

Jazz, Gender, Authenticity

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Cover photo: Monica Petrini, alto sax, ca. 1956. One of Sweden's first female saxophonists. Photo from Estrad's archive/Rolf Dahlgren, in Svenskt visarkiv.

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Introduction

Alf Arvidsson

Jazz and...

When jazz research started to be conducted in a more permanent stream, from the 1950s and onwards, there was a strong tendency to focus on jazz in a 'pure' sense. Just as the jazz discourse from the 1930s had been growing out of a will to define a pure and authentic jazz, that was to be separated from other forms of popular music – and put on display under the jazz moniker (see Dunkel's paper in this volume), it was important for jazz research to focus on jazz *per se*. This can be seen as an embodiment of the dominant jazz discourse among researchers, that gave them credibility with the leading jazz critics (even when the two categories did not actually combine), but also as a strategy within the wider field of music research; if jazz was to be promoted as a subject of serious research, it was important that the jazz tradition was taken as a given, an autonomous phenomenon worthy of study in itself. After all, this was the dominant way of doing musicology – defining and delimiting a form, selecting the most important lives, works, and epochs, and studying them as rather autonomous entities, relating them more to one another than to 'outside' factors.

Today, jazz is accepted as a legitimate research subject on par with classical music (although funding for such research probably shows differences). However, there have been many new questions raised within musicology – and the cultural study of music in general, as an effect of various theoretical contributions to the field. For one thing, distinctions between genres is no longer taken for granted; rather, researchers explore how genre borders are built and retained, how status and attention are awarded and distributed, and how this affects the socio-economical conditions for the music, and directly results in changes in the music.

The inner dynamics of Western classical music, jazz, and other genres is still an

important subject. After all, even if genre labels are of limited value as concepts for the analysis of music, they are still a social fact since the safeguarding of genre borders is performed and lived by people investing emotions, efforts, and economical resources into keeping them very much at work. However, there are other questions, themes, and perspectives that can contribute to a deeper understanding of jazz. These include the physical conditions affecting the existence of jazz in society, the variety of meanings ascribed to it, other uses and functions, or the practices of musicians and the resulting sound. And, some of these questions cannot be posed with a presupposition that jazz should have a privileged position, nor indeed that the concept of genres should be a relevant factor at all. But broader perspectives like ‘race and music,’ ‘emotions in music,’ and ‘what type of music constitutes popular music,’ can very easily lead back to issues of genres such as jazz, through questions such as: are these topics taken up in similar ways in different genres? Or, is there perhaps a functional cleavage between genres? Has one specific genre become the conduit for this issue? If so, has this affected the genre, and how? Has this phenomenon reinforced or destabilized the genre?

For the 10th Nordic Jazz Research Conference in 2012, the terms *gender* and *authenticity* were chosen by the organizing committee as relevant themes around which to gather discussion. The call for papers received a response beyond the committee’s expectations and hopes – the response from countries outside the Nordic region was surprisingly strong. Unfortunately, not all of the proposals could be accepted, due to the restricted time and space available for the conference.

Gender...

There seems to be a general pattern in how gender issues have been introduced and developed within different spheres of culture studies during the last decades of the twentieth century.¹ Initial works set out to establish a complete picture by focusing attention on the marginalized and omitted women, often in historical revisions with ‘there have *also* been female...’ as a leading principle. The next step has been to question the system of inclusion and exclusion of forms and genres, and roles, within a hegemonic system. This approach often revealed how genres, considered

to be 'minor' or insufficient, have been those available to women (as performers or audience members). Likewise, the distribution of roles, differentiated in music production and consumption has been studied, often finding women active in less visible roles that are, nevertheless, crucial to the process. Here, inspiration has often come from anthropological cross-cultural studies of gendered divisions.² Yet another perspective includes a closer study of cultural works from the analytical traditions of semiotics and/or discourse, and poses questions of how gender is represented, constructed, refracted, and negotiated through both the individual work, and a conglomeration of works. That is, art works are not simply products of a system of gendered differences, but are studied as one of the forces that produce and reinforce gender differences. A wider perspective includes not only the music, but also aspects of performance, both on and off stage, as well as speaking and writing about jazz, and performative aspects of masculinity and femininity.

It should be pointed out that these steps are not phases that succeed one another in some kind of developmental scheme, but are rather a model of how definition, expansion, and re-definition create the growth of a field. The introduction of new ideas and perspectives doesn't necessarily make the previous questions and tasks invalid, although they may have to be refined and restated in more complex ways. Jazz studies have followed this pattern fairly well. Two ground-breaking surveys from the 1980s, one by Sally Placksin and one by Linda Dahl, focused on how women had been marginalized. The studies took the first compensatory steps by bringing some prominent musicians to the forefront.³ Some biographies have followed, celebrating musicians such as Lillian Hardin Armstrong, Hazel Scott, Valaida Snow, and Mary Lou Williams, thus countering the tendency of historical writing that neglects women.⁴ Sherrie Tucker's study of all-girl bands during the 1930s and '40s was important in revealing how there can be, even in a male-dominated genre, quite large spaces for women. But here, it becomes evident how the writing of history tends to favor the 'name' bands and individuals, and how the permanent, rather than the temporary structures ÷ the long careers rather than the short and disrupted ones ÷ are put in focus.⁵ If the field is widened to also include women as composers, arrangers, fans, critics, photographers, and patrons

÷ the roles that in jazz discourses often are subordinated to the roles of musicians and record producers ÷ the gendered complexity of jazz becomes clearer and, at least somewhat, reduces the impression of jazz as an ‘all-male’ phenomenon.⁶

Even so, male dominance is not just a matter of men outnumbering women, but also a question of how masculinity is taken to be the norm. Some recent studies have explored how masculinity is constructed in jazz and how, and why, such constructions are taken for granted as intrinsic values of jazz.⁷ That this masculine hegemony also presupposes a heteronormative sexuality has had a strong repressive effect; the experiences of homosexuals, bisexuals, transsexuals, and cross-dressers, have only fairly recently been possible to speak of.⁸

Since jazz studies is a marginal field in musicology, as is gender studies, there is still much work to be done, even on the basic level of identifying and describing female jazz musicians. This approach is present in these contributions; here we include studies focusing on individuals, some of whom have not been given much attention as jazz musicians. As it happened, the contributions dealing with individual women turned out to be about vocalists – this is not necessarily representative of contemporary jazz, but nevertheless, describes dominant patterns, available role models, and general expectations. The questions of how women are marginalized concern their contemporary contexts, as well as the selective practices of how music history is written.

Authenticity...

The tendency of modern society to decontextualize, isolate, essensiate, *per se* – refine, and *an sich* – construct, almost everything, shaped a world of comprehension with clear-cut distinctions and definitions suitable for creating order and structure, but also bred anxiety and suspicion concerning the experiences of daily life: since I do not know from where this stems, can I be sure it is real or am I the victim of an illusion or falsification?

The concept of authenticity – whether spoken out loud, or clearly defined with words like *real*, *genuine*, *original*, has long been a principle used to structure the world by, and it has been a strong force in culture and science.⁹ The concept

of authenticity has existed within jazz music ever since the first commercial breakthrough in 1917. What constitutes real jazz, and what are simply fake attempts at jumping on the jazz bandwagon? Who are the real jazz musicians? What is logical development of jazz' inherent essence, and what is not? And, who is entitled to try new pathways, and who is entitled to judge what jazz is? An important contribution toward understanding of how 'authenticity' works is Allan Moore's article. He describes how authenticity can be constructed in several ways, and with different motivations for claiming and ascribing authenticity to music, which in his view, includes the musician's background, the origins of the music, or the acceptance of the audience – all as possible sources of authenticity.¹⁰ Annjo Klungervik Greenall then takes these thoughts as a starting point and elaborates further on them.

The concept of authenticity as a force in jazz discourse has been much discussed during the last two decades. Scott DeVeaux' text on jazz historiography¹¹ is an inspirational starting point – and in a similar way to Michel Foucault, we can ask: what has been written into jazz history, and what has been left out? How did what for a long time has been described as a continuous development, with different styles succeeding one another, take place? Were different styles competing for attention, for musicians and for audiences, and were critics trying to control the center of jazz? If so, was 'authenticity,' or were other similar notions, seminal in establishing positions of power: were these ideas ascribed to the winning side, in retrospect, as an explanation for their victories? And, how have the qualities described by the denomination 'authenticity' varied, and who has had the right *and* power to define and declare authenticity?

These questions take on a certain twist when talking about the Nordic countries, other places in Europe, or indeed everywhere outside of the United States. Here, this is most apparent in Misha van Kan's study of Swedish critics' reactions to Miles Davis' recordings of *Dear Old Stockholm*, a Swedish folk tune. The question arises – who is entitled to make jazz out of various folk musics?

The study of jazz in Europe has, until quite recently, been occupied with questions of the introduction of jazz in Europe, and development on national

levels, including questions of the possibility of distinctive regional styles.¹² These issues are visible here, but quite another question that receives more attention concerns how different nations contribute various social and economic contexts for jazz. Here the Nordic countries have some aspects in common in terms of, for instance, music schools, culture politics, and mass media structure – something that has been noticed from outside the region and been ascribed great relevance.¹³

The Papers...

This publication roughly follows the program of the conference; although some of the papers have been modified, expanded, and even have had a change of focus. The arrangement of the articles was made in a rather loose, varied manner, with occasional couplings and practical adjustments as determining factors, rather than an attempt at a strict, thematic plan. As the following papers will show, such an attempt would have been futile – one strength of the conference was the way in which concepts of ‘gender’ and ‘authenticity’, as well as ‘Nordic’, intersected in various ways in the different contributions. Another dimension of variation concerns the professional status of the speakers and the character of their papers. Here are the voices of musicians, teachers, archivists, and researchers (with many of the contributors combining these roles, in one way or another), and the texts vary between personal experiences, broad overviews, case studies, and poetical representations (this aspect also reveals a combination of roles).

The introductory position was allotted to Marie Selander, for a long time one of the most prominent performers of free vocal improvisation in Sweden, but who also has a broad repertoire and experiences from rock, Swedish folk music, as well as being a pioneer in the “world music” scene. Here she draws on her recent book on women in music, building on her own experiences, on interviews with colleagues from various generations, and surveys of recent research.¹⁴ This is followed by some presentations where gender, authenticity, race, and ethnicity are addressed in different ways.

Mario Dunkel proposes critical readings of the early historiography of jazz, noting how the music in the 1930s was racialized, gendered, and class-related

in contrast to previous discourses on jazz, thus making us aware of the flaws of narratives we still use, and the potential for new possibilities in the writing of jazz' development. Annjo Klungervik Greenall, a Norwegian scholar and singer, discusses different notions of authenticity, taking her own translations and performances of songs from Billie Holiday's repertoire as a starting point. Barry Long focuses on Mahalia Jackson, who did not identify with jazz, but came across as a uniting symbol of authenticity, credibility, and spirituality, for African Americans, especially in during civil rights movement.

The next papers study the problem of jazz in the Nordic countries and the possibility of a 'Nordic' character in jazz. Janne Mäkelä discusses the political similarities and different forms of Nordic co-operation that have made a kind of common social context possible. James W. Dickenson presents how the album *Østerdalsmusikk*, a 1970s project combining jazz with traditional folk music of eastern Norway, has become a classic that, today, is being reproduced in concert. Mischa van Kan as stated above discusses Miles Davis' take on the Swedish folk song, "Ack Värmeland du sköna."

A focus on female musicians constitutes the next group of papers. Viveka Hellström, a singer and teacher at Stockholm's Royal Academy of Music, surveys prominent Swedish jazz vocalists ranging from the 1950s up to 2012, and how they have been reviewed in *Orkesterjournalen*, the leading Swedish jazz magazine. She notices a pattern of recurring questions on their status as 'real' jazz singers. Alf Arvidsson presents Lill Lindfors, one of the leading vocalists in Swedish popular music since the 1960s, and discusses how her work, though seldom mentioned in terms of jazz, actually is informed with a distinct jazz aesthetic. Olena Huseinova analyses how Azerbaijani singer and pianist, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh, constructs authenticity in the narrative of her life story, linking herself to a national heritage as well as establishing jazz credibility. Elina Hytönen-Ng gives a close analysis of how gender is taken for granted, and how it is staged and performed – both on and off the stage – drawing on interviews with British female musicians.

In the next section, the papers take a more general point of view. Christa Bruckner-Haring gives a quantitative survey of the gender distribution, within

jazz in Austria, among musicians, agencies, in professional jazz education, and the awarding of important prizes. She notes, along with her interviewees, a rising number of women, although she still finds a strong male dominance. Ari Poutiainen studies the curricula of fifteen Nordic jazz education programs and notes how different attitudes and preferred qualities are entextualized as being important for the jazz musician. Erik Nylander discusses how jazz can be thought of as a *Sprachspiel*, or a language game (after Wittgenstein), but stresses that this game also needs the sounds at the center, the auditive dimension, in order to work.

The last two papers have the field of traditional jazz revival in common, although differing in many ways. Jens Lindgren, former archivist at Sweden's National Jazz Archive (Svenskt visarkiv), writes from his personal point of view as trombonist with the group, Kustbandet. Since the 1960s, Kustbandet has played a music – the big band music of the early 1930s, played by the likes of Redman, Ellington, Henderson, etc. – that falls “betwixt and between” the major categories of jazz history, and the traditionalist and modernist camps that divided the Swedish jazz community for decades. This is apparent in Lindgren's personal narrative. Henrik Smith-Sivertsen's study of the tune, “Just Over in the Glory Land,” looks at the many transformations it has gone through, in which its supposed traditionality has been one factor affecting the spread, uses, presentations, and forms of the changes it has been subjected to.

The conference ended with a panel on different ways of representing saxophonist, Lars Gullin (1928–1976), and his music. The discussants were musicians Jan Allan, Mats Gustafsson, Gunnel T. Mauritzson, and author Eva Sjöstrand. The panel closed with Sjöstrand reading the final section of her theatre play on Gullin that toured Sweden in 2008, and the translation is reproduced here.

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Notes

- ¹ For a more comprehensive introduction to gender studies of jazz see Rustin and Tucker 2008.
- ² Koskoff 1987 and Herndon and Ziegler 1990 were perhaps the anthologies with largest impact.
- ³ Placksin 1982; Dahl 1984.
- ⁴ Dickerson 2002; Chilton 2008; Miller 2007; Dahl 1999, Kermode 2004.
- ⁵ Tucker 2000. There was no all-girl band that had as much impact, so it qualifies among the few great ones; in addition, all-girl bands (as a fraction among big bands), as well big bands, as such, disappeared after WWII making the period, and the form a parenthesis in jazz history, and as such of less importance. The style of swing and its epoch have also often been considered a commercialized phase on the road to be-bop.
- ⁶ Rustin and Tucker 2008 give a good sample of productive perspectives.
- ⁷ Ake 2002, Whyton 2010.
- ⁸ Middlebrook 1997; Gavin 2001; Tucker 2008; www.istandcorrectedmovie.com

⁹ See for instance Bendix 1997.

¹⁰ Moore 2002.

¹¹ DeVeaux 1991.

¹² There are quite a few studies about jazz on a national level. Books with a pan-European perspective include Jost 1987, Pickhan and Ritter 2010, Heffley 2005.

¹³ Nicholson 2005, cf critique in Whyton 2010.

¹⁴ Selander 2012.

For Whom is It Important?

Marie Selander

[Sung introduction: Kulning]

This was an improvised so-called *kulning*, or herding call, influenced both by the Swedish *vallåtsskalan* – herding call modal scale, and the blues scale. What about that authenticity? Now, growing up in a working class family in a post-WWII working class suburb of Stockholm at the end of the 1940s, I had to struggle hard to gain acceptance in the musical scene. In the 1960s, my friend Inger and I started an all female pop group called the Nursery Rhymes. Being authentic was something we never thought about. The main thing for us was to play – and we played stuff that mainly came from the male rhythm and blues tradition: John Lee Hooker, Muddy Waters, Howlin’ Wolf, and the like. We had never actually heard of a single female blues musician, never heard of Memphis Minnie, Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Geesie Wiley, or any of the other touring blues women. We had not even heard of Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, and Ida Cox. It is easy to understand why because these women were neither ever mentioned in the magazines and papers we read, nor did our heroes on the music scene, like the Rolling Stones, ever mention them. When the Nursery Rhymes (NR) played at the Cromwellian, a popular club in London in October 1966, we had musicians like Eric Burdon from the Animals, John Entwistle from The Who, and Eric Clapton in the audience. After our first set, Eric Clapton went up to our lead guitarist, Inger Jonsson, and said: “Wow, I never thought a woman could play lead guitar.” Noticing that she reacted quite strongly, he quickly continued saying: “Ehh, what strings do you use?” – making her now a guitar colleague instead of a weird species. Anyway, this remark meant that he probably did not know of, for example Memphis Minnie, who was an active recording musician for thirty years, from 1929 until 1959, when she made her last recording. This happened in 1966, which means that it was only seven years later.

For us in the NR the thought of authenticity was never a problem; the problem was being accepted as serious musicians in an all homo-social male world. The music scene was totally dominated by so called gatekeepers who were all trying very hard to make us feel that our identity was, first of all female, and not at all musical. Today, when reading all the articles that have been written about us, I can't imagine how we endured the silly remarks like "The NR is an all-girl group that doesn't sound like girls," or "The NR look fabulous but they also know how to play." Yet, we made it because music meant the most to us, we rehearsed, we developed and we had a great time.

Since then I've moved around in many different music worlds: traditional Swedish folk music, traditional Irish music, so-called world music, classical Arabian music, and contemporary freely-improvised music scenes. I learned how to do cow calling – kulning – in the 1970s. At that time it was proclaimed by both the musicologists at Stockholm University, and in different written sources and TV programs, that it was impossible to learn this tradition unless you had grown up in the traditional herding culture. And you had to be a very young girl when starting to learn it. I thought this was silly nonsense (one good thing about being working class and mostly in opposition to the reigning norm). So I started to try to get in contact with one of the women; Elin Lisslass, who had been recorded on a famous LP in the 1950s. I thought then that I had to go to Transtrand, far up in western Dalarna – Dalecarlia. But, she lived only a block away from our rehearsal studio in the southern part of Stockholm and she gladly came and gave me my first cow-calling lesson. Teaching the tradition to me as a 30 year-old was neither strange nor impossible for her. She was happy that I was interested and she gladly taught me the technique and modes. What would have happened if I'd listened to the weirdos who tried to keep me in my place? I also felt strange being an urban woman learning traditional Swedish folk singing. Of course this was not a problem for those traditional singers I met, but it was for the others – those who 'knew how,' the wise-guys. To them, I was not authentic enough. And this was held against me, but it never stopped me.

It is certainly quite a horrific experience after being a musician for almost fifty years to suddenly realize that very little has changed on the music field in terms of

gender. The gatekeepers still seem to exist, both in terms of power, and concepts. Terms such as 'girl group,' female musician, female composer, and female jazz musician are still very common expressions. A musician is male, but if you're a woman you're a female musician, and so on. The dominance of male composers (mostly dead ones) in the national concert institutions in Sweden in 2008 was 98.9%, according to an investigation made by the composer Karin Rehnqvist. For me it was an eye-opener suddenly realizing that so little has happened. When I started off in the 1960s, I thought that, fifty years in the future, we would have an equal musical scene among all genders. So why don't we have it now? This sudden perception gave me the idea of creating a series of radio programs for the Swedish National Radio. I called them *Glastaket*, or the Glass Ceiling, and in these programs I interviewed women who were of different ages and active during various years, playing different music styles such as jazz/improvised music, rock, traditional folk music, and contemporary classical music. The oldest musician was over eighty years old, Siw Karlén, and she had played the contrabass touring Europe for twenty-five years, from the end of the 1940s, into the 1970s. Who had heard of her in Sweden? The youngest musicians were music students and young rock musicians who were active in different organizations such as *Popkollo*. The organization was created in 2003 by the Swedish singer/composer Marit Bergman who borrowed the idea from the Ladies Rock Camp in the United States.

During these interviews, I started to see a pattern of structures that effectively conserved the gender roles in music. The *Glastaket* programs created quite a reaction and I got loads of e-mail from musicians, music teachers, and scholars. Were there any books they could buy that spoke of these issues? I thought about all the interesting academic theses I had read, and realized they were probably too advanced and hard to understand for a student in, for example, secondary school. So, what to do? I decided to put all my own experience, parts of the interviews I'd made, the history and theses I've read, and my own conclusions into a book that could be read by anyone.¹ The aim was to show the diversity of women who, through history, actually had played, composed, toured in bands and fought to have equal rights in a music life, and who had fought for their own urge to be creative human beings. The need for role models is huge!

These women have been effectively erased from music history books, even recently written ones. The argument for not writing about them was that “they had not mattered historically,” “they were not important enough,” and that it was a “matter of quality.” Quality is an enormously effective concept for keeping women out of the music scene, for what is in the word quality? It is a matter of value, created by whom? And who is estimating this so-called quality?

It was quite a pleasant experience to write this book because, again, I realized how much I’d been kept in the dark. Reading the book *Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen*, written by Linda Dahl, revealed an enormous number of female jazz musicians in the United States, who had existed since the beginning of jazz. They’d been everywhere! They appeared in vaudeville shows, in big bands, as soloists, bandleaders, composers, and arrangers. And Jesus! Were they authentic! And they were playing any, and all instruments; they were not ‘just’ singers. BUT their gender had, many times, been held against them and hindered them in their different careers.

So what about Sweden and the lives of jazzwomen here? I kept interviewing even more older jazz musicians while writing my book. Harriet Lundin, now 81, also a jazz bass player, told me that she had felt ashamed while carrying the bass around. I asked her why, and she could not really explain the weird feeling she had. “It was so strange that I carried a bass. I don’t know what was happening inside of me, but that was the feeling.” But later she felt proud, carrying the bass everywhere she went. And she kept playing with different bands and musicians as a professional, even though she was a single mother with two small children. I asked her how did she manage. She said, “I just had to and I don’t regret it at all. If I’d have to live my life again I’d do it the same way.” Both Harriet and Siw came from musical working class families and they never learned how to read music. They managed through their strong will and musical talent.

Up until now, the jazz music history books that have been written in Sweden effectively erased – or left out - female musicians. For example, Harriet Lundin, whom I just spoke of, had two brothers who were also musicians. They are both mentioned in the book, *Svensk Jazzhistoria (Swedish Jazz History)* by Erik Kjellberg, but Harriet is not. Why isn’t she? She was a high quality professional mu-

sician playing until the 1970s in Sweden. And this is not a matter of quality, it is something else. What is held against them? Were they not regarded as 'real' jazz musicians, were they not authentic enough? Even today, while talking to jazz musicians who were active during the same period, I get a strange feeling when talking about Siw and Harriet. Do they remember them? Yes they do, I realize, but they were definitely not close to them. I get a feeling the women are not regarded in the same way as their male buddies. I also believe that women musicians turned to their own gender in order to gain the possibility to tour and make a living. Both Harriet and Siw toured for many years in female bands, Siw all around Europe with the bandleader Diana Miller, and Harriet with the Yvonne Modin Quartet. When I myself began to play pop music in the middle of the 1960s, I began in a group with only women, and that felt completely natural. You wanted to play with your friends and being fifteen years old means that boys could be a problem. I also think that we instinctively feared that they would dominate the group. And the idea of having a male musician in the group never occurred to us.

Another thing I realized while interviewing these older, female musicians, was that the Swedish recording companies very rarely recorded them. They toured all year long in the Swedish Folk Parks and the Swedish Folkets Hus, meeting places organized by the growing labor movement in Sweden. They were enormously popular and often written about in the different local papers around Sweden. But they made very few records. I asked Yvonne Modin, a very skilled accordion player who had her own band for many years, why they did not make any records. She laughed saying: "no one ever asked us." I think this is very strange, as accordion was a very popular instrument and there were a number of skilled female accordion players who could easily compete with their male colleagues who *were* recorded.

I think about all the comments that we in the NR received from the different papers and magazines about our looks, short skirts, and how impressed and SURPRISED the writers were at our musical skills. We could, after all, handle our instruments! I can still become upset while thinking of the famous television producer who was making a film that was to compete in the Montreux festival. We had just arrived from quite a demanding tour in France and we turned up at the

studio early in the morning. The first thing he said was that he wanted us to play in bikinis and high boots!! Did we react, and did we refuse? Of course we did and, we got it our way. Reading about the female jazz musicians in the Swedish music magazines *Estrad* and *OJ (Orkesterjournalen)* from the 1940s and 50s, made me realize that our experience was nothing in comparison with how they were treated. They were always valued for their looks, made with sexist comments. The skilled German jazz piano player, Jutta Hipp, who visited Sweden in 1955, was seriously criticized for her looks:

Just think if an energetic man could take her to a hairdresser, then to an elegant fashion shop, and a shoe shop, and on top of it all wearing nicely done makeup. Then we wouldn't have to see the sight on stage of a timid childish girl, with a ponytail, and plaid overall skirt in a Swiss yodeling model, wool socks, and shoes with no heels.²

It's not strange that she lost her confidence and stopped playing music even though she was named "Europe's First Lady of Jazz."

Eva Engdahl is a jazz piano player who started off as a very talented classical pianist in the 1940s. She was indeed a brave pioneer. Mixing classical music with jazz made her very controversial and she had to change her name to "Marie Adams" when playing jazz. She is still active today, still playing, and she is the chairperson of Avesta Jazz Club. At eighty-eight years old she still has a fantastic tone on-set when playing, something that gave her a reputation during the 1940s and 50s, when she was regarded as "playing like a man." She played when I had my release concert for my book and made an enormous impact. About the jazz world in the 1940s she said: "Female musicians were treated with many disparaging remarks." But she says she wasn't that discouraged. "I gave the musicians opportunities to play. It was a ruthless world and there were mainly male musicians." She also said with great confidence: "I knew I was a good musician, I played better than many male pianists, so I didn't care about the foolish remarks."

Looking at the poster for this conference, I see the saxophone player Monica Petrini. She was an extremely talented musician in the 1950s, but she left the music world very quickly. I tried to interview her for my book, but she, very definitely,

refused being interviewed, telling me that she hoped nobody would stay on in the jazz world, which in her opinion was a horrible world. I don't know exactly what happened to her, but it must have been a hard blow as she so completely turned away from jazz. It is very sad, though, as she was highly regarded and very talented.

We know that these are a few of the structures that keep women outside the jazz world. It is a matter of normative behavior, both from the media, musicians, and the audience. But women found other possibilities. Being kept out, you always have to find other ways of dealing with reality. The musicologist Johan Fornäs states in his book *Moderna Människor*, that women like, for example, Dagmar Sandström, Gurli Bergström, Kai Gullmar, and Rut Pyret Ekås were very important as music store owners. Ekås imported anything in the jazz field and Gurli Bergström and Dagmar Sandström had their own recording studios, recording among others the jazz singer Alice Babs, who later became universally known, singing with, among others, Duke Ellington. Fornäs states that, "It is striking how many women appear in this position, as keys to jazz consumption."³ And through the 1920s and onward, the modern young woman, dancing in short skirts and short-cut hair, was heavily discouraged, both by the media and in popular songs, where the singer crooned and longed back to 'the old times when everyone knew their role.'

But what is happening today? Well, female musicians today organize themselves in interest organizations fighting for equality on the music scene. We have the classical composers organized in KVAŠT. The translation to English is *Brush*, but KVAŠT is also a nickname for those women who are members of FŠT, the Swedish Composers Union. The jazzwomen, or more correctly, those who work with improvised music, are organized in IMPRA. Rock musicians participate in Popkollo or She's Got the Beat, 50/50, and other organizations. Recently the female conductors formed a new organization. It is called KUPP! or Kvinnor upp på pulden, (Women Up on the Conducting Podium). Kupp is also the Swedish word for "coupe." So far, many of these organizations have achieved quite a lot. More music by female composers is played on the national institutional scene, KVAŠT checks the statistics every year to see how it is progressing, they travel around meeting and discussing the situation with the institutions, and are warmly welcomed by many. IMPRA managed to change the Swedish National Radio's award

The Jazz Cat, pointing out that it was only men who were being given the award – by a hugely male jury. Discussions about how we create gender roles are held in many educational contexts. Still today, the gatekeepers are many and jazz singers are still not regarded as real jazz musicians by many people. One can read about it in the reviews in the national and local papers and it is noted among the jazz club organizers. The jazz singer/composer Lina Nyberg, whom I interviewed for my radio series, told me that when phoning the bookers in the jazz clubs they often reply: “Oh no, we can’t book you. We’ve already had one singer this term.” And how many saxophone players have you booked, one can wonder? The myth that a singer is not a true improvising musician is still alive – along with the myth about authenticity. The media scholar, Hillevi Ganetz, pointed out in her essay, “Mera talang! Genus och sexualitet i Fame Factory” (“More Talent! Gender and Sexuality in the TV-program ‘Fame Factory’”), that the male singers who showed emotions and cried on the program were regarded as showing authenticity, they were real. But when women cried, it was expected, and a bit annoying. I’ve even heard that crying women in ensemble educational situations is regarded as a problem in music education. The question is: why are they crying and why is this wrong? And what’s the problem? Why can’t we handle it? Is the educational situation so stiff, inflexible, and dominated by middle class norms that we tend to focus only on technical skill instead of other expressions? Is this preserving the old gender roles that keep women and other genders in place? One tendency seems to be that a lot of young female music students today choose to stray away from the strict normative jazz education, gladly strolling into the free improvisation traditions where there are greater opportunities for freer expression. The jazz scene is changing, hopefully, and that is good. But we are still left with the question: to whom is that important and who is trying to stop it?

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Notes

¹ Selander 2012.

² Orkesterjournalen 1955:1.

³ Fornäs 2004, p 302.

The Conceptualization of Race, Masculinity, and Authenticity in Early Jazz Historiography

Mario Dunkel

The 1930s were a crucial, formative phase in the American historiography of jazz, marked by three major transformations. First, they saw the inauguration of an American and an international ‘jazz press,’ as Lewis Erenberg put it.¹ In the mid- to late-1930s, small jazz magazines such as *Down Beat*, *Jazz Information*, *Tempo* and *H. R. S. Rag*, and *H. R. S. Rag* were launched throughout the country. Some of the early jazz critics started co-operations with European (especially British, French, Dutch, and Belgian) critics and magazines. By the late 1930s, both an American and a transatlantic jazz press are fully in place. Second, the late 1930s saw the emergence of the first American histories of jazz. Although monographs on jazz had already been published in the 1920s, it was not until 1939 that the first American monographs on the genealogy of jazz (Wilder Hobson’s *American Jazz Music* and Charles Edward Smith’s and Frederic Ramsey, Jr.’s *Jazzmen*) were published. Third, this historicization of jazz coincided with the music’s increasing nationalization. While French jazz historiography of the 1920s often emphasized African and European origins (e.g. in the works of André Schaeffner and Arthur Hoérée), American texts on jazz tended to regard jazz as an essentially American product.

Why does jazz suddenly become an object worthy of serious investigation in the US? And why does it become the subject of serious historiography? American debates on jazz were embedded in larger socio-cultural discourses. The issues negotiated in jazz historiography of the 1930s were closely aligned with larger debates in US society. In this discursive context, jazz historiography became an arena of socio-political struggle.

The negotiation of questions of race is, of course, one of the most conspicuous issues in early jazz historiography. In the 1930s, we find a division of jazz historiography into two larger camps that again can be divided into subcategories existing within these camps. On the one hand, we find a Euro-American-centric approach to jazz. This approach was usually not tied to the American Left, or to the large

social movement that Michael Denning has defined as the ‘cultural front.’²² On the contrary, this type of jazz historiography can be defined as a strand that reaffirmed a Euro-American-centric cultural axiology, where white men function as jazz’s creators and innovators whereas blacks are mere passive copiers of a music that they did not contribute to. This view of the history of jazz tended to be very popular especially after the beginning of the swing craze in 1935 when jazz music (now called swing) experienced a revival. This approach to the history of jazz is obvious in a popular 1937 newsreel episode of *March of Time*, ‘The Birth of Swing.’²³

Jazz history is obviously whitened here, completely reduced to the history of the Original Dixieland Jass Band who allegedly invented a type of music that had subsequently been copied and corrupted by other musicians. Even though we know that this version of the history of jazz lacked any kind of historical foundation, whatsoever, we should not underestimate the popularity of this approach. This newsreel was screened all over the US. And its version of jazz history was seconded in articles that appeared in renowned middlebrow magazines such as *The Saturday Evening Post*. Two weeks after the release of ‘Birth of Swing’ *March of Time* even won an Academy Award for their newsreel series. In addition to being popular, newsreels were also considered quintessentially modern and progressive. Lacking other sources of information, contemporary audiences had few reasons not to believe the tale that was told in ‘The Birth of Swing.’²⁴

Recognizing this distortion of the history of jazz in popular narratives a group of jazz aficionados created counter narratives to challenge these predominant trajectories of jazz. It is important to understand this strand of early jazz historiography as a countercurrent to predominant constructions of jazz history. This group included Wilder Hobson, author of *American Jazz Music*, the first American monograph on the history of jazz, Charles Edward Smith and Frederic Ramsey, Jr., the editors of the book *Jazzmen*, published in 1939, and Marshall W. Stearns, author of the first jazz history column in *Down Beat* which ran from 1936 through 1938. Stearns would go on to become the single most influential jazz historian and author of the first standard history of jazz, *The Story of Jazz* in the 1950s. Moreover, their jazz historiography was supported by performances that suggested an African-American-centric development of jazz. Most important, in 1938 John

Hammond organized the concert 'From Spirituals to Swing' at Carnegie Hall. The concert contrasted predominant ideas of the white superiority in jazz with an African-American-centric program, suggesting that jazz had its roots in Africa and that the most accomplished jazz musicians were African Americans rather than whites.⁵ This historiopraxis – the transmedial performance of a historical development – corroborated the cultural front's historiography.

The combination of historiography with other types of historiopraxis was fundamental to a paradigm shift in American jazz history narratives from a trajectory that excluded African Americans to one that emphasized the music's essentially African American character. A great admirer of Hugues Panassié's Afrocentric approach to jazz, Marshall Stearns, in his 1936 jazz history column in *Down Beat*, argued that from the beginnings jazz had always been essentially African American in character.⁶ For Stearns, jazz historiography was a political practice. He discerned the United States' racist social structure and decided to challenge it in his jazz historiography. His close friend John Hammond, in addition to organizing jazz concerts and recording jazz musicians, wrote jazz criticism that promoted African American musicians and ran Café Society's cultural program with a '90% Negro talent house policy.'⁷ Several jazz historians subsequently corroborated their African-American-centric approach, particularly Rudi Blesh and such anthropology-oriented jazz historiographers as Ernest Bornemann and Richard Waterman.

A second powerful discourse revolving around jazz in early American jazz historiography had to do with the music's significance for socialism. The conception of jazz as a working-class music intersected with other contemporary discourses on jazz that have remained influential in jazz historiography. The interconnection between jazz and the working class was promoted by Charles Edward Smith, who in his seminal 1930 article 'Jazz: Some Little Known Aspects' first argued for a clear distinction between derivative and authentic jazz. According to Smith, jazz had been misconceived by such powerful cultural critics as Gilbert Seldes who commented on jazz without understanding it.⁸ In addition to using the words 'sweet' and 'corny,' Smith referred to derivative types of jazz as 'popular.' By contrast, authentic types of American music were the 'blues,' and 'hot jazz,' subsumed under the umbrella term 'folk music.' The origins of hot jazz lay in the mingling of

different ethnic and racial groups on Southern ground, united by their common, lower-class backgrounds:

It all harks back fortuitously to that occupation known as slave running and to the population of the south, not so much those admirable gentlemen that brought the eighteenth century to Virginia, as that bulk of the populace recruited from the common stock of England [...] the pertinent fact is that these recruits from the poorer lower classes brought over the best of English folk music, curious versions of which colored mammies crooned to their charges with, be it noted, rhythms that had their remote origins in the tom-toms of the African jungle.⁹

According to Smith, the result of this process of southern, lower-class breeding was the blues, a folk music which in turn gave rise to hot jazz. Three years later in a 1933 article for *The Daily Worker*, Smith more rigorously appropriated hot jazz as the expression of the working class. '[T]he class relations on which [jazz] is based' are not 'widely understood,' he claimed; jazz had 'its roots in the oppressive measures of Southern plantation owners against the Negro masses.'¹⁰ The music's folk elements were carried on by the work song and the blues until they finally formed an elementary part of 'hot jazz.' Hot jazz was thus a type of music that was inextricably tied to both blackness and the proletariat. To clarify his distinction between authentic and derivative types of jazz, however, it was not enough for Smith to explain the historical trajectory of hot jazz, he also needed to identify the two categories' aesthetic differences. It is here that gendered notions of music come into the picture, for the way in which Smith (and many others) distinguished between the aesthetics of authentic jazz and derivative jazz, between sweet and hot jazz, between commercial music and folk music, was through the prism of gender.

From the very beginnings of the reception of jazz, there had been a tendency to see jazz as a re-masculinization of art. This view was particularly popular with such early French jazz enthusiasts as Jean Cocteau. In 1919, Cocteau had described jazz in gendered terms, as a response to an earlier feminine type of art: 'Contacts sauvages. L'art se virilise. [...] Le Jazz Band peut être considéré comme l'âme de ces forces.'¹¹ This tendency to masculinize jazz, to see it as a savage ex-

pression of virility, was a very powerful concept that was adopted by the American Left of the 1930s. By aligning the conceptualization of jazz with the aesthetics of the male-dominated American Left, such jazz historians as Charles Edward Smith also transferred the cultural front's gendered notions of artistic expression to the conceptualization of jazz history. As Paula Rabinowitz explains in regard to the gendered aesthetics of the American Left, "The prevailing verbal and visual imagery [of the Left] reveled in an excessively masculine and virile proletariat poised to struggle against the effeminate and decadent bourgeoisie."¹² This is evident in early American jazz historiography. On the one hand, there is the virility of those musicians who play hot jazz – alternately called hot boys, hot men, and jazzmen. On the other hand, we find those feminized musicians who play sweet jazz (they did not qualify as 'men' in Smith's view). Smith for instance describes the masses as succumbing to the effeminate lulling of sweet jazz, to 'the Lorelei of sweet jazz,' as he puts it in a 1934 article.¹³ According to Smith, the 'bourgeois popular song' was trying 'to lull to sleep the growing class-consciousness of the masses.'¹⁴

The 1939 history of jazz, *Jazzmen*, builds on these gendered notions of difference. Collected and co-edited by Smith and the recent Princeton graduate Frederic Ramsey Jr., the book comprised various views on the history of jazz. As regards the function of women in the history of jazz, however, it is remarkably consistent. *Jazzmen*, has three major roles reserved for women. Firstly, women can be blues singers. This point was especially emphasized by the only African American contributor to *Jazzmen*, E. Simms Campbell. Second, they can be competitive career-women, scheming and plotting in the background, in order to dwell on their husbands' success and glory. Lil Armstrong is for instance portrayed that way. It is not Louis Armstrong himself who is interested in commercial success. Rather 'Lil was ambitious for her husband.'¹⁵ Even though she does understand jazz, she causes Armstrong to leave Joe Oliver, thus getting him a better-paying job and making him his former progenitor's strongest competitor. A reason for the negative portrayal of Lil was the authors' attempt to avoid morally ambiguous portrayals of male African American jazz musicians. Women such as Lil thus had to jump in as scapegoats. The third function of women in *Jazzmen*, and this is their most conspicuous function, is their anonymous presence in the jazz historians' fantasies of

a sexually uninhibited 'hot' dream world of jazz. Buddy Bolden becomes not only the originator of jazz, but also, in a double sense, jazz's greatest player. Bolden is permanently adored by women.

Buddy was always a prime favorite with the ladies. This suited Buddy well, for he was as immoderate in his appetite for women as for hard liquor and hot music. Women carried instruments when the men marched. When a girl carried a fellow's instrument, it was 'really somethin'! It meant 'lay off,' she was the main girl. But Buddy Bolden never had to worry. He was never known to march down the street with only one woman. Often he could be seen coming along with three; one carrying his instrument, one his coat, another his hat – *'all three satisfied.'*¹⁶

It goes without saying that the authors of this article, William Russell and Stephen W. Smith, had made this up entirely. *Jazzmen* offers more examples where women figure as evidence for the black musicians' musico-sexual magnetism. The boogie-woogie pianist Jimmy Yancey for instance was similarly desired by women: 'Yancey soon became popular, especially with the ladies, and was in demand for house parties. All Jimmy had to do was to go in anywhere and sit down at the piano; the women flocked around and took care of him.'¹⁷

Throughout much of *Jazzmen*, women are drawn to the musicians' allure such that they voluntarily assume a subservient role, carrying the musicians' equipment, and 'taking care' of them. Since in *Jazzmen*, this sexual magnetism is exclusively true for lower-class, black jazz musicians, we need to inquire about the ways in which projections of gender intersect with ideas of class and race here. The class-based rhetorics of dominant figures of the 1930s American Left such as Michael Gold were to a large extent based not only on anti-feminine views, but also on homophobia. In 1929, Gold attacked the modernist writer Thornton Wilder for providing 'a daydream of homosexual figures in graceful gowns moving archaically among the lilies.'¹⁸ Instead, Gold envisioned a tough, realist literature that reaffirmed the virility of the working-class. Gold's views go some way towards explaining the depiction of male, African American working-class musicians as epitomes of virility and sexual allure. On a political level, such a portrayal would

facilitate the inclusion of black male musicians into an ethnically diverse working-class. Paradoxically, the white writers' fantasies of a black masculinized Other functioned as bridges that were designed to overcome differences of race by solidifying a male-dominated and ethnically diverse working-class. In other words, by portraying black jazz musicians as virile womanizers, the early jazz historians presented them in a way that corresponded to the male-dominated, working-class values of the 1930s. In addition to this political function, however, the gendering of black music also seems to exemplify the desire among white jazz enthusiasts for clearly-defined gender roles in light of the growing socio-political power of women in US society. The historical tales of black jazz musicians became a way of projecting desires of monolithic gender roles onto racialized and sexualized dream worlds.

While much of the class-based approach to jazz was lost during the McCarthy years, gendered and racialized conceptualizations of jazz have proven remarkably persistent. (We only need to watch Ken Burns' documentary to see this.)¹⁹ Contextualizing early jazz historiography can help us to uncover the ideologies that conditioned the stories that we are told; it can make us aware of the flaws of narratives we still use, and it can create room for new possibilities of jazz history development that, due to the times' ideological limitations, have remained unconsidered. While these texts seem to tell us more about their authors and the cultures that produced them than about the actual music, it is important to engage them, in order to uncover the many untold stories of jazz that lie beneath the tradition of jazz historiography. If women musicians in early jazz such as Lil Armstrong remain marginalized, an investigation of early jazz historiography demonstrates that this was not necessarily due to a lack of musical prowess; it was rather a result of their incongruence with racialized and gendered notions of jazz music. Critical readings of the early historiography of jazz can raise our awareness of these processes of canonization, pointing the way to future research in jazz studies that defies the limited conceptual frameworks of early jazz historiography.

Keywords:

Jazz historiography, gender, masculinity, 1930s, cultural front, class, race, Charles Edward Smith

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Notes

- ¹ Erenberg, 1998, 136.
- ² Denning, 2010.
- ³ Cf. Dunkel, 2012, 213-226.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 213-226.
- ⁵ Anderson, 2001, 225.
- ⁶ Stearns, 1936, 4.
- ⁷ Hairston, 2008, 72.
- ⁸ Smith, 1930, 505.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 508.
- ¹⁰ Smith, 1933, 7.
- ¹¹ 'Savage contacts. Art becomes more virile. [...] The jazz band can be considered the soul of these forces' (Cocteau, 1919, 167, my translation).
- ¹² Rabinowitz, 1991, 7.
- ¹³ Smith, 1934, 27.
- ¹⁴ Smith, 1933, 7.

¹⁵ Ramsey, Jr., 1939, 75.

¹⁶ Ibid.,15.

¹⁷ Ibid., 186.

¹⁸ Qtd. in Rabinowitz, 1991, 22.

¹⁹ See George Lipsitz's article 'Songs of the Unsung: The Darby Hicks History of Jazz' and Anne Dvinge's dissertation 'Between History and Hearsay: Imagining Jazz at the Turn of the 21st Century' for astute studies of Ken Burns' documentary.

Billie Holiday, Authenticity and Translation

Annjo K. Greenall

It is probably rather uncontroversial to say that a big part of the reason for Billie Holiday's success as a jazz singer is due to her 'authenticity'. By 'authenticity' I mean a performatively constructed quality of an artist and his or her performance (which is then co-constructed or rejected by the audience).¹ Billie Holiday's success in creating and maintaining such a construction means that she has been an immense inspiration for jazz singers around the world and the songs that she co-wrote or that became essentially associated with her have later been 'covered' by a great number of artists, who have probably also had a desire to come across as authentic. At the heart of the notion of authenticity is 'a base assumption about [something] 'essential(ized), real, actual, essence''² while 'covering' (or, as the phenomenon is more commonly termed in jazz, 'interpreting,') revolves around *imitation* (or at least some degree of borrowing), which might indicate that it is in fact incompatible with authenticity. In this paper I look at the phenomenon of covering and the possibilities that exist for covering artists of achieving an authentic expression, using Billie Holiday covers as my case. My main focus will be on 'non-native' covering artists, i.e. artists singing these songs in ('broken') English, or, alternatively, translating them into their mother tongue. The reason for this focus is that while researchers have argued that covering is *not* incompatible with authenticity, for example if the versions display truthfulness to a source (meaning that the covering artist may 'inherit' some of the authenticity of the source),³ and/or a certain measure of expressive and stylistic re-invention,⁴ the question is whether this remains the case when the relationship to the source is made tenuous by a heavy accent, and expressive vocalization becomes tainted by inadequate linguistics. Could it be the case that translating the lyrics into the artist's mother tongue might sometimes be a more fruitful alternative?

Before embarking on a discussion of these issues, I look briefly at some of the ways in which an artist such as Billie Holiday manages to establish an impression

that they, and their performances are authentic. Based on the existing literature on authenticity, I have put together a list of five sources that an artist may exploit in order to establish such an impression, viz. *personal*, *authorial*, *cultural*, *expressive* and *stylistic* (sources of) authenticity. Three of them, the first three, depend on knowledge of the artist's biography, and the last two are drawn on during performance. In the following, I go through them one by one, first in relation to Billie, then in relation to covers in English by non-native speakers, and finally, in relation to covers in translation.

Billie Holiday and authenticity

What sources for constructing authenticity did Billie draw on? Well, firstly, there is the source of *personal authenticity*. Barker and Taylor, to whom I owe the term, define it as 'music that reflects the person or people who are making it'.⁵ What we are talking about, is basically the classic, (perceived), life-art connection. Your performance will be experienced as authentic if your life story is seen to be somehow connected with the narratives – musical or lyrical – that you are expressing on stage. Billie herself built explicitly on this source of authenticity on many occasions, whether as a conscious act of self-promotion or not. In her autobiography, *Lady Sings the Blues*, she puts it in this way: 'Young kids always ask me what my style is derived from and how it evolved and all that. What can I tell them? If you find a tune and it's got something to do with you, you don't have to evolve anything'.⁶ And in an introductory comment in a video of a live performance of *Fine and Mellow* in CBS Studios in 1957 we can still physically hear her maintain that 'Anything I do sing, it's part of my life'.⁷

For many (if not most) people, the life-art connection was and still is what Billie Holiday is 'about'. As one commentator notes, 'She [Billie] crammed a lot of living into her short life and for many of her fans her real-life story is the source of meaning in her voice'.⁸ One of these fans spells this out in detail, in a presentation of their YouTube video of *Fine and Mellow*:

Billie Holiday,

Lady Sings the Blues

Billie Holiday used drugs all her life. I do not believe she would be the same musician without it, just the same as if she were born a rich white kid! Her music comes from her experiences and her state of mind, which in most cases (as she seems to show in 'Lady Sings the Blues') to be filled with pain and experience...she seems road weary if you will. Being a professional musician back then was a rough, poor, drugged experience. The music of the era seems to reflect this.⁹

Working in tandem with her unlucky life to convey authenticity, was Billie's contemporaries' definition of her as a 'torch singer'.¹⁰ A torch song is a story, a narrative about unrequited love.¹¹ According to Jones, a torch singer was someone regarded as not quite clever enough to construct purposeful identities separate from themselves as people. Therefore, 'the torch singer and her performances are understood as an inevitable collapse of person, performance persona, and character'.¹² In other words, Billie, together with other torch singers, was seen as someone simply unable to be other than (personally) authentic. This does, however, not mean, that Billie was unanimously seen as personally authentic during her lifetime. According to Brackett, 'Holiday's work was described in contemporary publications as 'a shade too candy-cute', 'heavy and over-ginger breaded', 'over-phrased' and 'pretentious' ([Brackett 2000,] p. 42)'.¹³ Hence, there is some evidence that the relatively one-sided focus on the life-art connection in Billie's case might be a feature of her later life and of the years after her death. Even though there is reason to believe that it is this focus that made the myth that has secured 'eternal life' for Billie, it has still been deplored by some scholars who disapprove of the fact that it tends to overshadow the importance of her musical achievements.¹⁴

Another important source that artists draw on to convey authenticity is that of *authorial authenticity*. This comes into play if the artists themselves have written the music and/or lyrics of the songs that they perform (and this is known to the audience). In Billie's day, the role of songwriter was often separate from that of singer/performer. Billie only (co-)wrote a handful of songs/lyrics; ones that she did (co-)write are for example *Don't Explain*, *God bless the Child*, and *Fine and*

Mellow. Billie herself testifies to the autobiographical nature of the lyrics of at least the first two in her autobiography,¹⁵ another example of her own, conscious or subconscious, efforts at establishing a foundation for being perceived as authentic, here bolstering her scant claims at authorial authenticity with a solid dose of personal authenticity. In Billie's case, her limited possibility for tapping into the source of authorial authenticity was also often compensated for by what has been labelled 'ownership' through popularity.¹⁶ These are cases where a song becomes so totally associated with a given artist that the song becomes 'theirs'. As far as Billie is concerned, this happened with *Strange Fruit*, which was written by Abel Meeropol, but 'became Billie's' through a series of fascinating performances and a staple recording.

The third source that depends on familiarity with artists' biographies, is that of *cultural authenticity*. Artists and their performances are likely to be perceived as culturally authentic if they are true to and reflect the artist's 'own' cultural tradition.¹⁷ In this respect, being a black singer from a poor background, Billie was probably less culturally authentic as a torch singer (singing songs that, according to Jones, reflected white, male, middle-class values¹⁸), than she was as a 'political singer' of songs about pecuniary hardship and the oppression of blacks, such as *God bless the Child*, *Strange Fruit* and *I love you Porgy*. Her perceived cultural authenticity in performing such songs might be part of the reason why these are some of the songs that she has become chiefly remembered for.

The first of two main sources of authenticity that are tapped into during performance, is the source of *expressive authenticity*.¹⁹ This pertains to whether or not the artist manages to express their emotions through the song in a way that is going to be perceived as sincere. Again, Billie herself refers to this source, in emphasizing the importance, for her, of an emotional connectedness with her material which in turn would enable her to more easily produce an expressive performance: 'You just feel it, and when you sing it other people can feel it too.'²⁰

A successful construction of expressive authenticity is likely achieved through the use of body language²¹ as well as various vocal techniques and stylistic devices that are naturally and/or conventionally associated with emotion, for example, as in Billie's case, a 'dying fall in pitch on the ends of many of her phrases'²² which she

employed during the early stage of her career. Billie seems to have been generally successful in conveying expressive authenticity. According to Daubney, and most of Billie's fans would concur, 'there is such conviction in her delivery that we can only assume that they capture exactly how she feels'.²³

The second of the two sources drawn on in performance I have labelled the source of *stylistic authenticity*. What I mean by this is the ability to imprint something completely unique onto a performance, whether by virtue of an inimitable voice quality, or idiosyncratic phrasing and/or textsetting (text-tune alignment). The reason why this should be an additional source of authenticity ought to be clear: it inhibits any conception of a given performance as imitative, imitation, as previously mentioned, being the enemy of authenticity. As regards Billie Holiday, the source of stylistic authenticity has been essential. As Blom points out: 'Holiday's style has not lent itself easily to imitation on a mass scale',²⁴ and according to Daubney, it was the 'manipulation of rhythm and shaping of vowel sounds [that were] her chief weapons of individuality'.²⁵ Billie's unique sound may well have been a main contributor to the unending public fascination with her work. Regardless of the number of attempts, nobody has as yet come close to sounding like her, or, when not necessarily trying to do so, to having the same kind and degree of stylistic appeal.

Billie Holiday covers performed by non-native singers of English

The 'vowel sounds' that Billie Holiday 'shaped' were of course those of English, (some variety of) English being Billie's mother tongue. Since it is reasonable to believe that the mother tongue plays a special role in identity construction, it is also not unreasonable to assume that the mother tongue plays a special role in authenticity construction. This link has sometimes been explicitly formulated: 'As part of the second English revival of the 1950s, leading figure Ewan McColl insisted that one should sing only in one's own native tongue',²⁶ to enhance the authenticity of the performance. And the existence of such a link (if it is indeed tenable), begs, of course, the question of what happens when an artist chooses not only to do a cover, but to deliver the lyrics in a language which is (ostensibly) not his or her own, translating themselves, as it were, into the language of the original.²⁷ Although not

addressing this question directly, some researchers have reflected on the chances of ‘outsiders’ of coming across as authentic (vis-à-vis, presumably, native speaker audiences). It has been suggested that ‘audience expectations for authenticity are particularly harsh when artists perform the authenticity of cultures of which they are not apparently or obviously members.’²⁸ Audiences are, it is claimed, ‘able to accept performances of authenticity by ostensible outsiders, [but] the task for these performers is much more daunting.’²⁹ According to Plasketes,

These renditions simultaneously attract and distract; the incompatibility of the version or vocal confounds; maybe solicits a smirk. Of course the listener asks, “Is s/he serious?” Or hums “Look what they’ve done to my song.” The “new place” can be so different that [sic] is difficult to take the work seriously, despite impressive production qualities, the creator’s track record, and artistic intentions.³⁰

Although neither commentator refers directly to the linguistic features of performance, what is being said here is relevant for the simple reason that the linguistic qualities of a non-native performance precisely (often) contributes to marking the performer as an ‘outsider.’

Notable cover versions of Don’t Explain

While working on this project I came across a list of ‘notable cover versions’ of one of Billie’s most famous songs, one that she co-wrote with Arthur Herzog Jr., i.e. *Don’t Explain*.³¹ To its conceiver’s credit, the 36-version-long list sports all of two versions performed by non-native singers of English. The two artists represented on the list are Rita Reys (from the Netherlands),³² and Dusan Prelevic (a Serbian singer, journalist and writer).³³ Additional non-native cover versions include those of:

Susanne Fuhr (Norway)³⁴

Siri Gellein (Norway)³⁵

Agnès Aumis (France)³⁶

Lise Dellac (France)³⁷

Night on Earth (Greece)³⁸

Yoko Tanaka (Japan)³⁹

Sofija Knezevic (Serbia)⁴⁰

And one would suspect the list goes on and on, considering the likely number of versions which never made it past even the first row of gatekeepers (funding bodies, record companies, etc.).

Listening to these artists, one realizes that one or two might at least during shorter stretches pass for native speakers, while the large majority sing in heavily non-mother-tongue English, marking them – at least to a native or near-native audience – as ‘outsiders’, and therefore as vulnerable in facing such audiences’ judgments. The question is, which sources of authenticity are available to these artists, and how are they (or should they be) exploited?

Non-native cover versions of Don’t Explain and authenticity

If we consider the source of personal authenticity, we know from Billie’s autobiography⁴¹ that the lyrics of *Don’t explain* are based on her own experience of her husband, Jimmy Monroe, arriving in their home early one morning with lipstick on his collar, indicating that he had been unfaithful to her. In other words, for Billie, life and art come together in the lyrics of this song. Obviously (and unfortunately), infidelity is not an experience that is exclusive to Billie; it may well happen to be in the experiential repertoire also of various (native or non-native) artists choosing to cover the song. Put differently, the source of personal authenticity should be accessible to original and covering artists alike, both in this and in other cases. In the case of non-native covering artists, however, the issue is, perhaps, not quite that straightforward. For a start, in order for this link to have the desired effect vis-à-vis audiences, these artists’ biographies (ideally (!) including any incidents of ‘lived’ infidelity) need to be known, which they often are not (potentially because of their struggles to get past the previously mentioned gatekeepers). Secondly, even if their biographies were commonly known, there is the possibility that when the given experience is expressed in awkward or (from a certain perspective) inadequate English, the whole thing will not sound sufficiently ‘real’ to

sound authentic. Research shows that second language learners of English often feel stupid and childlike,⁴² and that their speech often imposes upon them a subordinate status and may elicit ridicule from native speakers.⁴³ Could personal experience channelled through the medium of 'childish' and slightly 'funny' English ever be capable of constructing an 'authentic' expression vis-à-vis this audience?

As regards the source of authorial authenticity, this is obviously one that is unavailable to covering artists in general.⁴⁴ There may, however, exist an alternative source of authenticity for these artists. Moore, in his influential 2002 article, posits several forms of authenticity, one being 'first person authenticity', which pertains to 'original' artists and performances, arising 'when an originator (composer, performer) succeeds in conveying the impression that his/her utterance is one of integrity, that it represents an attempt to communicate in an unmediated form with an audience.'⁴⁵ Moore's 'third person authenticity' is, however, the one that is mainly of interest here, being based in the act of 'accurately . . . representing the ideas of another, embedded within a tradition of performance.'⁴⁶ The way in which third person authenticity can be seen as an alternative to authorial authenticity is this: if you cannot be a song's 'author', you can at least emulate the ideas of this author to such an extent that you can somehow (nevertheless) *represent* its author. In this way, the covering artist can inherit some of the (authorial) authenticity of the song's originator.

While it is relatively easy to see how this might apply in the case of Billie Holiday covers sung by native speakers of English, it is perhaps slightly more difficult to think of strongly non-native cover versions as 'accurately representing the ideas of another'. The form of messages also always carries meaning(/'ideas'), typically in the form of connotations. When, like here, we are talking about phonological form, the audience will among other things get associations to the artist's provenance. In the case of the original performance, and in cases of covers sung in native English, these associations will for example reveal consistency (if such consistency exists) between an artist's background and the song's content, while in cases of non-native singers they will reveal the opposite, causing a lack of accurate representation of the full meaning of the performance.

The fact that the 'correct' cultural background is not evoked, also creates pro-

blems, of course, with respect to the source of cultural authenticity. The artist's 'accent' draws attention to the song's inevitable recontextualization,⁴⁷ from black American culture of the early 20th century to the Japanese, Central European, East European and Scandinavian cultures of today. 'The audience expectations for authenticity are particularly harsh,' claims Albrecht, 'when artists perform the authenticity of cultures of which they are not apparently or obviously members.'⁴⁸ The response could be anything from outright rejection to a lack of interest, at least from native speaker (and near-native speaker) audiences.

What, then, about the sources of authenticity that are constructed in performance? On the face of it, the source of expressive authenticity, consisting as it does of various pre or non-linguistic techniques, may seem to be available. According to Burns and Woods, 'an appropriation of another artist's work may still be considered "authentic" as long as the borrowed material is presented with "sincerity".'⁴⁹ In the case of non-native performances, however, the application of techniques that add 'sincerity' and emotion to a performance (varying loudness, adding vibrato, or whispering, weepy, moany qualities to the voice) is, as we have seen, coupled with what some will perceive as incomplete mastery of the linguistic code. This is bound to cause a certain amount of perceived incongruity and (potentially) a sense of superiority in the audience, both vital ingredients in causing and/or creating humour.⁵⁰ In the words of Stevens (talking about English language music in Japan): 'Foreign languages, used in idiosyncratic ways, can be the source of much mirth from overseas audiences.'⁵¹ Incongruity and superiority could be part of the reason why this tends to be the case.

Moving on to the source of stylistic authenticity, things do, however, start to lighten up a bit, because what does a foreign accent do, other than imprint something very personal and unique (and hence 'authentic') onto a performance?⁵² The Icelandic pop artist Björk, who to my knowledge never covered *Don't Explain*, but did do at least one cover of another jazz standard (*Like Someone in Love*⁵³), is someone who – despite offering extremely expressive as well as heavily 'accented' performances – has largely avoided being laughed at. The reason for this may precisely lie in her focus on expressivity: because of the element of 'overdoing it' both in her projection of herself as an 'Icelandic pixie', and in her insistence on using a

shouty, idiosyncratic English, she somehow managed to turn her heritage – cultural as well as linguistic – into a stylistic feature, which in turn effected some kind of ‘reverse’ cultural authenticity, where the focus is not on the original cultural context of the song, but on her own. In this way, Björk seems to have managed to override some of the problems that we have noted with the other sources of authenticity in relation to non-native covers.

Interestingly, the extreme foreignization⁵⁴ displayed by Björk does not seem to always be a prerequisite for phonology to be turned into a stylistic feature. Far more subtly, Sofija Knezevic manages to creep into the heart of one of her (presumably) overseas fans via her accent when performing *Don't Explain*:

Girl... you need to go to the states and get a career rolling your way. or western Europe. I love the way you pronounce English... The tone of your voice almost gives a vibe as you were born in 1950's or '60. LOVE IT LOVE IT LOVE IT ... every step of the way. keep on rocking this world as we need many more artists like you.⁵⁵

Despite Knezevic's near-native English, this commentator has latched on to her foreignness, and the fact that he or she comments on Knezevic's pronunciation, and the way in which it is being done, suggests that it is viewed, by this fan, as a positive feature of style.

Billie Holiday covers in translation and authenticity

Obviously, more empirical evidence is needed to back this conclusion up, but there seems, based on the above, to be good reason to believe that relatively few sources of authenticity are available to non-native singers of English doing cover versions, with the source of stylistic authenticity being (for the moment) the most reliable and the one most likely to ensure some success, at least vis-à-vis native, or near-native speaker audiences. Considering these problems, are perhaps non-native artists better off ‘abandoning’ these audiences, instead translating the lyrics of the song in question into their mother tongue, focusing on the home audience?

Before going further into this issue, it is of course important to point out that non-native covering artists who choose to do songs in English (or non-native sing-

ers of English who choose to write and perform original material in English for that matter) perhaps do not always target a native-speaker audience. And vis-à-vis an audience 'like themselves' the various sources of authenticity are perhaps not that unavailable after all. Personal authenticity would be 'active' vis-à-vis this audience (since perceived incompetence would not, for the majority of them, disturb the listening experience), and an expressive performance would, for the same reason, not cause a sense of incongruity and superiority. The sources of authorial and cultural authenticity would, however, continue to be 'problematic'. Interestingly, these sources are precisely the ones that could be strengthened by translating the lyrics into the artist's mother tongue. The source of authorial authenticity would be strengthened because research has shown that translation, because of the lack of any one-to-one correspondence between items in different languages, is never a matter of copying. We are always dealing with a form of 'rewriting'.⁵⁶ The source of cultural authenticity would be strengthened since the song, in virtue of the translated lyrics, would migrate into the artist's own culture (again, a case of 'reverse' cultural authenticity).

It is not unusual to find American jazz standards translated into other languages, including Scandinavian languages. With a few exceptions, however, (one of the Scandinavian ones being the Swedish singer Monica Zetterlund's catalogue), most attempts remain in the outskirts of 'mainstream' jazz. Of three Scandinavian translations of *Don't Explain* (continuing this as my case), one was performed as part of a Billie Holiday cabaret which ran for a brief period of time in the late nineties in Trondheim, Norway. The translator was Geir Johan Nergaard, and the performer was Helga Hjorthol, a local songstress. The title was translated (into dialect) as *Itj forklar* [Don't explain]. The version was never recorded. Another translation of the song is into Swedish, by Jonas Gardell, who both translated the lyrics and did the vocals on the recording, which appeared in 2006 (on the album *Nästan vackra*). Gardell's version of the lyrics seems almost entirely free, all of the references to infidelity have been removed, and musically, Gardell self-consciously performs a leap from smooth jazz standard to 'poppy' lullaby. Attempting to look into the reception of the song in Gardell's translation to find out more about the perceived authenticity of the recording, I found that the whole album was almost

universally ‘slaughtered’ by the critics; most of the criticism was however directed at Gardell’s vocal abilities, and no specific mention was made of his *Tyst nu* [Quiet now].⁵⁷

The third and last Scandinavian translation of *Don’t Explain* that I am aware of is, again, into Norwegian, and it happens to be my own. *Ikkje sei eit ord* [Don’t say a word] constitutes a relatively faithful rendering of the original lyrics, and it appeared, together with 7 other translated Billie Holiday standards on the album *Eg vandrar langs kaiane* [I wander along the quays] in 2012.⁵⁸ The reason why I am including mention of my own translations here is mainly because of the relevance to the present issues of some of the critics’ comments, which unanimously seem to focus on the gain in authorial authenticity:

Greenall gjør sangene til sine egne [Greenall makes the songs her own]⁵⁹

Annjo K. Greenall gjer det på sin måte [Annjo K. Greenall does it in her own way]⁶⁰

Greenall har heldigvis ikke forsøkt å kopiere Holiday på noen som helst slags måte og her ligger også mye av årsaken til at hun har lyktes så godt [Fortunately, Greenall has not tried to copy Holiday in any way and this is basically the reason why she has succeeded to the extent that she has]⁶¹

- Ikkje sei eit ord – er intet mindre enn en intelligent og følsom nytolkning – nei, faktisk gjendiktning på nynorsk – av Holiday-klassikeren “Don’t Explain” [- Don’t say a word – is no less than an intelligent and sensitive re-interpretation – no, actually re-poetization in Norwegian nynorsk – of the Holiday classic “Don’t Explain”]⁶²

What these statements have in common is the positive appraisal of the translator-artist’s active, ‘authorial’ intervention, both musically and linguistically, which is seen to have caused the songs to emerge as somehow fresh and new. The power of translation to effect this newness is tacitly acknowledged in the reviews, and is even mentioned explicitly in the last of the statements quoted here. In it, the reviewer avails himself of the positively laden term *gjendiktning* [re-interpretation/

re-poetization], a Norwegian synonym for translation used when the translation is of poetry or songs, highlighting the translator's necessary addition of his or her authorial voice in texts where content often has to give way to form.

In conclusion, translation strengthens, for covers, the source of authorial authenticity, which may currently seem to be one that (Norwegian) audiences place great stock in. In addition, an audience that understands English lyrics less well – semantically and/or emotionally – than lyrics in their own language, will also perhaps, to a greater degree, experience that the lyrics are “telling it like it is’ for them.’ This is a description of Moore’s second person authenticity, which he labels ‘*authenticity of experience*’.⁶³ It differs from first and third person authenticity by focusing on how the audience feel about themselves, rather than how they feel about the (authenticity of) artists. A full and deep understanding of the lyrics obviously aids in arriving at such an assessment and identification with the song’s ideas and emotions, making second person authenticity a source of authenticity with special significance for song translation.

The interesting question is, of course, whether these gains are great enough to justify the potentially ‘isolationist’ move to translate lyrics from an influential, wide-reaching language into a lesser-used one. The answer, in today’s globalized world, is obviously ‘no’; ‘everyone’ wants to be ‘out there’, and to have their shout at tapping into the large markets. Which raises the important issue of how artists can best promote themselves as non-native cover artists – and singer-songwriters – in a language which, like all languages, will always insist that one (or only a few) version(s) of it, is or are ‘superior’. At this point in history, perfect pronunciation is probably not particularly important in the large *non*-Anglophone markets, but even here, the ability to distinguish ‘good’ English from ‘bad’ is rapidly developing, which will gradually give native speakers (even more of) a competitive edge. Unless, of course, the focus shifts so that the source of stylistic authenticity gains higher status, giving us more world class artists like Björk.

Keywords:

Billie Holiday, authenticity, translation, cover versions, non-native English, Don't Explain, Björk, Jonas Gardell, foreignization

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Notes

¹ See, e.g., Moore, 2002, Ramshaw, 2004, Rodman, 2006, Albrecht, 2008, Jones, 2010.

² Moore, 2002, p. 209

³ Ibid., p. 218

⁴ Plasketes, 2005, 150

⁵ Barker and Taylor, 2007, p. x

⁶ Holiday with Dufty, 1956, p. 43

- ⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SThGnrroGW8> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁸ <http://www.jazz.com/dozens/b-holiday-dozens> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?NR=1&feature=endscreen&v=YtqjW2uhBT4> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ¹⁰ Jones, 2010
- ¹¹ Ibid., p. 284
- ¹² Ibid., p. 283
- ¹³ Blom, 2006, p. 161
- ¹⁴ See, e.g., Daubney, 2002
- ¹⁵ Holiday with Dufty, 1956
- ¹⁶ Plasketes, 2005, p. 153
- ¹⁷ Barker and Taylor, 2007, p. x
- ¹⁸ Jones, 2010, p. 286
- ¹⁹ Cf. Daubney, 2002
- ²⁰ Holiday with Dufty, 1956, p. 43
- ²¹ In the words of one Billie Holiday fan on YouTube, underneath a video of a live performance by Billie and a pianist of *I love you Porgy*: ‘The singers we have now, just do not sing with the feeling and emotions like BH did. There just spitting the words out. When you watch her face and, her eyes, you can just see she is living through the words she sings’
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpxfZKeqw48> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ²² Clarke, 2002, p. 106
- ²³ Daubney, 2002, p. 18
- ²⁴ Blom 2006, p. 162
- ²⁵ Daubney, 2002, p. 26
- ²⁶ Moore, 2002, p. 211
- ²⁷ Cronin, 2003, p. 53
- ²⁸ Albrecht, 2008, p. 384
- ²⁹ Ibid., p. 385
- ³⁰ Plasketes, 2005, p. 156
- ³¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Don%27t_Explain_%28song%29 [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³² <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9hDHGmQEQE> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ENWegLleS0g> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqzeMAllNY> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁵ <http://www.nrk.musikkonline.no/shop/displayAlbumExtended.asp?id=26852> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DV4zLPpEcU> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁷ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CbuUvsoG7pE> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁸ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0v_JFdVgQ [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ³⁹ <http://www.nme.com/nme-video/youtube/id/K5sCjIwZYUg> [Last accessed 06.11.12]

- ⁴⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRAbABN0IhU> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁴¹ Holiday with Dufty, 1956, p. 119
- ⁴² Pavlenko, 2003
- ⁴³ Zacharias, 2010, pp. 34-35
- ⁴⁴ 'Ownership through popularity' might emerge as a source of authenticity in the case of coverversions but generally not in the case of non-native covers, since these do not tend to be popular on a large enough scale.
- ⁴⁵ Moore, 2002, p. 214
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 218
- ⁴⁷ Albrecht, 2008, p. 384
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 384
- ⁴⁹ Burns and Woods, 2004, p. 2
- ⁵⁰ Attardo, 1994
- ⁵¹ Stevens, 2008, p. 132. See also Plasketes, 2005, p. 156
- ⁵² The 'personal' and 'unique' fades of course as soon as the scene becomes overflowing with 'artists with an accent' (cf. hip hop and rap).
- ⁵³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzQ1wLYdQ1A> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁵⁴ Venuti, 2008
- ⁵⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRAbABN0IhU> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁵⁶ Lefevere, 1992
- ⁵⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BIKtlKD90> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁵⁸ <https://annjogreenall.wordpress.com/in-english/> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁵⁹ *Adresseavisen*, 12.06.12
- ⁶⁰ <http://www.dagsavisen.no/nye-inntrykk/musikkreise-med-songlag/> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁶¹ <http://www.side2.no/musikk/anmeldelser/article3401305.ece> [Last accessed 06.11.12]
- ⁶² *Jazznytt*, 04:2012, p. 72
- ⁶³ Moore, 2002, p. 220

Come Sunday Morning: Mahalia Jackson, Jazz, and Signifying Spirituality

Barry Long

Multiple layers of irony present themselves when contextualizing Mahalia Jackson with jazz and authenticity. Many writers, critics, and fans viewed Jackson at the very least as a jazz sympathizer if not a surrogate. Her name consistently appeared in magazine polls surveying contemporary jazz singers and biographical articles appeared annually in jazz trade magazines such as *Downbeat* and *Metronome*. She rejected the label throughout her career however and with the exception of notable appearances with Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and even as a headliner at the 1958 Newport Jazz Festival - she refused to perform within traditional jazz contexts and performance spaces. On more than one occasion she described her counterparts as spiritual lost souls as it were, telling George Simon of *Metronome* magazine in 1957 that “good jazz has to have a soul and feeling, like the blues. If it has to be loud, let it sound round and full... But maybe I shouldn’t be talking about all this, because I’m a Gospel singer. I sing Divine songs and they have more to offer than jazz does. It (jazz) makes people happy on the surface, but when it’s over, it’s through.”¹

Her criticisms are not without a hesitation that belies her insistence on her place within the sacred genre and perhaps fosters the aforementioned confusion in the jazz media. Maybe, even if somewhat subconsciously, this comes from a recognition that her music’s development - which is to say modern Gospel music out of the Thomas Dorsey and holiness sanctified schools; the same Thomas Dorsey that served as Ma Rainey’s pianist before he was “saved” - bears an intrinsic relationship to jazz’s vocabulary and progression (and American popular music in general to varying degrees). Albert Murray called out these blurry divisions in his “Stomping the Blues,” describing the liminal space between the “Saturday Night Function” and Sunday morning’s reckoning - both equally fundamental to the African-American experience. Gary Giddins similarly called the spiritual a “kind of fuel” and noted,

the relationship between the sacred and secular in American music has always been shadowy.... It provided the basis for blues at the turn of the century, for the antiphonal orchestrations of the swing era, for various soul movements in jazz at midcentury. If sacred music, black and white, has inspired composers as diverse as Kern, Duke Ellington, Charles Ives, Aaron Copland, and Virgil Thompson, it has also generated much of the breakout pop that followed the war, from Louis Jordan's choir-driven call-and-response novelties to Ray Charles's substitution of "baby" for "Jesus" and all that followed.²

I'd like to initially take note of the parallels between jazz and improvised music and Mahalia Jackson's modern Gospel voice, the first residing in her focus on the musical immediacy of the now. The idea of the "now" lives at the intersection of art – specifically jazz and improvised music – faith, and social justice. Martin Luther King described the "fierce urgency of now" during the March on Washington; Max Roach insisted on "Freedom Now" in a 1961 album with Abbey Lincoln; even Charlie Parker noted "Now's the Time." For jazz, the "now" obviously depicts the moment of creation within a music where the written and spontaneous collide, the latter preferred as the art's most salient feature of identification. Poet and activist Amiri Baraka hails John Coltrane as the "black blower of the now" in his 1979 poem "AM/TRAK," asserting the saxophonist's contemporary cultural weight more than a decade after his passing. In ways similar to improvised performance, each example leverages the vitality and relevance of a forward-looking emphasis on "the now."

Jackson similarly emphasized her voice as living in the now. When bemoaning the artificiality of recording sessions, she described her preferred creative process: "I'm used to singing in church, where they don't stop me until the Lord comes."³ When (ironically) noting her somewhat close relationship to jazz, she pointed out,

You can't write jazz, and when I sing I don't go by the score. I lose something when I do. I don't want to be told I can sing just so long. I make it 'till that passion is passed. When I become conscious, I can't do it good. And there's a rhythm difference too. One thing about playing the real jazz right is that you can't count it. When you try to write down the exact note for the exact beat,

you lose it. That's what happened to some of our spirituals when some people began to put the notes to it.... This pattern of my own singing - it breaks all the laws.... But if the music has got the right movement, you can feel it the right way. And to sing the spiritual, you must have that feeling.⁴

Another consideration of “the now” describes where we locate spirituality and the ways we view performance space as a transplanted source of authenticity. Much like the manner in which modern jazz has moved improvised music from the clubs of its birth to the concert hall - and more fundamentally from its functional “place” as dance music to “art” music - Mahalia Jackson invited God to the performance stage. Following her headlining appearance at the 1958 Newport Jazz Festival - it should be noted, appearing as the festival's closing act AFTER Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington - Raymond Horrick provided the following observation:

For Mahalia, like Bessie Smith, has taken her music away from its natural habitat. Songs, formerly existing as declarations of faith in the churches of the American Negro, she now performs in the concert hall before larger, and not necessarily religious audiences. She does this, however, not for personal gain, but because she believes God to be everywhere. She has, almost single-handedly, brought about a wide, and often non-religious interest in the gospel singing of the Negro. (The pattern is similar to the one set by Bessie Smith, who took the blues away from the cotton fields, sang them in theatres, and eventually built up an audience for the blues which included many people not directly concerned with the economic and emotional problems of the poorer Negro.)⁵

The end of Horrick's analysis references the most notable of parallels in Mahalia Jackson's musical language and its origin in the blues of Bessie Smith. Jackson described this on many occasions, her tone ranging from biographical to confessional. “I have a type of voice that I hear people talk about, that has a blue note in it,” she writes, “and what I mean about a blue note is, it has the American music, like we call the blues in America, you know. Well, in other words, it has the cry in it.”⁶ She goes back further, telling of her New Orleans childhood in a late 1954 interview.

I gave in to one temptation when I was a child. My parents loved God dearly. They wanted me to hear no music but His. All around me in New Orleans were the deep moving hymns - the swelling, rocking spiritual and gospel songs. I loved the hymns and gospel songs but I disobeyed my parents and listened to the blues, the sorrow songs of my people. I heard the rich, throbbing voices of Ma Rainey, Ethel Waters, and Bessie Smith. There was other music - the haunting rhythms of the work songs chanted by the Negro men as they sweated and strained, laying the railroad ties. The inspiration of the church songs, the haunting quality of the work songs and the wail of the blues all got mixed up together in my brain.⁷

When the old people weren't home, I'd turn on a Bessie Smith record. And play it over and over. *Careless Love*, that was the blues she sang. I'd play that record over and over again and Bessie's voice would come out so full and round. And I'd make my mouth do the same thing. And before you know, all the people would stand outside the door and listen. I don't know what it was at the time. All I know is it would grip me. It would give me that same feeling as when I'd hear the men singing outside as they worked, laying the ties for the railroad. I liked the way Bessie made her tones....⁸

She went on to describe playing records from her cousin Fred's collection while her aunt was away cooking at the white folks' house.

Bessie was my favorite. Her voice had her soul in it. She dug down and kept it in you. Her music haunted you even when she stopped singing. ...you got to understand what the blues meant to us Negroes then to understand properly about them. The Negroes all over the South kept those blues playing to give us relief from our burden and give us courage to go on. I remember that I when I used to listen to Bessie Smith sing, *I Hate to See the Evening Sun go Down*, I'd fix my mouth and try to make my tones come out just like that.⁹

It's important to note that "Careless Love" was a standard in Buddy Bolden's band before the turn of the century in New Orleans and that Smith's recording of "St. Louis Blues" in 1925, which Jackson references by its opening lyric, also featured a young Louis Armstrong. One might conceive of Armstrong and Jackson as the

precocious children or younger siblings to the elder influence of Bolden and Smith. Such is the power and influence of this language and tradition.

Lineage is an essential component of the African-American musical tradition. Playwrite August Wilson describes Smith's recordings as "a birth, a baptism, a resurrection and a redemption all rolled up in one. It was the beginning of my consciousness that I was a representative of a culture and the carrier of some very valuable antecedents. With my discovery of Bessie Smith and the blues I had been given a world that contained my image, a world at once rich and varied, marked and marking, brutal and beautiful and at crucial odds with the larger culture."¹⁰ W.E.B. DuBois spoke to the music's generational importance at the close of his seminal 1903 work, *Souls of the Black Folk*: "The songs are indeed the siftings of centuries; the music is far more ancient than the words, and in it we can trace here and there signs of development.... The child sang it to his children and they to their children's children, and so two hundred years it has traveled down to us and we sing it to our children, knowing as little as our fathers what its words may mean, but knowing well the meaning of its music."¹¹

Mahalia Jackson's personal and musical recognition, witness, and testimony to this lineage provided the company that countless others sought. She played a vital role throughout the Civil Rights Movement when musical activism motivated both marchers and leaders alike. She steadfastly insisted on performing for desegregated audiences. At a time when the Freedom Singers' Bernice Johnson Reagon described starkly that "I will walk this space in my town, and you will either move or kill me this day"¹² and founder Cordell Reagon implored that "singing is alright but you've got to put your body on the line,"¹³ Jackson maintained a constant public presence, most notably through her close relationship with Rev. Martin Luther King. She performed at hundreds of benefits, mass meetings, and services: at the Prayer Pilgrimage marking the third anniversary of the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision, she sang for 35,000 on the Washington mall. Five years later she forced the inclusion of greater numbers of African-American speakers at a celebration marking the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation after threatening to boycott an invitation by President Kennedy to sing. She appeared before 19,000 at a Pittsburgh rally in Forbes Field. Jackson performed in Montgomery

during the bus boycott in 1955 and raised \$50,000 to bail 2000 men, women, and children out of the Birmingham jail during Project C in April of 1963. In Chicago she paid the auditorium's rent for a large mass meeting and went with King to the 12th District Police station to negotiate the release of six battered teenagers.

Most famously she sang at the 1963 March on Washington, performing "I've been Buked and I've been Scorned" just before King's landmark "I Have a Dream" speech. Writer Farah Jasmine Griffin declared "Jackson's was a voice insisting on a hearing, standing between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial as the illegitimate daughter of the American Revolution, demanding a seat at the table."¹⁴ One attendee described the scene: "The button-down men in front and the old women in back came to their feet screaming and shouting. They had not known that this thing was in them, and that they wanted it touched. From different places and different ways, with different dreams they had come, and now, hearing this sung, they were one."¹⁵ One of the day's speechwriters, Clarence Jones, credited Mahalia with "galvanizing a crowd that was already unified in its purpose. No more making the journey all alone, not when there are a quarter of a million of your brothers and sisters ready to stand with you. She had struck a spark and ignited something. And she wasn't done yet."¹⁶

Her greatest contributions that day lie ahead. As a frequent collaborator during his rallies, she heard King describe "the dream" weeks earlier in Detroit. Jones describes "standing no more than fifty feet behind Martin when I saw Mahalia Jackson, his favorite gospel singer, look to him with a beaming face and shout a piece of advice. As the suggestion took root, I watched Martin push aside the text of the speech I'd helped prepare—a text, it bears noting, that did not contain the phrase "I have a dream." At that moment I looked to the person standing next to "These people out there today don't know it yet," I said, "but they're about ready to go to church."¹⁷ King's spontaneous trust in Jackson arose from their close friendship, evidenced in a telegram discovered in Atlanta's King Center archives describing his reliance on her counsel and crediting her with the success of the March on Washington and the resonance of his speech that day. One might describe Jackson as King's muse - she frequently received phone calls from the road, asking her to sing a spiritual across the miles for consolation and rejuvenation.

THIS is the authenticity and credibility and spirituality and cross-generational lineage that others sought to give witness in their names. This is why Abbey Lincoln called her a “monument to black feminine virtue and morality.”¹⁸ This is why Duke Ellington sought her collaboration in the second week of February in 1958, four years after the Brown decision and three after Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat. He cited her tremendous influence on him and his sacred music and claimed that she made him a “much handsomer kind in the right light.”¹⁹ This is why he chose her to replace Johnny Hodges’ original feature on “Come Sunday,” resurrecting the work fifteen years after its Carnegie Hall premiere – no less than a premiere citing the piece as attempting to encompass the African-American condition. This is why he asked her to bring her bible to the “Black, Brown, and Beige” recording session, opening it to the 23rd Psalm and inviting her to cantor above the Ellington orchestra’s sublime accompaniment. This is why Farah Jasmine Griffin declares Mahalia Jackson’s voice – emblematic of the larger, powerful role of the black woman’s voice in the American cultural discourse – to be a “conduit between what and where we are and what and where we want to be. It has become the quintessential American voice that parallels the development of the nation and no less than representative of the human condition - whether it be a people’s longing for home or freedom or a nation’s longing for an idealized vision of itself.”²⁰

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Notes

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- ² Gary Giddins, *Visions of Jazz: The First Century*, (New York: Oxford, 2000), 20
- ³ Ralph Ellison, *Living with Music*, (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 93
- ⁴ Simon, 16
- ⁵ Raymond Horricks, 'Mahalia's Emotional Performance at Newport,' *Jazz News*, 1958, 27
- ⁶ Frank London Brown, 'Mahalia the Great,' *Ebony*, March 1959, 74
- ⁷ Studs Terkel, 'A Profile of Mahalia,' *Downbeat*, December 1958, 13
- ⁸ William Leonard, 'Mahalia Jackson,' *Chicago Tribune*, November 1954, 24
- ⁹ Mahalia Jackson, *Movin' On Up*, (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966), 36
- ¹⁰ Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, (New York: Perseus, 2004), 112-3
- ¹¹ Griffin, 114
- ¹² Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*, (New York: Oxford, 2010), 218
- ¹³ Monson, 219
- ¹⁴ Griffin, 103
- ¹⁵ Clarence B. Jones, *Behind the Dream: The Making of the Speech that Transformed a Nation*, (New York: Macmillan, 2012), 101
- ¹⁶ Jones, 102
- ¹⁷ Jones, XVI
- ¹⁸ Eric Porter, *What is This Thing Called Jazz: African-American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 185
- ¹⁹ Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington, *Music is My Mistress*, (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 256
- ²⁰ Griffin, 119

Nordic Jazz: A Historical View

Janne Mäkelä

Jazz has been understood as a universal language that crosses cultural and geographical boundaries. Yet there has also been a strong tendency to perceive jazz as a form of music that is authenticised by those clubs, districts, cities and countries where it has been performed and experienced. In some cases jazz has been connected to larger scenes. Referring to Scandinavian countries and to Finland and Iceland, Nordic jazz is a good example of a regional identification.

Or is it really so? Closer scrutiny reveals that it is not that easy to define the term Nordic jazz. This is because of two reasons. First, it is difficult to say what we mean by Nordic. Second, it is even more difficult to say what we mean by *jazz*.

Let us start with the concept of Nordic. Why is Nordic or Nordic identity so problematic? It is often mentioned that Nordic countries form a geographical entity. They represent a unified regional area in the North of Europe. From a certain perspective, say, from the point of view of the rest of Europe or non-European countries, it may look so. On the other hand, Nordic countries appear to be distant from each other. Norway, Sweden and Denmark form an entity that is called Scandinavia. Faroe Islands, Finland, Greenland and Iceland are not part of this.

It is often argued that language keeps Nordic countries together. Again, Denmark, Norway and Sweden – and also Iceland – have a certain language root which is called North Germanic languages or Scandinavian languages. *Suomen kieli ei kuulu tähän kieliryhmään*: Finnish language does not belong to this language group. The same can be said about Sami languages and some other minority languages.

What about traditions? Culture? History? We can find differences yet we can also find similarities. Nordic countries provide a wide range of national myths and histories as well as different life styles. A Norwegian jazz musician, a Greenlandish hunter or a Danish cleaning woman probably don't feel very deeply that they are sharing the same cultural tradition. On the other hand, there are social systems

and ideologies, for example the idea of welfare state, that in a sense have brought these people together.

Jazz as Nordic tradition

What about the second problem, that of jazz? Music that is globally recognised as jazz music undoubtedly exists. We are in agreement on the common (or at least classic) features of jazz style. Yet there is a lot of music that sounds like jazz and revolves around the elements of jazz but somehow seems to fall outside the category of jazz music.

Despite these problems of definition of both the Nordic and the jazz, it is possible to argue that the Nordic countries have a common storyline when it comes to the history of jazz. One of the greatest culture stories in the 20th century was the rise and dispersal of a new kind of mass media and popular culture. Jazz music played a significant role in this phenomenon. If we look at the history of jazz in a West European context, the story is basically the same everywhere. To simplify a complex process, American jazz conquered the hearts of young audiences and challenged music traditions and practices. In a way, jazz internationalised national music cultures.

Every Nordic country has their own version of this process yet these different versions also seem to resemble each other. By the 1930s, American jazz music styles had found a foothold in the Nordic countries. By the late 1950s, each country had their own jazz heroes who more or less still paid homage to American jazz. And by the 1970s, Nordic countries had adopted jazz as an art music ideology. At the same time, however, they began to distance themselves from American roots, attempting to build their own nationalised version of jazz.

This development is well-known – at least among historians and jazz scholars. It is also widely recognised that these developments did not happen without struggles. Like everywhere else in Europe, there was a resistance to jazz as well as to other forms of new popular music. We can find stories about the ‘jazz wars’ also in the Nordic countries, but maybe the overall reception of jazz was somewhat more approving than elsewhere. There is, for example, lots of evidence that comparing

to many other parts of Europe, Sweden, which has traditionally been a cultural role model for other Nordic countries, was very open to new sounds. So, as regards these developments and receptions, perhaps there exists a shared tradition of jazz music in the Nordic countries.

Popular music and cultural policy

There certainly are some common traits in Nordic jazz. One of them is the fact that cultural life in Nordic countries has traditionally been characterised by a high level of institutionalisation. This also applies to music. In my home country, Finland, a Musicians' Union was established already in 1917. The Nordic parent organization, called Nordisk Musiker Union, which still exists (yet not very actively), was formed one year earlier. As regards jazz music, national federations appeared soon after the Second World War: Sweden 1948, Norway 1953, Denmark 1956, and Finland 1966.

One area where institutional aspect emerges is cultural policy. The relationship between cultural policy and jazz – and not only jazz but other forms of popular music as well – can be seen as a history of changing forms of thought. To use Martin Cloonan's categorisation of popular music cultural policy, the Nordic countries have witnessed a general shift from authoritarian and benign forms of thought to promotional repertoires. The authoritarian state controls record production, licensing of live music, and music imports. The benign state leaves popular music to free markets, acts as tax-collector and referees competing interests. The third type, the promotional state, regards popular music as a virtue and devises national policies to combat the dominance of Anglo-American music.¹

We can see everywhere in Europe that during the past two decades promotional discourse has gained more ground in the cultural policy of popular music. Nordic countries have often been mentioned as pioneers in this development. When the US and UK music papers reported the boom of the Scandinavian rock music around 2000 and 2001, they often focussed on the role of the state support which seemed like a revolutionary idea for foreign pop journalists. There are, of course, many explanations for the shift from hostile and benign forms of thought to promotional repertoires in popular music. I have elsewhere argued how in Finland

two basic characteristics emerge: the interest in organised forms of culture and the lure of internationalism.² I assume that, to a certain extent, these explanations also apply to other Nordic countries.

Jazz music culture paved way for this development. Long before rock musicians began to receive state support for their music export activities and long before pop curriculum entered public music schools, jazz had been on the agenda of cultural policy. In Finland, for example, jazz musicians began to receive state funding in 1967. Jazz education became organised in the mid-1970s. Moreover, jazz had international relevance. Since the late 1960s, Finnish jazz bands had taken home prizes from Montreaux and other jazz festivals. Partly due to the programme exchange of the European Broadcasting Union, their recordings began to reach international audiences.

Other Nordic countries can provide similar success stories. As a result, jazz in Nordic area began to achieve new cultural status in the late 1960s. On the other hand, its economic status was unstable. Thus, in order to survive, it needed support. This is where Nordic money and cultural policy entered.

Nordic funding

The geopolitical and inter-parliamentary forum called the Nordic Council was established in 1952 to reinforce the Nordic identity. Its cultural aspect grew stronger in 1966, when the Nordic Culture Fund was established. In terms of support for popular music, the most important institution has been the Nordic Music Committee NOMUS, one of the official organisations within the Nordic Council.

During the 1970s, jazz became one of the main recipients of Nordic cultural funding. Four examples illustrate this development. In May 1972, the Nordic Council supported the four-day event *Jazz och poesi* (Jazz and Poetry), which took place in the Hässelby Castle in Stockholm. Each Nordic country had a coordinator who had gathered musicians and poets from their own country. The main idea of the event was cooperation – not only between the musicians and poets themselves but, generally, between the Nordic countries.³

This inter-Nordic ideal was repeated a few months later when the Nordic jazz

federations came together in Denmark and began to plan future cooperative activities. As a result, the idea of Nordic jazz competition of song writing saw the light of day. The competition was announced the following year with the main aim that all the works should be written for the Nordic Jazz Workshop. As with the jazz and poetry event, the competition emphasised the idea of Nordic jazz music without borders. The project was supported by the Nordic Culture Foundation with 125 000 DKK (approx. 17 000 EUR).⁴

The Nordic Jazz Workshop forms an interesting chapter in the history of Nordic jazz cooperation. Initiated by Danish bass player and music administrator Erik Moseholm, the workshop had become active in 1971. Moseholm brought together twelve Nordic musicians, including Palle Mikkelborg, Jan Garbarek, Juhani Aaltonen, Kalle Neuman, Heikki Sarmanto, Niels-Henning Ørsted Pedersen and Espen Rud, who gave a concert at the Moldejazz festival, Norway, and also toured as a smaller ensemble.⁵

Erik Moseholm was a leading figure in 1974 when a new organisation called Nordjazz was established to support and coordinate jazz music and culture. In his article on the history of Nordjazz, Steinar Kristiansen gives a detailed description on the organisation and its activities between the 1970s and the 1990s. Starting with the launch of the Nordic Jazz Quintet (Kjell Jansson, Ole Kock Hansen, Jukka Tolonen, Peter Østlund and Knut Riisnaes) and then developing into a wide range of projects (including touring, concerts, festivals, recordings and education), Nordjazz became an important network for jazz musicians. One of Kristiansen's arguments is that this would not have been possible without external funding. In this case, the main financial source was NOMUS.⁶

My assumption is that cultural history approaches to analysis of the 1970s might help to understand why the idea of Nordic became so important. I have a feeling that with jazz, the emphasis on the Nordic had as much to do with cultural identities as with art ideologies. Reflecting the highly political atmosphere of the cold war, the institutional strengthening of Nordic identity appeared for many a way to keep the Nordic Europe in balance.

On the other hand, the 1970s witnessed a heated debate about popular music. It was characterised by attempts to evaluate popular music in terms of authenticity.

As a result, pop music faced accusations of being vulgar, corrupt and inauthentic whereas certain genres of rock and jazz music in particular came to represent art and authenticity. These arguments about the authentic and the inauthentic – good music and bad music – characterised discourses of cultural policy. Jazz music was able to pass the music policy audition because it represented non-commercial aspects and seemed to have artistic value. For many (especially for the cultural policy makers), the other forms of popular music lacked these values. With jazz, aesthetic virtues met regional identity policy. Jazz was a way of emphasising the best of Nordic culture.

Whatever the explanations are, the result is that the institutional cooperation in Nordic jazz was active in the last decades of the 20th century. It continues to be so. One recent example of this is the annual Young Nordic Jazz Comets competition which has been organised by the national jazz federations since 2000. Based on a vision of common Nordic identity, the purpose of the competition has been to discover new Nordic jazz and create networks.

Nordic jazz media

One area where the ‘Nordic effect’ has been prevalent is the media. Within the print media, there was even an inter-Nordic magazine, *Jazzbladet* which was published by the Danish-Norwegian jazz forum from 1959 to 1961.⁷ A more telling example, however, is the Swedish jazz magazine *Orkesterjournalen*, which was established in 1933. At least in Finland, and arguably in other Nordic countries as well, it became a remarkable source of information for jazz fans and musicians.

This inter-Nordic aspect was best seen in the 1960s when *Orkesterjournalen* organised the annual readers’ poll called *Nordiska favoriter* (Nordic Favourites). Launched in January 1961, readers were given the chance to decide who were the best orchestras, best small groups, best dixieland bands and best players. There were also categories for best vocalist and arranger. The only restriction was that jazz artists were required to have citizenship of one of the Nordic countries.⁸

There is every reason to assume that the idea of an inter-Nordic poll had as much to do with the economics of the magazine as with any Nordic ideology. The arrangement of this voting system was a clever way to attract and motivate readers outside the Swedish borders. The candidates no longer represented only the

Swedish jazz scene. When the voting system was launched, the editors of the paper justified the new arrangement by arguing that Nordic jazz musicians regularly visit other Nordic countries and that it is important to know what is going on in the neighbouring scenes. Readers were advised to vote for musicians of their own countries if they thought these artists were better than other Nordic artists.⁹

This democratic pulse did not enter to the final results. Swedish artists dominated the list – arguably because *Orkesterjournalen* was a Swedish paper with the majority of its readers being from Sweden. According to the magazine itself, in 1961 two thirds of the voting came from Swedish readers.¹⁰ (Of course, some might allege that the results were a proof of Swedish jazz supremacy within the Nordic scene.)

It is not only music print media which have promoted the idea of Nordic jazz. The role of the European Broadcasting Union EBU as an organiser of international jazz cooperation is widely recognised, yet there have been activities in the Nordic media as well. One recent example is the television series called *Jazz in the North* (2009). Organised by the Finnish Broadcasting Company and supported by the Nordvision, the umbrella organisation for the Nordic broadcast companies, this seven-part series not only provided fantastic archive material and new performances but dealt with themes such as the Nordic tone, education system and state support. Thus, the programme not only brought the national jazz scenes together, but also cast an analytical eye over them.

Sounds and tones

Jazz in the North is a good example of how the idea of Nordic jazz is based on a number of themes and practices. For many, the term Nordic jazz evokes ideas and accounts of musical cooperation and networks. There is a rich history of such activities. As long as there has been jazz music in the Nordic countries, musicians have crossed borders and played with their neighbouring colleagues. With the Finnish–Swedish relationship, probably the first collaboration in the field of jazz recordings took place in 1938 when Charles Redland and Stig Holm reinforced the then famous dance band the Ramblers that had come from Finland for a studio session in Stockholm.¹¹ There is a long history of musicians' collaboration in Nordic jazz – but it is still largely uncharted.

Since the 1970s, there has been another visible theme, that of the ‘Nordic tone’ or sound. As with, for example, the Nordic crime novel or Nordic metal music, audiences are inclined to perceive Nordic jazz music as a coherent scene if not a certain genre. Stuart Nicholson devotes one chapter to this theme in his book *Is Jazz Dead? (Or Has It Moved to a New Address)*. For Nicholson, Nordic jazz appears as a particular ‘tone’ that is characterised by the closeness of nature, the idea of space, cool sounds and folk music elements.¹² Other writers, for example John V. Ward in his article in *The Jazz Chameleon*, are more careful in defining Nordic jazz as a ‘tone’ and emphasize jazz networks, fan activities and naming policies.¹³

Indeed, attempts to identify, define and create a certain regional style such as Nordic jazz can often be traced back to promotional and marketing activities. Epitomised by the Norwegian saxophone player Jan Garbarek and cultivated at the German record label ECM, the term Nordic jazz started to gather reputation already in the 1970s. Quite often it is not only the music industry but also music journalists and fans that create and maintain naming policies. Musicians themselves may be more cautious and even uncomfortable with such practices. I do not know any contemporary musician who openly claims to play Nordic jazz.

Nordic jazz as a certain tone raises many questions: What is excluded and what is included? Do those musicians who are included in Nordic jazz really want to be part of the scene? I am not saying that there is no such thing as Nordic jazz ‘tone’. I believe it exists – but not so much as a natural musical language than as a cultural construction. It may sound like an authentic tone, but being used for marketing as well as for emphasising cultural identities it is more like a device. Or method. It is a tone that asks to be authenticised.

There are a lot of cultural policies and identity games involved with the use of the term Nordic jazz. Contemporary jazz music culture in Nordic countries is largely dependent on state support and international feedback. Musicians face lot of pressure to represent the idea of the Nordic tone because that tone attracts the makers of cultural policy and touches audiences, especially those outside the Nordic countries.

Conclusion

I have attempted to explain how the history of Nordic jazz can be understood as a union of institutional mechanisms and particular tones. In a sense, Nordic jazz has been more about identification games than about identity itself. Yet this does not mean that the term Nordic jazz is useless. The story of Nordic jazz is not so much a story of a particular sound or style, even though attempts to propose such definitions have not been unusual. It is a story of regional collaborations and influences that have been motivated by various ideological, political and economic processes.

In this sense, Nordic jazz represents one of the secret histories of jazz music. The national jazz histories in each of the Nordic countries have now been well-charted. This is not the case with Nordic jazz. In fact, even the very concrete chapters of this history, for example the history of musicians' cooperation in the Nordic countries, remain to be written.

Keywords

Nordic jazz, history, cooperation, cultural policy, music media, Nordic tone

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- ² Mäkelä, 2008; Mäkelä, 2011, 157–169.
- ³ Thomas, 1972, 5.
- ⁴ Thuresson, 1973, 4.
- ⁵ Kristiansen, 2005, 46.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 47–52.
- ⁷ Stendahl & Bergh, 1997, 297–298.
- ⁸ Anon., 1961a, 6.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Anon., 1961b, 6.
- ¹¹ Westerberg, 1978, 21.
- ¹² Nicholson, 2005, 195–222.
- ¹³ Ward, 2011, 92–94.

Østerdalsmusikk 1975–2012 New Wine in New Bottles?

James Dickenson

Østerdalen is a district on the eastern side of Norway sharing a common border with Sweden. The valley occupies around 20,000 square kilometers and in 2009 had a population of about 50,000. Today we are going to consider folk music from that district and how it has attracted the attention of jazz musicians. The same music has influenced classical composers, some from a much earlier date: names which come to mind include Grieg, Sparre Olsen, Eivind Groven (the only one to master both Hardanger fiddle and symphony orchestra), Kjell Mørk Karlsen and many others. The subject is of enormous proportions and for present purposes I must confine myself to Østerdalen. As to my subtitle *New wine in new bottles* I am rather attracted by the analogy between a vineyard and a folk tune collection! Folk music comes as it were from the area of land around us. Folk tunes simply emerge and are collected and taken in use with the passage of time. Grapes grow in a locality, are plucked, pressed and the resultant wine left to mature. Later on a larger public uses both 'products' which complement each other in an admirable way. Here the 'new bottles' are the new members of the instrumental ensembles together with their instruments or voices and they develop the phenomenon of fusion between the musical genres, hence the 'new wine'.

In 1943 the eminent scholar and musicologist Dr.O.M.Sandvik gave out a collection of folk melodies which he had collected over many years during his travels around mid-Norway. The fact that the book¹ was published in 1943 during the Nazi occupation of Norway might have given the whole a nationalistic poignancy, but in fact the author was a vociferous publisher, war or no war. It is worth mentioning that many of the melodies contained in the book's 260 pages stem from a time when Norway was an occupied land, first under Danish then later Swedish monarchies. The book is elegantly produced with commentaries and photographs, many showing known folk fiddlers, and some singers, from the Østerdal region.

The transcriptions are painstakingly written out, mostly identified as to district and/or executant. The book is a gold mine for students and performers of Norwegian folk music, but it had to wait over 30 years before it came to the attention of the Norwegian jazz world. In 1975 the LP *Østerdalsmusikk* was recorded by the MAI record company, a nationalistically motivated organisation. Prime mover in the project was Torgrim Sollid, then an emergent jazzmusician with roots in the district. He recruited a team of leading Norwegian jazz musicians who at that time were in the forefront of the jazz scene with active engagement in principally small group work. The excellent 5 CD set *Jazz in Norway*² which covers the years 1920 – 1980 contains contributions from several of those who you now see on the screen.³ Bjørn Stendahl, author of the sleeve notes for Volume 5 contextualises the jazz scene at around the mid-70s. ‘The 1960s had given us new idols, free jazz forms, Latin-American impulses, a rhythm-and-blues renaissance, soul, oriental mysticism, psychedelic elements and absurd happenings. A new type of fusion music was created, namely jazz-rock... This music was to characterize most of the 1970s’. Before we consider the relative position of the 1975 group let us hear one of the tracks from that LP, ‘Bukkehornlåt’ (Ram’s Horn melody) after Ole Eggen. The double-tracked flute presents the melody before the harmonized verse. Solo rounds follow over a simple chord sequence and the piece fades out after the closing bass solo.

nr. 13-14: Bukkehornlåter. Ole Eggen, Sollien.

13. 

The image shows two staves of musical notation for the piece 'Bukkehornlåter'. The first staff is labeled '13.' and the second staff is unlabeled. Both staves are in 4/4 time and use a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and accents. The notation is presented as a double-tracked flute melody.

Music Example 1: Ram’s horn melody

It is clear from the manner the solos are handled and the general flexibility of phrasing that we are hearing jazz musicians rather than folk musicians. We witness a group of individualistic jazz players bowing to the historically purist milieu of Norwegian folk music, hence the damped-down playing style without any of the excesses we can associate with 70s bebop or hardbop. The recorded rhythms do not always correspond with Sandvik's notation and this is typical of the genre. Sandvik in his preface was concerned to say that his transcriptions, particularly of the pols dances, could not adequately document what he heard performed. He was working under difficult conditions since his subjects were often elderly and the acoustics of the rooms made it difficult to hear exactly what was played or sung. The pols rhythm is a particularly fraught topic and I have intentionally avoided this today. Sollid is quoted as having said that Norwegian folk music is an endless large treasure chest, established in the local landscape and reflecting the social and economic conditions prevailing in each district.⁴ Listeners to the 1975 recordings quickly recognized that these were unusual performances, ranging from a wedding march played with the utmost classical dignity and no recognizable jazz content, pols dances including one in 5½/8 time, a sad lullaby with Gil Evans type voicings and several hallings. The folk melodies are typically Norwegian with small cells rather than long expansive lines. Edvard Grieg was inspired by this type of format and his harmonic chromaticism in the lower parts anticipates much that we meet in 60s and 70s concert band situations in charts by for example Ellington, Strayhorn, Brookmeyer and Gil Evans.

The organisation *Music in Hedmark* based in Hamar approached Sollid in 2011 to see if he would reconstitute the group and he agreed. Whereas the 1975 project was simply a recording contract, the new, larger ensemble has yet to record an album but has held a number of concerts in Norway and Sweden. Thanks to the courtesy of Swedish Radio who recorded the concert in Falun on 31st March for transmission on 2nd September we can hear excerpts today. There are several differences in the line-up of the two *Østerdalsmusikk* ensembles. Whereas the original band had exclusively jazz musicians in its ranks the new, larger ensemble includes both jazz and folk musicians. The new group has added 'cello, violin, guitar and two female folk singers. There is also a quintet drawn from the parent ensemble

and they present their own concerts. In 1975 all the members were active jazz musicians used to performing standard repertoire. In 2012 the members have more varied backgrounds, for example guitarist Tom Lund has previously worked with Brazilian and other ethnic musicians and violinist Jørn Halbakken is both a folk musician and a member of the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra. Most of the present members come from Hedmark and this gives the performances extra authenticity.

In conclusion we can compare two performances of the same halling melody which Sandvik transcribed from Martinus Amundsen. Again the arrangers have altered the notated melody rhythms from even 16th notes to 'scotch snap' articulations to give a livelier effect. The 1975 ensemble plays a richly-scored arrangement which follows the melody line with some phrases repeated to give a more open effect and the band plays in 4/4 rather than the original 2/4 time signature. The middle section consists of a tenor saxophone solo over a simple three chord ostinato Eb7-D7-Gm. Such a solution gives the soloists more freedom and security. Folk tunes often have an uneven number of bars in length and can create linear awkwardness and harmonic restrictions for improvising soloists. To implant an extra solo section as a bridge is a good musical solution to the problem. The 2012 group adopt a similar solution but open with a sequence on damped piano strings (played by Helge Lien) with percussion backing. This is followed by a harmonised tutti statement of the melody followed by an extended bass solo from Sigurd Hole over the same three chords as in the 1975 version, here backed by piano, guitar (Tom Lund) and drums (Birger Mistereggen). Helge Lien goes over to a florid piano chorus in 4/4 with walking bass which leads back to the closing tutti, again in harmony.

Halling by Martinus Amundsen (rhythm as played by Østerdalsmusikk 1975)

$\text{♩} = 138$

G D A⁷ D 7 G D D A⁷ D 7

4 G D D A⁷ D 7 G D D A⁷ D 7

8 G D D A⁷ D 7 G D G D 7

12 G D G D 7 G D G D 7

16 *tenor sax solo*
G Eb⁷ D⁷ Gm Eb⁷ D⁷ Gm Eb⁷ D⁷

22 Gm Eb⁷ D⁷ Gm Eb⁷ D⁷ Gm Eb⁷ D⁷

28 Gm **To Coda** Gm \oplus TUTTI G D 7 G

32 G *rall.* D 7 G

40

Music Example 2: Halling after Martinus Amundsen

These are early days for the 2012 *Østerdalsmusikk* ensemble and fresh ideas are coming in with each concert. The group has good in-house arrangers, notably Sollid, Lund and Hole and unlimited repertoire possibilities. It is hoped that they will soon make some commercial recordings. The Norwegian jazz scene in 2012 is diffuse and the parameters within which *Østerdalsmusikk* operates create a spacious working area whilst at the same time giving new life to old folk music and taking on board newer techniques of jazz performance.



Front line at Falun. Photo: © Musikk I Hedmark

Keywords

Østerdalsmusikk; Norwegian folk jazz; Sandvik, O.M.; Sollid, T.; Fusion of jazz and folk music

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Notes

¹ *Østerdalsmusikken*

² Norsk JazzArkiv, Oslo and Herman Records as, P.O. Box 322, No-7403 Trondheim

³ at this point there was shown a photograph of the original 1975 ensemble

⁴ *Jazznytt*, Oslo nr. 3:2012 p. 40

The Racial Imagination and Authenticity in Swedish Jazz: The Swedish Reception of Miles Davis' Versions of Dear Old Stockholm

Mischa van Kan

In the 1950s Miles Davis could be seen as an acclaimed jazz musician, for example because of his role in the rise of cool jazz. One might therefore think that he also had seemingly good prerequisites for his version of 'Ack Värmeland du sköna', better known outside Sweden as the jazz standard 'Dear Old Stockholm', to be accepted as an authentic interpretation. Nevertheless Davis's versions of the tune were not generally accepted as authentic in the Swedish jazz press. The main question of this paper therefore is: Why was there a reception in Sweden of Miles Davis' versions of 'Dear Old Stockholm' as inauthentic? To find an answer to this question I turned to the Swedish jazz press (the Swedish sources are translated into English by the author). To better understand its reception I would like to analyze the discourse surrounding Davis's versions of the tune with the concept of the racial imagination¹ and the notion of signifyin(g) in Davis' authorship as used by Gary Tomlinson and Robert Walser.²

First I would like to address the concept of racial imagination, posited by Radano and Bohlman. The racial imagination is the way in which groups of people are distinguished, based on notions of race. It is: 'the shifting matrix of ideological constructions of difference associated with body type and color that have emerged as part of the discourse network of modernity'.³ Jazz discourse is an obvious place for these constructions to be found.

The Swedish society in the 1950s lacked the segregation so typical for the US and at the time contained few people with any divergent color of skin. Still, the racial imagination played a highly important role in the reception of jazz in Sweden as notions of race were reflected in a very different way than today. At its introduction in Sweden, jazz was very much regarded as music of the 'Other'; it was a highly fashionable and modern phenomenon. But because of its African-Ameri-

can background it was regarded as something different and distant from Swedish daily life: 'To straight off translate the feelings and experiences of the black people that existed in the foundations of jazz, to Swedish expressions and life forms was actually impossible.'⁴ Thus, jazz music in Sweden was related to constructions of difference within issues of race.

Even later when Swedish performances of jazz were accepted in Sweden, issues of race remained highly relevant. They even became the topic of polemic debates in the Swedish jazz press. In 1950 an article by the well-known jazz writer Leonard Feather opened the discussion in the Swedish magazine *Estrad* (meaning 'stage'). In his article entitled *Even Europe has racial prejudices*, he specified the prejudiced point of view as 'to regard jazz as an intrinsically American Negro product, to assume that any jazz musician is likely to be a more authentic musician if he is a negro.'⁵ Issues of race were thus even a topic of debate in jazz discourse at the time, the opinions on the role of these issues within that discourse, however, varied widely.

A reaction on Feather's article appeared some months later. Rolf Lidén disagreed with Feather and argued that the African-American musicians were superior when it came to rhythm. He added that Feather had based his notion that African-Americans do not possess a certain talent that qualifies them as more authentic jazz musicians, on the hypotheses of radical American geneticists. The most striking aspect of his reasoning, I would argue, is that he misunderstands Feather's argument dealing with a notion of authenticity. Lidén mistakes this for a question of taste, thinking that Feather is arguing that if one prefers swing to cool jazz, one is prejudiced. Lidén then argues that it is not to be considered prejudiced to prefer African-American jazz musicians rather than cool jazz:

If some listeners and devotees of jazz prefer the naïve, warm, more intimate way to represent their music, that is the negroes' own, instead of the colder, well thought out, anything else but naïve dictions that so often characterize the white, they may think so. But why call it prejudice?⁶

Here it is also striking how deeply rooted the notion that African-American jazz musicians possessed a natural quality for rhythm is in the racial imagination, re-

flected by the description of their 'naïve' quality of playing jazz. Juxtaposed to this is the jazz music played by white musicians, which is 'well thought out'.

A good example of this juxtaposition in practice in Sweden is the evening in Stockholm on March 19th 1951 where both Stan Getz and Sidney Bechet performed. This event was reported of in *Estrad*. The title of the article clearly positions the two opposite to one another, with the header 'Cool jazz versus the old school'. Here again the racial imagination is highly present; it is manifested in the conception of cool jazz as the music of white musicians, which is based on European music traditions that was thought to speak to reason and is 'well thought out'.⁷ On the other hand there is the music of African-American musicians that is seen as naïve and unschooled; it is related to emotion instead of reason and in that way is opposed to 'white' jazz by applying a dichotomy of reason against emotion. This happens very clearly in the description of Bechet in *Estrad*: 'One felt instinctively that this was how original jazz music sounded; naïve, unschooled but with an empathy only a child of nature is capable of'.⁸ There was thus a strong notion that white musicians used their brains and their reason to make jazz, whereas African-American musicians, with their emotion, possessed an intrinsic ability to play authentic jazz.

After a series of concerts in Sweden on his first visit to Sweden in March 1951, Stan Getz recorded the Swedish folk tune 'Ack Värmeland du sköna', mediated outside of Sweden with the title 'Dear Old Stockholm'. Miles Davis also took up this tune and recorded it in 1952 with several more takes in 1956. Without a doubt, his versions contributed highly to the fact that the tune grew to be a jazz standard. With the apparent racial imagination in Sweden in mind it is therefore interesting to compare the reception of both versions in Swedish jazz press.

Stan Getz recorded the tune on the initiative of Kenneth Fagerlund. The other soloist involved in the recording was the Swedish pianist Bengt Hallberg, who notated the melody for Getz. The other two musicians were Gunnar Johnson, who played the double bass and Jack Norén, who played the drums. The record was an instant hit in Sweden and was received with great enthusiasm in the Swedish jazz press. Critics thought that the musicians had found the right way to play it as a jazz piece, without renouncing the original connotations: 'It is not sacrilege to

make jazz out of this melody – it is beautiful music and the soloists treat it gently and with piety.⁹ The interesting factor here is that there was a sense of pride in the Swedish contribution to a jazz composition. The Swedish folk tune has always had a very central position in Swedish music heritage and therefore a certain approach has been presupposed in order for this tune to be treated with piety, as it was called in the review. I would argue that this approach, in turn, required the ‘reason’ thought to be typical for white jazz musicians. They relied upon their brains and could thus understand how this part of the European music tradition should be interpreted.

About a year later Miles Davis recorded a version of the tune with American musicians in New York. In 1956 he recorded some more versions of ‘Dear Old Stockholm’. All these versions, however, received mixed reactions in the Swedish jazz press. The fact that Davis recorded a version was soon noticed in Sweden, even though his version was not released in Sweden at the time. A small article appears on the first page of *Estrad* with the interesting header ‘More Swedish in the USA’. The title of the notice in the magazine shows how the tune was considered ‘Swedish’ and a part of the Swedish music tradition. The appreciation of Davis’ version was not as high as Getz’: ‘The result, however, could be considered many levels under Stan’s in regard to quality.’¹⁰ When the record finally was released in Sweden some four years later, the reception was mixed. Davis did get some positive feedback, but it is striking to see the racial imagination in the negative reviews.

When Davis’ second version was released and reviewed in Sweden, he once again had not found the right approach, according to the critics of *Estrad*:

However, I am not fond of *Delight* and *Stockholm* as an entity. The latter is Miles’ second version of ‘Ack Värmeland’ and still he does not seem to realize that the lyrical qualities of the melody demand a significantly more gentle interpretation.¹¹

In Sweden the tune is widely known under the name ‘Ack Värmeland du sköna’ and the change of name to ‘Dear Old Stockholm’ was unanimously regarded as incorrect. More strikingly, it is argued by Lindgren that Miles Davis did not realize that he should have interpreted the tune in a different way, i.e., he did not play it

like it should be played. Here I would argue that Miles Davis, as an African-American jazz musician, was thought to be naïve, primitive and playing with intrinsic feeling rather than with reason. That, the review implies, is why Davis could not understand the right way to interpret the Swedish tune for it to be authentic. Miles Davis, as I will argue below, might not have been interested in that either, but that was left out of the discussion.

There are some musical differences between Davis' versions recorded in the US with American musicians and Getz' version with the Swedish musicians recorded in Sweden. An interesting issue here is Miles Davis' deviation from Getz' earlier version. Davis actually adds four bars after he plays the first theme, which is repeated a couple of times as a riff. At the same time Getz' version of the folk tune deviates from the melody that was established as the original because Bengt Hallberg did not remember the exact melody all the way throughout, so at a certain point they 'swung about a bit'.¹² Both versions thus deviated from the established version of 'Ack Värmeland du sköna'. Hallberg made the version with Stan Getz different and personal by coming up with an alternative for the theme he left out in the arrangement and Davis did the same by adding some extra bars at several places. Even though both versions deviated from the folk tune, the versions of Getz and Davis were received in a very different way.

To focus on Davis' deviation and understand the reception better it will be very helpful to put it in the context of the notion of 'signifyin(g)'. It was originally posited by Henry Louis Gates, and then used by Gary Tomlinson and Robert Walser to describe Miles Davis' authorship. Signifyin(g) is a theme distinguished in African-American literature and defines a rhetoric strategy both in formal and informal situations. It is a way to engage in dialogue with previous texts: 'Signifyin(g) represents, then, an engagement with preceding texts so as to 'create a space' for one's own (...) by restating and altering of the tropes of earlier texts'.¹³ This dialogical character becomes prominent regarding the different versions of 'Dear Old Stockholm' that Davis recorded. In an ongoing dialogue with the tune and its different versions, Davis recorded it several times, where every take can be regarded, as Tomlinson calls it, a 'repetition-with-difference'. Davis is even signifyin' on his own versions, as every new recording or performance is a version of the jazz tune

to which his dialogue is aimed, as Walser states too in his analysis of Davis' version of 'My Funny Valentine': 'he is also signifyin' on many jazz versions, including his own past performances'.¹⁴

All recordings vary; the wider use of the LP-format gave Davis the conditions in 1956 to make significantly longer versions with more soloing. His version from 1952 was only slightly over four minutes long, whereas his 1956 recordings stretch to almost eight minutes. The differences in tempo are also significant; his 1956 versions are notably faster. In general these later versions deviate even more from the original. They are more idiosyncratic with more elaborated improvisations and sparser accompaniments. Because of his earlier version, upon which Davis was signifyin(g) as well, the context of the tune was clearer and he does not need to invest as much time to create the context that he is signifyin(g) upon.

Tomlinson argues that there is an intolerance among critics to Davis' mix of music traditions: 'Their intolerance of fusion music reflects the discomfort of both black and white critics with the *mix* that Davis created'.¹⁵ Miles Davis' interpretation of 'Ack Värmeland du sköna' left the tradition of white music and mixed it with an African-American tradition by signifyin(g) upon earlier versions of the tune. By adding four bars to almost 'answer' the melody lines in earlier versions he was making the tune strikingly different. He did not take the tune as a point of departure in the same way as Stan Getz and Bengt Hallberg did: only after the head was played did these two soloists start improvising. Miles Davis did not share the knowledge of the folk tune and its connotations with Getz' quartet with its three Swedish musicians, furthermore it is not unlikely that he did not even care about it. Here Davis was probably not very much concerned with the tune in relation to authenticity, as Walser characterizes Davis' authorship in general as free from the restrictions of genre and with a predilection for contradictions: 'He refused to be constrained by genre boundaries; his music embraced and explored contradictions; he dismissed questions of authenticity or purity'.¹⁶

In contrast, Getz and Hallberg stuck to the musical structure of the tune whilst playing the head, at least as well as Hallberg could remember the 'original' when he wrote down the melody for Getz. Here Davis' attitude to the tune is different and his signifyin(g) upon the tune evoked critical reactions. Changing the structure

and using his African-American idiom in his interpretation blurred the border between 'white' and 'black' music. In his interpretation 'Ack Värmeland du sköna' was no longer clearly positioned in a 'white' and European music tradition. The expiration of the distinction between a music that was considered to be embedded in a 'white' music tradition and a music that was thought to be part of a 'black' music tradition can be argued to be an important part of the negative reception of Davis' works in Sweden.

Why then, in conclusion, is there a significant reaction to Davis' version of 'Ack Värmeland du sköna' as inauthentic? I would argue that, at the time, the racial imagination precluded African-American musicians from taking the Swedish folk tune beyond a 'white' music tradition. Miles Davis combined two traditions with his musical interpretation. Consequently, and exclusive to Davis' intentions, connotations to the two traditions and in particular the racial imagination attached to them, as discussed above, were connected as well. It was too big a step to interpret it in a different way and combine it with an African-American idiom. 'Ack Värmeland du sköna' was too much rooted in a Swedish, white, European music tradition for Davis as an African-American to interpret it correctly in the eyes of the Swedish jazz press. Davis' deviations, his signifyin(g) on the tune and its context contested its character as an authentic Swedish folk tune and therefore the authenticity of his versions as an authentic jazz tune.

Davis, as an African-American could neither understand the true qualities of the tune nor its heritage properly, since he, as an African-American, was thought to intuitively play jazz, with feeling and emotion rather than with reason. It was reason that was required to think in the European music tradition and find the right interpretation of the tune for it to be authentic. In short, racial imagination kept 'white' and 'black' jazz apart, as they were thought to be two completely different approaches to play jazz and these notions were deeply rooted in discourse in the contemporary Swedish jazz press.

Keywords

Dear Old Stockholm, Miles Davis, Racial Imagination, Sweden, Jazz, Ack Värmland du sköna, Signifyin(g), Authenticity, Stan Getz

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- ⁶ Lidén 1950, 12.
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- ⁸ Janthe 1951, 6.
- ⁹ Unknown 1951, 27.
- ¹⁰ Unknown 1952, 1.
- ¹¹ Lindgren 1957, 18.
- ¹² Hallberg 2011.
- ¹³ Gates quoted in Tomlinson 1992, 65.
- ¹⁴ Walser 1993, 351.
- ¹⁵ Tomlinson 1992, 92.
- ¹⁶ Walser 1993, 349.

Is She a True Jazz Singer?

Viveka Hellström

In presentations of my studies concerning Swedish female jazz singers, I usually let the audience listen to some recordings of female singers performing on the Swedish jazz scene, from the 1950's until the beginning of the new millennium. When listening to different voices and expressions, the question 'is she really a *true jazz singer*' is frequently raised. Many times the performances do not seem to fit within the frames defining jazz music. These remarks remind me of all the criticism female singers have had to deal with throughout the history of jazz. Not only have their abilities been questioned, they've also often been criticized for the kind of music they performed. It could be very hard for them to be allowed to define their singing as *jazz*, even when performing with other jazz musicians at jazz clubs and jazz festivals.

It is interesting to examine the response from jazz critics and fellow musicians when trying to understand how a view is established where an appreciated singer is described as an *exception* compared to other singers. This is also the case for most of the singers described in the Swedish jazz magazine *Orkesterjournalen*, OJ, during this period.¹ Talented singers are looked upon as a rarity and their activities are always examined. Can they really live up to the high standards defining *true jazz singers*?

The vast majority of jazz singers has been, and still are, women. The singer has often been the only woman in the band, on stage and at rehearsals, and that has also contributed to the distrust of vocals in general, which can be sensed when looking at statements from both jazz musicians and jazz critics throughout history. Jazz has been a male domain and women have often been excluded where and when jazz musicians have met. Therefore it has been difficult for female singers (and for women in general) to find opportunities to share knowledge and train their skills. It has made it harder for them to find opportunities to interact with other musicians and has prevented their development into *true jazz singers*.

In this article it is not my aim to define what *true* jazz singing really is. I wish instead to present a few examples of acclaimed jazz singers in order to show how the notion of a true jazz singer prevails throughout the decades – albeit attitudes towards singers, and women, have changed over the years.

For a long period of time, from the 50's until the early 70's, very few singers in Sweden were regarded as jazz singers. In his *Swedish Jazz History* (1985) Erik Kjellberg mentions only four singers. Three of them made their *début* in the 50's. Sweden's first renowned jazz singer Alice Babs was, and still is, highly praised for her skills as a young singer in the swing era of the 40's, but she was at times criticized for her later work – her singing was characterized as superficial.²

In her memoirs Alice Babs wrote that she wanted to continue to develop as a singer and among other things utilize more of her voice. Therefore she took classical voice lessons.³ In her collaboration with Duke Ellington in the 60's she often sang in a high register, he encouraged her to improvise and she even had the chance to perform with some compositions of her own. According to Alice Babs Ellington really knew that the one who gets confidence grows with the task.⁴ But many of her colleagues in the Swedish jazz community were not impressed; they thought she just wanted to show off. Alice Babs was not viewed as genuine and as a *true* jazz singer.

Alice Babs' younger colleagues, Sonya Hedenbratt, Monica Zetterlund and Nannie Porres, were regarded as more genuine and natural. Critics and musicians liked them both for their qualities as singers and for their dark 'smoky' voices, but also for their approach on the jazz scene. Unlike other female singers of their time they were not described as affected or mannered. Unlike other women they were looked upon as real pals and (almost) as equal members of the male jazz community. As an example Nannie Porres was able to enter the male jazz circles in the 50's because she was considered to possess the qualities of a jazz singer other female singers lacked. Her musical talent was highly valued, as were the emotional depths of her interpretations. But, most of all, she was perceived as natural and honest, never mannered or affected. According to one of her band mates she 'never tried to be popular'.⁵

Trying to be popular is an accusation many female singers have faced. They

are often considered to be mannered, affected, even silly, by jazz critics and fellow musicians, in their attempt to please an audience. The jazz musicians of the 50's often considered singers as something they had to deal with in order to accommodate the simple taste of the crowd. On the other hand: a *true jazz singer* is often perceived to hold qualities the audience may not understand or value. A singer who is considered to be really good is not seldom called 'a musicians singer', suggesting it is only the musicians themselves who can really tell what a *true jazz singer* is. It is also considered to be an asset to sing with the qualities of other instruments. Critics in OJ use the expression 'to sing like an instrument.'⁶ This expression is positively charged and suggests a hierarchy between the voice and other instruments. How singers in jazz history inspired other instruments and how instruments imitated voices is seldom heard of.⁷

Nannie Porres was at times called 'a musicians singer', but she was also appreciated by the audience. Her recordings show many of the qualities essential for a jazz musician: she sings with the quality of swing and with a rhythmic drive, she interacts with the other musicians in the band in her way of phrasing against the beat.⁸ In this respect she is not hard to define as being a *true jazz singer*. But Nannie Porres doesn't improvise, in her performances the melodies are sparsely embellished and the words are always clearly pronounced.

Both Porres, Hedenbratt and Zetterlund made acclaimed jazz recordings in the 1960s. But they were also criticized as being retrogressive, just recreating the same old jazz tunes without trying to reach for a new kind of vocal expression. These singers were not improvising, and therefore they couldn't – or wouldn't – be a part of the experimental jazz scene. At the time critics in OJ discussed how Swedish singers could participate in groups dealing with free improvisation, and how they could become an integral part of modern jazz. But the singers continued to interpret songs with lyrics.

The voice is unique as an instrument because it can produce both words and music simultaneously. This have most jazz singers always done, and still do today. In my research of singers from the 70's and 80's I've found very few examples of Swedish singers performing wordless improvisation. But during the 80's it became more frequent with singers tackling contemporary material, often in a

style merging jazz and pop. An example is Berit Andersson in her collaboration with the American pianist, composer and writer of lyrics Steve Dobrogosz. They appeared on the Swedish jazz scene in different contexts before starting their collaboration. Their first album, *Scary Bright*, was released in 1984. On this record Berit Andersson sings to a piano trio. Three albums followed in which they emerged as a duo – piano and voice – deepening their interplay.

In the review of *Scary Bright* in OJ Berit Andersson is praised as an example of a *true* jazz singer. The reviewer is surprised and delighted to hear her ‘crystal clear’ voice and her ‘rhythmic feel’, and she performs with a ‘natural elegance’. It is chocking to meet a Swedish jazz singer this talented, he usually does not have any expectations when it comes to female Swedish jazz vocalists.⁹ Berit Andersson is described as an exception in comparison to other jazz singers in the 80’s. In this respect she is seen in the same way as Nannie Porres in the 50’s: as something rare in the jazz world, for once a talented female singer a jazz-loving male really could enjoy!

Berit Andersson shows her skills in her interpretations of Dobrogosz compositions and lyrics and in a close interplay with his piano. Her performance shows many qualities that, according to me, could be considered as jazz singing: the way of phrasing, her rhythmic phrasing and some elements of scat singing, but the musical context could also be described as something else. Steve Dobrogosz did not define this music as ‘jazz’, Andersson claims that she brought the more jazzy elements into their cooperation.¹⁰ Anyway, it was hard to define what kind of music they made and therefore they had difficulties in finding opportunities to perform their music. The jazz purists didn’t like this kind of cross over-music and the jazz clubs often said no. On the pop-scene, on the other hand, they were considered to be jazz musicians. After ten years of collaboration the duo split up. Berit Andersson subsequently sang in a more recognizable jazz-tradition.

Berit Andersson is an educated singer, and in that respect differs from her elder colleagues. In the 80’s, following a period as a self educated singer performing with different groups, she became a student at the Royal College of Music, where she strengthen her singing technique and developed her skills in improvisation. The only singing teachers available in the 80’s were classical teachers, at least within

the formal music education. Berit Andersson became herself one of the first jazz vocal teachers in Sweden.

Educated jazz singers achieve a stronger position in the early 90's. In 1991 a young student at the Royal College of Music, singer and composer Stina Nordenstam, received the *Jazz in Sweden*-award. This state founded award was established in the early 1970's, in order to help upcoming jazz musicians build their careers and it included both touring and recording. Stina Nordenstam was the third woman given this award. She was already an acclaimed artist and had performed with her own compositions with her own group. She represents something new on the Swedish jazz scene; both her appearance and her sound were different. She also sang more traditional jazz material and jazz critics were delighted, they compared her to Billie Holiday and her voice with the trumpet sound of Chet Baker.

On her *Jazz in Sweden*-album *Memories of a color* Stina Nordenstam relied on her own voice and her own material, concentrated around her lyrics in a kind of storytelling. The compositions and the arrangements bear traces of jazz, but you'll find only short passages of improvisation on this album and the other musicians for the most part backing her personal interpretations.

When reading the angry review of *Memories of a color* in OJ it seems that Stina Nordenstam 'refused' to do what was expected of her. Here again the familiar formulations and notions of the singer as dishonest and with an artistry filled with mannerism are found. Stina Nordenstam had 'betrayed trust', she made her way into the recording studio with 'borrowed feathers' and is called a 'dishonest apostle'. In the same edition of OJ Nordenstam's singing is described as 'affected baby babble'.¹¹

But unlike the writers in OJ many singers were positively inspired by Stina Nordenstam's record and by her music, and she could be seen as a role model for younger singers. In the middle of the 1990's a lot of new singers appeared on the Swedish jazz scene, many of them performing their own music with their own groups. Today this is even more common. Nordenstam's first album was important, not only as a musical inspiration but also because Nordenstam showed that a young Swedish singer could make music of her own.¹²

It's perhaps difficult to combine words and improvisation, and a singer

improvising in many cases leaves the words behind. In my research I have found very few examples from the Swedish jazz scene of singers dealing with so called scat singing. In the early eighties Irene Sjögren was almost the only female singer in Sweden making use of more traditional vocal improvisation, and for a long period of time only one female singer is present on the so called free form jazz scene: Marie Selander. However, in the new millennium, some singers use their voices in ways that could be associated with free improvisation, sometimes combined with lyrics.

The *Jazz in Sweden*-award 2001 was received by Lindha Svantesson (later married as Lindha Kallerdahl). This singer combines improvisation with her own compositions and lyrics, comprising influences from both rock and jazz. On her *Jazz in Sweden*-record *Far From Alone* using her voice in different ways, she sometimes expresses in a fragile and sensitive way through lyrics dealing with the subject of lost love. But she can also scream and moan, using dramatic and dynamic expressions. In her improvisation she pushes the boundaries for what jazz singing could be. She stands in the midst of her group, always interacting with her fellow musicians. Lindha Svantesson on this album shows to new ways for the singer to take a leading part in a free jazz context.¹³

All the singers mentioned in this article have been considered as Swedish jazz singers, at least for some periods of their careers. According to me they all have artistic integrity and in that sense they could all be described with words like *true*, *authentic* or *genuine*. Some of them would surely define themselves as jazz singers, others may not be so interested in how to define their music. Through these examples, taken from the last fifty years of Swedish jazz history, one can also notice a process where singers have strengthened their position on the jazz scene.

On the contemporary Swedish jazz scene one will find a tremendous variety of vocal expressions, with a lot of singers making their own music, sometimes in a more recognizable jazz tradition, sometimes in a free form context, many times in a mixture of musical genres, including rock, world music, contemporary art music and so forth. Many singers still bring the lyric and the message of the song to the forefront of their music. In my opinion it is always more interesting to look for and try to understand what musicians, including singers, choose to do

on the jazz scene, rather than asking whether this is *true* jazz music or not. An open and generous climate will, hopefully, bring new voices to finding their way of expressing themselves as individuals, helping the jazz scene to remain alive and kicking!

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Notes

¹ This article is mainly based on my own research: Hellström, 2009; Hellström, 2011; Hellström, 2012.

² Bruér, 2007, p 136.

³ Sjöblom, 1989, p 277.

⁴ *Tonfallet*, 1994/4, p 6.

⁵ Hellström, 2009, p 27.

⁶ Hellström, 2011, pp 26..

⁷ One example is given in Shipton, 2001, p 61.

⁸ For a definition of *jazz singing*, see Crowther & Pinfold 1997; Hellström, 2012, pp 3-5. The recordings of Nannie Porres are presented in Hellström, 2009.

⁹ OJ 1/1985 p 28.

¹⁰ OJ, 1/2004, p 2.

¹¹ Olson 1991, p 40; Olsson 1991, p 18.

¹² Nordenstams first record is analysed in Hellström, 2012.

¹³ Linda Svantessons *Jazz in Sweden* record is analysed in Hellström, 2012.

Jazz, Popular Music, and Gender; the Case of Lill Lindfors

Alf Arvidsson

Lill Lindfors has, since the 1960s, been established as one of the leading Swedish...what? 'Pop vocalist' just gives a hint to the various fields she has been active in. Although she had a string of hits, mainly during the 1960s, she had already begun to acquire an image of being a much more sophisticated artist. This includes her choice of material, as well as the selection of musicians, and the space given them in her shows. I propose that as an actor in the popular music field, she has contributed to the visibility of jazz in Sweden, despite not being identified as a jazz musician by the general public. In this presentation, I will discuss how notions of genre and authenticity combine with gender, and contribute to the public construction of jazz. I draw mainly upon her recordings of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, a 1986 book in which she was interviewed,¹ a master's thesis in musicology², and my own exposure to her artistry from the early 1960s to the present.³

Lill Lindfors was born in 1940 in Helsinki, Finland but moved to Stockholm in 1947. In grammar school she had many friends who had a great interest in jazz. At school, she also took part in putting on the Greek antiquity play *Lysistrata* in a modernized version, that took place among Stockholm's youth gangs, *Nobborna* (the Refusers – or, more correctly – the Refusettes). This was eventually turned into a television show in 1960 as the first 'jazz opera,' with music by jazz pianist Lasse Werner. She headed for university studies, but her abilities as a comedy actress and singer caught the notice of show producers and directors, and she soon was taking part in shows in Stockholm. In 1962, she was part of Åke Falck's television show, *Kaskad*, which won the Montreux Golden Rose Award later that year, and thereafter, she was frequently seen on television. From being a cast member in various restaurant shows, she graduated to become a sidekick for the entertainer, Owe Thörnqvist, in his restaurant shows. She later took part in shows where she was on par with different male singers – beginning in 1967, with the show, *Påsen*, singing with her old school friend, and trad jazz clarinetist, Anders Linder. In 1975 she performed her first solo show.

Besides restaurant shows, from 1965 she was promoted as a popular singer by record company Polydor,⁴ and had a string of pop hits which gained a lot of airplay on Swedish Radio. This also contributed to the popularity of her restaurant shows. In 1966, together with jazz drummer/vocalist Svante Thuresson, she won the Swedish Eurovision Song Contest with a jazz waltz, written by trumpet player, Bengt-Arne Wallin, and included 'hip lyrics.' Thanks to Sweden's Nordic friends, the song ended up as number two in the finale. In 1970, Lindfors and Thuresson created a restaurant show together; the live album contributed several songs that received much airplay. During the 1970s, she continued giving shows, which, by then, contributed much of the material for her albums (from 1970 she had hit record albums, rather than the odd track released as a single). Her version of Harry Chapin's "A Better Place to Be" ("Tillsammans är ett sätt att finnas till"), runs for nine minutes with a long narrative, but was nevertheless, often played on the Swedish equivalent to Top-40 radio around 1980. However, she also went into comedy theater, with a long-running version of the musical *Sugar*. In the 1980s, she continued with her shows, but in addition, doing more film acting, producing theater, and giving lectures.

In 1978, she started to cooperate with Norwegian poet and musician/composer, Ketil Bjørnstad. She had been one of the singers on several of his concept albums, but he also wrote two albums of songs especially for her, one of compositions with poems by Edith Södergran. He also wrote an autobiographical book of interviews with her in 1986. Their latest cooperation was the album *Coastlines*, in 2009.

As an artist, she is well appreciated by many people, respected for her strong integrity, both artistically and in her relationship to the media. She also is a strong role model as a female entrepreneur. But, she does not speak of herself as a jazz singer. That is not her public identity. Her records are not listed in the national jazz discography. The only time she has been reviewed in *Orkester Journalen*, the leading Swedish jazz magazine, was in 1971 when she appeared in a broadcast from the *Happy Jazz* locale, Stampen, with the Jumping Jacks, singing songs like "Nobody Knows You When You're Down and Out" and "Bei Mir Bist Du Schein." Jan Olsson was quoted as saying, "It has been a long time since you heard a Swedish vocalist sing jazz in this way – awfully professional and at the same time relaxed and spontaneous. And with such feeling..."⁵ This was one of the occasional

performances with jazz groups she sometimes did at the time, here in a band with friend Anders Linder. And she has continued to make appearances in jazz concerts, recently in a Stockholm tribute to Monica Zetterlund. But instead of asking the question ‘is she a jazz musician?’ – or to judge every single recording she made with the question ‘is this jazz?’ – I propose we state a different question: is her work informed by a jazz aesthetic?

To begin with, we can discuss her repertoire. One of her profiles in the 1960s was as an introducer of bossa nova songs, and as such, she is perhaps, the most influential singer in Sweden. She has popularized such songs as “Canto de Ossanha,” “Mas Que Nada,” “Tristeza, Adieu Tristesse,” “How Insensitive,” and “The Shadow of Your Smile.” But she also popularized bossa nova as a style by applying it to older Swedish standard songs, or in her Swedish rendition of Bob Dylan’s “Don’t Think Twice, It’s All Right.” From the late 1970s, more up-tempo sambas have been a distinct part of her profile.

Songs she introduced to a broader Swedish audience – keep in mind that up until the mid-1970s the majority of Swedish people had no, or insignificant, knowledge of English, and preferred foreign popular music to be translated and sung in Swedish – also include titles such as “Sunny,” “Django,” “Love March,” “Questions 67 and 68,” and songs that have become ‘new’ jazz standards such as “Killing Me Softly with His Song” and “You Are the Sunshine of My Life.”

Furthermore, Lill Lindfors can also be seen as a catalyst for jazz-inspired performances. On the 1970 album *Mellan Dröm och Verklighet*, pianist and arranger Bengt Hallberg’s name is also included on the cover title. On the album, Bobby Hebb’s “Sunny” is not given the most common performance style (covering Bobby Hebb’s or Cher’s versions) but is instead performed as a jazz waltz. The Swedish lyrics, substituting the Swedish name ‘Sune’ for the title, furthermore makes the song a comedy act, which also inspires the musicians to make remarks about the lyrics with their instruments. In Jobim’s “Adieu Tristesse” she doesn’t sing the lyrics (although the Swedish translator is credited); instead, she hums the melody over Bengt Hallberg’s piano solo, and the number ends in a quasi-Brazilian breakdown where she imitates percussion instruments and also quotes “Manha de Carnival,” a standard signifying device in jazz. On one of her albums with Ketil Bjørnstad, there is also an instrumental samba.

In “Trollkarlen,” from an album of children songs, Lill and the two children Ulrika and Patrik sing the song while a tenor saxophonist plays a solo through most of the song,

including a solo spot in the middle. This is not a part that is specifically related to the lyrics of the song, but rather a part of the over-all group sound of the whole album – and an opportunity for the composer and arranger, Ulf Andersson, to put his personal stamp on the album.

As for her shows, she has always been keen on having good musicians to work with, and has given them not only the benefit of a good gig, as backup musicians, but spots in the shows giving them individual attention as well. Percussionist Sabu Martinez' first gig, after moving to Sweden, was in her show. Ulf Andersson worked with her in the early 1970s; since the mid-1970s, Hector Bingert has partnered with her on saxophone, a collaboration that has made him one of the most well known saxophonists in Sweden and helped him to be noticed and supported by major record companies. In a mid-1980s show, up-and-coming trombonist and singer, Nils Landegren, secured quite a nice spot, including a vocal duet with Lill, and thus gained the attention of a much larger audience. In this context, it is also important to keep in mind that these are shows from the 1960s and 1970s, and the idea of bringing forward a musician for an improvised solo, or having improvisation as a basic element – as a general principle – was not only accepted by the audience but also could even function as a mark of authenticity; a showing off of a relaxed attitude towards the standard formats as well as a mark of professionalism.

When Sweden hosted the Eurovision Song Contest in 1985, she was asked to be the host – and she accepted on one condition: that she got a spot to do a number on her own. So, the show started with her singing her song from 1978 “Musik ska byggas utav glädje,” with an English translation, “My Joy Is Building Bricks of Music.”⁶ This song had already been a tour de force for her in a show and had air play over a much longer period than ordinary songs. Besides having a lively samba melody, celebrating the interplay between joy and music-making, an important aspect is also the exposure of tenor saxophonist, Hector Bingert – first given a spot in the introduction, improvising on a scale over one chord, and then, again, given a solo improvisation (besides continuously playing behind Lindfors' subsequent vocals) in the middle of the song. Now in this live, visual, version at the Eurovision Song Contest, Bingert's solo was given more time than in the recorded version, and ended with Lindfors' entry – scatting, and the two exchanging phrases that transformed into short squeaks, before returning to the last vocal chorus.⁷ Thus, a performance with a jazz attitude and solo improvisations was broadcast live to some one hun-

dred million viewers all over Europe, putting the songs that followed in the competition in an odd relief.⁸

There are also markers of jazz in her delivery, the way she sings the songs. On record, she sticks to the lyrics. She has always been very keen on having interesting lyrics, often with a narrative and/or with a definite point at the end, so she seldom strays away from them. But the melody isn't just there to support the words. She uses jazz traits such as glissandi, rubato, and unconventional vocal treatments, sometimes to give emphasis to the lyric content, sometimes for pure musical joy. But occasionally this is countered by her noticeable vocal deliverance, which is formatted along the aesthetic lines of her shows. There are passages where a legato and triplets would enhance a swing feeling, and the intensity of the backing band is pulling in that direction, but instead she focuses on bringing out the lyrics using staccato, and stays with the duple rhythm of the words as spoken. Still, a jazz feeling is present. She often leaves room for other soloists, and the basic sound often has a 'jazz flavor.' As a comparison of the YouTube version, and the record versions of "Musik ska byggas utav glädje" shows, the stage performance versions of her songs are more varied and sensitive to the live situation.

So, I suggest that Lill Lindfors has been one of the artists who has been promoting jazz by disseminating traits of jazz aesthetics to a wider audience – through songs, arrangements, musicians, her deliverance, and occasionally as a 'jazz singer' in the conventional sense. Furthermore, she has other qualities that would count as 'jazz credence.' She has a background as a jazz listener, that is, she has knowledge of the tradition, and she not only performs, but also shows her integrity by occasionally writing her own tunes – or commissions others to write them for her, thus shaping a strong sense of authorship to her material, although not formally the composer/writer.

But there are, of course, other factors to consider. The Swedish jazz musician of the 1960s and 1970s was constructed as the hard-core fanatic who performed at events announced as jazz concerts, and made records with no compromises. Jazz-influenced performances were OK, but to the jazz audience and critics, jazz was to be freewheeling, without any considerations for a wider audience or commercial viability. Even though she sometimes drew upon a jazz repertoire, the entertainment and hit parade contexts were the antithesis to the exclusivity that was preferred by the up-front jazz vanguard.

There is also what we could call, the myth of the ideal performance situation. The

restaurant show and the pop vocal album have been downplayed in jazz history. Instead, social dancing, the concert, and the after hours jam sessions have been promoted as the places where jazz is created. Furthermore, the concept of *entertainment*, and an audience laughing and having a good time, instead of engaging in very concentrated listening, was something that jazz tried to dissociate itself from in the late 1940s, '50s, and '60s. Mark Berresford notes how Wilbur C. Sweatman, an African American clarinetist who made recordings with improvised parts as early as 1917, never was accepted as a jazz pioneer, since he mainly performed on the vaudeville stage.⁹ Likewise, the smiling Louis Armstrong or the jolly Fats Waller were part of jazz' commercial history, but couldn't serve as role models for a music with artistic pretensions.

The space allowed to women during jazz' formative years was, except for the odd pianist, as the singer of refrains with the big bands. This was a commercial concession to the greater part of the dancing audience who wanted song tunes they were familiar with; new tunes were often introduced and popularized by Broadway shows and movies. Lara Pellegrinelli, in her study of female vocalists in early jazz, points out the dissociation from entertainment and from the 'vernacular culture' with its vulgar song lyrics, as strategies to give jazz the respectability that, at the same time, marginalized women.¹⁰ Gunther Schuller once tried to define the qualities of the jazz singer, as opposed to other big band singers, as: a singer that is musically creative and has the capacity to form an original style, can improvise, and reshape a given material to something personal and individual.¹¹ And that is pretty much a description of jazz musicians in general. Still, one has to point out that female vocalists were part of the bands that played jazz during the 1930s and 1940s. And one may also ask the impertinent question; are all bass players and third chair trombonists so original, personal, and individual that they could qualify as jazz musicians?

Despite the breakthrough of a stream of excellent female vocalists during last twenty years, there are still some aspects of vocal jazz that don't easily fit into mainstream jazz aesthetics. I suggest that the thought of putting the vocalist at the center of a jazz band disturbs some of the standard principles of listening to jazz. Songs with lyrics turn the attention away from the melody line toward the semantic meaning of the text, especially when there is some kind of narrative. Thus, a long story line interferes with the expected improvised instrumental solos. And, focusing on a narrative rather than on the musical performance, implies a more popular listening mode where identification with the lyrics,

or at least attention to them, is primary – and the exclusivity of jazz is somewhat spoiled.

Finally, I want to sketch some perspectives and research fields that might invigorate the field of jazz studies. The history of jazz *within* popular music has largely been neglected. There are many reasons for this, not least, the accusations of ‘smoothing out’ and leading attention toward imitators and sell-outs. The image of the popular music scene has been shaped as a poor source of good jazz. But taken as an indicator of a common exposure and knowledge of jazz, and also as a scene where interest in jazz could/can be raised, the study of hit parades and pop music events, in general, may have much to give. The study of jazz in entertainment, and humor in jazz, may bring up many examples of artistic knowledge, competence and performance – perhaps some inspiration from Mikhail Bahktin would make such study possible. In Sweden, the study of the intersection of jazz and popular *visor* (close to the singer/songwriter concept) could produce good examples of how jazz aesthetics can influence song arrangements and performances, resulting in a high level of artistry¹². All three of these suggestions would also make some women more visible, both as bearers of jazz aesthetics, and as artists in their own right.

Keywords

Lill Lindfors, popular music, entertainment, jazz stylistics

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Notes

- ¹ Bjørnstad 1986.
- ² Lervik 2000.
- ³ I tried to arrange an interview for this paper, but she was occupied by work every time I went to Stockholm.
- ⁴ Her first record was produced already in 1961, a single with the jazz standard “Lazy River.” However, it was in 1965 that she broke through as a recording artist.
- ⁵ Jan Olsson in OJ quoted 2001. “Det var åtskillig tid sedan man hörde en svensk sångerska sjunga jazz på det sättet – fruktansvärt professionellt och på samma gång avspänt och spontant. Och med vilken känsla sen...”
- ⁶ She wrote the music and gave instructions for the author on what the content of the lyrics should be.
- ⁷ Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i9ydW-7zYhc>
- ⁸ But probably the audience remembers her most for her tear-off-the-dress gag after the intermission of the show.
- ⁹ Berresford 2010:3.
- ¹⁰ Pellegrinelli 2008:42.
- ¹¹ Schuller 1989:528
- ¹² There are for instances of albums by singers Monica Zetterlund and Nannie Porres that have been confusing: in not being ‘strictly jazz’, and at the same time, they don’t easily fall into the *visor* genre either.

Narrative Power of the Self: Jazz Representation by Aziza Mustafa Zadeh

Olena Huseynova

In the 1970s, Philippe Lejeune defended autobiography as a genre, and emphasized its de-marginalization. It brings autobiographical writing out of the interlacing of such concepts as artistic futility and plainness: "Autobiography is the embodiment of independence of the individual, his/hers civil, political, moral maturity and an aesthetic responsibility. This form is extremely difficult, even sophisticated."¹ These receptive processes were triggered by an understanding of the spatial status of such traditional autobiographic phenomena as 'veracity' and 'sincerity.' For a long time in many theoretical works, these characteristics constituted the specific nature of autobiographical writing. However, the art of the second half of the twentieth century clearly demonstrated that the 'word about myself,' said by my own voice, focuses on the facts, but remains fictional. The authenticity in an autobiography is thus, not authenticity as 'reality,' but my own (desired) version of it. Such autobiographical appropriation contributes to the author's construction of identity.

I want visions of myself, to remain in the memories of those who come across me, but, especially, I want these visions of myself to remain in the memories of those people whom I will never come across. Jazz autobiography is a fertile phenomenon. It is presented both as a specific literary genre, with its own distinctive features and rules, as well as simply light reading. It is set in the context of contemporary multiculturalism and problematizes identity. It is even possible to speak about the specific 'expansion of jazz autobiography,' which has "brought the discursive (i.e., nonmusical) voice of jazz musicians in direct contact and dialogue with history, and as a consequence, the ethos of the musician-as-historian has risen exponentially."² The thing I am interested in talking about, within the realm of jazz autobiography, is the structural similarity between texts in jazz music, and in autobiographic writings. Improvisational jazz texts open up the space of music,

inviting it into the realm of oral tradition. These texts often depend on the conversational structure of call-and-response. Thus, it could be a felicitous metaphor for autobiographic writings, echoing oral confessional tradition and depending on a real (or imaginary) addressee.

Aziza Mustapha Zade's text is an interview, which the young Azeri jazz pianist gave in 1996 to the magazine *Azerbaijan International*. Structurally, the text was not built on the canons of journalistic interview technique, but on ego-narration. Aziza changed her narrative position from the passive – in which she was supposed to just give answers – to the very active role of storyteller. Using her own voice, Aziza put together fragments of her life story, localizing and assembling it in order to represent herself as an external shape of signified corporality, with systematized indicators visible in the mirror of relationships with the outer world. Her autobiographical puzzle seems rather complicated and even postmodern. She is a woman who grew up in the everyday life a Muslim culture and one who comprehends herself within the boundaries of western cultural semiotic forms: European classical music school and jazz composing and performing activities. Such a backdrop of essential roles and asymmetrical oppositions is already a strong foundation for building a fascinating story about finding yourself, and in overcoming national, gender, and aesthetic stereotypes. But, this self-narrative is impossible without voicing post-Soviet experiences. So 'Aziza' as a self-made hero (or better described as self-told, self-articulated or self-written) demonstrates many perspectives: national, gender, aesthetic, oriental, post-Soviet and even post-colonial.

"I Was Born into the World of Jazz"

The autobiographical story by Aziza Mustafa Zadeh begins with these incredibly simple words. A lot of autobiographical texts begin with such elusive self-images. This short sentence hides two metaphors. Although, the first part, 'I was born'³ does not sound metaphorical, but rather simply is a linguistic structure with a passive voice in grammatical form. However, using this unpretentious formula, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh falls into a traditional autobiographical trap – she posed 'I' as a witness of events. While she is just a compiler who heard the beginning of the story, she is the one who chooses the facts for herself, fragments, quotations,

passages and extracts, and the one who lines them up in a narrative. Consequently 'the story about my birth,' or using the Judith Butler's term 'history of origin'⁴ can be told over and over again. It can stay unchanged in every new retelling or can be re-presented in diverse variations.

Aziza, as her own autobiographical hero, easily moves between past and present. She creates the illusion that all events are performed simultaneously, in the same space and time. Aziza found herself in time, structured as a mapped space, where every movement and decision of how to narrate the original self-story belongs to her, but the story itself belongs to other voices and other narratives. Practically speaking, the peculiarity of this autobiographical writing is close to the structure of jazz improvisation (and reveals connections between 'jazz text' and 'jazz musician'). Therefore, Aziza dares to tell a story about herself, and she is voluntarily involved in the game of voices, pauses, and hitches. Her own voice enters, when her own memory highlights time, space, and the event-triggered depth and fullness of the self-story.

Another part of the mentioned metaphor is the 'world of jazz.'⁵ Such a metaphorical structure can be imagined in any autobiographical text. You can imagine how a writer writes the 'world of literature,' or an opera singer the 'world of opera,' and even a person indifferent to his/her own professional identity could write something like the 'world of love' or the 'world of hate.' Thereby, the narrator outlines the existential space of the self-story. In any case, the space is delineated, with the pretension that the I-hero appears in a world that is very simple. This world is presented as resting. Everything is clear about it. It is equal to one word, no matter how many meanings and interpretations this word could have. In Aziza's world, the ear excels over all other senses. Thus, Aziza's self-image is constructed not as a figure of formation, development, change, and retrieval, but as a figure of inevitability, fatality, doom, and so on. Aziza Mustafa Zadeh's 'world of jazz' consists of three people: dad – Vagif Mustafa Zadeh, a legendary Azeri jazz musician, mom – a jazz singer, Eliza Khanoum, and ... Dizzy Gillespie. In 1978, at the jazz festival in Monaco, Dizzy Gillespie was listening to how Aziza Mustafa Zadeh's father played. The semiosis of these figures allows us to draw attention to another peculiarity of autobiographical writing – the phenomenon of uniqueness. Judith Butler was sure

that uniqueness in ego-discourse is denoted by the absence of sense⁶. The point is that a self-told story, or any other kind of confession-genre (for example jazz improvisation) inescapably needs an outside listener, the so-called 'other.' Without a 'you,' the story about 'me' is impossible (Cavarero).⁷ And if 'my' voice has to be heard by 'you,' 'my' uniqueness has to be similar to 'yours.' The beginning of Aziza's story, intertextually, brings to mind the beginning of one of the classic jazz autobiographies, mentioned in all university courses and theoretical investigations – *Miles: The Autobiography*, by Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe.

Aziza, both as the character and as the owner of the voice, structures her own personality using cultural and everyday focalization (gender, oriental, post-Soviet, post-colonial, and so on). Aziza as narrative owner and narrative self is involved, by means of these focalizations, in the game of very private, but still replicable, experiences.

Aziza Mustafa Zadeh verbalizes her Soviet experience as incredibly traumatic. The Soviet trauma, for her, is a part of her personal trauma, that is, the death of her father, Vagif Mustapha Zadeh, who is one of the most important members and discursive components of Aziza's 'world of jazz.' He died on stage when he was thirty-nine years old. Describing the tragedy, Aziza avoids well-known facts about her father. For example she says nothing about her first appearance on stage together with her father, shortly before his death. And she was silent about the fact that he died performing the song "Waiting for Aziza." But she blamed the Soviet system for his death, thus for his disappearance from her life: "because of the stupid Soviet system."⁸ "They were always doing things completely wrong. I can't understand this old system. It broke the lives and hearts and careers of so many people. In the end, my father died because of so much stress. They wanted to shame him."⁹ One important thing about how Aziza represents the experience of being in, and under, Soviet culture is anonymity. The actor appointed by Aziza as responsible for her dad's death has no name, but it has animate and plural characters. It is easy to imagine this mythological 'they' as a part of the totalitarian machine. 'They' control, prescribe, rule, and allow. 'They' create despotic constructions of small and big lives: everyday lives, caught in the tiny kitchen of communal apartments; and artistic lives, with declamations of modern poetry on automobile tractor plants,

and with the performance of complex dialogical music in front of empty auditoriums. Intangibility and phantom-like control of the subject looks absurd. Aziza's reasons for this punitive attention look and sound no less absurd: "It was simple because he was a jazz player."¹⁰ It is easy to speak about the twists of the reception of jazz culture in the USSR. It is possible to mention jazz 'smuggling' during the time of the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP), and during the so-called 'thaw' period, jazz-prohibition throughout 'the cold war', the mass emigration of jazz musicians in the 1970's, and so forth. It is evident that jazz culture was totally politicized in the Soviet Union. But when looking at Theodor Adorno's work, it is easy to see commonalities between what Adorno defined as the imperfections of jazz, and the aesthetics of socialist realism as the sum of perfection: The individual will obey the collective, and individuals who are involved are not only considered to be the same, but are virtually indistinguishable from one another.¹¹ Thus Aziza's question, "What was wrong with jazz?" appears reasonable, as well as the situation in which she finds no answer. Therefore Aziza's 'world of jazz,' in reality, was the world of a 'jazz ice age.'

Mugam Is Very, Very Profound

Aziza Mustafa Zadah metaphorically defines her own territory of existential and cultural formation using semantics derived from just one perceptual practice – listening. She doesn't deny this approach when narrating the boundaries of her national identity. Now, *mugam* serves as an acoustic metaphor. It is one of many elements of folk music from Azerbaijan. Mugam is a modal system. Unlike Western modes, mugam modes are associated with an orally transmitted collection of melodies and melodic fragments that performers use in the course of improvisation. Mugam as an oral tradition, and as an improvisational musical form blends easily with jazz. And it is incorporated, without any problem, into the semantics of Aziza's 'world of jazz.'

A discourse of *orientalism* appears under the rubric of mugam in the autobiographical text by Aziza Mustafa Zadeh. The typical image of the oriental woman was crafted by Flaubert in nineteenth century, and according to Edward Said, it is still active in Western culture.¹² One of the most obvious features of this typology

was the voicelessness of the oriental woman. She is created by a stranger's words. Flaubert described her as an empty thing, who has no independent or autonomous sense, who exists without the presence of a personal story.¹³ Aziza's deconstruction of such Western discourse is not aggressive and not even very visible. For example, she admits that she hates to write down her own compositions, but she keeps them in her head, and always improvises on stage – so each time they sound differently. “To tell you the truth, I don't have the patience to write them all down. When I perform, I improvise a lot.”¹⁴

However, Aziza's disposition on oral tradition leads to instantaneity and contingency, and to oriental negation of structures. But her creation of a new musical text each time (and not just repeated performances) shows that she overcomes the situation described by Said, of turning the East into an object. The oriental image is colorfully described and given back to the bearer of oriental entity as a ready-to-wear costume. Aziz refuses any ready-to-use framework of identity, and she leaves her senses un-fixed, elusive, and inaccessible to interpretations of the *other*. This is Aziza's way of representing herself, but not to be represented. Another important aspect of de-essentialization mentioned in Aziza's autobiographical text is *scat singing*, traditionally a jazz technique, used by Ella Fitzgerald and other jazz vocalists. Such singing technique is not used in Azeri music tradition, but it sounds quite archaic and therefore mythic and poetical. From the narrative point of view, such singing is also controversial. Here, the voice – as an important phenomenon for post-colonial discourse – exists outside of the signifier-signify interaction; no words are used in scat singing, therefore it pretends to be an area of empty meaning. Thus, the voicelessness of the oriental woman and de-textualization loses its monosemanticity.

But another oriental stereotype mentioned by Edward Said is described lavishly in Aziza's self-story; that is oriental sensuality and spirituality. Probably it is hidden somehow in a philistine interpretation of jazz culture. But here such figures of speech as 'intuition,' 'feeling,' 'aura,' and 'energy,' function as some of the fundamental leitmotifs of the whole story. And it interprets, in traditional oriental perspective, a perception that forces us to treat Eastern culture as a fairytale, as a territory full of magicians and jinn, where dreams come true and mountains move.

In this context, Aziza also narrates a myth of inspiration, in which she postulates acting without it as a great sin. "I don't like to committing sins."¹⁵ Such understanding of the nature of art is connected with romantic aesthetics and provokes Aziza to talk about her dual musical identity.

Presenting herself in this context, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh emphasizes her Western classical music schooling. Her years of training are included in the realm of Western European musical culture. Aziza calls this aspect of her musical biography the intellectual part. Thus, she activates binary oppositions; rationality-intuition or intellectuality-sensuality. These relationships between oppositions, found inside of one image, show the dichotomous division and act as an organizing center, providing order and a stable framework for the narrative self-portrait. Casting roles between personal binary oppositions, Aziza identifies classical music as the 'brain part' or as 'intellectual growth,' while jazz is considered to be sensitive, intuitive, and an irrational art. She ignores the deep, intellectual tradition of jazz, for example the experience of the reception of jazz, represented by Jean-Paul Sartre or Jacques Derrida. However, Aziza's jazz interpretation, composing, and performance is ethnic and thus, multicultural. Mugam-Jazz (Aziza's father was the creator of this form) takes the central position in representing her identity. Mugam in Aziza's autobiographical text is presented in a discursive way. It is a special, private and personal language, which makes it possible for her to build her own identity within heterogeneous globalized world coordinates. But at the same time, it is open to interpretations in – traditional western semiotics – of the *exotic Eastern thing*. "Mugam is magical music...Mugam has a great ability to charm and mesmerize, almost hypnotize."¹⁶ Aziza does not explain what the mugam is. Although this musical form has certain parameters, Aziza insists that the main thing about mugam is to feel it. And such inexplicable concepts as 'feeling music,' in Aziza's self-narrative, overcome the limits of aesthetics and intervene in private space. Aziza has the required confidence to support a phenomenon that is impossible to define. Yet, she crystallizes herself within the image of the oriental sorceress. You will never know whether it is fatal, or not, to confine her in it.

Nevertheless Aziza's reception in a native oriental, and miraculous land, has never been unambiguous. In her autobiographical text, Aziza focuses on the epi-

sode of a belligerent reaction to her album *Seventh Truth* in Azerbaijan. She was depicted naked on the album cover. Powerful Azeri women (women who occupy certain positions in the parliament) reacted aggressively to the album, but it had nothing to do with the reception of music. It was just moralistic displacement. And its cause was totalitarianism. Thus, to describe this confrontation, Aziza chooses irony as the narrative strategy. “They criticize me for being naked on the cover... But I’m delighted to hear that it stirred up such a controversy...It means people are starting to wake up a bit.”¹⁷ The position of absolute authority leads to the gap in communication.

To write an autobiography, to write a self-told story means to communicatively open the borders of one’s own identity – and even split it. It is to be, at the same time, distinctive from, and similar to, everyone else. It is to be rooted by real and invented stories, and to depend on the archaic texts, cultures, myths, national, and gender stereotypes. And it is to, nevertheless, stay free. And what is very important is to be brave enough to declare the right to tell your own story, using your personal voice, and still to find oneself as an artist.

Keywords

jazz autobiography, ego- narration, ego-discourse, focalization, semiosis, the Other, Orientalism.

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Notes

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- ¹¹ Burke D. A. 2007. *Adorno and the Need in Thinking: New Critical Essays*. University of Toronto Press. P. 312
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Gender at Play in Jazz Venues in Britain

Elina Hytönen-Ng

Introduction

Within Western societies, jazz can be seen to occupy a liminal position between the classical and popular music scenes.¹ This affects the everyday practices of the music scene.² The marginal status of jazz can also be detected through the physical settings in which jazz is performed. Since jazz does not 'belong' in either rock clubs or the concert hall, there is a central problem of where it can be performed. The traditional profile of jazz emphasizes small bands and playing acoustic instruments, which further complicates the issue.³ My reviews on the discussions of jazz performance venues led me to the question of where, within contemporary Western societies, is jazz actually performed? Since the Second World War, jazz has been performed mainly in clubs.⁴ I started pondering the types of places used in contemporary jazz today.

Spatial issues create the physical frame in which musicians perform in, while the audience creates the social aspect. These are the factors that musicians find they must conform to. In order to understand jazz musicians' position in a field characterized by a heterogeneous range of musical genres and performance venues, one needs to look in detail at the actual frames within which the musicians work. When I started to work on the project, my aim was to create a picture of the performance venues – in their negative and positive aspects – that the musicians face in their daily work. From these starting points, I began a research project on contemporary jazz venues in Britain.

While conducting research on jazz venues and their importance to the musicians, I encountered discussions by female musicians in which their gender had influenced the way they had been treated at the venues. The comments by the participants were so striking that I could not leave these issues unnoticed. In this paper, I look in detail at the experiences of a few London-based female jazz musicians at various performance venues.

My aim is to demonstrate some of the gender differences apparent at the venues and within the organizations, as well as to describe how the singers encountered these differences. Using these points, this article illustrates the places where jazz is performed, as gender-influenced frameworks. The scene in Britain is generally masculine and thus it creates a separation between male and female musicians.

Methods

The theoretical background for my research comes from Alfred Schutz's phenomenology,⁵ and in particular his ideas about intersubjectivity. The main premise is based on the approach to past experiences through reflection. The theoretical background of the study was formed by phenomenology and, in this paper, discourse analysis,(DA) was used as the analytical method. Carla Willig suggested that in psychological research, DA may be divided into two forms: discursive psychology and Foucauldian DA.⁶ The two forms share an interest in the role that language plays in the construction of social reality. However, they address different kinds of research questions and involve different theoretical traditions.⁷ This article uses discursive psychology.

The discursive psychology model was introduced into psychology by Potter and Wetherell.⁸ The aims of DA are to see how language creates and constructs, social interaction, and diversifies social worlds. It recognizes that "*social texts play a constructive role in our social lives.*"⁹ The focus is on the way events are described and explained.¹⁰ In the discursive psychology version of DA, it is believed that when people state a belief or express an opinion, they take part in a conversation. This conversation has a purpose and the participant has a stake in it. In other words, in order to make sense of what people are saying, the reader should take into account the social context. While being interviewed, the participants are oriented toward a particular reading or interpretation of the question asked. The researcher should take into account this particular relation when reading the transcript.¹¹

When using DA, the researcher sees that language constructs reality; there cannot be an objective perception of this reality. The emphasis is placed upon the ways in which social categories are constructed and the consequences of how they are deployed in conversation.¹² The way language is used, how it constructs and

arranges, renews, and changes our reality is taken into account. It makes the social reality that we live in more meaningful. This idea of constructionism is closely linked with the modeling of language as socially shared meaning systems, in which meanings take shape through their relationship with other meanings.¹³

Usages of language and reality are inseparably intertwined, as material things and conceptual things are seen through different kinds of meaning systems. Reality is not only formed by meanings, but also conceived through the examination of things or objects thereby making them meaningful. When referring to Wetherell and Potter,¹⁴ Jokinen, et al., note that the stabilization of certain meanings is a social process that one agent alone cannot disrupt. The meaning systems do not stem from individuals but are constructed as components of different kinds of social practices.¹⁵

This research project, funded by the University of Eastern Finland, consists of two types of research material, interviews, and direct observation. Interviews have been conducted with eleven jazz musicians who are all based in London. The interviews concentrate on the theme of performance venues. Observation of performance venues has been done mainly around London, which is one of the vibrant, and historically significant, jazz scenes in Europe. Between 2006 and 2012, I observed thirty-six venues in total. Some of the venues were observed more than once. This article is based on the semi-structured theme interviews conducted with two professional jazz singers in London.

General Findings about the Importance of Venues

Musicians' working conditions have been largely overlooked in academic research. In the course of my research,¹⁶ it has become clear that the positive meanings attached to the venues, as well as acoustics and technical support, should, however, not be underestimated. The performance conditions and venues, as a field, need to be studied more closely in order for a clear picture to be formed.

Throughout this study on performance venues, it has become clear that the venues created the scene. The venues offer musicians a chance to create and maintain their identities, by providing them with a place where they can socialize, as well as create and maintain networks that are critical for their profession. The venues offer

an environment where musicians meet other musicians whom they might not see in other situations. The mobility that musicians face in their daily work does not allow for interactions with one another on a regular basis. Venues and their acoustics also create a setting in which musicians seek, and create meaning in relation to their work. It is a place where they want to feel welcomed and at home.

The interviews with the musicians have revealed that the ideal situation comes about when the club becomes a home away from home. It is the venue that creates a scene and the musicians feel that they belong to it. A musician needs these kinds of places because the permanence and stability of venues also confers stability on a musician's identity. As my previous research shows, a good performance venue reinforces a musician's sense of doing something meaningful and enhances motivation in the work arena. Venues and their acoustics also affect musicians' well being, depending on the level of physical strain required to play effectively.¹⁷ The quality and location of performance venues are also important for the future developments of jazz and how audience experiences this music.

Venues As the Site for the Male Gaze

In the interviews with two jazz singers it was evident that the venues have sometimes created differing sets of rules for male and female musicians. This was underlined by an example that one of the singers talked about. She placed emphasis on the fact that a club she performed at was not 'a proper jazz club,' but a four-star hotel in Central London, and it had jazz performances on a regular basis. The singer initially described how she found it difficult to perform for an audience who did not listen. She later described her experience as soul destroying – and to cap it off, the money for the gig was not very good.

The musicians had to go downstairs and have their breaks in the staff bar or the canteen where all the people who worked at the hotel go. These are artists that have trained for years and you know talented people being there, treated like bloody cleaners, you know. Not that there's anything wrong with being a cleaner you know.... And yet I was allowed to sit in the bar because people would buy me champagne and cocktails and spend money on me. I mean if I wanted to, I could have earned darn sight more money, I should have been

charging them hostess fees, you know. I could have been earning a lot more money than they were paying me to sing.

My immediate attention is drawn to the singer's frustration about how her fellow musicians were treated. She highlighted their education and artistic careers and then compared them to cleaners, pushed to the side when they have done their work. The musicians cannot be in the same areas as the hotel guests. The singer was clearly not worried about the way that she was being treated, even though her position at the venue had been highly sexualized. She was turned into an object for the male gaze, an object of pleasure for the male customers. To some extent she was representing this when she sang, but the theme of being an object of desire and a tool for entertainment becomes more pronounced when she did not to join her fellow musicians. It is obvious that, in the eyes of the hotel management, she represented an object for the male customers,¹⁸ that they could admire, and, that she was used to keep them at the bar. It is, nonetheless, unclear whether staying in the bar was her own choice or if it was forced upon her. As she does not complain about her own situation we could perhaps make the assumption that at the end of the day, it was her own choice.

The separation from the band created friction among the members. The singer did not have the chance to participate in the band's social interaction during the break. Social bonding within the band is needed to create a stronger connection between the musicians. The social bonding during the break also creates future working opportunities, while it adds to the musician's likeability within the band.¹⁹ The singer also missed out on possible feedback opportunities that can take place during the break. The exclusion of the male musicians from the bar during the break also had implications to female customers. The performance seems to be created entirely for the male customers, while the possible female customers do not have the same opportunities to chat with the male musicians, and buy them a drink if they want to.

At the end of this narrative, the singer went on to state that this gig was not a 'jazz' gig, meaning that the venue was not a jazz club. It was a venue that provided jazz on a regular basis and the musicians have regular gigs at this venue. In the

singer's definition, the event was not a jazz gig, because this same kind of treatment would not be expected in a proper jazz club.

Flowers for Female Musicians

One of the singers that I interviewed had occasionally experienced patronizing attitudes. An example of this is when women were given flowers at the end of the night. Similar cases have also been reported by Cecilia Wennerström, a Swedish female saxophonist, interviewed by Marie Selander. The saxophonist had been playing in bands where the rest of the musicians were men, and had told how embarrassing it felt to be the only one receiving flowers after the gig.²⁰ The habit of giving female musicians flowers is not something that only happens in Britain.

The singer that I interviewed pointed out that situations like these made her think about 'the poor trumpet player' who had been working all night. Where were his flowers? The singer was concerned about how the other musicians at the gig were treated, and wondered why the other musicians were not acknowledged for their work. Women musicians were also held apart from the rest of the group by such behavior.

The singer went on to recall how she had received flowers in one venue in the north for a gig with her own band. At the end of the night she received a beautiful bunch of flowers from the organizers, while the other woman in her band, a bass player, got a smaller bunch of flowers. This action made the singer think: "Oh no! There's a hierarchy with the flowers!" If the women were set apart from the rest of the musicians by receiving flowers, this story tells of the division between the female musicians. The singer was lifted into a solitary category whereas the bass player is considered to be one of the other musicians. But the bass player receiving a smaller bunch of flowers could also be interpreted to mean that she was less of a woman than the singer. Of course the situation is affected by the singer being seen as the front figure in the band, but the question remains: why give the female bass player flowers at all, as none of the other instrumentalist in the band received any flowers. The bass player then went on to ask the club management why were they given flowers and the men did not receive anything.

And the guy said – and he really meant it from his heart... It was, it was just bizarre, but very sweet. He just said that: “Oh but you have more to deal with in gigs than men.” And I was thinking what a strange... “What do you mean? What like...” “Well you know you have to do make-up and your hair and your clothes.” And it was just such a strange thing, but they meant it nicely.

The story shows that the male organizer thinks that the female musicians are spending more time and perhaps money on their physical appearance. As such, women are expected to come out to the gigs looking glamorous and perhaps wearing a different dress for each performance, while men avoid much effort into their appearance and can wear the same black suit from one gig to the next. The audiences in the United Kingdom expect the men to perform in a dark suit, an ironed shirt, and a tie. Therefore, the men’s clothing also needs attending to.

The singer then went on to explain that receiving flowers made her wonder how much money was spent on the flowers. Since the musicians’ wages were so low, it would have been better for the club not to spend money on flowers, but provide the musicians with food, or to add the money spent on flowers into the wages, and share it amongst the whole band. Here the singer returns to the unfairness of the situation towards the men. She wished that the extra money spent on the flowers given to her, could have been shared throughout the whole band. She did not want her positions in the band to be emphasized, but wanted everyone to be treated equally.

Giving women performers a bunch of flowers was, according to her, ‘an old fashioned thing,’ and that had to do with the age group of those that run those venues. She considered that one could not be offended by the gesture. She then explained this behavior as part of the older age group’s learned habits, whose intention was, in some way, to acknowledge a minority group. It seems that she is talking about older men in their sixties or seventies to whom female musicians are still very much a kind of marginal curiosity, whereas younger age groups are used to female musicians and the need to be treated equally.

Singer, Female, and Musician

I also asked the other singer if she felt that the venues or clubs treated her differently because she was a woman and a singer. The singer had experiences where people thought that as a singer she was not really a musician. Such a comment highlights the idea that singing is not as demanding as playing an instrument. In the interviews it was also pointed out that female singers were treated differently, although this did not happen everywhere. Sometimes there were indicators that women were not taken seriously. This gender dichotomy nonetheless surpasses genre boundaries. Sara Cohen mentioned that female musicians in the Liverpool rock scene had complained that they were generally not taken as seriously as male musicians.²¹

One of the singers also noted that the jazz scene was harder for female instrumentalists. She noted that she did not know what it was like for female instrumentalists as she sings and “in some promoters minds,” there was “always a division” between singers and musicians. According to her, whether you were a male or a female singer did not make a big difference, as they were all treated differently from the musicians anyway. Later on, she went on to claim that: “I’ve certainly had incidents where I’ve know that, you know, the promoters talked to me in a different way because I’m a woman, and they wouldn’t have done that to a man. It’s just... It’s obvious.” In the end, she realized that as a singer, she was treated differently from other male singers. However, she brushed this concern off, by stating that one would expect this to happen in any job, that this was the way the world works.

Conclusions

It has been pointed out throughout the research that women and men are treated differently within the different music scenes.²² These differences start at the performance venues where the musicians face the organizers who provide the gig, and who are paid for their services. It was evident from these few examples, that venues have differing sets of rules and expectations for male musicians, than for female musicians. The intentions behind these rules vary from crude sexism to genuine, but sometimes naive, appreciation. These different sets of rules can some-

times create friction between the male and female musicians; moreover they can inhibit the interaction that takes place between the band members.

Women were also treated differently by being given separate rewards – with good intentions – by the clubs. But the fact that women were also rewarded for times when men were not, created tension within the group as well as individual embarrassment. As such, the gender boundaries between the two groups are ever-present. The organizers spend more money on the female musicians and seem to acknowledge them more, under the pretence that making it as a musician is harder for women. At the same time both of the female singers wanted to belong to the same group as the male instrumental musicians. Singers want to diminish the barrier between themselves and the male musicians and are concerned about the way that the men are being treated.

My findings are in agreement with the research of Raymond McDonald and Graeme Wilson, which demonstrated that female musicians prioritized the need to maintain an identity as a jazz musician over their need to preserve a feminine identity. The female musicians highlighted their identity as musicians to the extent that the discriminatory practices that upset the singers, were treated as an individual problem.²³ Feminist researchers have noted that jazz is still dominated by patriarchal power structures.²⁴ It is evident that musicians, male or female, attach great importance to being part of the jazz community, while the expectations set by the venues sometimes inhibit or hinder the women's participation in, or belonging to this community.

As McDonald and Wilson note, the identity of a jazz musician may perpetuate a patriarchal social context, making the feminine identity problematic. This led to situations where sexist comments or acts had to be treated as unproblematic in order to preserve the identity of being a jazz musician.²⁵ The interviewees concurred with this as well. The singers highlight themselves as part of the band by showing more concern toward their fellow male musicians than to the way they themselves were treated. The female singers do not feel offended for their own sake, but for the sake of their fellow musicians, and for what they are missing out on, while the sexist acts are being brushed aside by notions that this was to be expected at any job. The singers wish to be seen as standing on the same level with the male

musicians, but the highlighting of their status as singers, or as women, questions this neutral position.

On the other hand, the comments presented here show that the organizers expect the female musicians and singers, to be glamorous, which means spending time doing their hair and applying make-up. Yet, this behavior is explained away by referring to it as being part of an older age group's learned habits. The historical developments of female jazz musicians in the United Kingdom can partly explain the expectations for glamour.

Christina Baade studied Ivy Benson and her Ladies' Dance Orchestra's contracts with the BBC during the Second World War. Baade revealed how Benson was viewed as a deeply threatening invader into the male musicians' territory. While women moved into the work front, and into tasks that were viewed as masculine, Britain as a nation became obsessed with maintaining a heightened gender difference. The reactions Benson faced were, according to Baade, "the sense of male entitlement ingrained" in the musicians' profession.²⁶ The female musicians, in the course of these developments, started to use glamour as a strategy. Through reassuring men that femininity and gender differences still existed, Benson was able to negotiate her success.²⁷

Nonetheless, similar trends were also visible in other countries. As Marie Selander has written, in Sweden, female bandleaders were popular in the 1920's. The bandleader was expected to be a skillful musician and a conductor who was beautiful, and an eye-catcher, in front of the orchestra. Selander noted that this trend continued until the 1940's and '50's.²⁸ It appeared that this image became a larger trend that influenced the European music scene. Despite such advances, it remains unclear why the expectation of female musicians, with perfect make-up and hair, wearing beautiful clothes, is still visible in the British scene today. My presumption is that the expectation within the British jazz scene could partly be a historical reminiscence. It was originally the women's own strategy to negotiate success, but in the course of history, it seems to have been written into expectations around the scene, which still sometimes affect the contemporary musicians. Even in the twenty-first century, gender is still an issue within the jazz scene.

Keywords

Jazz, performance, venues, gender, United Kingdom.

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Notes

- ¹ Townsend, 2000, 175.
- ² See for example: Nissilä, 2007, 55.
- ³ White, 1987, 218.
- ⁴ Thornton, 1996, 47; Gioia, 1997, 193.
- ⁵ Schutz, 1976 & 1980
- ⁶ Willig, 2003, 159–160
- ⁷ Potter and Wetherell, 1995, 81.
- ⁸ Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Willig, 2003, 159–160.
- ⁹ Potter and Wetherell, 1987, 1–2.
- ¹⁰ Edwards and Potter 1992, 2.
- ¹¹ Willig, 2003, 161.
- ¹² Willig 2003, 161–162.
- ¹³ Jokinen et al., 1993, 18–19.
- ¹⁴ Wetherell and Potter 1992, 64–65.
- ¹⁵ Jokinen et al., 1993, 20–21.
- ¹⁶ Hytönen-Ng, 2013.
- ¹⁷ Hytönen-Ng, 2013.
- ¹⁸ Audiences at jazz gigs in the United Kingdom are mainly older men. In London the audience is at times more balanced and younger people and women attend as well. But an average audience is composed of middle-aged or older men.
- ¹⁹ See Tsioulakis 2011, 70–71.
- ²⁰ Selander 2012, 196.
- ²¹ Cohen, 1997, 22.
- ²² See for example: Bayton, 1997; Cohen, 1997; Negus, 1997.
- ²³ McDonald and Wilson, 2006.
- ²⁴ Oliveros, 2004; Tucker 2004.
- ²⁵ McDonald and Wilson, 2006.
- ²⁶ Baade, 2008, 106.
- ²⁷ Baade, 2008.
- ²⁸ Selander, 2012, 56.

Women in Contemporary Austrian Jazz

Christa Bruckner-Haring

The three-year interdisciplinary transnational research project *Rhythm Changes: Jazz Cultures and European Identities* examines inherited traditions and practices of European jazz cultures. Funded by the organization Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA) within the theme of *Cultural Dynamics: Inheritance and Identity*, Rhythm Changes investigates ways in which jazz has developed in different European settings, using a comparative study to interrogate concepts of community, history and national identity. The purpose of the project is to offer new insights into cultural exchange, dynamic and changes in the jazz cultures of the five partner countries: United Kingdom (project leader Tony Whyton, University of Salford), Austria, Denmark, Netherlands and Norway.¹ The Austrian portion of the project is based at the Institute for Jazz Research at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Graz and is under the direction of Franz Kerschbaumer. Part of the Austrian project is the investigation of individual aspects of the current jazz scene in Austria in order to obtain an overview of the situation and importance of jazz within the larger music culture.

As a Rhythm Changes case study, this paper examines the current position of women in the Austrian jazz scene based on the collation and analysis of comprehensive data concerning gender distribution.² The study is based on information and quantitative data supplied by the Music Information Center Austria (MICA), a national research and resource organization for musicians, and its representative for jazz, Helge Hinteregger.³ The student information from Austrian arts universities is available in the 'student statistics' areas of the universities' public online systems. Moreover, qualitative interviews conducted with experts from different areas of the jazz scene complemented the data, exposing different viewpoints on this multifaceted topic. These expert dialogues were conducted as guided interviews and subjected to a qualitative content analysis according to Mayring's approach of summarization.⁴

Jazz musicians

There is a general consensus among the surveyed jazz protagonists that Austria is currently home to a high concentration of jazz musicians of both sexes, active both domestically and internationally; this opinion is also supported by MICA's current statistics. Jazz experts who were questioned also felt that the number of musicians has risen considerably in the last three decades, due in large part to the well-developed professional and academic jazz-educational infrastructure available at Austrian institutions. The interviewees mentioned creativity and innovation as special strengths of Austrian musicians; particularly young musicians are seen as having the courage to try out new approaches and develop their own musical ideas very early in their careers.

MICA's current listing of musicians active in the Austrian jazz scene – for whom Austria serves as home base and who perform regular concerts in Austria and abroad – shows the field to be predominantly male-dominated. However, this trend is not limited to Austria; women have always been in the minority in the jazz world – only in the vocal area have they achieved significant status.⁵

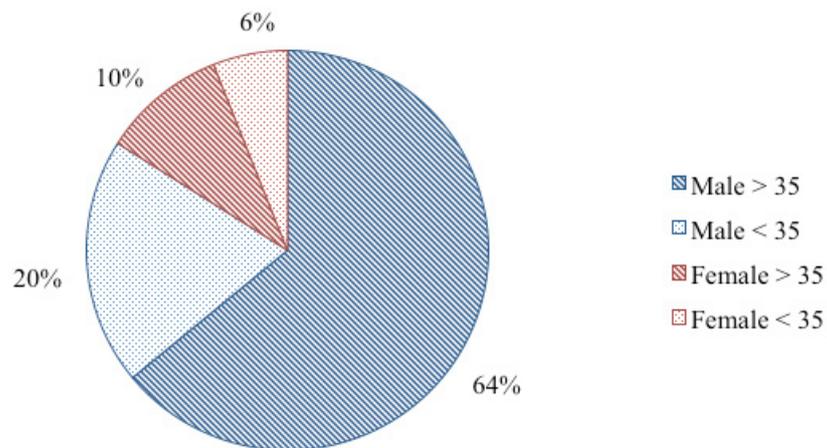


Figure 1: Gender distribution among active Austrian jazz musicians⁶

The gender distribution in Figure 1 reveals males currently in an overwhelming 84% majority. However, a comparison with young musicians (under 35 years) seems to show the female percentage on the rise: among men the percentage of

young musicians is about 24%; among women it is 38%, indicating the possibility of a more general demographic change in the future.

Jazz agencies

Professional Austrian jazz agencies are still rare, a view that was clearly confirmed in the interviews. The high number of jazz musicians contrasts with the small number of music agencies – and most of the existing agencies deal strictly with an established style of music. Economics are likely a major factor, since an agency’s income is a percentage of that of the represented artist – and most artists turn out to be unprofitable for the agency. Hence, musicians themselves mostly carry out the central functions of an agency; the procurement of concerts and the associated organizational work.

One positive note is the existence of a number of very motivated individuals in the area of professional booking – as it happens, mostly young, engaged women, working at an agency or even running it (compare Table 1). According to the interviewees this represents a further step in professionalizing the jazz scene and towards more women in the jazz scene.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Website</i>	<i>Brief description</i>
Live Performance Service (LPS)	http://www.lps.at	Books international artists; part of the <i>Jazz Fest Wien</i> organization
Saudades Tours	http://www.saudades.at	Books mostly American jazz musicians
		Contact: Anna Takats
Kunst +	http://www.kunstplus.com	Books national and international artists
		Contact: Eva Mikusch
Jazzbrain	http://www.jazzbrain.com	Books Austrian jazz musicians
		Contact: Ellen Windholz
Bigathing	http://www.bigathing.com	Books Austrian jazz musicians
		Contact: Birgit Gabler
Miooow	http://www.miooow.com	Small artist catalog including a jazz section
Cultureworks	http://www.cultureworks.at	Includes a small jazz section
		Contact: Sabina Schebrak
Diverted Music	http://www.divertedmusic.at	World music from Austria and other European countries
Matogrosso	http://www.matogrosso.at	International latin music

Table 1: Agencies for jazz in Austria⁷

Professional jazz education

Professional jazz education and the strong contingent of young musicians are seen as strengths of the domestic jazz scene. The general consensus is that Austria is home to a good comprehensive network of high-quality jazz education opportunities. The courses of study offer an important basis for young jazz musicians; not only an artistic education but also the opportunity to develop a network with other musicians, contacts to promoters and performance experience in and out of the school environment. Most currently active musicians possess a degree from an Austrian university.⁸ These high-quality education possibilities also contribute to a relatively high influx of foreign students that in turn serves to stimulate the jazz scene generally.

Higher education in jazz at Austrian institutions is divided into two courses of study: a performance degree (Konzertfach), resulting in a final diploma, and an artistic/pedagogical degree, Instrumental and Vocal Pedagogy (IGP), resulting in a final diploma and teaching certificate which allows the graduate to teach at any educational institution in Austria. Jazz can also be studied peripherally or as a concentration in the classical IGP curriculum. An academic concentration can also be chosen as part of a performance degree in jazz and pop or as part of a musicology curriculum. The bachelor's program (BA) lasts a minimum of eight semesters, the master's program (MA) four additional semesters.

Interviewees named the arts universities in Graz, Vienna and Linz as the foremost among Austrian jazz education institutions. The Jazz Institute at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Graz (KUG) was founded in Graz in 1965 and was the first educational institution for jazz in Austria and Europe. It offers degree programs in jazz voice, guitar, piano, bass, trombone, saxophone, drums and trumpet. Since 1971, the KUG has also been home to the Institute for Jazz Research, which focuses on the extension of academic research into jazz, particularly in the areas of music history and systemic music analysis, based mainly on transcription.⁹ The jazz department at the private Konservatorium Wien University (KWP) was founded a few years later, in 1968, and provides jazz studies of the same main instruments. At the KWP, no pedagogical concentration of the jazz

instrumental studies is offered.¹⁰ The Institute of Jazz and Improvised Music (JIM) at the (also private) Anton Bruckner University in Linz was founded in 1989. In addition to the instruments offered in Graz and Vienna, JIM also offers courses in electric bass, percussion, violin, viola, violoncello, flute and tuba.¹¹

The homepages of these three universities provide demographic information on their student populations.¹² A comparative analysis was conducted on gender distribution, nationality and degree program data from winter semesters 2008/09, 2009/10, 2010/11, 2011/12 and 2012/13 from both the performance and pedagogical jazz programs.¹³

A look at average student gender distribution at the three universities from 2008 to 2012 (a total of 1,944 students) shows males in the majority at 79% (see Figure 2). The remaining 21% are females, 13% Austrian citizens and 8% foreign students.

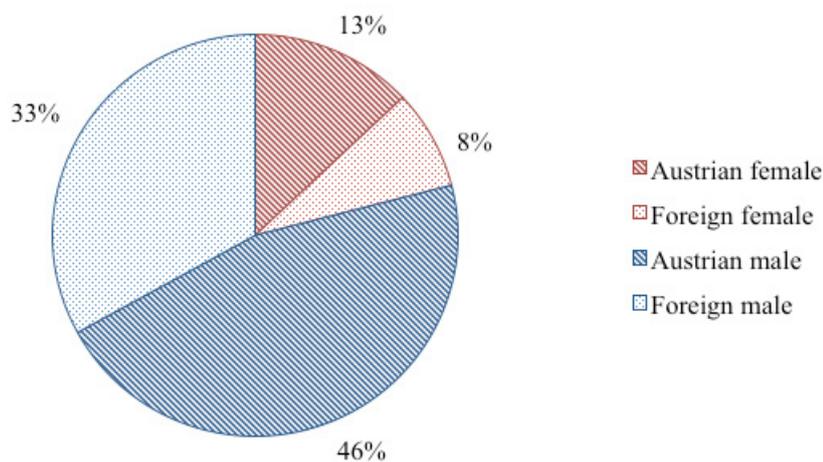


Figure 2: Student distribution by gender and nationality 2008–2012 (in %)

Combining gender distribution and nationality statistics, one can see a clear minority of female students at all three universities. Figure 3 shows that the highest percentage of Austrian women study at JIM (19%), and that JIM and KWP host exactly the same percentage of Austrian male students (58%). KUG, on the other

hand, has a majority of foreign students: among females 12% (and 9% Austrian) and among men 48% (and 31% Austrian).

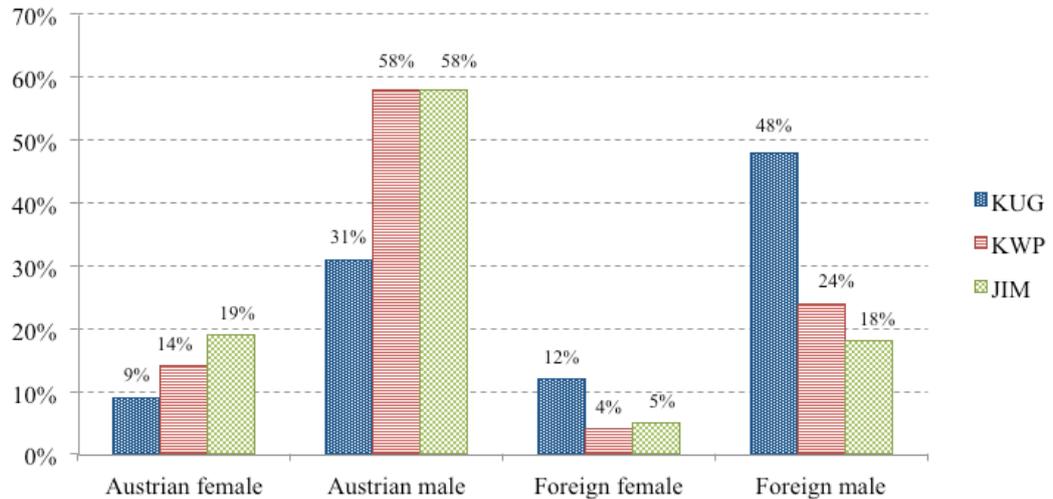


Figure 3: Student distribution by gender and nationality according to university 2008–2012 (in %)

A 5-year annual comparison (see Figure 4) clearly demonstrates the low number of female students: Austrian females are between 12% and 14%, foreign females between 7% and 8%.

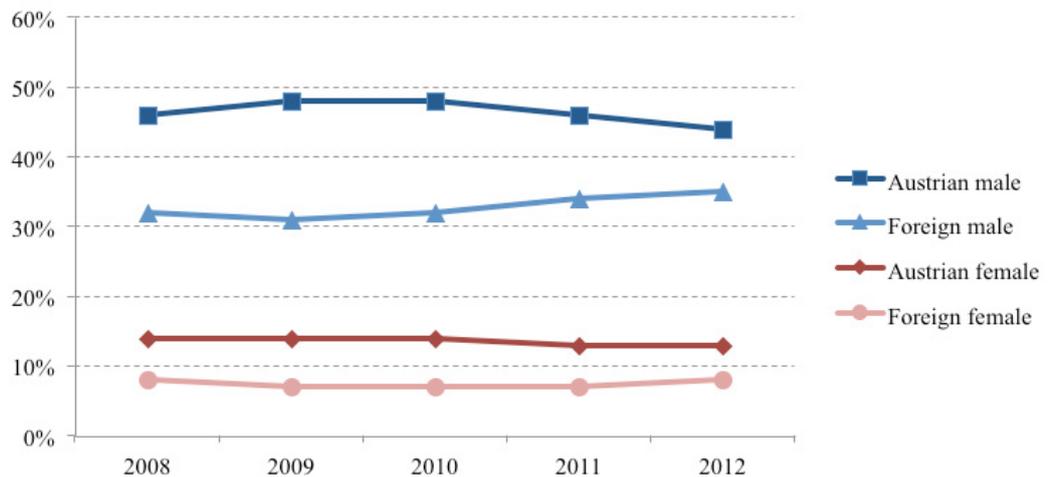


Figure 4: Student distribution by gender and nationality in annual comparison 2008–2012 (in %)

Analysis of all the examined components in the bachelor's (BA) and master's (MA) programs shows clearly that all three universities have comparatively more women in the bachelor's program than in the master's (see Figure 5). KUG and JIM both have nearly a quarter; KUG has a slightly higher percentage of foreign female students (12%) and JIM a higher proportion of Austrian females (20%). Women make up 19% of bachelor's students at KWP; however, the percentage of women in the master's program averages only 8%. Percentages of female master's students at KUG (17%) and at JIM (18%) are higher but still much lower than that of males. It would seem that female students often finish only the bachelor studies, not continuing to the master's degree level.

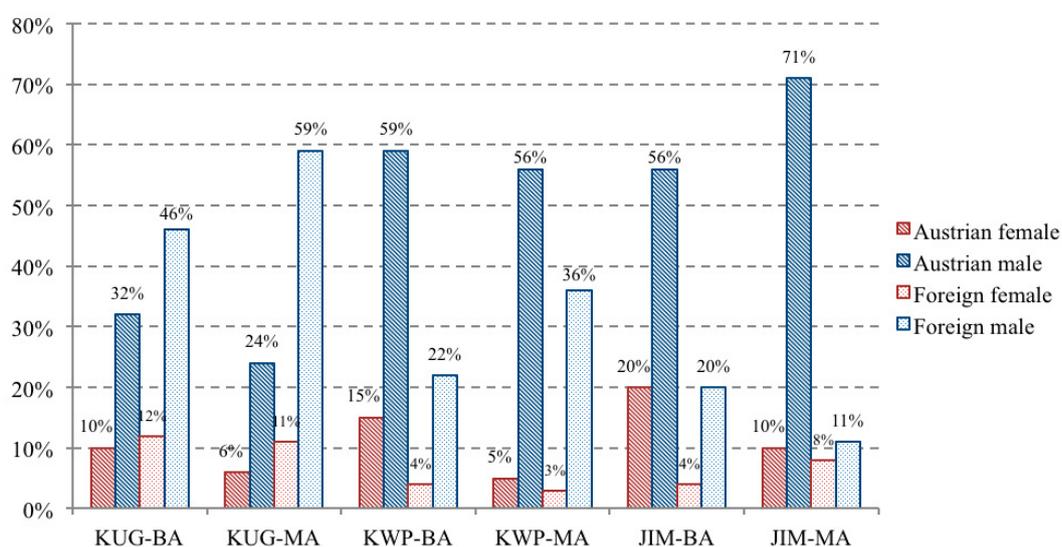


Figure 5: Student distribution by degree program, gender and nationality 2008–2012 (in %)

The annual comparison of the years 2008 to 2012 (see Figures 6 and 7) reveals that the number of female bachelor's students has slightly decreased over the five years; however, the number of female master's students has increased to 21% in 2012.

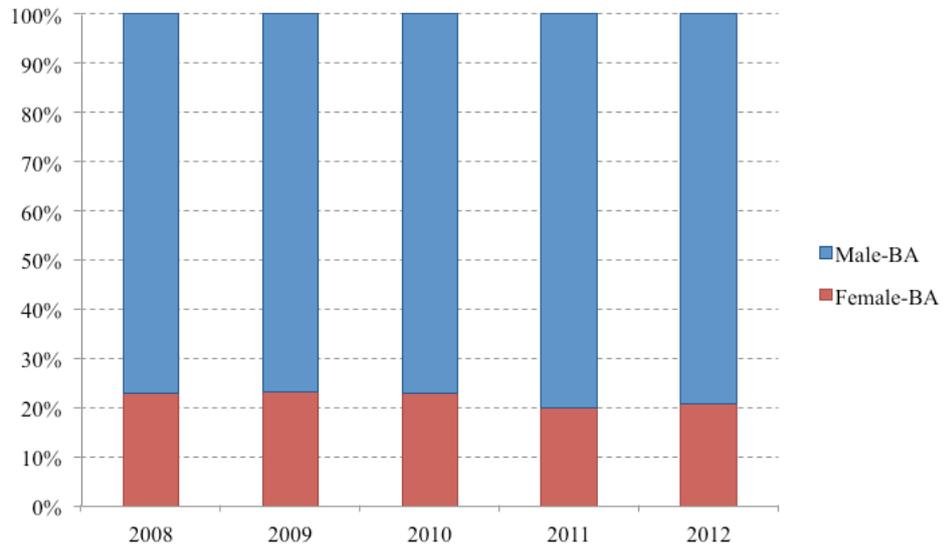


Figure 6: Student distribution of bachelor's program by gender in annual comparison 2008–2012 (in %)

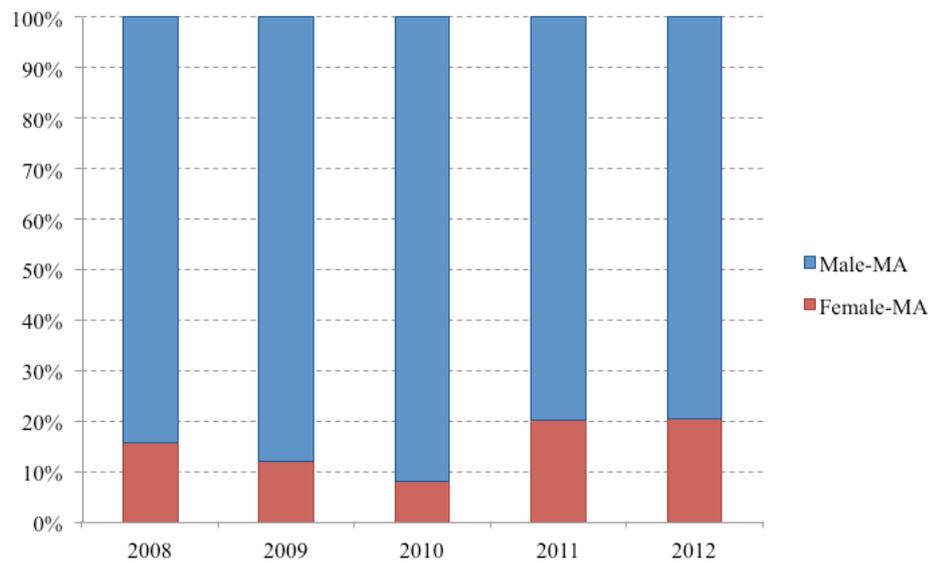


Figure 7: Student distribution of master's program by gender in annual comparison 2008–2012 (in %)

A detailed analysis of female jazz students at the three universities (2008–2012) shows that they confine themselves mostly to a few instruments (see Figure 8). The percentage of voice students is by far the highest, with 49% Austrian and 71% foreign students. The percentages of females for other instruments, in descending order according to popularity, are piano (11% Austrian, 7% foreign), saxophone (9% Austrian, 8% foreign), drums/percussion (7% Austrian, 4% foreign), composition/arrangement (5% Austrian, 4% foreign), violin (5% Austrian, 3% foreign) and trumpet (3% Austrian, 2% foreign). Furthermore, a small percentage of female Austrian students studies bass (7%), flute (2%), viola (2%), guitar (1%) and violoncello (1%). The clear preference for voice as instrument for female students corresponds to the current professional situation.

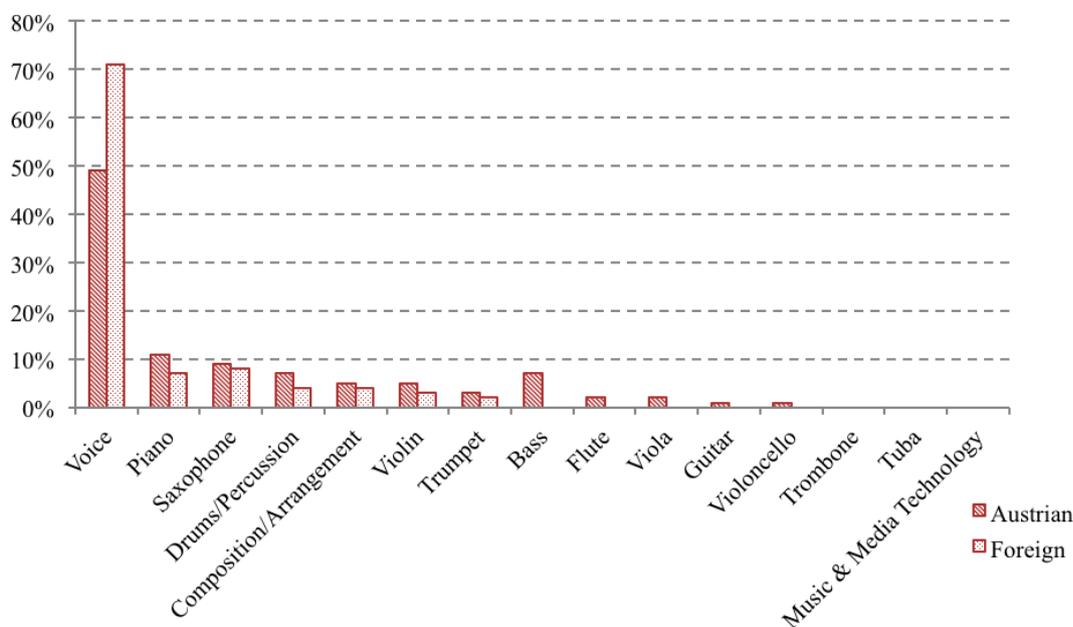


Figure 8: Instrument choice and nationality of female students (in %)

Jazz prizes

Initiated by Mathias Rüegg, the ‘Hans Koller Prize’ was awarded in various categories in the years from 1996 to 2009.¹⁴ The gender distribution of Hans Koller prizewinners shows a clear male dominance. Of the eight categories for individuals, women have received awards in only four – Newcomer of the Year (one female winner), Side(wo)man of the Year (two female winners), the New York Stipend (two females) and the Audience Prize (one female who has won twice) (see Table 2). Women thus represent about 11% of the complete winners.

The ‘Harry Pepl Prize’, a project of the Graz jazz promotion organization ‘gams-BART’ has been awarded every two years at the Austrian Soundcheck jazz festival since 2006.¹⁵ None of the three winners to date has been female.

Year	Life Work / State Prize for Improv. Music	Musician of the Year	Newcomer of the Year	CD of the Year		Side(wo)man of the Year	New York Stipend	European Jazz Prize	Audience Prize	Talent of the Year
1996	Hans Koller									
1997		Wolfgang Muthspiel	Martin Siewert	<i>While You Wait</i>	Löschel/Skreppek/Zrost					
1998		Wolfgang Puschnig	Herwig Gradischnig	<i>Ultimate Sentences</i>	Nouvelle Cuisine					
1999		Max Nagl	Martin Koller	<i>Right Now</i>	Martin Koller					
2000	Joe Zawinul									
2001		Peter Herbert	Gerald Preinfalk	<i>The Hans Koller Concept</i>	Paul Urbanek	Mario Gonzi	Clemens Salesny			
2002		Klaus Dickbauer	Thomas Gansch	<i>Maive</i>	Shilkloper/Corrêa/Breinschmid	Oliver Kent	Martin Reiter	Tomasz Stanko (Poland)		
2003		Alegre Corrêa	Georg Breinschmid	<i>Don't Play, Just Be</i>	Franz Koglmann	Christian Salfellner	Simone Kopmajer/ Herbert Pirker	Wolfgang Muthspiel (Austria)	Lorenz Raab	
2004	Michael Mantler		Lorenz Raab	<i>Day Dream</i>	Gradischnig/Kent	Ingrid Oberkanins	Matthias Pichler/ Wolfgang Schiftner	e.s.t. (Sweden)	Viola Falb	Gábor Bolla (Hungary)
2005		Harry Sokal	Martin Reiter	<i>Confessions</i>	Linda Sharrock	Hans Strasser	Bastian Stein/ Christoph "Pepe" Auer	Bojan Z (Bosnia)	Martin Reiter	
2006		Alex Deutsch	Jazzwerkstatt Wien	<i>Travelling Hard</i>	Robert Bachner Quintett	Matthias Pichler	Gábor Bolla/ Bernd Reiter	Bobo Stenson (Sweden)	Viola Falb	Diknu Schneeberger (Austria)
2007		Christian Muthspiel	Christoph "Pepe" Auer	<i>Things Change – The 50th Anniversary Box</i>	Wolfgang Puschnig	Gina Schwarz	Philipp Nykrin	Stefano Bollani (Italy)	Christoph "Pepe" Auer	
2008	Fritz Pauer		Viola Falb	<i>Alma</i>	Martin Reiter	Martin Spitzer	Barbara Paierl/ Fabian Rucker	Han Bennink (Netherlands)		
2009		Wolfgang Reisinger	Clemens Salesny	<i>C.O.D.E.</i>	Nagl/Vandermark/ Clayton/Reisinger	Peter Kronreif	Raphael Meinhart/ Lukas König	Enrico Rava (Italy)		David Hodek (Slovakia)

Table 2: Overview of all Hans Koller Prizewinners (1996–2009)¹⁶

Interview results

As a qualitative research method to collect additional empirical data within the Rhythm Changes project, a questionnaire was developed by the project members to investigate how different factors influence the development of the jazz scenes. In each partner country, expert interviews were conducted with members of six investigational groups – musicians, ensembles/collectives, educators/researchers, festivals/venues, policy makers/agencies and the media – in order to cover a broad spectrum of the jazz scene. Interviewees (at least twenty per country) were chosen according to how well they represent – and the degree of respect they had established in – their respective areas of the jazz scene. For this Austrian case study, the following questions regarding gender distribution were added to the Rhythm Changes questionnaire:

- 1) How would you describe current gender distribution in the Austrian jazz scene?
- 2) Do you think gender distribution in the Austrian jazz is changing? If yes, what indications do you see that the gender distribution is changing?
- 3) Do you believe the Austrian jazz scene is unequal? If so, why?

Qualitative content analysis and the method of summarization according to Philipp Mayring (2010) were then applied to the interviews. The goal of this summarization method is to generate category systems through paraphrasing and generalizing of the responses to the questions. These category systems are meant to provide a clear overview of the essential interview contents without losing sight of the basic material.¹⁷

The category system related to the gender distribution (question 1) resulted in the statement that there are clearly fewer women in the current Austrian jazz scene than men; this opinion was supported by all interviewed jazz experts.

The second question concerning a possible change in the situation (question 2) revealed two category systems, namely:

- a) No noticeable change: Few women in jazz
- b) Noticeable change: More women in jazz

As can be seen in Figure 9, about 40% of musicians see a noticeable change; among representatives of ensembles and collectives 50% observe a similar trend. 80% of researchers and educators do not see such a change as likely; in contrast, however, 75% of festival and venue organizers do notice a trend toward more women in jazz. Policy makers, jazz agencies and journalists are equally divided on the subject.

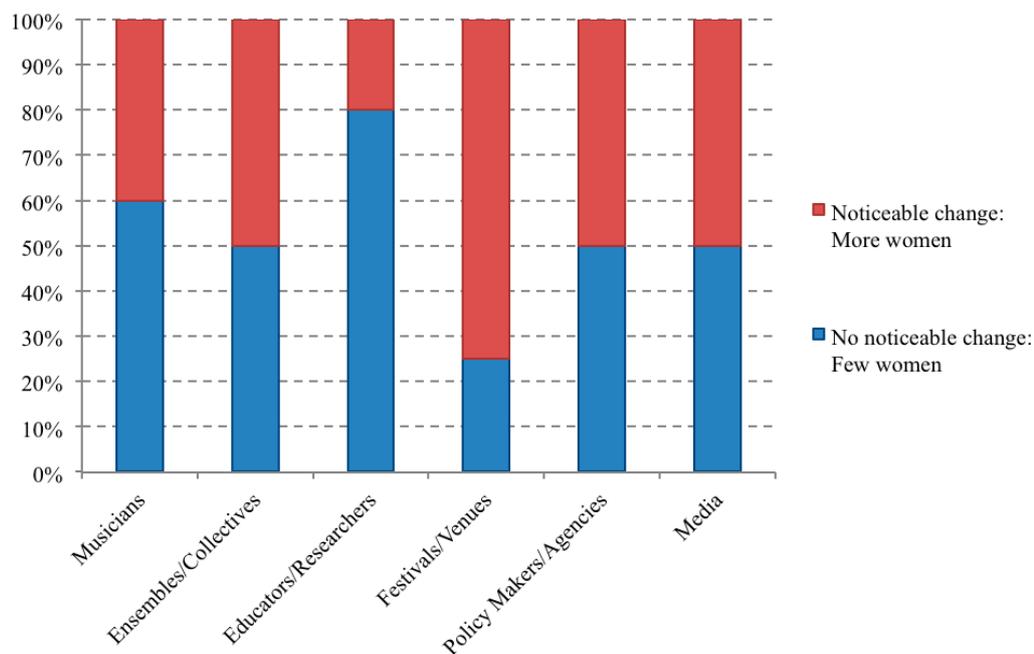


Figure 9: Category systems of question 2 according to investigational group (in %)

Interviewees observing a change agreed that women are catching up rapidly and that a great deal has changed in recent years. They saw a noticeable rise in young female jazz musicians and in female students in all instrumental groups, but primarily saxophone, piano, bass and drums. One cited development is that more and more women are assuming leadership of jazz ensembles. Particularly organizers also observe that the percentage of women in the jazz audience has grown to equal the male population, another important step towards a larger contingent of women in jazz.

All interviewees believed that the jazz scene is unequal, since the male gender clearly dominates (question 3). Perceived reasons for the inequality fell into the category systems of musical socialization, female attributes and attitudes, physical limitations and a gap in academic investigation. Musical socialization was generally cited as the main cause: According to interviewees, jazz has traditionally been a male-dominated profession, thus appearing somewhat unwelcoming; women are also believed to have less interest in jazz as a genre. Interviewees cited a lack of female role models and one-sided media coverage as further reasons, as well as the idea that the music education system offers girls little encouragement to study jazz, focusing instead on classical music.

Some interviewees pointed to general attitudes and attributes perceived as female as reasons for the disparity: for instance, that women are not as rebellious as men and tend to be more harmony seeking, thus making it more difficult for them to relate to the protest character of jazz. A further argument was that women's interests tend not to be as narrowly focused as men's. Some believed women less likely to fight as hard for success. The opinion was also raised that women more often choose family and children over a career and may thus prefer teaching positions, for example. A final opinion was that women think more economically than men – and therefore consider a life as a jazz musician too financially uncertain.

Some interviewees expressed the opinion that physical or other limitations might play a role; for instance, that women often lack the physical capacity to play brass instruments, which play an important role in jazz. Some also voiced their belief that the capacity for structured thinking – an important asset for improvisers – is a more frequently male attribute.

Finally, a gap in the academic investigation of female jazz musician seems to exist: an urgent need was seen by many for a comprehensive study of the reasons for this statistical inequality and long-term measures to improve the situation for women in Austrian jazz.

Concluding remarks

The current Austrian jazz scene is generally viewed as an important component of Austrian musical life and accepted as a strong part of the contemporary cultural landscape. In general, the number of jazz musicians and enthusiasts is increasing – but a similar percentage of men and women in jazz is still rather far away. Austrian jazz continues to be dominated by men – with the exception of vocalists, where women have achieved a significant status.

However, the last few years have seen an increase in the number of young female jazz musicians. Women are also far more present in jazz agencies and an increasing number of women can be found in jazz audiences. Analysis of student populations of Austrian universities offering jazz programs shows female jazz musicians in a clear minority, again with the exception of jazz voice students, where females dominate. One positive aspect is the fact that the number of female master's students has increased slightly in the past few years.

Analysis of interviews with figures in the Austrian jazz scene reveal two main opinions on the topic: roughly 50% believe that there are still very few women in jazz; the other half – mainly event organizers – sees a noticeable change in the situation already and believes that it will continue. The perceived causes of gender inequality in the jazz scene offer some ideas on how to improve the situation: increased presence of female jazz musicians in the media, for example, or an added emphasis on the promotion of jazz to girls in music education settings.

Although the general situation of women in Austrian jazz still leaves much to be desired, women have achieved their fixed position and seem to be playing an increasingly important role in the Austrian young jazz scene.

Keywords

Rhythm Changes; Austria; jazz culture; jazz scene; women; gender

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Notes

- ¹ For further information see <http://www.rhythmchanges.net>.
- ² Data as of November 2012. For additional current information on the Austrian jazz scene see the article ‚Aspekte der aktuellen Jazzszene in Österreich‘ (Bruckner-Haring 2012) and the chapter ‚Statistical overview of jazz in Austria‘ (Bruckner-Haring 2013).
- ³ MICA was founded in 1994 as an independent, non-for-profit organization by the Republic of Austria and is a professional partner for musicians in the country. For further information see <http://www.musicaustria.at>.
- ⁴ See Mayring 2010: 67ff.
- ⁵ See Kerschbaumer 2000: 143f.
- ⁶ Source: MICA, as of May 2011.
- ⁷ Source: MICA, as of May 2011.
- ⁸ A study of the social situation of artists in Austria revealed that 85.9% of surveyed musicians indicated a course of study at a higher education institution (see Schelepa et al. 2008: 187).
- ⁹ See <http://www.kug.ac.at>.
- ¹⁰ See <http://www.konservatorium-wien.ac.at>.
- ¹¹ See <http://www.bruckneruni.at>.
- ¹² KUG: <https://online.kug.ac.at/KUGonline/webnav.ini>;
KWP: https://online.konswien.at/kwp_online/webnav.ini;
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- ¹³ For simplicity, results have been rounded to the nearest whole number.
- ¹⁴ See <http://www.hanskollerpreis.at>.
- ¹⁵ See <http://www.gamsbartjazz.at>.
- ¹⁶ Source: Justin et al. 2009: 41ff.
- ¹⁷ See Mayring 2010: 70ff.

Jazz Curricula and Personal Voices

Ari Poutiainen

1. Introduction

Personal expression is among the most important artistic values in jazz. Good jazz improvisation reminds of searching and finding at the moment and this exploring draws from individual resources.¹

During the second part of the 20th century jazz established a position in the Western higher music education. In several European countries acknowledged institutions that offer musical education (i.e., universities, academies, conservatories, etc.) established study programs in jazz performance and composition. As an essential administrative step, these institutions expressed jazz art and its pedagogy as jazz curricula. In the related syllabi and course descriptions jazz educators and administrators gradually summarized those elements and aspects that they saw central in jazz tradition. Jazz took an academic, literal shape.

Most of the contemporary young jazz musicians have now an academic background. This is often seen as positive phenomenon since higher education typically secures an opportunity to reach excellent technical skills, deeper awareness of jazz conventions, and high competence in various jazz styles, for instance. Simultaneously higher jazz education is criticized for producing jazz musicians that sound similar.² A part of the jazz audience complains that the contemporary jazz (made by younger jazz musicians) is not inventive and fresh. Many submit that present jazz lacks originality and personal voices.

Could it be that despite all of its good intentions higher jazz education grinds young jazz students to the same mold? And that personal expression and related aspects do not frequently reach this mold? Could it be that while institutions deliver important pieces of jazz information and understanding they forget to preserve and advance students' individual potential?

This matter has interested me for several years.³ My curiosity has led me to study jazz programs and their formal aspects. In this article I report on my research on 15

contemporary Nordic jazz curricula. My hypothesis is that a curriculum text can have a great significance in modifying contemporary jazz. For practice-oriented parties of jazz education (e.g., students and teachers) a curriculum text is certainly nothing more than a mandatory document that exists for administrative necessities. Still there is no denying that this text is simultaneously a powerful legal document that for example shapes an institution's jazz education.

I am aware that not much can be concluded of any jazz study program by only reading its curriculum. Yet I presume that a program's curriculum can reveal interesting matters about its values and goals. In regard to art education that deals mostly with individual potential and creativity (e.g., jazz education), a curriculum can have a surprisingly large role. It can signify and convey more meanings and distinctions than many would first be willing to admit. At the end it is difficult to prove how big is jazz curricula's influence on the issue of contemporary jazz sounding less progressive. Still it is of value to study the curricula and how much attention they pay for developing personal voices.

I have earlier accomplished a similar but smaller research in Finnish. Its results were published in an academic article which title translates as "Just Draw from Your Life..." – the Disappearing Myth of Originality in Jazz.⁴ For that particular research I studied the jazz curricula from the Sibelius Academy (Finland), Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences (Finland), and Norwegian University of Science and Technology – Trondheim (Norway).

2. Contemporary jazz and the idea of a personal voice

Modern jazz (i.e., jazz of the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's) is rather explicitly defined in contemporary pedagogical jazz literature. This literature explains jazz history as a series of inventions and changes that were introduced and established by great performers, composers, and leaders. The jazz canon is well summarized, for example, by Gridley in his *Jazz Styles*.⁵ The early steps of a modern, artistic jazz ideology, that celebrates progress and being in vanguard, are described, for example, in DeVeaux's *The Birth of Bebop*.⁶ Also a quick look to popular jazz media (i.e., magazines, web pages, etc.) reveals that innovation and creativity are closely connected to jazz's definition.

Although individuality appears to be a distinctive characteristic in jazz, it seems that a part of the contemporary jazz actually focuses on recreation of historical styles. It occurs that an ability to imitate (historical) modern jazz idioms has become more and more significant in producing jazz. For some consumers a resemblance to an earlier idiom may correlate with authenticity.

In the end it is challenging to say how original contemporary jazz should be. Perhaps independent artistic expression is not that important after all. Perhaps the whole idea of a personal voice is nothing but a myth. Berliner has shed light in this challenging matter. In *Thinking in Jazz* he illustrates how much preparation (e.g., studying, practicing, and planning) an improvised jazz solo can include.⁷ For a wider jazz audience this can be a small surprise. It may still identify improvisation as composing at the moment that draws from exterior resources, for instance.

Jazz musicians may have both consciously and subconsciously created a kind of mythology around improvisation. For example John Coltrane, who practiced his instrument in a very disciplined and ambitious fashion, often referred to the universe and spirituality when he discussed his improvisations and their possible origins.⁸ On the other hand, historians and researchers have revealed that Coltrane spent years in developing some of his groundbreaking ideas before he introduced them to public.⁹ He also designed and practiced sections for his recorded solos.¹⁰ Anyone can easily recognize this by listening to his performance on the alternative takes of *Giant Steps*. The entire take sequence has been published, and it shows how Coltrane systematically applies a particular musical pattern (today often identified as the 'four-note pattern') in all his solo work.¹¹

An effective way to de-mystify jazz improvisation is to browse most popular jazz theory books. For example Coker, Casale, Campbell, and Green state right at the beginning of their classic *Patterns for Jazz* that solos that do not include any prepared melodic fragments and phraseology are quite rare.¹² After this statement the rest of their publication is occupied with melodic patterns and pattern practice. Similarly other famous jazz theory books (e.g., Baker's *How to Play Bebop* series, Crook's *How to Improvise*, Liebman's *A Chromatic Approach to Jazz Harmony and Melody*, and Levine's *The Jazz Theory Book*) focus on introducing melodic patterns and formulae and the related practice and approaches.¹³ While making

an effort in breaking the myth of jazz improvisation, theory books typically forget to support the developing of individual potential. Regarding popular jazz theory literature, such a minor imperfection is understandable. However, when a higher jazz education study program is summarized as a powerful legal document (i.e., as a jazz curriculum), similarly biased interpretations can be difficult to accept.

3. Materials selection

In order to approach the issue of personal voices and contemporary jazz education, I studied higher jazz curricula from four Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. From these countries I included altogether six institutions (i.e., universities or conservatories) to my selection. Since some institutions offer more than one study program, my materials selection consisted of 15 curricula. The different programs in an institution are, however, more like study orientations: The orientations share the same fundamental subject base that students accomplish during the first couple of years of their study, on the Bachelor of Arts (BA) level.

I read, speak, and write Swedish and in most cases studied the curriculum texts in their original language. In some few occasions, however, I relied on the English version of the curriculum if it was easily available. When discussing the Finnish curricula I refer to their English versions just in order to make my research approachable to a wider audience.

In regard to Danish jazz education I focused on the acknowledged Rhythmic Music Conservatory (Rytmsk Musikkonservatorium). This institution has a relatively wide selection of study programs. From these I laid my research emphasis on Music Performance and Songwriting curricula on the BA level.¹⁴ On The Master of Arts (MA) level I studied the curricula entitled as Music Education and Music Performance.¹⁵

From Finland I included two institutions in my research. These were the Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences (Metropolia ammattikorkeakoulu) and Sibelius Academy (Sibelius-Akatemia). Regarding Metropolia, I focused on the Musician¹⁶ and Music Educator¹⁷ programs. Both produce BA degrees in five study orientations: Instrumentalist, Music Writer, Instrument Teacher, Vocal Teacher,

and Theory Teacher. In the case of Sibelius Academy I investigated two MA degree programs: Jazz Instrumentalist¹⁸ and Jazz Composition¹⁹.

Norwegian Academy of Music (Norges musikkhøgskole) was the only institution from Norway that I included in my selection. This institution offers BA²⁰ and MA²¹ degrees in jazz performance under the program title Improvised Music/Jazz.

From Sweden I picked two institutions for this study. These were the Royal College of Music (Kungliga musikhögskolan i Stockholm) and Malmö Academy of Music (Musikhögskolan i Malmö). Regarding Stockholm's study supply, I focused on the Jazz Performance program that has both BA²² and MA²³ levels. Malmö offers jazz education not only in performance but also within its pedagogical study orientation. For this study I investigated both Jazz Improvisation²⁴ and Music Teacher Program²⁵ curricula.

4. Reading approach

When reading the curricula I kept my focus in the way, for example, personal voice, independence, individuality, originality, and self-expression were textually supported. Often none of the previous words were employed although the texts expressed similar matters. My reading thus necessarily included some interpretation. I also paid attention to how the growth towards the above mentioned aspects was encouraged and submitted. While some curricula clearly conveyed information on artistic growth, there were also curricula in which the artistic development and related matters were hardly discussed. In order to be able to track this kind of messages from the various curricula, I again had to apply some interpretation in my reading.

Since the curricula selection included texts that employ four different languages (Danish, English, Norwegian, and Swedish), I did not attempt to accomplish a detailed contents analysis that would, for example, elaborate on the frequency of word appearances or particular types of expressions. I instead studied the curricula in more general terms and urged to compare the style and pedagogical communication of the curricula. In other words, I focused on the 'big picture' that the texts delivered on jazz studies.

In my curricula examination I applied three steps. First I traced the way each

curriculum supports the idea of searching, finding, and developing a personal voice. This information I could gather by carefully reading all the various course descriptions and summarizing views on the amount and tone of the particular communication. Secondly, I pointed out the vocabulary that was applied for this purpose. Curricula often attempt to employ a rather limited selection of words, and in regard to original jazz expression, I listed the words that appeared more frequently. Thirdly, I compared all 15 curricula and formalized a descriptive wording for each institution. I sometimes could derive this characteristic wording from the curriculum texts. Sometimes I reflected the impression the text conveyed.

5. Curricula characteristics

At first glance the selected curricula appeared rather similar. However, after reading through all the material a few times I could conclude with some characteristics.

The Danish Rhythmic Music Conservatory appears to support original expression and independence right from the start. Most of the course descriptions encourage finding and developing an individual voice. Words like ‘prolific’, ‘open-minded’, ‘insight’, and ‘independence’ are constantly employed in Conservatory’s curriculum texts. I would call Conservatory’s curricula ‘realistic’ since the texts make an effort in explaining that jazz and the related music genres call for artistic independence. They also communicate that no school degree can guarantee a success in creative music making. Students should understand that they are individuals and alone in responsible for turning their studies into a productive career and income.

In respect to Rhythmic Music Conservatory’s supportive but simultaneously honest and fair approach, Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences represents a carefully arranged ‘to do’ list. All its music performance, composition, and arranging course descriptions include a somewhat detailed listing of matters that students should internalize. Especially those course descriptions that support the development of fundamental skills (i.e., the basic courses in music theory and ear-training) include explicit goals that are expressed with references to theoretical terminology. Personal expression or individuality is hardly referred to. Therefore these curricula appear to be rather ‘dry’.

The same applies to the Sibelius Academy and its Jazz Instrumentalist and Jazz Composition programs. All music performance, composition, and arranging course descriptions are similarly detailed in what students are expected to accomplish. While personal expression gains little space in the texts, the technical tone is omnipresent. Sibelius Academy's curricula remind of a study track that mainly focuses in gaining 'technical skills'.

Norwegian Academy of Music's curriculum texts fall in between the realistic Danish approach and dry and technical Finnish approaches. It seems that independence and critical reflection are purposively emphasized aspects at the Norwegian Academy. Words like 'independence', 'competence', and 'reflection' are frequently employed in the curricula. The descriptions of the courses that deal with the fundamental music education (i.e., music theory, history, etc.) are somewhat detailed and theoretical terminology is often applied. However, these curriculum texts clearly attempt to establish a connection between the theory and practice. In this respect, their tone is affectionately 'pedagogic'.

According to the Royal College of Music's curriculum texts, the academic jazz education in Stockholm has the same goals as the education in Oslo. In the College's texts "independence', 'personality', and 'creativity' are words that are in some extent employed on the BA level. On the MA level they appear more frequently. Similarly the descriptions of the courses which focus is on the basic musical skills are somewhat detailed and technical in tone. The College seems to support 'craftsmanship' and this precise word is actually employed in its texts.

Original approach and creativity are much more frequently referred to in the curricula of the Malmö Academy of Music. The descriptions of the advanced courses encourage drawing from individual resources. Words like 'artistic interpretation', 'personal expression', 'independence', 'to apply', and 'creative process' are often employed. It seems that in Malmö jazz education has accomplished in striking a good balance between theory and practice. Furthermore this equal distribution of knowledge, skills, and creativity is nicely communicated in the curriculum texts. It occurs to me that this institution has successfully established 'bridges' between various aspects and elements of jazz pedagogy.

6. Conclusions

Although I examined altogether 15 curricula, it is certain that this research would benefit from a slightly larger materials selection. At least the following programs or institutions (or both) could add interesting aspects to this study: The EUJAM program at the Rhythmic Conservatory (Copenhagen, Denmark), Norwegian University of Science and Technology – Trondheim (Norway), Academy of Music and Drama (Gothenburg, Sweden), and the GLOMAS program (a co-operation between different institutions in different countries). These would increase the total amount of curricula close to 20.

Still, not much can be concluded from a curriculum reading alone since the curriculum and classroom exist in relatively different worlds. Students and teachers often see curriculum texts as simple tools that are constructed for administrative purposes. No one typically expects these texts to carefully reflect what is happening in the classroom (although they should). Most parties are not concerned about this division. Many also think that it is better not to let the administration influence the pedagogy or vice versa.

While my research does not offer conventional results it does bring up some important pieces of information that lead to exciting pedagogical questions. My curriculum reading revealed, for example, that the selected Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish curricula remind each other and that the Finnish curricula were very different to them. But should jazz curricula really be alike? In regard to the development of jazz, perhaps differences were more desirable than similarities? According to jazz ideology, it could be better to have several alternatives (i.e., many different curricula). This however can be problematic regarding to the pedagogical aims of the European Union, for instance.

My reading also unveils that in Finland the jazz curricula appear to be rather detailed and technical in tone. This leads one to wonder how precise curriculum texts should actually be. Is it necessary to frequently apply theoretical terminology? Should specific terms be employed at all? Some might say that too exact texts can restrict teachers' pedagogical work. Consequently curriculum texts' pedantry can restrict students' opportunities to internalize skills and abilities they need in exploring their artistic freedom. One can also argue if the texts should

encourage developing a personal voice or not. There seems to be jazz pedagogues (or administrators at least) who believe that it is not necessary to teach artistic independence per se. These parties perhaps prefer to focus on enhancing jazz skills or cultivating tradition.

It is difficult to prove if jazz education has diminished the amount of creativity and originality in contemporary jazz but many seem to think so.²⁶ It can be argued that while jazz established a position within academia it was forced to define itself and this process has had a negative influence on the art form. It could be that personal expression has surprisingly become a secondary value.

I believe that good jazz performances and pedagogy draw from personal experience. Individuality is the best ground for inspiring and lasting artistic and pedagogical results. Original musical vision is not likely to grow from formal and stiff curricula. Personality is not something that all students learn automatically and by themselves. It is something that has to be fostered throughout their study careers.

Jazz's study processes are often seen parallel to learning a new language. According to this juxtaposition, jazz curricula should not focus on teaching the dictionary and grammar but also on employing the language in creative ways. Speaking a language is about settings words to communicate, making sentences to convey emotions and meanings. It is often more interesting to listen to a personal expression – a voice – instead of grammatically neat wording with superficial contents. Jazz is about stories and perhaps storytelling is where the focus should also lie in jazz education.

Keywords

Jazz education, jazz curriculum, curriculum studies, artistic independence, personal expression, individuality, Nordic jazz

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Notes

- ¹ See for example Ulanov 1979 and Berliner 1994, 273–76.
- ² This point is elaborated in length in Nicholson's *Is Jazz Dead? (Or Has It Moved to a New Address)* (2005). See especially pp. 99–127.
- ³ I represent a jazz musician who has an academic background. This means that I have gained the major part of my jazz education at different music universities or conservatories in the Northern and Central Europe. I conducted my doctoral studies at the Sibelius Academy's Jazz Department (Helsinki, Finland).
- ⁴ Poutiainen 2007.
- ⁵ See Gridley 1997.
- ⁶ See DeVeaux 1997.

- ⁷ Berliner 1994, 146–69 and 221–42.
- ⁸ Woideck 1998, 108–9 and 114.
- ⁹ Porter 1999, 145–70.
- ¹⁰ Dowd 1995.
- ¹¹ Coltrane 1995.
- ¹² Coker et al. 1970.
- ¹³ See Baker 1987, Crook 1991, Levine 1995, and Liebman 1991.
- ¹⁴ Rytmisk musikkonservatorium. ‘Bachelor Programmes.’
- ¹⁵ Rytmisk musikkonservatorium. ‘Master Programmes.’
- ¹⁶ Metropolia University of Applied Sciences. ‘Bachelor of Culture and Arts. Musician.’
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- ²¹ Norges musikkhøgskole. ‘Studieplan for mastergradsstudiet i utøving: startkull 2012, improvisert musikk/jazz.’
- ²² Kungliga musikhögskolan i Stockholm n.d. ‘Utbildningsplan. Kandidatprogram musiker, jazz, KKJZ 1, 180 hp.’ Kungliga musikhögskolan’s website states that the curriculum can be downloaded from there. When I conducted this research this unfortunately was not quite true: A part of the curriculum was missing from the website. As a response to my email inquiry I received all parts of the curriculum from a person in administration. I refer here only to the first part of the curriculum, the rest of it I have promptly listed in the references.
- ²³ Kungliga musikhögskolan i Stockholm n.d. ‘Samlat dokument gällande. Konstnärlig masterprogram, musiker, jazz, KMJZ, 120 hp.’
- ²⁴ Musikhögskolan i Malmö. ‘Jazz-improvisation 120 hp. Utbildningsplan.’
- ²⁵ Musikhögskolan i Malmö. ‘Music Teacher Programme IE.’
- ²⁶ For discussion on this see for example Nicholson 2005, 1–25.

Ways of Reading an Armstrong Quote – Moves in the Sociology of Music

Erik Nylander

'Pops, music is music. All music is folk music. I ain't never heard no horse sing a song.'

Quote by Louis Armstrong, published in his obituary – *The New York Times*, 7 July 1971.

Since the birth of jazz, funerals and mourning of the dead have been particularly important ceremonial events. The old processional ceremonies of New Orleans – or what later became known as 'jazz funerals' – is often mentioned as one of the origins of jazz as a 'repertoire in-action'¹. Starting out with a highly contested quote in an obituary of Louis Armstrong published in the *New York Times*, this presentation will sketch out different ways to read the quote and will relate this, more broadly, to music practice. After discussing two possible conflicting interpretations of the Armstrong quote – that I suggest are connected to disciplinary divisions such as that between sociology and musicology – the work of Wittgenstein and his concept of *Sprachspiele* (language games) is consulted. This is done in order to seek a way to address the jazz convention that does not fall into the divide between content or style, expression or form, language or form of life, and internal or external methods of investigation. As a conclusion I return to the question of why this particular Armstrong quote seem so controversial within communities of jazz scholarship.

Louis Armstrong holds a special place in jazz historiography. Since his death, Armstrong's musical legacy has been vividly debated and his personal life discussed in numerous books, videos and countless of TV-documentaries. Arguably his biography has been crucial in creating a figurehead for jazz as a separate music convention with a distinguishable sound and narrative – a coherent history, if you will. As probably well-known by now, his condolences included a note from fellow musician Duke Ellington, who crowned Armstrong 'Mr. Jazz' and sanctified his

place as 'An American Standard'. Dictionaries of jazz, for example *The Virgin Encyclopedia of Jazz* (2004), typically have its longest biographical entry on 'A' for Armstrong. From that particular entry, one could learn that the importance of Armstrong in jazz is 'impossible to overstate' and that his breakthrough was largely due to the 'sheer force of his personality'. Before his death, Armstrong had clearly accomplished much in the long struggle of legitimizing jazz as an autonomous art form.² Still, in the first half of the 20th century, jazz music had often been enjoyed as an integral part of other types of entertainment like that of religious practice, hanging out in bars or through dance.

Armstrong's obituary is a particularly interesting piece of artifact as the old funeral procession ceremonies of New Orleans has been considered to be one of the original places where this music was performed. His memorial in *New York Times* was written by the professional obituary-writer Albin Krebs only a day after his death, the sixth of July 1971. The (in)famous folk/horse-quote (above) is reported as Armstrong's answer to a journalist wanting him to react to the success of contemporary 'folk music' that the reporter claims to be 'so favored by the young'. After its publication, the quote became widely shared. The *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Quotes*³ has it sourced, univocally, as an Armstrong quote and numerous books, homepages and leaflets reinforce this. Yet, both the meaning of the quote and its origins has been highly contested.

Recently, reacting to an article in *The Fretboard Journal* where Armstrong was stated as the originator of the quote, the American musicologist Chris Walz argued that the very same saying had been rather frequently used earlier among folk musicians.⁴ In particular, Walz traces the quote back to the Chicago blues artist, Big Bill Broonzy, who had said the same thing on an occasion that predated Armstrong's quote. The irony of subscribing and indexing the origin of the folk/horse-quote to Armstrong can hardly be overlooked. Like many famous men and women in history before him, the iconization of Armstrong exceeds all reason. According to British jazz scholar Tony Whyton, the symbolic construction of the 'pantheon of jazz greats' ought to be analyzed in light of contemporary media culture.⁵ The biographical images and writings on Armstrong provide particularly rich material to scrutinize the construction of such charismatic media personalities,

something that Whyton also set out to explore. In relation to this particular quote, one could also see the parallel between the historical alterations and paraphrasing of the quote and the historical mutations of jazz itself. Many jazz scholars have picked up the figure of the signifyin(g) monkey, in order to address the ever-evolving signifyin(g) chains of jazz.⁶

In this presentation, I will *not* attempt to add to the ongoing genealogy of the folk/horse-quote nor would I ever dream of trying to say anything new about the origins of jazz, Armstrong's personal whereabouts or the imponderable way in which he blew his cornet. Instead, I will begin this presentation by highlighting two conflicting ways that I imagine this quote could be interpreted: one that focuses on *music* and another that emphasizes the term *folk* in the sense of a 'specified group of people'. Because '*All music is folk music*' is one of those sayings of highly ambiguous character, I also believe that the different ways we read this quote can say something interesting about ourselves as readers and researchers and the traditions that helped shaped us. This presentation can be read as an attempt to navigate the different ways to address this quote and music practice from a scholarly point of view. In order to discuss music practice in a sound way, I will draw on the works of Wittgenstein⁷ especially focusing on the notion of *Sprachspiele* (language games). The musical connotations and audial qualities of the original concept of *Sprachspiele* are stressed and the standard English translation of 'spiele' to 'game' is problematized. The main point of the presentation is to elaborate on the topic of jazz conventions, to sketch out how it holds together as a 'repertoire in-action'.⁸ This will be discussed in relation to challenges faced by music researchers, particularly those working within the fields of social science and humanities.

Sociology of... Music!

One of the clearest indications of jazz's 20th century journey from low-brow to high-brow, from popular music entertainment to legitimate 'elite' culture, is its incorporation into curricula in schools and conservatories.⁹ This music gradually established some autonomy after having been an integral part of other activities. Jazz not only became enjoyed for its own sake, it also developed a more or less complete infrastructure or cultural field. Our own gathering – *The Nordic Jazz*

Conference – should probably be thought of as integral to this overriding process of cultural transformation and legitimation. Who would have thought, say 100 years ago, that a group of predominantly white academics and European jazz enthusiasts would meet in a music museum at the high-end neighborhood of Östermalm Sweden¹⁰, in order to discuss *The Gender of Jazz and the Notions of Authenticity*? It is certainly generous of the Music Museum here in Stockholm to lend us their grand conference space. Yet, this development is somewhat double-edged. On the one hand, the integration of jazz music to a museum might be thought of as an institutionalized ‘kiss of death’. To put this in a perhaps unnecessarily provocative manner: should we now think of jazz – no matter our different takes on it – as a genre slowly dying, as one having to be preserved in cultural exhibitions and museums? Are we now, contrary to Nicholson’s recent observation,¹¹ facing the ‘musealization of jazz’ also within the Scandinavian countries? On the other hand, one could argue similarly to Arvidsson¹² or Coulangeon¹³ that this process of institutionalization is an inevitable part of the ‘informal professionalization of jazz’ as a distinct genre. The integration of jazz into western schools and museums is then not only a *sign* of legitimization; these institutions are as much *vehicles* for establishing that recognition and acceptance.

To be sure, the socialization of becoming a jazz musician has gone through profound changes in the last few decades. This gradual transformation from largely self-taught¹⁴ musicians into the current paradigm of institutionalized jazz has differed greatly across countries and regions. It has also been highly debated among jazz scholars, a community which currently host divisions in itself such as that between ‘jazz traditionalists’ or ‘new jazz studies’.¹⁵ In that sense, one might feel keen to argue that there is a similarity between the field of jazz itself and the field of *scientific* practice. Depending on what branch or ‘school of thought’ you have been trained or brought up in, other styles might have a tendency to appear normal or queer, tact or tactless.

One of the more striking tensions within this academic field of practice is that between sociological perspectives of music – that often attempts to grasp the social conditions and societal circumstances that ‘produces’ music – and the ones more allied with musicology or ethnomethodology that more often

focuses on the ‘music-in-itself’. The conflicting interpretations between reading Armstrong as referring to ‘folk’ or ‘music’ might ultimately correspond to a structural tension within the research field that reflects the opposition between ‘sociology’ and ‘musicology’. While musicologists, not without sound reasons, tend to view sociologists as *deaf* to almost all the intrinsic aspects and qualities of musical performance, the sociologists often find the musicologist *blind* to all the externalities of music production. Since I am myself a sociologist by training, my presentation and way of referencing will, most likely, bear a clear semblance of that particular disciplinary history. Again, using this Jazz Conference as our empirical case, one might be inclined to ask if not this tension between the *folk-of-music* and the *music-in itself* is reflected in the very title of our gathering: ‘*The Gender of Jazz (folk) and the Notions of Authenticity*’ (music).

The quote attributed to Armstrong in his obituary – ‘Pops, music is music. All music is folk music. I ain’t never heard no horse sing a song’ – could be read in at least two ways. One either follows the *folk-track* or follows the *music-track*. Perhaps we are inclined to read it differently depending on our backgrounds: music-wise and scientific-wise. Starting with the *folk-track*, ‘folk’ can be seen as referring to a group of human beings, i.e. the people performing music. By reading Armstrong as a sociologist and placing a heavier emphasis on the ‘*folk*’ that performs the music than the ‘music-itself’, various sociological contributions come into play. Among sociologists, the societal circumstances and social organization of music are often addressed. These perspectives might be indispensable if we are curious about the institutionalized transformation of jazz mentioned earlier. Consulting such perspectives might also prove important when investigating the permanent ‘overproduction’ of artists in the labor markets, or the precarious working conditions and corresponding career strategies addressed by contemporary musicians.¹⁶ Sociological perspectives could of course include more issues than ‘the gender of jazz’, even though recent research have proved gender perspectives particularly fruitful when conceptualizing and scrutinizing jazz practices.¹⁷ Apart from different classed or gendered patterns of engagement, sociologists have also studied jazz geopolitical ramifications against the backdrop of colonialism.¹⁸ Relating back to Louis Armstrong’s figure and musical career, Fornäs has described

the predominantly racist media reception that he faced when he first came to Stockholm in the year of 1933.¹⁹ Amongst the many pejorative statements used by Swedish newspapers to describe Armstrong's performances, we find that of the 'roar of the gorilla' to resonate with colonial conceptualizations of the primitivism of African culture (and curiously related to the allegory of a signifyin(g) monkey).

Reading Armstrong's quote differently, now emphasizing the music-track, one might find 'folk music' as referring to the different branches of largely American 'folk music'. As any passionate fan of Armstrong would probably know, both Chicago (as a place) and the blues (as a music genre) were crucial in the development of Armstrong's sound and the emergence of his music career. Big Bill Broonzy and Louis Armstrong also played in the same music theater in the late 1930's when they both appeared in *Swingin' the Dream*, Gilbert Selde's adaption of Shakespeare's *Midsummers Night's Dream*. So perhaps it is not accidental that Armstrong's quote can be traced back to the black Chicago blues artist Big Bill Broonzy?

The historian Eric Hobsbawm has suggested that jazz could be best summarized as '*what happens when folk-music does not go under but maintains itself in the environment of modern urban and industrial civilization*'.²⁰ For Hobsbawm, jazz is by origin the music of the people and in this sense 'folk music' (and predominantly black Afro-American folk music) an argument he tries to pursue with some empirical evidence. Hobsbawm points, among other things, to similarities between such folk music practices and jazz when it comes to the reliance on mouth-to-mouth (and ear-to-ear) practices of 'passing it on'. He also mentions the alterations involved in the improvisation of 'the standard repertoire'.

Musicologists would probably be able to add to this description considerably.²¹ So while sociologists often lean heavily towards the *musicians-as-a-folk*' interpretation, music critics, musicologists and ethnomethodologists would often do a better job describing *music-as-a-language* of its own. The seminal work of Berliner or Monson can be mentioned as particularly influential within jazz studies.²² Both describe at great length and meticulously in detail how this delicate art of improvisation has its own internal rules of conduct, such as in the elaboration of 'cues' or the sublime dialectics between different sections and

constellations of the bandstand. One would expect that the allergy of reducing musical expressions to sociological proxies of what it is not (i.e. class, gender, race, geography) is particularly strong as one moves through the academia, from the social science department towards academic territories more closely engaged in the artistic practice themselves, like that of conservatories and art campuses. But is there no way to make these worlds meet? Are they really as distinctive as I make them sound to be?

Language as spiel and the spiel of language

One possible starting point for providing a pragmatic leap forward could be the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein and his concept of *sprachspiele* (language games).²³ Wittgenstein's legacy in social science is almost as vividly debated as Armstrong's among jazz connoisseurs. Primarily, Wittgenstein is recognized as a 'philosopher of language', and his work had paved the way to what is now often referred to as the 'linguistic turn' within the humanities and the social sciences. Stanley Cavell, a renowned Wittgenstein scholar, has added important interpretations to this kind of mainstream reception of Wittgenstein. Recently he has been drawing our attention to how the German word *sprache* in the key concept of a *sprachspiel* loses some of its connotations when dressed in the more technical translation of a *language-game*.²⁴ Following Cavell, and in order to overcome the potential division of internal and external research methods as well as the form and the expressions of music practice, I want to emphasize the sonic quality originally implied by the German word *sprachspiele*.

Occasionally Wittgenstein himself referred to the meaning of 'language games' as akin to one's ability to follow a musical theme.²⁵ Wittgenstein came from a Viennese family of high cultural pedigree that had a rather decorous bourgeoisie lifestyle involving particularly high demands for the children to master music instruments. According to a recent biography by Andersson the Wittgensteinian family also hosted concerts that were the real *crème-de-la crème* of Vienna musical life, including an impressive record of classical composers such as Ravel, Brahms, Mahler and Schönberg.²⁶ Wittgenstein himself came to develop a rather mystic²⁷ take on music. In a 1931 entry reproduced from his notebook, he wrote:

Some people think music is primitive art because it has only a few notes and rhythms. But it is only simple on the surface; its substance on the other hand, which makes it possible to interpret this manifest content has all the infinite complexity that 's suggested in the external forms of other arts and that music conceals. There is a sense in which it is the most sophisticated art of all.²⁸

Though Wittgenstein certainly seemed to have been fonder of classical music than the contemporary versions of jazz, the points made on the infinite complexity and concealed secrets of (instrumental) music can perhaps be translated. According to Wittgenstein, it is language *in-use* that should be of researchers' interest, not words and notions we make up on our own. Artistic conventions – just like the linguistic ones – are collective creations based both on explicit and implicit rules in practice. Indeed, as Wittgenstein argues above, some of the infinite and sensuous charms of music are due to the fact that many of its secrets continue to be largely concealed throughout the performances.

As stated above, Cavell's recent argument is that the standard English translation of *sprachspiele* into 'language games' obscures some of the significance of the German word. Cavell's discussion centers on the first half of the word language (*sprache*) and its *heimat*. Similarly, the later half of the concept of a *spiel* could be seen as unsatisfactorily translated to a *game*. The more explicit musical connotations of a *spiel* are arguably lost in translation. With it, the pitfalls of reducing language games to its textual surface, or in accordance with some individualistic or positivistic 'game theory' becomes more prevalent.

According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary²⁹, the etymological meaning of the German *spielen* is 'to play, from Old High German *spilōn*; akin to Old English *spilian* to revel'. The same dictionary lists the intransitive verb *spiele* as both meaning 'to play music' as well as 'to talk volubly or extravagantly'. Translations are always a tricky activity and one of the general points of Wittgenstein's writings can indeed be seen as to liberate his readers from the false premise of putting forward an essential, trans-historical or pure meaning inside language in-itself.³⁰ Nevertheless it seems worth emphasizing just how close *sprachspiele*, in Wittgenstein's formulations, is to what we could consider a musical or artistic sense-making process;³¹ qualities that – contrary both to mainstream

discourse analysis and quantitative efforts to reduce the realms of meaning – put a heavy emphasis on sounds and hearing, on having what musicians call ‘a good ear’.

The playfulness of the concept of *sprachspiele* is also evident elsewhere in Wittgenstein’s writings such as when trying to elaborate on the more intricate aspects of a ‘*spiel*’ in his *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics* (1967):

I am defining a game (originally ‘*spiel*’) and I say: ‘If you move like this, then I move like *this*, and if you do that, then I do *this* – Now play.’ And now he makes a move, or something that I have to accept as a move and when I want to reply according to my rules, whatever I do proves to conflict with the rules. How can this have come about? When I set the rules up, I *said* something: I was following a certain use. I did not foresee what we should go on to do, or I saw only a particular possibility.³²

The general principles of this passage could easily be applied to a group of musicians meeting for an audition or a jam session. In order to meet the inherent insecurity in the situation of playing together, the musicians need to rely on implicit or explicit rules. The starting-point of Faulkner & Becker’s recent ‘*Do you know...? The jazz repertoire in action*’ (2009) is similar to this primordial scene. Say that this was the first meeting for the musicians and they would need to agree on a ‘standard’, how would they then go about doing so? Having consulted each other about the songs they know (but might not remember) and as for where to begin, they would probably resolve the rest of the insecurity by feeling their way forward, by answering cues, by talking to each other. Prior to the performance, they would perhaps need to make some clarifications on how to structure this pre-agreed song thematically: who should play the solos, when, and so on. But as this quote from Wittgenstein illustrates, as the music unfolds in practice, the coordination of the group might not necessarily ‘click’. Perhaps the pianist will make a dull impression or someone will ‘move’ in a weird way. It is in playing together, in the movements of sounds, in the situations and interactions that come up as they go along where they are able to express their subjective will and comment on each other. By reflecting on the collective convention of jazz, one could realize how repertoires (genres, traditions, conventions) are recreated and why they can never be taken for granted. There is always another possibility that is open to ‘moves’, space for improvisation to occur.

In the situations of inherent insecurity, there are tricks of the trade, some established rules and agreed-upon procedures that the musicians can lean towards.³³ As the event of freeform jazz have clearly demonstrated, there are many possible ways to address and recreate a 'standard repertoire' without necessarily firmly clinging on to the most basic principles of rule-following such as melody, time and rhythm. Yet, in a situation when the learned rules of conduct cannot be accurately deployed, the musicians are also unable to foresee what the others are about to *do*. Much like languages are formed out of sentences, jazz performances presuppose and rely upon a broad base of shared references among the musicians in order to succeed, or at least succeed in a smooth way.

Consulting Wittgenstein's work and the concept of language games, we could possibly begin to unravel how this shared frame of reference is *collectively shaped*, based on what is external to the 'expression-as-such'. This collective convention is perhaps not the sort of thing you learn directly from your parents. But without music schools, attending music classes and jamming with friends and senior musicians, the repertoire of jazz could hardly be thought of. Yet as a consequence of this, it does not suffice to say that musicians attempt to follow certain rules. Rather, jazz is one of those activities that demonstrates how following the rules of a genre can depend on how the more specific rule-following are deployed in particular schools or by adhering to certain localized traditions within the broader genre. Such case-specific understanding of jazz excellence ought to be related to both time and place.³⁴

The purpose of this little excursion into German-English translations of Wittgensteinian vocabulary and the empirical case of musicians playing together and handling the insecurity of the situation might simply demonstrate the following: jazz, like other language, can be thought of as a *sprachspiel*. As such it ought to come as no surprise that jazz aesthetical expressions change greatly throughout its history. It follows both from viewing it as a confluent activity where musicians *do* things together, like negotiate and interact collectively and improvise individually.³⁵ Music is both a product and a response to societal transformations. As our societies and conditions of living (*lebensform*) change, so too does our jazz.

Jazz as convention: concluding remarks

What is as interesting as the galloping folk/horse reference that ends up in Armstrong's obituary is why this quote seems to provoke such disputations in the first place. Why do we even *care* about who first verbalized and what was meant with this particular saying? In answering this question, I guess we would have to go back to the beginning. Louis Armstrong holds a special position in jazz historiography. In the book section of Amazon.com there are currently over 1200 entries on the search term 'Louis Armstrong' alone, among them over 600 paperback books and over 200 biographies. Arguably, his name is not only the object of charismatic descriptions of extraordinary personality; he has also emerged as a symbol for other much wider questions surrounding his name. Among these, his name has become the figurehead of jazz as a relatively autonomous music convention.

This is perhaps the first reason why it is so surprising that Louis Armstrong – or 'Mr. Jazz' – is listed in the modern dictionaries under the saying: '*Pops, music is music. All music is folk music. I ain't never heard no horse sing a song*'. Whyton has suggested that Armstrong could be seen as central to the ongoing founding-father-fetishism of jazz scholarship.³⁶ With Armstrong *relativizing jazz as a separate musical domain*, our mental music map is thrown into doubt. Are we talking the same language? Considering the same possibilities?

As we later realized that the Armstrong quote was paraphrased from his contemporary, the American blues musician Big Bill Broonzy, our plot got more intriguing. When asked by the journalist to react to the popularity of 'folk music' – probably referring to the American folk music revival still present at the time – Armstrong undoubtedly does *not* take the opportunity to compare the young naïve popular taste of the masses with a more sophisticated art for the cultural connoisseurs. Instead he picks up a conversational interlude from one branch of the American folk music tree – the Chicago blues – and concludes laconically: 'Pops, music is music'. As Armstrong's comment is reported back from answering a question posed by a journalist comparing the 'success of folk music' with that of jazz, one might argue that he turns the question back to the journalist. In the later part of the quote, 'All music is folk music. I ain't never heard no horse sing a song', we are led to imagine a horse singing a song. Through invoking this image

as sheer absurdity, 'folk music' as music tradition could be seen as simultaneously defended and thrown into question. The ambiguities could be related to much wider issues of commonality and alternation, folk and elite. By seemingly absorbing the ordinariness of folk and accepting music as music, Armstrong also performs a surprise, by 'hustlin' with the media and the expectations of the journalist. In the end, this rendered him a place in the *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Quotes* and made me write a long exposition about what he could have meant.

However, the Armstrong quote has also led us to address music practice and the jazz convention that did not fall into the dichotomy of internal or external, content or style, expression or form, language or form of life, and corresponding methods of investigation. We landed in Wittgenstein's proposition that the *coordination of moves around a common standard* is one fruitful way to conceptualize what constitutes conventions.³⁷ I have tried to exemplify this in relation to jazz practice and discussed how the sonic qualities of *sprachspiel* risk being ignored when treated in accordance to the Standard English translation of a 'language-game'. What musicians can demonstrate to contemporary social scientists, especially sociologists like myself, is that sound matters and that the mastering of a given convention should neither be reduced to any set of pre-established criteria nor its mere textual layers.

If one chooses to address jazz as a 'repertoire in-action' or as a *sprachspiel*, jazz proves to be a pertinent case of how sound conventions are made and remade. To see and hear a jazz performance is to see and hear a coordination of 'moves' around a common standard. Even if there have been influential attempts to decide what this standard should consist of (see for example *The Great American Songbook*) and how it ought to be played in order to qualify for certain rewards and recognition, all these structuring elements are unlikely to succeed as there is always another possibility open for 'moves'.

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Notes

¹ cf. Faulkner & Becker 2009, p. 88

² Hobsbawm, 1989 [1959]; O'Meally, 2004.

³ Augarde, 1991, p. 10

⁴ For example, one event where Big Bill Broonzy says this was recorded and can be found together with 'the correction' from *Fretboard Journal* here: <http://www.fretboardjournal.com/features/online/bob-shane-big-bill-broonzy-louis-armstrong-and-horses-and-best-correction-ever>

⁵ Whyton 2010

⁶ cf. Gabbard, 1992; Lopes, 2005.

⁷ Wittgenstein 1967, 1968, 1980

⁸ Faulkner & Becker, 2009

⁹ Arvidsson, 2011.

- ¹⁰ Östermalm is a very exclusive neighborhood located in the city center of Stockholm, the capital of Sweden.
- ¹¹ Nicholson 2005
- ¹² Arvidsson 2011
- ¹³ Coulangeon 1999
- ¹⁴ Of course the whole idea of ‘autodidactic’ musicians is quite absurd. Its proliferation is perhaps best thought of in relation to the ‘charismatic myth.’ Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz once diagnosed this as characteristic of the modern artist (Kris & Kurz, 1979). What I mean here is simply that institutionalized schooling was not prevalent in the earlier generations of jazz musicians, i.e. as they were for say Louis Armstrong or Billie Holiday.
- ¹⁵ cf. Gabbard, 1995; Whyton, 2010.
- ¹⁶ Menger, 1999; Coulangeon & Roharik, 2003.
- ¹⁷ cf. Buscatto, 2007; Rustin & Tucker (ed.), 2008, Bruckner–Haring, this volume, Selander, this volume.
- ¹⁸ Gilroy, 1993.
- ¹⁹ Fornäs 2004, p. 209
- ²⁰ Hobsbawm, 1989 [1959], p. 9.
- ²¹ It might seem odd to pick a well-known Marxist historian to illustrate a perspective that centers on music rather than people. Yet at the time Hobsbawm worked professionally as a jazz critic and had not yet become that famous historian he later became.
- ²² Berliner 1994, Monson 1996.
- ²³ Wittgenstein, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1980.
- ²⁴ Cavell, 2005, pp. 197-98.
- ²⁵ Wittgenstein, 1968, §199 & 527
- ²⁶ Andersson 2012, pp. 39-41
- ²⁷ A hardcore sociologist would certainly say ‘mystifying’, as we seem to enter questions pertaining as much to the realm of *poetry* as of that of *science*.
- ²⁸ Wittgenstein, CV, 1980, 9e.
- ²⁹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/spiel>
- ³⁰ And to make these remarks about the hazardous translations from German to English is, of course, somewhat of a snobbish academic luxury. As they are not seldom meant as much to exhibit ‘linguistic capital’ as they are trying to prove one’s point, I will not dwell much more on these issues.
- ³¹ Worth, 1997; Cunliffe, 2006.
- ³² Wittgenstein, 1967, RFM, V §22, italics in original
- ³³ Berliner, 1994; Faulkner & Becker, 2009
- ³⁴ Wittgenstein, 1966, I §5.
- ³⁵ cf. Monson, 1996; Gibson, 2010; Lundberg, 1994.
- ³⁶ Whyton 2010
- ³⁷ Wittgenstein, 1968.

Inside the Head of a Trad Jazz Musician

Jens Lindgren

My name is Jens Lindgren. I now, finally, can call myself a full time musician since I recently retired from Svenskt visarkivs's jazz department after having been its curator for 23 years – the best day job one can have. In both those roles I have had several reasons to reflect on the concept of 'authenticity' in jazz. I have always had two different business cards in my wallet. First of all, I think about my own relation to the old pioneers in jazz and the environment in which they existed. Then, I think of all the hundreds of musicians I have met as a jazz archivist and musician, some of whom were eager to preserve 'the old music,' to keep it historically authentic or genuine. Others have put all their energy into creating something new, something that has never been done before – almost avoiding the jazz tradition.

When asked if I would like to say something at this conference about my jazz and 'authenticity,' I agreed to do so on the condition that I could speak from own experience and career as a traditional jazz musician. I see it as a great privilege to do so. Thank you.

Fifty years ago, when I started playing, my genre was more or less not the subject of academic studies, but today there are numerous academic dissertations and conferences on the subject and trad jazzers are now included. At least, here are some observations and reflections on how I, and I suppose many of my peers, discuss these matters.

When thinking about whether we were authentic or not, I realize that, after tentative attempts to play the early New Orleans style, we were more eager to play and have fun than to analyze what we were doing. I think the boundaries, and the judgments about whether or not we were faithful to the pioneers, were more problematic for those who looked at us from the outside, than they were for us musicians. There were fans, record collectors, groupies, writers, 'hangarounds,' and supporters to whom the questions of authenticity, 'faithfulness to the idols on the records,' and sincerity, were what counted.

I will also give you a brief background of this particular music, since the word *jazz*, after 100 years, has meant so many different things to so many different people. The city of New Orleans plays an important role in this music, and that city is close to my heart. In addition, thanks to modern scanning technology, someone recently found the first known instance of the word ‘jazz’ in print. It happened to be exactly one hundred years ago and was found in a sports commentary in the Los Angeles Times, April 2, 1912. It was an unexpected context: a pitcher in a minor-league baseball team, the Portland Beavers, said in an interview, that he was going to pitch a “jazz ball” because it wobbles, and the batter simply cannot do anything with it.

The title of the article was “Ben’s Jazz Curve,” and jazz musicians in California found the term appropriate, and took it to the nightclubs of Chicago, New York, and the world...Happy Birthday, Jazz! But it comes as a disappointment concerning the romantic ideas embedded in the word.

So much for the ‘authentic’ word jazz, which for a hundred years has symbolized the downtrodden slave descendants in the American South. This is one of the myths about our music, an art form that only recently has been studied seriously. The first books on jazz were written by young jazz fans, who often shaped its history according to how they wanted it to be. The roots of jazz had many names such as; ragtime, funky, ratty, or even stink music!

How I Started

When I was in high school in the early 1960s, jazz was still somewhat popular among young people. Most of my class mates didn’t care much about music at all, some listened to the pop and rock music that could be heard on Radio Sweden’s only channel. But traditional jazz was still, you could say, an ‘in’ thing to listen to, within a rather large circle of people. Playing an instrument in a high school jazz band could, apart from giving you a lot of pleasure, give you a certain status – and if you did it well, even strengthen your self-confidence.

Every high school in Stockholm had at least one or two New Orleans, or Dixieland jazz bands. The best ones played at the high school dances. The so-called jazz revival began in the mid-1940s, but rock’n’roll, and from the late 1950s,

various kinds of pop music, increasingly took over. By 1964, when the Beatles conquered Sweden, Europe, and the rest of the world, jazz clubs were closed down. Discos took over. The music once created by Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, Jelly Roll Morton, and their peers, did not excite the youngsters anymore. It became 'old fashioned' and 'the music of their parents.'

But I liked it and I wanted to play it regardless of whether it was 'in' or not. After the first two or three years, the bands I played in started to sound good. We mercilessly fired the untalented players, one by one, and found more gifted and interesting substitutes for them (a hard experience that also affected me later in my career). We managed to create a band of like-minded musicians as we gained better control of our instruments (I played the trombone). Our intonation was cleaner, we began to better understand our roles in the ensemble, and we were soon quite proud of our achievements (and so were our mothers).

A crucial event, for us, occurred at a school dance in the fall of 1964. While we were playing, the crowd shouted, "We want the Mascots, we want the Mascots." The Mascots were the Swedish equivalent of the Beatles. We did not think very much of them musically, and it was then I realized that the battle was lost. That didn't make us give up, though. On the contrary, that event only encouraged us to try and prove that our music still had something to say, and that we were able to interpret for a modern audience, what we thought was, 'a music too good to die.' We went underground.

Our Idols

The music we liked originated in New Orleans from around the end of the nineteenth century. Most of those musicians were black, working-class people. Many of them had moved in from the plantations and had little or no formal training in music. The French-speaking Creoles were much in demand and were usually skilled players. There were also white musicians, often of Italian descent, but also some of German or other descents. The different races were not allowed to mix in front of an audience, so it was only on rare occasions that one could see them play together. But the musical influences went both ways at informal sessions.

I once asked my friend and colleague, Dr. Bruce Raeburn of the Tulane

University Jazz Archive, about these mutual influences, and about what is white and what is black in jazz music. He then said: “It is impossible to say in this city! Nothing is pure in New Orleans! Music, language, race, architecture, food, it is all a mix. That’s why it’s such a wonderful place to be in!” – and I agree!

As you know, jazz had some of its roots in Africa, the Caribbean, in marches and popular dance music of the late eighteenth hundreds, the blues, folk songs, work songs, religious music, and much else – not to mention all the musics brought by immigrants to the New World from Europe. The first recordings of what we would call jazz were made during World War I, so no one really knows how the pioneers actually sounded. We can make qualified guesses. My friends and I have experimented to recreate Buddy Bolden’s music and it was fun to do it! This is jazz archaeology, and we then based our playing on descriptions of early jazz. We are experienced and skilled enough to estimate how they sounded based on facts such as:

- We know that cornet player Buddy Bolden sounded a lot like Freddie Keppard and had a rough tone, he played blue notes, played staccato style and had a strong vibrato.
- They kept the melody going all the time, while someone in the band made embellishments. No improvised solos were played – there went another myth; that jazz has to be improvised.
- The bass player only played on beats one and three, like a tuba.
- Tubas were only played in the marching bands.

Surprisingly, no banjos were used in the early days. Only guitar is seen in those pictures of the early New Orleans bands.

Revival, Dixieland, Trad, and Classic Jazz

These recreations are fun for a jazz-lover like me. It is interesting to try and recreate them – in this way you are familiarized with the background of the music. If you don’t know the vocabulary and the grammar, how can you speak a language? Also, by studying these sources, I realized that songs I thought I knew, were not meant to be played the way I had always played them. That could also be a tough

experience. Maybe you had heard a Louis Armstrong version where he faked his way through the recording. And then you learn that faking could be turned into a great quality if done by the right person! This reminds me of the jazz title sung by Louis Armstrong: “It Ain’t What You Do, It’s the Way That You Do It.”

Our first idols were mainly the black musicians and bands of the 1920s: King Oliver, Jelly Roll Morton, Louis Armstrong, and others. They were the musicians we tried to sound like. However, there were other recordings that became the model for most ‘moldy figs,’ the term of abuse that the revivalists had to put up with.

What We Also Heard

Some exclusive records with rediscovered pioneers were circulating among some jazz fundamentalists, all over the world. These records were supposed to show how jazz was meant to sound before commercialism and popular taste contaminated the music. A long forgotten trumpet player, Bunk Johnson, who supposedly had played with the Moses figure of jazz, Buddy Bolden, was given a new trumpet, a set of false teeth and was recorded with some untutored and natural musicians below his own standards. These recording sessions were organized by a young music student and historian, William Russell, who wanted to present Bunk with a band he thought played like the original jazz groups from forty years earlier. Bunk was unhappy with the arrangement and wanted these ‘emergency musicians’ substituted with ‘real’ musicians. He also wanted to play the popular tunes of the day but the men behind the recordings wanted him to play the old hymns and marches that they (sometimes mistakenly) associated with the origins of jazz. The band had a banjo, an instrument that had been used in jazz only during the 1920s (old photos of the earliest New Orleans bands have a guitar), and Bunk disliked this too.

There were some who favored Dixieland bands, i. e., white musicians playing a more commercial, ‘showy’ and extroverted kind of New Orleans jazz. To us they were not ‘the real stuff’ and lacked the respect for the inner qualities of the music; the blues feeling and the feeling of playing for the benefit of the band rather than for themselves.

A third category of traditional jazz musicians that inspired me and my friends were some European, mainly English, musicians born before the WW II, who came up in the 1950s. They were labeled 'trad' bands and managed to create a craze around their music, compared only to the most popular of the rock bands: Chris Barber, Acker Bilk, and Kenny Ball were the stars of the 'trad boom.' They had hit records on the top-20 and their Swedish equivalents were Jazz Doctors and Cave Stompers.

Trad was looked upon as superficial, second hand, and commercial. Although many of the bands were good, they were not 'the right thing to listen to' - it was from the wrong country, they were white, middle class, and they had popular hits on top-20, etc. We also had listened to some of the Swedish traditional jazz musicians at school dances, at jazz clubs in the Old Town (*Gamla Stan*), and a few other places around town run by jazz enthusiasts.

These were all part of my musical luggage when I met some guys of my own age who asked me to join a band with a different ambition, *Kustbandet*. They were playing the arranged hot dance music of the 1920s as played by the likes of Duke Ellington and King Oliver's Dixie Syncopators. We were absolutely the only ones doing that, and at that time, we did not know of any others devoting themselves to this genre elsewhere either.

A Subculture Within a Subculture, Marginalized Within the Margins

Jazz was a subculture when we started playing, and traditional jazz (as it was called in the 1960s) was, in turn, a subculture within the jazz world. We were a limited number of musicians, and we also had a limited number of listeners, mainly those who had been part of the scene in the 1950s and early 1960s.

We had to arrange many of the gigs by ourselves during the 1960s, or we contacted local jazz societies around Sweden. As opposed to many of our colleagues, we never considered playing the popular dance music of the day, or changing to any other genre just to broaden our audience. It was the *early kind of jazz* that we wanted to play and we struggled to play it well.

I joined the band in 1964. We will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in October

2014. Kustbandet has taken me to twenty countries and we have played at everything from backyard parties to Nobel Prize galas.

Authentic; Real: True; Original...

We began playing the music because we loved it, it brought us together, we had success, which gave us satisfaction and later, it allowed us to see the world, reach a new audience and meet like-minded people. Some of us were satisfied if we managed to sound *just like our idols*. Others picked up elements from various jazz stylists and created a distinctive style out of the blend. The most interesting players, in my mind, have created a personal style based on their heroes (you hear quotes in their playing, phrases you recognize, etc.). It is practically impossible to play traditional jazz without using the manners and stylistic features of Louis Armstrong. I would even go so far as to say that, if you do not have some *Louis* in your playing you do not play jazz music. It should be called something else. I am in good company since some of my other heroes have said the same of him, before me. I hear a lot of Louis in Charlie Parker, Frank Sinatra, Billie Holiday, Dizzy Gillespie, and Miles Davis. Linda Kallerdahl's modern contemporary improvised singing is definitely jazz – rooted in the blues, in Louis, in a tradition.

Kustbandet and Authenticity

Kustbandet found a lot of satisfaction in what we were doing, but we also had problems becoming accepted in the jazz world. This was because we didn't fit into the jazz conventions then common in Sweden (and elsewhere!) at the time. Kustbandet was something new when we started in the early 1960s. We were no ordinary trad band. We wanted to examine whether it was possible to play in the tradition of the bigger dance and show bands, like King Oliver's Dixie Syncopators, Duke Ellington, Fletcher Henderson, Louis Armstrong, Cab Calloway, and others. They played dance music in Chicago and in Harlem during the *roaring '20s* and '30s. Since, in the Swedish jazz world, we were hard to place, we were often mistaken as just jovial horseplay of the kind that existed in the universities (student orchestras).

We did not think it was a superficial music and we thought it was exciting and

fun to take this untested music into a Swedish environment. But there were those who misunderstood us. I saved newspaper clippings over the years, and especially remember the Emmaboda Jazz Festival when the reviewer, later known to us as 'the Infamous Red Khmer' among reviewers, was present and even scoffed at our music in a review. He wrote that what we were busy with was "a fashion show in American twentieth-century music" and that we "sounded like an old silent movie." He added that this music cannot "be displayed this swollen in a Swedish industrial society 20 years too late," as he poetically put it. He thought that our old-fashioned music had nothing to say to a modern audience.

The next day we shared a concert with one of jazz history's greatest, the American bassist and bandleader, Charles Mingus. Slightly nervous but inspired by the idol's presence, we gave one of our most highly acclaimed concerts ever. While we played, we noticed how Mingus and his guys clapped their hands in delight, smiled from the wings and gave us encouraging shouts. In the final number, they came onto the stage and gave us 'high fives,' laughed, slapped us on the back, and hugged us. They started their half of the concert with a swing version of "When the Saints Go Marching In" as a tribute to us.

In a subsequent review 'the Red Khmer' had changed his mind and wrote the following: "When Kustbandet played in the afternoon, I thought they were mannequins that had not ventured into the clothes of the district and special style they had chosen, the US twentieth-century jazz. Either I heard wrong, or they played differently in the house on the evening. This time I heard that they did not scoff over an antique, but that they think the music is important today.'

This was a victory for us and one of the first signs that we were representative of the Swedish jazz establishment, and that we, who devoted ourselves to early jazz, had also something to offer. Thank you Charles Mingus for the help we received.

New Orleans and Authenticity

My first visit to New Orleans was as a member of Kustbandet in 1973. We had all obtained our romantic ideas from pictures, books, records, and reports from friends who had been there. We knew that the original jazz would be gone, but were glad to find that some of the old jazz musicians who had been active in the 1920s

were still playing – now in their eighties. There were venues that actively kept the interest in the early styles going. The most famous of these was the Preservation Hall in the French Quarter. There we could still hear the legendary Humphrey Brothers, old brass band trombonist Jim Robinson, Bunk Johnson's old clarinetist, George Lewis, and even Kid Ory's bassist, Ed Garland, who could tell us about how Buddy Bolden sounded, and much more.

Preservation Hall had started as an art gallery in 1962 when old musicians came on Saturday afternoons to jam, since no one in New Orleans asked for their music anymore. After a time, tourists popped in and put a dollar in a basket at the entrance.

Preservation Hall is now one of the biggest tourist magnets and nothing has changed in the worn old venue: the basket in the entrance is still there, but inflation has turned what, then was one dollar, into ten dollars. You still sit on worn wooden benches and the antique drum kit is the same. The windows are just clean enough so that inclined visitors will get curious and come in.

The problem is that there are no longer any indigenous musicians who want to or can play in the classic New Orleans style and repertoire. The old (unstated) recommendation that the orchestra should be racially mixed is difficult to maintain, because practically no young people in New Orleans are interested in the old jazz of the city. This means that most musicians are immigrants from the rest of the United States and even Europe, Australia, Japan, etc. And today there are young New Orleans musicians who take lessons from foreigners!

The spectacle is a bit ironic, a tacit agreement between the audience and the artists: you know that we are not real: 'This is not our favorite music, but we'll try to play what you think is real jazz. OK?!' Just the way we now live in the myth of a lost Paris where a bearded artist, with a beret on his head in Montmartre, is painting portraits, accompanied by an accordion.

A few years ago, on behalf of the Stockholm Concert Hall, I was given the task of booking the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, the very symbol of a true jazz orchestra. I contacted them on their address in New Orleans. Imagine my surprise when I was transferred to Disney Reservation Center in Florida. For me this was the symbol of the selling out what was supposed to be the symbol of authenticity. Needless

to say I contacted my personal friend, Orange Kellin, who handpicked a (better) band for less than half the price.

For me, this became a sad reminder of how one can sell out the very symbol of authentic jazz. The notion of authenticity has become a game. The phenomenon is common throughout the city and everyone is playing the game. At Preservation Hall you are no longer a true jazz musician, you are playing the role of a true jazz musician.

Of course true jazz can be found in many places in New Orleans. The city's music has always been developing. New influences are always coming in and being re-packaged. Young musicians there, have always wanted to 'find new stuff', a genuine musical form, with roots in the old brass band tradition has emerged in recent decades. It is a hip form of the old music: the young men have a modern, tough attitude, and gone are the old hymns and marches. The wild tunes they play are based on intensive, almost aggressive, rhythm and repeated riffs. New Orleans is probably the only city in the world where young school kids would rather play the tuba than the electric guitar!

In New Orleans thousands of young people play wind instruments or drums in school bands but only rarely do they go on playing in the older jazz styles. They seem not to realize that it could lead to many gigs and even employment and a steady income at the many places where visitors and jazz lovers want to hear this particular music played by local musicians.

My old friend and colleague from the years when I started playing, Örjan Kjellin (who has a successful career in New Orleans as Orange Kellin), is among the finest practitioners of the classic jazz style today. He once told me that many people come up to him after shows and praise him for his genuine way of playing, but they are generally disappointed and turn away when they hear that he has a foreign accent when he speaks.

I myself have also witnessed how native New Orleans musicians, even in front of an audience, become annoyed over the fact that there are so many immigrant musicians in the city. One of these frenzied musicians once went completely out of control, claiming that: "You can not play New Orleans jazz if you were not born in this city!" I think he was the only one in the room who was of that opinion. To

me, it is as absurd to assert that one must be born in Italy to perform opera or in Scotland to play golf. Who owns jazz?!

Most of my favorite New Orleans-style musicians live in countries like Denmark, France, Australia, Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Argentina, Norway, Chile, Finland, and Canada – to name a few. Although, I have to admit that I would be a little suspicious if I were at a *real Swedish smorgasboard restaurant* abroad and found that the chef was Indian or Chinese, even Norwegian.

A Four-letter Word – and Its Spin-off Names

The word jazz caught on despite its un-jazzy origin. It was short and peppy, but like that baseball that was hit in California in 1912, it has been wobbling around and nobody really knows what it stands for.

I would like to mention a few other words about what ‘our’ music is called. It may seem insignificant to an outsider, but names can be crucial to how the music is perceived. We all know how words can control one’s thinking. Personally, I have, in conversation with a stranger, mentioned that I play jazz and I have been met with the comment: “Well, I don’t like jazz!” When asking the person if he/she does not like Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald, Billie Holiday, or Count Basie, it turns out that they say “Oh yeah!”

“We call it music,” said guitarist Eddie Condon when he was asked what they were performing.

The name of the phenomenon is generally a concern for most audiences, but can also be a loaded topic for us practitioners. I myself have reluctantly been described as ‘Mr. Trad Jazz’ in the festival program, although ‘trad jazz’ is only a small part of what I am dealing with. Here are some terms that I have come across and a highly unscientific definition of how I understand them:

Revival jazz was the general term for the music that young New Orleans enthusiasts devoted themselves to in the years after World War II. They tried to bring jazz back to ‘what it once had been,’ in other words, genuine, authentic, the expression of the underprivileged descendants of slaves. Even older musicians who helped to shape the jazz of the 1920s were rediscovered and became part of that movement.

Dixieland (jazz) was, and is, a common term for the early styles of jazz. The term comes from the fact there was the word 'dix' on the ten-dollar bills in the former French colony of Louisiana. 'Land of Dixie' became synonymous with the South. The first popular jazz orchestra on record was the (white) Original Dixieland Jazz Band, who recorded what is considered to be the first jazz disc in 1917. So, to the general public, all similar music became Dixieland.

Swing is a word that had been in circulation for several decades before it became a brand name for what had previously been called ragtime, hot music, jazz, or a hundred other names. Benny Goodman became the King of Swing in the mid-1930s and Alice Babs was called the Swedish Swing girl a few years later.

Traditional jazz, coined by American trombonist Turk Murphy and his friends in the early 1950s, was an alternative to revival jazz.

Trad jazz was, in the 1950s, a commercial designation –especially in Britain, where the three B:s (Chris) Barber, (Kenny) Ball, and (Acker) Bilk became great poster children for the genre. The word 'trad' has, over the years, become synonymous with 'buffoonery' because of the amateurism and various gimmicks that thrive in the genre: straw hats, striped waist coats, bad jokes, nervous small talk between the numbers, etc. Many trad bands realized that if they wanted to be respected, and not always be coupled to all the buffoonery, they had to change the names associated with the genre. *Trad festivals* became *jazz fests*, *trad societies* became *classic jazz societies*, and so on.

The current term *classic jazz* is now part of the effort to raise the genre's status. More and more, bands are using the more respected term.

The term *happy jazz* was launched in 1968 at Stockholm's Jazz Pub Stampen to distance themselves from the 'introvert' jazz which was then prevalent. *Original jazz* and the more ironic *dentist jazz* (named for all the well-educated leisure time musicians appearing in this music form) are other genre monikers that have been used.

I have heard many more names than the above mentioned, from elevating to derogatory ones: *serious jazz*, *old jazz*, *straw hat jazz*, *club jacket jazz*, *beer jazz*, *good time jazz*, *pizza parlor Dixie*, *precious jazz*, *jolly jazz*, even (the very vague) *real jazz* used by the musicians themselves.

And finally we come to *Old Man Jazz* (Swedish: *Gubbjazz*). I remember that it was one of the terms we jokingly had for older practitioners, when I was young and promising. The other day I heard a rude young man in the audience who, while shaking his head, murmured the term, about us.

J. L. August 25, 2012

‘Over in the Glory Land’ – The Story Behind a Real New Orleans Traditional

Henrik Smith-Sivertsen

In the spring of 2011 I wrote an online article on a Danish schlager hit from 1973 in a weekly series of articles on major hit songs in the Danish music charts through the second half of 20th Century. This particular song, ‘Så går vi til enkebal’ (Let’s go to a widows’ ball), recorded by female Danish singer Katy Bødtger, was a major hit in Denmark that year and is one of the most popular schlagers in Danish popular music history.

When I started my research for the article, my only knowledge of the tune was its Danish incarnation. According to the credits on the record and in the national Danish Discotheque database, the lyrics were written by Gustav Winckler, a well-known Danish singer, producer, music publisher, composer and lyricist, and the music was composed by P. Martin. As the tune was an up-tempo polka clearly inspired by German Schlager, I was pretty sure that it was one of many Danish schlager hits of the 60’s and 70’s originally composed in German. However, checking the title in the database of KODA, who administers the Danish and international copyrights for music creators and publishers, I discovered that the tune was registered as a song of ‘public domain’, a so called ‘traditional’. Luckily it was also noted that it was indeed a version of an international song. However, the title was not in German, but in English. ‘Gloryland’.

By copying the title into Google I quickly found the information I needed. Much to my surprise what I thought to be a German schlager was in fact originally an American gospel song composed in 1906, but also a well-known jazz standard, a bluegrass classic, a skiffle song that was a major hit in Germany in the mid-60’s when performed by a local pop group, of course reincarnated into German schlager. Satisfied with my findings, I wrote the story of how the song ended up in Denmark and published it. It was a great story, but admittedly there were some missing links.

In this article I will, hopefully, complete the story. I will show how this tune that 'belongs' to very different music traditions travelled from a white Methodist community in Texas to Denmark in the mid-70's, and, not least, how a reconstruction of the paths through which it was delivered has revealed a quite fascinating story that implies many interesting aspects concerning musical practices, ideology and mediation of popular music.

The Origin

1. I've a home prepared where the saints abide,
Just over in the glory-land;
And I long to be by my Savior's side,
Just over in the glory-land.

Refrain:

Just over in the glory-land,
I'll join the happy angel band,
Just over in the glory-land;
Just over in the glory-land,
There with the mighty host I'll stand,
Just over in the glory-land.

2. I am on my way to those mansions fair,
Just over in the glory-land;
There to sing God's praise and His glory share,
Just over in the glory-land.

3. What a joyful thought that my Lord I'll see,
Just over in the glory-land;
And with kindred saved, there forever be,
Just over in the glory-land.

4. With the blood-washed throng I will shout and sing,
Just over in the glory-land;
Glad hosannas to Christ, the Lord and King,
Just over in the glory-land.

'Just over in the Glory-Land' was first published in the hymn book *Glad Hosannas: – A Winnowed Collection of New and Old Songs for Christian Work and Worship* (1906). As the subtitle to the publication describes, it was a collection of already known hymns and gospels, such as 'Nearer, my God, to thee', 'Amazing Grace' and 'Oh, Happy Day', and newly written hymns like 'Just over in the Glory-Land'.

The tune was composed by Emmett S. Dean (1876-1951), who was the editor of the publication and co-owner of the music publishing company responsible for the publication. Sited in Waco, Texas, Dean was also the co-founder of the Southern Development Normal Music School in 1898 and co-author of *The S. D. N. Theory of Music*. The lyrics were written by James W. Acuff (1864-1937), a well-known singer among the Churches of Christ in Texas.



The family of James and Annie Dean, at their home near Omen, Smith County, Texas, circa 1895. While it has not been possible to find photos of either James W. Acuff nor Emmett S. Dean, a photo of Dean's parents and brothers and sisters is the best illustration of the cultural environments from which "Just over in the Glory-Land" derived.

During the following decades their eschatological hymn about life after death spread from Texas to the rest of the USA. It was reprinted in a growing amount of Christian song book, of which the first seems to have been *Glory Songs*, compiled and published by John T. Benson in Nashville in 1916.

No. 74. Just Over in the Glory-Land.
 JAS. W. ACUFF. Copyright, 1916, by Dean and Acuff. Used by per. EMMETT S. DEAN.

1. I've a home prepared where the saints a-bide, Just o-ver in the
 2. I am on my way to those mansions fair, Just o-ver in the
 3. What a joy-ful tho't, that my Lord I'll see, Just o-ver in the
 4. With the blood-washed thro't I will shout and sing, Just o-ver in the

glo-ry-land; And I long to be by my Sav-ior's side, Just
 glo-ry-land; There to sing God's praise, and His glo-ry share, Just
 glo-ry-land; And with kin-dred saved, there for-ev-er be, Just
 glo-ry-land; Glad ho-san-nas to Christ, the Lord and King, Just

REFRAIN.
 o-ver in the glo-ry-land. Just o-ver in the glo-ry-land,
 Just o-ver, o-ver in the glo-ry-land,

I'll join..... the hap-py an-gel band, Just o-ver in the
 I'll join, yes, join the hap-py an-gel band,

glo-ry-land; Just o-ver in the glo-ry-land, There
 Just o-ver, o-ver in the glo-ry-land, There

Just Over in the Glory-Land. Concluded.

with .. the mighty host I'll stand, Just o-ver in the glo-ry-land.
 with, yes, with the mighty host I'll stand,

No. 75. Feasting With My Lord.
 JOHN S. BROWN. L. O. BROWN.

1. Since my soul is saved and sanc-ti-fied, Feasting, I'm feasting,
 2. Feed-ing on the hon-ey and the wine, Feasting, I'm feasting,
 3. Day by day we have a new sup-ply, Feasting, I'm feasting,
 4. Man-y times we have an ex-tra spread, Feasting, I'm feasting,
 5. Oft-en there are on-ly just we two, Feasting, I'm feasting,
 6. If perchance the cupboard's scarce of bread, Feasting, I'm feasting,

In this land of Ca-naan I'll a-bide, Feasting with my Lord.
 Gath-er-ing the clusters from the vine, Feasting with my Lord.
 And the food is nev-er stale nor dry, Feasting with my Lord.
 When to deep-er truths I have been led, Feasting with my Lord.
 Then He tells me what He'd have me do, Feasting with my Lord.
 On the hid-den man-na I am fed, Feasting with my Lord.

CHORUS.
 Feast-ing, I am feast-ing, Feast-ing with my Lord; I'm
 feast-ing, I am feast-ing On the liv-ing Word.

Copyright, 1909, by L. O. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind. By per.

Reprints of the page in *Glory Songs* (1916).

Mostly importantly, however, seems to be the fact that leading American gospel book publisher, R.E. Winsett, included 'Just over in the Glory-Land' in his *Songs of Revival Power* in 1919.

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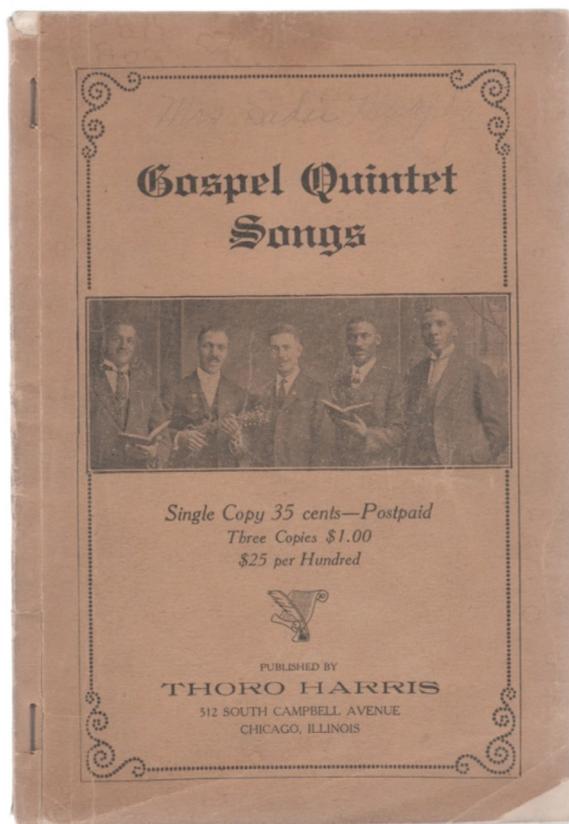
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Over the following years it became a regular in Winsett's various hymn books, which were sold in large scale throughout Northern America and used in a wide range of communities. In the 1940's he even acquired the renewed copyrights to the song.¹

During the 1920's² 'Just Over In The Glory-Land' was also included in *Gospel quintet songs*, published by Thoro Harris.

On the cover Harris, himself having a white mother and black father, chose to

print a picture of himself surrounded by four Afro-American men, thereby perhaps addressing the general audience and/or origin of the gospels in the book.



By comparing the songs selected with those of Winsett's various publications, it is striking how few songs deriving from Afro-American communities entered Winsett's hymn books until the late 1930's. Oppositely Harris mixed the traditions and thereby somewhat illustrated the fact that good songs could cross racial borders, even in the 1920's. And so 'Just over in the Glory-Land' did, also when new media were used.

Jazz – origins lost in remediations

In many ways the invention of sound recording, and the reproduction of the same, changed the whole ecology of music. Until the phonograph and gramophone were

introduced, notation was by far the best way of storing and transmitting musical information. Alternatively music was transmitted orally. The latter form of transmission had the disadvantage of inaccuracy, as human memory, however powerful, is not exactly the best way of storing information precisely. Furthermore, the fact that oral transmission was bound to physical bodies made the speed and range of transmission far more limited than the information stored in print.

The point is that the new possibilities of recording and transmitting sound made it possible to spread music produced and/or transmitted orally. As mentioned above it seems that within the first decades of its existence 'Just over in the Glory-Land' had also made its ways to Afro-American communities/culture. And as the Afro-American music tradition was almost entirely defined by orality, it is quite symbolic that several characteristics of oral tradition can be observed in the first recording made by Afro-Americans: Inaccuracy, changes and improvisation.

October 22, 1927, it was recorded by Sam Morgan's Jazz Band in New Orleans (Columbia 14539-D). As the name of the recording artists reveals, it was a jazz version of the hymn, performed instrumentally. For some unknown reason the title of the tune was shortened: the 'Just' and '- ' in 'Glory-land' had disappeared. The original address of the tune had also vanished, as there were no credits on the record.



In modern terms it seems that different remediations of the song changed content. The first remediation, the fixing of the until then probably orally composed hymn, made it a 'work', an entity subject to copyright. The next remediation would be the oral transmission of the song as it became known outside its original context – the original communities/the hymn book – and the third when the specific performance by Sam Morgan was fixed and pressed on the record.

Whether or not Sam Morgan and his band knew the origin of the tune and paid the credits is unknown, but in many ways the fact that the credits were when the song was transformed into jazz was symbolic for the future:

- When published in print in hymn books, the original title, including the 'just', was preserved and credits were correctly addressed to Dean/Acuff. That is even the general case today, where the tune has for a long time been public domain.
- When performed and recorded within a religious or (white) country/bluegrass contexts, both the title and the credits have mostly been correct throughout the 20th century.
- When performed and recorded within the jazz tradition, the 'just', and within time actually most other words than 'Glory Land' disappeared, and so did the mentions of the origin.

Ironically, the next and almost paradigmatic jazz recording of the tune was made within the same years as the copyright apparently was transferred to Winsett. In 1944 and 1945 it was among the bulk of songs recorded by William 'Bill' Russell during his field trips to New Orleans.³ In his research for the book *Jazzmen* (1939) Russell had discovered Bunk Johnson, a retired jazz musician mentioned by Louis Armstrong and others as an important part of the early New Orleans Jazz scene. In 1942 he started an ambitious project documenting this scene by the means of field recordings. He gathered groups of veteran musicians like Johnson, George Lewis and 'Kid Shots' Madison and recorded their performances of songs belonging to

the New Orleans jazz tradition. In 1945 Russell started publishing the recordings on his own label, 'American Music'. He gathered songs from specific sessions and released them in the names of different bands.

'In Gloryland', as it was now called, was recorded several times and released on record by 'Kid Shots New Orleans Band with G. Lewis and J. Robinson' (recorded August 5 1944)⁴ and 'Bunk's Brass Band' (recorded May 1945).⁵

Why and how the tune was picked by these 'bands' is unclear, but it seems that it was by then frequently used in parades and funerals. In the four-page book that accompanied a 'New Orleans Parade'-album of three 78 records with Bunk Johnson's Brass Band, 'In Gloryland' was presented as one of six 'Marches',⁶ in the cover notes of one of the LP's containing one of these performances, *American Music by George Lewis with Kid Shots* (American Music LP 645, released 1952), 'In Gloryland' was simply introduced as 'one of the most used spirituals in street parades and funerals'.⁷

These performances of the tune became very important to the destiny and reception of 'Over in the Gloryland'. From then on it was regarded as a 'spiritual', 'belonging' to the specific tradition to which they paid their dues, that is the Afro-American tradition.

In both cases the credits were once more missing, and from then on the primary 'author' of the tune was the man, who in both cases played clarinet, George Lewis. Not due to copyright, but rather due to his specific performances of the song. In the following years Lewis became one of the founding fathers and stars of the New Orleans Revival movement, which was growing strong, not least in Europe.

British New Orleans Jazz

As jazz was primarily transmitted to Europe via records, these two recordings of the tune now known as 'In Gloryland' seem to have had great impact on the European reception of it. I have compared several European jazz and popular collections,⁸ and in all cases the 1944 recording by Kid Shot's New Orleans Band was not only present, but also the oldest registered recording of the tune.

Having digital access to all radio playlist specifications from the Danish National Broadcasting Company (DR) from 1925 to 1968, I have also tested when the

tune was first played in Danish radio. The result was October 5, 1950 in the show 'Jazzklubben' (The Jazz Club). Actually two versions were played in a row. Firstly the recording by Bunk Johnson's Brass band, and secondly the recording by Kid Shot's New Orleans Band. In both cases the credits noted by DR were 'Traditional'.

The importance of all this lies within the fact that the tune was among the 'traditionals' performed and recorded by prominent British heirs and protégés of the New Orleans Jazz movement in these years. Actually it is possible to trace its subsequent European story quite accurately.

In 1952 the British trumpeter Ken Colyer spend a month digging down the authentic New Orleans jazz environments. He had been part of the British jazz scene since 1949, after primarily learning the music from records and secondly from a short trip to New York. During his stay in New Orleans in 1952 he played with many of his 'heroes', including George Lewis, and when returning from his 1952 trip in January 1953 he formed the Ken Colyer's Jazzmen together with Monty Sunshine (*clarinet*), Tony Donegan (*banjo*), Ken Colyer (*cornet*), Ron Bowden (*drums*), Chris Barber (*trombone*), and Jim Bray (*bass*). The band, which in many ways was paradigmatic to the European New Orleans Revival tradition, split in may 1954, when Colyer was replaced and the name changed to Chris Barber's Jazz Band. In the meantime almost 100 tracks were recorded by Ken Colyer's Jazzmen, including what was now titled as 'Gloryland'.

Judging from the intro of this version, which apparently was performed in the radio show *BBC Jazz Camp*,⁹ it seems to be heavily inspired by the Bunk Johnson/Goerge Lewis-version of 1945. However, this time vocals were added to the performance, as the first verse and the chorus were sung. Whether Colyer had learned the song and the lyrics directly from Lewis is unknown, but there is no doubt that the inclusion of 'Gloryland' to the bulk of New Orleans Jazz standards in his and the bands' repertoire was due its 'belonging' to the same. As Colyer himself in many ways became a founding father of European New Orleans Revival, the tune was quickly part of the standard repertoire of this tradition.

In an article on 'The New Orleans Revival in Britain and France' the tune is actually first named when describing the repertoire of Chris Barber's Jazz Band of 1954-55.¹⁰ From a recording of the band's performance at a gig in Copenhagen in

October 1954¹¹ it is firstly proved that the tune was indeed part of their repertoire. Secondly it is clearly audible that a precise delivery of the original lyrics was not of particular importance. These were the words sung at this occasion:

Well, If you get there before I do,
Over in the Glory Land
Yes, Tell all my friends that I'm comin' too,
Over in the Glory Land

Over in the Glory Land
Over in the Glory Land
See that happy angel band
Over in the Glory Land

Now God called Moses on the Mountain top
Over in the Glory Land
And spoke all of his words into Moses' heart
Over in the Glory Land¹²

As the lyrics in first verse are actually those of second verse of *Swing Low Sweet Chariot*, and those of the second verse seemingly made up on the fly, this performance is a wonderful example of how music and lyrics change within oral transmission. It seems that the memory of the original lyrics vanished with Colyer's departure of the band.

So by 1954 the state of affairs was that what started out to be a white Methodist hymn published in 1906 with specific lyrics was now an orally transmitted spiritual and New Orleans jazz standard of seemingly unknown origin.



The label from the 1959 record containing Acker Bilk's version of the tune. Credited as a 'Spiritual'.

When regional acts like Danish Papa Bue's Viking Jazz Men and many others joined the forces of European New Orleans Jazz, 'Over In The Gloryland'/'In Gloryland'/'Gloryland' was a natural born part of the standard repertoire and has been ever since. And hereby the first part of the story ends. Before moving to the next chapter, however, some theoretical work seems appropriate.

The original(s)

As already mentioned above, many traditional jazz bands have recorded 'Gloryland' in the years and decades following the recordings made by Bill Russell, and it has been on the live repertoire of most traditional jazz bands, at least in the Northern part of Europe. Of course there are performative differences, not least within live performances, but generally they stick quite closely to the stylistic and performative lines sketched out in George Lewis' interpretations of the tune in 1944 and 1945 and later interpretations by Ken Colyer and Chris Barber.

A tradition needs a starting point, and in this case these recorded performances of the tune seem to serve as, what Richard Middleton has defined as *originating moments*:

While we can say that covers are located on a spectrum, moving from exact copies at one end, through tributes, reinterpretations and distinct stylistic shifts, to ideological attacks at the other end, in all cases there is a dependence on an **originating moment**: An existing version, a starting point or defining interpretation, against which the cover will be measured, to which it will relate. This origin is not a 'first cause' but more a transiently privileged moment of departure within networks of family resemblances, bearing comparison with similar moments within the networks of repetition, Signifyin(g) and remixing.¹³

Even though the fact that the term *cover* is not widely used in relation to jazz, it is actually quite operational in this case. Middleton, and most popular music scholars,¹⁴ understand and define the term as describing the specific musical practice of learning a specific song from listening to a recording. The fact that it is also used as a verb, *covering*, stresses this point.¹⁵

As Richard Middleton rightly points out, an original needs not to be what I would call 'the first recording', the latter term understood broadly as both a sound recording or a written/printed representation of a tune.

There are many examples of even very late versions of specific songs that serve as the 'original performance' to which following performances nod back. Taking for instance the case of 'Try A Little Tenderness', Otis Reddings 1966 reworking of an old 1930's Tin Pan Alley standard clearly served as the original to the very popular 1991 version performed by The Commitments in the film of the same title (Bowman 1993). Other illustrative examples could be The Animals' version of 'The House Of The Rising Sun', clearly being the performance to which most later versions of same point back, or Whitney Houstons 1992 version of 'I Will Always love You' being the 'original performance' referred back to by numerous female talents in broadcasted singing competitions throughout the world in the 2000's.

These versions are not 'first recording originals', but what I define as *reference originals*¹⁶, stressing the importance of performance when music is transmitted through recordings. Thus, I regard George Lewis' performances of 'Just over in the Glory-Land', or 'In Gloryland', as the reference original to which most later trad. jazz performances of the tune refer. And not only in performative terms. The shortening of the title itself marks a 'starting point' of the 'trad. jazz-part of the song's life.

Even though probably already thought to be a 'traditional' in some circles before 1944, it was the Lewis-versions of the tune that cleared the ground for later miscrediting. When exported to Europe the traces of its Texas/Texan roots disappeared, and in some rather ironic ways 'In Gloryland' is therefore an opposite example of the well-known cover story of white musicians 'hijacking' hits originally composed and performed by black musicians.¹⁷

The irony lies in the fact that the tune was soon to be 'stolen' back, and hereby the second part of the story begins.

From British skiffle to Swedish polka.

In 1954 Chris Barber's Jazz Band released their first LP, *New Orleans Joys* (Decca LF 1198). Of the eight songs performed, two were performed by The Lonnie Do-

negan Skiffle Group, a band within the band named after the banjo player, Tony Donegan, who now used Lonnie as his stage name. Already from the early 1950's the British revival jazz bands had what later was to be named 'skiffle' sections when performing live with a slightly different repertoire, following an interest in American blues, country and folk music.

With a delay of two years the skiffle group made it big with one of the recordings, 'Rock Island Line'. Just like most of the jazz repertoire of the band, the song was picked up from an American record, this time by Lead Belly (Huddie Ledbetter). When the 'Skiffle craze'¹⁸ broke out in England in 1956, amateur skiffle bands rose everywhere.

Besides Donegan, who left Barber and the Jazz Band to be a solo star, The Vipers Skiffle Group, produced by the fifth Beatle, George Martin, became one of the most popular groups within the genre. In 1957 they recorded and published a skiffle version of 'Glory Land', as the title was this time.¹⁹ Actually all that was left of the original hymn was the refrain. The verses had been substituted by completely new lyrics sung to the same tune as the refrain:

1. Drifting through life carelessly
eyes so dimmed I couldn't see
walking to the Glory Land

Drifting through life carelessly
eyes so dimmed I couldn't see
walking to the Glory Land

Refrain:
Way over in the Glory Land
Jesus took me by the hand
Over in the Glory Land

Way over in the Glory Land
Jesus took me by the hand
Over in the Glory Land

2. Sinners there are rocks ahead
Devils racking in my head
walking in the Glory Land

Sinners there are rocks ahead
Devils racking in my head
walking in the Glory Land

Refrain:
Way over in the Glory Land
Jesus took me by the hand
Over in the Glory Land

Way over in the Glory Land
Jesus took me by the hand
Over in the Glory Land

3. Troubles got it for my own
Yes, I'm gonna find a home
Way Over in the Glory Land

Refrain:
Way over in the Glory Land
Jesus took me by the hand
Over in the Glory Land²⁰

As skiffle was also big in other countries, 'Glory Land' started its second journey around Europe within few years. In Sweden it was recorded several times by local skiffle bands during 1958. In their Swedish publication on rock history, *Rockens Roll*, Tommy Rander and Håkan Sandblad even mention 'Gloryland' as one of four typical skiffle songs played by everybody in the 50's.²¹ Judging from the earliest recording of Björn Ulvaeus, later ABBA, and his skiffle group in the 1950's, they knew it from The Vipers Skiffle Groups version. Despite their success, it was not The Vipers who settled the future of the song, but Lonnie Donegan.

In 1959 Donegan recorded his skiffle version of 'Gloryland'. Despite the fact

that he had played the original tune and therefore also had heard Colyer sing some of the original lyrics in the verse, he apparently preferred those of the Vipers. However, the most radical change was the introduction of a completely new tune of the verse parts.²² It is best described as a reworking of a common phrase known from many of the songs popular within the skiffle tradition. Mostly evident are the similarities to 'Camptown Races', a minstrel song Donegan had played for years.

Considering it a 'traditional', Donegan changed the credits of the entire song to his own. This was a very common practice in the 1950's and 1960's.

'Gloryland' was not the biggest hit of Donegan, but having the position as the king of skiffle, his records still sold relatively big, and as his new verse tune was to be adopted by many others during the 1960's and 1970's, he definitely changed the directions of the hymn.

The most evident case was German. Like many others a Hamburg sited band named German Skiffle Lords spend many hours 'studying' the recordings made by Donegan. In the mid-60's they skipped the 'Skiffle' part of their name, made a contract with EMI, who lauched them as 'Die Deutschen Beatles' and became one of the biggest English-tongued German pop bands.²³

In 1967 they recorded Donegan's version of 'Glory Land', as it was called this time. It became a major hit in Germany and has since been a classic pop/beat song in the regions, where The Lords made an impact, that is the German speaking world and partly Scandinavia.²⁴



After The Lords' massive success with the tune, 'Glory Land' entered the party repertoire in Germany, most famously represented by James Last and his Orchestra,²⁵ and entering the 1970's it was now a well-known pop/schlager song in Germany.²⁶ And actually also in Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

How and why it happened remains unsure, but the fact is that in 1963 a Swedish schlager version of 'Gloryland' was recorded by Britt Damberg. The title was 'Kärleksland' (Love Land), and the lyrics did not have much in common with the original eschatological hymn. It was a very typical early 60's German-inspired schlager about having a good time and falling in love. The tune of the verse part was that of Donegans, but neither he nor Dean were credited. Instead it was apparently composed by Swede Mats Olsson, which however probably just signifies that he also considered the song a "Traditional."²⁷ Besides stylistically conditioned differences the only major change was the inclusion of a little, however quite important, musical phrase that combines the two parts of the chorus.

Within a few years it also turned up in Norwegian and German versions with Olsson credited as the composer. While the Norwegian version 'Lykkeland' had many similarities as to the lyrics and themes, the German version 'Dalagatan 10, Stockholm' was about dancing and falling in love on a specific location in the capital of Sweden. Apparently it was even re-translated back to English on Swedish ground as the American, but Scandinavian settled vocal group, Delta Rhythm Boys, recorded a version called "Land of love", a direct translation of the Swedish title "Kärleksland".

While none of these versions were massive hits in their respective countries, several instrumental recordings of the tune, all credited to Olsson, became rather popular. In 1965 Finn Eriksen spend 22 weeks on the Norwegian sales charts with his trumpet version of 'Lappland', as it was now called. In Sweden a similar version under the same title was recorded by Mats Olssons himself, and even if it did not enter the charts, it was often played in Swedish Radio. In 1967 'Lappland' even reached the charts in the US as The Baltimore & Ohio Marching Band took it to #94 on Billboard Hot 100. By this a spectacular circle was closed, as this originally American hymn returned as a Swedish Polka only 61 years after its composition. And in Denmark it was soon to be credited to an unknown person named P. Martin.

The first Danish version of 'Gloryland' was recorded by Grethe Sønck in 1964. The title was 'Skal det skæres ud i pap' (Should I Spell It Out), having no semantic connection to any earlier versions, and as both the arrangements and the credits differ from the Swedish and German, it seems to be a full-Danish project.

Actually a quite jazzy clarinet signifies connections to the lineage pointed out by Colyer and Barber, and minding the position of traditional jazz in Denmark, especially after the international success of Papa Bue's Viking Jazz band, it would not be to any surprise if the 'composer', publisher and producer of the song, Gustav Winckler knew of its status as a traditional and simply picked it up himself. However, the fact that also he used the Donegan tune in the verse part shows that he must have known one of its recent incarnations.

'Skal det skæres ud i pap' was a minor hit, but by 1973 it had played its role. Then Winckler gave it another try with 'Så går vi til enkebal', clearly referring back to Olsson's versions. And hereby my intended journey ends, but actually the story continues up until today.

Due to its spreading, and not least its status as a 'traditional' in Europe, the song first known as 'Just Over In The Gloryland' has reincarnations many times since its schlager-heydays in the sixties and early seventies. In Denmark the above mentioned famous trad. jazz band Papa Bue's Viking Jazz Band did a Danish version in 1975 about scoring ladies with shrimps and beer.²⁸ As it was produced by above mentioned Gustav Winckler, it was the third Danish version from his hand, but the first one using the original verse tune, probably as a result of the fact that the Viking Jazz Band had laid it that way instrumentally for many years.

In Sweden it has become a loved and well known childrens song,²⁹ and several German incarnations still seem to live in the memory and on the Internet. And various videos published on Youtube.com seem to indicate that 'Swedish' 'Lapland Polka' is popular among American Polka enthusiasts. This leads to the final question: To whom does this song belong?

Authenticity within traditional jazz

One of the interesting, but often overseen, aspects of the term dealt with in this book, 'authenticity', is that fact that it shares its etymological root with 'author'.

Both concepts derive from greek αὐτός/αὐτή/αὐτό (autos/aute/auto). Other words in that family are *authority* and all words containing the word *auto*, e.g. *auto-mobile*, *auto-matic* etc.

In this specific case, a song turns out to have a completely different author than supposed. Knowing it from its Danish Schlager incarnation, I myself, as most Danes probably do, considered it German. Who the original author was didn't really bother me much, as it was probably 'just' one of many German schlager composers.

Most trad. jazz fans and musicians seem to consider it a spiritual deriving from unknown, but definitely Afro-American, origins. And apparently, it is also considered a Swedish Polka. And a childrens' song.

In copyright terms there is no doubt. Even though entered the public domain a long time ago, the tune 'belongs' to Emmett Dean. He was the *author*, but, probably due to above mentioned remediations and the uncontrolled spreading of the song to other cultures, his *authority* over the composition disappeared.

Instead *tradition* took over as the main *author*, helped by new *authorities*: The musicians firstly forming and interpreting the tradition through performances of the same, the custodians of tradition like Bill Russell and Colyer setting the interpretive directions and ground, and not least the many writers, historians, journalists, fans, collectors and, again, musicians, who has helped the tradition survive through the decades. Through this the connection between 'traditional' and 'authentic' is actually quite strong, and in many ways the term 'Traditional' itself implies a great deal of ideology.

Even when used in its most neutral form as a description for an unknown author, 'traditional' signifies a lot more than this value neutral information. Or, at least, the information has been interpreted as signifying something special throughout the 20th century, namely cultural expressions deriving from the people and from not the commercial industries. As such 'traditional' in many ways is a term closely connected to 'authentic', understood as a synonym for 'real', 'unmediated'.

When Bill Russell travelled down to New Orleans to record performances by musicians mentioned as influential in the early days of jazz by more famous musicians like Louis Armstrong, the quest was to secure the 'authentic' sources of jazz.

He dug down retired musicians like Bunk Johnson and George Lewis, brought them together and recorded their performances of a repertoire of songs. Russell was clearly idealistic in his efforts, and minding the spirit of the project itself, it is somewhat symbolic that even a rather new and copyright protected song like 'Just over in the Glory-Land' was credited as a 'traditional'.

Considering the spreading and popularity of the hymn, it seems quite strange that Russell has not been able to track down its origin, but it may simply be explained by the fact that he found what he was looking for. And he was not looking for a less than 40 year old hymn written by a white Methodist music publisher from Texas. He found an authentic 'spiritual' performed by an authentic jazz band in authentic settings. How George Lewis and the other representatives of the tradition recorded have presented the song to Russell is unknown, but there are only two plausible explanations:

1) that both musicians and Russell considered it a spiritual of unknown, but probably black, origin, or

2) that Russell's mistake was made deliberately.

My qualified guess is that he simply did not know of the white origins of the song and did not even wonder if it could come from outside the culture he was recording. In the 1930's and 40's the exchange of information across borders, both geographically and demographically defined, was quite limited and slow.

While there is some doubt about whether Russell was in good faith when crediting the tune as a 'traditional', I see no reason to suspect Colyer, Barber, Donegan and other early British and European New Orleans Revival jazz enthusiasts of anything else than idealism. They learned the music from the records and have probably trusted Russell and his record label as an *authority*, just as they did with the blues, country and folk music recorded and published by Alan Lomax. It is important to mind the fact that these young men were enthusiastic admirers of 'authentic' American culture, and here the 'traditional' credits were all over the place.

The big question is, of course, if it would have made any difference if the credits had been placed right? Would it matter to George Lewis and other black New Orleans musicians? Probably less than to their audiences, especially Russell and the white European musicians taking up and, in both meanings of the word, *saving* traditional jazz.

What is absolutely certain is the fact that the destiny of the song would have been a totally different one if Lonnie Donegan had known that the song was in fact copyright protected. Then he would probably never had made his reworking of the verse part, as it would involve a permission and the main part of the shares. But he did, and by doing that his version of the song should actually still be under copyright protection. The fact that Olsson, Winckler and others does not seem to have paid any shares to Donegan is actually the biggest mystery left in this story.

Probably the explanation is the simple fact that distances, both geographically and culturally, were much wider back then. And a reminder of how young our 'Global Village' actually is. The story enrolled in this article could never have been written even few years ago.

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- ¹ Benson 1949.
- ² 1925/1930: <http://www.biblio.com/books/373242551.html>
- ³ Hazeldine 1993: 42; 76.
- ⁴ Ibid: 42f. Credits according to reproduction of original label in the book.
- ⁵ Ibid: 76; 82. Credits according to reproduction of original label in the book.
- ⁶ Ibid: 83.
- ⁷ Covernote American Music LP 645.
- ⁸ British Library Sound Archive: <http://cadensa.bl.uk/cgi-bin/webcat>; Statsbiblioteket.dk; Svensk Mediedatabas: <http://smdb.kb.se>.
- ⁹ Ken Colyer's Jazzmen (1953/54): 'Gloryland' on *The Best of British Jazz from the BBC Jazz Club* (1995). Upbeat URCD 118.
- ¹⁰ Shipton 2012: 262. It is here titled 'Over In The Gloryland' and described as a 'New Orleans march'.
- ¹¹ Chris Barber Jazz Band (1954/2000) *The Original Copenhagen Concert*, Storyville. STCD 5527
- ¹² Chris Barber Jazz Band (1954/2000) *The Original Copenhagen Concert*, Storyville. STCD 5527. My transcription
- ¹³ Middleton 2000:83. Original highlights.
- ¹⁴ Coyle 2002; Pendzich 2004; Smith-Sivertsen 2007.
- ¹⁵ Smith-Sivertsen 2007
- ¹⁶ Smith-Sivertsen 2007: 35-36.
- ¹⁷ Coyle 2002.
- ¹⁸ Dewe 1999
- ¹⁹ The Vipers Skiffle Group (1957): 'Coffee Bar Session' LP. Parlophone.
- ²⁰ The Vipers Skiffle Group (1957): 'Coffee Bar Session' LP. Parlophone. My transcription.
- ²¹ Rander; Sandblad 1976: 67. The other songs mentioned were 'Puttin' On The Style', 'Down By The Riverside' and 'Frankie And Johnny'.
- ²² I hereby thank Carl M. Nielsen, who helped me greatly by digging down a great number of skiffle songs in the quest for finding the sources for Donegan's new tune. Without his help I would never have gotten this close.
- ²³ Diergarten 2008.

- ²⁴ As an example Swedish band Rockfolket (The Rock People) had clearly heard The Lords when they did their version. Rockfolket: *Andra Repititionen*, 1991.
- ²⁵ James Last: *Non Stop Dancing* '68. Polydor 249 216
- ²⁶ Besides numerous instrumental schlager and polka versions on so called 'Party records,' several other German versions were published, of which Adam und die Micky's 'Heut is wieder Hauskonzert' (1969) was the first, but 'Ja, mir san mit'm Radl da' (1972) definitely the most popular. The last version, however, only uses the tune of the refrain.
- ²⁷ According to an article in Billboard Magazine in 1965, Olsson, who was head of Swedish publishing firm Edition Liberty, had bought the Scandinavian rights to the 'American tune' Billboard Magazine, August 7, 1965, section 1: 26-28. However, knowing the history of the song, it seems more plausible that he simply considered it free.
- ²⁸ Liller & Papa Bue's Viking Jazz Band (1975): 'Hva' siger de til en rejemad', *Man Kan Vel Ikke Gøre For At Man Har Charme*. Storyville. SLP 401.
- ²⁹ 'Ingen klocka ringer mer'/'Flaggan vajar på sin stång'.

The last chapter in “Light. Gullin.” – a play written by
Eva Sjöstrand
(*English translation: Eva O’Reilly*)

VII

How far is it to the moon?

The same night that Neil Armstrong landed Lars played in Stockholm. Everything was there; his love, his enthusiasm, his soulfulness, his joy, and his overwhelming musicality and poetry. The wasted years that had cost him so much, and the understanding that nothing in the world can replace inner happiness. A kind of “awareness” was heard in his tunes.

Music, like light, has a rare ability to prevail over time and space.

Take the light of a star - you and the star meet in an indisputable now, even if you know the star shines in another time and is light years away. You expand time in moments like this. Lars quoted Stravinsky who once wrote that the further back you go, the more radical you get. You reverse but at the same time you emerge on the other side, stretching time in both directions.

On dark autumn nights a starry sky is overwhelming in the eastern countryside of Sweden where Lars lived during his last years, with his beloved family. In poverty, since no baritone saxophone has ever been of help when filling in a taxation form. There was never a shortage of lack of money, but no one wanted for warmth or love. Or moments of happiness, as when a civil servant gave them his piano on which melodies turned up, night after night. And once when their wallet was empty, their car broken-down and their house cold; Lars and his Mailis saw a shop that had a telescope for sale, and they immediately bought it.

What did he see? “That there would be a time when people would look for the tiniest scrap of his music and release it.”

And Mailis said: “Lars had great insight. It was as if he was thousands of years old. He knew that it wasn’t always necessary to use words. He knew that music is the best way of communicating, understanding and feeling. He knew how to reach people. Lars was so natural and in a way so vulnerable, so open and honest. He played with all his being, natural and unpretentious. He played his sorrow and his joy, his heaven and his hell and all the nuances in between. He played what he felt.” He felt a soft sadness in the entire world’s folk music, as if a feeling of blues lives within everyone. The blue notes of the blues. Goethe writes that we are fond of gazing at the blue, not because it crowds us but because it entices us.

There is also the ever present feature that Red Mitchell heard in Lars’ playing; “A strong feeling of him telling a story. I don’t know what it is. It involves honesty. He was really a playing composer; there was something incorruptible and self-evident in what he did. And his sound - that warm note and the unbroken line... It was quite simply touching.”

Like the way the wind moves a field of grass or the leaves on a tree.

Lars was born on a day in May, and he died on a day in May, he died when birches and beeches were shifting into green. The same day as the passion flower opened in his window. An intricate red flower the missionaries believed symbolise the Crucifixion. It flowers for one solitary day, its flower a deep defying red.

For a single day it owns the room.

Too short a time you think, too short a time to love, as the feeling of loss lasts much longer.

Nay, what does Lars teach us about music? Time does not matter for devotion. Let go!

Because when you do life will shimmer in all the colours of the rainbow, and sparkle like the starry sky. It arched over Lars a summer’s evening in Gothenburg.

We leave him there with his question. In light. Gullin.

Has Eternity An End? – (Dannys Dream)

*Has eternity an end?
What a question, heaven send
Far, far where eternal winds blow
No thought for an answer, oh no
On a barren square a summer evening
Fading laughter, lasting meaning*

*Where begin? Where to end?
Will eternity extend?
Shared by every man on this earth
It will make us grow, will make us feel how
music can tell us what life is*

About the Authors

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James Dickenson (b.1940) has been interested in jazz and folk music since his student days in Manchester. His work as a church musician in varying musical milieux has brought him into performing contact with both folk- and jazz musicians. He spent 17 years as kantor in Sør-Fron, Gudbrandsdalen, Norway where he came into contact and performed with many leading folk instrumentalists who inspired him to begin a research project into the way Norwegian folk music has influenced the development of Norwegian jazz. This work eventually led to the award of a Ph.D degree at the University of Salford, UK in 2003. The author is now retired but actively continuing with writing and performing. He lives with his family in Ringsaker, Norway.

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Jens Lindgren is retired archivist/curator of the Jazz Department at Svenskt Visarkiv. He has a M.A. from Stockholm University 1972, and exams from the Stockholm Teacher Training College 1973 and as a Radio producer from the Stockholm University College of Film & Radio 1980. His professional career was as a teacher to 1978 and as a radio producer from 1980. 1987 he joined Svenskt Visarkiv where he served to 2010. As a musician (trombone player) he has been playing in Kustbandet and several other traditional jazz groups since 1962. He is the author of *Kustbandet – kul nästan jämt* (2012).

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Marie Selander is a musician and vocal teacher. Her career started in a rock band in the sixties; she then turned to Swedish folk music and expanded the interest to musics of the world, including exploring different vocal techniques. Visiting professor at the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki, 1995–96. Besides teaching and singing in various groups and projects, she also has produced several radio programs on music for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, including a series on gender equality in music that eventually became the book *Inte riktigt lika viktigt?* (2012).

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