

'THE BARGHEST O' WHITBY': (A GENEALOGICAL STUDY OF) DEATH/DOOM METAL
MUSIC(AL) NETWORK IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

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Abstract

Metal music has existed in one form or another for about half a century. While the musical style and the culture started out in a relatively unified way, with the 'extreme turn' of late 80s and 90s, metal culture stratified. Doom metal, being one of the oldest styles in this newly formed structure, became even more fragmented. Through amalgamations with other music styles or as further alterations on these amalgamations. I call these styles extreme doom. Death/doom is such a style. These smaller styles in metal culture have so far been investigated hierarchically. However, the implication that a hierarchy has is problematic in this context. Metal music studies is a budding field, so, we need to think more critically about the way we conceptualise the history of metal academically in these early years. Yet, so far, this stratification, with its hierarchy, has not been challenged or even discussed in detail. Scholarship often mentions these so-called 'sub-genres' uncritically. In order to challenge this idea, there needs to be a new model. However, because of the size and breadth of metal culture, one single work cannot come even close to covering the styles existing today. In this thesis, I attempt to draw boundaries around only death/doom to propose a way of modelling a new metal history. To achieve this, I define these newer and smaller styles as *marginal styles* using marginality idea of Park. Following this idea, sociology of music comes to rescue with Crossley's music worlds. Music worlds, because of its emphasis put on the musical style -it is central-, is an intriguing perspective to look at the fragmented nature of metal music. A metal music world is a social construction performed by the participants, including musicians, fans, engineers, managers, label executives, and the press, around a metal musical style. These smaller styles, then, become ideal candidates for the application of this theory. This thesis treats death/doom in such a way using ethnographic, historical, and musicological methods.

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1. The Introduction

“The Barghest o’ Whitby”: (a genealogical study of) death/doom metal music(al) network in northern England’ is a research project focussed on death/doom metal music and culture, and its genesis and history in northern England. I concentrate on the relatively small cross-section, which I will call *marginal style*¹, of death metal and doom metal, because extreme metal is a big umbrella term as described by Kahn-Harris (2006). Furthermore, death/doom has its roots geographically in northern England. For a research project in Leeds, this provides ease and accuracy of execution. Another factor in delving into death/doom in this thesis is my own involvement in this music world beyond as a researcher but also as an avid listener, an amateur musician, a commercial critic, and a commercial photographer. In this chapter, I discuss the context, the aims, the ethical considerations that went into the project, and the chapter structure that follows.

1.1. Research context

Doom metal music remains mostly underground, even though its stylistic genesis can be pointed to the album *Black Sabbath* (1970) by the band Black Sabbath (England); argued by many (Dunn et al., 2005; Galbraith and Grant, n.d.; Pearlin, 2014; Popoff, 2015; Stevens, 2014; Vohlidka and Fitzgerald, 2015) to be one of the first heavy metal albums. One can point to a ‘true’ doom metal style emerging only in early 1980s with bands such as Candlemass (Sweden), Pagan Altar (Brockley, UK), Pentagram (USA), Saint Vitus (USA), and Witchfinder General (Stourbridge, UK) (Dunn et al., 2005; Galbraith and Grant, n.d.). With the ‘extreme’ turn (Kahn-Harris, 2006) in heavy metal music that happened during the late 1980s and the

¹ This idea is briefly explained in section 1.2 and discussed in detail in section 2.7.

early 1990s, doom metal culture followed suit. The 'extreme' turn gave birth to many music worlds; such as death/doom, funeral doom, black/doom, sludge/doom, stoner/doom, and drone/doom among others. The earlier doom metal style assumed the label traditional doom or epic doom from this point onwards. Death metal itself is also a result of this turn. These styles focus on different lyrical themes and approach the musical style from varying angles. On the doom metal side, there have been few significant academic works on these music worlds with the exception of drone/doom (Coggins, 2015); death metal on the other hand has received significant scholarly attention. Although early attention on death metal was confused and retrospectively misleading on what to call 'death metal' as exemplified by Harrell (1994). Kahn-Harris (2006) represented death metal with its current definition. Phillipov (2012) also focussed on death metal in a detailed and multi-angled way representing this culture as a genre in Holt's terms (2007). In general, if we look at metal music studies, the smaller so-called 'sub-genres' of metal are usually grouped together with their neighbouring styles. Fabbri (1982) was among the first to discuss an idea of 'sub-genre'; and even though this was done in a non-metal context, metal music studies usually inadvertently follows their framework. Tagg (2000, p. 48) also uses Fabbri's definition of musical style in his construction of the analysis framework he proposes (2013). While all of these classic approaches (Fabbri, 1982; Holt, 2007; Tagg, 2013) can provide insight into metal culture as exemplified by studies like Phillipov (2012), I will not be using their framework and I instead will focus on fans' perspective on their 'own' musical style to attempt my delineation of death/doom metal. I discuss the reasoning behind this change of focus in section 1.3.

What make 'extreme' doom metal worlds different from earlier doom metal are observed through musical characteristics such as the vocal style, the song structures and the lyrical themes, as well as the cultural differences such as a comparably more inclusive behaviour as well as the emotional and melancholic edge pushed further. Geographically, death/doom has its origins in northern England. These roots are largely lodged in the

'Peaceville Three' consisting of Anathema (Liverpool), My Dying Bride (Halifax), and Paradise Lost (Halifax) with their early activities focussed in Bradford, West Yorkshire. Peaceville Records emerges as an important independent label throughout this process, no longer representing any of the three -with My Dying Bride's departure during the writing period of this thesis- however, they still have other significant death/doom, gothic/doom, and black metal bands on their roster. It is important to note that Peaceville Records was based and is still based in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire.

The extreme music worlds provide a public space for 'authentic performance' (Spracklen and Spracklen, 2012) of an identity. One may observe a geographical focus from the brief introduction to death/doom, thus one should also consider whether being from the North (Spracklen, 2016) plays any role in the birth and continuation of this music world. This research explores death/doom, because death/doom historically is among the first styles to break away from traditional doom metal and death metal cultures.

At the time of writing, there has not been any significant academic research in any of 'extreme' doom metal styles except drone/doom. There have been few studies concerning doom metal (Bogue, 2004; März, 2012; Piper, 2013; Scott and O'Boyle, 2015). Furthermore, the fact that doom metal culture –even though it is clearly a big and long-lasting culture- received the attention of only three or four sentences in an academic study of a 'culture on the edge' (Kahn-Harris, 2006) combined with the marginal status of death/doom in doom metal culture as a whole puts this music world on the edge of the 'edge of a culture' that is already on the edge, thus making this area an intriguing and uncharted territory for academic research. I discuss doom metal only here because death metal has been one of the focusses of metal music studies (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2003).

1.2. Aims

In connection to death/doom and its neighbouring death metal and doom metal cultures, this thesis aims to discuss and propose answers to the following question:

How did death/doom emerge in northern England and in what forms do members of these worlds enliven the culture?

In pursuit of this main research question, this thesis also considers the following questions:

- What cultural and musical characteristics can be discussed as belonging to death/doom metal music?
- How can a style evolve and how can we trace this evolution? How did this happen for death/doom? How can the idea of *marginal styles*² be introduced in metal history and taxonomy?
- Is a musical style delineable? What are the boundaries of a metal music style according to its fans? How can a musical style be categorised in metal music?
- How do members of a music world beyond the producers of a musical style engage with this musical style at the core?

² I argue that *marginal styles* are beneficial constructs in especially metal music. As I discuss in section 2.7, *marginal styles*, inspired by Parker's *marginal man*, are a way of thinking about metal styles considering each style's neighbourhood. A *marginal style* is a musical style that uses (either cultural or musical) elements from other musical styles but also adds elements of its own, creating a new identity. It resides in between styles with its own identity. Please see section 2.7 for an in-depth discussion on this.

- How do musical styles which have consistently lower moods, and which consistently deal with emotion on the darker side of the human emotional spectrum affect the listeners?

1.3. Ethical considerations

This research project involves human subjects alongside archival and visual materials, which makes an ethical discussion necessary in relation to the methods. The main ethical concern of this project is the recruitment process for interviewees from audience members. The research restricts the age of participation to a minimum of 18. In order to achieve this, the flyers, the information form, and the consent form had clear indications stating this fact. A second concern is regarding sensitive data. Because the interviews had questions designed to investigate participant's involvement in the music and the culture, in due course the participants' backgrounds are explored. Participants also chose to delve deeper into their emotional responses to the music. Interviews, when it was face-to-face, took place in public places where neither of the parties were in any danger.

Recruitment for the project was done through social media platforms, as I discuss in chapter 3. All participation was voluntary including partial participation; and this was clearly stated on the consent form and the information sheet provided to all participants. There were no expenses or incentives offered to any of the participants. Colleagues and students were not out of limits for this research. However, I did not recruit any students of my own. Also, I did not interview any of my friends. There are no limitations in recruitment in this regard, because the musician or the audience member can be anyone, including academics or scholars. This research participation was not expressed as a requirement to any possible future teaching or collaboration I will be doing. For all participants, the right to withdraw was given at the end of the interview and they still have the option to withdraw or partially redact any and all parts of their participation from any future publications that may result from this thesis. Informed

consent was obtained from interviewees physically or through e-mail. The research methodology did not incorporate any covert research or observation methods.

The participants were not in danger of any physical or psychological harm throughout the research. Any possible illegal behaviour concerning the participants (e.g. drug use) was not be explored or questioned. The safety of both the researcher and the interviewee was assured through the negotiation of a public place. Benefits of this research for the participant lied in revealing the community surrounding this underground and under-researched musical culture. This research helps to situate this culture in the appropriate context. Participants had an opportunity to define their own culture and music. Musicians and the audience are instrumental in tracing the historical origins of death/doom music world and the history of the metal genre.

Throughout the analysis chapters, especially in chapter 6, I quote the participants at length and I try to represent as many voices as possible. This type of narrative becomes even more prominent in chapter 6 in the later sections where I discuss emotional responses of the fan, sometimes resulting in multiple-page sections where only the participants discuss their emotional responses. This is deliberately done. As I discuss in the next chapter, this thesis rests on a qualitative epistemology. Thus, the interview data is what I take as the 'truth' for the analysis. In addition, the ethnographic research I conducted in this specific culture, i.e. death/doom music world, has not been done before, which means that the data to which I have access is not available anywhere else when the interviews are concerned. And ethically, I cannot publish the full transcriptions of the interviews either in this thesis or anywhere else as only partial quotation was on what the participants agreed before the interviews. Then, I can justify the lengthy quotations from as many participants as possible from three angles. Firstly, these responses allow my interview data to be reused in other research. The participants responses in full provide opportunity for other research to delve into the same data and conduct different analyses. Secondly, allowing the reader to see the direct responses

at length makes my analysis more transparent. Finally, and most importantly, because this is a qualitative research project, the participants are what matter in the voicing of a culture. While as the researcher, I, of course, have input and provide an unavoidable perspective on the data, through these responses, I attempt to keep the story theirs as much as possible with as little researcher intervention as possible. In the context of emotional responses, it is important to be careful about not altering the viewpoint of any participant. I only provide an extract from the full response, so obviously, this already represents an alteration. However, the sentence structures and the choice of words of the participants convey valuable information regarding their emotional responses. Any alternation in that regard can prompt potentially misleading results in the analysis.

All of the data were anonymised by changing names of participants; and raw data, i.e. audio interviews, were destroyed after transcription. The band names were not anonymised, because the historical aspect of this research requires bands to be recognisable in order to contribute any reusable data to the field. In the same vein, the musicians are quoted using their real names. This project has received Leeds Beckett University Carnegie Faculty, School of Sport Local Research Ethics Committee approval by Dr Jon Dart on 12th October 2015.

1.4. Chapter structure

Excluding this first introduction chapter, the thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 2, The Literature, discusses the theoretical framework upon which this thesis rests. The chapter starts with a speculation of what 'death/doom' is and can be then follows a literature review on scholarship that involves death metal, doom metal, and death/doom. Following sections discuss the important theories that I incorporate in the analyses. Chapter 3, The Method, shows how the theoretical framework discussed in chapter 2 can be methodised. The chapter discusses specific methods I employed in collecting and analysing the data used in the thesis. This chapter also discusses the participant demographics in detail while trying extract meaning

from this demographic data. Chapter 4, The Origins, is the first analysis chapter. In this chapter, I present the historical data I collected in relation to the genealogy of death/doom metal and the Peaceville Three alongside Peaceville Records. This chapter also speculates on whether the term 'Peaceville Three' itself has any meaning. Chapter 5, The Style, discusses the death/doom style from a musicological perspective. What death/doom style can be through Peaceville Three's oeuvre is considered with the help of participants. Chapter 6, The Fan, discusses the typical fan through the participants' responses. This chapter is where the conventions of this music world are analysed. I also analyse the participants' emotional responses here. Chapter 7, The Conclusion, summarises the conclusions of the analysis chapters 4, 5, and 6, and attempts to answer the questions I set out under the aims previously.

2. The Literature

For 'death/doom metal music', one needs to look at this group of words in detail in order to start understanding what it represents. Firstly, there is 'death'. In this context, this word can mean several things. Death can be a concept, an idea that represents the end of life, thus suggesting a 'doom metal music' which concerns itself deeply with the idea that is 'death'. It can be interpreted as 'death (doom metal music)'; 'death' encompassing them all. However, here I run into the first issue in the reading of this word combination. If I were to explain it as 'death (doom metal music)', then I would be ignoring an important stroke between 'death' and 'doom'. Before commenting on the stroke, there is the word 'doom' in hand. 'Doom' is a more ambiguous word than 'death'. It can mean ill fortune, ruin, judgment or even death. Alongside the rest of this group, it becomes 'doom (metal music)'. This, now, points to a clearer concept than what I had before. It marks the 'doom' category and all that implies under 'metal music' giving an opportunity to clarify the stroke. After adding the stroke into the equation, one can read the larger group as either 'death or doom metal music' or 'death and doom metal music', immediately calling attention to 'death metal music': another recognisable concept. I choose to define the topic as death/doom metal music as opposed to death doom metal music, because this stroke in question alters the meaning of the larger structure in a significant way. After this, two smaller groups become clear. I discuss these categories of 'metal music' - 'death', 'doom', and 'death or doom' or 'death and doom'- and their implications in musical style in later chapters. When I move onto the word 'metal', this leads to a culture that existed for approximately fifty years all around the world (Popoff, 2015), and when combined with the last word of my excursion –becoming 'metal music'- shows a musical style within that culture. At the end of this analysis, I reach four views to look at 'death/doom metal music': classification, culture, history, and style. These views form the pillars on which this thesis stands.

The oddly detailed analysis of just four words is important, because it hints at where to look in this musical culture. I attempted to adapt similar approaches in my two previous master's theses looking at the English Renaissance composer John Dowland and Elizabethan social structures (Yavuz, 2014), and depressive suicidal black metal music and its origins (Yavuz, 2015); however, both similar-but-different approaches had their weaknesses, which in this literature review I address. The initial idea that germinated this four-legged approach comes from Georgina Born's 'For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn' (2010a). Born, in her work on IRCAM (*Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique*), takes a phenomenological approach and looks at 'orders of temporality' in this phenomena (IRCAM) justifying her approach mainly through Edmund Husserl's 'retention' and 'protention' concepts (Born, 2010a; Born, 2010b; Husserl, 1964). While Born does not engage with Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault in these articles, I argue that 'orders of temporality' is a genealogical approach similar to that of Nietzsche and Foucault (Foucault, 1998; Nietzsche, 2008). A genealogy shows notable features of a culture/phenomenon; however, it falls short when the topic at hand is a popular culture without the help of oral history. Alessandro Portelli in his influential article 'The Peculiarities of Oral History' (1981) suggests that "oral sources are *oral* sources". This means that even when the actual medium is written text i.e. a transcript, what popular music journalism creates is oral history because it has the elements of orality and narrative form, and furthermore this type of journalism relies on the subjectivity of authors, interviewers, and interviewees and the 'different credibility' of the memories of these persons involved. Oral history is inherently applicable within a phenomenological framework, and with it, the genealogical or 'history view' becomes a whole for this thesis.

Born (2010b) also discusses what in musicology can be done in a post-Bourdieuian social theory. Wendy Bottero and Nick Crossley (2011) consider a post-Bourdieuian social theory under a relational sociology paradigm and put forward the idea 'music world'. 'Music

world' composes the major lens through which I look at the musical culture death/doom metal. Bottero and Crossley alongside bringing in the ideas of Howard S. Becker (2008) into music worlds also discuss the importance of social networks in forming these music worlds. Music worlds theory accomplishes something important: it questions the music making hierarchy existing in musicology in a more concrete way than before (DeNora, 2000; Small, 1998) and brings in the 'support' personnel as well as the audience into the mix. This allows for a deeper exploration of a musical culture looking at identity, locality and gender hierarchies in culture. Yet, the music worlds theory misses one thing: the music. While a music world is created and revolves around a 'self-identified musical style' (Crossley, 2015, p. 472), the theory fails to address this elusive 'musical style'. This is where a more traditionally musicological analysis of the musical style in question fills the gap of the theory and moreover it adds new possibilities to the social network analysis ingrained in the theory. There are many ways of analysing popular music (Cohen, 1993; Middleton, 1983; Shepherd, 1982; Tagg, 2000; Walser, 2009) and a musicological analysis of the overall musical style improves the music world analysis in question.

This brief introduction demands a certain structure of a literature review chapter already. I start the chapter with both death metal and doom metal related literature. This gives the opportunity to see the issues in both categories of metal music; and it is an attempt at the combination of these is better informed from both sides just as it is in the case for the music world in question. Metal music studies is a relatively new field of study, however there has been research on death metal music and culture already; and there is an increasing amount of scholarship mentioning doom metal from various perspectives.

2.1. Death metal, doom metal, and death/doom

As I noted above, death metal has received some scholarly attention, but conversely doom metal surprisingly has received little. Death metal is one of ‘the most globalised’ styles in metal music (Weinstein 2011: 40). In Terrorizer magazine’s 143th issue, the editorial states that:

Doom is doomed never to be a commercial proposition³. (2006)

Doom metal, as seen in this quote, has always been underground and did not receive a lot of attention since its beginnings after Black Sabbath. The scholarship reflects this cultural situation. Death metal has books written on its style and culture such as Purcell’s *Death Metal Music* (2003) and Kahn-Harris’ *Extreme Metal* (2006); yet, doom metal gets only a few sentences of mentions in books. Of course, there are articles and theses dedicated to doom-related cultures as well such as Coggins’ work on drone metal (2015) and Scott and O’Boyle’s article (2015).

³ I use data from Terrorizer and Slayer as they are and as accurate information about the culture under inquiry, meaning that I do not attempt to ‘support’ these statements with scholarly writing. This stems from two reasons: firstly, as I discuss in chapter 3, part of this research methodology is historical, and I use archival research as a primary source of data. I discuss in chapter 3 that in this method, popular writing about popular culture becomes valid data in a research on popular culture. This is how the culture propagates through time. So, these magazine quotes are part of my primary sources. Secondly, in this research, I turn to these primary sources both as sources of general cultural opinion about the bands and as sources of bands’ opinions on themselves because scholarly writing on death/doom, as I discuss in this section, are scarce. Death/doom has been a culture that was largely ignored by the scholarly community which is one of the starting points of this thesis, as discussed in chapter 1.

In *Metal Rules the Globe*, Weinstein starts the paragraph with:

Other metal styles had emerged and competed with commercial American bands. One of them is doom metal. (2011, p. 40)

Weinstein then defines doom metal with pervading melancholic themes in the lyrics and 'the atmospheric gloom of [the] sound' (2011, p. 40). This shows how much of an outsider doom metal is. It is literally an 'other'. Weinstein, in her definition, also mentions My Dying Bride in the same category with synthesisers and added 'goth flavouring'. Weinstein further talks of doom metal as 'slow 'n' heavy' sound. While Weinstein is accurate in the description of doom metal, with My Dying Bride, the statements become misleading. Death/doom, as exemplified by My Dying Bride, should not be defined as doom metal with synthesisers and a vague "added goth flavouring to the mix". Purcell, on the other hand, places death/doom under death metal hierarchically and argues that "doom death metal" is "slowed, deep death metal with simple yet gloomy songs" (2003, p. 23). Purcell further says that these 'doom death' bands exemplified by Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride also frequently "add the female voice to the mix". As I discuss in chapter 5, this remains a much better description of death/doom. Even though, the hierarchical approach to metal styles is problematic at best, death/doom style is closer to a death metal region than a doom metal region. I discuss the regional way of thinking about metal music styles later in this chapter. It is also interesting to note that both definitions of death/doom talk of the style as a 'mix'. There is a mix of musical elements and then death/doom 'adds' certain other elements to this 'mix'. This type of thinking provides a basis for definitions of all these *marginal styles* in metal music and is discussed later in this chapter and in chapter 5. Piper (2013, p. 71) defines 'death/doom' as a "self-conscious attempt to fuse the salient features of multiple subgenres". We again see a fusion here and as opposed to funeral doom this is a deliberate attempt of fusing (2013, p. 79). Piper further argues that death/doom "privileges doom's heaviness over death's technicality" (2013, p. 72). Piper discusses death/doom briefly focussing on an analysis of one example: Ilsa's 'Blood Rituals'. This is the second largest discussion of death/doom as of this writing spanning multiple pages.

In this discussion, Piper connects death/doom to 'late-70s punk' through drum beats (2013, p. 74). Piper also identifies one of death/doom most important aspects: contrasting sections. These contrasting sections "emphasise rhythmic and metric differences between sections" (Piper 2013, p. 73). Piper discusses the use of 'extremes of the pitch space', meaning that vocals can change from high-pitched shrieking to down-pitched growling (2013, p. 72). According to this example, death/doom "structural segments do not fit together into any coherent or logical form. Instead, they are joined by virtue of [a melodic motion] common to each segment and the presence of a crushingly slow and expansive groove" (2013, p. 79). Piper, through one example, investigates accurate and thoughtful aspects of death/doom. Through my own findings in chapter 5, I also reached similar conclusions to Piper whose work can be seen as a pre-cursor to this more detailed analysis of death/doom. Piper's approach shows the value gained from a micro-level approach to *marginal styles* in metal music.

März's master's thesis (2012) discusses death/doom and more specifically the Peaceville Three on which this thesis also focusses; however, this discussion is in German. Unfortunately, my German reading skills are not sufficient enough to summarise März's arguments here. März lists the early death/doom period of these bands as (2012: 22):

Paradise Lost:

- *Lost Paradise* (LP, 1990. Peaceville Records)
- *Gothic* (LP, 1991. Peaceville Records)
- *Shades of God* (LP, 1992. Music for Nations Records)
- *As I Die* (EP, 1993. Music for Nations Records)
- *Icon* (LP, 1993. Music for Nations Records)
- *Draconian Times* (LP, 1995. Music for Nations Records)

Anathema:

- *The Crestfallen* (EP, 1992. Peaceville Records)
- *Serenades* (LP, 1993. Peaceville Records)
- *Pentecost III* (EP, 1995. Peaceville Records)
- *The Silent Enigma* (LP, 1995. Peaceville Records)

My Dying Bride:

- *Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium* (EP, 1993. Peaceville Records)
- *As the Flower Withers* (LP, 1992. Peaceville Records)
- *The Thrash of Naked Limbs* (Single, 1993. Peaceville Records)
- *Turn Loose the Swans* (LP, 1993. Peaceville Records)
- *I Am the Bloody Earth* (Single, 1994. Peaceville Records)
- *The Angel and the Dark River* (LP, 1995. Peaceville Records)
- *Like Gods of The Sun* (LP, 1996. Peaceville Records)

As discussed with reasons in chapter 5, I take death/doom examples from Peaceville Three more strictly than März. Thus, my examples only involve a subset of März's selected catalogue.

Scott and O'Boyle suggest that;

scholarship has in the past number of years found it notoriously difficult to define the genre in terms of specific qualities, be they normative or aesthetic. Especially with regard to the music, the moment one alights on a characteristic sound or quality one can offer an alternative example that is just as much part of the metal canon. (2015, p. 348)

This statement is only in relation to metal music; however, this can be argued for popular music in general. One can only contemplate on certain aspects of a musical style or 'genre' as used in the above quote. This does not mean that patterns do not exist. While there is a range of musical aspects that a style adopts, we can still propose certain characteristics to be

the main, style-identifying ones as musicologists. There are bound to be exceptions but as with any aesthetic rule set, these exceptions only strengthen the major patterns rather than disprove them. With this premise in mind, Scott and O'Boyle continue on the philosophical meditation on what they call 'doom values' using the band Yob as an example. Coming from a black metal theory background, their approach to doom metal follows the same vein. Starting from the base of black metal theory, Masciandaro asserts that (2011) black metal theory is;

not black metal, not theory, not not black metal, not not theory.

Using this quadruple negation, one achieves an affirmation. In a parallel way, the descents identified by Cope in combination with the low-tuned guitars can be thought as a double negation leading to an affirmation, 'clearing a path to ascend' (Scott and O'Boyle, 2015, p. 349). This contemplation on 'doom metal values' opens up interesting way of thinking about the musical style. I incorporate these ideas into my analysis of death/doom in chapter 5. From this perspective, the path to hope in chapter 6 is created by the musical elements analysed in chapter 5.

Weinstein (2011) does not consider death/doom to be part of the extreme metal phenomenon discussed by Kahn-Harris (2006). Kahn-Harris mentions doom metal as part of extreme metal; but does not go beyond this sentence. Granholm mentions doom metal once (2011, p. 525). By categorizing death/doom under death metal, Purcell indirectly makes doom metal part of extreme metal, if we take the assumption that death metal is extreme metal. Bogue's (2004) Deleuzian exploration of violence in death metal, black metal, and doom metal also suggests that this grouping belongs together culturally as Kahn-Harris argues. Mynett (2016; 2017) on the other hand, without explicitly using the term 'extreme metal', only includes death metal under his 'heavier' collection of styles. Mynett only focusses on production-side when discussing 'heaviness' and indirectly extreme metal.

While some scholars agree or disagree on whether to include doom metal under this extreme metal umbrella, all these scholars agree that death metal firmly belongs. Harrell's

(1994) work usually falls out of the scope within the context of extreme metal as he mixes the styles within or external to extreme metal without much consideration (p. 91). This work is simply outdated.

In the contemporary concept of extreme metal however, in fact, death metal is the foundation of extreme metal. Harris says that extreme metal 'eschewed melody and clear singing in favour of speed, down-tuned guitars, and growled or screamed vocals' (2000, p. 14). When we compare this extreme metal definition with Purcell's death metal definition of:

Death metal music is usually fast, low, powerful, intense, and played very loudly. A great deal of death metal consists of speedy, chaotic riffs...Hyper double-bass blast beats, which mimic the sound of a machine gun firing, are common and are utilised frequently. (2003, p. 9)

We can observe a parallel easily. Harris' definition of extreme metal is actually a definition of death metal. Phillipov also discusses the 'extreme' nature of death metal (2012, p. 73) pointing towards the same idea as both Purcell and Harris.

This definition of extreme metal has become common in metal music studies in any case. Weinstein takes Harris' definition (2011, p. 40). More importantly, after Kahn-Harris' own work on extreme metal (2006), Smialek's thesis (2015) on extreme metal cements the importance of this concept. Smialek starts his analysis with different metal taxonomy models suggesting;

Rather than a single unbroken line leading back to Birmingham, England, I would argue that metal's lineage is more akin to a tree of looped branches with multiple trunks and roots leading beyond the Birmingham school to genres now unrecognizable as metal. (2015, p. 18)

I discuss the metal taxonomy model related to this thesis later in this chapter. Smialek, similar to Kahn-Harris, includes black metal, death metal, and doom metal under the extreme metal umbrella alongside newer styles such as 'bro-core', nu metal, and screamo. He makes this wider definition, before forgetting about doom metal and these newer styles in the remaining parts of the thesis. Smialek's analysis focusses solely on death metal styles namely

technical death metal and melodic death metal. Analyses of these styles are based in transcriptions of songs. Smialek argues that the 'chaos' in technical death metal comes from fast tempi, wide intervals, and dense textures. He also connects formal structure to climactic points in melodic death metal. These more traditional analyses aside, Smialek uses timbral analysis and the digital musicological tool *AudioSculpt* (2015, p. 240) to connect expression with vocal performance. As I also discuss in chapter 5, vocal performance in extreme metal is one of the unique features of extreme metal styles. The various performing styles of vocals are closely interlinked with expression and the musicians' intended meaning. According to Smialek, the expression comes from vowel formations and breathing. He conducts this analysis using a volunteer vocalist who mimic distinctive styles in order to analyse them using *AudioSculpt*. Smialek further applies this idea to bands who perform mostly in death metal style. He includes 1990s black metal bands as well (2015, p. 257). While this analysis argues to be a comprehensive one stating that it is vocal expression in extreme metal (relating it to Smialek's extreme metal definition discussed before), doom metal or these other newer styles are not included in any way. Smialek's study follows the metal music studies tradition of starting out a definition inclusively then forgetting parts of this definition. In contrast, I will start exclusively and try to reach a more rounded conclusion as we reach the end of this thesis.

2.2. Paradigm shift

I need a brief discussion, before going into discussions regarding the theoretical grounding of this thesis, to clear my position on the term: 'paradigm shift' and how it relates to music worlds and this thesis. Because the critical effervescence required of a music world can be argued to cause a paradigm shift in a much smaller scale in the same vein as Thomas Kuhn. The scale difference does not matter in this context, because drawing parallels from Kuhn's structure is still beneficial in making sense of this stylistic separation.

'Paradigm shift' is not usually discussed or even mentioned within art world contexts, as the basis of the term comes from the seminal work of Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970). As the title suggests, Kuhn proposes the idea of a 'paradigm' within natural sciences. However, one can –and shortly I will- draw parallels from his conception of a 'science' to a cultural field of production (Bourdieu, 1993), because a 'paradigm' inherently involves a competition for the dominant position in scientific research. This idea then can further be extended to music worlds.

Before that however, I should define Kuhn's terminology. Kuhn defines a 'paradigm' as an achievement that has two essential characteristics (1970, p. 10): it has to be "sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity", and it needs to be "sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve". Kuhn argues that a 'paradigm' relates closely to a 'normal science' or "research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements, achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice".

From this emerges two parallels on which we can deliberate. 'Music world' concept "denotes a social space centred upon a self-identified musical style; a space set aside from other concerns, at least to some extent, where music is a primary focus and where participants share a set of musical preferences and knowledge" (Crossley 2015, p. 472). So then, firstly, a musical style upon which a music world is based may be defined as a 'normal science', because this style consists of compositions (i.e. research) firmly influenced (i.e. based) by one or more past musical styles (i.e. scientific achievements) that some particular music world (i.e. scientific community) acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation of its music (i.e. further practice). In other words, a musical style after it has disseminated sufficiently within a popular culture becomes the norm for further music compositions in that music world. We can think of this as formulas or conventions for composition within a music world.

The other parallel comes from the definition of a 'paradigm'. If we think of musical composition as research which is conducted to find a solution to a problem, then a new musical style when emerged meets the two requirements of a paradigm. A new musical style, after it becomes visible within a larger cultural context through channels of information i.e. music press, social networks, or internet communities, attracts new musicians, fans, producers, engineers, and other support personnel i.e. practitioners. In other words, the new style attracts new members, thus forming a new music world based around this new style. In a music context however, these new music worlds do not make the previous ones incorrect or invalid as in the case of Kuhn's definition. So, this attraction is not an attraction 'away' per se but an attraction sufficient enough to convince the new practitioner to make use of the new style, which may or may not involve belonging to different music worlds simultaneously. However, it is important note that the sense of struggle for the dominant position is still there among popular music worlds. So, one can argue that this attraction is in an 'away' direction only in the sense that it redirects partial attention within the larger cultural context, a cultural space similar to a Bordieuan field but inclusive. This clashes with the ideas of Kuhn and Bourdieu. For example, in metal music, Kahn-Harris discusses the 'extreme turn' during 1990s which changed the approach to musical content as well as cultural behaviour, however this does not mean that previous music worlds such as the New Wave of British Heavy Metal or thrash metal became invalid communities or ways of participating in metal culture. As for the second requirement, a new musical style opens up 'problems' to be 'resolved', i.e. a new musical style opens up new possibilities for musical composition which can be employed in new compositions or songs. In light of these, we can think of a music world as a paradigm in Kuhn's terms.

What is a 'paradigm shift' then? According to Kuhn (1970, p. 52):

Normal science does not aim at novelties of fact or theory and, when successful, finds none. New and unsuspected phenomena are, however, repeatedly uncovered by scientific research, and radical new theories have again and again been invented by scientists.

So, within an existing music world, integrated professionals do not look for novelty. As Becker argues, they produce art works done “exactly as the conventions current in that world dictate” (2008, p. 228). But similar to Kuhn’s discussion, “every organised art world produces mavericks, artists who have been part of the conventional art world of their time, place, and medium but found it unacceptably constraining” (Becker, 2008, p. 233). Mavericks produce anomalies within the ‘normal science’, ‘with the recognition that nature has somehow violated the paradigm-induced expectations that govern normal science’ (Kuhn, 1970, p. 52). Furthermore, anomalies are only anomalies when they are against a backdrop, so mavericks make use of an existing music world to subvert its conventions to a point where it is no longer recognisable as conventions of the existing music world. This ‘switch of gestalt’, in turn, forces the formation of a new music world, resulting in the so-called paradigm shift. Conventions of this new music world become the new techniques and the perspective of the new paradigm.

One cannot and should not point towards an exact moment when a paradigm shift takes place, as this would be misleading. For example, in the case of death/doom, we can say that a paradigm shift happened -importantly, only retrospectively- resulting in a new marginal style, because the style exists today -or it existed at some point for a period of time-. The paradigm shift is embodied in the evolution of this style. An exact moment of a shift is out of the question. The style evolves then gains following, as in practitioners, only then we can say that a paradigm shift has happened before now. Once we say this, we can then start talking about conventions. Throughout the thesis, I talk about paradigmatic properties as conventions of the music world, as this terminology fits the narrative better, even though the paradigm thinking is underneath while doing this. This evolution can be better explained with Rogers’ adaptation framework for innovations in technology.

A paradigm shift is an innovation of technology, because it incorporates in its basis the development of new techniques to be used with similar material. Diffusion of innovation theory

(Rogers, 2010) suggests that an innovation is adapted in different speeds by different individuals. Rogers discusses five types of personalities in this adaptation process:

- The Innovator: the person who defines the new technique, thus they use the technique first and foremost themselves. This is similar to a maverick in a music world. These are musicians who define the new style that will result in the formation of a new music world.
- The Early Adaptor: an early adaptor starts using this new technique before it gains any acceptance throughout the community. For example, these are the members of the music world who became fans of the three bands in question very early on, who worked with the bands in the studios for their demo productions, and Paul 'Hammy' Halmshaw who signed the bands to his record label Peaceville for their debut album releases. Furthermore, if we consider Paradise Lost as 'the' innovator of this musical style on a micro-level -as supported by Aaron Stainthorpe (in interview 2016) stating that the slowing down of death metal riffs was something he first saw during a Paradise Lost rehearsal employed by Gregor Mackintosh and Aaron Aedy-, then My Dying Bride and Anathema become the early adaptors.
- Early Majority: the people that start adapting this new technology; hence the technology gains acceptance and starts becoming a convention. One may argue this is where a music world is said to be formed in its new form: a separate entity from its predecessors. This idea can be applied to both other death/doom bands and early fans. Bands such as Novembers [sic] Doom (USA), Saturnus (Denmark), or Draconian (Sweden) from early on -early 1990s- start producing and performing music that is similar in style to the three bands above and can be considered death/doom alongside them. The conventions of death/doom start getting use with these bands following the mavericks of the style.
- Late Majority: the people who adapt the new technology only after it is accepted and became a convention. This is where a music world is firmly in place as something independent.
- Laggard: the people who, even though this technology is no longer new and is an established convention, lag behind to adapt this new technique and still go on to use their old technology.

I deliberately did not give examples for the last two categories, because I apply these categories exclusively to music fans. Early Majority, as stated, also applies to other death/doom bands such as the above examples. Late Majority would be bands that revive the

style after it vanishes from the popular eye. This vanishing would be, for example, when death/doom pioneers have moved on to other styles, as discussed in chapter 4. The other early majority bands have continued on but remained largely underground; and we cannot talk of a death/doom revival as of this writing. The idea of a 'laggard' can be thought as all the other bands, however, this would be misleading. So, 'laggard' should not be applied to bands.

Applying these last three categories to fans, however, yield interesting patterns. However, firstly, a 'laggard' can be considered a member of another music world that does not have an interest in the one in question, so it is not relevant for the purposes of this research. Early and late majorities are conceptually straightforward, however the reason I argue that these three bands' music represents a paradigm shift, and thus a separate and new music world, lies within these categories. The average ages of the fans in relation to the time they got in contact with death/doom music is highly important because these position the fans in their life time to the music. As I discuss in chapter 3 in detail, because the average engagement with the music falls between the ages of 13 and 19 for the majority of fans with the exception of the outlier late 1990s generation, one can argue that these fans fall into the early majority group, especially the early 1990s generation as they also line up with the bands' geneses. Using the diffusion of innovations theory, we also now have an explanation for the outlier group. These fans belong to the late majority. They are around the same age as the early 1990s and mid-1990s generation, however they only became acquainted with the music after it has received music press coverage and the later bands such as The Blood Divine have started using the musical style, thus only at a point where death/doom as a style is already firmly in place as the source of a new music world. This is why their average age of encounter is higher than the rest of the fans. So, this music world fits into the model of Rogers' theory; it behaves like an innovation or a paradigm shift.

Next, I discuss the music worlds theory along with its components and structural foundations. Symbolic interactionism forms important bases of music worlds in combination with art worlds of Becker (2008).

2.3. Art worlds and music worlds

Historical narrative in music often succumbs to the pitfall of focusing on the so-called 'genius', assuming a stance where it is accepted that the genius is the gifted that produces heavenly music by themselves, even sometimes going as far as seeing the genius as a channel of divine inspiration. This can be argued to be the dominant mode still in mainstream media, however in recent years, in sociology of music, different approaches gained tract to deal with this one-sided approach. Howard S. Becker's 'art worlds' theory, published in 1982 (2008), is one of importance among these approaches where music is treated as an activity, 'or rather an inter-activity' (Crossley and Bottero, 2015, p. 4). Another important parallel to Becker is Small's 'musicking' where music performance is treated as a social phenomenon (Small, 1998; DeNora, 2000).

The 'art worlds' theory can be seen in the same vein as Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the 'field' (1998), however even before going into detail, one should observe a significant difference: where 'field' is singular, 'art worlds' is plural. This shows one of the main differences. Bourdieu's 'field' depicts a plane where forces struggle for the dominant position, alas there are finite dominant positions. In contrast, in 'art worlds' there are conventions, resources, and with Bottero and Crossley's addition networks (2011). Moreover, the components of an art world are concrete instead of the abstractions (forces) in 'field'. Bottero and Crossley call Becker's approach interactionist (2011, p. 105), stating that it focuses on "not just face-to-face or direct contacts, but on webs and or systems of direct and indirect links". This opens the possibility of thinking in terms of a social network in order to improve the 'art worlds' approach (Bottero and Crossley, 2011; Crossley, 2015; Crossley and Bottero, 24

2015a; Crossley and Bottero, 2015b; O'Shea, 2015; Prior, 2015). Before commenting on the shortcomings of this theory, it would benefit to discuss the 'art worlds' theory itself.

While Becker has been an instrumental figure in sociology of music with his 'art worlds' approach, especially in his later writing (Faulkner and Becker, 2009), in *Art Worlds* (2008), he focuses mostly on visual art, only commenting on music in limited places. However, this does not take away from the approach's applicability to music as proven many times in the works referred so far. First of all, what is an 'art world'? Becker argues that an art world consists of cooperation, resources, and conventions. His starting point in this approach, as he puts it, is: "all artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people" (2008, p. 1). Becker suggests that a perfect example of this is the film credits at the end of a movie, where all the people who were involved in making the movie are listed one by one (2008, p. 8).

In a more concrete way, an art world comprises of participants which can be thought to be in two main categories. The first I will discuss is the resources that depicts the art world as a collective activity. These participants are, then, categorised further: resources, distribution, aesthetics, intervention, editing, craft, and finally artists. Resources can be thought as support personnel who work in the art world whose work are usually not valued as artistic, even though one should be careful about making such a judgment as it will become clear. These personnel may include roadies, make-up artists, sound engineers, live engineers amongst others. The main idea of Becker in this category is these personnel are involved in making the final art product, however they are not in direct contact with the final product artistically and they are interchangeable (2008, p. 332). Considering this poses a dilemma for specifically the sound engineer's case. While one may make the mistake of automatically assuming sound engineer's involvement as non-artistic, any sound engineer would disagree as any mixing, recording, and mastering processes involve a lot of choices, majority of them being creative. And in a recording, most steps after the performance involve engineers rather

than musicians –the traditional artist-. I will not discuss this any further here. Besides the support personnel, physical spaces should also be considered as resources, such as venues or studios. The second category is distribution where Becker suggests happens in three categories which involve channels of self-supported, patronised, public dissemination of the artwork. These can include many things such as record labels, distribution companies, and in a digital age, digital distribution channels such as streaming services. Aesthetics category involves people who comment and in process define the aesthetics of an art world, including critics, editors, and academics amongst others. Craft personnel include artists and crafters who have contributed to the end product through indirect means, such as album cover artworks, guitars, plectrum producers etc. In intervention category, Becker mainly discusses the relationship between the artists and the state: policy makers, censorship policies etc. However, I think it is also important to include media in this category, as they might have significant effect on the final product through censorship channels as well as others. In editing category, one should consider the personnel who make artistic choices over the ‘final product’, such as performers. Sound engineers could also be considered here more appropriately. I put ‘final product’ in discussion of this, because there is discussion among scholars what makes the ‘final product’ in music (see Umberto Eco’s idea of *open work*, 2006 [1962]), e.g. whether each performance makes a new work of art, so one should be careful in using this term. However, the discussion of this falls beyond the scope of this research.

Becker divides the artist category into four: integrated professionals, mavericks, folk artists, and naïve artists. For integrated professionals, producing works of art in that art world is easy. They are well-aware of the conventions –which will be discussed a little further down-, and they are prolific producers. They are responsible for showing the conventions as working. The second category is mavericks. These artists find the conventions of an art world too restricting, thus they move on to create a new set of conventions. In other words, they are the pioneers of an artistic style. Third category, folk artists, have weak connections to art worlds.

They may be discovered later and become a part of the art world, however the main motivation for producing a work of art rarely involves a personal expression for the folk artist. They produce because that is the norm in the society, “most members of a particular age and sex, ordinarily do” this type of activity (Becker, 2008, p. 247). The last category is naïve artists do not usually have connections to the art world at all. “They do not know the members of the ordinary art world in which works like theirs (if such exist) are produced” (Becker 2008: 258).

Moving onto conventions of an art world, these are constraints in producing a work of art. These can be equipment used throughout the process, as well as traditions of a style. As discussed, an integrated professional knows these conventions well and create their work within these conventions. The conventions may include social conventions as well, such as concert behaviour and attire. Becker introduces ‘a well-socialised member’ of an art world as any member of an art world who is well-versed in these conventions. These can be varied from artists to audience members.

Bottero and Crossley mainly criticise Becker’s ‘art worlds’ theory from a social network standpoint. They argue that Becker’s treatment of networks and their varying interactional properties are limited, and art worlds approach provide a terrific opportunity for a formal network analysis (2015, pp. 100 and 106). Hence, they introduce the music world concept, with an emphasis on the social network, which through ‘collective effervescence’ (Crossley, 2015, p. 80), give birth to the music world. This approach focuses on agents and their kinship relations among them; and provide formal analysis methods.

Bottero and Crossley’s approach certainly strengthens an important weakness in Becker’s theory, however, I think they fall short in one aspect of the network. From an interactionist point of view, pieces of music or certain aspects of the music, such as meters, rhythmic patterns etc., provide an interaction space for musicians. A musicological intervention should help to find more of the relevant edges among the nodes of a network. These connections could reveal valuable information regarding the construction of this cultural entity.

Especially in a digital age, limiting the flow of information to only friendship and professional networks would be too restrictive.

Within the context of a music world, modes of listening can also give interesting insight into the conventions of this music world. For death/doom music world, the listening activity shows important patterns as discussed in chapter 6. Stockfelt states that when modes of listening develop in relation to a 'genre', this is called 'genre-normative modes of listening' (Kassabian 2013, p. 47). Stockfelt gives the example of late eighteenth-century listening rooms in relation to concert halls or opera halls (Schwarz, Kassabian, and Siegel, 1997, p. 137). Stockfelt argues that listening adequately is not a "prerequisite of assimilating or enjoying music" (Schwarz, Kassabian, and Siegel, 1997, p. 137). This idea is important in analysing the listening behaviour of death/doom fans. Kassabian discusses a mode of listening called 'ubiquitous listening' (2013, p. 58), a listening mode that happens all the time because we have music around us ubiquitously. However, this mode does not apply in the case of death/doom metal, because it is not usually possible to hear death/doom playing in the radio or in a café etc.

2.4. Symbolic interactionism

Interactionism is a perspective and method that has its roots in social psychology of the late 19th and the early 20th century. Herbert Blumer's work provided important assistance in sociology's adoption of this perspective in a narrower sense, which he termed 'symbolic interactionism' (1998). Before going into a description of interactionism from Blumer however, I think it is important to mention the earliest works of interactionism as described by Norman K. Denzin. Denzin points to four seminal bodies of work as the earliest (1992, p. 2): William James's *Principles of Psychology* (1890), John Dewey's seminal article 'The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology' (1896), Charles Horton Cooley's *Human Nature and Psychology* (1902), and G. H. Mead's 1910 essay 'What Social Objects Must Psychology Presuppose?'.
28

All these authors had varying influence on interactionism's development throughout the years, with a stress on Mead. Mead is important because Blumer based his interpretation and application of interactionism in sociology in Mead's thought (1998, originally 1969). Then later, Becker and McCall (1990) attempted to apply Blumer's idea to cultural studies.

Symbolic interactionism provides a personal perspective to social research with the inclusion of self as an important decider in social acts, opposing the idea of power structures being the major decision maker. Blumer argues that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (1998, p. 2). This idea brings out an interesting level to what we may consider as 'fact' or 'data' in research. I think the importance of an approach that considers the relativity of symbols –which can be anything material or behavioural- within different cultures emerges forth from early on. In symbolic interactionism, things do not have intrinsic meaning, but the meaning arises from interaction among people, who choose to get involved with the thing in question (Blumer, 1998, pp. 4 and 114). Because there is no intrinsic meaning in things or acts, the 'getting involved' requires processing on each agent's part. Charon shows that this process of 'finding the "truth"' can happen in five different ways: in a top-down way, where the individual accepts the 'truth' as disseminated from a power structure such as government, religion etc., from the culture to which the individual belongs or in which the individual lives, from personal experiences, from rationally and carefully thinking through the ideas, or through careful observation (2010, pp. 14-15). I will focus on the internal ways of this finding process, which are the last four ways. Delving into this internal process, we encounter two stages.

Firstly, the agent derives a meaning of an act or a thing out of the social interaction the agent has with the other party involved in this thing or act. This other party may be external, but more importantly internal. The internal 'other' would be the self. It is important to give a detailed description of the idea of 'self' mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph because it is one of the crucial concepts in symbolic interactionism. In symbolic interactionism, human

beings are in constant interaction with themselves, and this interaction takes different forms. Denzin defines six selves with which each human being interacts (1992, p. 26). The 'phenomenological self' is "the inner stream of consciousness of the person in the social situation". The 'interactional self' is the self "that is presented and displayed to another in a concrete sequence of action". The 'material self' includes the materials that the person defines as belonging to the person. The 'linguistic self' is the meaning that person loads onto words like 'I', 'me', 'you' when it is external and their name(s). The 'ideological self' is the self, derived from and in relation to larger social structures such as traditions and cultures. Finally, the 'self as desire' is the self, motivated towards more physical instincts. A person's identity emerges from the interaction of these selves as well as external interactions (Denzin, 1998, p. 26). The second stage of the internal process is the interpretation of this meaning derived previously and the acting according to this interpretation.

Blumer also proposes methods to employ in symbolic interactionist research, however these methods are positivist methods and they do not provide viable social research methods, especially in the 21st century. Blumer strongly rejects the idea of 'social philosophising' and he stresses the importance of 'empirical validation' (1998, p. 34). Denzin criticises this idea stating that "the interactionists cling to a pragmatism which produces a crippling commitment to an interpretive sociology too often caught in the trappings of positivist and post-positivist terms (e.g. validity, proposition, and theory)" (1992, p. 20). I agree with Denzin's statement in the sense that a pragmatist approach to a symbolic interactionist research –separating the observer from the observed- would produce a lot of errors, the major one being the assumption that such a state (a completely independent and disconnected social researcher) is achievable by any means. Even if in theory one can become that, considering interactionist theory suggests the involvement of selves in creating meaning of symbols (either acts or things); then the researcher would not be able to make sense of any of these symbols on which they

conduct research. So, one can but only aim to 'socially philosophise' in Blumer's terms as opposed to an experientially replicable, scientific narration.

Symbolic interactionism, as a result, points strongly towards participant observation and reflexive and reflective auto-ethnography as legitimate research methods. In cases where researcher already belongs to the culture being researched, I argue that involving different perspectives as research subjects would make the ethnographic process more fruitful as these perspectives would provide variety regarding the cultural symbols which a participant may not always consider as being specific to their own culture. Also, symbolic interactionist perspective suggests that things which do not have agency may be considered as interaction spaces for agents, because the way individuals interact with things involves the selves of the individuals interacting.

Symbolic interaction then becomes an important way of thinking in a music world setting. I discuss the symbols of death/doom music world in chapter 5. However, where these symbols make their most significant impact comes in chapter 6, where fans respond to these symbols, or conventions, in a social -meaning that as part of their participation in this music world- manner.

An example of a non-musical symbol could be the performance of the identity Northernness. Spracklen defines Northernness as:

a form of sympathetic magic, which northerners choose to perform, albeit through the constraints of hegemonic cultural formations and the symbolic boundaries and invented traditions of the imagined community. (2016, p. 14)

This means that in order to belong to a culture, one performs in a culture using a specific set of symbols. These symbols can be organic in the sense that they are 'natural' (although obviously 'natural' is a risky term here) or comes from within a culture or they are imposed by another hegemonic culture. In the case of Northernness, this is attributing the northern England landscape a romantic image, for example. But it is also acting in a way that a

southerner would expect, e.g. being friendly or 'simple' as discussed by Spracklen (2016). A more detailed analysis of Northernness can be found in Spracklen (2016). I do not go more into this in this thesis, because it is peripheral to the analyses of the music world which is global. Please see section 4.7 for a brief application of Northernness to Peaceville Three.

As symbolic interactionism asserts (Blumer, 1998, p. 17);

Human group life consists of, and exists in, the fitting of lines of action to each other by the members of the group. Such articulation of lines of action gives rise to and constitutes 'joint action' -a societal organisation of conduct of different acts of diverse participants.

Joint action then functions similarly to how convention does in a music world concept. Joint action is the similar way of acting to similar symbols within a social construct. In a music world, members respond to conventions in a similar way, thus making conventions joint actions in symbolic interactionist terminology. Northernness above is also another example of such an action. More importantly, emotional responses are joint actions.

2.5. Emotional response as participation

How can one think of emotional responses as building blocks of a community or a social identity? Community or social identity inherently requires a sense of belonging. According to de Rivera (2014, p. 217), this feeling of belonging 'must' be constructed. Bell further suggests that a person cannot 'simply or ontologically' belong to a group, but it is an "achievement at several levels of abstraction" (1999, p. 3). In death/doom music world, emotions or rather emotional responses emerge as the prime suspect of a possible way of constructing a belonging. Moreover, the word 'belonging' has within the idea of affect. An 'affective dimension' comes into 'belonging', because it is "not just be-ing but [also] longing" (Bell, 1999, p. 1). However, one should also consider the viability of a construction based on emotional responses of participants of that social structure. Crossley argues (1998, p. 19):

What makes ... intersubjective structuring [using emotions] possible ... is that the grammar of the emotions language game is tied to what is publicly observable. It applies to actions and circumstances rather than private sensations. Emotions are constituted as meaningful responses to situations.

Then 'the grammar' of emotional responses can be considered to provide a common ground for a community; a set of symbols that participants may employ for interaction within the music world.

I insisted so far on the term 'emotional response' rather than just 'emotion', because while 'emotion' is an individual concept which means drastically different things for different individuals, a response is social, even when it is a response between the individual and the self⁴ and in the case of social networks (and with extension, music worlds) even in the absence of a direct personal relation (van der Löwe, 2014, p. 130). Individuals further use emotional responses to communicate information about who they are, how they wish to be treated, and how they feel about situations (van der Löwe, 2014, p. 125). Emotional responses are 'rational' in a Habermasian communicative rationality interpretation.

Like any cognitive belief, an emotional response is something that we believe we can talk people out of when they are wrong (i.e. when their emotional response is irrational). Thus, there is no reason why our social worlds cannot be simultaneously constituted through emotion and communicative rationality...What it means, more precisely, to say that emotions form part of the sphere of communicative rationality is that they can strike us as either appropriate or inappropriate, rational or irrational, that we find them perfectly intelligible when we encounter them in others, that we explain them in terms of reasons rather than causes and that we hold people responsible for them, just as we do for any other of their actions. (Crossley, 1998, p. 30)

⁴ 'The self' here means the individual in a symbolic interactionist sense as discussed previously. 'The individual' means the material agent. According to Williams, "for individuals to understand their own lived emotions, they must experience them socially and reflectively" (1999, p. 127).

These symbols within a music world would suggest a sense of community beyond the music involved.

Emotional responses are important from another perspective as well. Emotions are embodied phenomena; we observe emotion both physically and mentally. Crossley states that “the ‘body’ involved [in emotional response] is a communicative agent rather than a mechanical being. The corporeal dimension of emotion is not a third-person physiological process but engaged and expressive praxis” (1998, p. 23). When we consider ‘the body’ an agent, the ways of embodiment contribute to the conventions of a music world and moreover they become ‘human capital’ (Crossley, 2015, p. 483). Following the same line of thought and adding Bell’s argument which states that the effect and affect of affiliation are also embodied processes (1999, p. 8), the emotional response become an important act that members of a music world can perform within the conventions to strengthen or deepen their belonging in the music world.

As [Anne-Marie] Fortier writes, the highly ritualized movements that one performs in Catholic Mass are the incorporation of norms, a *‘stylised repetition of acts’ that cultivate the sign and the sense of belonging* [emphasis by me]. Moreover, she suggests that since it was in her study, performed within a non-Catholic country, the communal activity of Mass produces an attachment of the group to the site of its performance. Through embodied movements, the citation operates to recall and reconnect with places elsewhere that, through those very movements, are re-membered; at the same time, a site of diasporic belonging is created. (Bell, 1999, p. 3)

Fortier’s research exemplifies how this can work in a social environment. More importantly, it illustrates how these embodied practices can create belonging to a separate ‘diaspora’ within a super-group. I take death/doom music world as a diaspora here formed within the music worlds of extreme metal, death metal, and doom metal. Just as a diaspora, the differences of death/doom world are “sustained and produced on several levels and in complex ways, both within and beyond ‘the subject’” (Bell, 1999, p. 5); the subject being here the music.

2.6. Popular music analysis

To begin this section, I think it is important to define musical form in relation to popular music. Whittall (2001) defines form as the constructive or organising element in music. Dahlhaus is quoted in Whittall (2001) stating that musical form signifies musical coherence on a large scale. So, in order to make sense of a musical piece, form is important. Within the context of popular music, Middleton (1993) discusses musical form as being concerned with musical gestures. Form is about moving the music forward. A detailed formal analysis can yield vital details about music. Davie (2014, p. 11) uses musical design, musical form, or musical structure interchangeably. I adopt Davie's use in this thesis.

Tagg, at the beginning of *Music's Meanings*, lists the following as the eighth and last axiom that he accepts before describing his method of analysing music:

Although music is a universal human phenomenon, and even though there may be some general bio-acoustic universals of musical expression, the same sounds or combinations of sounds are not necessarily intended, heard, understood or used in the same way in different musical cultures. (2013, p. 45)

This axiom is crucial in looking at popular music styles. A musical style needs to be examined within the boundaries of its musical culture. Even though Tagg starts out with this assumption, in his described analytical framework, he launches into a method that is overly individualistic. Through this method, he indirectly requires the analyst to be an insider to the musical culture. Because otherwise, the method would fall apart as the axiom states "the same sounds or combinations of sounds are necessarily intended...in the same way in different musical cultures". Only through an insider perspective, Tagg's analysis would make sense.

Tagg defines an *analysis object* (AO) as the musical object that is to be analysed: "an identifiable piece of music in audible form" (2013, p. 230). He then suggests that through ethnographic observation and through 'intersubjectivity' -described as at least two individuals

experiencing the same thing in the same way-, the analyst reaches 'visual-verbal associations' (VVAs) (2013, p. 229). These VVAs are "intrinsically para-musical" (2013, p. 229); meaning that, they describe the 'things' that are connected to the AO in some way or the things that "exist alongside" the music. These VVAs are bases for 'Paramusical Fields of Connotation' (PMFC). Within these fields, then the analyst finds *musemes* connecting the fields back to the music. *Musemes* are "structural items with semiotic properties in music". This can be any coherent musical 'item'. For example, it can be rhythmical pattern, a tempo, or a melodic line. The selected *musemes* are interpreted through PMFCs or the interpretants reaching a meaning that the musical item represents. If there is no direct connection through VVAs and intersubjectivity, Tagg suggests that it is possible to interpret the AO through interobjective comparison material (IOCM). This is where the method becomes highly problematic. Because Tagg argues that this extra-AO material, IOCM, described as musical objects with 'shared similarity of structure' (2013, p. 238) is connected to the AO because they 'sound like' each other. This quickly becomes baseless analysis. Because as the starting axiom before suggested, musical symbols can mean completely different things in other cultures or with differences on a micro-cultural level. In Tagg's own analysis of Abba's 'Fernando' (2000), he connects the beginning melody of the song to a folk melody, then proceeds to connect melodies and rhythmic patterns to different European composers such as Beethoven, Handel, and others. This is completely done through the 'sounds like' principle. This type of analysis depends too much on the personal background of the analyst. Someone who has a different background or a different music listening history would interpret these *musemes* differently. For example, the 'Fernando' example of Tagg makes little to no sense for me in certain places precisely because he depends on his own perspective and background too much in the interpretation of meaning in the music. Essentially, anything can 'sound like' anything else through the right perspective. If the only basis for an analysis is IOCM, then one needs to question whether the AO is even analysable. Of course, as analysts, we are bound by our own cultural and personal perspectives -as this is one of the main premises of this thesis as

discussed earlier in this chapter-; however, complete reliance on this perspective alone would be misleading at best. Meaning and expression in music should be based outside the analyst. *Intersubjectivity* should be achieved for the AOs in question. For metal music, for example, a 'sounds like' approach would provide little gain, as the minor details are what would differentiate one style from another. 'Sounds like' would delude the analyst. Other ways of approach should be taken in metal music like Smialek asserts as discussed previously in this chapter.

Especially looking at vocal style and performance has benefit in looking for different - non-traditional- ways of expression in metal music. Vocal style is one of the few unique things for metal music in the music realm. Furthermore, vocals are one of the main channels of communication in human interaction. In the classical communication theory, Hall defines the distances for proxemic behaviour as follows:

Intimate distance for embracing, touching or whispering

- Close phase – less than 6 inches (15 cm)
- Far phase – 6 to 18 inches (15 to 46 cm)

Personal distance for interactions among good friends or family

- Close phase – 1.5 to 2.5 feet (46 to 76 cm)
- Far phase – 2.5 to 4 feet (76 to 122 cm)

Social distance for interactions among acquaintances

- Close phase – 4 to 7 feet (1.2 to 2.1 m)
- Far phase – 7 to 12 feet (2.1 to 3.7 m)

Public distance used for public speaking

- Close phase – 12 to 25 feet (3.7 to 7.6 m)
- Far phase – 25 feet (7.6 m) or more. (Hall, 1963; 1966)

Deliberating on this theory, for example, one might argue that the reverberation of a vocal line would change the effect and thus the expression. Collins and Dockwray (2015) proposes to

expand this idea of proxemics in music analysis. Spatial positioning can be used as a rhetorical device. Furthermore;

Through the use of sound, we are positioned within or outside a scene; emotionally close or distant; connected or disconnected...Sonic distance, and subsequently sonic proxemics, is created using several different techniques. These aspects of sound can be combined, conflated and confused through artificial means in post-production—heightening the volume of a naturally quiet sound or having a low volume on a naturally loud sound, reverb on a close sound, and so on. In other words, even a recording of an original live event can be significantly manipulated after the recording.

According to Collins and Dockwray, microphone selection, microphone distance and angle from the source, use of reverberation and signal processors, amplitude, and mixing in relation to the loudspeaker position change the emotional perception of a sound. They also list below to explain what affects this perception (2015):

1. The amplitude of the sound in relation to other sounds in the scene.
2. The timbre of the sound as regards to its frequency spectrum and envelope.
3. The use of processing effects, particularly in relation to other sounds in the scene.
4. An estimated perceived microphone distance from the source.
5. The positioning in the loudspeakers (or headphones).
6. Juxtapositions between visual and auditory perspective.

Thus, timbral thinking provides valuable information regarding emotional response. However, as I discuss in sections 1.3 and 3.4 as well as in chapter 5, the framework I employ to analyse the music of the Peaceville Three stems from the participant responses. Since an interview with even with the major sound engineer of this music world did not yield any response regarding these techniques -except the second point- that Collins and Dockwray propose, I do not use the proxemics framework in this thesis. The timbral aspects regarding the frequency spectrum is discussed in Chapter 5 independent from the framework. Death/doom metal follows the conventions of death metal in its production aspect, thus making proxemics not part of the paradigm shift caused by this music world. As I discussed in section 1.3 and in chapter 3, this thesis rests on a qualitative epistemology. The data must emanate from the

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participants for me, as the researcher, to do more inquiry. As my whole analysis framework is built on this, analysis frameworks such as Collins and Dockwray (2015), Dockwray and Moore (2010), and Moylan (2014) are not applicable within the context of this thesis as they shift the dominant voice to the analyst over the participant and consequently make the data stem from the analyst. My analysis framework as I discuss all throughout the thesis is based on participant responses. This is also why I do not discuss tonality in chapter 5. Tagg (2017) proposes a way to look at tonality in popular music, describing how these traditional techniques can be thought in the non-traditional setting of popular music. However, because my participants did not comment on tonality, even though the participant set includes high-level musicians, I do not analyse tonality in death/doom metal music.

Lacasse (2005) describes phonographic stages of the voice as:

- Loudness: A sound can have “performance intensity” which can be used to create expression when in contrast with dynamic level. For example, a whispered voice can have a higher dynamic level, but it has low performance intensity. This is not a situation that can be found in daily life usually, thus can create different kinds of expression.
- Space: This is about a recording’s location, the environment to which it alludes, and the distance feeling. This closely related to the proxemics idea discussed before.
- Time: This relates to aspects of time inherent in the sound and the effects that manipulate this. Effects like delay can alter the feeling of time significantly.
- Timbre: The last stage proposed by Lacasse is timbre where a source can be altered or alter itself significantly timbrally in order to create expression.

Even though Lacasse only focusses on the recording, metal music uses these techniques in all performances. Because, as discussed before, the fans have not commented on the production of death/doom, the timbral stage becomes the only relevant stage in Lacasse’s model for this thesis. The vocal timbre is frequently commented on by the fan participants. The vocals in death/doom alter the natural human singing voice timbre significantly in order

to create different expressions. These can be whispered voices or quiet recitation, or their contrast a scream or a grunt in order to demonstrate an emotional state.

Finally, Nicola Dibben focusses on the intimacy of vocals (2009):

First, electrical amplification and recording allows forms of vocal expression which are intimate. Introduction of the microphone in the 1930s enabled amplification of the voice above other sound sources and gave rise to vocal styles which were softer, and more intimate than had previously been possible with the same size ensembles and venues. Second, this change in production coincided with changes in consumption: it was now possible to listen to music in the comfort and intimacy of one's own home. Third, the normative arrangement of vocals within the mix placed the voice centrally, and louder than other sounds, creating what Tagg calls the 'monocentric mix'. Running parallel with this mode of reception is a compositional ideology in which singers understand themselves to be expressing things about or from their own experience. These factors mean that the idea of emotional authenticity held by artists, engineers and audiences alike is manifested in the sound of recordings. The normative staging of pop voices provides aural intimacy with the star, and therefore contributes to the notion of access to a 'real' person behind the star image.

Then, the vocal line provides both an insight to the singer and a channel for communication with the listener. Combined with the uniqueness of metal vocal, vocals become an important feature that needs inquiry.

Considering these different analysis frameworks, I adopt a framework that results from fan participants. As I discuss in Chapter 5, I choose to analyse musical parameters in death/doom that fan participants say to which they respond. These are the conventions or symbols of this music world and they are crucial in the delineation attempt of this musical style.

2.7. Sub-genre and stylistic regions

While classification in metal music is a widely -and usually passionately- discussed topic among the fans and musicians, metal music studies have not engaged with the same discussion in as much detail. Except for a few studies (Dunn, 2005; Smialek, 2015), taxonomy

is even rarely commented on in this field. However, the concept of 'sub-genre' is usually applied to this taxonomy. This is especially prominent in Dunn's work (2005). This 'sub-genre' idea comes from Fabbri's seminal work (1982). Fabbri defines a sub-genre as a "musical event [that] may be situated in the intersection of two or more genres, and therefore belong to each of these at the same time" (1982, p. 1). Fabbri's definition is useful to reaching *marginal styles*. The main difference comes from the inclusion of sociological concepts such as social neighbourhoods and the *marginal man*. I discuss these concepts in detail later in this section.

Obviously, metal taxonomy is complicated, thus I centre my discussion only around death/doom metal for the sake keeping the scope focussed. A good starting point for this discussion is Kahn-Harris' concept of *extreme metal* (2006). The beginnings of metal music (Popoff, 2015) differ drastically from what it has become after the 'extreme turn' (Kahn-Harris, 2006). After this extreme turn, the music became more transgressive from both cultural and musical perspectives. According to Kahn-Harris, extreme metal usually teeters on the edge of formless noise. This is misleading; however, it is still beneficial to discuss. The majestic feeling that 1980s heavy metal song has disappears with extreme metal. Extreme metal begins and remains even after its popularity gain during 1990s *boutique*. The target and the represented space is smaller. If we relate the stage shows, in extreme metal we rarely find stadium shows (at least during 1990s) and multiple storey stages. The music is intended for a smaller audience in a smaller venue. But beyond the performance of the music, the music does not reflect big spaces; in contrast, it is more intimate. This can be seen in the way the music is produced with simpler production models. This obviously stems from both budgetary reasons as well as aesthetic ones, however, the budgetary reasons are still indicative of the 'size' of this music. *Non-extreme* metal music remains majestic after the extreme turn, including the styles that emerged after 1990s such as symphonic metal. What makes the extreme metal idea crucial is the shift it represents. With this more intimate shift, the extreme turn incubated many styles. It is this turn that makes metal music taxonomy complicated. After 1990s, many

styles started to appear usually inspired by their predecessors but altering them significantly. The extreme turn should be considered the beginning of metal classification.

Firstly, I should mention the hierarchical model of Sam Dunn (2005) before going into doom metal stylistic regions and music worlds. Dunn, in his renowned documentary, categorises metal music into 24 distinct styles. This can be seen in Figure 2.7.1.



Figure 2.7.1 Metal Genealogy Map, The Metal News (n.d.)

As the reader can see from the above figure parsed from Dunn's documentary, Dunn suggests a clear hierarchy between metal styles. They also choose to classify certain styles more specifically than others. For example, death metal has a sub-division named Swedish death metal, and at the same time doom metal does not even exist on the chart. There are many problems with this chart, however, it provides a good starting model.

Galbraith and Gilbert's *Map of Metal* (n.d.) uses a similar idea and creates a hierarchical model of metal music. Galbraith is more consistent in their choice of sub-classification. Metal styles are more widely and accurately represented. The hierarchy still represents a problem: it is misleading. A temporally based hierarchy suggests that there is a linear stylistic progression in metal music. As it is already observable in Figure 2.7.1, the styles that stem

from other styles exist with the styles that gave birth to them (according to these classification systems). Hence, the styles should be thought in a separate way rather than a linear hierarchy.

Looking at metal styles, regions can prove to be beneficial in contrast to the linear hierarchy. What makes regions more applicable is the idea of boundary zones. Between each region in the regional space, there are zones floating between two or more regions. I need to explain what I mean by 'regional space'. It is not surprising for anyone who is an insider to any metal culture that friction among metal cultures and extra-metal cultures exists prominently. This friction is important because it exhibits the music world's desire to separate themselves culturally from others while existing on the boundary. Metal culture is a good case to observe the music world idea, as mentioned previously, because in most metal cultures, the musical style is central. People get together around a specific style, more specific than one observes in other popular music styles, and then structure a community and culture around that style. This results in many distinct cultures and communities. More importantly, the 'polycultural' state of metal music suggests that certain music worlds live on the boundaries, based around what I call *marginal styles*. Robert Park identifies marginality, a sociological concept, as "denoting a specific social and cultural type related to processes of social cultural contact and change" (Kharlamov, 2012, p. 626).

Park defines a 'marginal man':

a cultural hybrid, a man (sic) living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted...in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused. (Park, 1928, p. 892)

This definition rests on the assumption that the "metaphor of marginality is a part of the metaphor SOCIETY (or CULTURE) IS A BOUNDED SPACE [original emphases]: something that has the inside and the boundary, something that we could enter into, or get out of" (Kharlamov, 2012, p. 630). "SOCIETY IS A BOUNDED SPACE, where the container metaphor

SOCIETY IS A TERRITORY is joined by the orientational metaphor SOCIETY HAS A CENTRE AND A PERIPHERY. This means that society has a normatively defined centre and a periphery with a continuum of positions in between” (Kharlamov, 2012, p. 631). Furthermore, Nikita Kharlamov argues:

A polycultural conception of marginality entails a ... founding metaphor [which] is also a metaphor SOCIETY or CULTURE IS SPACE...Here the metaphor is a container metaphor as well, and yet, it yields MULTIPLE REGIONS that have BOUNDARIES between them. (2012, p. 633)

Boundary is also defined by Kharlamov:

in real environment there is always a distinction between its inner and outer parts, and thus a boundary always presupposes a defined outside, a neighbouring territory. The boundary could be a barrier boundary precluding communication and mobility ... or a contact boundary ... but it always ‘consists of elements that simultaneously belong to two or more neighbouring systems and/or are situated between them without belonging to either’ (2012, p. 633)

Thus;

the polycultural conception of marginality is founded on a metaphor SOCIAL WORLD IS A SPACE, SOCIETY IS A REGION, THERE ARE MANY REGIONS, REGIONS HAVE BOUNDARIES, BOUNDARIES ARE SPECIAL EXTENSIVE ZONES, PEOPLE AND GROUPS CAN LIVE INSIDE BOUNDARY ZONES. (2012, pp. 633-634)

Considering these concepts, we can then define a *marginal style* as a musical style that is constructed using multiple musical styles with crucial differences from all these styles. This means a style that adds something new to the amalgamation of other styles, thus, creating a self-identity. As Park states, it becomes a style that is not interpenetrated or fused completely, it insists on a separate identity. These are metal styles that are usually dubbed ‘sub-genre’. They reside between two or more styles while creating an identity of their own both culturally and musically. I already mentioned the naming convention I adopt in this thesis: ‘Style 1/Style 2 Metal’ or ‘Descriptor[n] Metal’. The hierarchy between style 1 and style 2 may differ from one boundary style to another as it needs to be investigated individually. I focus on only death/doom in this thesis.

An example of a group or music world that “lives inside a boundary zone” is death/doom metal. How does this culture live inside a boundary zone? The first issue I noticed within the style was during an interview with the vocalist of My Dying Bride, Aaron Stainthorpe. He describes the structure of My Dying Bride’s music as having death metal parts and doom metal parts. He frequently refers to doing death metal vocals and ‘doomy’ vocals. This is a perfect fit for the concept of the ‘marginal man’. Death/doom metal style, according to one of its pioneers and prominent performers, is a style that is not “completely interpenetrated and fused”. It has two distinct connections to two distinct styles: death metal and doom metal. Death/doom style resides at the boundaries of these stylistic regions.

In this chapter, I discussed the scholarly literature in relation to the theoretical framing of this thesis. As I stated at the beginning of the chapter, metal music studies has, so far, largely focussed on certain styles of metal through a participatory approach. This participatory approach is further exemplified in the application of sociological theories such as music worlds and art worlds. The framing attempted in this chapter showed my approach to the relatively small(er) music world that is death/doom. With the help of symbolic interactionism and musicological analysis, a more comprehensive theory can be reached. This theory should be understood as ‘comprehensive’ in the sense that varying roles within a music world are better represented through such an approach. Alongside the different roles, the musical style becomes critical in the discussion. Only then, this approach becomes more inclusive. The balance of stylistic discussion alongside ethnographic discussion accomplishes such an inclusivity. In the following chapter, I discuss how this balance can be achieved through methods.

3. The Method

When I first listened to Anathema in 2003, that album (*A Natural Disaster*, 2003) became the only thing I listened for quite some time. This statement echoes in a lot of the listeners in this music world. The music captured me in a way that no other music was able to until that moment in my life. The project that resulted in this thesis was born out of this passion, or rather perhaps this obsession, towards this style of music. I started thinking of a way to one day (however delusional as I thought) attempt research on death/doom, conduct a research on two of my favourite bands, Anathema and My Dying Bride, even before identifying a thesis topic for my first master's degree in historical musicology. This thesis, however, provided the closure I needed on the obsession started 15 years ago. In this methodology chapter, you will read this background and how I conduct the analysis in question.

This project sets out to draw a genealogy of British death/doom music world at the beginning of 1990s and how specifically the listener in this world reacts to the style. Because the style is central to a music world (Crossley, 2015), it is also central to this thesis. In order to be able to describe this event of the construction of the death/doom music world in Britain or rather northern England, the discussion needs to have layers of a Foucauldian history. Foucault suggests that;

There is nothing to be gained from describing this autonomous layer of discourses unless one can relate it to other layers, practices, institutions, social relations, political relations, and so on. (1998, p. 284)

The history of a phenomenon needs to be related to the practices -or the music-, the institutions -or the bands, the record labels, and the music press-, and the social relations -or the social network of the bands and the fans-. The larger socio-economic structure and relations are left out in this thesis because of size and time limitations and further to keep the focus on the closer circle around the musical style. Art worlds theory and in extension Music

worlds theory claim the same thing as Foucault; that an artwork should not be thought in isolation but in accordance to its multiple layers.

This project rests on a qualitative research epistemology. Becker asserts that (1996);

Epistemologically, ...qualitative methods insist that we should not invent the viewpoint of the actor and should only attribute to actor's ideas about the world they actually hold, if we want to understand their actions, reasons, and motives.

According to Becker's thinking, the method employed here must use data acquired in qualitative ways, including the auto-ethnographical data, as it is without the 'invention' of a viewpoint. Becker further discusses that even if the subject matter is a historical one with the outcome known to the researcher, when the actors have doubts and convictions, the researcher should have them similarly even though those convictions might indeed be wrong. "We should be as undecided as the actors we study" (Becker, 1996). Because, their responses in a time reflect the ideas that they hold in that moment and in that environment, which in turn is on what a qualitative researcher conducts their research. As a result, in this thesis, the statements of the participants are taken as accurate reflectors of the truth about the respective individuals' thoughts and feelings. Likewise, in auto-ethnographic enquiries, the statements reflect the researcher's conclusions at the moment of writing.

The method in this project is threefold; this results from the field in which the project is situated as well as the theoretical basis. Metal music studies is a multi- and inter-disciplinary subject field (Intellect, n.d.). As I discussed in the previous chapter however, the research largely focusses on ethnographic methods. This ranges from pure auto-ethnographic methods (e.g. Shadrack, 2017) to interviews of separate roles in their respective music worlds (e.g. Wallach et al., 2011) to participant observation (e.g. Coggins, 2015). This extracts valuable data for the time in which the research is administered. This type of research, in metal music studies, typically is accompanied by an auto-ethnographic perspective. The research subject embodies an interest beyond the research for the researcher. The topic is often personal and importantly, it is part of the constructed social identity of the researcher. This project follows a

similar pattern. I chose the research topic at the beginning of this process because I was already a part of this music world and have been for the most of my life. As of this writing, I am a 32-year-old male, born and raised in Istanbul, Turkey. I come from a middle-class background. My family has many academics in it. I have been listening to My Dying Bride and Anathema since 2003 and Paradise Lost since shortly after that and I identified myself as a fan since then. I am an amateur doom metal musician with only unpublished compositions and a semi-professional photographer specialising in metal concerts. I have written album and concert reviews of doom metal bands in several blogs at the beginning of this research in order to increase my activity in this music world beyond the research. As part of the research, I became a member of approximately 60 different doom metal groups on the social networking platform Facebook. Even though I do not use any data from these groups, these interactions alongside my internal convictions have undoubtedly shaped my perspective towards this music world. I use my perspective as a member in various places in this thesis with an explicit mention. This, of course, does not and cannot mean that my perspective as a member does not exist in other places. This is inescapable. Furthermore, my analysis is necessarily affected by the same perspective; and my emotional repertory, as I discuss in chapter 6, is built upon this personal and musical background I mentioned.

3.1. Ethnography

Ethnomusicological ethnography provides the main basis for the methodology of this thesis. Death/doom music world consists of people who got together around a musical style. Ethnography helps to reach the thoughts and feelings of these people involved based on their experience. While the individual experience can be problematised with the introduction of subjectivity of experience, Berger argues that;

Consciousness, Husserl suggested, is always 'consciousness of something' (1962[1913], p. 223), such as memories of the past, judgments, ideas, emotions, physical objects, the

whole sweep of objects of human experience. The significance of all of this for method—in philosophy, but also for ethnography in general and ethnomusicological ethnography in particular—is the notion of structures of experience. Experience isn't merely a mass of particularities. The relationships between its parts produce patterns and regularities that allow us to make concretely grounded but broadly applicable generalizations. (Barz et al., 2008, p. 69)

The individual experience can be theorised using these patterns that they show.

Furthermore, Berger adds that;

One job of ethnomusicological ethnography is to understand how music sound emerges in the experience of those who make it and listen to it. The issue is particularly important for the ethnography of popular music. (Barz et al., 2008, p. 70)

Then, ethnomusicological ethnography can even be about the experience of the individual. As I discuss in chapter 6, these individual actions highlight patterns of a typical death/doom listener, which results in the portrayal of the accepted conventions of this music world in action.

Using interviews, feedback interviews, observation at rehearsal or performances, and participant observation, ethnographers can get a sense of the differing musical forms that are experienced by people taking part in these social worlds. Here, the phenomenological ethnography of popular music is not unlike that of older forms of ethnomusicology, but with several key differences. Treating partially shared experience as its study object, phenomenological ethnography attends to both the commonalities and the differences in the participants' perception of the music. It does not see any given popular music culture as a corruption of more authentic conservatory or folk traditions, but merely as a social world that has complex relationships to other social worlds—that is, as a group of people and their practices whose historically emergent boundaries are there to be discovered. (Berger in Barz et al., 2008, p. 71)

Berger's statement here is crucial. I do not go into how a popular music ethnography does not consider popular music as 'a corruption' of more authentic musics in this thesis as the premise of metal music studies rests on this exact idea. Metal music (and other popular music cultures and styles) with all its structure and cultures is as 'authentic' as any musical culture can be. Considering otherwise would introduce misleading hierarchy between musical cultures which this thesis actively rejects. Moving on from this, Berger points to important

methods to incorporate in an ethnomusicological ethnography. As part of this ethnography, I continued going to concerts and observing as a participant of the culture and increased my involvement for 2 years within the culture before retreating into my data as the researcher. The decrease in cultural activity as the researcher who is also a member of the musical culture researched is required after sufficient data is collected, because as I discussed previously, the researcher perspective is unavoidably affected by the involvement in the culture. Because I have become a member of this music world before becoming a researcher of this music world, I had to reduce, and almost stop, my involvement in these activities during the writing period of this thesis. During this period, I even stopped listening to death, doom, and death/doom metal bands except for analysis purposes. This cessation provides the required and important distance for the researcher to be able to see the particularities of the culture enquired. This becomes increasingly hard from within a culture.

Besides increasing my own activity during my ethnographic research, I conducted interviews with people who occupy different roles in this music world. These are people who listen to the music, who claim that this music is their 'favourite' kind of music, who pioneered this style of music, who engineer and record this style of music, who manage the bands who pioneered this style, who work with bands in labels, and who 'discovered' the bands and supported the bands in their early careers. I conducted the majority of the interviews with the fans of this music to better reflect the distribution of the roles. Out of the 81 interviews conducted for this research, 74 are with the listeners. Out of the musicians involved, I have only been able to reach Aaron Stainthorpe of My Dying Bride for a longer interview and we had three sessions in a 2-year period in Halifax, West Yorkshire. The interviews lasted six hours in total with Stainthorpe. I also had an interview with Katie Stone, formerly, of My Dying Bride. I was able to have a brief chat outside a tour bus in London with Calvin Robertshaw. I conducted these interviews in an unstructured manner using only open-ended and broad questions in a manner defined in the oral history interview techniques (see Portelli, 1981 and

Thompson, 1979). We were unable to arrange an interview with Daniel Cavanagh of Anathema and I was unable to reach anyone from Paradise Lost. Even though this situation shows a serious lack of musician interviews from all the three bands conducted by me, because these bands have had long careers, the music press has had many interviews with these musicians at varying times in their careers. These historical interviews proved to be more beneficial for the research than the interviews I might have had with them, because it provides a historical perspective that is simply no longer accessible by the individuals. I discuss this method later in this chapter. On the managerial side, I interviewed Andy Farrow, the long-term manager of Paradise Lost and the current manager of Anathema and Joel De'ath from Music for Nations, the executive responsible for Anathema's repertoire signed to this label. I conducted an e-mail interview with Robert 'Mags' Magoolagan, the long-time sound engineer and producer of My Dying Bride, 'the 7th member of My Dying Bride' according to Stainthorpe, who also worked with both Paradise Lost and Anathema previously. Before going into the details of the interviews with fans of this music, finally, I was able to have an interview with Paul 'Hammy' Halmshaw, the person responsible for the creation of Peaceville Records and who started up all the three bands' careers with his support as it is discussed in the next chapter.

I conducted the interviews with fans via different media. The recruitment period was interesting in the sense that it both showed the supportive nature of this culture and it also became an acknowledgement of the permission that members of this music world gave for the induction of this research. The bands My Dying Bride and Paradise Lost among many other fan clubs, and Northern Music Company helped me in recruiting participants. During the initial interview with Aaron Stainthorpe from My Dying Bride, Stainthorpe offered to take the project's recruitment flyers on their Europe tour for the album *Feel the Misery* (2016) and post the flyer on the band's Facebook page. Upon the post on Facebook, I received 191 e-mails stating interest in the participation of the project in approximately one week and as of this

writing, the flyer post of My Dying Bride on Facebook has 2081 ‘reactions’, 130 comments, and 486 shares. Also, Paradise Lost posted the same flyer picking it up from My Dying Bride’s page, which, as of this writing, has 347 ‘reactions’, 22 comments, and 46 shares. I write the numbers in detail, because it can easily be argued that the response is an indicator of the involvement of the members of this music world and their support regarding a research of their culture. This response resulted in 74 interviews in the spring of 2016. Potential participants were offered to give interviews via phone, e-mail, social media (i.e. Facebook instant messaging), online conferencing (i.e. Skype), and in the cases where participants resided in northern England and they agreed, face-to-face. All interviews were conducted in English with the exception of two interviews which were conducted in Turkish. A sample of the interview questions may be found in Appendix B. All the questions were posed as optional including the demographic data and personal background questions. As a result, the demographic analyses below fluctuate in participation in certain categories such as educational background. A histogram for the media distribution can be seen below (Figure 3.1.1).

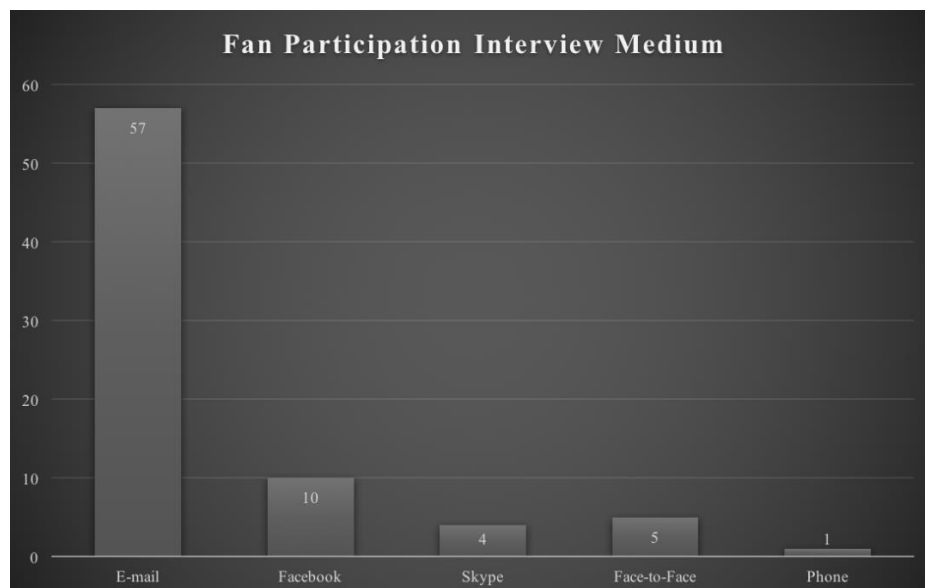


Figure 3.1.1 Fan Participation Interview Medium

These interviews were then transcribed (where appropriate) by me using a software named *Transcribe!* and analysed using *NVivo* and *Microsoft Excel*. All the names of the fan participants have been changed except for two where their first names are used as per their request. The names are taken from the index of Atkins' book (2014) in an alphabetical order.

In line with the questions, I coded the interview data in seven categories: Band-specific, Place-specific, The Engineer, The Manager, The Music, The Musician, and The Person. These categories reflect both the content of the responses and the role of the person interviewed. Each category has relevant sub-categories. For example, The Person category has Personal Background, First Engagement with the Music World, Musical Habits, Emotional Responses, Personal Musical Interests, and Thoughts on a Community that they feel they may or may not belong. These sub-categories then have sub-sub-categories resulting in a three-level categorisation of responses. These participant responses are discussed in detail in chapter 6. The demographic information that the participants provided already start paint an interesting picture for the music world.

3.2. Participant demographics

As discussed before, participants were only recruited using the internet. Every participant first sent an e-mail then the interview was arranged accordingly. This resulted in a worldwide participation for the project, which also suggests where the music world is positioned globally. Of course, the distribution shown below (Figure 3.2.1, $n = 74$) cannot be accurate in showing the actual spread as one needs to consider the language barrier on both the potential participant and the researcher.

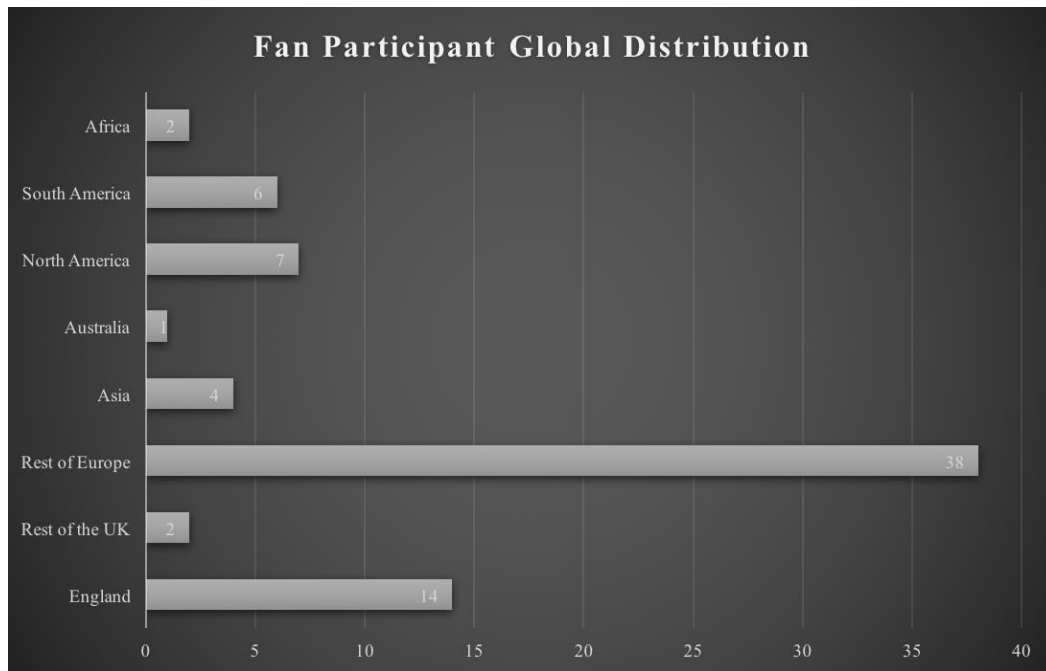


Figure 3.2.1 Fan Participant Global Distribution

Unsurprisingly, the majority (21.62%) of the participants were United Kingdom-based. The total number of countries included in this research is 29, of which 19 are identified as Europe on the chart above. After the UK, most participation came from United States of America and Turkey (both 6.75%) followed by Greece and Poland (both 5.40%). It is important to note here as well that because there was not a language barrier regarding participants from Turkey, this result immediately suggests a bias. More importantly, this chart suggests a worldwide spread music world with a stronghold in the UK and Europe. This notion is used in later chapters, because as discussed before, the three bands in question whose music provides the basis of the music world are from a specific area in northern England, namely Bradford and Liverpool vicinities. One can argue the impact of these bands using this information.

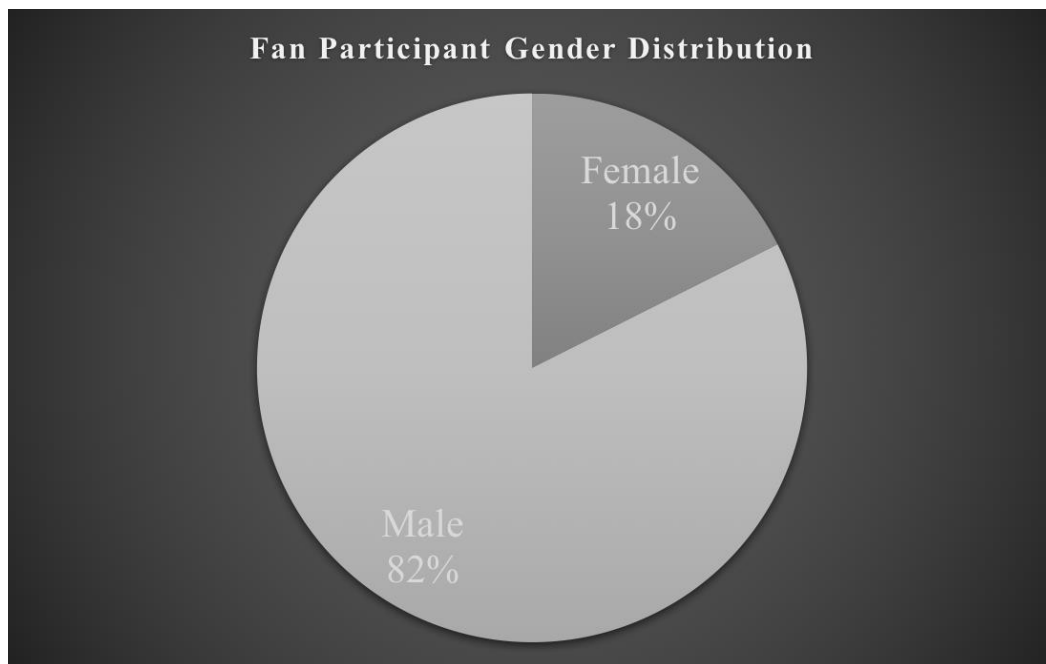


Figure 3.2.2 Fan Participant Gender Distribution

Figure 3.2.2 shows the gender distribution of the participants ($n = 74$), which shows an imbalance among the participants. During the interviewing process, I deliberately did not attempt at altering the gender balance. The participants came forward using the flyer alone which has no statements about gender, which can be seen in Appendix C. From my personal experience, this ratio does not reflect the actuality of the concert-going fans and it represents one of the weaknesses of this research. This is further supported by one participant:

With regards to gender, I feel that there wasn't an imbalance [in a London concert of My Dying Bride in 2016], I think it was perfectly balanced really. Though I did notice a lot of people were couples. So, that could obviously have some sort of interplay with that. I didn't really see many women on their own actually, except for me. So that probably is a bit of a gender imbalance in itself. (Gimzatte)

However, because there was not any deliberate attempt to recruit either female or male participants at any stage of the research, this imbalance falls beyond the scope of this research.

As it can be seen on the recruitment flyer (Appendix C), the participation in this research had a minimum limit of 18 years of age. However, even when this limit is considered,

the participant age leaned towards 30s, and there are no 18-year-old participants. Figure 3.2.3 ($n = 74$), below, demonstrates the age distribution of participants. The average age of participants is 32.42, and the median age is 32.5. 32 years of age, as of this writing, means that the average participant was born roughly –without considering geographically weighted monthly birth rates according to socioeconomic classes- in 1984. Before deliberating the implications of these numbers, I need to look at three more histograms, because these will give crucial information regarding how the participants' engagement with this music world has started and furthermore it will help situate this first experience in the lives of the participants.

Figure 3.2.4 ($n = 60$) shows the educational backgrounds of the participants. As it is observed, 54 participants have university or higher education. 18 participants (30%) are either in Masters-level courses or already have master's degrees or doctoral careers. It is interesting to note that four participants had various professorships around Europe. In contrast, only 6 participants stated that their highest degree was in secondary education. This provides an interesting contrast to what Nick Terry wrote in a review of a 1996 My Dying Bride concert:

It's like watching Nick Cave front a version of the Bad Seeds gone wholly metal; My Dying Bride positively ooze class. Upper working class, it is true, but class nonetheless.
(Terrorizer #35, 1995, p. 26)

Moreover, considering the educational background of the majority of the musicians interviewed, there emerges a significant rift between the musician and the fan within this music world. As an example, the vocalist and lyricist of Aaron Stainthorpe, as he stated (in interview 2016), does not have a higher education degree; however, he “despised the education system in the United Kingdom” and wanted to get out of this system as soon as possible, but he would have liked to have a humanities degree in literature. Stainthorpe is also a well-read person in literature, especially 19th century English poetry (in interview 2016). So even though, socioeconomically, these musicians may be considered to belong to a working class –as Terry puts it-, the music resonates more with listeners with higher educational backgrounds which

in turn suggests more of a harmony than a rift between musicians and fans, unifying the music world in this specific aspect.

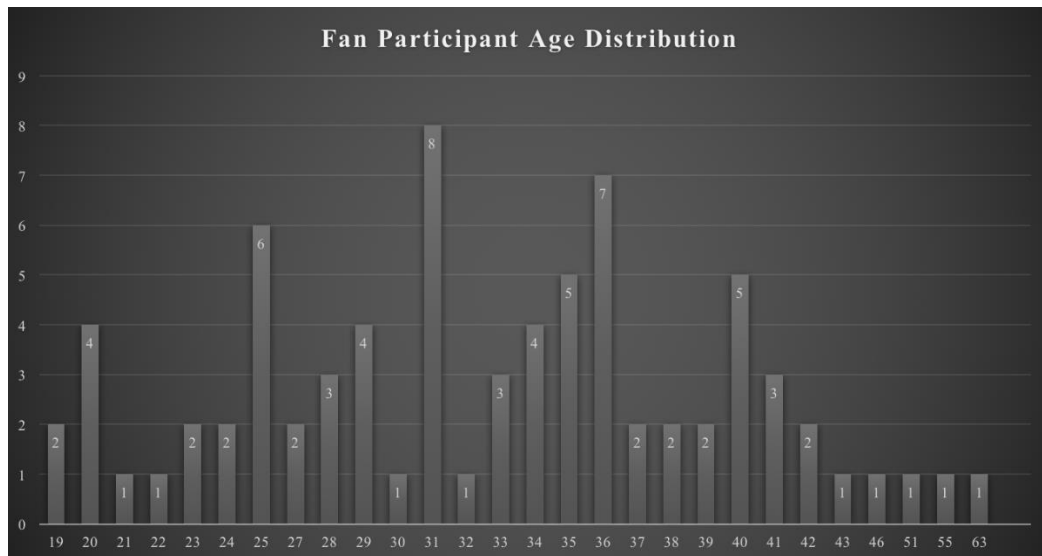


Figure 3.2.3 Fan Participant Age Distribution

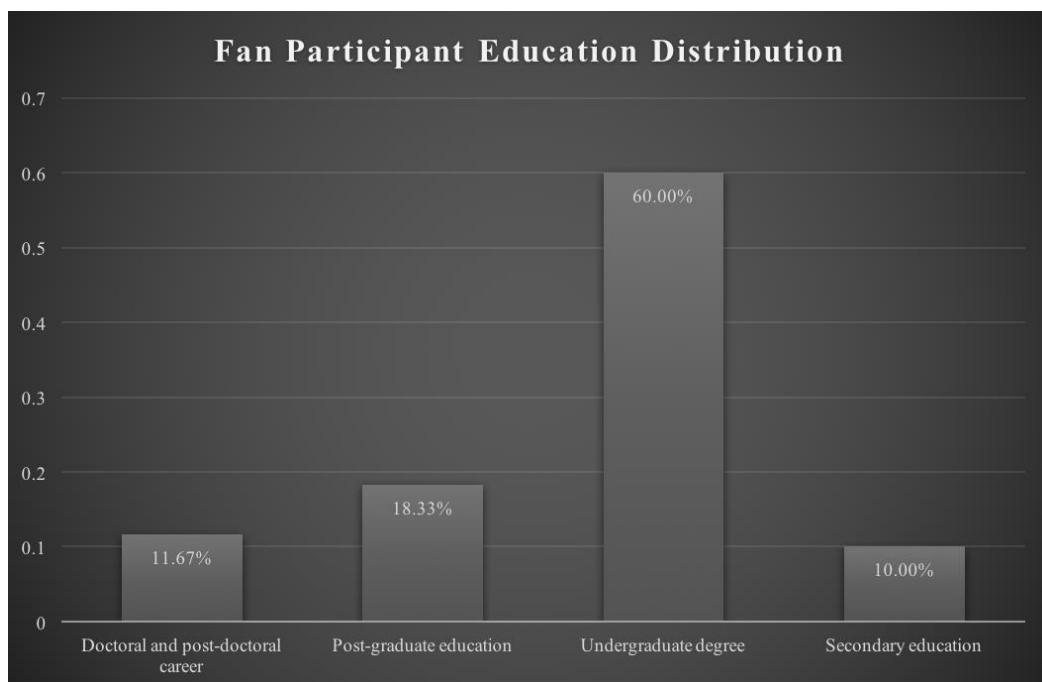


Figure 3.2.4 Fan Participant Education Distribution

Figure 3.2.5 ($n = 74$) exhibits the distribution of how the participants, who were asked in interview about their favourite doom metal bands, line up as fans of any of the three bands

(My Dying Bride, Anathema, and Paradise Lost). The first thing to notice is the number of participants in total who stated any of the three bands as their favourite doom metal band. With 55, 45, and 48 for My Dying Bride, Anathema, and Paradise Lost respectively, it is not so far-fetched to claim that this research has a balanced fan distribution among the three bands of the research. As discussed in the introduction, these three bands are usually referred to as a unit, as 'Peaceville Trio', 'Peaceville Three', or 'the Unholy Trinity'. So, it is interesting to note that, even though this group of bands have been considered as a unit by the music press:

Exploring doom-genre, at some point you have to read about "Peaceville Three". That was also new to me almost at the same time these three bands were starting to make almost same kind of music and that they were all signed by the same label. By this "Peaceville Three" articles I started to find out more information of Paradise Lost and Anathema. (Fowles)

I believe that all "The Holy Trinity" was already very popular. I got to know these bands from MTV and/or other sources like that (i.e. Metal Hammer). (Brady)

I came across the information about My Dying Bride and Anathema on the Net [sic], in connection with Paradise Lost, of course. (Davies)

By the executive team of the bands:

I'm pretty sure our Manager Andy Farrow coined the phrase [the Unholy Trinity]. (Nick Holmes of Paradise Lost, quoted in März, 2012, p. 70)

By the fans:

They're so linked, aren't they? There must be something there. If you're fan of one, you're usually fan of the three. That has been my experience. (Garrs)

And seemingly by the atmosphere of this music world:

I had found out My Dying Bride were part of the 'Peaceville Three' so I had to look into the other bands Paradise Lost and Anathema. (Bradbury)

Around this period, I found an info (sic) about Peaceville trio and that's how I listened to Anathema the first time. (Brierly)

My Dying Bride, Anathema, Paradise Lost (of course this triplet) [listing their favourite doom metal bands] (Cookworthy)

The fan distribution does not reflect this fact accurately. Considering the above quotes, one expects more of a unity in the bands' fan bases. However, only 25 participants (33.78%) stated the three together as their favourite doom metal bands. Then how should one consider these terms? I argue that this unit, 'The Peaceville Three' or the other iterations, is an artificial and more importantly top-down construct which does not echo in the music, but it is a convenience for promotion purposes. This is supported by one musician, one participant, and a press member:

We [My Dying Bride] didn't hear about the Unholy Trinity until after a good 6 or 7 years of My Dying Bride's existence, when the phrase seemed to be splashed about in all manner of media, its origins of which I have no idea. The Peaceville Three was most certainly a bit earlier as we were on the same label, so it made a bit of sense but again, I have no idea who originally coined that phrase. (Aaron Stainthorpe of My Dying Bride, quoted in März, 2012, p. 72)

I always think of them together and I always think about from 1994 to 1998. I think also what make me think of them together is that Peaceville used to release digipacks they all used to look exactly the same on the shelf. (Garrs)

I always acknowledged that connections were there; it was just that people exaggerated them and invented some others entirely. I think what does connect them is a particularly English sensibility in general and a Northern working class one in particular. You could argue that this applies to any or all metal bands from the North of England but there are aspects of the three bands which somehow go beyond the metal scene and its aesthetics. Musically, lyrically and visually, they eschew many if not most of metal's clichés and they tap into universal themes which touch upon the big philosophical questions: Why are we here? Where do we come from? Where are we going? Life, death, sex and religion are all recurring themes and motifs. There's both a sense of resignation and catharsis at times in all three and as people and collectively as bands they seem to possess a level of self-awareness that even today is still unusual in metal. (Greg Moffitt of Terrorizer Magazine, quoted in März, 2012, p. 67)

Especially Moffitt's quote points to other issues with this supposedly unifying label. This intriguing but possibly misleading notion that they were asking different questions in metal music as one of the few causal links in labelling these bands as a unified unit –especially

considering Stainthorpe's sentiment that they were not even aware of such a label in the early years of the band's existence- will be discussed in chapter 4.

It is also important to note that the relationships among the bands reflected in the participants. My Dying Bride and Anathema have 13 participants in common, and similarly My Dying Bride and Paradise Lost have 9 participants in common. Finally, Anathema and Paradise Lost only have 5 participants in common. My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost, and Anathema have 8, 9 and 2 participants respectively by themselves. This points towards a specific stylistic comprehension among the fans differing from band to band. One may argue from these numbers that when Anathema's musical style is liked, it is more often combined with other two bands, i.e. with My Dying Bride, 13; with Paradise Lost, 5; or with both, 25, making up 95.56% of Anathema fans among the participants. However, this situation changes significantly in the cases of My Dying Bride or Paradise Lost. My Dying Bride's and Paradise Lost's fans prefer those bands by themselves more frequently: 14.54% and 18.75% respectively. I claim that this has strong connotations on the translation of individual styles of the bands on the listeners of this world. In short, this suggests a more individualised style on My Dying Bride and Paradise Lost's cases. The specifics of the style will be discussed in chapter 5. Participants also discuss this individuality:

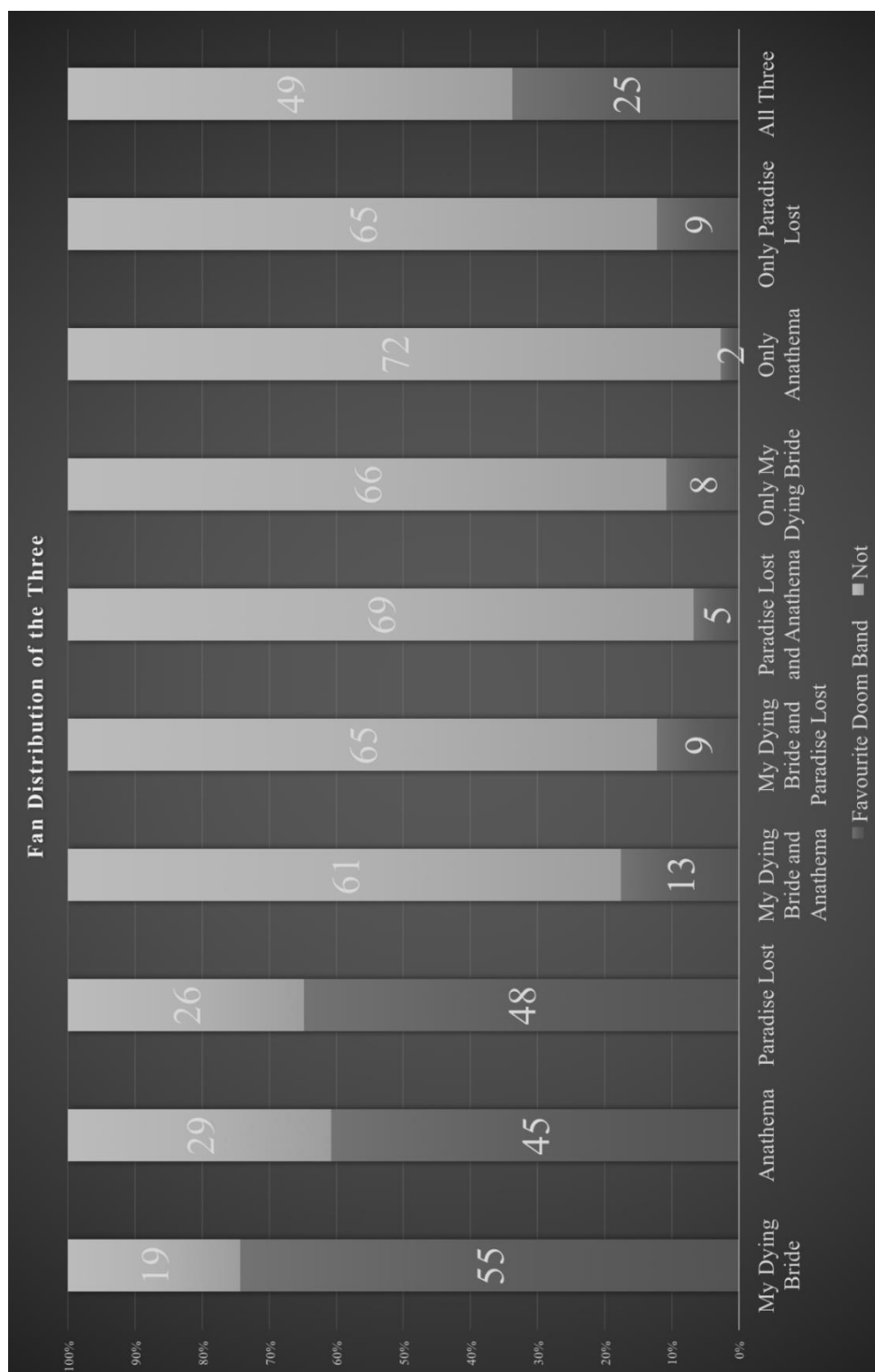


Figure 3.2.5 Fan Distribution of Peaceville Three

Each of the three holds a special corner of my heart, although [none] holds the same corner. (Allsop)

One of the things I appreciate [most]...is their strong personality, the fact that each one [has] its own unique and instantly recognizable [style], both in sound and in aesthetic figures, becoming a clear and distinguishable landmark, in the increasingly standardized scene of the contemporary music. (Atkinson)

They are all unique in their own way, and they've also all progressed/grown/changed over the years, sometimes to the chagrin of their fans, but I appreciate the continuous search for new ways to express their feelings and experiences. (Densham)

All three of them make something original in their own way, thus expanding and crossing borders. (Grimshaw)

The stories are always the same, but the language that is used and the way they are told are completely different. (Armstrong)

3.3. Archival research

In the introduction to *On the genealogy of morals* of Nietzsche, Smith argues that;

Genealogy is envisaged here as the historical study of the multiple intersecting forces which produce the meaning of a given phenomenon or practice. So, the study of these forces reconstructs a metaphorical rather than a literal kinship network. (2008, p. xiii)

In a genealogy, a historical approach is obviously essential. And the above quote shows that a genealogy also requires the study of 'intersecting forces'. Through this study of intersecting forces, a kinship or a social network is constructed. This is important because as discussed previously, a music world is the result of a social network. This social network can indeed be a metaphorical one that Smith suggests. Hence, in order to 'reconstruct' this network beyond its literal sense, an archival research is needed through the material that engaged with the music of these bands or the death/doom culture in general. A literal network cannot be the only source of construction of a music world, because a music world has complex connections both internally and externally. For example, in death/doom music world on which this thesis focusses, the source social network can be pointed to be the bands, the studio, and Hammy of Peaceville Records. However, with only these people, death/doom

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music world could not have gone beyond these people. A historical research shows these connections.

A second reason for an archival data collection is, as I mentioned before, the lack of ethnographic data. Because I was unable to arrange some important interviews with musicians, these historical interviews, when analysed, provided a sense of what these musicians thought. Perhaps more importantly, these interviews provided that which the ethnographic interview could not and cannot: it shows what they thought in the past and at various stages in their careers. This is invaluable.

In order to achieve these two goals, I looked at the collection of British Library using their Leeds reader room. I identified two magazines and a fanzine for this archival enquiry. During this, I read all Terrorizer magazine issues and the famous Norwegian fanzine Slayer issues, searching for all interviews the three bands gave to these extreme metal music publications in order to both close the gap of not being able to interview all the musicians I wanted at the beginning of the project and to find perspectives from the era, i.e. early to mid-1990s, during which I located my enquiry. Terrorizer magazine is based in the United Kingdom, and it has 280 issues at the time of writing which are published monthly (with exceptions around new year). This magazine has existed since 1993 and it is one of the most popular magazines in extreme metal in general. The reason I focussed on Terrorizer magazine comes from the fact that Terrorizer is popular but more importantly, Terrorizer has embraced the three bands in question from the early beginnings of both the bands and the magazine. As a result of this relationship and the geographical proximity, Terrorizer magazine is of importance when it comes to these bands' stories. This is illustrated in issue #173 where the three bands are described as the 'three great powers, each one with a history closely entwined with this magazine' (Terrorizer, 2008, p. 14). I have also browsed through some of the 1990s issues of *Kerrang!* before deciding to focus only on the two publications mentioned. I have gathered further data from AllMusic.com database and the community-driven metal

encyclopaedia *Encyclopaedia Metallum: The Metal Archives*. I have also looked through the forums of doom-metal.com in order to find relevant references to this music world from a general doom metal listener base and a general internet search resulted in interesting interviews from other and more underground doom metal musicians who refer to these bands I investigate.

3.4. Musical analysis

As I stated previously and will state many times in this thesis, as Crossley suggests, a music world has a musical style at its core. The concept is about the people involved in such a social construction, however, this community falls apart without the music at its centre. The purpose of the gathering together activity is the musical style. Considering the importance of the musical style in a music world, the natural third approach of my methodology becomes musical analysis. Analysis in popular music studies has been discussed countless times as it has been one of the foundational issues of popular music studies as a field. Tagg set out a framework in the second issue of *Popular Music* of how popular music can be analysed (1981). This is followed by many other musicologists such as Richard Middleton (1990; 1993). As a result, I will not go into how popular music does not fit into a traditional European music analysis methodology because it is firmly established at this point in time in popular music scholarship.

Metal music, and specifically, extreme metal music presents a significantly different case than the majority of with what popular music studies as a field deals, i.e. rock music. Traditionally, it has been the general tendency to group metal music with rock music, however, of course this has been proven to be misleading through the separation of metal music studies as a field. Extreme metal in metal music is less melodic in general (Kahn-Harris, 2006) -even though this does not apply to death/doom metal- and according to Smialek,

[Extreme metal vocals'] avoidance of melody, insofar as its screams rarely involve definite pitches, not only resists Western notation and pitch/harmony-oriented methods of analysis, it can also easily lead one to believe that the extreme metal voice relies solely on rhythm for musical interest. Not only is this incorrect, as it will become apparent, but I believe extreme metal vocals also prompt us to think differently about how musical parameters that are often considered in isolation from one another—pitch and timbre in particular—exist interdependently. (2015, p. 239)

This is what actually differentiates extreme metal music from its other popular music counterparts. 'The avoidance of melody' requires extreme metal to be analysed in an unconventional way.

Philip Tagg provides a useful method of analysing popular music unconventionally (2013), however, as discussed in the previous chapter, this method relies too much on the perspective of the researcher and this perspective alone; and as I discussed earlier in this chapter, because I cannot be an outsider for the subject matter of this project, this method would have failed to provide a substantial view on the death/doom style. As Smialek suggests, thinking in timbre terms for extreme metal is beneficial and as a result, in this thesis, the reader will not find any discussion regarding pitch. I do not comment on the keys, the scales, or how chromatic the musical style may or may not be in various places. Instead, I keep my analysis focussed on the vocal timbre when the music on the recording becomes relevant. This does not prevent me from identifying general musical characteristics of death/doom through its duration, tempo and time signatures, formal structure, and instrumentation.

In order to comment on the timbre, ethnomusicological ways of transcription cannot be used, because the European musical notation as it is has no way of representing timbre on the page. So, I do not transcribe the music in any part. I use spectrograms to show the recording in writing, or rather in image. I deliberately do not analyse any live recordings. This is because, especially in extreme metal music, the 'composed' music resides on a recording. Improvisation is rarely incorporated into these performances; and moreover, improvisation is rarely welcomed in extreme metal performances. As a result, the recording becomes the

reliable source for the style. I use *Sonic Visualiser* (Cannam et al., 2010) with an added VAMP plug-in *Silvet Note Transcription* (Benetos and Dixon, 2012) to create the spectrograms of recordings. The recording files have been ripped as Wave (44.1kHz 16-bit PCM) files from the album CDs. All the screen captures of spectrograms included in this thesis are of *Sonic Visualiser*.

The ethnographic research conducted suggests that lyrical content is important in this style of music. As a result, I analyse the lyrics of these bands as well. The lyrics used are from the liner notes of the CDs of the albums analysed, except for two early EPs by Anathema and My Dying Bride where the lyrical material is taken from the community-run metal lyrics website darklyrics.com. I used a phenomenological method of analysing the lyrics. I coded these texts again using *NVivo* and categorised them using the themes present in the songs.

Overall, this method of musical analysis may seem to focus too much on the researcher similar to Tagg's method. In order to avoid this pitfall, in all parts of the analysis, the analysis is firstly based on the responses of the participants of different roles. This contributes to an almost collective and collaborative analysis perspective making the process more democratic. As I mentioned before, in the interviews I did not explicitly ask any musical analysis-related questions, but there is one question (for the fan participants) asking what in the music is interesting to them. This question resulted in interesting answers; and more importantly these answers directed the analysis. As a result, the musical analysis in this thesis relies more on the reception of the style than my own perspective. Of course, I add my own perspective where it is needed and on where the participants did not comment. As you will read in chapter 5, the participants did not mention in any way many categories of analysis results. However, these are still important in clarifying the musical style. So, in these analyses, I rely on more the Tagg's thinking of analysing popular music unconventionally without strictly using his method.

As I said at the beginning of chapter the threefold method of data collection and analysis becomes a natural one when a music world is concerned. The people, the history, and the style make up this social construction; hence, an ethnographic, historical, and musicological analysis needs to be done in order to cover all the bases. This thesis attempts to combine these disciplines in a meaningful way under the subject field of metal music studies, which from its origins attempts to be an inter-disciplinary subject. Of course, metal music studies or this thesis are not alone in such an attempt. I think that the neighbouring subject field, popular music studies, is based on the same idea: the inclusion of the people into the more music-based analyses of musicology in general and the inclusion of the music into the more people-based analyses of ethnomusicology and music sociology. Discipline-wise, I do not attempt to place this method or this thesis under any one discipline, because this introduces artificial limits and this idea would conflict with the approach of these two subject fields to which this thesis is positioned closest.

The discussed method culminates in three analysis chapters to follow: firstly, a chapter discussing the historical research setting up the scene for the music world, followed by a musical analysis drawing the lines of death/doom style, and finally and perhaps the most important part, an analysis of the participants' responses and how they engage with the music world. Before starting these discussions, it is important to note that, as I mentioned previously, the discussions rely on the participants' responses more than anything else and the responses are taken as facts about the individuals and how they think and feel about the music world at the moment of the interview. As an outcome of this, I rarely paraphrase the participant responses. Rather, I include these responses as they are and sometimes as lengthy quotes. I believe this is crucial in this thesis. The *exact* perspective of the participants is what makes sense without the researcher's interference, so I opted to let the participants tell their own stories whenever it was possible. In the next chapter, I discuss one side of my wider method's

results: the historical origins of death/doom music world using the ethnographical data and the historical data collected.

4. The Origins

Unhindered by talent, but we don't give a fuck. If you don't fucking like it, well tough fucking luck. (Halmshaw, 2016, p. loc. 98)

Paul 'Hammy' Halmshaw states that even though Peaceville Records of Dewsbury, Yorkshire did not have a motto per se, the above quote would have been it when looking back on three decades of the label's history. This 'motto', even though it was suggested in hindsight, aptly introduces the bands on which I focus in this chapter. As it will become clearer over the course of this chapter, like many other metal music worlds (Banchs, 2016; Moberg, 2009; Purcell, 2003; Spracklen, 2010), death/doom is a personal/intimate endeavour for the parties involved, especially musicians. It also demonstrates the punk culture's influence on this music world from the beginning, something the members mention as discussed later. In this chapter, I discuss the origin story of the three bands: Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride, and Anathema. This cannot be achieved without mentioning Peaceville Records, the first record label for all these bands, and the term Peaceville Three/Trio, a term that was used and sometimes is still used to describe the three bands.

The individual and collective histories of the three bands involved have crucial effects on the style which a music world sets as the nucleus of construction. Born argues that criticism of a style should steer away from discussing it in "the banalized terms of object in 'context', or telos of innovation", but instead the discussion should be "focally concerned with the social and material, the temporal and ontological, as these mediate and imbue the aesthetic" (2010, p. 198). This structure that Born proposes will also be the chapter structure for the remainder of this thesis. Starting with 'temporal' gives the opportunity to discuss the 'other layers' of a style before going into the 'ontological' and the 'social'. In relation to Crossley's music world, taking the style as the 'ontological' as well as 'the aesthetic' here makes sense because according to music worlds theory, a music world would not exist without a style as the style is where the members of a social network come together resulting in the coalescent

effervescence which in turn gives birth to a music world. The style *is* in relation to, or more accurately within and amongst, a music world. As a result, a story about origins of the entities and institutions of a music world relates the autonomous layer, i.e. the style, to ‘other layers’ of Foucault. However, it should be clear that when I relate a style here to ‘an autonomous layer’, I do not claim that a style can be autonomous. Furthermore, ‘relating to’ is also problematic in Foucault’s statement as it emerges a reversed hierarchy between the style and ‘other layers’. As Born states above, the layers ‘imbue’ the aesthetic or style. A style exists as a consequence of the layers and does not have autonomy. However, Foucault’s assertion here is still beneficial to consider in deciding what the layers can be in the ‘temporal’.

I choose to say story to describe the ‘temporal’ here, because the interviews I have conducted with musicians follow the oral history method of unstructured interviews (Thompson, 1978; Portelli, 1981). There are two main sources of data of which I make use in this chapter. The first one is interviews with musicians, fans, a manager, label executives, and a sound engineer in death/doom music world. To reiterate, because I was not able to interview all musicians related to the three bands, I have also conducted an archival research at British Library, United Kingdom.

4.1. Peaceville Records and punk origins

Peaceville Records is a key institution to start for the origin story of these bands and music world, because these bands released their first albums under this label. They have been called the Peaceville Three for a long time at least up to and including 2008 when a Peaceville Reunion tour brought all the bands back together. This tour shows how the identities of these bands are closely tied with Peaceville Records as by 2008, as I will discuss in the next chapter, both Anathema and Paradise Lost have stylistically moved on drastically into even non-metal styles. What makes Peaceville even more interesting is that the foundation and origins of

Peaceville reveal a hidden cultural link of death/doom metal music world to anarcho-punk culture prominent in West Yorkshire during mid- to late 1980s.

Paul ('Hammy' from this point onwards) Halmshaw founded Peaceville Records by himself in 1983 in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire as a "cassette label specifically put [the Instigators' (Hammy's punk band)] demos out" (Hammy in interview). According to Hammy, Peaceville was not founded with professional ambitions. Because of his involvement with the anarcho-punk music world, "a world ... [where] you could immerse yourself in and never come back out of it", he decided to make this world work for him by publishing at first 54 cassettes. The release of a flexi disc by Lord Crucifier, comprised of "Italians fleeing military conscription in Italy" who lived in Halifax, ended the cassette label Peaceville (Hammy). Hammy describes this band as a 'jazz metal' one, hence the very beginning of Peaceville already interacted with metal worlds. The 'punk' identity of Peaceville came from the fact that Hammy was a member of a known punk band. With the help of this identity, Peaceville went onto release albums from prominent punk bands such as Doom and Electro Hippies.

During 1980s especially in England, the punk culture "was extremely anti-metal" (Hammy). Hence, the punk identity of the record label was crucial in its existence, even though the label "was not a solely punk label" including a fifth ever release by a "straight ahead heavy metal band", Torinaga. However, Peaceville was essentially forced out of this punk identity "the moment the Autopsy album was released [12th ever Peaceville release, *Severed Survival*, Peaceville Records, 1989]". Peaceville was "a metal label now". This clash was significant. Hammy recalls this clash as follows:

I just couldn't see the difference between the punk stuff and Autopsy. Yet, as soon as Autopsy came out, I realised there were a big difference between the punk world and the metal world. Metal kids would buy anything. You'd put it out in any format you want, they'd buy the lot of it. That matters. That matters a great deal. Doom were disgusted that I had metal bands and they put out *Fuck Peaceville!* [Profane Existence, 1995] and all this shit. They were really anti... The punk bands all told me to fuck off basically. As soon as I started getting involved with metal, they were out of there. They're all friends now. They all realised

how stupid it was. But we had all these egos and these images, and punk bands and metal do not mix. I was the metal label guy and they all fucked off and did their own thing. It was stupid because we were both going for the same thing. We were both anti-establishment. I don't get it. Alright, lyrical content if that's important. I'm not sure if it is. I don't tell the difference between an Autopsy record and a Doom record. They're both dirty fuckin' records. They saw the difference. They got their fanbase. Maybe they didn't want to risk their fanbase. I can't blame them.

This statement shows that punk culture was almost explosively against a crossover with metal culture. After Autopsy published their *Severed Survival* album via Peaceville Records, a change had to happen, but this change was also a welcome change for Hammy because at this point, he "was running a label to make money to survive so when Autopsy started selling a lot of records, the punk stuff was just a hobby. You never made any money out of punk stuff. And I was getting older and I was trying to build a business to make money. It facilitated that with the metal". Moreover;

You can be anti and sell a thousand records and you can do what you want. You go off and sell your thousand records, I will stick with Autopsy 20-odd thousand records, because I know I'm going to get a wage. I'm going to be able to pay my staff, pay for the electricity, and put out another record.

Metal was a more lucrative business model for Hammy. Because as he states above: "metal kids would buy anything". This illustrates the first main difference of metal cultures from punk cultures. However, this transition into a metal label spelled the end of Hammy's musical career. As;

The job was always the job, I wasn't going to go back to music after that. It would have been a conflict to play on the same scene as Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride. A boss can't play with his own bands. There's going to be favouritism.

Peaceville Records also have a symbolic logo which illustrate Hammy's vision for his label from another angle.



Figure 4.1.1 Peaceville Records Logo (Wikipedia, n.d.)

The most important thing was that all the symbols used are positive ones. That was the main thing, to place some hope in this desolate place. First you have the star, which is a cross between a star (wishes) and an old drawing of the sun with its flames (life). (Hammy in *Slayer* #8, 1991, p. 192)

This positivity can also be argued to come from an anarcho-punk ideology.

Before going into how the three bands came to be Peaceville bands as they were forming, it is important to note that Andy Farrow, manager of Paradise Lost (since *Shades of God*, Music for Nations, 1992) and Anathema (only “for the last 2-3 years”), and business consultant for My Dying Bride (“for the last 4-5 years”) (Farrow in interview) also comes from an anarcho-punk background being involved with bands such as Crass in the early stages of his company, then Far North Music, now Northern Music Company. This double connection on the managerial side of this music world firmly lodges the origins of it to an anarcho-punk culture. This is also reflected in the behaviour of musicians.

4.2. Paradise Lost

Paradise Lost is an important point to begin the discussion of the three bands and death/doom metal, because there is a consensus among the participants of this music world that Paradise Lost are the ancestors of this style of music. They are the originators and death/doom is their legacy 'cemented' (Farrow) as evidenced by the trio tour happened in 2008. Fans of this music also agree with this idea.

As for Anathema... I am not a fan of their music at all. They are like [the] children of Paradise Lost (Katatonia here too) who move not only in their own way but also break up with metal genre at all. (Brierly)

Anathema's music is an offspring of Paradise Lost. This is a significant attribution. Other fans state that they 'started' the style (Coombes) and they are an "influence on absolutely every band that play" the style (Dennys). While in a 1991 interview, Nick Holmes, the vocalist of Paradise Lost, questions whether they have actually started a 'new trend'; the fans seem to think that even talking of them as "gods such as Slayer [the band], Deicide, and Paradise Lost" (Terrorizer #15, 1994, p. 15). By 1997, Holmes also agrees that all their albums have been "completely innovative at the time" (Terrorizer #44, p. 14). Vincent Cavanagh of Anathema points to Paradise Lost as a 'good influence' as they were starting out (Terrorizer #67, 1999, p. 21) alongside Iron Maiden. Daniel Cavanagh of Anathema also talks of the same influence much later in their career stating that "if there's one person in that genre who I will doff my cap to, it's [Gregory Mackintosh]" (Terrorizer #258, 2015, p. 25). Aaron Stainthorpe of My Dying Bride also discusses Paradise Lost's influence on the style of their band:

We would get chatting about things like that and there were a couple of occasions and I went to Halifax to some of their rehearsals, which was great. I sort of thought, I might want to do something like this. I didn't just go to listen to them play, I wanted to see what it was like to be a rehearsal room, to see how they interacted with each other. Because I couldn't play an instrument, sometimes I thought music was quite magical, I couldn't compose things. I wanted to see other people doing that. How did they write their songs? So, I'd go to their rehearsals and we would just drink coke and eat crisps and watch what they were doing. You could watch Aaron [Aedy] and Greg [Mackintosh] trying out different guitar parts

and how Steve put the bass on as well. It was interesting, then they'd suddenly say play that a bit slower, and wow it sounds really epic. So, Aaron comes up with a fast riff, Greg slows it down. They worked off each other. I'm sitting there thinking I like the way they work. I can understand their thinking. (in interview)

From Stainthorpe's discussion, one can easily argue that Paradise Lost's early albums and musical thinking were directly influencing the way My Dying Bride were composing at the time. In 1998, Holy Records (France) released a tribute album to Paradise Lost, *As We Die For...*, comprised of bands from that label who were influenced by Paradise Lost. The album has contributions from bands such as Septic Flesh (Greece), Orphaned Land (Israel), Misanthrope (France), and On Thorns I Lay (Greece). This album further shows how far reaching Paradise Lost's musical influence has become in due course of 1990s. Also, as of this writing, there is another tribute album for Paradise Lost: *The Plague Inside: A tribute to Paradise Lost* (2016, Фоно) featuring bands from Russia. These different bands, including the other two of the Peaceville Three, demonstrate that Paradise Lost's early career was paradigmatically important. However, we cannot discuss of a single point where it all became important⁵.

Paradise Lost was founded during late 1980s in Halifax, West Yorkshire, with members Stephen Edmondson, Gregor Mackintosh, Aaron Aedy, Nick Holmes, and Matthew Archer. The band name is a reference to the poem of the same name by John Milton (1667). According to Stainthorpe, "Paradise Lost were the Frog and Toad", a public house in Bradford (in interview). Paradise Lost released three demo tapes independently (*Morbid Existence* [1988], *Paradise Lost* [1988], *Frozen Illusion* [1989]). They recorded *Frozen Illusion* with the help of Hammy of Peaceville before getting signed onto Peaceville Records for their first album *Lost*

⁵ Please see the discussion on paradigm shift in section 2.2 for a more detailed analysis of paradigm shifts.

Paradise (1990). According to Hammy, the way they met was again at the Frog and Toad and it was a chance encounter as the result of Holmes wearing a Doom (punk band) album t-shirt, which was released by Peaceville. Importantly, the album was titled *Lost Paradise* instead of *Paradise Lost*, because there was a USA-based band with the same name at the time, and Gregory Mackintosh thought it would be wise to have a failsafe in case a lawsuit follows the release (Halmshaw 2016: loc. 1646). Their initial style caused some confusion in metal press as it can be seen from Metalion's description here:

Ultimate Doom sludgers... Errrrr (sic)... Ultimate Death sludgers! (Slayer #8, 1991, p. 214)

The band released their second album *Gothic* (1991) also through Peaceville Records. *Gothic* album signifies a change for the band, the record label, and the style (which I discuss in chapter 5). This album was the most successful release of the band up to that point which made them 'jump a level' in their career.

I had no real idea that [Paradise Lost] were going to be as big as they became, but I did know that they would be influential. As soon as *Gothic* was released, it turned for Paradise Lost. It probably shocked them as much as everyone else. It was an amazing leap.
(Hammy)

Even though Paradise Lost were not "initially successful", this album "went through the roof" (Hammy). Paradise Lost were not noticed in the larger scene -even in northern England- (Lee Baines of Serenity in *Terrorizer* #18, 1995, p. 41) before *Gothic*. According to Farrow, Paradise Lost, with the lapse of their contract with Peaceville -which coincides with the release of *Gothic*-, got "six, seven" offers from different labels. Just before this album also gave them the opportunity to play at the 'upstairs' venue of Queen's Hall in Bradford, an important venue for metal fans in northern England and Scotland organised by Andy Farrow himself. The published performance, *Live Death* [1990, Jettisoundz Video], was of Paradise Lost's 'cellar' performance at Queen's Hall. What Paradise Lost did 'right' was, Farrow argues, getting themselves known in Europe early on in their career. Hammy arranged these 'DIY' concerts in Holland through 'a small-scale tour organiser' who mostly worked on hardcore concerts

(Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 1664).

Paradise Lost's move to Music for Nations resulted in drastic changes. From playing in front of "50-80 people per show" (Nick Holmes in Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 1664) or "about 150 people" (Farrow), by the time they released *Shades of God* (1992, Music for Nations), *Icon* (1993, Music for Nations), and *Draconian Times* (1995, Music for Nations), the band were on "MTV [Music Television] doing serious numbers and selling 200000 albums in Europe" (Farrow). At this point in Paradise Lost's career, "they were getting paid a fortune, headlining every festival" and also "they could have been a Slayer [the band]" (Hammy). Gregory Whalen called Paradise Lost 'The British Band Who So Nearly Could Have Been Metallica' (Terrorizer #58, 1998, p. 54). Considering Metallica's unprecedented popularity in all of metal's history, this statement illustrates how favoured Paradise Lost had become. The release of *Icon* can be considered the birth of gothic metal style as well (Farrow). So, Paradise Lost had pioneered two distinct styles with their first 4 albums. I mention Denny's statement above about the band's influence but it is worth repeating that fan's statement in length here:

For me, the history is one of the most important things in music and art in general. The hardest thing is to make up (sic) a musical genre. And to influence absolutely every band that play the genre. And Paradise Lost did it TWICE (sic)!

As one can notice in Whalen's description above, Paradise Lost were seen as 'could have been' rather than 'actually'. This signifies another shift in the band's story. An important music journalist, Dave Everley, called their next album *One Second* (1997, Music for Nations) 'shit' (Hammy). Fans around that time also followed suit:

I believe Paradise Lost are a fantastic band. However, I never really liked the albums *Host* [1999, Music for Nations], *Symbol of Life* [2002, Supersonic Records] and *One Second*. Other than that, they have amazing albums. (Blackmore)

The release of *Host* put the band in Terrorizer's yearly readers' poll at the 'Biggest Disappointment #10' position (#63, 1999, p. 19) having previously selected 'Favourite Terrorizer Readers' Band of All Time #8' just after bands like Slayer, Metallica, Sepultura, and

Iron Maiden (#50, 1998, p. 26). Around the turn of the millennium, the band were getting immense pressure from the press with regards to altering their well-liked style.

Having already outsold its predecessor *Like Gods of the Sun* [My Dying Bride 1996, Peaceville Records] still has legs on it and only highlights the folly in Paradise Lost's decision to forego what had previously marked them out as special in exchange for mainstream mediocrity. (Raffi Ouzounian, *Terrorizer* #39, 1997, p. 25)

The band even had to defend themselves and the changes they made to their style multiple times.

You can say what you want the new album [One Second], but I don't think you can say that it sounds fabricated. I think it sounds like a really fuckin' honest record. I think it sounds like we believe in what we're doing, and you have to believe in what we're doing, or for us there's no fucking point. Everything is secondary to that...Not thrashing. Not tween guitarrrr (sic) assault. Well we "wimped out" as soon as we became involved in something that was no longer original as it was in 1989. We want to make original music, and if that means not being part of something that is contrived because everyone's frightened of being a wimp, if that's what you want to call us, then fine. (Nick Holmes in *Terrorizer* #44, 1997, p. 14)

The last thing we would want to do is to alienate our fan base but at the same time people have to understand that we were a bunch of guys who wanted to take what we do that bit further but we're still ultimately a metal band but have to do what we want to do. Take Rush, they've made some shit albums over the years, but they can still produce great albums as well. You just have to live and learn, you know? ...[Hosf] got critical panning but I think if we had stayed in the style of *Draconian Times* then I real don't think that we would have carried on. I don't think that we could have got any bigger than we were by continuing to play that style of music; we all thought that it was time to change. We don't think about that anymore though, we're just, we like this or we don't like that. I think that the worst thing that a band can do is to listen to other people and forget why you started. If you can keep that incentive going, then fuck everyone else! (Nick Holmes in *Terrorizer* #105, 2002, p. 49)

Paradise Lost have been called 'sell-outs' around this time as well (Nick Holmes in *Terrorizer* #136, 2005, p. 28). The fans were not happy about the increase in numbers in the band's audience as soon as the band have released their first album on Music for Nations.

Paradise Lost. Please don't feature this band anymore they are dreadful and overhyped to fuck. (Kev Gurrell in Terrorizer #27, 1996, p. 55)

This backlash is not the only one that Paradise Lost experienced, however it confirms the importance of tradition and continuity in musical styles in metal music worlds. The music world is firmly based around a style that should not change.

The band continued on with their releases with a different outlook than it was as previously discussed in this chapter.

Metal is the same force as pop music. It's not alternative. When I was young, I thought it was; and may it even was. But it's big business. Same as any other genre of music. Hip-hop is the rebellion now, because we can't get any heavier. Like what else is metal going to do? It's something you live through and it's hard to look back while you're still doing it. But our hearts are still in it. (Nick Holmes in Terrorizer #174, 2008, p. 18)

This demonstrates how much both the music world to which Paradise Lost belongs and the band itself have changed in the 18 years of activity. From the anarcho-punk and DIY beginnings, Holmes discusses the disbelief in even being 'alternative'. As of this writing Paradise Lost have published six more albums that I have yet to mention: *Believe in Nothing* (2001, EMI), *Paradise Lost* (2005, GUN Records), *In Requiem* (2007, Century Media Records), *Faith Divides Us – Death Unites Us* (2009, Century Media Records), *Tragic Idol* (2012, Century Media Records), *The Plague Within* (2015, Century Media Records), and *Medusa* (2017, Nuclear Blast). Except the newest two albums, albums after *Shades of God* until *The Plague Within* stylistically falls beyond the scope of this thesis. *The Plague Within* album shows a return to Paradise Lost's early style of death/doom.

While the stylistic variety, which Paradise Lost have in their oeuvre, have had a negative response from the press, from the fans' perspective, the variety is received in a more mixed way. This also demonstrates how stylistic tradition functions for the case of Paradise Lost. There is a clear sense of stylistic tradition among fans. A fan participant, Allsop, states that the band have "journeyed far and returned 'home'". The word 'home' itself is symbolic. 'Home' is death/doom metal and with the release of *The Plague Within*, Paradise Lost have

'returned'. Another participant, Baring, talks of the same return after experimentation "with electronic elements". Experimenting and returning get mentioned by fans in several occasions. This shows Paradise Lost's 'open mind' (Branwell) or their loyalty to their own compositional process "no matter what it cost to them" even when it (*Host*) was a 'commercial suicide' (Brierly). Fans echo Holmes' sentiment about keeping the incentive going. Some fans in fact like Paradise Lost *because* they have an exploratory nature in terms of their style (Carlisle) and they have 'amazing' 'perpetual renewal' in their music (Gilpin). Although on the other hand, some fans see this variety in a negative way, even calling it 'awful' (Carew). This gives better insight to why the band around that point in their career felt the need to defend the stylistic change.

Paradise Lost have become much more popular than the other two bands I mentioned, starting with *Gothic* but increasing with each album. This is evidenced by their popularity with the record labels and moving up to even a major label like EMI. It is important to make this distinction here. They ended up defending their albums however, the criticism came from an extreme and underground metal magazine (especially during 1990s) and fans of death/doom metal music. Their popularity continued to increase over the years. This increase in popularity results in some conflict for the fan. I go into this issue in detail in chapter 6, but it is worthwhile to briefly explore here. Popularity is a problem for the death/doom fan and Paradise Lost is the embodiment of this problem. Of course, this is a general behaviour for many metal fans. As a result, some fans are vague about why Paradise Lost's especially more popular era could be problematic.

Paradise Lost of course is different in the sense that they without a doubt are the most popular of the three even though I like them the least of the three. (Acland)

I think Paradise Lost is more accessible, and maybe is the best of the Big 3 of Doom (sic)? You can see they always try to create catchy songs, and I don't say that in a bad way. (Gilpin)

While Acland states that they just like them less without the connection to their popularity, the fact that it is in the same sentence suggests that they are related. For Gilpin, they need to state specifically that being 'catchy' and 'accessible' is not a 'bad' thing. These two cases demonstrate the attitude towards the popularity in this music world. Other fans talk of Paradise Lost's popularity from an othering perspective. According to them, death/doom is supposed to be different, so accessibility and, the result of that, popularity, is problematic.

I would say that modern fans of Paradise Lost like *Symbol of Life* or the really weak *Believe in Nothing* because they are done in an easier and popular way. (Brierly)

I believe they are a bit more 'approachable' for a 'normal' person (they have shorter songs and a bit more normal music). (Blackmore)

Firstly, 'modern fans' suggest an othering based on the engagement duration with the band. Earlier fans are the devoted fans who do not engage with 'weak' and incidentally popular albums of Paradise Lost both because they are 'easier' and popular. This shows othering based on how much effort you need to put into listening to the albums of the band. 'Easier' suggests that the engagement is superficial or less valuable. One might argue that easy can mean among other things, melodic, however, for the fans of Paradise Lost, there is a dissonance here. While the band's music requires or at least should require effort, so that it will not be popular or easy, Paradise Lost's music is also melodic and in fact it is one of its characteristics.

Paradise Lost is the most song-oriented band: they find a melody and around it the build a song. (Auden)

The melodic guitar lines of Gregory Mackintosh are also commonly commented on with regards to the band's music. I discuss this in chapter 5 as one of the symbols that is recognised in this music world. This is an interesting disparity that shows melody separate from popular or easy.

Paradise Lost are also angry according their fans which resonate well with Holmes' statements about the band's imagery.

[The cover of *Frozen Illusion*] is Satan rising from the flames to conquer a world of pain & misery! (Holmes in *Slayer* #8, 1991, p. 214)

There is the idea of anger in what Holmes says here. The fans also hear the anger in Holmes' vocals (Carzana). There is a sense of endless anger that comes through to the fan from the music.

Paradise Lost is like listening to a man trying to tear down a church the size of his world only using one hand. (Armstrong)

What I like also [about Paradise Lost] is probably the image they have which is something they were mean. (Fortescue)

Paradise Lost is 'if I have to die I will be fucked off because I am still angry at the world'. (Graham)

Paradise Lost's visual image and the imagery they use also have been crucial parts of the identity of the band. Holmes himself and Fortescue already point to this. Other participants have also commented to the band's image as something they enjoy and engage with. From their clothes (Baring) and attitude (Burke; Fawkes) to their artwork on the album covers (Davies; Fawkes; Fortescue), the image of the band is inseparable from their music. For the cases of Fortescue and Davies, the reason they bought albums, *Icon* and *Paradise Lost* respectively, was solely the artwork at the front. This exhibits how impactful the artwork of the band is in their interaction with the fans.

4.3. My Dying Bride

Chronologically, My Dying Bride mark the second stylistic step in the construction of death/doom music world. The band are important in their creation of the basis of the style in a longer stretched time compared to the other two bands. My Dying Bride's music is the 'home' which Paradise Lost fans discussed in the previous section. Consistency, not stagnation, is an important characteristic of their music.

My Dying Bride is obviously the band that has had least changes during the years and is basically the only of the three that is still proper doom metal IMO [in my opinion]. (Acland)

Remarks about the stability of their style echo often among the fans (Allsop; Auden; Baring; Bart; Blackmore; Carew; Carlisle; Douglas; Dunham; Ellison; Fowles; Garrs; Griffiths). It is notable from Acland's statement that it is the 'least changes' that result in this stability rather than 'non-change'. The band can be considered to be the masters of this style; and while they still belong to a Beckerian maverick category, because they have produced many albums of death/doom, I can argue that they simultaneously belong to a Beckerian 'integrated professional' category. They are highly capable and well-versed in the style they helped to form.

My Dying Bride formed a 'musical identity' (Carew) and they "kept true to themselves" (Blackmore) in this identity. My Dying Bride are the 'roots' of 'high quality doom' (Griffiths). Auden puts this idea succinctly:

My Dying Bride is a band as tragic as an Aeschylean tragic and lonely hero: they chose a path and they followed it wherever it goes... [They] go down to explore deeper and deeper human desolation.

The band's music remained 'bleak' (Dunham) throughout their career and "explored the boundaries of the genre to the full extent" (Ellison). Andy Farrow calls the band's career 'more static' in comparison to Paradise Lost or Anathema; however, this results from the fact that they are not a full-time band and that "they took a less is more approach" especially regarding their touring schedule. Of course, this sparse touring schedule is not in any way disconnected from the music creation process, which I discuss in due course of this section.

Aaron Stainthorpe, the vocalist and lyricist of My Dying Bride discusses the subtle changes in the lyrical content of the band as follows:

I used a lot of old fashioned words and it's all quite classical. And I liked that back then. But as I evolved and got older and I read different things and try to alter my writing. Because I don't want to write the same thing over and over again, it becomes dull. So, I evolve and yes you might not recognise some lyrics I've written today compared to the

lyrics I've written 25 years ago. You might think they're not by the same author. They're radically different and I like that because it means I've progressed or at least I've evolved in a way I wanted to, in a meaningful way. (in interview)

There is a deliberate change in the content originating from the musicians themselves. However, this does not represent a far enough sling to register as a drastic change on the fan. This is clearly welcomed as well. Participants state that My Dying Bride 'thankfully' kept to their roots (Blackmore) and 'stayed true' (Garrs) or that they have a 'consistent quality' which is appreciated (Carew). The band is 'very intellectual' and artful according to the fan as a result of this consistency (Ellison). This demonstrates another part of how 'tradition' is valued within this music world. Tradition is valuable because it is appreciated by the fans as these fans demonstrate, however, as the above quote shows My Dying Bride have changed their style significantly throughout their career. The better way to describe their style is 'stable'. I argue that because there are no sudden shifts like the cases of both Paradise Lost and Anathema, except for 34.788%... -as discussed later in this section-, the fans see My Dying Bride as consistent; however, this does not prove to be case even to the point where My Dying Bride end in a stylistic region that should not be called death/doom as discussed both later in this section and later in chapter 5.

Where did My Dying Bride start? As I mentioned, My Dying Bride, age-wise, is the middle 'kid' of death/doom formation. The band was formed in 1990 and independently released a demo titled *Towards the Sinister* with members Aaron Stainthorpe doing vocals, Andrew Craighan playing the electric guitar, Calvin Robertshaw also playing the electric guitar, and Rick Miah playing the drums. According to Stainthorpe, they got together at, again, the Frog and Toad in Bradford around the time Paradise Lost were preparing for the release of *Gothic*. Hammy recalls his signing of My Dying Bride:

To be honest, My Dying Bride were a total replacement for Paradise Lost, because Paradise Lost had gone onto Music for Nations and I couldn't deal with that size of a deal. I couldn't compete. I almost didn't want to. The label wasn't big enough to cope with how big Paradise Lost had become. I knew My Dying Bride from the Frog and Toad, all

Paradise Lost knew My Dying Bride, everybody knew My Dying Bride, they've been there all along. But they didn't coalesce as a band until Paradise Lost had gone from Peaceville. They saw the gap as much as I did thinking we could be the next Paradise Lost almost. And they filled that gap beautifully. It allowed them to stretch themselves and relax in that space. Which is a strange concept when you think about a band who just started but then they had a lot of confidence My Dying Bride. They were bigger than some of the paths. They were bigger than they actually were at the time. That confidence was fantastic. And I let them have total freedom. That's what I did for My Dying Bride. They could do whatever they wanted.

From the beginning of the band's career, they were supported mentally as Hammy mentions. This is not something that missed the band's attention either, as Stainthorpe also discusses how they were (and still are) allowed to write longer than 10-minute-long songs and using Latin titles ('Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium' first appeared on *Towards the Sinister*).

If we are going to do something special, it's got to be really special. We can't just do the same as everybody else. So, when I came up with that title, of course they thought "what the fuck? It's in Latin!" We needed to punch our hole into this business. We couldn't just stroll into it and hope that people will accept it. You've got to scream and shout!

The 'confidence' can be seen in this statement as well. At the start, the band believed in themselves enough to think that they were going to be able to leave a dent in the active death metal scene of Bradford at the beginning of 1990s.

My Dying Bride were based mainly in Bradford during their early career even though some of the members were scattered around Yorkshire in places such as Dewsbury. Compared to Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride have a different background as well. Holmes states that they lived in a 'posh' area of Halifax with their parents (Holmes in *Slayer #8*, 1991, p. 214). In contrast, Stainthorpe says;

We were still living with our parents, but obviously our parents encouraged us to work as well. I used to work at the plastic factory for 12 hours a day with my father.

Of course, this does not suggest that Paradise Lost had it easier in terms of their career aspirations. Because at the beginning, there was "no money in it" and it cost the bands money

to keep their career going (Stainthorpe). Neither of the bands were financially comfortable. Again, according to Stainthorpe, because he was able to work in such conditions, he had decent funds to be generous towards both his bandmates and Paradise Lost friends at the Frog and Toad. This is also echoed by Hammy.

I used to buy them, Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride, drinks because nobody worked properly. They had jobs, but shit jobs. I lived at home with my dad and I earned £150 a week. My dad wanted £30 a week. £120 a week to blow on anything. I've never had that! If I had that now, I'd be well happy. (Stainthorpe)

[Stainthorpe] didn't know me but he gave me the money to get a taxi ride home because I was so fucking poor at the time and had said that I couldn't bear the walk to Batle Carr from Dewsbury that night. he was very much the good Samaritan and the memory of that spontaneous act of kindness has stayed with me. (Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 2138)

Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride's close relationship was not limited to drinks at the Frog and Toad as I discussed in the previous section. Musically, Paradise Lost had a direct musical influence on My Dying Bride. However, Paradise Lost were not the only influences at the beginning. The founding members of My Dying Bride were all 'big' death metal fans.

We just thought we've got the best band name in the world, which will never date, and we sat down at the beginning and we were pretty chuffed with ourselves. All we had to do was match it, in the music and the lyrics. We haven't necessarily always done that, and we weren't really interested in being avantgarde, but we got labelled with it. In the beginning, we just set off as My Dying Bride. We wanted to be a death metal band, but we loved Candlemass and Celtic Frost. So, we were stuck in limbo trying to figure out who to be. (Andrew Craighan in Terrorizer #94, 2001, p. 17)

The band were rooted in death metal and music press also followed suit:

Back in 91, when their courtship with the underground press was at its impassioned height, they were hailed as the new messiahs of Death Metal, and their early releases more than lived up to that promise. (Whalen in Terrorizer #31, 1998, p. 31)

As Craighan says, My Dying Bride initially were after a death metal identity but with a twist. So, when the band started getting attention in relation to Paradise Lost, this posed a problem.

A lot of people have asked us if the name is of any personal meaning. Which, although it is not, does go to show that it's a thought provoking moniker. We certainly didn't want one of these boring gore/cadaveric membrane decapitation brainless Carcass [Liverpool-based grindcore band] rip-offs. We wanted something truly miserable and sad, morbid and dark, and My Dying Bride fits all of these. We're not a Doom band as such. Of course, it [bothers us to be compared to Paradise Lost], we play mostly fast stuff, they just play slow stuff, so how people can compare us is a fuckin' mystery. It is because we live in the same area. (My Dying Bride in Slayer #9, 1992, p. 229)

Carcass is another influence besides Candlemass and Celtic Frost. I will call this a *negative* influence; an influence that helps to create boundaries of a style by musicians avoiding engaging in a specific stylistic region forming at least one constriction against which a musician thinks about composition. Also, it is notable that, perhaps unsurprisingly, the origins of the name of the band came up often in interviews. Stainthorpe clarifies the name as following:

I never thought that the name 'My Dying Bride' would be conceived as anything other than a particularly miserable moment. I tried to imagine one of the most tragic moments you could ever experience in your life. If you were about to get hooked up to the person that you'd given your heart to, then to have it ripped away from you by whatever means, how would you feel? You're about to give all to another person and then suddenly they're gone. I just thought that heart-breaking moment would make an excellent name for the band. (Terrorizer #117, 2004, p. 117)

This origin anecdote illustrates what their 1992 interview already suggested: a band rooted in "something truly miserable and sad, morbid and dark". It also points towards their lyrical themes. My Dying Bride, from as early as their name, concern themselves with love as a concept. This is a striking contrast to death metal in general but also in fact doom metal of the day. An orientation towards the idea of love comes from the influence of Candlemass.

Candlemass was more romantic doom. When I say romantic doom, it was more like 19th century doom: all flowery and poetic. I didn't see anybody at that time doing something that was romantic in the romantic tastes. It was very old-fashioned, roses and chocolate and wine, that kind of seducing a young woman with words rather than just groping. I may be wrong, but I don't think there was anybody doing anything quite like that at the time. (Stainthorpe)

Candlemass were one of the first bands to alter the direction of topics involved in doom metal. This clearly had an impact on Stainthorpe in the themes discussed in *My Dying Bride* lyrics. This influence brought out the more emotional side of the band. At the beginning, even the band's other members were sceptical about this side.

I wanted to cry when I sang. They [Craighan and Robertshaw] were good guitarists and Rick was an excellent drummer. You sometimes think 'am I asking too much from these guys?'. You could see when they got home they were playing Kreator and suddenly I was saying 'let's do something else because I think we can capture a broad market here if we can span more than one genre'. I think they may have been sceptical at the start. (Stainthorpe)

So, the doom elements in their early style were from the 'outside' and different, further demonstrating the band's roots in death metal further. Another example of this is the band's early interest in Black Sabbath. It is common for doom metal bands to talk of Black Sabbath as an influence, however, Stainthorpe singles out Black Sabbath as a non-influence stating that at the very least Stainthorpe was not 'into it' during 1990s and earlier. Stainthorpe's singling out makes sense in the context of doom metal because it is unexpected for a doom metal musician to not have engaged with Black Sabbath early in their career. This shows that *My Dying Bride* were both fans and practitioners of death metal in their early career. Interestingly, the band's early influences are not limited to death metal and Candlemass. Death metal and Candlemass were not the only influences for early *My Dying Bride*. The band, similar to Paradise Lost (Mackintosh in public Facebook stream on 15 June 2017), were also fans of Thomas Gabriel Fischer (Tom G. Warrior)'s bands Celtic Frost and Hellhammer. Both Hellhammer and Celtic Frost are important from different angles.

One of the darkest, most evil songs I have ever heard and a direct inspiration for MDB [Hellhammer, *Triumph of Death*, 'Triumph of Death', Prowling Death Records 1983]...I was so impressed [with Bathory's music] that I created 'The Bradford Bathory Horde', an official fan club. I corresponded with Quorthon [Bathory] for many years...I adored Candlemass and wanted more, so folks pointed me in the direction of these doom mongers. Miserable bastards that they were, they actually believed in Christianity and yet still managed to sound as mournful as a hag sat in her own waz (sic). If bible bashing idiocy leads you to

this, then sign me up...Hidden beneath [Sodom's] death/speed metal [in *Expurse of Sodomy*, 'Sodomy and Lust', Steamhammer 1987] was a very path of sinister menace, which I gladly followed and which ultimately led me to create My Dying Bride. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #210, 2011, p. 52)

Hellhammer, Bathory, and Sodom come up in conversation however, Celtic Frost and Candlemass have more considerable influence on the formation and style of My Dying Bride.

Without [Celtic Frost], I doubt we would have even formed. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #269, 2016, p. 80)

While Celtic Frost are usually considered early (or first wave) black metal, when looked at in more detail, they span many distinctive styles including black, death, and doom metal styles. This 'avant-garde' nature of Celtic Frost influenced My Dying Bride both musically and visually (Stainthorpe).

You know this might work if we take elements from not just doom and death but metal in general, listen to what's really good and think how we can twist on that.

This describes the early attitude of My Dying Bride towards their style. Stainthorpe gives an example as follows:

There's this lovely quiet bit in 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' of Iron Maiden [*Powerslave* 1984, EMI], it's just wonderful, it's very atmospheric and it's great. I wanted to incorporate something like that into what My Dying Bride do. Not necessarily actual musical notes but sound effects and ambience that are part of the song.

With these influences in mind, My Dying Bride published *As the Flower Withers* (1992, Peaceville Records). It is important to note that this does not represent the final or a typical instrumentation of a My Dying Bride album. The violin, which is one of the relatively unique features of the band, has not been incorporated in this album yet. The instrumentation of the album follows a standard death metal one with the addition of the rare use of keyboards. However, in terms of a break from death metal, this album had already signalled that and it was received in a mixed fashion. In an early interview, the band say;

We don't write long songs on purpose they just turn out like that. If we feel a song sounds good with an extra riff in it, then we put it in regardless of its length. Death Metal to me is

just like every other style of music, I can take it or leave it as I please. I listen to everything, classical, pop, death thrash and plain weird like G.G.F.H., who are just great. As for local people, well, fuck them. Yes, they stare and laugh and point and mock. But I don't give a shit, at least I don't have to keep up with fashion like those daft twats. (Stainthorpe in *Slayer* #9, 1992, p. 229)

'Staring and laughing' and 'pointing and mocking' seems to be the way this first album was received. At that point in time, Paradise Lost have published both *Lost Paradise* and *Gothic*, so this reaction is unexpected. This shows a further break from the 'fashionable' death metal music world of Bradford. The main difference of this album to Paradise Lost's early albums is the lyrical content. Hence, the Candlemass influence had an adverse reaction from the 'local people'. But it also shows that they did not want to be part of the trend.

According to Stainthorpe, My Dying Bride were thinking about violins around this time and they were already in contact with Martin Powell, the first violinist of the band. This idea was cemented with the release of *Turn Loose the Swans* (1993, Peaceville Records). The band reached full orchestra with this album adding Martin Powell playing keyboard and violin and Adrian Jackson playing electric bass guitar. The album is included in the '200 Essential Albums' in metal by *Terrorizer* (#201, 2010, p. 49). *Turn Loose the Swans* was a turning point for the band as they defined their style and made the use of violins within the context of their own. It is hard to find a doom metal band using a violin not being compared to My Dying Bride from 1993 onwards in the UK-based music press. For example, even though Paramæcium's *Exhumed of the Earth* (1993, Witchhunt) has the same time line as *Turn Loose the Swans*, recorded early in the year and released later the same year, the following quote from the album review attaches the violin to My Dying Bride:

The violin, which bring immediate My Dying Bride comparisons to mind. (Russ Smith in *Terrorizer* #17, 1995, p. 21)

Violins became embedded in My Dying Bride's stylistic identity. This album was also the first one that Rob 'Mags' Magoolagan has produced. This album has been influential all around

the world since its release. Juha Raivio of the Finnish death/doom band Swallow the Sun explains the album's influence on them as follows:

This is the one album to rule them all! Every death/doom band on this planet owes so much to the mighty My Dying Bride for writing this album...This album has it all: weeping melodies, spoken words, growls and clean vocals full of despair and woe. It contains classic song after classic song and is a corner stone for the genre and beyond. (Terrorizer #201, 2010, p. 49).

17 years after its release, the album is deemed canonical for death/doom style. After this album, the band continued to rise in popularity with their second album *The Angel and the Dark River* (1995, Peaceville Records), which also gave way to a significant concert tour supporting Iron Maiden around the world after "Steve Harris listened and liked the album and [My Dying Bride] reminded him of the bands Steve used to listen to such as King Crimson" (Craighan in Terrorizer #27, 1996, p. 11). Stainthorpe recalls "playing football with Iron Maiden" as a highlight of their career (Terrorizer #27, 1996, p. 12). The tour was a 'different' experience for the band, which suggests that it was not necessarily a successful one:

At the small gigs, [the music of My Dying Bride] definitely works, that's our crowd, the hardcore My Dying Bride crowd, but it's different when you're playing the big venues. (Craighan in Terrorizer #27, 1996, p. 14)

This shows the value they give to their 'hardcore' fans in concerts. The release of *Like Gods of the Sun* (1996, Peaceville Records) placed the band in Terrorizer's yearly band chart at the 13th position (#38, 1997, p. 9), the album chart at 9th (#39, 1997, p. 11) and also 'Reader's Top 30' at 11th position (#38, 1997, p. 32). Furthermore, My Dying Bride were selected 'Favourite Terrorizer Readers' Bands of All Time' number 8 (#50, 1998, p. 26).

Similar to Paradise Lost, this increase in popularity gave the band the opportunity for stylistic experimentation in the shape of *34.788%... Complete* (1998, Peaceville Records).

No violins... Trip Hop... Swearing?! Just what the hell are MDB playing at? ...Back in 1991, when their courtship with the underground press was at its impassioned height, they were hailed as the new messiahs of Death Metal, and their early releases more than lived up to that promise. (Gregory Whalen in Terrorizer #59, 1998, p. 31)

Expectedly, especially considering the previous response Paradise Lost got after their stylistic voyages towards other styles than death/doom but in contrast, the album was received with a surprise, as evident in the quote above, rather than the negativity Paradise Lost received.

Finally, I really appreciated My Dying Bride, especially their great return with "34.788%..." (Brady)

While this album is as radical a shift in terms of their style as Paradise Lost have done after their popular death/doom albums, *34.788%... Complete* was more a surprise for the fan rather than a disappointment. Although the band were aware that they were taking a similar risk:

[*34.788%... Complete*] was actually Calvin [Robertshaw]'s idea. Calvin has pretty much masterminded all of this album. In fact, the editing out of the swearwords in that song was Calvin's idea as well. I said to him Why don't you just leave them in? But he said, 'no, no, it's subtler to edit them out'. And not just with a plain old beep, but with a bit of background noise... Obviously some of the fans are going to think its complete shite. Others are going to think it's My Dying Bride doing the usual and pushing the boundaries a little. Some people may think we've gone too far, some people may have wanted us to go even further and have more songs on the album of that nature [like in 'Heroin Chic' on the album regarding swearing]. (Stainthorpe in *Terrorizer* #59, 1998, p. 31)

This prediction of Stainthorpe also largely represents what actually happened. The album even managed to make it to the *Terrorizer* Writers' 50 album poll at number 31 (#62, 1999, p. 48), the same year Paradise Lost were selected as 'The Biggest Disappointment #10' (*Terrorizer* #63, 1999, p. 19). Overall, it was not a setback for the band's career and it furthered their image as an 'artful' band among fans.

The experimentation which resulted in *34.788%... Complete* was not long lived for My Dying Bride. Miah, the founding drummer, and Powell, the violinist, left with this album followed by Robertshaw, one of the founding guitarists, before the release of *The Light at the End of the World* (1999, Peaceville Records). *The Light at the End of the World* is a return to My Dying Bride's style which was established with *Turn Loose the Swans* sans the violin. This

album started a middle era without this symbolic instrument in My Dying Bride orchestra. However, *The Dreadful Hours* (2001, Peaceville Records) is a significant and long-lasting change in the band's stylistic history, which also is the cut point for this project stylistically. While this style change is subtle in comparison to Paradise Lost, it is significant enough to change the way music press saw the band.

If My Dying Bride no longer win any prizes for originality, they still put the willowy Euro-goth wannabes to shame with their ability to catch a mood and carve an album from crushing slabs of molten, jet-black riff. (Chris Chantler in *Terrorizer* #94, 2001, p. 64)

Instead of 'bleak', it is about 'jet-black' riffs and furthermore their competition is "Euro-goth wannabes". This music is goth compared to what the 'death metallers' did during 1990s. My Dying Bride, of course, continued their successful career after *The Dreadful Hours*. This album won them the 8th place of 'Best Live Act' in Readers' Poll (*Terrorizer* #106, 2003, p. 37) and the band proved their continuous existence in the extreme metal music scene at large.

My Dying Bride a jewel in the crown of UK metal and the elemental power of their music has seen them outlive most of their contemporaries. Displaying remarkable longevity, they endure simply because they're driven to make the music they make, devoid of pretence, artifice or market analysis. (Damien in *Terrorizer* #117, 2004, p. 1)

The band published their penultimate album with their reduced orchestra *Songs of Darkness, Words of Light* (2004, Peaceville Records). Sarah Stanton joined the band with this album playing the keyboard parts; and the band published *A Line of Deathless Kings* (2006, Peaceville Records) with this line up. With Stanton's departure and the inclusion of Katie Stone in *For Lies I Sire* (2009, Peaceville Records), the violin made its way back to My Dying Bride's music. Lena Abé also joined My Dying Bride with this album.

Because Stone has a more 'folky' violin style, she mentions how she struggled to fit into the specific style of My Dying Bride violins in interview. This is crucial because it shows how important the violin and actually a specific style of violin is for the band's music.

[Mags has] always been producing their albums. He had a lot of say in what was written and what it should sound like. When I played something with double-stops or something,

he would go 'no, no, no, just try this note, that's how the My Dying Bride sound is'...I was mostly playing what they wanted me to play. I had a bit of influence but not massive. (Stone)

The above quote also demonstrates the influence of Mags in even the compositional process of the albums of the band. The second far-reaching experimentation in My Dying Bride's style came with *Evinta* (2011, Peaceville Records). In this album, the band left behind the traditional metal band and made use of traditional orchestral sounds produced digitally with the addition of Alice Pembroke on viola and Lucie Roche doing vocals alongside Stainthorpe. This album, however, was not received as well as *34.788%... Complete*.

They've paid homage to themselves with this sickly sweet, faux-emotional twaddle that's full of flutes, fake harpsichords, layered backing vocals, spoken word soliloquies that used to be song lyrics, and electronic soundscapes that simply don't go anywhere; it's almost astonishing that in Stainthorpe's words, this was 'a project 15 years in the making'. It should have stayed in the closet, and the band should have focused on writing new material instead. *Evinta* is so dreary and dull, singling out individual tracks is useless. If this double disc weren't enough, there is also a deluxe edition which comes in a hardbound digipack with a 20-page booklet that contains sleeve notes, photos, and lyrics. And even more, there is also a deluxe limited edition with an extra disc of this 'materia', (horrors!) and a 64-page colour booklet. Avoid this unless you're simply delusional. (Jurek n.d.)

According to Stainthorpe, this album was a personal one and it was an indulgence. My Dying Bride published two more albums, *A Map of Failures* (2012, Peaceville Records) and *Feel the Misery* (2015, Peaceville Records) which was dedicated to Stainthorpe's father, before moving onto Napalm Records in Germany. As of this writing, My Dying Bride have not yet published any music through their second-ever record label. It is also important to note that My Dying Bride have published extended-plays alongside the full-length albums unlike their contemporaries or the newer bands in this music world. While releasing 'single's or extended-plays is common practice for many bands, including many in death/doom music world, what makes My Dying Bride's releases different in this sense is that these extended-plays usually stand on their own, meaning that usually the music on these releases are not part of full-length albums at the time or immediately after the time they are released. Although

there are exceptions to this. These are, in chronological order, *Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium* (1991, Peaceville Records), *The Thrash of Naked Limbs* (1993, Peaceville Records), *I am the Bloody Earth* (1994, Peaceville Records), *Bring Me Victory* (2009, Peaceville Records), the title of this thesis: *The Barghest o' Whitby* (2011, Peaceville Records), *The Manuscript* (2013, Peaceville Records), *Hollow Cathedra* (2015, Decibel). Similar to Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride had albums tributed to them: *A Russian Tribute to My Dying Bride* (2002, independent), *Mires of Sorrow: A Tribute to My Dying Bride* (2016, independent), a collaborative work based in the United Kingdom that came together on the My Dying Bride forum, and *A Lake of Ghosts: The Long Shadow of My Dying Bride* (2017, doom-metal.com) with performances from bands all around world and it is released by one of the largest doom metal internet news source and community.

In contrast to Paradise Lost's 'ancestor' image, My Dying Bride, as I discussed earlier in this section, have a 'consistent' image, but importantly alongside this, My Dying Bride are usually seen as the 'artful' one in this music world; they are "the most poetical of the three acts" (Branwell). My Dying Bride's music is described as 'poetry' and 'beauty' by the participants (Branwell; Churchill; Richard). As I quoted above according to the fan, the music is as tragic as Aeschylus or it is like "a pagan Shakespeare put to music, very dramatic" (Armstrong).

My Dying Bride have that Shakespearean tilt that no other band has been able to successfully pull off without sounding all faux gothy (sic). (Haworth)

This 'artful' image also comes from the intellectual nature -according to the fan- of the music; in fact, My Dying Bride's music is the "most intellectual of the three" (Ellison). The band's stage shows and theatrics also contribute to this (Farrar; Graebner). There is an interesting correlation between their music and literature as already showcased with parallels to Aeschylus and Shakespeare, however, the music also recalls literary texts and even accompanies them:

My Dying Bride are more like Wuthering Heights [Ellis Bell (Emily Brontë) 1847, *Thomas Cautley Newby*]. Drama, passion, love, loss, sex, death and the howling wind of the Moors in winter. Or maybe Poe, the long dark and deep shadows of gothic horror. (Haldane)

I will always remember My Dying Bride, and concretely *The Angel and the Dark River*, as the original soundtrack of *The Pillars of [the] Earth* by Ken Follett [1989, Macmillan]. I began reading the book with that album and I just could not stop, not reading not listening. A novel about the Dark Ages (sic) listening to dark music was just the perfect couple. (Graham)

This image is echoed in the music press as well:

We've been called pretentious and of course we are! We don't wander around 24 hours a day being miserable and swooning at our own tragedy. For us it's theatre; it's a game but it's one you pour your heart and soul into. (Craighan in *Terrorizer* #180, 2009, p. 12)

Swooning and swans are parts of the band's imagery. This goes as far as one participant describing the band as:

My Dying Bride is Swan (sic). (Cookworthy)

Considering the symbolism of the swan, the music is about elegance and dignity, simultaneously it is on a higher level, especially with the United Kingdom context -swans being a royal bird-. The visual imagery within the 'full package' is an aspect that is more important than others. Similar to Paradise Lost and Anathema, which I discuss next, visual aspect of the band's concerts, photographs, and album covers are crucial for the band's identity. It contributes to the atmosphere of the band (Carew) and their 'attitude' (Burke). This imagery is constructed by the band in their album cover artworks, staging, and even their personal appearances.

I always tried to take control of the visuals. I did most of the cover artwork and a lot of the early photography, because with a name like ours, I knew we had a dark, miserable feel, and I wanted the band to feel that, as cheesy as it is, and I said, we've got to dress in black on stage. I don't want anyone turning up with a Slayer shirt. We won't advertise any bands at all, and no logos. We didn't even have watches. I just wanted us to be quite unique. All the other bands were just doing the t-shirt thing, and we just wanted atmosphere. I kind of think I was controlling the atmosphere, and these guys, fortunately enough, were very very good musicians as well, so we had great musicians, great music, great atmosphere, what

we hoped was a great name, and it all just seemed to fit together. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #94, 2001, p. 18)

I got told off by the band for smiling on stage. I was enjoying myself, but I shouldn't have been obviously. Because the whole mood is meant to be sombre...They were quite controlling. They didn't want me to wear trainers to the band practice. They wanted me to wear full on goth clothes everywhere. Even around my house because I was representing them. (Stone)

Especially Stone's statement shows how strict the image rules are in My Dying Bride. The band have a well-thought-out and executed image which is required to be upheld by the band members. This also reflects to the fan:

They were wearing long black coats and Lena [Abé] had a strong, black make-up on. It made me feel different, because here where I live it was unheard to look like this. (Babbage)

Stainthorpe thinks that this image results from effort both on the musicians' part and fans' part. It takes effort in to get into and enjoy the music even for the musicians. Furthermore, My Dying Bride have an 'artful' image because it is 'the full package' and because they take full responsibility for their work (Stainthorpe):

We've never tried to be famous, we've never tried to make money. Because you don't write the songs we write to make money because it just doesn't work. I think people seeing something on an artistic level and appreciating it and realising that My Dying Bride work hard on their songs and other things like albums covers, the photography, the lyrics. It's the full package. Not one of those things is overlooked. We study every single thing we do. The *Feel the Misery* album cover took months to finalise. 'it's too red, make it darker red, move this constellation of Jupiter, twist it around'. Poor old artist: 'it was great to begin with!'. But we want to take control. It's our work at the end of the day. So, we have to take responsibility for it. So, we do.

Then, as discussed above, the fans see My Dying Bride as consistent or stable. They see the band as experimental because of their exploration in 34.788%.... Because they liken the band's lyrics to poetry and even Shakespeare, and because they find the band's stage shows as intriguing, because they find the band's music as intellectual, and finally because they think

that it is full package as further supported by Stainthorpe, My Dying Bride, in the eyes of the fan, becomes the artful one out of the three bands.

My Dying Bride, according to the music world, is about effort. While this can hardly be argued to be a unique case of such a vision of one's own artwork, it is interesting in that there is a concordance among the music world members about this. Effort acts as a convention.

4.4. Anathema

Anathema are the youngest of the three bands I discuss in relation to death/doom music world. They are also the one band who are not based in West Yorkshire but instead they were based in Liverpool during 1990s. Anathema embody stylistic change the best among these bands. The fans see them as 'change' and Anathema had a significantly different style in their death/doom albums. The band are also the only one that cannot be considered death/doom, extreme metal, or even metal in any sense of the word in their contemporary style as of this writing. The band have moved onto progressive rock including their performance venues (i.e., festivals) around the mid-noughties and the 2008 Peaceville Three concert tour I mentioned before marks one of their last engagements with their earlier repertoire in a larger death/doom music world context. The band has done a tour in 2015, 'Resonance', to celebrate all their oeuvre in which they performed the three self-identified eras where earlier works were performed in their original setting such as Darren White on the vocals and Daniel Cavanagh and Vincent Cavanagh using 7-string/baritone guitars. This brief introduction is relevant because similar to Paradise Lost, the majority of Anathema's releases fall out of the scope of this project and the music discussed in this thesis is only representative of the beginning of this band. The band were and are still significant to the both early construction of the music world and in its current state as I discuss later in this section.

Before going into how this drastic change is seen within death/doom music world, it is important to discuss the beginnings of Anathema which contributed to the style. Anathema are a different case than the first two bands, firstly because of their geographical distance. So, there is no mention of Frog and Toad in their origins as that would have been physically infeasible. However, Paradise Lost were playing many cities including Liverpool at the time. Similar to My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost and Iron Maiden have been influences in their formation:

We started off with Iron Maidens and Paradise Losts. Paradise Lost's first album was a good influence on us when we first started. We liked the guitar style on songs like 'Breeding Fear'

[*Lost Paradise*], and the female vocals and stuff was really good. (Vincent Cavanagh in *Terrorizer* #67, 1999, p. 21)

Anathema's contact with the death/doom music world came with a supporting concert with Paradise Lost. Vincent Cavanagh states that;

A few months later [after playing with Paradise Lost at the Planet X] we sent our first demo over the Pennines and got a reply from Johnny at Deaf Records. I remember him saying he wasn't a fan of some of the chuggy (sic) riffs, but to keep in touch...We had taken the Paradise Lost influence and given the guitar harmonies a mournful, almost classical feel. (in Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 2260)

Hammy remembers his first interaction with Anathema as:

Anathema are a completely different kettle of fish. The guy that gave me the money to start up the label was hanging around the label and he was a big tape trader. His main focus of the label was to go to the post office every morning and pick the PO box stuff up because he was obsessed with cassettes coming up every day in the post. And I had let him because I didn't have any time for all these thousands of cassettes that were turning up every day. He heard through that and he said here's a band you ought to sign. We went over to Rex to see them and I thought yea bang on. We are talking after My Dying Bride for them. After the first year of My Dying Bride. My Dying Bride had already settled; and Dark Throne had already happened before Anathema.

Before signing onto Peaceville Records, the band released two demo cassettes independently, *An Iliad of Woes* (1990) and *All Faith is Lost* (1991), and a single *They*

Die/Crestfallen through Witchhunt Records (1992). The demos contained the three brothers, Jamie, Vincent, and Daniel Cavanagh playing bass and electric guitars respectively alongside Darren White as the vocalist and John Douglas on the drumkit. The release of their first single brought on Duncan Patterson on bass guitar replacing Jamie Cavanagh. This line-up continued through the works that this thesis discusses apart from *The Silent Enigma* (1995, Peaceville Records). Like Paradise Lost's transition with *The Shades of God*, *The Silent Enigma* shows stylistic transition while still having roots in the previous style. This album was released without Darren White doing the vocals.

Anathema, after their interaction with 'Johnny at Deaf Records', realised that they already had a place on Peaceville Records:

Johnny played 'Sear Me' of My Dying Bride and it sounded like a cross between 'Crestfallen' and 'They Die'. 'Bastards!' we sighed. (Vincent Cavanagh in Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 2260)

The band signed onto Peaceville Records and published *The Crestfallen EP* (1992, Peaceville Records) followed by *Serenades* (1993, Peaceville Records). Hammy acted as the producer for these albums.

Hammy showed up as an executive producer for *Serenades* and *The Crestfallen EP* with AC/DC's *Back in Black* [1980, Atlantic Records] as a reference as he wanted it to sound more rock than metal. (Vincent Cavanagh in Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 2260)

As Hammy states above, he was treating Anathema differently compared to Paradise Lost or My Dying Bride. This album put Anathema on the radar of music press.

When *Serenades* was released, it won album of the month in a few magazines. We were extremely grateful. But to be honest we kind of expected it. We always felt different to everyone else. We felt that we had the ideas, the scope and more importantly the tunes to set us apart from everyone else in the scene. (Vincent Cavanagh in Halmshaw, 2016, loc. 2472)

This quote shows the confidence of the band in their early career. Death/doom music world was confident in what they were doing from the start as showcased by all the three bands. However, *Serenades* already signalled the stylistic shift that was imminent.

Darren's vocals are still in the growling vein, but it can't be too long before he drops them, and the band move onto more innovative pastures. They're half way there already. (Russ Smith in *Terrorizer* #1, 1993, p. 57)

With the single *We Are the Bible* (1994, Peaceville Records) and the second EP *Pentecost III* (1995, Peaceville Records) and *The Silent Enigma*, Anathema gained a fanbase around Europe, and in fact, the band were more content with their international crowd compared to the local one.

We nearly got the tour with Paradise Lost but didn't happen... obviously British metal scene isn't what it was. Paradise Lost have done a lot of good I think but you can't half notice it with the fans... you've only got to go over to Germany or Belgium to see how mental a crowd can really be. I mean the bands are better in this country but it seems that the fans are starting to decline. I don't know what it is exactly but maybe people are following too many trends. (Daniel Cavanagh in *Terrorizer* #26, 1995, pp. 10-11)

This is an interesting complaint because it parallels one that Stainthorpe states in interview. The local death/doom fans were not giving enough attention to the band compared to their European counterparts. This is seen in the music media as well:

Always one of our most underrated assets, the affable Scousers were tonight rapturously greeted like home-coming heroes, are rightly so [at Bradford Rio's]. (Damien in *Terrorizer* #57, 1998, p. 25)

It isn't until the blinding set closer 'A Dying Wish' that it becomes apparent just how good the rejuvenated Anathema is and, having been overshadowed by Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride for so long, reveal themselves to be more than capable of achieving similar glories. (Guy Strachan in *Terrorizer* #60, 1998, p. 23)

Anathema are 'underrated' but they are still 'assets' and the other two of the Peaceville Three have overshadowed them in their early career. Considering these local conditions, Anathema and to a certain extent My Dying Bride -only in relation to Paradise Lost in them getting overshadowed- and their complaint about local fan attention make more sense.

Despite this overlooking, Anathema still earned many awards from the music press including placing 26th in Terrorizer Readers' Favourite Bands of All Time list (#50, 1998, p. 26). It is not only the music press where Anathema have been overlooked. Hammy also states that he was not sure about where the band have headed with their stylistic changes.

The transition period, I think it was *A Fine Day to Exit*, I didn't get that album at the time. But since then, I think they really come along and they are getting better and better. It's well-documented that they went through a long period of not doing anything and a lot of transition within the band. You can't blame them. I love where they are now.

Following the release of *The Silent Enigma*, the band went through drastic changes in their personal and professional lives over the years. Change has been a constant in Anathema's career. The band published *Alternative 4* (1998) on Peaceville Records before moving to Music for Nations alongside Paradise Lost. *Judgement* (1999) was the first album from this label; and with *A Fine Day to Exit* (2001) -which was the most drastic stylistic shift in the band's career up to this point- Anathema signed with Music for Nations and published *A Natural Disaster* (2003) before giving a long break to their albums. Andy Farrow, who have been managing the band for the last "2-3 years" as of this writing, comments on the shift to Music for Nations as follows:

What happened was Paradise Lost was at the end of their contract. It meant that we were free to go to another company. When we went to Music for Nations, Paradise Lost was the biggest selling band. So, Music for Nations got interested in Peaceville. I think when that happened Anathema was signed onto Music for Nations.

Hammy discusses the transition as more of an imaginary advancement, from Peaceville to Music for Nations:

Music for Nations weren't supposed to take any bands from us. But Anathema wanted to go to Music for Nations. The reason we went to Music for Nations was because Paradise Lost had gone to Music for Nations so the next band thinks 'oh right my logical progression is we will go to Music for Nations', so I thought I better go to Music for Nations to stop them moving onto Music for Nations. Once I've done that, the band would actually want to leave Peaceville through Music for Nations and then move to Music for Nations. It just seemed

stupid. Anathema proved me wrong. And I didn't make any provision for that because I never thought in the wildest of terms that that would ever happen which it did.

Anathema published *We're Here Because We're Here* (2010), *Weather Systems* (2012), *Distant Satellites* (2014), and *The Optimist* (2017) through Kscope Music, a record label owned by Snapper Music, which also owns Peaceville Records at the time of this writing. When one looks at the albums I have listed so far, one will notice that especially in their early albums, some track titles repeat. However, this does not mean that these tracks are identical. Anathema, interestingly, treat some songs as unfinished and develop them in a different way in each album. This is relevant because in this later period, the band continued with that stylistic tradition and published *Hindsight* (2008) and *Falling Deeper* (2011) through Kscope Music. These albums have different treatments of their early songs. Like *My Dying Bride's Evinta*, these tracks do not only change the instrumentation but alters the original compositions. These albums are valuable resources in showing how the concept of change is embedded in Anathema's career.

The band changed a lot in all these years (and they will continue changing). This is part of the path. (Crabtree)

As I mentioned above, change is a constant in the band's lifespan, incomparably more so next to the other bands I discussed. This is reflected from the fan too of course. I will not be able to quote each response relating to this here because there are many. Out of the 74 interviewees (see chapter 3 for details), 31 of them talked about how Anathema have changed without being explicitly prompted. Anathema have been described as 'experimental' (Auden; Betjeman). Many participants talk of their music's 'evolution' or 'progression' towards the way it did (Allsop; Bart; Branwell; Brierly; Burnett; Camden; Carew; Chase; Crabtree; Dobson; Ellison; Fortescue; Gilpin; Richard). In contrast to the reaction that Paradise Lost got with their change, participants overwhelmingly commented on how much they enjoyed the change Anathema went through. While many have commented on the fact that while what Anathema do now is not doom, they are still fans of the band. This is a fascinating example of an

exception that can occur in music worlds where the style is pushed aside, and the band's identity still keeps a band as part of a music world. Participants stated that they still see Anathema as 'doom' without being sonically so.

Anathema is now more rock, and it seems they really succeeded in changing their style.
It's not very metal, but definitely doom to me. (Gilpin)

Anathema doesn't play doom ... for a very long time now, but they are greatly appreciated anyway. (Bart)

One participant puts it succinctly:

I went to the 2008 show where all the three were there and that's when it struck me that it is something. That made me think that it's a [separate] community. (Garrs)

At 2008-point, Anathema had released the crucial stylistically different albums -namely *A Fine Day to Exit* and *A Natural Disaster*-, yet they are still part of the 'community'. From an auto-ethnographical point of view, this is also observed in the concert attending audience of Anathema. I went to my first Anathema concert in 2005 where no one would have mistaken any member of the audience as anything other than a metal fan, mainly from the band t-shirts they wore. Following the 8 other concerts I have attended in the last 12 years, in the only last two, which happened in 2015 and 2016, I have observed the majority of band t-shirts switching to something else other than metal. This also shows how Anathema have kept their place firmly in this music world despite changing their style.

4.5. The musician

After these quick overviews of the histories of the three bands and the histories' relationship to the music world, I now discuss a smaller part of the music world, the musician. This gives an insight to the musicians on a more subjective level as being personal is crucial in this music

world. I discuss the 'authentic'⁶ connection the musicians say they feel in connection to their music creation and how that is reflected in the music world. While this position is not unique to this music world, in fact this can be said for most -if not all- music making experience, what makes this discussion interesting is demonstrating how vocal people are about this and how frequently this issue comes up. This is an important channel of communication between the musician and the fan. Furthermore, as observed in the previous sections, the bands have had to defend their music on varied occasions. The positionality of this music world comes forth with those defences only after observing the individuality embedded to the musicians' artworks. Death/doom metal emotional spectrum should also be considered here and this oddball spectrum -introspective and sombre-, in relation to extreme metal in general, death metal, and even doom metal, alongside their stylistic shifts can be one reason for the justification that the musicians felt that they need to do in the music press. This is an extension of the channel of communication.

In doom metal, because it's quite sad, [fans] are more serene, slowly nodding along to it and drifting off into it...There was a lot of crying at the My Dying Bride gigs. That's what I mean by sorrowful. People are really feeling the sadness in the music. I think that's a good thing. It's creating a space where people can express those emotions maybe stuff they can't in other circumstances. The music is letting them feel those emotions. It's acceptable

⁶ It is obviously risky to use a term like 'authentic' in any musicological context. However, I chose to use it here because as it will become clear in chapter 6, the participants opted for the word often. To clarify, I use 'authentic' here to mean a genuine experience, as opposed to fake and artificial, an experience that is not 'acted' for financial or cultural capital gain. 'Authentic' experience is individualistic. While this experience has to be social in symbolic interactionist terms, the social interaction does not extend beyond the one between the individual and the 'self'.

for guys to cry in those gigs, because it also shows how much they are feeling the music as well. It's even more manly! I've seen crying at every single gig probably. (Stone)

This is not unlike musicians, who drift off during their performances.

There are a lot of songs with certain emotional content that are hard to sing live. One of the reasons I throw myself around and pull excruciating faces is because I'm not a happy person onstage. When I write certain parts I'm in a real downer and some of those feelings drift back when we play the songs live. I sometimes look around at the others getting really into it and think, 'I want to leave right now', but the adrenaline is holding you there. I'm fucking drained when I come back from gigs, ... I'm drained emotionally. I stand there and open my heart to thousands of people and so it's harder for me mentally than for the other guys. They're throwing all the right shapes and sounding great but I'm in fucking turmoil. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #117, 2004, p. 10)

The performances of death/doom are introspective from both sides of the equation. Furthermore, as I mentioned before, the musician puts a similar effort to the music even when listening. This is interesting, because 'the music' is revered in some way. It is talked as if it is independent of human agency within the music world. This fits well with Crossley's idea that a music world is constructed revolving around a self-identified style (2015).

The music is personal. This has been hinted at throughout this chapter, especially when one considers the defences of the music from the musicians. There are many other instances of this sentiment. Death/doom is personal on a deep level and the musician does not care what others think. For each of the three bands, the interviews frequently point this out. It is the reflection of the inner world of the musician.

I'm a very deep emotional person. I'm always crying when I see a dog get run over!!! I do get down about things, but I don't let it show, I write it in my lyrics. (Holmes in Slayer #8, 1991, p. 214)

I think the music and the lyrics reflect our personalities respectively. The music is very melancholic, and more often than not, I'm extremely sullen, while the lyrics are completely cynical, and [Holmes] is just cynical all the time. (Mackintosh in Terrorizer #44, 1997, p. 17)

It's immaterial what anyone thinks. When I consider that we've done something as worthy as the records in my collection, then I'll listen. Other people don't live our music like we do.

It's impossible to say that the last two albums haven't been up to scratch or whatever. But the fact is, I know what we're doing next. If I thought we'd had it, I wouldn't be sat here at all. (Vincent Cavanagh in *Terrorizer* #174, 2008, p. 18)

An introspective album [*Eternity*], with a deep content; it's like looking at where your life's going and losing hope. (Daniel Cavanagh in *Terrorizer* #36, 1996, p. 36)

We don't listen to our critics, we don't even listen to our fans, which is kind of weird. We do our own thing, always have. There's not much outside influence...I don't know anything about the Goth scene. To me, Goth is a bird in black fishnets and big black hair, and white face paint and all the rest of that, not smiling....no one in our band is into Black Sabbath, are they? I think they're a bit of crap. My Dying Bride has become some kind of pot for all our negative thoughts and energies, and I think a lot of that is because we are miserable sods. To me, romance, as good as it is, almost goes in hand with misery. (Stainthorpe in *Terrorizer* #35, 1996, pp. 33-34)

All these representative quotes show how deeply entrenched the musician's personality is with the music.

4.6. The supporting roles

In Becker's art worlds concept, Becker opposes to the idea that art production has a discrete line of artist and supporting personnel. According to Becker;

The artist's dependence on support personnel constrains the range of artistic possibilities available to him. Cooperation is mediated by the use of artistic conventions, whose existence both makes the production of work easier and innovation more difficult. (1974, p. 767)

The artist is bound by the capabilities of the 'support personnel'. This means that non-musicians have a defining effect on the musical style that the music world takes as its focus. The cooperation theorised by Becker can be observed in death/doom music world easily. Rob 'Mags' Magoolagan have worked with all three bands at one point in their respective careers as the sound engineer and/or producer (in interview). More significantly, Stainthorpe identifies Mags as an integral part of the band:

Our sound engineer Mags, he's like the 7th member of the band. Apart from the first album, and first EP, Mags has done everything with us. He has done tours with us, he knows the band. We've known him so long, he is available to make suggestions as well. If he thinks something is music's not quite right, he'll say look you need to change this. Normally, we would say 'who do you think you are?!', but we've known him for so long, he is an important member of the band.

Considering Mags has not played any instruments in any of the band's releases, being named as the seventh band member is a surprising attribution. However, as seen in Stainthorpe's statement, Mags has compositional influence on the band's oeuvre as I mentioned before.

Rather than this pro-active influencing of other people's music I prefer to let them do all of the playing and experimenting - it is their record after all – I can listen and champion the ideas I think work the best. Again, distilling not diluting. (Mags)

Mags acts as a protector of My Dying Bride's style. His influence can be argued to be one of the main reasons of the early 'Peaceville sound' the fans or the music press talked of. Mags' contribution is reassuring:

Before the more cynical start hurling accusations of selling out, My Dying Bride's message has once again been produced by long-time sound engineer Magne 'Mags' Furuholmen. (Joy Lasher in *Terrorizer* #180, 2009, p. 12)

Despite the obvious mistake, Magne 'Mags' Furuholmen is a Norwegian musician of the pop band a-ha, Mags is the defence against the "accusations of selling out". If he is in, then it is indeed My Dying Bride.

Another important side of the music world is the managerial roles. While My Dying Bride are a self-managed band, Paradise Lost's manager Andy Farrow had significant impact on the music world.

Generally, the band do their own A&R [Artists and Repertoire]. Paradise Lost sent me their own tape. 'As I Die' [*Draconian Times*], they said it should be a B-side, I said it should be the single. There was slight involvement. It was not like manufactured-for-the-radio bands. I've been involved in artwork, imagery, photoshoots and so on. It's about creating the brand and developing the logo. Paradise Lost have [recently] gone back to *Draconian Times*

logo. So many bands use the same old imagery. It's good have a bit of difference. You do the business side of things but obviously you listen to tracks, spend weeks with it, and say this should be the leading track, the one with the video. (Farrow)

As I discussed before in this chapter, artwork and general imagery of the bands have been defining in their relationship with their fans. Farrow's involvement from this side of the coin, even without his influence on the track listings, demonstrates the effect. I already mentioned Hammy's influence in all the careers of the bands. Both Farrow and Hammy have also been the publishers of these three bands for different parts of their repertoire. However, this aspect and their involvement, according to Hammy, have little to no effect:

No one knows the publishing exists if you don't tell them, including the musicians. (Hammy)

However, while some of these roles become smaller in their effect on the music world, they still affect the larger construction of the music world.

4.7. The Peaceville Three

This term is usually uttered when one discusses any of Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride, and Anathema. In fact, it is so overused, it needs 'debunking' (Chris D., 2012). There are interesting tensions in relation to this term, but if I look at the origin of the term, it was undoubtedly an early conscious effort to bring the bands together in a collective by Hammy coming from an anarcho-punk background. For him, the label was more about community than individuality of the bands.

All the time. If I could, I would push everyone together because I wanted to create a scene. I wanted Peaceville to be the hub of everything. Because I had come from the crass world where it was an autonomous collective of anarchists, I tried to push My Dying Bride and Anathema and Dark Throne to be in a collective. We would all work together. In the metal world, that is the last thing anybody wants. They're ultra-competitive. So, I wanted to push them all together and they all wanted to be as far apart as possible all the time. None of them wanted to be linked with each other. I did force of them together a lot of the time.

This is where the first clash is seen in resisting the term. As Hammy states, metal culture is much more about individuality than collective action as it is the case in punk, especially anarcho-punk considering the ideology behind it. The bands have still protected their individual identities. The fans reflect this complex belonging and separation as well.

It is quite profound, really, that they have such similar roots and I think that is what makes them so special in the way that they are now; each so different from the other, yet they share some similar essence. (Allsop)

They are the same but different according to the fan. There is also a thematic and emotional consistency among the bands.

The stories are always the same, but the language that is used and the way they are told is completely different. (Armstrong)

This comes from the 'similar essence' combined with the bands' desire for distinctiveness.

The differences among themselves are marginally stylistic when comparing their earlier work. All have a tragically aggressive beauty that can give the impression of a grandiosity that's the sonic equivalent of great gothic and theological literature, which they achieve in their dramatic dirge. (Froissart)

Stylistically, the bands achieve marginal differences but 'in their dramatic' dirge they line up.

However, the bands were still together:

I always think of them together and I always think about from 1994 to 1998. I think also what makes me think of them together is that Peaceville used to release digipacks they all used to look exactly the same on the shelf. (Garrs)

When the social aspect did not work as well as Hammy had imagined, he used the same idea with a radically different context: the commercial aspect. They were together on the shelves as Garrs states, and more so the albums looked the same. 'Lumping' together made good sense because these bands were commercially too small to make 'it' on their own in their early careers.

I wanted them to be the Peaceville Three, they didn't. They wanted to be separate. They didn't want the Peaceville link or anything. They wanted to be on their own. I pushed for that as much as together. I slammed everybody together on compilation albums, so that it

looked like we were a unified scene. Like Earache were doing, I'm they all wanted to be individual bands and didn't want to be looked under the Earache wing, but it was perfect for the promotion. You could put 4 bands together and give a gig with quarter of costs each. So, it made complete commercial sense to lump them together as much as possible. (Hammy)

Like Hammy, the bands also had the same idea of packaging themselves together to reach more people.

You can hire the venue for £50, the lights £10, the PA £15. That's quite expensive. So you all chip your money in and pay for the venue. With Paradise Lost as well. We used to make our own posters. It was just an A4, it says Paradise Lost, Cathedral, My Dying Bride or Anathema. We used to go out in the middle of the night with wallpaper paste and 50 posters and just go around the town slapping on shop windows. It was highly illegal. But then again back then there wasn't so much CCTV so we could get away with it. We promoted our own shows. We paid for our own shows. We only charged something like £2 on the door because we wanted people in. If you charge £10, nobody's going to come. If you charge £2, everybody's going to come. Once you've got them in there, they might buy t-shirts or a demo tape. So, we wanted people through the doors. Paradise Lost were happy with that as well. (Stainthorpe)

This DIY culture surrounding the beginnings of the music world also shows the punk connection. There is also a dissonance here. While the bands wanted to be themselves, separate from the crowd, they were happy to support each other to reach to that point. One can interpret this as an extension of the individualism from an ambition perspective.

When we played in Liverpool, [Anathema] would put the posters out and stick them all around the place, and vice versa. We used to put posters on parked cars as well which was very naughty. But it worked. There was a friendship, there was a bonding because you realised that we're not doing that trendy death metal stuff that everybody's doing, we're doing something a little bit different. There was a kinship, a brotherhood feeling between us all. (Stainthorpe)

The bands supported each other in their respective scenes even though geographically they were relatively apart, i.e. Bradford and Liverpool.

People would sleep at your house, and you'd sleep on their floor. Because you couldn't afford [anything else]. It was good. Kind of happy days really for the doom industry. (Stainthorpe)

Hammy also mentions how people used to come and stay at their house. The community reinforced itself in order to survive similar to many other underground music worlds who have not caught the attention of bigger labels.

The music press also treated the three together during early to mid-1990s.

Exploring doom-genre, at some point you have to read about 'Peaceville Three'. That was also new to me almost at the same time these three bands were starting to make almost same kind of music and that they were all signed by the same label. By this 'Peaceville Three' articles I started to find out more information of Paradise Lost and Anathema. (Fowles)

I had found out My Dying Bride were part of the 'Peaceville Three' so I had to look into the other bands Paradise Lost and Anathema. (Bradbury)

As this participant's response suggests, after you learned about one, you started hearing about the other two through this 'Peaceville Three' connection. As mentioned above, Terrorizer also called the bands 'three great powers'. However, despite this togetherness image pushed from all angles, the bands still managed to stick to their individuality in the fans' eyes.

They're so linked, aren't they? There must be something there. If you're fan of one, you're usually fan of the three. That has been my experience... [In relation to the bands being called Peaceville Three] Anathema probably don't like it. (Garrs)

Garrs' statement is important in the sense that it shows the fan's image of the bands. This was not the case for many other fans and Anathema may or may not have enjoyed being part of this collective at different points in their career.

There was another aspect that brought these bands together and that is geography. There were mentions of certain places in this chapter so far relatively prominently. But the larger area to consider is obviously Yorkshire, England, specifically West Yorkshire when talking about 1990s. Firstly, all the three bands have worked with The Academy Studio in Dewsbury where Hammy and Peaceville Records were located.

Most Peaceville bands used Academy Studios because it was so cheap and local. It worked. When MDB did *Feel the Misery* there at the end of 2014, all the band couldn't fit in the studio because it was so small. So, we had to take turns going into the studio. They've got good-quality gear, good engineer, that's why we use it. Keith's a proper eccentric old fool but he's a really nice guy. (Stainthorpe)

This relationship with the studio has been a career-long one for My Dying Bride. However, both Paradise Lost and Anathema have recorded their first albums (*Lost Paradise* and *Gothic* for Paradise Lost, *The Crestfallen EP* and *Serenades* for Anathema) in this studio. The 'Peaceville sound' (Farrow) referred by the participants mostly means The Academy Studio sound.

Saturnus is the band for people who think My Dying Bride have wimped out. Although they are slightly more than a carbon copy, there is little to distinguish *Paradise Belongs to You* [1996, Euphonious Records] from *The Angel and the Dark River* or *Turn Loose the Swans*. Other than the lack of an Academy production and lyrics about shagging, that is. (Gregory Whalen in *Terrorizer* #41, 1997, p. 50)

Especially for My Dying Bride, this studio is part of their identity, but more importantly this is a studio that brings these three bands together.

The other connection is the early venues such as Queen's Hall, Rio's, most significantly The Frog and Toad. This public house and concert venue had the advantage of being in Bradford during the 1990s. Because Bradford was a hub for especially death metal in this decade.

Foreign bands who came to the UK from our genre, we're not talking about Def Leppard or anything like that, bands like Deicide, Celtic Frost, they were playing London and Bradford. Everyone from the North, even from Scotland, came to Bradford so you met loads of people there. (Stainthorpe)

Because everybody came from Bradford or Bradford area, they would all go to Rio's, the bands would all play in Rio's. Never actually it was not like the Frog and Toad, nothing was born there. It wasn't somewhere where everybody met each other. (Hammy)

The Frog and Toad was where bands formed and where 'everybody met each other'.

It was a great club, that's where you became the person you were or the person we are now because you saw from people's t-shirts: I know what they like. That was like a trophy t-shirt. You wanted to be the first one to get the brand-new shirt from whichever band. I had two great trophy t-shirts back in the day. One was when I used to write to Quorthon from Bathory and you couldn't buy his t-shirts anywhere, because there was no internet obviously, so you had to write; and he actually sent me a t-shirt. Before I went out to the Frog and Toad that night, I was trembling because I put this shirt on and I felt like a god. I knew no one else would have one of these t-shirts. Because I think this was even before proper bootlegging happened. It was such a proud thing to have that kind of merchandise. As I entered the club, I took off my jacket immediately and I was walking around. And people saw it. Bathory get played a lot at that club. Probably the only club in the world where Bathory was played. (Stainthorpe)

As I stated above, Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride were formed at the Frog and Toad and furthermore this public house is where they met Hammy and got involved with Peaceville Records. Stainthorpe also remembers the first ever Paradise Lost concert being there.

On the metal scene, the specific places were Wheat Chief, down the road from Frog and Toad. Dennis Feather bought Frog and Toad. Everyone went there; and metal bands would play. The bigger ones would play Queen's Hall, smaller ones Frog and Toad. But that was very much where everybody would hang out. (Farrow)

The Frog and Toad stayed a hub even after bands became bigger and started playing the larger Queen's Hall. For Anathema, this is less significant because they were based in Liverpool. However, they were still part of the Yorkshire gang through a conscious effort and Anathema, similar to the other two bands, still performed the 'sympathetic magic' of Northernness (Spracklen, 2016).

For example, Anathema recorded a music video for 'The Silent Enigma' (*The Silent Enigma*) on Saddleworth Moor. While Saddleworth Moor is part of Greater Manchester county, historically this moor was part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Since the 1960s, Saddleworth Moor is well-known because of the 'Moors Murders' where local children were abducted, tortured, killed and then buried on the moors by local couple Ian Brady and Myra Hindley. So, arguably the history may be the reason that they chose this place for their video. Daniel Cavanagh corrects this:

[Saddleshworth Moor] was where them kids (sic) got buried. And we were up there setting all this gear and stuff. It's not about that subject though, it's quite an idyllic setting considering the reputation it's got. (Terrorizer #26, 1995, pp. 10-11)

It is about the 'idyllic setting' of the moor. Considering moors are very symbolically Yorkshire-related wild, beautiful, natural, and even dangerous, places, this shows how Anathema became part of this constructed area of belonging. The 'hegemonic cultural formation' of death/doom is in Yorkshire in this case. There is an othering on a micro-level, within the 'Northernness' in the case of Anathema. Unsurprisingly, Yorkshire is also important for the other two bands.

Paradise Lost probably consider themselves a Yorkshire-based band now. We consider ourselves a Yorkshire-based band now. Because nobody knows where Halifax is, or they get it confused with the one in Nova Scotia. But there's only one Yorkshire. There's no New Yorkshire in America. It's quite good now you say it's Yorkshire and people say, 'ah that's where Paradise Lost are from'. It's sort of makes the scene seem a bit cosier again. Everyone's from Yorkshire. Obviously, Anathema can't say that but nevertheless. (Stainthorpe)

Paradise Lost list their home town as Yorkshire on their Facebook page as I write, instead of Bradford or Halifax where they are originally from. My Dying Bride are more embedded to the local identity than the others, and they also consider themselves a Yorkshire band as Stainthorpe suggests. They released an EP about Yorkshire and Yorkshire folk (*The Barghest o' Whitby*) and Stainthorpe collaborated with North Yorkshire Moors National Park Authority and created a tablet computer application titled *The Barghest Trail* (for iOS-based tablets only) where the trail follows Bram Stoker's fictional character Dracula in North Yorkshire with the accompaniment of Stainthorpe's writing. Furthermore, Yorkshire landscape is a frequent guest in My Dying Bride's music. Stainthorpe talks of his compositional process intertwined with Yorkshire landscape.

You realise when you get a map, there is a big green area right next to here, there's a tiny little road. I'm going to go there, and you'd just get to the most beautiful part of Yorkshire. There's no one else there. I always have pen and paper. Sometimes there is no inspiration, you just enjoy being there for what it is. Other times, you hope there is going to be a

moment when you think 'I've got to write this down' and there are moments like that quite often. Even on a sunny day, the weather can change in this country in one day. It can just start pouring with rain and I'd sit in the car, I love the sound of rain on cars. We just built a cabin in our back garden and I sit in there now when I write. When you hear the rain pitter-patting on the roof, it's almost like therapy. It just makes me feel at one with nature. So, I would write in the car, with rain pouring down. Then it'd get sunny and I would go out for a walk and the grass would smell of freshness. Again, you'd write that down. I suppose Nick was influenced by the urban decay of Yorkshire, for me it was the natural beauty of Yorkshire. The loneliness you can feel out there, how tiny and insignificant we are in the vast universe and that's kind of where my angle went. I went to a place called Ogden Water, not far from here. It's a bit touristy but it's a lake with a walk all the way around it. If you take some of the smaller routes out onto the hills, no one would go because cafés here, you don't want to be too far from the café. It's only 5 minutes away from the main thing. But there is total silence. You think why is nobody else here? It's like the most beautiful place I've ever seen. The sun's just coming through the leaves and it's like something from Disney. It's beautiful! Then you feel moved and you feel urged to turn this moment into something you can share with other people. Not a photograph but a lyric. That moment in Yorkshire when the sun was shining through those leaves has appeared in My Dying Bride songs. I like that. I don't make it obvious. When we write lyrics for the album, there isn't a section on the album, 'song 1 was influenced by this and this'. I let people make up their own mind, but I know where the song came from and I don't want to point it out to other people, because I want them to figure it out. Because for them, someone walked in the woods, somewhere in Germany, and they want the song to be theirs, so I'm not going to tell them that it's mine. They can take it and use it for their own thoughts. It's a lovely part of the world we live in. (Stainthorpe)

While Stainthorpe tries to make it less obvious that they are from Yorkshire in the composition, interestingly, these bands are part of Yorkshire for the fans and the music press.

This shows a construction of a Yorkshire identity for the bands.

Peaceville was a PO Box in Dewsbury but the sound had a big impact. Earache had a certain sound and Peaceville had a certain sound. Hammy did progress over the years. But Peaceville had a certain sound attached to it. It's not clear whether the sound is produced from the dark satanic mills or the moors. Although the imagery was always the moors. (Farrow)

My Dying Bride's image is working class through a Londoner eye -where Nick Terry of Terrorizer calls the band 'upper working class'-, which is attached to Yorkshire and Terry's comment also shows how characteristically Northerner the band is.

With Yorkshire, there's something in there that possesses us to moan a lot, form a band, and do it publicly. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #182, 2009, p. 58)

Alongside 'moaning' in the 'true Yorkshire way', their music also reflects simplicity, which is quintessentially Northern according to Northerners.

I'd say there's much more a raw quality, much more of an honest, much more of a... I'm really tempted to say Northernness, kind of that the reflection of the... I don't know how to describe what I mean. There's that kind of roughness that you just associate with Northernness, that kind of simplicity. (Gamzette)

Listeners think about Yorkshire when they are listening to these bands.

Gazing out of the last leg of the journey to Dewsbury, the surroundings seem somehow fitting. The Industrial Revolution is long gone, and with it the whole purpose of this place - and many others like it. Endless, crooked lines of ages, withered dwellings crowd beneath now silent, satanic mills, themselves overshadowed on all sides by the hills that spawned them and will one day consume them - a dreary pageant for the spirituality repressed. Amidst this decay - Anathema; that beacon of quiet sanity, once again preparing to show us the world in their eyes. (Damien in Terrorizer #55, 1998, p. 36)

Musically though My Dying Bride paint from a different pallet as the misty moors and snow-covered hills of Yorkshire seem to bleed into every riff...My Dying Bride are more like *Wuthering Heights*. Drama, passion, love, loss, sex, death and the howling wind of the Moors in winter. (Haldane)

I was trying to avoid clichés like they evoke the spirit of the Moors and stuff like that, but I think so yes. The rainy hills of Yorkshire and stuff, I would picture listening to My Dying Bride...There's something in there. Once the first track in *The Dreadful Hours* where it sounds like it's raining, that sounds like Yorkshire to me. (Garrs)

These three examples from the responses are from people who are either in Yorkshire or from Yorkshire; it was compelling how detailed the participants became when they were familiar with the context. But the responses from countries other than the UK show how far reaching this Northerner/Yorkshire identity is.

The emotion, the atmosphere, the texture: it feels dark and humid, like in a cave, it's transcendental and theatrical, I love the folk influences, like soft, flowing scents of Irish and Welsh, old Celtic here and there! But far from overpowering, rather hidden. Very personal and unique musical expression, as well, honest and true to the individual band members and the bands as a whole. (Gumb)

From outside the UK, the identity is perceived differently: it is not the Yorkshire moors, but is 'old Celtic'. Celtic settlement in Yorkshire happened in Roman Empire era with Parisi and Brigantes tribes, and as found in Ted Hughes' poetry (2011), Elmet was a post-Roman Celtic kingdom in place of Yorkshire. Considering Stainthorpe's interest in local poetry (in interview), I suggest that the music was inspired partly by a Celtic heritage as well, and Stainthorpe's discussion of Ogden Water points towards the same direction. So, while this Celtic attribution is slightly off point in the context of these bands, it is interesting that the musically non-Celtic sounds somehow translate to that in the eyes of the listener when combined with the 'Northerner' identity.

This Yorkshire/Northerner identity is embedded so well into the bands' identities, some fans even talk of the bands as part of Yorkshire pride:

I think this sounds a bit daft maybe. But you had this pride in Yorkshire maybe, so I was quite interested in looking out for music from Yorkshire...I like the fact they [My Dying Bride and Paradise Lost] sound as good as Metallica yet they are from Halifax. That was really good. (Garrs)

These examples show how there is a 'lumping together', in the words of Hammy, of the 'Peaceville Three'. Musically, the bands are significantly different, however, the bands still have a common identity which has implications on the both perception and reception of the style of the music world as evidenced by the participant responses.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed the origins of the bands and the record label through which the death/doom style was born and which in turn became the focal point of this music world in

question. Interestingly, death/doom's cultural origins look to be more ingrained in punk, specifically anarcho-punk, and Northernness than in doom metal. As discussed, death metal had a larger impact on the people involved with this music world than doom metal. This further justifies the identifier 'death/doom' and 'doom's secondary placement. This collective consisting of the three bands and the record label reached the critical mass resulting in the 'critical effervescence' needed in the construction of a music world (Crossley, 2016, p. 80). Furthermore, Crossley (2016, p. 41) suggests that music places become the focus of these social networks that give birth to music worlds; and these 'foci', in turn, generate networks. The Bradford death metal scene and the Frog and Toad exemplify such music places. The mavericks/pioneers within this music world came together consistently in these places. Only then emerged a 'death/doom social network' which gained enough of a momentum to push a musical style forward, or even create one. This also shows how 'non-creative' personnel like the label executives, or founder in the case of death/doom, or managers have a critical and non-negotiable importance in the formation of these social constructs and the resulting artworks. Death/doom, as I mentioned before, would not have existed as it is without the participation of Peaceville Records embodied by Hammy at its early stages. The involvement of Andy Farrow steered the music world somewhere else both creatively and in terms of the music world's relative position in extreme metal. Mags, as we have seen, actively gets involved in the creation process of My Dying Bride; and he got involved in the earlier works for the other two bands. Mags being a 'support personnel', in Becker's terminology, showcases the involvement of these support personnel within music worlds, even in creative terms. They have not only indirect but direct influence and effect on the artwork.

Becker described mavericks as people who feel unacceptably constrained by the conventions of an existing ('traditional') art world (2008, p. 233). As I discussed in chapter 2, Kuhn's idea of a pioneer parallels this idea well. These pioneers discussed in this chapter create an aesthetic space where new conventions are possible. However, like I said, this does

not invalidate the conventions and methods of the previous 'traditional' music world, namely Bradford death metal. This is where Becker, Crossley, and music worlds do not line up with the ideas of Kuhn's paradigm shift or Bourdieu's field. However, because the formation of a music world results in new problems and new methods to solve those problems, i.e. the new style and the new compositions, this formation can be seen as a paradigm shift within the stylistic region. If I employ a cellular analogy here, the new music world splits from the 'traditional' one(s) and becomes a cell of its own basing its DNA on the *marginal style* resulted from this paradigm shift. In the following chapter, I discuss the elements of this marginal style death/doom; and I propose ways to delineate such a style through musical analysis and participants responses.

5. The Style

After the historical discussion in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the musical style of the three bands in focus: Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride, and Anathema. There are several reasons to have a chapter like this in this thesis alongside the more sociologically and historically inclined chapters. First and foremost, as I mentioned before, these bands are considered by many different members of this music world, including the music media, the fans, and the musicians, to be the pioneers of a specific style -death/doom metal-, however, what is death/doom metal? This question has not yet been asked in metal music studies. Of course, this question is a loaded one and one should follow it with “can a style actually be defined in a musicological way?”. While I agree with the scepticism of the later question, here I attempt to outline the style death/doom metal in this chapter. Because the style in question, even though a style contains too many parameters, shows consistency within the temporally related oeuvre of the three bands. This stylistic excavation also shows further connections and legitimacy for the term ‘The Peaceville Three’. The ‘sub-genres’ (Dunn, 2005; Mynett, 2017; Smialek, 2015) of metal are usually known by the members of metal music worlds including their core musical styles. However, as I discuss in the next chapter, while musical features are common knowledge among fans, fans and music press rarely attempt at differentiating these styles. It is insider knowledge and this knowledge comes from being a participant in metal culture. As a result, this needs to be investigated in a more methodical way. The chapter may prove itself to be a futile effort at ‘defining’ the style, but this investigation highlights the key features of the style consequently making other arguments in this thesis more accurate.

In this thesis, I always use ‘music world’ to mean the people involved with this music from all angles and the music combined, as I mentioned before in various places, and the style to mean the musical features around which the music world is constructed according to

Crossley (2015). I do not disagree with or refute Holt's idea of genre in popular music (2007) by using the terminology the 'music world' theory provides. Instead, I argue that the music worlds idea fits better for the smaller worlds which the metal music taxonomy contains. I put 'sub-genres' in quotes here and in other places, because this term is a problematic and potentially misleading one. The prefix 'sub-' implies hierarchy, which is an assumption in metal music. This implied hierarchy can be seen in the well-known documentary and one of the field-defining pieces of scholarship *Metal: A Headbanger's Journey* (Dunn, 2005) and in the invaluable *Map of Metal* (Galbraith and Gilbert, n.d.). This is problematic, because it ignores the conflict that is caused by this hierarchical categorisation among different music worlds as discussed in the next chapter. The conflict is a sign of separation. I do not claim that hierarchies do not have conflict, however this specific one seen in these music worlds suggest, in my opinion, a reaction to a top-down construction⁷. The term 'sub-genre' is misleading, because it assumes stronger relationships between the styles that may not exist. It is not particularly helpful or meaningful to call a style 'death/doom' if it is under the hierarchically higher genres or sub-genres death metal and doom metal. What is the addition of death metal to doom metal? Or does it change if you add doom metal to death metal? I adopted the notation of 'death/doom', 'death' followed by 'doom' separated by a virgule. The virgule implies the separation of the two distinct styles. 'Death' does not describe 'doom' or vice versa. I put 'death' in front of 'doom' to suggest that the style is closer to death metal rather than doom metal in the regional space of metal styles.

⁷ The 'top-down construction' here refers to the labelling process of metal music styles. Labels are usually attributed to these styles by promotion companies and music press rather than fandom or musicians taking an active part in labelling their music world's style (For an in-depth discussion of metal style labelling, see Yavuz 2015).

Secondly in this chapter, I will explore whether specific musical cues have specific reactions from the fans. As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, the major method of this thesis is ethnography. Fans, with or without prompting, often talked of the style and what features of it have what effects on them; and to discuss this, I attempt to make the boundaries of the style clearer than it is currently in the scholarship. Thirdly, a deeper look into the music shows different ways of expression as exemplified by Smialek (2015).

Lastly, as I already discussed in the previous chapter, one of the premises of this thesis is the examination of the origins of this music world. Musical analysis gives the opportunity to probe the origins from another angle, even giving the data speculate a potential origin for the name of this community. This is where I focus on lyrics and comparisons with other styles.

I analyse the musical style that is death/doom as a regional space, but a *marginal* one as discussed in chapter 2. In order to probe this regional space, I analyse the style musically from seven angles:

- i. Duration
- ii. Tempo and rhythmical structure
- iii. Formal Structure
- iv. Instrumentation
- v. Vocal line
- vi. Timbral content
- vii. Lyrical content

Each of the points are helpful in specific ways. All these points come from the fan's responses. So, in doing these analyses, I rely on their responses as well as the musical data. Lacasse's last stage of the phonographic stages of the voice, the timbre, is crucial in understanding the response of fans to the voice of death/doom. However, firstly, duration shows the style's difference to its immediate stylistic neighbours. Furthermore, the duration provides space for musical events which in turn affects the listening experience. Tempo and

rhythmical structure is one of the more prominent features of this style. However, a closer inspection illustrates the interesting micro-features of this music. Tempo exploration exhibits *the* defining feature of doom metal and that is the contrast that the music has. Listeners for their early encounters with death/doom metal often solely comment on this feature. Hence, a deeper look is needed. Formal structure shows how the compositional process works in action. Instrumentation shows a drastic divergence in metal music. This demonstrates the extreme turn in metal (Kahn-Harris, 2006) well by contradicting the 'extreme' of extreme metal with an orchestral move in the opposite direction of majority. The vocal line represents one of the main objectives of this chapter as discussed before. According to Collins and Dockwray (2015), timbral manipulation can affect the way the music is emotionally received, thus the timbral and dynamic changes become important features to examine. Timbral changes in vocal lines are examined through spectrograms. Finally, the lyrical content shows the textual side of this style; and it is one of the compelling features of the style. While as a result of the vocal style, the lyrical content is obscured for the listener, the listeners often comment on the importance of the lyrics in the style. This makes the text inseparable from the music even though it is usually (if not always) inaudible. The lyrical analyses show the context for the vocal performance as well. One may notice that tonality, as in harmonic relations, is missing in this list. As discussed in chapter 3 and the following paragraph, *Silvet Note Transcription* transcribes the recording in a quick manner showing patterns of tonality with many chromatic gestures in death/doom metal music. However, as discussed in chapter 2, because my analysis framework rests on the responses of participants, including the musicians, the fans who are musicians, and the fans who are not musicians, and because none of the, exactly zero, participants commented on harmonic relationships within the music, I do not use this data in this thesis. As the list shows, the fans comment only on these aspects of the music.

These analyses have been done with the aid of computer software. For points i-vi, I employed *Sonic Visualiser* (Cannam et al., 2010) with an added VAMP plug-in *Silvet Note*

Transcription (Benetos and Dixon, 2012). All the screen captures of spectrograms included in this chapter are of *Sonic Visualiser*. For lyrical analysis, I used *NVivo*, the computer-aided quantitative analysis tool.

As I already alluded, the fan response is crucial in identifying the style. As a result, I also use my ethnographic data -interviews with fans of this music- in the later sections of this chapter. These responses show what marks the style has left on the listener and they also provide an important differing perspective than of mine. I will not go into the details of the demographics of the participants or the methods the data was collected here, because this is already discussed in the methodology chapter and it is discussed later in all detail in chapters 3 and 6.

5.1. Doom and death styles

Before going into the analysis of death/doom style, I should briefly mention doom and death styles as well. After a look at *Encyclopaedia Metallum*, the styles with the most number of bands under death metal are black/death, brutal death, death/thrash, and melodic death with around to 4000 bands each out of 40818 death metal bands. Technical death and death/doom are important parts of death metal as well.

In the doom music world, the number of bands are much smaller with 11909 as of this writing. Possibly as a result, the number of prominent styles increases. The more visible styles in the *Encyclopaedia* are traditional or epic doom, death/doom, gothic/doom, funeral doom, stoner/doom, drone/doom, and sludge/doom. Death/doom, as expected, appears in both lists, which makes this style a prime candidate for a boundary style in between death metal and doom metal.

5.2. Death/doom

I have established that the three bands, namely the Peaceville Three, can be considered the pioneers of death/doom style, as also expressed by fans and the music media. Thus, I only focus on the music of Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride, Anathema, and their professed influences in this section. I think these bands' especially early work provides a model for the style death/doom. In order to clarify and identify some of the features of this style that the fans interact with as symbols, I look at first, musical parameters such as song durations, tempi and rhythm, formal structure, and instrumentation. After this I examine the vocal lines followed by a lyrical analysis.

For the three bands in question, I started the analysis with their earliest work published by Peaceville Records. This means that I did not include the bands' demo pieces. This is partially because I think their compositions in their demo tapes are only pre-cursors to what death/doom is and the Peaceville Three style will become and do not reflect this accurately; but also, partially because Peaceville Records should not be thought separately in the construction of the style that is death/doom. I also chronologically stopped at the pieces where I thought the style has changed drastically. This method resulted in the analyses of 43 songs by these bands. The majority of the songs analysed belong to My Dying Bride with 23, while I analysed 11 of Paradise Lost's songs and 9 of Anathema's songs. The songs I analysed are discussed later in this chapter individually. The imbalance results from the stylistic shifts all these bands have went through at different times in their respective careers. Previous chapter has stated that Paradise Lost is the 'grandfather' of death/doom yet they seemed to have changed their style much quicker than My Dying Bride. For the case of Anathema, death/doom remains an experiment at the beginning of their career reflecting their overall approach to their music.

5.2.1. *Death/doom and duration*

Metal music in general rarely adheres to the general 3-minute (or even 4-minute) rule of popular music. Death/doom proves to be no different in this sense. Aaron Stainthorpe of My Dying Bride comments often on this feature of their music as well by stating that they “are paid to play and compose songs with Latin lyrics and over 10-minute durations” (in interview 2016). When the durations of the analysed songs of the three bands are averaged, 6 minutes and 50 seconds is reached. This duration is longer than the usual metal song as well as other popular styles. Individual bands have different average durations. The shortest average is Paradise Lost with 4 minutes and 30 seconds. Anathema is in the middle with 5 minutes and 46 seconds. My Dying Bride, as Stainthorpe quote suggests, have the longest average with 8 minutes and 23 seconds. While many metal bands have a song or two with such a long duration, in music media these are usually dubbed ‘an epic’ or ‘the magnus opus’ of a band, mainly because longer compositions are usually more involved and complex. In death/doom, My Dying Bride have the average of this ‘magnus opus’ length. If death/doom in large is examined, it is easy to find similar and even much longer durations. For example, the Danish Saturnus have a similar average of 7 minutes and 50 seconds; or strikingly, the Irish Mourning Beloveth have an average of 12 minutes. I can confidently state that longer songs (more than 8 and often more than 10 minutes) are a feature of death/doom metal style.

There are, of course, implications of this longer duration. Firstly, longer durations mean that it is less commercial. Death/doom songs cannot get radio play, for example, simply because a song with a duration more than 10 minutes or even 6 minutes in most cases is just too long for radio. From another angle, a music video this long is a problem both from a financial perspective and from an airplay perspective. My Dying Bride have edited down some songs (e.g., ‘The Cry of Mankind’) to fit into a music video. This is a conscious concern in doom in general.

We felt lead track was too short for us, too commercial because it was only four minutes long. (John Perez of Solitude Aeternus Terrorizer #15, 1994, p. 26)

Being deliberately unfit for commercial distribution through the duration of songs is part of doom. Aiming to be unfit for commercial distribution is also a common thought in death metal, however, this is usually done through album covers and this does not apply to death/doom in any way.

Quite a lot of heavy metal is fast, but doom is quite slow. It allows you to dwell more in those sorrowful motions and it's a bit more in-depth because of the space of it and the longer notes...You can interact with it a bit more than fast aggressive metal. There's no space in those to feel your deep emotions, sorrowful emotions. (Stone)

Stone of My Dying Bride suggests that music becomes 'more in-depth' because of the space. Stone connects this mainly to the tempo; however, it is important note that the duration is a significant contributor to the 'space' a song provides as well. The songs do not let go of the atmosphere it builds quickly. As a result, the listener can dwell on the emotional state they are in longer connecting with and exploring that emotional space more.

5.2.2. Death/doom and tempo

As I mentioned before, tempo is one of most common features that doom in general gets commented on. Death/doom is no different as it often parallels doom metal. However, what death/doom alters in their tempi is the interplay between the two styles: the fast tempi of death metal and the slow tempi of doom metal. In Stainthorpe's words again;

We have death metal parts and then we have doom metal parts.

This statement is significant in the way that it shows part of the compositional process. The sectionalisation of a song is clear-cut in the composer's mind: there is a slow-paced section following a fast-paced section. This kind of thinking is exemplified in Figure 5.2.1. When examined, the tempo-structure of 'Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium' of My Dying Bride is in constant motion. The song starts with a 4/4 section with a tempo of about

128

55bpm. After two minutes, it moves into a section of 11 (3+3+3+2)/8 and a tempo of ~128bpm. After 30 seconds the tempo becomes a 4/4 ~52bpm then moves into another 11/8 and ~77bpm. A 13 (4+4+4+1)/8 ~170bpm section follows these. Then the song goes into a 4/4 ~210bpm section and then a 4/4 ~89bpm followed by another 4/4 ~210bpm section. The song ends with the repetition of the 13/8 ~170bpm section.

Another interesting feature that jumps out of this example is the frequent time signature change. Furthermore, the time signatures used are unexpected. While 4/4 would be the expected signature for a doom metal song, we observe interesting additive signatures. Especially the 4+4+4+1/8 shows an almost *aksak*⁸ quality. Of course, it would be completely baseless and possibly misleading to suggest an eastern European influence on these pieces, as I have not been able to trace such an influence in none of the areas of my research, including ethnographic, archival, and musicological. This is still a striking feature of this song. However, before being able to say that this is in fact a feature of death/doom metal style, I need to show more examples employing similar tempo and time signature changes. Figures 5.2.2, 5.2.3, and 5.2.4 show the spectrograms and waveforms of 'Turn Loose the Swans' of My Dying Bride, 'Paradise Lost' of Paradise Lost, and 'They Die' of Anathema respectively. If we look at the tempo changes of these songs; in 'Turn Loose the Swans', there is a tempo

⁸ Literally, *aksak* means 'limping' in Turkish. It is commonly used to refer to time signatures that have uneven additive parts in both ethnomusicology and less commonly in historical musicology. Most common examples of *aksak* rhythm are the 5(2+3)/8 or the Turkish 5, 7(3+2+2)/8 or the *dawr Hindi*, 9 (2+2+2+3)/8 or the *yürük aksak*, and the 10(3+2+2+3)/8 or the *samai thaqil*. Ahmed Adnan Saygun's *Ten Etudes in Aksak Rhythms Op. 38* (1964) is one of the examples of these time signatures used outside of a vernacular classical or folk music idiom. These pieces instead represent the European art music tradition.

change among ~43bpm, ~51bpm, ~64bpm, and ~123bpm while the time signature only changes twice from 4/4 to 6/8 and back. In 'Paradise Lost', the tempo changes from ~133bpm to ~49bpm, then to around 70bpm with minor changes in following sections. The time signature, again, changes only twice from 4/4 to 3/4 for one section and back. If we look at Anathema, in 'They Die', the song starts with a ~70bpm to ~90bpm *accelerando* then drops to ~47bpm then switches to ~79bpm, ~98bpm, and ~75bpm. The time signature starts with a complex 4+4+3+4/4 but then remains 4/4 for the rest of the song.

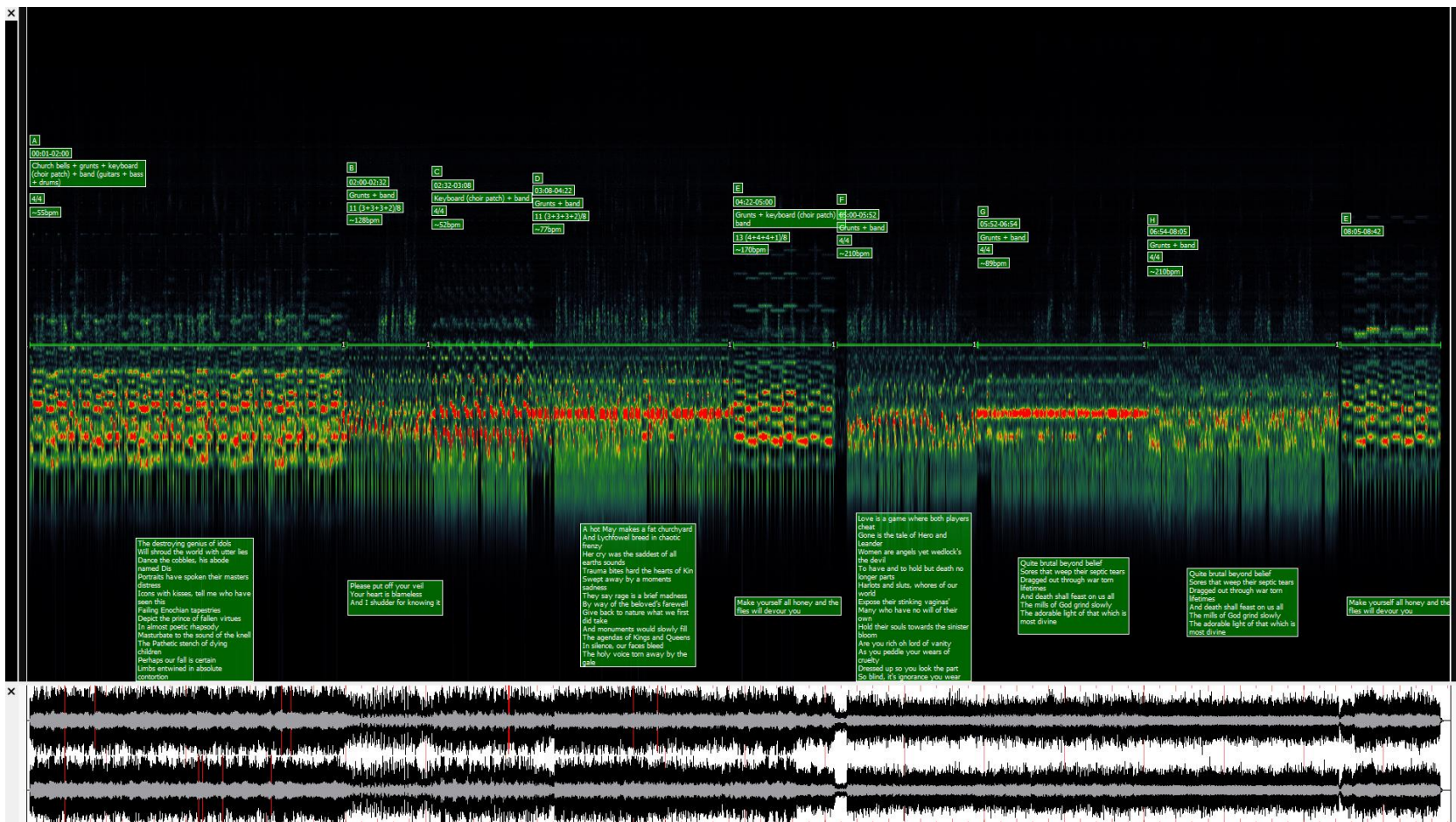


Figure 5.2.1 Spectrogram and Waveform of My Dying Bride's 'Symphonairé Infernus et Spera Empyrium'

So, when these examples are also considered alongside 'Symphonaire...', I cannot claim that *aksak* rhythm is a feature of death/doom metal. However, a consistent switch can be found making it part of the death/doom style. I say tempo switch, because the tempo changes are not prepared. These are not tempo modulations of a sort, but instead sudden and immediate sectional tempo switches from one section to another. These sudden changes indicate the compositional thought. These are distinct fast or slow sections referring to one style (death metal) or the other (doom metal). Furthermore, a relatively common, more common than expected, time signature change can also be found in the music of these three bands. These changes sometimes involve complex time signatures, including the *aksak* rhythms, however, more commonly the songs stay in the common 4/4 and travel to relatively less common time signatures such as 3/4 or 6/8. There is a duple and triple variety in death/doom metal music.

In terms of the actual tempo, death/doom style prominently resides in a range between 4/4 50bpm-90bpm. Most of the tempo switches happen between the low and high ends of this range. However, 40bpm range as well as 150+bpm range exists commonly. The music can also slow down to ~30bpm ('Black Voyage' of My Dying Bride) or speed up to ~210bpm ('Symphonaire...' of My Dying Bride).

This interplay of time signatures and different tempi is compelling; however, does it show any stylistic connection to the boundary regions? Because an exhaustive research on both death metal and doom metal would have been a practical impossibility, I chose an album from each of the bands which have influenced the three bands under investigation around the beginning of their careers. I extracted these influences from either ethnographic or archival data. Morbid Angel, Celtic Frost, and Candlemass are commonly referred to as influences in creating their own style especially by Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride. I also added two more bands, one who is a label-mate and according to Hammy in the same category as the three, Autopsy, and another British doom metal band who are contemporaries with

Candlemass, Witchfinder General. I only considered one album from these bands which is published around the turn of 1990. These albums are taken as representative of the styles of death metal and doom metal around this time, which would have been the main influences on the three bands.

When looked closely, it is clear that the chosen doom metal representatives have a slower tempo average. However, and this is important, when I say slower, I mean a range of 60 to 70bpm. This is relatively slow, yes, but we are not even talking of a 50bpm tempo, let alone a 30bpm song. Doom metal's slowness comes in in relation to a style like death metal. In death metal, we start seeing triple digits and as fast as ~210bpm (Autopsy's 'Impending Dread' [Severed Survival, Peaceville Records, 1989]). So, while the faster sections already exist in the neighbouring style, the slower sections are new to death/doom metal. This can and should be explained with the 'extreme turn' I mentioned before. Death/doom can be said to be part of the extreme metal phenomenon (not style, as 'extreme metal' is not a musical style but a large cultural and musical umbrella covering many styles).

When it comes to time signatures, in the albums of Candlemass and Witchfinder General I analysed, I have not been able to find a time signature change. These albums are in 4/4, and within a song, there are relatively minor tempo changes but there are no time signature changes. This differs death/doom from doom metal in a drastic way. Autopsy and Morbid Angel, on the other hand, incorporate different time signatures. For example, there is a switch between duple and triple metres briefly in "Immortal Rites" (Morbid Angel, *Altars of Madness*, 1989). This shows a sectional thinking similar to that we find in death/doom. Tempo changes are not as prominent in the death metal examples -although it does exist-, but this type time signature shifts firmly align death/doom closer to death metal as opposed to doom metal when it comes to its tempo and rhythmic structure.

As I mentioned before, tempo is among the most important reasons why this music provides an exploration space or a space to think for the listener. The slowness of this music

is commented on often. I have already quoted Stone discussing tempo. For the fan, this proves comparable. Roughly a third of the participants (total 74 participants) of this project pointed towards the slower tempo as an interest in this music.

A rhythm feels infinitely more powerful and driving to me at 65bpm than at 220bpm. (Allsop)

The slower tempo becomes power in the mind of the listener. The effect of the individual notes is longer-lasting than compared to a fast tempo. This also adds confidence and depth to the music.

Those slow, huge layers of sound, built on introspective and personal lyrics, are a guarantee of depth and dedication. (Atkinson)

I love a slower/mid groove & tempo rather than the franticness of Thrash, which I find to be boring and without dimension. (Froissart)

'Slow' is crucial, as extracted from Atkinson's statement, in showing depth and dedication. For Froissart, slowness also adds dimension. It makes the music interesting and not boring in relation to thrash metal. Following from Atkinson's idea though, slowness is not enough:

I sense that when doom metal loses the mood, by that saying that, when it becomes just music and not a theme, an anthem, it loses its depth and becomes like any other kind of extreme metal, but with cooler and slowed down riffs. (Baker)

Slowness adds 'coolness' to the riffs. However, the mood of the music is more important.

I guess the combination of keyboards and violin combined with the slow and heavy music gives me a certain feeling that I can't find elsewhere in life. (Acland)

Slow tempi provide something intangible for the listener. In fact, this is so novel that Acland restrains from identifying this. It is unique 'in life'. Auden has a similar idea:

I adore the weeping guitar lines, the slow rhythms... So slow that one can think and feel and stay away from the everyday life.

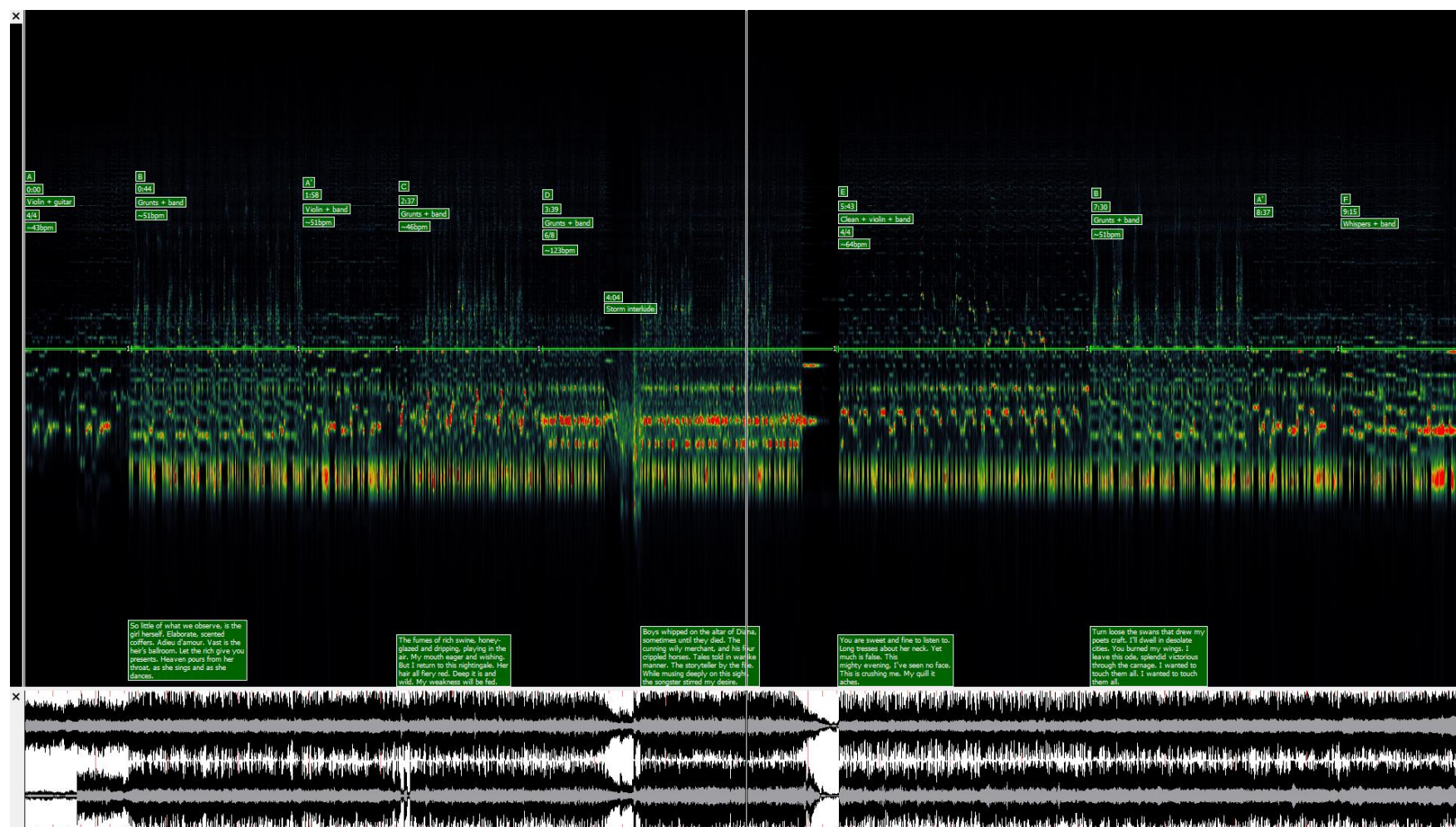


Figure 5.2.2 Spectrogram and Waveform of 'Turn Loose the Swans' by My Dying Bride

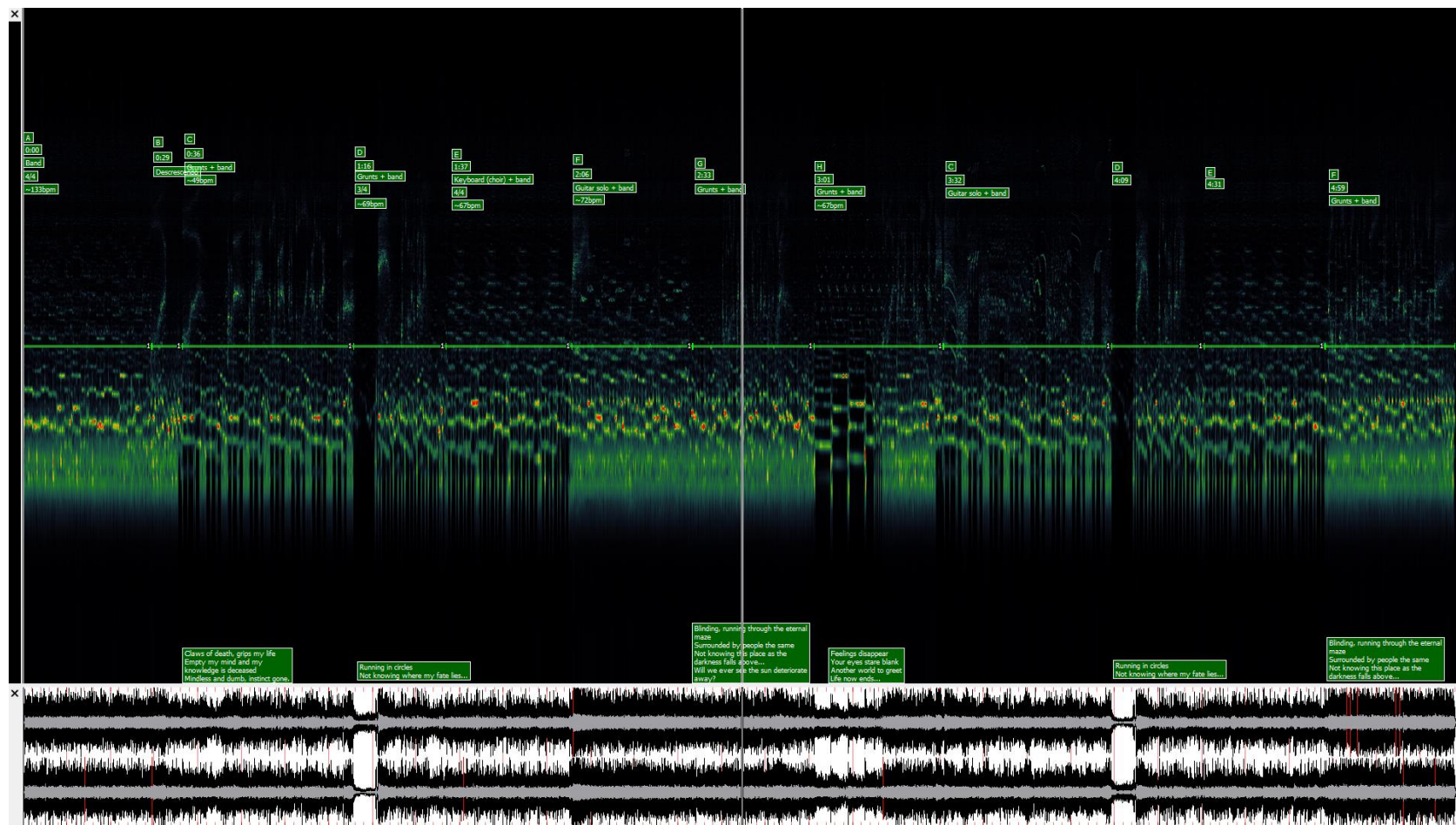


Figure 5.2.3 Spectrogram and Waveform of 'Paradise Lost' by Paradise Lost

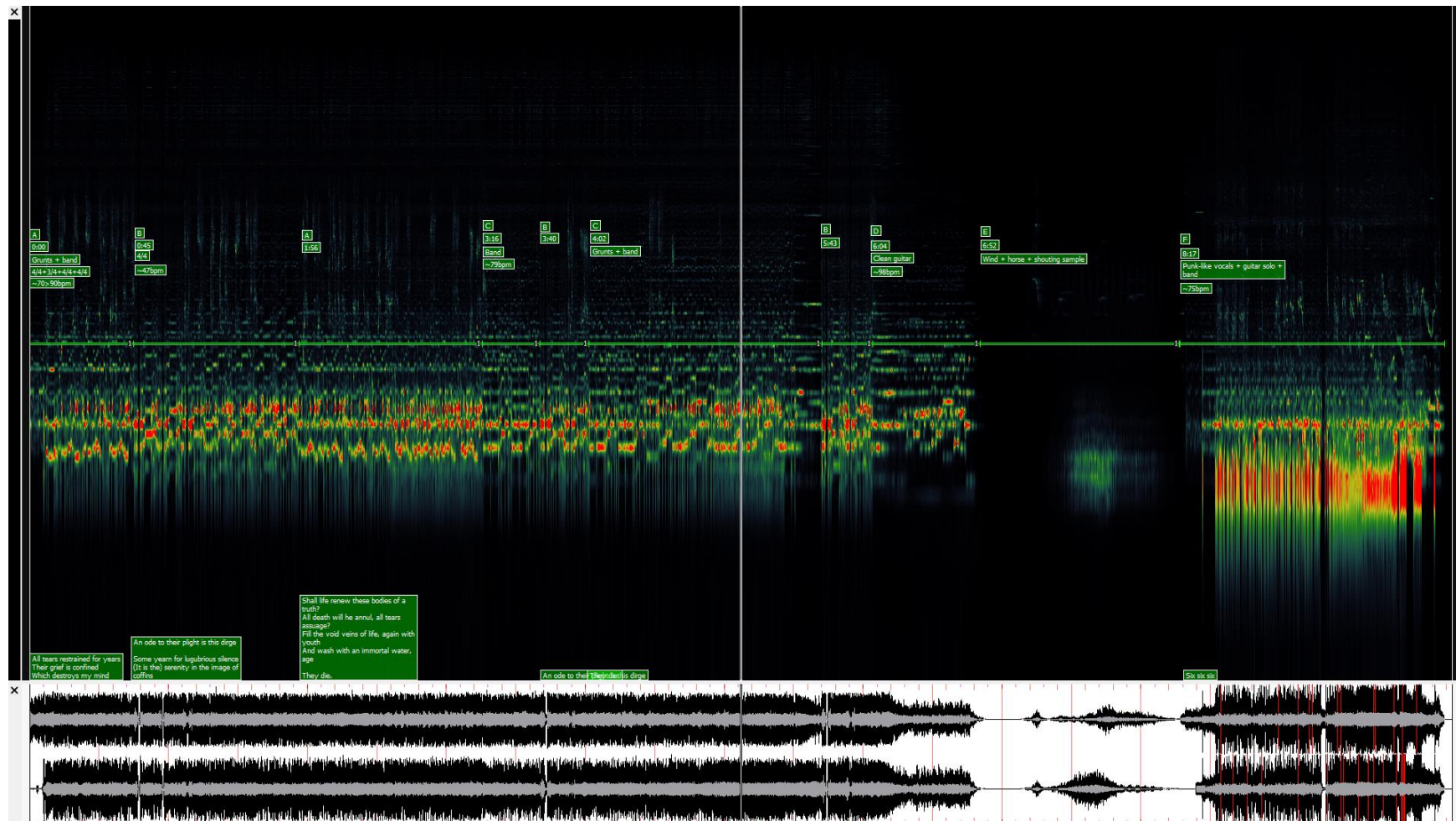


Figure 5.2.4 Spectrogram and Waveform of 'They Die' by Anathema

It felt as if the music's pressing down on you...It's got this thing as if something's suffocating you slowly. (Farrar)

The tempo adds atmosphere and surreality. The listener can escape the reality of everyday life through this slow tempo. This tempo has weight. By that I mean, when the listener engages with the music, the listener can escape because of the density of slowness does not allow for anything else to pass through; it acts like a filter.

Farrar expresses this idea well. The feeling of suffocation felt by Farrar caused by the music is important. According to them, it is so overwhelming that it is suffocating; and when suffocating, one cannot think of anything else but that suffocation, which is the music in this case. This is interesting in that it illustrates the effect the music has on the fan. The music requires effort in this sense in order to engage with it, as discussed in chapter 4. The feeling of suffocation can force an engagement from the listener in this context.

5.2.3. *Death/doom and form*

The song structure in death/doom is interesting in its inconsistency. In my ethnographic research, no one has commented on this feature. Thus, I cannot claim that form has any effect on the reception of this music. From an auto-ethnographical standpoint, until this project, I had not noticed a form or some prominent structure in the music of these bands either. And after looking closely for form in these bands, I cannot claim that there is 'a' form of death/doom, but there are two major ideas prominent in these songs regarding form. The first type of form apparent in these songs is cyclic. As you can observe in Table 5.2.3.1⁹ in detail with comments, many songs, especially of My Dying Bride, adopt a loose A-B-A with varying smaller sections repeated in the recapitulation of A. The material is used economically in this

⁹ Table 5.2.3.1 is ordered chronologically within each band's repertoire.

sense. Previous material gets use in an altered order, creating further interest in the same material. When this type of structure is employed, there usually is an introduction section. Also, at times there is an outro section. It is important to note that the B section is always much more prominent when compared to A sections. The piece begins and ends rather unimpressively (formally). The exploration of the musical ideas and ideas represented in the lyrics are what is important in a death/doom song. This middle section is intricate with many small sections, sometimes even incorporating interludes.

The second type of form is the formless through-composition. One section follows the other without ever returning. What is interesting about this form in death/doom is that similar to the cyclic form idea, minor sections return out of nowhere and the form becomes reminiscent of a *rondeau* or Verse-Chorus. But the idea of a chorus does not develop strongly enough to call any of these rare examples a proper verse-chorus form. There are only hints of this.

In the larger structures, i.e. the album structure, there is not a consistent structure. The albums sometimes start with an introduction piece which is always a short instrumental piece. This introduction rarely is reminiscent of, or rather rarely it points towards, what is coming. The introduction piece can be different in tempo compared to the rest of the album. It can be slower or faster. These pieces, however, generally employ a building-up idea in its instrumentation in each section. By this I mean, the piece starts with a minimal orchestra. For example, in My Dying Bride's 'Silent Dance', the piece starts with a keyboard using a strings patch. In the following section, the keyboard becomes a full orchestra. In contrast, in Paradise Lost's 'Intro', even though there are no sections, there is an idea of building up. The piece starts with industrial samples then slowly builds up to a climax with the addition of scream-like samples on top of the industrial samples from the beginning. Then it continues this way before fading away.

While this section of the analysis, as well as the following one about instrumentation, are probably the most positivistic in their approaches, this *a posteriori* knowledge is beneficial when the chapter is in an attempt to define an intangible concept like a musical style. I present Table 5.2.3.1 within the chapter rather than as an appendix;

<u>Band</u>	<u>Song</u>	<u>Form (including minor sections)</u>	<u>Comments</u>
My Dying Bride	Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-E	This is through-composed with a middle section returning with its text.
My Dying Bride	Silent Dance	A-B-C	This is through-composed and a short piece that functions as an introduction in the album.
My Dying Bride	Sear Me	A-B-C-D-a	The beginning section returns with a different verse and this song has a cyclic form, even though the middle section is more prominent in terms of its duration.
My Dying Bride	The Forever People	A-B-C-D	This is through-composed.
My Dying Bride	The Bitterness and the Bereavement	A-B-C-D-E-b-F	This has a cyclic form with a prominent middle section, an introduction, and an outro. The repeated B has a different verse.
My Dying Bride	Vast Choirs	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-I-b-J	This is through-composed with a brief return to the beginning with a verse (as opposed to an instrumental B section at the beginning). This return also suggests that A should be considered as an introduction section.
My Dying Bride	The Return of the Beautiful	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-d-e	This song has a plot embedded. Thus, the return of D and E sections signals the return of the character "The Sadness". Repeated sections are with different verses and they do not represent a cyclical form, but a recapitulation related to the tragedy.
My Dying Bride	Erotic Literature	A-B-C-D-E-A	This is the first example of a chorus. While the middle section is still very prominent, the beginning is repeated with the same verse making this song into a proper cyclic form.
My Dying Bride	Sear Me MCMXCIII	A-a-B-C	This form is a single occurrence in the songs analysed where the beginning is repeated with a different verse then two new sections follow.

My Dying Bride	Your River	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-G-d-c	This is an interesting and relatively common feature in form in death/doom. While the piece moves through a lot of small sections, if we accept A+B to be the introduction, the beginning of the song C+D is repeated with verse, but the order of these smaller sections is reversed. We can think of this form as: Introduction-A-B-Reversed A. So, this song is cyclic in form, however, there are variations in the form. G section acts like a short interlude.
My Dying Bride	The Songless Bird	A-B-C-B-D-E-B-c	This song is in the traditional cyclic form. A is the introduction and the beginning C is repeated with a different verse and B acts as a short interlude between sections.
My Dying Bride	The Snow in My Hand	A-B-C-D-E-F-b	This song is in the traditional cyclic form. A is the introduction and the beginning B is repeated with a different verse.
My Dying Bride	The Crown of Sympathy	A-B-a-C-D-E-b-F	This is in a larger cyclic form with an emphasis in the middle. A is not an introduction but a repeated section. When the larger beginning section (A+B) returns, only B returns with no text. F can be an outro.
My Dying Bride	Turn Loose the Swans	A-B-A'-C-D-E-b-A'-F	This form is similar to that of "Your River". A cyclic form, but the returning section is reversed. Furthermore, when A is repeated, it is repeated with a variation in instrumentation. F is an outro section.
My Dying Bride	Black God	A	This is a single-section short piece.
My Dying Bride	The Cry of Mankind	A-B-C-b-b-D	This is reminiscent of a strophic form with an instrumental interlude (C), an instrumental introduction (A), and an outro with different samples (D).

My Dying Bride	From Darkest Skies	A-B-a-C-D-B-c	This song has an interesting form. There is a chorus (B) and a verse section (A). When C is repeated, it becomes instrumental. D function within the lyrical structure.
My Dying Bride	Black Voyage	A-B-C-D-E-c	B contains a verse, so, I cannot claim A+B to be an introduction. However, C is repeated without lyrics functions as an outro. The form is almost through-composed.
My Dying Bride	A Sea to Suffer In	A-B-C-D-E-b-a'-F-a'	This is a cyclic form similar to before with a reversed recapitulation. There is a variation on A this time as well. F+a' functions like an outro where a' repeats the text of the first B section.
My Dying Bride	Two Winters Only	A-B-a-C-b	This is in binary form with an instrumental interlude (C).
My Dying Bride	Your Shameful Heaven	A-B-C-D-b-E-C-D	A is an instrumental introduction. There is a small ternary form with B-D-b and C as an interlude. E is the next verse. However, there is a structural pause after b. Then, the song brings C+D as a recall to the earlier larger section of the song and D acts like a chorus.
My Dying Bride	The Sexuality of Bereavement	A-B-C-D-a-b	This is in simple cyclic form. The middle section is less important and brief than the outer sections. This middle section is where the song becomes more death-metal-like.
My Dying Bride	Like Gods of the Sun	A-B-C-D-a-C-d	This song is where the form signals a drastic shift from earlier style. There is a clear chorus section (C), which does not exist in earlier songs.
Paradise Lost	Intro	A	This is a single-section instrumental short piece, an introduction to the album.
Paradise Lost	Deadly Inner Sense	A-B-C-D-b-E-d-b	Compared to My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost's form is more doom-metal-like in its re-use of material. There is a consistent repetition of B

			section with different text. However, because C is a death metal interlude, we see a reversal of the beginning of the song at the end of the song. A is an instrumental introduction. B+D is repeated at the end as D+B.
Paradise Lost	Paradise Lost	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-c-D-E-f	This song has an interesting form. The repeated C+D+E+F section makes this into a ternary form as A+B can easily be considered as an instrumental introduction. On a more micro-level, D is like a brief chorus. The middle section, G+H, is where the narrative of the song moves forward the fastest.
Paradise Lost	Our Saviour	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-C-D-E-F-g	This song's form is 2 parts. A-B-C is the beginning of the larger structure but also a coherent structure on its own with two outer instrumental and fast parts (~168bpm) and a middle verse section. In the second part of the song, G acts as both a verse section but then it repeats partially as an outro. C+D+E+F is repeated exactly with a G+H middle section. The lyrical balance is on the outer sides of the larger form.
Paradise Lost	Rotting Misery	A-B-C-a-D-E-C-F	This song is again in 2 parts. A-B-C-a is a coherent unit. D signals an introduction to the next part. In E-C-F, C is the connection to the first part with the same text.
Paradise Lost	Frozen Illusion	A-B-C-c1-D-E-F-A-c''-c1'-G	This is in cyclic form. B acts as a death-metal interlude. A-C-c1 is repeated with a different verse at the middle section and a varied c1 section. G acts as an outro.
Paradise Lost	Breeding Fear	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-b-C	A is a verse section, however, the repeated B+C is reminiscent of a cyclic form. Instead of vocals, the repeated B employs a guitar solo.

Paradise Lost	Lost Paradise	A(a-b-a)	This has a micro-level ternary form but on a larger scale it is a single-section short instrumental piece.
Paradise Lost	Internal Torment II	A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-I-K-F-G-H-L	This is like a verse-chorus in form. F+G+H is the larger chorus section with L acting like an outro.
Paradise Lost	Gothic	A-B-C-D-b-a-c-E-D-b	This still shows the death/doom cyclic form with reversed recapitulation but only in the first part. This has many repeated sections incorporated into different parts of the song. D can be considered an interlude and E an interlude to the second part of the song.
Paradise Lost	Dead Emotion	A-B-a-C-c-D-E-F-b-G-H	This is almost through composed with a repetition of the second verse section. The reason I stop at this song for Paradise Lost is not form-related but time signature structure-related. In this album, Paradise Lost drop the changing time signatures and become more doom metal-like and also quickly more gothic metal-like which falls beyond the scope of this thesis. The form, however, still provides a connection to Paradise Lost's death/doom past (at this point).
Anathema	...and I Lust	A-B-C-B-a-D-E	We see same reversed-order repeated section of death/doom in this song. E is a verse section, however, because it is mostly recitative in its style, this could, along with the instrumental D section, act as an outro, making this form into a death/doom cyclic form.
Anathema	The Sweet Suffering	A-B-C-b-c-D-b	This is an interesting form. The middle section repeats in the middle of the song. Then the part of the middle section repeats again at the end. This is a middle-heavy form; however, it does not have a ternary structure.

Anathema	Everwake	A	This is a single-section short piece.
Anathema	Crestfallen	A-B-C-b-C-D-B-A'-c	This song is typical in Anathema's death/doom style with its repeated middle section and a middle-heavy larger section. The last section is also a repetition of previous material in reversed order (B-A') followed by a C section with a changed function to outro.
Anathema	They Die	A-B-a-C-B-c-b-D-E-F	B acts like an interlude here. D+E+F section is the second part of the song where the song moves into a more atmospheric space. This song could be considered to be in a binary form with A and C repeating once. Essentially, the form is A-a-C-c.
Anathema	Where Shadows Dance	A-B	This is a through-composed short piece.
Anathema	J'ai fait une promesse	A-B-C	This is a through-composed short piece.
Anathema	They (Will Always) Die	A-B-a-C-B-c	This song consists of two distinct ternary sections (A-B-a and C-B-c). These are connected with their common middle B sections.
Anathema	Sleepless	A-B-a-B-a-b-C-b	This is like a strophic form; however, the verse changes from A to B in different repetitions. If we consider B an interlude, then the structural sections become A-a-a-C. This would be a stretch. But the result does not change drastically. The form remains a strophic form.

Table 5.2.3.1 Forms of all the songs analysed

because the overall view of this table shows the two types of formal idea present in death/doom.

In relation to its boundary regions, death/doom is significantly different in form. Through-composition is a rarity in the death metal and doom metal examples I analysed. For doom metal, it is more about the economical use of material. Repetitions with the same text are more common. Of course, there needs to be a more extensive exploration in order to confidently state that doom metal form is a verse-chorus one. But, when the professed influences of death/doom are examined, a repeating form is common in doom metal. Similarly, in death metal, repeated sections are common. On a micro-sectional level, there is more material variety in death metal compared to doom metal. However, on a larger scale, repeated sections can be found more in death metal than in death/doom. The middle-heavy ABA form is also unique to death/doom in the same neighbourhood. This form illustrates the atmosphere and mood on which many participants put the importance. The music is intellectual in this sense even when it is in a relatively simple repeating form. The middle section provides the space to think and allows the musicians to explore the stylistic/aesthetic/emotional space. Furthermore, the middle-heavy cyclic form is an identifier of death/doom because when the bands' chronological stylistic development is observed, this specific form can be mostly found in their earlier work, which signifies a death/doom period. For example, starting from 'The Cry of Mankind' in My Dying Bride's oeuvre, you may observe the stylistic change. The middle-heavy cyclic form leaves its place to a more 'doom'-like form with its frequently repeated sections. Even though there are minor differences in the form of the three bands, there are important similarities, which suggest a common style that is death/doom.

5.2.4. Death/doom and instrumentation

Instrumentation is another important feature in death/doom style. The metal band commonly consisted of electric guitars, electric bass guitar, a drum set, and vocals before the

extreme turn. Extreme turn introduced other instruments, mainly the keyboard, to some styles. Vocal style also differs drastically from style to style. Before the extreme turn, the vocals are mostly clean and usually pseudo-operatic (especially in heavy metal styles). After this turn, grunts and screams (Mesiä and Ribaldini, 2015) get used commonly.

Death metal and doom metal did not incorporate this change into their respective instrumentation (which are the same). After death and doom metal's stratification into many styles, different instrumentation start to appear. Death/doom is one such case. The typical band in death/doom includes the keyboard in addition to the metal band. A synthesiser (as the albums in question are all from pre-virtual instrument era) is used prominently in songs in death/doom metal. Furthermore, samples in important structural points get use often. These sounds can be rain sounds, industrial sounds, or sampled choirs or choir-like sounds. Table 5.2.4.1 shows the instrumentation of each song in detail. As you can observe from the table, the unchanging instrumentation is of death metal: a metal band lead by a grunting vocalist. There is a crucial difference to note in the traditional band, which is the tuning of the guitars. For the three bands, the guitars are tuned lower than the standard tuning for these instruments. Paradise Lost use the baritone tuning (lowered 5 semitones from the standard tuning) for the guitars, while My Dying Bride use the C# tuning (lowered 3 semitones from the standard tuning) and Anathema uses both the baritone tuning and 7-string guitars. This combined with the grunting vocals maintains an overall tessitura lower than the metal styles that came before death/doom. Death/doom as a result is not only slow in its tempo but also in its frequency, meaning that the frequency is low. Overall spectral band for death/doom is dominant in a lower-end of the spectrum.

<u>Band</u>	<u>Song</u>	<u>Instrumentation</u>
My Dying Bride	Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium	Band ¹⁰ , grunts, keyboard (choir patch)
My Dying Bride	Silent Dance	Keyboard (strings), keyboard (orchestra)
My Dying Bride	Sear Me	Band, grunts, whispers, keyboard (pads + strings)
My Dying Bride	The Forever People	Band, grunts, keyboard (choir)
My Dying Bride	The Bitterness and the Bereavement	Band, grunts, violin
My Dying Bride	Vast Choirs	Band, grunts, keyboard (pads)
My Dying Bride	The Return of the Beautiful	Band, grunts, violin, samples (crashing)
My Dying Bride	Erotic Literature	Band, grunts, keyboard (pads)
My Dying Bride	Sear Me MCMXCIII	Cleans, violin, keyboard (piano)
My Dying Bride	Your River	Band, cleans, grunts, violin
My Dying Bride	The Songless Bird	Band, cleans, grunts, violin, keyboard (mixed)
My Dying Bride	The Snow in my Hand	Band, cleans, grunts, violin
My Dying Bride	The Crown of Sympathy	Band, cleans, recitation, violin, keyboard (piano)
My Dying Bride	Turn Loose the Swans	Band, cleans, grunts, whispers, violin
My Dying Bride	Black God	Recitation, chanting, violin, keyboard (mixed)
My Dying Bride	The Cry of Mankind	Band, cleans, keyboard (piano)
My Dying Bride	From Darkest Skies	Band, cleans, violin, keyboard (church organ)
My Dying Bride	Black Voyage	Band, cleans, violin
My Dying Bride	A Sea to Suffer In	Band, cleans, violin, keyboard (piano)
My Dying Bride	Two Winters Only	Band, cleans, violin, keyboard (strings)
My Dying Bride	Your Shameful Heaven	Band, cleans, violin

¹⁰ Band means the traditional metal band in this table; comprised of two electric guitars, an electric bass guitar, and a drum set.

My Dying Bride	The Sexuality of Bereavement	Band, grunts, violin
My Dying Bride	Like Gods of the Sun	Band, cleans, keyboard (church organ), keyboard (choir)
Paradise Lost	Intro	Samples (industrial), samples (scream-like)
Paradise Lost	Deadly Inner Sense	Band, grunts, screams
Paradise Lost	Paradise Lost	Band, grunts, keyboard (choir)
Paradise Lost	Our Saviour	Band, grunts
Paradise Lost	Rotting Misery	Band, grunts, screams, samples (church bell)
Paradise Lost	Frozen Illusion	Band, grunts
Paradise Lost	Breeding Fear	Band, grunts, cleans (different singer [female voice])
Paradise Lost	Lost Paradise	Electric guitar, bass guitar
Paradise Lost	Internal Torment II	Band, grunts
Paradise Lost	Gothic	Band, grunts, cleans (female voice)
Paradise Lost	Dead Emotion	Band, grunts, cleans (female voice)
Anathema	...and I Lust	Band, grunts, recitation, screams
Anathema	The Sweet Suffering	Band, grunts, recitation, screams
Anathema	Everwake	Acoustic guitar, cleans (female voice), keyboard (strings)
Anathema	Crestfallen	Band, grunts, keyboard (piano)
Anathema	They Die	Band, grunts, punk-like vocals, samples (wind, horse, shouting)
Anathema	Where Shadows Dance	Band, whispers
Anathema	J'ai fait une promesse	Acoustic guitar, cleans (female voice)
Anathema	They (Will Always) Die	Band, grunts, keyboard (orchestra)
Anathema	Sleepless	Band, grunts, cleans

Table 5.2.4.1 Instrumentation of all songs analysed

For all the three bands, the keyboard is also prominent. While the keyboard does not get used in every song, or it does not have a consistent patch, it provides an important contrast from death metal. It is also interesting to note that the keyboard becomes much more important in shorter pieces. These shorter pieces can be considered interludes within the album structure as I mentioned before. This keyboard use, then, could be pointing towards an aesthetic exploration. The bands, while remaining in the realm of death metal, explore other instrumentation options mainly through the keyboard. The use of strings, pads, and choir patches suggest that the keyboard functions as the atmosphere-provider. There is a familiar air already present in the song with the metal band. However, with the addition of a large-spaced keyboard patch, the atmosphere of the song enlarges substantially. The keyboard provides space. The use of samples function mostly as connectors to either the next part of the song or the next song. The samples are mostly novelties that provide momentary interest without being essential and structural parts of the song. One may argue against this using an example like My Dying Bride's 'Turn Loose the Swans' where there is an interlude that uses a storm/rain sample. During this, the music comes a complete stop. The thunder is heard then the rain follows. After this brief break, the exact same riff continues with the band. In this song, the samples provide important structure. It would be misleading to ignore the samples in that song. However, except for this example, in the analysed songs, the samples do not assume important roles.

There is also a significant difference in one of the bands in question: that is the violin in My Dying Bride. Even though violin is rare -almost non-existent- in metal music including death/doom metal, the violin in My Dying Bride is so significant, it becomes a characterising feature of death/doom.

We weren't just doing death/doom, we had the violin too. And I was really proud of the lyrics I was writing. It was like taking My Dying Bride to a slightly higher level. There were a lot of levels to My Dying Bride, it's not just doom. There's lots more going on. I think that peaked a lot of people's interests. (Stainthorpe)

As Stainthorpe states, the violin provided novelty for My Dying Bride. Death/doom was new enough, but they pushed the idea even further, also further away from both death metal and doom metal with the use of violins. During the 1990s, the use of anything besides the traditional band was extreme enough, but the violin is a rarity beyond the keyboard. Many listeners comment on this instrument alone as an interest.

The most interesting aspect of My Dying Bride's music is of course its darkness and the violin. First time I listened to them I was left speechless. The violin parts on so many songs still haunt me. (Blackmore)

I listened to some gothic metal bands prior to discovering My Dying Bride and I guess the combination of keyboards and violin combined with the slow and heavy music gives me a certain feeling that I can't find elsewhere in life. (Acland)

The combination of the violin and the keyboard provide uniqueness for the music of My Dying Bride. Moreover, the violin contributes an emotional depth that other instruments cannot, according the fan.

The inclusion of non-traditional metal instruments to create a powerful atmosphere was a big draw. It's very common in metal of all sorts nowadays, obviously, but back then it seemed almost unheard of to have an orchestration to accompany and fatten up a metal riff, or the eerie loneliness of a single wailing violin. (Allsop)

The violin is described often as the 'loneliness' within the song. This specific style of violin evokes such a response from the listener. This can be explained with the timbral and tessitura-related difference of the violin from the rest of the band including the vocals. The violin is significantly higher than the lower-tuned guitars. As a result, when the violin plays, the fundamental pitches of the violin reside in a range on its own only accompanied by the overtones of the other instruments.

My Dying Bride have been going on for quite some time and I think one of the reasons I ended up leaving the band was because they have a formula that they know works so I quite like to do maybe a bit more folky sounding stuff, maybe double-stopping on strings and stuff like that. But they wanted the sound to be very much what it used to be because that's what their fans were after, so it's like harking back to that old songs. I think I changed

my style a bit to be more fitting to that. It wasn't a necessarily natural style for me. I still think some of my playing came out on it, maybe not as much as I would have liked. (Stone)

As Stone states, this effect is achieved through a specific style of violin playing. The loneliness the listener feels from the violin would be muddled if the violin played double-stops or if the violin was more active. Even though the violin is unique in its use in *My Dying Bride* when compared within the Peaceville Three, the same idea still exists within death/doom of Peaceville Three. The violin is part of death/doom style without being explicitly so. Stainthorpe describes this:

Clearly we weren't clever enough to make our guitars sound like violins [in response to Greg Mackintosh of *Paradise Lost* saying he was trying to make his guitar sound like a cello]. So, we just got one in instead. And it was an eye-popper. When we toured American with Dio the concept didn't even exist in their minds. (Terrorizer #174, 2008, p. 16)

Being melodic in guitars is crucial. This is another important feature for the listener. Especially Greg Mackintosh's guitar lines signifies death/doom for many listeners. I already quoted fans stating how they 'adore' 'weeping guitar lines' (Auden). Furthermore, many listeners also comment on their interest and love for 'dramatic' (Burke) and 'powerful' (Bertie; Carew) melodies, the 'melancholy' (Chase; Downe; Fernau) in the melodies, and the interaction of melodies and lyrics (Carzana; Chase; Densham).

Vocals show interesting characteristics in death/doom. In accordance with the 'death metal' and 'doom metal' sections I mentioned before, the vocal style changes from clean vocals to recitative-like vocals to grunts within a song; and this can happen multiple times. In the death metal and doom metal examples I analysed, all death metal songs incorporate grunting vocals and all doom metal songs use clean vocals. These are the most common vocal uses for both styles. One may be able to find contrasting examples; however, it is generally accepted that death metal uses grunts and doom metal uses cleans. Grunts are even sometimes referred to as 'death metal vocals' (Stainthorpe). Vocal lines are one of the interest points for the listener as well:

'I really like Aaron Stainthorpe's vocals. Even I can stand a [Justin] Bieber song if Aaron sings it.' (Hamley)

Stainthorpe's vocals, Holmes' vocals, and White's and Vincent Cavanagh's vocals all get mentioned by the listener specifically. The grunts or the screams in combination with the clean vocals are important for the fan. The vocal lines reflect the 'sadness' (Carzana) and they are 'powerful and expressive' (Haldane). Gimzatte's statement on how the vocal timbre and the 'general miserable lilt' of the music appeals to them inspired me to look at the vocal 'lilt' a bit closer. The following figures 5.2.5-8 show specific moments from different songs. I only show the overtone structures of these moments. Firstly, because usually the band are playing at these moments simultaneously with the vocals, it becomes harder to distinguish which frequencies belong to the vocalist. Secondly, these vocal moments I chose are of grunts which often means that the vocals are on a single fundamental non-pitch. The vocals are not melodic; however, the ending of sentences usually incorporate leaps and glissandos. This is clearly seen in the overtone structures of these vocal lines.

In the first example (figure 5.2.5), the words 'ad te' connect the previous section to the next section. The grunt makes a descending movement, followed by the guitars' descent. This coincides with the end of the verse as well. The circle on the example shows where this happens. The second example (figure 5.2.6) also demonstrates a similar descent. The marked moments are of 'death', 'no', and 'pain'. Except 'no', which is a line on its own, 'death' and 'pain' are the last words of their respective lines. While these examples show more of a curve, they still end with a descent. We observe the same in Paradise Lost's oeuvre (5.2.7). This time, there are two parts to the vocals; however, the louder parts (brighter green) make a descent on the words 'grips' and 'life'. The final example is of Anathema (5.2.8). The grunts on 'tears', 'live', and 'nothing' make descents.

How should one interpret these descents? Lacasse (2005, p. 3) argues that "a sound source's timbre might be altered in different ways, providing expressive effects". This timbral

manipulation of vocals within the grunting world of death/doom create an interesting emotional effect. Death/doom-style vocals, as opposed to death metal -and doom metal is not part of this discussion because it only uses clean vocals-, descends at the end of musical phrases which coincide with the end of verses or lines. In death metal examples analysed, the movement at similar moments is towards higher frequencies. There is a slowing down (in frequency, not in tempo) in many vocal phrases. This illustrates the feeling on which the listeners comment. The expression partially comes from this vocal feature. Because it is slowing down, it represents the sadness better than if it were ascents like death metal. This is another unique feature of death/doom metal style in relation to its neighbours: death metal and doom metal. This vocal phrasing greatly contributes to the 'miserable lilt' of this music.

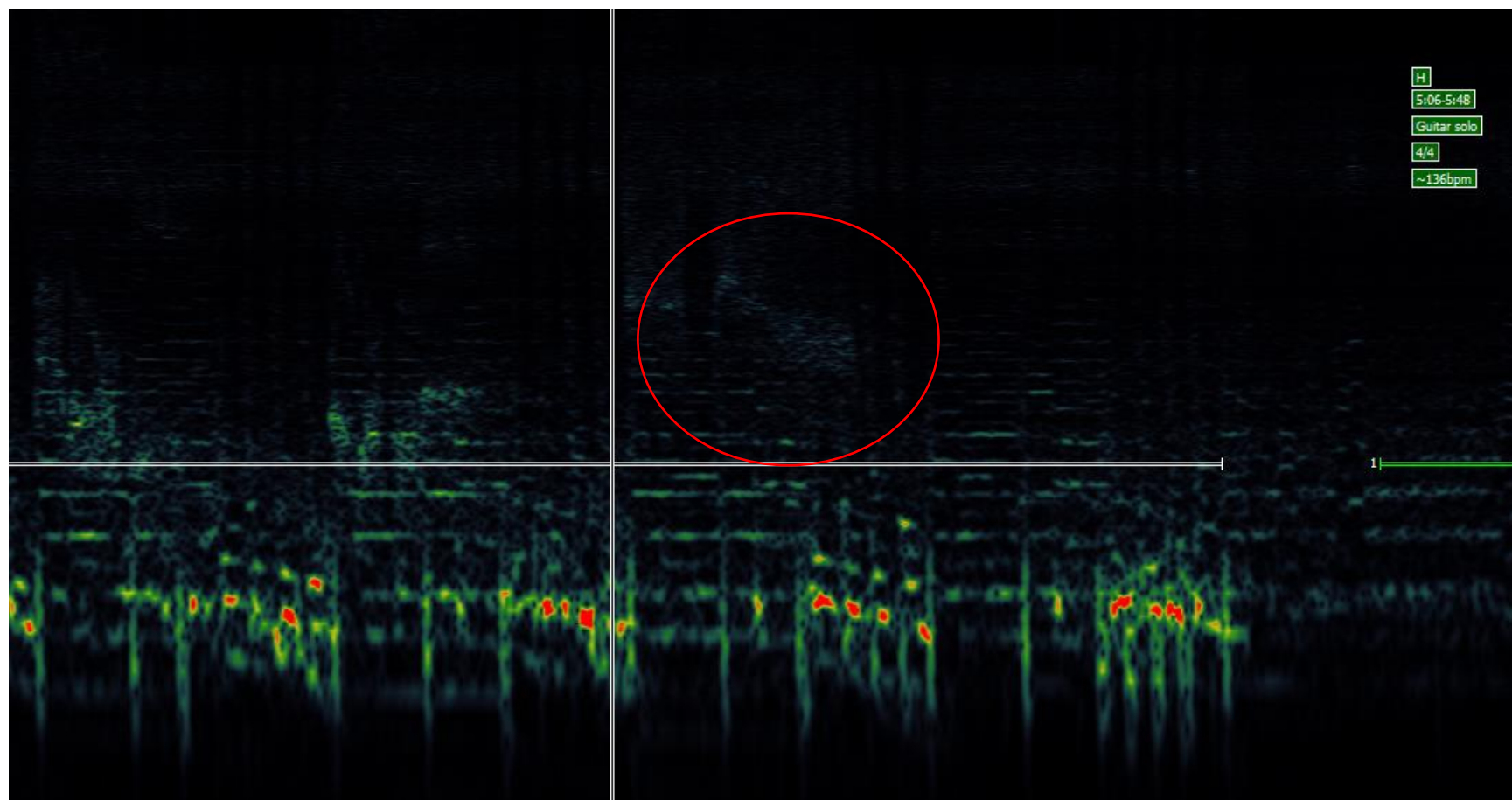


Figure 5.2.5 'Ad Te': a descent in the overtones of the vocal timbre from 'Vast Choirs' of My Dying Bride

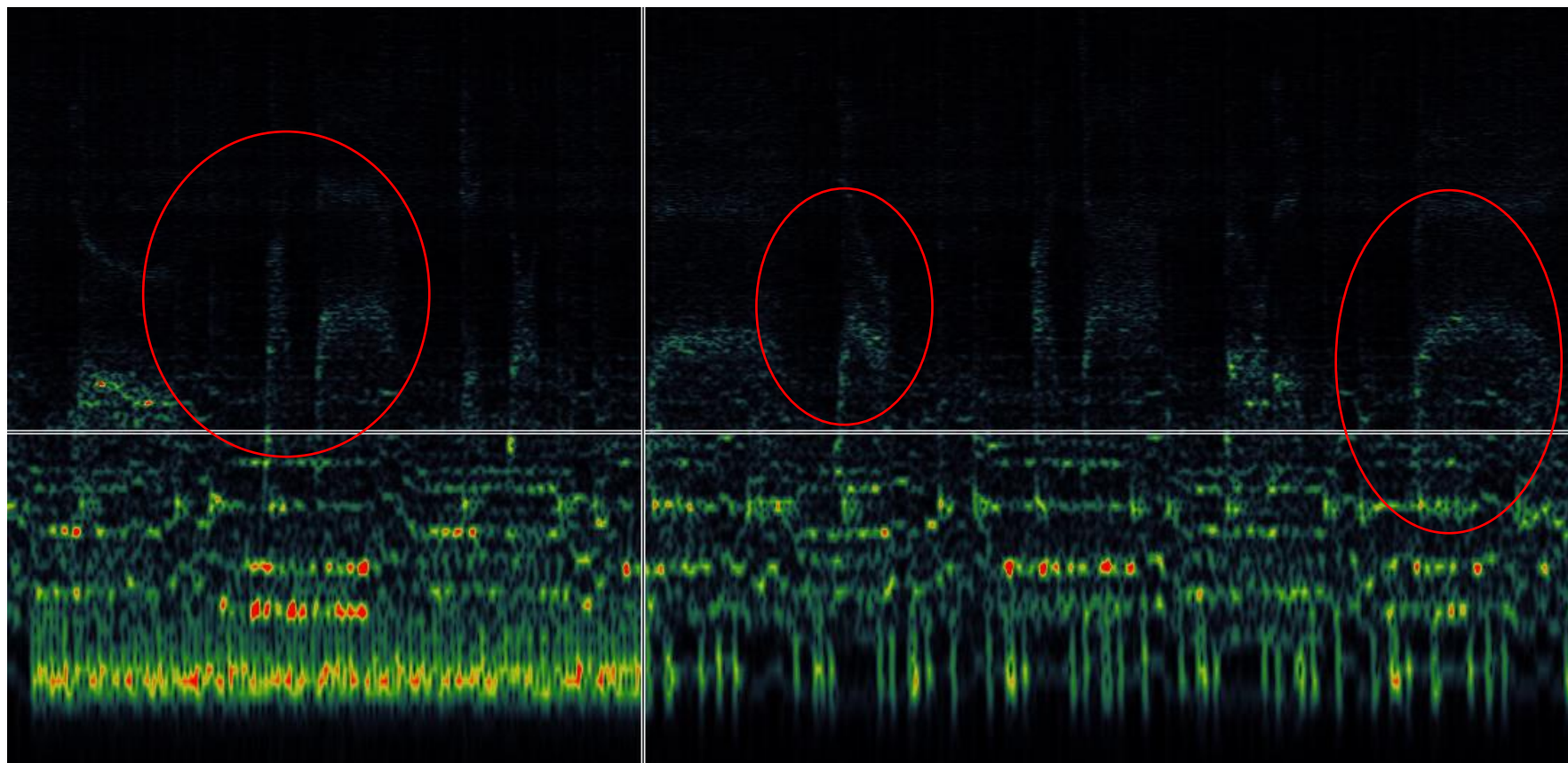


Figure 5.2.6 'Lose Myself...': a descent in the overtones of the vocal timbre from 'The Snow in My Hand' of My Dying Bride



Figure 5.2.7 'Death Grips My Life': a descent in the overtones of the vocal timbre from 'Paradise Lost' of Paradise Lost

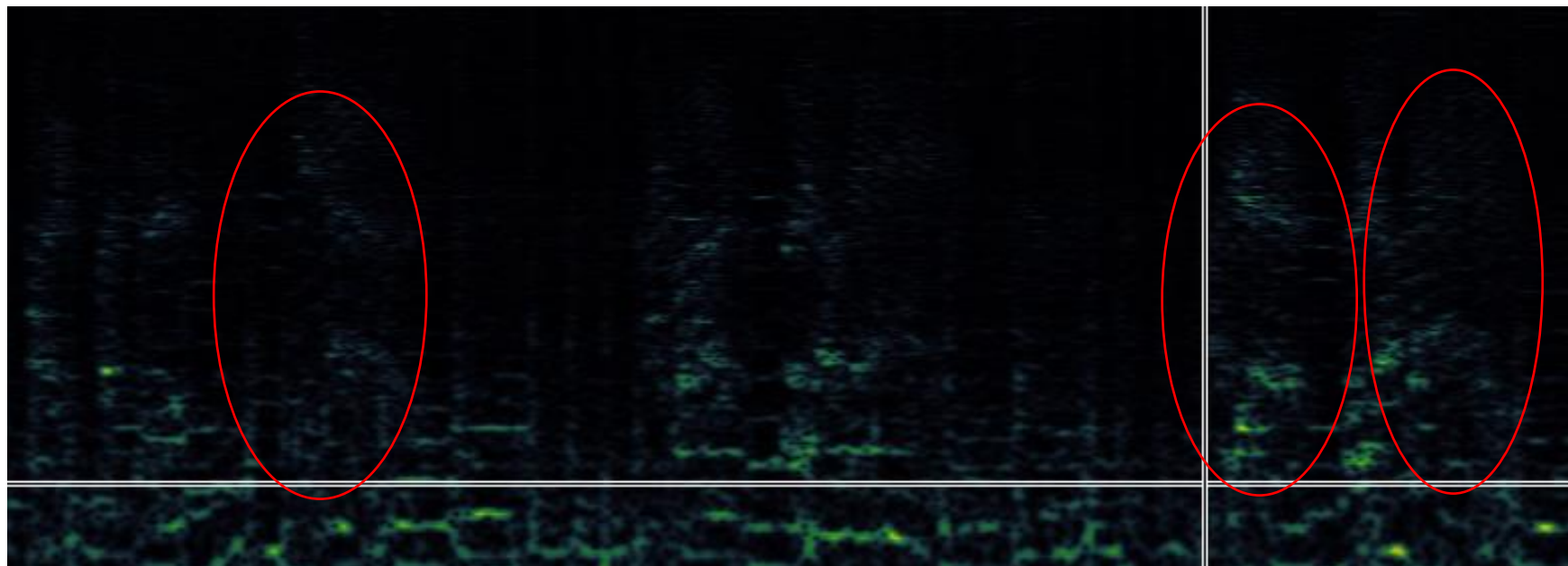


Figure 5.2.8 'By Disconsolate Tears, I Want for Nothing, I Live for Nothing': a descent in the overtones of the vocal timbre from 'Crestfallen' of Anathema

5.2.5. *Death/doom and lyrics*

As the previous vocal analysis already hinted, the lyrical content of these bands -the early British death/doom- show common themes and common words on which the bands focus. There needs to be a separate discussion of lyrics because, while because of the generally adopted grunting style of vocals, the lyrics are rarely heard clearly, many participants (more than half out of 74 participants) point towards lyrics as the main interest point of this style. The listeners find the lyrics to these songs, either from the liner notes or the internet, and follow them along when listening to death/doom. Lyrical content is, according to the listener, essential in conveying the emotion, in the expressivity of this music, and furthermore in the connection to the musicians who compose and perform this music. It is an important channel of communication both internally and with musicians for the participants.

Themes of theology, alienation, frustration... now that is something that speaks to me.
(Armstrong)

They surely have many personal memories intertwined to particular songs, albums, and bands in such a way that they are, in fact, part of my life experience. (Atkinson)

There are two or three songs, or rather 5 or 6 I'd say that spoke directly to me and I would feel this is what I would write, this is how I feel in some perfect description.
(Ellison)

Moreover, the musicians also see lyrics to be personal. While they do not claim to write lyrics to be relatable, because of this personal nature of the lyrics, the listeners relate to it on an intimate level. "In some perfect description" is the common theme for many listeners regards to the lyrics of the Peaceville Three. Stainthorpe describes how involved he becomes with his lyrics in both writing and performing (Terrorizer #117, 2004, p. 10):

There are a lot of songs with certain emotional content that are hard to sing live. One of the reasons I throw myself around and pull excruciating faces is because I'm not a

happy person onstage. When I write certain parts, I'm in a real downer and some of those feelings drift back when we play the songs live. I sometimes look around at the others getting really into it and think, "I wanna leave right now", but the adrenaline is holding you there. I'm fucking drained when I come back from gigs, ... I'm drained emotionally. I stand there and open my heart to thousands of people and so it's harder for me mentally than for the other guys. They're throwing all the right shapes and sounding great but I'm in fucking turmoil.

We don't listen to our critics, we don't even listen to our fans, which is kind of weird. We do our own thing, always have. There's not much outside influence...My Dying Bride has become some kind of pot for all our negative thoughts and energies, and I think a lot of that is because we are miserable sods. (Stainthorpe in Terrorizer #35, 1996, pp. 33-34)

I think the music and the lyrics reflect our personalities respectively. The music is very melancholic, and more often than not I'm extremely sullen, while the lyrics are completely cynical, and [Holmes] is just cynical all the time. In that sense, it's pretty black and white. (Mackintosh in Terrorizer #44, 1997, p. 17)

The lyrics reflect the personalities of the musicians and their 'miserable' nature. The first statement is also essential. The performance of these lyrics can become overwhelming for the musician both through their memories of writing a particular text and through the content itself.

As I mentioned, the lyrical content shows similarity among the three and differences to both death metal and doom metal with some common ground. Figure 5.2.9 shows the word-frequency cloud of all the lyrics of the songs analysed by the Peaceville Three.



Figure 5.2.9 Stemmed word-frequency cloud of all lyrics of the songs analysed by the Peaceville Three

From the superficial perspective that this word cloud provides, perhaps unsurprisingly, one can see that the lyrics are about death and life. It is interesting to see that 'now' is among the most used words. This suggests that lyrics are about the current moment and not about a story or a memory. Alongside 'death', 'pain', 'tears', 'suffer', and 'darkness', there is also 'beauty' and 'love' used frequently. There is even 'eyes' and 'body'. This means that there is frequent description of emotion or beauty through eyes or physical features of the beloved. Other unexpected words frequently used are 'god' and 'lord'. These words illustrate how connected the lyrics are to religion. This religious connection does not represent a belief system but the words 'god' and 'lord' are almost always used as part of a rebellion, a begging, or a yearning. God in death/doom is mostly an empty and abstract idea. It almost functions like an exclamation rather than anything else. But the high frequency of these words shows that, even though 'god' might be an exclamation, it is still a familiar and even a comfortable place. Stainthorpe also expresses this contradicting situation:

death and life. How one dies is more frequent with words like 'blood' and 'burn' getting used with the highest frequency. 'Flesh' and 'corpse' are also common. Surprisingly, 'god' also gets frequent use in these bands' oeuvres. In contrast, in doom metal, abstract concepts rather than tangible concepts are more common with words like 'soul' and 'darkness'. In doom metal, death and dying are also common themes. While there are significant differences between these two styles as well as death/doom, there are many commonalities as well; of which the most important one is death. I can argue that these three styles meet in death as a theme but they all have different perspectives on death.

When the lyrics of each of the Peaceville Three are analysed, one sees that while there are common grounds, as in the case of death metal, doom metal, and death/doom. Within death/doom there are three different perspectives that these bands embody. Anathema (figure 5.2.12) focus on death and grief. It is more about the sadness that surrounds death for Anathema. For My Dying Bride (figure 5.2.13), it is about the action of dying and the moment of dying. And, Paradise Lost (figure 5.2.14) focus on life and mind in contrast to death.

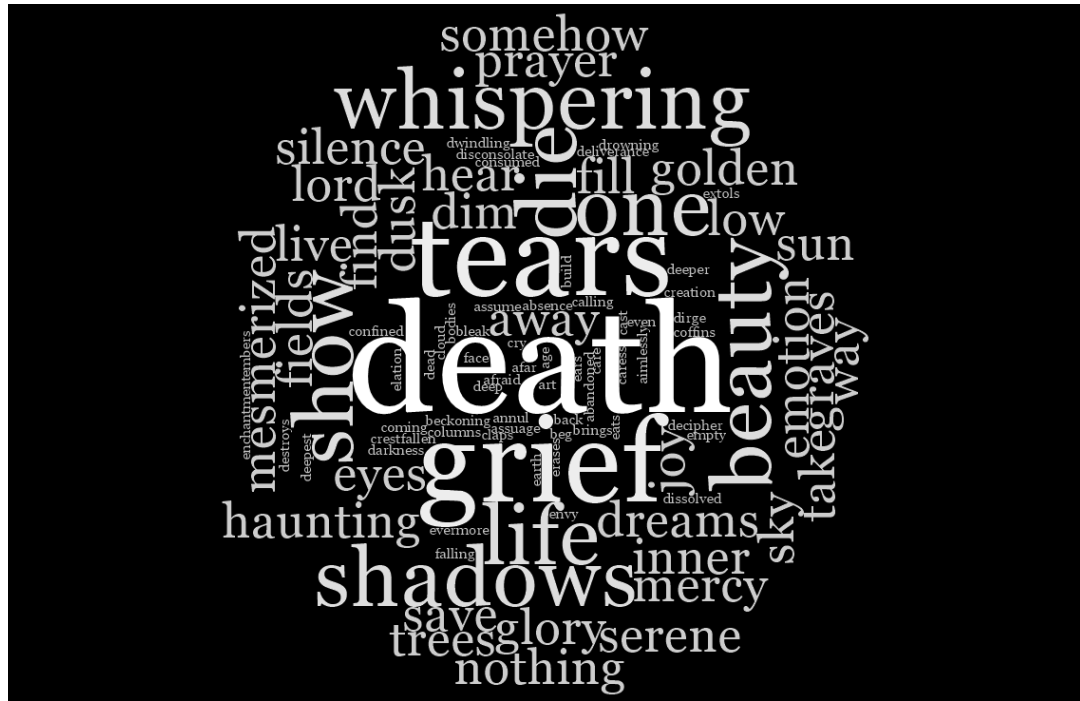


Figure 5.2.12 Stemmed word-frequency cloud of all lyrics of the Anathema

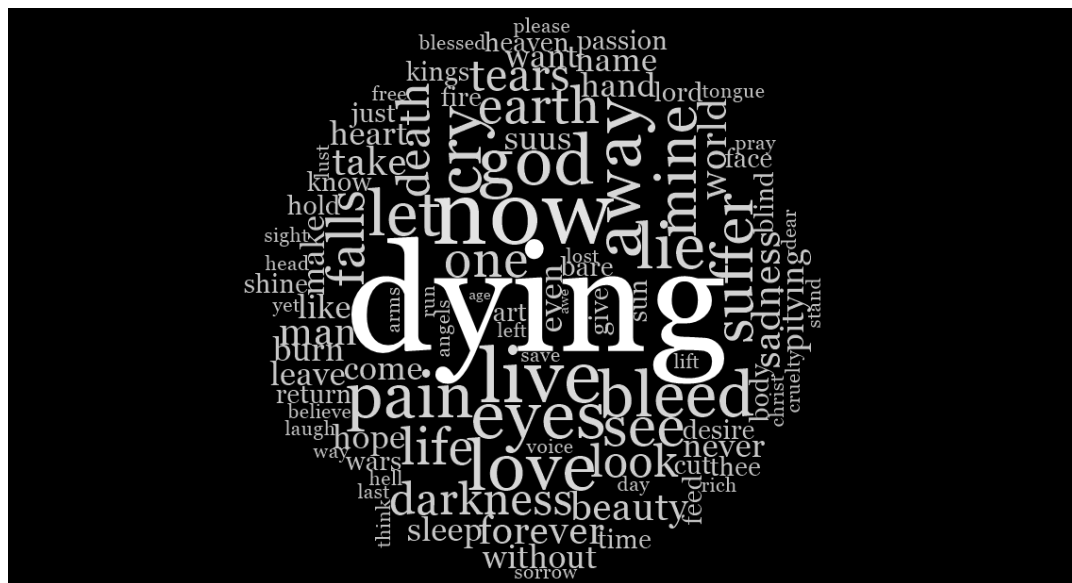


Figure 5.2.13 Stemmed word-frequency cloud of all lyrics of the My Dying Bride

I can feel great sorrow as in the music I listen to. The romantic side of it is also very powerful, like My Dying Bride and their lovelorn songs, it really resonates with that teenage longing for the girl who you've made a goddess in your mind, and no amount of longing will bring her to you. (Elgee)

According to the fan, the lyrics are intellectual, and they are introspective.

Metal, by nature, seemed until that point to only explore ugliness and shallow things; mostly, it was about gore and carnage, or politics and other problems external to 'the self'. These doom bands turned their lyrical attention towards inner things; they represented an exploration of one's humanity, and about what we as humans are filled with, or not filled with, or what we once were filled with and want to know why/how we lost it. (Allsop)

I have always found Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride quite deep and serious. A lot of death/doom portrays tragedy, loss, mourning, depression, isolation and apocalypse. That speaks to me much more than some juvenile goregrind band obsessed with brain eating zombies or some power metal band obsessed with big swords. (Carew)

The listeners also comment on how the lyrics tell a dramatic and tragic story.

The differences among themselves are marginally stylistic when comparing their earlier work. All have a tragically aggressive beauty that can give the impression of a grandiosity that's the sonic equivalent of great gothic and theological literature, which they achieve in their dramatic dirge. (Froissart)

Finally, romanticism and romance alongside sexuality and eroticism emerge as one of the important themes present in the lyrics as well.

It all appeals to me, as a whole: melancholic music with lyrics about sorrow and pain, as well as love, a dark and quiet sense of love. (Douglas)

My Dying Bride have always been able to summon something really special as their brand of Doom also explores love, loss, sex and death. The lust at the heart of some of their tracks is astonishing. (Haldane)

I was always a great fan of romanticism, especially dark romanticism, in fact, I have always been romantic in that way, and that played, and still plays, a gigantic part in

my affection for doom metal. It was the only language I learned to talk, since I was young, and when I heard those bands, I felt like the world was answering me. (Baker)

These are the main themes according to the participants. Because there is no mention of tonality from the participants, now, I give specific examples both from these themes the participants identify and from other themes I identified during this analysis to show how these themes are explored in song. As I mentioned before, the individual is important in lyrics. This means a first-person narrative is often adopted as opposed to the third-person or the narrator approach existing in death metal and doom metal.

Adorn magnificent costume,
For I come to judge the world,
Be with me here in my dark place,
Let yours be mine,
Cut me and I do not bleed.

(‘The Bitterness and the Bereavement’, My Dying Bride, *As the Flower Withers*)

It is about the individual and the experience is first-hand. Even though, this example is part of a tragedy, and it is not something introspective, the experience is still described from the eyes of the individual. This is an important and novel feature of death/doom metal in the stylistic mixture of death metal, doom metal, and death/doom metal regions.

I explore the themes in three categories: firstly, themes found in all the three bands; then themes found in two of them; and finally, themes found in only one of the bands analysed. As the previous word-cloud discussion revealed, death and dying, a god figure, plea, introspection, and depression and emptiness are common themes among the bands. Also, landscape and nature appear often in death/doom.

Feelings disappear,

Your eyes stare blank,
Another world to greet,
Life now ends.

(‘Paradise Lost’, Paradise Lost, *Lost Paradise*)

This example explores the action of dying. It is about the moment when one dies, and the one in question is the listener with the subject ‘you’. About death, bands also make use of biblical statements such as ‘I am dust, and to dust I shall return’ (‘Vast Choirs’, *My Dying Bride*, *As the Flower Withers*).

Depression and a feeling of emptiness is the second most common theme for death/doom.

All emotion is consumed by an inner silence,
All grief is unassuaged by disconsolate tears,
I want for nothing, I live for nothing,
I am waiting to die but I am afraid of dying.

(‘Crestfallen’, Anathema, *The Crestfallen EP*)

Anathema usually focus on the grief side of the emotional spectrum. In this example, “I want for nothing, I live for nothing” line perfectly illustrates a depressed state. There is no motivation towards anything for the narrator ‘I’.

A poisoned soul in agony,
Self-pity strangles me,
I’m lashed by grief,
And I’m killing me.

(‘From Darkest Skies’, *My Dying Bride*, *The Angel and the Dark River*)

My Dying Bride, in this example, explores the theme in a similar way. ‘Self-pity’ and the feeling of being static are the signifiers of depression used.

Of course, this awareness of depression or the feelings of emptiness comes from introspection. Introspection can be often found in lyrics as well.

Staring down into the depths,
Subconscious has taken my life,
Breathing this foul and dank air,
Eyes cannot penetrate the light,
No room to panic or move,
I pray my death will come soon.

(‘Breeding Fear’, Paradise Lost, *Lost Paradise*)

The ‘depths’ here mean the depths of the subconscious, which has ‘taken’ over the narrator’s life. There is a feeling of helplessness apparent in this example as well.

However, the helplessness is not a state that is usually accepted. Pleas are common. It can be a simple statement like ‘help me’ (‘Crestfallen’) or ‘don’t leave me here to crawl through the mire’ (‘The Crown of Sympathy’, *My Dying Bride*, *Turn Loose the Swans*). It can be more like begging:

I lay in the darkest room,
The door is locked, at chains I grasp.
The chill runs through my bones,
In panic I grief. Oh, please help me die.

(‘Frozen Illusion’, Paradise Lost, *Lost Paradise*)

Or finally the plea can be towards a god with a simple statement like ‘Lord, in your mercy, hear my prayer’ (‘Crestfallen’).

As I discussed before, a god figure often makes an appearance in different contexts. It could be a figure that the narrator prays towards like the previous example. It could also be a figure of higher power:

And death shall feast on us all,
The mills of God grind slowly,
The adorable light of that which is most divine.

(‘Symphonairé Infernus et Spera Empyrium’, *My Dying Bride*, *Symphonairé... EP*)

Death is a tool of God in this example and it is ‘the most divine’. The narrator states that death has a higher status. This is important in the sense that it follows the death theme and also it glorifies death. A god figure can also be the target of an outcry:

Cast into a circle of preaching vomit,
All decent holy people,
Their conscience free,
Massive neurosis and impending doom,
And the holy power will be silent.

(‘Our Saviour’, *Paradise Lost*, *Lost Paradise*)

‘The holy power’ or god is the figure of inaction here. There is a feeling of disgust towards ‘holy people’ as well with words ‘circle of preaching vomit’.

Nature often gets mentioned in death/doom as evidenced from the earlier discussion of the inclusion of Moors in one of Anathema’s music videos. This gives a backdrop to the events and stories of the songs. This nature imagery used usually refers to the area from where these bands are, namely the northern England. However, it is important to note that the referral is not explicit. At this stage, the earlier stages, of the Peaceville Three, for example, Yorkshire specifically does not get a mention in lyrics. But ‘frozen mist’ (‘Internal Torment II’, *Paradise Lost*, *Lost Paradise*) or ‘fields’ and ‘glades’

(‘...And I Lust’, Anathema, *The Crestfallen EP*) are remarked. The nature reference can also be through a painting of a scenery:

Kneeling in the rainfall,
Wind's whispers beckoning,
Inhaling the sweet scent,
Elation is overwhelming,
The way is dim, but somehow, I find it.

(‘The Sweet Suffering’, Anathema, *The Crestfallen EP*)

In the relatively dystopian lyrical world of death/doom, through the nature imagery, we see an ‘elation’. This is significant in its symbolism entwined: nature is the relief. Rainfall makes things better; and death, which is a return to the nature as it appears in the lyrics, is the end of suffering. While one could be tempted to see death theme as something negative, in this light, it becomes a sign of hope. Rainfall also provides a deeper connection to the North of England.

Hope, peace, and even joy is a theme that can appear in death/doom.
As a shadow is cast overhead
I rejoice in the coming of the gloom
Lifting my eyes to view what, to me, is beauty
I decipher what is read in the cloud
The verse is shouting out and ringing in my ears
The claps of thunder, scared? No, me I revere
in the enchantment of mother nature
Her caress it soothes and brings me joy.
(‘The Sweet Suffering’)

Again, nature is the source of joy and relief. In parallel with joy and hope, love is also a common theme. However, the perspective of death/doom reverses the hope through love. Love becomes a source of grief:

Held you in my arms. In my arms, my love.

Jesus wept so man could live forever on earth. In peace.

But my tears. They fall for you. Only you.

('Two Winters Only')

There is an idea of loss apparent in these examples. Love is melancholic in death/doom; however, melancholy is beautiful:

I've seen them. so dark. Black. And yet fine. The flower they carry had once been mine.

('The Snow in My Hand', My Dying Bride, *Turn Loose the Swans*)

There are two examples of an aging theme in the songs I analysed. It is tempting to think of these examples as part of death like the My Dying Bride example follows, however the Anathema example shows a different, a more positive, perspective on aging.

In the play which he has written for the world,

Night is the mother of sleep.

Old age is a malady of which one dies.

Augury of a better age.

('Vast Choirs')

Shall life renew these bodies of a truth?

All death will he annul, all tears assuage?

Fill the void veins of life, again with youth,

And wash with an immortal water, age.

('They Die', Anathema, *The Crestfallen EP*)

Age is 'immortal water' as opposed to being a 'malady'. This difference provides an interesting contrast of the same concept.

Anger is rare in death/doom. Paradise Lost are the only band that explores rage as a theme in their lyrics.

A sea of twisted shapes,
Seek salvage from this carnage.
Frustration deep inside,
Writhe in utmost rage,
A torturous embrace is embedded in their minds.
(‘Deadly Inner Sense’)

This anger is still connected to frustration. There is suffering through a ‘torturous embrace’. Hence, this rage adds a minor variety from what already exists in the style. As the listeners identified, tragedy is important for especially My Dying Bride:

I want you to lay with me, in sympathy. No sad ‘adieu’ on a balcony. For one last time, just walk with me. At the beautiful gate of the temple, we must be saved. For deadened, icy pain, covers all the earth.
(‘The Crown of Sympathy’)

The ‘sad adieu on a balcony’ refers to romantic tragedies and stories. Story-telling is one of the important features of My Dying Bride’s lyrics. Another important theme that exists only in My Dying Bride’s lyrics is eroticism. The listeners, however small in numbers, also identified this and the music press usually comments on it:

Basically, Saturnus is the band for people who think My Dying Bride have wimped out. Although they are slightly more than a carbon copy, there is little to distinguish *Paradise Belongs to You* from *The Angel and the Dark River* or *Turn Loose the Swans*.

Other than the lack of an Academy production and lyrics about shagging, that is.
(Gregory Whalen in *Terrorizer* #41, 1997, p. 50)

'Lyrics about shagging' is part of the identity of the band as much as an Academy Studios production with Mags as the sound engineer. However, Stainthorpe states that the theme is subtler than just 'lyrics about shagging':

There's a lot of [eroticism]. I wonder if I've just written it so surreally that people just don't see it. But I don't think it is. We're currently rehearsing 'Your Shameful Heaven', which is all about whipping and bondage and stuff. We've got one of our songs 'Erotic Literature'. But I guess that's not really an erotic song, even though it has that in the title. I sort of understand where people are coming from. When you hear a song title like Erotic Literature, you want to read it and hear it straight away. And ultimately, it wasn't that erotic, because it's about something else. 'Base Level Erotica' for example. But maybe I don't deal in enough erotic stuff, but because we're also rehearsing two different 'Sear Me's because we'll play the two in the same gig. The original Latin one which is whips and bondage, but because it's written in Latin, and because it's quite heavy metal. There's no puffing and panting and there's no swearing in it. So, people aren't making the connection and we're doing 'Sear Me MCMXCIII', I guess that's more love than erotic. The problem with eroticism is giggling. When you start to write a song which starts to become a little bit erotic, you sort of smile a little bit and you think how far am I going to go with this? Because when you are writing in the middle of the night, and you mean it and you are really passionate about what you are doing, and you write it sternly and think this is going to be fucking awesome and when you read it in the light of day and you think, in England we have a word called, saucy which is a bit fun. It's not erotic. You giggle, you don't get aroused. I'm trying to find that line between giggling and arousal. It's harder than you think. Because it's different for different people. (in interview)

There is a conscious effort to make the eroticism less obvious and almost 'surreal'. Stainthorpe also comments on how because it is a deeply personal subject, going into it in too real a way would be revealing too much of his private self. This shows that there is a boundary between the musicians' real identities and musician identities in certain respects. The music is personal but there is a limit.

The eroticism in death/doom lyrics can be categorised in three ways: a feeling of lust towards the pronoun 'she', lust without any gender indication, and lust towards death. I use the word lust to signify the intensity of the desire. The first two categories only exist in the lyrics of My Dying Bride; however, a desire or even a lust for death can be seen in the lyrics of Anathema and Paradise Lost as well.

The fascination of her shape,
With mansions of awe and splendour,
Elegant in simplicity,
So, at last your faith rewards you,
Through fields enriched with pastel shade,
And fragrant lavenders soft to smell.

('Symphonaire')

In this example, one can easily observe that the target of the desire is her. There is no specific identity, but there is symbolism suggesting a description of a female body with the help of nature imagery.

Make me faint with unending kisses.
My passions have all returned,
Warm my trembling hands.
We're scope for the tragedians.

('The Return of the Beautiful', *As the Flower Withers*)

This example shows how the band explores eroticism without a specific target. There is a second person with the narrator 'I' here, however, there is nothing to identify anything about this second person. One may even speculate as to whether that is indeed a person. "We're scope for the tragedians" suggests that the story of them will end in tragedy. When

there is no person existing as the target of the desire, death as a concept can replace this person.

I cry a tear of hope, but it is lost in helplessness.

The darkness eats away at the very embers of my soul.

For the deepest love, I had has dissolved before my eyes.

My sorrow is bleak, I beg for deliverance.

('Crestfallen')

The narrator begs for death as it is seen as the solution. In '...And I Lust', Anathema reveals at the end of the song that what 'I' lusts is death and judgement. In Paradise Lost's lyrics, the desire, similarly, results from the thought that death is the solution to the suffering, where the narrator 'prays' for their death to come as soon as possible. Hence, the desire is pointed towards death.

5.3. Conclusion

As seen from the themes covered in this chapter, death/doom, appropriate for its name, can be said to have a fixation on the idea of death from many different perspectives. Even when there is hope, the context is usually death. So, one may even argue, the death in death/doom fits to the style in a way beyond the connection to death metal. Of course, this is not to suggest 'death' in death/doom is an identifier like the 'funeral' in funeral doom. 'Death' still firmly signifies a connection to death metal, however, from a stylistic point of view, the word can have a second level to its meaning. There is also another side to this context: death as transgression. While death as a theme can hardly be thought as a taboo subject in music, or even in popular music -as pointed to me in discussions in each of my presentations when death was part of what was discussed-, it still can be taboo from a

larger cultural perspective (Mellor, 1993). When we think of the metal context next to this, as Kahn-Harris discusses (2006), extreme metal needs to be transgressive. I discussed death/doom in chapter 2 to come under this stylistic 'umbrella'. Considering this, I can say that death/doom fulfils this requirement of extreme metal through the theme of death. The relatively surprising appearance of eroticism as a persistent theme, in especially My Dying Bride's oeuvre, can be explained with this idea as well. From a conceptual perspective, death and sexuality are related. According to Bataille, "there does remain a connection between death and sexual excitement" (1962, p. 11). This connection provides a channel for the 'domination' (Bataille, 1962, p. 7) that is required in conquering "the things that terrify [the person]". Death/doom's eroticism in this sense is both transgressive and transformative. I will not go more into this idea here as this discussion falls out of the scope of this thesis (for a discussion on death themes in music and its transformative effects within the extreme metal context see Yavuz, 2015).

This chapter, then, tried to make the boundaries of this marginal style clearer and it is evident that death/doom is a style of metal music that borrows elements from the larger regions of death metal and doom metal and adds its own ideas to this mix. Death/doom can be a good example of a marginal style in parallel with the idea of Park's 'marginal man'. To reiterate:

He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused. (Park, 1928, p. 892)

Death/doom resides on the margins of death metal and doom metal, which never completely interpenetrated and fused. In extreme metal, many styles exist this way and the smaller 'sub-genre's could be thought as boundary stylistic regions rather than the

hierarchical 'sub-genre'. This is also reflected in the culture and the people in these music worlds. This chapter's discussion also showed that certain musical elements require particular responses to them from the participants of a music world. These responses are part of conventions in a Beckerian sense. For example, the violin style in *My Dying Bride* needs to convey solitude; it needs to be perceived as depicting solitude; and in turn, it is perceived as solitude. This is one part of the conventions of this music world. The next chapter focusses on this and explores in detail the culture of death/doom through the interviews I conducted as part of my ethnographic research.

6. The Fan

[My Dying Bride] are not like Black Sabbath or Emperor about whom you can talk to pretty much anyone in the metal community and they will have some sort of an opinion. I find that bands like My Dying Bride are kind of like Marmite: you either really really like them or you really don't. I don't really find that there's ever really any in between with bands like that. (Gamzette)

In this chapter, I discuss the fan culture within the music world in question, the one which was constructed around the musical outputs of My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost, and Anathema. As discussed in the literature review, music worlds, according to Crossley, are social spaces that are “centred upon a self-identified musical style; a space set aside from other concerns, at least to some extent, where music is a primary focus and where participants share a set of musical preferences and knowledge” (2015, p. 472). This chapter also is where the majority of the data resulted from the ethnographic research outlined in chapter 3 gets used. I discuss fan participants and their behaviour as individuals within this music world; and then the general musical preferences of the participants alongside their first encounter with this music world. The main section of this chapter focusses on the individuals’ emotional responses to these bands’ music and how these responses can be interpreted collectively or individually while considering the responses of the participants regarding their own community. The work of Bell (1999), as discussed in chapter 2, is utilised towards the end of this chapter where I explore the idea a possible (or probable) community of death/doom metal music fandom. To reiterate, Bell suggests that the differences that death/doom music world may or may not have are “sustained and produced on several levels and in complex ways, both within and beyond ‘the subject’”. This thinking shows that these music worlds with *marginal styles* at their

respective cores can behave similar to diasporas, responding to same conventions in similar ways.

6.1. Researcher position

I already discussed my position in chapter 3. However, re-contextualising it here is important, because, while as I discussed in chapter 3, my methodology does not employ auto-ethnography explicitly (unless it is clearly stated that it is my experience as a member of the music world), but my perspective is unescapably affected by my already existent position in the music world in question (see Husserl 1990). Furthermore;

Merleau-Ponty posits a notion of the 'institution' of personal history, which is intended to capture the process by which repeated responses and forms of understanding and interpreting become sedimented in our praxes over time, giving rise to stable preferences for certain types of response. This extends to the sphere of emotion [where] we acquire and develop an individual emotional repertoire...or an emotional habitus. (Crossley, 1998, p. 33).

As a result, the interpretation of the emotional responses discussed in this chapter are only results of my 'emotional repertoire'.

6.2. First engagement with the music world

To reiterate the demographic data in chapter 3, the average fan participant age is 32.42 with a median of 32.5. This is relevant to determine when, in their lives, the fans of these bands came in contact with the music. The participants answered a question regarding when and how they first found out about the music of these bands and according to these answers ($n = 64$), I will discuss six different eras. Firstly, 12 participants stated that the early 1990s were the first time they came across any of these bands. The average age of

these 12 participants is 41.72 with a 41 median. This means that the participants who came across this music world in early 1990s did so when they were at 15-18 years of age.

It was 1993 when I found a CD from a band called My Dying Bride. The album was *Turn Loose the Swans* [1993]. My cousin was a big metal fan and he had an incredible CD collection, [and] the means and the money to buy and collect imported metal CDs. (Bancroft)

After [the fall] of communism in Romania, early 90s, these bands [My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost and Anathema] were quite into mainstream here, fashionable and very appreciated. Listening to them, being part of this culture was a statement that we were different and we were looking for something special, [and that] we weren't happy with what other people had, we wanted more. (Burke)

First heard Paradise Lost's debut album *Lost Paradise* [1990] from my friend who loves death metal, in South Africa. (Carlisle)

I used to listen to [Paradise Lost] back in the early 90s. It peaked my curiosity...It was just a group of friends, social circle. We used to be always on the lookout for new metal bands. We used to go to a lot of gigs, read flyers, that kind of thing really. Word of mouth. Some promotional materials. Some record shops we used go to in Sheffield as well where there used to be lots of promotional material, that's how they came in my radar. (Coombes)

It was in 1993 in the German language high school. Back then, also now, my most favourite band were Fields of the Nephilim. My best friend was a metal fan then and he gave me *Shades of God* [1992] and *Icon* [1993], telling me the band was similar to Fields of the Nephilim. And that was all. (Grimshaw)

My first contact with doom metal was when one of my friends said he had bought Paradise Lost's *Gothic* [1991]– so this must have been 1991. I copied it onto a cassette and quite liked what I heard – heavy, great melodies in tracks like 'Gothic' and 'Eternal', and nicely dark. From there on, explored the genre a bit more which led me to My Dying Bride in particular. (Hannam)

This first group engaged with the music through their social circles. Bancroft above suggests that obtaining imported music required certain 'means' beyond a teenager. For

Burke, this style of music, from the very start, was a sign of difference but a unifying difference among young people; even signifying a zest for more in life. This is important, because as chapter 5 discusses, the musical style in this music world contradicts this notion fairly obviously. One can also infer here that this music is a hopeful one for the fans, a theme that I will come back to later in this chapter. Carlisle's statement shows the first related music world in this chapter: death metal. Coombes illustrates the difference in comparison to other music of Paradise Lost's musical style during the emergence of this style and the band, thus one may argue that this style could be one that has been significantly different from the inception of it. Grimshaw suggests a stylistic relationship with the gothic rock world in Paradise Lost's early albums. Hannam talks about the importance of melodic content in Paradise Lost's music. While melody is an important aspect of this style of music, the melodic content of Paradise Lost is explicitly mentioned by different participants (Auden; Brierly; Hannam) while the same about My Dying Bride and Anathema does not get the same attention.

I remember very well, because Anathema has become my favourite band: back in '92, when I was 17, I read in an Italian magazine a review of *the Crestfallen* EP [1992], and they enthusiastically described the music. (Auden)

I read a review about *Serenades* [1993] by Anathema at the Greek Terrorizer. I had a strong, intuitive resonance with the sense I got for Anathema's music, just based on that short album review, without even listening to a note of their music! I ordered both the *Serenades* album and *Crestfallen* EP [1992], at the same time I ordered the *Thrash of Naked Limbs* [My Dying Bride, 1993], from my local record shop in Alexandroupoli [Greece]. Anathema ended up being my favourite band, until now! (Gumb)

I started to explore other bands (Sepultura, Death, etc.) [than Metallica, Slayer etc.] through the Aardschok magazine (I guess you can consider it the Dutch version of Metal Hammer), just checking bands in the metal section in shops, MTV Headbangers ball, Metalopolis radio show on Studio Brussels (Belgian state radio station for alternative music) and that's how I discovered Paradise Lost during the *Shades of*

God [1992] era. In the meantime, I also got in touch with likewise minds in the neighbouring towns and villages and there were a few hardcore, grindcore and metal bands around. So through them I also got to know Anathema (one of my friends wrote with Darren [White, the first vocalist of Anathema] since their demo days and even released a track from them on an old compilation tape before they signed with Peaceville) and My Dying Bride (another friend wrote with Calvin and is mentioned in the thanks list of *Turn Loose the Swans* [1993]). I listened to the bands because I liked the music. Peer pressure wasn't a factor, because then I would've just stuck with listening to bands like Guns N' Roses and Metallica...I guess you can say I became a fan from the moment I heard the bands [the three]. I started to buy their albums immediately and never really stopped listening to the bands even though they evolved throughout the years and did some experimenting with other styles. (Dobson)

Back in the 80's, in a city without much of a metal scene [Las Vegas, Nevada, USA], my most utilized method to find out about new bands was the 'Special Thanks' lists that bands included in their liner notes. Magazines occasionally mentioned new bands to explore. Often, it was album art and the style of the writing of the band's name as I combed through the cassette or album sections or, if there was a photo of the band, the metal shirts the members were wearing. Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride and Anathema were no different. Paradise Lost's debut, *Lost Paradise* [1991], was my first exposure to death/doom metal and the first time I recall hearing the so-called Beauty and the Beast vocals¹¹. Also, being a fan of classical music, when I heard My Dying Bride combining doom/death with the violin, I was hooked. [I became a fan] immediately upon hearing these bands: for Paradise Lost, *Lost Paradise* [1991]. My

¹¹ 'Beauty and the Beast vocals' is a common way of referring to the combination of grunt or scream vocals with female clean vocals (Ribaldini, 2016). This term has started getting used around late 1990s with gothic and symphonic metal styles becoming more prominent. It rarely refers to the clean and grunt styled vocal switch dominant in death/doom style using male clean vocals.

Dying Bride, the *Symphonaire* EP [*Symphonaire Infernus et Spera Empyrium*, 1992]. For Anathema, it was *Serenades* [1993]. (Dunham)

There was a TV show in the UK called *Raw Power* [later *Noisy Mothers* on ITV, 1990-1993], and I believe it was this show that introduced me to Paradise Lost. (Richard)

The second and final group is where the participants came across or looked for the music through music press channels via different media, such as television and printed press. Auden and Gumb speak of how Anathema's music was critically acclaimed from early on in their career with the first two records released on Peaceville. Gumb's remarks show an interesting engagement with the music of Anathema without even listening to it. This results from a conceptual resonance; one that can be argued to advise an intimate connection with the ideas in *Serenades* regardless of how it sounded. Dobson and Richard both say that Paradise Lost have received relatively mainstream media attention through national television and radio stations. Dobson and Dunham show the dedication of the fans of this music; another theme that I discuss later in this chapter. It is also important to notice that in a significant number of participants' responses (Auden; Burke; Coombes; Dobson; Dunham; Graham; Grimshaw; Gumb), becoming a fan of the music is linked with the first experience rather than a developed interest over time. This experience is described as a sudden realisation of a perfect fit (Auden; Coombes; Dobson; Dunham; Graham; Grimshaw; Gumb), so one may think of this as an intimate connection from the very start which helps to interpret the emotional responses discussed more confidently.

I will not discuss the rest of the participants in as much detail, because the responses discuss similar ideas throughout all the participants. The media through which the participants first contacted with the music remains the same: through television (Berry; Brady; Churchill; Cory; Densham; Dickens; Dobson; Froissart; Garrs; Godwin), through press (Armstrong; Atkinson; Auden; Babbage; Baring; Blackmore; Brady; Brooks; Burnett;

Carzana; Clare; Dennys; Douglas; Haworth), more significantly through social circles (Acland; Allsop; Baker; Bancroft; Bart; Bennett; Birdsall; Bradbury; Branwell; Brierly; Bunting; Carew; Carlisle; Chase; Crabtree; Elgee; Ellison; Fawkes; Fiennes; Gaskell; Gill; Gilpin; Gimzatte; Haldane; Hamley), and for the later generation through internet (Camden; Collins; Fernau; Fortescue; Fowles; Pablo). However, it is important to discuss the average ages for each of the six eras to show when this engagement started in each participant's life and how this contributes to an idea of life-long dedication. For the participants who first engaged with this music between 1994-1997, the average age is 34.34 with a mean of 35.5, which in turn suggests that the first experience was around 13-17 years of age, slightly younger than the participants who heard this music earlier. The 1998-2000 generation has an average age of 36.625 with a mean of 37.5. This means the first engagement was around 19-22. People who heard of the music of the three bands between 2001-2003 have an average age of 30.5 with a mean of 31. The first engagement for them was between ages 16 and 19. Within the participants who first heard the music between 2004-2006, the average age is 26.71 with a mean of 27, so the age of this first experience falls within the ages of 15-18. Finally, among the participants who started getting involved in this music world between 2007-2015, the average age is 22.81 with a mean of 21 making the first engagement around the ages of 13-20. There are two significant outcomes of these first ages. Firstly, even though the styles of these bands change significantly over the years, the first engagement stays within the range of 13-22. Moreover, even though the bands are getting older, fans are getting interested in this style roughly in the same post-puberty teenager years. Interestingly, they are staying with the bands over the years and the participants explicitly talk of a feeling of dedication towards

this music world. 27 participants uttered words of dedication 38 times in this study. Because each excerpt that follows shows a different perspective to this feeling, I give, here, rather lengthy examples:

My Dying Bride is obviously the band that has had least changes during the years and is basically the only of the three that is still proper doom metal in my opinion. I like each and every album they've ever done and I guess I will listen to them until the day I die. (Acland)

This year I will be traveling to Romania where I will see My Dying Bride. I have never left South Africa apart from these trips. (Allsop)

I will argue till my death that Paradise Lost's title track from *Faith Divides Us Death Unites Us* [2009] is the single greatest music video of our time. (Armstrong)

It's always time for them [the three] ... Always. (Auden)

[The music] I've found made me fall in love and now My Dying Bride is a band of my life. (Babbage)

As long as the world remains unfair, mean and crappy, doom metal will be there to save you. (Bancroft)

I am a frequent visitor of My Dying Bride gigs. I'd say I see them play at least once a year and that's been the case since 2003. I also use their gigs abroad as a reason to travel, so I won't just go to the ones that are near to where I live. (Bertie)

It started quite innocently – my father had a *One Second* EP [1997] on a CD and he played it in the car sometimes when I was really young. Many years later, my father gave me his phone...It had *In Requiem* [2007] on its memory card and I listened to that record again and again. It was a metal thing – my favourite genre – but it also had a beautiful and pure poetry. I couldn't stop listening to it and so... it began. Years later after I began my studies [in 2012], I had almost the complete Paradise Lost collection and I still listen to it without an end. This is still my favourite band. It is second to none. (Branwell)

They're [the three bands] talking to you when you most need it. I could never disagree with these bands in the meaning of their music/lyrics. [They have] never let me down. (Burke)

Paradise Lost are like the soundtrack to my life, I relate to them more than any other band! (Carlisle)

I've been listening to metal for almost 40 years, and I have no plans to stop. I've been fortunate enough to see live many of the bands I love, many more than once. Even if the time elapsed between was decades. For example, I first saw Paradise Lost in 1993, and then did not see them again until 2016. (Dunham)

Doom metal in general is a bit misunderstood, but those who like it are lifelong fans and those who don't either haven't heard it yet or have no taste. (Fawkes)

I think I feel all those bands have been a great, great support in my life. Because I have gone through some shitty times and I've found some sort of shelter in these bands. That's why I feel like they will never let me down. (Fortescue)

I've been listening to them [Anathema] for 23 years now! More than half my life. Their music has given me solace in my darkest hours, their lyrics are very resonant too, although simply said, the meaning in certain songs goes really deep. (Gumb)

I don't think I could live if I couldn't listen to Anathema's last two albums. (Haldane)

There is also an interesting age shift, not only a larger interval, in the participants who said they became interested in this style of music late 1990s. The usual age range of 13-19 suddenly moves towards late teens and early 20s for this group of fans. One may interpret this change as an indication for a paradigm shift in metal music culture.

6.3. Fan habitual behaviour and interest

As it is observed from the participant responses in the previous section, this music world in question has a 'convention' of dedication. Then how is this dedication reflected in the behaviour of these members? How can a member show dedication beyond the words? Members can occupy many roles within a music world. This increases the amount of engagement with the music world, and in connection I propose that it can be interpreted

as a way of showing dedication. More so, even within a single role, repeated 'stylised' acts increase belonging (Bell, 1999, p. 3); and interests of members beyond a single music world indicate associations with other cultures. In turn, these interests have imperative implications in deciphering the conventions of the world. The relative positions of music worlds also signify stylistic entanglement in the music of a world. The fan role in a music world portrays the comprehension of a musical style; becoming especially cogent in popular musics. The comprehension needs to be taken into account in popular music in order to analyse and trace the multi-faceted influence apparent in many musical styles.

I categorise the dedication analysis into two as discussed above: one where fans occupy different roles beyond 'the fan', and one where fans show dedication in habitual behaviour. In the journalist roles, 7 participants talked of their involvement in online blogs and zines relating to death/doom metal music (Allsop; Atkinson; Bart; Brierly; Collier; Fernau; Godwin). Also, Bancroft has been the editor of a "now extinct" printed fanzine. In the second category, participants of this ethnography show two major tendencies in the occupancy of different roles: musician and journalist. Densham stated that their engagement with the music world started with them trying to play on the guitar these bands' music that was playing on a television series. 7 participants stated that they are in death/doom bands they formed. These participants are in different roles in these death/doom bands. Acland and Fernau are vocalists in their bands; and Brooks is both a vocalist and a guitarist in a death/doom band. Burnett is a guitarist and a bassist. Graebner is a guitarist. Armstrong and Hartley have their own one-person death/doom projects. Hartley also discusses their band's tendency towards funeral doom style. This shows a clear relationship of death/doom and funeral doom styles as understood by a musician. There is also one other type of fan that may be argued to have a different role in addition

to being a fan, although this can be also be considered as an extension of fan: the collector. This type of behaviour nonetheless shows dedication and it is important to mention it. To give the context, My Dying Bride have 35 physical releases (13 albums, 6 compilations, 5 extended-plays, 5 singles, 4 live albums/videos, 1 boxed set, and 1 demo) to date. One participant (Fowles) states that they have “over 200” articles of this material. This averages to approximately six different prints per release; it is an illustration of immense dedication towards one band in this music world. With the kind permission of Fowles, below you can see a small portion of their collection (figures 6.3.1-3).



Figure 6.3.1 Different prints of As the Flower Withers (1992) of My Dying Bride, from the collection of Fowles



Figure 6.3.2 Different prints of *Turn Loose the Swans* (1993) of *My Dying Bride*, from the collection of Fowles



Figure 6.3.3 Different prints of *The Angel and the Dark River* (1995) of *My Dying Bride*, from the collection of Fowles

As I discussed, repetition of a 'stylised act' also factors into the sense of dedication among the members of this music world. This is clearly reflected in the participants' responses.

There's no time in life when doom metal doesn't work. (Acland)

[I listen to My Dying Bride] kinda (sic) like every moment. (Baker)

I try to listen to the bands whenever it's possible, but it is also depending on my mood. (Bancroft)

[I listen to My Dying Bride] independently of whether I'm happy or sad, time or day or year. (Bertie)

I listen to them really often and without clear reasons. (Branwell)

I listen to doom every day. While having breakfast, surfing internet reading the newspaper, while cleaning the house, walking, on my way to work, while relaxing and thinking on the couch/bed but mostly when I don't feel really good and I need to dream about something. (Bunting)

There are couple of things to notice in these vignettes. Firstly, a fan listens to this music as much as possible. Considering the aural qualities of the style, especially Bunting's listening regiments indicates a dedication to the music world. Branwell, similarly, demonstrates the frequency in which the fan engages the music, and "without clear reasons", or as quoted earlier 'always' (Auden). This is not without contrast of course. While some participants asserted the frequency without any required context, there are more participants who require the mood to strike in order for them to engage with this music. This idea is already hinted by Bancroft and Bunting before.

I listen to things that enhances my mood and not change it. (Bennett)

I wouldn't listen to My Dying Bride nowadays to hear how good the songs are structured. I need the mood. (Ellison)

Doom is really a question of mood. (Gilpin)

I do like a good wallow. When I'm in one of those moods, I will listen to that kind of music, like 40 Watt Sun or My Dying Bride, or Radiohead. (Gamzette)

I love dark, depressed, melancholic, despairing and heavy music – and conversely, I absolutely hate happy music. So, it's the mood of the music that gets me in general. (Hannam)

As illustrated by these participants, mood is one of the crucial things in interacting with the music. The implications of these are discussed in chapter 5, as a significant number of participants (42 out of 74) deliberate on the mood of the music and how the mood relates to their understanding of the style in detail. One can argue that as a result or a consequence of the mood being one of the important features of the musical style, two related conventions also emerge. Firstly, a fan usually listens to these bands' music by themselves. This is interesting because of the fact that when the participants talked of their music listening habits related to this music world, with the exception of two participants, they said that they listened to this music, -importantly- deliberately, when they are alone.

Doom listeners are more individualistic: we usually listen to the music that we love with our eyes closed. (Auden)

I like to give myself the time to assimilate the music and I do it sitting alone analysing all aspects, but when I take a lot of time listening to it I feel free to listen in any situation, not all music, some need a lot of time understanding. (Betjeman)

I don't like having distraction while listening to doom, because I want to be able to "feel" the songs. (Blackmore)

If I am really listening, I am looking for something that is not superficial or too much a product of its time. (Carew)

We are humans, you know. I think that we cannot really be strong all the time. And in a way, Anathema's music is not a music to play in parties, I guess. It is a band to listen preferably alone, traveling in each note played, each word sung... In general,

Anathema's music makes me happy and alive more than before in different ways. (Crabtree)

I listen to these when I'm alone, this is not a kind of sound that's easy to listen in company for other people because they speak to this mood and they convey this kind of energy. (Ellison)

How I see doom metal is that when you listen to doom metal (or any sub genres of doom) you really have to pay attention to the music. Doom isn't music to be played on the background. There are so many levels on doom metal that you can only hear/feel when it has your full attention. (Fowles)

[I listen to My Dying Bride] never with anyone else. (Gimzatte)

As observed in this collection of responses, the second convention is paying attention and making an effort to connect with the music. The listening experience needs to be intimate, and importantly, this is not an option: one should not take the music lightly. Paying attention to the music is a requirement for the listener to 'hear' the music. As Fowles puts it:

Some people I know thinks that doom metal is just a waste of time. They say 'the songs are so long and boring, and nothing happens' or 'It's just a few notes played very slow' etc. That kind of comments show that there are so many things to hear when you listen to doom, and that you really have to focus on the listening experience. There might be little material to hear on some songs but 'between the lines'. There is so much to hear and feel!

Furthermore, this attitude towards the listening experience has its exact replica in the musicians of this music world:

I can't imagine anyone listening to doom metal in the car when commuting to work. If I am going to listen to music that makes me sit up straight and focus, I will put my headphones on and pay attention. (Stainthorpe)

Interestingly, even when the listening is communal as in the context of a social gathering, the fan's experience remains as intimate as possible.

There will be times where we [friends] don't want to speak at all but draw into ourselves certain passages of music - just to stop, listen, and appreciate it together - and then continue a chat or whatever when the moment has passed. (Allsop)

I can then conclude from these responses that a ubiquitous mode of listening (Kassabian, 2013) does not apply to the death/doom music world participant. Stockfelt's 'adequate listening' makes more sense here (Schwarz, Kassabian, and Sieger, 1997). It is interesting to note, however, that contradictory to Stockfelt, who states that adequate listening is not required for assimilation, for the death/doom listener, adequate listening is actually required. It is part of the convention set. A listener must be paying attention and engaging with an effort, according to the fan, in order to be a member of this music world.

This brings me to the conventions of a concert as another type of communal listening experience. Firstly, as this is the most basic convention of a metal music culture, the participants were not asked and none of the participants has mentioned it without prompting. From my personal experience of many My Dying Bride, Anathema, and Paradise Lost concerts around Europe, I can confidently state that wearing a black-coloured band t-shirt (usually a band of a related style, if not the actual band) to a concert is commonplace. However, behaviour is where this music world differs from an average metal concert.

I noticed there was a guy next to me [in my first My Dying Bride concert] weeping physically and with his fists he literally saying every single word and I was just really amazed by how much all these people were moved by this music and seemed to have such strong connection with it. (Gimzatte)

Definitely there's more of a stillness [in My Dying Bride concerts]...Because I like to quite get involved and swish my hair around a little bit and I think the girl next to me was getting a little annoyed. I noticed that not a lot of people were moving. (Gimzatte)

Most of us [doom listeners] will go home sober, or considerably less drunk than the [folk metal audience]. Our time will be spent more in conversation and analysis than in revelry. (Allsop)

Stillness and appreciation, i.e. analysis, come forth as the important behavioural aspects in the concert experience of this music world. It is important to note the openly emotional response as well. This lines up well with the individuality of this music world's fan members, which will be discussed later in the chapter. The concert behaviour is also reminiscent of other music styles, especially art music. The similarity in this is intriguingly reflected in the general music preferences of the participants.

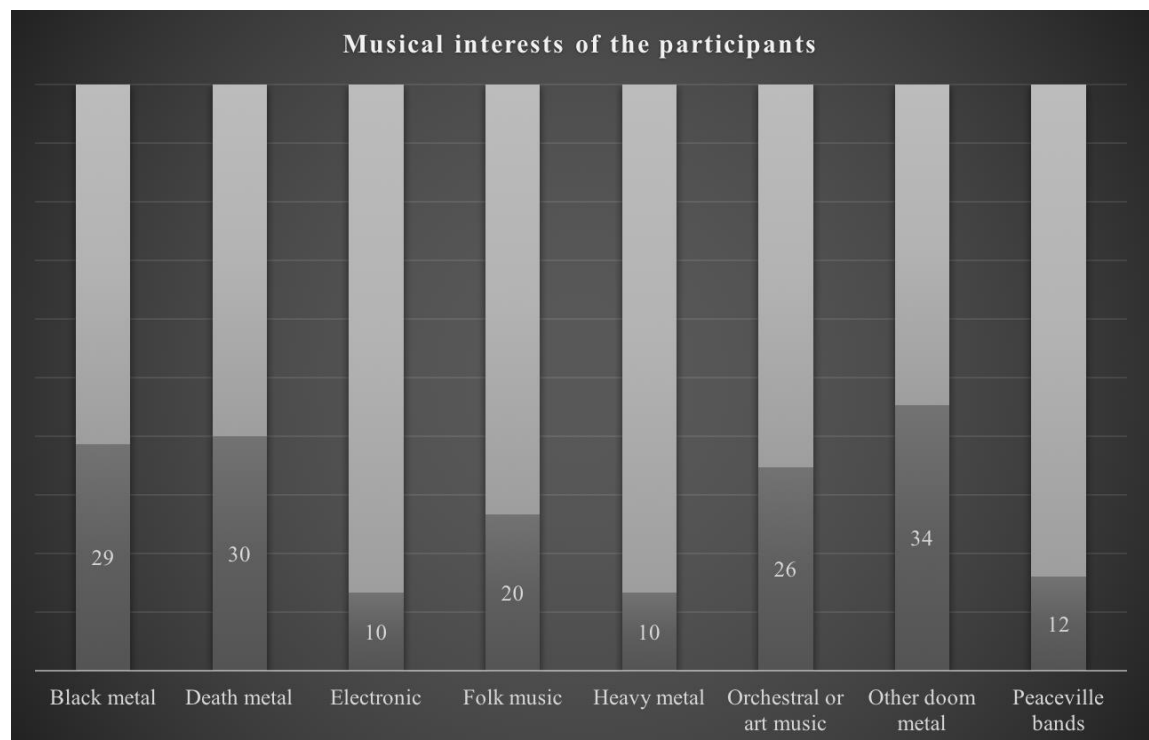


Figure 6.3.4 Musical Interests of the participants

The participants' musical interests beyond the three bands can be interpreted towards an understanding of death/doom musical style in relation to these other styles of music. Using the same idea, one can also observe the cultural connections to other music worlds. In figure 6.3.4 ($n = 74$), you can see more prominent interests of the participants of this research. This list above is limited, because listing all the individual musical interests would have been impractical as the participants have varying interests covering a big portion of the musical spectrum. The same as before, this chart only shows the interests when the participant stated that a particular band or style is among their favourites. First thing to notice in this chart is the eminence of death and black metal styles. While death/doom fans having an interest in death metal is expected, black metal remains relatively intriguing. This can be due to the fact that especially My Dying Bride members' interest in early black metal. As a result of this, My Dying Bride's individual style sometimes –inconsistently- stray away from death/doom towards a more 'blackened' style. This stylistic anomaly is clearly reflected in the number of fans who share both death/doom and black metal cultural spaces. Another interesting phenomenon from this chart is the number of other doom band fans: it is *only* 34. I write *only* because it is less than half of the participants, leaving the majority as people who do not care as much about the other doom metal bands. So, death/doom on its own is not subordinate to either death or doom music worlds from this angle, but rather a separate cultural space. This shows the position of this music world, one that is clearly positioned culturally in between the music worlds black metal, death metal, and doom metal. As discussed in chapter 5, this close relationship is not musically as striking as it is in the fan bases; showing the importance of fans' interests in the relative position of a music world. The position further helps to answer a question hinted by Aaron Stainthorpe:

We are playing Inferno Festival [an important black metal festival based in Oslo, Norway] this year. I don't know why we keep getting invited to that festival. It is always all black metal then we come on the stage and slow things down for a bit. (in interview 2015)

So even though the musical connection might be relatively obscure, the cultural connection is definitely there as reflected in the fans. The addition of this idea to the above chart can be used to better analyse the rest of the relationships. As one can witness, the overlap with heavy metal fandom is relatively low. Heavy metal fans are as much as electronic music (including EDM, EBM, dubstep, trip hop etc.). This shows the distance of death/doom world from a commonly-referred-neighbour heavy metal. One may argue the relevance of heavy metal in this context. It is easy, yet misleading, to assume a close relationship between heavy metal and death/doom using again the above chart and noticing the fascinating number of orchestral (i.e. soundtracks to different media such as films, television series, video games etc.) and art (commonly and mistakenly referred to as classical music as the musical interests lay beyond the rough period 1730-1810 when participants say classical music) music. Walser (1993) argues the close relationship of art music and heavy metal; this would make heavy metal a third part which the death/doom fan uses to interact with art music. This 'use' would be in terms of the familiarity of musical vocabulary or cultural familiarity in the sense of a culture of virtuosity. However, in the death/doom case, because the fan –relatively- is not interested in heavy metal but in art music, one should argue that heavy metal does not exist in this relationship between death/doom and art music, but rather it is a direct relationship. Moreover, the culture of virtuosity does not exist in death/doom conventions evidenced by the nonexistence of any participants' mention of such a concept in the context of this music, and by the musicians'

self-professed skill levels. Virtuosity does not have any bearing or even materiality in the discussion of either the resources or the conventions of this music world. As a result, death/doom music world looks to be much closer to art music world than to heavy metal music world, further supported by the previous discussions of concert conventions and listening habits.

It is also important to note the high number of folk music fans. This is rather surprising, and it does not give an immediate answer as to why this connection might exist. Stylistically, death/doom does not show any significant folk music elements, including folk metal. There is a contradiction here, because there does not seem to be an apparent link between the two music worlds. This gets further confusing when Andy Farrow of Northern Music Co (the management of Anathema and Paradise Lost, and managerial advice for My Dying Bride) says that he is looking to push Anathema for big folk festivals, because he thinks they have a natural audience there already (in interview 2016). Even though this is with Anathema's recent repertoire, the fact that the existing fans continued and still continue their support throughout Anathema's career combined with Farrow's idea that a folk festival attendee can naturally enjoy Anathema suggests that this connection is not just a statistical anomaly. I argue that this overlap with folk music results from a similar sentiment that is present in both the music of the three bands and folk music: a bucolic sentiment that reflects from where this music is: northern England. According to Spracklen, "finding the authentic voice of the northern working-class community [is a] popular middle-class fashion" (2016, p. 8). Keeping in mind the demographics of this music world and from this angle, it is understandable that this northern English voice is something the fan actively seeks. It is important to note that one may assume that this is

only relevant for a UK-based fan. However, the idea of a northern 'romantic landscape' surprisingly translates across the globe.

I am from Mexico, the culture is very different, always and thought that music is a cultural reflection of where it takes place, which was passing in Halifax or in Liverpool at that time or they were just people looking for new horizons, these factors led those musicians to the edge. (Betjeman)

Betjeman's statement supports Coverley's definition of 'genius loci': "a kind of historical consciousness that exposes the psychic connectivity of landscapes both urban and rural" (2006, p. 16). We can further explore this 'consciousness' in the music through the global fan's mind.

I liked the emotions, the heaviness and the unique musical ideas they created with atmosphere of their art (some touch of... don't know... at one moment epic, at the other Celtic sound?). (Brady, from Poland)

My Dying Bride can be a bit too "romantic" or too English. (Carlisle, from South Africa)

The emotion, the atmosphere, the texture: it feels dark and humid, like in a cave, it's transcendental and theatrical, I love the folk influences, like soft, flowing scents of Irish and Welsh old Celtic here and there! But far from overpowering, rather hidden. Very personal and unique musical expression, as well, honest and true to the individual band members and the bands as a whole. (Gumb, from Greece)

Many times, I reserve a special time to listen to my favourite music, and I like to listen to My Dying Bride (and sad and nostalgic music) during the cloudy days. (Pablo, from Chile)

I deliberately left the participants stating that the music has a Celtic influence as they are, because it is reasonable that for someone living nowhere near the United Kingdom, a northern England feel will inevitably carry a Celtic sentiment within it in its translation as evidenced by the hesitance of Brady. So, this mistaken identity does not invalidate the opinion. I also included Pablo here because cloudy weather is one of the characteristics

of Yorkshire and northern England. This northern sentiment becomes much clearer when the fan is from England, as expected:

Musically, My Dying Bride paint from a different pallet as the misty moors and snow-covered hills of Yorkshire seem to bleed into every riff. [They] are like *Wuthering Heights* [Ellis Bell (Emily Brontë), 1847, Thomas Cautley Newby in London]: drama, passion, love, loss, sex, death, and the howling wind of the Moors in winter. (Haldane, from Yorkshire)

I was trying to avoid clichés like they evoke the spirit of the Moors and stuff like that, but I think Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride are embodiments of Yorkshire in some way. The rainy hills of Yorkshire and stuff, I would picture listening to My Dying Bride... There's something in there. Once the first track ['The Dreadful Hours'] in *The Dreadful Hours* [2001] where it sounds like it's raining, that sounds like Yorkshire to me. (Garr, from Yorkshire)

I'd say there's much more [in My Dying Bride's music] a raw quality, much more of an honest, much more of a... I'm really tempted to say Northernness, kind of that the reflection of the... I don't know how to describe what I mean. There's that kind of roughness that you just associate with Northernness, that kind of simplicity. (Gimzatte, from Yorkshire)

For the northerner fan there is also pride in the locality. This suggests a further intimacy with the bands and the music world, because Garr, as quoted before stating that they were interested in looking for music from Yorkshire specifically, is taking pride in something that is their own. At the end, this bucolic sentiment felt by these fans easily helps to relate folk music culturally to death/doom music world.

As I mentioned before, even from only the fan's musical interests, one may argue that death/doom is a separate music world. This is also supported by the fan. Participants have become interested or are interested in this music because it is different. The participants state similar feelings towards the difference and the 'unique' nature of this musical style. I include several excerpts here to show the consistency of this response.

I think that what set it apart for me from other metal I was listening to at the time was that it was more emotive than anything else available. Obviously, I'm referring lyrically, but then the actual music shaped around the feelings of those lyrics - or perhaps it was the other way around, but emotive is how I perceived it...Metal, by nature, seemed until that point to only explore ugliness and shallow things; mostly, it was about gore and carnage, or politics and other problems external to 'the self'. These doom bands turned their lyrical attention towards inner things; they represented an exploration of one's humanity, and about what we as humans are filled with, or not filled with, or what we once were filled with and want to know why/how we lost it. (Allsop)

These bands [the three] don't write traditional pop love songs with three minutes. I have no interest in disposable music that takes 20 minutes to record and even less time to write. We've heard those songs a million times and nothing new is being added to the body of work. "I love you" or "Why don't you love me?" ... yeah, yeah, vomit. (Armstrong)

They [the three bands] cover a range of emotions (both in lyrics and music) that is not covered by other bands or genres. (Bennett)

I found doom to be very atmospheric, especially in contrast to more traditional metal bands and I really enjoyed that. I found doom to have to many more layers than other sounds. And that's just the music. (Birdsall)

I believe that most doom metal bands (including My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost and Anathema) can make you feel certain things, something that for me personally doesn't happen while listening to other types of metal. (Blackmore)

I became a fan when I realised that I felt something different when I heard these bands, nothing compared with usual black metal bands. I felt identified with the lyrics, the rhythm. (Bunting)

It sounded way different from everything I've heard in the metal music. I fell in love with their work immediately...The thick, heavy tone of the guitar riffs caught my attention as they sounded very different from what I was used to. (Chase)

My Dying Bride were so different and unique that it blew my mind! (Churchill)

It's all about the emotions, the slow-paced songs along with the faster ones. I had been a fan of the Swedish death metal scene for a while, but the slow heavy songs brought something else that I really liked. (Clare)

I felt like I discovered a completely new world, the feeling was amazing! After [the album *Lost Paradise* (1990)], I found all the other albums by them [Paradise Lost] and realized, that their music is definitely unique. There is still no other band for me, that would sound like they do. (Davies)

Once I had listened a song of Paradise Lost from album *Gothic* [1991] - it was so unusual; I still remember that feeling. (Griffiths)

As observed from these excerpts, these bands provide a different, in most cases, a unique experience to the fan. It is also important to notice that the referential point shifts from pop music (Armstrong) to black metal (Bunting) to death metal (Clare) to heavy metal and metal music in general (Allsop; Birdsall; Blackmore; Chase); hinting at the separation of this music world even when it is sometimes referred among doom metal bands (Birdsall; Blackmore).

6.4. Sense of community and friction

It is not only the music or the first experience that feels different for the fan, but it is also who they are and to what they feel or do not feel like they belong. Even though there is a dissonance in this thought, it is important to discuss these responses as they illustrate another convention of the music world. The divide on opinion regarding whether there is a doom or more specifically death/doom community exists is significantly large. Out of 70 participants, 9 of them stated that they feel like they belong to not a doom community, but they felt that they belonged to a large metal community. The sentiment among these participants are towards unity, and one of the main reasons for this emerges as their involvement with other styles and cultures within metal music.

I honestly don't feel part of a doom metal community; however, I feel as part of the metal community as a whole instead. (Bancroft)

I don't consider myself part of a doom metal community, but rather metal community in general. (Collins)

I would consider myself in metal community as a whole rather than doom metal because I listen to many genres in metal. (Cookworthy)

I think community-wise metal cultures should not be alienated from each other. We are all part of a big community. (Dickens)

I'm not sure if I've ever felt part of a specific doom community. I see it as an extreme metal community or just a metal community. (Garrs)

I consider myself part of a metal community, not restricted to doom metal. (Gill)

There are couple of interesting things to notice here, starting with the sense of restriction. Avoiding restriction, expressed by Gill, can be thought to be part of this music world. The death/doom fan sees themselves as open-minded and free of restriction. This is already hinted at by the fan's musical interest. Among the participants, there is an interesting and wide range of musical involvement in one role or another. But the open-mindedness gets mentioned specifically.

Well, most of my friends are fans of gore/death/thrash metal and some of them like Anathema because they have an open mind. Fans of Anathema are open-minded, you know. (Crabtree)

[Doom fans, in my opinion, are] more thoughtful, autonomous and free-thinking with a romantic sentiment. (Froissart)

The openness to new ideas emerges as one of the conventions of the music world. Another idea is the perceived discreteness of a death/doom culture as hinted by Dickens. While these participants think themselves to be something larger, the nuanced doom

community is still articulated through an idea of separation. 26 out of 70 participants support this idea of separation in their allegiance or belonging.

I feel like I'm the part of doom metal community because of my musical taste, state of mind and soul, the way I'm dressed. I feel different at doom metal concerts than in perhaps folk metal concerts. (Babbage)

Doom does not enjoy a huge fan base in South Africa, so when we find a fellow enthusiast, we do not easily disregard them. (Allsop)

I would say I used to [be part of a doom community]. Some bands used to have forums on their pages, and I made some great friends on there. However, social media really killed that. I have a few groups on Facebook that I occasionally participate in, but these days I mainly email my old gig friends. (Armstrong)

I [feel part of a doom community]. That's why I started to write my reviews on good doom metal and started a community about Paradise Lost in [a] social network. It's kind of an information centre for people who are into what I like. (Brierly)

I would consider myself as a member of the doom community because I am contributing music into it, even if I don't have much interaction with people who consider themselves doom fans. I feel that this is more important. [...] Doom is a smaller subset of the larger metal community, so while we associate with the more general community, there is a certain fellowship through the mutual appreciation of doom. (Brooks)

[I do not feel part of] specifically a doom community, but a community related to these bands [the three]. (Carzana)

I've never joined a forum, but often felt like part of the family at shows. (Fawkes)

Because there's quite a lot of [one day festivals] going on in Manchester, and there's always a strong group of women who are there who some people actually like to affectionately refer to as 'women of doom'. I feel like I'm a bit of part of that. (Gimzatte)

One may argue this separation to be as specific as a few bands according to Carzana above. According to a significant number of participants, this separation from the larger cultural context exists, and furthermore they feel like they belong to something separate. Here is where the dissonance among the participants comes in. While 50% ($n = 70$) of the

participants feel part of metal community either in their smaller context or as a whole, there are another 35 participants, who have strong feelings towards a dismissal of such a community existing to begin with or as I show below, even if it does exist, their rejection of belonging to such an entity.

I do not consider myself part of any specific community, although sometimes I attend meeting places, both physical and virtual, dedicated to particular musical movements. (Atkinson)

Listening to music is a personal experience; I don't feel to be part of a community. I like talking with other guys about the music I love, but every one of us feels the music, especially this kind of music, in a very personal way. (Auden)

I don't feel a part of a community. I wouldn't like to be a part of a community. It's just music. (Berry)

No, absolutely not. [in response to the question asking whether they feel part of a doom community]. (Brady)

I don't consider myself part of a doom metal community. I know a lot of people who like My Dying Bride or some other relatively famous doom metal band, but they usually prefer other genres. So, I have friends with whom I can share some of my music, but I'm the only actual doom metal fan amongst the people I see regularly. And usually I listen to doom metal alone. (Carew)

I have to say when talking about metal communities, I'm just like with my nationality: yes, I'm Chilean and a metalhead, but I don't feel like being part of a Chilean or a metalhead community directly. I despise nationalities as much as I despise metal labels. (Douglas)

I don't consider myself as a part of doom metal community. I sometimes write my thoughts to some metal forums but that's about it. I'm just a normal doom metal fan that likes to listen the music that gives great pleasure. (Fowles)

To be honest I don't feel a part of any community as I try not to identify as a stereotype; I'm a guy who loves metal, rather than a metallor, if you get me. (Froissart)

I am part of nothing. I feel that although I could share many feelings with other people, I do not like being part of a community. (Graham)

I don't frequent forums or anything like that so don't feel part of a community in that sense. I just listen to the music and go to gigs. (Hannam)

I chose to include numerous examples here because from these excerpts alone, *not* feeling part of the community appears as almost a requirement to *be part* of the community. I argue that this is a convention of the music world as well. When we analyse the reasons that people give for feeling this way, we see three patterns. Firstly, participants feel like they do not belong because either they see themselves inactive, i.e. only listening to the music or going to the concerts (Fowles; Hannam), or they deliberately stay inactive through only listening to music or going to the concerts (Auden; Berry). But this inactivity aligns with the activity of the participants who feel part of a doom community. For example, for Armstrong a previous involvement with internet forums is enough for a community; at the same time for Atkinson the same activity is not. This supports my argument that the feeling of isolation is a convention of this music world. The second pattern is where the participants are very individualistic and do not want to be labelled with anything (Douglas; Froissart; Graham). This individuality resonates well within the music world in general. The connotations of these are already observed in the previous excerpts. More so, however, doom world members being highly individualised is something that comes up often among the participants.

The doom metal fan base is more deeply connected to introspective and personal issues, creating a wide range of behavioural differences, hypothetically similar to those of dark wave, compared to punk. (Atkinson)

Doom listeners are more individualistic: we usually listen to the music that we love with our eyes closed. (Auden)

At most you will find two or three bands [in doom metal] that resemble each other. If you take power metal or thrash metal, you will find hundreds of bands that sound like each other. (Carew)

It's part of the whole [metal community] but I think doom metal community is very peculiar. I think black and doom metal communities are both elitists in some way. Because they detach themselves from others somehow. When I look at my other metal friends, they have a certain view of their own style that is very peculiar. People who define themselves in thrash metal or death metal, you have more communication among them, but doom metal starts itself as something else I think. (Ellison)

When my friends talked about who came and went [in bands], I felt like this was just gossip. I wasn't really about that. It was more important for me how the music sounded rather than knowing all these things about bands. (Farrar)

I like to keep the experience personal, unless it's through musical collaboration, which is unavoidable. (Froissart)

Ellison and Farrar's answers tie into the third pattern where the participants stated that they do not feel part of a community because they feel that other people are not as well-versed as themselves (Carew). In Carew's terms, the belonging of a fan comes from their knowledge of the music world. A well-socialised member of this music world can only be 'the actual fan'.

The theme of self-reflection already emerges from the previous analyses; so for other conventions, I also look at how the fan sees themselves independent from other factors. One important feature of this music world that it is a small one and in relation, it is bound to stay underground. This state of underground is a commonly accepted state as mentioned before: "Doom is doomed to never be a commercial proposition" (Terrorizer #143, 2006, p. 43). However, this does not change the fact that "there has always been a hardcore and devoted following and enthusiasm [in doom metal]" (Terrorizer #14, 1994,

p. 12). It is a community that is “more reclusive, and elusive than most music groups” (Bute).

If there was a doom community, it would hardly be more than 10 of us! (Gumb)

Only a few keeps [doom metal] alive, and they don't depend on *Kerrang!* or *Metal Hammer* to tell them what to listen to. (Haworth)

The word ‘doom’ in this music world seems to carry a literal meaning within the culture. According to the fan, because it is small and ‘reclusive’, the community has an impression of anguish and mourning.

On the doom side, things are a lot more sombre. Not to be misconstrued as boring or a ‘misery loves company’ sort of gathering, but just sincerer. (Allsop)

[Doom metal fans] are more poetic, pessimistic, [and] goth. (Berry)

Music in my opinion should feel beyond the letters. It is difficult to [feel] entirely from music when you listen to genres like thrash metal. [In that] you can feel the hate, the music is fast and strong and you focus those feelings, but it is easier to release all that anger for your own problems when you listen carefully to those demons [within you] and ask why no other music [than doom metal] based on my perception can give you this opportunity to let you hear and then feel the pain, sadness, melancholy, anxiety of this world your own unique world and [the world] we call reality that nobody wants to think. (Betjeman)

They call extreme metal only bands of black or death metal that is anger and velocity, but... isn't doom metal the other extreme? Deep sadness that we all suffer. (Bunting)

I have always found Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride quite deep and serious. A lot of death doom portrays tragedy, loss, mourning, depression, isolation and apocalypse. That speaks to me much more than some juvenile goregrind band obsessed with brain eating zombies or some power metal band obsessed with big swords. (Carew)

It's a lot of despair and melancholy in doom metal as opposed to the outright aggression and angst found in things like death or black metal. They tend to have a much more realistic view of what the world is and could be in doom metal, as opposed to other forms. (Godwin)

I think the main difference [of doom metal community] is this obsession with death and darkness. The feeling of not belonging to this world is very common as well. (Graham)

There is a convincing emotional common ground among the participants. This is further supported by a sense of 'close-knit' (Allsop) community also in relation with the size of it.

It's a bit closer knit community [compared to other metal], you will always see the same people at shows or gatherings year after year, and a simple show can almost become like a reunion when someone has been away for a while dealing with a job or life in general. (Godwin)

Furthermore,

People are friendly to each other more easily, as they are a small group in a large society. (Gill)

As there are not that many people involved, the doom metal scene is some kind of a big family. (Hartley)

This 'family' idea brings forth a sense of sincerity in this music world as well. I give the participant responses here in detail and in length, because I think it shows the different ways how sincerity works in the music world member's mind.

The same people who are still a part of the doom social group are for the most part the same people who would join a long hike up into the mountains bearing instruments to do our folk meeting-jam-session whereas those who have since dispersed were largely the ones who would only join a folk gathering if it was at a location accessible by car. Sincerity is a definite personality trait of doom fans, in my opinion. (Allsop)

[Some friends who listen to doom metal] are posers, for they don't appreciate the whole meaning of doom metal; while others are more like me, and by that I mean not a comic-book-heavy-metal-fan-character. That is the step that differentiates doom metal from most other metal genres...The authentic fan I mentioned...has a spirit that is also found in fans of classical music, especially of the romantic age, fans of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of [Richard] Wagner, and that kind of stuff. They want it all, not just the appearance of all (at least not all the time – I am not a crazy radical, as you can

see from the wide spectrum of music I listen to... But sometimes I need more than just that power feeling that almost every good heavy metal tune gives). (Baker)

Other non-doom bands to me sound a little more meaningless; occasionally a lot more meaningless. (Bertie)

So, they are always "honest", meaning that they are not written for commercial purposes (after all they last 7-8 minutes), but are used by the artist as a way to express feelings. (Blackmore)

You can hear that the musicians put a lot of thought and personal feelings in their songs and I personally appreciate that a lot more than the standard and by-the-numbers song writing of other types of music...They have the courage to include very personal feelings and emotions in their music. On the same cd (or sometimes same song), you can hear the different emotions like hatred, despair, rage, etc.; and these bands are able to include, which is very difficult and deserves a lot of respect. (Bradbury)

Doom is an alternative niche within an alternative community, it is not flashy enough to be listened to appear cool or popular enough to be listened to because all your friends do. As such most people I have encountered who listen to doom do so because they like the music, this being the main criteria of being a doom fan, along with the diverse range of sub-genres and fusion style, mean that doom fans are freer to just be themselves...The true aesthetics of music is a many-faceted thing which no single genre can ever truly hope to fully express, but the glimpses of such ideal that doom can express are some of the most honest images of it. (Brooks)

[The musicians of the three bands] are genuine, true to their music and fans, they have tradition, are evolving with every release without compromising. (Burke)

Writing doom riffs and songs is something that comes very naturally to me, probably because I'm at heart a fairly antisocial, deeply cynical and pessimistic person and that gets channelled through my guitar. I have no desire or need to impress the kind of people who are impressed by shred wanking. (Burnett)

[The musicians of the three bands] seem like honest and very down to earth, like ordinary people with great talent. (Clare)

People who are into doom, are closer to the sombre side of life. But that doesn't mean they can't be joyful. They just accept their emotions as they are, not trying to hide from the sad ones. (Davies)

The notable thing that is missing in most other music is real emotion, I only real feel that with metal, and particularly doom and black metal. (Elgee)

When I read the text from “Catherine Blake”, which is the first song on the CD [*Songs of Darkness, Words of Light* of My Dying Bride, 2004]. I thought this is much more brilliant than the average metal band. There is actual strong meaning in what these people are trying say and trying to convey meaning through their music. At first it was emotional but then I’ve found that you can actually play this kind of music without being superficially pessimistic or superficially dark. (Ellison)

The people that listen to doom metal music hold it very dear. (Fowles)

I liked the audience as well. I noticed there was a guy next to me weeping physically and with his fists he literally saying every single word and I was just really amazed by how much all these people were moved by this music and seemed to have such strong connection with it...I just feel that [the vocals of Aaron Stainthorpe of My Dying Bride] has got just such an honesty to it as well as a vulnerability at the same time. And as a vocalist, I’m always attracted to vocalists from the band to listen to how they do things with their voices and I feel like he’s not one of those vocalists who is amazing technically, but it’s that kind of simplicity, that kind of basic approach that appeals to me a lot. It’s very modal and very earthy. (Gimzatte)

I don’t think their intention is to be “metal”; it happens to be, when you want to express this kind of feelings and thoughts. And I still think they are honest. The music or lyrics is being suffered and self-experienced. (Grimshaw)

‘In this case, I think it’s the honesty. There’s no cliché or mask you could wear; because very few people listen to that music, it won’t benefit you if you fake it. Either you love it or you don’t, there’s no in-between. (Hartley)

The small community idea is further reflected in these responses; and more so because it is small, the sincerity comes into play. It is also important to note that this sincerity comes up usually in two ways: one where the fan notices sincerity in doom metal fans, and one where the fan sees insincerity outside. So, the latter suggests a comparison. This has different connotations. I contend that the comparison can be a friction illustrating the relative position of the music world rather than only as a convention.

It is not surprising for anyone who is an insider to any metal culture that friction among metal cultures and extra-metal cultures exists prominently. The participants of this research proved no different than the expectation. This friction is important because it exhibits the music world's wish to separate themselves culturally from others. More interestingly, the participants showed a conflict within the music world as well. To give a clear idea of how common sentiments of antagonism with other cultures than death/doom or doom metal: 49 participants out of 74 used words of conflict in 116 instances. This theme ended up being, by far, the largest among the participants. There has been excerpts from participants so far which have these same ideas as below, however, here I will focus on the conflicts and comparisons by themselves and I will try to demonstrate as many of these different ideas as possible here without getting repetitive.

I'm not too thrilled by those which aspire towards blatant brutality [in extreme metal], as I feel that many of these sacrifice musical integrity in order to sell an idea or gimmick (and usually a bad one, or in poor taste) more than to make quality music. That's not to say I do not enjoy the more extreme end of the spectrum - I do - but certain styles within that do not appeal to me at all. (Allsop)

I like that they deal with serious things and not silly things, about girls, motorbikes and drugs. (Baring)

Lyrical, it [doom metal] was more personal, psychologically and emotionally. While Black metal was more philosophical and death metal was ... entertaining... Besides anger, hate, brutality, joy, metal needs a channel for melancholy, depression, sadness, in a non-suicidal way (depressive black metal is not the same as doom). (Bart)

I sense that when doom metal loses the mood, by that saying that when it becomes just music and not a theme, an anthem, it loses its depth and becomes like any other kind of extreme metal, but with cooler and slowed down riffs. (Baker)

The lyrical, emotional and thematic universe in death/doom is of great importance. I think that a lot of metal music is juvenile. I even thought that when I was listening to Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride as a 14-year-old. I was never able to take bands

like Judas Priest or Manowar serious. They seemed to me almost like parody bands, and still do...If it's just entertainment for a party, I can enjoy Judas Priest or Cyndi Lauper all the same...At most you will find two or three bands that resemble each other [in doom metal]. If you take power metal or thrash metal, you will find hundreds of bands that sound like each other. (Carew)

The difference is usually in the atmosphere. For example, Paradise Lost are usually heavier and gloomier in what they do. Sometimes they are also more ingenious in their music, than the bands of other metal genres...I guess those who like doom metal, are more thoughtful and reflecting than others. (Davies)

I think it is interesting because it's [the music of the three bands] such a deep music. I think it's much deeper than death metal or black metal. There was darkness, and all these themes that are typical of metal music, and the strong approach on the life and its meaning, but they were not so blindly hateful as you can find in other bands...You can't listen to a record of Skepticism and give it a shallow listening. You have to pay attention to what you're listening. I don't think it's same with bands like Exodus and Testament. (Ellison)

In other extreme forms of metal, I find there to be more of a focusing on judging outwards (i.e. disdain for society, religion, politics), whereas doom metal seems to have less judgment, but more so the song writer's disheartenment with the world. Those who are more familiar with thrash or death metal may sort of lump most doom metal together as being slow and unhappy, whereas a seasoned doom metal fan might find certain doom bands to sound introspective, majestic, and even cheerful in some cases. (Fernau)

I had been into metal for a few years and listen to Megadeth and the likes but could not quite make the transition to death metal as I found the incessant brutality too contrived, flat, and boring. But upon hearing the death/doom genre, I discovered a sound that sounded more song-like in structure yet progressive, while accessing the melancholic/brutality dichotomy. In short, it sounded very real, very human, and wasn't bound by the inflexibility of the other metal styles. There was more freedom for expression. I love a slower/mid groove & tempo rather than the franticness of thrash, which I find to be boring and without dimension. [Death/doom musicians] seem to be less of a caricature and better able to articulate and express. (Froissart)

[The three bands] didn't have to be aggressive to impress; I thought that was something. Thrash metal has a 'fun' aspect that doom metal doesn't really have... So, it's refreshing to listen to it! It's so full of energy... I mean, doom metal has energy too, but doom metal tries more to reach your heart, when other metal genres are more aiming your guts. (Gilpin)

[The three bands have] more serious work with melody, not just extreme riffs. (Griffiths)

95% of metal is horribly generic, uninspired tripe; and 99% of all other music is. Being a metal fan, for me, doesn't mean it has to be heavy, it simply means I don't limit my appreciation of music by how heavy it is....[Doom metal] may be a bit less 'beer & bitches' and a bit more grown-up and cerebral. (Hannam)

The first conflict is with other metal styles. Participants consistently argue that metal is light in terms of material, especially lyrical material, when compared to doom metal music. Being 'serious' is one of the important themes that come up. According to the fan, doom metal is not superficial music; it deals and should deal with what is important in life in a serious way, avoiding being gimmick-y.

They [the three bands] didn't want to be everywhere possible, also they haven't been doing their music with a big audience, like probably Sabaton did. They were mysterious and very talented...Doom metallers aren't people who try to surpass each other in number of patches they have on their denim coats. (Babbage)

I think that listening and appreciating doom metal require a way of thinking that is more open and more serious. I am aware that in the same circle of extreme music, doom is not highly valued and is certainly rejected on occasion. (Betjeman)

You can hear that the musicians put a lot of thought and personal feelings in their songs and I personally appreciate that a lot more than the standard and by-the-numbers song writing of other types of music...What I mean with metal elitism is that for example, I know some people who refuse to listen to My Dying Bride because they only listen to the brutal and fast stuff; their loss, in my opinion. (Bradbury)

I think that doom metal community is somehow enlightened. Maybe it's a little superstitious but I never met a person who listen to doom metal who is not intelligent or original. I think that doom metal community is, somehow, metal outsiders. Maybe

it's because that genre is much slower and open for contemplation than other metal genres. There is one thing – I think that doom metallers love truly their music for music, not because it's 'trendy', 'soooooo alteeeeeeeernaaaaaatiiiiive' (sic), or full of hatred to police, establishment, or minorities. (Branwell)

Another thing that makes doom different than black is the supporters in concerts. Blackers (sic) are way more aggressive than doomies (sic). I have never seen any case of violence in a doom metal concert, however blackers are more aggressive and if they are drunk... Be careful. Doomie audience are more respectful than blackers. With respectful, I don't mean only about pushing or having arguments or being annoying while drunk... Doomies respect the music, the atmosphere, the pause (not yelling while there is a silence), etc. (Bunting)

There's an epic majesty to it, a depth of emotion and beauty that 'regular' metal just can't come close to. From a musical perspective, you have to be doing something special to keep an audience listening to slow, measured, well-chosen notes and build an atmosphere from that...It's all about what you are saying with your instrument, and if all you can say is 'look how fast I can play, kids!', then in my opinion you have failed as a musician...Doom lovers are drawn towards darker things but can see the beauty in those things that the floppy-haired, check-shirted, skinny-jeaned brigade can't comprehend. (Burnett)

I think what I really liked was, that the people [in a doom metal concert] were quite relaxed and funny. Black metal fans tend to be elitist; and death metal fans usually show off with how much they drank last night and try to behave in a metal manner (which I really cannot stand). Doomsters [sic] on the other hand were open minded, friendly, a bit shy maybe but definitely likeable and you could always have a nice chat. (Churchill)

Peer pressure wasn't a factor [in listening to death/doom], because then, I would've just stuck with listening to bands like Guns N' Roses and Metallica. (Dobson)

I have known some 'doomsters' here in Chile, and they are a lot more chill relaxed people [than other metal fans]. (Douglas)

You don't seem to get a lot of people who start fights at gigs or listen to mainstream music [in doom metal]. Doom metal in general is a bit misunderstood, but those who

like it are lifelong fans and those who don't either haven't heard it yet or have no taste. (Fawkes)

It's a lot of despair and melancholy in doom metal as opposed to the outright aggression and angst found in things like death or black metal. They tend to have a much more realistic view of what the world is and could be in doom metal, as opposed to other forms, at least from my perspective. It's a comforting sound, but probably just for people like me. I know that I enjoy the heaviness and atmosphere that will scare a small portion of people away, and just bore the rest to tears...I notice a lot more women in the doom metal community than in others, and they are there by choice instead of just tagging along with a boyfriend/husband. The doom metal community also seems a bit more liberal and tolerant than other metal communities such as black metal. It doesn't really matter who or what you are, if you enjoy doom, and treat others with respect the same will be returned. (Godwin)

The second conflict is again against the larger metal culture; however, it is among fan cultures. The death/doom fan sees themselves as more intellectual and tolerant. As I discussed previously in this section, according to the fan, the fan is open-minded, introspective, emotional and usually a thinker. Interestingly, the idea of respecting both each other and the music comes up fairly regularly. This, again, points towards a common convention of an music world audience. It is also notable that the exclusivity of doom metal fandom from the fan's point of view. It is not for everyone and especially not for other metal fans who would not understand it or would be bored by it.

The true aesthetics of music is a many-faceted thing which no single genre can ever truly hope to fully express, but the glimpses of such an ideal that doom can express are some of the most honest images of it. (Brooks)

The music will be dark, obscure, sad and surprisingly, there are other types of music that can express these emotions but not to the level of doom metal, is just impossible...I would say doom metal is not for everybody. (Bancroft)

I believe that most doom metal bands (of course including My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost and Anathema) can make you feel certain things, something that for me personally doesn't happen while listening to other types of metal. (Blackmore)

The notable thing that is missing in most other music is real emotion, I only real feel that with metal, and particularly doom and black metal. (Elgee)

This kind of music [death/doom] tries to transmit something strong. Popular music only seeks to entertain. (Graham)

The participants also state that doom metal gives something that no other music can. The theme of sincerity emerges here as well. For the fan, doom metal is an honest music, a personally relatable one. This is important as this feeling of authenticity among the fans is one of the conventional emotional responses, which I discuss later in this chapter.

The philosophy, mentality, value judgements, ethics, knowledge and experiences of a doom metal fan should be completely different than a fan of popular music. The lyrics of the songs from different types of musics may tell similar stories, but the musical and instrumental substructure shapes the listener mass of that music. I think the sound coming into the ear transforms into a human character, when it is perceived and interpreted by the brain, containing some boundaries, expectations, beliefs, values, decisions that determines the personal preferences of a listener. That's why, I don't believe a doom fan can listen to both doom and hip hop for example. A musician may do it as the nature of his occupation, but it is not natural to me for a listener or doom fan. (Downe)

I listen to some country music, and those fans are NOTHING [sic] like Anathema fans. (Gaskell)

I guess they'd [death/doom fans] probably be a lot cooler [than other metal fans], haha, just kidding...[They are] absolutely cooler [than all other music fans], without a doubt. In my mind now I'm comparing say a Justin Bieber (is that even how you spell his name?) fan club to a My Dying Bride fan club... God. (Bertie)

I included these comparisons with extra-metal cultures as well, because they demonstrate how milder the comparisons are. The doom metal fan 'should' be completely different from a non-metal anyway in this sense. Furthermore, because the distance between these cultures are large enough, the intensity of the comparisons significantly reduces. There is

no need for a separate identity construction here; it is already there. This further suggests that the fan is also consciously trying to disconnect the music world from a larger metal one culturally.

My favourite doom band for me depends on the genres, not for doom as a whole.
(Camden)

Talking about doom in strict sense my favourite bands are Black Sabbath, Trouble, Saint Vitus and Cathedral, whereas in a wider sense My Dying Bride, old Anathema, Skepticism, Dolorian, Evoken, Shape of Despair and Woebegone Obscured.
(Atkinson)

Camden and Atkinson's responses show this idea of separation in a more detailed way.

Death/doom appears as different from doom as a whole as well.

Host [1999] is an amazing Paradise Lost album and if you think differently you're wrong. (Armstrong)

I like many things in My Dying Bride but, I can't stand clean vocals and the too "gothic love ended wrong I am suffering so" lyrical themes. (Brierly)

Armstrong and Brierly both comment on the changing styles within this music world, but from opposite perspectives. This is important because a music world is not tension-free within itself and the fans can position themselves differently even in a small world like this one. As I mentioned before, these conflicts both internal and external show the position of the music; and with these in mind, I can confidently argue that, at least from the fan's angle, death/doom music world remains or struggles to remain a separate cultural construct from the metal or extreme metal, but possibly from doom metal as a whole as well.

6.5. Emotional responses as conventions of the music world

As I discussed in chapter 2, emotional responses indicate belonging. This can be through the dedication discussed before or through a common response to a symbol existing in this culture. In this final section of the chapter, I discuss these emotional responses of the participants in order to demonstrate how a common response is employed within the music world elevating that response into a convention status. I already showed how the music is perceived from the outsider perspective using the insiders' angle above. This is important because it illustrates the fan's view on the music from the outside. The conflicts discussed have shown that this music requires effort in order to be understood; and its minimal and slow nature tends to make people who are not willing to put the effort, i.e. the outsiders, in this music feel bored. But how does the fan feel about this slow and minimal music? Examining the insider responses shows the change in understanding of musical and cultural symbols in this music world.

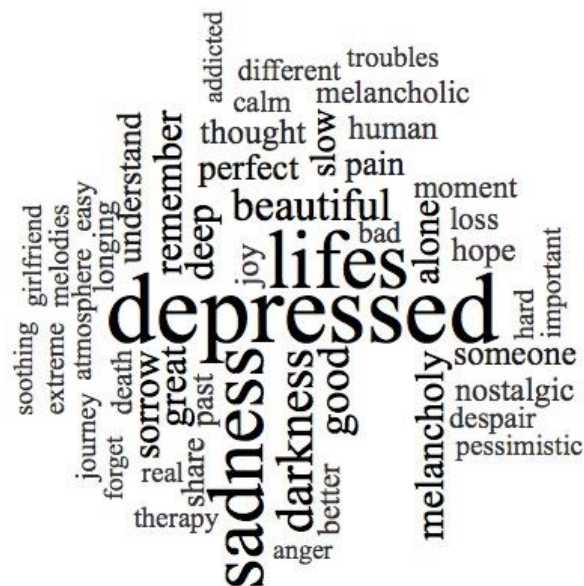


Figure 6.5.1 Word Frequency Cloud of Participants Emotional Responses

In Figure 6.5.1, there are already some patterns visible from the words that the fan participants used to describe emotions. In my analysis of the participants' interviews, I categorised the emotional responses into 18 emotions. These are sometimes overarching, but in most cases, they represent something more specific. I firstly discuss these categories' explanation first for each category to have a common ground between you - the reader- and me. Here follows a list and brief explanations of the categories of emotional responses I use:

1. Accommodation: This category overarches different emotions. This is when the fan feels as their emotional responses are accepted, it is a feeling of acceptance.
2. Anger: This is when the fan feels angry towards something.
3. Authenticity: This is when the fan feels that the music's atmosphere and emotions are genuine, as opposed to fake.
4. Calming: This is when the fan feels that the music either calms them down from a more energetic state or it pumps them up from a more depressive state.
5. Dedication: This is when the fan feels a dedication to the music or the music world.
6. Depression: This is when the fan talks about depression in relation to any aspect of the music world.
7. Escape: This is when the fan feels that the music provides an escape from the daily life.
8. Good: This is when the fan feels just 'good' about life as a result of the music. Sometimes the fan does not describe what they are feeling in a more detailed way.
9. Hope: This is when the music causes hope for an aspect of life in the fan.
10. Introspection: This is when the fan states that the music causes them to do introspection.
11. Joy and happiness: This is when the fan states that this music makes them happy.

12. Love: This is when the fan states that this music makes them feel love, in a more abstract way. I interpret this love as closer to a divine concept rather than romantic love.
13. Melancholy: Similar to depression, however the main difference here is that while depression category is about the illness, melancholy is about feeling down or sad without hinting at a mental illness.
14. Mystery: This is when the fan feels the music is mysterious and intriguing.
15. Nostalgia: This is when the fan feels either that the music listening experience is nostalgic or that the music takes them to a nostalgic place in relation to their lives.
16. Originality: This is when the fan feels that the music they are listening feels unique to their overall music listening experience.
17. Satisfaction: This is when the fan feels that the music gives them satisfaction, either in its musical aspects or as an emotional fulfilment.
18. Solidarity: This is when the fan feels solidarity with either the band, other fans, the music world in general, or the world in general. This is a comforting feeling that the fan feels that there is 'someone' who understands.

Before going into any other category, I discuss the authenticity the listener feels with the music. I use the word 'authentic' here to mean in the individualistic sense. Participants feel the music was authentic to them: the music connects with their own thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, they also think that the music has a genuine feeling, so it is authentic as in the antonym of fake: participants see or feel fragments of musicians' lives in the music.

It's the feeling one gets [when listening to the music of the three bands]. I might be exaggerating, but I'm not always so sure that I am when I say there is a spiritual connection. It's as though I am not only connecting with my own humanity, but with humanity in the broader sense. (Allsop)

[I feel a] sense of connection, like they somehow know me. They sing about me or to me, or in some mystical way they 'get' me. (Armstrong)

I was always rather a dispirited person and I found a piece of my soul in their music. When I'm reading their texts, I feel like they are written by me. I identify them with me, with my life. For example, 'For My Fallen Angel' [*Like Gods of the Sun*, My Dying Bride 1996], the lyrics of this song are written on the wall in my room. (Babbage)

I was always eager not to find heavier stuff, but to find stuff that could sound to me like a talk with myself or with my friends, or at least with the friends I wanted to have. There was this band, My Dying Bride, which sounded like me and talked about stuff that I like to talk...I was always a great fan of romanticism, especially dark romanticism, in fact, I have always been romantic in that way, and that played, and still plays, a gigantic part in my affection for doom metal. It was the only language I learned to talk, since I was young, and when I heard those bands, I felt like the world was answering me. (Baker)

I've gone through a few things that weren't so easy, but everyone does, don't they? I especially related to a couple of songs on the album *The Dreadful Hours* [My Dying Bride 2001], especially the one talking about a specific family member. (Birdsall)

Paradise Lost are like the soundtrack to my life, so I relate to them more than any other band! (Carlisle)

When 'The Sexuality of Bereavement' [*The Angel and the Dark River*, My Dying Bride 1995] played I felt like I was listening to something that I was meant to listen to all my life. It felt, as if I just heard the best song ever and well, even today there are only very few songs that bring up that emotion. (Churchill)

Someone else felt like me, like pure shit. Aaron [Stainthorpe, My Dying Bride], Vincent [Cavanagh, Anathema], Danny [Cavanagh, Anathema], Nick [Holmes, Paradise Lost], and others. It made me feel like I wasn't that alone. (Douglas)

I'm trying to think of the line. [reciting from memory] 'The things I've done, they torture me, but I need them, for they are me'. ['The Dark Caress', *Like Gods of the Sun*, My Dying Bride 1996]. I always feel like that line sums up a lot of the things I think about my life because for a long time, I was really very mentally ill, genuinely and I'm really lucky to have recovered from that. But I always find it quite hard to escape the things you have done in your past and I always feel like whenever I hear that line, it's me. [Gimzatte]

I have gone through a lot those last 4 years, including the loss of my parents one after another, the loss of what I thought was love, looking to the future without any perspectives, building it all up again to see it go down once more, followed by solitude. I guess I can relate to most of the topics processed in doom metal very well. (Hartley)

Participants state how deeply they feel a connection towards this music and the musicians of the three bands. It is usually the case for the fan that a sense of intimate connection emerges with the music. As Armstrong put it succinctly before: "They sing about me or to me, or in some mystical way they 'get' me". Showing the participants feeling they can personally relate to this music better demonstrates the rest of the emotional responses' sincerity. I argue that since the majority of the participants feel that they almost would have written the music themselves, the rest of the emotional responses become internalised. They are not responding to external symbols, but the emotional response is between the individual and the self.

The next response category is 'accommodation'. This response is where the participant found the music accommodating to what they are feeling and thinking in their own life. The music accomplishes, for the participant, this by providing a mental space for the listener to either help deal with these thoughts and feelings or explore them without interference. The resonance between the listener's emotional state and the music's either aural or lyrical content results in this space. This is one of the overarching responses and it comes up in participants' answers usually attached to a specific emotion. However, there

are rare exceptions to this, where the participant feels a sense of belonging without any further specificity.

When I'm depressed, I feel really comfortable listening to them. (Bunting)

There's a connection to anyone who's been seriously down or depressed; and the majesty of the music is that it cannot so much lift the mood but make that mood habitable, if that makes sense. (Burnett)

I guess from my point of view I've always been bleaker & down than other people I know. This doesn't mean I'm depressive or anything. I make fun and joke like any other person, but somehow there's always been this factor of sadness in my life that will always be there. Maybe some unconscious effect of the divorce of my parents and being confronted with a broken family model at an early age? I don't know. But somehow, I find something familiar in the music that these bands make. (Dobson)

I remember I had a break up in 2012. Typical metalhead stuff: girlfriend leaves boyfriend (or something else) and then he suffers to the tune of 'I Cannot Be Loved' [*A Line of Deathless Kings* 2006]. That experience really helped *My Dying Bride* to get stuck in my head...I think that I feel related to these bands because of many things first, I consider myself to be a ... (surprise!): very melancholic person. So, their music really speaks to me...I usually think a lot and have a lot of 'dark thoughts' without getting really depressed and the music of these bands is just the perfect soundtrack for that and for my life, in general. (Douglas)

If I listen to doom, it could be after thinking about a friend who's died, while driving in the countryside, or just driving around during work. (Elgee)

When I feel desolate or disappointed about how I handle myself or where my life is, when I feel deep discomfort. I turn, for example, to *Turn Loose the Swans* [*My Dying Bride* 1993]. It gives me an intimate feeling, a sense of meditation on how things can go bad. (Ellison)

I am an atheist and suffer from major depressive disorder, and as the [three] bands' lyrical contents do touch upon depression and disdain for organized religion, I can occasionally feel vaguely welcomed by those lyrical topics. (Fernau)

I believe I started to listen to this type of music because I've been struggling with depression for many years. Personally, I think it was an unconscious choice. (Fiennes)

I enjoy music that get me in touch with what people would call dark feels: sorrow, dejection, grief. I don't see those as negative but, rather, an integral part of life. Anathema's music and lyrics can take me to those places or accompany me in those places. (Gaskell)

Whenever I feel bad, I somehow end up listening to a song of these bands which then also lyrically starts to make perfect sense. (Gill)

If I'm feeling particularly down, sometimes I'd like to have a good wallow and I'll listen to them and it will just embrace the wallowing and the sadness I'm feeling, and it'll just be a nice complement to it. (Gimzatte)

I feel nostalgia when I listen to My Dying Bride now, and it feels sad as well because I don't have that atmosphere and sharing with friends anymore, and the saddening sound of the music itself also complements that. (Graebner)

There have been times in my life where I have felt the savage loss of someone I love. We all have. There are times when the music of, say, My Dying Bride feels incredible personal. (Haldane)

My Dying Bride make me feel my all problems (about love, my life, plans etc.) but I embrace all the feelings. I go on a journey inside of me, see many of things. Then I am sure what the wrong with me and doing nothing. (Hamley)

Firstly, it is important to notice that the response is towards the music rather than anything else in the music world. The music gives these participants a space to retreat to their emotions and explore. Importantly, while the music lines up with certain emotions, it 'complements' the emotion rather than creating it out of nowhere. Sometimes this complement result in a cathartic experience helping with the dealing of the negative emotion:

Some creations of these bands seem to express my sorrow, depression, and hopelessness. So, it's something like catharsis. Sometimes it just cannot be thrown out of me any other way. (Brady)

I feel a warm familiarity, like talking to some really good friends. I also remember that when I was a teenager the music of these bands constantly made me feel understood, as if I was not alone in the world and not a freak, they made me feel as if I could connect on a deep emotional level to these people (and perhaps their fans), in spite of the fact I did not actually know them. I remember also listening to the lyrics (especially for Anathema) and thinking: 'wow, this sounds as if it were written by me' ...The emotional comfort and catharsis they provide, that serves (to me at least) a therapeutic function. Also, the poetry of the lyrics. (Collier)

Got testicular cancer and was diagnosed with depression, needless to say, doom metal was a good friend to have at the time. (Acland)

Doom music doesn't really make me feel sad. But I do find it hauntingly beautiful. Also, some songs-bands have actually helped me get over some tough situations. (Blackmore)

Seeing as I have experienced some unforeseen personal losses in the past, their music was some sort of therapy to be able to deal with those situations. Some of their songs can perfectly describe your feelings during difficult times. (Bradbury)

I feel good [when listening to] especially Paradise Lost. But it depends on a person I guess. It's kind of a support for me. (Brierly)

They're talking to you when you mostly need it. (Burke)

I think I feel all those bands have been a great great support in my life. Because I have gone through some shitty times and I've found some sort of shelter in these bands. That's why I feel like they will never let me down. (Fortescue)

According to these participants, the music becomes a support system to help them go on in their lives in their relatively negative states, and work through the problems.

Anger is a rare response in this music world. This response comes only with a sense of accommodation provided by the music.

Paradise Lost is like listening to a man trying to tear down a church the size of his world only using one hand. (Armstrong)

As long as the world remains unfair, mean and crappy, doom metal will be there to save you. (Bancroft)

Doom metal's helpful effect again comes forth here in Bancroft's statement. They use the word 'save', which is notable because it suggests a Aesculapian process mapped onto several moods. In this sense, the music can be thought to have an ataractic effect on the listener. This is a common response in this music world: participants feel that the music calms them down. I use 'calm' to mean in both a downward and an upward trajectory. When the listener is full of energy, then the music brings the energy down; when the listener is not feeling well emotionally, then the music brings the energy up. It levels the emotional state to a normative state in the listener's mind; the music acts medicinal in this sense.

When I'm angry, the music calms me down. When I feel down, the music makes me happier. When I'm happy, it levels me out. (Acland)

Despite being mournful in character, it brings me a sense of calm and ironic joy. A phrase I often joke with my fiancé about (who is also a fan) is how 'delightfully depressing' a certain song is, for example. Again, it is a genre of contrasts. (Allsop)

I feel calm. I can take a rest while listening to their music while I'm such a nervous person. When I was listening for the first time to 'The Distance, Busy with Shadows' [Evinta, My Dying Bride 2011], I fell in something like meditation. (Babbage)

When listening to a band like My Dying Bride or Paradise Lost, the feeling should be sadness, depression, yes, I experience those emotions but at the same time, there's an element that brings relief and satisfaction, sometimes pleasure and glorious happiness. (Bancroft)

The feeling of melancholy is not just that nobody understands; no one knows exactly how they feel about other people, but you understand the world through the doom. It's hard to explain, it seems that while it makes you mourn, it lifts your mood with these riffs, these bands make human decay something truly beautiful. (Betjeman)

I feel relieved. People that doesn't like metal music or doom music says that I'm self-destructive listening these bands while I'm not in a good mood but for me it's totally

necessary. While I cry listening some of these bands, I feel like all my bad energy has gone out and I have more energy to continue with life. (Bunting)

In that time my grandfather had just died, and I had great sadness, but was not able to do something about it. By listening to the records I mentioned above [*A Fine Day to Exit*, 2001; *Alternative 4*, 1998; *Eternity*, 1996; *Judgement*, 1999, Anathema] I could find some peace in what happened. (Carzana)

[Paradise Lost's] music is a source of inspiration for me, a way to survive and to overcome negative things in life. (Davies)

This music is more like a tool that prevents you from going mad in your youth. It's a relaxing effect, like medicine, like calming a writhing patient. (Dickens)

Suicide attempts, crazy nights, long weeks of being in bed, without wanting to do anything but sleep, and regret... That kind of stuff I had to get through during that time of my life. Doom metal was the perfect partner, but it never made me depressed; on the contrary, it cheered me up. (Douglas)

Being someone who was diagnosed with depression as an early teen, it's hard not to identify with their music, and the despair behind it all, but that same music will drag you out of some dark times also. (Godwin)

Listening to sad, depressed, dark music makes me feel happy. And the other way around, happy music depresses me. I feel a deep sense of wellbeing listening to My Dying Bride for instance— all is well with the world hearing them, it lifts me up. (Hannam)

One important common ground emerges as the feeling of melancholy and/or depression.

What is interesting about this is that while these negative feelings are present in the music, it usually has the reversed effect, lifting the listener up from that mood into a more balanced state of mind.

I suffer from depression so listening to Paradise Lost makes me happy! (Carlisle)

For some of the participants, the music even has a sling effect: changing their mood to the opposite. Unsurprisingly, most participants talked about the melancholy or depression

in the music. I will not discuss these in detail as it is one of the prominent features of the music as discussed in the 'The Style' chapter; and these responses came up often in participants' responses discussed earlier in this chapter. However, to give you an idea of the amount of this particular theme's occurrence in responses, 54 participants mentioned the melancholy in music 95 times, and depression was mentioned 23 times.

Anathema on the other hand always give me the feeling of depression. (Churchill)

As Churchill suggests, the music can have a depressing effect as well. It is not always in an uplifting direction, as stated earlier by other participants (especially Gimzatte and Douglas), the music can be an accompaniment to such moods and emotions.

I find it a shame that more people don't like My Dying Bride, especially boyfriends – it's the type of music I will not force onto others because I know it really brings 99% of people down. (Bertie)

Bertie's notion illuminates this reverse reaction's function in the music world. If the music brings the majority of outsiders down, then in order for a member of this music world to be indeed a member, a different kind of emotional response is required. The music for the listener becomes a way of non-destructive habitation of the negative feelings. This habitation might embody itself through an escape as well.

I feel like there's nothing important in everyday life; time stops for a while and only the feelings that the music gives become important. Those feelings can take you to another time, to another space. I can live the past, I can see lives of other people, I can travel through time into the future, and to other worlds. (Auden)

Mostly their music helps to transform everything that is fucked up in this world into some form of art and then find a safe distance to suffering enchanted in sounds and lyrics. (Brady)

After starting to work, surely the time was being absorbed by the parties and the institutions in your business environment, so it was very hard to find space for yourself,

and all you can do is escape to be free. Whenever I can succeed in escaping, I meet my favourite songs and albums in anytime anywhere... (Downe)

I love the subject-matter that often houses occult themes, which I feel visually captures the genres undertones and possible provokes the catholic brainwashing in me, which I unconsciously probably still find exciting in a sad way. (Froissart)

Escape from daily life reality is an important function of the music. As observed from these responses, the music helps to liberate the listener *temporarily* from the negativity or the mundaneness of everyday life. It provides a space to get 'lost' in something else than one's own life.

In contrast, for some participants, the music becomes a tool for introspection:

[I feel] transported and reflective. It's good thinking music. (Burnett)

In my experience doom metal seems to go together with serious thoughts about the universe, life, death and the human condition. (Carew)

[Stated as a feedback to the interview questions] Really provocative, required some amount of self-reflection (the same as doom metal itself, haha). (Collier)

I'm also not the type that tends to act as if bad things don't exist. I feel that a lot of people don't want to understand this kind of music because it confronts them with things in their life that they don't want to face and ignore by acting like it doesn't exist, while for me it seems better to accept things as they are and draw strength out the fact that there are people with similar experiences that translate those experiences into music. (Dobson)

This music was part of my 'human education'. They ask the important questions, the 'cursed' questions. (Grimshaw)

The music has a confrontational nature according to the fan. It does not confront daily dealings but ideas that outsiders tend to avoid. Grimshaw's idea that it is part of the 'human education' marks an overall view in terms of the themes usually explored in the music.

The introspection supported by the music can result in satisfaction:

[I feel immensely satisfied [when listening to the three bands]; perhaps even so far as so say: complete. (Allsop)

I can say that My Dying Bride has been a major part of forming my life since I was 15 and I think I wouldn't be the same person if I did not find them in the past. (Babbage)

When listening to a band like My Dying Bride or Paradise Lost, the feeling should be sadness, depression; yes, I experience those emotions but at the same time, there's an element that brings relief and satisfaction, sometimes pleasure, and glorious happiness. I can understand how they feel when writing a song, when it's recorded and played live, it's a process, a journey, a cathartic experience unlike any other. Once it is done, you can see that the emotions you experienced, the pain, the grief, the loneliness are all transferred and portrayed on a song; it is timeless. (Bancroft)

The satisfaction experienced by the participants already hint at a sense of hope and even happiness. These responses are where the sling effect I mentioned becomes most prominent. Participants insist on highlighting this contrast as well.

How they can combine utter sadness with little glimmer of hope here and there. Don't get me wrong, in music I like the darkness, hopelessness and misery in general. But without that little bit of hope in the middle of total darkness, the music can sometimes be very uninspiring. And after that little hope, the fall into crushing darkness is so overwhelming and that's the thing I like in doom metal. Doom metal gives me a feeling of long-gone hope paying one last visit just to say farewell. (Fowles)

Fowles mentions hope as 'long-gone', however it comes back with the music, even to "just say farewell". The music is a source of hope in this sense, however momentary at the end. This sense of fleeting hope can be considered as another form of escape. However, the music becomes a significant source of hope for others:

[Paradise Lost's] music is a source of inspiration for me, a way to survive, and a way to overcome negative things in life. (Davies)

Doom metal is the lowest form of suffering in music and rhythms but can bring out the highest form of hope for lost souls. (Bart)

This 'highest form of hope' becomes joy and even happiness in due course for the fan:

I feel happy. The sadder the music and lyrics, the soothing it normally is for me.
(Camden)

Funnily enough, listening to these bands makes me incredibly happy. (Bertie)

Feelings of despair and sorrow, moody stuff, they actually make me happy in a weird kind of way. (Clare)

I feel really good [when listening to the three bands], as if someone holds me and understands me. (Pablo)

Interestingly, participants seem relatively confused as to why they actually feel happy when listening to this music, however, Pablo gives a possible explanation to this question. A sense of solidarity is common among the fans of this music. As Babbage put it above, the music can be part of the 'soul' of the fan.

I feel surrounded with friends having troubles of very life itself. (Cookworthy)

Through the music, I feel so much bigger and connected to something else. (Haldane)

I feel understood and a little bit less alone in this world when I listen to those bands.
(Hartley)

The music again accompanies the fan through the reality of life resulting in a sense of connection. Haldane's statement almost contains divine connotations in relation to the music. While this is a rare response, this idea can become an ideal for the fan:

Anathema is love. And with this love that I listen makes me spread love too for the people around me. (Crabtree)

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the fan members of the music world in their conventions and emotional responses to their own community, the music, and the external communities. To recapitulate, the music for the fan is a significant part of their lives. The music can be a potent source of positivity in the fan's life. It has medicinal and even cathartic effects on

people's lives. There appears to be also a dissonance between the surface emotions in the music and these emotions' reflections on the fan. The 'genre of contrasts' that is death/doom seems to have achieved a contrast in the emotional side of the music as well. I discussed the emotional responses to demonstrate: even though almost half of the participants do not think or want themselves to be part of a smaller community than metal as a whole, similar emotional responses given to same symbolic phenomena, i.e. the music, suggest the existence of a social construct, i.e. a music world. The positional conflict discussed further strengthen this idea. This demonstrates how emotional responses can be considered as bases for feelings of belonging in a community.

The similarity in the emotional responses, as exemplified in this chapter, showcases the 'success' of this music world. Success here means that the music world is formed; and one can discuss a death/doom music world. Crossley and Bottero claim that (2015b, p. 47);

To be successful, each interaction in this web [of interactions in musicking] requires 'mutual tuning in' between those involved.

A 'mutual tuning in' results in a community.

A 'mutual tuning in' of Crossley and Bottero in a music world then forms 'joint action' of Blumer. This joint action, i.e. giving a similar response to similar symbols, is what constitutes a music world. Death/doom music world is successful in this sense. The participants agree on conventions. This includes the fans who have felt that they are not part of a community. As discussed before, 50% of the participants stated that they do not feel that they belong to a community. However, in their responses to the common symbols, they match in their response patterns to the other 50%. The conventions are common. So,

the mutual tuning in exists, despite their responses about community. This still provides a basis for the music world.

7. The Conclusion

Throughout life you'll laugh with 1,000 people and forget most of them. You will never forget someone you've cried with. (Dunham)

Extreme metal music worlds differentiate themselves through the behaviour and style they represent. With the extreme turn in 1990s, the embodiment of a musical style became the norm in these musical cultures. The so-called Second Wave of Norwegian Black Metal has been analysed in this way because of this culture's sensationalistic potential (Altes and Ewell, 2008; Dunn, 2005; Moynihan and Söderlind, 2003). However, with more recent studies, this embodiment emerged as an important aspect of extreme metal cultures that are smaller, less sensational, and with less activity. Coggins discussed this using the listeners and their religious experiences in drone metal (2015). Smialek took a different approach and investigated the musical style to show this embodiment in vocal performance in extreme metal styles (2015). This thesis is among these studies with an added attempt to combine these methods into a coherent whole. A combination benefits the application of the underlying theory of musical communities: music worlds. To reiterate the absolute core idea:

'music world' concept denotes a social space centred upon a self-identified musical style; a space set aside from other concerns, at least to some extent, where music is a primary focus and where participants share a set of musical preferences and knowledge. (Crossley, 2015, p. 472)

The music is the focus and the musical knowledge and preferences are constructed according to a musical style in a music world. Hence a sufficient study on one of these cases should interrogate all these aspects.

This thesis investigates both this music world's origins and its effects on the people who listen to this music, including the effects it had on me over the last two decades. At

the beginning of the ethnography I already had convictions, or at least theories, about the results I would reach because of my own involvement and insider status. However, as the ethnography went on -and after I finished the analyses of chapters 4, 5, and 6- I learned some of my convictions to be incorrect when it comes to both the musical style and the listeners' reaction to this musical style. This shows that, as Smialek warns (2015) alongside Kahn-Harris (2006), metal music cultures need to be examined in detailed and focussed ways in order to not fall into the pitfalls of music journalism and metal fandom. A closer inspection shows the intricate details of both the style and the people involved. This is one of the reasons that metal music studies as a field needs to conduct research that engages in microscopic detail regarding the probed culture instead of the generalised methodology that the research usually adopts. This thesis aims to be such a study that focusses solely on one of the smallest building blocks of metal music: a boundary music world, or, as it has been misleadingly referred to it so far, a 'sub-genre'. This approach highlights the minor details that differ one culture from another in the metal music taxonomy. One may be tempted to think that if the dissimilarities are indeed minor then should they even matter? However, the answer to this question must be a resounding yes, because of the fact that they exist. It eventually comes to down to this simple idea. If, as ethnomusicological ethnographers and qualitative researchers, we take the people we investigate as *the* resource for our projects, then whether minor differences would warrant different classifications should be out of question simply based on the fact that the people who are involved with these smaller cultures think that they are different as discussed in chapter 6. The minor differences end up making the metal culture scholarly interesting and the detail is partially what makes a specialised field like metal music studies legitimate.

More importantly, as one of the disillusionments I had during this research, the minor differences may not be as minor as it looks from a cursory perspective; or the minor similarities might become important sources of conflict among music cultures mimicking the larger social issues illustrating a type of human behaviour.

With this thesis, I tried to answer the following questions:

- What cultural and musical characteristics can be discussed as belonging to death/doom metal music?

Death/doom has been mentioned in the metal press many times referring to various bands from various origins, usually referring to the three bands as its originators -Paradise Lost, My Dying Bride, and Anathema-. However, there has been no attempt at defining what the style actually is or can be; or what makes death/doom music world death/doom and not something else has not been discussed before. This includes metal music studies as well. As I discussed before, especially doom metal has not received as much attention as of this writing from metal music scholars or any other scholars for that matter. The brief mentions rarely go beyond a few sentences; thus, they do not engage with doom metal styles. This situation becomes even more apparent when the marginal styles are concerned. Death/doom, except for one master's thesis (März, 2012) and Piper's thesis (2013), gets almost no mention at all. This shows the big gap between the culture - represented by metal press- and the metal scholarship. This question was aimed to fill this gap and all chapters partially deal with this question with the method outlined in chapter 3 interrogating all parts of the music world: the history, the style, and the members. One can argue that a paradigm shift has happened in the construction of this death/doom music world affecting the way some bands compose music in the larger metal culture. Then, I can conclude that death/doom music world feeds most from contrast. This fact is

demonstrated in the careers of bands where all the three pioneers have moved onto contrasting musical styles. The contrast is further supported in the musical characteristics in the amalgamation of the inherently contrasting styles of death and doom metal. This is seen in the 'death sections' and 'doom sections' of the songs. The contrast is also observed in the emotional responses of the fans. This music can make the fan both happy and sad or angry and calm.

- How can a style evolve and how can we trace this evolution? How did this happen for death/doom? How can the idea of *marginal styles* be introduced in metal history and taxonomy?

Metal history, as it is in any popular or rather any musical culture, is a complicated one. While there have been attempts at covering metal history from different perspectives (Dunn, 2005; Galbraith and Gilbert, n.d.; Popoff, 2015), these stories fall short because they attempt to cover the whole history of metal music. This is evident in Dunn's second and third attempts at a metal history (Dunn, 2008; 2011). At this point in metal music studies (with the significant accumulation of research), it is obvious that these overarching attempts at metal history are futile efforts, because they either overlook crucial details about parts of metal music or they end up with misleading results. This question was designed to probe this metal music history idea and see whether focussing on a micro-history works better. This thesis reveals only a miniscule portion of metal history, but it attempts to do this revealing in detail. Approaching metal history with microhistories clearly shows that the specificities of a metal culture is what constructs that metal culture showing the overarching histories' lack of substance. A metal history should be an accumulation of microhistories. *Marginal styles* provide an interesting perspective on the 'sub-genres' of

metal. This also helps to look at the evolution of death/doom. According to the previous discussions in especially chapters 4 and 5, I conclude that death/doom mainly evolves from death metal as a musical style. This is evident in the early career of both Paradise Lost and My Dying Bride. These bands were part of the Bradford death metal music world of the early 1990s, however, with the introduction of more doom metal-like elements, a death/doom style emerged. Using the *marginal style* perspective, I can then explain that existence of a separate music world and, thus, a musical style death/doom can exist and more importantly existed in the 1990s surrounding the music of these bands. This style has propagated until now and potentially later through the integrated professionals (or early adopters and late adopters).

- Is a musical style delineable? What are the boundaries of a metal music style according to its fans? How can a musical style be categorised in metal music?

As I discussed in chapter 2, metal music has a complex structure. This structure gets even more complex with the extreme turn around the beginning of 1990s. These styles are readily labelled by promoters, labels, or the listeners themselves. However, an investigation into these smaller double-named metal music styles is rare in metal music studies. I attempted a similar analysis of a style label before for depressive suicidal black metal (Yavuz, 2015). While this thesis's scope does not allow for an in-depth tracing of the death/doom label, it still takes the label seriously and as a starting point for the analysis of the musical style death/doom. I believe a musical style cannot be defined, but it can be delineated. The boundaries can be made clearer and the neighbouring styles can be identified. This delineation results in a better categorisation. The metal histories mentioned before also constructed different metal style layers. They all do this through a hierarchical

construction of metal styles, meaning that one follows another and while some of these attempts are better (e.g. Galbraith and Gilbert n.d.) in showing more complex hierarchies, these models fail to address the details of a metal style. This question is designed to examine this situation and propose a way to categorise metal music better than the term 'sub-genre'. And the answer can be argued to be the *marginal style*, a style that borrows musical terminology from multiple styles and combines them into a new style while adding new aspects of its own. This amalgamation has results in both musical characteristics and cultural elements. Death/doom exemplifies this. There are significant elements from death metal like time signatures and fast tempi, but also from doom metal like the slow tempi and repeated use of material. Death/doom adds elements of its own such as the modified cyclical form or the instrumentation dominant in the repertory of these three bands.

- How do members of a music world beyond the producers of a musical style engage with this musical style at the core?

This question should be at the heart of any music world research. A music world equalises the parts played in the production of music. As an extension of Becker's art worlds theory, music world is interested in both the traditionally seen creators of music, i.e. musicians or composers, and everyone else who takes part in this creation, including sound engineers, label executives, managers, and, for this thesis most importantly, the listeners. Even though the musicians of the bands examined insist on the individuality of this music in many interviews as discussed in chapter 4, they still have their listener base in their mind when producing music. This is evident in Stainthorpe's statement of being open to ideas from everywhere including the fans. Furthermore, referring to the engineer of My Dying Bride as "the 7th member" of the band shows how traditionally 'peripheral'

personnel affect the production of music. This effect or influence becomes even stronger for popular music styles because of the importance of recording. The recording, as it can be interpreted from production manuals such as Mynett's (2016), firmly represents the perspective of the engineer/s. Through an editing process, in Becker's terms, label executives and management personnel play crucial roles in selecting which bands to propagate through marketing channels, thus making them reach more or less people. This is a critical change in any band's career. Finally, because a band's career largely depends on the number and loyalty of the fans they have, the listeners' perspective on the style plays an imperative role on the musical style. With this question, I aimed to find these important perspectives and how they engage with the music. In metal music studies, it is commonplace to include one side of the coin or another in detail. The combination of these different perspectives rarely happens in scholarship. This thesis is novel in attempting to do so in this field.

The engagement in question here is most apparent in the case of death/doom in the emotional responses of the fans. Fans quote specific musical aspects or musical moments, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, and how they give emotional responses to these musical events. The fans deeply care about the atmosphere and the emotions conveyed through the musical style. This engagement with the musical style is one of the crucial ways of participating in death/doom music world's culture.

- How do musical styles which have consistently lower moods, and which consistently deal with emotion on the darker side of the human emotional spectrum affect the listeners?

Death/doom metal, as part of its aesthetic values, is about death and dying, and usually grief; and not much else. I discussed the lyrical themes, which are plenty, in

chapter 5; however, the fixation point is always around these two ideas. This obsession with the darker side of the emotional spectrum inevitably influences the listeners who engage with this music. While at the beginning of this project, I planned this question to be a minor one, an addition at most, and one that is mostly concerned with my own experience of this music, this question provided the main discussion in chapter 6 stemmed largely from a single question in the interviews I asked: 'How do you feel when you listen to death/doom?'. Unsurprisingly, from my reflection on this music, almost every listener who participated in this project engages with this style of music because it opens access to a specific emotional spectrum. Depending on the listener, this spectrum either reflects their own emotional state or they want to access what is inaccessible for them at that point. The music is largely about the emotion. This can be argued for many musical styles within or external to extreme metal. Death/doom music world focusses on emotion contrasting some of the other music worlds in metal music. This contrast signifies the paradigm shift that happened with this music world. This contrast also shows difference to at least some of the extreme metal music worlds. This is apparent in Stone of My Dying Bride's statement in how concert-goers behave during a performance: almost still. This is further proved by my own experiences of the concerts (fifteen concerts in total in my life) of these three bands. Death/doom concerts' audience members are reminiscent of drone metal listeners, as discussed by Coggins (2015) in their outer shell; however, as the chapter 6 discussion shows, it is about the emotional experience, differing from the transcendental and religious experiences of drone listeners. This emotional experience covers both extremes of the emotional spectrum. Death/doom music makes the fan feel, according to the fan, both happy and melancholic. There is hope and despair in the responses of the

fan. As I discussed in the answer to the first question, there is a crucial contrast in the emotional response of the fan.

The chapter structure reflected these questions. In chapter 2, I set out the theoretical grounding for this thesis. Music worlds theory of Crossley (2015) provides an opportunity look at musical cultures in an interesting way, similar to that of 'musicking' (Small, 1998). However, differently to musicking, the focal point is the members of this culture. This focus becomes so strong that, even though the theory itself states that a musical style is what members gather around for, in the applications of this theory, the musical style usually gets no mention beyond the title. Reintroduction of musical analysis into this theoretical framework improves both the investigation of music worlds and the musicking of ethnomusicology from the opposite perspectives. Changing the focus to the members provide interesting details; and these details evolve into structural points for the metal music strata. While metal styles differ from each other significantly enough as I discussed in chapter 5, behavioural differences catapult these cultures apart from each other.

Nietzsche's concept of a genealogy and in extension Foucault's suggestions on history writing aligns well with the music world idea and the art worlds theory of Becker, which provides the basis for music worlds. All these approaches require a multi-layered interrogation of a concept. Foucault even goes as far as to say that if the history of a thing does not engage with multiple layers surrounding that phenomenon, then it has no substantial meaning. The overall structure of this thesis reflected this idea. But beyond the larger structure, each chapter dealt with multiple layers surrounding the elements of death/doom music world bringing in varying perspectives from various roles in this music

world. This makes the attempted genealogy more meaningful than if I were to focus on a single part or aspect of this world.

Even though Kuhn designed his adaptation theory for the adoption of scientific revolutions, Kuhn's thinking produces an important look on a music world. As I discussed in chapter 2, this adaptation idea is easy to apply to music worlds, because the same ideas of pioneers and early/late adapters already exist in Becker's theory. Becker talks of mavericks and Crossley suggests there should be a critical mass of these mavericks in order for the music world to emerge. Death/doom illustrates such a case with a three-band pioneer group and a record label. This is the critical mass for death/doom. However, because this thesis is concerned with the origin story of this music world and not the general history, bands beyond these pioneers rarely got mentioned. The size and scope limitations also would not have allowed for such an investigation. A larger, in terms of time range, investigation of death/doom is required and should be conducted in future research. A more inclusive history will allow metal scholars to delve deeper into the issues surrounding this culture.

Chapter 3 discussed the methods of this thesis. These methods followed what was discussed in chapter 2 closely. As I mentioned above, a multi-layered investigation requires a multi-layered method. In order to achieve this, this thesis built its methodology three-layered. The first layer is the historical layer that provided perspectives at the beginning stages of this culture. This method also provided a historical progression, from early days to now. The second layer is the musical one. This is the reintroduction mentioned before. A closer analysis of the musical style alongside the perspectives of the participants of this culture draws the boundary lines of a style. This again is crucial in metal

music studies. While, as metal fans, we are tempted to assume that certain music belongs to certain labels, we rarely engage in the detailed discussion of why these musical styles belong to those labels. This closer analysis showed a way of interpreting metal music in these smaller categories. The third layer is the main method of this thesis; and that is ethnography. Ethnography is the way to collect data for any qualitative research project. This ethnography was two-sided. One side came from my own background as a death/doom fan and the other from the interviews I conducted for this project. These interviews highlighted the global status of this musical culture. Similarly, I also represent this global status. Even though this research has been conducted in a UK-based university, and one that is about 20 km away from the origins of the culture investigated, I still wrote some of these words in Istanbul, Turkey where I also engaged with the culture for a long time. A combined approach to ethnographic research from both ethnomusicology and oral history contributed to an interesting ethnography. As data, of course these interviews are invaluable. But also, as personal stories of the people participated, the interviews are interesting. They are intimate details about the emotions and backgrounds of individuals reflecting certain places and certain times. The more-relaxed interview method of oral history also helped to lead the interviews with especially musicians, who have been interviewed countless times, to more novel areas. The three-session and two-year interview with Aaron Stainthorpe allowed me to ask him questions at different stages of this research covering some areas that Stainthorpe suggested that were rarely asked to him.

Chapter 4 discussed the origin story of death/doom music world. Peaceville Records was instrumental in the dispersal of this musical style. Through Peaceville and Hammy, the founder, death/doom in its early days mirrored traditions that of

crust/anarcho-punk. Considering the punk versus metal conflict during 1980s, seeing an extreme metal style adopt a DIY culture highlights the status of these music worlds. Extreme metal emerged as an alternative to the mainstream, including the metal that was mainstream then. According to Hammy, punk was still very much against metal culture during the 1990s, as evident from Doom's album *Fuck Peaceville* (1995) after Hammy's change of focus to metal music. Death/doom style surfaced in relation to the Bradford death metal scene that was active around this time. As fans of death metal, founding members of Paradise Lost decided to 'slow down' this style of music and reach a novel stylistic place. A combination of the influence of Paradise Lost, the band members' new ideas, and the encouragement from Hammy gave way to the birth of My Dying Bride. By the time Anathema came onto the scene, Paradise Lost had already moved on stylistically. Because Anathema have always been a forward-looking band, they quickly followed in Paradise Lost's steps before going in their own direction. My Dying Bride are the most traditionalist of this so-called Peaceville Three. As part of the tradition of Peaceville Three, My Dying Bride have also altered their style drastically over the course of their career, but they were the sole death/doom producers among these three bands for a while during the 90s. Chapter 4 focussed on these three bands to construct an origin story of British death/doom. Around this time, especially around the time Anathema released their first material from Peaceville Records, death/doom has already become a global, or at least a pan-European phenomenon with bands from Scandinavia and central Europe. I focussed on the three, because they are a rare example of a coherent group of bands, an almost-scene on their own; as death/doom bands are usually disparate. The cultural interaction is reminiscent of the style in certain ways. The bands are individualistic, which also applies

to the Three. However, in no small part due to Hammy's efforts and his own cultural background (anarcho-punk), these three bands came to be known as the Peaceville Three. This has significant consequences. The fans often mention these bands, or a combination of them, together. The fan-base of these bands has been strongly connected throughout their respective careers. There have been events where these three bands performed together even after they all stylistically moved on to dissimilar places. Chapter 4 traced this coming together, the influences on each other, and the eventual separation from the style and from each other. This story showed the cultural connections of death/doom music world and set the stage for the analyses of the style and the people.

Chapter 5 analysed the musical style death/doom. A musical style, as mentioned various times in this thesis, lies at the heart of a music world. But how? I focussed on the musical style of death/doom music world in chapter 5 involving the perspectives of the participants of this culture as much as possible alongside the musical analysis. This showed the people's connection to the style. The sociological concept of regions proved to be beneficial in thinking of metal taxonomy. Metal taxonomy has been problematic since the extreme turn with many attempts at categorisation. These categorisation models are usually accepted *talis qualis* unless they make outrageous claims; however, they present linear and highly hierarchical models to structure a metal taxonomy. This can lead to misleading results as history, especially music history, is rarely, if ever, linear or hierarchical.

A regional model allows stylistic co-existence; and more importantly, introduction of the concept of 'marginal man' -an individual that resides in between two regions adopting aspects of each region while holding onto an individuality of their own- allows to make sense of the seemingly infinite number of 'sub-genres' in metal music. These

double-worded (e.g. death/doom, funeral doom, black/doom etc.) style labels have existed since the extreme turn and they are usually assumed to be amalgamations of the styles mentioned in these labels: e.g. death/doom is an amalgamation of death metal and doom metal. As chapter 5 showed, this can be true, but even when it is, it is only partially true. And in a case like funeral doom, for example, it can be false; as funeral doom has little to do with funeral music from diverse cultures. A theory of a *marginal style* tolerates the actual situation of these newer styles in metal music: a style that is part of multiple stylistic regions but with additions and alterations of its own to these neighbouring styles. These are boundary styles that exist in between larger stylistic regions. The idea of a stylistic region also helps in drawing these boundaries. A style is not and cannot be a single thing. There are infinite variations in each style. However, in order to be able to talk about these styles more meaningfully, one needs to draw some boundaries at least. A stylistic region allows for this. These boundaries are not strict rules, as it would be in a late-18th-century *sonata-allegro* form, for example. When I say a late 18th-century *sonata-allegro* form, I mean a very specific genre of music. However, 'death/doom style' serves as and hints at more general and vague guidelines. The overall effect can be achieved using many combinations.

Death/doom represented a good case to explore the *marginal style* idea. Death/doom, as chapter 4 already hinted, bases its core in death metal music and adds doom metal style to the mix alongside novel ideas. These novel ideas largely concern the instrumentation of the music, the formal structure, and the lyrical style. As the instrumentation and form tables have shown in chapter 5, death/doom as a style has tendencies. A reversed repetition towards the end of a song is common enough in

death/doom to warrant this feature a characteristic of this style. Similarly, the inclusion of a keyboard and a violin -in the case of My Dying Bride- shows what death/doom added on its own to this stylistic mix. The lyrical style shifts the narrator perspective drastically when compared to these other styles. The over-individualisation of the narrator illustrates the aesthetic processes behind these lyrics. The lyrics are about the individual not the society or the community directly. The lyrics are usually productions of introspections. The inner world of a person comes forth in these lyrics in a dystopian world where death, dying, and grief are the focal points.

Chapter 6 examined the responses from fan participants. With the support of the bands, the fans, and the fan clubs, the project call has reached all over the world as discussed in chapter 3. Participants based in 29 different countries prove the global spread of death/doom at the time of the interviews. All continents are covered except Antarctica. The age average of participants also highlights the fan loyalty. Participants were on average around 33 years old when the interviews happened. This means that the average participant was in their teens, like the musicians only slightly younger, when the Peaceville Three released their first albums from Peaceville Records. However, this music world did not remain a teen one; instead, the fans grew up with the music and the musicians. As many participants stated in chapter 6, this music became part of the soundtrack of the lives of the listeners. While the age range showed a large interval from 19 and lower (from the comments of My Dying Bride's post about project recruitment, these under-18-year-old fans could not participate in this project) to upwards of 63, the distribution was not even. The average age actually represents the age range (30-35) with the highest number of participants. That is why a conclusion like this is possible. The music world has continued to gain fans who were born at later dates or recruited fans who were older at

the time; however, the majority became fans in their teens and stuck with this music so far in their lives. Many also remark on how they will remain fans for the rest of their lives. A life-long commitment was a strong theme among the participant responses. Beyond this first engagement, the most interesting outcomes of this research emerged as the emotional responses of the fans and the conflict they have with other music worlds in metal. As I discussed before, this project was not designed to be about emotions or cultural conflict. However, early in the ethnographic research, it became clear that for the fan, the most important reason to engage with this music is the expression, the mood, the atmosphere, or the emotion. From a solitary question in the interviews, I was able to collect data that I was not expecting. This emotional outpouring was at first overwhelming for me in both positive and negative ways. It was positive for the research as it opened up an area of analysis I was interested but did not think it would be possible to explore. But it was negative for me personally, because I was not prepared to handle the range of stories I heard and read and tried to represent in chapter 6. The ways of thinking provided by the sociology of emotion theories and symbolic interactionism were the saviours for this chapter. The emotional responses from a superficial glance looked to be nearly all on the negative side of the spectrum. The figure following from chapter 6 illustrates this succinctly:

emotions, this negativity helps the listeners to deal with the negativity in their lives. Many fans discussed how this music in particular helps to calm them down or level their emotional state, how it helped to get over certain events in their lives, how this music becomes a companion in lonelier times in their lives, and how this music actually represents hope. This is a striking outcome; because especially styles like death/doom are known to be depressing and even suicidal music in metal culture in general. Chapter 6 proves this to be a misnomer. Death/doom, instead, is a musical style that has a therapeutic effect on the listeners who participate in this music world. These perspectives lying on the opposite ends of the spectrum show that becoming insider of a music world drastically alters the same symbols. While sadness is a sign of depression for the outsider metal fan, sadness becomes hope for the death/doom listener. Melancholy becomes beauty. This illuminates the importance of conventions in a music world. Conventions are also conventional responses; and these conventions extend to even responses as personal as emotional responses.

In conclusion, this project and the resulting thesis has been designed to be an initiatory one for future research about death/doom and *marginal styles* in metal music. The thesis showed how significant these *marginal styles* are both from musical and from participatory perspectives. These wrongly-named 'sub-genres' of metal are the bases of metal music culture after the extreme turn and the research should represent this. Furthermore, death/doom music world illustrates a culture that fans embody and engage emotionally. This case further supports the assertion of music worlds that music or musicking is a social activity that involves or rather requires activity of members beyond the 'audience' of traditional sociology or the 'composer'/'creator' of traditional musicology.

This interaction results in a musical style and a culture which participants think of as parts of their identity and in which participants engage deeply. Here, I will end this thesis by returning to one of my participants, Bancroft, as they put, succinctly, the underlying thought for the coming together of this death/doom music world:

As long as the world remains unfair, mean and crappy, doom metal will be there to save you.

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9. Appendix A

Handle:	Country:	Age:	Gender:
Acland	Sweden	34	M
Allsop	South Africa	35	M
Armstrong	England	37	M
Atkinson	Italy	34	M
Auden	Italy	41	M
Baker	Brazil	25	M
Babbage	Poland	19	F
Bancroft	Mexico	41	M
Bannister	Egypt	41	M
Baring	Greece	31	M
Bennett	Saudi Arabia	31	M
Berry	Greece	42	M
Birdsall	Ireland	20	F
Bertie	England	30	F
Betjeman	Mexico	19	M
Blackmore	Greece	20	M
Bradbury	Belgium	31	M
Brady	Poland	34	M
Branwell	Poland	22	M
Brooks	England	24	M
Brierly	Russia	25	M
Bunting	Spain	27	F
Burke	Romania	38	M
Burnett	Scotland	40	M
Bute	Australia	29	M
Carew	Denmark	36	M
Carlisle	England	55	M
Camden	India	25	M
Carzana	The Netherlands	32	M
Chase	Brazil	31	F
Churchill	Germany	35	M
Clare	Sweden	33	M
Collier	Romania	23	F
Cookworthy	Turkey	37	M

Collins	Poland	21	M
Pablo	Chile	23	M
Crabtree	Brazil	29	M
Coombes	England	42	M
Cory	England	36	M
Davies	Russia	29	F
Densham	The Netherlands	36	M
Dennys	Spain	25	M
Dobson	Belgium	38	M
Donne	England	34	F
Dickens	Turkey	31	M
Douglas	Chile	28	M
Downe	Turkey	33	M
Dunham	USA	46	M
Elgee	England	39	M
Dymond	England	51	M
Bart	Belgium	36	M
Ellison	Italy	28	M
Farrar	England	35	M
Fawkes	England	31	F
Fernau	USA	20	M
Fiennes	USA	31	M
Fortesque	Argentina	20	F
Fowles	Finland	33	M
Froissart	Ireland	36	M
Garrs	England	36	M
Gaskell	USA	63	M
Gill	The Netherlands	25	M
Gilpin	France	35	M
Gimzatte	England	25	F
Richard	England	40	M
Godwin	USA	27	M
Graebner	Turkey	31	M
Graham	Spain	35	F
Griffiths	Belarus	39	M
Grimshaw	Bulgaria	40	M

Gumb	Greece	40	F
Haldane	England	36	M
Hamley	Turkey	28	F
Hannam	Scotland	43	M
Hartley	Germany	29	M
Hawker	England	40	M
Haworth	England	24	M

10. Appendix B

‘The Barghest o’ Whitby’: (a genealogical study of) ‘extreme’ doom metal music(al) network in northern England

Leeds Beckett University, Carnegie Faculty, Centre for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion, PhD project

Researcher: M. Selim Yavuz, PhD student, Leeds Beckett University Carnegie Faculty

Contact: m.s.yavuz@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Director of Studies: Prof Karl Spracklen (k.spracklen@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 3608)

Supervisor: Dr Samantha Holland (s.holland@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 3691)

Local Research Ethics Committee: Dr Jon Dart (j.j.dart@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 6291)



Interview Questions:

- Could you please state your age and gender?
- Where are you from? Would you mind mentioning a little about your upbringing and background as well as what do you do now etc.?
- Which bands would you call your favourite doom bands?
- How did you come across My Dying Bride, Anathema, or Paradise Lost? What made you listen to these bands?
- When did you become a fan?
- Musically, what do you find interesting, engaging about these bands’ music?
- Are you involved in any way in the music making? If yes, how?
- Do you regularly listen to other metal music? If yes, would you mind writing some or all of them in any form you want (bands, genres etc.)?
- Do you regularly listen to any other style/genre of music? If yes, would you mind writing some or all of them in any form you want (bands, genres etc.)?
- What do you find different in these bands compared to other metal?
- Do you find any other music similar to these bands in any way?
- How do you listen to these bands? (using headphones, in the car, through CDs, vinyls etc.)
- When do you listen to these bands? (a particular time in your life, in your work day, running, walking, when it’s sunny etc.)
- How do you feel when you are listening to these bands?
- Do you regularly attend concerts? If yes, which ones (in terms of bands, which genres etc.)?
- Would you consider yourself part of a doom metal community? If yes, would you mind elaborating how? How are you involved in this community and what makes you feel this way? What are the channels you use?
- If you think there are, what is different in a doom metal community from other metal music?
- If you think there are, what is different in a doom metal community from other music?
- What do you like about these bands the most? It can be anything.
- Do you personally relate to these bands’ music? If yes, how?
- What differences do you think these bands have among themselves and when compared to others?
- If you have any further comments about anything, please feel free to add them! 😊

This project has received ethical approval from the Local Research Ethics Committee in LBU Carnegie Faculty, and it is in line with LBU Research Ethics Policy (<http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/studenthub/research-ethics.htm>)

11. Appendix C



FOR FANS OF **MY DYING BRIDE, PARADISE LOST OR** **ANATHEMA**

‘The Barghest o’ Whitby’: (a genealogical study of) ‘extreme’ doom metal music(al) network in northern England

Leeds Beckett University, Carnegie Faculty, Centre for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion, PhD project
Researcher: M. Selim Yavuz, PhD student, Leeds Beckett University Carnegie Faculty

Contact: m.s.yavuz@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Director of Studies: Prof Karl Spracklen (k.spracklen@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 3608)

Supervisor: Dr Samantha Holland (s.holland@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 3691)

Local Research Ethics Committee: Dr Jon Dart (j.j.dart@leedsbeckett.ac.uk / 0 113 812 6291)

Hello, I am a musicologist, a PhD student in Leisure Studies, and a big doom metal fan since my early teens! ‘*The Barghest o’ Whitby*’: (a genealogical study of) ‘extreme’ doom metal music(al) network in northern England is my doctoral thesis project where I am looking at death/doom music during the 1990s in northern England and the culture surrounding this music.

I am looking for participants to do interviews (face-to-face, e-mail, Skype or Facebook) for this research. You can participate in this study if you are a fan of My Dying Bride, Paradise Lost or Anathema, and importantly **only if you are 18 years old or older**. The interview will usually take half an hour or more to complete, depending on your answers. Please note that all the questions will be optional, and you are allowed to withdraw from either the interview or the research at any time. If you are interested in participating, please contact me through my e-mail address (**m.s.yavuz@leedsbeckett.ac.uk**). Please feel free to contact me for any questions you might have about either the research or the interview. Many thanks for your time!

Cheers!

Selim

This project has received ethical approval from the Local Research Ethics Committee in LBU Carnegie Faculty, and it is in line with LBU Research Ethics Policy (<http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/studenthub/research-ethics.htm>)