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"Just Exotic Enough:" Swedish Chamber Klezmer as Postnational World Music and Mid-East Proxy

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Abstract. Here I examine the music and discourse of two Swedish non-Jewish chamber klezmer bands, and their strategies for claiming klezmer and distancing it from Jews. One band claims that klezmer, having always been subject to travel and outside influence, was never really Jewish. The other suggests that klezmer was inherited by European non-Jews after the Holocaust. Both arguments are predicated on the Herderian nationalist denial of cultural ownership to landless peoples. I argue that these claims are ultimately about allowing Swedes to mitigate their anxieties concerning Middle-Eastern immigration, by granting them possession of a safely domesticated form of Easternness.

Summer, 2008. Maja Jansson, of the band Mosaik, spends ninety minutes teaching the tune "Nigun Atik" to teenagers at a Swedish world music summer camp.[1] The tune is klezmer, she says, from Eastern Europe, in the *hijaz* scale. She does not mention Jews or Jewishness. When I relate this event to Lev Liberman, whose 1986 visit to the Falun Folk Festival with his band, the Klezmorim, precipitated the early rumblings of what would eventually become the Swedish klezmer boom, he reflects optimistically upon its implications: "You could say that when the origins of a musical style become transparent, the music has essentially entered the cultural consciousness of a population" (interview, 22 December 2011).[2]

Summer, 2011. The Swedish klezmer trio Chozek holds a workshop at a folk festival, where they teach two traditional klezmer tunes. They preface the tunes with a thorough discussion of the music's history. Fiddler Lisa Sundström, who once took lessons from Maja Jansson, supports the discussion with an extensive handout detailing (among other things) the Hebrew names for klezmer scales.

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Like a number of American Jewish scholars who have written about today's European klezmer scene, I grapple with some visceral emotional responses to how this music has been used and interpreted by its mostly non-Jewish European performers and audiences. While Swedish klezmorim have generally delved into the music with great respect for it *as music*, with results that are frequently quite moving, some of the rhetoric surrounding the practice has also made me uncomfortable. This article is a product of those responses, and my attempts to divert them to productive ends. My aim has been to analyze a phenomenon about which I have had misgivings, doing my best to reinterpret it in terms of its local meanings.

Scholarship on the European klezmer boom has been, if not always skeptical itself, at least aware of the skepticism with which many Jews have reacted to that revival (Ottens and Rubin 2002; Birnbaum 2009; Waligórska 2013:58–93). What rankles seems to be not simply the appropriation, but rather the language with which non-Jews have justified their appropriation of klezmer. Much of that language has an implicit basis in the Herderian presumption that culture grows organically out of the relationship between a people and their land, and the resulting denial of cultural ownership to those who have historically been denied land ownership. Europe as a place (sometimes specifically Eastern Europe, or Poland, or Krakow's old Jewish quarter) becomes klezmer's authentic location, granting European non-Jews as much or even greater claim on the music than might be made by American or Israeli Jews (Ottens and Rubin 2002:27–28; Saxonberg and Waligórska 2006:443–44). Moreover, given that Europeans tend to grant Jewish identity its positive symbolic value by associating it with victimhood, even those Jews who remained in Europe after the Holocaust may forfeit cultural claims to klezmer by virtue of their no longer being sufficiently oppressed (Slobin 2000:26).[3] Jews who have voiced concern at the implications of these arguments (disturbed, perhaps, by echoes of Wagner's "Judaism in Music," or by the implicit denial of debt owed the American klezmer revival) may also face accusations of racism and essentialism for insisting on Jewish ownership of klezmer (Ottens and Rubin 2002:35–36; Saxonberg and Waligórska 2006:443; cf. also Boyarin and Boyarin 1993:705–06). German klezmorim especially are likely to counter by citing Israeli clarinetist Giora Feidman, who has marketed his European teaching career with an insistence that klezmer is owned by no one and playable by all (Gruber 2002:190; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2002:163; Weissberg 2006:408; Birnbaum 2009:307). Some non-Jewish European klezmorim will even insist that they, free from the constraints of religious tradition, are positioned to make better music than their Jewish counterparts (Ottens and Rubin 2002:35; Gruber 2002:227–8).

Almost all of the scholarship on the European klezmer revival to date has concentrated on its twin epicenters in Germany and Poland. My experiences in Sweden, on the periphery of the revival, have echoed the above descriptions in certain ways but not in others. One of my consultants did indeed tell me that his freedom from the weight of Jewish tradition allowed him to make better klezmer music than many Jews could. Several others implicitly or explicitly granted non-Jewish Polish klezmorim greater authenticity than American Jewish ones. The group cited by far as the most influential by my consultants was Kroke, a non-Jewish klezmer trio from Poland.[4] The Herderian logic according to which Europeans have more claim to klezmer than non-European Jews was a recurring theme in my interviews and observations.

These views were not ubiquitous among my consultants, however. I found that musicians who played regularly for local Jewish community events were less likely to think in these terms, as were younger musicians, non-professional musicians, and musicians who were interested in Jewish culture as a thing of the present (as opposed to a quasi-mythical *shtetl* past). And even those musicians who did espouse such ideas were not always consistent in expressing them.

The Swedish case differs in one additional critical respect from the Polish and German. The Holocaust, for obvious reasons, has not been so palpable a presence in Sweden as it has been in Central Europe. Whereas most scholars of the German/Polish klezmer revival tend to paint pictures of a scene haunted by the absence of once-present Jews, Sweden has never had much of a Jewish population. One of the most convincing explanations for the power of the European klezmer boom and its uneasy relationship with living Jews—that it's about exorcising or appeasing Jewish ghosts—thus makes less sense in the Swedish case.

Here I propose two alternate explanations for the popularity of klezmer in Sweden. First, among professional Swedish world musicians—a growing category, thanks to multiple folk and world music programs at the various Swedish Schools of Music—klezmer solves twin dilemmas of currency and propriety. As an essentially hybrid genre associated with supposedly itinerant musicians, klezmer both justifies cultural mixing as authentic, and legitimizes European ownership of that authentic mix via a Romantic nationalist logic whereby culture springs from the soil and belongs to those who till it.

My second explanation is that the work klezmer music is doing in Sweden has less to do with Jews, and more to do with Swedish anxieties concerning immigration and responses to it by the anti-immigrant extreme Right. Klezmer offers a safe, controllable, and claimable form of diasporic Easternness that may bring comfort, especially to political progressives, in the face of discursive conflicts surrounding middle-Eastern immigration to Europe. Scholars of German klezmer have also occasionally hinted at this explanation (Ottens and Rubin 2002:8; Gruber 2002:40–41; Weissberg 2006:414). My suspicion is that this discursive function—what I call "mid-East proxy"—may be operational in Germany as well, the main difference being that the German discourse is shaped and obfuscated by the trauma of the Holocaust. The Swedish case, then, provides an excellent opportunity to see clearly beyond the effects of that trauma, perhaps to answer the question for Europe more generally: why klezmer, why now?

Scope and Structure

Over the past decade or so, klezmer music has become a major part of the Swedish alternative music scene. Roughly estimated, per capita klezmer band density in Sweden is about twice that of the United States.[5] Swedish klezmer bands are overwhelmingly non-Jewish in makeup. Of the thirty-five active klezmer musicians I interviewed for this project, only three were Jewish. While some bands performed regularly for Jewish audiences, others did not.

Based on my research, the bands who tend to make the strongest claims for European ownership are those with no Jewish members at all. Presumably non-Jews who play only in mixed bands might worry about Jewish objections if they voiced such arguments, and would find it easier to enjoy implicit proxy ownership via their Jewish band-mates. Since I am writing about non-Jewish claims over klezmer music, I will therefore be limiting my analysis to groups with no Jewish players.

The completely non-Jewish klezmer bands tend to be divisible into two broad categories. Party bands are groups of seven to nine musicians who play high-energy backbeat-heavy music, and for whom the party, street corner, and festival main stage are primary venues. The smaller-scale "chamber klezmer groups," as they tend to call themselves, will focus on musical innovation and virtuosic arrangements, seeking out intimate listening audiences. Each of these two categories can be subdivided into bands that concentrate solely on klezmer, and those that fuse klezmer with other genres.

The chamber groups typically find themselves at greatest distance from the Jewish community. These groups will be the focus of this article, here exemplified by Chozek, a "traditional" klezmer band, and Mosaik, a fusion group. Neither Mosaik nor Chozek had, at the time of my research, ever played for their local Jewish Community Center, despite the fact that the JCC's program coordinator books klezmer bands with some regularity.[6] Instead, both groups tended to inhabit the local and national world music scenes.

I begin my narrative with Mosaik, whose members tend to construct their ownership via the implicit argument that klezmer's source material was mostly borrowed from other local musics—made coherently ethnic as a function of its consolidation by Jews, but never actually belonging to them. The band's own fusion thus simply becomes a continuation of an ownerless tradition. Here is where

I make the argument that klezmer fulfills a special function for the professional world musicians who make up Mosaik, as well as Chozek, and most other chamber klezmer groups: whereas both fusion and performance by outsiders usually threaten to render "world music" inauthentic, klezmer resolves this problem by being both authentically fused and legitimately playable by anyone. However, while Mosaik's rhetoric reinforces this claim of an ethnically consolidated yet ownerless klezmer, an analysis of their music suggests a somewhat more troubled relationship with the inherent contradiction.

The members of Chozek, by contrast, allow Jews more of a claim on the music, but only grant primary ownership to the historical Jews of pre-Holocaust Europe. After World War II, according to their narrative, klezmer is inherited by other Europeans. Elements of Chozek's music reveal, however, that this inheritance may not be as total as their rhetoric suggests. Through selective use of instrumentation and style, the band avoids certain specific elements of klezmer that mark it overtly as Jewish. Once again the sonic analysis reveals something of a lack of confidence in the ownership narrative.

Ultimately, these subtle discomforts regarding klezmer's Jewishness do little to disturb what I believe to be Swedish klezmer's primary cultural function, which is to resolve anxieties, not about Jewish relations, but about middle-Eastern immigration. Lisa Sundström reveals that the claims she can make on klezmer are that genre's decided advantage over the Arab music she used to play but could never truly call her own. I read Maja Jansson's use of the Arab term "hijaz" to refer to klezmer modes as fulfilling a similar function. Klezmer's simultaneous Europeanness and Easternness allows it to stand for a safe and controllable form of Arabness, a vaccine against any middle-Eastern threat to the body politic. The music's Jewish associations further allow progressive Swedes to choose sides against both fundamentalist Islam and the extreme nationalists and neo-Nazis for whom cultural purity offers the only defense against Sharia law. These functions, I argue, provide the best explanation for the intensity of the Swedish klezmer boom, and perhaps even the European klezmer revival more generally.

Concepts and Caveats

My focus on klezmer's functions in European non-Jewish contexts colors my use of a number of complex and often contested terms, such as "Jewishness," "Jewish music," "Jewish-sounding," and of course, "klezmer." I deploy these terms partly as concepts shaped in historical Jewish practice, but mostly as ideas viewed through the prism of my consultants' present-day perceptions. When I say that an augmented second "sounds Jewish," my implicit argument is not the existence of an Idelsohnian universal Jewish musical palette, but rather that a klezmer musician (Swedish or otherwise) will likely identify that interval as a Jewish marker. Present-day perceptions of pre-Holocaust European Jewishness certainly have some historical validity, but they are also subject to a great deal of mythologizing by both Jews and Gentiles. Sholem Aleichem's rural shtetl fiddler and Christian tradition's wandering Jew have both been powerful agents in shaping modern understandings of the old world klezmer musician, who despite common assumptions to the contrary was historically most likely to be urban and sedentary (Rubin 2001:56). Moreover, perceptions of Jewish practice may also be refracted by a common tendency (again, among Jews and Gentiles alike) to conceptualize Jewishness as difference. The predominant mode of old East European Jewish tunes was natural minor (Beregovski 2001:17). Many Swedish melodies share this palette, however, and so natural minor will not operate as an index of Jewishness in Sweden. Instead, the augmented second of klezmer's less-common *freygish* mode—in its Otherness—is left to fulfill that function.

Complicating the issue further, the European tradition of denying cultural ownership to Jews means that the most useful Jewish markers are also implicitly marked not-Jewish. Freygish is a case in point. The scale is identical to a middle-Eastern hijaz, and Swedish musicians are far more likely to use the latter term in describing the music. The argument I am developing here is that the resulting Jewish absence in klezmer makes room for a non-Jewish presence, and allows Swedish musicians to claim not only freygish but also transitively, and more importantly, hijaz itself.

As a final note before I begin my critique in earnest, I must acknowledge the vexed relationship between my research and my analysis. In my interviews and observations I have experienced a great deal of generosity and goodwill from my consultants, who have graciously donated their time and energy to help see this project to fruition. My critique of their discourse, on the other hand, is harsh. The six people I have focused on here have read a draft of the work, and their response has been sadness and disagreement with my conclusions.[7] I am not laboring under the illusion that they will ever be happy with what I have written, but in response to their reactions, I do wish to qualify my arguments with two caveats.

First, I interviewed members of a dozen different bands, and wound up focusing my analysis on only two of those groups. The discourse I am analyzing is part of a pattern of thought that extends well beyond these two bands, however. It was also not the only discourse at play, even among the six people who make up Chozek and Mosaik. More was said and done, in other words, than I am discussing here.

Second, I am reading this discourse in terms of function, not intention. I make a great many statements about what these musicians are doing and why, but at no point do I mean to suggest that they are doing these things purposefully or with ill intent. For instance, I am quite critical of what I call a discourse of ownership, but I do not believe this discourse to be motivated by a conscious desire to own klezmer (or deny it to Jews). Rather, these musicians simply want the license to play klezmer in whatever way inspires them, and the dominant folk music paradigm reserves that kind of license for insiders to the tradition. The logic of European ownership thus insinuates itself into their discourse unconsciously as an easy path to license, which is what frees them creatively to make the kind of music that will move themselves and others—which is the actual goal.[8] To be clear, then, my critique is ultimately of the master narrative of landed cultural ownership, not of the individual musicians whose discourse is shaped by it.

Mosaik: Jewish Erasure and the World Music Dilemma

When I asked Kajsa Berglund, accordionist in the band Mosaik, about what it means to play klezmer as a non-Jew, she had this to say:

> Sometimes you get the question "do you have Jewish ancestry?" It's more then [that I think about it] actually, because for me it's not that relevant. I feel like music is music, somehow. Music is very telling, it can tell you a lot about experience, but I feel like those are human experiences. It's hard for me to say that the music is Jewish, really. I wouldn't want to say that. If I may be so bold. I mean, to say that music is one thing or the other, I think that's very dangerous, because my feeling is that music travels and finds new paths all the time and is influenced by and influences other styles. So that's not really a problem for me. (Interview, 24 May 2011)

Here Berglund softens her argument by universalizing it. She is not suggesting that Jews cannot have their own music, but rather that nobody can. A number of my consultants made similarly general music-is-music statements when I asked them about playing klezmer as non-Jews.[9] This is the basic premise that justifies Maja Jansson's act of teaching klezmer in an educational context without mentioning Jews at all, and in its universality it avoids being overtly discriminatory. On a more covert level, however, Berglund's statement sets up an opposition between ownership and itinerancy, implicitly privileging the landed. Music is ownerless not in essence, but because it travels. Were it sedentary, to extend this logic, it could be owned. As it happens, I worked at that world music camp for a number of years, and saw a number of "national" folk musics taught. Maja Jansson, who was the only person ever to present Jewish music while I was there, was also the only person ever to teach music without mentioning the people who had created it. What she did say about the music was that it was from Eastern Europe.

This privileging of the place of klezmer over its people is fairly typical of the Swedish discourse, one that further supports European ownership claims over the genre. The central website for Swedish klezmer, *klezmer.nu*, opens the section, "What is klezmer?" with the following words:

> "*Klezmer* music was originally an eastern European folk genre, heavily influenced by other existing native folk genres endemic to that area, i.e. Roumanian, Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, with a strong dose of Gypsy.
>
> What makes this music particularly individual is that it was filtered through Jewish ears and consciousness."

In other words, klezmer music belonged first to landed peoples and perhaps Gypsies, later to be borrowed, mixed together, and "filtered" by Jews. This account, too, justifies Maja Jansson's decision to mention klezmer's place, but not its people. If the music belonged to non-Jews first, and is being played by non-Jews now, why insist on mentioning who mediated it at one point in its history?

This account is not a total invention of European non-Jewish klezmorim, but is largely based on a selective interpretation of the American Jewish klezmer narrative. The above quote from *klezmer.nu* is actually excerpted from a chapter written by American Jewish pianist Pete Sokolow, in Henry Sapoznik's *The Compleat Klezmer* (1987:19). The quote may have been chosen, certainly, to highlight the elements of the American story that support a European claim. The line break between the two sentences, which relegates Jewishness to a secondary paragraph, is also a Swedish addition not present in the original text.

The American Jewish klezmer narrative, from which the Swedish non-Jewish one borrows and edits, is marked by tensions between two related binarisms: sacred/secular and rooted/eclectic. The Pete Sokolow quote continues:

> "The tradition of the *khazn* (cantor) and the *nigun* was practically inborn for the Jewish musician, a personage growing up in an ethnically segregated, religion-centered society. It must also be remembered that we are dealing, in essence, with utilitarian, dance-oriented music" (*klezmer.nu).*

Within these few short sentences we have a klezmer that is borrowed from numerous other sources yet formed in an ethnically segregated society, steeped in the religious tradition, yet played in a secular dance context. Similar tensions manifest in Walter Zev Feldman's division of the klezmer repertoire into core (Jewish), co-territorial and cosmopolitan (non-Jewish), and transitional (intermediate) categories (1994:7–10; cf. Heskes 1994:206). Scholars and musicians tend to present klezmer dance forms as purely secular, yet often—in the past quarter century at least—use the Hebrew names of liturgical modes to describe their scalar makeup: *ahava rabba*, *mi sheberach*, and *adonai malakh* (e.g., Sapoznik and Sokolow 1987:21–2). For American Jews, then, klezmer works to resolve the core dilemma of Diaspora identity, allowing them to be both of themselves and of the world.

Swedish klezmorim who make ownership claims on the music, some of whom have read the American scholarship, tend to favor the half of the narrative that marks klezmer secular and eclectic—in other words, the part that makes it accessible to and claimable by non-Jews. For instance, Chozek's aforementioned handout is the only place I have seen Swedish klezmorim refer to klezmer modes according to their liturgical names. More commonly they will use some other term—"Gypsy scales" or "hijaz." When I asked Maja Jansson to give me her sense of what klezmer is, she replied:

> First and foremost it's the musical language, the hijaz scale that's so prevalent. But it's not just that. What also marks klezmer, as I've understood and experienced it, is that it's a musical style in a state of change, where the tradition includes an openness to new influences. I mean, with wandering Jewish musicians, they're willing to be influenced by music that exists in the environments they enter, so to speak. That's a broad identifying feature, so that there are march influences and Romany influences and all kinds of influences. And that's also kind of our thinking with Mosaik, that we allow ourselves to be inspired by what we hear around us (Interview, 30 June 2010).

An open, secular, and eclectic genre that somehow retains its currency as an authentic tradition is invaluable to outsiders, not only for the access it grants to itself, but also for its capacity to license access to other traditions as well. Such a tradition thus has the potential to solve two dilemmas faced by the professional players of world music fusion who make up Mosaik and other Swedish chamber klezmer groups. The first dilemma is that folk music, as understood in Europe, grows organically out of the relationship between a people and their land, and that style mixing must therefore either contaminate or cheapen it. Second, by the same nationalist logic, the folk traditions that form the raw ingredients for world music are sovereign territories, and can never truly belong to musicians who are of the wrong nationality. Compounding the problem of world music's ontological awkwardness, then, is the uncomfortable question of license for those who choose to play it. Klezmer, as read through the Swedish secular eclecticism narrative, solves both of these problems at once. Because the genre is associated with wandering musicians, it can be an authentic world music. Klezmer is mixed at its core, so further mixing will not cheapen it. And because the European Jews who created it never had their own land out of which to grow their own folk music, they have no sovereign rights to klezmer, and non-Jews have just as much of a right to play it. Especially for someone like Kajsa Berglund, who has dedicated her life and passions to klezmer, spending hours, days, and weeks practicing, composing, and arranging that music, the solution this logic presents must be priceless.

Swedish musicians have other reasons for wanting to make klezmer separable from Jewishness as well. The ability to claim the genre for themselves is perhaps the one that is least commonly made explicit. The two primary associations that

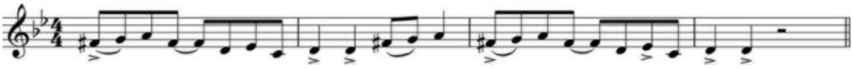
Jewishness carries in Sweden are both negatively charged—the tragedy of the Holocaust and the Israeli oppression of Palestinians. Jewishness is thus also linked to discomfort, to weightiness and sadness, and when Swedes acknowledge wanting a less Jewish klezmer, it will usually be for one or both of those two associations.

Yet at the same time Jewishness has traditionally carried a powerful appeal for Europeans—of ancient tradition, of victimhood, of being not-oneself, the nationless wanderer, the collector, the cultural thief (Gruber 2002; Ottens and Rubin 2002:20–21). Musicians may have their cake and eat it too by establishing distance via verbal discourse, all the while allowing their music to make semiotic claims of Jewish identity. Mosaik's members may assert cultural generality, for instance, but their repertoire makes liberal use of musical devices that to a Swedish audience would mark their music as Jewish.

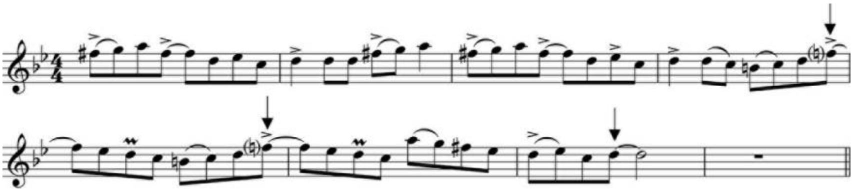
One piece in particular, Maja Jansson's "Grunewald," seems to narrate the very dilemma inherent in simultaneously claiming and rejecting a Jewish musical identity.[10] The composition, in AA'BB' form, is based on a classic klezmer cadence, a near-exact quote of the final four bars of the klezmer standard, "Araber Tanz." These four bars are the first thing we hear, and they immediately set up a problem that the piece must resolve (see Music Example 1). The figure is a cadence that, even without the internal repetition, is convincingly final, especially to a listener familiar with klezmer in general or "Araber Tanz" in particular. All claims of the fluidity of cultural identity notwithstanding, this moment is an effective and efficient musical argument for a self-contained and irreducible musical Easternness to klezmer, hermetically sealed at both beginning and end.[11] It establishes tradition as something final and complete, and leaves the music nowhere to go but outside and away from it.

The rest of the piece is propelled by an oppositional tension between the gravitational pull of that klezmer cadence on the one hand, and gestures at freedom, creativity, and innovation on the other. The A section, which follows the five-second introduction, again begins with the "Araber Tanz" cadence, now an octave higher. This time, however, the phrase continues, and immediately begins to challenge the tune's metrical stability and modal identity. At two strategically syncopated moments the melody lands on a lowered third that threatens to neutralize the tune's characteristically Eastern augmented second. The reaffirmation of meter and mode in the final cadence is undermined by an early arrival that lands its final D on a metrical weak point, perhaps a rushed response to those two rebellious moments (see Music Example 2).

Example 1: "Grunewald," Introduction



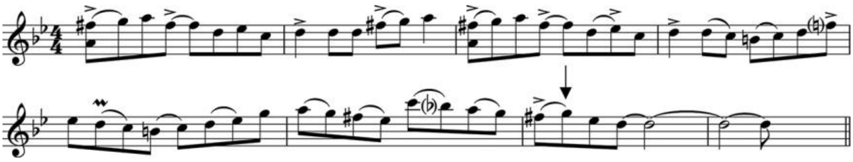
Example 2: "Grunewald," A section



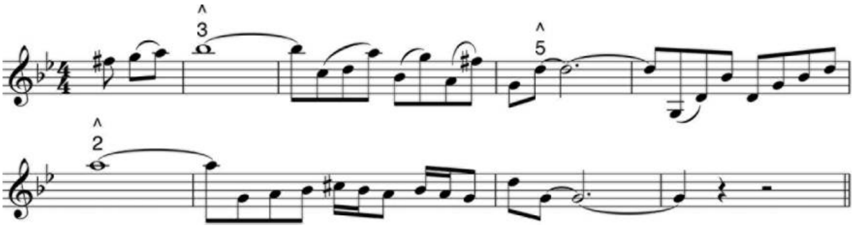
The A' section further pushes the creative boundaries away from the opening Jewish figure. The second half of the phrase rearranges rhythms and emphases as it meanders restlessly, expanding the melodic range before yet again finding containment in a metrically weak klezmer cadence. Yet now even the very Easternness of this cadence is subtly undermined, by an escape tone that disrupts the augmented second in scalar descent (see Music Example 3).[12]

The B section represents an even more drastic, if still incomplete, move away from the klezmer idiom. As Kajsa Berglund's conventional klezmer accompaniment figure is scaled back and reduced in volume, she begins to double the fiddle on melody. Now in unison, the fiddle and accordion present a series of escape gestures that seem to struggle away from klezmerness; jagged runs that land on various non-tonic plateau notes as if to test their stability. Maja Jansson emphasizes the passionate individualism of these moments with a stylistic shift into tango. And yet the section ends with still another klezmer cadence, this one slightly stronger (see Music Example 4).

Example 3: "Grunewald," A' section



Example 4: "Grunewald," B section

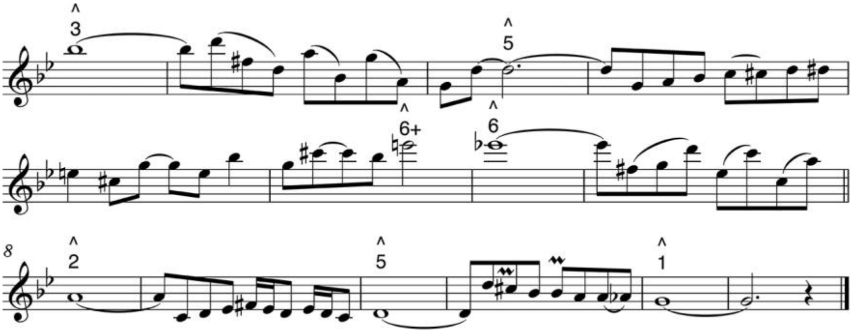


The B' section exaggerates all the B section's gestures at flight. Here the escape runs are even more expansive, and at this point they finally manage to disrupt the tune's heretofore balanced, klezmerish phrase structure. Still again, however, the cadence must come, reinscribing that Jewish identity in preparation for the return of the A section (see Music Example 5).

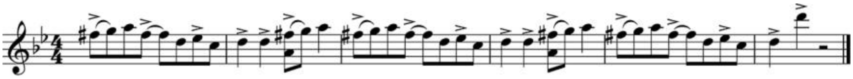
The arrangement itself replicates this tradition-vs.-innovation narrative conflict on the level of the piece as a whole. After a repetition of the tune with different instrumentation, a brief progression of ever-more-distant chords continues the struggle away from musical Jewishness. This section is followed by an improvisational violin solo that once again borrows more from tango than klezmer, reinforcing the markers of individuality and freedom established in the B section. But just as that violin solo reaches its conclusion by landing on its final upper note, the accordion accelerates into a speedy party-klezmer accompaniment figure. The music hurtles at breakneck speed into a highly Jewish-sounding final return to the A sections. The piece is capped with a heavily accented, homorhythmic assertion of that opening cadential gesture, expanded to six bars for emphasis (see Music Example 6). On both the level of the tune and the piece, then, the narrative is similar. The music presents exotic Eastern Jewish tradition and individualistic creative innovation as two opposing possibilities, and in the end settles on the former.

A look at the harmonic underpinnings of all this action reveals something of the double bind in the choice presented, and why neither of the two possible decisions can be entirely satisfactory. Harmonically and melodically, the tune

Example 5: "Grunewald," B' section



Example 6: "Grunewald," Coda



is based in a standard klezmer idiom, what most Jewish musicians would call D freygish (or ahava rabba) and which Maja Jansson calls hijaz. This idiom itself is marked by its own subtle East/West tension. D freygish is modally identical to the Arab D hijaz, yet its harmonic and scalar palette is also that of a Western three-chord G harmonic minor. In traditional klezmer tunes that use D freygish, the D modality is often favored in the opening section. The G minor chord may not even enter until the second or third section, where it often functions as a secondary tonic.[13] This sectional structure could potentially be read either in Western terms as a V-i harmonic relation, or in middle-Eastern terms as a shift from lower hijaz to upper *nahawand* tetrachord.

"Grunewald" retains this formula, foregrounding and exploiting its underlying East/West tension. The A section, which retains a klezmer affinity, favors the D modality and does not include any G chords. The B section, on the other hand, with its improvisatory-sounding melodic and stylistic flights from klezmer, begins by emphasizing the G chord, and thus the possibility of G as an alternative tonal center. The possibility is strengthened by the pull of Western tonal convention, since the scalar and chordal palette—not to mention the circle-of-fifths progression of plateau notes in the B' section—suggests nothing more in those terms than G harmonic minor. The A section can also easily be retroactively reinterpreted as an extended dominant that prepares for the B section, which does in fact remain in G minor throughout (switching to G *mi sheberach* only for the klezmer cadences). The two possible outcomes of the tune thus manifest in two possible tonal centers. The tune links Jewish tradition to the D of klezmer's freygish, and flight and innovation to the G of a chromaticized Western harmonic minor.

The fiddle solo's D-major conclusion crystallizes the choice between these two, suggesting a final move toward G minor as not only possible but even probable. Structurally within the piece, the solo could easily be heard as a cadenza in G minor that ends on an entirely conventional dominant V, promising a final resolution to G. The accordion cuts off this possibility by vamping frantically on that D major chord, stubbornly protracting D as modal center through to the end of the piece. Yet the insistence on that D-ness can only mask—and is perhaps motivated by—the irrevocable suggestion of a G minor preparation in the Western listener's ear. The final cadence on D major, for all its emphasis via repetition, dynamic accent, and adherence to klezmer tradition, can thus also be heard as naggingly incomplete.

Read in social terms, this tune's bimodal tension lays bare Mosaik's essential predicament. Mosaik's members can represent traditional Otherness or be their own innovative selves, but they cannot do both at the same time. The path they choose in this piece, that of the exotic Other's D freygish, contains within it the nagging desire for personal expression represented by the possibility of resolution to G minor. Yet were they to allow themselves that resolution, they would only be expressing their own mundanity, tied as their individuality would be to the tritest of Western tonal conventions.

The disjuncture between Mosaik's musical and spoken claims can be seen as another manifestation of this irresolvable dilemma. On the one hand, Mosaik claims Jewish cultural authenticity via its klezmer sound. On the other, its members' explicit argument for claiming klezmer as innovative non-Jewish outsiders threatens to dissipate the currency of Jewish insidership that grants that authenticity. If klezmer is Jewish it cannot be theirs, but if the music is not Jewish, it loses its value.

An alternative argument can be made, however, that grants Swedish claims over klezmer while allowing the music to retain its full cultural capital. A group might have a repertoire of mostly traditional klezmer tunes with little or no stylistic fusion, identify those tunes as Jewish, and still claim ownership over them as non-Jews. The narrative in this case could not be that klezmer never belonged to Jews, however. Rather, it would have to be that once Europe's Jews were killed or driven from their homes by Hitler, the music they had played was inherited by their Gentile neighbors.

Chozek: Klezmer as European Inheritance

Fiddler Lisa Sundström, of the chamber klezmer trio Chozek, reflects upon the nature of klezmer:

> It's not a living tradition any more. After World War II they all disappeared. Either they disappeared to the United States or they were exterminated. So people who play klezmer music now are other musicians, who come from other musical traditions. And somehow they've gotten into klezmer and a new tradition has been created, you could say. Or, a new klezmer culture of musicians with all kinds of backgrounds. And that makes it interesting to think about what makes up this tradition in the first place. Because from the beginning it came out of a mishmash of different cultures and traditions.
>
> KAMINSKY: Do you have any ideas about who plays klezmer now and why?
>
> SUNDSTRÖM: Yeah, that's a good question. I do, for example, so I should be able to answer that. I think what appeals to me personally is partly that it's a very accessible music. I mean partly because the tradition isn't a living tradition, so there aren't a lot of rules about what you can and can't do. There's nobody who will get angry if you play it wrong. (Interview, 24 June 2010)

Like that of Maja Jansson, Lisa Sundström's logic is essentially Herderian. Cultural products are location-dependent, so as soon as Europe's surviving Jews fled the continent their music passed to their non-Jewish neighbors. Sundström has done her research, and will acknowledge the significance of the American revival to the European one; yet statements like this one also suggest a desire to see American klezmer as an offshoot, with truly rooted klezmer having remained dormant in Europe to be revived by Kroke and their ilk. Again, this narrative is not in fundamental conflict with that of the American Jewish klezmer revival, which likewise tends to locate pre-Holocaust Europe as the time and place for authentic klezmer. Once more the American Jewish narrative is adopted and adapted by European non-Jews to serve new functions.

The standard instrumentation for a number of European chamber klezmer groups reinforces this inheritance paradigm. Kroke, Mosaik, and Chozek are all trios consisting of fiddle, accordion, and bass. Most glaringly absent is the iconic clarinet, which stood at the center of the American revival and remains one of American Jewish klezmer's most powerful signifiers. Its absence in these chamber groups speaks just as loudly, positioning modern European klezmer both farther from Jewishness and closer to its local roots. The klezmer clarinet is often heard as a Yiddish voice, yet it only replaced fiddle as klezmer's primary melody instrument once the music came to the United States (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2002:56; Netsky 2002:16).[14]

The lack of drums does similar work, creating something of a Bill Monroe effect. As with bluegrass, exclusion of the drum kit imbues what is essentially an invented subgenre with the qualities of old, organic, and rooted folk music. When I asked Mosaik's bassist, Stefan Eriksson, why he is more drawn to East European influence in klezmer than to American, he responded: "I think that sound spoke to me more. What I like about klezmer is that it's very earthy, that it's close to the people, to the earth. So I like that feeling of woodiness and the acoustic feel. Fiddle and accordion, a little more of that kind of sound. For me it was just a matter of taste, really. And probably a heavy dose of Kroke too. I listened to them a lot" (Interview, 12 August 2010).

This instrumentation thus also aligns modern Swedish klezmer more closely with other "earthy" European folk traditions. The implicit link between the native and the natural also explains how the chromatic accordion—often understood in other contexts as mechanical and artificial—can here be read as organic. That instrument allies Eriksson's klezmer with its European soil, just as the absence of drums and the laughter-through-tears clarinet curbs associations with the post-industrial, American, and Jewish.[15]

The near-absence of song among these trios may also work to allay European anxieties about the authenticity of non-Jewish klezmer. As was the case for many 1970s heritage music revivals, the presence of song in the revived American klezmer resulted largely from a fusion of disparate historical traditions. The instrumental wedding and party tunes that made up the core repertoire were supplemented by Yiddish labor movement and theater songs, Chassidic nigunim, and so forth. The exclusion of song by modern European groups thus revives a certain kind of authentic specificity, at the same time as it may help settle anxieties about ownership. If clarinet is a problematic presence in a convincingly non-Jewish klezmer, the actual Yiddish voice must be doubly so. Kroke will on rare occasions use voice, but—in keeping with its primordial earthiness—never language. Mosaik does not include any vocal music at all, despite Kajsa Berglund's secondary solo career as a singer/songwriter.

Lisa Sundström remarks that while the members of Chozek have wanted to include song, they have encountered obstacles:

> We've planned to develop that, but it's actually been hard to find songs. Or rather, it's been hard to find songs that we feel we can sing and identify with. I don't know how common song has been within klezmer. I think maybe it's been mostly instrumental music. But when you do find songs, either they're religious—and that would feel strange to sing, for us—or maybe they're more the American jazz klezmer tradition where the tunes are kind of jokey. So it's been hard to find songs and to find texts that we feel we can identify with. (Interview, 24 June 2010)

The group's unwillingness to sing religious songs is fairly self-explanatory, but its avoidance of "jokey" tunes bears some examination. I consider it unlikely that Sundström is referring to lyrics here, since relatively few klezmer revival song texts could be called humorous, and the Yiddish language would make their lexical meaning a moot point in any case. Rather, what might be called jokey in non-religious American klezmer songs is the often-exaggerated Yiddish inflection that tends to be associated (in Sweden as elsewhere) with self-effacing Jewish humor. A non-Jew might feel justifiably uncomfortable in adopting that voice, given that its associated effacement would no longer be directed at the self, and could thus easily be read as mockery. To a certain extent that inflection is also built into the instrumental music, via timbre, ornamentation, and maybe even the augmented second (see, e.g., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2002:156). But perhaps it's at the very corporeality of the Yiddish voice coming from the "wrong" body that the non-Jewish claim to Jewish musical identity breaks down.

An examination of the one song that the members of Chozek have felt comfortable recording and performing will reveal the lengths to which they have had to go to mitigate this problem. Erika Pettersson sings a translation of Yiddish poet Morris Rosenfeld's "Mayn Ruhe Plats," written in 1911 to commemorate the Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire in Greenwich Village. The song to begin with has very little to mark it as Jewish, other than the original Yiddish language itself. Here Pettersson introduces it as an encore:

> This is a song that was written at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States. There was a factory that burned to the ground, and many women died. And then a man wrote this text as a protest against all the bad working conditions in that factory. And I've taken the liberty of translating it. It's called "Mayn Ruhe Plats" in Yiddish, "My Resting Place" (Field recording, 15 July 2011).

The song contains no religious themes. The lyrics do not overtly mention Jews at all. Swedish audiences would be generally unfamiliar with Morris Rosenfeld and the Bundist movement, and thus for them the text need not signify Jewishness on either an ethical, social, or political level. Given that Swedes have historically been pioneers in both women's and worker's rights (and might not be familiar with American Jewish contributions to those movements) they would probably find the song much closer to their own sociopolitical identities. All that it takes to remove the last vestiges of Jewishness from the lyrics, then, is to translate the song into Swedish.

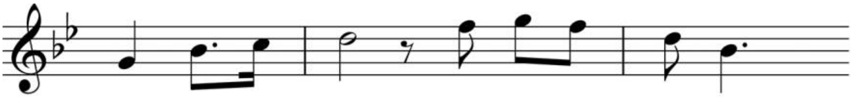
"Mayn Ruhe Plats" also has a melody that makes it an excellent choice for its lack of Jewish markers. The song is in natural minor, and has a simple contour typical of constructed Western and Northern European folk melodies. Augmented seconds are nowhere to be found. The opening gesture even outlines a pentatonic scale, a universalizing "folk" idiom if ever there was one (see Music Example 7).

Chozek's arrangement, moreover, is scrubbed of any Jewish musical signifiers. Lisa Sundström avoids the iconic klezmer turns and glissandi that she uses with great skill and aplomb on the rest of the album, instead favoring idiomatically Swedish trilled articulations.[16] Her overtone-rich sound might evoke that of klezmer fiddler Alicia Svigals, but could just as easily be suggestive of Lisa Rydberg's idiosyncratic Swedish folk fiddle style. Gustav Arnfelt's bass, where present in the arrangement, is bowed and never plucked.[17] Erika Pettersson puts down her accordion for the first and only time on the album, instead accompanying herself with contemplative arpeggiations on the piano. Her voice is breathy and dynamic, with no hints of Yiddish nasality or inflection. Stylistically, her singing is more in keeping with the version of the song recorded by English folk revivalist June Tabor than with that of any klezmer artist.

In short, the only Yiddish song the group felt comfortable performing was one whose textual references could be read not only as non-Jewish but also thematically Swedish, and whose mode and melodic contour were iconically Western European. And, in adapting that song, they chose to translate the lyrics into their own language and substitute the idiomatically Jewish musical stylings that characterized the rest of their album for markers of either Swedish folk music or a more generalized Euro-American singing tradition.

All of this work suggests a weakness in the inheritance argument. If klezmer had truly and unproblematically passed to Europeans after the Holocaust,

Example 7: "Mayn Ruhe Plats," opening gesture



Chozek would easily be able to absorb all of it, including the singing, the Yiddish, even the religiosity. But Lisa Sundström's logic of inheritance falls short at exactly the same place as Kajsa Berglund's logic of ownerlessness—at the presence of Jewishness.

Klezmer as Mid-East Proxy

It might make sense for Germans and Poles to go through all this hassle to claim some kind of national forgiveness via musical Jewishness. But why should Swedes take the trouble? Here I will argue that Chozek and Mosaik are not making those claims as ends in themselves, but rather as means to a secondary goal. As I see it, their connection to musical Jewishness, no matter how vexed, provides them with a usefully idiosyncratic form of cultural capital, the primary function of which is to invest in a new kind of safely multicultural Swedish identity.

The large-scale immigration of non-Europeans to Sweden that occurred over the 1970s and 1980s, and the subsequent ghettoization of many of these "new Swedes" in high-poverty, high-unemployment, high-crime suburban neighborhoods have presented Sweden with something of an identity crisis. Many native Swedes have a hard time finding an explanation for the failures of immigration as a social project that does not mark them as racists, either on a personal level (if they, with the extreme Right, are to blame immigrants) or a societal one (if they are to explain the problem in terms of institutional racism). The question of how to reconcile the presence of unintegrated immigrants with the myth of an open, egalitarian, and enlightened society hangs in the air, palpable and unresolved.

Sites where vital social dilemmas cannot be resolved comfortably by verbal discourse are excellent places to look for music, and my feeling is that this particular location of cognitive dissonance is precisely where Mosaik and Chozek are to be found. On the one hand, klezmer can camouflage any discomfort with immigration that might otherwise betray kinship with ideologies of the Swedish extreme Right. What could be more distant from a movement with generally acknowledged Nazi roots than the Jewish music of pre-Holocaust Europe? For European non-Jews, classically, to identify with Jews is to identify with the oppressed, and thus to suppress any personal racism or privilege born of oppression (Gruber 2002:9–10). The validation of Diaspora culture, furthermore, can easily be framed as a pro-immigration and anti-nationalist act.

On the other hand, klezmer can also do much to alleviate potential anxieties about immigration as a threat to the coherence of Swedish identity. Swedish anti-immigrant discourse has focused primarily on middle Easterners, with rhetoric about their criminality, disregard for free speech, potential for terrorism, and high birth rates. Klezmer's East Europeanness and Jewishness can defuse the resulting anxieties by allowing its players a measure of control over a safe Oriental object, one that lacks any such associations. The music's Easternness allows it to stand as a kind of proxy for Middle-Eastern culture, while its Europeanness allows that culture to be claimed and contained. Its Jewishness does similar work, marking it both alien and safely domestic, or in the words of several of my consultants, "just exotic enough" (*lagom exotiskt*).

At this point the tendency of Swedish musicians to designate klezmer scales as hijaz begins to make a lot of sense. Again, this terminology reinforces the narrative of landlessness, as demonstrated in this exchange I had with Maja Jansson:

> KAMINSKY: You mentioned there's a lot of hijaz?
> JANSSON: Yeah.
> KAMINSKY: Is that a term you hear a lot connected to klezmer? I mean usually it's Arabic.
> JANSSON: Yeah, exactly. But I don't really know where that hijaz scale comes from, if it's from Arab music in the beginning and the Jews have helped themselves to it, or if they've got it from some other place. I mean all music has wandered and been influenced, really. So I don't really know where that started. (Interview, 30 June 2010)

Though "all music has wandered" and she cannot point to exact origins, Maja Jansson's implicit assumption is that Jews, as wandering people, must have appropriated their music from a specific locale (the Arab world or "some other place"). Her statement that "I don't really know where that started" is based in a presupposition that all origins have locations, and thus that Jews, having no location of their own, cannot be originators. Klezmer becomes Middle-Eastern at its structural core, yet is made safely European by mediating Jews who, because they were never truly its owners, can pass it unproblematically to their local neighbors. Thus klezmer's apparent Arab essence is connected to its eminent claimability.

Maja Jansson will be the first person to acknowledge that she does not know very much about klezmer. Defining klezmer by its hijaz scale is only really tenable until you do enough research to realize that Jews are more likely to call that mode ahava rabba or freygish. For someone like Lisa Sundström, who has done that research and more, klezmer's use as mid-East proxy might find a different sort of expression.

In Sundström's case, that use as proxy manifests as literal biographical fact. She was once known for playing Arab music, but has stopped precisely because she could not feel mastery over it. Klezmer, which she sees as an adjacent tradition, is a far more manageable substitute:

> SUNDSTRÖM: With Arabs and Jews and that whole thing, those conflicts, when you look at the music you can see that it's all from the same—everything is mixed, and those boundaries don't exist in the music.

> KAMINSKY: Are you still playing with [your old group]?
> SUNDSTRÖM: No, that was a long time ago. But it's the same thing we were talking about earlier, that the Arab tradition is just so big. And there's so much, you have to learn seventeen different scales, and you have to learn to play exactly the right quarter tones, and there's so much that has to be a certain way. It's a very large and difficult tradition to enter, for a Swede. You almost need a lifetime to understand.
> KAMINSKY: Have you quit playing that music?
> SUNDSTRÖM: Yes, temporarily. Or I've only just scraped at the surface, I think. But I haven't had the energy to go in depth, because I don't think I have the patience to do everything correctly, or I don't have the drive that makes me want to learn a tradition down to the last detail. Only I'd rather play the music I'm passionate about, that's more accessible. And there, klezmer works very well, because it's both difficult and easy at the same time. (Interview, 24 June 2010)

Recall that part of what makes klezmer accessible to Sundström is her sense that its authoritative players have all died or fled Europe. Arab musicians, on the other hand, represent a real and growing population in Sweden, connected to a broader middle-Eastern influx. In the world music program at her local School of Music, Sundström played in an ensemble directed by an Arab ʿ*oud* player, who certainly would have been capable of correcting her mistakes.

I read Lisa Sundström's lateral shift from Arab to Jewish music, and her reasoning behind it, as a minor manifestation of broader Swedish societal anxieties born of cognitive dissonances surrounding middle-Eastern immigration. The immigrant flow can always be understood as potentially overwhelming given the seemingly never-ending regional conflicts that produce it, and yet to oppose that immigration is to side with the nationalist extreme Right, the only group that rails against it publicly. The klezmer played by Mosaik and Chozek operates to mitigate this dilemma. It works at the construction of a new form of cultural identity, whose quasi-Eastern (yet controllably European) capital promises to inoculate Swedish society against both the threat of overwhelming middle-Eastern immigration and the Nazi-rooted xenophobia that presuming such a threat to exist might unleash.

The effect need not always be purely rhetorical, either. I have elsewhere argued that Swedish folk music has historically been integral to the project of constructing traditional Swedish identity as monoethnic, and that musicians in that genre have not been able to convincingly revise its narrative to include ethnic outsiders (Kaminsky 2012). Swedish klezmorim on the other hand, by constructing an alternative musical Swedishness that proves safe, yet Eastern, as well as "traditional" by virtue of that Easternness, may have found a way to revise Swedish cultural identity such that it need not be predicated on whiteness or ancestral provenance. If, in the words of Lev Liberman, klezmer has indeed entered the cultural consciousness of the population, that achievement would be significant. Klezmer, as a folk music of the new multicultural Sweden, may become truly useful to the project of allowing immigrants to become more than foreigners or even welcome guests, but simply Swedes. The irony is that the easiest way for native European musicians to unequivocally claim that post-national identity for themselves and their immigrant neighbors has been to appropriate it from Jews via the nationalist logic of landed cultural ownership.

Conclusions

Very little about this case study is completely without precedent. Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin have argued that the European tradition of "spiritualizing" Jewishness—that is, of disengaging it from the physical bodies of Jews in order to disperse it to a wider population that can reap its benefits—goes all the way back to Pauline Christianity (1993:693–701). The practice of what I have called "mid-East proxy" also has roots in Orientalism, "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1979:3). It owes a debt to Balkanist tradition as well, in imagining Eastern European geographical space as a "bridge between East and West, between Europe and Asia" (Todorova 2009:16). Finally, Chozek and Mosaik also draw upon the practice of what George Lipsitz, adapting Gayatri Spivak, calls "strategic anti-essentialism," wherein members of one group assume the musical identity of another in order to renegotiate their social position (Lipsitz 1997; cf. Spivak 1993:3–4).

Another inescapable irony is that perhaps the most famous historical use of strategic anti-essentialism was actually perpetrated by Jewish musicians. Al Jolson's and Eddie Cantor's use of blackface to claim white American identity is probably the best-known example; Jeffrey Melnick argues that the same principle applies to Jewish appropriations of jazz in general (1999:95–140). Ultimately, my argument works along similar lines. Where Melnick would probably say that blackness was never really the point for those Jewish jazz artists, I would say that Jewishness was never really the point for those Swedish klezmorim. Rather, Swedish klezmer is about revising national identity in a post-monoethnic era.

That project—even just the part of it that music negotiates—is of course bigger than klezmer, and bigger than Sweden. I see this case study as a manifestation of a coherent sociomusical phenomenon that crosses boundaries of both geography and genre. My suspicion is that the general rise of orientalized East European music on the Western world music stage—what I have elsewhere called the New Old Europe Sound—might at least in part be about assuaging European fears concerning mid-East relations in the new millennium. European discourses surrounding Romany and Balkan music are often quite similar to those surrounding klezmer, and may serve comparable functions. The fusion of all three of those styles, which has become quite common in Western Europe, can be yet another mechanism for players to loosen the music's ethnic ties enough to claim a middle-Eastern musical identity for themselves.

The anti-essentialist, Orientalist, Balkanist, ethnonationalist, and anti-nationalist discourses in which Chozek and Mosaik are embedded emerge from a dizzying variety of political traditions, not all of them savory. And so, my initial misgivings about Swedish claims over klezmer do stand. Yet I will say that these musicians do direct the force of all those "isms" toward a goal that is progressive, inclusivist, and above all necessary. Whether klezmer's introduction into the Swedish cultural consciousness has actually been effective in helping to heterogenize national identity is difficult to ascertain. What can be said is that Sweden is in dire need of such a project. For all the incredible work the state has done to acclimate its immigrants to Swedish cultural life, this musical movement would be one of very few things Sweden has done to acclimate its native children to the presence of immigrants.

Notes

1. The names of the bands, and of their members, have been changed. Upon reading a draft of this article, members of Mosaik requested that they not be named. The members of Chozek agreed to be anonymous as well, at my request, in order to reinforce Mosaik's anonymity.

2. "What's more disturbing to me," says Liberman, "is that they took an Israeli tune and called it klezmer" (interview, December 22, 2011). "Nigun Atik" (Hebrew: "Ancient Song") is an Israeli folk dance tune composed by Amitai Ne'eman in the 1950s that has become something of a European klezmer standard. I suspect it may have entered the Swedish repertoire via the Polish band Kroke's 1996 debut album, *Trio: Klezmer Acoustic Music*.

3. The popular European tendency to associate modern Judaism with the State of Israel does even more to sever living Jewish ties to klezmer's Old World culture and diasporic victim identity.

4. Two of the members of Kroke have discovered Jewish ancestry since starting to play klezmer, but neither self-identifies as "primarily Jewish" (Waligórska 2013:88). It should be noted that they themselves reject the term "non-Jewish band," however. Their German producer Till Schumann has gone so far as to compare Joel Rubin and Rita Ottens to Joseph Goebbels for labeling them as such (Waligórska 2013:88–89).

5. *Klezmershack.com* lists 357 American bands, or one for every 879,311 Americans. *Klezmer.nu* lists twenty-four bands, or one for every 393,875 Swedes. I know of several Swedish klezmer bands that are not listed by *klezmer.nu*, and assume there are a number of American bands that *klezmershack.com* has missed as well, so these numbers can at best serve only as rough estimates.

6. The members of Mosaik had, however, all individually played for the JCC at one time or another, usually in bands or pick-up groups with at least one Jewish member. The members of Chozek have tried to get gigs with the Jewish community, but have not been successful.

7. Both bands have declined the opportunity to respond publicly in an appendix.

8. Conversely, this equation between ownership and access is also what prompts non-Jewish klezmorim to read Jewish critiques of their ownership narratives as attempts to deny them license to play the music. This common response to criticism also reveals an implicit fantasy of victim/oppressor role reversal, whereby Jews (sometimes explicitly compared to Nazis, sometimes apparently force-stripping non-Jews to inspect their penises) somehow have the power to "forbid" European Gentiles from playing certain kinds of music (Ottens and Rubin 2002:13, 33; Waligórska 2013:88–89).

9. To the best of my knowledge, none of my consultants have extended their "music cannot be owned" argument to the degree that they refuse royalty payments for their own compositions and arrangements.

10. The name of Jansson's tune has been changed to protect the anonymity of the band.

11. The title "Araber Tanz" suggests an Arab origin, of course, and as one of my anonymous reviewers pointed out, the actual source of that tune is likely Greek. A closer inspection of the cadence thus vindicates Swedish arguments about klezmer as borrowed music. The point here is that despite this potential justification of the narrative whereby Swedes can claim Easternness via klezmer, Jansson's composition still reveals considerable anxieties about that claim.

12. Technically speaking the augmented second is disrupted in the original "Araber Tanz" cadence as well, but in that case both the F-sharp and the E-flat are accented, which reinforces their sequentialness.

13. Four of the six tunes that use D freygish in Henry Sapoznik's *The Compleat Klezmer* follow this exact formula: "Der Heyser Bulgar" (1987:34–35), "Kandel's Hora" (50), "Ot Azoi" (64), and "Oi, Tate" (65). One of the two exceptions, "Firn Di Mekhutonim Aheym" (44), violates the rule only in that it briefly introduces a G minor chord in the A section. The other, "Der Yid in Yerusholayim" (60), does the same, but then never uses G as a secondary tonic. "Nigun Atik" follows this klezmer formula to a T.

14. The clarinet entered klezmer in Europe in the late nineteenth century, but only eclipsed the fiddle once the music was transplanted to the United States (Rubin 2001:63). Mark Slobin argues that clarinet became the predominant klezmer instrument in the United States due to the limitations of early recording technology, which was more conducive to wind than string instruments (1984:39; 1987:98).

15. The chromatic accordion may have entered klezmer in the United States, but here perception is more relevant than historical fact. For Swedes, the accordion is an iconically Swedish and European instrument.

16. For a detailed discussion of present-day klezmer fiddle ornamentation (*dreydlekh*), see (Strom 2012:100–103).

17. While European Jewish bassists may have played with bows historically, the standard practice for Swedish klezmorim today is to pluck their basses.

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