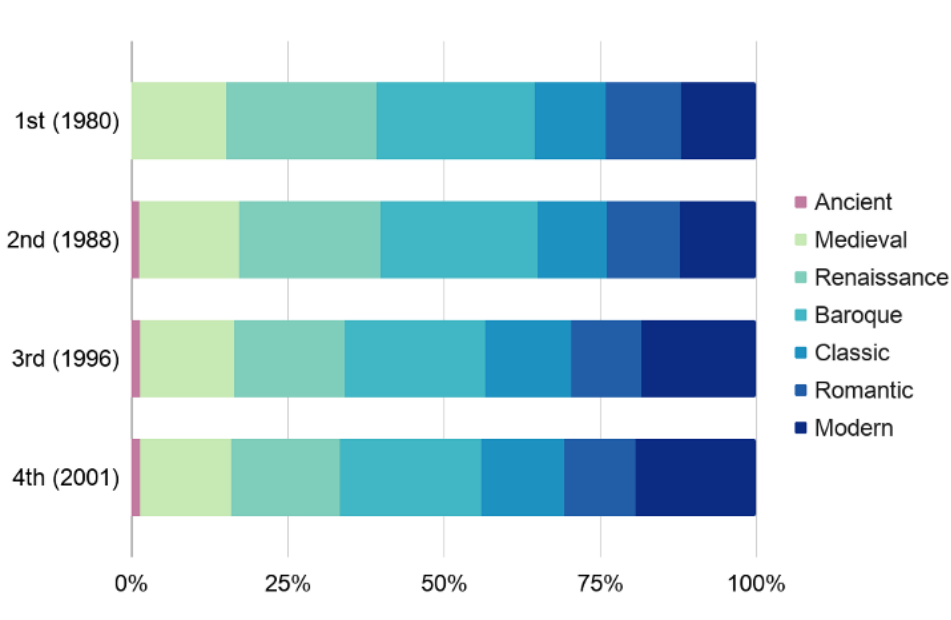
32. *CHWM* was a tacit recognition that the expansion of *HWM* made it unsuitable for some course sequence structures. While it is true that Grout and Palisca grew *HWM* steadily throughout its history—from 742 pages in 1960 (1st ed.) to 910 pages in 1988 (4th ed.)—Palisca actually slightly contracted the length of the fifth edition (1996) to 880 pages. He then further contracted the sixth edition (2001) to 843 pages. Despite these changes to the length of *HWM*, Palisca maintained comparative stability regarding the total number of works in *NAWM*.

33. Palisca, *NAWM*, 4th ed., 1:xiii.

a questionnaire in the spring of 1999.”³⁴ Before this point, all other references to input came from individual musicologists, often direct colleagues of Palisca. As Palisca reported, this shift helped change the anthology into a work that reflected the entire musicological field. If one looks at the representation of works across the periods in the first edition of *NAWM* as compared with the fourth, this trend is apparent (see Figure 1). Almost half of the works in the first edition are from the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Over the course of the next three editions Palisca contracted the Renaissance and Baroque periods to make room for what he called “Modern” period entries.³⁵

These repertoire changes reflect the most significant distinction between the first four editions and the last four. In the third edition, Palisca added thirty new pieces to the anthology and increased the Modern period by eight works while decreasing the overall number of pieces by eleven. In the fourth edition he further contracted the overall number by two while adding twenty novel works. Philosophically, it seems that Palisca viewed this anthology as one part of a complete, self-contained set. To teach *HWM* was to teach the entirety of *NAWM*. This approach stands in contrast to the later editions.

Figure 1: Proportion of period representation in the first four editions.



34. Palisca, *NAWM*, 4th ed., 1:xiv–xv.

35. There was negligible growth in the Classic period and negligible decline in the Medieval and Romantic periods.

The Burkholder Years: 2002–2020

Palisca died in the same year that Norton released its fourth edition of *NAWM*. J. Peter Burkholder now led the creation of future editions and, as one might expect, this change marked a paradigm shift in the definition of and approaches to representation of the Western music canon. It was apparent at the outset of his involvement that Burkholder wanted a wider definition of Western music and that the anthology would have to grow to include new and different music. Additionally, Burkholder focused on providing works that would enrich and complicate Palisca's linear, teleological path through music history. In large part, Burkholder expressed these two initiatives with the terms "breadth" and "depth."

Fifth edition, 2006

Burkholder's preface to the fifth edition includes areas where he adopts Palisca's rationale verbatim, areas where he adapts similar concepts, and still more areas where he breaks completely from the ideology of prior editions. His first substantive break from Palisca's work comes in his discussion of repertoire choices. The discussion begins succinctly with the heading "Why These Pieces?" The two paragraphs that comprise this section echo much of Palisca's original rationale. However, Burkholder makes one crucial addition: "Studying music in its contexts can illuminate the choices composers made, the values of the society they lived in, and the meanings of the pieces themselves."³⁶ Burkholder is framing the works not only as steps in the development of musical style, but also as products of their place and time. This addition to the rationale moves the anthology away from its teleological focus. When that addition is coupled with Burkholder's closing remarks, the anthology takes on a very different identity:

All of these and many other potential connections can be made through the works in this anthology. But they remain unrealized until you, the reader, make them real for yourself. We invite you to study each piece for what it shares with others here as well as for its own distinctive qualities.³⁷

Burkholder signaled this identity shift by giving the preface a descriptive title, "Making Connections: How to Use This Anthology." He intended for the reader to embrace their own agency—to discover the multiple histories revealed through these works. This anthology no longer provided a singular

36. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xii.

37. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xviii.

path through music history with a presumed place of arrival; it provided a web of connections intended for freer exploration.

With the fundamental rationale in place, Burkholder outlines his repertoire choices with the following headings: “Breadth of Repertoire,” “Styles and Genres,” “Techniques,” “Learning from History,” “Reworkings,” “Improvisation,” “Reception,” and “Relation to Politics.” He draws attention to his greatest changes in the section “Breadth of Repertoire.” Here Burkholder describes unprecedented growth: women composers “are represented across the centuries” (ten works), music of Spain “is covered more fully, and Latin America is now included as well” (six works), the African American “traditions of ragtime, blues, and jazz are included for the first time” (five works), and coverage of “music in the United States and Eastern Europe has been increased” (ten new works, including the first piece by an Asian-born composer to appear in *NAWM*). Again, reversing course from Palisca’s approach, Burkholder notes that the anthology matches breadth with depth. Palisca’s new inclusions were balanced by other reductions, but this anthology included seventy-five new pieces for a total of 172 works, a twenty-two-work increase over the fourth edition.³⁸ Burkholder’s rationale for depth primarily matches Palisca’s explanation that the inclusion of multiple works by certain composers allows for a comparison between early and late styles and illustrates individual composers’ distinct approaches to diverse genres.

After establishing his rationale and detailing the increased diversity of the anthology’s repertoire, Burkholder delves more deeply into the different types of connections that one can find throughout the works of this anthology. In “Styles and Genres,” he explains that “genres, styles, conventions, and forms develop only because composers pick up ideas from each other and replicate or build them in their own music.” Put more succinctly, he describes compositional “chains of development.”³⁹ This notion extends to the next section, “Techniques,” where he similarly explains, “In addition to genres, composers often learn technique from their contemporaries or predecessors and extend them in new ways.”⁴⁰ The “Learning from History” section describes instances when composers reach back deeper into history to revive older methods. Burkholder’s final novel category, “Reworkings,” refers to examples that use source materials from previous works. The sections “Improvisation,” “Reception,” and “Relation

38. Burkholder dropped forty-six works between the fourth and fifth editions but the net increase more than quadrupled the greatest growth between editions from any of the Palisca years.

39. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xiii.

40. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xiv.

to Politics” all address issues similar to those discussed in Palisca’s prefaces, albeit with new works in the mix for each section.⁴¹

In the end, Burkholder’s most significant reconsiderations in his representation of Western music come in the “Breadth of Repertoire” section. In all areas and periods, Burkholder argues for a more robust collection of works, one that includes greater demographic diversity and also one that eschews much of the teleological or straight-line narrative through the repertoire of earlier periods. Burkholder addressed this issue in greater detail in his 2010 article “Changing the Stories We Tell: Repertoires, Narratives, Materials, Goals, and Strategies in Teaching Music History,” which appeared after the publication of his first edition.⁴² In the first sentence of the article, he succinctly identifies the unprecedented challenges and opportunities facing the music history teacher today: our pedagogical canon is more abundant than ever before and more diverse in all regards. Later he adds, “It has never been true that we could include everything, but there must be ways to encompass a wider range of representative pieces and traditions.” Burkholder identifies three areas for repertoire growth, including a greater variety of composers, regions, and styles. The last area for growth challenges the previously narrow classification of style and genre in the canon of Western music. He argues for the importance of popular music (Elvis Presley), film music (Max Steiner and Erich Wolfgang Korngold), band and wind ensemble music, Broadway musicals, and jazz. Examples from many but not all of these areas would be included in the anthology over the next four editions.⁴³

Beyond the selection of repertoire, the most important changes occurred with recordings. Naxos now assisted Norton in the creation of these recordings. With the new resources made available by this arrangement, Burkholder could continue Palisca’s push toward greater inclusion of historically informed performances, expanding that notion to later Romantic works and to the twentieth century, where ragtime and jazz recordings all feature the original artists. Burkholder also mentions the inclusion of track markings within works for targeted listening to “major sections, themes, and other events in the music, especially those pointed out in the commentaries.”⁴⁴ While this practice existed to a limited extent since the use of CDs in the third edition, its use is expanded in the fifth edition.

41. Improvisation is represented by a greater number of works through Burkholder’s inclusion of jazz, blues, and ragtime.

42. J. Peter Burkholder, “Changing the Stories We Tell: Repertoires, Narratives, Materials, Goals, and Strategies in Teaching Music History,” *College Music Symposium* 49/50 (2009/2010): 116–28.

43. Burkholder, “Changing the Stories We Tell,” 116, 118.

44. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xi.

Sixth edition, 2010

The most important change to the sixth edition is evident before one opens any of the volumes. *NAWM* was a two-volume set for its first thirty years. The sixth edition expands to three volumes and is spiral bound, an approach that has continued to the current edition. The third volume separates out the “Twentieth Century” (a title that would soon need to change—but in this edition the repertoire list ended before 2000). In this edition, Modern period works account for 25 percent of the repertoire, a percentage that increased slightly in each subsequent edition. Burkholder expanded the repertoire in each historical period, but the greatest percentage of growth and change occurred in the Modern period.

Before discussing the repertoire changes, it is worth noting that there were some smaller changes, as well. This edition expanded its “historically informed” performances to include many of the twentieth-century works, which appear “in performances by the composer or by the performers for whom they were written.” The rationale for inclusion of works was further distilled “to include outstanding works that represent their makers, genres, and times.”⁴⁵ The remainder of the preface is devoted to explaining the themes that determined selections.

In a change that reflects a determination to not sacrifice one area for another, the heading that explains most repertoire inclusions now reads “Breadth and Depth of Repertoire.” Here there is incremental expansion in all areas, some greater than others. Areas that added diversity to the anthology received only modest increases: works by women composers increased by one; music of Spain and Latin America increased by one; the African American traditions of ragtime, blues, and jazz did not increase. This preface notes the inclusion of some previously unmentioned classics of band literature (by Sousa and Husa), but these works were already present in the fifth edition. In addition, Burkholder notes in this heading that the twentieth century is now represented by fifty works, to date the greatest number of included works for any period.⁴⁶ This heading also notes increases in French music from the Medieval through the Baroque period and includes the greatest number yet of Eastern European composers and composers working in the United States.

Considering that the sixth edition grew by thirty-three works (to 205, up from 172 in the fifth edition), it is worth investigating that growth further.⁴⁷

45. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 6th ed., 1:xii.

46. For comparison, the greatest number of works in any other period and edition is forty works in the Romantic period, eighth edition.

47. There were forty-six new works and thirteen removed for a net gain of thirty-three works.

The impulse to increase gender and racial diversity accounts for the addition of only two works. By contrast, the new edition included six new works by five new Eastern European composers. It also included nine new composers who worked (or were working) in the United States and eleven of their works. While that sounds like a large net increase, many of the above demographic categories are not mutually exclusive (e.g., one can be female, African American, and working in the United States). Given the overlap in works from these demographic categories, their sum contributions amounted to less than half of the increase in the edition's offerings. Perhaps this is why the heading now included the word "depth," which accounted for over half of the additions to the edition. In subsequent sections of his preface—"Techniques," "Learning from History," "Reworkings," "Improvisation," "Reception," and "Relation to Politics"—Burkholder describes his rationale in more detail. On the one hand, by increasing the depth of music offerings in already well-covered areas, Burkholder was better able to dilute Palisca's previous straight line of music development in the prior editions—one that suggested a teleological view of music history. Burkholder addressed the fallacious notion of a single, narrow path with twentieth-century repertoire in his *College Music Symposium* article:

The standard narrative of twentieth-century music that I had learned focused on innovations and left everyone else out—what Richard Taruskin would later dub the "race-to-the-patent-office" view of history. I could see that there was much music in the repertoire that was not included in this narrative.⁴⁸

On the other hand, by increasing these areas of depth at a greater rate than the recent contributions to breadth, he also diluted the diversity of the repertoire and undercut the gains to diversity seen in the fifth edition.

Seventh edition, 2014

The arc of development in the seventh edition (Burkholder's third) is similar to that of Palisca's third edition with *NAWM*. By this point, Burkholder seems to have felt confident with the direction of the anthology, and, while he continued to make moderate adjustments to the anthology's repertoire, the changes supported the rationale of the largely unchanged preface. Along with this edition came a significant technological change: online availability. This allowed for possibilities not previously available due to physical limitations,

48. Burkholder, "Changing the Stories We Tell," 118.

such as the inclusion of Metropolitan Opera videos and support resources for the student, such as listening quizzes.⁴⁹

As before, “Breadth and Depth of Repertoire” noted growth of certain areas, explaining that the ability to make connections “depends on having a wide range of examples. The repertoire in this edition of *NAWM* is broader and more diverse than ever before.”⁵⁰ After noting the inclusion of six works that one might consider expansions of depth (pre-existing areas of exploration), Burkholder notes the inclusion of twenty-first-century pieces, “each of which simultaneously extends a trend of the late twentieth century and harks back to music of an earlier era.”⁵¹ With this addition, the third volume is now titled “The Twentieth Century and After.” The same areas of increased breadth were highlighted again in this preface. As was the case with earlier revisions of the anthology, the number of compositions by female and/or non-white composers is barely increased. Of the thirty-nine works added to this edition, works by women composers increased by one, music from Spain and Latin American increased by two. Similarly, Burkholder did not substantively alter the traditional focus on genres of the European and Euro-American concert tradition. The representation of band literature remained unchanged, and that of jazz, blues, and ragtime remained at the same levels that it had reached in the fifth edition. Burkholder removed one piece by an Eastern European composer but retained the same number of composers working in the United States. Measured by Burkholder’s own criterion of breadth, the diversity of offerings is nearly static in comparison to the overall growth of the edition as a whole (from 205 to 220). To consider this issue another way, each edition has mentioned the depth of the anthology through composers represented by multiple works. At this point (and continuing through the current edition) every composer listed in that category is white, male, and composing within styles that would have satisfied Palisca’s earliest, narrow definitions of Western art music. There has never been a composer on *NAWM*’s list representing depth outside of this narrow scope of classification.

Eighth edition, 2019

As with the previous three editions, the preface’s format remained the same, but as always, there were small distinctions that warrant discussion. For the first

49. The question of online capability to make further changes will receive further consideration below.

50. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 7th ed., 1:xiv

51. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 7th ed., 1:xv. The presumption that each piece should extend back to previous traditions in some capacity reintroduces questions of implied teleology, discussed above.

time since the fifth edition, *NAWM* did not mention any pairing with *CHWM*, only the usual lockstep movement with the newest edition of *HWM*.⁵² Norton's Total Access program, which linked *HWM* even more closely with *NAWM*, also increased the number of online offerings in the anthology. The recordings were now paired with the purchase of *HWM* (in either e-book or hard copy formats) and no longer linked in any way with the purchase of *NAWM* itself. For the first time, *NAWM* tackled works without traditional scores, including jazz works with lead sheets, Varèse's *Poème électronique*, and Reich's *Come Out*, with commentaries linked to recording timings.

As with the prior editions, Burkholder discussed repertoire changes most extensively in the "Breadth and Depth of Repertoire" section of the preface. To the "already extensive selections by major composers from the eighteenth and nineteenth century" Burkholder made seven additions. He also added two twenty-first-century works, while the total of works by women composers increased by one. The number of selections from Spanish and Latin American composers increased by one; jazz, blues, and ragtime increased by two; and band literature again remained unchanged. The representation of Eastern European composers was unchanged, and the number of composers working in the United States decreased by one. A total of thirty-five new works were included, while twenty-six were removed, for a total count of 229 (up from 220).

Considering that the eighth edition grew in total by only nine works—its smallest growth since Burkholder took over—these changes demonstrated a comparatively significant effort to increase the diversity of the anthology. Despite the presence of more underrepresented voices, however, none receive the type of deep treatment that Burkholder identified as a hallmark of the anthology (namely, the inclusion of multiple works in order to allow comparison of early and later styles or to show distinct approaches to diverse genres). This is still a level of representation available only to the white men who pervade the early editions of *NAWM*.

Taking the Long View

Having placed these eight editions in historical context, we are better able to consider them from an elevated perspective, one that sees the trajectory of the

52. The latest (fifth) edition of *CHWM* came out one year after the most recent *HWM* and *NAWM*. It identifies its alignment with the latest *NAWM* on the website and states "anthology update" on its cover. "Concise History of Western Music" (website), W. W. Norton and Company, accessed December 30, 2020, <https://wwnorton.com/books/9780393421583>.

changes. The following sections consider the themes that pervade these eight editions.

Representing Western music

When Palisca spoke of “vernacular and traditional” musics in the preface to his second edition of the anthology, he did not mean actual vernacular or traditional music, but instead “art music” that bore those influences. As I mentioned above, Palisca understood the anthology as a representation of “art music” (later described as “the classical tradition”), designating vernacular and traditional musics as the domain of ethnomusicology.⁵³ But what is “art music”? Burkholder explicitly pushed back against the high/low art dichotomy, stating: “Very familiar music that we would never have considered including in our music history courses is now widely accepted as an integral part of the music history curriculum.” After noting examples such as music for film, band and wind ensemble, Broadway musicals, as well as jazz and popular music, he continues: “their exclusion from our courses has made less and less sense as we look back on music history and realize that we include popular music, functional music, and amateur music of earlier times, from sixteenth-century madrigals to Bach cantatas to keyboard suites and sonatas.”⁵⁴ Burkholder acknowledged important changes in the music history curriculum; however, the changes reflected in the most current anthology are modest compared with those he suggested a decade prior. Elvis Presley was Burkholder’s proffered example of a popular music composer, but he still has not found his way into *NAWM*; neither has Little Richard, nor the Beatles, nor Public Enemy. Max Steiner and Erich Wolfgang Korngold were Burkholder’s examples of film music composers, and representative works are not in the anthology either; neither is music by John Williams, Danny Elfman, nor Trent Reznor. Although Burkholder has included some film music in the anthology (Sergey Prokofiev’s cantata “Arise, Ye Russian People” from *Alexander Nevsky*), he has not chosen a work that steps out of the classical concert hall. This critique is not meant to suggest that Burkholder betrayed his earlier values in subsequent editions of *NAWM*. Instead, it is meant to show the difficulty in integrating new values into later editions. The ability to radically alter the anthology is limited by its own branding, teams of reviewers, editorial staff, and of course by the instructors that adopt it.

Beyond popular music and film, Burkholder best demonstrates his updated definition of Western music through his inclusion of jazz and Broadway musicals. In the fifth edition, he included works representative of both of these

53. Palisca, *NAWM*, 3rd ed., 1:xii.

54. Burkholder, “Changing the Stories We Tell,” 117.

styles, but only in a limited way. With only five total works of ragtime, blues, and jazz, the inclusion of these styles seems to be more about mere presence rather than equal consideration as a part of the canon. By the eighth edition, the story was similar—jazz was represented by seven works, Broadway by one (Leonard Bernstein’s “Cool” from *West Side Story*), and both were reflected in another one (George Gershwin’s “I Got Rhythm” from *Girl Crazy*). If Bernstein’s and Gershwin’s works represent steps away from traditional classical notions, they are among the smallest possible steps. Both composers carry considerable classical credibility through other aspects of their musical output. Moreover, the analytical essays focus in large part on classical attributes of these works.

While these specific repertoire choices keep jazz and Broadway musicals closely aligned with the classical tradition, they also keep these styles at a distance from other works in the anthology. In the table of contents of the third volume of the eighth edition, these works appear in isolated sections with headings that reflect their compartmentalization. As the reader moves through the anthology, they encounter, for example, the section “Between the World Wars: The Classical Tradition” and, separately, “Between the World Wars: Jazz and Popular Music.” This same separation occurs in the sections covering “The Early Twentieth Century” and “Postwar.” Volume 3, *The Twentieth Century and After* proceeds chronologically, but with two separate narratives: The Classical Tradition as one narrative and everything else as the other.

The fact that this anthology includes no works outside of the classical tradition in “The Late Twentieth Century” and “The Twenty-First Century” is perhaps even more problematic. Although Burkholder argued that these non-classical traditions were “now widely accepted as an integral part of the music history curriculum,” the method of their inclusion suggests something well short of full integration. The impression is that the historical narrative is still one of art music (now called “the classical tradition”). This narrative has acknowledged the cross-influence that various music traditions have on each other, but the framing subordinates vernacular music, jazz, and popular music to the central narrative of a “classical” tradition. While we seem to have gained distance from Palisca’s original stance—that we study the influence of vernacular and traditional music on art music, but not those other musics in their own right—recent repertoire selections undercut that progress. For example, Shaker hymns and fiddle tunes only find their way into the anthology in service of Aaron Copland’s *Appalachian Spring*. The anthology also fails to include the last sixty years of developments in jazz and musical theater. The most recent jazz example is John Coltrane’s *Giant Steps* (1960), and *West Side Story* is from 1957. The inclusion of these traditions serves primarily to show the plurality of influences on the modern classical tradition but does not explore them as equals.

It is crucial to acknowledge here that there are many pragmatic and financial considerations that influence the inclusion and exclusion of works in an anthology. Burkholder's own remarks suggest that he earnestly wants a greater diversity of works in this narrative. As I mentioned in the first part of this essay, there are undoubtedly numerous obstacles to the inclusion of pop and film music in an anthology, not the least of which are copyright and royalties. While I cannot speak to any efforts that Norton may have made for the inclusion of such examples, their absence creates an increasing dissonance between the anthology and the textbook. There are numerous reasons that this anthology may find itself unable to engage with these areas of musical activity, but it is problematic to refrain from doing so without any discussion of these omissions in the edition's preface. This problem is exacerbated by the proclamation on the back cover of *NAWM's* eighth edition that this "comprehensive collection of 229 outstanding teaching pieces illustrates every significant trend and genre of Western music."⁵⁵ If there are practical limitations that have prevented *NAWM's* growth in certain areas, the preface needed to address them. Without such an explanation, the anthology appears to reject a broader, more inclusive concept of a pedagogical canon.

Despite Burkholder's argument in his *College Music Symposium* article for a more expansive historical narrative, he defends the centrality of the classical tradition in his own teaching, "in large part," he explains, "because I teach in a school of music where that repertoire is central." The study of "jazz, band music, choral music, Broadway musicals, rock music, film music, or other repertoires that tend to be ignored or underplayed in courses on twentieth-century music" is covered in student group presentations.⁵⁶ While the opportunity for students to contribute to the course is exciting and laudable, the presentation of classical material by the professor and everything else by the students creates a hierarchy and "others" these styles in an undesirable way. If one contends that a certain musical tradition should be a part of the course, one should also allow that it deserves equally rigorous consideration. While the instructor brings a wealth of insights and observations to the central narrative (enriched by a package of Norton resources), the other parts of the repertoire are presumably satisfied by a different protocol.⁵⁷ Student presentations have numerous pedagogical

55. Burkholder, *NAWM*, 8th ed., back cover.

56. Burkholder, "Changing the Stories We Tell," 119.

57. Burkholder's last sentence in this passage is written in the passive voice: "each group of students takes over an entire class session to present ... repertoires that tend to be ignored or underplayed in courses on twentieth-century music." Burkholder is perhaps the best positioned individual to advocate for repertoires that are ignored or underplayed in such courses. The passive voice here diminishes his agency in this process. Drawing from the work of Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern, Simonović Schiff noted similar discrepancies in the increasingly

advantages, but the idea that they can be used to “cover the curricular gaps” in the *NAWM* seems to be misguided.

The enthusiasm of students to present these underrepresented (or entirely ignored) repertoires demonstrates this music’s importance. My own experience suggests that the classical repertoire is no longer singularly central to the larger musical life of most schools. While the classical tradition is certainly vital for some students, there are many others for whom band, Broadway, choral, film, jazz, and rock music (among others) are significantly more central to their education and career goals. When we teach the classical tradition as the central narrative in our music history survey courses, we suggest that there is some rationale for this music as the central narrative. I see my students engaging in music outside of the classical tradition (both in my school’s music curriculum and beyond it) as frequently as they do the music of the classical tradition. The jobs that my students take after their musical studies reflect similar plurality. If there is a rationale for the continuing centrality of the classical tradition as the default narrative of Western music, I cannot find it.

Further Considerations of Diversity and Advocacy

Across most editions of *NAWM*, the prefaces have considered, to varying degrees, the issue of diversity. Diversity can refer to musical styles, but it can also refer to facets of a composer’s identity. While *NAWM* has explicitly addressed gender representation since the third edition, there has been little explicit treatment of race and none of sexual orientation or nonbinary gender identity. Although Still was included in the third edition of *NAWM*, and the fifth edition singled out Bright Sheng as the first Asian-born composer in the anthology, later editions have done little to increase the representation of non-white composers. While African American composers constitute much of the (arguably underdeveloped) jazz sections, there has not been one further African American added to “the classic tradition” since Still. Still’s singular inclusion is particularly problematic because *Afro-American Symphony* is linked stylistically to jazz. When taken as the only example, it insinuates a reductive understanding of race. As a result, there are no African American composers in the anthology operating outside of jazz’s influence. Although composers such as George Walker and

omnivorous nature of American musical taste and the comparatively narrow representation of musical style in *NAWM*: “Since 2006 the *NAWM* has become more ‘omnivorous,’ but it is still encumbered by its origins” (Simonović Schiff, “Music History Pedagogy,” 208). Her conclusion still applies ten years and two editions later.

Florence Price would be obvious candidates for inclusion as part of “the classic tradition,” they have yet to find their way into the anthology.⁵⁸

Since Palisca’s discussion of the growing scholarship on women composers, moreover, the anthology does not yet reflect the growing scholarship that draws on queer and feminist theories. To the same extent that composers’ religious identities inform much of the study of works within *NAWM*, sexual and gender identity could become an equally important part of the discussion, as it has in musicological scholarship. While one could look at music through the lens of sexual orientation and gender identity across *NAWM*’s entire historical scope, it has certainly been a particularly important social issue within more recent decades. At the very least, this is a crucially important part of the historical context of the twentieth and twenty-first century music that as yet is not represented in *NAWM*.

As I suggested above, every decision to include a work in any of the eight editions is an act of advocacy. To select one work over another is to determine that there are compelling reasons for introducing thousands of students to this work. As the leading textbook and anthology pairing on the market, *NAWM* and *HWM* have the loudest voice in the field of music history pedagogy. When Palisca chose to include women composers, the language of his rationale could be read as tepid, but his actions spoke more loudly than his words. The presence of works by six women composers in the third edition might seem particularly meager—they amount to 3.9 percent of the overall selections—but in light of the fact that the total number of works in the anthology was contracting, the inclusion of works by women composers was a clear act of advocacy. In the most recent edition, there are thirteen works by women. Although this is a marked increase, works by women composers still represent only 5.7 percent of the anthology. The proportion of works by women composers has hardly changed since the fourth edition of the anthology, when they accounted for 5.3 percent of the total (see Figure 2).⁵⁹ The increased growth of the anthology

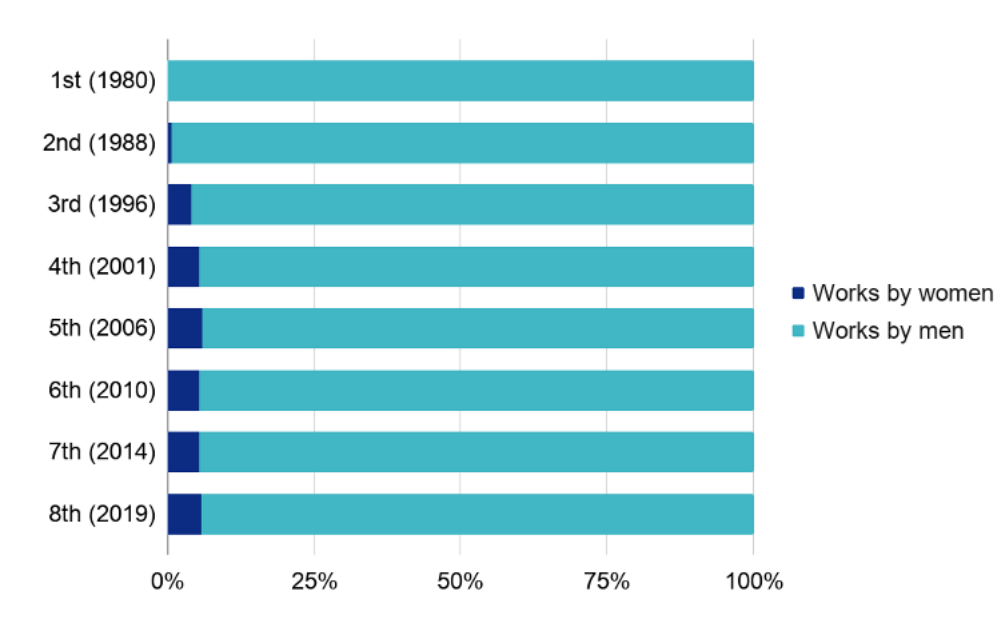
58. As with women, one cannot include African American works without adequate editions. While research and edition creation in this area is more recent, it is far from nascent. At times in its history the anthology has created editions and recordings to bridge necessary critical gaps. The fifth edition notes in its introduction that many works and new editions had no satisfactory recordings available but that they “located performers and commissioned new recordings” (Burkholder, *NAWM*, 5th ed., 1:xx). Commissioned recordings and editions accompany most editions of *NAWM*, including the most recent one. What steps could be taken here to bridge new critical gaps?

59. This issue, with a focus on *HWM*, is treated in Vicki D. Baker, “Inclusion of Women Composers in Music History Textbooks,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 25, no. 1 (2003): 5–19. Simonović Schiff has also explored this topic and reached similar conclusions as my own in her dissertation. The following section offers a detailed analysis of individual composer representation and frequency. Simonović Schiff, “Music History Pedagogy,” 167–73.

means that works inevitably and increasingly go unstudied over the course of a survey. I argue, therefore, that Palisca's later editions had a greater chance of shifting the curriculum than the more recent anthologies.

One can surely argue for the virtues of presenting instructors with abundant choices and not dictating the curriculum. The number of works in the eighth edition of *NAWM* are almost certainly beyond the scope of any music history sequence. It is possible for an instructor to teach all of the works by women composers, should they so choose. But this also shifts the responsibility to advocate for diversity to instructors—the last link in the chain that has to make the case, for example, for teaching the lesser-known Amy Beach instead of Antonín Dvořák. This is not to say that instructors should not have to engage in acts of advocacy, but rather that they would benefit from assistance. The eighth edition of *NAWM* is compiled by a distinguished scholar and assisted by twenty other esteemed experts in the field. If they believe in broader representation in Western music, who better to affect that change than them? After all, this anthology has one of the best opportunities to shift not only the field of musicology, but to shift the performance canon as well.

Figure 2: Proportion of works by women composers in successive editions of *NAWM*.



A Freestanding Work or a Paired Anthology?

When Donald Grout chose the title *A History of Western Music* for his textbook, he acknowledged, even in 1962, that this text is one historical narrative among (the possibility of) many. Grout chose to call it “a history” instead of

“the history” for practical reasons; he wanted “to speak in some detail about the only field of music history in which I can claim any specialized knowledge or competence.”⁶⁰ As the text has grown in stature, Norton has promoted the book as the “definitive history of Western Music.”⁶¹ One certainly expects some bluster from publishers as they endeavor to sell their materials, and this reframing likely does not reflect any significant shift in the approach to narrative throughout the text. Nevertheless, it is hard to dismiss the suggestion that this is no longer one of many histories. This is a small but crucial distinction; at least by implication, the definitive history of a subject includes everything—of course, an impossible task. As the field has grown beyond a narrow teleological focus, so too has this text. While some of that growth is inevitable, the issue of the interconnectedness of various genres and styles (especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries) is pushing the text well beyond the scope of nearly any music history sequence.

While instructors can easily pull select works from an anthology to construct a historical narrative, a linear prose textbook does not lend itself as easily to such selective treatment. Decoupling *HWM* from *NAWM*, would allow both resources to more faithfully reflect the varied and diverse growth of Western music, a designation that has become increasingly problematic in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. *HWM* could then tell a more succinct narrative without the expectation that it carves a path through each work included in *NAWM*. The anthology could in turn reflect many styles and genres more broadly throughout their full history.⁶² (Imagine a collection of jazz examples that better represents its long American history.) And finally, the instructor would have greater freedom to explore diverse narratives by selecting works that serve their particular student population and experience.⁶³

60. Grout, “Music History and Musical Reality,” 1966–72, box 24, folder 27, p. 8, Donald Jay Grout Papers, #14/20/998, Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collection, Cornell. Reality,” 1966–72, box 24, folder 27, p. 8, Donald Jay Grout Papers, #14/20/998, Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collection, Cornell University Libraries, quoted in Swift, “Grappling with Donald Jay Grout’s Essays on Music Historiography,” 142.

61. “W. W. Norton and Company, A History of Western Music” (website), accessed December 30, 2020, <https://wwnorton.com/books/9780393668179>.

62. While copyright issues have almost certainly shaped the capabilities of *NAWM* to reflect varied and diverse repertoires of the past century, it is possible that a solely online platform could circumvent certain problems. Physical texts have no real mechanism to prevent dissemination of copyrighted materials, but some digital platforms have developed mechanisms to stymie mass dissemination. Nkoda is an example of such a service. It seems possible that a purely online platform could assist *NAWM* with some copyright issues.

63. The focus on diverse narratives typically emphasizes the above-mentioned areas such as jazz, film music, and popular music; however, there are far more narrative threads beyond these usual areas. The following articles offer pedagogical alternatives: Aaron S. Allen, “Greening the Curriculum: Beyond a Short Music History in Ecomusicology,” this *Journal* 8, no.

While the suggestion of separating the anthology from the textbook might seem radical considering their pairing for the past forty years, it is worth noting that this is the only anthology in Norton's offerings that is paired with a textbook. It seems that the history of our discipline's pedagogical development has saddled us with the idea that we write textbooks that dictate the creation of anthologies when numerous other disciplines have robust and independent anthologies that serve as the starting point for the creation of course content.

Changing Technology

As *NAWM* continues to offer more online content, are there opportunities to harness technology to address some of the above challenges? One of the greatest challenges in the current *NAWM* format is that the three-volume hard copy set is intended as a sufficient representation of Western music and as a paired resource for *HWM*. Few (if any) music history sequences cover all 229 works or even sculpt a narrative that would benefit from teaching every work. As a result, students buy an expensive resource, much of which they do not use or, at least, are not compelled to use. In a solely online format, it might be possible to grow the anthology without much strain to *HWM* (or to the backs of the poor students carrying it around). In an online format, it is conceivable that the anthology could grow to three hundred works or more and offer jazz, film music, and other traditions and styles as equal voices in the modern canon.⁶⁴

An online anthology would better suit the many undergraduate music history courses that are increasingly taught without a textbook, as well as those that eschew the narrowly conceived traditional music history sequence structure. Instructors would be able to create their own custom anthologies designed

1 (2017): 91–109; Travis D. Stimeling and Kayla Tokar, "Narratives of Musical Resilience and the Perpetuation of Whiteness in the Music History Classroom," this *Journal* 10, no. 1 (2020): 20–38; Lucius R. Wyatt, "The Inclusion of Concert Music of African-American Composers in Music History Courses," *Black Music Research Journal* 16, no. 2 (1996): 239–57; Robin Elliott, "Teaching Canadian Music in Undergraduate Music History Courses," in *Vitalizing Music History Teaching*, ed. James Briscoe, 163–76, (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2010); Jeanne Halley, "A Mysterious Lacuna: Reconsidering the Exclusion of French Baroque Music and Dance from the Curricula," in *Vitalizing Music History Teaching*, ed. James Briscoe, 189–202, (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2010).

64. Three hundred works does not seem an entirely outlandish number as the anthology series has grown by seventy-nine works from its fourth edition (150 works) to its eighth (229 works). As stated previously, there are numerous practical and financial considerations that will intersect with *NAWM*'s ability to grow their repertoire into certain areas of musical activity. It is tempting to wonder if a purely online format might allow for greater protection of copyrighted materials than a hard copy text, allowing for more involvement in expensive areas of musical activity.

specifically for each course. A course on “Music of Revolution,” for example, might still draw heavily from the online *NAWM* while not utilizing *HWM*. As these custom anthologies would not include the totality of *NAWM*, the selected works would not stand in comparison to others. Instead, the repertoire would stand on its own merit, not having to justify itself to any of the other works on the list of exclusions.

An online anthology with broader and more diverse examples would prompt instructors to make more conscientious decisions about repertoire selection. Decoupling the anthology from *HWM* would presumably give instructors more freedom to include far more works by underrepresented composers in their courses. They would engage with the process of building a repertoire as opposed to adopting works from a narrow collection. Might this engagement stimulate a deeper reflection on repertoire selections?

It is tantalizing to imagine other ways that *NAWM* might more flexibly present its material in an online format, including approaches that offer pedagogical advantages. For example, the analytic essays after each score provide students with crucial historical knowledge, but they are also a seductively simple presentation of the historical significance of these works. Without them, would students be compelled to tease out meaning for themselves—to reason, speculate, and guess, as opposed to, in effect, looking up the answers in the back of the book? An online format would allow the instructor to opt out of the analytical essays that are normally at the students’ fingertips to encourage them to discover this understanding together as a class. This flexibility would allow instructors to shift from content acquisition to skills development. *NAWM* would then support pedagogical updates that respond to central questions surrounding the identity of the music history curriculum, such as the ones asked by Douglass Seaton:

Is history something that our students should learn? Is a survey sequence an effective way to teach it? Should our emphasis be on teaching historical knowledge or on skills? What curriculum options make sense to a postmodern and digital generation?⁶⁵

One of the great contributions of *NAWM* over the years has been the enlargement of the recorded repertoire, particularly in previously neglected areas. When few representative recordings were available for Medieval music, W. W. Norton & Company had them created. When historically informed performances were comparatively controversial, Palisca advocated for their

65. Douglass Seaton, “Reconsidering Undergraduate Music History: Some Introductory Thoughts,” this *Journal* 5, no. 2 (2015): 55.

inclusion, and Burkholder expanded their scope. Now that *NAWM*'s recordings live online (and not in a student's CD case), there seems to be an opportunity for further expansion of the recordings. When I present the *NAWM* recording of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, performed by John Eliot Gardiner and the Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique, I have noticed that my students take the fully realized performance decisions for granted. Numerous choices made by the musicians wash over them without dutiful consideration of alternative options. It is only when I include Eugene Ormandy's 1960s recording with the Philadelphia Orchestra that we begin to engage a discussion of performance choices and the results between these drastically different realizations. Suddenly the performances have successful choices and failures; the students aggressively advocate for certain performance choices as based on the values that they bring to their own music making—they now better see their role and responsibility in the realization of the work. It has been my experience that a student generally responds to a work that is presented with only one recording as if the performance choices were a foregone conclusion. Norton has done an amazing job at amassing a set of wonderful recordings all with well-considered performance choices for their anthology, but the meaning of those choices is often lost without contrast. Moreover, the notion of performer agency in the realization of the composer's intent is less apparent. Through *NAWM*'s partnership with Naxos there seems to be an opportunity to assist the course instructor with recommended comparison recordings in their online suite. With this more flexible approach, the instructor could then create a custom anthology of recordings that offer similar benefits as with their custom collection of scores.

Final Reflections

The *Norton Anthology of Western Music* has enjoyed a long and influential history as one of the most important resources in the undergraduate music history curriculum for good reason. Palisca achieved a comprehensibility and scope in his first edition of *NAWM* that was not present in contemporary anthologies. In his fifth edition, Burkholder made multiple necessary updates to the definition of Western music that increased its diversity and attenuated its teleological arc. Although Burkholder expanded representation of a more diverse range of social classes, ethnicities, and gender in the anthology, its title remained the same. As the world has become increasingly international, the idea of a specifically "Western" music that might exclude certain works is increasingly more difficult to defend. The field of musicology has expanded its exploration of Western music at a faster rate than *NAWM*.

If *NAWM* were to be created afresh today, I imagine that it would be significantly different, perhaps especially as pertains to music of the twentieth

and twenty-first centuries. *NAWM* has a long and distinguished history, but a strong legacy can sometimes work against change. The incremental changes in the anthology reflects the general reluctance at many higher education institutions to make sweeping changes to music history sequences. This is perhaps part of the reason that some schools have retreated from that traditional history sequence in favor of teaching a non-linear, non-chronological narrative or removing a required and presumed repertoire necessary for every music major.⁶⁶ In a ninth edition *NAWM* could serve as a bellwether, using its stature in the field to disrupt the slowly changing narrative and narrow representation of Western music, setting a new tone for music history curricula and for the next generation of musicians. This exciting step could only happen with the bold willingness to leave its prior success behind in pursuit of a new identity.

Appendix

The following tables provide the reader with a bird's-eye view of *NAWM*'s repertoire across its eight editions.⁶⁷ From this vantage point, many of the subtle changes between individual editions gain greater context and significance. All of the following tables continue to use the following period designations, as adapted from the first edition: Ancient, Medieval, Baroque, Classic, Romantic, and Modern.

66. There have been previous instances when scholars have noted general movement away from *HWM* and *NAWM*, often citing similar concerns to those in this article. Regardless of those predictions of shifting tides, the Norton resources seem to continue to hold considerable influence over the direction of the music history curriculum in general. Mary DuPree, "Beyond Music in Western Civilization: Issues in Undergraduate Music History Literacy," *College Music Symposium* 30, no. 2 (1990): 100–105. An excellent example of one of these modified formats can be found at Vanderbilt University. Notably, the third course in Vanderbilt's sequence still uses the third volume of the *NAWM*. Melanie Lowe, "Rethinking the Undergraduate Music History Sequence in the Information Age," this *Journal* 5, no. 2 (2015): 68. This issue also received recent treatment as a roundtable discussion at the 2020 AMS National Conference: Andrew Dell'Antonio, Melanie Lowe, Sara Haefeli, and Erica Scheinberg, "What Constitutes 'Core' in the Curriculum?" (AMS/SMT Virtual Annual Meeting, November 7, 2020).

67. Whitman College student Yana Miakshyla collected and cataloged the 397 works that comprise the eight editions of *NAWM*. She also prepared the graphs found in the appendix. Her wonderful assistance was made possible by Whitman College's generous Perry Summer Research Scholarship.

Counting the Works

Some stylistically “transitional” pieces were placed in different periods in different editions, based on changing rationales for categorization. For example, Beethoven’s Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, “Eroica,” was moved from the Classic period to a Romantic-period section called “Revolution and Change.” Our data catalogs the period of individual works according to the designation they received in each individual edition. In the comprehensive repertoire list (Figure 6), such works are identified by an asterisk and appear according to their first use in *NAWM*.

Multimovement works are counted as one entry, even if different editions use different movements. For example, Handel’s *Giulio Cesare* was represented by Act III, Scene 4 in the first three editions and thereafter by Act II, Scenes 1 and 2.

Figure 3: Repertoire totals.

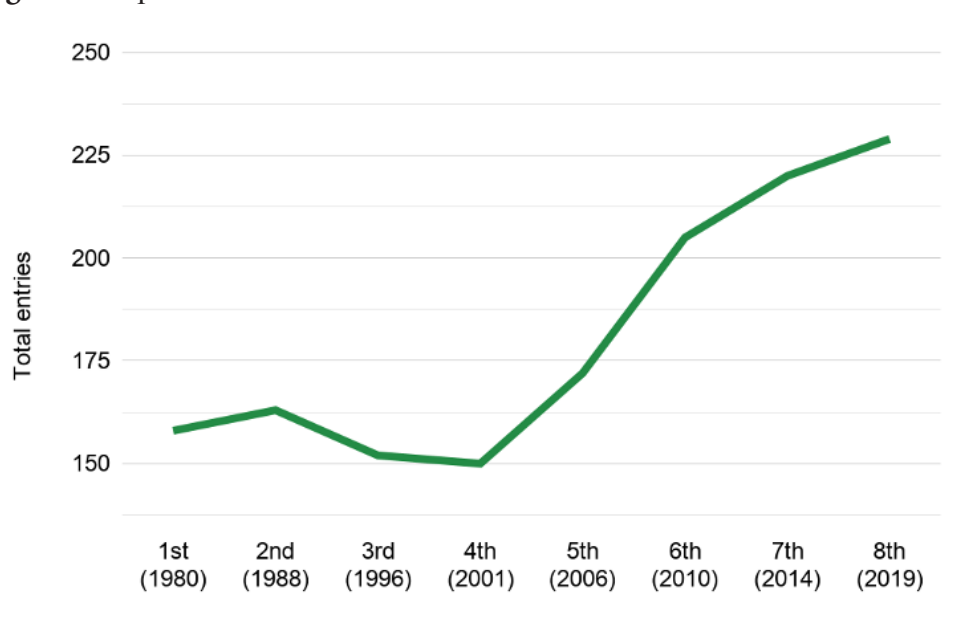


Figure 6: Works present in all eight editions.

Medieval

Anon., Alleluia Justus ut palma
 Anon., Victimae paschali laudes
 de la Halle, *Jeu de Robin et de Marion: Robin's m'ame*
 Landini, *Non avrà ma' pietà*
 de Ventadorn, *Can vei la lauzeta mover*

Renaissance

Du Fay, *Resvellies vous*
 Dunstable, *Quam pulchra es*
 Gesualdo, "Io parto" e non più dissi
 Isaac, *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen*
 Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass: Credo*

Baroque

Bach, J. S., Chorale Prelude on *Durch Adams Fall*, BWV 637
 Bach, J. S., Prelude and Fugue in A Minor, BWV 543
 Carissimi, excerpts from *Historia di Jephthe*
 Corelli, Trio Sonata in D Major, op. 3, no. 2
 Couperin, excerpts from *Vingt-cinquième ordre*
 Dowland, *Flow, my tears**
 Gay, excerpts from *The Beggar's Opera*
 Grandi, *O quam tu pulchra es**
 Handel, excerpts from *Giulio Cesare*
 Monteverdi, *Cruda Amarilli*
 Monteverdi, excerpts from *L'incoronazione di Poppea*
 Monteverdi, excerpts from *L'Orfeo*
 Peri, excerpts from *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice*
 Rameau, excerpts from *Hippolyte et Aricie*

Classical

Bach, C.P.E., Sonata in A Major, H. 186, Wq. 55/4
 Bach, J.C., Concerto for Harpsichord or Piano and Strings in E-flat Major,

op. 11, no. 3

Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, op. 55 (Eroica)

Gluck, excerpt from *Orfeo ed Euridice*

Mozart, excerpts from *Don Giovanni*

Mozart, Piano Concerto in A Major, K. 488

Sammartini, Symphony in F Major, J-C 32

Scarlatti (Domenico), Sonata in D Major, K. 119

Stamitz, Sinfonia a 8 in E-flat Major, op. 11, no. 3

Romantic

Mahler, excerpt from *Kindertotenlieder**

Rossini, excerpts from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*

Wagner, excerpts from *Tristan und Isolde*

von Weber, excerpts from *Der Freischütz*

Modern

Bartók, *Music for String Instruments, Percussion, and Celesta*

Berg, excerpts from *Wozzeck*

Copland, *Appalachian Spring*

Debussy, *Nocturnes: no. 1, Nuages*

Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*

Scriabin, *Vers la flamme*

Strauss, *Don Quixote**

Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring: Danse des adolescentes*

Webern, Symphony, op. 21

* Periodization here reflects the work's first appearance in *NAWM*.