Creative

Shifts

Musical Flows in 1960s and 70s Sweden

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SVENSKT VISARKIV

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FOREWORD

Our work on the project *Creative Shifts—Musical Flows in 1960s and 70s Sweden* (*Kreativa förflyttningar—musikaliska flöden i 1960- och 70-talens Sverige*) began with some conversations between me, Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius, and Dan Lundberg in the autumn of 2015. What started as a conversation about cultural policies in the seventies and connections between various parts of the collections at *Svenskt visarkiv* (the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research) led shortly to questions concerning changes and shifts in both music and perspectives. When we applied for funding for the project from *Kulturrådet* (the Swedish Arts Council), Karin Eriksson had also joined our team—and before we were done, Madeleine Modin was also with us. Together we have ourselves shifted greatly: found different perspectives, and discovered things of which we were previously unaware. I am privileged to have had the opportunity to lead a project with such wise and ambitious partners.

Before launching into creative shifts in the sixties and seventies we wish to give thanks to the Swedish Arts Council, and also to *Riksantikvarieämbetet* (the Swedish National Heritage Board) whose funding for research projects for central museums paid for this project and showed faith in our project. It has of course been equally important that all those people who we have interviewed have given of their time and energy to answer our questions and treat us to meals and coffees in an exceptionally generous, welcoming manner—our deeply-felt thanks to all of you! We also thank Stefan Ölvebring at *Svenskt Rockarkiv* (Swedish Rock Archive) for his help in procuring material. Our project has in whole or in parts been presented in seminars at Linneaus University, Uppsala University and Örebro University and as public lectures at Svenskt visarkiv—we thank all participants for shrewd comments and

views! Other important contexts in which parts of the results have been presented and discussed are conferences with the American Folklore Society, European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, Svenska Samfundet för musikforskning (The Swedish Society for Musicology) and Nordiska etnologi- och folkloristikkonferensen (The Nordic Ethnology and Folkloristics Conference). During a concluding seminar on the manuscript Alf Arvidsson, Marita Rhedin and Owe Ronström read and commented the text in ways that further raised and consolidated our presentation. For further help with readings of our text we give our humble thanks to Mathias Boström, Jerker Eriksson, Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius and Tina Mathisen. Many thanks also to Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius for checking and help with organising the list of sources and literature.

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Stockholm, January 2022

INTRODUCTION

Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius

Sextiotalet kom och gick / öppet som ett ögonblick /
uppror och förförelse / allt var liksom i rörelse

[*The Sixties came and went/ open as a moment/*
revolt and seduction/ everything was, like, in motion]
(Blå Tåget: Everything was, like, in motion,
From the record *Moderna material*, 1999)

"Everything was, like, in motion." This is how Blå Tåget, from the horizon of the 1990s, portray the 1960s. The Sixties were in many ways radical days—from the political to the aesthetic, from sexuality and gender roles to views on new cultural norms. Yet if we focus upon movement and departures, we easily lose sight of that which is stationary, that which remains. The Sixties are also the culmination of the post-war peak years, the continuation of the urban transformation of the Fifties, the further development of the ready-mades and Dadaistic experiments of the 1910s and 20s. Blå Tåget—who also used the name Gunder Hägg (after a long-distance running icon in 1940s Sweden)—and combined ballads, cabaret and contemporary pop music with lyrics on class struggle or everyday reflections—are in themselves an excellent example of such remnants of the past in the Sixties. A Sixties in which Evert Taube (Sweden's most famous "troubadour") meets The Fugs.

Not only the Sixties were in motion—our memories of the past are in motion too. A continual dialogue exists between our own experiences, what is remembered by other people and the collective memories shaped

and spread in the form of radio and TV programmes, books, newspapers, pods and many other media. Can the innumerable representations of symbolically important events such as *Almstriden* (the "Elm Struggle" concerning trees in central Stockholm), *Kårhusockupationen* (the occupation of Stockholm's student union building) and demonstrations against the Vietnam war strengthen and confirm certain recollections at the expense of others? When Blå Tåget recount what happened thirty years later, they do it from a certain position in life. Might not all of our youthful years in retrospective appear particularly dramatic and radical on account of their very contrast with long years of work, careers and establishing relationships and families?

The research project *Creative Shifts* arose from our curiosity with regard to certain aspects of Sweden's music scene in the years from the mid-Sixties to the end of the Seventies. This book is part of the final presentation of the project. Around half a century has passed since the epoch that is in our focus, and most of those involved are old today. Thus we find ourselves, as researchers at such a documenting institution as Svenskt visarkiv,[1] in a familiar situation—like earlier generations of folklore researchers and folk music collectors we have tried to "save what we can" of experiences from days gone by (cf. Ehn & Löfgren 1996:25). This is at the same time a well-documented period, with a wide range of films, TV-series and books which examine these, in certain ways, turbulent years (for example: Arvidsson 2008, Bjereld and Demker 2018, Thyrén 2009, Östberg 2002). We have even met people on our path who regard their accounts of those times as the "correct" versions—despite their knowledge of the number of perspectives. We have at times got the impression that some of those who were active in Sweden's music scene during that period sense what is almost a market-like competition regarding reminiscences. Nor is this surprising: an ability to demonstrate an important position in that epoch can still give status, but when there are competing views about "how it really was" then this this makes things more person-

[1] Svenskt visarkiv, the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, is an archive founded in 1951 documenting, preserving and making available folk music, jazz and popular music in Sweden. The archive is part of the government agency the Swedish Performing Arts Agency. In this text we will use the name Svenskt visarkiv.

al, since it concerns people's memories and experiences. "How it was" is in many ways a question of "Who am I?"

Let us linger awhile with the expression "in motion" in the introductory quote. Typical of this period were aesthetic, social and political *ideas* in motion, likewise people gathered in *social movements*—but we have also interested ourselves in *the people* in motion in a very concrete sense. Because something which also typifies the music scene in this epoch is people in motion: transnational migration, such as the labour immigration from Greece, Turkey and ex-Yugoslavia; American musicians who fled the Vietnam draft; migration from cities to the countryside—a reverse movement to the contemporary rural flight and urbanisation; travels which led to new influences and worlds of sounds. We have, inspired by the ethnologist Owe Ronström's formulations, called these motions *shifts*. Ronström uses the term in a specific way (Ronström 2014): shifts in one dimension—for example, from one social context to another—always imply shifts in other dimensions, for example from one ideological function to another. Thus when Ronström describes the Swedish folk music field in a discussion concerning revival, this is effected by showing how control of the field has been shifted between various participants—from "knowers" who document, produce knowledge and categorise to "doers" who focus on practical performance and on to "makers" who arrange, facilitate and package (cf. Lundberg, Malm & Ronström, 2000:48–51). But these shifts of control have also implied other parallel shifts: the shift from knowers to doers also meant a shift from staged performance to informal playing and a shift of the music itself from urban salons to outdoor celebrations. We chose to call our project *Creative Shifts* since it is about shifts which took place within a wider field of creative cultural activities, but also because we hoped to be able to better understand the prerequisites for creativity in those years.

At this stage, we wish to present some delimitations. Firstly, this is not in any manner an attempt to encompass the entire breadth of Sweden's music scenes of the Sixties and Seventies but rather an attempt to provide *new perspectives* which can help us understand some of the music scenes of that period. Secondly, this is not an attempt at comparison—we have, on the contrary, chosen particular fields of music that we expected

to display various overlaps and entwinements. This also proved, unsurprisingly, to be the case. At the same time we underline the fact that the combination of music scenes is not mere coincidence: this is motivated by the fact that we initially wished to find shifts—spatial, social and ideological, both within and between different musical contexts. We have additionally chosen the collections at Svenskt visarkiv as our point of departure: a methodological choice of route with specific consequences which will be more thoroughly discussed below.

The aim of this book is to investigate and analyse shifts which took place within and between some different musical fields during the period 1962–1980. Musical fields consist here of musical areas held together by, for example: genre conventions, musical ideals, concert venues, networks, values etc. (Fabbri 1982, Finnegan 1989, Frith 1996, Holt 2007). The fields investigated are "visvågen" (the *visa*[2] wave)—in particular how it expressed itself on and around "Vispråmen Storken" (The Visa Barge Storken)—Sweden's early progressive music scene and the folk music wave. We will observe contextual, geographical, institutional and genre-type shifts. Below we will first sketch and delimit the contexts investigated—the periods and milieux that have interested us. An introduction to the theoretical frameworks used will follow, and some of the methodological considerations we made. Finally, the setup of the book will be outlined.

The Context of the Study

This investigation originally concerned the period 1965–75. This appeared to be a kind of common midway point regarding the three fields of music chosen, and we were from the start prepared to stretch the time span if our material led us in that direction. The three fields are active during this time span: Storken was established in 1962, the progressive musicians interviewed had begun playing just before 1965 and it might be said

[2] *Visa* translates roughly to song, and is an umbrella term for narrative song, usually comprising literary visa (with known composers) and popular visa (from oral tradition). For further discussion see below and chapter 4.

that the folk music wave had been looming in the form of various concert and recording projects during the first half of the 1960's. In a similar way, the middle of the 1970s is perhaps a breaking point: coinciding with the global oil crisis this is often said to be the end of the "record years" (referring to Sweden's postwar economic boom), but also the dawn of the new cultural policy era (1974). We have focused in our three sub-studies on different historical courses of events: Storken was active from 1962 to 1969; with regard to the progressive music movement our focus is on the period before networks and organisations arose, roughly the period between 1965 and 1970; in the case of the folk music wave, we look at the 70s. It is however, as mentioned earlier, impossible to disregard both historical forerunners and continuities going forward in time—from the *visa* singing of the late 1950s to the punk of the late 1970s, which in some ways was a generational shift rather than a genre shift with respect to the music movement (cf. Fornäs 1985:335). For the reader, this means that the chapters, and the various fields investigated, are connected through the matter of shifts—and to understand them, we will need to raise our gaze beyond the period in focus.

The point of departure for our work has been the collections at the Svenskt visarkiv: interviews conducted within the framework of the regular documentation activities of the archive, but also collections of clippings and photos as well as various persons' archives (primarily from Folke Rabe and Git Magnusson). As this list might suggest, the collections have been a point of departure, and we have both consulted other collections—such as those at Svenskt rockarkiv or the National Library of Sweden—and conducted new interviews with people active during the period studied. Sometimes these persons have their own archives, with articles or old photos that have led us on our way.

Theoretical gateways

As stated previously, a starting point for the project has been *shifts*. *Shifts* should in this case be interpreted both descriptively—as a portrayal of movements in the broadest possible meaning—and analytically, as a reminder that shifts tend to be multidimensional: an aesthetic shift is often

also a social shift, for example (cf. Ronström 2014). But what does it mean to say that a shift occurs? Firstly, it implies movement—the variety easiest to imagine is perhaps geographical movement, but it can also be a matter of movement in time or in ideas. Secondly, a shift implies some sort of space in which to shift—a political space, for example—and in that space, a place or direction which is moved from and one that is moved towards. Thirdly, change is often also implicit: often we see a shift as a shift from one thing to another thing where the latter differs from the former, if only slightly. Fourthly, the very shift has strong denominations, not least in Western modernity. In his analysis of mobility—the capacity for movement upon which shifts are based—the human geographer Tim Cresswell states that within "contemporary social thought, words associated with mobility are unremittingly positive," whilst the static and the rooted are seen as reactionary, boring and outdated (Cresswell 2006: 25–26). Fifthly, shifts have a certain speed—some take a moment, others centuries. The shifts we discuss here can be seen as short snippets from greater shifts that have been in progress—and perhaps still are in progress—for far greater periods of time: both the folk music wave and currents in the psychedelic music of the 60s are continuations of ways of approaching folk culture and folk music with roots in the late 1700s (see for example Ronström & Ternhag 1994), and the exoticism in the shape of, for example, sitars and tablas which was a feature of the rock music of the late 1960s had its forerunners in the British colonialism of the 1800s (Farrell 1999). Sixthly, for shifts to take place something must set them in motion—an initiator—and this can range from the push-and-pull factors of migration to revolt against parental authority. Seventhly, shifts also require some sort of energy, engagement or propulsive force, and we have chosen to approach this in terms of *affect* (cf. Grossberg 1992:397)—to which we will soon return.

Our interest in shifts has led us further in several different directions. We have on the one hand taken an interest in the various spaces named immediately above: we have continually asked ourselves in which spaces or landscapes a particular shift takes place. Here the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's now-classic discussion of the cultural dimensions of globalisation has been an important source of inspiration. Appa-

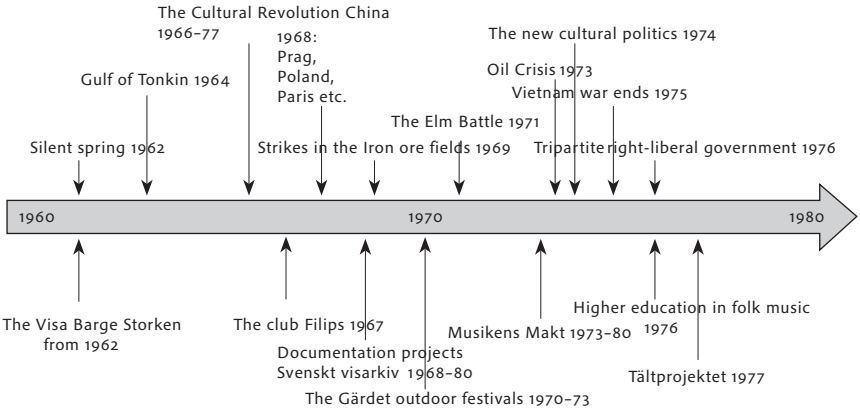
durai demonstrates how globalisation proceeds in a number of overlapping landscapes: ethnoscape, technoscape, mediascape, ideoscape and financescape. *Ethnoscape* consists of persons in imagined or physical motion; *technoscape* is the global flow of technical configurations; *financescape* consists of the disposition of global capital; *ideoscapes* are the often direct political linkings of images concerning the ideologies of states or movements; *mediascape* is both the electronic capability to produce and spread information and the conceptions of the world created in these media (Appadurai 1996:33–37). Together, these landscapes build imagined worlds. It is in these global landscapes that people fashion images or fantasies concerning themselves and others, and it hardly needs mentioning that popular culture in general and popular forms of music in particular play a central role in the shaping of these cultural flows. The fact that the landscapes are global does not mean that they are without location—on the contrary, Appadurai claims that it is in these very landscapes that people fashion notions of places, nations, origins and ethnicity. Ethnoscapes can harbour both physical people and lived places, together with imagined. The ability to envision and imagine is, in Appadurai's view, exactly what distinguishes the living conditions of many people today in comparison with days gone by: even those without means can envision another life, in another place with different conditions (ibid:48–50), and an important ethnographical task is to discover which real and imagined places people live with and relate to. Imagination or the ability to envision has been an important driving force in many of the shifts that we discuss: it is through imagination that we can envision another time, another place, another way of living and acting in the world. This is how the old traditional tunes become authentic, how a move to the countryside gains an ethical significance.

It is reasonable to describe this project as a *contemporary historical ethnomusicology*. This implies that we have approached relatively recent musical worlds as cultural, social and historical phenomena (Rice 1987). It also implies that even though music has been our gateway, we have also been interested in the wider contexts of which music has been a part. Some of the progressive or alternative rock music created in the late 1960s was as much a case of discovering new (or "new-old") ways

of making music together as of finding new ways of relating to the environment and consumption—and of a political attitude described by one of those interviewed as "definitely Left." In order to understand such fusions of music, aesthetics, values and politics we have approached these contexts as *affective alliances*. The American cultural studies scholar Lawrence Grossberg uses this term to focus upon the affective or emotional glue that binds members of a network in a common orientation to each other and to the cultural artefacts around which they gather (Grossberg 1992:50ff., 1997:44, cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2014:18f.). Referring to affective alliances does not imply generalisations concerning the emotional lives of participants—rather that similar affective orientations arise within the alliances, in which the same kind of content appears time after time, and which can on occasion resemble limited versions of what is often called *Zeitgeist* or generational experience. Our interest in affect, orientation and attitude has, moreover, also shed light on meetings between differing attitudes—in the meetings between "hippies" and "folk musicians," for example, in chapter five.

A Period of Transition?

The period in focus here has often been described as transitional—"everything was, like, in motion," as Blå Tåget express it in our opening quote. Yet that could arguably be said of Sweden's entire modern history: the sense of being in motion, breaking up, on the move is characteristic of not only the 1960s but of the whole epoch from popular movements and the building of the welfare state to the "people's home" nostalgia of the late 20th and early 21st century. The view that this was in many ways a special period is nevertheless widely held. Perhaps it is enough to point out that this feeling of being in motion unites many of those who took part—even if a similar flashback to the 1950s or 1980s would have elicited a similar response. What, then, happened in the 1960s and 70s? A timeline from 1960 to 1980 might consist of, among others, these milestones:



Above the line are important events, both in Sweden and abroad. Below the line are the fields of music of which we write here. It hardly needs to be said that it is impossible to define two decades with the help of just a few events, but they are chosen to give the reader a broad overview.[3] Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was in the early 1960s a contribution to the debate on our environment; the Gulf of Tonkin Incident was the starting shot of the United States' military escalation in the Vietnam War; the Cultural Revolution in China and political developments in Paris, Poland and the so-called "Prague Spring" in 1968 were important events which contributed to the formation of a political activism—sometimes radicalisation—in Sweden which resulted in, among other things, the "student union occupation" in Stockholm that May. The wild strikes in Malmfälten (the Iron Ore Fields) in 1969–70 received great nationwide response and support, and were to influence the labour market for many years. Almstriden (the Elm Struggle) in 1971, which resulted in demonstrators successfully stopping the felling of elm trees which were in the

[3] To those who wish to learn more about this period, we recommend on the one hand two books which focus upon the mythical year 1968 (Berggren 2018 in Swedish focusing a Swedish context, and Kurlansky 2005 with an international orientation) and on the other hand one which, with its point of departure in that very year, places its events in a framework of more long-term changes in Swedish society (Bjereld & Demker 2018, in Swedish). For an introduction in English to the post-war period in Sweden, see Kent 2008:238–263).

way of an extension of Stockholm's metro, saw environmental activism show its strength at a time when the highly-criticised "demolition rage" ploughed through many Swedish cities.[4] The Oil Crisis of 1973 heralded an international economic slump. In 1974 cultural policies were reshaped by a Culture Bill (based on the report *Ny kulturpolitik* from 1972) stating, among other things, that cultural policies should "counteract the negative effects of commercialism." In 1975 the war in Vietnam ended—and the Swedish Left lost its perhaps most important unifying cause. When Swedes recall politics in the 1970s today, the Left is often focused upon, but after the 1976 general election the first government of the Right since 1936—led by Thorbjörn Fälldin—took power. The fact that the individualism which characterised the emerging shift to the right and neoliberalism had its roots in the hippie movement and the counterculture's anti-authoritarianism is another paradox that several scholars have pointed out (see inter alia Bjereld & Demker 2018, Boréus 1994).

Yet another context for these fields of music is the world of music around them. These are also the days of *Svensktoppen* (Sweden's hit parade), the period in which a number of the pop musicians of the 60's set the tone for the dance-band music of the 70s—but also the emergence of rock music with Swedish lyrics (where Pugh Rogefelt's *Ja dä ä dä* from 1969 is often held forth as the first rock record in Swedish). It can also be worth bearing in mind that even though these fields we describe here are important, such artists as Towa Carson, Harry Brandelius, Kjerstin Dellert, Bröderna Lindkvist, Björn Skifs, Thore Skogman and Sven-Ingvars were heard on the radio—not to mention The Beatles, ABBA and Led Zeppelin.[5]

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[4] The great changes in Sweden's town and city centres which took place in the 1960s and 70s were referred to as the "demolition rage" or "demolition hysteria" in the Department of Culture's report from 1997 (Johansson 1997).

[5] For introductory texts to popular music in Sweden, please see Björnberg & Bossius eds. 2017.

Fields of Music in 1960s and 70s Sweden

As stated above, this book is about shifts in some fields of music during a certain period. The first field has been entitled *The Folk Music Wave* by us and many before us. This field consists of a rapidly increasing interest in and engagement in folk music in Sweden. Precedents existed abroad—elements of a search for local, homegrown traditions—in part a reaction against an international, most often Anglo-American, popular culture. Evidence of the folk music wave can be found in the enormous countrywide upturn in "spelmansstämmor" (folk musicians' gatherings) in the early 1970s, the emergence of a new generation of folk musicians and revitalised folk dancing and folk music ensembles. In a broader perspective, however, it is expressed in the form of various crossovers and hybridizations, from folk-rock bands such as Kebnekajse and Contact to Merit Hemmingson's interpretations of folk music on the Hammond organ, and not least the artists who worked at an early stage with what could be termed "world music"—such artists as Anita Livstrand, Vargavinter, Arbete & Fritid and Södra Bergens Balalaikor. Quite a lot has been written about the folk music wave (Kaminsky 2012, Kjellström et al 1985, Ling 1977, Ramsten 1992, Ronström 2014) but much less with the broader grasp shown here in Karin Eriksson's work.

We call the second field *The Early Alternative Movement*. This field is intrinsically a kind of premonition of what was to blossom around 1970 in the form of an alternative music movement, later to become a powerful factor in Swedish music for most of the 1970s. Clubs, concerts, happenings and albums were active for several years, leading to outdoor music festivals in the summer of 1970.This alternative movement also had international precedents, from the massive outdoor festivals in the USA and Great Britain from 1967 onwards to the grassroots involvement in music in several Western European countries. Yet it was also imbued with the same homegrown and DIY attitude that inspired the folk music wave. A lot has been written about the music movement itself (Thyrén 2009, Björnberg 2013), but less about those members that we have chosen to focus upon here.

We call the third field The *Visa* Wave (the Swedish term is *visvågen*;

"visa" is a Swedish word that roughly means "song," often consisting of poetry set to music, usually performed by "troubadours"). This too is a common term, often used for the upturn in *visa* singing which began in the 1950s and spawned such artists as Fred Åkerström, Cornelis Vreeswijk and Birgitta Hylin. This book portrays the *visa* wave via a specific space, *Vispråmen Storken* (the Visa Barge Storken), the most important stage for the *visa* wave in Stockholm up to 1969. The *visa* wave, still rooted at the time in Carl Michael Bellman, Ruben Nilson, Nils Ferlin and Evert Taube, was also inspired by everything from the American folk song movement—with leading figures such as Pete Seeger, Leadbelly, Woody Guthrie and of course Bob Dylan—to chansons in French from Jacques Brel and Georges Brassens. The influence of blues music on Sweden's *visa* was strong, as was the influence of Swedish folk music. A certain amount has been written on the *visa* wave and on individual artists (see for example Rhedin 2011) but such deep immersion in a single stage as Madeleine Modin offers here is unique.

Out of the Archives

The ethnologist Birgitta Svensson relates how she in her doctoral work "did fieldwork in the past," which has come to be a common expression for how ethnologists approach historical sources (Svensson 1993, cf. Gustavsson 2014). In our case, fieldwork in the past has not only taken place in the archives, but has often moved *out of* the archives—to people still alive who were active at the time and to other archives. What has choosing Svenskt visarkiv's collections meant for us in a methodological sense? It has in part meant that material already exists which someone else, usually with other questions than we have, has created. The majority of interviews found in the archive's collections have aimed at documentation, and thus a biographical and chronological perspective has been dominant. Working with interviews done by someone else also involves continually wishing for a different follow-up question, for the interviewer having refrained from interrupting, for the interviewer having been more active or the opposite—or for feeling that the interview was concluded just when they began to touch upon interesting matters. It also

means that the material is delimited in a way that seldom coincides with the scope of the researcher's own questions. This is of course an everyday situation for researchers in archives and museums—and this is also why the archive's collections have been a point of departure in this project, not a delimitation. From our collections we have found our way to other archives and collections in which we have read journals, sifted through the minutes of meetings and leafed through documentation projects.

Yet we have also interviewed people who participated—both about the years that interest us and about their life histories in general. It is perhaps self-evident that an interviewer wants to create such a life-history context—if we wish to understand events in a certain period of a certain person's life then we must understand what place these events have in the entire life lived: where did that person come from, and where were they headed? But there are also methodological gains with such an approach: the long life-history conversation, shifting back and forth between different periods, provides opportunities for feedback and trust which can contribute to reciprocity between interviewer and interviewee. Another positive feature of these long, conversational interviews is that they primarily yield reflections around, and perspectives on, people's experiences—rather than many long years after the event letting us know exactly what happened, and in what order (Fägerborg 2011:96, cf. Arvidsson 1997).

The word "archive" derives from the Greek "archaeion," originally referring to the buildings of public authorities: "the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded" (Derrida 1996:2). In this word we find the stem arkhé, which can mean power or ruling—the same word found in "monarchy." Archives do not only have a background as places where rulers store traces of their exercise of power; they can still be seen as powerful institutions which control what we may know about the past, that sort and organise the collective memory—and also reject that which is not regarded as worth knowing, those not worth knowing anything about (cf. Fernstål & Hyltén-Cavallius 2020). Having said that, however, the archives house more than their creators had intended: contradictory voices, which take the reins to lead the conversation themselves and take charge over the narrative. And when we pose

new questions to old material, a shift occurs in which the material can tell of things that those who created it never imagined. And that is also the case with those sources that we have used—sources created with varied intentions and question formulations, but which have now helped us in seeking creative shifts. Yet the role of archives as powerful institutions demands humility and carefulness of us when we interpret material—an attitude we have borne with us from our first tentative searches to the writing of texts. More than once we have had to pause and ask ourselves: which answers could an interviewee give at that very moment, and which material from an activity has not ended up in the archives?

The project also used digital platforms to gather a wider range of experiences. A call for experiences from the Visa barge Storken in a Facebook group on Stockholm history yielded few responses—but some recordings. Two web questionnaires were made from the archive's website in connection with the project.[6] The first focused upon rock and pop scenes in the 1960s (20 responses) and the second on the folk music wave (35 responses). The aim was to create a frame for understanding the material that comprised our primary focus, but also to augment the archive's collections with people's memories of contexts previously described by professionals (such as musicians and arrangers) and writers. Information on the questionnaires was spread via Svenskt visarkiv's web site and Facebook account, with private accounts and various group accounts sharing it further. That the number of responses concerning the folk music wave was almost double the number concerning pop scenes can to a certain extent be explained by the fact that the people who make use of Svenskt visarkiv are overwhelmingly interested in folk music and *visor.* Regardless of the number of answers, these responses have greatly increased our understanding of this period—through them we can get a sense of clubs, basement scenes, folk festivals and jamming. Some small excerpts from the responses are found in chapter 5.

The project had a certain Stockholm bias from its start. The existing material used—for example, archive collections and documentary materi-

[6] For discussions concerning these questionnaires and web appeals, see Hagström & Marander-Eklund (2005) and Nilsson et al. (2003).

al—has in itself often had its point of departure in the Stockholm area and, not least, been gathered by persons working at archives with a national assignment though based in the capital. When we as part of the project have interviewed persons from other parts of the country, they have in a number of cases been Stockholmers who have relocated (even though up to half a century outside Stockholm might influence how much of a "Stockholmer" one is or regards oneself as being—not least on account of the geographical shift itself often being part of reflecting upon and distancing oneself from an identity as a Stockholmer or, more generally, a city dweller). The fields of music researched here—the folk music wave, the early alternative movement and the *visa* movement—all emerged in connection with cities and towns like Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Lund, Uppsala etc. Here too a burgeoning infrastructure grew forth in the shape of formal networks, record companies and distributors. Yet these fields were to varying degrees *also* national phenomena with offshoots more or less throughout the country, and a geographically broader base for our material would probably have generated more perspectives on the fields we studied. With all these reservations in mind it should nevertheless be underlined that we have followed *networks* of people, networks that entwined people from many different parts of Sweden and other parts of the world. Such entwinements are particularly focused upon in chapters 3 and 6.

Who are we, then, we who have written this book? One ethnologist and three musicologists—or four ethnomusicologists—all of whom share an interest in music as a cultural and social phenomenon, and how culture and society is expressed in music. We have all, from various points of departure, shown an interest for this period in our earlier research—and one of us, Dan Lundberg, has played since 1979 in one of the groups, *Södra Bergens Balalaikor*, featured in this study. Yet we are all a little "too young" to have participated in the years in focus. There are both advantages and disadvantages to being outsiders in this sense: on the one hand we have no personal stakes to defend from that period, nor can we refer to our own experience as a basis for authority or a measure of veracity; on the other hand we meet all the material filtered through other retellings—and the past can appear more complete, well-ordered and distinct than a cluttered and straggly present can ever be.

About the book and how it might be read

This book consists of freestanding chapters written by the project's researchers. We have however aimed to, so to speak, turn a kaleidoscope to show different shifts and how they interact. Thus, it is also our hope that the book might be read as a whole. The project has also spawned a number of articles for which there is no room here, but which discuss amongst other matters folk music in pop and the significance of politics in alternative music (inter alia Eriksson 2022; Hyltén-Cavallius 2019, 2020, 2021; Lundberg 2022). In the *second* chapter we begin in the archive itself as an institution and custodian of memory. Here we examine a certain kind of shifts—loops—in which the archive participates as an active co-creator of music traditions, and how gender shaped the conditions of the field. The examples here are Märta Ramsten's interviews from the field of folk music, the album series "Unga svenska spelmän"—Young Swedish Folk Musicians—(1976–1980) and Folke Rabe's recordings of Bosnian music in the 1960s. The *third* chapter discusses how shifts also entail meetings and intertwinings by zooming in on two events in which the lifelines of musicians met for a while—events which say something about the 1960s as a period with many parallel times, and of the both national and global mobility which characterised that period. The *fourth* chapter shows how the Visa Barge Storken became a meeting place in the 1960s for young and old, amateurs and professionals, within the *visa* wave that began in the 1950s. An empirical plunge reveals the roles of place, of the material environment and of the audience as participants in the creation of a scene and its status in the story of the *visa* wave. The period studied also involved shifts in values, utopias and affects—discussed in chapter *five* based on how concepts of the people and its traditions were used in various fields of music. Finally, the *sixth* chapter shows how the *Södra Bergens Balalaikor* orchestra via geographical and symbolical shifts created a transcultural capital in its performing of music from the Soviet Union.

"THANKS FOR LENDING US THE MUSIC"
On Folk Music, Archives and Loops

Karin Eriksson and Dan Lundberg

Introduction

This chapter engages with a certain type of creative shifts which we have termed "loops." It refers to a kind of cycle which occurs in interaction with cultural heritage archives, collecting and publication.[1] We will raise issues of value production, processes of selection and change in relation to the archive and, to some extent, the publishing of recordings as active agents in transmitting and forming musical traditions. By drawing on a set of empirical examples from the 1960s and 70s, we will also investigate the role of the collectors and their relationship to the contemporary music life of which their collections are part. Our aim is to shed light on, try to further understand and problematise the archive's many functions of both preserving values as well as being part of producing new traditions in society.

Within different genres, under different time periods, different perspectives regarding historical material have existed. Whilst modern jazz primarily praises progress and innovation, folk music has had a tendency to still be anchored in the historical material. Many definitions of the genre also emphasise the first part of the term's two components: *folk*

[1] The title "Thanks for lending us the music" is the heading of a radio script which is part of Folke Rabe's collection in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA M 0580_01). Parts of the theoretical points of departure and the passage on Folke Rabe's field recordings in this chapter are based upon Ronström and Lundberg: "*Thanks for Lending Me the Music.*" *On Musical Routes and Loops.* Lecture at the conference "Montenegrin Musical Heritage—Music Practices and Their Potentials" 2019.

and *music* (cf. Ronström 1989). Thus, the link to the historical contexts of the music—the folk, the people—is highlighted. In the well-cited Swedish article by Jan Ling "Folkmusik—en brygd" (Folk music—a concoction) (1979), power is a central point of departure for his argumentation. Ling states that the term folk music was devised and created by a cultural elite from the late 1700s. According to Ling, folk music is an "ideological concept, coined by the bourgeoisie of the 1700s and 1800s to denote the music of 'the others', the people's music—which they observe, study and attempt to incorporate into their culture" (Ling 1979:10). The prerequisite for the emergence of the concept of folk music, Ling suggests, is the changes in society that occur in the 1700s, and that folk music is associated with the old rural society. When Märta Ramsten in her thesis *Återklang. Svensk folkmusik i förändring 1950–1980* (Reverberations. Swedish Folk Music in a State of Change, 1950–1980) (1992) defines folk music it is as "an established repertoire and a recognised execution of that repertoire which of course changes through different periods, but which to this day is highly dependent upon the attitude to the material of the folk music collectors of the 1800s" (Ramsten 1992:7). Ramsten describes the genre as an established repertoire performed in a conventional manner. Folk music as music material played in a certain way, then, though still anchored in history. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Ramsten's definition is that she, like Ling, points out that the attitude of collectors to the material is of crucial importance regarding its contents—what should be seen as, and thus becomes, folk music.

Discussions and research concerning cultural heritage institutions and cultural heritage research are rife with words about collecting, preserving, and organising. Entire discourses have been formed around such words—discourses which regularly set preservation and innovation, tradition and change as antonyms (even when, as here, they are presented with a connecting "and"). As a result of such discourses a range of methods have been developed, rooted in various kinds of organisations: archives, libraries and research institutions. This takes place on local, regional, national and not least international levels (with worldwide networks and institutions like ICTMD and UNESCO as obvious examples). Jan Ling states that the world of folk music was defined by collectors.

This definition has, however, since been challenged and the perception of "folk music" as understood today has been shaped by a shift of certain forms of expression from one music landscape to another via processes of collection and preservation—with new ways of perceiving, understanding and relating to the music. The result is a move from one context of knowledge or one symbolic world to another. A number of scholars who have discussed the concept of folk music after Ramsten and Ling have stressed that folk music has increasingly been perceived as a genre or a style of its own. Nevertheless, the connection with the historical contexts seems to have remained as a prevalent idea of what the music stands for and means.[2] In this chapter we do not aim to take a stand on, or try to evaluate this shift—nor its consequences and results. Rather, we will discuss this type of changes in meanings from a theoretical position, based on some specific empirical cases.

Loops out of and into the archives

Collectors of ancient remains and popular antiquities in the early 1800s were omnivorous in a number of ways. They were driven by a strong passion for all forms of the people's culture and were, for the most, not specialists. Instead, they embody the humanist ideal of the 1800s—the allrounder researcher and cultural being, the amateur (the lover in the original sense of the word). We only need to consider the professional titles of members of Götiska förbundet (Gothic Association): composer, court pastor, ancient remains researcher, fencing master, grammar schoolteacher, etc.[3] They shared an academic background and a burning passion for ancient days and the nation (Lundberg 2008).

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[2] Cf. Ronström 2019, Eriksson 2017, Eriksson 2004, Kaminsky 2012 and 2005, Lundberg and Ternhag 2005. A review and comparison of the use by Swedish scholars of the folk music concept is found in Lundberg 2010.

[3] Swedish dreams of a glorious past were nurtured not least within the movement usually termed *göticismen* (Geatishism, sometimes referred to as Gothicism). Götiska förbundet was founded in 1811—"a brotherly association of men, devoted to the revival of the spirit of freedom, bravery and honesty of the ancient Geats."

Folk music collecting continued into the 1900s, culminating with the work of Folkmusikkommissionen (the Folk Music Commission) from 1908 to 1940.[4] When collecting continued in the second half of the 1900s—the period in focus in this chapter—it can be viewed as a continuation of the work of earlier collectors, even though there were some changes in aims, objectives and methods. An important difference was access to new technologies, new media and cultural heritage institutions with new functions. On his journeys through different parts of Sweden, Matts Arnberg of the Swedish Radio documented around 800 tradition bearers and a total of around 8 000 tunes (Ramsten 1979:144). In his radio programmes he challenged the prevailing art music attitude towards folk music, playing field recordings of folk tunes and songs by tradition bearers in his programmes without alterations or adaptations. Previously, folk music had almost always been arranged and adapted for listeners and performed by trained classical violinists or singers. Yet even if the material was modified, the perceived authenticity of its origins was an important criterium for the early collectors: the folk music to be preserved must be the tunes and songs of the rural society (Åkesson 2007a:49). Arnberg's collection work can be seen as a continuation of the search for original forms of expression in which local distinctive traits in both repertoire and performance, in a tradition passed on by ear, are important factors in evaluating the music (Boström 2016:66). Arnberg himself states that his work "cannot be led by some absolute principles of quality, but that it is continually a question of compromising between quality and authenticity and the receptiveness of the radio audience concerning such delicate qualities" (letter 25th of January 1951, quoted in Ramsten 1979:145–146).

Arnberg's recordings were spread via radio broadcasts, and contributed greatly to an increase in knowledge of folk music beyond the academic sphere. The recordings also influenced the wave of folk music revival that swept throughout the country a few years later in the 1970s. In turn, this inspired new generations of collectors and performers to

[4] The Folk Music Commission formally existed from 1908 to 1976, but was most active from 1908 to 1911 and from 1922 to 1940.

begin searching for folk music. Another result was that old recordings and transcriptions in the archives became the subject of new interest. Moreover, peripheral musical expressions and geographies took centre stage in Swedish folk music (cf. Chapter 5 in this anthology and Ramsten 1992). An example of this is Måns Olsson's *Polska from Mattmar* in Jämtland which was used by Swedish jazz musicians on the LP *Adventures in Jazz and Folklore* (1965) (see for example Burlin 2000, Lundberg 2019:159ff.). This recording was widely spread, and the polska was played by young folk musicians and recorded in new contexts. The powerful impact of the radio medium and these new ways of using folk music initiated numerous shifts between many different music landscapes and different symbolic worlds with differing value systems, as we shall see further examples of later in this chapter.

A first observation is that such shifts, from one symbolic world to another, have often been regarded as movements from point A to point B — more or less as with migration, a directional movement from one place to another. This view has in recent years been problematised and criticised (Durrans 1993, Ronström 2008 and Lundberg 2017:174ff.). Such a view of shifts implies that the prerequisites are static and not in themselves changeable, which is very rarely the case. The perception of collections and archives as "frozen" historical images have also been replaced by a view of these as active agents in producing traditions (Taylor 2003, Landau & Topp Fargion 2012, Kvifte 2014, Lundberg 2017, Swaby & Frank 2020). There is now a broad spectrum of terms and theoretical models which challenge the older static view of culture and instead advocate process-focused methods, with emphasises on movement, becoming, transition and flow (see Cresswell 2006, 2013, Thrift 2007, Ingold 2011, Kiwan & Meinhof 2011a). This is what we find when we follow the pathways of individual songs and tunes: ongoing entanglements and movements into and out of various musical activities and symbolic worlds such as music groups, archives, museums, non-governmental organisations, research institutes, associations and concert halls.

Disembeddings, shifts and control crises

Many cultural shifts begin with a process which we have chosen to term "disembedding," where the music is removed from its previous context and placed or used in new contexts. Shifts and disembeddings are processes in which social and cultural activities are actively moved and placed in new spatial, temporal or social contexts and which result in some form of change with regard to use, significance or symbolic meanings. Yet when cultural expressions or activities are established in new contexts, new contextual embeddings arise. In connection with his reasoning concerning "disembedding mechanisms," Anthony Giddens (1991) also discusses something that he terms "re-embedding": a reconnection or re-establishing of cultural forms:

> *New forms of social relations, communities, and politics (see glocalization) arising alongside a decline in traditional forms of social cohesion.*[5]

Re-embedding (which refers to a kind of reconnection) is close to what is described as "localising" or "re-localising," for example when globally-spread forms of music find a place in new local musical environments and are adapted to the local music culture. Ethnomusicologist Krister Malm has explored these issues in several studies—for example, the establishment of local rap scenes in East Africa in the 1990s and the way that rap was established in Stockholm suburbs in the same period. The music changed and the rap lyrics were adapted to Swedish or East African conditions—they were, among other things, based on different varieties of outsiderness connected to the local context (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:184–192).

The new contexts enable the re-embedded forms of music to be seen simultaneously as something new and yet the same. However, that is not the end of the story. The new forms of music will also come to influence the old in continuous cycles—*loops*. Many of these processes can be analysed in terms of localisation, delocalisation and relocalisation or

[5] The word "re-embedding"in *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*. https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199568758.001.0001/acref-9780199568758, last accessed 12 October 2023.

in other cases medialisation, de-medialisation and re-medialisation; here the music is formatted and adapted to fit new contexts, standards and media formats (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:354ff.). The result is once again new types of music, even if it is often unwittingly presented as "the same."

The effect of many collection activities in the field of folk music is that new ways of using the music are facilitated. Ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger points out that the collectors cannot predict—and cannot for the most part influence—future uses of their collections (Seeger 1986:246). Although Seeger's article was written over 30 years ago his ideas are still viable, and show how the archives are both temporary sites and in continuous change, transformation and motion on account of the manifold ways that the material can be disseminated and used by researchers, performers and others interested in music and culture (see Kahunde 2012:198, Lundberg 2015, and Taylor 2003). Depending upon which questions we choose to ask of the material, both the archives and our understanding of history changes. Seeger's line of reasoning also indicates more contemporary approaches to material agency and performativity—how recordings, written documents, photographs, minutes and so on are continually transformed in the encounter with people (see for example Caswell 2016:5, McKemmish 2017:137–141).[6]

The ambition of the collectors has however often been to preserve the music in its original function and conceptualised meaning. Yet collecting implies disembedding, which facilitates shifts and new usages in an ongoing flow. Thus, parallel and/or contradictory cultures or worlds of music are produced in which the "same" musical forms or expressions are used, but with different functions and meanings. The collector may experience this as a threat to the "original" musical culture, as it induces uncertainties and evoke what might be described as a form of *control crisis*.

In the same way, members of the "original" group formation can have similar experiences if they do not feel familiar with the new usages of

[6] The Swedish dance ethnologist and archivist Anna Björk discusses folk dance in archives and the dancer's meeting with archive material. Björk subscribes to critical archive theory in which the body is in itself also regarded as an archive (Björk 2021).

"their own music." *Control crisis* is a term for the struggle that ensues in a shift between various types of social orders (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:415ff.). Such crises arise when attitudes, values and patterns of behaviour are radically changed. When previously established views and understandings of the world are challenged, it might lead to feelings of disorientation and unease among representatives of that which is regarded as "older." Accelerating disembeddings and shifts form a growing gap on several levels. Control crises arise when the gap becomes too large between people's way of seeing themselves and the symbols that they experience represent them (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:452ff., cf. Koselleck 2004, Rosa 2014).

Cultural loops and pathways

All of these movements, processes and shifts between contexts and symbolic worlds demand, presuppose, enact and confirm a number of material, political, economic, social and cultural structures. This is what Ruth Finnegan demonstrated in her book *The Hidden Musicians* (2007), in which she speaks of such necessary cultural structures and contact areas as *pathways*. Finnegan argues that it is not sufficient to observe processes and movements, but also necessary to focus upon what leads to such movements—along which pathways, tracks and routes cultural activities are oriented, how they shift and change (Finnegan 2007, Ronström 2014).

Music and other cultural expressions constantly move between various positions, contexts and forms—but the movement is not one-way. Music that is collected and categorised for archival use will also affect the way that the surrounding world understands the music—even in contexts beyond the archive. We term such cycles "loops." The British anthropologist Brian Durrans reasons in a similar manner with regard to museums: "Museums not only collect and store fragments of culture: they themselves are part of culture" (Durrans 1993:125). When collections in archives are published and reused by new tradition bearers, they will be influenced by the changes that result from the shift. The process constitutes loops that help us understand changes by observing the role of archives as active participants in the forming of traditions. This also entails

a view of the archive as "an experimental place [...] a messy, unstable and embodied site" (Swaby & Frank 2020:6–7). The loop metaphor does not only allow us to focus on movements and shifts as such, but also on the structures that facilitate such movements and shifts—structures that can be combined to form fixed routes or pathways.

In the coming parts of this chapter, we will follow a set of such loops in the hope that it will give us insight into the relationship between aesthetic practices and their acknowledged cultural values.

So That This Song Shall Not Die

A rumour spread in the village that foreigners had come and they wanted to hear music, so within an hour people gathered and some brought along instruments: saraija (a long-necked lute) and flutes with both single and double pipes (frula and dvojnice respectively). Everyone in the village seemed to either sing or play—or both. The big room in Omer's brother's house measured 6 x 3.5 metres, and soon 40–50 persons crowded together there. The ones who couldn't get in went around outside in the snow, singing. We were now to witness a "sijelo"—a village music session.

In a somewhat isolated village like this, way out in the country, ancient patriarchal Muslim norms still lived in the 1960's. Omer's daughter Naza had grown up in Sarajevo in a fairly urban environment. In many ways she gave the impression of being modern, but when she came out to Kuti—to the village environment—she served the men and did only what she was told to do. They explained to me that men and women did not normally mix in the village, but since we were foreigners with a "scientific" mission they would relax their conventions. If it had been a normal evening session—sijelo—the women would first ask their fathers or husbands for permission to sing.

Yet the women did not seem to see these conventions as a burden. Before the sijelo began, we had taken a little walk around the village's cottages and called on an elderly female relative of our hosts. They said that she was 108 (!) years old and was in that case born in the 1850's. Be that as it may, she was a lively old lady who kept home for two bachelors and had a lively tongue. Amongst other things, she told us that she had never been able to accept the idea of not wearing a veil—in Tito's socialist Yugoslavia such unequal, religious customs were of course undesirable.[7]

[7] Manuscript, Folke Rabe's archive in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA M 0580_01).

This quote is from a radio script, part of Folke Rabe's collection at *Svenskt visarkiv* (the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research) in Stockholm. Rabe was a composer and musician, and when he died in 2017 his personal archive was donated to Svenskt visarkiv.[8] The music recorded in the village of Kuti in Bosnia in 1963 is an interesting example of a musical journey—a loop—from the small village in south-eastern Bosnia to the *Stockholm Konserthus* (Stockholm's Concert Hall) via Svenskt visarkiv, and back again.

Folke Rabe was born in Stockholm in 1935. In the early 1960s he began to establish himself as a modernist composer alongside his career as a jazz trombonist. When he had completed his composition studies at Stockholm's Royal College of Music, he was awarded a travel grant for composers. Such grants were intended to finance a period of study with an internationally known composer—in Berlin, Paris or Rome, for example. Yet, Rabe was more interested in getting to know older and more "genuine" folk music traditions. He had heard programmes transmitted on Swedish Radio with "strange," to his ears very dissonant, folk music from the Balkans: a variety of music different from most of what he had previously heard:

> *I instinctively sensed that these regions, which had for centuries been trodden by mass migration—Illyrians, Romans, various Slavic peoples and Turks from the East, but also Central Europeans—yes, I sensed that they must have been a melting pot for a number of different colourful music cultures.*[9]

He spoke with the music scholar Ernst Emsheimer, the head of Stockholm's Music Museum,[10] who suggested that Rabe should contact the Danish ethnomusicologist Birthe Traerup, who had conducted field studies in Yugoslavia, primarily in Kosovo. So, in February 1963, Folke Rabe and his wife Ursula packed their little Volkswagen Beetle and headed south.

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[8] *So That This Song Shall Not Die* is the title of the symphonic work that Folke Rabe composed for the Royal Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra in the 1990s. This work is based on his recordings from the village of Kuti in 1963.

[9] Manuscript, Folke Rabe's archive in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA M 0580_01).

[10] Now Swedish Museum of Performing Arts.

On their way down to southeastern Europe, they stopped off in Copenhagen to meet Birthe Traerup. Of all the republics and provinces which then made up Yugoslavia, she advised him to focus on Bosnia. Traerup suggested the Conservatory of Music in Sarajevo and its head, professor Cvetko Rihtman, as a good primary contact. Rabe understood that it would be necessary to have a "door opener"—someone who could in a simple and unpretentious manner facilitate contacts with the local people, and he hoped that Rihtman would help with this.[11]

When Folke and Ursula had found a hotel in Sarajevo, they visited the Conservatory of Music and met Professor Rihtman. He was very accommodating and promised to try to find a good "door opener" for them. A few days later he had made contact with a former museum janitor, a pensioner. His name was Omer Vrabac and he was around 70 years old. Vrabac came from the village of Kuti in the Romanija mountains, around 50 kilometres northeast of Sarajevo. There he had a brother and some other relatives and friends that they could visit. Another person, the pianist Elly Bašić from Zagreb, was willing to go with them to Kuti. She pointed out that a former museum janitor probably did not speak any language that the Rabes could understand, and since she found the planned journey very interesting, she offered her services as an interpreter.

Early next day they picked up Elly Bašić and Omer Vrabac and headed for the mountains. Omer brought along his daughter Naza, 23 years old, who was born in Pediše, not far from Kuti, but brought up in Sarajevo—so the Volkswagen was crowded. The roads were narrow, and meandered constantly upwards. When twilight came, the road suddenly ended. Now they were informed that there was no road for the final stretch to Kuti. They had to leave the car and trudge along a path through the deep snow. Nor would anyone say how far it was to the village. Elly Bašić gave an obscure explanation: "mountain folk never gave precise answers." After a long trek they reached a valley with many small, low, log cabins—there it was, Kuti. They were welcomed to Omer's brother's

[11] Cf. the term "go-between," used by—among others—John Lomax (1947). Svenskt visarkiv has had a similar praxis: using contact persons with knowledge of the local folk music scene, often with personal connections to folk musicians and singers.

Folke Rabe, 1990s. Photo in Svenskt visarkiv. Photographer unknown.

house and treated to bread and sheep's cheese. The brother was a handsome old man with a piece of grey cloth wound round his head. Rabe continues: "He smiled amiably all the time, a smile with very few teeth left. I thought he resembled a robber chieftain..."

It was explained that men and women did not normally mix in the village, but an exception would be made for this village so that men and women might take part—since the visitors were foreign and had a "scientific" mission. The recording session was a success—under the evening and night 34 tunes were taped.

Folke and Ursula returned to Sweden and the recorded tapes were placed on Rabe's bookshelf back home in Stockholm. He used some of the recordings in his teaching and on a few occasions when working for Swedish Radio, but mostly they just stood on the shelf. He met Elly Bašić a few times at conferences in Zagreb and Stockholm. He also had plans to return to Kuti to see how the village had developed, but then the war

in Bosnia came in the early 1990's and Kuti lay in one of the areas hardest hit—near the Serbian border and not far from Srebrenica.

In the late 1990's, Rabe composed an orchestral work for the Royal Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra. This piece is based partly on two songs that he recorded in Kuti in 1963. When this work had its premiere in 1998 at the Stockholm Konserthus, Rabe took part in one of Swedish Radio's international transmissions. He told of his trip to Kuti in 1963 and asked listeners who knew anything of Kuti and its fate during the war to get in touch with him. He later got in touch with a Bosnian family which had fled to Sweden during the war and settled in Småland in the south of Sweden. The wife was born and bred in Kuti, and informed him that the village was burned to the ground in 1992. These contacts led to Rabe travelling back there for a final visit in 2007.

> *Now you could drive all the way on a road that was, however, very rough; more of a mound of stones than a road... Ruins from the war were hardly to be found, since almost all the houses in the village were timbered and had thus burned up. In the thickets you could find piles of rocks—foundations of houses—and the ruins of the odd stone cottage.*[12]

Thus, the old village of Kuti, as it was in the 1960's, lives on only in people's memories and in the songs in the archives. Rabe also writes that a few summer cottages had been built there, but there was nothing left of the buildings that stood there in 1963. It is interesting to follow the journey of the recordings—of the music. They have literally travelled, both culturally and geographically, there and back—a loop. After being taken to Sweden they became a part of Folke Rabe's private collection of recordings and finally ended up at Svenskt visarkiv. Prior to that, in the shape of Rabe's composition, they were shifted from one genre to another and emerged in symphonic form on the stage of Stockholm Konserthus. In 2019, copies of the recordings were handed to the Conservatory of Music in Sarajevo and now await new adventures—perhaps within a completely different genre or whatever might transpire. The context of the music, the music landscape, has changed—and thus its meaning and

[12] Manuscript, Folke Rabe's Archive in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA M 0580_01).

function. The basis of this is yet again new technologies and new political contexts.

It is easy to observe the loop that the music from Kuti made, since it covered great distances, both geographical and cultural. Searching and curiosity among collectors and musicians have also, however, led to similar shifts not so far away. We will now proceed to some closer examples that have led to similar shifts in the field of Swedish folk music.

Pathways into folk music

> *That interest is a wave, which like all other waves is followed by a trough* [...] *it is primarily among young people that this interest has arisen. It is to a great extent a phenomenon that will soon pass. It is a question of—if you choose to use that expression—a sound, like, among all other sounds that must in time be renewed* [...][13]

The statement above, by Matts Arnberg, is from an interview conducted by Märta Ramsten in 1976, held in the collections of Svenskt visarkiv. Ramsten interviews Arnberg about his experiences of attitudes towards folk music contra the "serious music" (art music) at the music department of the Swedish Radio. The interview is more of a friendly conversation between two colleagues—which also came to involve the ongoing folk music revival, about which Arnberg reflects above in terms of a "wave." The newly-awakened interest in folk music and folk culture in general from the end of the 1960s resulted in a manifold increase in the number of folk music performers in just a few years. A good example is the folk music gathering in Bingsjö which when it started in 1969 had around a hundred participants—and in 1975 attracted around 30 000. As Arnberg points out, this interest in folk music took off primarily among the younger generations. This phenomenon was part of an international folk music revival and the globalisation of youth culture, in its turn associated with contemporary social and left-wing movements in Europe and the USA. In opposition to international influences, commercialism

[13] Interview with Matts Arnberg in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA BA 2941). Interviewer Märta Ramsten, 28th of October 1976.

and the dominance of art music in the media, people looked to their own country and folk music came to be understood as "the people's music" (see for example Ling 1979, Kjellström et al. 1985, Ramsten 1992, Arvidsson 2008, Björnberg 2013, Ronström 2014). In the interview, Arnberg also emphasised that the phenomenon was complex. He himself gives a polarised and emotive depiction of the development of the form and expression of folk music among the new young musicians. On the one side he placed "the strongly commercialised music" and on the other "a strong orthodox movement among the young folk musicians," who he felt "attempted to find their way back and have really worked hard to return to a tradition, and who in fact play better and far more faithfully than our generation did." The interview makes clear which of these renewal tendencies Arnberg preferred. Arnberg was extremely negative to what he saw as the commercial use of folk music. He also exemplifies this, and from the context it is evident that he had the jazz musician Merit Hemmingson in mind.

Hemmingson had in the early 1970s found a large audience for—and commercial success with—her "beat" interpretations of folk music on the Hammond organ. Her series of 4 LP records (1971–73)[14] blended walking tunes, marches, polkas, herding calls, joik and songs from her home county of Jämtland with a pop music idiom and instruments such as percussion/drumset, electric guitar and electric bass (Arvidsson 2005:282). Hemmingson also played with several well-known fiddlers from Dalecarlia,[15] which gave her music a certain legitimacy and brought it to be seen as "authentic" within the folk music community. Critical attitudes, similar to those expressed by Arnberg, were also present by practitioners within the alternative music movement. Hemmingson was also often the butt of harsh words for "selling out" folk music with her pop-music interpretations and use of electric instruments—and for letting commercial labels release her albums (see for example Thyrén 2009, Hallor 1974:20).

Arnberg brought forward the fiddler Anders Rosén as a contrast to the musical orientation represented by Hemmingson. Rosén was interested

[14] 1971: *Huvva* 1972: *Trollskog* 1973: *Bergtagen* 1973: *Det for två vita duvor*.

[15] Ole Hjorth, Alm Nils Ersson, Kalle Almlöf, Björn Ståbi, Pers Hans, and others.

first and foremost in the older folk music traditions in western Dalecarlia, studying among other sources Einar Övergaard's notations of tunes from that area and his notes on older fiddlers' ornamentation, rhythm, and styles of playing. When Arnberg praised him, Rosén had already produced a number of albums on his own label, among them *Västerdalton* (1972) together with the fiddler Kalle Almlöf. The album presented an older repertoire not as well-known hitherto as the tunes from the area around Dalecarlia's Lake Siljan. The two fiddlers had also sought their way back to a more archaic sound, a historically informed performance practice using drones and playing in octaves—so-called "grovt och grant" (rough and sweet)—and with uneven rhythm.[16] Ramsten states that these elements of style set a pattern for an entire generation of fiddlers in the 1970s, not only in the neighbouring geographical areas but also in other parts of Sweden. We will see further examples of this later in this chapter (Ramsten 1992:86–90, see also Lundberg & Ternhag 2005:120, 191–192).

Arnberg's comments also enact several normative historical narratives regarding the folk music revival in the 1970s in Sweden. These are often illustrated as a polarisation or as a field of tension between two types of performers: older conservative traditionalists and young enthusiastic innovators. Acoustic folk music was associated with authenticity and originality, whilst the more modern "pop" interpretations were said to ruin and "dilute" the perceived "true essence" of folk music (see for example Arvidsson 2008:388, Ling 1979, Kjellström et al. 1985, Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000, Ronström 1994:18, cf. Johansson 2013:366). These narratives concerning the past bring forth a particular way of ordering and portraying history. They are present in previous writings and historiography and in the conceptual world of our informants and the way they recall the period (see chapter 5 in this anthology). The two movements may also illustrate two different series of loops in which the traditional material takes new forms and are assigned new values in new

[16] The rhythmic pattern is often a matter of time values with differing lengths of the beats in triple-time, often so-called "long two" or "early two" (Lundberg & Ternhag 2005:114).

Merit Hemmingson, signed postcard,
Roland Beronius collection in Svenskt visarkiv. SVA-bild 6020.

contexts. Through recordings and transcriptions the music is moved out of the archives. New interpretations are performed by pop musicians or folk musicians and then medialised again in the phonograms mentioned above. These in turn inspire other musicians to play the tunes, thus creating new loops.

As asserted above, Arnberg had high regard for an authentic manner of expression, and spoke positively of Rosén's more "true"—even "orthodox"—way of relating to folk music. It is also important to have in mind the fact that Arnberg had dedicated a substantial part of his life to

documenting folk music that he felt was dying out—a common belief in those days.[17] The field recordings documented the oldest repertoire from the older generation of tradition bearers. Arnberg was also accustomed to being able to control and govern precisely which folk music was presented for listeners and how it was spread, and here the aspect of musical quality was paramount when selecting items (Ramsten 1979, Boström 2016:104). Since he was responsible for collecting, he decided what would be part of the collections and how they were arranged, catalogued, and passed on—that is, how the cultural heritage should be understood for posterity.

Disembeddings, power and powerlessness

The advent of the folk music revival changed Arnberg's possibilities to control how his recordings were used by the new folk music enthusiasts. Arnberg also mentions in the interview that producing such a large number of folk music programmes as the Swedish Radio leadership ask of him is very stressful. He also somewhat abjectly points out that he works hard and experiences difficulties to manage to satisfy the needs of the young. And he feels that he does not have time to evaluate the quality of the increased production. He further mentions the commercial aspect, and that such a lot of folk music does not have the "dignity" he seeks for in his professional role as a radio producer.[18] Arnberg's story tells of a feeling of powerlessness in the face of a new era: an era where he has no sense of belonging, an era in which everything changes ever-more-quickly. The new commercialised folk music represented other values and means of expression than his own ideals and endeavours. Our interpretation is that Arnberg finds it hard to orient himself, to find a direction in the multitude

[17] Jan Ling concludes his influential textbook *Svensk folkmusik. Bondens musik i helg och söcken* (Swedish folk music. Peasant music on Sundays and weekdays) from 1964 with a pessimistic portrayal of his present: "Apart from that we will soon have only notations and older recordings, "herbarium flowers" and remnants of a rich, fascinating music culture" (p. 134).

[18] Interview with Matts Arnberg in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA BA 2941). Interviewer Märta Ramsten, 28th of October 1976.

Matts Arnberg and Märta Ramsten 18th of July 1979. Session photo for an article on Svenskt visarkiv in the journal *Ord och ton* (Words and Music), affiliated with the non-profit member organisation for composers in Sweden: *STIM* (Svenska tonsättares internationella musikbyrå). Photo: Torbjörn Ivarsson.

of music produced—an effect of the rapid dissemination of folk music in the new broadcasting media and phonograms. And he worries about losing his feet. It is easy to link Arnberg's experiences to ideas—typical of modern, and particularly of post-modern society—about how time and social change are perceived to be constantly accelerating. Arnberg did not feel at home with folk music's new sound and manner of expression, which resulted in a kind of control crisis (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:409–411, 417–419). From an analytical perspective, it can be understood as him being obliged to choose between holding onto the old or adapting to the new in order to keep control of the present situation.

Sociologist Helga Nowotny states that it is in situations of uncertainty, and how to handle them, that our identities are shaped:

> *It is in the productive, ever-changing tension between the two poles of a dynamic spectrum of being in control and exposed to uncertainty, that personal and collective identities are formed seeking continuity in defiance of what might happen next. The interplay between overcoming uncertainty and striv-*

> *ing for certainty underpins the wish to know in order to be able to influence present and future. It is rooted in the deep-seated desire for security, the material, technological and social protection necessary for survival, comfort and well-being.* (Nowotny 2016:2)

Arnberg's sentiments reflect something deeply human—that we strive for continuity and order—and make visible the way that the archives also contain affective dimensions of collecting and preservation (Long et al 2017). Arnberg tells of how he, in order to fulfil the wishes of the leadership of Swedish Radio, brought in a younger colleague who could "speak the language spoken by young people" and say "damn good tune" on the air—thus adapting to the new situation.[19] He stepped aside for the new generation, they shared their workload and he found a new path. This context illustrates a more complex and ambiguous picture than simply regarding Arnberg as retrograde and conservative. He realises that—like it or not—the commercialised music is inevitably part of a development, a transition of folk music as a component of a sound "that must in time be renewed."

Young Swedish Folk Musicians

Collecting activities in the 1900s largely aimed to gather and preserve the older music. "The older, the better" was one of the golden rules of folk music collectors, and the phonograms produced in Sweden up to the 1980s mirrored this attitude. Musicians from the rural society were recorded for purposes of documentation (see Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000:154). The aim was to rescue and preserve "dying" traditions for posterity, and epithets such as *old fiddler* or *old polska* guaranteed quality and "authenticity" (Roempke & Lundberg 2008). This underwent gradual change in the 1970s, when Svenskt visarkiv began a parallel documentation of what was happening in the present by recording folk music gatherings, festivals and folk music ensembles, interviewing folk musicians and releasing albums (Boström 2016). This clearly shows

[19] Interview with Matts Arnberg in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA BA 2941). Interviewer Märta Ramsten, 28th of October 1976.

the role of archives as an active agent in forming music traditions—since there was already a lot of archive material for new folk musicians to adopt and learn from (Åkesson 2007a:90–91).

A special documentation project, with focus on the new generation of folk musicians, was initiated by the folk music collector Gunnar Ternhag—who together with Märta Ramsten was responsible for most of the recording activities of Svenskt visarkiv in the 1960s and 70s.[20] They contacted *Rikskonserter*[21] and the newly-started state record company Caprice Records. This resulted in collaboration around a series of albums which, county by county, presented new performers of folk music. Since Ternhag worked as an antiquarian at Dalarna's Museum, the first recordings took place with musicians from Dalecarlia in their homes. The next two albums were with musicians from southern Sweden and Värmland in the west. The project concluded with albums from the counties Uppland and Hälsingland on the coast north of Stockholm, recorded in the early 1980s.[22] There was probably an ambition to include more counties, but the project ended there; perhaps the fact that record releases of folk music by other companies had increased greatly by the early 1980s was one reason for this.[23] A list of the musicians who took part is found below—the youngest was 10 years old and the oldest ones between 26 and 37 years old when recorded.

In 2015, Caprice Records re-released the LPs in digital format, and in connection with this release Svenskt visarkiv interviewed a number of the musicians from the original releases. Many of these are now thoroughly established in the field of folk music and are role models for today's young

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[20] Video recording of a public discussion with Gunnar Ternhag and Märta Ramsten on their collecting work with Svenskt visarkiv (1968–1980), and particularly in Småland in Småland's music archive (SMA DVA 0050). Discussion leader Mathias Boström, Växjö city library, 26th of September 2018.

[21] See chapter 3, p. 89 and chapter 5, p. 135 for more info on the organisation.

[22] Gunnar Ternhag produced the first three records and Gert Ohlsson produced the final two. This idea later spread to the Swedish-speaking parts of Finland, where Folkmusikinstitutet in Vasa released records with young folk musicians from Österbotten, Åboland and Åland.

[23] Ternhag did this on a freelance basis, in addition to his regular employment at Dalarnas museum. He tells of how this task finally became too distant from his regular work. Telephone conversation with Gunnar Ternhag, 16th of April 2021.

Dan Lundberg and Mats Edén at a 2014 interview looking at the album cover of *Unga spelmän från Värmland* from 1977. SVA-bild 5156.

Album cover of *Unga Spelmän från Värmland*, 1977. Caprice Records CAP 1122.

CD cover of reissue of *Unga Spelmän från Värmland*, 2015. Digital, CAP 21854.

musicians—for example Åsa Jinder, Mats Edén, Leif Stinnerbom, Kalle Almlöf, Anders Rosén, Pelle Björnlert, Bengt Löfberg, Sven Ahlbäck, O'Tôrgs Kaisa Abrahamsson, Alm Nils Ersson and Sonia Sahlström.

Year and county	Number of participants	Men	Women	Age
1974 Dalecarlia	18	17	1	b. 1957 (17 y.o.)–b. 1942 (32 y.o.)
1975 Southern Sweden	12	8	4	b. 1959 (16 y.o.)–b. 1938 (37 y.o.)
1977 Värmland	11	10	1	b. 1960 (17 y.o.)–b. 1942 (35 y.o.)
1980 Uppland	12	6	6	b. 1970 (10 y.o.)–b. 1954 (26 y.o.)
1982 Hälsingland	11	8	3	b. 1965 (17 y.o.)–b. 1950 (32 y.o.)

The series of albums displays a range of local styles and individual ways of playing and revitalising the traditional tunes. According to interviews with some of the musicians recorded, the sessions were characterised by a relaxed atmosphere and they were able to choose their repertoire themselves, picking the tunes they liked without influence from the producers.[24] The majority of the tunes are polskas and there are also lots of waltzes, walking tunes and marches. Interestingly, most of the selected repertoire points towards the past, following the older ideals advocated by the Folk Music Commission as early as in 1908 (see Lundberg 2010). However, newer kinds of tunes are also represented, such as polkett (a kind of polka), hambo (a kind of polska), mazurka and schottis. In spite of the breadth of performance and repertoire, the ideals regarded as typical of folk music during the 1970's are dominant throughout. Instead of large folk music ensembles (*spelmanslag*) the tunes are often played solo or in duos—a way of recreating historical music situations. There are some examples of small ensembles—trio and quartet—particularly on the record from Dalecarlia. The use of drone, playing with double stop technique, playing in octaves "rough and sweet," unorthodox fiddle

[24] Interviews with Mats Edén (SVA20140515ME028), 15th of May 2014, O'Tôrgs Kaisa Abrahamsson (SVA20150325KA001 and 002), 25th of March 2015, and Åsa Jinder (SVA A20150214AJ001), 14th of February 2015, interviewer Dan Lundberg, and interview with Leif Stinnerbom (SVA 20201222LS001) 22nd of December 2020, interviewer Karin Eriksson, in Svenskt visarkiv.

tunings, rich embellishment and older intonation ideals are also clearly heard (see Åkesson 2007a:49–51, Ramsten 1992). The most common instrument is the fiddle. But various kinds of nyckelharpas and the clarinet are also to be found—and a few vocal pieces.[25] On *Unga spelmän från södra Sverige* (Young Folk Musicians from Southern Sweden), Göran Skytte even plays modern traverse flute—which deviates in the context.

Dance, body and rhythm

Foot stamping by the musicians is heard particularly well on the records from Värmland and southern Sweden. This was a way of emphasising "rural" and "authentic" features in the music. It mirrors the common ideals of the time of folk music as dance music (Ramsten 1992). In certain cases, it is also clear that dancers were in the room, particularly on the Värmland record (tracks 8–10) with the fiddlers Mats Edén and Leif Stinnerbom (then Olsson). Clapping hands and the sounds from the feet of the dancing couples on the floor are entwined in the soundscape together with the stamping of the fiddlers to the music, producing a sense of place and space for the listener. Edén and Stinnerbom have told of how important it was for them to play for dancing when recording—and how they perceived it as an ideological statement.[26] Stinnerbom explains in an interview:

> *It was like the dancing and the music together, which were like what was important. For many years we refused to do concerts if there was no dancing. Because we felt, like, that it was a problem that dancing and playing had been detached from one another. And we felt that the music had changed quite a lot when played only for the ear and a sitting audience. And not least it was so that we felt that the tempo had slowed, that when you play only for the ear you become more focused on details and the rhythm, and the groove and the drive were not the most important thing then—but then other aspects of the music were held forth.*[27]

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[25] See for example track 11 with songs after Agnes Gårder, Ljusdal (*Unga spelmän från Hälsingland*) and track 22 skarvdansen and fiddling (*Unga spelmän från Uppland).*

[26] Interview with Mats Edén in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA20140515ME028) interviewer Dan Lundberg 15th of May 2014.

[27] Interview with Leif Stinnerbom in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA20201222LS001) interviewer Karin Eriksson 22nd of December 2020.

For Edén and Stinnerbom, the dance became of main importance in interpreting elements of the music—at the same time as the music was an important way of understanding the dance. They were particularly keen to reconstruct the polska in Jössehärad (a judicial district in Värmland) from the first half of the 1800s and studied Einar Övergaard's notations of music from that area. In addition to numerous visits to archives, they travelled around in Värmland and interviewed older people about how people danced and played in the past (Ramsten 1992, Helmersson 2012b, Stinnerbom 2015). They also brought forward how they in turn had been inspired by the fiddlers Bengt Löfberg and Pelle Björnlert, who had released records on which the sounds of dancing couples are heard.[28] These two fiddlers also perform on the release from the south of Sweden, where the stamping of feet is clearly audible. On the tracks where Löfberg plays, "fade-out technique" is also used—a feature which deviates from the rest of the albums. This functions, according to Ramsten, as a way of producing an "eternity perspective" and a sense of timelessness in the traditional music (Ramsten 1992:115).[29] Her research also shows how Löfberg and Björnlert were, moreover, influenced in their way of playing and their attitude to the traditional material by Rosén and Almlöf and the record mentioned above—*Västerdalton* (Ramsten 1992:89–90).[30]

When we follow these changes in values, we see how the new folk musicians formed new networks. They discussed matters of interpretation regarding such older traditional archive material as transcriptions and recordings. They inspired and were influenced by each other via workshops, courses, folk music gatherings (*spelmansstämmor*) and album releases. It is also clear that the most prominent participants in these networks were men. At the same time, they were often active in contexts consisting of both men and women. For instance, the dancer Inger Stinnerbom and the musician Eva Löfberg were of great importance in the experimentation with and research into the dance and music traditions mentioned earlier.

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[28] Ibid and Interview with Mats Edén in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA20140515ME028) interviewer Dan Lundberg 15th of May 2014.

[29] This technique was also common on contemporary pop releases (Ramsten 1992:115).

[30] See also interview with Bengt Löfberg in Svenskt visarkiv (SVABA4302) interviewer Märta Ramsten, 20th of October 1990.

This also illuminates how one of the main changes regarding folk musicians in the 1970s was the great increase in female practitioners. In spite of that, the contemporary documentation of female musicians in that period is sparse (foremost Davidson 1994, also Arvidsson 2008, Bartels 2020, Larsson 2000 and Selander 2012). From the above list we are also able to see how the female folk musicians are in a minority on the Caprice releases: 15 of the 64 participants were women. The Uppland album is the exception, with an even split. According to the musician Sven Ahlbäck, who made the selection for the album, this was a result of courses during the 1970s—at, among other places, schools in the county. Among the younger generation who opted for folk music, there were roughly as many girls as boys—and the album illustrates this.[31] In the early 21st century the recordings became part of the collections of Svenskt visarkiv.

Shifts of Perspectives

Shifts not only point to how different cultural means of expression have been moved between geographical and/or social contexts—they can also refer to what happens when the recipient moves or changes perspective. In the 1960s and 70s female musicians take their place in a male-dominated world of folk musicians, thus challenging existing ideals in which men were regarded as the prime tradition bearers. This renegotiation of the role of the folk musician is visible in contemporary discourses: from the mid-1960s a discussion took place about whether to speak of "spelkvinnor" (playing-women) rather than "kvinnliga spelmän" (female folk musicians—literally "female playing-men") (Bartels 2020:39). This is connected with an increased awareness of inequality between the sexes and gender questions as a result of the growth of women's movements in Sweden and the Global North (Östberg 2002:75–78). The leftist political climate opened up for critical perspectives and the gender-related patterns for making music changed, and distinct examples of this can be found in the alternative music movement. Earlier research has, however, problematised this statement and shown how the music world in practice

[31] Mail correspondence with Sven Ahlbäck 1st of July 2021.

tended to reproduce patterns in which men were dominant. The ethnologist Alf Arvidsson writes: "since it was more a question of reforming existing forms of music, rather than creating something radically different, gender patterns and gendered ideas also came to remain" (Arvidsson 2008:343, authors' translation).

An important path for our project to follow has been—in addition to nuancing and problematising earlier research—to attempt to hear the "silence" in the archive material and hold forth other voices than those previously documented in the collections (see Caswell 2016, Hartman 1997). With the gender perspective in mind, this also involves revisiting material already collected with other perspectives and questions, in order to illuminate new narratives and ways of understanding the past: "Using fragments and scatters in the archive as a point of re-orientation allows for other stories and narratives to emerge" (Swaby & Frank 2020:8). One such fragment from a methodological point of view emerged in an interview from the collections in which Bengt Löfberg tells Märta Ramsten of his search for the traditional way of playing tunes and the importance of the dance:

> BL: *But ever since that time in the 70s I have tried to breathe life into the music—tried, in any case. I have no tradition to hang up anything on, from here like, no living tradition then. But it's been like solving a puzzle, being influenced by all sorts of things and creating a way of playing. That's what I wanted—to create a sound similar to a traditional sound. I must say that the dance has been very important there, to find a path* [...].
> MR: [...]. *It's like you say, you have built a tradition and you have yourself created a tradition which has then been passed on here to the greatest possible extent—because it's fair to say that you have many pupils.*
> BL: *Yes, that might be right.*
> MR: *Yes, because the first ones I know that I heard were the girls Eva and Sabina. I heard them in 1975, by the way, down at Frostavallen, when they weren't old—they were 15–16 years or something. And I know that they sat there, the two of them, and played exactly the way you'd taught them—and they scraped and scraped, one or two tunes they could play, day after day, just like that* [laughter!][32]

[32] Interview with Bengt Löfberg in Svenskt visarkiv (SVABA4302) interviewer Märta Ramsten, 20th of October 1990.

Ramsten's comment about Löfberg's pupils, the two young fiddlers Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson (then Kristensen) evokes new questions. How did it feel to be a young girl, keen to play, in that world? How were they received? How did they look upon their playing then, and how do they look upon it now? In the next episode we meet these two fiddlers in a conversation concerning their memories and experiences when young.

"The girls to the fore!": Eva and Sabina

In March 2020 the Corona pandemic had crippled the world. When Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg from Småland were to be interviewed travelling had become almost impossible. The duo was nominated as "tradition bearer of the year" at the Swedish annual Folk and World Music Gala. They had played together for fifty years then, and celebrated their jubilee by releasing an album in 2019 entitled *Käringaträtan* (Crone Palaver). We had talked on the phone about whether their trips to Stockholm would even be possible. The crisis and the shaky global situation led to the interview also touching upon personal feelings, worries about near and dear ones and unease concerning what the future might hold. Henriksson told of how her gigs in the spring had been cancelled, one after the other. The interview took place later, in May via Skype, with safe social distancing. This semi-structured in-depth interview differed thus from the others in the project, since it took place in the form of a video meeting online. Prior to the interview they had received some questions and themes which were to be brought up, so they had been able to reflect together upon their answers and talk them through in advance. The interview became a kind of memoir of their life in music and their journey together. It also told a tale of close friendship.

Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg both grew up in the factory village Norrahammar near Jönköping. They describe their childhood and their home environments as filled with song and music. Both of their mothers played piano at home, and they sung a lot together with their families and relatives. Henriksson's mother was from Germany and her father was from Denmark and they, like Blomquist-Bjärnborg's parents,

Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson at the Jönköping Fair, 31st of May 1975. Photo: Göran Hallqvist.

were active in the local folk-dance side. It was also their fathers who taught them to dance. Even though they during childhood lived in similar environments, they first learned to know one another when they were ten or eleven years old through a fiddle teacher they had in common at the municipal music school. The local folk-dance side needed musicians for their set dances and the young girls were warmly welcomed. During their secondary school years, they became responsible for the folk-dance side's music. In their recollections and ways of interpreting their life story the older generation is constantly brought forward in the form of family members, teachers and musicians.[33] They speak of a generous welcome

[33] Using the family as a background for interpreting one's life story is a common phenomenon. Earlier research has similarly shown the importance of the family's playing

and an inviting atmosphere: "We dared, too, because we got so much encouragement," Henriksson underlines. Blomquist-Bjärnborg adds how they were "welcomed into the gang." It is clear that the sense of community and belonging became important paths into folk music. When they had grown accustomed to playing for the folk-dance side, they also got lots of support from Tage Johansson from Tenhult who became their "fiddle daddy." Johansson took them along to folk-music circles and fiddle gatherings, both in the area and in other parts of the country. Henriksson recalls the early years:

> *But I thought, when Tage took us along to folk music gatherings—this was about 73—wasn't that the first year?* [...] *Not many youngsters had got going by then* [...] *playing folk music. And it was maybe even more cute when two little girls came along and played. We were always in front when we marched and when we played on the stage—"The girls to the fore!"—lots of encouragement and attention, even then, like that, eh? And that in those early days we were two, we had one another* [...] *that gave us an easy ride.*[34]

As young women fiddlers the duo "Eva and Sabina" became a concept in the folk music community, and they also appeared on the radio and TV. Having played with the folk-dance side for a number of years and for old-time dancing and a group playing for more modern dances (tango, foxtrot etc.), they started to look for a different repertoire and alternative ways of playing and dancing. They used both song and instruments, and were guided by the idea of producing a dance-feeling in their playing. It is clear that Löfberg and Björnlert were important role models in this process. Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg told with enthusiasm of how the playing of these two fiddlers opened new worlds of sound with other fiddle tunings, different bowings and syncopations. Löfberg and Björnlert also conveyed a freer way of relating to folk-dance traditions and mixing socially around the music. Apart from being a social and mu-

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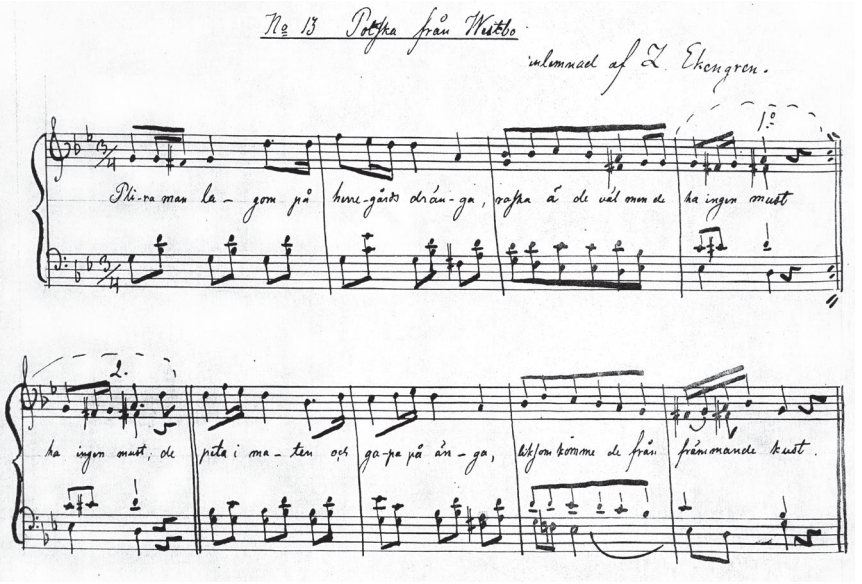
or listening to music during one's childhood to the choice to later become a musician (see Nordström 2012:42).

[34] Interview with Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson in Svenskt visarkiv (SVAA20200522SH001) interviewer Karin Eriksson 12th of May 2020.



Transcription by L. Ekengren of "Plira man Lagom", Folklivsarkivet i Lund (Lund Folklife Archives).

sical meeting place,[35] the private fiddlers' gatherings at Löfberg's place seem to have had an almost emancipatory effect on their musicianship. They described how they first looked for the repertoire in the great collection *Svenska Låtar* (Swedish tunes), then compared the sheet music with how it sounded when Löfberg and Björnlert played. They were also inspired to visit the archives themselves—among others, the county museum in Jönköping—to search for a local repertoire from another part of Småland. Henriksson underlines how "we wanted to find something of our own too, where we came from." There they found a notation of a slängpolska from Småland, "Plira man lagom" (Peer enough) which they

[35] Karin Larsson Eriksson's research has shown how contemporary traditional tune courses function as a non-formal learning arena in the Swedish folk music milieu, in which the social mixing and fellowship are very important for the personal musicianship of participants and for "keeping the tradition alive" (Eriksson 2019). It is interesting to observe parallels between Eva and Sabina's visits to Löfberg's private folk musician gatherings and meetings and the way that they learned the tunes in the environment (recorded them on tape) and spread the repertoire further.

tried to reconstruct together. This tune became a favourite when they performed, and they describe it as their "trademark."[36]

Loops to the archives—"Girls Who Make Sounds"

Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg played this tune at *Kvinnokultur-festivalen* (The Women's Culture Festival) in 1977, arranged by the Women's Culture association (1975). The festival covered four themes—sex, work, love and children—with the aim of holding forth women's experiences and the question of whether or not a particular women's culture existed, shaped by women's sense of self (Arvidsson 2008:346).[37] "Plira man lagom" also came to be performed by the duo in the Swedish Television programme "Tjejer som låter" (Girls Who Make Sounds) in the same year—a series with three programmes in which women from different parts of the country had been invited to play and talk about their music-making (Richter 1977). The musical items were played to dancing, with dancers from independent groups who had left the established organisation *Ungdomsringen*.[38] In a similar manner to that used to reconstruct traditional music, these groups attempted to revitalise and loop older dance traditions in new ways. The TV programme with "Eva and Sabina" clearly shows the ideals described above. Same-sex couples dance the slängpolska to their music and we are able to see alternative interpretations of the solo dance "halling" by a male dancer. The duo plays

[36] Here we find another interesting aspect regarding the use of traditional material. The notation of "Plira man lagom" is from *Föreningen for Smålands minnen* and its collections from the 1860s. This association was active at Lund university, and its collections were later transferred to *Landsmålsarkivet i Lunds* (Dialect Archive in Lund) collections (LAL) and *Folklivsarkivet i Lund* (LAL). Today the above notation is in LAL's material, housed at *Arkivcentrum Syd* in Lund. Copies have been made for LUF and also for *Länsmuseet* (The County Museum) in Jönköping. Thus the notation found first by Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg was probably a copy (conversation with Mathias Boström at Smålands musikarkiv 30th of July 2021).

[37] A number of the alternative music movement's artists and groups took part, among them Tintomara, Kvinnoväsen, Röda bönor, Turid, Lena Granhagen, Monica Törnell (LP *Sånger och musik från Kvinnokulturfestivalen*, Silence 1977).

[38] For further description of the organisation see note 23 in chapter 5.

with a steady intensity and lots of foot stamping is heard and seen, particularly when they sing in harmony in the film (see QR-code). In the interview Blomquist-Bjärnborg describe how they consciously sought for a suggestive—almost monotonic—expression in their music with lots of reprises to try to evoke "that feeling that one would in principle go into a trance [...] in another world" and that they felt then that they were playing in a genuine and authentic way "this is how it has sounded in Småland!"[39] (see Löfberg's playing in Ramsten 1992:89).

Video with Eva and Sabina in the TV-show "Girls Who Make Sounds" (Tjejer som låter) TV2 (1977). Programme leader Christina Frohm. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KF9pYAZMpL8 (Extracted 29th of July 2021)

In the TV clip Christina Frohm—programme leader and fiddler—asks how it feels for them to be girls and fiddlers at one and the same time. Blomquist-Bjärnborg answers "Well, I don't think—now it's not a problem, now it's just fun. But of course sometimes you have heard sometimes that you're a good girl, standing there and playing. And that isn't much fun." They were then 19 years old, and later speak with Frohm of the importance of being taken seriously. Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg had seen the video clip prior to the 2020 interview, and the conversation led them to their thoughts and experiences of such matters in a contemporary perspective:

> SH: *I mean, from the start we were new and it was so exciting, then we got into it a bit more and got such a great feeling: we can do a lot, too! And then you stood there at a traditional musicians' gathering—a bit further on, after a few years—and improvised, since it was such fun improvising parts and things. And then there was some bloke who said to me afterwards, after the stage show "don't cheat so much next time."*
> EBB: *We didn't play by the book.*

[39] Interview with Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson in Svenskt visarkiv (SVAA20200522SH001) interviewer Karin Eriksson 12th of May 2020.

SH: *No, we didn't play by the book. They had the notations, they stood there with "50 Småland tunes" and other similar booklets that came then.*
EBB: *They had studied those parts and it didn't sound true, and of course*
SH: *We came along and just played as we liked [laugh]—so much fun!*[40]

From their sentiments, we can see how their embodiment of the traditional music challenged the established folk-music movement's ideal of playing from the sheet. To improvise and more independently interpret the traditional material was perceived by the older musicians as a lack of knowledge: "cheating" in the sense of "not playing right." By making their own interpretations Henriksson and Blomquist-Bjärnborg made the tune their own, thus taking their own place within the tradition. They bear witness to conventions and accepted norms in the field of folk music that are not specifically tied to gender norms, but which are asserted more clearly when it comes to the room for manoeuvre of women musicians. To "know your place" and not take a space of your own are attitudes which can be attributed to the folk-music community's historically-ideological connection with the collective—the people's music—but also to leftist tendencies in the 1970s which saw individualism and self-assertion as negative characteristics (Arvidsson 2008:195ff., 47). This is even more emphasised since it coincides with established ideals of women and gender norms—such as to take a back seat and not assert oneself (see for example Skeggs 2000, Björck 2011). Through their movement "out of the line" from the group of folk musicians they made and claimed their own space within the community (cf. also Taylor 2003:18).

At the same time, Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson fitted into the folk-music community well. They played the traditional repertoire and wore folk costumes. When the nyckelharpa player Åsa Jinder entered the folk scene a few years later, complete with nail varnish and a short skirt, the tone was far harder. Jinder was one of the musicians on the Uppland album and had become "riksspelman" (national folk musician) a few years earlier. A lot of the criticism she suffered concerned her not adhering to the norms of the folk-musician movement regarding

[40] Interview with Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson in Svenskt visarkiv (SVAA 20200522SH001) interviewer Karin Eriksson 12th of May 2020.

Eva & Sabina, performing on Öckerö 1979. Photo: Bruno Bjärnborg.

appearance and clothing and—even if it was not stated clearly—that she was a young woman in a folk-music community that was still strongly dominated by men:

> ÅJ: *I didn't dress like you should. I didn't dress up. Like: "now I only wear 100% cotton because I play the nyckelharpa." I've, like, never had any ideas like that. I have never... I have just played. And not had any ideas about looking a certain way. Which meant that it really looked like I had intended to look some other way. But I have always been myself. And that has been really controversial.* [...] *So I thought that I had bloody lovely legs, so I preferred short skirts. Because that's what I had. And of course, when I was on stage I wanted to look my best so that's what you have. More or less like when I went to a party. I'm a completely normal girl from Upplands Väsby [Stockholm suburb]. And I think that mascara and lipstick are great. And I think that nail varnish is dead neat. And look how neat that is together with these gold keys [the keys of the nyckelharpa]- shit! And that's just a totally normal thing to me. While others were taking political sides. And dressing to belong to a group. I have never dressed to belong to some group.* [...] *Yes, I saw that I was very odd. But I have never seen myself as odd. I thought that they were more odd. Because I came from a suburb with normal people and that was what I had grown up with.*[41]

[41] Interview with Åsa Jinder in Svenskt visarkiv (SVAA20150214AJ001), interviewer Dan Lundberg, 14th of February 2015.

Interestingly, Åsa Jinder did not see herself as odd, rather that she represented the norm—"a completely normal girl from Upplands Väsby." From her perspective, folk costumes were a departure from a standard appearance. But her style and choice of clothes were of course perceived by many in the folk music movement as something of a provocation—and they triggered a kind of control crisis.

Sabina Henriksson (left) and Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg (right) during the online interview in 2020. The duo recount the recording of their LP "Morfars rock" (Amigo 1978) for Karin Eriksson. Photo in Svenskt visarkiv.

Searching for Inspiration

When Folke Rabe went to Bosnia in 1963, he dreamed of finding inspiration from music unknown to most Swedes. Rabe's account of his journey bears the stamp of his fascination with that which is different. He tells of narrow, winding roads and minarets, he observes the old patriarchal systems in the village of Kuti and he is charmed by the "archaic and authentic folk music traditions" and the simplicity—and he compares the village with "the older Sweden with its peasant society."[42] There are many similarities between Rabe's work and Matts Arnberg's recording journeys in Sweden in the 1950s and 60s. Just like Rabe, Arnberg speaks of "archaic traits" and pays attention to that which is different and in that way exotic. In the magazine *Röster i Radio* (Radio Voices) Arnberg writes that we "have within the borders of our country a kind of music which, to an untrained listener, appears almost as exotic as a gamelan orchestra

[42] Radio script 1st of April 2009, in Folke Rabe's collection in Svenskt visarkiv.

from Java" (Arnberg 1949). They are united in their fascination with the "cultural other," which is placed in days long gone or remote geographical places (see Fabian 1983).

Common denominators for Rabe and Arnberg are that they devote themselves to cultural expressions that both geographically and culturally are found on the periphery—but also have access to the radio media as a means of spreading their material. Art music was their original musical home[43] but they also shared a curiosity regarding other cultural expressions which, among other things, led them to folk music. Rabe's Bosnian songs were moved from the tiny mountain village Kuti to Stockholm and the Concert Hall stage, and Arnberg's recordings came to constitute important basic material for the development of Swedish jazz in the 1960s—with the recording of *Adventures in Jazz and Folklore* as the most explicit example. This LP became in its turn one of the sources of inspiration for the Swedish folk music wave in the 1970s—a clear loop. Yet the shifts also led to control crises, in clear view when Arnberg discusses the new interest in folk music with Märta Ramsten in the interview in 1976. Arnberg is worried about an increased commercialisation of folk music and distinguishes clearly between those who play "faithfully" and those with a more unfaithful and innovative approach.

The influence exerted by the radio medium, the LP record and mobile recording technique on shifts is evident in all the examples raised in this chapter. New ways of dissemination (cf. "pathways," Finnegan 2007) were made possible. Album releases and radio transmissions allowed local ways of playing and styles to be spread and cross-pollinated. Märta Ramsten indicates how Bengt Löfberg and Pelle Björnlert were influenced by the record *Västerdalton* with Anders Rosén and Kalle Almlöf, and their way of performing the fiddle traditions of western Dalecarlia, when they worked on breathing life into traditional tunes from Småland (Ramsten 1992:89–90). Mats Edén and Leif Stinnerbom were in turn inspired by Björnlert's

[43] Rabe began his musicianship as a trad-jazz trombonist, but after starting his studies at the Royal College of Music in 1957 he let jazz take a back seat. A couple of years later he was awarded a place on the college's composition course, with teachers such as Karl-Birger Blomdahl and Ingvar Lidholm. After a while he was also taught by György Ligeti and Witold Lutosławski, who were connected with the school at the time.

and Löfberg's view that the dance was inseparable from the music. Performing the older dance forms became a central key to understanding how the tunes from Värmland could have sounded and been played. These fiddlers formed a network in which inspiration and ideals were sought both locally and beyond the geographical borders of the counties.

It is interesting to observe that Merit Hemminson and the duo Eva Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Sabina Henriksson sought for music and inspiration in the archives with, in part, the same aim: to find traditional material in the form of transcriptions and older archive recordings in order to enrich their repertoire. Hemmingson visited Svenskt visarkiv; Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson visited various archives in Småland and Skåne. Yet they had different ways of interpreting and embodying the music and different aims with their music-making. Hemmingson grew up in Jämtland and came from a jazz background. She was a pianist and had played regularly at Nalen—the most important jazz scene in Stockholm in the 60s—and spent time in New York's jazz world.[44] At the end of the 1960s she left the jazz scene and started to explore the potential of the Hammond organ as an instrument for Swedish traditional tunes and songs. Her genre-busting interpretations and revitalisations of folk music within a pop music idiom are characterised by a "re-shaping" and "renewal/innovative" approach.[45] As in jazz, she often used the sheet music as a point of departure for her arrangements of the traditional material. She was also inspired by Jan Johansson and his record releases with folk music from the mid-1960s (*Jazz på svenska* 1964).[46] By introducing a new

[44] During her New York visit, Hemmingson visited—among other places—Birdland and met Miles Davis. She was also taught by Joe Zawinul and Lalo Shifrin. She started a band with four black female musicians (alto saxophone, trumpet, bass and drums) which later toured in Sweden for half a year in the early 1960s with the name "Merit H and her Girl Stars."

[45] The Swedish ethnomusicologist Ingrid Åkesson speaks of three partially overlapping forms of revitalisation in folk music: re-creation, re-shaping and renewal (Åkesson 2006 and 2007a).

[46] A public seminar and interview with Merit Hemminson in connection with the Folk and World Music Gala 2016 in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA AVDA20160402MH001). Interviewers Roger Bergner, Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius, Wictor Johansson and moderator Viveka Hellström, 2nd of April 2016.

sound, stylistic elements, a touch of improvisation and electric instruments Hemmingson moved the traditional music to commercial contexts and a broader audience (cf. Åkesson 2007a:51–54).

The musicianship of Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson was instead typified primarily by a recreative ideal. In Småland's world of traditional music they sought for an "authentic" expression in their music—as close to the source as possible. By imitating their role models, they aimed to reconstruct a historical sound, an envisioned milieu and performance praxis with two fiddles interacting with dancing. There were also innovative strands in their music-making: they consciously introduced variations, interpreting the sheet music with the tacit knowledge of style and variation which is embedded in an aural tradition. In time, the duo started improvising parts and developed a more independent relationship to the music (cf. Åkesson 2007a:53). These three women also gathered new material from active folk musicians and had in common their interest in local communities and repertoires. Yet Hemmingson's choice of tunes on her 3 LPs from the early 1970s (1971–73)—gold records[47]—display music which, in most cases, was very familiar to people in the field of folk music before she made her releases. At the same time as Hemmingson released her albums, Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson—15 years younger than Hemmingson—began to be active folk musicians, whilst Hemmingson already had a career as a musician behind her. In the middle of the 1970s the duo begins to be more active in searching for a local repertoire from Småland. In 1978 they brought together their findings of fiddle tunes on *Morfars Rock* (Grandpa's Rock, in which the word "rock" can also mean "overcoat")—their first entire LP as a duo (see photo above). Like Hemmingson, their music was closely intertwined with the activities and venues of the alternative music movement.[48] Their music-mak-

[47] In the 1960s and 70s a record which had sold more than 100,000 copies was awarded a golden record by Ifpi.

[48] "Morfars Rock" was released by the independent label Amigo, and they also appeared on the album *Den långe dansen—unga spelmän från Skåne och Småland* (The long dance—young folk musicians from Skåne and Småland) which was released by the alternative music movement's own label MNW—which further illustrates the close contacts in these milieux.

ing also speaks of their strong affiliation to the folk-music communities in the way they interpret traditional material and through a network of both older and younger musicians.

Hemmingson, Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson were in their differing ways pioneers and trailblazers among women folk musicians in a strongly male-dominated world of music. They and other female role models have led to things looking different today: it might even be the case that women are now in a majority among folk fiddlers. No comprehensive statistics are available in this field, but documentation of the Zorn Badge Auditions (an annual event at which individual folk musicians can audition and receive awards) show that of the fiddlers who participated in 2019, 28 were women and 23 men.[49] We should of course not draw excessive conclusions from a single event, but this nevertheless gives an indication of how things have changed. It was, however—as examples in this chapter have shown—no easy matter for female musicians to claim their space as performers. Hemmingson's folk music on the Hammond organ met with strong reactions from some folk musicians, while Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson's embodiment of the Småland fiddle traditions was not always to the taste of older members of the local folk-music groups. The nyckelharpa player Åsa Jinder experienced direct opposition from several older men in the folk-music movement when she became a national folk musician in 1984.[50] She tells of how she had "five faults":

> *I was, like, five faults. I was far too young, that was questioned. Most of all when I got the national folk musician award. Because then they couldn't get at me. And I came from the wrong place. I didn't come from some village in Uppland. Then I looked wrong. Then I was a girl, and that was really troubling. They really didn't know how to deal with that. And then I played on the wrong nyckelharpa. You were supposed to have a Gille or a Sahlström.*

Märta Ramsten observed in her thesis that folk music "to this day is highly dependent upon the attitude to the material of the folk music collec-

[49] Statistics from Svenskt visarkiv (material for annual report "Documentation ZORN 20191210").

[50] Interview with Åsa Jinder in Svenskt visarkiv (SVA A20150214AJ001), interviewer Dan Lundberg, 14th of February 2015.

tors of the 1800s" (Ramsten 1992:7). Jinder's "five faults" confirm this and illuminate the strong connection of folk music to a complete array of style markers associated with the historical origins of the genre. It is worthy of note that Jinder, as with Blomquist-Bjärnborg and Henriksson, primarily had a re-creative attitude to the traditional material during the same period. This makes it particularly clear that it is not only the musical performance itself that is attributed importance with regard to the sense of belonging to and participating in a certain music culture. The pop-music scholar Fabian Holt describes how different genres order both the musical and the social world for their practitioners:

> *[G]enre is not only "in the music" but also in the minds and bodies of particular groups of people who share certain conventions [...] genre is a fundamental structuring force in musical life. And it has implications for how, where and with whom people make and experience music. (Holt 2007:2)*

Genre membership can be seen as part of a greater system of style or identity markers in which clothes, language, lifestyle and other forms of expression interact (cf. Frith 1996:75ff.). Jinder's statement above also indicates clear borders defining who is allowed to play—where, when and how.

Creative Shifts

In *City in the World* (1969), which runs up to 1968 and concludes Per Anders Fogelström's series of Stockholm novels, he opens the chapter "Leaps" with:

> *Years can be leaps, rapid transfers from one reality to another completely different. So quick that we don't have time to become accustomed, hardly notice what has happened. But instead, continue to live as before, in patterns that no longer apply. We follow the old tracks until we suddenly find the rails torn up and the abyss gaping. It's not until then, that we notice that the world we believed we lived in no longer exists.* (Fogelström 2015)

Fogelström's series of novels covers a period (1860–1968) which saw great changes and rapid shifts, and he observes that the shifts tend to in-

creasingly accelerate. He also tells of how we humans often do not notice the shifts before they have gone so far that we no longer understand or feel familiar—when the gap between the experienced group identity and representative symbols has become far too large.

Loops, like Finnegan's "pathways," are concepts that can help us understand the procedural and dynamic character of culture and be placed in opposition to a more static view of culture. Such a static view sees change as an antonym to preservation. And with such a static view the "authentic" and "original" is all too easily coupled to a primary position via which change and movement become not only secondary, but also implicitly negative. Therefore, a systematic problematisation and reflection are necessary, not only with regard to collection and preservation but also concerning the interface between museums, archives and the "outer" world: how these passages take place and how objects and praxis, ideas and values incessantly flow into and out from museums and archives. So as not to see shifts and change as mistakes or methodological failures, but as normal activities. This puts increased demands on the cultural heritage sector to integrate reflection as a recurrent activity.

The loops can at best help us to avoid seeing preservation and change, traditions and modernities as opposites, but as complex and inordinate (in a positive sense) interactive possibilities. The view of traditions and modernities as dichotomous temporalises and limits history in various ways. If we instead focus on shifts, loops and circular movements we reveal another version of history and the dichotomy collapses.

Preserving something merely because it is old is a fairly new idea, and the result of that kind of preservation is always something new. So finally, to quote the ethnomusicologist Owe Ronström: "if change is the only thing in the world that does not change [...] then logically preservation must be understood as a rather radical infringement of the world order."[51]

[51] Quote from the presentation "'Thanks for Lending Me the Music.' On Musical Routes and Loops" (Lundberg & Ronström 2019).

Poster for Klubb Filips, 1967. Illustration: Piero Tartagni.

ENCOUNTERS
On Shifts and Entanglements in Musicians' Narratives

Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius

We are continually moved—and move ourselves, from the cradle to the grave. When we look back, these moves or shifts look like winding paths—or rather, perhaps, as a tangle of lines that nestle together and reach away—back and forth throughout life. This is also the way that the 1960s and 70s look when we look back at them. In this chapter we will follow some such lines. With them I wish to illuminate in particular the geographical shifts which occur in this period, and discuss how we might understand them in relation to other shifts—genre-related, aesthetic or cultural. Lines have, as we know, a tendency to tangle. Inspired by the British anthropologist Tim Ingold I focus in this chapter on encounters, the occasions when lines for a time are intertwined—sometimes yielding lifelong relationships. In his book *Lines*, Ingold develops an anthropology of the line—a project which turns into an alternative way of understanding everything from music to architecture (Ingold 2016). The line places the binding, the unended and the unlimited in the centre. By zooming in on two encounters, I will show how a cross section of the past both accommodates many parallel times and how the encounters constitute junctures in a geographical mobility between places—a mobility which in some cases provides these musicians with an opportunity to maintain important transcultural capital.

An unexpected encounter

In one of my interviews, with Greg Fitzpatrick—an American who came to Sweden in 1967, later to become a well-known musician and producer in the alternative music movement—he told of his very first encounter with Swedish musicians:

> Greg: *But I left something out—there's one thing, because you mentioned Bill Öhrström, and when I first came to Sweden and I'd been on the TV and I had a little promotion material, I went out to Karusell, on Lidingö then, to meet Bill Öhrström, I had got in contact with something, I think maybe even a letter of introduction from someone on the TV in...in and sent it there, and the first Swedish artist I met—apart from Hep Stars, I met them on a boat, a Finland ferry—when Svenne had broken his foot or something, so I would be able to find out when it was because he had like a foot in plaster. But anyway, I went there and the first Swedish musician I met was Jokkmokks-Jokke* [short laugh].
> Sverker: *I seee.*
> Greg: *He sat out there with Bill—Öhrström. Erm. I don't know why, but you can, you can...be unsure when you sort of tell stories, but I met him there, and I think he was wearing his sámi outfit—and I might have stuck that in afterwards, but I think he wore it.*

In this short excerpt from an interview that was a little over two hours in length, Greg chooses to go back a little in his life story. He wants to add a little about his first encounter with the Swedish music scene, in 1967, and the anecdote tells very briefly of a meeting in what Greg later describes as a waiting room at the Karusell recording company. Greg, Bill Öhrström (who both worked for Karusell and was himself an active musician) and Jokkmokks-Jokke were there. We know no more. Greg doesn't remember if they spoke, maybe they tried to talk a little but Greg is unsure if Jokke spoke English (and like many in his generation he probably didn't), and Greg hadn't learned any Swedish by then. Maybe Jokkmokks-Jokke wore his "sámi outfit," that is in any case what Greg remembers. We may assume that he tells of the encounter because it is worth telling—and why is it, then? The short laugh suggests that he finds something comical in the encounter, and the comical might have to do with the constellation

of individuals. But it is also in several ways an unexpected encounter, and an unexpected first encounter with Swedish musicians.

The little that is said here condenses broader circumstances—this micro-situation can be seen as one of the small facts that speak to large issues, as Clifford Geertz once expressed the role of anthropology (and, I feel, also ethnology and ethnomusicology) (Geertz 1973:23). The mythologising of the Sixties has had what Owe Ronström, based on the thinking of the historian John Gillis, would term an "islanding" effect on this period—it has, like geographical islands, become separate, detached, distant and ascribed both authenticity and narrow-mindedness (Ronström 2007:155ff.). This short encounter can help us to "de-island" the Sixties. The encounter also captures the ragbag of mobilities in ethnic, economic, and not least technological landscapes that characterises Sweden's music scene in the late 60s (Appadurai 1996). And last but not least, the encounter points towards a perhaps obvious but nevertheless important circumstance in all depictions of history—that each past actually consists of innumerable threads of experiences, happenings and expectations. Each point in time contains many parallel times. To unravel these aspects I will briefly touch upon mobilities and multitemporality, and those whose experiences help me to unravel this first encounter are Bill, Greg and Jokke.

To understand the cultural dimensions in people's mobility I make use of Arjun Appardurai's terminology regarding globalisation (1996, cf. the introductory chapter in this anthology). Here I focus first and foremost on two of Appardurai's scapes: *ethnoscape* (which consists of people in imagined or physical movement) and *mediascape*, which refers to both the electronic capabilities to produce and spread information and the images of the world that are created and spread in the media (Appurdarai 1996:33–37). The ethnoscape contains both physical persons and lived places together with those imagined, which I will show is of importance to our understanding of the encounter described above. The ability of people to imagine other places and other ways in which to live and make music has been important for all of the shifts described in this chapter.

The German historian and philosopher of history Reinhart Koselleck

describes how modernity entailed a transformation of the relationship between people's *spaces of experience* and their *horizons of expectation* (Koselleck 2004). The space of experience, the gathered knowledge upon which one can develop conceptions of the future, can't accomodate modernity's belief in progress and the ever-more-accelerating time—the tempo with which changes take place. Whilst the decisive changes in direction, which influence people's experiences and fundaments for conceiving of the future, could coincide with generations or even longer periods, these changes take place so speedily in modernity that the space of experience cannot be used quickly enough in forming a horizon of expectation. One consequence of this is, as expressed by Koselleck, that: "[A] single time-lapse resulted in a dynamic with multiple times at the same time" (Koselleck 2004:186). Let us now consider which times met in that space at Karusell in 1967.

Three lifelines

Greg Fitzpatrick was born in Beverly Hills in California in 1945.[1] His father made documentary and travel films and his mother, amongst other things, wrote film music. After a few somewhat unruly years in different boarding schools, Greg's father promised that if his school allowed him to graduate then he would join the military. The Vietnam war is escalating, and having graduated Fitzpatrick decides to leave the United States instead. For a while he travels around with an American folk-music group, playing on streets and stages in Europe, northern Africa and Israel, later ending up in Finland where he makes some records with a group for the Finnish record label Love Records. But his residence permit is not renewed, and he comes to Sweden in 1967. The Karusell encounter takes place when he is just establishing himself in the country. He will soon become a member of the pop band the Quints, later to change its name to Atlantic Ocean, and after a trip to London to meet CBS they release the album *Tranquillity Bay* on Love Records. Soon after he decides to

[1] The following is based on an interview with Greg Fitzpatrick, made by Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius on the 26th of January, 2018 (SVAA20180126GF001).

cycle to India, stopping in Teheran and Kabul on the way to help out with selling cars. Perhaps, he says, it is his childhood trips with his father—or perhaps his infatuation with the sounds and fragrances of his journeys in northern Africa that make him set off. In Lahore he makes a recording together with local musicians for the Pakistan National Radio.

Handgjort performing in 1970. Closest in picture is Greg Fitzpatrick on esraj, on tablas Theo Greyerz, sitar Stig-Arne Karlsson, and guitar Guy Öhrström.

He ends up taking Indian instruments with him when he returns to Sweden after 8 months, and starts the *Handgjort* (Homemade) band, inspired by Hindustani classical music. The group does not actually try to play Hindustani music, but like many musical explorations of the time they use sounds and instruments from other parts of the world—particularly the Indian subcontinent. Greg says that they played at the festival on Gärdet just a few days after he arrived back in Stockholm. During the next few years he becomes a key figure in the alternative music movement, as both a musician and a producer. Greg Fitzpatrick is behind such albums as *Tillsammans* (Together) and, in cooperation with Samla Mammas Manna, *Snorungarnas symfoni* (Snotty-nosed Kids' Symphony). As early as 1971, he claims, he gets hold of an early Roland synthesiser and in

the late-70s and 80s he establishes himself as an importer and distributor of synthesisers, acting amongst other things as manager of the Swedish synth pop duo Adolphson & Falk.[2]

Bill Öhrström was born in the Old town, Stockholm, in 1943, but he grew up in the suburb Bromma.[3] His parents helped refugees during the war, and he was named Bill so that they could have that name on their door—he himself says that it was what postwar German chancellor Willy Brandt, who allegedly lived there, was called. As a youth, Bill spent time in the USA on a golf scholarship. In the 60s he was an A&R man with Karusell records and met many internationally known jazz and blues musicians. Öhrström has spent the spring of 1967 in Los Angeles and San Francisco with Karusell's American counterparts, and from the late summer he runs the Fillips club for half a year where all kinds of artists—from jazz musician Lasse Werner and psychedelic rock band Mecki Mark Men to Jimi Hendrix—perform. Öhrström will later become known for his role in the Stockholm's Scala Theatre's production of the musical "Hair" in Stockholm and in the coming decades he will feature in bands such as Kebnekajse,[4] Fläsket brinner and Jukka Tolonen Band, run the concert venue Mariahissen in Stockholm and—in addition to his musicianship—work as both a manager and a photo model.

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[2] Roland was founded in 1972, which makes this highly unlikely. Many interviews in this project concern events far back in time, which means that years and dates should be understood as approximations. It is nevertheless reasonable to interpret this early date, together with other elements of this autobiography, as parts of a self-presentation in which swiftness and drive are central. The Swedish sociologist Peter Öberg discusses various kinds of autobiographical oral narratives in his dissertation: the bitter life, life as pitfalls, life as hurdles, the dull and self-sacrificing life, life as a professional career and the sweet life (Öberg 1997:38–42). As ideal types, in which an individual autobiography can show features of several types, this also shows in its genre-based nature how we as members of society formulate our own lives in collectively accessible forms (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2020b).

[3] The following is based on an interview with Bill Öhrström on the 18th of November 2015 (SVAA20151118BÖ001), made by Jörgen Adolfsson and Roger Bergner, and Larson (2013).

[4] In the first years the band spelled it name "Kebnekaise," later changing it to "Kebnekajse." Here only the later version is used.


20 söndags EXPRESSEN Söndagen den 10 september 1967

Pannband, halsband, love. Pop-producenten Billy Öhrström dansar love på hippiestället Filips. Han är översköljd, dränkt i ljud och ljus.

Stilen är hippie, stämningen love på ombyggda gamla hovkonditoriet

Bill Öhrström in an article on Filips in tabloid *Expressen* 10th of September 1967. The heading says: "The style is hippie, the atmosphere 'love' at renovated former royal tearoom.

Jokkmokks-Jokke (formerly Bengt Johansson) was born near Vuollerim in Lapland in 1915 and grew up in a family with eleven children in extremely meagre circumstances.[5] After working in the forests and with SJ (Sweden's national railway company) he was discovered by entertainment magnate Topsy Lindblom whilst performing at a Stockholm restaurant in 1955 and launched in the beginning with shorter gigs at the famous dance palace Nalen and, soon, recordings. The Sámi details associated with him—what Greg refers to as his "sámi outfit" in the quote—appears to have emerged in this period as part of the creation of an artistic perso-

[5] The following is based on Jokkmokks-Jokke 1967.

Jokkmokks-Jokke in local newspaper *Örebro-Kuriren*, 12th of June 1967.

na, and Jokkmokks-Jokke does not appear to have had any Sámi heritage. At the time of the Karusell encounter, Jokkmokks-Jokke is a well-established artist—not least after his resounding success in 1963 with the song "Gulli-Gullan." In his memoirs he underlines how much it means to him to play for the old and the sick, and at an early date he starts a fund for aid to those in need. In the early 1970s he tours the USA and Mexico, including the districts populated by Swedish emigrants.

Which musical lines meet in this short encounter? Greg has a background in the American folk music wave and during the years after fleeing the United States he travels around Europe, northern Africa and Israel playing folk music, under one period with the group The Young Californians. He has also recorded pop in Finland before moving to Sweden, and

here he is from the summer of 1967 a member of the experimental pop band Atlantic Ocean together with, among others, Björn J:son Lindh and Johnny Mowinckel. Bill Öhrström has, in common with many in his generation, a background in jazz, both as a listener and as a performer, but he is in the mid-60s perhaps primarily a rhythm & blues person—not least in the form of playing in the band Slim's Blues Gang and the pop band the Merrymen. In spite of his meagre environment, Jokkmokks-Jokke is given a fiddle as a child and grows up with lots of religious songs but no mass-mediated music around him—even though his perhaps greatest musical experience in his youth was listening to a grammophone record at a café as a sixteen-year-old (Jokkmokks-Jokke 1967:49–51). If Bill's world of music is mostly shaped by the African-American music in both rhythm and melody, with everything from shuffle to pentatonic scales, Jokke's is shaped by the same harmony-based "schlager" world that provided mid-20th century Sweden with artists such as Snoddas and Harry Brandelius.[6] Jokkmokks-Jokke, who mostly writes his songs himself or in collaboration with others, has during this period two main veins in his music—on the one hand, a jaunty approach, best summed up in the word "tjosan" (roughly "wahay!"), which is also the title of his 1967 autobiography, on the other a down-home romanticism or nostalgia which is at times nature-poetic. The jaunty, sometimes almost bumpkin-like style did not fit well with either highbrow cultural circles or the younger Anglo-American-influenced world of popular culture (and led at times to somewhat sour criticism)—whilst strains of down-home romanticism are to be found in—though greatly different—versions in the American folk music revival, pop music and the blues.[7] Jokkmokks-Jokke is also "folkkär" (a popular favourite), a quality that can be based upon

[6] Snoddas is discussed in Strand 2003 (with an English summary), the 1960s phenomenon *Svensktoppen* and its place vis-à-vis earlier Schlager is discussed in Smith-Sivertsen 2017. Hyltén-Cavallius 2012 discusses the broader landscape of schlager in relation to generational memory in late 20th century Sweden.

[7] I write "younger" here for several reasons. Jokkmokks-Jokke was 40 years old when he began performing at Nalen, and 48 when he made his breakthrough with Gulli Gullan in 1963—in other words, far older than contemporary hit colleagues. Yet he also belongs to a generation of hit singers from the 1950s who still essentially had a generation-bridging address and attracted an audience of young and old.

everything from an artist's persona and the audience's experience of the proximity between the persona and the person—but also the character of the music, the quality of the voice, the lyrics and not least his care of the old and the sick.[8] Bill himself describes his time as a teen in the USA as an "Americanisation" and Simon Brehm, head of Karusell, sends him and no other person—in spite of his tender age—to both Japan and the USA to discuss contracts for various artists on account of his ability to talk with different kinds of people. Both Bill's and Greg's role models are American and British, part of a growing "global" youth culture, whilst Jokkmokks-Jokke is marketed with the help of Sámi markers like the hat, the gákti-inspired frock and other items of clothing. *Lived* places—the Porsi rapids, the Lule river, the fells or the forest—are in every way present in Jokkmokks-Jokkes artistic persona—as they are for so many of his generation's hit singers, from Snoddas to Bertil Boo (cf. Strand 2003). For Bill, at this moment in time, African-American music offers to a great extent imagined places or sometimes visited places in the form of Memphis, Chicago or the Mississippi delta—whilst Greg's places will also for the foreseeable future be imagined or visited, such as Tranquillity Bay or northern India.

Mobilities and Encounters

Why is it so interesting—Greg's account of that room at Karusell's place on Lidingö? My answer: that space where those three gather for a very short while can be seen as a peeping-hole into a variegated, in some ways contradictory, Sixties—the folkyness of the Folkhem (the "people's home"), which transcended generations, meets the growing youth culture—and transnational imagined worlds meet lived places. Bill's and

[8] Here artistic persona or persona refers to the public "role" used by the artist. The popular culture scholar Philip Auslander distinguishes three levels of persona in his study of performance in glam rock: the real person (e.g. David Jones), the performance persona (David Bowie) and the character (e.g. Ziggy Stardust or The Thin White Duke) (Auslander 2006:4–6). It might be worth mentioning that in the case of many artists the level with various characters is neither relevant nor desired, but that they rather attempt to minimise the audience's sense of a gap between real person and persona.

Jokke's lines had met earlier thanks to Karusell, Bill's and Greg's lines would meet many more times in the future—but in this very place all three of them met. This was in many ways a period of upheaval, but if you raise your gaze you find many such periods in our recent history: other such periods could be the Eighties with its political right turn, AIDS epidemic and yuppies—or why not the IT revolution in the late 90s? The 1960s was a transitional period, but not the only one, and along with all its emergent cultural elements, it also saw the survival of many others.

The three musicians who were there represent different kinds of modern mobilities. Jokke embodies perhaps most of all a social and geographical mobility—the journey he portrays in his autobiography, from his childhood poverty in Lapland to Stockholm's entertainment industry, is above all else a journey of social mobility. Greg's journey is in some way a refugee's journey—from the army and the war. Both of these journeys were made out of necessity. Bill's journeys were not the result of such pressures, but exemplify yet other kinds of mobilities typical of our times, from the year in the USA—a kind of peregrination—to the long business trips for the record company, symptomatic of an increasingly global cultural industry. For him, like many others in the same period, even the shorter journeys make decisive contributions to the music scene: it is, for example in the USA that Bill meets Bill Graham (who ran The Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco) and was inspired to start the short-lived but important rock club Filips.

If it is fairly easy to see how these three persons differ—and that is, obviously, in many ways—then it can also be rewarding to see what they have in common. A striking similarity between their positions can be captured with the help of the concept *transcultural capital*, a further development of Bourdieu's concept of capital. Ulrike H. Meinhof and Nadia Kiwan, who have followed musicians from northern Africa and Madagascar in Germany and France, discuss how the musicians—via their transnational life patterns—possess a symbolical and social capital consisting of experiences, competencies and social networks that are maintained and developed in the movements between places and contexts (Kiwan & Meinhof 2011a:8–9). Meinhof and Kiwan see the term as a way of problematising a static picture of relations between North and

South—in which North is the giving and South the receiving party. Such a transcultural capital can, as I understand it, be formed just as much in movements between countries as in movements between different cultural contexts. Bill has grown up in what he describes as an "internationalistic" home in which his parents housed Germans with secret identities in exile, and moves in his youth and early adult years in a transnational pop music landscape. Greg also embodies knowledge from an international context, both from the USA and from his life as a wandering musician. Jokkmokks-Jokke's transcultural capital consists of experiences based on class and places, but also in a staged "Sámi" artist persona which appears to emerge in connection with him starting to perform in Stockholm. All three keep this capital more or less alive by further journeys and networking with people and contexts beyond Stockholm's world of entertainment and popular music. Jokke, for example, will throughout his entire career—even after moving to Stockholm—maintain his contact with Jokkmokk and the fells, both physically by spending time there and in the lyrics of his songs.

A time with several times

If—as Koselleck claims—modernity is characterised by its multitemporality, how can we observe this in this particular situation? In which way does it contain several times? I will make some suggestions. First and foremost, it contains different *experienced times*. In Jokkmokks-Jokke's case, his experienced time precedes Bill's and Greg's by around 30 years. In addition to all their other differences, Jokke also had his personal, lived experience of poverty in Sweden—before the post-war welfare state in which Bill grew up. Jokke also largely built his career on lived experience: even if he was sometimes self-exoticising, he embodied the content of the lyrics.

The differences between growing up in a poor, solitary, rural environment and an urban middle-class (or even upper-class) environment are of course enormous, not to mention the differences that this in turn has resulted in. Bill tells of how he grew up listening to, recording upon and imitating tape recorders, the radio and records. Greg literally grows up in

the media industry. Jokke hears his first record when he is around 16 years old. In other words, these three live not only with three different experienced times but also with different *mediated times*—and thus the mediated experiences which shape conditions regarding what you can imagine of and borders for our horizons of expectation, to speak with Koselleck.

A third time which can be distinguished is the *imagined time*. With Jokkmokks-Jokke—as with many of his contemporaries in the broader entertainment music field in Sweden in the 1950s and 60s—the coherence between the performing person, the performed persona and the music was of great importance. One was expected to perform as 'oneself' and sing about things that one at least could have experienced. In Jokke's case this could be about Lapland's rivers, fells, expanses, and birch trees. Thus, one could argue that Jokke on the one hand embodied his music. On the other hand, he staged to some degree Sáminess with the help of hybridised clothing which almost always contained Sámi elements or references to Sámi patterns, silver jewellery and so on. This is not a matter of an authentic Sámi costume—but this is surely how the non-Sámi population interpreted it (as Greg elucidates with the description "sámi outfit").[9] Such allusions by non-Sámi artists were nothing new, Lapp-Lisa (Öst, not her predecessor Lapp-Lisa Thomasson) was not a Sámi but used Sámi trappings. This strategy must be understood against a background of in part painting the Sámi as exotic, in part making the connection to the world of the fells and northern Sweden clearer—both of which were surely essential aspects for an artist who wished to stand out. In the broader entertainment music industry during the period in which Jokke's artistic persona grows forth—from the mid-1950s onwards—place and origins are important when promoting artists: this is also how other contemporary artists come to be closely associated to specific places, such as Snoddas to Bollnäs or Lill-Babs to Järvsö.[10] In Jokke's case the Sámi touch seems to emerge around the time of his break-

[9] I wish to thank Krister Stoor for this clarification (e-mail correspondence 14th of August, 2018).

[10] Strand (2003) delves further into how Snoddas along with other 20th century schlager singers both nostalgically sang of and became seen as authentic representatives of places.

through as an artist; perhaps it is Jokke himself who already uses it as a gimmick prior to Nalen, perhaps it is Topsy Lindblom who suggests it or the record company that comes up with the idea. One way of understanding this is that the Sámi—as imagined time or imagined place—in this period comprises the kind of ethnoscape described in the introduction. An ethnoscape is a kind of cultural landscape containing people in movement, both first hand experienced and imagined movement. The Sámi ethnoscape in which Jokke places himself consists of both Sámi and non-Sámi. Perhaps the Sámi ethnoscape, is in the mid-1950s not yet so strongly demarcated as it will come to be with the advent of the ethnic identity mobilizations of the 1960s.[11] Perhaps Bill's musical aspiration, not least in Slim's Blues Gang, can in a corresponding way be seen as a movement in a globalised African-American landscape—sometimes already reinterpreted in several layers by non-African-Americans in both North America and Great Britain. And whilst Bill says that his parents' engagement in war refugees was a result of them being "internationalists," he labels his year in the USA in his teens as an "Americanisation" with positive connotations.

Finally, it is also possible to reflect on a more general level upon where in life these three are in this situation. Jokke is 52—a generation older than the other two, but has on the other hand had his great breakthrough just a few years previously (1963). Jokke is already the one in this trio who will become the best-known and also widely popular; both Greg and Bill are at the start of long, exciting careers which will nevertheless to a certain extent take place outside the view of the general public. Greg is in some way a refugee, even if he does not count among the American deserters who fled to Sweden during the Vietnam war (Scott 2015). Bill is already, at 24 years of age, a part of the transnational music industry. While Jokke's career built upon the ability to appeal to a multi-generational audience, Greg and Bill both belonged to a single-generational youth culture which more or less explicitly excluded other generations.[12]

[11] This is at least how it looks in Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius' study of sámi duòdji (Sámi handicraft), which in the 1960s becomes more clearly formulated as an ethnic domain reserved for persons with a Sámi background (C. Hyltén-Cavallius 2014).

[12] With the rock & roll artists of the 1950s (both Swedish and foreign) a new kind of

The encounter between Greg, Bill and Jokke is a node in timespace, a place in which lines of three lives meet one another for a brief moment. In retrospect the encounter helps us to see the motley mix of experiences and times which lived in parallel in the Sweden of the Sixties, but also how these mobile artists from separate genres show similarities in their way of forming capital. Other encounters have instead been the starting points for long collaborations, more braids than nodes. Now we move to the early 1970s on Södermalm, Stockholm—and, from there, out on long tours.

A Braid in the fabric of Time

Hassan Bah was born in Conakry, capital city of what was known then as French Guinea, in 1946.[13] His childhood bore the stamp of a strict Muslim upbringing and besides he belonged to an ethnic group which did not partake in music and dancing, so these were in principle forbidden during his formative years. But Hassan and his twin sister enjoyed dancing and singing. In 1958 Guinea becomes the first independent country in western Africa, and during the following troubled years Hassan flees without a passport to neighbouring Senegal. Here he starts working as a seamstress in a textile factory, soon to be employed with a dance group consisting of exiled Guineans, Le Ballet Ouest-Africaine. Things work out well for this ensemble with tours in Senegal, Gambia, Mauretania and the Canary Islands—where he starts appearing with another dance group, Ballet Bougounia. On the Canary Islands he meets a Belgian woman, moving with her first to Barcelona and then to Belgium. The woman's parents do not, however, wish to know of their relationship and offer him money to go anywhere at all—as long as he leaves Belgium. Hassan lands at Arlanda airport in the winter of 1969, is arrest-

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music emerges that speaks to young persons in particular and at the same time excludes older people in a number of ways—sometimes in terms of language, but also in matters of motif ("I hope I die before I get old" in the Who's "My Generation" can, for example, be read as such) and perhaps first and foremost in terms of sound.

[13] The following is based on an interview with Hassan Bah made by Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius on May 20th 2019 (SVAA20190520HB).

ed within a day since he lacks identity papers, and spends his first six months in Sweden in the Långholmen prison. Then life gradually begins to take shape: Hassan marries, starts playing as a percussionist with the band Levande livet—and soon too with Kebnekajse since a couple of its members happened to live in the same house as Hassan on Södermalm in Stockholm. After the years with Kebnekajse in the 70s he later plays in a number of constellations with various bands and musicians in Sweden, Finland, Germany and Switzerland, and leads courses in African drums and dance.[14] This is how he describes his encounter with Kebnekajse:[15]

> Hassan: *...But then, because I'm living in the same building with Mats and Thomas, and they said, "Oh come on man, let's go and have some together, let's go meet and play!" And, suddenly, there I were. Then we used to sit on the floor, they have acoustic guitar and Kenny Håkansson playing fiol (fiddle) at that time too.*
> Sverker: *Oh!*
> Hassan: *Yeah yeah. So you know, we sit and were rehearsing in the room like this, but food and, you know. So, we [inaudible] play – until now, we still going on.*
> [...]
> Sverker: *And and, uhm, can you describe this, your first meeting with the Kebnekajse group, what was it like to jam with them, you said that you were sitting and playing acoustic guitar and violin and so on, what was your feeling about their music, can you remember?*
> Hassan: *That time was, it was wild. That time was wild, I have even pictures of them, it was so, it was long hair uh smoking heavily, you know, that we do, you know, alcohol not too, we don't have, we don't get alcohol business, but we was smoking you know, and playing and then—it was free!* [...] *So er. Kebnekajse for me was where nobody tell me what to do. When I come to the djembe and the timbales you know.*

When this encounter takes place, Kebnekajse have already made a record. According to Eva Wilke of the Silence record company it was originally Kenny Håkansson's project, but later became a busy band with

[14] In this respect, this mirrors the portrayal of professional full- or part-time musicians and dancers in Oscar Pripp's study of African drumming and dance in Sweden (Pripp 2016:62).

[15] The interview (SVAA20190529HB001) was at times in English, at times in Swedish.

many lengthy tours (Interview with Eva Wilke 8th of November 2016, SVAA20161108).

Kenny Håkansson comes to this encounter from another direction.[16] Kenny was born in 1945 and grew up in Huvudsta to the north of Stockholm. His father worked as a tool grinder and later started his own company making plexiglass signs. His mother became a housewife after working at, amongst other places, a laundry and a chocolate factory. Music was not actually played in Kenny's family either—his father had once played the fiddle, but that is about the sum of it. When Kenny is fifteen he breaks his foot and has to wear a plaster cast and rest. With nothing to do, he decides to learn to play a guitar that his grandmother had given them, with the help of a correspondence course that his brother had bought. His first tune is Swedish troubadour icon Evert Taube's song "Flickan i Havanna" (The Girl in Havana)—two chords, D and A7.

Then comes the time of the different pop bands, in parallel with firstly military service and then a job at a drawing office with Swedish state-owned telecommunications authority Televerket: The Agents, T-Boones, later to become Baby Grandmothers. But now they have left the youth clubs to play on the barge called Liverpool and at the Filips rock club. After a spell with Mecki Mark Men and a trip with them to the USA, Kenny starts Kebnekajse. In the beginning they play riff-based, mostly improvisational rock, but then Kenny hears two fiddlers playing the folk tune "Polska från Enviken" during a tour with, among others, the troubadour Cornelis Vreeswijk.[17] It is the swing that captivates him—he, in fact, describes it as him having been "awakened"—and afterwards Kebnekajse becomes, first and foremost, a large folk rock band with a fiddler and several percussionists and bassists. The tunes come from the

[16] The following is based on an interview with Kenny Håkansson, December 5th 2018 (SVAA20181205KH).

[17] In an interview made by ethnologist Alf Arvidsson in the spring of 2005, Mecki Bodemark claims that it was he who introduced Kenny to folk music by sitting and playing the accordion when they were out on tour with Mecki Mark Men (SVAB 20090417MB001). Here we must trust in Kenny's own description since it is his memory, but this again shows how the past tends to be disputed and viewed from different perspectives.

T-Boones performing at Gyllene Cirkeln (the Golden Circle), 1967.
Photographer unknown.

band member Pelle, who has known this music "since childhood," but also from books and booklets of music that Kenny finds when they travel around the country. The guitarist who learned to play by ear thus finds his way into folk music via sheet music. And somewhere here Hassan comes into the picture.

KH: *He had got to know, if it was Mats and Thomas maybe, so that well, yes he was suddenly with us heehee, it wasn't like we had a meeting but he just joined in. And it was fun. Nah, he's a fun person to mix with because there's so much, he thinks it's fun to laugh* [...] *And he can play too. Hammers pretty good with his palms.*

Hassan feels that he hears echoes of Guinean music in Swedish folk music, and thinks that the rhythm of Sweden's walking tunes ("gånglåtar") can sound similar to that which is found in nomadic groups in West Africa. And in time Kebnekajse make a record based on the music Hassan

brought with him "Ljus från Afrika" (Light from Africa). In the midst of rock versions of fiddle tunes—often from a well-known and widely-spread common stock, a kind of instrumental folk-music repertoire used when playing in larger (sometimes much larger) gatherings—it can nevertheless be heard that Kenny's way of playing the guitar was formed by Hank Marvin and the twangy pop of the early 60s and that the parts of the tunes in which the band improvises around the tune's basic chords could just as well have been based on a similar swing around a twelve-bar blues.

The occasion described by Hassan, where he sits down for the first time and plays with Kebnekajse, braids historical threads from the years of the liberation of the African colonies and the post-colonial trauma with the Swedish "folk music" that was charted and demarcated during the 1800s in a national-romantic and rural-romantic paradigm. There we find the emphasis in the contemporary African-American music on drum set, electric bass and electric guitar plus the fiddle tunes that so strongly influence Kenny—he also plays the fiddle during those years, just as Hassan says. Along with that, the West African strain that Hassan adds in the form of percussion that strengthens and tightens both rhythmics and sound. The paths that music takes are, of course, often long and tortuous—so just what leads to what isn't always easy to say. But the fact that Swedish folk rock from later days has often used percussion—in the form of congas, for example—might well have something to do with that jam session in a flat on Stockholm's Södermalm island.

Encounters along the country roads

Kebnekajse is soon a hard-touring band which lives as much—if not more—in their tour bus as at home in Stockholm. A life spent so close to one another could take its toll on relationships. Kenny Håkansson says the idea behind Kebnekajse's folk rock is that folk music with fiddles is too weak to make itself heard in the capital city, and that electric guitars were needed if it was to reach out (interview with Kenny Håkansson 5th of December 2018, SVAA20181205KH001).When they start touring around the country they realise that the local bands play pop and rock, whilst

Kebnekajse bring the folk music to them. Kebnekajse's role here might be seen to resemble the loops discussed in the preceding chapter—where music which had once been notated in various documentation projects is reinterpreted in the form of rock music, then returned to the places it came from. And during Kebnekajse's tours around the country, Kenny continues to look for notated music in order to find new inspiration.

But the encounters with communities out in the country are not always that easy. When the band—a gang of long-haired hippies in Afghan coats—come in their bus to a new place, it happens that the locals are sceptical. Hassan recalls how they were welcomed when on their way somewhere—he can't quite remember where—in northern Sweden:

> Hassan: *Because we were working a lot with Rikskonserter, and we would come out, we had bus, big bus, you know we had bed inside, we have dogs, each one have dog—almost. So when we come to one town, when we open the bus door, the dog is the first one who's running out* [both laugh]. *And then, and then, you know, på landet va* (= in the countryside, like), *these people they see these guys got long hair, and then they have these winter clothes were like animal, at that time, hippie time, you know. And when they see us, people I see in Sweden, people when we come in sight out of the bus, people, they close the windows* [both laugh].
> Sverker: *You looked so scary!* [laughs]
> Hassan: *hey, people even come ask us, "where you from?" We said "we're from here in Sweden men i* (but in) *Stockholm." "Ahaa." Because we have dogs, we have crazy dogs running around, and er, it was wild, wild people. You know... so, I remember even, we went to one restaurant, we tried to get inside there, I think it was in Norrland, we want to get inside—Umeå or Luleå somewhere. And when we get out of the bus, and get out, and me, I saw inside the restaurant the woman is coming trying to close the door. Yeah!* [both chuckle] *When we all come there, the woman says "det är stängt" (it's closed!"), "people are sitting inside here!"—I can not, you know—"Nej, ni ska inte komma in här, det är stängt"* ("No, you can't come in here, it's closed!"). *Vilka jävlar va?* ("What bastards, eh?") (SVAA20190520HB001)

Such non-encounters hint at a certain fear or hostility, but also perhaps at other strands in the meeting between different ways of dressing, acting and being. Is this scepticism towards strangers we see, a fear that it might be people who damage or steal things? When young people came

Kebnekajse in front of their tour bus, press photo from early 1970s. Hassan Bah and Kenny Håkansson squatting in front. Photo: Kebnekajse.

to Värmland's Klarälv valley in western Sweden to grow things together with Bo Anders Persson in the early 1970's, this was what seemed to worry the locals the most.[18] Or is it obvious that these are rock musicians, and is it that in itself that makes people uneasy? Or perhaps it is a simple misunderstanding—had the restaurant perhaps really closed when they arrived, and a few guests were eating up before leaving? And if you say that you are from "Sweden but Stockholm"—which conceptions and relationships does that bring to the fore in other parts of a country with a distinct centre-periphery cleavage?

Kebnekajse came to play on many different stages—from true concerts to schools. Rikskonserter (The Swedish National Concert Institute) arranged school tours for the band. Kebnekajse were known as "Sweden's highest band," a double entendre referring to Sweden's highest moun-

[18] Interview with Bo Anders Persson, 9th of November, 2016 (SVAA20161109BP002), cf. chapter 5.

tain, that the band was named after, and the band's high volume. The encounter between schoolchildren and Kebnekajse's high volume could, among other things, bring complaints that children had vomited. An encounter between the band and teachers, journalists and the parents of schoolchildren took place.

> Kenny: *Because we played with Kebnekajse at a morning assembly, it was, the children weren't so old, around 8 to 10 years old ... and the whole band came at 9 in the morning. And we set up all our gear—but we didn't have two amplifiers each, but as little as possible. But anyway—imagine that we were there, almost everyone had a beard and long hair, a black man with a Mohican haircut, we looked like lumbering robbers the lot of us, so of course the kids got scared—just the sight of us. Then when we played they couldn't turn down the volume like they were used to doing on the radio and TV and such, so maybe it felt a bit uncomfortable. And therefore it turned out that they called for Rikskonserter and us and some journalists and representatives of the parents—what's it called—the children's parents. And even the teachers, we sat in a square round a lot of tables.* (SVAA20181205KH001).

Rikskonserter was an organisation which, amongst other things, existed to make it possible for many forms of music to reach many different kinds of groups in different places. This they facilitated by giving support to local and regional music activities or, as in this case, by promoting tours with various artists. And though the original discussions which led to the creation of Rikskonserter are to be found in the building of the welfare state in the 1930s, there was also a strong contemporary will to demonstrate the availability of culture and access to it. In our interview from the spring of 2019, Solveig Bark—first an organist, then with Rikskonserter from 1969, expresses her view of music in those days thus:

> *Well, if you could find a way to play, where you sort of started with yourself, I suppose that was what we...what we tried to do. That everyone should have a chance to, and then you maybe have to take the music away and the sounds are left, or it is them that you use to play* (interview with Solveig Bark 12th of April 2019, SVAA20190412SB001).

The idea was—in the case that Solveig recounts—to give everyone, children too, the chance to express themselves with the help of sounds.

And in Kebnekajse's case it was about letting a rock band go on tours of schools—which bears witness to an ambition to let schoolchildren, too, hear contemporary musical forms of expression. That things could go awry, as in the case of this encounter between schoolchildren and the rock band, indicates another contemporary encounter: between the children's everyday reality, the rock band's consistent aesthetic stance, and Rikskonserter's aim to fashion increased breadth and variety in the music on offer.

Encounters and implications: some concluding reflections

By unravelling some encounters—themselves a kind of micro events—in this way, we can see cross sections of time in all their motley variety. The popular music of the Swedish Sixties is often portrayed in terms of one-way influences: whether it concerns Elvis, the Beatles, Lesley Gore or The Supremes they tend to describe a movement from English-speaking countries to Sweden. And of course—Swedish music was not a major player in the English-speaking world in those days, even though Swedish artists could on the other hand pursue good careers in, for example, West Germany. Yet the very flow of impulses was not only about what was seen or heard on the broadcasting media or in the daily press, but also about physical people in concrete movement between different contexts in which experiences and aspirations constantly met, were moulded and were interpreted. Experiences of the rural poverty of the early 20th century met an internationally mobile middle class, experiences connected with the consequences of colonialism in Africa and Asia met the children of the Swedish post-war peak years. Religious songs, a globalised pop/rock music and folk music from Guinea and Sweden met there.

I see all these encounters along Ingold's lines (Ingold 2016). Lines differ from boxes, bubbles or building blocks in that they tend to meet, cosy up, entwine—but also to continue to move outwards and onwards. The individual encounter at Karusell described in the beginning of this chapter is best described as an entanglement, an encounter in which we don't even know if they said anything to each other. A number of life lines which are tangled together for a little while, soon to find their way

out into the world to meet other lines—and which, when we raise our gaze, are parts of that dense weave of mutually-dependent life lines that we call "society."

The ethnologist Erik Ottoson describes something that he terms "serendipitous seeking" in a study on shopping behaviour. With this term he focuses on a kind of seeking which targets the unexpected, sometimes termed "just looking" and which "bears the stamp of an openness for that which might appear by chance, perhaps when looking for something else" (Ottoson 2008:195). When the ethnologist Elin Franzén investigates radio listening in her dissertation she refers to "serendipity" as a kind of fortunate chance hits—in the case of radio listening it can be a case of "stumbling" upon something new and unexpected on scheduled programmes, in contrast to seeking the same-old familiar online (Franzén 2021:169–170). Some encounters may also be serendipitous: a kind of unforeseen, happy chance events. When Hassan and the members of Kebnekajse happen to live by chance in the same house and start jamming together, this can be seen as a serendipitous encounter. When Kenny ends up with the fiddlers who play "Polska från Enviken," this is another example. The encounter at Karusell described in the beginning of this chapter is however not serendipitous; rather, perhaps the opposite: a chance encounter which places three fates in the same room, but which in itself lacks any consequences (apart from the anecdote about the encounter).

In this chapter I have shown how some lines came together in various encounters, and indicated what these encounters can tell us regarding both days gone by and geographical movements of musicians. That little encounter between three persons in 1967 illustrates how each time consists of many parallel times which originate from different biographical rooms of experience. From the next example, the jam on Södermalm, lines from colonial Guinea and the Sweden of its peak years are entwined—later to run together in periods during the coming fifty years. In the lives of several of these musicians the very movements between various contexts have played a part in shaping transcultural capital (Kiwan & Meinhof 2011). It is in the movements between Sweden, northern India, the USA, and Guinea that they can use knowledge gained in various con-

texts, but also shape a capital in the form of authenticity and knowledge acknowledged in many places. The movements do not end, but continue in the form of tours—and sometimes return.

To return to the question we posed when we launched our project: what kind of creative shifts occurred during those years in the late 1960s and 70s? In this chapter the focus has been on shifts in geography and time, and they have both clearly been of importance in the encounters portrayed. It is hard to measure and generalise about creativity—but we can see its results in research, art or music for example. Perhaps creativity is something basically human, which we can see or not see depending upon what has been preserved to this day. But the period that I have described appears in any case to bear the stamp of creativity, the joy of discovery and curiosity—often in a more or less overt revolt against the established and the conventions. And it seems to have had quite a lot to do with these people in movement, and that this movement led to encounters.

Photo from the tour following Cornelis Vreeswijk's record *Spring mot Ulla, spring! Cornelis sjunger Bellman* (Run to Ulla, run! Cornelis sings Bellman), Philips Records, 1971. Vreeswijk (squatting, centre), with the musicians Björn J:son Lindh who did arrangements and plays piano and flute (standing, left), Monica Thörnell song (standing, centre), Kenny Håkansson on guitar (standing, right), the traditional fiddlers Björn Ståbi (squatting, left) and Pers Hans (squatting, right). Kenny Håkansson recalls that the photo session was taken at Skansen in Stockholm probably in may 1972, as part of the promotion for the tour. The regular bassist, Palle Danielsson, was sick at the moment, and his stand-in (possibly Silas Bäckström) has turned his back to the camera. Photo: Svenskt Fotoreportages samling / Historisk Bildbyrå.

THE AUDIENCE AND THE BOAT ON THE *VISA* WAVE
The Visa Barge Storken 1962–1969

Madeleine Modin

As early as in 1965, the founder of Svenskt visarkiv—and also broadcaster, ballad researcher, composer and singer—Ulf Peder Olrog (1919–1972) wrote a concise and fitting analysis of "Den nya visvågen" (The new *visa*[1] wave), which was then regarded as being at or just past its peak. This wave that had begun in the second half of the 50s, with first and foremost the singers Sven-Bertil Taube and Olle Adolphson, now advanced on a broad front in youth culture in the first half of the 60s with a number of new singers. The programme for the Visa Barge Storken's great evening of *visor* at Konserthuset in Stockholm December 15th 1965 is the context of Olrog's analysis, and he points out the importance of this very singing club in the *visa* wave. He suggests that an investigation would be a useful way to find out how the wave could arise. The interest in this kind of songs among the youth was, he felt, unanticipated since towards the end of the 50s we "were in the middle of a boom with pop, crazy shows and variety"—whilst the eternal lute singer had increasingly come to "figure as an easily-kicked object to mock." One might question the degree to

[1] The songs sung on the barge were *visor*. The word *visor* (sing.: *visa*) denotes both traditional songs and literary songs. Literary songs are the province of *trubadurer*—troubadours—and their songs are essentially poetry set to music, usually performed solo to the accompaniment of a Swedish lute or a guitar. Traditional songs are called *folkvisor*, and these were also sung on the barge. The singing barge Storken resembled in many ways a British folk music club of the time. A more detailed description in English of *visa* can be found in Rhedin 2017.

which this was unanticipated by Olrog, since he himself seems to have played an important part in this development via his various functions and roles. There were a number of motives for bringing forth songs in this period—first and foremost, perhaps, as a counterweight to the bourgeoning Anglo-Saxon pop and rock music.

Olrog toys with the idea of which concurrent factors "investigators" of the song wave might try to measure and concludes by pointing out some, in his view, phenomena and key persons:

> *Perhaps they would underline the role of personalities—this has once again become modern. In that case they would write lots of nice things about the new songwriters from Olle Adolphson to Cornelis Vreeswijk. They would also attempt to "spotlight" the executors: Sven-Bertil Taube, William Clausson and Fred Åkerström, devote a few pages to "leaders" like "Skepparn" Cervin, Birgitta Hylin and Sid Jansson, tell of the gramophone arrangers Ulf Björlin and Hans Wahlgren and perhaps finally mention some smart but nevertheless idealistic gramophone producers.*
>
> *And they would most likely attempt to provide a grand overview of the new American folk-song movement with its beatniks, vietniks and folkniks who have their—though rather ephemeral—followers with protest songs and hootenanny on the Swedish hit lists. Perhaps they would ask: what might it mean that every sixth teenager in Sweden has learned to play the guitar a little and perhaps wants to try out other genres than Beatles and Rolling Stones? And finally: isn't it the case that Sweden, with its educational system and welfare state, provides completely different possibilities than before for large groups to concurrently take up and develop completely different genres—be it pop, ballads, jazz or serious music?*[2]

The broadcaster Olrog stresses the importance of state-owned mass media for the *visa* wave, just as he holds forth arrangers and producers of gramophone records. In 1965, many had already tired of the more commercially-promoted protest singers—thus Olrog's verdict that they were "ephemeral," though he also indicates their importance in fostering an interest in *visor* among the youth.

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[2] Programme to "Visor i Konserthusets stora sal" 15 December 1965, 7.30 pm. SVA h1305. 'Serious music' ("seriös musik") was commonly used as synonymous to classical music.

Ulf Peder Olrog as guest at Vispråmen Storken 14th of November 1965.
Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA, no. 35627.

This chapter does not aim to analyse the entire *visa* wave as a phenomenon, rather to give some insight into why and in what way a *visa* stage on a barge by a quay in Stockholm—Vispråmen Storken (The Visa Barge Storken) came to play an important part in the development and blooming of the *visa*. In the years 1962–1969 Storken hosted 350 *visa* evenings during which 436 professional and amateur artists performed around 13 000 songs, 300 instrumentals and 500 poems.[3]

A number of radio and TV programmes featured this stage, and several LPs were recorded there. A range of external and internal factors have been significant—and as Olrog points out in the quote above, the drive and character of individuals has been of great importance. A remarkable number of dedicated persons worked as volunteers in support of the *visa* cause. Ballad singers, barge owners, recording engineers and other en-

[3] "The story of Vispråmen Storken in connection with its closing in 1969," by Sid Jansson and Git Magnusson, stencilled manuscript (SVA h1305) and printed as a poster at its closing in 1969.

thusiasts made great contributions but in this chapter we pay particular attention to the roles of host and organiser since they were in many ways essential to the venue's development. The greatest space in this study is however given to certain observations made in a review of the rich source material in the Svenskt visarkiv collections.[4] I will focus partly on the *barge* itself and its *environment*, furnishing and atmosphere, and partly on comments upon the exceptionally responsive and enthusiastic *audience*.

In the source material around the Visa Barge Storken we find notions of *visor* as a cultural heritage worthy of preservation, conservation and a higher status. These concepts can have played a part as linkings in a kind of *affective alliances* in the meaning of this term formulated in the introductory chapter of this anthology. The term, based upon Grossberg (1992:50ff; 1997:44) and Hyltén-Cavallius & Kaijser (2012:68f.) is understood here as an *orientation* which arises when similar contemporary affects link people together in temporary alliances. The audience's focused attention (*orientation*) towards the *visor* can be understood as the effect of such an affective alliance. One idea with bringing to the fore the material nature and the physical environment of this place in a very concrete manner is to investigate how such parameters can also generate important affects that contribute to such alliances.

The *creative shifts* that this anthology wishes to highlight are in this chapter understood not only as the movement of persons in various musical fields, but also in an utmost concrete manner in the form of movements to and from the *visa* barge itself—with its placement, environment, exterior and interior as potential creative factors.

The existing historical descriptions of Storken are written first and foremost by those most closely involved, with the first one produced in connection with the closing of Storken in 1969. Other brief portray-

[4] Git Magnusson's and Sid Jansson's personal archives are at Svenskt visarkiv (the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research), together with lots of material from the Visa Barge Storken, which they both ran for a number of years. The source material for this study consists of newly-produced and older interview material, recordings for phonograms, radio and TV, photographs and cuttings. The collections of cuttings have been complemented by a survey of digitalised daily newspapers at the National Library of Sweden.

als have appeared in Ståbi (1994), Brolinson & Larsen (2004) Arvidsson (2008) och Rhedin (2011; 2017)—all to varying degrees also dealing with the Swedish *visa* in general. The *visa* wave and Storken are also discussed in works on individual singers, such as Cornelis Vreeswijk (Carlsson 1996; Hedlund 2000; Gustafsson 2006, 2022) and Olle Adolphson (Mossberg 2002; Malmborg 2020). A concise description of causes, places, persons involved and the evolution of the Swedish *visa* in the 1900s is made by Sid Jansson (1996) in the booklet of the CD box *100 svenska visor 1965–1995*. Since Jansson was perhaps the prime driving force behind Storken, his descriptions are also an interesting source on how those involved created and maintained a narrative established at an early date. Their statements and press releases, like their presentations on recordings from the *visa* evenings, work in the same way. The continual descriptions of the fantastic audience are, not least, an important part of that narrative. How does that narrative relate to the actual conditions on Storken? Was there some kind of interplay between the contemporary narrative provided and the way that the venue evolved?

This chapter consists of an introductory description of *visa* singing in Sweden before and during the Vispråmen Storken era, followed by a summary of Storken's history in which the venue's operations and the persons involved are presented. Then comes a more in-depth presentation of the place itself—the barge and its environment—and how this influenced both audience and artists. Finally, we look at Storken's audience and how it was moulded by circumstances and those people who were driving forces.

From *visa* singing to *visa* wave—a background

In the post-war period the lute-singer tradition stagnated, even though Evert Taube and others had a steady audience and *visor* without the lute but with Anglo-Saxon elements were heard in revues, where Povel Ramel was to the fore. Ulf-Peder Olrog and Owe Thörnqvist were often to be heard on the radio. The revival of the Swedish *visa* is usually associated with the ending of the ban on serving food and drink during entertainment shows in 1955. This opened the door for troubadours to make a

living as "table runners," which Hai and Topsy—later to become faithful Storken artists—did at restaurants such as *Minerva* on Kungstensgatan in Stockholm during the 1950s.[5] Another troubadour who made a living at various Stockholm restaurants—particularly *Gulltuppen* at Sankt Eriksplan—from the late 1950s was Gösta 'Skepparn' ("the Skipper") Cervin, Storken's first host. Yet another early venue for *visa* lovers was the jazz club *Gazell Club* in a cellar in Gamla stan, where a group of *visa* enthusiasts gathered in the so-called *Bellmanrummet* and sang for each other. John Ulf Andersson specialised in unknown Evert Taube *visor*, Sid Jansson and Lasse Mattsson sang odd Povel Ramel songs and Kalle Almlöf (not the fiddler of that name) knew Owe Thörnqvist songs. Skepparn and Fred Åkerström were also among those who used to go there and the extensive repertoire at the Gazell Club comprised Nils Ferlin, Lille Bror Söderlundh, Olrog, Taube and Ramel (interview with Sid Jansson 22nd of May 2018). More restaurants and clubs where you could hear *visor* in the Stockholm of the 60s were, among others, Saga Sjöberg's *Kaos* in Gamla stan and *Den Gamla Tiden* on Vasagatan (formerly Cosmopolite), both of which opened in 1965. The restaurant *Den Gyldene Freden* in Gamla stan was frequented by Carl Michael Bellman in the 1700s; here Evert Taube was a regular guest since the 1920s and it was a favourite haunt for troubadours throughout the 60s. The association *Visans vänner* (Friends of the Visa), founded by—among others—Evert Taube in the 1930s, held its meetings there.

In the 1890s the "lute singer" Sven Scholander recontextualized *visa* singing and the Bellman tradition from the private sphere and bourgeois salons to the stage (Tegen 1955:79f.). There it has continued to exist until our days, but a parallel ideal of *intimate ballad singing* has lived on. Intimacy is found in homes or bourgeois salons—or together with cheery friends in restaurants. From the 30s this ideal was cultivated within the association *Visans vänner* by its representatives Evert Taube, Lille Bror Söderlundh, Karin Juel, Sven Salén, Gunnar Turesson, Ruben Nilson, Margareta

[5] Hai (Heinrich Frankl 1920–2016) and Topsy (Gunnel Frankl born Wahlström 1926–2020) sung folk songs from all over the world in 14 different languages (not least Swedish) and were predecessors to and an important part of the *visa* wave. There are collections of cuttings concerning them at Svenskt visarkiv.

Kjellberg and many others (see for example Rhedin 2011:140ff; 152ff.). The intimate *visa* singing ideal already existed around the turn of the century and may be observed in the circle around Scholander, but also in the parallel (or interwoven) dawning Early Music Movement which gathered momentum in the 1960s—though its thoughts and practices had evolved throughout the 1900s. In the world of theatre similar ideas had been cultivated around the turn of the century with, for example, August Strindberg's creation of the chamber piece (Modin 2018:72ff.).

All those present at meetings of Visans vänner were performers or *visa* songwriters—this being a membership criterion. Many performed, of course, in other contexts too with a listening audience and some of the troubadours in Visans vänner—such as Karin Juel, Margareta Kjellberg, Gunnar Turesson and Evert Taube—even played for large audiences in the 'folkparker' (amusement parks, see Edström 2017). I shall return to this field of tension between the intimate and the large-scale later in this chapter.

Many members of *Visans vänner* were amateurs and did not perform to support themselves. The association was quite homogenous, with a majority of members being men with middle-class occupations, and Sid Jansson claims that there was an emphasis on 'vänner' (friends) within Visans vänner (Interview with Sid Jansson 22nd of May 2018). He might have meant that the songs and music were in comparison more important at Storken, and it is reasonable to think that the silent, concentrated audience on Storken paints such a picture. Many of the performers on Storken also nursed an ambition to be able to live off their singing—which in one sense made it all the more ambitious—whilst meetings at Visans vänner focused more on socialising around the songs, which gives an alternative explanation of Sid's statement. Bonds of friendship appear nevertheless to have been a central feature of both the inner circle of troubadours and the youthful audience on Storken. Mats Karlströmer, chairman of the Visa Barge Storken, states in the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* (24th of June 1965) that "It is a club for friends and acquaintances, present and future. This is a hobby activity which we run purely for pleasure. Now it works fine by itself and breaks even"—a statement which downplays Storken's professional ambitions.

When *visor* began to be an important part of youth culture in the 1960s, there appears to have been a more or less conscious plan from both above and below to raise the status of the *visa* in a legitimising cultural heritage process—but also to popularise it among the youth as a counterweight to the increasingly-dominant foreign pop and rock music (Brolinson & Larsen 2004:93). Hedlund (2000:82ff.) points to the threat from the pirate radio channel Radio Nord as a strong impetus in the new measures taken by The Swedish Broadcasting Company in response to a clear directive from the government. As a scholar and *visa* researcher, a popular *visa* singer and a prominent broadcaster Olrog had great influence and functioned as a *gatekeeper*.[6] *Visa* singers were introduced on the TV in programmes such as *Hylands hörna* (Hyland's Corner) and *Hvar fjortonde dag* (Every Fourteen Days), and later on the radio with *visa* evenings and *visa* competitions at Storken. Two singers who broke through in Hylands hörna were for example Carl Anton (Axelsson) and Thorstein Bergman (Rhedin 2011:185). At the end of 1962 Robert 'Robban' Broberg, Carl Anton and Cecilia Bruce appeared in different episodes of Hylands hörna—the same year that the Storken *visa* evenings began. That same year Olrog started *Svensktoppen* (Sweden's hit list, see Smith-Sivertsen 2017) with the avowed aim of promoting Swedish music as a counterweight to the increasingly-dominant Anglo-Saxon pop music (Brolinson & Larsen 2004:93). Between 1964 and 1968 around 90 tunes with troubadours and *visa* groups were on Svensktoppen (Larsson & Gurell 1996). Matts Arnberg's recordings of traditional songs from an older population also found space on the radio, and this was echoed in the *visa* repertoire on Storken.[7]

During the *visa* wave of the 1960s *visor* were heard—in addition to Vispråmen Storken—on the radio and TV, on records, at cellar clubs, student associations, lecture associations, cabarets, festivals, amusement parks, restaurants and the nationally known stage at the open-air museum *Skansen*. This short portrayal of the background has been made en-

[6] Compare with Lundberg, Malm & Ronström (2000:53–54, 371–372) on gatekeepers in the world of music.

[7] See further concerning Matts Arnberg's radio recordings in chapter 2.

tirely from a Stockholm perspective, but the troubadours were very mobile and *Visans vänner* clubs sprung up in various parts of Sweden.

Persons and Activities at The Stork Club, 1962–69

Storken started as a jazz club after some friends in their twenties had bought a pensioned-off barge for 1 800 crowns in the spring of 1962. First, they moored the barge at Kanaanbadet in Blackeberg, west of Stockholm, and spent 3 000 crowns on renovating it.[8] The application for a licence, which was sent to the City Hall and harbour director with a weekly programme, has no mention of *visor*, but states that The Stork Club would be used in daytime as a rehearsal facility for students at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music[9] and for school jazz bands. In the evenings there would be a music studio, a poetry club, a jazz workshop, evenings for jazz afficionados and club evenings for members (SVA h 1305). Only members were welcome, and this remained a requirement throughout the entire existence of Storken. It is somewhat unclear how many of the activities listed in the application actually took place, but according to Hedlund (2000:80) the barge became known for a while as a haunt for jazz musicians who didn't want to go home at nights after their regular gigs. The programme featured at an early date among others Allan Wajda, Urban Yman's trio, Lars Gullin and Brev Moore.[10] Lars Gullin was of help in the beginning—among other things, he procured a piano (*Expressen* 2nd of June 1962).

Clubs on barges generally had a bad reputation—they were seen as dens with disorder and drugs, and during the club's first season the daily papers noted that neighbours had already reported it to the police. When the audience almost entirely disappeared after this, several daily papers

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8 Information on cost of renovation from *Expressen* newspaper, 2nd of June 1962.

9 Now the Royal College of Music.

10 During 1964, according to the newspaper (*Svenska Dagbladet* 27th of July 1964) Lennart Jansson, Lars Gullin, Charlie Mariano, Bernt Rosengren, Staffan Abeléens kvintett, Lars Sjösten and Lalle Svensson appeared there. Others said to have performed there are, for example, Rune Öfverman, Lasse Färnlöf, Christer Boustedt, Staffan Abeléen, Roffe Ericson, Roffe Billberg and Anita O'Day.

came to the defence of The Stork Club after around a week.[11] The allegations were described as groundless, and probably fabricated by some competing club—and the barge was instead portrayed as respectable, with a "middle-class clientele" with "well-trimmed beards." They also wrote that "Bengt [sic!] Wayda and his colleagues—'the resident band'—play modern jazz; no Dixieland here! In deep leather armchairs sit some thoughtful young citizens, smoking pipes and listening."[12] The chairs were surely metaphorically of leather to indicate how peacefully they sat, since the seating consisted of uncomfortable wooden boxes from the very start. The modern jazz audience, from a bourgeois background, had a better reputation than the Dixieland and trad jazz audience.

A young, unknown Fred Åkerström (1937–1985) worked in the Stork Club cloakroom on jazz evenings and started performing *visor* during the breaks. After a while, Bosse Stenhammar (b. 1939) and Mats Karlströmer (b. 1941), who owned and ran the barge, allowed Åkerström and Gösta 'Skepparn' Cervin to stage *visor* evenings on Tuesdays—an easy way to attract a larger audience. Skepparn worked at the time as a troubadour, and Tuesdays were his only day off. According to Hedlund (2000:81), he was "tired of the dart throwers in Vasastan" and saw a chance to find a more interested audience on the barge. Otherwise these two troubadours hung out with the ballad enthusiasts at Gazell Club—a trad-jazz place with Dixie and New Orleans jazz, with different artists and a different audience to The Stork Club with its modern jazz. When the *visor* evenings started on the barge, a number of "ancient storks"—most of them from the Gazell gang—would gather to listen to an invited guest artist. The *visa* barge, soon to become so popular, grew forth from this intimate, listening group of *visa* lovers.

After the place was reported to the police the audience, in spite of the support of influential media, didn't dare return. The barge was therefore moved closer to the city centre—to moorings beneath the bridge Västerbron close to what is now the beach and bathing place Smedsudds-

[11] *Expressen*, 9th of July 1962; *Svenska Dagbladet*, 21st of July 1962; *Dagens Nyheter*, 24th of July 1962.

[12] *Dagens Nyheter* 24th of July 1962. Probably they mean the pianist Allan Wajda.

badet, where it remained until 1969, and *visa* evenings were established to get things going. This attracted an audience, and in 1964 there were 800 members.

Bosse Stenhammar supported the *visa* evenings and became increasingly involved in them, though his musical home was jazz. In addition to Tuesdays, Sundays soon became *visa* evenings too—and it was these very evenings that made the place known and attracted an audience, though the modern-jazz club continued on Fridays throughout the club's history. A 1963 invitation card for guests offers Fridays with "Jazz, Twist, Cha-Cha" (SVA h1305:B). It seems that the orientation was changed later: a newspaper article prior to the club's opening for the 1967 season states that this year jazz will be tried again, and that Fridays will present "non-pop" with "swing, cool, dixie and trad-jazz as dance music." In other words, The Stork Club clearly set itself against the use of pop as dance music. In 1968 "trad-jazz evenings in the spirit of Gazell" were introduced on Wednesdays. Another club which popped up now and then staged country-and-western evenings on Thursdays. Other activities included fashion shows, art exhibitions and children's matinees with *visor*. Newspaper clippings tell of art exhibitions mainly during the first year, for example a vernissage in June 1963 at which Skepparn performed and young students from Konstfack—Stockholm's University of Arts, Crafts and Design—exhibited their works, among them Jan Lööf (*Svenska Dagbladet* 10th of October 1963).

When Fred Åkerström and Cornelis Vreeswijk, both anchored on the barge, made their breakthroughs with the general public in 1964–65, this helped Storken to flourish and brought a greater audience. Many *visa* singers who were Storken regulars soon emulated their breakthroughs and recorded albums—for example Skepparn, Torgny Björk, Thorstein Bergman and Pierre Ström.

Many people from the advertising world were involved in the Swedish jazz scene[13]—and similarly on Storken, perhaps because it overlapped

[13] Examples of admen in the jazz world during this period are Carl-Erik Lindgren, Ingmar Glanzelius, Gunnar Lindqvist, Lars Resberg and Rolf Dahlgren—all to various degrees active as jazz writers (Bruér 2007:169).

Fred Åkerström, Cornelis Vreeswijk and Gösta Skepparn Cervin at Vispråmen Storken 22nd of November 1964. Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA, no. 29405.

with this jazz world, prominent persons who earned their living in advertising were found. Such competence on the part of the driving forces can of course have decisively influenced growth. In the autumn of 1965 Sid Jansson (1939–2019) and in the spring of 1966 Git Magnusson (1938–2002) took over the role of host from Skepparn; they were both "admen," having got to know one another when working at the same advertising agency.[14] They later shared an office for many years in Stockholm: Sid sketched and Git wrote. In addition to press releases, programmes, flyers and more concerning Storken, they were also involved in many other marketing activities on the music scene. Sid created many posters and album covers for the recording and concert branches, and it was probably as a result of this that he got the express—though perhaps unknown in wider circles—assignment to tip off the Sonet recording company when new promising talents turned up at Storken (Interview with Sid Jansson 22nd of May 2018). Few people commanded Sid's com-

[14] I will refer below to the three main persons at Vispråmen Storken as 'Sid', 'Git' and 'Skepparn' and to the place as 'Storken', since these are a kind of stage names with which they are constantly referred to in literature and sources.

petence in making such appraisals: he had been involved in every imaginable *visa* context for many years, was a member of *Visans vänner*—and by arranging *visa* evenings at Storken, he knew almost everything about most members of the *visa* world. Sid appears to have functioned as both an unofficial, and sometimes employed, manager for both established and new *visa* singers.

Storken's trademark was to a great extent a matter of how indulgent, unpretentious, non-judgmental and free this stage was. Here you could feel free to try out unfinished works with an indulgent and friendly audience. Would this image of Storken have been different if it had been more widely known that Sid had his assignment from the recording branch to appraise artists, and that opinions on artists and performances were entered into the records made regarding every ballad evening? Perhaps he also bore within him something of an ideological conflict, since it was from Storken's *visa* milieu that various initiatives arose to break free from concert producers and recording companies that took too great a part of the earnings of artists. One example is Cornelis Vreeswijk's initiative Cosmopolite in 1966 ("The Artists' Own Production Company"), another Bengt Sändh's and Sid's founding of *Gårdsmusikanternas Riksorganisation* (Backyard Musicians' National Organisation) in 1967. Sid also took over from Metronome as Cornelis Vreeswijk's manager for a few years, and the year after Storken closed—1970—its key troubadours founded YTF, *Yrkestrubadurernas förening* (The Association of Professional Troubadours).

The remarkably detailed records of ballad evenings later came into use when making flyers and programmes—and presentations during ballad evenings—and also for press releases and correspondence with the media, which Sid and Git diligently sent to the editorial staff of newspapers at the beginning and end of each Storken season. This was part of a more-or-less conscious nurturing of an image of Vispråmen Storken as a success. Statistics were often quoted in newspaper articles and reviews from Storken, in particular the constantly-increasing total sum of the exact number of *visor* sung by the exact number of artists during the exact number of *visa* evenings during the history of Storken. Git's and Sid's competencies in advertising, popular education and documentation

really found their rightful place here. In addition to its function as an expression of a conscious advertising strategy, this documentation aimed to create a cultural heritage and to preserve a cultural treasure in a mission to hold forth *visor* as an important part of Sweden's cultural history. As soon as Sid took over the role of host in the autumn of 1965, he—and later, Git—began to keep records of every ballad evening. Sid concludes his summary of *visa* evenings in the 1965 season thus:

> *This is written in order to make it easier for coming generations of visa researchers, who will probably wonder what we did down on Storken. And they will regret that they did not have the good fortune to be able to partake in these totally fantastic evenings when so many good visor were heard by what was undoubtedly the finest audience of the day. A knowledgeable, attentive, receptive and completely silent gathering of visa lovers who made it possible for us to attract good artists for a few symbolic coppers—whilst some gave of their services without remuneration. Thus, cultural history was made.*
>
> *Stockholm, 19th of August 1966,*
> *Sid*
> *Then host*
> (SVA h1305:A)

Sid and Git's documentation concerning Vispråmen Storken is archived at Svenskt visarkiv and has arrived there at various times: both as Vispråmen Storken's own archive and also in Sid's and Git's personal archives which were donated posthumously. In Git's personal archive, her entire career as a concert producer is thoroughly documented and systematised. Sid and Git appear to have been strongly convinced from the very start that the *visa* culture was important, worthy of research and something greater than the *visor* themselves. Another person who meticulously contributed to a documentation of Storken was the photographer Robert Montgomery, whose many photos are now part of the collections of Svenskt visarkiv.

The *visor* as such were of importance on Storken, and an openness for various kinds of expression was nurtured. Not only an openness for the innovative, for new influences from other countries and music genres and renaissances of older *visa* traditions, but also equally a love of and respect for the immediately preceding, still-active *visa* tradition. The res-

urrection of medieval ballads and Bellman's works was in essence a re-awakening, but the nurturing of the works of Olrog, Povel Ramel, Nils Ferlin, Ruben Wilson and Evert Taube was in no way a break with the living repertoire of *Visans vänner*—even though the young generation might regard making these part of their repertoire as a revival. One example: Skepparn was the first to "discover" Ruben Nilson's *visor*, but kept his name a secret for a long while for fear of a competing troubadour getting wind of it. Fred Åkerström figured it out and managed to record an album two years before Skepparn (Interview with Sid Jansson 22nd of May 2018).

With a closer look at the statistics of performances at Storken—and observations of comments and other statements made first and foremost by the driving forces of this stage on recordings and in various texts—a picture emerges that to a certain extent contradicts the widespread impression that Storken was motivated by some kind of opposition to, or rejection of, the immediately preceding high seat of the *visa*, *Visans vänner*. It is clear that the audience was new and younger, that new and/or foreign music genres—particularly the blues—influenced the *visa* in Sweden during this period and that the younger generation was strongly influenced by contemporary left-wing ideals. But the *visor* which were actually sung at Storken—and that which was appreciated and well-regarded—was to a great extent totally in line with the repertoire of *Visans vänner*. The revered persons to whom theme evenings were devoted at Storken were prime *Visans vänner* material: for example Evert Taube, Nils Ferlin, Ulf Peder Olrog, Povel Ramel, Fritz Sjöström and Pim-Pim Falk. A historical summary made in connection with the closing of Storken in 1969 mentions that "the most popular *visa* writer during these years was indubitably Evert Taube, closely followed by Nils Ferlin. Their *visor* were sung on the barge roughly 700 and 600 times respectively." (SVA h1305:B). Revering and idolising living and dead predecessors was a feature that the New *visa* Wave shared with the Folk Music Wave, which gathered pace a few years later (cf. chapter five). In spite of a sassy and rebellious attitude on the part of many performers, it appears that they predominantly revered their forebears and regarded the music as a cultural heritage worth upholding.

Sid Jansson, Bo Stenhammar and Git Magnusson at a children's matinée, 27th of August 1967. Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA, no. 28917.

A number of TV programmes were staged at Storken, produced by first and foremost Mona Sjöström, who had herself performed there. She produced, among others, two half-hour programmes entitled "Barnvisematiné på Vispråmen Storken" (Children's *visor* Matinee on the Visa Barge Storken) in 1969. Popular children's matinees were launched on Storken on some Sundays as early as 1966 and under the three-day *visa* festival in 1968, Beppe Wolgers "chat-puttered" with the young audience whilst Margareta Söderberg, Lasse Göransson, Kjell Magnus Torbjörn and others sang. Sjöström's TV production "Visor på vattnet—junikväll på vispråmen Storken" (*Visor* on the Water—June Evening on the Visa Barge Storken) from 1967 filmed young, by no means established, singers on the deck of the barge—not, of course, the place where visor were normally sung on Storken, but adapted for a TV audience.

The Barge's acoustics turned out to be excellent for making recordings. John Ulf Andersson (1934–2013) worked for Swedish Radio and was a regular at Storken. He originally belonged to the *visa* gang at Gazell club and often performed at Storken, with or without his sister Mona

John Ulf Andersson by the tape recorder on Storken, 1st of August 1967.
Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA JF:00784:0044.

Andersson. He recorded a number of *visa* evenings at Storken and was behind most of the radio productions from there, for example "Träff på klubb Storken" (Meeting at the Storken Club) which was transmitted in June 1966. Some gramophone recordings were made there too, for example *En viskväll på Vispråmen Storken* (A *visa* Evening on the Visa Barge Storken) in 1965 with Gösta Skepparn Cervin, Thorstein Bergman, Dave Campbell and Pete Walker. The Visa Barge Storken's time near Smedsuddsbadet ended with a 'gravöl' (funeral feast)—three brimful evenings of *visor* on the 28th–30th of September, 1969. Sweden's *visa* elite gathered and summed up the *visa* wave of the 60's. This was recorded and issued in the form of two LP records (*Vispråmen Storken 1–2*) by the Metronome record company in 1970. Andersson's involvement in and work for Storken was immense and of great importance.

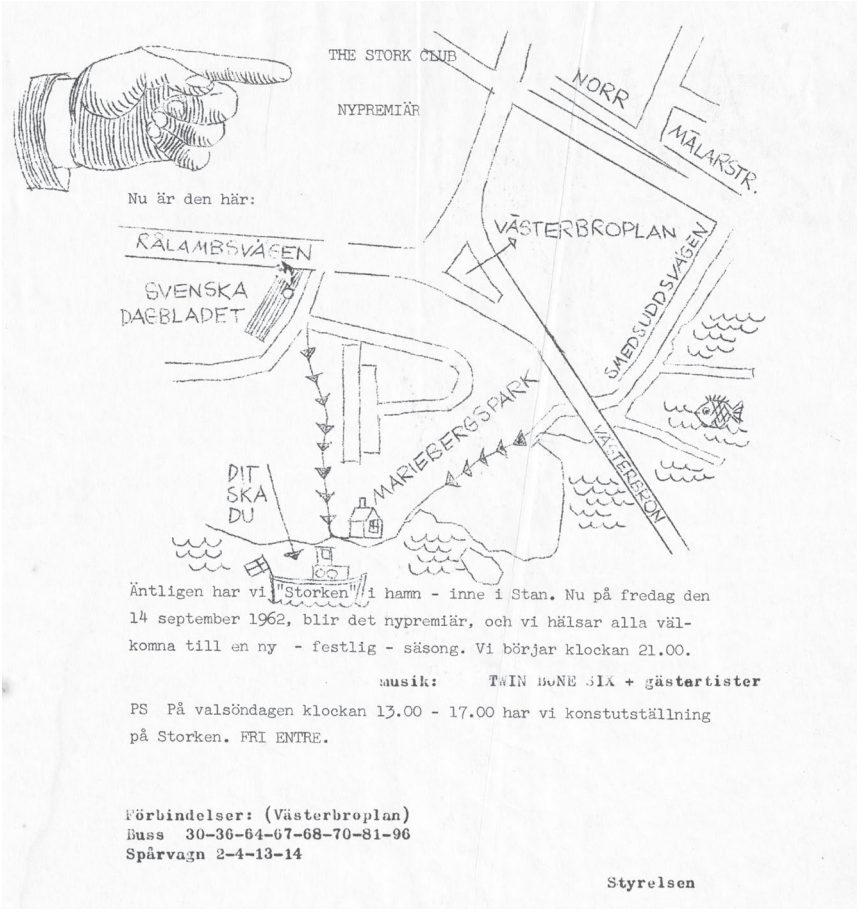
M/S Storken—the material and milieu when meeting the audience

What follows is an analysis of the Storken narrative, emanating from various sources, in order to understand how the spatial and material preconditions worked together with the persons who breathed life and meaning into the club. Which creative shifts were facilitated by the milieu? The history of Storken bequeathed by Git—five undated pages written on a computer entitled "Sid och Git och Vispråmen Storken" (Sid and Git and the *visa* Barge Storken)—gives a detailed description of the place with regard to its location, exterior and interior.[15] The aim of what follows is to use quotes from this graphic portrayal in order to discuss spatial and material aspects of the *visa* scene and how these might have formed the audience and performers:

> *You could reach Vispråmen Storken by walking by the water along Norr Mälarstrand, past what is now Smedsuddsbadet, past the canoe club, under Västerbron, past some ramshackle bothies. Or you took the 54 bus to the Svenska Dagbladet tower and took the path down to the water, rounded the Scout hut, the red shack that some of the Storken lads came from, then to the left, past a boat called Glurp (which later proved to be its fortune: it sunk).*

This location being quite far from Gamla Stan (the Old Town), where most other clubs lay at the time, and a fair distance from the closest Metro station meant that those who came to Storken had gone to a little trouble and seldom just happened by, which increases the odds of attracting an interested audience. The site was nevertheless within reasonable walking distance if you were young and enthusiastic, and walking there by the water might have been both pleasant and romantic. The singer Marie Bergman portrays the walk to and from Storken as an important part of the Storken experience—and how she walked by the water together with Gösta Linderholm, and that the way to and from the barge could be illu-

[15] "Sid och Git och Vispråmen Storken," stencil. SVA, Git Magnussons samling, F13:1. Part of the text consists of re-used sentences from the story that Git and Sid assembled for the closing of Storken in 1969, but judging by the appearance of the computer printout this text ought to have been written in the 1990s.



Invitation with a map for the new opening at Smedsudden, 1962. SVA h1305:b.

minated by some outdoor torches (Interview with Marie Bergman 10th of December 2018). Several of the singers at Storken—Cornelis Vreeswijk and Finn Zetterholm, for example—were inspired by French singers such as George Brassens and Jacques Brel. Many of the *visa* enthusiasts had their roots in jazz and had travelled to jazz clubs in Paris cellars during the 50s—Sid Jansson, for example, tells of such trips when a "jazz-mad teenager" (Friedrich 2010:55). One can also imagine the *visa* singers nurturing a certain Montmartre romanticism with the setting along the quays of the Seine—which Norr Mälarstrand on the way to Storken might resemble.

The editorial offices of Sweden's largest newspapers lay close by in Marieberg, and several newspaper articles mention that the prime minister, Tage Erlander, could look down on the barge from his apartment.[16] In spite of its seclusion and modest surroundings (the decrepit boat Glurp and a few ramshackle bothies) the barge was in view of two of the country's foremost power brokers. Perhaps that gave a feeling of being important, but it also gave an actual advantage in the form of proximity to the journalists who wrote about the club. Contacts with the journalists were also nurtured via a movement in the opposite direction: the thirstier guest artists liked to tank up in the press club's bar in Marieberg, since only soft drinks and weak beer were sold on Storken. During the first months of The Stork Club's existence the national newspapers *Svenska Dagbladet, Expressen* and *Dagens Nyheter* were seen to rush to the defence of the newly-opened jazz club after uneasy neighbours had reported the club to the police. Later, the newspapers always write in principle effusively about the *visa* club. Personal contacts numbered—among others—Lasse Mattson of *Expressen* who sometimes performed as a pianist at the barge's jazz evenings.[17]

Git continues her portrayal:

> *There lay the barge. It was no luxurious boat, but well-maintained by the lads from the Scout hut and other friends of Bosse [Stenhammar] and Mats [Karlströmer] who were happy to hop in and paint and clean up in exchange for being welcome to the wild parties, joyous events on Fridays and Saturdays that had nothing to do with visor at all. But which unarguably brought in a few coppers to help finance the visor. Cultural subsidies! (No others existed)*

The help from the young and willing mates and neighbours made it possible to run the rundown boat, and the joint efforts might well have increased the affective value of the place to those involved. The fact that the club was run without cultural subsidies increased the feeling that it was part of a free, grassroots movement which grew on account of its in-

[16] E.g. *Dagens Nyheter* 13th of July 1965; *Hudiksvalls Tidning* 22nd of June 1967; *Expressen* 21st of September 1968.

[17] Personally-placed press release of the autumn's programme from Git to Lasse Mattsson, 26th of September 1968 (SVA h1305:A).

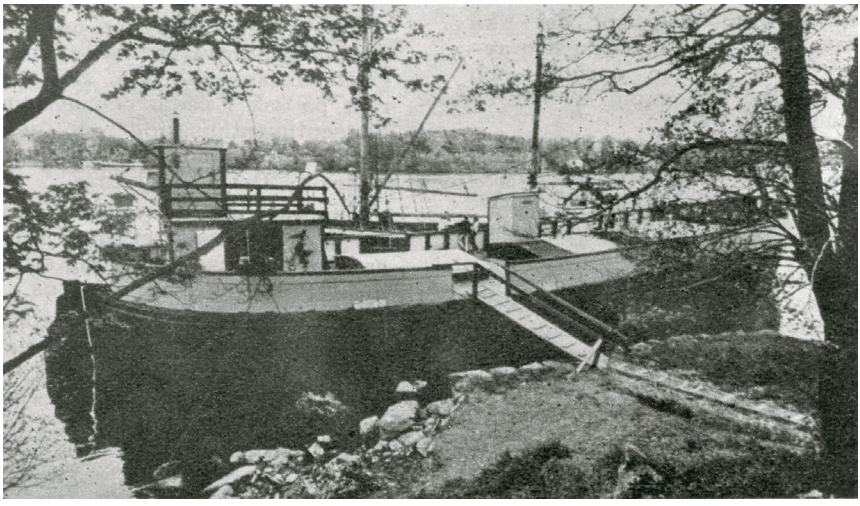
trinsic force, though it was supported in a more indirect way by public service corporations and the recording industry.

Git continues:

> *From land to boat led a very long and very narrow gangplank without a rail. It was a matter of keeping your balance. I'll never grasp how they did it, that visually-impaired gang who were on the barge so often, they held one another's hands in a long row, some had problems with their balance too, but they came over without plummeting into the water. From the gangplank you came straight into the captain's cabin aft. Bosse sat there, taking admission. After that it was a matter of coming down the very steep ladder without mishap. As a rule, that went well. Well, it was a bit of a problem for Karin Juel, big and hefty and not so young, but she was helped by a few strong boys. She was there one evening with her daughter Inger Juel and granddaughter Thérèse Juel for an evening with three generations' visor.*

The narrow gangplank and the steep ladder made the place hard to access and might well have indicated that this was a place for the young. Yet handicapped and old people were warmly welcomed and helped on board—in particular, one might surmise, a legendary *visa* singer like Karin Juel. *Visa* singers of the older generation were generally treated with reverence, as is evidenced by the choice of repertoire and presentations on *visa* evenings. People under the influence of alcohol or drugs were clearly obliged to sharpen their wits in order to cross the gangplank, and so at that stage the audience was already moulded into a mode of concentration. The sight of Bosse Stenhammar in the captain's cabin most likely made people feel welcome as they balanced along the gangplank. The narrow passage to the boat might have evoked a sensation of entering into a little shielded *visa* world of its own. One can imagine entering this world as a symbolic shift. That secluded, shielded—but nevertheless exciting—room provided a space for creative processes.

Git also tells that there was a dry privy on top of the captain's cabin in a minimal shed with a minimal ladder up to it. As you could only use the toilet or powder your nose with a lot of inconvenience, this surely minimalised unrest during performances and can thus have contributed to silence and concentration on the part of the audience. Git continues:



M/S Storken 1967. By 1967 rails had been added to the gangplank, or Git's memory failed (compare quote on p. 114). Photo: Bo-Aje Mellin, from *Röster i radio-TV* nr 25 1967.

> *Down below in the old hold, there we were from April to December, perhaps with the exception of some summer evening so hot that we simply had to sing outdoors, up on deck. In-barge (specially-composed word!) there was a stove, but the heat was seldom evenly spread around the entire barge. Along the outer walls with their long benches, it got really chilly in winter. In the middle there was a fixed, low, long table with small, covered wooden boxes to sit on.*

The crowded space with the audience sitting in rows close to one another—and perhaps even close along the chilly outer walls—might have contributed to an increased sense of fellowship. The room had been furnished when Storken was just a club for modern jazz with an audience which to a greater extent than the trad-jazz audience attentively dug their music whilst seated, even though dancing did take place during Storken's jazz evenings—particularly during later years when swing and trad jazz were given more space. Even if the jazz audience's attentive behaviour was not passed on to the *visa* evenings as a result of an overlap of persons, the furnishing in itself encouraged such an attitude on the part of the audience. If someone was to stand up or walk around, they would block the view of those who sat on the low ammunition boxes—particularly since the stage was not raised, but consisted only of a simple sound

»In-barge« with Gösta Skepparn Cervin sitting on the table and Cornelis Vreeswijk seated by the table, October 1964. Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA, no. 29133.

system with two microphones on stands placed directly on the floor. Git also tells of how hard it was to keep instruments in tune in the barge's uneven climate, which meant that the troubadours on Storken "became really slick at tuning the guitar." Might the poor climate be said to have improved the competence of the *visa* singers and been a part of the striving for quality which was nurtured (which I will return to)?

That the stage was not raised might have contributed to a sense of intimacy which rhymed well with the ideal of *intimate visa singing* (see above). Many people were of the opinion that *visor* are at their best in intimate contexts, which are repeatedly referred to as their "true environment."

The conclusion of a report from Storken in a daily paper in 1968 typifies this:

> *I wish to conclude by saying that it would be wonderful if more places like Storken emerged so that you could listen to visor in their true environment. So that visa singers might play their intrinsic repertoire and show their best side. So that they might avoid screaming out in the (amusement) parks, thus*

Carl Anton performing on Storken. Skepparn in the bar and empty bottles hanging in the background. Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA JF:00784:0002.

> *unwillingly becoming increasingly commercialised and doomed to a natural death at an untimely stage.* (Fernström 1968).

The cramped space and simple furnishing of Storken was regarded as fitting not merely for the form and nature of the *visa*—in addition, the setting underlined the concept of the non-commercial *visa*. A certain tension was evident in the 1960s: the most popular *visa* singers such as Cornelis Vreeswijk and Fred Åkerström toured the amusement parks and performed at *visa* festivals and Skansen, whilst they at the same time worked to liberate themselves from commercial contexts (see for example Gustafsson 2006:270). Many artists were torn between trying to reach a large audience, be successful and make money—whilst at the same time remaining true to their ideals of authenticity and liberation

from the commercial music industry (cf. Arvidsson 2008:314; Rhedin 2011:240f.).

Back to Git's portrayal of the barge:

> *Behind the stage lay the bar which—of course—was only open before and after, and during breaks. At the back a splendid drape of bottles, real glass bottles dangling in coarse twine. When the boat rocked a little—or even a lot—jingling was heard, which of course meant amused laughs. The jingling is heard on some recordings, clearly bringing on nostalgia.*

That the soft drinks, low-alcohol beer, tea and sandwiches were a backdrop for the stage also helped the audience to stay silent and concentrated, since they could only make purchases during the breaks. The non-alcoholic drinks kept the audience sober. Might the dangling bottles, like the empty wine bottles on the tables, have helped the youthful audience feel that they were out at a real club and not at a school dance or the People's House? The three most exalted troubadours at Storken were Fred Åkerström, Gösta Skepparn Cervin and Cornelis Vreeswijk—and all three were heavy drinkers. Perhaps there was a gap between artists like these and their audience—or did they all behave themselves for a few hours on Tuesday and Sunday evenings (until 11 pm)?[18]

A focused audience

Though Olrog never mentioned the audience as a factor in the above quote, he does write in the same text regarding the stagnating lute-singer tradition that preceded the *visa* wave that: "It seemed that the possibilities of development were at an end. And the young did not take part." He continues:

[18] In one of his presentations during Storken's closing evenings on the 28th–30th of September 1969, the troubadour Lasse Göransson tells of how when Storken closed they usually went to the club *Kurbits* in Gamla Stan, which was open until 5, followed by an after-party in his flat. As mentioned above, some of the artists went across to the Pressklubben's bar in Marieberg during breaks.

Hardly anyone then foresaw the new visa wave. Who could, for example, imagine that hundreds of city youngsters several times a week in the mid-sixties would find their way to an old barge near Västerbron to listen to neat visor written by Dan Andersson or Fritz Sjöström? And the youth of the sixties is an audience that the much-decried troubadours and artists of the forties were never blessed with. Quiet, sober, often knowledgeable and first and foremost enthusiastic.

One understands from Olrog's portrayal that the new *visa* wave's audience differed from that of its forebears, which has been confirmed by many others, and one might ask oneself if the audience is not a key to understanding the success of the Visa Barge Storken. Even Visans vänner demanded "total silence" when listening to the troubadours who performed, so perhaps the behaviour of the Storken audience was passed on from that context.[19]

Who did the audience consist of? There was a large overlap between audience and artists, since the stage was more or less open and both established and inexperienced ballad singers both listened and performed. Here we might again draw a parallel with Visans vänner and the erased line between audience and artist in the cellar of the restaurant Den Gyldene Freden (Rhedin 2011:154). In a report from a *visa* evening on the 17th of May, 1966, Git comments that: "a few artists came down just to listen, e.g. Anders Börje, Lasse G[öransson], Torgny [Björk], Pierre [Ström], Kjell Magnus Torbjörn and Rune Andersson. And they were actually allowed not to sing" (SVA h1305:A). It is surely not these established ballad singers alone who are referred to when Storken's knowledgeable audience is mentioned—many of those who never performed also had a good knowledge of the music. Sid has been characterised as a true popular adult educationalist. The *visa* singer Evert Ljusberg has pointed out that Sid's ambition was to be a popular adult educationalist and that when you said hello to Sid you got "an entire parcel of education back" (Hedlund 2000:326). Even though the music was of prime interest, one might imagine that the *visa* evenings meant that one could at-

[19] Undated document, probably from 1936, Svenskt visarkiv, Visans vänners arkiv, Ser. A, Vol. I:4. From Rhedin (2011:155).

tentively learn lots about the *visor* and their history—and it was a matter of listening carefully when the cultural heritage was explained. Sid Jansson was particularly keen to introduce and spread the folk-song tradition from Dalarna, where he had for the most grown up. His own singing speciality was 'polsktrallar'—short songs, most often with ribald texts, which were made to memorise the many 'polska' dance tunes in a traditional musician's repertoire. Sid was also the one who invited fiddlers Björn Ståbi, Pers Hans and Ole Hjorth along to the *visa* evenings. The traditional singer Svea Jansson was also invited. A young Carin Kjellman began her singing career at Storken, later to devote herself to folk music. *Visor* at Storken did not only stand for a folksy, unaffected homeliness, but were also seen as valuable cultural history to be preserved and passed on. That the audience was regarded as knowledgeable might to some extent be dependent on the lessons taught by the hosts.

Around two thirds of the performers at Storken were men, according to the statistics reported by Git and Sid in 1966 and 1967.[20] The singer Marie Bergman says in a 2018 interview that the *visa* world was blokeish, but she never felt harassed at Storken: "that's not what went on there. Music was what mattered. You got high on the content. You were in a musical, symbolical world" (Interview with Marie Bergman 10th of December 2018). She was only 15 when she started visiting Storken and tells of a certain chivalrous ideal in the spirit of Evert Taube among the influential troubadours and that Fred Åkerström, for example, took her under his wing: "By hell, if someone tried to come on to me, then Fred, he like ... we became good friends" (ibid.). The proportion of young women in the audience was, however, higher. A journalist describes the nature of the audience in *Dagens Nyheter* in the spring of 1965: "Lots of beards and corduroy jackets are seen on the row around the cabin of the barge, lots of girls with long hair and long trousers, but the audience is mixed and everything from mods to tab-men listened to the *visor*" (*Dagens Nyheter* 13th of June 1965). The young girls did not, in other words, have teased hairdos but let their hair hang long—and modern long trousers

[20] In 1966 there were 43 female and 157 male singers, in 1967 there were 53 and 162 respectively.

A young and attentively listening audience, 11th of August 1964.
Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA no. 27831.

perhaps tell us first and foremost that the audience was young, but also that as progressive young city people they had adopted the latest trends from England and the USA. In Sweden, 'mods' designated at first a particular style of dress with longer haircuts inspired in particular by the Beatles. Whilst England's mods were from an apolitical working class, Sweden's mods were often left-wing and middle-class (Ahlborn & Nilmander 1998). By the expression "tab-men," the writer likely refers to well-dressed young men, wearing shirts with the popular tab-collar, extra high with a button covered by the tie.

Almost all of the journalists who wandered down from their offices in Marieberg to do articles about the *visa* club expressed their wonderment at the audience. Åke Cato returns to the audience five times in his article in *Expressen* on the 28th of October 1965, and he estimates that the audience consists of "mostly people who study, with an age norm of 18–28 years." The signature "Anna-Maria" writes in *Svenska Dagbladet* on the 24th of June that same year:

A neater and more thankful audience than the one on the barge is hardly to be found. They sit for hours in rows along the walls and simply listen. Young people, 17–22 years old. Totally silent and dreaming. Registering every inflection of, every movement by the artist. [...] Here and there among the young, older people are glimpsed. Parents, perhaps, who have been enticed to come—or other friends of the visa art.

Git—or Sid—writes in the report from a *visa* evening on the 23rd of April, 1967:

I know not what makes a good audience into a good audience. Which components are required to create a good atmosphere. But—this evening brought an audience to Storken like nothing Git had known before. It was completely fantastic. You almost had tears of joy in your eyes. (SVA h1305:A).

An anecdote which confirms the ambitious character of the audience relates how the actor Thommy Berggren came to Storken with Sven-Bertil Taube, who had finally agreed to appear as a guest artist. Berggren was to make a jocular presentation of the guest, but halted when almost at the stage and said "I just can't do it, this is such an ambitious audience."[21]

One might speculate about a number of explanations as to why the audience was like this, and look into why it differed from audiences in other contexts. One way of illuminating the dynamics of the performance situation is to analyse it with the use of the conceptual pairs formal/informal and focused/non-focused (Lundberg et al. 2000:55ff.). In this model one might, for example, describe restaurant music as informal/non-focused and a chamber music concert at a concert hall as focused/formal. Storken as a *visa* venue could be described as focused and informal, as the description and analysis which follow can confirm.

In most contemporary and retrospective testimonies, the *visa* singer Gösta Skepparn Cervin is named as a reason for the exceptional silence of the audience. He is said to have reared the audience with an iron hand during his three years as Storken host, and in an interview in *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1965 Skepparn himself says "I don't care what the people

[21] Git apparently persuaded him to do the planned presentation nevertheless. From the evening's records 3rd of November 1967 (SVA h1305:A).

I sing for are like, as long as they are interested in *visor* and keep their traps shut when I sing…" In Skepparn's statement is to be found a demand to be taken seriously as an artist. In a normal restaurant atmosphere, a troubadour often has to fight hard to gain attention—competing with guests who perhaps are present primarily to eat, talk and mix with one another. Skepparn appears to have had the ambition to raise the status of the *visa* and demand the same kind of undivided attention as shown by an art-music audience. One might say that the *visa*, by shifting from the restaurant environment to the barge, is transformed from a non-focused to a focused performance situation.

When Sid and Git took over the role of host and producer on Storken in 1965 and 1966 respectively, they also took over the role of fosterer—and the fostered audience, which continued to sit in silence throughout the remaining four years of the history of the venue. When asked if Storken was the most important *visa* stage, Sid answers in an interview in 2018: "Yes, definitely, definitely—and it was a very special stage, in that the audience became listeners thanks to Skepparn's fostering, if I might say, with 'Shut up!' And that's that!" (Interview with Sid Jansson 23rd of May 2018). The singer Marie Bergman tells in an interview of how Storken and, later, Mosebacke and Kaos were her fostering establishments in her teens and also how Sid and Git kept order on Storken:

> *You had to behave. It was Sid and Git and the others. There was a code, and you were forced to observe it—when you were there, in any case. It was respect: damn anyone who stole time or something from someone else. If you wanted to cause trouble, you had to do it outside. There—in the world of music—certain rules applied.* (Interview with Marie Bergman 10th of December 2018)
> […]
> *And Sid and Git were like older siblings who kept order. Proper bloody order. Probably a hip flask or two found its way in, though you weren't allowed to have any liquor there—so I can't remember that anyone freaked out on the barge. During those years. It was music, and we got high on that.* (Interview with Marie Bergman 10th of December 2018)

Here Bergman points out how the focus was on the music. The music's qualities were worthy of interest and respect, and the music could be nurtured thanks to the rules and the discipline that prevailed. She tells

Thérèse Juel and Marie Bergman, 3rd of April 1966.
Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA no. 37729.

of how "you were invited into the music. You came close. Only acoustic. That's where I learned. It became a culture. I want to be here. Here you listen. Here you come into the music. I remember Fred and Cornelis. They placed a song in the room" (Interview with Marie Bergman 10th of December 2018). The nearness and presence of the musicians invited all who were there to direct their attention towards the *visor*. Thanks to the discipline, the audience could also greatly sense that presence on the part of the artists. One can couple this to the theory of an *affective alliance* focused around the sonorous *visor*.

The disciplined audience was also known for its indulgence and generosity, which has been indicated as a factor which contributed to the stage becoming an important "nursery garden" for new *visa* singers. Jeja Sundström tells in an interview of when she came to Storken as a young singer.

> *It went by word of mouth. The rumour spread: it's pleasant there. It was full of people and it was crowded and it was cosy and it was indulgent in some way.*

There was such a generous atmosphere, you see. So, you could mess up and you could act up and you could give. It was veeery indulgent. And fun. And that's where you got contacts. (Interview with Jeja Sundström 3rd of May 2018)

Git and Sid and others have painted the same picture, but another picture also emerges from the source material. The hosts were also choosy and strove for higher quality—as did, with time, the increasingly-knowledgeable audience. This has to do with a striving to focus more upon and raise the status of the *visa* as a means of cultural expression, but also the *visa* stage as a place where the record industry could discover new talents. Sid had, as mentioned above, such an assignment from the Sonet recording company.

A recurrent explanation of Storken's importance to the development of *visa* singing tells of how its attentive and indulgent audience attracted the better-established artists to the place. Here Git repeats what innumerable people who have portrayed the place have explained:

The visa barge Storken became an important factor in Sweden's cultural life. If one is to express oneself in a formal manner. Many visa writers were inspired by the fact that this stage had a listening audience. You were able to practise performing. And that is salutary and necessary if you wish to make progress.[22]

Such statements often recur as explanations of Storken's success. The well-established *visa* singers came to perform at Storken when invited to be guests for an evening in spite of not receiving a fee—or, at the most, the price of a taxi. The reason: Storken's attentive audience. The professional *visa* singers often tried out a new repertoire, and *visor* not entirely completed, on this knowledgeable and choosy—but nevertheless indulgent—audience. The *visa* singer Alf Hambe bears witness to the importance of this to artists in a letter dated the 23rd of April, 1968, to the Stockholm Harbour Board to help save the stage, which was already under threat:

That I was able in the beginning of my work as a writer and singer of visor to meet such a knowledgeable and attentive audience in such a genuine environ-

[22] "Sid och Git och Vispråmen Storken," stencil. SVA, Git Magnussons samling, F 13:1.

ment was of great importance for what eventually became a successful practice of the visa art. The importance of this has not become less as years have passed. Intimate contact with an open audience in the right environment is the best basis for the visa. (SVA h1305:B)

Here Hambe underlines how both the environment and the attentive audience were of importance, and describes the milieu as "genuine" and "right" for the "Visa" with a capital V.

Why was the audience fostered so rigorously, and why is the claim that the audience was fantastic nurtured so intensively? The ambition to raise the status of the *visa* by, among other means, getting the audience to behave as though at an art-music concert, can be compared with parallel contemporary strivings in the field of jazz (cf. Arvidsson 2011:180ff; 261ff.). The remarkable, oft-repeated claim regarding this fantastic audience in both presentations during *visa* evenings and in the media can also have been a way of making ends meet. The discipline of the audience was key to persuading established artists to come and perform for the price of a taxi or for nothing—in other words, a way of financing the venture. An audience which sees itself as meaningful and special perhaps also becomes more loyal, and comes back for more.

Conclusion

One important conclusion, having studied the Visa Barge Storken, is how important the place itself was: its location, exterior, interior, atmosphere, furnishings and decor. At least as important as the barge was Storken's appreciative audience, which was shaped by the environment on and around the barge. The deeply-dedicated hosts—first Skepparn, then Sid and Git—must be given credit for their fostering of the audience to be attentive listeners and acknowledged connoisseurs. A remarkable disciplining method via finger-wagging and an unfailing tuition during presentations was the somewhat unusual method of fostering which appears to be typical of Storken. The presentations also conveyed a narrative of Storken as a successful venture and a nursery garden for fledgling *visa* singers—and equally an important stage for established artists—thanks to the "fantastic audience." This narrative was repeated frequently in the

media, which saw Storken as a sought-after means to divert the attention of the young from Anglo-Saxon pop culture to something anchored in Sweden's cultural history. Here Sid's and Git's advertising expertise came into play. Their thorough documentation of their activities was used when advertising, with statistics to show the success of their venture. The documentation appears also to have been made with an idea of Storken's importance in terms of cultural history, which they expected to be a subject of research and writings at some future date.

"Visfolket" (The *Visa* People) appear to have found a common identity on Storken; this can be described as an orientation towards the *visor* which emerged via *affective alliances*. The discipline on Storken during *visa* evenings contributed to such an orientation. The frugal finances, which meant that those involved were obliged to actively partake in keeping the barge in shape and performing all practical tasks, just as the intimacy and closeness which the cramped space in the hold offered, can also have shaped bindings within the *affective alliances*.

Which creative shifts took place on Storken? Even though the barge was moored—tethered to a quay—its location, character and atmosphere evoked a feeling of a shift to a secluded world of *visor* where the focus was on the music. In addition to a musical journey through time and space (music from various periods and geographical places), the audience was invited to take part in an educational journey with the hosts as guides—particularly Sid's popular education in the field of cultural history.

Many of those named in other chapters of this anthology visited Storken on some occasion, since the *visor* brought together people from a number of directions: from trad jazz, from folk music, from variety and cabaret and from Visans vänner. There are photos of Embrik Underdal of Södra bergens Balalaikor when he performed with two other balalaika players on Storken in 1964. Björn Ståbi, who would become one of the leading lights in the Folk Music Wave, was invited to play a number of times and Jokkmokks-Jokke from Lapland himself actually performed one *visa* evening at Storken. The creative shifts which took place, both to and from Storken, were of importance to cultural history—exactly as the driving forces self-consciously hoped for and foresaw.

Embrik Umberdal and others perform with balalaikas at Vispråmen Storken, 25th of October 1964. Photo: Robert Montgomery. SVA, no. 29134.

THE PEOPLE'S MUSIC?
Affective Shifts in Festivals and Gatherings

Karin Eriksson and Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius

> *Are there musical needs which cannot be sated by commercial music? Which needs, in that case, might they be? Which needs do you think that commercial music fills?*
> (Excerpt from the exhibition The People's Music, 1969)

> *A traditional musicians' gathering might, to a visitor, feel very exotic. Thousands of people gather here, inspired by one and the same longing for community and musical experiences. Music and joy are created, on one's own terms, together with others.*
> (Excerpt from the exhibition *Bingsjöstämman* 50 years, 2019)

The excerpts quoted from two different exhibitions are separated not only by 50 years—but also by different organisations, contexts, ambitions, originators and intended audiences. Yet they also speak of musical visions: of which needs different kinds of music can or cannot fulfill—and of music, joy and community. This chapter takes its starting point in these exhibitions. We will show how various strivings within the folk music wave and the early alternative music movement proceeded to find new forms for community, based upon what were regarded as more "authentic" or natural ways of making music. We begin with the exhibition "Folkets musik" (The People's Music) which opened in Malmö in October 1969 and which elucidates both an ideological and an affective shift in the idea of the people. The concept "people/folk," with its sprawl-

ing roots in national romanticism, historical materialism and liberalism (Rehnberg 1977, Williams 1983:136–137), came to be charged with several of these strains: the people became both "everyday people" in relation to mass culture and commerce, and the "folk" of the 1700s: the rural peasantry that once became an archetype for everything from folk art to folk writings and folk music (Ronström 1994).[1] Thus when the music of a new age was to be launched during the end of the 1960s, the "people/folk" played the role of a kind of affective compass, both in the form of folk music from near and far and in the conviction that everyone should take part- young and old, from the countryside and the city, professionals and amateurs (see Hyltén-Cavallius 2021: 174–175). The people/folk and the "folky" (*folklig*) in its sense of authenticity, communtiy and roots were—amongst other things—starting points for a young generation in its search for new ways to be together and for music to be contrasted with both the art music of concert houses and academies and the levelling-out and idol worship of commercial popular music (cf. Arvidsson 2008).

To young newcomers to folk music, the traditional musicians' gatherings ("spelmansstämmor")[2] became such a central geographical meeting place and egalitarian space in which to perform and negotiate the "folky" (Lundberg & Ternhag 2005:88–91, cf. Ronström 2006:1–5). The gathering is also focused upon in the other exhibition—"Första onsdagen i juli—Bingsjöstämman 50 år" (First Wednesday in July—Bingsjö Gathering 50 Years)—shown in the summer of 2019 at *Folkmusikens hus*

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[1] The Swedish word *folk* denotes both "folk" and "people," making it a polysemic and ideologically multivalent concept. In order to capture this ambiguity, we will use "folk/people" in our translation to highlight this aspect.

[2] A *spelmansstämma* is an egalitarian traditional musicians' gathering in Sweden with focus on collective music making. During the gathering there are both formal concerts and informal, spontaneous jamming sessions. However, the main purpose is for people of all ages and with various musical skills to meet informally and to play, sing and dance together, creating spaces with no clear boundaries between professionals and amateurs, audiences and performers. A *spelman* refers to a folk performer who embodies and transmits traditional knowledge. The term has particular historical connotations to the 1700s and 1800s, and associated with a traditional musician, often male, with strong ties to a specific geographical region or village in Sweden (Eriksson 2017:20; Eriksson 2022: 29).

(The Folk Music House) in Rättvik. The exhibition traces the history of the Bingsjö gathering, taking us via an audiovisual narration back to the start of the folk music wave of the 1970s. With the aid of fragments from the exhibitions, we follow the shifts in folk music during the 1970s. These bring to the fore questions regarding who was allowed to perform and participate, how and why within these spaces and localities. This is not a comparative study of these two exhibitions. We use them instead as a starting point to show two different perspectives from two different time horizons regarding how the people and the folk took shape.

The glue in the various musical networks examined in this chapter is affect. Affect as a feeling can be described as orientation, which also means that affect is neither externalised ("is expressed") nor internalised, but a direction and relation (Ahmed 2006, 2010a). We see the networks described here as constituted by affective alliances—links between people, places, objects and sounds characterised by a shared directedness in relation to the world (Grossberg 1997). These alliances become clear when they are confronted with others—when they, so to speak, collide. We will provide several such examples. Collisions are of interest not because they result in conflicts, but simply because they illustrate how the participants entered situations with differing directedness—orientations shaped by both experiences and dreams, history and utopia. Even if it is, of course, possible to see many differences between what happened on the psychedelic-rock scene in the late 1960s and in the folk music wave in the early 1970s, the utopian dream of something genuine and authentic was in fact a trait that they shared. This common trait was expressed in everything from transgenerational meeting places and organic materials to various kinds of anti-elitist and anti-commercial forms for the creation of music and meaning, and visions of unspoiled spaces and places.

1969: The People's Music

> *The exhibition Folkets Musik has been produced by Riksutställningar (Swedish Exhibition Agency) and Rikskonserter (Swedish National Concert Institute), commissioned by and in close cooperation with Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund (Workers' Educational Association). It has come into being in order to stimulate debate on our music life. Thus it might become a contribution to the contemporary debate on our culture.*
> (Excerpt from the brochure of the touring exhibition "Folkets musik," tour start 1st of October, 1969)

On the 2nd of May, 1967, Eva Persson of *Riksutställningar* met with representatives of *Musikhistoriska museet* (Museum of Music History) and ABF (Workers' Educational Association) to discuss a potential exhibition concerning folk music, with regard to a study circle that ABF was to start that coming autumn. The museum proposed a chronological exhibition, starting from the Stone Age and making use of their collections. But when new talks with ABF were initiated in the autumn of 1968 with the project title "Vad är folkmusik?" (What is Folk Music?), the aim had shifted:

> *...the prime task of the exhibition is to describe the geographical, social and economic environments within which folk music has existed and changed, and to clarify the societal and ideological functions of the music. It is also important to take a stance on today's folk music and analyse its class function.*
> ("Vad är folkmusik? [arbetsnamn]"), (What is Folk Music? [working name], Riksutställningar 1948–2013, utställningsakter F 1 A:27)

In October 1969, the touring exhibition "Folkets musik" was launched in Malmö. It was created and authored by the psychologist Leif Lundberg of the Royal College of Music (*Kungliga Musikhögskolan*) in Stockholm and the musician Bo Anders Persson—with texts by the music scholar Jan Ling, the composer Folke Rabe, the author Göran Palm, the art critic Torsten Bergmark and others—and aimed to encourage debate about the role of music in society.[3] In an interview in the daily newspaper *Arbetet* (The Work, based in Malmö) in connection with the opening of

[3] The exhibition is also mentioned in Arvidsson 2008:57, 309.

the exhibition, Ljungberg says that: "We had to swap politically 'dangerous' opinions for others!" (Arbetet, 2nd of October 1969). Among the studio staff of *Riksutställningar*, during the summer of 1969, voices had been raised against the tone of the exhibition, and Persson and Ljungberg were asked to alter their formulations. The approach was anti-commercial and anti-elitist. There were distinct antitypes in the exhibition, both in the form of the strong status of western art music in education and in the form of commercial pop and rock music. Role models were instead found in music and dance from other parts of the world, in "the countryside in Africa and Asia," or closer to home in the "music of the summer pastures and the Sámi people" and among the "most active music enthusiasts" who were supposedly found in jazz and accordion music.

Here we can read that "The *spelmanslag*[4] and the old-time music are a mere glimmer of the music that existed when the countryside was not dominated by the towns but had a life of its own." Göran Palm draws a contrast between a Senegalese ballet and a revue ballet from Luxemburg that he had seen on the TV: the way that the former dance—"like an extended family at a picnic"—and the way that the latter was part of a European tradition of "discipline and uniformity." Certain aspects of musical knowledge are problematised in topics for discussion in the exhibition's catalogue: "What do you mean by the expression 'to understand music?' Is there a difference between experiencing and understanding music? Is your experience of music increased if you can read music?" In his review of the exhibition, the *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) newspaper writer Folke Hähnel quotes the exhibition's own conclusion:

> *The new music can only be made by us together. You learn to play and sing in the same way that you learn to walk and speak. Instruments can be easy to play but still sound good. What is important is that everyone takes part and that everyone knows roughly how it should sound.* (DN, 2nd of October 1969:27).

[4] In the 1940s a new style of large-group unison fiddling, called *spelmanslag* emerged in Sweden. These groups emphasised collective music making, and the groups were both performing ensembles and social clubs. The fiddle is still in majority in these ensembles, but other traditional instruments are also represented (Eriksson 2017:25–26).

The exhibition »Folkets musik« was delivered with an instruction on how the pieces were to be assembled and arranged.

Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet.

"Folkets musik" is an interesting example of how a distinct cultural-political voice from a dawning music movement is taking shape, aimed in two directions: in part against what is described as an outdated bourgeois "classical music" upon which the state annually spends 150 million crowns "in the form of music teachers' wages," and in part against a pacifying ideology in the form of hit songs and pop music—which cast people in the role of "music consumers" ("Folkets musik," exhibition brochure). *Rikskonserter* (The National Institute for Concerts, later renamed Concerts Sweden), a state-owned institution founded in 1968, and *Riksutställningar*—an operation being trialled since 1965—were, together with ABF, behind the exhibition. These ideas might be said to have been

not particularly alternative or subversive, but more in harmony with contemporary tendencies. They were not, however, self-evident. When the journalist Sven Lindahl wrote about the exhibition when it was in Farsta (in southern Stockholm), he felt that village musicians in past times most likely thought it important that their music sounded good (Syd, 27th of May 1970, cutting, Riksutställningar projektnummer 21F1:28): "Our entire existence is based upon the necessity of know-how. Why should music be an exception?" The exhibition also indicates a central issue that united—but also created tension between—the dawning alternative music movement and the folk music wave: the quest for the folky.

The musicians, producers and networkers who devoted themselves to alternative music during the late 1960s proceeded from a common vision: that music must be reclaimed by the people. This could take very concrete and practical forms of expression—such as handing out instruments to concert audiences so that they could join in, or inviting the audience to come onto the stage after concerts to try out the band's instruments. But it could also be a matter of attempts to bridge the gap between local/regional folk music and transnational pop music—or simply singing in Swedish instead of English. The people is in this context in one sense transnational—a global, subordinate class dominated by global capitalism. In another sense, the people is a national configuration of this transnational proletariat and needs a voice of its own, in its own language. The double character of the concept "folk" facilitated its use both by a political Left and in a return to music once "discovered" and collected in a spirit of national romanticism (Hyltén-Cavallius 2021, Ronström 2010a).[5]

[5] In *Keywords* (1983) Raymond Williams describes how the English word "folk" gains its place in connection with a discussion on anglosaxification in the mid-1800s, thanks not least to William Thom's suggestion of the compound "folk-lore" (subsequently "folklore") rather than the established "popular antiquities." It is of relevance that "popular" is already burdened with associations to playing to the gallery, from which it was desirable to save this—supposedly authentic—folky culture. Whilst a term was promoted in English to distinguish "folk" as in "authentic" from "folk" as in "the broad masses," in Swedish it was possible to use the manifold meanings of the word "folk" (meaning folk/people, cf. Rehnberg 1977). For a discussion on the ideological emergence of "folk" in relation to music in a Swedish context see Lundberg 2008.

But how was this orientation towards "the folk" and "the folky" expressed in a concrete manner? Authentic ways of making music came to be localised to certain spaces, certain times—but also certain ways of being together. To access these, shifts were required—from geographical to organisational, physical and perspectival. We will show below how the formations of "our own places" and ways of being and playing together became elements in the quest for a "people's music."

Our own places

When the alternative music movement starts to take shape around 1970, an important matter is the formation of new networks, new spaces, the use of existing institutions (like *Rikskonserter*, ABF or *Sveriges radio*, the Swedish public service radio) and the building of new ones. *Musikforum* ("music fora"), activity houses, various solidarity galas and music festivals became the new spaces. *SAM-distribution*—and later *Plattlangarna*—became the new channels for distribution (mainly records). *Kontaktnätet* (the Contact Net) and *Musikcentrum* (Music Centre, an agency run by musicians) the new networks. But how did it look previously? Kenny Håkansson, the guitarist from Baby Grandmothers, Mecki Mark Men and Kebnekajse—who we met earlier in Chapter 3—tells in our interview of the Liverpool club, located on a barge moored by Norr Mälarstrand in Stockholm, where he played several times with the band T-Boones around the mid-1960s:

> *Yes, it was a barge that was—I don't actually know how much they had rebuilt it—so you went down to, well, a lower floor and there were no emergency exits or anything. There were no restrictions like that in those days. And there was a lot of smoking down there. And a lot of people, a popular place. The first time I saw Peps*[6] *was down there, on his own with a harmonica. Which impressed everyone a lot. And that was around '65, early '65. So that was—well, I won't say it was central—the best place in town, because there were quite a few places round here in Old Town, but them—I never went to them.* (Interview Kenny Håkansson, 5th of December 2018)

[6] Peps Persson began his career as a pop and blues musician in the 1960s but came nationally recognised in the 1970s as a key introducer of reggae in Sweden.

A number of those who came to play in the music movement had once begun by playing at youth centres, sport arenas or community centres. Svenskt visarkiv published a web questionnaire call in the spring of 2019, asking for recollections of what places for pop music were like in the late 1960s. The answers reflect this breadth to some extent. Pop music—or rather the entire spectrum of youth-orientated music accommodated in terms like rock'n'roll, beat, skiffle, R&B and so on—was at this time still a young phenomenon. Rock 'n' roll begins to appear regularly in Swedish media in the autumn of 1956 (Brolinson & Larsen 1984:17) and was in many ways in the mid-60s a segment of popular music still seeking its form. Pop music is a music which is orally transmitted (Lilliestam 1995) and was to a great extent passed on in this period via media. It can, for example, be claimed that Kenny Håkansson learned to play from Hank Marvin—by listening to him and imitating him, but without ever meeting him personally. And pop music was, in a completely different way than it is at present, predominantly a *music of the youth*. When American rock 'n' roll made its breakthrough, with artists like Bill Haley and the Comets and Elvis Presley, and marketed with films like *Blackboard Jungle* and songs like "Jailhouse Rock," the music could often be associated with criminality and youth crime (Brolinson & Larsen 1984:8). Even if this youth music had come and gone with new terms such as "twist," "beat" and "pop," it was still in the middle of the 60s seen as the music of the young and coupled with youth culture, consumption and fashion. From today's horizon, when rock and pop music have found various ways to age together with their audience, this can appear "exotic."[7] Whilst people in their 70s in 2020s Sweden go to arena concerts, pop music was probably unfathomable to most 70 year-olds in the 1960s.[8]

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[7] See for example the special issue of the journal *Popular Music, As Time Goes By. Music, Dance and Ageing* (2012).

[8] With a slight risk of clouding some important continuities, it is reasonable to regard the breakthrough of rock music as something of a watershed in the history of Swedish popular music (Hyltén-Cavallius 2005:270). Whilst a number of the prominent hit singers who sang in Swedish in the 1950s and 60s appeal to a multigenerational audience (think Snoddas or Jokkmokks-Jokke), rock and pop music—often with lyrics in English—was directed solely to the young.

Svenskt visarkiv's web questionnaire aimed to gather recollections and experiences from audiences, musicians and producers. The appeal was launched on social media and could be completed online, demanded a fair bit of work from its respondents and the period in focus is of course far distant—which might explain why only 22 (out of which 17 were complete) answers came. Yet in spite of this meagre response we can glean some individual perspectives of how the pop music venues look in the memories of those who were there. Some short excerpts from their answers follow. The question asked is about the concrete places visited—how they looked, which people were there, and so on. The respondents are pensioners and people still working, born between 1942 and 1954, all with higher education.

At Four Nons, in a cellar in Nacka [a Stockholm suburban municipality], I heard lots of good local bands from around 64 to 68. Many pop bands also played at Kingside, which was in both the city centre and in Farsta [in southern Stockholm]. Liverpool club was a favourite around 66 and 67. On the bottom floor of the barge necking was rife, I'm sure lots of people smoked hash too, though I never understood that. A favourite band from the barge was Layabouts, played R&B and blues. Nalen,[9] *particularly Harlem (a little hole inside) was an in-place during the late 60s. I don't recall us drinking much alcohol, mostly soft drinks.* (Woman born in 1949)

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Que Club in Gothenburg. Classic club in Gbg [Gothenburg] run by Styrbjörn Colliander, later changed name to Gustavus Adolphus, disco club. Styrbjörn was murdered there in the 70s.[10] *But Que was the club for many years. When I visited the club it was on the second floor of a building near Kungstorget. A totally OK place as I recall it, fairly big, not some shabby cellar. I think you could only buy "mellanöl" [a medium-strength beer sold between 1965 and 1977] there, don't remember.* (Man born in 1954)

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Kamelen [The Camel] was in a little cellar in an aged house in Old Town. Eddie Grahn who ran the place had furnished it as an oriental temple that

[9] *Nalen* was a tremendously popular music and dance venue in Stockholm from the 1930s to the 1960s. Cf. chapter 3.

[10] The murder of the "club owner" in 1976 gained great attention in contemporary media, and is also a key event in Mikael Marcimain's tv mini series *Upp till kamp* (English title "How soon is now?," 2007).

he called The Mithra Temple. The roof was low, so you sat on floor cushions. Smoking was totally forbidden. The place was really small, so that would have been unbearable, but Eddie was in addition a clean-living person. Smoking had to take place on the street outside. At Kamelen tea was served, I can't recall any snacks. One part of the furnishings was a fine old piano. I assume that [he] tuned the piano himself, he was very handy. The audience at Kamelen did not consist only of youth. People in their 30s and 40s were often there, sometimes the odd older person—Sörmlands Frasse for example, a former slapstick comedian who was in his 70s. Kamelen didn't have several sections, just one little room. (Man born in 1949)

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The place was called Lingården and it was a youth club in Linköping. The supervisor, Leffan Fröjd, put on pop concerts there with bands that were popular in the mid-60s. The place was a couple of rooms at ground level, one of them larger where the bands played. It was always packed. (Anonymous)

When one reads these and other descriptions in the answers to the call, it is easy to be struck by the kind of infrastructure of the music scene that appears. Different kinds of arenas—made for young people, for sport and for associations and often financed with public funds or by organisations—were used for pop concerts, often with an entrance fee to pay the musicians. A kind of *public*, "communal" arenas for popular culture. Then there were the individual *entrepreneurs*, like Styrbjörn Colliander or Eddie Grahn, who ran an economic activity which was often also based upon a great interest in music and entertainment. In a study of concert producers, Swedish ethnologist Lars Kaijser portrays their combination of both a strong engagement in music and in all the activities typical of a producer's operations (Kaijser 2007:19). The arenas described here operate in relation to a music and recording branch which can with the help of mass media—and still, first and foremost, the radio—spread awareness of artists. But also in relation to a popular culture "from beneath" (for want of a better expression) being explored by young musicians. Together, they can establish what the sociologist Kevin Hetherington with a term borrowed from Louis Marin terms *utopics*—the practising of utopian values and the formation of social centres on the margins of society (Hetherington 1998:128). Hetherington, who has himself conducted research into New Age Travellers (that is, a grouping in-

spired by the very counterculture of the 1960s), claims that these utopics through these very practices—rituals, creative activities and in our case the music making—assume a marginal character. Not all of the pop stages of the mid-1960s were, of course, utopics, but they housed a utopian potential: the cellars and the barges are in a tangible way also places which lie outside the established structures of everyday life, in its subconscious, beyond solid ground.

Yet the reader might also note, regarding the *Kamelen* club in Stockholm's Gamla stan, that not only young people but also persons around 30 to 40 years old—and even a 70-year-old Sörmlands-Frasse could turn up. That this was the same Sörmlands-Frasse who performs at the Gärdesfesten festival in the summer of 1970 (which we will shortly return to) is surely not a coincidence: whilst the purely pop venues could be clearly dominated by the young, such venues as Kamelen—with a more mixed content—also had a more mixed public. The same respondent to the web questionnaire tells of how Kamelen's owner rented *Pistolteatern* (The Pistol Theatre, an independent theatre) for a show: "There was pantomime and poetry reading—yes, even a stripper. The setup was absolutely very typical of the 60s. It was about mixing high and low, crossing genre borders." Thus venues for pop music became places for the young, whilst the genre overleaps that came to develop into a movement in the 1970s were—to a greater extent, at least—multigenerational places. At the music festivals of 1970, at alternative festivals in the coming years and in *Tältprojektet* (The Tent Project—a grand left-wing historical chronicle of struggle which toured all of Sweden in a circus tent) the ambition and self-image are likewise multigenerational: children and old people were welcome too. On the sleeve of the LP *Festen på Gärdet* (The Gärdet Festival) from 1971 we see old ladies and children at play.

Some of these venues where pop finds a place are also teetotal: there is sometimes a lot of smoking, both tobacco and other substances, but it takes place together with imbibing soft drinks or at the most middle-strength beer. Some of the localities described are in fact rather small and cramped: youth centres, cellar clubs, boats, sports centres and school halls. It is as mentioned a mixture of entrepreneurs and public community engagement, but it appears to have often involved a small entrance fee.

The second Gärdet festival, August 1970. Photo: Erik Karlsson.

In the summer of 1970 a number of large-scale music festivals took place in Sweden, clearly inspired by Woodstock, Monterey and other internationally-known festivals. In comparison with the pop venues described above, these festivals mean something new in several ways: outdoors, for free, round the clock, cross-genre and in many ways inclusive. The Gärdet festival was arranged in June 1970. *Byggnadsstyrelsen* (the National Property Board) had demanded a payment of 50 000 crowns in advance at a late juncture (as compensation for ruined lawns) at the planned venue on the island of *Skeppsholmen* (after the outdoor area of Hagaparken north of the city being the first choice); as a result, the festival took place without a licence at Gärdet (letter "Fåren får både vara och skita på Gärdet" [The sheep are allowed to both be and shit on Gärdet], Svenskt rockarkiv). When the music festival[11] is described in the media, it is also to a great extent a matter of the way of being together, rather than the music:

[11] Two music festivals were staged at Gärdet that summer—the first on the 12–14 June, the second on the 20–23 August.

> *Perhaps the bands sounded a little so-so—they all played for free, by the way. But in some way the music was not the most important thing. The most important thing was the feeling of being together.* (Expressen 15th of June 1970)

> *But the most important thing with the festival was not the music, but the togetherness and the atmosphere. You can listen to music in many other places and in better circumstances. Yet those who were there will not forget the joy they felt when they were together with like-minded people.* (Henrik Salander in Dagens Nyheter 15th of June 1970)

And when the Silence record company released a double-LP in the spring of 1971 with music from the second festival which took place a few months after the first, the music writer Bengt Eriksson wrote in the Aftonbladet newspaper:

> *This is because the Gärdet music is a music of humility. Of course it is important to play as well as possible. But the music does not become really good until it is made together and no individual musician shines on an ego trip.* (Aftonbladet 20th of May 1971)

These two festivals in the summer of 1970 featured, among others, *Turid* with songs influenced by American singer/songwriters, *Arbete och Fritid* with their folk-rock-jazz, *Gudibrallan* with a rather anarchistic unpolished rock, *Södra Bergens Balalaikor* (an orchestra which played Russian folk music, see chapter 6), *Homesick Band* performing bluegrass and *Träd, gräs och stenar* with their hypnotic, grinding rock-minimalism. Everything was welcome, this was music "av oss själva för oss själva" (by ourselves, for ourselves) as the poster for the second festival proclaimed. The principle was the same as in the exhibition "Folkets musik," and it was in some way a good thing that the spotlight was not on the competence of the musicians.

This way of being together entwines a longing to be together, and a wish for music by and for all, with a number of partially-connected ideological contemporary tendencies: anti-commercialism, a concern for the environment, a critique of modernity or urbanity (in the release sheet for the first LP by *Träd, gräs och stenar* in 1970, it is studiously pointed out that the stage at the Gärdet festival was built of wood, "instead of steel tubing, iron bolts and other *big-city material*," Decibel records, au-

thors' italicisation)—and of course activism for peace. A contemporary antitype was the Mantorp festival (or "Festival of the midnight sun," as it was really entitled), planned for midsummer—the weekend after the first Gärdet festival (19–21 June). This is how it sounds when Eva Geijerstam in her text on Gärdet in the *Dagens Nyheter* newspaper talks with "a person who has worked with the festival since February":

> *The Mantorp festival was on everyone's lips. Not as a follow-up to the festival, but as its opposite. – We who have made this festival think that Mantorp is creepy. We think it's wrong that you should exploit circumstances to take photos of and make films with drunken people.* (Eva Geijerstam, Dagens Nyheter 15th of June 1970)

Here one might note that the Mantorp festival, in spite of lying one week forward in time, was already accused of exploiting inebriated people.[12] If the Gärdet festival embodied the alternative ideals of an accessible music by all and for all, devoid of profit and commerce, then Mantorp—which aimed at hundreds of thousands of paying customers, with its giant stage and international starring acts like *Canned Heat*, *The Move* and Chuck Berry—served as a perfect antitype.

These aversions to the "commercial" music industry came to characterise the entire alternative music movement for many years. The big record companies would henceforth be criticised for their crass economic calculations, their profit-orientation—but also for the music they released, which could be accused of plagiarising, made only to sell and being soulless.

The alternative music movement, which begins with—among other things, music festivals—is also to a great extent about building its own networks, structures and spaces—or, in the words of the cultural studies scholar Johan Fornäs, a "counter-public sphere" (Fornäs 1979). During the years after 1970, several networks were formed with the ambition of

[12] In an article by the journalist Fredrik Strage (2014) on the Mantorp festival, he states that the first time its producers worked together was when they flew Swedish girls down to Majorca to lure American sailors to a discotheque in Palma—perhaps the criticism alludes to this, or to some part of the promo.

becoming a common voice for musicians and cultural workers, such as *Musikcentrum* (1970) and later *Kontaktnätet* (1974).

Thus the alternative music movement can be said to have assumed an approach later adopted by other "alternative" streams in the field of popular music: punk, hip-hop, riot grrrl and straight edge have for example also to varying degrees worked on consciously building their own structures outside the established music industry and outside—which is also of importance—state or public structures. With the dawn of the 1970s, the utopian potentials in the pop venues of the 60s were developed into concrete utopics, explicitly staged in the first Gärdet festival: outside the law (the music festival did not have a permit), outside the city centre (at Gärdet, a large park), and outside the commerce, a music festival is arranged where all are welcome. As British sociologist Kevin Hetherington points out, the practised margins—the utopics—have a tendency to be established in the central parts and functions of society and, and become in fact margins via ritual framings (Hetherington 1998:124). If the big city and concrete were a kind of dark essences of modernity in this dawning alternative music movement, then a longing for the countryside and nature—even if only in the form of Stockholm's own backyard, Gärdet—was its utopian antithesis. But this shift, from cramped indoor localities to open meadows, was also expressed in a move away from the city and into the countryside.

"Discovering the land"

In an e-mail he sent soon after our interview, the musician and writer Thomas Tidholm tells of how the sleeve of International Harvester's *Sov gott, Rose-Marie* came about. The record was released in 1968 and the sleeve was made by Mats Arvidsson, later to become a well-known cultural journalist. A map of Sweden is engulfed by flames coming from a hill. Thomas Tidholm says that Mats Arvidsson was an old friend of his, who used to doodle fine flames when talking on the phone. The picture has something of a naïve tone with clear blue, red and green colours on a white background. Its composition is basically symmetrical, with birds circling round music notes, birches and clouds around the hill. Associ-

Album cover, International Harvester's *Sov gott Rose-Marie*, 1968.

ations with folk art can be made, with a tendency to horror vacui (with filling-in of empty spaces) and symmetrical patterns, but also through the strong colours used. On the hill is a small signpost, upon which it says "Good luck." Thomas (e-mail 2nd of May 2018):

> *"Good luck" was the name of our show at Pistolteatern, but from the beginning it was something embossed or punched on a little badge, like a sheriff's star in cheap metal, which surprisingly fell out of a machine at Coney Island in the autumn of 67 when I put in a coin. I saw this, of course, as a sign and later sewed it onto my hat. I still have it. That's where it came from. That there is a map of Sweden there is probably because we were discovering the land at the time, and wondering what it actually was. We did long journeys in my old Volvo PV in all directions.*[13] *That ended up with us moving here (Hälsingland, northern Sweden) fifty years ago.*

The story of post-war Sweden is not merely a tale of the building of a "people's home"[14] with its emphasis on community, justice and homo-

[13] PV is "personvagn" (person wagon) and refers to Volvo's PV series, with popular models like the 444 and 544.

[14] For a concise history of post-war Sweden, see Kent 2008:238–263

geneity—but also of the transition to urban life. In 1930, as many people live in Sweden's towns as in its countryside. After that, migration to towns hits the heights—influenced by work opportunities, removal grants and the availability of dwellings via "the million programme."[15] In the wake of this massive urbanisation, an opposing—though, of course, lesser—current arises in which an urban middle class "discovers" the countryside. This movement is impelled partially by the same factors which impel what is commonly termed gentrification: just as the shutdown of industries in towns is followed by artists moving in, the urban migration of the countryside's populace results in people from towns moving to the countryside (cf. Wiklund 2013). The processes were however complex and multifaceted. The "people's home"—at least in the way that it appears in the breadth of the popular songs of the 1960s—is just as much faith in the future as it is nostalgia: there the "boring farts" of the older generation should pike off and make space for the young, and they deplore the concrete that hovers where singing and laughter once were heard (Hyltén-Cavallius 2017a). In Thomas Tidholm's case it was as we see a matter of first "discovering" the country with the help of cars or tour buses, then ending up in Arbrå in Hälsingland. In the case of his bandmate Bo Anders Persson, who moves from Stockholm to Likenäs in Värmland around a year later, it was a case of meeting the cultivation philosopher Anders Björnsson during a tour with the band Träd, gräs och stenar. Persson's meeting with Björnsson was a kind of awakening: after many years spent both reflecting upon, and activity around the relationship of humans with animals and nature, this offered a way forward to a life in which animals were not exploited in any way and no machines could harm the environment (Hyltén-Cavallius 2020a).[16] After

[15] https:/www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/artiklar/2015/Urbanisering--fran-land-till-stad/. The million programme was a government-initiated nationwide endeavour to build one million apartments in a ten-year period, beginning in 1965.

[16] Björnsson called his cultivation philosophy "vänlig odling" (friendly cultivation) which entailed no animals being used—or, of course, eaten—and also, among other things, concrete ideas around how you can turn the soil to maximise the work of microorganisms in the topsoil. Persson also made a film in 1980 entitled *Ljuset finns där ändå* (The light is there nevertheless) in which Björnsson expounds his ideas (https:/ /www.filmarkivet.se/movies/ljuset-finns-dar-anda/, last accessed 25th of November 2020).

a few years in Hälsingland, Eva Wilke ends up in Värmland, but in the forests of Koppom. Here she, Anders Lind and others build the Silence studio in an old school.

These persons are part of a dawning shift to the country during this period—an orientation away *from* towns, modernity, *betongen* ("the concrete") as it was known in the Swedish of the 60s—but also a movement *to* something: to origins, nature and something authentic. It is about both coming "home" and getting "away," beyond the delimited and generally-known. The same searching for places coursed through the searching for music. Here Eva Wilke from the Silence record company tells of how they discovered folk music:

> *And it also belongs here, in fact, that in '69 people started to discover folk music. And it was—it is—an important part of the course of history, since in '69 we went to a traditional musicians' gathering in Delsbo, there weren't many people there then, we were like a few from Stockholm but otherwise it was the way it was. And found it really great, and it was the first time I sort of experienced the Swedish countryside, really discovered it: oh, how beautiful it is here in Sweden, oh how nice! And this music is really groovy, it's really related to what Träd, gräs och stenar were up to, this repetitive, like a little grinding, yes it appealed to me a lot. The next year 10 000 of us from Stockholm went up to Delsbo, and then we had found out that the week before or the week after there was another folk musicians' gathering in Bjuråker—so we went to that one instead and there weren't so many, to our minds, other people there, so then we had that. And then when that became popular, then we discovered the folk musicians' gathering in Dala-Floda, and there it was a whole, there it was really this repetitive, grinding, it was really implemented in the folk music of western Dalecarlia. Much more than in the others, up in the Hälsingland tunes and that.* (Interview with Eva Wilke 8th of November 2016)

Here Wilke distinctly depicts a musical quest, something which leads her to Dala-Floda, where she feels that she finds "this repetitive, grinding"—the same basic character that captured her in the music of Träd, gräs och stenar. This too is a story about discovering the country, just like Tidholm's description of trips with the Volvo PV. But she also describes a quest for something she could see as her own, something authentic—something off the beaten track, also in other aspects than the musical one. When 10 000 Stockholmers come to Delsbo, Wilke and her

friends discover Bjuråker—and when that gathering becomes too popular, they discover Dala-Floda. It is in short not only the music that inspires the quest, but also the search for something unique and personal, to find a context without 10 000 Stockholmers.

In her thesis on backpackers' personal photographs, the sociologist Erika Andersson Cederholm describes a continual search for an elusive uniqueness and authenticity, not least in relation to "tourists" (Cederholm, 1999). The backpackers want to be a step ahead, to find places before the tourist industry does, to experience places before they are ruined. The backpackers are reflective and ambivalent, knowing well that their "discovery" of places can potentially lead to them being spoiled. This is a similar approach to that of the musical treasure hunters described in the book *Retrologier* (Retrologies)—musicians and listeners constantly searching for hitherto-undiscovered pearls from the forgotten nooks and crannies of popular music (Hyltén-Cavallius 2014). In their case it was not a matter of physical places, so they could not become crowded like those of the backpackers—but they appear to have been spurred on by the same quest for something personal and unique, distancing themselves from a music industry which could be referred to as "the machine" or "corporate shit" (ibid:156). In the book this is termed *authenticism*, that is to say authenticity as a fundamental attitude or ethos. This authenticism is one of the ways in which those interested in progressive music in the 60s and early 70s orientated themselves outwardly towards the world. And authenticism does not only unite the dawning alternative music movement with the backpackers or the treasure hunters in the field of popular music, but also with the ambitions described in the exhibition "Folkets musik."

Wilke's description of her musical journey of discovery through the landscape of traditional musicians' gatherings also points towards how the newly-awakened interest in folk music during this period was often described as a kind of national-romantic quest. Already in the late 1970s, the music scholar Jan Ling commented upon this longing for something original and untouched in terms of "other forms of nouveau-Rousseauian 'back-to-nature'-ideology" (Ling 1979:26). In Wilke's narrative we also see examples of a striking change: the gatherings had hitherto first

The Bingsjö gathering 1975. Photo: Hasse Carlbaum, Dalarnas museums bildarkiv.

and foremost been local and regional events with an older array of participants; now they instead became national venues for multigenerational encounters (Ramsten 1992:105, Arvidsson 2008:197). In comparison with the pop-music venues in the same period, the organised traditional musicians' movement had already in the 1960s established networks, institutions and spaces to offer to the youth newly-interested in folk music. The two national organisations *Sveriges Spelmäns Riksförbund* (for traditional musicians) and *Svenska ungdomsringen för bygdekultur* (for folk dancers) already offered local and national activities with music, song and dance. These organisations were however relatively underdeveloped, since interest in folk music had been low in the early 1960s. The folk music wave leads to a comprehensive upgrading, which amongst other things breathes life into the older—and in certain cases quiescent—folk music ensembles and the sparsely-attended gatherings (Ternhag 1985). The folk music scholar Ville Roempke portrays the change in the following words: "the big gatherings now became folk festivals lasting for days with jamming, old-timey dancing, skinny-dipping and biodynamic food" (Roempke 1980:294). Increased coverage by the media in newspapers and radio and TV programmes contributed to an increase in participants in gatherings (Kjellström et al. 1985: 142–145).

The gatherings have also been ascribed a mythical place in the historiography of the changes in the folk music scene in the 1970s. At the Bingsjö gathering in 1975, over 30 000 people gathered in the tiny village of Bingsjö in Dalecarlia to enjoy Swedish traditional music together. In 2019 this gathering had its fiftieth anniversary, which was celebrated in the form of an exhibition at *Folkmusikens Hus* ("The Folk Music House") in Rättvik in cooperation with Dalarnas Museum, the *Bingsjöstämman* (Bingsjö Gathering) association, Film in Dalarna and Dalarna University.[17] Per Gudmundson, head of Folkmusikens hus, produced the exhibition and formulated the codex. Gudmundson is also a traditional musician, well-established on Sweden's folk music scene. He was one of the players who regularly visited gatherings together with musician friends in the 1970s. The exhibition contains fragments of the past which lead us on to memories and personal stories from those who took part in these activities in the first years of the 1970s.

2019: "First Wednesday of July—Bingsjö Gathering 50 years"

> *The Bingsjöstämma captures the essence of the concept of spelmansstämma [Traditional musicians' gathering]. Many natural gathering places, intimate stage venues and dance floors offer opportunities for meetings between young and old, amateur and professional musicians, and folk musicians coming from places all over the world. The gathering is also unique in that there is no fenced-in area, but that it takes place in the middle of the village, surrounded by forestlands and mountains that create a natural setting. In many ways, Bingsjö is a stämma without borders.* (Excerpt from the exhibition's presentation, 2019. Translation: Jill Ann Johnson)

The exhibition in Dalecarlia that visitors could attend in 2019 was not of the same type as the touring exhibition from 1969 previously discussed in this chapter. The "Folkets musik" exhibition was first and foremost a statement on music, society and cultural politics. It aimed to provoke de-

[17] The exhibition took place from June 18 to August 24, 2019. The Bingsjö gathering is run since 1989 by Bingsjö bystugeförening, Dalarnas spelmansförbund and Folkmusikens hus jointly in Föreningen Bingsjöstämman (The Bingsjö Gathering Association).

bate on how to best build a future musical life in Sweden, in which folk music was held forth as an example of good practice for making music together. The Bingsjöstämman exhibition is instead a project of documentation, offering a perspective permeated with praise of the history of the gathering from 1969 to the present days, looking back and reflecting. Visitors were also able to see what a traditional musicians' gathering is and can be, with the Bingsjö gathering as a prime example. The exhibition also told of the rich folk music of the area, with portraits of traditional musicians and families of musicians (e.g. Hjort Anders Olsson, Nylandspojkarna (the Nyland boys), Päkkos-Gustaf etc.) The exhibition began by challenging the myth that portrays Bingsjö as an isolated, detached place. Instead, a "New Orleans of the Finnmark" was depicted, where traditional expressions were allowed to co-exist throughout history with new musical and cultural impulses.[18] By putting on a pair of VR glasses, visitors were also able to visit a contemporary gathering and view its opening and some community playing. The acoustic landscape was intertwined with the digital world, drawing attention to shifts and mobilities in terms of time, space and geography.

It is noteworthy how a visitor to the exhibition, with the help of words and images, is orientated towards positive tropes concerning change, mobilities and movement. It is a reminder—on a kind of meta level—of modern culture and Western modernity's understandings of movement and variation as something intrinsically good, in contrast with the fixed, stationary and rooted (Cresswell 2006:25–26). Here the folk music wave of the 1970s is particularly visible in the exhibition space, and it becomes a central part of the story of the gathering. In the middle of the wall in the largest room, beside a fiddle with radiant strings and bow, is an enlarged detail of a black-and-white photo from 1976. We see the backs of a number of musicians in Dalecarlia folk costumes looking out at an ocean

[18] The recount of the district's history began with the Finnish settlers in the 1600s, then led onto how the geographical location—close to lines of communication and commerce between Kopparberget (the copper mountain, i.e. Falun), Bergslagen and Hälsingland's coast, Norway and northern Sweden—in combination with immigrant workers and industrialisation in the 1900s created fine preconditions for cultural exchanges. (Gudmundson, exhibition manuscript 2019)

Interior from *Bingsjöstämman 50 år*, 12th of August 2019.
Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

Original photo from the Bingsjö gathering 1976, used in a cropped version
in the exhibition. Photo: Leif Forslund.

of people, and atop a hill we see a little house with white corners. This is Danielsgården (Daniel farm), a farm that belongs to the famous Päkkos family of traditional musicians. Beside the photo is a diagram that shows an ever-increasing number of visitors.

In another corner of the exhibition, Päkkos-Svea's scrapbook lies open. The visitor is able to leaf through a collection of newspaper clippings from the first year of the Bingsjö gathering, 1969, and onwards. The photos show happy people who crowd in the open country, fiddle in hand, in the yard of the Danielsgården, sitting on the grass or standing by hayricks, in folk costumes or everyday clothes. Children, men and women of different ages play and listen at dance floors and in churches. Recurrent newspaper headlines such as "Traditional musicians bring a new kind of togetherness—Record audience in Bingsjö" (1970), "An unrivalled celebration for all" (1971), "Invasion of Bingsjö! Music all night" (1973), "Charming chaos in Bingsjö" (1974) and "30,000 came to 'amazing' gathering in Bingsjö" (1975) shape, together with the photos, an explicit narrative of the newly-awakened interest in folk music. Community, musical togetherness and the longing for belonging become central entities in the assemblage, where people from different parts of the country travelled to this little place in Dalecarlia to be able to experience Swedish traditional music together.[19] Sven Nilsson, a traditional musician, was interviewed at the gathering in 1975 and described his meeting with folk music in the following words:

> *Yes, you can't avoid mulling over the way that folk music has developed in the years that I have been able to be here. I remember the first time that I was charmed by folk music, it was at Knis Kalle's home when the musicians from*

[19] The exhibition's material on the folk-music wave also tends towards a familiar "folk-music script" (Ronström 2010a:207) in which the music is defined as a result of its geographical place: "tunes from" a village or a county. Special symbols, values and ways of being and acting in the world of folk music community are enacted via sound and images. Here we see a focus upon the creativity of individual folk musicians as tradition bearers and how they contribute to developing and transmitting the tradition and bearing it forward—at the same time as the idea of the people as an anonymous collective and co-creator of the folk music is staged. The county of Dalecarlia and the local village of Bingsjö together form the national Swedish folk music (cf. Ronström 2019:16–17, 2010a:221, Rosander 1986).

Boda were there one evening. They sat and played without costumes, that was what I was charmed by. That they weren't performing for an audience but were just enjoying themselves. [...] You just think of how it was when it started here in Bingsjö, there were maybe only a couple of hundred and now they estimate that there are between 20 and 30,000 people here. (Sven Nilsson 1975)[20]

In his utterance, Nilsson holds forth the gathering as a central geographical place for folk music's shifts at the same time as it constitutes an important lived experience for him—like many more who were attracted to folk music during this period. In *Modernity at Large* (1996) the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai describes how we in a globalised contemporary society live with both imagined and lived places in our life worlds. The work of the imagination can in turn be an important social force for change (Appadurai 1996:33–37, 48). In Nilsson's statement we see how this work forms a certain type of affective orientation—towards a reclaiming of the music to its authentic function and a certain way of being together. He describes folk music's shift from a staged performance in traditional costumes to everyday life and the home—the "people's" contexts—where play and the joy in making music become emancipatory. At the same time this quote enacts the growth of a mass audience for folk music, with a shift back to the stage but in other expressive forms. We can also glimpse a streak of a critique of modernity in this statement, where art and creativity are for the individual's own sake—not because one must, and not to entertain others on or outside the stage (cf. Arvidsson 2008:360, Ramsten 1992, Wachenfeldt 2015:111). There are also similarities with the ideas expressed in the exhibition "Folkets musik" in which the freedom for anyone at all to produce the sounds and the music they like was one of the central key statements (see exhibition brochure 1969).

"Knis Kalle," who is mentioned in Nilsson's above statement, refers to the well-known traditional musician Knis Karl Aronsson (1913–1980), from Dalecarlia, who was president of both Dalecarlia's spelmansförbund and Sveriges Spelmäns Riksförbund at the time of the gathering (Bo-

[20] Slide show from the Bingsjö gathering 1975, by Dalarnas museum, with an opening speech by Knis Karl Aronsson, community playing of Sparv fars polska from Rättvik and sound recording with Sven Nilsson (02:05–02:55, Dalarnas museum, electronic resource).

ström 2013:95). In his opening speech at the 1975 gathering he expressed opinions similar to Nilsson's. His speech took the form of a kind of manifesto of what folk music should be, and it echoed across the gathering's landscape:

> *Since folk music is always functional, and is actually music for dancing, you will also be able to hear these tunes—functioning in the right way—at the dance floors all night long.*[21]

This demonstrates a historicising and revitalising attitude on the part of traditional musicians in which folk music was viewed as inseparable from dance (see Kjellström et al. 1985, Åkesson 2007a:49–53).

New Encounters

Let us pause a while and unravel these familiar descriptions of the folk music revival processes which were found in the exhibition and held forth in Knis Karl's and Nilsson's formulations. We see how the discourse has concerned musical geographies, historicising approaches to the tradition and the relationship between music and dance—and the importance of the musicians' gathering as a meeting place. At the same time, the search and the shifts are always aimed and directed forwards—to something new, different and utopian. These very aspects have been brought forward in previous research as typical of changes in folk music in the 1970s (see for example Kjellström et al. 1985, Ramsten 1992, Kaminsky 2012:47,53 von Wachenfeldt 2015:111, Eriksson 2017:176). They are also recurrent topics in the 35 answers to Svenskt visarkiv's web questionnaire in the spring of 2020, where we asked for reminiscences and experiences from the folk-music wave of the 1970s. The questionnaire—as with the questionnaire regarding pop music's venues—was aimed towards active performers, public and producers. The answers provide some personal perspectives on how it was to visit the localities in which playing, dancing and listening took place. How did it look and how did it sound in these

[21] See previous note.

places? In addition to village halls, ABF's study circles,[22] the activities of *spelmanslag*, workers' halls, alternative music venues and pedagogical channels such as the municipal music school and study circles the respondents give gatherings—not entirely surprisingly—a prominent role:

> *Ransäter was an early place for gatherings. Bingsjö, of course. I was there in 71 and there were so few there that you could see them all. The year after there was a crowd and a salad bar. Same in Delsbo. A good atmosphere, and new contacts with musicians and influences. Mostly fiddles, a few nyckelharpas. Lots of tunes from Dalecarlia, Hälsingland and Norrbotten. A lot of sound, and of varying quality.* (Man, born in 1945)
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> *I used to dance mostly in village halls and at gatherings. I went to gatherings in Dalecarlia, but also in Hälsingland—the Delsbo gathering but also some smaller gatherings, Ransäter, Jokkmokk, Umeå among others. The instrument that was played most was the fiddle, but the nyckelharpa was there too, the odd guitar, sometimes accordions. I thought it mostly sounded good, particularly if the fiddling was mixed with a guitar or bass. There was always a good atmosphere, and both men and women took part.* (Woman, born in 1951)
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> *We were a gang that travelled to the Delsbo gathering 1974–76. There it was divided, so that on one campsite it was mostly "raggare" [roughly rockers or teddy-boys] and on the other, near the community centre, all the back-to-nature crowd and also some older folk musicians. There they jammed all night long and the musicians wandered between different constellations [...] I think everyone thought that the nights on the campsite were far more fun than the formalised gathering on the Sunday. I heard Kebnekajse with Turid at Musikforum back home in Söderhamn. In the audience, we sat on the floor and swayed to the beat. I moved from Hälsingland to Uppsala in 76 and there the folk music wave was even stronger among the youth. I was often at Musikforum for different performances from the progg and folk wave and even took part in a popular folk-dance course there.* (Man, born in 1953)

The answers show how smaller and larger gatherings, together with the alternative music movement's arenas—such as various music forums and

[22] Over the 1900s, study circles tied to different politically affiliated study organisations (for example ABF, the WEA, affiliated to the Social democratic party, or the *Medborgarskolan* affiliated to the conservative *Moderaterna* party) were tremendously important in adult learning across large strands of Swedish society.

festivals—formed a network of spaces for new encounters and playing. We also see how new geographical areas of traditional music started to be heard beyond the counties that previously dominated—Dalecarlia and Hälsingland (see Kaminsky 2012). The individual accounts tell of manifold musical role models which opened the door to folk music. These are found just as often among traditional musicians as they are in the genre-crossing artists and groups of the alternative music movement (Kebnekajse, Skäggmanslaget, Norrlåtar, Arbete och Fritid and Turid crop up recurrently in the answers, cf. Ramsten 1992:105). This is particularly salient in some of the answers, where artists and traditional role models are "lined" up one after another:

> *When I saw skäggmanslaget* [sic] *the first time I was a little disappointed—where is the bass guitar? The guitar? The drums? Later I learned to listen to and enjoy folk music as it is. Concerts with older musicians made a big impression, of course! Viksta Lasse, Ivar Tallroth, Pål-Olle, Nils Agenmark, Röjås Jonas, Erik Sahlström...* (Man, born in 1954)

We also see other familiar movements in the answers: from the formalised forms of playing music to how the non-formalised forms of performing together are embraced. Through spontaneous jamming and the gathering's campsite, attention is directed towards a more permissive and open musical togetherness in which musicians moved between different constellations. Here the traditional musicians' gathering steps forth as the prototype for a participatory culture which welcomes all who wish to join in, regardless of musical competence or choice of repertoire (Ronström 2006:2–3). For instance, one man (born in 1950) responded: "The tradition bearers, beginners and those who loved the new compositions of the early 1900s played together—and no-one was excluded [...] I know of no other kind of music where it was a given that you got to play with your idols." Other voices claimed the opposite and emphasised how certain social hierarchies in these egalitarian spaces were inaccessible: "Our role models were beyond our reach in the beginning" (Man, born in 1945) (cf. Ronström 2019:17).

In the answers, different cultural codes of how participants in a gathering are expected to act and sound are negotiated. In relation to this it is

interesting to note how some of the descriptions illustrate bodily movements from musicians playing whilst standing to "swaying on the floor" or "sitting on the ground" (see, for instance, earlier quotes above). These draw attention to how the synchronised bodies in subtle movement between different spatial positions produce difference and change within the musical setting. Sitting or standing enact different affective orientations in space, towards or away from other bodies, objects or sounds. Taken together, they constitute various embodiments of the folk/people in contrast with established norms (cf. Ahmed 2010a:31ff.). The bodily behaviours are directed both inwards towards a community, at the same time as the way of acting is directed outwards towards those who are not part of the community:

> *Uddevalla* [...] *folk-dance gathering. Many people from Ungdomsringen*[23] *from all of Sweden. And suddenly in the midst of it all some people sit on the ground with fiddles against their chests not under the chin. Play roughly, double-stringing. Floppy hats and peaked shoes. That was the first time I heard Norrlåtar, some of them. All the others were dressed in traditional costumes and danced folk dance, but this was something completely new! To me the folk music wave meant that the music was rooted in a dark energy that the spelmanslag most often lacked.* (Woman, born in 1950)

We see yet again a description of the movement of folk music from a stage performance in folk costumes, enacting collective uniformity of the *spelmanslag* to a smaller context with some musicians playing closely together on the ground. The folk costume is partially swapped for the trendy clothes of the day. The way of playing and behaving deliberately diverged from the disciplined ideal of a well-ordered concert in the organised traditional musicians' movement[24]—which in its turn was often

[23] The Swedish Youth Ring for Village Culture (*Svenska Ungdomsringen för bygdekultur*) is a national umbrella organisation for Swedish folk dancers, nowadays (since 2005) named: The Swedish Folk Dance Ring (*Folkdansringen*). (Kaminsky 2012: 170).

[24] *Spelmansrörelsen,* is an umbrella term for an amateur movement of organising traditional musicians and their musical activities into formal associations based on geographical provinces in Sweden (*spelmansförbund*), with its start between 1925–1940. These organisations encouraged the performers to play in groups, often from sheet

Uddevalla 1971, dance and music gathering of the Svenska Ungdomsringen. To the left is Mikael Segerström, who would later become a member of *Norrlåtar*, and to the right Svante Lindqvist, coming member of the group *JP Nyströms*. The two fiddlers from Norrbotten hold their fiddles against the chin and not against the chest, as claimed in the answer to the questionnaire by the woman who donated the photo. It is however the image of the fiddle against the chest that has remained in the collective memory of the folk music wave. Photographer unknown, photo donated along with answer to the web questionnaire about the folk music wave, Svenskt visarkiv.

regarded in derogatory terms as "petty bourgeois" (cf. interview with Leif Stinnerbom 22nd of December 2020). The "dark energy" also indicates an embracement of other affective and emotional registers such as individual freedom regarding musical expressions. The answer also emphasises the musical elements of style and attitudes which are often held

music, and with chamber art music performances as role models. In 1947 the national organisation of Swedish Spelmän was founded (Sveriges Spelmäns Riksförbund). This movement, and the processes of institutionalisation and formalisation of traditional music, have had huge impact on ideas and ideologies of repertoires, performance practices and instruments within the communities of traditional music in Sweden (von Wachenfeldt 2015).

forth as innovative in that period: the fiddle held to the chest in line with older historical role models, playing on multiple strings with a drone and playing together "rough and sweet" in parallel octaves (cf. Ramsten in Kjellström et al. 1985:72-74 and chapter 2 in this anthology).

A distinct example of how different affective registers could play out in the space of a gathering was held forth in one of the answers, where an encounter with the new young people interested in folk music was described:

> *In the wake of 1968, hippie culture, Woodstock and the Gärdet festival a new, freer style burgeoned among Swedish youth. They found an open arena in folk culture. Being devoted and ambitious (not a bit narrow-minded) it was often annoying when the young freedom preachers, without prior notice, entered whilst dancing a chain dance in the middle of a stage performance and encircled the audience with their dance. As many women as men, some with a child on their arm. Just like it was to teach us thickheads how it should be: barefoot, in tattered clothes and with simple steps and tunes, joyous and demonstratively convinced that you were entirely free to express yourself as long as you did exactly as they wanted. And there sat farmers and country people who were annoyed at the hippies' lack of consensus (behaviour and clothing).* (Man, born in 1943)

This sentiment indicates disrupture and distance between different horizons and bodily inhabitances (Ahmed 2006:6, 11). When bodies are aligned in time and space and able to extend themselves, we humans generally experience that we "belong" and feel at home. Here we see instead how the different bodily behaviours were "out of line" with one another (see Göransson 2012, Ahmed 2006). The disciplined body, sitting still with attention directed towards the stage is described as an expression of respect and veneration, and is contrasted with the bodies that were instead in movement. In the quote, the chain dance is interpreted as offensive *towards* space—in which it "disrupted" the preordained social order and was thus felt to be an enforced spontaneity in terms of "freedom." At the same time, he stresses that his opinion should not be interpreted as narrow-mindedness. The reactions towards the behaviour of the others seems to come from an idea of incomprehension, perhaps even insensitivity, regarding the situation and the normative codes of conduct in the

Chain dance at Gärdet music festival, August 1970. Photo: Erik Karlsson.

gathering's space. This description indicates how the alternative "free" ways of bodily behaviour which thrived at, for example, music festivals could collide with more restrained forms of expression in certain circles within the folk music wave. One example is found in the above picture from the second Gärdet festival in August 1970.

The person who answered is a good example of the new musicians who entered into the folk musicians' movement and *Ungdomsringen* ("The Youth Ring") in their quest for local music traditions. He describes in his reply to the questionnaire how he was interested in jazz and blues as a teen, and played guitar and banjo in a Dixie band. After a concert with the traditional musicians Erik Sahlström and Viksta Lasse in Uppsala in 1970 he started to play the fiddle again, which he had played when younger. Soon after he began to accompany the university students' folk-dance group in Uppsala, *Philochoros*. In 1974 he learned to play the nyckelharpa. He describes in detail how he directed his enthusiasm and devotion towards "the skilled old fellows' tunes from Uppland" and a repertoire from Dalecarlia and Hälsingland, with a reconstructed historical aesthet-

ic ideal to follow: "we practised in order to sound as much like the masters as possible" (cf. Ramsten 1992, Åkesson 2006, 2007a:49-54). He also underlines that he became close friends with the musicians he learned from, and describes his move to the countryside and longing for another way to live:

> *Though I came from nowhere, totally without traditions, my roots grew down into the traditions of northern Uppland in a broad sense. It was important to play and dance well. That enriched me emotionally and gave me true self-esteem, an inner pride and innumerable concerts, journeys and experiences* [...] *In 1970 I moved with my wife and children out to the country and have been a country person ever since, put down roots, more or less become one of them and have contributed and still contribute actively with my music with the motto "Let our local area live!"*

His narration enacts a shift from outsider to becoming part of a certain geographical locality, its traditions and its culture. The expression "without traditions" probably alludes to him not belonging to a particular family of traditional musicians or a folk music community. Due to a knowledge of music and the existent networks in the form of associations and traditional *spelmanslag*, he became a part of the community and was able to contribute as a musician. This man in many ways fitted into the folk music community, both by playing the music and by seeking a style which adhered to the tradition—which probably contributed to a relatively smooth process.

Not all musicians who moved from the cities were able to fit so smoothly into country life. Bo Anders Persson, one of those who created "Folkets musik," moved as mentioned to northern Värmland after being strongly influenced by the cultivation philosopher Anders Björnsson. This alternative way of life, the cultivation and the way he looked were far from the ambition to melt into local traditions described by the man above. This is how Persson describes how things went in trying to enter the local context:

Bo Anders Persson and nyckelharpa player Joel Jansson, Gärdet music festival 1970.
Photo: Gunnar Næslund.

Interviewer: *How did they view you here in the countryside, you had pretty long hair and didn't look particularly well-groomed?*
BAP: *But it went fairly well, like—I was a bit afraid that some young people would come here and pinch things from shops and such, so we had to keep our eyes on that. But it was actually quite a middle-class gang—the core of it, at least—up here, so it went well on the whole. We didn't have a bad time and the legacy is fairly good when you talk with people today. On the other hand, it isn't easy to move to a place like this and be accepted. It isn't easy anywhere in the countryside, in principle it isn't—that's what I've experienced.* (Interview with Bo Anders Persson 9th of November 2016)

Bo Anders Persson had been engaged in the environment and interested in cultivation for many years before he settled down in Likenäs. But it is not hard to imagine that the group of city people who move in and start to follow in the footsteps of a cultivation philosopher like Anders Björnsson—probably in himself something of an oddity in the area because of his orientation towards sustainable subsistence farming rather than economically driven farming—stand out and appear odd. Persson's former bandmate Thomas Tidholm—who also came to farm the land in another area—joked that while Persson was into "vänlig odling" (friendly cultivation, the term for this philosophy), he was into "vanlig odling" (ordinary cultivation) (Thomas Tidholm, interview 27th of March 2018). But it was not merely in relation to local matters that this "environmental prog" stood out. Though they were praised as a live band and often featured in the alternative music movement's shows, influential circles accused them of "fuzziness" and a lack of political clarity (see for example the debate in *Musikens makt* 1973:4:19). In other words Persson—and others with him—entered a rural cultivation space from a "wrong" direction and could not easily fit into it, and found themselves during the 1970s "out of line" with the alternative music movement which they had to a great extent been a part of founding.

Marginal spaces for "folky" music and dance

In the responses to the web questionnaire, several voices describe how their interest in folk music was entangled with other interests such as crafts, folk art and handicraft—often in combination with engagement in

leftist and environmental matters. The proximity mentioned earlier between song, music and dance is also apparent (cf. Kjellström et al. 1985, Ramsten 1992). Social dancing was embraced—in which everyone could take part regardless of age or gender. The responses also point towards how the evaluation of repertoires and views on how dancing and music should be performed varied greatly:

> *I wanted to be able to dance everything that I played. Dancing and music began to belong together* [...] *I was a member of the dance group Ormen Långe (Long Snake) and danced ballads and chain dances. Both women and men took part everywhere. In addition, age and other things mattered less—which I thought was important. The folk musicians mostly played polskas. Social dances such as chain dance, angläs and engelska (reel) were popular dances* [...] *I myself liked to play social dances, but many musicians didn't. The music of the folk-dance groups wasn't as fine.* (Man, born in 1950)
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> *Where I had the privilege of being, it sounded very good—but you could also end up at normal gatherings where it sounded "more enthusiastic than enjoyable." People were tolerant towards "more enthusiastic than enjoyable," since they subscribed to the principle that everyone had the right to play. But sometimes it could sound ... pretty out-of-tune and hard. If you said you didn't approve, you could be seen as a snob. It was like two different worlds: those who devoted themselves to deepening the folk music and those who happily kept playing in a brisk, joyous frenzy. Perhaps.* (Woman, born in 1949)

These two recollections allow us to see how amateur musicianship—everyone's right to play and dance, regardless of how it sounded or looked—is set against a musical culture in which musical ability and a quest for deeper knowledge were strong ideals. These values, in turn, were in line with the ambitions displayed in the "Folkets musik" exhibition. The expression "music of the folk-dance groups" is interesting in this context and displays yet more positioning within these communities. In the early 1970s, most folk dance groups performed choreographed line-up dances which were constructed for stage performance with their own musical repertoire. These could in many cases have an historical background in dancing among the populace but had been reworked to suit stage performance (Helmersson 2012a: 17-18). Some of the new performers began to become interested in "people's dance" and searched for

older, historical dance forms. One of these performers was the traditional musician and fiddle player Leif Stinnerbom (born in 1956).

He and his wife, the dancer Inger Hallström-Stinnerbom (born in 1951), travelled around in Värmland with the fiddler Mats Edén (born in 1957) and visited older people to learn more of how people once sung, played and danced. They were particularly interested in the polska in the Jösse Härad area with a focus on the first half of the 1800s—a so-called "unheard" tradition area when they began their search (see Kaminsky 2012:53, Helmersson 2012b and chapter 2 of this anthology). In an interview in 2020, Stinnerbom described how they, in their quest for a "folky," more authentic expression in the polska music, tried to reach even further back in time than the chamber-music variant of folk music with mazurkas and waltzes which was performed by folk musicians in Värmland's traditional musicians' association. This way of playing and dancing was not, however, always appreciated. Older performers in the established institutions would point out how the polskas should be played and the dances should be danced. According to Stinnerbom, these aesthetic discussions on "right and wrong" were presumably a matter of referring to polskas from different ages. He particularly remembers a situation when *Ungdomsringen* had arranged a dance, and he and some friends demonstratively went to the cellar of the house in which the dance took place in order to play and dance themselves:

> *We found this little room where we could do our thing, so they could do their thing upstairs in the big room* [...] *This was in the beginning, before we had realised that we could arrange our own meetings for playing and dancing—and I think it was also a matter of us wanting to do some sort of guerrilla activity. We had a kind of illusion: if only they got to know how it was, how the polska was the real thing—not those line-up dances and that piano music that they tried to make us play—then they would be <u>won over</u> and start to take part in real folk culture.* (Interview with Leif Stinnerbom 2020-12-22)

Stinnerbom's emphasises a strong desire to "win over" and convince the older musicians and dancers that their alternative way of performing music and dance was in fact the "real" folk culture. In a way similar to that with which adherents of pop music established utopian potentials on the margins of society, Stinnerbom's description shows how

utopian ideas can be realised by their very doing: "a utopic of the margin as a space of freedom, resistance, alternative moral order and authenticity" (Hetherington 1998:129). The margin should be understood in terms of relationality in the way that it becomes marginal—through spatial practices—and can just as well be situated in the centre of society or within a central place in a certain group, such as at the Ungdomsringen's dance described above (cf. Hetherington 1998:124). By the use of the term *spelrum* (where *spel* is "play" and *rum* is "space," and denoting marginal space), a "space of/for play," the utopic can also be described as "a space or margin in which spatial and musical playing takes place" (Hyltén-Cavallius 2005:96). This line of reasoning helps us to understand Stinnerbom's and his fellow-musicians' behaviour in terms of them occupying a marginal space—down in the cellar—and creating an alternative playing space, which in turn claimed to constitute the real folk culture, that is: the tradition's centre. We can in the same way interpret the chain dances of the new folk music enthusiasts, or the way in which certain fiddlers sat on the ground with the fiddle in a different position against the chest, as conscious performative ways of deviating from established practices at a gathering. From different marginal positions they made competing claims to this centre (cf. Hetherington 1998).

Stinnerbom also brought forward how they soon gave up the idea that it would be possible to win over the older generation in the established associations. They instead started to organise their own meetings to explore, play and experiment with music and dancing. This quest concerned the "folky" in opposition to a "petty bourgeois" national-romantical concept of the people (Ramsten 1992:72–74, cf. Ronström 1994, 2010b:318). Stinnerbom, Hallström and Edén's sleeve of the record *Lika många fötter i taket som på golvet. Lekar och visor från Jösse Härad* (1978) embodies these ideas, with a thorough historical description of music from the folk musician Magnus Olsson and the period in which he lived.[25]

[25] Märta Ramsten has analysed texts on record sleeves from the early 1970s, among them "Lika många fötter i taket..." She shows how musicians reacted against the way that folk music was used for performances and the repertoire of the established federations, instead underlining the function of dance and a search for historical sounds from pre-modern days (Ramsten 1992:67-74).

The texts in the sleeve underline how folk music should not be played and studied in order to dream of long-gone "better" days, but instead to "see history and culture with the eyes of the people" (Edén et al. 1978).[26] Instead of perceiving the people as passive, just following along with developments, it is emphasised that they actively participate in and create their own culture. It is interesting to see how these ideas took shape in practice in their playing and dancing:

> *The people, by contrast, saw and see first and foremost what is good for them and what is usable. If it is practical and a good thing to put resonance strings on a fiddle, then you do. It doesn't matter whether the idea is one week or hundreds of years old. If it doesn't fulfil a function, it will soon be forgotten. Most past and present scholars haven't understood this way of thinking—they instead believe that the people are afraid of innovation, are reactionary or old-fashioned or that the people simply couldn't develop their own culture: music and dance.* (Edén et al. 1978, author's translation)

Stinnerbom underlined in our interview how important it was for them to find a balance between historical fidelity and the artistic freedom of individuals in introducing their own elements into music making (cf. Ramsten 1992). He also emphasised how he always worked provocatively—"from below"—and focused upon cultural expressions which he felt had not been taken seriously in cultural contexts (see Arvidsson 2008:241). One example is accordion music, which was scorned by the traditional musicians' movement: "Everything we took an interest in was in fact the popular music of different eras," he commented. Yet again we see how Stinnerbom seeks cultural expressions which were earlier marginalised in order to make a claim to a centre for a new people's music: the polska in days long gone, accordion music and the old-time dance music it belonged together with. This was a way of challenging the ac-

[26] This "folk" and its "folkyness" often turn up in texts via quotes from the German dramatist, author and Marxist Bertolt Brecht's (1898-1956) writings. The Marxist and historical-materialist standpoints were part of a leftist trend in the intellectual world of music in general, at universities and within scholarship in this period (see Arvidsson 2008:85-88). Stinnerbom had, for example, studied ethnology and musicology at Gothenburg university, which probably influenced the choice of texts for the record.

cepted view of folk music held by the established folk musicians's associations (cf. Hetherington 1998, see also Ramsten 1992:73-74).

It is easy to find distinct parallels between Stinnerbom's historical view of the people in struggle, and the importance of reclaiming their music, and the way in which certain groups in the alternative music movement made use of folk music (cf. Arvidsson 2008:245-254). The notions and visions of a people's music that have been expressed in this chapter indicate a proximity between the alternative music movement and the folk music wave. These movements are at the same time multifaceted and complex. The ethnologist Alf Arvidsson has shown how certain parts of the alternative music movement found it hard to see folk music as a progressive alternative. It was instead perceived as a remnant of a pre-industrial rural society which represented a reactionary ideology that did not belong in the emergence of the workers' movement (Arvidsson 2008:199, 248). Stinnerbom also told of similar situations in which folk music was seen as backward and reactionary—and not deserving of a place in the people's music (cf. Thyrén 2009:285-290).

Really together

> *That music will not sound like old-time dance music, pop or Svensktoppen.*[27] *But it will have a lot in common with music made in other places on Earth where people meet and are really together.* (Folkets musik, exhibition brochure)

Those who sought for places along the byways which lead to Dala-Floda, Koppom, Bingsjö, northern Uppland or the Klarälven valley can be seen as another branch of the tree that also has music festivals and networks in its crown. This tree grows from a critique of the city, of industrial capitalism and modernity, and entwines alternative music around 1970 with other contemporary movements: music movements like the folk music wave, but also the green ("back to nature") wave, the envi-

[27] *Svensktoppen* was a chart show in Swedish public radio, established in 1962, and in this specific context to be understood as a metonym for mainstream popular music (with negative connotations). (See Smith-Sivertsen 2017).

ronmental movement, anti-consumerism with "Alternative Christmas" and the community-group movement. Like many other shifts earlier and later in history, the movement which leads young musicians from clubs and youth clubs to music festivals and music houses is both a revolt and change—and romantically backward-looking. In the above quote, from "Folkets musik," we see yet again the utopian thought that there are certain ways of making or regarding music that are more authentic and genuine than those that have grown forth in the Global North. It is a historical or geographically remote Other that is ascribed this capacity, and it is also they—the Swedish peasantry of the 1800s or Senegalese dancing groups—who become archetypes for these more genuine ways of really being together.

Swedish folk music was in many ways ascribed this utopian potential as a distant Other within the musical life in Sweden in the 1970s. The new folk music enthusiasts oriented themselves towards a distant past and tried to recreate and revive a historically imagined authentic manner of performance in order to shape a utopian future. For some people the past appeared in a diffuse national-romantical shimmer, whilst others rooted themselves in more specific periods and sought for realistic interpretations of the tradition. At the same time, the personal voices draw attention to the importance of innovation in their playing and dancing, where modernity's ideas on variation and change as intrinsically positive and good are strongly present in the material we have studied. The people's music should be about togetherness, be communal, functional and for all. Yet there was also a tug-of-war with regard to which music was able to fulfil these demands. Folk music was suitable as a way to distance oneself from the "hegemony of art music" (Arvidsson 2008: 240-241, 362-366), from commercial popular music or through holding forth and discovering other forms of music and dance than those performed by the established *spelmanslag* and folk dance groups.

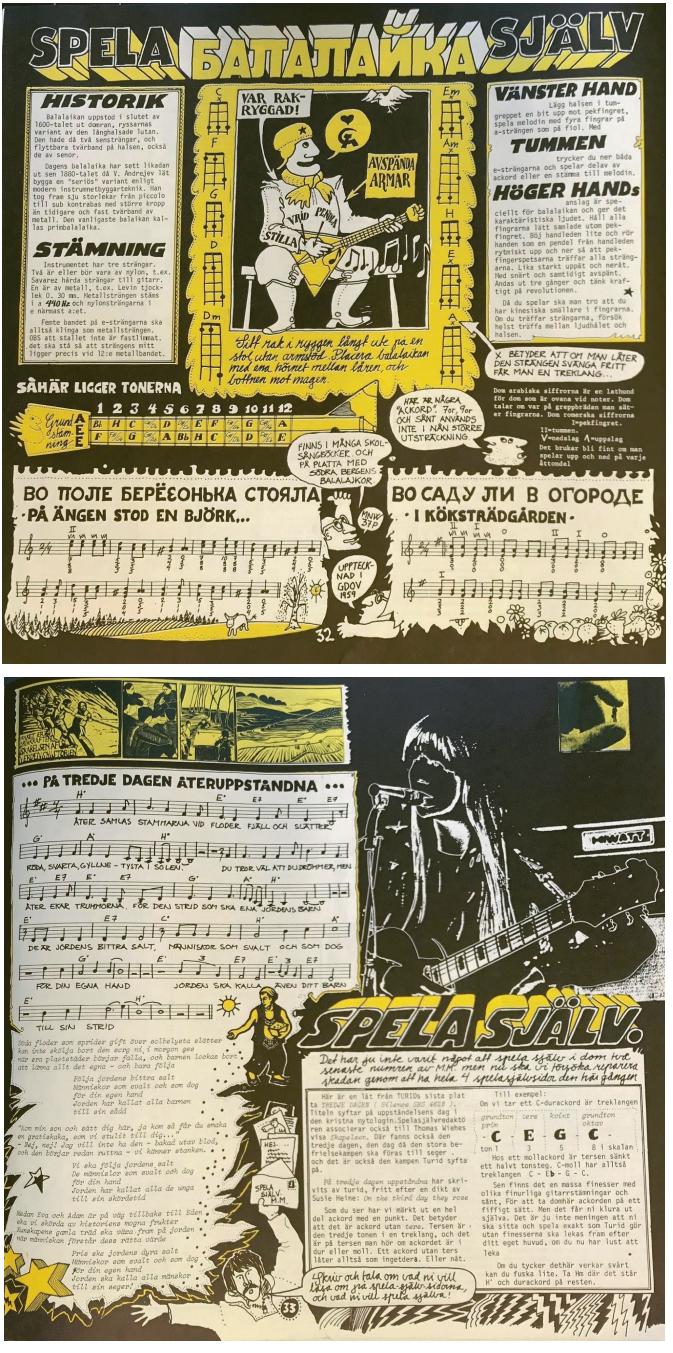
Through examples of negotiations and performances of the new folk music we have discussed discrepancies, differences and gaps in behaviours and horizons of understanding. We have shown how music making in marginal spaces has been used in different ways to make strong affective claims to the "folky" and the centre of the tradition. The mar-

ginal is in this way both localised in and between our bodies and "takes into account the embodied conditionalities under which places become imagined and reimagined as central, marginal, or both" (Andrucki & Dickinson 2015:203). The performative behaviours of both performers and visitors at gatherings formed a distinct counterculture and made visible the way that the body became a battleground in the time-space of modernity.

During the late 1960s a growing critique emerged concerning how musical life was organised, which genres had found a place in musical education and how commercialism had influenced what reached radio listeners and consumers of music. It is in this context that we are able to understand an exhibition like "Folkets musik" and the development towards music festivals and alternative networks that we can see during the 1970s. The questions posed and the critique of contemporary conditions might appear obtuse and sweeping from today's horizon, which might have been the intention. Yet it also reminds us of how the culture scholar Raymond Williams attempted to capture what we call "zeitgeist," with the term *structure of feeling* (Williams 1980). Williams tried to understand how new ways of understanding society can grow forth that are not in harmony with the dominant or hegemonic ways. What we see in the 1960s can be understood as what Williams termed an emergent structure of feeling. The structure of feeling is shaped by our experiences—but is in its very character evasive, half-sensed and incomplete. At the same time, we experience and relate to the world through it. And perhaps it is also thus we can understand these affective shifts and collisions, as meetings between half-articulated but deeply-felt ways of relating to things such as authenticity, nearness and tradition.

In this chapter we have tried to show how, around ideas of a people's music—in contrast with the music industry, the hit lists and the institutions of classical music—a utopia involving other ways of both making music and being together is shaped. Here were the seeds to an entwinement between the alternative music movement and folk music, which in many cases—but not always—came to hinge together. The points of departure of the exhibition "Folkets musik" featured a number of the conditions which characterised the movement in the seventies: a critique of

capitalism and interaction between networks, popular movements and national institutions. If the creative shifts during the late sixties and early seventies involve a quest for new forms of music and community, the alternative music movement during the seventies comes to be increasingly characterised by an antagonism between a more orthodox and a more liberal political camp.



"Play balalaika yourself" and Turid's "På tredje dagen uppståndna..." (here incorrectly referred to as "...återuppståndna..."), *Musikens makt* 1975, number 5–6.

THE SÖDRA BERGENS BALALAIKOR ORCHESTRA
On Music, Sonic Spaces and Transnational Encounters

Karin Eriksson

Openings: Glints of Russia in Stockholm's Södermalm borough

The rain patters on the asphalt, and the wind tugs at the sign which adorns the mustard-yellow facade of a house in Stockholm's Södermalm borough. It is a warm summer's evening in August 2019, and I stand outside the rehearsal room of the orchestra *Södra Bergens Balalaikor* (The Balalaikas of the Southern Mountains, abbreviated here as SBB). Someone has wrapped tape around the small balalaikas beneath the sign so that they will not hit one another in the wind. I ring the bell and the door opens. A member of the orchestra cheerily shows me down a stone stairway that swings into a rectangular room. A murmur of voices is heard. The first thing I see is some posters from the orchestra's previous performances and straight ahead a balalaika hangs in front of a Pavlova shawl which immediately conjures up thoughts of Russian babushkas. Beside the instrument is a black-and-white photo of a man singing, with arms outstretched. It seems to have been taken during a theatre show. I recognise the man in the picture—it is Embrik Underdal (born 1929) who, together with Thomas Lundkvist (born 1944) started the orchestra in 1969 in the same part of town as we are in now. Lundkvist is also to be seen on a number of the photos on the walls of the room. In addition to the photos there are hooks to hang clothes on, where jackets are mixed with various kinds of instrument cases on the floor.

The sounds of instruments combined with singing voices suggests that the members of the orchestra are preparing to start this week's rehearsal. It is like being introduced into a Russian "world" of its own—boost-

Interior from SBB:s rehearsal premises in Stockholm, 14th of August 2019.
Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

ed by the soundscape—in spite of us being in the midst of this Swedish summer's Stockholm. The members welcome me. I have met some of them a few weeks earlier at an outdoor concert in Strömsbergs bruk (an old ironworks village) in northern Uppland, around 120 kilometres north of Stockholm. With lots of enthusiasm and spontaneity they start to share memories and experiences from various concerts and journeys abroad through the years. Their history is constantly present in the room, in which fragments of the pasts—photos, instruments, textiles, music sheets, records and books—together with the individual memories of members are entwined and form an unfolding narrative of the orchestra (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2014:12-14). The rehearsal room's decorations also draw attention to how the orchestra regards its own history as of importance—configured, cherished and celebrated through the artifacts (cf. Ramnarine 2017:2, Beckles Wilson 2009). I was interested in learning more of how these persons—some of whom have played together for over fifty years—regarded their musicianship and playing. How did it come about that they started an orchestra playing Russian and Eastern European music in the Sweden of the late 1960s?

Photographs from concert performances. SBB rehearsal premises in Stockholm, 14th of August 2019. Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

The newly-awakened interest in folk music, and folk culture in general, in Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s has often been described in previous research with a point of departure in the revitalisation of Swedish traditional music traditions and folk songs (Kjellström et al. 1985, Ramsten 1992:78–126, Åkesson 2007a:86–94, Ronström 1994, 2014). This increase in interest was not an isolated national phenomenon, but part of an international folk music revival in the Global North—closely connected with left-wing political movements, the student revolts of 1968, the FNL movement and an enhanced awareness among a growing middle-class youth regarding environmental matters, equity, equality and human rights (Eyerman & Jamison 1998:143–146, Östberg 2002, Kutschke 2013). "The people's music" became an ideological implement in the fight against capitalism, imperialism and commercialism (see previous chapter). Various progressive cultural movements were started, focusing upon participation and activity—among them Sweden's alternative music movement, where slogans like "Play it yourself!" were high on the agenda. The aim was to build an alternative, progressive music culture—a culture that everyone could understand and partake in (Arvidsson 2008, Björnberg 2013, Hyltén-Cavallius 2021).

As we have seen throughout the chapters of this anthology, it was not only the Swedish folk music and instruments like the nyckelharpa and fiddle that interested new players of folk music and adherents of the alternative music movement. The musical search for new and "exotic" sounds was also directed towards transnational communities, often in genre-crossing collaborations in which the music was performed on a mix of instruments from all corners of the world (see Arvidsson 2008:254–255, Thyrén 2009:32–33, 199, 346ff., Arvidsson & Adolfsson 2011, 2015).

In this chapter I will shift focus to those who found their way to folk music traditions other than the Swedish ones. Via an ethnographic case study of the Stockholm-based orchestra *Södra Bergens Balalaikor* (1969–, henceforth abbreviated SBB), which performs arrangements of folk music from Russia, Ukraine and Georgia, this chapter explores the musical worlds of its individual members and how their ideas of music and playing were negotiated and formed within the orchestra. How was the Russian and Eastern European folk music enacted by the orchestra?

How were ideas about folk music and music making formed and negotiated among the members? In line with the other chapters of the anthology, the ideas of shifts, mobilities and musical flows will be placed in focus. I will try to follow the orchestra SBB's movements and pathways between different geographical places, scenes and spaces as well as various ideas, views and imaginaries (Ronström 2014 and Chapter 1 in this anthology, cf. also Kiwan & Meinhoff 2011b). Particular attention is paid here to how the members relate to and experience both imagined and lived geographical places and spaces in a shifting globalised world (Appadurai 1996, Bennet et al. 2017).

The orchestra as a musical and social agent

In and through musical practice individuals situate, elaborate and manifest themselves as social agents. Music may thus be understood as an important medium and device for ordering the self, negotiating positions in society and in the world (DeNora 2000:74). By playing music, we create meaning and belongings in our everyday life. This chapter focuses upon the staging and enactments of the orchestra's collective musical identity in interplay with the individual agencies, positional negotiations and motives of its members. Music also has the ability to have emotional and affective effects on both individual and collective levels. Music can evoke individual and collective memories and arouse feelings which tie people together in communities and affective alliances (DeNora 2013:4). This study takes its point of departure in ethnomusicologist Tina Ramnarine's argumentation concerning how orchestras through their activities both mark and cross geographical, cultural and political borders. Here the orchestra is understood as a dynamic space for local group affiliation, formation of identities, and belongings at the same time as it is characterised by transnational movements and cultural encounters:

> *Orchestras simultaneously mark and cross geopolitical boundaries as they are sites for the construction of community and cultural encounter. They are often symbols of power and status, yet they are also an important medium for socio-musical gatherings in local communities. They have cherished and celebrated histories, yet they also respond to changing economic and technological envi-*

Front row: Annalena Almås, prim domra, Rebecca Fors, gusli, Tommy Johansson, bayan, Sven Lindblad, prim balalaika. Rehearsal with SBB, 14th of August 2019. Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

> *ronments. While orchestras are held in high cultural esteem, they require significant resources and social support.* (Ramnarine 2017:2)

Let us look back at the Stockholm of the late 1960s, and the founding of the orchestra, to explore the musical collective SBB. How was the orchestra organised and what driving forces and motives may be traced in the ensemble during those first years?

New ways of being together

In 1968, Underdal and Lundkvist started a study circle for beginners on the balalaika with ABF in Stockholm (ABF = Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund = Workers' Educational Association).[1] This study circle was very popular, with 30 participants. The initiative came from the Russian language teach-

[1] Cf. footnote no. 22 in previous chapter, page 157.

er Mikhail Walden, who worked for ABF and had close contacts with the association Sverige-Sovjetunionen (Sweden-Soviet Union) which in time let the orchestra rehearse on its premises. The year after, the courses led to the foundation of the orchestra. The orchestra was a non-profit organisation, independent of political parties. In the words of its statutes, it aimed "to spread and impart knowledge of folk music and encourage people to play themselves" (Festskrift 1978). It was also important at an early juncture for the members of the orchestra to "play in contexts that we enjoy or find genuine" (ibid). SBB was not only an orchestra, but also a choir—and cooperated closely with the international folk-dance club in Stockholm. The members of SBB received no remuneration for performing or rehearsing and no travel expenses: all incomes went to a common orchestra kitty for repairs or purchases of instruments, collection journeys, tours or other collective ends. Nor did the orchestra have a conductor—the members shared the responsibility. The role of rehearsal leader rotated. This practice continues to this day. Everything was voted upon in general meetings according to democratic ideals, where both practical and ideological matters were discussed (Festskrift 1978, interviews with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019, Rebecca Fors & Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019 and Susanna Wigelius 27th of September 2019).

In interviews in daily papers during the early years of the orchestra, its members describe how Russian folk music was particularly suitable for performances with a large orchestra. The balalaika was brought forward as an excellent instrument for beginners and they emphasised how it sounded better, the greater the number of people playing together (Klippbok/Book of cuttings 1968-75). The orchestra's ideal came from Vasily Vasilievich Andreyev's (1861-1918) "Great Russian Orchestra,"[2] but the instruments were in the beginning 25-30 prima balalaikas and a guitar. In time, more instruments were added: balalaikas (secunda, alto, bass, contrabass), domras (prima, alto, tenor, bass), the Russian accordion *bayan* and the *gusli* (a kind of zither), rhythm instruments (tam-

[2] This folk-instrument orchestra was developed during the latter part of the 1800s in Russia, modelled upon the various families of instruments of the symphony orchestra. It became very well-known in the early 1900s and toured in Europe and the USA. For example, the orchestra visited Malmö in 1914 (Ronström 1979).

bourine, bells, cymbals and home-made wooden spoons), percussion and wind instruments such as zhaleikas, small folk oboes, sopilkas and rozhoks.[3] SBB's information leaflet from 1969 asserts how they try to approach the folk music of the Soviet Union "by listening to authentic recordings and searching the limited score material that exists. This is the basis of our arrangements" (Klippbok/Book of cuttings 1968–1975).

The orchestra's own descriptions make it clear that the music should be easily accessible, easy to understand and something which all could enjoy—irrespective of age, gender, background or nationality. Underdal explained the group's music with the following words:

> *It is important for us to play simple music. This simplicity helps us in two ways. Anyone can join our group and play with us. And the music is easy to understand for different people of all ages. Since we do not sympathise with the commercially-inclined life in our country, we prefer to choose folk music and only music that expresses pure human feelings.*[4]

Underdal's statement and the orchestra's own descriptions display a familiar discourse which folk music became a part of during that particular period. Folk music was regarded as being politically progressive, since it was "the people's music" and was associated with emotional and human values in contrast to popular music's mass-production and commercial industry (Ramsten 1992:78–79, Ronström 1994:16–18, 2014, Arvidsson 2008:194–196). We recognise these value judgements with regard to democratising culture, having previously seen them expressed by participants in the alternative music movement (see preceding chapter). It is clear how SBB as a collective embraced amateur musicianship and non-commercial activities, and how these ideas permeated the orchestra on both organisational and ideological levels. The importance of making music together, and that folk music opened for egalitarian ways of being together, are clearly visible in the investigated material (cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1998:141–145, Hyltén-Cavallius 2017b:68).

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[3] The orchestra included fiddles, nyckelharpa and ram's horn for a while in the early 1970's, but these instruments were put aside a few years later (Lundberg 1978).

[4] Embrik Underdal in the film Life in Swedish 1974.

Another important aspect in this context is the way that Underdal and Lundkvist express ideas of the orchestra as a "great family," and how the social relationships in the collective formed an alternative society in itself in which there was room for both children and adults, men and women with various occupations and nationalities (see for example Underdal 1978,[5] cf. Ramnarine 2011:329–332 and Ramnarine 2017:2).[6] In the orchestra's own *festskrift* (commemorative paper) for the 10-year jubilee in 1978, Lundkvist writes of the different members from the start:

> [...] *it was like starting an orchestra by tearing out a random page from the telephone book, with the humorous add-on that not everyone was named Eriksson* [...] *The prima balalaikas were for example played by Bilsel—architect, cineast, mouth-organist etc—the sisters Elisabeth and Marianne, pharmacist and dental nurse respectively, Janus who was a printer, Eva who was 12 years old and went to school, Lisbeth who was an advertising calligrapher and her mother Göta, the brothers Karamasov-Kejseraas, the computer price fixer Hasse, Christina who worked at the driving licence registry and sung in the Katarina church choir, the assembler Sture who sold aerial photos and was our first treasurer, Wanja who worked at the post office, Yvonne G. who was a brave person, Marianne who spoke Russian and now lives in Moscow (come home!), Johnny Lundberg who is a nephew and much more.* (Lundkvist 1978)[7]

Lundkvist's description of the members enacts familiarity and intimacy. We can also see how his account of the occupations of the members once

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[5] "Some—to my mind positive—aspects of our history: that there have been so many couples in our orchestra, married and unmarried, this brings great advantages with regard to cohesion, mental strength, litheness, and just enough gravity in decisions made, and of course somewhat improves the prospect of effective private training. In addition it makes administration easier. Having couples seems to give a greater human breadth and backbone to the orchestra! This also applies to siblings in the ensemble" (Underdal 1978).

[6] Comparing the orchestra metaphorically to a miniature society, and studying its organisation to understand how social relationships may work in certain kinds of collectives has been a common topic in previous research on orchestras. Contemporary research, however, has instead perceived the orchestra as a musical and social agent in the globalised world of music (Ramnarine 2011:329-332, Ramnarine 2017:2).

[7] See also: "All kinds of people play with us—young and old, workers and students. Our oldest member is 70 years old, our youngest 11" (Lundkvist *Sovjet Kontakt* okt/nov 1969).

SBB outside Farsta manor in southern Stockholm: https://sodrabergen.wordpress.com/historik/, last accessed 9th of December 2021.

again highlights the importance of their being amateurs, and that they came from different sectors of society. Lundkvist also accounts for a humanistic stance in which the diverse and manifold is in itself regarded as something positive. Each person in the orchestra was seen to have an important function—over and above matters of musical competence. In an interview in 2019, he brought forward examples of how discussions and conflicts could crop up on how to deal with members who did not practise or play well enough. Some were in favour of expelling such members, which was against the orchestra's statutes. Lundkvist stresses the fact that he was decidedly opposed to such ideas. His view was instead that these persons had other important skills and knowledges which were of benefit: "How to do things, how to live, how to fix transports, how to mend things, how to be pleasant to one another, everything human that is needed" (Interview with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019).

The minutes of SBB's activities since the beginning illuminate that there were many opinions and wills in the orchestra, which consisted of a group of individuals with varying ideas about playing music and different political affiliations. There was no orchestral "we" on a political basis. Yet I would suggest that Underdal's and Lundkvist's ideas on music and

playing had strong agency and influenced the practice and culture of the group; the way of acting as, and being, an ideal member of the orchestra. This was also enacted in the way that the orchestra's activities were organised. For example: everyone was welcome to come along, but after a time a vote was held on whether a person should become a full member. The social aspect weighed heavily here. The new member should fit into the orchestra's social collective "we," in everything from buying cakes to cleaning the rehearsal room to setting the repertoire, planning concert programmes and future tours and taking part in rehearsals and concerts. It is important to bear in mind that the orchestra was also a non-profit association built upon voluntarism. To contribute with continuity and long-term involvement was highly cherished and valued by the members, since this would make the activities work more smoothly (see for example minutes 7th of June 1978).

Humour, human values and rhythmic ecstasy

The orchestra soon gained the attention of the media and appeared on the TV, and their concerts were reviewed in the dailies. How did music critics and cultural writers in Sweden react to SBB? The journalist Ludvig Rasmusson wrote in the *Dagens Nyheter* newspaper in 1969:

> *There are roughly thirty balalaikas—people of all ages and with various occupations. Eight nationalities are represented. But most are Swedes. All are amateurs. Many had never played any instrument whatsoever, before reading a little ad in DN last spring about a balalaika course on the southern hills. Here we find people in Sweden who believe in a development of our musical culture in the direction of Södra Bergens Balalaikor. That the orchestra and the music will come to be a kind of meeting place for all kinds of people. That the hard professionalism and the black tailcoats are replaced by something more human and more lovely. Södra Bergens Balalaikor is ordinary people who play folk music because they like it. They wear lovely, motley clothes. The music is lovely. It is melancholic and romantic. Everyone who hears it likes it.* (Rasmusson *DN* 1969)

The similarities with how Underdal and Lundkvist portrayed the orchestra are striking. In a romantic shimmer, Rasmusson describes SBB

as an embodiment and staging of a future utopian, vital musical life and culture. A musical culture for everyone to participate in—regardless of their background, previous knowledge, age or nationality. Furthermore, the "play it yourself!" ideology underpins the article, as the orchestra's amateur musicianship and "ordinary people" are associated with soft, human values in contrast to the hard, professional, hierarchic world of art music.

The collective statements and individual ideas expressed above by SBB and Rasmusson should also be understood in relation to the debate on culture which took place in Sweden in the late 1960s. This concerned among other aspects music education: should higher-education courses, hitherto dominated by art music, include more popular music, jazz and folk music? In connection with this, it was also said to be important to increase non-notated teaching methods, with improvisation and individual creativity as praiseworthy concepts. In 1970, work began on reforming the university-level training of music teachers (the OMUS commission).[8] Discussions also took place on a more general political level regarding how cultural life and the musical culture should work harder to be inclusive and make music-making accessible for all—and also actively act against the commercial music industry (Arvidsson 2008:57-59, 311). These ideas on diversity and dissemination of culture were effected in the objectives formulated in the culture proposition of 1974: to "counteract the negative effects of commercialism in the cultural domain" (Sveriges riksdag, proposition 1974:28, 295 see also Björnberg 2013:145). In 1968 the national foundation *Rikskonserter* was launched with the aim of initiating and coordinating reforms in the music scene. It came to be an important institution in effecting the goals of cultural politics. One way that this took place was through promoting tours for both domestic and international artists and developing new concert concepts (Arvidsson 2008:59ff.). SBB, for example, did several tours for Rikskonserter in the 1970s.

Similar ideals of authenticity to those in Rasmusson's article are found in a number of reviews of the orchestra during the 1970s (tidningsklipp/

[8] The Higher Education Organisational Committee.

books of cuttings 1969-1980).[9] The Russian music was associated with authenticity with regard to both historical origins and sincerity in intention, performance and sentiment—and was portrayed as an important antithesis to the commercial music industry:

> *It is fascinating to sit before a 35-man (and -woman) orchestra and allow oneself to be immersed in ancient Russian folk music and culture. It swings at least as much as the most commercially-simple music to be found in today's big-city discotheques. But it has so much more genuine originality and unadulterated sentiment, to the tiniest musical nerve* [...] *Catchy rhythm, effervescent joy and deepest melancholy. Don't miss it!* (Dyfverman *Norrtälje tidning* 1973)
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> *The forces of nature and fate which fashion romance and tragedy in human life, but which are constantly kept in control with the help of humour and rhythmic ecstasy. Sometimes they groove harder than the most hardworking rock band. Sometimes they trill so beautifully on their string instruments that one is almost overwhelmed with sorrow.* (Gren *Göteborgs-Posten* 1975)
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> – – –
>
> *amateurs who play Russian folk music better than the Russians themselves* (Norlin *Aftonbladet* 1973)
>
> – – –
>
> *Södra Bergens Balalaikor, with their ambitious programme and performance constituted a salutary contrast to the abundance of musical garbage with which we are usually fed.* (*Örnsköldsvik Allehanda* 1973)

In these reviews we are also able to observe how the journalists bring forward the affective value and emotional potentials of the music and its capacity to evoke strong feelings of joy and sorrow in the listener (cf. DeNora 2000:107). In this sense, SBB opened up for what the ethnomusicologist Lea Hagmann and the linguist Frans Andres Morrisey have termed "experiential authenticity," where the audience's experience of authenticity is in focus. Journalists endorse SBB with an authenticity built upon the audience's affective engagements with the Russian music and their performances.[10] In the few reviews with negative criticism,

[9] (Books of cuttings 1969-1980, Festskrift 1978). For a more thourough discussion on the topic see Eriksson, 2022.

[10] Hagmann & Morrisey have introduced an analytical model to improve understanding of how overlapping approaches of authenticity are negotiated in different folk music

Embrik Underdal and Thomas Lundkvist 1966. Photo: Ludwig O. Metz.

journalists comment in particular upon musical shortcomings. In spite of this, the performance of the Russian music was said to be authentic: "The

revivals. They have built upon the philosopher Denis Dutton's distinction between "nominal authenticity" (historical origin and historical authenticity) and "expressive authenticity" (the artist's performance is close to his/her own persona and ideal) (Dutton 2003) and added another perspective ("experiential authenticity") which focuses upon the way that the audience ascribe authenticity to the music. This builds in turn upon the ethnologist Regina Bendix' discussion of authenticity as a "quality of experience" (Bendix 1997:13-14), which the ethnologist Owe Ronström terms "konsumentens autencititet" ("consumer's authenticity") (Ronström 2014:47) (See Hagmann & Morrisey 2020:185-188).

manner of singing was harsh and somewhat strained, but appeared to be authentic and genuine. A completely unnecessary feature was a woodwind group's performance of a couple of tunes ... the result was musical comedy—irritating false notes and sloppy intonation" (*Norrköpings tidning* 1973). Some journalists also comment that the orchestra's presentation of the music felt whimsy and was made in "a very lax manner" (*Nerikes Allehanda 1974* see also *Vestmanlands Läns Tidning* 1974). This in turn shows that amateur musicianship was not always appreciated. However, the majority of journalists describe SBB positively and tell of how they "spread a friendly atmosphere" (Lovén *Svenska Dagbladet* 1971) and were something "above the ordinary."

In the examples discussed so far in this chapter, it is evident that the journalists on the whole perceived the orchestra and the folk music that they performed as a welcome, important alternative to commercialism and elitism within the music life in Sweden. But how did the members of SBB look upon and experience their music and musicianship? How did this Russian music come to attract their interest?

Towards other sounds and sonic spaces: pathways to Russian and Eastern European folk music

Underdal and Lundkvist had already played and sung together earlier in the 1960s as a duo with balalaika and guitar in Stockholm taverns and restaurants (see previous photo). Underdal's interest in Russian and Eastern European music was awakened in the days of his youth. In the 1940s he mixed frequently with Russian soldiers and officers who had fled from being prisoners of war in Norway and were interned during the war years in Byringe, Södermanland, close to where Underdal lived. The soldiers were from different parts of the Soviet Union and started an ensemble in which they sung, played and danced; they often visited Underdal's family. The radio—particularly the short wave—was also an early source of inspiration. Music from various parts of the world found its way to the family's nook, and some of it consisted of Russian programmes, two hours in length, with music from different Soviet republics—often live broadcasts (Underdal 1978). In the early 1950s, Underdal bought his first bala-

laika and began playing in a small ensemble led by the Russian musician Mikhail Sotnikov (1904–1978). Sotnikov was an emigrant, from Yalta in the Crimea, and came to Sweden in the 1930s. He played for a short while in the well-established *Balalajkaorkestern Kreml* (The Kremlin Balalaika Orchestra) and later, via teaching, started his own orchestra—*Sotnikows balalajkaorkester* (Sotnikov's balalaika orchestra)—which became very popular in the 1940s.[11] This orchestra performed on the radio, in restaurants and in amusement parks.[12] Underdal had the music as a side job in the evenings, with associations and at taverns, before he met Lundkvist via a mutual friend in Stockholm and they began making music together (Underdal 1978). Lundkvist recalls how it was playing Russian lounge music in Stockholm's night life in the early 1960s:

> *But in those days, it was like—you got known for doing something foreign I feel, in some strange way. So, people turned up: a Macedonian violinist, an Israeli choreographer, like, Bulgarian ... all kinds of people who in one way or another joined us simply because they were foreigners or did something in a kind of community then... Apart from when they were with us, they didn't mix with each other.* (Interview with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019)

Lundkvist's account draws attention to how the experience of outsiderness in these musicians, in terms of being the foreign others, contributed to a sense of community belonging and temporary identity formation. At the same time, the comment also indicates a more pragmatic aspect. By being different, they were able to enter certain musical arenas in Sweden and gained visibility and attention for their music (see Lundberg et al. 2000:25-30). The comment also gives an insight into the music life in Sweden in the early 1960s. The music performed at live venues,

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[11] As in many cities in Europe and the USA, balalaika music was prominent in the world of popular music in the 1920s and 30s via the Russian emigrant orchestras. This was a result of the great number of refugees who left Russia after the revolution in 1917. SBB and the score of balalaika orchestras which arose in Sweden in the 1970s had, however, more in common with Andreyev's Great Russian Orchestra with regard to their repertoire and instrumentation than with the music played by the emigrant orchestras (Ronström 1979:76).

[12] A number of Sotnikov's pupils also started ensembles in the 1950s and toured in the "folkparker" (amusement parks) (Runefelt 1978).

in the amusement parks and on the radio was primarily Anglo-American music, jazz, *visor* and contemporary Swedish and European popular music hits (schlagers) (Edström 2017:18-21, Björnberg 2017). As mentioned earlier, there were radio programmes in which both Swedish and foreign folk music were to be found, and it was possible to get hold of records with Russian music with a little difficulty. But in only a few places was the general public able to experience foreign folk music live. Russian music was in this sense nothing new, though many might have perceived it as new. It was rather experienced as both unfamiliar and familiar at one and the same time.

The generational aspect of both musicians and audience is also worth considering. Underdal was 15 years older than Lundkvist, and many of the young people who joined the balalaika courses at the end of the 1960s were in their turn an additional generation younger. This might perhaps explain SBB's popularity, evident in the above reviews. The younger public perceived the music as something new and different. Lundkvist described in an interview in 2019 how he was surprised to see so many people joining the balalaika courses for beginners, as though there was a "pent-up need" for the music, and a fascination with it. When I later asked him why he had fallen for the Russian folk music in particular, he held forth its affective potential and ability to evoke a broad range of feelings:

> *I too was captured by this, it has something to do with the heart...* [...] *Yes, that, I think that most people who hear and have the opportunity to listen to such music are captured by it after a while. The music that was presented in these contexts is easy to listen to, whilst the true Russian folk music is more complicated. But if it is merry, it is merry and merry like hell—and then it is impossible to sit still. There is something desperate about it. And then it is instead deep as an abyss in its sadness... It can also be thrown from the one to the other. Maybe you need to be a little lively yourself, since* [laugh!] *yes, maybe.* (Interview with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019)

Here we can see clear similarities with the way that the journalists described the music in their reviews, where the abrupt jumps in emotions between joy and sorrow were emphasised. Susanna Wigelius was only 13 years old when she joined the orchestra in 1972. In a similar way to Lun-

dkvist she speaks of how the Russian music evoked and shaped a strong emotional register in her:

> *I would say that it has something [to do] with this sadness, in some way. This enjoyment of suffering, like, or what you call it—I don't know, but it's a fairly good word* [...] *Sadness, but also like the sweetness in the sorrowful... And then there's the other side too: the joyous. I think it has to do with you having that emotional register yourself, you just understand them.* [...] *But it has stayed for my part. I still think that it is terribly beautiful. And then the Language. The mystique around these countries which you couldn't visit, which were so close. Perhaps I didn't fully understand that from the start* [...] *It wasn't part of our world. It wasn't so. It wasn't such a ... big world we lived in.* (Interview with Susanna Wigelius 27th of September 2019)

Lundkvist and Wigelius speak of individual emotions and feelings in relation to Russian music. At the same time, both underline the collective ability to experience the same type of emotional register, something that can unite and strengthen the sense of community and belonging in a group of people (see DeNora 2000:74, 107, 128-129). Both display similar affective orientations in how they feel, experience and relate to the music: an experiential relationship that the culture scholar Lawrence Grossberg has termed *affective alliances* (Grossberg 1997:19-20, 44). These are also often constituted by shared knowledge and lived experience, something that Wigelius and Lundkvist share after many years together in the orchestra. Wigelius furthermore explained how she felt that the Russian music was on the one hand close—something that she made her own—at the same time as a certain distance existed to Russia as a geographical place and an imagined world, far from everyday Sweden (cf. Appadurai 1996:48-50).

Between the near and the far

Wigelius shared her passion for Russian music with her friends Rebecca Fors and Tommy Johansson. They met on a balalaika course for beginners in 1971. The year after they were voted in as orchestra members; Fors was then 17 years old and Johansson 20. Wigelius, Fors and Johans-

son have been active members ever since.[13] Both Fors and Johansson described how they saw the orchestra for the first time in the TV programme *Hylands Hörna* (1969), and that they were moved and fascinated by the music. Yet Fors stressed how she had reacted to the orchestra: "What a daft ploy! Swedes playing Russian folk music, that can't be good?" but that she changed her mind when she fell for a young lad who was member of the orchestra. He invited her along to a rehearsal, which led to her falling for the music too (Interview with Rebecca Fors & Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019). Wigelius was introduced to SBB by her mother, who was active in left-wing contexts and knew Lundkvist previously. Fors and Wigelius later became best friends and regularly attended SBB's rehearsals in order to listen, imitate and learn the orchestra's repertoire: "we were totally nerdy (laugh!)," Wigelius comments. When SBB planned a trip to Ukraine in 1972, Fors and Wigelius wanted to take part and offered to take care of the members' children—but were instead invited to join the orchestra (Interview with Susanna Wigelius 27 of September 2019).

Johansson tells of how he had always had a longing to the east, to Russia and Eastern Europe, and how he as a child became interested in the culture and language via film versions of Anton Chekhov's short stories. He knew at an early stage that he wanted to learn Russian, and when he left school he studied the language at university. He went regularly to SBB's concerts, since he "felt that this music was so rhythmical and danceable, I was envious! I must be a part of this" (Interview with Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019). They all began on the balalaika, but Wigelius was asked to switch to the domra when she joined the orchestra and Johansson started to play the bayan—the Russian accordion—and they still play these instruments. They describe an open, indulgent and playful atmosphere. You were welcome to seek your way forward and learn different instruments.

The majority of the orchestra's members did not speak Russian. Johansson's knowledge of the language enabled him to translate texts, explain the contents and stories of the songs and help with pronunciation. Wigelius and Fors tell enthusiastically of how they bought records and,

[13] With the exception that Fors took a 7-year break in the 1990s.

by careful listening, learned how to perform the music. One of SBB's foremost role models was the Pyatnitsky ensemble of Moscow.[14] By trying things out, seeking a way forward and imitating the sounds, they learned the words of the songs as a kind of fake language in the same way that children imitate English. Wigelius recalls how she learned to recognise the vocabulary with time, and that she was in this way able to better understand the tales that the songs told:

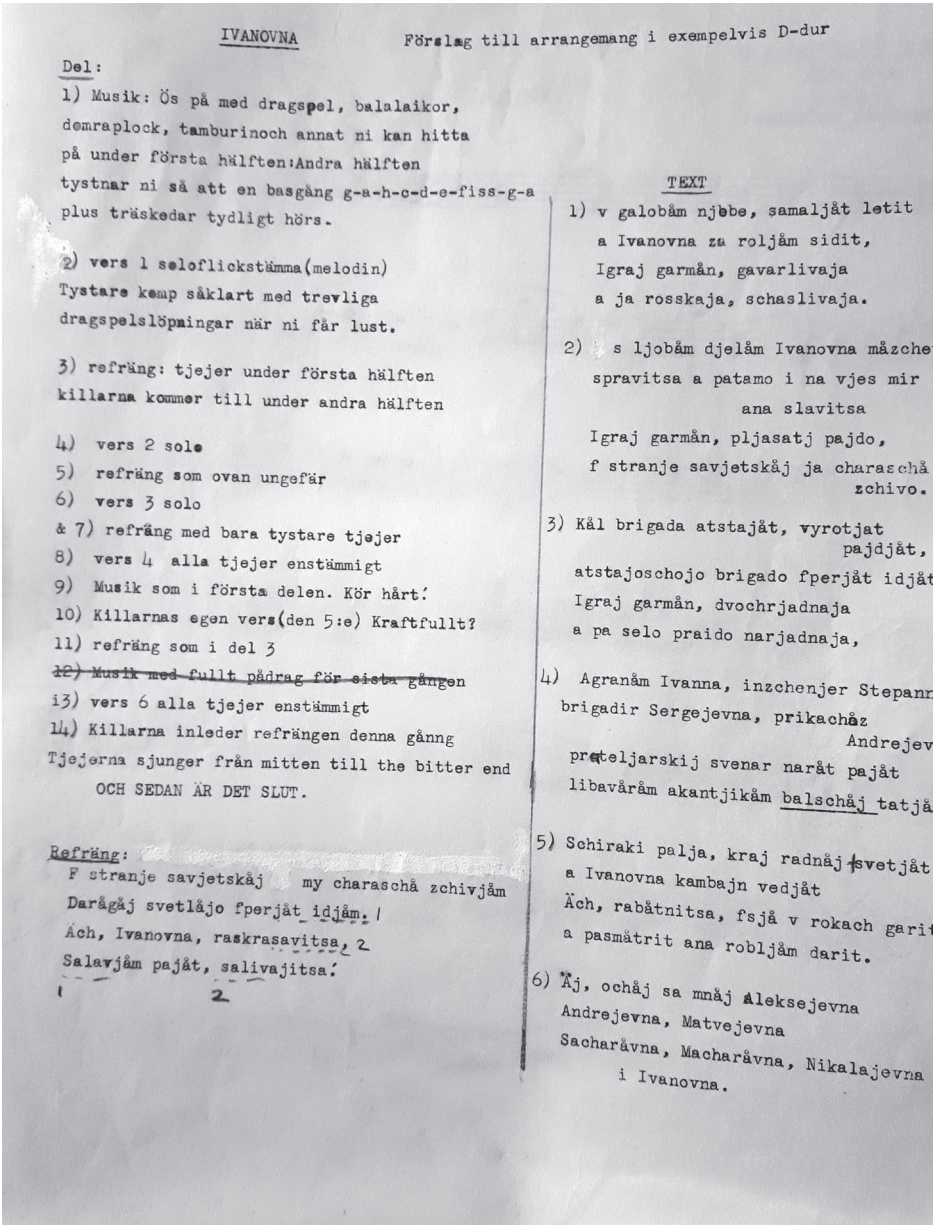
> *I just imitated the sounds, actually* [...] *Rebecca knew a little Russian, she could hear where the words started and ended a little more. But a lot was wrong, it wasn't proper words. But that didn't matter much. It was, like, the language of sounds that mattered. It's quite interesting, because it is ... singing in Russian is a completely different thing to singing in Swedish* [...] *It is also true that* [...] *folk music has a lyrical language which is part of the folk music community—the same things return all the time. [It is] very seldom words that you don't recognise after 50 years.* [...] *The entire way of singing goes straight in, like. Yes. It does.* (Interview with Susanna Wigelius 27th of September 2019)

Fors holds forth an example of how she and Wigelius melded two tunes and wrote an arrangement with instructions in words and without a musical score (see photo of Ivanovna) since a number of members of the orchestra could not read music:

> *We wrote "The bass plays a pleasant bass line," "clap spoons here!," "general merriment!" It turned out fine, we sat and fashioned it together. It actually became better than if we had arranged everything in the tiniest detail [...] No-one had all the ready answers regarding how it should sound. These days, too, we sit and discuss: is it too slow? Is it too slow, too fast? Everybody has different views, but we agree on something anyway.* [laugh!] (Interview with Rebecca Fors 25th of September 2019)

Here Wigelius and Fors underline playfulness in music-making and an open attitude to interpretations and arrangements of folk melodies. At the same time the orchestra had members with great musical knowledge. Johansson describes a change from the early days of the orchestra, when

[14] This ensemble was originally a folk choir, started by Mitrofan Pyatnitsky in 1910 with the name "The State Academic Russian Folk Choir named after M.E. Pyatnitsky."



IVANOVNA Förslag till arrangemang i exempelvis D-dur

Del:

1) Musik: Ös på med dragspel, balalaikor, domraplock, tamburinoch annat ni kan hitta på under första hälften:Andra hälften tystnar ni så att en basgång g-a-h-c-d-e-fiss-g-a plus träskedar tydligt hörs.

2) vers 1 soloflickstämma(melodin) Tystare komp såklart med trevliga dragspelslöpningar när ni får lust.

3) refräng: tjejer under första hälften killarna kommer till under andra hälften

4) vers 2 solo
5) refräng som ovan ungefär
6) vers 3 solo
& 7) refräng med bara tystare tjejer
8) vers 4 alla tjejer enstämmigt
9) Musik som i första delen. Kör hårt!
10) Killarnas egen vers(den 5:e) Kraftfullt?
11) refräng som i del 3
~~12) Musik med fullt pådrag för sista gången~~
13) vers 6 alla tjejer enstämmigt
14) Killarna inleder refrängen denna gånng Tjejerna sjunger från mitten till the bitter end OCH SEDAN ÄR DET SLUT.

Refräng:
F stranje savjetskåj my charaschå zchivjåm
Darågåj svetlåjo fperjåt idjåm. 1
Åch, Ivanovna, raskrasavitsa, 2
Salavjåm paját, salivajitsa!
1 2

TEXT

1) v galobåm njebe, samaljåt letit
a Ivanovna za roljåm sidit,
Igraj garmån, gavarlivaja
a ja rosskaja, schaslivaja.

2) s ljobåm djelåm Ivanovna måzche
spravitsa a patamo i na vjes mir
ana slavitsa
Igraj garmån, pljasatj pajdo,
f stranje savjetskåj ja charaschå zchivo.

3) Kål brigada atstajåt, vyrotjat pajdjåt,
atstajoschojo brigado fperjåt idjåt
Igraj garmån, dvochrjadnaja
a pa selo praido narjadnaja,

4) Agranåm Ivanna, inzchenjer Stepann
brigadir Sergejevna, prikachåz Andrejev
preteljarskij svenar narått pajåt
libavåråm akantjikåm balschåj tatjå

5) Schiraki palja, kraj radnåj svetjåt
a Ivanovna kambajn vedjåt
Åch, rabåtnitsa, fsjå v rokach garit
a pasmåtrit ana robljåm darit.

6) Åj, ochåj sa mnåj åleksejevna
Andrejevna, Matvejevna
Sacharåvna, Macharåvna, Nikalajevna
i Ivanovna.

Excerpt from notes to “Ivanovna” by Fors and Wigelius.

they ordered notations and scores of the tunes they had heard on records and arranged them as close to the original as possible:

> *Perhaps many felt [that it] became too note-bound, from the start there weren't many who could read music. There was a view, and I can understand that: that it was arranged too much. Not so genuine.* (Interview with Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019)

As more members learned about Russian music, this attitude changed and they started to do their own arrangements to a greater extent. The orchestra also started to perform the songs and tunes in their original fashion, without arrangements and in small wind ensembles. Johansson also stresses how they felt that the old pastoral music of the older Russian rural society was dying out, and that they by playing it attempted to breathe life into the old traditions (Interview with Rebecca Fors & Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019).

Their answers reveal multifaceted attitudes towards the Russian and East European music traditions. On the one hand, they sought an authentic and restorative enunciation in their performances. They found their ideal in historical recordings of certain orchestras and their performance practice. On the other hand, there was room for innovative interpretations which built upon the members' own ideas. Here it is possible to draw parallels to how previous research has described attitudes to the contemporary revitalisation of Swedish traditional songs and music (see Ramsten 1992, Åkesson 2007a:47–56 and chapters 2 and 5 in this anthology).

Playfulness and exoticism: to know (and learn to know) the Russian music

SBB also staged larger music-theatre performances, in some of which they related tales and dramas from Russian folk sagas. They could also include realistic historical features in their concerts, thus filling a pedagogical function for the audience by imparting information on Russia's culture and society. Similar features were common to a number of groups in the alternative music movement, in which the relationship and inter-

actions with the audience were made particularly meaningful and important. These features aimed to inform, teach and activate listeners—and could also be a way to try to erase the boundaries between artist and audience (see Arvidsson & Adolfsson 2011, 2015:151, Arvidsson 2008:325, Hyltén-Cavallius 2021:174ff.). With costumes and Russian shawls and the help of images, words and music the orchestra performed a Russian world on the stage—showing, for example, village feasts in the old Russian rural society. Wigelius and Fors emphasised how it was very important for the members of the orchestra to bear costumes, of how the shawl and the dress made them feel like the Russian women. Wigelius recalls how she felt on stage:

> *In those days we tried to imitate. We tried to be like them. It was like a dream, like, a dream image, one would want to be there. One would want to be in that choir. We tried to recreate a village feast in Russia.* [...] *and we hoped that the audience would be interested in that, and they surely were too. There was a lot of talk about that—it was almost like a history lesson, the concerts with speeches* [...] *Yes, really—the interest in this culture.* (Interview with Susanna Wigelius 27th of September 2019)

Wigelius's recollection elucidates how Russian music and culture were a way for her, with the aid of her imagination, to dress and embody the Other. It was a matter of trying out another way of being and becoming, for a short while on stage. Wigelius's positional negotiation simultaneously entails proximity and distance. The Other is situated in a distant imagined place, objectified in "a dream image"—yet at the same time, as a part of herself in and via the music (cf. Segalen 2002, Fabian 1983 see also Appaduari 1996:33–35). Fors describes similar experiences of the Russian music: how she tried to imitate and articulate an identity—to know, feel, act and "become" the Russian women in the choir.

Some blanket conclusions can, of course, not be drawn on the basis of Fors's and Wigelius's experiences, since the orchestra consisted of around thirty different individuals—all with their own attitudes, ideals and feelings towards playing and singing. Nor were the very same persons members of the orchestra throughout the 1970s—members came and went. It is nevertheless interesting to see how the orchestra's practices and ac-

Poster for concert with SBB in the assembly hall of the Säve school in Visby, Gotland, April 1978. Donated by Birgit Viberg to Håkan Agnsäter and the exhibition "Affischerna 1967–1979" (The posters 1967–1979). Illustrator: Roland Hejdström.

tions during concerts shape and stage Russia as sonic space and imagined geographical place. This actualises the popular-music scholar Andy Bennet's descriptions of how music has a special ability to influence the way that "individuals author space, musical texts being creatively combined with local knowledges and sensibilities in ways that tell particular stories about the local, and impose collectively defined meanings and significance on space" (Bennet et al. 2017:3).

The ethnologist Alf Arvidsson has analysed different musicians' roles and subject positions in the alternative music movement of the 1960s and 70s. Using Allan Moore's concept "third person authenticity," he discusses how certain artists "can be appreciated for giving voice to or shouldering the role of another authentic group" (Arvidsson 2008:323) and thus represent the Other. Reviews have illustrated how the audience saw the orchestra as "ancient Russian folk music and culture," — as something authentic with regard to intention, musical expression and feeling. On the other hand, if we consider the individual views of members as discussed above and SBB's inner dynamics as a collective — then they never claimed to be a genuine Russian orchestra. Rather did they portray themselves as a heterogenous Swedish collective that played Russian and Eastern European folk music together. Their performing of — and attitude to — the music was typified by playfulness and lots of room for interpretation. As Fors expressed it: "we can in fact interpret the Russian music exactly as we like. No-one has meddled with that. And that feels so good!" (Interview with Rebecca Fors 25th of September 2019). In parallel with this, we have also seen how the orchestra sought authenticity to a certain extent and tried to recreate the music in faith with historical ideals. Another interesting detail in the orchestra's musicianship was that they also explored a different repertoire to the Russian and Eastern European music, and examples of this are found below.

Concerts, trips and archives

During the 1970s, SBB performed on an array of stages and seemingly moved with ease between various social, cultural and geographical contexts. The orchestra took part in the activities of the dawning alter-

native music movement, playing at the famed Gärdet festivals in 1970, -71 and -72 and at the Alternative festival in 1975. They did school concerts, played in parks and festivals and in geriatric care homes.[15] In 1970 SBB were invited by The Royal Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra to open a series of art music concerts at *Konserthuset Stockholm*, and in 1973 they worked with the male voice choir *Orphei Drängar* in Uppsala and were guest artists in the choir's "Caprice."[16] They also played on Mikael Ramel's record *Extra Vagansa* (1974) and the tune "Så länge're svänger" (As Long As It Swings). SBB also recorded three albums of their own: *Södra Bergens Balalaikor* (1971), *1973* (1973) and *Skiva* (1979)—all with the alternative music movement's record company *Musiknätet Waxholm*, MNW.

Yet another example of SBB's entwinement with the bands and activities of the alternative music movement came when the orchestra's female members were invited to participate in the recording of *Hoola Bandoola Band*'s album *På väg* (1973, MNW). In a comment on the release on the web page of the band's leading figure Mikael Wiehe, he tells of a conscious strategy to breach the male dominance: "It had been pointed out that we had too few girls in the band" (Mikael Wiehe, electronic resource). The women's voices and balalaikas were mixed on the album with the band's men's voices and electric instruments such as drums, bass and guitar.[17] The full SBB orchestra had in the same year arranged a series of concerts with Hoola Bandoola Band and *Kustbandet*—the latter band played trad jazz (New Orleans) from the 1920s and -30s. The object of the concerts was to present different genres on the same stage with

[15] Some members of SBB formed smaller ensembles and did a number of tours of schools in various parts of Sweden.

[16] This concept was introduced by OD in the early 1960s as a concert form in which the audience was treated to sudden shifts between the humorous and the serious with secret guest artists. This concert form was also a way for OD to reconnect with the historical function of the choir: to make music for the fun of it (Orphei Drängar 2021). It is easy to see that this orientation suited SBB's musical aims.

[17] See, for example, track 2 "Jakten på Dalai Lama" (The Hunt for Dalai Lama). Karin Biribakken, a member of the orchestra, also sung solo on track 3, "Karins song" (Karin's Song) and in the final tune—track 9, "På väg" (On the Way)—the women's choir and the male voices of the band sing alternately.

The orchestra gathered outside their tour bus, during the Finish summer camp at Kite 1974. Photo: Birgitta Karlestedt.

the aim of reaching a larger audience. These ideas were reflected in the name of the concert: "Together but separate." The three bands organised everything themselves and booked concert venues in different places in Sweden—Västerås, Malmö, Lund, Eskilstuna, Uppsala and Stockholm. In this way, they could also offer low-price concert tickets in line with the existing anti-commercial and "do-it-yourself" ideal of the orchestra (Interviews with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019, Susanna Wigelius 27th of September 2019, Rebecca Fors & Tommy Johansson 25th of September 2019, see also Lundblad DN 1972).

According to SBB's own statistics from 1978, they had since their start in 1969 done a total of 456 concerts, 13 of them abroad.[18] That is a large

[18] This is said to be "assuredly documented [...] the plausible number of appearances is around 490" (Strucke: "Lögn, förbannad lögn eller statistik" 1978). The years 1972: 59 and 1973: 70 deviate in relation to the other years with around 36 or 46.

number of concerts for an amateur orchestra, and clearly indicates how popular SBB were. The trips abroad went to Norway (1971 and 1973), Ukraine (1972), Georgia, Ukraine, Russia (1973), Georgia and Moscow/Russia (1975) and Poland (1972 and 1977). The tours were also collection journeys with regard to both repertoire and instruments. When Lundkvist and Underdal started study circles they had asked Gottfrid Johansson's music shop in Stockholm to order a balalaika course with sheet music from Germany. The owner of the shop, Bertil Runefelt, was also a member of the orchestra and was an important link when it came to importing instruments. The shop's personnel also shared their knowledge of instruments and Eastern European music.[19] Lundkvist and Underdal also built and reconstructed instruments for the orchestra (among others, wind instruments such as home-made rozhoks, oboes and sopilkas).

Another central aspect in this context was SBB's close ties to the world of scholarship—something often held forth as a typical aspect regarding new performers of Swedish folk music in the same period (Ramsten 1992, Lundberg & Ternhag 2005:89–91, Ronström 2014:47ff.). An example of this is SBB's first concert, which took place in 1969 at Stockholm's Music Museum—where Lundkvist and Underdal had good contacts. The music scholar and musician Sven Berger (born 1938) worked at the museum and was an important resource for the orchestra with his knowledge of early music, older instruments and performance practice. The then director of the museum, the music scholar Ernst Emsheimer (1904–1989) had in his turn travelled in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and made field recordings of village music. Emsheimer shared this material and became an important link with scholars in Russia and Eastern Europe. One of these was the Russian ethnomusicologist Evgeny Vladimirovich Gippius, who had made transcriptions of music traditions in northern Russia. His student, the musician and ethnomusicologist Dmitri Pokrovsky (1944–1996), also helped the orchestra with his knowledge of Russian music traditions. These contacts were of help in planning tours and facilitating vis-

[19] Runefelt arranged, for example, a series of folk music concerts at the Sunside youth club in Stockholm; SBB performed there in 1969. He also started the balalaika orchestra Kazbek in 1975 in Stockholm (Kazbek 2021).

Archive and library of SBB in their rehearsal premises, 25th of September 2019.
Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

its to folk music archives in, among other places, Leningrad and Moscow (Kempe 1978, Interview with Thomas Lundkvist 27th of May 2019). This enabled the orchestra to bring field recordings from these areas back to Sweden. In addition to buying records of music, SBB recorded performers and interviews with music scholars (among them, Gippius)—particularly during trips to Ukraine and Georgia (Kempe 1978). These recordings resulted in eight radio programmes about music from the Soviet

Union. The material that they gathered through the years later became the orchestra's library and archive. The majority of the music in the archive during the 1970s was from various parts of the Soviet Union, but there were also recordings from Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (Kempe 1978).[20] In the late 1970s, the library was also used by the general public, and between 15 to 20 titles were usually out on loan (Ronström 1978). In addition to concert activities, the orchestra thus performed an additional function in popular education, spreading in this way knowledge of Russian music and folk musicianship (cf. SBB's statutes 1969).

Having rehearsal premises of their own during these years was of great importance to the orchestra. In the beginning, they borrowed premises from the Sweden-Soviet Union association, but after just a few years the orchestra rented rehearsal premises of their own at Tjärhovsplan in Stockholm. In these premises—formerly a cinema—they built a stage, a recording studio and a workshop in which to make instruments. Their library and archive were also placed there. Since the 1970s their collections have been updated continually with recordings, sheet music and books. The archive is still in SBB's present rehearsal room in Stockholm, and is used by members. The emplacement of the archive serves as a reminder for SBB of the importance of the orchestra's own history and collection activities through the years. This last aspect resonates well with how previous research on orchestral practices has stressed how cherishing their own history contributes to foster senses of belonging in the collective. (cf. Ramnarine 2017:2).

Music, togetherness and transnational belongings

Throughout this chapter we have seen various examples of SBB's mobilities as a musical and social agent in the Swedish music life in the 1960s and 70s. The orchestra's activities were characterised by egalitarian, anti-commercial and anti-elitist values: folk music and musicianship were

[20] In 1978 there were 15 000 titles in the records archive and 325 titles in the library (Kempe 1978, Ronström 1978).

things that everyone should be able to understand and partake in regardless of their social background and class, occupation, political views, nationality, gender or age. The orchestra's ambition was to engage in popular education and pedagogical activities for both its members and its audience. In this sense, one might say that SBB epitomised Sweden's alternative music movement during this period. A number of the ideas which were under negotiation and enacted in SBB's musicianship and music making were also to be found in many of the alternative movement's music and theatre groups.

Interesting contrasts and tensions are visible in the orchestra's internal activities and through concerts. On the one hand, their approach shows itself to be serious in that they sought to imitate and reproduce the music in line with historical sources and role models. On the other hand, the recollections of the members reveal a playfulness, a sense of humour and a desire to experiment in everything from instrumentation and repertoire to performance. Members also described how the Russian and Eastern European music felt emotionally close, but also geographically distant. It was at one and the same time experienced as both foreign and familiar.

Judging by the reactions of Swedish journalists and their public, SBB were appreciated and the music was experienced to be authentic in performance, intention and sentiment. It is, perhaps, surprising that the orchestra did not meet with more opposition. Though the orchestra was devoid of political ties and consisted of members with different political views, both their audience and the general public might well have associated Russian music and the balalaika with a pro-Soviet communist ideology. From the material upon which this study is based, I find no such apparent tendencies or critique of the orchestra.[21]

The orchestra instead appears to have been perceived as a popular collective and a welcome element in opposition to the establishment and

[21] A great part of this study is based on material from the orchestra and Lundkvist's own collections, which can in turn point towards a certain bias in the sources, since negative criticism might not have been saved. There are however critical voices in the surveyed material, which is extensive and includes reviews from various parts of Sweden. The reception abroad has also been described in the interviews in positive terms.

the dominant music culture in Sweden. This is understandable in relation to the fact that many young people interested in music in this period turned towards other forms of music traditions—for example Irish music, Greek and other Balkan music and choral traditions from various African cultures. Did, perhaps, SBB's ability to act in the liminal space between the serious and the humorous contribute to the dearth of critical reactions?[22] It is also reasonable to assume that many of the music journalists who reviewed SBB's performances shared the orchestra's ideological views with regard to culture and politics.

It is interesting to observe how the activities of the orchestra gave rise to both local and transnational networks involving amateurs, musicians and music scholars. Certain places in these networks seem to be of particular value to the orchestra, since they create what scholars within the social sciences and humanities have termed "nodes": important places where people can meet and share knowledge, various kinds of expertise and cultural insights. The nodes are central to the formation of community and senses of belonging (Emms & Crossley 2018:114–119, see also Brickell & Datta 2011:18). The orchestra's premises with a studio, a stage and workshop for making instruments may be described as such a central node. The rehearsal rooms were not merely a place for the members of the orchestra to gather, but also for other people who in one way or another were interested in or associated with the activities of the orchestra. On a local level, Gottfrid Johansson's music shop in Stockholm became another node: here the members could learn more about Russian music and also access sheet music and instruments. The music museum in Stockholm is yet another important node: this research institute and its personnel gave musical expertise and contacts in the academic world in Russia, Ukraine and Georgia. These contacts led in their turn members of the orchestra to concert stages and archives in these countries. Other important nodes for SBB were the various venues where they performed and festivals, parks and concert halls. Contacts with other bands in, for example, the alternative music movement opened doors to the media

[22] It is important to bear in mind that it might have been sensitive for members to express political views in an interview.

and record industry. The orchestra recorded albums and spread their music. With their various competencies and knowledges, the individuals in the orchestra were the central links between these nodes.

In this context, I would like to suggest how the orchestra formed a collective transcultural capital by embodying the Other in their movements between these places. The term "transcultural capital" has been used in human geography research concerning music and migration. It builds upon Bourdieu's concept of capital and was introduced by Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike H. Meinhof in their studies of musicians from Northern Africa and Madagascar and their transnational networks in the diaspora in Germany and France (2011a). The term was used to problematise a static view of the relationship between global South and North, and the tendency to fail to acknowledge heterogeneity and movement within the cultural activities of various ethnic groups. Kiwan and Meinhof instead showed how the individual musicians own a transcultural capital consisting of competencies, experiences and social networks which is formed and developed in movements between various cultural contexts and geographical places (see also Kiwan & Meinhof 2011b, and cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 2019 and Chapter 3 in this anthology). I wish to apply a similar line of reasoning to SBB's activities and in addition put emphasis on collective creativity and agency. The members of the orchestra embodied various forms of transcultural capital due to their knowledge of the Russian language, music and culture and their proximity to the world of scholarship and the media, which in turn were formed and facilitated by the nodes. SBB was perceived as the Others in terms of "Swedes who played Russian music" in both a national and international context. They were also given a positive welcome during their tours of Russia and Eastern Europe. Via this distinctiveness, the embodiment of the Other, the orchestra formed a unique space within the music life in Sweden. In addition to their own activities, the orchestra functioned as a sonic and symbolical resource for groups in the alternative music movement and also in art music contexts. With music, song, dancing and theatre they staged a Russian world. Such a collective transcultural capital worked well in the Sweden and the Europe of the late 1960s, where an interest in and concern for the Other was great within the musical scenes (cf. Kutschke 2013:3). This made it

Concert with SBB at Strömsbergs bruk 3rd of August 2019.
Photo: Karin Eriksson, Svenskt visarkiv.

possible for SBB to easily move between different cultural spaces, musical scenes and geographical places.

How did it come to be that a group of people who were interested in music came to start an orchestra which played Russian and Eastern European music in the Sweden of the late 1960's? This chapter has, in summary, shown how music and music making can evoke feelings, educe a sense of presence and belonging, and entwine individuals, groups and materialities (cf. for example DeNora 2000 and Piekut 2014: 200). Through their instruments and the music, the members of SBB were able to discover and experience other sounds and sonic spaces and thus move musically and geographically in the world. The Russian and East European music, and in particular the balalaika, formed an affective glue which tied the orchestra together: a togetherness and community that has held for over fifty years.

QR-code: Video clip with Susanna Wigelius and Rebecca Fors (song) and Tommy Johansson (bayan) who perform "Oj Moroz" at Rival in Stockholm for SBB's 40-year jubilee, 25th of October 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=miOSxUKxYuQ&t=22s, retrieved 1st of August 2021. At the end of the performance they sing their own Swedish text to the melody:

Vi var unga, livet lekte, balalajkan var vår vän
Vi fick nya goda vänner och tillsammans spelar vi än
//: Å det var då, i proggens tid, våran ljuva ungdomstid
Södra Bergens Balalaikor blandades med proggens politik://

We were young, life was a game, the balalaika was our friend
We found new, good friends and we play together yet
//: And it was then, in the days of prog, the sweet days of our youth
Södra Bergens Balalaikor was mixed with the politics of prog://

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"Everything was kind of in motion." This is how the music group Blå Tåget sums up the Swedish 1960s. But what does it mean that everything was in motion? In this book, four ethnomusicologists examine some of the aesthetic, ideological, geographical and, not least, cultural shifts that took place in Swedish music during the decades around 1970. With shifts or movements in focus, they unravel such things as how field recordings from sixties Bosnia ended up in a Swedish archive and then found their way back, how different kinds of mobilities in sixties popular music led to meetings and entanglements, how a Swedish balalaika orchestra came to develop into the epitome of authentic music-making, how a physical place and its audience came to shape an entire music scene, and how notions of the "folky"—as sincere and genuine, authentic and utopian—were formed and negotiated at music festivals, traditional musicians' gatherings, and in a movement between city and country.

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