

From Icon to Identity

Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia



Mats d Hermansson

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GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACT

From Icon to Identity. Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia

Doctoral dissertation in English, 400 pages.

Mats d Hermansson, Göteborg University, Department of Musicology & Film Studies
Skrifter från Institutionen för musikvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet nr. 75, 2003
(*Publications from the Department of Musicology, Göteborg University, No. 75, 2003*)

Key words: bagpipe, drum, pipe band, icon, identity, Scandinavia, Scotland, Highland, function of music, imaginary world, impact of music, insider, outsider, learning music.

In the 1960s, a few individuals in Scandinavia got so interested in Scottish Highland piping and pipe band drumming that they started to play themselves, although there was no existing tradition for this music in Scandinavia, and they formed a small community of dedicated pipers and drummers.

The major objectives of this thesis is to analyse the background to why and processes through which the marginal culture of Scottish piping and drumming spread to and developed in Scandinavia as well as to interrogate what use and function this genre of music may have in Scandinavia.

Highland piping emerged as part of the clan chiefs' power structure in the Gaelic clan society of the Scottish Highlands in the sixteenth century. Later, the Great Highland Bagpipe was adopted by the British army where it retained its function of representing political power, further strengthened by the formation of bands of pipers and drummers in the nineteenth century. The bagpipe also became a strong romantic icon of Scotland, an image spread over the world by the British army and later by mass media, making the Great Highland Bagpipe *the* bagpipe.

Many of the Scandinavian pioneers acquired their interest at the encounter of the impressive appearance of a pipe band. In the thesis, the mechanisms behind the formation of an interest as a fantasy and its realisation are discussed against a framework of psychoanalytical concepts related to identity and personal identity choices facilitated and required by modern Western society.

The Scandinavian enthusiasts met with a very strong tradition of Scottish pipers and drummers who were more than willing to share their knowledge and culture. By means of books, recordings and a few lessons, a number of Scandinavians managed to learn and develop their playing, gradually copying the Scottish tradition.

The initial interest of the pioneers was directed both towards the music and the iconic extramusical aspects of the genre, but today the music and the competitive aspects of the genre are at the centre of interest for most players. The general audience in Scandinavia still sees the genre as an icon of Scotland or as something exotic.

The pioneers sought an identity in the icon of an exotic genre of music but found an identity as members of a small world-wide community of like minded musicians.

ISBN 91 85974 71-4

ISSN 1650-9285

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Cover and layout: Mats d Hermansson

Göteborg University, Department of Musicology & Film Studies

Printed by Intellecta Docusys, Västra Frölunda 2003

To Marie

The photograph on the front cover depicts the painting 'Pipes & Drums, Gordon Highlanders' by Mogens Zieler. The photograph was taken in Copenhagen in 2003, by Sven Axelsson and Mats d Hermansson by kind permission of the present owner of the painting, the Carlsberg Breweries, Copenhagen.

The picture on the back cover is another painting 'Scottish Pipe Band' by Mogens Zieler in 1959. The photograph is used by kind permission of A/S Stenders Kunstforlag, Skovlunde, Denmark. The original was donated to The Gordon Highlanders in Scotland, where it hung in the Officers' Mess for many years, but the location of the painting since the regiment was amalgamated into The Highlanders has not been possible to ascertain at the time of printing.

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Acknowledgements

The choices and presentation of material as well as the formulation of ideas in this thesis are solely my responsibility, and so are the faults. However, a thesis like this cannot be written without help, and I am indebted to a great many individuals. Particularly I should like to mention my supervisors, K. Olle Edström, who started me off on this project and Lars Lilliestam, who took over as my main supervisor after about a year. With his great experience, Olle Edström gave me many valuable hints from the very start and since then he has continuously commented on my texts. In his very positive and encouraging manner, Lars Lilliestam has guided me through a great number of theoretical, empirical and practical issues regarding the thesis.

Furthermore, I should like to thank other professors, senior lecturers and doctoral students taking part in the seminars at the Department of Musicology in Gothenburg for giving me many important comments. Especially, I should like to thank my two colleagues Karin Eriksson and Tobias Pettersson with whom I have had innumerable discussions.

I should also like to thank the seminar leaders and students taking part in the course in psychoanalytical methods in cultural analysis, arranged by the Centre of Cultural Studies at Göteborg University, and particularly the seminar leader Per Magnus Johansson for reading and commenting on chapter five.

In addition, I am grateful for comments from professors, senior lecturers and doctoral students from various countries on papers presented at a number of conferences and courses: The Skagerrak Network's workshops for doctoral students in Gothenburg (1998) and in Åbo (1999), the course 'Description and Interpretation', held at the Department of Musicology in Copenhagen (1999), the 13th Nordic Musicological Congress in Aarhus (2000) and the conferences of Svenska Samfundet för Musikforskning (Swedish Society for Musicology, SSM), held in Gothenburg (2001 and 2002).

I should like to thank all the Scandinavian pipe bands and other piping and drumming related organisations for letting me visit them on various occasions. I am particularly indebted to all those persons (listed in the sources) in Scandinavia and Scotland whom I have interviewed or who have supplied me with various written answers in letters or by email, as well as many others with whom I have had discussions.

I have been greatly helped by being given access to the personal archives of Hans-Lennart and Eva Colliander regarding The Thistle Pipe Band, the personal archives of Elizabeth Low regarding The Heather Pipes & Drums, which I gained access to through Berit Jensen, as well as the band archives of The Murray Pipes & Drums (of Gothenburg) and The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers. Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning has given me access to his copies of all programmes from The Copenhagen Winter Competition and Rolf Littorin has provided me with copies of the members' magazine of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band.

I should like to extend my sincere thanks to Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen and its staff who worked hard to supply me with information from the Mogens Zieler Archives. In addition, I am indebted to Arne Keller for directing me to this museum and for giving me information about other material regarding Mogens Zieler.

I have also been helped by the 'PBASnews' email newsgroup and the various websites of Scandinavian pipe bands and piping organisations.

Furthermore, I should like to thank Palle and Vivi Schjerning, Helle Klausen, Steffen Jensen and Helle Kristjansen for providing accommodation at my frequent visits to Copenhagen, Eva Bolander and Raymond Gibson for accommodating me during my stay in Glasgow as well as Ulf Schönberg, Lena Gustafsson, Jonas Hallgren, Eva Lundgren and Jonny Nordlander who provided accommodation during my stays in Stockholm and Gunnel and Peter Nordström who accommodated me in Malmö.

I am greatly indebted to my friends and piping colleagues Sven Axelsson and Ulf Schönberg for proof reading my manuscript and for many valuable comments and discussions and to Hugo Flordal for typesetting the examples of drum scores as well as Helle Klausen who has proof read my transcriptions of Danish quotations.

Finally, I should like to thank my family, my son Daniel Hermansson for helping me making up a database of Scandinavian pipers and drummers and my fiancée Marie Nordström, who has read and commented on my texts and who has given me practical and moral support throughout my work on this thesis.

Photographs, Illustrations & Printed Music

Lists of photographs, illustrations and musical examples can be found after the bibliography. I am indebted to the following persons and institutions for the permission to use photographs and illustrations: Aarhus

Pipes & Drums, Sven Axelsson, Mikael Birde, Jorma Katrama, Marie Nordström, Ulf Schönberg, Alice Strid, P/M Peter Wood Elder, B.E.M., The Carlsberg Breweries, The Murray Pipes & Drums (of Gothenburg), Skive Garden, A/S Stenders Kunstforlag and The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.

I should like to thank the following persons and organisations for the permission to use printed music: Thomas Whitelaw Christensen, Jessica Karlsson, Thue Kjelstrøm, Marie Nordström, Carl-Axel Roslund and The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association.

Economy

The printing of this thesis has been financed by The Faculty of Arts at Göteborg University, which has also financed a three year appointment of the author as a doctoral student at the Department of Musicology. Before that, the studies were financed for three years by means of loans and grants from Centrala Studiestödsnämnden (the national Swedish authority for educational financing) and Adlerbertska stipendiefonden.

In addition, I have received grants from the following funds to finance travelling costs within Scandinavia and to Scotland: Henrik E. Arhenbergs studiefond, Paul och Marie Berghaus donationsfond, Oscar Ekmans Stipendiefond and Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien (Swedish Royal Musical Academy). I have also received a grant from Stiftelsen Eduard Magnus Musikfond in Gothenburg to study piobaireachd in Scotland.

Furthermore I have received grants from the Department of Musicology in Gothenburg to cover administrative costs in connection with the thesis, from Trygghetsrådet (trs), Stockholm to finance literature and from Kungliga och Hvitfeldtska Stiftelsen, Gothenburg to finance a microphone.

Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia



I Introduction & Theory



1 Introduction, Objectives, the Field, Method & Theory

History has its continuity: wittingly or not, those coming later start with what already exists and develop it further. But what are the dynamics of this movement, the shaping forces of historical change? That is the question here.¹

Norbert Elias

Introduction

In 1968, at the age of ten, I watched a programme from the Edinburgh Military Tattoo on Swedish television. The sight and sound of the massed pipes and drums, transmitted through our old black and white television set, instilled in me an overwhelming wish to learn to play the bagpipes. My father considered the whole thing a childish whim, but the idea stayed with me and soon grew into an obsession with Scottish pipe music and all things Scottish. At first, I only had access to a few minutes of pipe music which I had taped from the radio and from television, but just before Christmas in 1968, I went with my father to the record store Waidele and bought a pipe band recording, an LP featuring the Muirhead & Sons Ltd. Pipe Band.² This was one of the leading Scottish bands at the time, but of course I had no idea of that. I started to read everything I could find about Scotland and I soon bought more records which I played over and over again. The wish to become a piper not only stayed with me but grew stronger and stronger. Me and my parents did not know of any pipers in Gothenburg so the idea seemed impossible to realise. In 1972, my mother found out that there was a Scottish country dance group in Gothenburg and so I started to learn Scottish Dancing, although there was no piper connected to the group. Later that year, we found out that one of my father's colleagues had bought a set of pipes during a visit to Scotland. He also had a practice chanter³ which he agreed to sell to me together with

¹ Elias, 1994: 329

² Muirhead & Sons Ltd. Pipe Band, *Champion of Champions* (LP 1967).

³ See footnote 46, page 47.

a copy of a tutor book named *Logan's Tutor*.⁴ Finally, four years after having acquired my interest in piping, I started the quest of learning to play the practice chanter on my own. In February 1974, an article in *Göteborgs-Posten* stated that Carl Axel Roslund from Malmö and a few others intended to start the first pipe band in Gothenburg.⁵ I contacted them and became one of the founding members. Through Carl Axel Roslund I was introduced to the small emerging Scandinavian piping and drumming fraternity in Malmö, Copenhagen and Stockholm. Later that summer, I bought my first set of bagpipes for my first wages. Since then, I have devoted a large part of my life to the playing and teaching of Scottish pipe music in Gothenburg and other parts of Scandinavia.

Some of the readers of this thesis probably know that the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe, with clear roots in sixteenth century Gaelic clan society, was adopted by the British army when the old clan society disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. In the army new types of bagpipe music became popular and drumming was added to the music. The music was spread to many parts of the world by Scottish emigrants and the British Army.

After 1945, two or three individuals in Scandinavia are known to have attempted to play the Scottish Highland bagpipe. From the 1960s and onwards, a few enthusiasts in Denmark and Sweden got so interested in the music and its culture that not only did they start to play the Scottish Highland bagpipe and pipe band drums, but they also adopted most of the culture and paraphernalia inextricably connected to these instruments. The first groups were formed in Stockholm and Copenhagen around 1968, by pure coincidence at the same time as my interest in Scottish piping emerged. In the 1970s and early 1980s, groups were formed in many other Danish towns as well as in Malmö and Gothenburg in Sweden. In Finland and Norway, groups were not formed until the 1990s. Today, there are roughly 250–300 Scandinavians actively involved in this genre as leisure time musicians. The playing ability and knowledge in Scandinavia about the music and its culture have steadily improved since the first pioneers started to learn thirty or forty years ago.

The pursuer of a keen interest is not liable to think much over why he has acquired this particular interest or why so much time and energy is spent on the project. This is particularly evident during the early phases

⁴ MacLellan, 1963

⁵ Hansson, Björn, 'De vill starta Göteborgs första säckpipeorkester', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 4 Feb. 1974.

of the interest, during which all thoughts and efforts are directed towards achieving the desired goal. If the interest in question is somewhat original or out of the ordinary, the project is more liable to be questioned by those who are not involved in it.

When encountering a player of the Scottish bagpipes, members of Scandinavian audiences tend to have a few typical questions. The first one regards certain items of dress worn or not worn with the kilt; an academic question, not without a philosophical touch. It will, however, not be a major theme in this thesis. The second question is whether the player is Scottish, or if not, if he or she is of Scottish ancestry. When the piper is found to be of Scandinavian origin, the third question often is: "How and why did you get interested in playing the bagpipes? It is such a different instrument." This is a question easily posed, but not so easy to answer on the spur of the moment. But, it is an earnest question.

Seen from an ethnomusicological point of view, this seemingly simple question can be interpreted as a type of emic⁶ listener response where the traditional view of pipe music, as epitomising Scotland and things Scottish, to some extent breaks down when it is found out that the performer is in fact of Scandinavian origin. This is what makes the question an earnest one; the questioner meets something that breaks down or tilts his preunderstanding and so he is searching for answers to fill the gap or bring back stability.

Objectives

During the work on this thesis many questions have emerged. Why, for instance, has this genre of music, with its strong roots in the old Gaelic clan society and the Scottish army, become so attractive to a few Scandinavians? How was the music imported to Scandinavia, what happened to the music as it was imported, and what was the role of the music in the process of creating an identity for the musicians involved? Why did these persons want to belong to a culture different from their own, or was that what they wanted?

In order to elucidate these issues some of the history of this genre in Scotland and Scandinavia will be discussed against a number of theoretical concepts giving an insight into an interesting musical culture with many colourful individuals.

⁶ For an introduction to the concepts 'emic' and 'etic' see page 310.

The main objective of this thesis is to describe and analyse the background to why and processes through which the small marginal culture of Scottish piping and drumming spread to and developed in Scandinavia, as well as to interrogate what use and function this genre of music may have in Scandinavia.

The aim here is not to prove one or a few hypotheses but to describe the development and meaning of a small musical world. A number of issues will be brought up to expound the main objective. The development of the genre in Scotland and traits of interest for its dissemination to Scandinavia will be discussed as well as how the genre is seen in general in Scandinavia.

Major questions are how and why a few Scandinavians acquired such a strong interest for this music that they started to play themselves, how they realised their wish to learn to play and how the music and culture was affected by being imported to Scandinavia.

Furthermore, the pioneers' preconceptions of the genre will be discussed and how these were affected by the meeting with the actual musical culture. Finally, the use and function of this marginal genre will be examined in relation to the players, the audiences and Scandinavian society.

The different chapters of the thesis bring up various of the questions and topics mentioned above and these topics are discussed against a background of theories chosen to elucidate various aspects of the topic in question. In addition, a few overarching threads are pursued through the thesis. One of these is how a genre emerges due to specific historical circumstances in a society and how it develops over time as it is adopted by new generations of individuals and cultures. A second thread is the impact of connotations given to the genre, such as the bagpipe functioning as an icon of Scotland. Another discussion brought up is how an interest starting out as a fantasy and an imaginary identity can be realised and become a reality.

General Objective – More Knowledge About Humanity

The aim of research in the humanities is maybe not so much debated as it should. This is not the place to go into a profound discussion of that issue, but I will venture a few comments. One overarching objective is to study human activity using scientifically rigorous methods and theories to improve our understanding of ourselves as human beings. By studying fields that hitherto have not been explored by scholars, new knowledge

is hopefully found and old knowledge might be supported or overthrown. Also, by applying new theories on known facts or properties, we might enhance our understanding and knowledge. According to Thomas Kuhn this process of the development of science is discontinuous. A scientific paradigm is valid during a period of time creating a research tradition. As new ideas emerge theories within the paradigm might be changed to 'save' the overarching paradigm, but at a certain point there will be so many anomalies due to changes, that the paradigm will be overthrown by a new paradigm.⁷

There is an old ethnomusicological tenet that all music is equally valid for study. Very little musicological research has been done on Scottish piping and drumming, and even less has been made on this culture as it manifests itself outside of Scotland. Still, the Scottish bagpipe is probably the most widespread and most well-known of all bagpipes. By doing research on this genre I aim to acquire new knowledge both about musicology and this genre of music.

Another perspective could be described as ideological or political and it is directed in at least two different ways. I want to write about this genre to make it known to musicologists and other scholars, but also to inspire the insiders to understand more of their own music and culture. Consequently I write from both a musicological/ethnomusicological perspective and an insider perspective. In spite of the problems connected to this approach, I believe that this duality generates interesting questions and answers. I will return to this discussion later in this chapter. Although I have tried to consider my dual position as a piper and a musicologist, the reader too is asked to be aware of it. Unfortunately, this is not always observed in more traditional musicological areas, such as Western art music, which is strange considering that most modern musicologists seem to agree that music cannot exist without its context and that it is bound in culture. The major point of departure here is ethnomusicological aiming at discussing the culture and the music as an entity. John Blacking regards ethnomusicology not as an area of study, but as a method, and he writes:

It is rather an approach to understanding *all* musics and music-making in the contexts of performance and of the ideas and skills that composers, performers and listeners bring to what they define as musical situations.⁸

⁷ Kuhn, 1962

⁸ Blacking, 1987: 3

However, before engaging in a profound discussion of the methods and theoretical concepts of the thesis I will briefly present the field of research.

The Field, the Individuals, the Sources & Delimitations

Short Introduction to Previous Research

As mentioned, not much research has been done on the Great Highland Bagpipe, the pipe band drums and their music, although the research and scholarly literature on this genre of music is steadily increasing. The only previous academic texts about Scandinavian piping and drumming consist of a short but informative article by Ulf Schönberg in *Säckpipan i Norden*,⁹ (an anthology of the bagpipe in the Nordic and Baltic countries) and a short section about a Scandinavian piping and drumming competition in my master's exam paper.¹⁰ *Säckpipan i Norden* is primarily concerned with the indigenous bagpipes of the Nordic and Baltic countries.

Regarding previous research on the genre of Highland piping and pipe band drumming in general, I should like to mention the following books:¹¹

The Piper in Peace and War (1927) by C.A. Malcolm, which is an account of army piping from the seventeenth century until after the First World War.

The Bagpipe (1975) by Francis Collinson. This is a general introduction to bagpipes, tracing the instrument from ancient times. A major part of the book is devoted to the Great Highland Bagpipe, its music and history.

Piobaireachd (1987) by Seumas MacNeill and Frank Richardson. This book is primarily an introduction to piobaireachd (the classical music of the Highland pipe),¹² but it also gives some historical background of the instrument and the music.

The Highland Bagpipe and its Music (1988) by Roderick Cannon is a very comprehensive introduction to the Highland bagpipe and its music from the origins of the instrument to the present day.

⁹ Schönberg, 1990: 338–353

¹⁰ Hermansson, 1997: 86–103

¹¹ For a review of further books and texts not mentioned here, see Cannon, 1995: 171–173.

¹² See 'Ceòl Mór – The Classical Music of the Bagpipe' on page 45.

The Highland Bagpipe: The Impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, 1781–1884, (1988) by Iain MacInnes (University of Edinburgh). An unpublished M. Litt. thesis in which the importance and impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland on the genre of Highland piping is discussed.

Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe (c. 1760), a facsimile edition (1994), edited by Roderick Cannon, of the earliest known comprehensive study of the Highland bagpipe and its music, written around 1760.

Music of the Scottish Regiments (1994) by David Murray. This book is devoted to the regimental music of the Scottish regiments, including drums, bugles and the military band as well as the pipes and drums.

Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping 1745–1945 (1998) by John G. Gibson. By tracing the historical relationship between traditional Scottish and New World piping this study elucidates various aspects of piping, Gaelic clan society and the Highland diaspora.

The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1759–1950 (2000) by William Donaldson. Donaldson, who is a Scottish social historian, introduces many interesting aspects of Highland piping in connection to Scottish society through history. Particularly, his discussion of how the Highland pipe and its music became a Scottish icon is of interest as a background to this thesis.

The Field of Empirical Research & Source Material

The Geographical Area

With the exception of discussions and presentations regarding the origins of Highland piping and pipe band drumming in Scotland, the major geographical area treated in this thesis is Scandinavia including Finland. Although Finland does not geographically belong to Scandinavia it will be treated here as if it was part of Scandinavia,¹³ the reason being that the only pipe band in Finland is a member of the Scandinavian pipe band community. Scandinavia is a large geographical area, but as can be seen on the map in chapter three (see *Figure 3–2 on page 106*) groups of pipers and drummers are primarily located in southern Scandinavia. In Swe-

¹³ Wherever the term 'Scandinavia' is used, Finland is generally included, although it should be remembered that the first pipe band in Finland was not started until the 1990s.

den there are only bands in the larger cities and in Norway and Finland in the capital cities only. In Denmark there are more bands on a smaller geographical area and groups are to be found not only in bigger cities but also in some smaller towns. There are single individuals who own and play Highland pipes in other areas of Scandinavia, but in general they have not participated in the Scandinavian piping community at large. Furthermore, I do not know of any such pipers who have made themselves publicly known.

There are several general reasons for confining the study to Scandinavia. Although different in a number of respects the Scandinavian countries and Finland share many cultural traits, both historically and today. Due to the natural geographical vicinity, but also for political reasons, the Scandinavian countries have a long history of close connections between both individuals and governments.¹⁴ The languages of Denmark, Norway and Sweden are closely related and a number of inhabitants in Finland have Swedish as their mother tongue. On the other hand, Finnish (the majority language in Finland) belongs to a totally different group of languages, the Finno-Ugric languages.

The major reason, however, is that at an early stage of the development of pipe bands in Stockholm and Copenhagen the Scandinavian piping and drumming pioneers started to cooperate and a Scandinavian piping and drumming community was formed. From 1970 and onwards, Scandinavian pipers and drummers have met regularly to compete, play and socialise. Around 1971, The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia was formed to further the cooperation between Scandinavian bands. Over the years, Danish players have been invited to teach Swedish players and vice versa. Later, when bands were formed in Norway and Finland, both Danish and Swedish players were invited to help the new groups. Many of the Scandinavian bands are organised in similar ways and they share many traits both of a musical and a historical character.

The closest neighbouring country with Scottish pipers and drummers is Germany. Undoubtedly, the pipe bands in Germany have much in common with the Scandinavian bands, but there are also major differences. For instance, the constant presence, after World War II, of Scottish regiments with pipe bands is likely to have had an influence on the interest and playing in parts of Germany. This, however, is quite a different story and lies outside the scope of this thesis.

¹⁴ One of many examples of political Nordic cooperation is The Nordic Council founded in 1952 (Swedish National Encyclopedia, Vol. 14, page 225).

The Individuals

A rough estimation of the number of individuals who are or have been playing Scottish pipes or drums in Scandinavia amounts to about 700 or 750 players. Beginners who have started to learn but stopped before they ever performed or competed are not included in these figures. The figures are based on known names of players plus extrapolations of players in relation to the number of known groups.¹⁵ An estimation of active players today (2002) amounts to between 200 and 250. These figures are by no means valid from a statistical point of view, but are only mentioned here as a rough guide to the number of individuals that have been involved in this genre of music in Scandinavia.

About 20% of the players are female. Although the material is thin, it is clear that the percentage of female players is higher in Denmark than in Sweden. In Norway and Finland the players are still so few that I do not find it relevant to discuss the male/female distribution.

A statistical survey has not been part of the aims of this thesis, and consequently a comprehensive demographic presentation of the Scandinavian players also lies outside its scope. I will, however, attempt a few general observations based on my own experience within the culture. The early pioneers in the 1960s and 70s were generally in their late teens or early twenties when they started to play. Since then the ages of new beginners have ranged from young children of about seven or eight to individuals fifty years old or more. The ages among active Scandinavian players range from about ten to seventy. In general, I have not supplied information about the ages of living persons mentioned, as this would have cluttered the text with dates and years. Where possible, I have supplied the years of births and deaths for deceased persons.¹⁶

A majority of players have a middle class background. There are not so many with a working class background and very few have an upper class background. Most adult players have a professional education and quite many have an academic education. Many players work with administration in banks, companies or as civil servants, some as leaders, others are teachers or work with computers, for instance as programmers. A number of players work as engineers with varying degrees of education and responsibility. Not so many of the active players have 'top' positions in society, but there are some players who work as directors of compa-

¹⁵ Database compiled by author and Daniel Hermansson.

¹⁶ For persons living in Sweden, dates of births and deaths have been checked with Skattemyndigheten, Göteborgsregionen (The Tax Authorities, Gothenburg Region).

nies, a few prestigious jurists as well as one priest. A few are employed as physicians and there are also three or four university professors. There are also a few manual workers. Surprisingly few (three or four) work as professional musicians in other genres. There are no Scandinavians who make a full time living as pipers or drummers.

I do not know of any demographic research made on pipers and drummers in Scotland, but through personal experience I know that there are players from most layers of society in Scotland. For instance, I have reason to believe, that in comparison to Scandinavia there are more players in Scotland with a working class background.¹⁷

From various discussions in this thesis it will become clear that many of the Scandinavian pioneers of piping and drumming have been and are colourful individuals, searching an identity in a foreign, marginal culture. Some of the mechanisms behind their wish to learn piping and drumming are traced in chapter five. There is, however, one aspect of this issue which, although of interest, I have found difficult to explore at great depth because of its sensitive quality. It is possible that the reasons for some individuals' interest to engage in and find an identity in a foreign and marginal culture is to be found in negative experiences pertaining to their childhood. These can be in the form of alcoholism in the family, severe illness or other family circumstances that have made these individuals predisposed to be searchers of something different, and hopefully better, through which they could gain a strong identity. Indeed, I know of such cases among the Scandinavian pipers and drummers, but because of the sensitive nature of this type of information these cases cannot be brought up as examples. In addition, as I only know of a limited number of such cases, it is possible that they are of marginal importance to the questions addressed in this thesis. Still, I feel obliged to comment on the issue here as it has been brought up by various persons, both musicologists and insiders of the culture, during my work on the thesis, maybe, under the assumption that you have to be a bit crazy if you decide to play in a pipe band. However, the vast majority of the Scandinavian pipers and drummers seem to be well integrated in the 'normal' Scandinavian society at large. Whether this is in spite of, or due to, their involvement in piping or drumming is an interesting question, although one that cannot be further examined here.

¹⁷ For a historical background see chapter two, page 44.

Source Material

The books mentioned above in connection with previous research have been of great value as sources of information for the background of the genre presented in chapter two. Other general sources of interest have been the *Piping Times*, a Scottish magazine for pipers world-wide, and the *Piper and Drummer*, a Canadian magazine for pipers and drummers. Some of the major sources for the following chapters about piping and drumming in Scandinavia are briefly introduced here.

Interviews & Field Studies

To collect information about the genre I have made thirty-five interviews during the work on this thesis. In addition to these another four interviews made earlier in connection with my M. A. exam essay about piping and drumming competitions have been used as sources. As an insider I had much knowledge of the field when I started this project, but that knowledge was not gathered methodically, and although it has helped in the formulation of problems and interpretations of the collected material it could not alone give empirical credibility to my research. In addition, it only represents my personal view of the culture.

The informants have not been chosen at random but have been selected by different criteria in a search for information on various issues. Among the informants I have looked for:

- Individuals involved as pioneers or with knowledge of early Scandinavian piping and drumming.
- Players with knowledge from different bands and areas.
- Players of both pipes and drums.
- Male as well as female players, although the majority of informants have been male as the majority of initiators and band leaders are male.
- Scottish players with a knowledge of both the Scottish and the Scandinavian piping and drumming scene.

One major theme in this thesis is to trace the origins of Scandinavian piping and drumming. Consequently, a majority of interviews for the thesis have been made with individuals who I thought had knowledge of the early Scandinavian pipe band scene, but in addition, a few younger players have been interviewed. It should be made clear that these interviews do not cover all areas of the Scandinavian piping and drumming scene.

Every individual's playing history is different and of great interest, but it is not possible to interview everybody, and by necessity a selection has been made. By interviewing individuals I intended to:

- Get an overview of this musical culture and its history from the perspectives of different actors.
- Get access to different types of written and recorded material about the field.
- Find out something about who the musicians of this genre are, and why they became involved in the culture.
- Get knowledge of the actors' own emic interpretation of their genre.

In these interviews I see the research process, described by Vilmer Andersen and Peter Gamdrup, as a communicative relation between myself as a researcher and the actors of the culture.¹⁸ This also means that I chose to make the interviews unstructured and consequently I have been using a qualitative, not a quantitative, method of evaluation. Although unstructured, the interviews made for the thesis have been made from a set of basic issues.¹⁹ Initially at the interviews, the informants have been asked to tell about how they acquired their interest for the music and then how they started to learn to play. Through the interviews the informants have then been guided to talk about the different basic issues relevant to their playing history.

The atmosphere during the interviews has been relaxed but all informants have been eager to answer my questions and supply as much information as possible. In general, interviewees have acted in a 'professional' manner knowing that the interviews have been conducted to supply source material for a thesis in musicology. It is my firm belief that informants in general have tried to give as truthful and informative answers as possible. However, it must be taken into account that memory changes over time and that some issues might be more or less intentionally 'polished up' or even avoided when brought up at an interview. Especially, dates and years are difficult for informants to remember during an interview. Where possible, such information has been supported by references in written material. A number of less formal discussions and telephone conversations with various individuals have also functioned as sources.

In addition to the interviews, I have made observations of the culture on many occasions, where my objectives as a musicologist have been

¹⁸ Andersen & Gamdrup, 1994: Chapter 3:2

¹⁹ 'Appendix C', page 383.

nominally known to the actors, although my position as an insider of the culture is likely to have made people forget about my additional position as a researcher. In most cases I have been a participant observer acting in the double role of insider and outsider, but I have also made a few visits where I have acted mostly as a passive guest. In a few cases, I have referred to observations made before the work on this thesis started in 1997. To distinguish these older observations from more recent ones I have, somewhat jokingly, referred to them as 'retrospective participant observations'.

The thirty-two interviews and some field observations have been recorded on tape or mini disc. These interviews have been summarised and indexed, but not printed word for word. There are written notes from the interviews which are not recorded.

Insider Texts, Archives & Recordings

I have had access to written and recorded material about the culture, predominantly produced within the culture, some in official band archives and some from various personal archives. This material includes a great variety of different types of written documents, such as correspondence, lists of members, minutes, lists of repertoires, rehearsal plans, letters, various articles from scrap books, pipe music and drum scores, competition programmes and photographs. In addition, some bands and organisations have produced member magazines. Almost all Scandinavian pipe bands and related organisations have their own websites which have also been used as sources for this thesis.

The recordings are predominantly made by the bands themselves or by individuals within the bands, although there are a few commercial recordings as well. There are also a number of amateur videos from various competitions and other events and a few professional films.

There are rarely any problems with the authenticity of these sources, as their origins are known to me in most cases. Their validity is of course often more problematic, for several reasons. The texts in programmes were not written for scholarly purposes, and often they might have been more or less knowingly biased for various reasons.

The size order and accessibility of band archives vary considerably, and consequently it has been easier to write detailed accounts about some bands and organisations. The most well-arranged Scandinavian pipe band archives, ranging from 1976 to 2002, are probably those of The Murray Pipes & Drums (MPD Archives), consisting of about thirty files and other material, organised by Ulf Schönberg and later maintained by

members of the band. Other archives which have been of great value during the work on the thesis have been Elizabeth Low's personal archives regarding The Heather Pipes & Drums, 1970–1978, as well as Eva and Hans-Lennart Collianders' personal scrap books about the early Thistle Pipe Band, 1968–1986. Part of these books were compiled by Per Colliander, until his death in 1973. To a large extent, the sections about Mogens Zieler build on material deposited at Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen. This material has been catalogued by Arne Keller.

Another Scandinavian website of interest is *An International Highland Bagpipe Discography by Ulf Schönberg*. The discography is located at the The National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images in Sweden.²⁰

Delimitations – Possible Comparative Fields

Above, the genre and major geographical area subject to investigation in this thesis have been defined. There are, of course, innumerable genres or other musical fields that share traits with the musical culture discussed here, but the field of investigation must be delimited. As there are no previous thorough studies of the Scandinavian pipe band culture and, indeed, hardly any studies of pipe band culture at all, the present study has been confined to a profound survey of the Scandinavian pipe band culture.

There are a multitude of examples of other genres where Scandinavians have engaged in the music of foreign cultures, with examples such as ensembles playing music from the Balkans, klezmer music, balalaika bands and American drum corps music. A comparative study of a choice of these genres would probably touch on many of the issues brought up in this thesis, but that would have been a quite different study. Early Scandinavian import of jazz, blues and rock are other possible related areas which have been left out not to deviate from the major subject of study.

In Brittany, the Great Highland Bagpipe is played together with bombardes and drums in a tradition which is very different from the Scottish pipe band tradition. With a few single exceptions, this Breton tradition has attracted less than marginal interest among Scandinavian pipe band enthusiasts, and consequently it is not an issue in this thesis.

²⁰. *An International Highland Bagpipe Discography by Ulf Schönberg*, <http://www.ljudochbildarkivet.se/slba/bagd/bagd.home.htm>

Methodological & Theoretical Considerations

The Scholar – Insider or Outsider?

As mentioned in the introduction my interest in piping emerged in 1968, but the first time I saw and heard Scottish piping and drumming was probably in 1966, when The Glasgow Police Pipe Band visited Gothenburg. I do not remember this first encounter with a Scottish pipe band, but my mother has told me that we heard the band perform in the centre of Gothenburg. My first meeting with the emerging *Swedish* pipe band culture was in 1972, when I went to Trollhättan, a small town north east of Gothenburg, to listen to a concert with The Thistle Pipe Band from Stockholm at 'Fallens Dagar'. In 1975, through the newly started Gothenburg City Pipe Band, I met James Kirkpatrick, a Scottish pipe maker and piping teacher from the village of Bonhill south of Loch Lomond, who set me on the right track regarding how to play the pipes. I am greatly indebted to him for my basic knowledge of Highland piping. Most of my life has been dedicated to Scottish piping, and I have been playing and teaching the pipes in Gothenburg and in many other parts of Scandinavia. In 1976, I was one of the initiators of a new band in Gothenburg – The Murray Pipes & Drums – and I have been its pipe-major²¹ since then. I have been invited to teach many of the Scandinavian bands and also at the summer schools of the Scandinavian School of Piping and Drumming. Since 1997, I have been the chairman of The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia.

Thus, I am definitely to be regarded as an insider of Scottish piping culture, especially the Scottish piping scene in Scandinavia. As an insider I have a lot of first hand experience and knowledge of the field and the music I am studying. According to Bruno Nettl:

The major *intellectual* objection (with its own political overtones) to fieldwork by an outsider is based on the belief that musical systems are essentially untranslatable.²²

My long experience as an insider in the genre has helped me to understand aspects of the music and its culture that might be difficult for an outsider to grasp or even notice.

²¹ The leader (or conductor) of a pipe band is titled the pipe-major (P/M).

²² Nettl, 1983: 261

On the other hand, as an active member of the culture, I share a lot of thoughts and preunderstanding with the other participants in the culture, and so I might have failed to notice aspects that would be more obvious to the non-participating outsider. From the general viewpoint of the ethnomusicologist I am an insider of the culture, but personally, I see myself as both an insider and an outsider, the reason being that most pipers are not musicologists, and so from the perspective of my musicological self, I am, in a way, an outsider. Of course I can never be certain (and neither can my readers) of when it is the aspect of the piper or the musicologist that gets the upper hand. Hopefully the two perspectives will merge now and then, creating new and interesting insights.

Whether played by Scots or individuals without any Scottish ancestry, Highland piping and pipe band drumming are still closely linked to Scotland. Mark Slobin uses the concept *interculture* about links set up by subcultures across national borders, and discusses the importance of the 'homeland' or 'mother country' of such cultures.²³ In the case of Scottish pipe music the mother country is extremely well defined. Scotland is not only the 'home country' of pipers and drummers with Scottish ancestry, but of everybody who has chosen to belong to the Scottish piping and drumming culture. Although my musical home country is Scotland, I am still Swedish. Again I am an insider of the Scottish piping culture, but at the same time an outsider – a Swede.

The Research Situation²⁴

My initial questions for the thesis emerged in the space between my inside position as a member of the piping culture and my outside perspective as a musicologist. Touching here on post-structuralist discourse, my position vis-à-vis the culture (or the subject of my study) and musicology could be viewed as a pyramid with a triangular base (see *Figure 1–1*). The *studied culture* is located along one of the sides, representing my insider perspective of the culture. My perspective as a musicologist is represented by the *musicology* side of the triangular base, where I become an outsider of the studied culture, but there is also a third perspective, that of *the research process*, where the studied culture is put in relation to

²³ Slobin, 1993: 64

²⁴ Partly, this discussion builds on an unpublished paper written by the author together with Karin Eriksson and Tobias Persson. The paper was presented at a seminar for PhD students in Åbo, Finland in 1999. (Eriksson et al., 1999.)

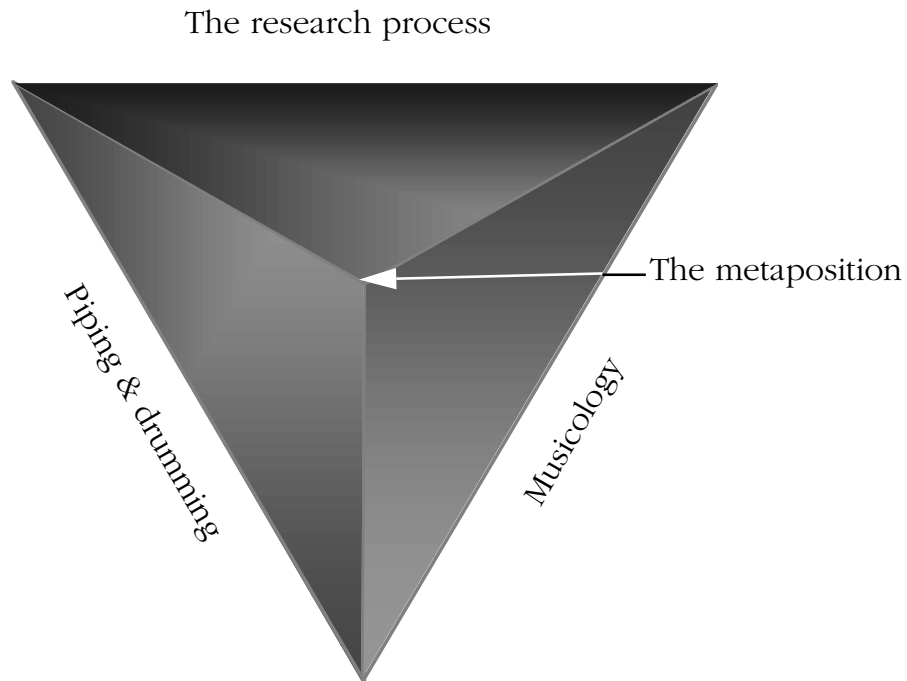


Figure 1–1. A model of the research situation in the shape of a pyramid seen from the angle of the metaperspective.

musicology and where I become a mediator between the two. These three aspects form the triangular base of the pyramid. The fourth position on top of the pyramid is the ideal (but maybe not fully attainable) metaposition to which the researcher should strive, forming the pyramid as *the creative space* where new knowledge can be observed. From this metaposition the researcher has an overview of the whole pyramid in comparison to the limited views at the base. As with any model of thoughts, this pyramid should not to be seen as a rigid description of the research process, but as a point of departure for a discussion of how this process might work.²⁵

The following quotation from Homi K. Bhabha is initially about colonial literature, but I think it gives a further clue to how identification might work in my case:

What is interrogated is not simply the image of the person, but the discursive and disciplinary place from which questions of identity are strategically and institutionally posed. [...] ‘you’ are continually positioned in the space between a range of contradictory places that coexist.²⁶

²⁵ I am indebted to Marie Nordström who suggested the pyramid model.

²⁶ Bhabha, 1994: 47–48.

This applies to the position of the researcher, *the mediator*, in the meeting through the *research process* with the culture subject to research, *the object*, and the culture of musicology, *the method* or tool-box. The research area will be presented from the angle of the researcher as a member in the studied culture as well as from the tradition of musicology, but also from the angle of the researcher as part of the actual research process. This is an important aspect of scholarly reflexivity, and a part of that process is to perceive musicology as a culture among others.

The studied culture is defined as culture in the meeting with musicology, but musicology too, is to some extent defined as culture by the studied culture. It is the researcher as an individual who facilitates the meeting. The researcher is the mediator. But, the individual, as the two cultures, has a background, a prehistory which affects the conditions of the meeting between the cultures.

An often overlooked aspect of a thesis is the personal interest of the researcher. The passion for a certain subject is not only formed by the scholars experiences of the studied culture or the musicological culture (the discipline), but also by other types of more or less profound personal experiences. Passion is paramount for the choices made by the scholar as an individual in relation to the studied culture as well as to the musicological culture.

A scholar pursuing research on a subject as a total outsider having absolutely no relationship to it is difficult to picture. On the contrary, in most cases research in musicology and in the humanities is made by individuals who have already got a strong relationship to and a strong passion for the studied issue. This does not only apply to ethnomusicologists, but equally so to the musicologists studying traditional subjects such as 'the great geniuses of Western art music', music theory and music analysis. Bearing this in mind, every researcher should ask the self-reflective questions: What makes me engage in this research project? What is my passion?

One facet of this thesis is that my musicological study of piping and drumming in Scandinavia is yet a manifestation of my life long dedication and participation in this musical culture. In that case I might be more of "the insider who provides the perspective that the culture has of itself."²⁷

This leads over to another, more general, aspect of research. Will the results of the study be beneficial also for the studied culture? Perhaps the study might even have a negative influence. Bruno Nettl brings this prob-

²⁷. Nettl, 1983: 262

lem up in connection with field studies in non-western countries, involving questions such as whether the music and the culture will be treated with due respect by the scholar, and in what ways the music will be made available to Western society.²⁸ I believe, however, that these questions are relevant to most musicological studies, although there may not be a definite answer every time. Generally, I have experienced a great interest among pipers regarding research done on the bagpipe, its culture and music. However, there often seems to be mistrust against people writing about piping, who are not known pipers themselves. Talking to pipers in Scotland about well-known musicologists who have done research on piping, I have been met with expressions like: “I haven't heard that *he* is a good player”, or “Does he *play* at all?”

The musicological and the studied culture have certain features in common. For instance, they are carried forward in a process of a changing tradition. The two cultures might share some interests, although their expectations may differ. It may well be in the interest of both cultures that a thesis is written on a certain aspect of the culture, but whilst the scholarly culture expects that new knowledge is produced and that a new generation of researchers are fostered to guarantee the continuation of the discipline, the studied culture might expect that the thesis will result in documentation that can be used to legitimise the culture. Research results can be used by both the musicological culture and the studied culture, but for different purposes.

In this introduction I have written a few lines about my background as an insider in the culture using the word ‘I’. When I use the word ‘I’ in the following chapters my intention is to denote the ‘I’ of the scholar – the writer of the thesis. In a few places, I have reason to write about myself historically, as an insider of the studied culture. I will then refer to this ‘historical I’ in the third person. In those sections, I will also primarily refer to historical written verifiable material instead of my own memory, although naturally I have been greatly aided by my memory when finding and selecting the relevant historical documents.

Some choices made by the scholar are explicitly made within the research process, but some choices are made by the researcher even before engaging in a particular research process at all. Through these choices the scholar, to some extent, controls the results. This does not in any way mean that a certain choice will fulfil the expectations of the scholar. Within research there is a tendency not to acknowledge choices made outside

²⁸ Nettl, 1983: 264

the explicit research process, but it should be borne in mind that such choices too can affect the final research result.

In various utterances and texts the visibility of the person who is speaking or writing can be more or less conspicuous. Even more intricate is the question of what the *a priori* assumptions and political and ideological intentions are of that person, especially as the person might be more or less conscious of the underlying ideals himself. This might be important enough to be aware of in everyday life, but in scientific texts in particular, we expect that the writer is very much aware of his position in relation to the subject he is writing about, and what types of *a priori* assumptions he is making about it. He is also expected to make these known to his reader. It is also of paramount significance how different concepts are defined and used and what overarching scientific perspective is used. Different scientific perspectives are likely to highlight different properties of a subject and may also indicate different ways of looking at science, and maybe even life at large. Furthermore, a discipline such as musicology tends to draw on other disciplines so seemingly different as history, physics, ethnology and psychology.

A Scholarly Study or an Interpretation – Not the Truth

A scholarly study like this cannot claim to represent the studied culture, its individuals or its practices as such. Its *raison d'être* is to elucidate from a scholarly or scientific point of view various aspects of the subject at hand. The strength of such a presentation lies in its capacity to explain something about the studied culture by using and developing concepts and methods rooted in scholarly tradition. By this I want to point out that this thesis does not aim to tell 'the truth' about the studied culture. I do not believe there is any *one* truth, only different truths or interpretations depending on the context and the interpreter. Of course, the discussion builds on a great number of verifiable facts, but depending on the choice of which facts to present and the interpretation of these facts different versions of their meaning are possible. A scientific study will tend to focus on certain types of meaning due to its special traditions, language and concepts. Although other types of thought and method such as the emic²⁹ interpretation of the culture is drawn upon by the scholar, this knowledge will have to yield to the peculiar style of the scientific text. The interpretations made here do not claim to represent the insiders' own emic view

²⁹. For an introduction to the concepts 'emic' and 'etic' see chapter eight, page 310.

of themselves and their culture, although glimpses of the emic interpretations will frequently occur in the text, more or less filtered through the matrix of the scholarly tradition as used here, but interpreted by me. I am convinced that some of the conclusions and interpretations presented here can easily be shared and agreed upon by many musicologists, players and listeners. It is my hope, however, that there will be sections that challenge the views of various individuals, and I eagerly welcome further discussions and interpretations of the issues brought up here.

The discussion so far leads to the conclusion that every utterance including scientific ones are subjective. That, however, should not mislead the researcher to indulge in idiosyncratic subjectivism. Knowing that total objectivity can never be reached, the scholar should strive for it by accounting for the references used and the conscious choices made. Hopefully, this will improve the possibility of reaching some level of intersubjective understanding.

Some sections of the thesis are based on psychoanalytical discourse and in this context I should like to mention Paul Ricoeur's discussion on the epistemology of psychoanalysis, where he points out that "psychoanalysis deals with psychical reality and not with material reality."³⁰ The psychical reality is not observable as material reality but only accessible through reports by means of language.

In a small pioneer culture such as piping and drumming in Scandinavia there is bound to be many strong and sometimes headstrong individuals with a wish to express themselves, wanting to do their own thing. Consequently, there have been a number of schisms, major arguments and sometimes even hostile feelings between groups or individuals. These have often led to groups splitting up, sometimes leaving bitter feelings behind. As these events have happened in a not so distant past my aim here is in no way to judge between the parties when discussing these incidents. Readers are asked to bear this in mind when reading such sections of the thesis.

A Few Reflections on Description & Interpretation

Writing a scholarly text about a certain genre of music and its culture involves collecting empirical material such as sounding music and emic knowledge about the music and culture. It is important not to be misled into the delusion that the collecting and presentation of empirical material

³⁰ Ricoeur, 1981: 251

is more transparent and 'objective' than the scholars' analyses or interpretations of the collected material. To think of the concepts description and interpretation as opposite extremes would be somewhat misleading. On a basic level it could be said that these two strategies cannot exist without each other. They are involved in a hermeneutic process or maybe a dialectical relationship. The very act of describing presupposes that some kind of interpretation has been made of the phenomenon described, and likewise the act of interpretation must make use of description to conceptualise different aspects of the object of study to support the interpretation. A related problem is that both description and interpretation depend on the preunderstanding of the interpreter. Often, a musician, his audience and a musicologist will describe the same music and musical performance in quite disparate ways. Even when trying to account for the specificity of music in a general musical-technical language the result is likely to vary between different specialists, especially if their preunderstanding of the studied music differs substantially.

According to Alan P. Merriam, the definition of ethnomusicology is "the study of music in culture".³¹ With that definition follows that any study of music must comprise elements of ethnomusicology. How could we study music without any consideration or knowledge of culture? Even the most technical and descriptive study should at least take into consideration the cultural history and biases of its own tools of description.

To find out general truths about music is maybe not possible or even desirable, but we can elucidate certain points that we find interesting, using certain prerequisites relevant to the argument. Although we can never fully understand the ideological implications of the concepts we are using or our position in relation to the subject we are studying, an awareness of these aspects of research is likely to improve the work and results.

Method, Theoretical Concepts & Outline

The theories, concepts and lines of thought in the thesis have been chosen and shaped in a dialectic process with the source material of the studied field. I see the theoretical concepts primarily as tools which should be used to elucidate the subject of the study. I have chosen concepts and lines of thoughts that I have found explain or bring forth some interesting aspects of the studied culture.

³¹ Merriam, 1964: 6. (Original quotation: Merriam 1960.)

In this process, literature in musicology and ethnomusicology as well as literature from various other disciplines, ranging from cultural studies to psychoanalysis, has been studied and put in relation to the source material of interviews, field studies and insider texts. In addition, a few simple musical analyses of the sound and music of the bagpipe have been made.

Below follows an outline of the thesis with brief introductions to various concepts and theoretical points of departure, but before that I will comment shortly on the concept of culture.

Culture & Marginal Subculture

There are innumerable scholarly definitions of the concept of culture, but this is not the place to present and develop these definitions. However, as the word ‘culture’ has already been used several times in the preceding sections of this chapter and as it will occur frequently in the following chapters, I feel obliged to comment briefly on its use in this thesis.³²

Here, the concept of culture is used in a wide sense based in the late nineteenth century definition of culture as “a totality of the thoughts, acts and surrounding circumstances of a certain population”,³³ with the addition of later ideas of culture as a processual, ever-changing relationship where socioeconomical factors, semiotic “systems of meanings and symbols”³⁴ (or thought patterns) and individuals constantly interact against a background of historical conditions.

‘Culture’ can refer to a very large population such as ‘Western culture’, more or less coincide with a nation state, as in ‘Scottish culture’, or describe a small group, as in ‘the culture of The Heather Pipes & Drums’. This means that a person can belong to several cultures at the same time and also that within a culture there can be smaller cultures or subcultures.³⁵ The concept subculture can imply some degree of subordination to a main general overarching culture or a master culture; in Mark Slobin’s

³² For discussions on the concept of culture see for instance Ehn & Löfgren, 1982; Geertz, 1973.

³³ Nationalencyclopædin, 1993, Vol. 11: 511, article: ‘kultur’, original Swedish text: “en totalitet av en viss populations tankar, handlingar och omgivande förhållanden”.

³⁴ Ehn & Löfgren, 1982: 13, original Swedish text: “system av betydelser och symboler” (original text in italics).

³⁵ Ehn & Löfgren, 1982: 14

terminology, the superculture.³⁶ I will discuss these concepts further in chapter eight.³⁷

I have chosen to characterise the small Scottish piping and drumming community as a marginal subculture, as it is too small to have any significant influence on modern Western society at large.

An Outline of the Thesis

Chapter two is basically a presentation of the genre of Scottish piping and drumming including an introduction to its history and development. In addition, drawing on the Scottish sociologist William Donaldson's³⁸ extensive discussion on the subject, the development and dissemination of the concept of the bagpipe as an icon of Scotland will be brought up.

The concept of the bagpipe as an icon of Scotland is a major theme here and is pursued throughout the thesis. The term 'icon' derives from the Greek word for image and is traditionally used about religious objects used in the Christian Orthodox Church, but the use of the concept has also changed and spread to signify other phenomena. For instance, the word is used to denote the small images on computer screens which give access to various underlying files and functions. Another use is when individual artists such as Frank Sinatra³⁹ or Elvis Presley⁴⁰ are referred to as cultural icons.

When the bagpipe is used as an icon of Scotland there are several factors at work. The visual aspects of the instrument make it easy to distinguish and it has been used since the early nineteenth century to visualise Scotland. This involves an element of habituation in the bagpipe's development as an icon. The concept's traditional use in connection with religion is also present to some extent as the bagpipe alludes to an almost mythical mysterious romantic Scotland of the past, or as Leonard Mustazza expresses it:

A culture's icons—which may refer to supernatural beings, human heroes, and artifacts—reveal a great deal about its values, myths, beliefs, and desires; and, as noted by Jack Nachbar and Kevin Lause, the con-

³⁶ Slobin, 1993: 11

³⁷ See chapter eight, page 322.

³⁸ Donaldson, 2000

³⁹ Mustazza, 1998: 4

⁴⁰ Strausbaugh, 1995: 194

nection between religious icons in the past and secular ones in the present is clear.⁴¹

Chapter three is an empirical presentation of Scottish pipers and drummers in Scandinavia. It is divided into two sections – before and after the beginning of a Scandinavian pipe band culture. In the first section visiting pipers and drummers from Scotland and the early Scandinavian attempts to play the Great Highland Bagpipe are discussed. The second section is a short introduction to the pipe bands in various areas of Scandinavia.

In chapter four the cultural context in which the Scandinavian pipe bands were formed is sketched. The discussion focuses on a few aspects of Scandinavian community of relevance for understanding the emergence of a Scandinavian piping and drumming culture. Here the folk music revival around the 1970s, as discussed by musicologists such as Jan Ling, Märta Ramsten and Gunnar Ternhag,⁴² is brought up in conjunction with Anthony Giddens's⁴³ concept of high modernity.

In chapter five the Scandinavian pioneers are discussed from the viewpoint of why and how they acquired an interest in an instrument and a genre of music conceptually so inextricably bound to a foreign country. The impact on audiences of the music and visual aspects of the genre are considered by means of concepts used by Jean Baudrillard⁴⁴ in his discussion of seduction and surface, and these are related to Anthony Giddens' discussion of potential courses of action and choices in a post-traditional world as well as to Mark Slobin's⁴⁵ concepts of affinity, choice and belonging, which he uses in his analysis of subcultures.

To further penetrate the processes behind these concepts, Jacques Lacan's⁴⁶ psychoanalytic discourse regarding the significance of 'a desire of the Other' in the formation of a personal identity is brought into the discussion. The interest in the sound of a particular instrument is related to peak experiences as discussed by Abraham Maslow and Even Ruud.⁴⁷ Through the introduction of concepts, as developed by Dorothy Holland

⁴¹. Mustazza, 1998: 4

⁴². Roth, 1985

⁴³. Giddens, 1991

⁴⁴. Baudrillard, 1988

⁴⁵. Slobin, 1993

⁴⁶. Lacan, 1977

⁴⁷. Maslow, 1999; Ruud, 1997

et al.,⁴⁸ around imaginary and figured worlds, the process of going from an idea or a fantasy to the realisation of a project is considered.

In chapter six the actual process of how the pioneers found instruments and the knowledge of how to play them is discussed against a general background of how music is learnt. Another area of interest here is whether the music was affected as it was imported from Scotland to Scandinavia. A brief introduction to cultural learning is presented, based on discussions by Alan P. Merriam, Roger Säljö and Paul Connerton.⁴⁹ The genre of piping and drumming and its strong playing tradition is also considered against the concepts of strong and weak traditions as discussed by Bertil Rolf.⁵⁰ Founded in ideas by Lars Lilliestam,⁵¹ a few possible strategies when learning music are outlined.

In addition, there are presentations of a few Scottish players of material importance for the dissemination of piping to Scandinavia as well as a section about the repertoire played by the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers including a brief section about Scandinavian music played on the Great Highland Bagpipe.

Chapter seven is mostly an empirical presentation of the small Scandinavian piping and drumming community that has developed since the late 1960s. Here the activities of the players, the pipe bands and a few other related groups are briefly described and discussed.

The final chapter eight, brings up the issue of the use and function of Scottish piping and drumming in Scandinavia, but also the use and function of the genre through history. The use and function is discussed from the different viewpoints of the players, the organisers and the audiences against a background of Alan P. Merriam's⁵² concepts of use and function, but also Mark Slobin's⁵³ concepts of super-, sub- and interculture. In addition, the discussion of peak experiences introduced in chapter five is here related to thoughts of the conscious use of music and different listener modes as expressed by Carin Öblad and Ola Stockfelt.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Holland et al., 1998

⁴⁹ Merriam, 1964; Säljö, 2000; Connerton, 1989

⁵⁰ Rolf, 1991

⁵¹ Lilliestam, 1995 & 1996

⁵² Merriam, 1964

⁵³ Slobin, 1993

⁵⁴ Öblad, 2000; Stockfelt, 1988

Notes on the Text, Photographs & Musical Examples

- As the genre of piping and drumming is not only aural but to a great extent visual, a number of photographs of players have been included in this thesis. Unfortunately, it has not been financially possible to print the images in colour. Readers are therefore asked to visualise the colourful splendour of the Highland dress in these photographs and, in addition, the dignified movements of the players.
- Similarly, the written musical examples are only thin descriptions of the powerful sound of the pipes and drums, which to its full extent can only be perceived live.
- If not otherwise stated, I am responsible for the translations from Danish, Norwegian and Swedish into English.
- Quotations from taped interviews have been transcribed to follow the recorded oral utterances as closely as possible, but repeated words or sounds which I have judged do not add meaning to the utterances have been omitted.
- If not otherwise stated, all examples of written pipe music are written without accidentals according to the custom of Highland piping (see chapter two, page 37).
- In the text, titles of formally appointed pipe band leaders in the British army or in police pipe bands are written with upper case letters (e.g. Pipe Major or abbreviated P/M) whereas the concepts as such are written with lower case letters (e.g. pipe-major). In the list of sources the upper case abbreviations have been used for all band leaders.
- The major piping competition in Scandinavia has been given various names by different competition organisers over the years, but as it is the same annual event it will be referred to as the ‘Scandinavian championships’ to avoid confusion.
- The suggestions for Gaelic pronunciations have been taken from *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (1979) by Malcolm MacLennan.
- A glossary of Gaelic words, piping related concepts and abbreviations can be found in *Appendix A*, page 379.

II Formation of the Icon & Its Dissemination to Scandinavia

2 Highland Piping & Pipe Band Drumming

How they Emerged & Developed

Hark when the night is falling,
Hear! hear the pipes are calling,
Loudly and proudly calling,
Down thro' the glen.
There were the hills are sleeping,
Now feel the blood a-leaping,
High as the spirits of the old Highland men.

Towering in gallant fame,
Scotland my mountain hame,
High may your proud standards gloriously wave,
Land of my high endeavour,
Land of the shining river,
Land of my heart for ever,
Scotland the brave.¹

Cliff Hanley

The bagpipe has an over two thousand years' old history with the earliest known references from Ancient Egypt, Greek and Rome.² In the middle ages various forms of the bagpipe was popular all over Europe. Today a great variety of indigenous bagpipes exist in many European countries and in the Middle East.³ Yet, the instrument most often brought to mind by people in general when the word bagpipe is mentioned is the Scottish Great Highland Bagpipe, with roots in the sixteenth century Gaelic clan society, in the West Highlands of Scotland. Later, from the eighteenth century and onwards, the Highland pipe was adopted by the British Army,

¹ Text of first verse and refrain of 'Scotland the Brave', by Cliff Hanley. Text in *Scottish Songs*, published by Gilmour, A. No year of printing stated. The tune is traditional. I have not been able to find out who the composer is.

² For a thorough discussion of early bagpipe history see Collinson, Francis, *The Bagpipe*, 1975.

³ For further information regarding different types of bagpipes see for instance Collinson 1975: 216–225 or Podnos, 1974. The bagpipe in the Nordic countries is thoroughly discussed in Allmo, 1990, *Säckpipan i Norden*.

where drumming was added to form bands of pipes and drums around 1850. In general, no other bagpipe is so well-known in most parts of the world, and no other bagpipe is so widely spread and played, and as William Donaldson puts it:

The Highland pipe has become a potent icon, instantly evoking Scotland and the Scots both to themselves and to the wider world, but there is little real knowledge of the instrument and its music beyond the boundaries of the performer community.⁴

For the benefit of those who are not well versed in the genre and lore of Highland piping and pipe band drumming, this chapter presents a brief introduction to the instruments, the music and the history and development of the genre from the sixteenth century into modern times. Special attention will be paid to aspects of the music and its history which might explain how and why this marginal genre survived into modern times, how it became so widespread and why it disseminated to Scandinavia. The understanding of the present actors' interest and use of the genre is largely to be found in its history.

The Tradition of the Great Highland Bagpipe Emerging in the Sixteenth Century Scottish Highlands

From the early to mid sixteenth century the leading clan chiefs of the Scottish Highlands employed pipers in their households. There are no known literary references to the bagpipe in Gaelic society prior to this period. The bagpipe was a comparatively late comer to the courts of the clan chiefs,⁵ although it was not in any way a new invention at the time. References and pictures from many places in Europe from the 1100s and onwards indicate that various forms of the bagpipe were in existence.⁶ How the pipes spread to Scotland is not clear. The bagpipe was a popular instrument in Rome at the time of the Roman occupation of the British Isles⁷ (first century to fifth century A.D.)⁸, and it is possible that the instrument was brought to Britain by the Romans just as the Scots about

⁴ Donaldson, 2000: 3

⁵ MacInnes, 1988: 1

⁶ Cannon, 1995: 4

⁷ Collinson, 1975: 55

⁸ Nationalencyclopedia, 1990, Vol. 3: 314, article: 'Britannia'.

1500 years later spread it to the British colonies. There is, however, no evidence that bagpipes were played by the Romans in Britain. There is also a possibility that the Highlanders invented some kind of pipes of their own, alternatively had adopted pipes from somewhere else before the Romans arrived.⁹

The type of bagpipe favoured by the clan chiefs in the sixteenth century (the Great Highland Bagpipe or in Gaelic *pìob mhór* [peeb vor]¹⁰) was a distinctive Gaelic form of the bagpipe, most certainly with origins in the stock of European varieties of the bagpipe.¹¹ Exactly how the early Highland pipes were constructed is not known, however, most sixteenth century writers comment on the powerful volume of the instrument. According to Roderick D. Cannon it is not possible to say how the Highland bagpipe developed into its present form.¹² There is evidence that bagpipes of three drones (one bass and two tenors) as well as sets of two tenor drones only were played by the end of the eighteenth century.¹³

A Technical Description of the Great Highland Bagpipe

The Highland bagpipe (*Photograph 2–1*) consists of a bag, traditionally made of sheepskin or cowhide, but today the synthetic material Goretex is becoming increasingly popular. Seasoning is poured into bags made of natural skins to keep them airtight and to absorb some of the moisture blown into them. The bag is covered with a decorative cloth made of tartan or velvet. The pipe is mouth-blown to supply the bag with air and fitted with a valve to prevent the air from escaping up the blowstick. Especially in connection with modern high tech Goretex bags, a wide range of water traps, air stream regulators and other ‘gizmos’ have been introduced by pipe makers, ever interested in increasing their sales.

When the pipes are played the three drones, held together by a cord, are pointing upwards resting on the piper’s shoulder and the pipe chanter, on which the melody is played, is pointing downwards held by the pipers fingers. The blowpipe, drones and pipe chanter are made of high-density wood – African blackwood (Lat. *dalbergia melanoxyton*)¹⁴ is the

⁹ Collinson, 1975: 56–64

¹⁰ Suggestions for Gaelic pronunciations according to MacLennan, M, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of The Gaelic Language*, 1979.

¹¹ MacInnes, 1988: 1

¹² Cannon, 1995: 15–18

¹³ MacInnes, 1988: 90–92

¹⁴ Thanks to Rolf Littorin for helping me with the Latin term.



Photograph 2–1. Set of Highland pipes. Made by R. G. Hardie, Glasgow, 1976. Chanter by Rolf of Sweden, 1998.

Photo: Sven Axelsson and Mats d Hermansson, Gothenburg 2000.

most popular wood today – usually decorated and strengthened by mounts, made of a variety of materials ranging from plastic and nickel-silver to ivory and chased or engraved sterling-silver. For the past twenty-five years, plastic materials have been used to produce pipe chanters,¹⁵ especially for pipe bands. Many bands favour these, being of the opinion that they are made exactly alike and are easier to tune. In other opinions the plastic chanters lack the rich sound quality of the wooden chanters, and Blackwood chanters still seem to be favoured by solo players.

The drones have cylindrical bores, are made of sections, and can be shortened or lengthened to enable fine tuning. At the top, the bore widens into a bell-shape; the bells are covered except for a smaller hole. This results in the mellow sound of the drones. The drones are equipped with single reeds traditionally made of cane (Latin: *arundo donax*) to produce the sound. For a number of years, drone reeds of various designs made of plastic and other composite materials have become increasingly pop-

¹⁵ There are sets of plastic drones but they are not commonly used.

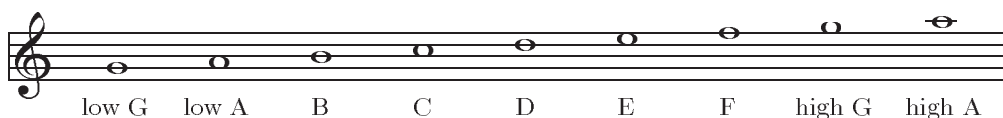
ular. The timbre of the drone sound differs depending on the make and material of the reeds. The bore of the pipe chanter is conical and the walls are very thin. It is equipped with a comparatively strong blown double cane reed (plastic has never been widely used as a material for pipe chanter reeds). The chanter has eight finger-holes and two additional holes for acoustical purposes. The conical shape and the double cane reed, give the pipe chanter a powerful, resonant volume.¹⁶

The Scale, Tuning & Harmonics of the Drones¹⁷

The scale of the Great Highland Bagpipe is modal and peculiar to the Highland pipe. The tunes are played on the nine-note chanter against the constant background harmony of the three drones. The chanter and the drones (both rich in harmonics) are cunningly designed to make the most out of these nine notes so that various overtones blend when different notes are played on the chanter. The two tenor drones are tuned one octave lower than the low A of the pipe chanter and the bass drone is tuned still one octave lower. Among pipers the nine notes are named from low G to high A and are written on the staff without accidentals, as the notes are fixed anyway by the way the chanter is made. The low A of the chanter is considered the basic note and is used as a point of reference when the instrument is tuned. It is evident from older recordings and the design of older chanters that the pitch of the scale has risen over the past hundred years. Measurements of the low A of the pipe scale, reported by Seu-

Example 2-1. The Highland pipe scale

Note the absence of key signatures according to practice in Highland pipe music. The C and F are sharp. The Gs are not sharp resulting in a major second against the drones in A. Often chanters produced before the 1980s have a slightly augmented D. Modern chanters are pitched about one semitone higher than notated, with the pitch of low A slightly above B flat.



¹⁶ In *The Murray Pipes & Drums*, in the 1970s, the volume of one piper playing indoors was measured to about 103 dB, although this was not a scientifically controlled experiment.

¹⁷ This section builds on Cannon, 1995: 5–6, 28–31, MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 32–37, Hermansson, 1995: 11–14, as well as the personal experience of the author.

mas MacNeill, show a gradual rise in pitch from 441 Hz in 1885 to 463 Hz in 1974.¹⁸ Since the 1970s, the low A has been close to B^b at 467 Hz; although the rise in pitch has continued and most pipers today (2002) tune their pipes at a still higher pitch between 472–480 Hz, and even higher. In spite of the higher pitch the basic note is still written and referred to as A. One plausible explanation for the rise in pitch might be that competing pipers, in close cooperation with pipe makers wanting to sell new chanters, have tried to outshine each other by striving for an ever increasing ‘more brilliant’ tone.

Today, the intervals of the Highland pipe scale are basically equal to those of the just Western major scale. (See *Table 2–1*.) There are some exceptions, though, probably depending on the soundscape of the drones. The high G is flatter, making the interval from F an ancient Greek *big limma* (133.24 cents) instead of a major tone (203.91 cents) and the interval to high A a minor tone (182.4 cents) instead of a just semitone (111.73 cents). A high G one semitone below high A would probably not blend so well with the drones. Furthermore, there are two variants of the high G. One is played in *ceòl beag* (Gaelic for the little music) and the other in *ceòl mòr* (the big music) or *piobaireachd*. The different genres of music will be presented later in this chapter. It can be discussed whether the piobaireachd G is primarily of a different pitch or of a different timbre.¹⁹ Most pipers tune their high A so that the interval from low A is slightly smaller than an octave. The explanation for this might be that the high A would disappear into the drone sound if it was not slightly ‘out of tune’, as the conical shape of the chanter makes the higher notes considerably less voluminous than the lower notes. For the same reason a somewhat rasping timbre of the high A is preferred by some pipers. In addition, the pitch of the chanter rises slightly as the bagpipe is played, and by tuning the high A slightly flat there is no risk that it will ‘break through’ the octave. The interval from the voluminous low G to low A is a major tone (203.91 cents), giving an interval of a major second with the drones.

¹⁸ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 37

¹⁹ For instance, together with Pipe Major Ronald Lawrie, Oban and my piping colleague Sven Axelsson, I was involved in making a cursory investigation of the two different Gs of one chanter, in 1999. Initially, Axelsson and I were of the opinion that the piobaireachd G was flatter, and Ronald Lawrie (a prominent piobaireachd player and adjudicator in Scotland) said that he had always thought the G to be sharper. We then measured the pitch with the aid of a simple computer programme, which actually reported the two Gs to have the same basic pitch. I see this as an indication of the importance of the harmonics for the tone experienced from the Highland chanter.

Table 2-1. Comparison between the pipe scale and the just Western scale.ⁱ

| Highland Pipe Scale | | | (From low A) | | Just Western Major Scale | | |
|----------------------|----------|-------|--------------|---------|--------------------------|----------|------|
| Note | Fraction | Cents | (Cents) | (Cents) | Cents | Fraction | Note |
| high A ⁱⁱ | | | (1200) | (1200) | | | A |
| | 10/9 | 182 | | | 112 | 16/15 | |
| | | | | (1088) | | | G# |
| high G | | | (1018) | | | | |
| | 27/25 | 133 | | | 204 | 9/8 | |
| F | | | (884) | (884) | | | F# |
| | 10/9 | 182 | | | 182 | 10/9 | |
| E | | | (702) | (702) | | | E |
| | 10/9 | 182 | | | 204 | 9/8 | |
| D | | | (520) | | | | |
| D ⁱⁱⁱ | | | (498) | (498) | | | D |
| | 27/25 | 133 | | | 112 | 16/15 | |
| C | | | (386) | (386) | | | C# |
| | 10/9 | 182 | | | 182 | 10/9 | |
| B | | | (204) | (204) | | | B |
| | 9/8 | 204 | | | 204 | 9/8 | |
| low A | | | (0) | (0) | | | A |
| | | | | | 112 | 16/15 | |
| | 9/8 | 204 | | (-112) | | | G# |
| low G | | | (-204) | | | | |

ⁱ Original table from MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 34. The cents added by author. Note that the figures for the intervals have been rounded off: Big limma=133.24 cents; diatonic semitone=111.73 cents; minor tone=182.40 cents; major tone=203.91 cents.

ⁱⁱ Note that the high A in reality is tuned slightly flatter by most pipers.

ⁱⁱⁱ The D of the pipe scale of today (2002) is nearer to that of the just Western scale (added by author).

Older chanters, recordings and measurements²⁰ prove that many pipers up until the 1970s favoured an interval between C and D that was not a just semitone but a big limma. Since then the general pitch of D has been

²⁰ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 33-36

lowered and today the interval from D to low A is more or less equal to the fourth of the just Western scale.

Some research has been made on the scale, tuning and harmonics of the Highland bagpipe,²¹ but a thorough investigation of older and modern instruments and tuning and sound ideals through history remains to be done. Most notes of the scale are strongly supported by the overtones produced by the drones. Assuming that the basic note of the bass drone is A (below the middle C), theoretically the drone sound will be a mixture of the following notes A, a, e¹, a¹, c^{2#}, e², g², a², b², c^{3#} and so on. The results of a pilot study, made by Rolf Littorin, of the drone harmonics of two different sets of drones clearly indicate that these harmonics are present in the drone sound.²² Some of the notes of the scale (and their overtones) are in tune with harmonics in the drones. This is particularly the case for the notes A, C and E and to some extent for B. In addition, the harmonics of the drones create various intervals with the notes of chanter. For instance, the strong third overtone (e¹) of the bass drone makes an interval of a fifth with the B of the chanter. The high pitched D of older chanters has no apparent support in the drones, but neither has the just D played by most pipers today. The lack of a clear point of reference in the drones might explain why this interval has changed towards the fourth used in most Western music.

In an article about the pipe scale in the *Piping Times*, R. S. Ross claims that the pipe chanter produces ultrasonic waves at frequencies as high as 33 000 Hz which

gives the pipes a characteristic wailing sound when heard from a distance. When heard close by the drones in addition to being a sort of counter-point also absorb as it were the piercing ultrasonic sounds emitted principally by the upper notes of the chanter. It is these ultrasonics which make our Great Highland Bagpipe par excellence the Instrument of Poignancy.²³

Often Gaelic songs are pentatonic, and so are many older piobaireachd. Seumas MacNeill has suggested that the Highland pipe scale was developed to produce three different 'nested' pentatonic scales.²⁴ Out of the

²¹ See MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 32–37, Cannon, 1995: 28–30, Hermansson, 1995: 11–14.

²² The results, dated 4 Mar. 1998 (not published), were received by the author from Rolf Littorin.

²³ Ross, R. S., 'Scales' in *Piping Times*, Vol. 50, No. 4, Jan. 1998: 25.

²⁴ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 36

nine notes of the chanter the following pentatonic scales can be produced (here with approximate accidentals):

The G-scale: G A B D E G A

The A-scale: A B C# E F# A

The D-scale: D E F# A B

The Great Highland Bagpipe is an imposing instrument with its powerful sound and characteristic silhouette of the three drones and a chanter. Many listeners may find the sound of the pipes loud and maybe sometimes harsh, but in fact, the sound from a well tuned set of Highland pipes is a delicate, exact blend of various harmonics in the drones and the notes of the chanter. Later I will return to the importance of this particular feature, when presenting the music played on the Highland pipe.

Smaller sets of pipes modelled on the Great Highland Bagpipe exist as well, but these are not particularly common in comparison to the Highland pipe. They are mostly used for solo playing and sometimes in folk groups and are not played in pipe bands or in solo competitions. An example of a quiet miniature set can be seen in *Photograph 6–2*, page 243.

Reasons for the Popularity of the Bagpipe in Sixteenth Century Gaelic Society

At the time when a certain style of music emerges it does so for certain reasons and needs in a certain society at a certain time. As the society changes, the use and function of the style of music may change. Some traits might be retained, used for similar or new reasons and other aspects of the music may change to suit new needs and situations or new societies. A genre that survives over some time will also incorporate a history of its own tradition. It is, however, necessary that the genre has something that makes it of interest to new generations of users, otherwise it will not survive. The term ‘users’ refers to various possible actors, such as musicians, composers, instrument-makers, patrons and listeners. Later in this chapter, I will discuss these topics of why and how the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe survived into modern times and how it developed, but first I turn to the question of how the genre was formed in the Gaelic clan society, the *Gàidhealtachd* [gáyaltachc] in Gaelic. What was it that boosted the clan chiefs’ interest in the Great Highland Bagpipe?

In 1493, a 150 year long period of political stability in the Western Highlands ceased as the Gaelic ruler, the Lord of the Isles, was overthrown by the Scottish king.²⁵ The crown did not, however, have the

means to assert its power, and a period of anarchy followed in the Western Highlands. The more powerful clans fought each other to secure and increase their land, and it was in this period of cultural change and internal conflicts within the Gaelic society that the Great Highland Bagpipe was brought into the service of the clan chiefs. According to Iain MacInnes:

Early references attest to the instrument's utility in battle, and strongly suggests that this was an important factor in its displacement of the harp in popular esteem.²⁶

The Gramscian concept of hegemony tries to capture the social dynamics by which a certain class or group within society can maintain the political power, not primarily by force but by creating

an equilibrium between 'leadership' or 'direction' (*direzione*) based on consent, and 'domination' (*dominazione*) based on coercion in the broadest sense.²⁷

At a time when the clan chiefs needed to make their political power more conspicuous in order to retain hegemony, the loud bagpipe with its 'phallic' protruding drones was a more potent and 'masculine' instrument; more suited to manifest power and keep people in control than the *clàrsach* [klàrsach], the Celtic harp used at the courts of the clan chiefs.²⁸ The powerful sound of the pipes calling people from afar, the volume of the chanter keeping those coming near at a respectful distance, although within the enthralling sound of the drones. Metaphorically, the sound of the bagpipe can be said to represent both the aspects of 'leadership' or 'direction' and that of 'domination' in the quotation.

The Highland pipers were incorporated into an existing cultural milieu, where the musical orders were often hereditary alongside the office of the bard. These pipers, along with other higher servants of the estates, had rent-free land assigned to them to support themselves and their families. There is also evidence that some pipers were trained at the expense of their clan chiefs. The piper performed various daily functions such as playing to waken the clan chief, and on special occasions such as wed-

²⁵ Smout, 1998: 40, MacInnes, 1988: 2 (MacInnes states the year 1494.)

²⁶ MacInnes, 1988: 2

²⁷ Gramsci, 1979: 42

²⁸ Cf. the importance of poets and singers in the competition for social rank between feudal lords as described by Norbert Elias (Elias, 1994: 330).



Photograph 2–2. William Cumming, piper to the Laird of Grant. Painted by Richard Waitt (1714).

Photo: By kind permission of The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. The painting is displayed at the National Gallery, Edinburgh.

dings and funerals. In moments of trouble the piper played the gathering tune of the clan to summon the clansmen to battle. As Iain MacInnes has pointed out, the painting by Richard Waitt (1714) of William Cumming, piper to the Laird of Grant, “well illustrates the quality of the piper’s finery, and is testimony to his status within clan society.”²⁹ (See *Photograph 2–2*). The piper was an important part of the clan chief’s endeavour to create around himself an aura of grandeur. In 1679 Morier, a visitor to the Highlands, reported that

the nobility show themselves very great before strangers. At your departure you must drink a dougha-doras – in English, a stirrup cup – and have my lord’s bagpiper with his loud pipes, and his lordship’s coat of armour on a flag, strut about you with a loath to depart.³⁰

The privileged position of the hereditary pipers made it possible for them to find time to develop their music and instruments. There were several clans with hereditary pipers but the most famous family of pipers were the MacCrimmons, pipers to the MacLeods in the islands of Skye and Harris.³¹ But the Great Highland Bagpipe was not only played by the hereditary pipers. William Donaldson writes that in the eighteenth century:

Professional piping covered a wide social spread, ranging from humble town players such as the MacLennans of Inverness, to the respectable middle ranks of Highland society as represented by the MacCrimmons and the MacKays of Gairloch.³²

There were also occasional players and amateurs among gentlemen and women, some of which were playing to a high standard, although not in public.³³ It was, however, the music, performance practice and function of the hereditary pipers that was to survive and develop into the genre of Highland piping as we know it today. By the mid-eighteenth century, their music and performance practice had developed as a prestigious genre with a highly intricate style of playing on a voluminous imposing instrument strongly associated with political power and warfare.

²⁹ MacInnes, 1988: 11

³⁰ Cannon, 1995: 51–52

³¹ For a discussion on the origin of the MacCrimmons see MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 16–19.

³² Donaldson, 2000: 177

³³ Donaldson, 2000: 176–177

Ceòl Mór – The Classical Music of the Bagpipe

The music developed and favoured by the hereditary pipers and their patrons was what in Gaelic is termed *ceòl mór* [kyoll moor] (the big music). Ceòl mór is also known as the classical music of the Highland bagpipe. One piece or tune in ceòl mór is referred to as a *piobaireachd* [pee-barachd] (which in Gaelic means pipe music). Today, the terms *ceòl mór* and *piobaireachd* are used interchangeably. Ceòl mór is separated from *ceòl beag* [kyoll beg] (the little music), which comprises ‘lighter’ music played on the pipes: airs, marches and dance tunes such as strathspeys, reels, hornpipes and jigs.³⁴ I will return to ceòl beag later in this chapter.

Example 2–2. Piobaireachd: Clan Campbell’s Gathering (Traditional)

This short extract is taken from the first line of the theme or *urlar*. The last variation of this tune can be seen in *Example 2–3*. Again the music is written without accidentals according to the custom of Highland piping. This applies to all the examples in this section.

Every variation is usually thought of as constructed of three lines. The line below is line one. (Note that the bars are played in the order 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4. In the second line the same bars are played, but now in the order 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 4; and in line three, consisting of four bars only, the order is 1, 2, 3, 4.



Piobaireachd is solo music for the Highland pipes and is never accompanied by the drums. A piobaireachd³⁵ is always commenced with a melodious theme, called the ground or – in Gaelic – *urlar*. After the *urlar* a number of variations are played. The variations immediately following the ground are usually plain with simple gracenotes. The complexity of the music (particularly the embellishments) then increases with every variation until the piper returns to the ground at the end of the tune. Some shorter piobaireachd only have two or three variations whereas some of the longer tunes may have as many as ten or more variations. Today, the theme and variations of every tune are fixed, although there might be variants of a tune. To a large extent, the theme and variations are constructed of recurring figures and movements which are built into phrases, repeat-

³⁴ For a discussion on the history of these Gaelic concepts see Cannon, 1995: 45–46.

³⁵ For a more thorough discussions on piobaireachd see MacNeill & Richardson, 1996, Cannon, 1995, Donaldson, 2000. The music and editorial notes for most tunes have been published by The Piobaireachd Society in *Piobaireachd books 1–15*.

ed according to various standard patterns. The phrases are arranged into lines (somewhat similar to measures). For a ground of a piobaireachd, see *Example 2–2*.

With exception for the phrasing and timing of a tune there is no element of improvisation in the playing of piobaireachd. The duration of a piobaireachd is roughly between 10 to 20 minutes, although both shorter and longer tunes exist. Some tunes or parts of tunes (especially the urlar) are played with much rubato in flowing phrases, whereas other parts might have a steady rhythmical, sometimes ostinato-like pulse. Often the tunes are pentatonic, but other modes are frequently used.

To play a piobaireachd is quite a demanding task, and far from all pipers even attempt to play ceòl mór. The long tunes with all the variations are to be remembered by heart, most tunes are technically very complicated to play and the long melody notes require that the bagpipe is well balanced and perfectly in tune.

The origin of piobaireachd is somewhat obscure. According to Seumas MacNeill, the elements of piobaireachd probably existed around 1500.³⁶ A number of tunes have ‘legends’ associated with them that date back to the fifteenth century, but that does not necessarily mean that the tunes were composed at the period the legends refer to.³⁷ The first known book written about the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe³⁸ was Joseph MacDonald’s *Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe* (c. 1760).³⁹ MacDonald’s book is a detailed description of the music of the bagpipe, including tables of fingering and embellishments written out in staff notation. In the introduction to a new facsimile edition, published in 1994, of MacDonald’s thesis, the editor Roderick D. Cannon writes that:

There can be little doubt that the basic format of piobaireachd as taught to Joseph MacDonald was the same as we have it today: a theme followed by variations constructed directly out of the ground in certain characteristic ways.⁴⁰

According to tradition it was the famous MacCrimmon family who developed piobaireachd into a highly artistic musical form for the bagpipe.⁴¹

³⁶ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 19–20

³⁷ Cannon, 1995: 95–96

³⁸ Campbell, 1973: 6, Cannon, 1995: 75

³⁹ MacDonald, Joseph (c. 1760), facsimile in Cannon (ed.), 1994.

⁴⁰ Cannon, 1994: 8

⁴¹ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 20

They were hereditary pipers to the powerful clan chiefs of the MacLeods on the Island of Skye, from the late sixteenth century until the eighteenth century. But, where ceòl mór actually came from and how it developed, as Roderick Cannon puts it, “lies in the realm of *pre*history as far as we are concerned, and the task of reconstructing this development is more like archeology than history.”⁴² Francis Collinson has suggested that ceòl mór might have developed from music previously played on the Celtic harp,⁴³ although there is no conclusive evidence for or against this suggestion.⁴⁴ In his thesis, Allan MacDonald makes extensive comparisons between ceòl mór and Gaelic songs and their relationships.⁴⁵

With the exception of Joseph MacDonald’s meticulous thesis, no serious attempts to write the music of the Highland pipe in staff notation were made until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Bagpipe music was transmitted orally and aurally from master to pupil. To a large extent this is still the case, especially in the transmission of ceòl mór. Although all pipe music can now be easily acquired in staff notation, the exact phrasing of much of the flowing phrases of the piobaireachd repertoire is difficult or even impossible to work out from the written music alone. Furthermore, all tunes are learnt by heart on the practice chanter⁴⁶ before they are performed on the bagpipe. On the other hand, the printed music is strictly adhered to regarding which notes to play. It is clear that the style of piobaireachd playing was greatly influenced by the introduction of staff notation. In an interview in the 1950s, Pipe-Major Robert Brown pointed out that he “got taught in the proper old manner” (by singing the *canntaireachd* [see below] and playing the pipes), and he also mentioned that his teacher, the renowned Pipe Major John MacDonald, Inverness, used to talk about “the brutality of staff notation”.⁴⁷ John MacDonald is considered to have been one of the most important transmitters of piobaireachd into the twentieth century.⁴⁸

⁴² Cannon, 1995: 95

⁴³ Collinson, 1975: 150–153

⁴⁴ Cannon, 1995: 101

⁴⁵ MacDonald, Allan, 1996

⁴⁶ A practice chanter is a mouth blown pipe (no bag) with a narrow straight bore equipped with a double reed of plastic or cane. The scale and fingering is the same as on the Highland bagpipe. This is a quiet instrument on which the beginner learns to play scales and embellishments. It is used by all pipers when practising and learning new tunes.

⁴⁷ School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, *Scottish Tradition Vol. 11, Pibroch: Pipe-Major Robert Brown*, sound cassette, (CTRAX 9011), side A, 2 Discussion (Sound Archive No: SA 1953.256).

Highland piping is a good example of a tradition where oral, aural and written strategies coexist, supplementing each other.⁴⁹ Pipers today learn to play both from printed music and by oral and aural tuition from a more experienced player. Recordings are also of great value, especially for pipers who have not got regular access to a good tutor.

Canntaireachd

Canntaireachd [caundarachd] (Gaelic for chanting a tune) was used prior to staff notation by the old piping masters to aid the oral process of teaching and memorising piobaireachd. This system is similar to the solmization of Guido d'Arezzo, although more detailed, and also to the 'bols' used in the transmission of Indian tabla playing. Canntaireachd is built up of different vocables which are sung to the tune. Notes of different pitch as well as the different embellishments each have different vocables. The vocables have no meaning as words, but they carry musical meaning. The canntaireachd indicates which melody notes and embellishments should be played, but the phrasing of a tune must be taught from master to pupil. In *Example 2–3* the music and canntaireachd for the last variation of 'Clan Campbell's Gathering' can be found. There are a number of piobaireachd manuscripts written in canntaireachd, and these, together with the traditional oral teaching from master to pupil, form the original source of the old piobaireachd, now written in staff notation.⁵⁰ Basically, pipers differ

Example 2–3. Music and canntaireachd for 'Clan Campbell's Gathering'

This extract is taken from line one of the last variation – the *crunluath* – of this piobaireachd. The corresponding line from the theme can be seen in *Example 2–2*.

Every group of notes written on the staff below is represented in canntaireachd by the syllables written underneath. The first group 'Hinbandreende' can be divided into 'Hin' (G-grace note on low A), 'bandre' (the seven-note embellishment G, D, G, E, A, F, A finishing on melody note E), 'ende' (melody notes A and E).

The image shows a musical staff in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody consists of six groups of notes, each with a corresponding canntaireachd syllable written below it. The syllables are: Hinbandreende, hinbandreende, hinbandreende, hinbandreende, hiobandreemda, and hiobandreende. The first group 'Hinbandreende' is further divided into 'Hin', 'bandre', and 'ende'.

⁴⁸ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 56

⁴⁹ See 'Aural, Visual, Tactile & Verbal Strategies' on page 215.

⁵⁰ MacInnes 1988: 154–157, Cannon, 1995: 67–70, Donaldson 2000: 1–3, 408–414, 448–60, Basic key to vocables in the *Piobaireachd books* published by The Piobaireachd Society.

between two different systems of canntaireachd. One is referred to as MacCrimmon canntaireachd and builds on sung canntaireachd written down. The other was originally used by Colin Campbell, a piper in Argyll, who compiled a collection of written canntaireachd around 1800.⁵¹ The Campbell system is somewhat simplified and more formalised in comparison to the MacCrimmon canntaireachd, and the graphic representation of the Campbell canntaireachd cannot always be sung. The style has been adopted in the Piobaireachd Society's collections, where the canntaireachd for some tunes is printed alongside the music.

There is evidence that the pipers of the clan society played dance music in addition to ceòl mór. In his treatise from 1760, Joseph MacDonald writes:

The pipe being as well Calculated for dancing Musick as any Instrument ever Contrivd, there is the most Compleat set of Jigs & Reells composd on Purpose for it, by the first Authors of Pipe Musick, (as it appears from the style of them), than which nothing can be more truly Highland.⁵²

The little music (ceòl beag) of the Highland bagpipe was going to develop considerably and gain in importance during the nineteenth century.

Highland Piping Survives Due to Its Use in the British Army & the Romantic Ideals of the Landed Classes in the Late Eighteenth & Early Nineteenth Centuries

After the Highland support of the series of incidents and rebellions culminating in the Jacobite rising 1745–46, the London based government of the hybrid kingdom of Great Britain feared the power of the Gaelic clan chiefs and strong measures were taken to diminish their power.⁵³ The clan chiefs' viceregal military and juridical power was ended.⁵⁴ 'The Act of Proscription', passed by parliament after the Jacobite uprising of 1745–46, made it illegal for Highlanders, except those in the Highland regiments, to wear the kilt or tartan or to carry arms. The act also "initiated

⁵¹ Cannon, 1995: 69

⁵² MacDonald, Joseph (c. 1760), in Cannon (ed.), 1994: 86. (Quotation as edited by Roderick Cannon. Cannon's footnotes not included here.)

⁵³ For a thorough account of this period in Scottish history see Smout, T.C., *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830*, (1998 [1969]).

⁵⁴ Gibson, 1998: 22

measures to stop the use of the Gaelic language.”⁵⁵ There is a widespread notion that the Great Highland Bagpipe was actually banned in the act of 1746. This, however, is not correct, as the act was mainly concerned with weaponry and Highland dress. One unfortunate piper, by the name of James Reid, on the Jacobite side, was accused at York in 1746 of being in possession of arms. His defence was that he had only carried a bagpipe, but the judge ruled that this was an instrument of war. Reid was sentenced to death for high treason, and was hanged on sixth November, 1746.⁵⁶ But pipes had been played on both sides, and there is evidence that bagpipes definitely were played, and not hidden away, in the period following the final battle of the rebellion at Culloden in 1746. In addition, social and economic factors paved the way for great changes in the Highland society from the mid eighteenth century. T.C. Smout writes that:

Long before 1745 there had been tension in the governing circles of the Highlands between Jacobite clans and Government clans, between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, between proprietors who looked back with affection to the older tradition of the great following and landowners of a new type who were actively responsive to the enthusiasm for ‘improvement’ and hopeful of the prospects of getting more cattle out to the English market.⁵⁷

After 1750, the martial clan society of “[t]he old Highlands receded in a mist of romance they had done little to deserve”,⁵⁸ and so the base for the privileged hereditary pipers disappeared too. Iain MacInnes writes that:

In this context the traditional learned and musical orders were anachronistic, and many of the chief practitioners (such as Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon in the 1770’s), sought refuge in emigration.⁵⁹

But due to its strong association with political power and warfare, the genre of Highland piping found new patrons in Scotland within the landed classes and the growing army. The more wealthy landlords in the Highlands employed pipers on their estates, although the estate pipers

⁵⁵ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 25

⁵⁶ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 25

⁵⁷ Smout, 1998: 321

⁵⁸ Smout, 1998: 320

⁵⁹ MacInnes, 1988: 16. For the history and background of pipers emigrating to Northern America see Gibson, John, 1998, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping 1745–1945*.

did not acquire the same privileged position as their predecessors in the clan society. Even Angus MacKay, the first man to be appointed piper to the sovereign, Queen Victoria, in 1843,⁶⁰

was a servant, who could be – and eventually was – dismissed. Under the new dispensation, master pipers may have been better off than their predecessors in terms of disposable income, but this was at the cost of serious decline in status and security, marked by a descent from the middle ranks of Highland society to the servant sub-class of Victorian Britain.⁶¹

Inspired by the emerging eighteenth century romantic ideals, the new landed classes in Scotland feared that the music and culture of the Gaelic clan society was on the verge of dying out. In his thesis about the Highland societies and their impact on the Highland bagpipe, Iain MacInnes writes that the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, formed in 1778 and 1784 respectively,

directly represented the interests of the landed classes, and led the way in the encouragement of the instrument. Their influence was three-fold: they established piping competitions; they employed Highland pipers to work on their estates; and they patronised the publication of pipe music.⁶²

Piping Competitions

The piping competitions were started at Falkirk in 1781 by The Highland Society of London in the hope that they would promote the interest for the Highland bagpipe. The music played at these competitions was solely piobaireachd, but in 1823 a reel competition was introduced at St. Fillans Games on Loch Earn,⁶³ and later competitions for most types of ceòl beag were started at various Highland games, which became increasingly popular during the nineteenth century. These occasions included many of the events found at a modern Highland games, such as piping, dancing, running, throwing the hammer and tossing the caber. The competitions would prove to be of paramount importance for the preservation of Highland piping, but in addition, they had a great impact on the development

⁶⁰ MacNeill & Richardson, 1996: 53

⁶¹ Donaldson, 2000: 168

⁶² MacInnes. 1988: 16–17

⁶³ MacInnes, 1988: 306

of the style of playing and performance practice. For instance, the repetition of the urlar between certain variations of a piobaireachd was discouraged by the competition committee to make time for more competitors.⁶⁴ From 1786, Highland dress became compulsory for the competitors,⁶⁵ a rule that still applies at all piping competitions of any consequence.

The Northern Meeting was established in 1778, as a social event, including society balls and equestrian amusements. In 1822, Highland games were included and in 1841, piping competitions were introduced, including a piobaireachd event and a competition for strathspeys and reels. From 1859, The Highland Society of London awarded a gold medal to the winner of the piobaireachd competition. Another long-established event was The Argyllshire Gathering at Oban, and from 1875 the society presented the winner of the piobaireachd with a gold medal. The gold medals at Oban and Inverness still remain the highest awards in competitive solo piping.⁶⁶

Inspired by the publication of Joseph MacDonald's *Compleat Theory*, previously mentioned, a prize was introduced in 1806 for the 'scientific' writing of pipe music on the stave. The interest of the Highland societies of having piobaireachd written in staff notation was not only concerned with preserving the music. One aim was to fix a 'proper' standard version of each piobaireachd as different pipers played their own versions of the tunes.⁶⁷ In addition, straightforward tunes in staff notation would make judging easier and would be easier to teach to army pipers.⁶⁸ The first prize in 1806 was won by Pipe Major Donald MacDonald who actually designed the notation system still used for Highland pipe music,⁶⁹ where the grace notes are written with smaller heads, with the stems pointing upwards and the melody notes have all their stems pointing downwards. The value of the grace notes are not included in the total value of a bar, but is simply 'stolen' from the melody notes when playing.

⁶⁴ MacInnes, 1988: 195–198

⁶⁵ MacInnes, 1988: 69

⁶⁶ MacInnes, 1988: 304–305

⁶⁷ See also footnote 151, page 83.

⁶⁸ MacInnes, 1988: 212–213

⁶⁹ MacInnes, 1988: 234

Piping in the Army

Maybe of greater importance than the preservation of the music of the Highland pipe was the more utilitarian interest among the ruling classes to supply the Scottish regiments with enough pipers. Iain MacInnes traces the history of the bagpipe in the British army to the “Scots mercenary regiments that fought in the service of European powers from the sixteenth century”.⁷⁰ One of these units was the Scots Brigade which fought under the Swedish king Gustav II Adolf, in the early seventeenth century. In 1660, this unit returned to Scotland from France to form the 1st Regiment of Foot (The Royal Scots), where “the first official appointment of a pipe-major (in 1679) has been documented.”⁷¹ In his book *The Piper in Peace and War*, C. A. Malcolm mentions an early Scandinavian encounter with Scottish piping in 1612:

A minor incident in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus was the destruction of a small force of Caithness and Sutherland men on their march through Norway to join the Swedish commander. Of this ill-fated expedition there remains a side drum in the Museum of Uppsala, and a piece of music still famous in Norway, entitled the “Sinclair March”. This was the tune played by the pipers who led the unfortunate little company of three hundred Scots.⁷²

In 1971, Rolf Myklebust, who worked for the Norwegian Radio Company, went to Scotland in search of the origins of the ‘Sinclair March’, which is still played by Norwegian folk musicians. He met with Captain John A. MacLellan, who was then the Director of the Army School of Piping at Edinburgh Castle, and the ethnomusicologist Peter Cook. It was concluded that although the tune might have some similarities with Scottish music (particularly from the Shetland Islands) it was not a known Scottish tune.⁷³

During the second half of the eighteenth century, a number of new Scottish regiments were formed, one reason being the endeavour of the government in London to control the Highlands. David McCrone writes:

⁷⁰ MacInnes, 1992: 25

⁷¹ MacInnes, 1992: 26

⁷² Malcolm, 1993: 26 (First published in 1927.) Contacts with various museums in Uppsala was taken during the work on this thesis, but they had no knowledge of the side drum mentioned in the quotation.

⁷³ Myklebust, 1982: 92 (Thanks to Åge Jonny Jørgensen, Oslo for directing me to this article.)

[T]he raising of Highland regiments after 1745 was a master-stroke by the British state in incorporating the symbols of its enemies into its own identity.⁷⁴

There was also a need for more soldiers due to the Napoleonic wars and wars fought in North America and India towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. An increasing number of pipers were employed by the regiments in order to recruit more soldiers. Just as the piper of the Gaelic clan society had played the gathering tunes to summon the clansmen to battle, the army piper now summoned the Highlanders to join the Scottish regiments of the growing British Empire.⁷⁵ The Great Highland Bagpipe survived the decline of the clan system and pipers dressed in colourful uniforms became one of the political power symbols of the British Empire. Later, the genre of Scottish pipe band music became an integrated part of what David Cannadine terms “the ritual of the British monarchy”,⁷⁶ a concept consciously constructed, developed and marketed by British politicians from the end of the nineteenth century.

The regimental pipers became very popular within their regiments and anecdotes telling of heroic deeds performed by pipers on the battlefield circulated widely.⁷⁷ The music of the Highland bagpipe was reputed to have a great ability to encourage the men in the battlefield, and as Roderick Cannon expresses it: “under increasingly effective military discipline, pipers continued to fight in this way down into modern times.”⁷⁸ In the regiments pipers became subject to the routine and discipline of regular soldiers. Michel Foucault discusses new techniques of power emerging in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These included the development of great state apparatuses but they also aimed at reaching into every individual by means of the doctrine of self-discipline, which gained “access to the bodies of individuals, their acts, attitudes, and modes of everyday behaviour.”⁷⁹ The same mechanisms are extensively treated by Norbert Elias in *The Civilizing process* (1939), in which he discusses the emerging modern Western state, more centrally controlled and stable than the medieval warrior society. In this complex community

⁷⁴ McCrone, 1992: 184

⁷⁵ MacInnes, 1988: 25–28

⁷⁶ Cannadine, 1992: 139

⁷⁷ MacInnes, 1988: 26

⁷⁸ Cannon, 1995: 120

⁷⁹ Foucault, 1980:125 (Original interview published in 1977.)

where large numbers of individuals became increasingly more dependent on each other, they established a new form of dispassionate self-control or self-restraint. Elias points out that:

The controlling agency forming itself as part of the individual's personality structure corresponds to the controlling agency forming itself in society at large. The one like the other tends to impose a highly differentiated regulation upon all passionate impulses, upon men's conduct all around.⁸⁰

The army discipline in conjunction with increasing constraints imposed on pipers in piping competitions further shaped a strict performance practice of an already formal style, making the music more standardised, also supported by the writing of pipe music in staff notation.

Ceòl Beag – The Light Music

The earliest records of dance music played on the Highland bagpipe are from the seventeenth century. These consist of entries in the Kirk Session registers about pipers being convicted because they had played for dancers on the Sabbath.⁸¹ Undoubtedly, dance music was played on the bagpipe from its very earliest time and, as pointed out earlier, reels and jigs were mentioned in Joseph MacDonald's treatise from 1760. These dancing tunes were played on other instruments as well, such as the fiddle and the Jew's harp, and it was also common to sing the tunes, often with more or less meaningless words; this style of singing is referred to as 'mouth music', *puirt a beul* [port a biäl] in Gaelic.⁸²

The present piping repertoire includes a great number of marches in a variety of time signatures, but these are a fairly late innovation. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were hardly any roads suitable for marching in the Highlands, and the modern marches, or quicksteps as they were originally called by pipers, were probably first composed (or arranged from existing songs) in the Highland regiments.⁸³

As competitions for light music were introduced at Highland games in the 1820s, pipers started to compose and arrange light music for competition using more intricate gracing and constructing more complicated

⁸⁰. Elias, 1994: 451

⁸¹. Cannon, 1995: 105

⁸². Cannon, 1995: 105

⁸³. Collinson, 1975: 182

tunes. In the *Piper & Drummer*, a magazine for the Canadian piping and drumming community, an article reports of an interview with John D. Burgess, one of the most skilled pipers of this century, and discussing competition tunes he says:

I think that the term “light music” is a misnomer, because a big March, Strathspey & Reel played twice through is a bigger test of a piper’s ability than piobaireachd.⁸⁴

Thus, ceòl beag can be subdivided into two classes; one comprising the competition type (or heavy) marches, strathspeys and reels; the other all other types of tunes. Most of the light music, except some slow airs, is played at a strict pulse, although, especially in solo piping, a fair amount of agogics is used in the expression of the music without changing the basic pulse. Below follows a short introduction to the different types of ceòl beag.

AIRS have most certainly always been played on the bagpipe, and there are many old traditional Gaelic songs which have been arranged for the pipes. The terms *slow air*, *Gaelic air* and *slow march* are partly interchangeable, but flowing singable tunes are often referred to as airs, whereas the term slow march tends to be used for stricter tunes, often with an origin in the army. Airs of Gaelic origin are aptly named Gaelic airs. These are no definite rules, however. These tunes can be found in a variety of time signatures, but the most common is undoubtedly the 6/8, played with two beats to the bar (see *Example 2–4*).

Example 2–4. Slow Air: Leaving Lismore (Traditional)
Part one of two.



⁸⁴ *Piper & Drummer*, 12, 2, Feb. 1995: 21, ‘Interview, John D. Burgess’. ‘Big march, strathspey and reel’ is a term for a major competition where six tunes have to be learnt of each type. The competitor is told what three tunes to play on stage, every tune to be played twice.

MARCHES make up a major part of the modern piping repertoire. Some of these are arrangements of old songs, others are composed for the pipes. There are marches in a great variety of time signatures, the most common being 2/4, 3/4, 4/4 and 6/8. The light 2/4 marches, such as ‘The Corriechoillie’s 43rd Welcome to the Northern Meeting’, (*Example 2–5*) or the 4/4 marches, such as the famous ‘Scotland the Brave’,⁸⁵ are often made up of two parts each. In the 2/4 marches every measure is repeated. There are a great number of good swinging 6/8 marches, usually consisting of four parts, each part being repeated. Well-known examples of these are ‘The Atholl Highlander’s March’ and ‘The Cock o’ the North’. Some 6/8 marches are actually rather more complicated (also referred to as heavy) tunes. The 6/8 marches were regularly played by leading pipers at competitions in the 1870s, although the heavy 2/4 marches were rapidly increasing in popularity.⁸⁶ The tempo of the lighter marches varies greatly from performer to performer, but generally they are played at a slower pace than that of other marching bands.

Example 2–5. 2/4 March: Corriechoillie’s 43rd Welcome to the Northern Meeting
(P/M W. Ross)
Part one of two.



RETREAT MARCHES are a special category in 3/4 or 9/8 time, with the ‘Green Hills of Tyrol’ (*Example 2–6*) as one of the most popular tunes. These are often played at a somewhat slower pace than the regular bagpipe marches. In 3/4 marches the first beat of the bar comes alternatively on the left and right foot as the player marches along to the tune. In 9/8 marches every beat is made up of three eighth notes, and again the first beat of the bar comes alternatively on the left and right feet.

⁸⁵ See *Example 2–14* on page 75.

⁸⁶ Cannon, 1995: 140

Example 2-6. 3/4 Retreat March: The Green Hills of Tyrol (Traditional)
Part one of two.



THE REEL is the old traditional dance of the Highlands. According to Roderick Cannon, the word reel might be of Norse origin and is also used in Gaelic (*ruidhle*, *rihil*). The dance originally comprised a figure of eight danced by three people, or a figure with three loops danced by four people. Cannon points out that any dance done to the tune of a reel is called a reel today, even if it does not include the figure of eight.⁸⁷ In fact, there are also examples of dances performed to the tune of the strathspey, which are called reels because they include the figure of eight. An example of this is the Scottish country dance the ‘Reel of Mey’, which is a strathspey (see below). A reel is written in *alla breve* time, and is a very lively and fast tune with a forceful rhythm. Most light reels have two parts. An example of a traditional reel is ‘Sleepy Maggie’ (*Example 2-7*).

Example 2-7. Reel: Sleepy Maggie (Traditional)



THE STRATHSPEY originally developed as a style of extremely pointed reel-playing among fiddlers in the Central and Eastern Highlands, in the early to mid eighteenth century.⁸⁸ The modern strathspey is written in 4/4 time, where the first beat of each bar is extremely pointed (played as if double dotted) without breaking the steady dance rhythm. This pointing, originating from a heavy down-stroke of the fiddler, is very difficult to

⁸⁷. Cannon, 1995: 105–106

⁸⁸. Cannon, 1995: 111

achieve on the bagpipe with its constant volume. On the pipes the trick is made by agogics, where the first note or note group of the bar is heavily pointed stealing time from the rest of the bar. Frequently, the accent is reversed so that the first of two notes in a beat is played short and the second dotted. This is often referred to as the ‘Scotch snap’, although the term is not commonly used by pipers. Most light strathspeys have two parts. An example of a simple strathspey is ‘Orange and Blue’ (*Example 2–8*).

Example 2–8. Strathspey: Orange and Blue (Traditional)



JIGS, as evident from the quotation from Joseph MacDonald’s treatise on page 49, were a part of the repertoire in the eighteenth century, and indeed reels were danced to the tunes of jigs too. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the playing of jigs declined as less music was required for dancing. New jigs tended to come from Ireland rather than Scotland. In the 1930s a jig competition was started at Oban. This made jigs to be taken seriously again by the competition oriented piping fraternity, and new Scottish jigs were composed. Jigs are very fast and lively tunes in 6/8 time with a characteristic stubborn repetition of triplets. Jigs are often made of two or four measures, every measure being repeated. There are also jigs in 9/8 time, sometimes called slip jigs or the Scottish lilt (which is a dance). An example of a 6/8 jig is the ‘Glasgow Police Pipers’ (*Example 2–9*), composed by Pipe Major Donald MacLeod, M.B.E., who was one of the most famous pipers of the twentieth century.

Example 2–9. Jig: Glasgow Police Pipers (P/M Donald MacLeod, M.B.E.)
Part one of four.



HORNPIPES started to appear around the mid eighteenth century, and developed from an older type of music in 2/4 time, with runs of semiquavers, which was known as ‘Scotch Measure’. Many of the early hornpipes were published as ‘quicksteps’ in military fife collections,⁸⁹ and it is probable that pipers got some of these tunes from the fifers. There is also a particular dance, describing the life of a sailor, ‘The Sailors’ Hornpipe’, which is danced to a hornpipe. Often reels are danced to hornpipe music. From the 1940s and onwards quite a number of new hornpipes have been composed. Most modern hornpipes consist of four parts, each part being repeated. The tempo is brisk and the melody sprightly (see *Example 2–10*).

Example 2–10. Hornpipe: P/M Calum Campbell’s Caprice (P/M J. Wilson)
Part one of four.



Competition Type Marches, Strathspeys & Reels⁹⁰

Solo piping competitions for quickstep marches, strathspeys and reels were started in the 1820s. At that time piobaireachd competitions had been going for forty years. The marches, strathspeys and reels played at the early competitions were of the lighter type described above. Due to

⁸⁹. See page 65 for a presentation of the fife.

⁹⁰. The historical information in this section builds on Cannon 1995: 134–143.

the new function of the music at competitions, the tempo was lowered, a more pointed style of playing evolved and the embellishments became more elaborate. New parts and embellishments were added to some of the older strathspeys and reels so that they became more elaborate and consisted of at least four parts.⁹¹ The lighter marches were abandoned for a new type of 2/4 march composition, which was altogether of a more complicated style and was played at a lower tempo. According to Roderick Cannon the older style of playing was probably rounder (less pointed) and the tunes were played faster; but as the competition style evolved the playing became more pointed and the tempo slower. The tunes were no longer played for dancing or ordinary marching, but were rather played as concert pieces, or show-off pieces to prove the piper's skill in the competition. (See *Examples 2–11, 2–12 and 2–13*.)

Some Highland dances consist of a slow part in strathspey time followed by a faster part in reel time, and it is possible that this led to the custom in competitions to play a strathspey immediately followed by a reel. Later, a 2/4 march was added before the strathspey and since then it is this suite of the march, strathspey and reel that has been played at the major ceòl beag competitions. Today there is a limited number of well-known compositions which belong to the canon of the heavy competition music. In an article in the *Piping Times* about 2/4 marches, William Gilmour writes:

The 25 most popular marches probably account for 80% of all the tunes presented and played in competition. The editor says I have not to list these because most pipers would have a very similar idea of that list. [...] The next most popular 25 would probably represent a further 15% of tunes presented and the 5% remaining would be rather less well known and would be represented by probably another 50 tunes.⁹²

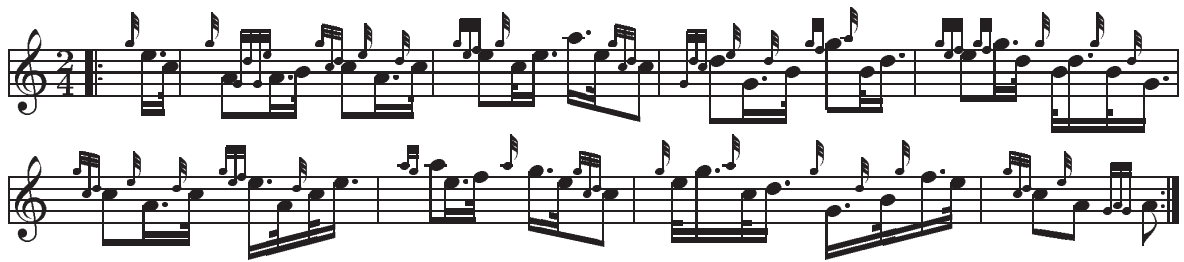
Most of these tunes are constructed along the same lines. For instance almost all the marches have low A as the basic note. The tunes of all three categories (march, strathspey and reel) are technically difficult to play and are made up of at least four parts each. Although the tunes are played in a suite, they are not written as a suite.⁹³ Any heavy march can be followed by any strathspey and reel of the appropriate calibre. In fact, at the major

⁹¹ The beginnings of many tunes that are highly embellished today can be found in *Ross's Collection of Pipe Music*, Ross, 1976 (first published in 1885).

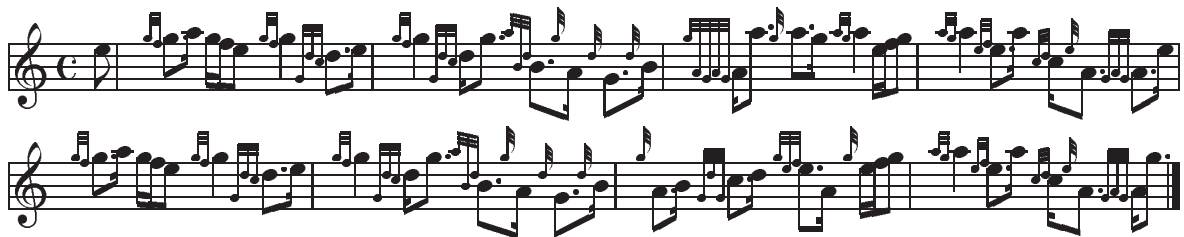
⁹² Gilmour, William, 'What Makes a 2/4 march a Competition March?' in *The Piping Times*, Vol. 48, No. 9, June 1996: 27.

solo competitions every competitor must submit a list of a fixed number of tunes of each category, and then the judges pick one tune of each category to be played. The competitor is informed of the judges' decision on stage, just before he is going to play. This means that he has to be familiar with all the possible combinations of changing from one tune to the next.

Example 2-11. Competition type 2/4 march: Hugh Kennedy, M.A., B.Sc.
(P/M Peter R. MacLeod)
Part one of four.



Example 2-12. Competition type strathspey: Cabar Feidh (Traditional)
Part one of four.



Example 2-13. Competition type reel: Mrs. MacPherson of Inveran
(P/M G.S. MacLennan)
Part one of six.



⁹³ There is only one example of a tune that exists in the form of a march, strathspey and reel, namely the Caber Feidh, although the march is in 4/4 time. There is also a jig version of the tune.

The Aesthetics of Highland Pipe Music

The music of the Highland bagpipe is so affected by two hundred years of competition that it might be difficult to separate what is considered good piping by the piping-culture from what is required to be successful in competition.

As explained above the pipe scale has only nine notes, which are played against, or rather together with, the background harmony of the drones. The three drones always sound the basic note in two octaves.⁹⁴ They are never changed or shut off while playing, except when the piper is tuning his pipes. The function of the drones is not primarily to supply a note, but rather to produce a soundscape or 'room' of harmonics, in which the melody of the chanter is heard and where different harmonics of each note of the chanter blend with those of the drones. It can also be described as if each note of the chanter 'lights up' or 'moves' the sound of the drones in different ways. The drone in the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe can be compared to the drone in Northern Indian raga, of which Alain Daniélou has written that the meaning of each note is determined by its independent relationship with the tonic, and he continues:

As long as the hearer has not entirely identified himself with the tonic, but still perceives drone and melody as separate entities, it will remain impossible for him to follow or understand the meaning of modal music.⁹⁵

It is with Highland piping as with Northern Indian raga, the drone and the melody should not be heard as two different entities; they coexist, supporting and facilitating each other. The listener or performer must 'enter' the sound of the drones or internalise the sound of the drones into the total experience of the music.

The volume of the chanter is fixed, which gives the performer more or less no possibility of changing the timbre or volume of his instrument while playing. Because of this, the dynamics of Highland piping has to be done by other means. One is actually given by the instrument itself; the conical shape of the chanter makes the lower notes of the scale more powerful and as the scale is played upwards the volume gradually decreases. Many tunes are composed so as to make use of this feature. Also,

⁹⁴ See 'The Scale, Tuning & Harmonics of the Drones' on page 37.

⁹⁵ Daniélou, 1968: 23

the dynamics of the light music is often achieved by agogics, heavy pointing of some notes (often the first note of a bar) and cutting other notes.

A different possibility for creating dynamics, is the elaborate and highly developed system of grace notes or embellishments, which are played in all types of pipe music. Today, there is actually a world-wide standardised system of embellishments, which is learnt by all students of bagpipe music. A well developed, crisp finger technique is expected from every serious piper, including the ability to play all the traditional embellishments. Many examples of different grace notes can be seen in the tune extracts above. Which grace notes to play where is by no means arbitrary, pipe tunes are composed with the embellishments, and there is a traditional practice of how to put grace notes to a tune. The embellishments are created to work closely with the technical aspect of the fingering of the pipe chanter. For instance, quite a number of embellishments make use of the powerful, voluminous lower notes to create a crashing sound, and high pitched grace notes are used to mark out the rhythm (specifically high G) and to make delicate tingeing embellishments.

Playing styles which depend largely on movements that are natural to play on a particular instrument are sometimes referred to as 'instrumental idiomacy'. In connection with this concept, Lars Lilliestam points out that "[t]he instrument itself makes certain things possible but also sets limitations."⁹⁶ This is indeed a relevant description of the gracenotes of Highland piping. These embellishments could hardly be played on, for example, the piano or the violin with any similar effect, if indeed it is technically possible to play them on these instruments at all. Lilliestam goes on to write about the importance of recurring formulas as 'basic elements of music', and he defines a musical formula as

a characteristic musical motive or pattern, which has a recognisable core even if the exact performance of the formula can be varied within given cultural frameworks.⁹⁷

Traditional Highland piping makes use not only of the standardised embellishments, but also of a number of standard 'motifs', built of two to three notes plus gracenotes, which are used in the construction of tunes.⁹⁸ This clearly reflects the importance of the aural element in Highland piping, as the standard movements make it easier for the piper to

⁹⁶ Lilliestam, 1996: 202

⁹⁷ Lilliestam, 1996: 203 (The original quotation is printed in italics.)

⁹⁸ See *Example 6-6* on page 262 for examples of two of these movements.

remember tunes. In addition, the use of a number of movements, well rehearsed and well known by the piper, makes the music technically easier to play.

The Pipes & Drums or the Pipe Band is Invented in the British Army in the Mid Nineteenth Century

Although the drum is an ancient instrument, much older than the Highland bagpipe, there is no known evidence of pipers and drummers having played together until the mid 1850s, when the concept was introduced in the army.⁹⁹ The band was referred to as the *Pipes and Drums* and was to some extent modelled on the existing 'fife and drum' bands, with military roots reaching back to the fifteenth century Swiss and German mercenaries. The fife, a simple cylindrical wooden flute with six finger holes, was primarily used together with the drum for playing calls and signals to direct the soldiers in the battlefield.¹⁰⁰ The fifers were always enlisted as drummers and initially pipers too were enlisted as drummers, as they were not officially recognised by the army, but in 1854, an order from the War Office sanctioned a pipe major and five pipers in each of the Highland Regiments.¹⁰¹

CIVILIAN PIPE BANDS were most likely inspired by the pipes & drums of the army. There are records of Militia/Civilian bands such as The City of Edinburgh Rifle Volunteers, formed in 1859.¹⁰² According to Roderick Cannon, it is probable that it was in uniformed organisations such as the police and the fire brigades that the first civilian bands were formed. Some present day bands, such as the police bands of Edinburgh and Glasgow, trace their history back to the 1880s. Another organisation where piping has been highly stimulated is the Boys' Brigade, which was founded in Scotland in 1883, and then spread to England. Hitherto, little research has been made on the Scottish pipe bands and their development. Today there are a great many pipe bands all over Scotland, and as Roderick Cannon puts it: "The whole picture is very much akin to the National Brass Band Movement."¹⁰³ In addition, there are now pipe bands all

⁹⁹. Murray, 1994: 111

¹⁰⁰. Murray, 1994: 8–9

¹⁰¹. Cannon, 1995: 151–153

¹⁰². Young & Chatto, 1999: 103



Photograph 2-3. Pipes and Drums, 1st Battalion The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), at the Tower of London, about 1923.

Photo: By kind permission of The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.

over the Western world as well as in former British colonies, but also, according to David Murray:

In Jordan and Egypt, the Sudan, the Oman and the Gulf States, which were never part of the Empire proper, the Highland pipe still flourishes, the music perhaps modified to suit individual and ethnic tastes, but wholly recognisable.¹⁰⁴

Another genre of music where the Scottish Highland bagpipe and pipe band drums are used for music very different from that traditionally played by Scottish pipe bands, are the Breton bagad bands, where the pipes and drums are played together with bombards.¹⁰⁵ The first bagad bands, formed in Brittany in the late 1940s, were inspired by Scottish pipe

¹⁰³. Cannon, 1995: 153. For a thorough discussion of the brass band movement see: Herbert, 1991.

¹⁰⁴. Murray, David, 'HRH's Competition and Swinging the Mace on the Sub-Continent', article in *Piping Times*, Vol. 54, No. 11, Aug. 2002: 11.

¹⁰⁵. A high pitched mouth blown Breton shawm with a double reed.

bands. Today, there are about eighty bagad bands (or bagadou) in Brittany. The major part of the repertoire consists of traditional Breton music, but a few of the bands also play Scottish pipe band music.¹⁰⁶

The first pipe band competitions were held in the 1880s. Roderick Cannon mentions that in two articles by anonymous writers in the *Piping Times* (1953) it is claimed that the first competition was promoted by Glasgow Rangers Football Club and was won by the Govan Police, and furthermore, that The World Pipe Band Championships were started in 1897 at Cowal, and were won by the Edinburgh City Police Pipe Band.¹⁰⁷ In 1930, The Scottish Pipe Band Association (now The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association) was formed. One of its main objectives has been to regulate the band competitions.¹⁰⁸ In Canada, Australia and New Zealand pipe band associations were formed as early as in the 1920s.¹⁰⁹ Today, a great number of pipe band competitions are held not only in Scotland, but also in many other parts of the world. Most of these events are modelled on the Scottish competitions, and often some of Scotland's best players are invited as adjudicators. Bands are divided into grades according to how well they play and how successful they have been in previous competitions.¹¹⁰ The highest award in the pipe band world is the title 'Champion of Champions', which is won by the pipe band in grade one that scores the highest total points in the five major competitions during the season.¹¹¹

The Pipe Band Drums – Side, Bass & Tenor

The drums played in the Scottish regiments in the 1850s were made of wood and the heads were made of cured animal skins tensioned with ropes. Initially, there was a bass drum and higher pitched snare or side drums.¹¹² The first record of the use of a tenor drum was in the band

^{106.} Bagad bands, text on the Internet, copyright Jean-Yves Hillion, <http://membres.lycos.fr/pipendrum/transbagad.htm>, printed 17 Mar. 2003.

^{107.} Cannon, 1995: 153 (Articles quoted by Cannon: 'Famous Pipe Bands: No.1. The City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band', *Piping Times*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1953 and 'Edinburgh City Police Pipe Band, 1882–1953', *Piping Times*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1953.)

^{108.} Cannon, 1995: 154

^{109.} Young & Chatto, 1999: 103

^{110.} Bands are graded by The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association into grades (from top bands to less experienced): 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, Juvenile and Novice Juvenile.

^{111.} The five major competitions held every year are: The World Pipe Band Championships, The Cowal Highland Games, The European Championships, The Scottish Championships, The British Championships.

of The Royal Artillery in 1834,¹¹³ but it was probably not accepted into pipe bands until the early 1900s.¹¹⁴ The older side drums had a deep sonorous tone, and the thick heads made of animals skins played with heavy wooden sticks made the playing style rudimentary with open rolls.¹¹⁵ The drums played in a modern pipe band have evolved from these three older types of drums and are still referred to as the bass drum, the tenor drum and the snare (or side) drum. The sound quality and pitch of the modern drums are particularly suited to accompany the Highland bagpipe. For the past twenty years or so, other percussion instruments, for instance the triple tom or bongo drums, have been used at rare occasions to create special effects at concerts or on recordings, but in general it is only the three types of traditional drums that are used in pipe bands.

THE BASS DRUM is the only ‘solo’ instrument in a pipe band. Traditionally, the drum is tuned to the A of the bass drone of the bagpipe, and has the main function of keeping steady time and giving the basic rhythm of a piece. A good bass drummer can combine the time keeping with the playing of additional, more intricate rhythms to enhance the music. The big drum is carried in front of the drummer hooked to a harness or an aluminium carrier. The diameter of the drum varies from 26 to 32 inches and the depth from 10 to 18 inches. The bass is played on both sides with two semi-soft drum sticks. The style of playing is soft; the drum is swept rather than banged so that a tone rather than a short bang is produced. The drum is made of wood and the drum heads are made of plastic fitted to the drum by metal or wooden hoops held by screws.

THE TENOR DRUM could be described as a small bass drum. The materials and construction are similar to those described for the bass drum. The diameter of the drum is usually 16 or 18 inches and the depth is about 12 inches. The drum has one top head which is played and one bottom head for resonance. The drum sticks are semi soft. The tenor is usually tuned to the A of the tenor drones of the bagpipe, but sometimes it is tuned to other notes for special effects (to tune to the E or the fifth is common). Both the top and bottom skins are tuned at the same pitch.¹¹⁶ A band can

¹¹² It was called snare drum “because the cords of gut which lay against the lower head, or skin of the drum resembled a poacher’s snare. It was sometimes called the side drum, because it was carried canted to the right, so that the upper skin was set at an angle to the body.” (Murray, 1994: 3)

¹¹³ Young & Chatto, 1999: 102

¹¹⁴ Young & Chatto, 1999: 4

¹¹⁵ Murray, 1994: 23. For a comment on open rudiments, see footnote 139, page 77.



Photograph 2–4. Bass Drummer

(Kerstin Andersson, The Murray Pipes & Drums.)

Photo: Christer Sjögren, Stockholm, 1981. By kind permission of Mikael Birde.

have several tenor drummers. The tenor drummers usually play a more elaborate beating than the bass drummer, often giving a light and shade effect with the bass, subdividing the fewer beats of the bass drum score. In addition to playing the drum, the tenor drummers add the art of feathering and flourishing, a visual show, interwoven with the beating, where the two drum sticks, held by string loops tied to the end of the shafts, are moved and rotated according to diverse elaborate methods to create a flashing, eye-catching show. Joe Noble, one of Scotland's most well-known and knowledgeable drummers, has mentioned that the flourishing

¹¹⁶ Nordström, Marie, informal discussion.



Photograph 2–5. Tenor Drummer

(Marie Nordström, The Griffin Pipes & Drums.)

Photo: Christer Sjögren, Stockholm, 1981. By kind permission of Mikael Birde.

might have been added to the show by talented local African drummers, taking part in army pipe band performances in the British colonies.¹¹⁷ The drum is carried in front of the drummer (often aided by a leg rest). Traditionally, the drum is hooked to a drum sling hanging over the right shoulder of the drummer, but sometimes a waist sling or a carrier is used.

THE SIDE- OR SNARE DRUM is hooked to a drum sling hanging over the right shoulder or to a waist sling or an aluminium carrier. The drum sticks are made of wood. The diameter of the drum is 14 inches and the depth

¹¹⁷. Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996, regarding the history of pipe band drumming. I received this facsimile in connection with my work on an essay about piping and drumming competitions.

about 12 inches. The drum has a powerful volume and is very high pitched, but it has no fixed pitch as the sound quality is very dry and buzzing. According to *The Alex Duthart Book of Pipe Band Snare Drum Compositions, No. 1*:

The rudiments are the first principle of snare drumming, basically there are only two fundamental sounds, a roll or a tap. The roll is essentially the only method of playing a sustained sound on a snare drum.¹¹⁸

By combining rolls and taps, various standard rudiments are constructed and these are used in the composition of the drum beatings or the drum scores. I will return to these concepts when discussing drum scores below. Compared to the bass and the tenor drums, not to mention the bagpipe, the pipe band side drum has been subject to a tremendous technical development during the late twentieth century.

Up until the mid nineteenth century, the drums were rope-tensioned and had natural skin heads, producing a comparatively dull and low pitched sound. In the 1950s, plastic heads were introduced and the rope tension was abandoned for metal screws. The aim was to increase the pitch of the drum to suite the tone of the pipes, but also to facilitate the playing of more technically demanding scores. Joe Noble points out that:

It is true to say that the modern snare drum has been developed by popular demand from the players. As playing technique improves the player demands an instrument on which he can display his technical wizardry. The drum is then improved often beyond the current ability of the player. We therefore have a situation rather like a game of 'leap frog'.¹¹⁹

In the 1970s, pipe band side drums were made of wood (or metal) with eight or ten steel tension rods; both the top and bottom plastic heads were equipped with adjustable steel spring snares to produce a tight, surging sound. The 'Super Royal Scot' range of drums (S41 and S81) produced by Premier were among the most well-known drums of this type. A constant problem was to achieve a sufficiently high pitch, and the top heads were constantly broken due to the high tension. This led to the introduction of woven fibre heads in the 1980s, but the technical developments did not stop at that. Joe Noble writes:

¹¹⁸. Alex Duthart Percussion Ltd., 1987: 1

¹¹⁹. Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996.



Figure 2–1. The Modern Side Drum – *The HTS 200*
(Premier Percussion Ltd., *PIPE BAND, Drums and Accessories*,
printed leaflet, Leicester, England.)

Technical developments in drums and drumheads have accelerated in the past 40 years. Culminating in the present hi tech snare drum. Some aspects of development have in fact been ‘spin offs’ from the US. space shuttle programme e.g. kevlar heads.¹²⁰

The drums, developed in the 1980s, were indeed pieces of technical engineering. An example is Premier’s ‘High Tension Snare Drum’ (HTS 200) which is equipped with batter heads made of kevlar, the material used in bullet proof vests. The kevlar allows for extremely high tension and pitch. The birch wood shell is independent of the separate tension mechanisms so that the shell can resonate freely. The following excerpts from the presentation of the HTS 200 in Premier’s leaflet for *Pipe Band Drums and*

¹²⁰. Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996.

*Accessories*¹²¹ is more akin to a description of a machine than a musical instrument (see *Figure 2–1*):

- Cast aluminium top section (suspension ring) is fitted with 12 high-tensile precision inserts and 12 high-tensile tension bolts for strength, ease of tuning and improved accuracy without causing head distortion. [...]
- New bottom snare strainer with fine tension and precise lay adjustment. Maximum head/snare contact over entire length of the 24 strand wire snares under tension. [...]
- Finished drum fitted with Premier's Fibreline 2 (laminated Kevlar/polyester) batter head and standard snare head.

Modern side drumming has developed so far that some players even have started to question whether the genre is going in the right direction. In an article (1996) Arthur Cook, the leader of BT Polkemmet Pipe Band in Scotland, questions the high pitch and sound of the modern drums, and the tendency of adjudicators at competitions to mark down drum corps with a flatter pitch than everybody else, and he writes:

We have reached a stage in the drumming world where the pitch of the pipe band snare drum has almost reached the point of no return. Do we really have a 'drum tone' or have we created a monster and there is no way escaping?¹²²

There is nothing at present (2002), however, that indicates that drummers in general are going back to older types of drums or sound ideals.

Pipe Band Drumming & Drum Scores

Even less research has been made on the topic of Scottish pipe band drumming than on piping.¹²³ Initially, the primary function of military drumming was to support or transmit commands by the playing of various signals, and from the fourteenth century, drummers played an important part in the British army on the battlefield. The drummers learnt the signal patterns by 'rote', by listening to the drum-major playing the signal

¹²¹. Premier Percussion Ltd., *PIPE BAND, Drums and Accessories*, printed leaflet, no year.

¹²². Cook, Arthur, 'Drum Tone' in *The Piping World*, 1, August/September 1996: 23.

¹²³. For a historical introduction to the Scottish military drum see for instance Murray, 1994 and Young & Chatto, 1999.

over repeatedly, but the soldiers too had to know the signals in order to be able to understand the commands given.¹²⁴ The introduction of the fife, playing tunes together with the drum, made it easier for the soldiers to remember the signals. David Murray writes that:

A misheard beating could result, for instance, in the wrong people reporting to the wrong place. The fife tunes came to be associated with certain beatings and certain events, and in time the tunes came to be known by the event or function the drum beating was meant to notify. And not only that; the tunes came to be associated with the army which played them.¹²⁵

For instance, the Scots mercenaries in Swedish service in the 1630s were associated with the ‘Scots March’, a drum beating (not a tune) composed by the Scottish King James V, in 1527 to commemorate the siege of Tantallon Castle.¹²⁶

It is difficult to follow the early development of pipe band drumming as the beatings were transmitted aurally. Young and Chatto writes that the drummers of the first army pipe bands in the 1850s

would have naturally played ***Standard Snare Drum Beatings*** to accompany the pipe tunes, similar to those that were played in the Fife and Drum corps, with the Bass drum just beating to keep time.¹²⁷

According to Joe Noble, simple standard 2/4 scores were played to all tunes up until the mid to late 1920s, when the first drum corps prize was introduced at The Cowal Highland Games in an attempt to improve the general standard of drumming, and he continues:

The pipe section of this ERA [sic!] wished to improve the quality of competition music by playing tunes like ‘Lord Alexander Kennedy’, ‘Donald Cameron’, and ‘Highland Wedding’. [Typical solo competition type marches for the pipes (author’s comment).] It was therefore essential to improve the drum scores. Prior to World War II drummers like A. D. Hamilton and Paddy Donovan elevated drum composition to accommodate the aforementioned type of tunes. It is relevant to note that both men came from other drum backgrounds e.g. A. D. Hamilton played orchestral music.¹²⁸

¹²⁴. Young & Chatto, 1999: 2

¹²⁵. Murray, 1994: 9–10

¹²⁶. Cannon, 1995: 151, Murray, 1994: 7, Young and Chatto, 1999: 101

¹²⁷. Young & Chatto, 1999: 6 (Italics and bold text as in original quotation.)

Example 2–14. Scotland the Brave, full score for first part (Traditional)

Part one of two, for pipes, side drums, tenor drums and bass drum, from top to bottom. The drum scores here exemplify simple standard beatings for massed bands.

(The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 1978: 65. By kind permission of The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association.)

The image displays a musical score for the first part of 'Scotland the Brave'. It consists of two systems of staves. The top system has four staves: the top staff is for pipes, the second for side drums, the third for tenor drums, and the bottom for bass drum. The bottom system has three staves: the top for pipes, the middle for side drums, and the bottom for bass drum. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, rests, and dynamic markings typical of a drum score for a marching band.

From then and onwards, the originally fairly simple marching band drumming of Scottish pipe bands underwent a tremendous development, both technically and musically, and was influenced by several other styles. A great number of drummers were involved in this process,¹²⁹ one of the most influential being Alex Duthart, who brought many new ideas into Scottish drumming. Both his experience as a drum kit player in various dance bands and his contacts with Fritz Berger, a leading drummer of a Swiss style of military drumming, greatly influenced his pipe band drumming.¹³⁰ According to Jens Hedegaard, leading drummer of The Heather Pipes & Drums, there have not been any great changes in Scottish drumming for the past ten years. Some beatings composed by Alex Duthart in the 1970s and 1980s are still being played.¹³¹

Sometimes, standard beatings are still used with simple march tunes, particularly by less experienced drum corps, or when a number of bands are playing together in a ‘massed bands’ parade. This means that the drummers play the same beating to every 4/4 march and another beating to every 3/4 march. (See *Example 2–14* for a simple 4/4 beating.) Otherwise, most drum corps play scores that are especially composed to ac-

¹²⁸. Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996.

¹²⁹. For a detailed study of the development of pipe band side drumming through the twentieth century see Young & Chatto, 1999.

¹³⁰. Alex Duthart Percussion Ltd., 1988: viii

¹³¹. Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2002

company every individual tune of the bands' repertoire. Although there are some published scores composed by expert drummers, the tradition is that experienced leading drummers¹³² usually compose scores for their own band. This creates great variety of drum scores both over time and between bands. The beatings for the bass and tenor drums too, have often been based on a simple standardised beating for each type of tune. In some traditions, even a fixed number of beats are played over and over again, irrespectively of the time signature.¹³³ However, Joe Noble points out that:

Good leading drummers produce drum scores which accompany and enhance the pipe melody. These drum scores incorporate tenor and bass parts ensuring that the bass section does not just 'do its own thing'.¹³⁴

Pipe band drummers make a point of *playing* instead of *beating* their drums. This apply to all three types of drums. The drumming is there to accompany and enhance the tunes of the bagpipes. As traditional piping is often played with a lot of pointing and cutting (where the pointed notes are usually longer and the shorter notes shorter than notated) the drumming must be adapted to the agogics of the pipe tunes. In an article, Craig Colquhoun, the bass drummer of The 78th Fraser Highlanders Pipe Band in Canada, refers to this as the 'swing concept', and he writes:

When scoring the snare parts it is important that the beating be written with the same respect for the dots and cuts as the melody. The snare drummers must also interpret the composition in the same manner. [...] The pulses being played by the bass section may also be affected by the swing concept, and holding certain notes in a tune can reinforce the entire concept.¹³⁵

The drummers can also create a light and shade effect by playing forte or piano in contrast to the pipers. The bagpipe is an extreme legato instrument (there are never any pauses and there is no possibility to change the volume whilst playing). In a band all pipers play all the time; very seldom (and never in traditional piping) the effect of a few pipers versus the whole pipe corps is used to vary the performance. One reason for this

¹³² The leader of a drum corps.

¹³³ Nordström, Marie, informal discussion.

¹³⁴ Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996.

¹³⁵ Craig Colquhoun, 'The Ensemble Method', in *Piper & Drummer*, 13, 4, Aug. 1996: 16–17.

is that it takes a few seconds to get a set of pipes going at the correct pressure, and during this time the drones are out of tune.¹³⁶ The initial starting procedure of every set of tunes, with the drones roaring, is in most cases concealed by a forceful roll from the drum corps.

The first printed music for pipe band drumming appeared in 1922.¹³⁷ The drummers, just as the pipers, in a pipe band always learn their scores by heart, and music is never used when performing. Nowadays, most drummers have some knowledge of music reading, but far from everybody can play straight off the music. Originally the drum scores of pipe band drumming was written on the ordinary five-line staff, but today a form of the notation system developed by Fritz Berger is used.¹³⁸ The notes are written above and under a single line to denote which strokes should be played by the left and the right hand, respectively (see *Example 2–15*).

The beatings for the three different types of drums are to a great extent composed of standardised formulas. The drum scores, as the pipe music, are built of recurring ‘basic elements of music’ as described by Liljestam (see page 64). The beatings of the snare drum are constructed of a number of basic rudiments. Joe Noble points out that:

It is important that pipe band drummers are rudimentary drummers as are Swiss and American rudimentary drummers. One important fundamental difference is that the Scottish pipe band drummers play closed rudiments whilst the others play open rudiments e.g. rolls and drags.¹³⁹

If piping competitions emphasise technical virtuosity, solo drumming competitions does that to an even greater extent. Drummers should have absolute stick control and be able to play all the basic rudiments to perfection. In addition to this the musical flow of the performance is judged with special attention to the light and shade effect ‘piano – forte’. The tone quality of the drum is also judged.

¹³⁶ In Breton Bagad bands, which play Highland pipes, the technique of stopping the chanter and only letting the drones sound is frequently employed to cause variety. This is never done in traditional Scottish piping.

¹³⁷ Cannon, 1995: 159

¹³⁸ Skinner, Michael A., ‘Pipe Band Drumming’, in *Percussive Notes*, 34, 2, 1996: 48

¹³⁹ Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996. According to *The Alex Duthart Book of Pipe Band Snare Drum Compositions, No 1* (1987: 2–3) one difference between open and closed rudiments is that “A slight pressure applied to the thumbs and fingers” will form a closed rudiment. To further understand the difference, a more subtle description by an experienced drumming teacher is most certainly needed.

Example 2–15. Side drum beating for ‘Donald Cameron’ (Alex Duthart)
 Competition type 2/4 march, (Part one & two of six.)
 (Alex Duthart Percussion Ltd. 1987: 51)



A major difference in comparison to piping is that pipe band drumming has developed and changed so enormously over the last forty or fifty years. New drum scores are constantly produced to accompany both old and new pipe tunes. Although the pipers of a pipe band play an old tune exactly as it was composed maybe 60 years ago, the music produced by the band will vary, depending on the style of the drum score. In comparison with the bagpipe music it is accompanying, pipe band drumming can be said to be much more eclectic and innovative.

In addition to playing together with the pipers, the drummers sometimes play a special drum composition called a drum salute or drum fanfare. Here the drummers excel in showing off their ability to play rudiments in hilarious combinations and different rhythms.

The Performance Practice & Music of Pipe Bands

The pipe band tradition started in the army, and this origin is still strongly present in a modern pipe band. The members of a civilian pipe band march in ranks and files according to military discipline, military style orders are given to start and stop the band and the bands perform dressed in uniforms. Ten or fifteen years ago, many civilian bands were dressed in colourful, military style, Highland uniforms, although today most bands appear in uniform civilian Highland dress at competitions. One reason might be a change of taste to a more civilian look. Another factor is the

astronomical cost of Full Dress uniforms. In addition to this the uniforms are not particularly comfortable.

The style of pipe band music, with all the pipers and drummers aiming at playing in perfect unison, is clearly influenced by army discipline and presupposes total self-control of the individual players as well as subordination to the group.

A competing pipe band consists of pipers (a minimum of six), a bass drummer, one or more tenor drummers and side drummers (a minimum of two). The larger bands usually have twenty or more pipers and drummers. At parades the band might be led by a drum-major (D/M) carrying a mace. The leader (or conductor) of a pipe band is titled the pipe major (P/M) and he might have a stand-in, titled the pipe-sergeant (P/S). The P/M and the P/S are pipers and always play with the band. When the band is performing or competing standing (usually in a circle or sometimes in a semicircle) the P/M does the conducting mainly by tapping his foot. One of the drummers is usually the leader of the drum corps and is titled the leading-drummer (L/D) or drum-sergeant (D/S) or sometimes (playing) drum-major (not to be mixed up with the person in front with the mace).

THE TUNES played by pipe bands more or less entirely belong to the category of ceòl beag (light music), but occasionally short excerpts of piobaireachd is played in selections.¹⁴⁰ The pipe corps of a pipe band aims to play the tunes with exact togetherness, including every single grace note. In traditional pipe band music all the pipers play in unison almost all the time. The use of harmonies, or seconds, has increased over the years, but it is still very little used. The drummers, sides, tenors and bass, play their scores aiming at good togetherness with the pipers, also trying to create a light and shade effect. Often one of the side drummers (the leading drummer) plays solo the first time through a part to create this ‘piano – forte’ effect. Great importance is given to simultaneous starting and stopping as well as to good breaks into new tempos and tunes.

THE SOUND of the band is important too. A clear voluminous well tuned chanter sound, often referred to as ‘tone’, as well as a solid backing of perfectly in-tune drones is required. Bagpipes are not easy to tune and

¹⁴⁰ There are a few exceptions. For instance, a recording made by The Invergordon Distillery Pipe Band in 1966, where the full piobaireachd ‘The Old Woman’s Lullaby’ is played accompanied with timpani and cymbals (*The Pipes of Scotland*, 1967).

quite sensitive to temperature and humidity, and most pipe band competitions are held outdoors so this is not an easy task. The drums too should be well tuned (see page 67) and have a solid sound.

Late Twentieth Century Pipe Music

One of the most popular pipe band competitions is the medley or selection. Here a number of tunes of different time signatures and tempos are combined into selections of about three to seven minutes duration. Many of the traditional lighter tunes are quite short, so a set may consist of as many as eight or ten tunes. This makes the performance varied, with lots of tempo changes. On the other hand, the mixture of tunes can make it difficult to find a unifying idea in a selection.

The first medley competition for piping quartets was held in 1965 by the Northeast Branch of the Scottish Pipe Band Association. Prior to that pipe bands had mainly competed with the traditional suite of the march, strathspey and reel. The medley competitions incited bands to play more varied repertoires of light music. Over the years the medley has developed in various ways; the use of harmonies has been developed, traditional pipe tunes have been creatively rearranged and music from other styles (although still predominantly Celtic) have influenced the selections. The composition of new light pipe music has also been encouraged as bands have been searching for new material for their medleys. During the last twenty years quite a number of new collections have been published, such as Neil Dickie's *First Book* (1983) and Mark Saul's *The Antipodes Collection* (1993). The new style of music, mainly consisting of light, rhythmical reels, jigs and hornpipes, is sometimes referred to as 'Kitchen Piping', and it is becoming increasingly popular.¹⁴¹

The Bagpipe Becomes an Icon of Scotland

Hugh Trevor-Roper points out how, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Gaelic Highland culture, previously seen by the Lowlanders as barbarian and bizarre, was artificially recreated and imposed on the whole Scottish nation, maybe to some extent as a protest against England. The kilt, which had been more or less prohibited after the Jacobite rising, now became the national dress of Scotland and a romanticised powerless

¹⁴¹ Berthoff, Andrew, 'The Pipe Band Medley: Creative Boom or Musical Bust?' in *Piper & Drummer*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Feb. 1995: 12–14.

version of the clan system was reconstructed.¹⁴² In this process the Great Highland Bagpipe became one of the strongest icons serving as a symbol for the created hegemonic culture of the nation state Scotland, akin to the silhouette of a dinosaur representing Jurassic Park. William Donaldson writes:

The adoption as national icons of various elements of Highland costume, music and poetry led to a progressive Celticisation of the public symbolism of Scotland which transformed the national identity in the generation following the Rising.¹⁴³

The Highland clans had been defeated at Culloden in 1746, and Prince Charles Edward Stuart had failed to regain the throne, but the intelligentsia of Europe was fascinated by his daring campaign. According to Donaldson:

He had emerged from the mists accompanied by a living museum of ancient manners, dress and arts, the last remnants (or so it was thought) of the once mighty Celtic civilisation which had dominated Europe, and given instruction through its bardic and druidical schools to Gaul and all the West.¹⁴⁴

In the early 1760s,¹⁴⁵ the supposedly antique epic poems of the Celtic bard *Ossian* were published, written by the well educated Highlander James Macpherson, who saw an opportunity for fame by producing these faked 'antique' poems.¹⁴⁶ The poems were indeed a product of their time alluding to a lost mighty Celtic civilisation. In Britain there was a bitter controversy regarding the authenticity of the poems, but nevertheless the publication of *Ossian* was very successful.

It was translated into most of the European languages and hailed with delight by figures such as Herder [...], Goethe, Schubert, Hölderlin, Schiller, Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, and Lamartine; Napoleon

¹⁴² Trevor-Roper, 1992: 16

¹⁴³ Donaldson. 2000: 8–9

¹⁴⁴ Donaldson, 2000: 9

¹⁴⁵ *Fingal, An Ancient Epic poem. In six books: together with Several Other poems composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal* was published in London in 1761, followed in 1763 by *Temora, an Ancient epic poem in Eight Books: together with Several Other Poems composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal*. (Donaldson, 2000: 13)

¹⁴⁶ According to Peter Burke, "parts of Macpherson were authentically traditional [...] but the whole was not." (Burke, 1994: 17)

carried it with him on his campaigns in an Italian translation, and it became the inspiration for countless other poems and novels, operas, paintings and plays.¹⁴⁷

William Donaldson points out the importance of what he calls the ‘Macpherson paradigm’ for the establishment of conventions regarding “all Highland art forms – and especially the music of the pipe.”¹⁴⁸ In summary: Highland art was, antique (and past its prime), linked with noble barbarism and rugged natural settings, characterised by wilderness, irregularity, melancholy, connected to an unchanging oral tradition, but where the mechanisms of oral tradition was inherently degenerative and unable to sustain itself without external intervention. According to Donaldson, when the Highland Society of London published the first edition of Joseph MacDonald’s treatise of the Highland bagpipe in 1803, “[t]he pipe was presented as the badge of modern xenophobic nationalism, and as a metaphor for a vanishing world of antique heroism” in the foreword by an anonymous author.¹⁴⁹ The bagpipe as a national icon was also well in line with the military objective of the Highland societies.

Fred Woods has suggested that the Victorians and other nineteenth century middle class actors attempted to ‘civilise’ folk music, introducing it into the drawing-room and the classroom, but that maybe they were not very successful as much traditional music has survived without high-powered patronage.¹⁵⁰ In my opinion, the Victorians were indeed very successful in domesticating the music of the Highland bagpipe and its culture, by means of caging and taming this wild exotic Celtic music in the strict discipline of the army and within the confines of meticulous competitions, as well as by writing fixed standard versions of tunes on the stave. Due to its history and potential use to proclaim political power, paired with a fear that it might become extinct, as I have argued elsewhere, ‘an imaginary museum of piobaireachd’ was created.¹⁵¹

The Highland Pipe Colonises the Bagpipe Concept

After the 1745 Rising and during the nineteenth century many Highlanders had emigrated to Northern America and Australia, where local piping traditions were established.¹⁵² The Highland pipes were played by the

¹⁴⁷. Donaldson, 2000: 13–14

¹⁴⁸. Donaldson, 2000: 19

¹⁴⁹. Donaldson, 2000: 61

¹⁵⁰. Woods, 1979: 94

Scottish Highland regiments in various military campaigns around the world from the second half of the eighteenth century. In Northern America, in India, in the East Indies and later in Africa and the Middle East. All over the world bagpipes were connected to Scotland and the British Empire and specifically to the Highland regiments marching in colourful uniforms. In the First World War hundreds of pipers were killed on active service as pipers, but towards the end of the war it was decided that their support was too valuable to be risked in the front line.¹⁵³ On a few newsreels shown in Swedish cinemas reporting from the war there are pipers.¹⁵⁴ One of these films has the following comment:

White clouds of smoke from explosions. “while ever new troops, fired with the merry music of the pipers, are brought to the slaughter of tomorrow.”¹⁵⁵

There is evidence that it was known in Sweden, already in the 1850s, that Scottish pipers played in battle and that the bagpipe was seen as a Scottish national instrument. In a scholarly book from 1853 by Abraham Mankell on the music of Sweden, there is a chapter about ancient rural music, where bagpipes from various countries are discussed. The Scottish bagpipe is brought up in conjunction with the use of the Swedish bagpipe in Dalecarlia:

¹⁵¹ In my masters exam paper *Piping and Drumming Competitions* I have suggested that piobaireachd was highly affected by the work concept, as described by Lydia Goehr in *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1992). At the piping competitions, started in 1781, ceòl mòr, originally used functionally in the Gaelic clan society, was performed on stage where the music itself became the centre of interest instead of its function. The writing of the music in staff notation and the elevation of authorities such as Angus MacKay (Piper to Queen Victoria) resulted in more standardised styles of playing and in the formation of a canon of piobaireachd. An *imaginary museum of piobaireachd* was created, resulting in the piobaireachd playing of today, which is subject to the most scrupulous score fundamentalism (Hermansson, 1997: 77–82).

¹⁵² Gibson, 1998

¹⁵³ Cannon, 1995: 120

¹⁵⁴ Newsreels, Nov. 1916, Lindesbergsarkivet 1162, KINO-SF; 28 Mar. 1918, Lindesbergsarkivet 407, KINO-SF; 10 June 1918, Lindesbergsarkivet 407, KINO-SF, Statens ljud- och bildarkiv (SLBA), [The National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images, Sweden].

¹⁵⁵ Newsreel, 1916, (Probably 30 June), Lindesbergsarkivet 1931, KINO-SF, SLBA, description of contents, original Swedish text: “Vita krevadmöln över slagfältet. ’medan alltjämt nya trupper, eldade av säckpipblåsarnes muntra musik, föras till morgondagens slaktning.”

It is particularly worthwhile to note the use of the bagpipe in Dalecarlia. It seems to be yet another proof of the Dalecarlians' ancient affinity with the Scots. The bagpipe being a favourite, since ancient times, with those for whom music is of any consequence in the Scottish Highlands. The Scholars believe that it is plausible to accept that the instrument, if not before, was used by the Celtic tribes immediately after the golden age of FINGAL and OSSIAN. In conjunction with the drum, the bagpipe was used in warfare by the Scots, in days of old. It manifested itself at all pastoral feasts. And so it still is in our time. The notes of this instrument are heard everywhere in the mountains and glens of Scotland. Even the Scottish mountain regiment serving on Malta has no other music and will not tolerate any novelties, but will only have a number of bagpipers, who march in front of the troop inspiring it on parades. The bagpipe instils in the Highlander the strongest melancholy and yearning of homesickness. Its notes make him feel as if he were a Swiss perceiving his beloved so called «Kuhreihen».¹⁵⁶

Mankell's text displays all the ingredients of the 'Macpherson paradigm', previously mentioned, which indicates that the bagpipe as an icon of a romantic military Scotland was already spreading outside of Scotland in the mid 1850s. Later, the Scottish tourist industry made use of the 'Macpherson paradigm' to boost Scotland as a tourist country. The Great Highland Bagpipe became *the* bagpipe to a majority of people around the world.

Piping & Drumming in the Twentieth Century – From Professionalism to Expert Amateurism

In *The Anthropology of Music*, Alan P. Merriam discusses the issue of to what degree a musician is regarded as a specialist in society.¹⁵⁷ A musi-

¹⁵⁶ Mankell, 1853: 209–210. Original Swedish text: "Anmärkningsvärdt är säckpipans begagnande just företrädesvis i Dalarne. Den tyckes utgöra ett nytt bevis för dalkarlarnas urgamla frändskap med Skottarna. Säckpipan är nemligen i Högs-kottland de musiklystnes allt i allom, sedan urgamla tider tillbaka. Forskarne tro sig kunna antaga, att instrumentet, om icke förr, dock genast efter FINGALS och OSSIANs glansperiod, kom i bruk hos de celtiska folkslagen. I förening med trumman, följde säckpipan fordom Skottarna i slagtingen. Den gjorde sig gällande vid alla landtliga fester. Och så är det ännu i vår tid. Instrumentets toner höres öfverallt i Skottlands berg och dal. Till och med det på Malta tjenstgörande berg-skotte-regementet har ingen annan musik, och vill icke veta utaf nymodigare konstnärer, än ett antal af säckpipe-blåsare, hvilka vid parader marschera framföre truppen och med sina toner lifva den. Säckpipan väcker hos högs-kotten hemsjukans hela vemod och längtan. Han känner vid dess toner detsamma, som om han vore Schweitzare, och förnumme sin älskeliga såkallade »Kuhreihen»."

cian, whose primary task in society is the playing of music, is of course a specialist, but according to Merriam, others than paid professionals can be regarded as specialists. The important requisite is that the musician is regarded as a specialist by the society of which he is a part, and Merriam continues:

Although the individual may regard himself as professional, he is not truly so unless other members of the society acknowledge his claim and accord him the role and status he seeks for himself.¹⁵⁸

The hereditary pipers of the Highland clans were indeed specialists. Their primary task was to play the pipes at the miniature courts of the clan chiefs, and as mentioned they were paid in the form of rent-free land. When the clan system declined in the eighteenth century a few pipers were employed by the new landed classes, but at the same time the army's demand for pipers soared. Since then, professional piping has been closely linked to the British army, and hardly any other possibilities for professional piping have existed. An exception is the limited number of pipers employed as pipe makers. A number of Scottish regiments have been disbanded and there are now fewer job opportunities for pipers in the army. Some of the Scottish police pipe bands have pipers and drummers employed on a part time basis (part of the working hours are used in the band, the rest for ordinary police tasks). Piping is also taught in the Scottish schools, and a few pipers are employed as professional instructors. There are a few drum teachers at schools, but not as many as for pipes. Also, piping can be taken as a school higher grade subject.¹⁵⁹

In other parts of the world there are even less job opportunities for pipers and drummers, but there are a few instances in the former British colonies. For example, there were professional pipe bands in the Canadian Forces and in the US Air Force until the 1970s, when they were disbanded.¹⁶⁰ An example from Australia was The Victoria Police Pipe Band,

¹⁵⁷ Merriam, 1964: 123–125

¹⁵⁸ Merriam, 1964: 125

¹⁵⁹ Noble, Joe, facsimile, 15 Nov. 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Macpherson, Hugh, email, 23 Mar. 2002. I was informed by P/M Macpherson, a retired senior pipe-major who served at Ottawa in the Canadian Forces, that “there are no full-time professional bands left in North America since 1970 when the government of Canada disbanded the 1st & 2nd battalions of the Canadian Black Watch and the 2nd battalion of the Canadian Guards regiments (with their pipe bands). The US Air Force had one as well for over 20 years but it was disbanded to make way for more troops during the Viet Nam War.” (Underlining as in original.)

one of the world's most successful bands in the 1990s. Today, there are also a few top pipers working as teachers in North America.

This leaves us with a handful of professionals, in the sense that they actually can make a living out of their piping. Although most other pipers probably get paid now or then to play at a wedding or a funeral, their main occupations are in other areas. Ruth Finnegan points out the elusiveness of the term 'professional' as it is not only used to denote the economic aspect of making a living as a musician. Often, it is used in an evaluative capacity to refer to the high standard of a player, irrespectively of whether the person makes a living as a musician or not.¹⁶¹ In solo piping the term 'professional piper' has also been used about competing pipers who made an income by winning prize money.¹⁶² Today, many of the world's most proficient pipers and drummers are 'amateurs', in the sense that they are not making a living off their music. The major means through which they have received acknowledgement is by winning competitions. Consequently the competitions also serve as the major instrument for pipers to qualify for the few professional positions.

The vast majority of pipers in Scotland and elsewhere, however, are amateurs, having piping as a leisure pastime, and their playing ability varies from unbearable to professional expert levels. Most play in pipe bands of which many are non-competing parade or gala bands, but through the grading system of pipe band competitions there is room for bands of any level at major competitions. The numbers of competing solo pipers have increased over the years, and today solo competitors too are graded to reduce the numbers taking part in each competition. Since the competitions were introduced they have become the major arena for Highland piping, functioning as a sanctuary "where the music and the musicians are at the centre of interest."¹⁶³

When encountering a type of traditional music, limited to only a few instruments with a strong performance practice, easily distinguished from other genres, we might be deluded that we are dealing with an old unchanged tradition. Bruno Nettl points out that some genres of music associated with certain domains of society (such as religion) may be more

¹⁶¹. Finnegan, 1989: 15

¹⁶². An example of such a piper was John MacColl who made his income as a competing piper from about 1888 to 1902. (MacNeill, Seumas, Talk delivered to the Piobaireachd Society Conference in 1991, 'The Life and Times of John MacColl, Part 3'. (Printed as article in the *Piping Times*, Vol. 50, No. 7, April, 1998: 23.)

¹⁶³. Hermansson, 105

liable to resist change.¹⁶⁴ Piping and drumming with roots in the Gaelic clan society and the British army can indeed be claimed to belong to a conservative, slow changing genre, but any living tradition is continuously changing, finding new ways of expressing itself adapting to a changing world. Mark Slobin has pointed out how subcultures re-evaluate themselves, and he writes:

Over time, new perspectives cause a reordering of group priorities, a changed understanding of what is “authentic,” what represents “us” best to outsiders, what sells best to a new generation of listeners, or what is now “ours” that once was “theirs.” Such shifts often accompany significant social change in the superculture or a particular historical moment in the life of the subculture.¹⁶⁵

One prerequisite of Scottish piping and drumming of importance for its dissemination to Scandinavia was its distinctive character, which can be divided into various aspects. The genre was founded in a stable slow-changing tradition, it was colourful, voluminous and conspicuous. It was connected to old fashioned heroic militarism and imbued with male power. The genre, and the Great Highland Bagpipe in particular, had been constructed as an icon of a romantic Scotland. Above all, the genre had emerged to make a strong impact on its listeners, and it had not only retained that capability through the centuries, but it had actually enhanced it. In addition, as the demand for pipers and drummers in warfare went out of fashion, the competition tradition, ingeniously, created an everlasting arena for piping and drumming. An arena not dependent on any outside factors such as demand from audiences or patrons, and as Ulf Schönberg remarked:

[W]here male, ‘warrior-like’ virtues, of sorts, can live on. You can play on ‘the competition platform’ just as well as in the battlefield.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴. Nettl, 1983: 178

¹⁶⁵. Slobin, 1993: 95 (See ‘Super-, Sub- & Interculture’ on page 321.)

¹⁶⁶. Schönberg, Ulf, Feb. 2003, comment written in margin when proof reading this text, original Swedish text: “där nån slags manliga, ‘krigiska’ dygder kan fortsätta fungera. Man kan spela ‘on the platform’ lika gärna som på slagfältet.”

3 Scottish Piping & Drumming Imported to Scandinavia

Ah-hah! That's it you see, that's how it starts. [...] Scottishness starts with little things like that, and works up. You see, people don't just turn into a Scotsman for no reason at all.¹

Monty Python's Flying Circus

In this basically empirical chapter, the outline of the history of piping and drumming in Scandinavia will be presented. The first section deals with the period before regular Scandinavian groups of pipers and drummers were formed. The second section is a short presentation of the various pipe bands and their history. As will become evident in the following chapters, the Scandinavian bands and players have many things in common, but the focus here will be on band specific traits.

Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia Prior to the Scandinavian Pipe Band Era

Visits by Scottish Pipers & Pipe Bands

It is probable that a limited number of Highland pipers visited Scandinavia in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. With the exception of the pipers mentioned in connection with the small Scottish force on their way through Norway in 1612,² there seems, however, to be no references to Scottish piping in Scandinavia before the 1900s. Over the centuries, there have been vivid contacts between Scotland and Scandinavia by means of trading ships and fishermen, and it seems unlikely that there should have been no visits of Scottish pipers to Scandinavia. A number of businessmen and industrialists of great importance for Gothenburg in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were of Scottish ancestry, with families

¹ Chapman et al., television sketch, 'You're no fun any more', *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, 1969 (year according to: *Monty Python Flying Circus – Detailed Episode Info*, <http://bau2.uibk.ac.at/sg/python/Epi1.html#7>, printed 22 Dec. 2002).

² See chapter two, page 53.

such as Hall, Dickson, Chalmers and Keiller.³ In the programme for 'Scots in Sweden', an exhibition held at The Royal Scottish Museum in 1962, on Scottish immigration to Sweden, the director of Nordiska Muséet and Skansen in Stockholm, Gösta Berg, wrote:

With none of the small nations of Europe, outside Scandinavia, has Sweden maintained such intimate connections through the years as with Scotland.⁴

However, during my activity as a piper in Gothenburg for thirty years and during the work on this thesis, I have never come across any reference to visits by pipers before 1900. Regarding the twentieth century, the situation is quite different.

An article from 1923, in the Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* vividly describes a visit to Stockholm of a Scottish military band and a pipe band. The article, which is accompanied by a drawing of the Scottish musicians, does not mention the name of the band or regiment, neither is the actual music mentioned. The emphasis is put on the dress and behaviour of the musicians:

At closer inspection the orchestra was found to be divided into two sections; an ordinary English military brass band and a particularly decorative section of Scottish pipers seconded by a row of drummers. These attracted most of the interest of the audience due to their strange instruments, unknown to most spectators, and because of their colourful uniforms. The drummers, dressed in scarlet doublets and with a leopard skin over their shoulders, could nothing but draw the attention of the audience. They used their sticks in a manner very different from that of our domestic drummer boys; flourishing them high in the air, waving them to the sides, letting them meet under the chin to be held still for a couple of seconds, after which they again danced on the drum with the greatest precision.⁵

Many of my informants have attested that they were inspired, often at an early age, by visiting Scottish pipe bands and that this, later, made them take up piping or in a few cases drumming. This issue will be further explored in chapter five.

In addition to physical visits of pipers and drummers, the development of mass media made it possible for more and more people to get in

³ See for instance Duncan, J. G., 1986.

⁴ Berg, Gösta, June 1962, 'Scots In Sweden', exhibition programme.

ETER Söndagen den 12 Augusti 1923

Säckpipare och trumslagare i Kungsträdgården.

En särdeles gouterad friluftskonsert av den
brittiska militärorkestern.



Figure 3-1. Drawing of Scottish musicians in newspaper article (1923)

The text in Swedish states: "Pipers and drummers in Kungsträdgården. An especially appreciated open air concert by the British military band.)

(Dagens Nyheter, 12 Aug. 1923, artist unknown.)

⁵ *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 Aug. 1923, 'Säckpipsblåsare och trumslagare i Kungsträdgården'. Original Swedish text: "Vid närmare betraktande befanns orkestern sönderfalla i tvenne delar: dels en vanlig engelsk bleckorkester och dels en särdeles dekorativ avdelning skotska säckpipsblåsare, sekunderade av en rad trumslagare. Det var dessa som tilldrog sig största delen av publikens intresse både på grund av de egendomliga, här av de flesta okända instrumenten, och på grund av de granna uniformerna. Trumslagarna med sina scharlakansröda rockar och ett leopardskinn trätt över huvudet, kunde inte annat än väcka uppmärksamhet. De hanterade sina pinnar på ett helt annat sätt än våra inhemska trumslagarpojkar: viftade med dem högt i luften, svängde dem åt sidorna, lät dem mötas under hakan för att hållas stilla där några sekunder, varpå de åter fingo dansa ner på trumman med osviklig precision."

touch with foreign cultures. As mentioned in chapter two, a short scholarly text in Swedish on the Scottish bagpipe and its use had already been published in 1853, and in the early twentieth century, pipers could be seen by Swedish audiences on newsreels.⁶ A Swedish newsreel from 1927 features The Swedish Scout Federation's jubilee camp, where "Scottish scouts dance reels and play the pipes."⁷

The notion in Sweden about Scottish pipe band music as inextricably bound to the iconic (tartanry) concepts of bagpipes and kilts including strong military connotations, seems to have been prevalent already during the first decades of the twentieth century or even earlier. Of course, the playing of pipes and drums together is indeed a tradition that started in the Scottish regiments, and from the end of the eighteenth century these regiments travelled all over the British Empire and later, they visited many other countries.

Visits of Scottish pipers and drummers are mentioned in a few later Swedish newspaper articles. In 1951, The University Scottish Dancers visited Helsingborg. The music of the solo piper playing to the dancers was described as monotonous and squeaking.⁸ In 1961, pipers, drummers and dancers from The Hawick Boys' Brigade Pipe Band, toured Sweden. Among other places, they played at the amusement parks Gröna Lund in Stockholm and Liseberg in Gothenburg.⁹ In 1962, there was a visit to Stockholm of over 100 musicians (brass band and pipe band) from two Scottish regiments: The Royal Scots Greys and The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. The bands played in connection with a British fair and their visit is mentioned in several newspaper articles.¹⁰ The emphasis of the articles is on history and the dress of the musicians. If the music is mentioned at all, it is in a mildly jocular tone.

About twenty pipers — some in blue-green-black kilts or trousers — Highlanders — others in red-green-checked dress — Greys — dominat-

⁶ Cf. quotations in chapter two, page 83.

⁷ Newsreel, July 1927, Kino 20, KINO-SF, SLBA, description of film content, original Swedish text: (Sveriges scoutförbunds jubileumsläger) "Skotska scouter dansar reel och spelar säckpipa."

⁸ *Helsingborgsbladet*, 8 July 1951, signature: Tony, 'Bland säckpipor och skotska kiltar i vilda danser'.

⁹ *Svenska Dagbladet*, 7 Aug. 1961: 'Unga säckpipsblåsare på visit'.

¹⁰ *Dagens Nyheter*: 8 May 1962, 'Han skall spela för oss;' 15 May 1962, '101 Spelar skotskt;' 16 May 1962, 'British Fair tar emot'. *Svenska Dagbladet*: 15 May 1962, 'Skotsk jätteorkester spelar i Stockholm;' 16 May 1962, 'Mässtoner från Balaklava och Waterloo'.

ed the large scene with wailing sounds, accompanied by about ten drummers, who pounded out merry rhythms, and a couple of jugglers who did not make much noise.¹¹

The comment about ‘jugglers’ is probably about the tenor drummers’ visual show of flourishing and feathering.

In 1965, The Glasgow Police Pipe Band Brigade made a tour playing in thirteen Swedish towns. The band was engaged by Gulins, a chain of gentlemen’s fashion-stores. In an article in *Dagens Nyheter*, the performances of the band around Sweden are described as very successful, although, the actual music is not mentioned.

The visit in Gothenburg was a great success. The Saturday welcomed the band with tremendous sunshine. In the past Scotsmen helped Gustav II Adolf to build the city – now he himself [in the form of a statue in the town square (author’s comment)] pointed out the location in his own square where the Scotsmen should stand. Then it all started. First a small warming up concert in the square and then a jubilant parade up along Gothenburg’s parade street, Östra Hamngatan, to Gulins. Packed with people as at a royal visit.¹²

One of the pipers participating in the tour was Ronald Lawrie from Oban, who later became the pipe-major of The City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band. When I interviewed him in 1999, he informed me that one of the Swedish managers of the tour for Gulins in 1965, was the Swede Charlie Jerkin.¹³ Charlie Jerkin died in 1998 and he had instructed his son, Michael Jerkin, to arrange with a piper for the funeral. According to Michael Jerkin the visit in 1965 of The Glasgow Police Pipe Band, had

¹¹ *Svenska Dagbladet*, 16 May 1962, signature: KARS, ‘Mässtoner från Balaklava och Waterloo’, original Swedish text: “Ett 20-tal säckpipeblåsare — somliga i blå-grön-svarta kiltar eller byxor — Highlanders — andra i röd-grön-rutiga — Greys — dominerade stora scenen med klagande ljud, ackompanjerade av ett 10-tal trumslagare, som dunkade fram muntra takter, och ett par jonglörer som inte gjorde något större väsen av sig.”

¹² *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 Oct. 1965, ‘Skotska poliser med säckpipa blåste in Gulins brittiska veckor – Succé över hela landet’, original Swedish text: “Besöket i Göteborg blev en stor succé. Lördagen tog emot bandet med strålände solsken. Skottar hjälpte en gång Gustav II Adolf att bygga staden – nu pekade han själv ut platsen på sitt eget torg där skottarna skulle stå. Sedan brakade det löst. Först en liten uppmjukningskonsert på torget, sedan en jubelparad på göteborgarnas paradgata Östra Hamngatan upp till Gulins. Fullpackad som vid kungabesök.”

¹³ Lawrie, Ronald, interview, 29 Aug. 1999

Example 3-1. His Majesty King Carl XVI Gustav of Sweden
 (Captain J.A. MacLellan, M.B.E., 1975.)
 (Facsimile of MacLellan's original sent to The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, author's archives.)

His Majesty King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden
March Composed in Honour of His State Visit to Edinburgh
9 July 1975

by Captain John A MacLellan MBE
Director Army Bagpipe Music

made a great impact on both him and his father. Michael Jerkin had even been thinking of learning to play himself.¹⁴

Other articles bring up different types of connections between Sweden and Scottish piping. The Swedish King Gustav VI Adolf was an honorary colonel of the Scottish regiment, The Cameronians. In 1961, in connection with the king's visit to the regiment, a pipe tune was composed in his honour by Major General Sixsmith.¹⁵ When the king died in 1973,

¹⁴ Jerkin, Michael, telephone conversation, Dec. 1998. No soloist from Gothenburg was available at the time of the funeral, so a visiting English piper, Tony Doherty, played.

pipers from the Scottish regiment played by his coffin in Stockholm. At the state visit of King Carl XVI Gustav of Sweden to Scotland in 1975, he too had a tune composed in his honour, by Captain John A. MacLellan, M.B.E. (see *Example 3-1*).

There were also visits of Scottish pipers and drummers to Denmark. For instance, at Rosenborg Drill Ground in Copenhagen, tattoos were organised with visiting British regimental bands in 1955¹⁶ and in 1968.¹⁷

The Early Scandinavian Piping Pioneers

The First Scandinavian Attempts to Play the Great Highland Bagpipe

Here the first known Scandinavians who started to learn to play the Great Highland Bagpipe will be mentioned. The presentation concentrates on those individuals who, in my opinion, have been most influential in their area. There were a few other Scandinavians who played or tried to play independently of the persons mentioned here, but to my knowledge they had no or little influence on the development of the genre in Scandinavia.

Mogens Zieler in Denmark

The first known Dane to play the Highland pipes was the painter Mogens Zieler (1905–1983), son of a naval officer in Copenhagen.¹⁸ In the foreword of his own collection *Nogle danske melodier omsat til sækkepibe, Vol. 2.*, he writes that he started to play the pipes in 1948.¹⁹ In the autumn of 1949, Zieler started The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen²⁰ where he gathered around him a few enthusiasts who met regularly to play the pipes. The objective of the group was probably more on the social side and they

¹⁵ *Dagens Nyheter*, 11 Nov. 1961, small notice.

¹⁶ Forsvarets civilundervisning, Forstanderen, letter to chefen for Livgarden hr. Oberst E.T.C.A von Freiesleben, 16 Dec. 1957, (J.329/57 P.11), Mogens Zieler Archives, Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen.

¹⁷ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001. For a presentation of Jens Hedegaard see page 120.

¹⁸ *Mogens Zieler*, et liv i kunsten, <http://www.inet.uni2.dk/~uso56dk/zlifedan.htm>

¹⁹ Zieler, 1973: 1, (*A Few Danish Tunes Arranged for the Bagpipe, Vol. 2*).

²⁰ According to the original minutes of the inaugural meeting of The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen. Information received in email, 14 Sept. 2000, from Palle Schjerner, the chairman of the club in 2000.

did not aim to form a band. In a short article about piping and drumming in Denmark, Paul Martin Holm writes about Danish piping activity before he started himself in 1968:

There were only a few people who played, less than 20 persons, and up until then [1968] it was under the direction of the Danish painter Mogens Zieler. He was the first Danish piper – since the Middle Ages? – and started to play around 1947. He arranged regular meetings, I have been told, where the participants practised, although, their activities could not be characterised as involving tuition as such.²¹

Mogens Zieler was the honorary piper to The Saint Andrew Society of Denmark,²² so the very first Danish Highland piper had a formal function in the Scottish enclave of this society in Copenhagen.

For the Saint Andrew's Night ball in 1957, The Saint Andrew Society of Denmark invited a piper and a dancing team from the famous City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band. The piper was P/M Ronald Lawrie, mentioned above. This was Lawrie's first visit abroad with the band. During the visit he met Mogens Zieler and was invited to his home. According to Lawrie:

Mogens was a self taught piper and he was drooling at the mouth for pipers to come and help him, and he was a very good student, so keen so willing to learn. [...] I showed him a few things, [...] how to practice, what to practice, how to set up pipes, chanter reeds, drone reeds, piping in general in its entirety. [...] He was merely a beginner [...] very cautious if he was going to make a simple movement like a taorluath or a doubling [piping embellishments (author's comment)], [...] and of course I think he was a bit nervous at first too, although, once we had a couple of bottles of King George half way down the line, you know, we all loosened up after that.²³

Zieler was the only Danish piper that P/M Lawrie and the dancers met on that occasion. Mogens Zieler told Lawrie that his interest in piping had

²¹ Holm, Paul Martin, 'Piping and Drumming in Denmark', in *CWC Programme 1991*: 3. Original text in Danish: "Der var kun få, som spillede, mindre end 20 personer, og indtil da var det sket under kunstmaleren Mogens Zielers ledelse. Han var den første danske piper – sedan middelalderen? – og startede vistnok i 1947. Han holdt jævnlige møder, er der blevet mig fortalt, hvor der blev øvet, uden at det dog kunne karakteriseres som egentlig undervisning."

²² Schjerning, Palle, 'Piping in Copenhagen', in *CWC Programme 1982*: 23.

²³ Lawrie, Ronald, interview, 29 Aug. 1999



Photograph 3-1. Mogens Zieler

Here Zieler is playing his Pakistani set of Highland pipes. This set is now at Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen.

Photo: Demokraten, 1965, photographer unknown.

been triggered when he heard The Drums and Pipes of the Gordon Highlanders (a Scottish Highland regiment) on the radio.

Zieler was fascinated by the pipe band and the sound of the pipes. After their first meeting Mogens Zieler corresponded with Ronald Lawrie and they met again a couple of times during the following years. P/M Lawrie got a copy of Mogens Zieler's collection of Danish music for the Highland pipe, and also a copy of one of his paintings depicting The Gordon Highlanders. This was only the first time that P/M Ronald Lawrie would have an impact on piping in Scandinavia.

Zieler's fascination for the bagpipe can also be seen in some of his paintings, and photographs of two of these paintings have been used on the cover of this thesis. In his book about Zieler, Carl Fredrik Garde expresses how the painting 'Scottish Pipe Band',²⁴ with Zieler's meticulous technique, depicts the pipers and drummers

in a rhythmical coherence, which gives justice to the military aspect of the situation. But simultaneously the painting is expressive and independent of the measured pace and the mathematical exactness. It is not only a reproduction of a bunch of playing Highlanders in ranks and files, it is the soul of the music locked in a big paradoxical movement.²⁵

Another artist, the Scottish sculptor, Robert Allan Miller,²⁶ who had married a Dane and moved to Copenhagen in the late 1950s, was invited by Mogens Zieler to join the Pipers' Club. According to Robert Miller, Zieler, being self-taught, was an average player himself, but a very exact teacher, to the point where his younger pupils were fed up, and Miller continues:

Mogens Zieler was a meticulous painter, now, that was carrying through to lessons on the pipes, and he wasn't going to let them [his pupils] get off with slaphappy fingering.²⁷

Mogens Zieler did not take part in the formation of the first Danish pipe bands, but due to his pioneer work in Scandinavian piping, people who shared his interest met in The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen. In 1967, Robert Miller, together with a few other members of the club started to practice more regularly with the aim to form a pipe band.²⁸ From this group actually two Danish bands were initiated before 1970.

At the death of Mogens Zieler, his two sets of pipes, a number of spare chanters and practice chanters together with reeds, bags and other bagpipe related utensils as well as music sheets, correspondence and other documents connected to Zieler's bagpipe interest were donated to Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen. According to the correspond-

²⁴ See photograph on back cover.

²⁵ Garde, 1969: 80, original Danish text: "i en rytmisk sammenhæng, der yder den militære side af sagen retfærdighed. Men samtidig er billedet ekspressivt og uafhængigt af det taktfaste og matematiske. Det er ikke kun en genivelse af en flok spillende højlændere ordnet i geledder og kolonner, det er musikkens sjæl fastholdt i en stor paradoksal bevægelse."

²⁶ Robert Miller is presented in chapter six, page 242.

²⁷ Miller, Robert, interview, 31 Aug. 1999

²⁸ Jørgensen & Lykking, 1991: 9

ence between the solicitor taking care of Zieler's estate and the museum, Zieler had arranged a bagpipe exhibition together with the museum a few years earlier and, as one letter states, "there had previously been expressed a wish that this property rightly should go to"²⁹ the museum.

Oscar Rundqvist & Per Colliander in Stockholm

OSCAR RUNDQVIST (1913–71) was the first Swede known to have played the Highland pipes in public. Rundqvist was a well-known singer and artist in Sweden and he was a jack of all trades when it came to woodwind instruments. In 1954, the Swedish music hall show 'Knäppupp II' by Pov-el Ramel featured Oscar Rundqvist playing the pipes in the tune, 'Rutigt och tutigt' (Free translation: 'Tartan and toot') with the Flickery Flies.³⁰ On a recording of a jocular ballad named 'Greve Archibald den Grymme' ('Count Archibald the Cruel') from 1958, he sings and plays the pipes.³¹

In an information leaflet from 1988, about how the Highland bagpipe came to Sweden Börje Högländer, one of the pioneers in The Thistle Pipe Band, writes that Oscar Rundqvist "performed his own version of 'The Campbells are Coming', dressed in rolling eyes and a much too short Royal Stewart tartan kilt."³² Being self taught it could not quite be expected that Oscar Rundqvist played the pipes according to Highland tradition. Later, he became a member of The Eagle Pipers' Society of Sweden, a club formed in 1967 by a few piping enthusiasts with Per Colliander at the centre.

PER COLLIANDER (1944–73) was the first person in Sweden to learn and spread traditional Highland piping seriously. His first encounter with the Highland bagpipe was in connection with the state visit of Queen Elizabeth II to Sweden, in 1956. Together with his parents he saw pipers and

²⁹ Gudmundsen, Jon, letter to Musikhistorisk Museum, 25 Oct. 1983, original Danish text: "der tidligere er givet udtryk for, at disse effekter rettelig burde tilfalde" Musikhistorisk Museum, letter signed Mette Müller to Landsretssagfører Jon Gudmundsen, 27 Oct. 1983. Both letters in Mogens Zieler Archives, Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen. The archives were catalogued by Arne Keller in June 1986.

³⁰ Ericson, 1989–93, Vol. 12: 255. In the article there is a photograph of Oscar Rundqvist playing the pipes.

³¹ Rundqvist, Oscar, 'Balladen om Greve Archibald den Grymme', song and bagpipes, EP, 1958, Metronome Records (MEP 457), SLB A01/0776. According to my piping colleague Ulf Schönberg, who started to listen to the recording he "could not bear listening to the whole misery" (Schönberg, Ulf, letter, 5 Feb. 2002).

³² Högländer, Börje, 1988, 'Hur Högländssäckpipan kom till Sverige' ('How the Highland Pipes Came to Sweden'), information leaflet from the PD1RE.

drummers from a Scottish regiment performing at ‘Stadion’ in Stockholm, and not only was he fascinated by the pipes and drums but also by a commanding British drill-sergeant shouting orders. He already had an interest in the military and in history. Seeing the show of the visiting regiment, Per Colliander’s Scottish interest was awakened.³³

Through a Scottish language teacher visiting Stockholm, he acquired a holiday job, in the summer of 1963, as a riding instructor at a pony trekking centre outside of Edinburgh. In his leisure time he met with a former pipe-sergeant of The King’s Own Scottish Borderers in a bar.³⁴ The pipe-sergeant, who had been playing at the battle of El Alamein, taught Colliander the basics of piping. When Per Colliander came back to Sweden in the autumn of 1963, he had bought a set of pipes and a kilt. During my interview, Per Colliander’s father, Hans-Lennart Colliander, vividly described how his son gave a concert to his parents. They did not really appreciate the playing at first, but Per Colliander got better with practice.³⁵

Börje Högländer describes how a small group of enthusiasts gathered weekly at the house of Per Colliander’s family in Stockholm. Among them were Per Colliander, Börje Högländer, Christer Colliander, Oscar Rundqvist, Kjell Åström, Johan Boström and Ann-Marie Ottosson. Ottosson had been taught to play by the Scottish piper Dugald Murdoch at The College of Piping in Glasgow in the mid-1960s, and later they married.



Photograph 3–2. Per Colliander at ‘Fallens Dagar’, Trollhättan.

Photo: Mats D. Hermansson, 1972.

³³ Colliander, Eva & Hans-Lennart, interview, 27 July 1998

³⁴ Högländer, 1988

³⁵ Colliander, Eva & Hans-Lennart, interview, 27 July 1998

In 1967,³⁶ the group formed a club for soloists, The Eagle Pipers' Society of Sweden, as a branch of The Eagle Pipers' Society in Edinburgh. Through contacts in connection with his solo performances, Per Colliander got an agreement with restaurant Tennstopet so that the club could meet there on Sunday mornings, before the restaurant opened to the public. The following year the group expanded and formed The Thistle Pipe Band, the first pipe band in Sweden.³⁷ Per Colliander died of cancer in 1973, only 29 years old.

Arne Boström in Gothenburg

ARNE BOSTRÖM (1920–1981) was the first Swede known to have played the pipes in the Gothenburg area. He got his interest for the pipes in Scotland where he lived for some time in the mid-1960s. He was employed at Clydebank in the shipbuilding industry and was involved in the building of the passenger ship *Kungsholm*, built for the Swedish shipping company Svenska Amerika Linien by John Brown and Co. in Glasgow.

When Arne Boström returned from Scotland, he brought home a second hand set of pipes, which he later exchanged for a new set. Boström did some public performances in Gothenburg at the beginning of the 1970s, sometimes under the artist name 'Örni the Piper'. In an article in *Göteborgs-Posten* from the beginning of the 1970s, Arne Boström and his piping is presented.³⁸ In 1972, I heard Arne Boström play his personal version of 'Scotland the Brave' at the amusement park Liseberg in Gothenburg.³⁹ When The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, the first pipe band in Gothenburg, was



Photograph3-3.

Arne Boström

Photo: MPD Archives,
photographer unknown.

³⁶ Scandinavian championships 1975, programme, article about the 'Pipe-Major Per Colliander Memorial Cup' (quoting *Piping Times*, Sept. 1973), 31 May 1975: 15.

³⁷ Högländer, 1988

³⁸ *Göteborgs-Posten*, 'Här kommer Örni the Piper alias Skotten på Skrotten!', 197? (short clipping from newspaper in MPD Archives, year and date not noted).

³⁹ Retrospective participant observation, performance of Arne Boström at the amusement Park Liseberg, Gothenburg, 1972.

formed in 1974, Arne Boström was one of the founding members together with the initiator Carl-Axel Roslund and some others.

Jorma Katrama & John Hardie in Helsinki⁴⁰

The Finnish double-bass player Jorma Katrama, who was the principal double-bass of the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra until his retirement in 1999, was the first known Finn to take up Highland piping around 1960. His first encounter with the pipes was when he saw the film *Gunga Din* as a young boy, and he writes:

I had never heard pipe music before so I was really impressed by it. The real thing happened to me when one day, more than 40 years ago, I passed Fazer, the biggest music store in Helsinki, with the principal bassoon player at HPO. He told me he had seen once a bagpipe hanging on the wall. I went in, and after a while, they brought a box in which there was in a chaos pieces of tubes, cords, reeds and a bag.⁴¹

Jorma Katrama bought the set of pipes and also found a tutor book in the box, *Master Method for the Highland Bagpipe* by Jas. Robertson and Donald Shaw Ramsay. Aided by this book Katrama started to learn to play the pipes on his own. Later he bought a practice chanter and a few other tutor books, and he goes on:

I continued my playing quite irregularly until one day a real Scot phoned me asking for pipe lessons. That guy was John Hardie (later known as John McGregor). Maybe he was homesick or something.⁴²

This was around 1990, and according to Jorma Katrama, John Hardie had no prior knowledge of playing music. He got the lessons he asked for from Katrama, and they played together for some time. Later, Hardie went to The College of Piping in Glasgow for further tuition, and when he returned to Finland he started to give lessons himself. John Hardie's ambition was to start a band in Helsinki, and a group consisting of Hardie, some of his new pupils and Jorma Katrama started to practice together regularly. Hardie suggested they should call themselves The MacGregor Highlanders.

⁴⁰ If not otherwise stated this section is primarily based on an email received from Jorma Katrama, 26 Aug. 2002.

⁴¹ Katrama, Jorma, email, 26 Aug. 2002.

⁴² Katrama, Jorma, email, 26 Aug. 2002.



Photograph 3–4. Jorma Katrama Playing his principal instrument, the double-bass.

Photo: Douglas Sivén, about 1996. By kind permission of Jorma Katrama.

John Hardie, who by then had started to use the artist name John MacGregor, was very eager to sell the group. The professional musician Jorma Katrama, who primarily played the pipes as a ‘dear hobby’, did not think that they were ready to perform in public. In addition, Hardie had started to spread a story to the Finnish newspapers that he had been taught to play by his grandfather.⁴³ This became too much for Katrama and in 1993, he decided to work on his own. As a former chairman of the Musicians’ Union in Finland and the founder of The Finnish Double-Bass Society it was natural for Katrama to suggest the formation of a society for bagpipe players in Finland, and he started The Midnight Sun Pipers with a few other bagpipe enthusiasts.⁴⁴

⁴³ According to an article, John MacGregor was taught to play by his uncle. (Hellman, Sonja, ‘Han övar på sin säckpipa med proppar i öronen’, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 10 Dec. 1995.)

⁴⁴ The Midnight Sun Pipers: See chapter seven, page 288.

Terje Andersen & Åge Jonny Jørgensen in Oslo

TERJE ANDERSEN,⁴⁵ in Oslo is the first known Norwegian to take up Highland piping. He got interested in playing the pipes as a student, in 1963, when he heard the pipes on a BBC radio programme. When he was a child his mother had talked about a memory from her childhood when she had heard a pipe band at the amusement park Tivoli in Copenhagen, and this had given Andersen a romantic notion of the pipes and Scotland.

He had a general interest in folk music and he played the guitar and a Norwegian traditional flute named tussefløjt as well the mouth organ. In 1964, he bought a practice chanter through a friend who had a pen pal in Paisley in Scotland and by means of *The College of Piping Tutor, Part 1*, he started to learn on his own. Around 1965, Pipe Major Jock Speirs from Scotland visited Oslo for a few days, employed by the whisky company Johnnie Walker to promote their products by playing the pipes. Andersen contacted Speirs and got a few lessons.

As a student, Andersen did not have money to buy a set of pipes, but he found a Pakistani set of Highland pipes hanging as a decoration in a men's shop in Oslo. He persuaded the shop owner to lend him the pipes so that he could play. Later he bought his own set of pipes from The House of MacPherson in Edinburgh.

From then on, Andersen had numerous engagements all over Norway, and he played at all kinds of functions such as weddings, funerals and tourist fairs. Andersen was appointed piper to The Caledonian Society of Norway from 1967 until the late 1990s, when the Scottish piper Robert Robertson took over. At engagements Andersen was always dressed in a kilt as it was part of marketing the music of the Highland pipe, but he also found it interesting to wear Highland dress as it made him look exotic and made people look at him.

Andersen has not had regular pupils on the Highland bagpipe, but he has given a few hints to persons asking for help. One of these were Åge Jonny Jørgensen, another piping enthusiast in Norway (see below). Terje Andersen did not have the ambition to start a pipe band in Norway, but in 1995, he became one of the members of the band started on the initiative of Åge Jonny Jørgensen.

⁴⁵. This section builds on an interview with Terje Andersen, 19 Jan. 2002.

In Norway, Andersen has been seen as an expert on bagpipes. He has given talks on the subject and he has also been involved in radio programmes about bagpipes. His interest has not been confined to the Highland pipe, but has involved the music of various other bagpipes. From the 1980s and onwards, his involvement in the Great Highland Bagpipe abated and gave way for an interest in the Northumbrian smallpipes. His initial fascination with the romantic aspects of piping diminished, and he felt that Highland piping's strong connection to Highland dress was a problem. Andersen has become a very successful performer on the Northumbrian smallpipes and he has won a number of prizes in competitions in England.

ÅGE JONNY JØRGENSEN,⁴⁶ in Oslo, got interested in the music of the bagpipe in 1972, at the age of sixteen, when he heard and saw the Edinburgh Military Tattoo on Norwegian television. He started to buy books about Scotland and records of pipe music. Through a Scottish shop in Oslo, The House of Scotland, he bought a practice chanter and a copy of *The College of Piping Tutor, Part 1*, and via the British Embassy in Oslo, Jørgensen got in touch with Terje Andersen who gave him sporadic lessons. In 1976, Jørgensen bought his first set of pipes from The House of MacPherson in Edinburgh.

Andersen suggested that Åge Jonny Jørgensen should start a pipe band in Oslo. Through a letter in the *Piping Times*, Jørgensen found out that there was a pipe band in Gothenburg, The Murray Pipes & Drums, which he contacted, and in the summer 1978 he visited the group in Gothenburg. In the autumn the same year, he arranged an engagement in Oslo for a group of pipers and drummers and a dancer from the Swedish band. After that Jørgensen kept in touch with The Murray Pipes & Drums and paid a few more visit to Gothenburg.

To realise the project of starting a Norwegian pipe band, Jørgensen made contact with a few other piping enthusiasts in Oslo, among them Robert Holt-Hansen. Hansen, who had a Scottish mother and a Norwegian father, had been taught to play the pipes by a Scottish relative. However, it was not possible for Jørgensen to create enough interest for a pipe band in Oslo. At that point, he felt that his piping interest took too much of his time and energy, and in the autumn 1979, he decided to stop playing and he sold his pipes. Jørgensen kept away from the piping scene un-

⁴⁶. This section builds on a text written by Åge Jonny Jørgensen, 'Mine (Sekkepipe-) memoarer', a sketch of Norwegian piping history received by mail 26 June 2000.

til the early 1990s, when his interest was rekindled and he initiated the first pipe band in Norway.

The Beginning of the Scandinavian Pipe Band Era – A Subculture Emerges

The first Scandinavian pipe bands were formed around 1968–69 in Stockholm and Copenhagen, the two largest urban areas in Scandinavia. In the 1970s, bands were started in other larger cities such as Malmö and Gothenburg and in the 1980s, further bands were started, predominantly in a number of areas in Denmark. It was not until the 1990s that serious attempts were made to form bands in Oslo and Helsinki. A map over Scandinavia with locations of pipe bands can be seen in *Figure 3–2*.

In this section, the various bands and groups and their initiators will be presented. Something will also be mentioned about distinctive features of various groups, as well as under what circumstances they were formed and in some cases the driving forces behind their formation. A great many band leaders are mentioned, but it has not been possible to include everybody. There is a wealth of information about the Scandinavian pipe bands, including many interesting stories and anecdotes, and at least a book, probably many, could be devoted to a comprehensive chronicle of their history. Such a chronicle, however, does not lie within the aims of this thesis, and the presentations here are only brief summaries. The level of details varies between the different presentations due to the fact that I have had access to more detailed information in the form of printed material and archives regarding the history of some bands.

The bands and groups are ordered geographically and, to some extent, chronologically. In chapter seven the activities of the bands will be more generally discussed and other Scandinavian organisations related to Scottish piping and drumming will be introduced.

Denmark

Copenhagen & Sjælland (Zealand)

As mentioned above, two pipe bands originated out of the group of pipers who started to practise more regularly towards the end of 1967. Due to disagreement regarding how the group should work, including discussions about whether the music should be approached aurally or by means of printed music, Jørgen Svensson and Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning



Figure 3–2. Map of locations of Scottish pipe bands and smaller groups of pipers and drummers in Scandinavia and Finland 1968–2002.

(Names within brackets denote groups that have very little or no activity any more.)

(Basic map from Dalén, L (ed.). *Grundskolans kartbok*, 1972:24. Information about locations of piping and drumming added by author.)

left the group in 1968 and formed The Piping Society of Denmark. I will return to that group below. The remaining players, led by Robert Miller, started The Gladsaxe Pipe Band in 1969.

Gladsaxe Pipe Band, Later The Heather Pipes & Drums (HP&D)⁴⁷

Among the early members of The Gladsaxe Pipe Band were Peter Anton Jespersen, Paul Martin Holm, Bente Viuf and Mogens Lindhardt. Robert Miller became the first pipe-major of the band. The pipers had made contact with a group of drummers from a drum corps in the youth organisation Frivillige Drengforbund (FDF),⁴⁸ and these drummers, led by Martin Boye, with a background as a drummer in brass bands and in the FDF, started to play together with the pipers.⁴⁹ Soon Boye left the group and the leadership of the drum corps was taken over by one of his pupils, Klaus Jespersen. Other early drummers were Tage Jensen and Stig Breyt Sørensen. The Gladsaxe Pipe Band had their first engagement in 1969 at a Christmas parade along Søborg Hovedgade, the main street in Gladsaxe, the suburb north west of Copenhagen where the band practised and from which the band had taken its name. In September 1970, the band decided to change its name to the more neutral The Heather Pipes & Drums.⁵⁰ Since then the band has performed at hundreds of engagements in Denmark but also abroad including a trip to Taiwan in 2002.

From the start, the members of the band emphasised the importance of learning to play the music correctly. Paul Martin Holm had visited Scotland in 1969 and had received tuition at The College of Piping. In 1970 and 1971, a number of band members went to Scotland where they listened to competitions and visited band practices of different grade one bands⁵¹ in order to learn more about the music. The Danish pipers and drummers made many contacts with excellent Scottish bands and players such as The Muirhead & Sons Ltd. Pipe Band and their pipe-major Robert Hardie. Over the years, he and many other well-known Scottish players

⁴⁷ If not otherwise stated this section builds on interviews with: Holm, Paul Martin, 21 Oct. 1998; Jespersen, Klaus, 4 Feb. 1999; Viuf, Bente, 29 June 1999.

⁴⁸ The Danish children's and youth organisations, Frivillige Drengforbund (FDF) for boys and Frivillige Pigeforbund (FPF) for girls, are similar to the Scottish Boys Brigade, as they are not part of the Scout movement. See also page 160.

⁴⁹ See quotation in chapter three, page 276.

⁵⁰ Heather Pipes & Drums, the, 'Love', band regulations adopted 15 Sept. 1970.

⁵¹ Grading of bands: See footnote 110, page 67.

have been invited to teach the band in Denmark, among them Tom McAllister, Alex Duthart and Robert Turner.

At the first two Scandinavian championships in 1970 and 1971, the pipers from the HP&D won most of the solo contests but they were beaten in the band competitions by the Thistle Pipe Band from Stockholm. The band members felt that Robert Miller's leadership was not successful enough, and in January 1972, he was replaced by Peter Anton Jespersen as pipe-major. Miller left the band and started to play with The White Hackle Pipe Band. Due to his studies Jespersen only stayed on as pipe-major until the summer 1972, when he was succeeded by Paul Martin Holm. The Heather Pipes & Drums now became the best Scandinavian band, winning the Scandinavian Championships almost every year between 1972 and 2000. The HP&D A band has only been beaten by The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers in 1992, 1994 and 2001 and by The Holbæk Pipe Band in 2000.

The HP&D grew bigger and around 1972, the band was divided into an A band for the more experienced players and a B band for beginners and players with less time to practise. Since 1973, the B band has competed on its own. In 1973, the whole band competed in grade 4 in Scotland for the first time at the Scottish Championships in Edinburgh. Both the A and B bands have competed successfully many times in Scotland. In 1977, the A band was upgraded to grade three by The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association and in 1994 to grade two.⁵²

In 1979, Paul Martin Holm resigned as pipe-major of the A band, and he was succeeded by Peter Ulrik Scheel who stayed on for a year. The same year, Pipe Major Robert L. Kilgour, M.B.E.⁵³ who had served as a pipe-major in the Scottish army for many years, moved to Copenhagen and started to play with the HP&D. He was appointed pipe-major of the band in 1980. When Kilgour resigned as pipe-major in 1982, Tom Harboe, Scandinavia's most successful competing solo piper, was appointed. He started his piping career in The White Hackle Pipe Band at the age of ten in 1974, but joined the HP&D in 1977. Harboe was succeeded in 1992 by Tue Johannesen, another prolific solo prize winner, but in 1998, Harboe became the pipe-major again.

Klaus Jespersen had a break 1982–1984 and Stig Breyt Sørensen was appointed leading-drummer, but then Jespersen stayed on as the leading-

⁵² *The Heather Pipes & Drums of Copenhagen*,
<http://www.heather.dk>, printed 3 Mar. 2003.

⁵³ For a presentation of P/M Robert Kilgour, M.B.E., see chapter six, page 243.



Photograph 3–5. The Heather Pipes & Drums at the 2nd Interscandinavian Piping and Pipe Band Championships, Copenhagen, 1971.

Photo: Elizabeth Low Archives HP&D, photographer unknown.

drummer of the A band until 1989, when he was succeeded by Sven Harboe with a background as a drummer in The White Hackle Pipe Band and The Holbæk Pipe Band. In 1990, Claus Olsen became the leading-drummer, followed in 1991 by René Fredriksen. He was succeeded in 1994 by Jens Hedegaard.⁵⁴ The present leading-drummer of the grade two band,⁵⁵ Anita Sarah Hansen, was appointed in 2002.

The B band has been led by a number of players some of whom have also been playing in the A band, among them Mogens Lindhardt, Bente Viuf, Birte Warming, Helle Kristjansen and Christine Dinsen. After a

⁵⁴ Nielsen, Karin Kell, interview, 2 Feb. 1999; Heather Pipes & Drums, Konkurrenceresultater, list compiled by Karin Kell Nielsen, dated 2 Feb. 1999.

⁵⁵ In the HP&D the previous designations ‘A band’ and ‘B band’ have now been changed to ‘grade two band’ and ‘grade four band’.

break, Paul Martin Holm started to play again as pipe-major of the B band from 1997 to 1999 and in 2002 he was appointed pipe-major again.

To a large extent, the success of the HP&D has depended on the stable and ambitious leadership of pioneers such as Paul Martin Holm, Bente Viuf and Klaus Jespersen. Later band leaders such as Tom Harboe, Tue Johannesen, Sven Harboe and Jens Hedegaard have been recruited among the best players in Scandinavia. Although a number of players have left over the years, the band has never split up as many other Scandinavian pipe bands.

The HP&D has always emphasised their playing over dress and marching and discipline. The first uniform of the band was a civilian style Highland dress consisting of a Hunting Stewart tartan kilt, a short jacket worn with lace jabot and a Balmoral bonnet.⁵⁶ In 1976, full dress uniforms were acquired for the A band as it was believed that a more colourful uniform would give the band more engagements. For the same reason the basically dark green Hunting Stewart Tartan was exchanged for the colourful red Drummond of Perth. The B band retained the old tartan for many years, but today the whole band wears the new tartan, usually together with black semi formal jackets used by most pipe bands.

For many years the HP&D had their own pipe band centre at Skelbækgade in Copenhagen where many memorable parties have been held in connection with The Copenhagen Winter Competition.⁵⁷

The Heather Pipes & Drums with about sixty active members (2002) is the most stable pipe band in Scandinavia with a long record of achievements at competitions. Many of the band's more experienced players have been invited to teach other bands, mostly in Denmark, but also in Sweden. Seeking the challenges and knowledge in a more experienced band, a number of players from other bands on Sjælland have left their bands to join the HP&D, but there are also players who have left the HP&D for other bands. In 1998, The Lochlann Pipe Band (see below page 114) experienced a decline in the interest among its members and the band started to cooperate with the HP&D. In January 2000, the two bands amalgamated.

⁵⁶ A Balmoral bonnet is a bonnet of beret type. The early uniform of the band can be seen in *Photograph 3-5*. For an example of semi formal Highland dress see *Photograph 3-6*, page 117.

⁵⁷ For a presentation of this competition see chapter seven, page 293.

***The Scottish Piping Society of Denmark,⁵⁸ Later
The White Hackle Pipe Band (WHPB)⁵⁹***

As mentioned above, The Scottish Piping Society of Denmark was started in 1968 by Palle Schjerning and Jørgen Svensson, who became the first pipe-major. Other early members were Jens Neerup and Knud Hansen who played pipes and Ole Randbøll, the band's first leading-drummer. Later, Randbøll became the proprietor of the percussion store Slagtøjscentret in Copenhagen. About a year after they had started, the group of pipers and drummers changed their name to The White Hackle Pipe Band. By this time, Hamish Barclay, M.B.E.,⁶⁰ a Scotsman who lived in Copenhagen, had joined the band. Barclay had a background as a drummer in The Royal Air Force Pipe Band and he took over as the leading-drummer. In 1970, the band competed in the first Scandinavian pipe band competitions in Copenhagen. The band soon got many engagements all over Denmark, and they made contact with a tradesman in alcoholic beverages who became the sponsor of the band. Due to the engagements and the sponsor the band's economy was very good and military style dress uniforms with kilts and plaids in Prince Charles Edward Stewart Tartan, in ancient colours, were acquired for the players.⁶¹

The White Hackle Pipe Band became known for their brilliant uniforms whereas The Heather Pipes & Drums, with their serious attitude to the music, acquired a reputation as the better players.

Around 1972, there was disagreement about the leadership of the WHPB and Palle Schjerning and a few others left and formed a new band, The Lochlann Pipe Band. In 1973, Jørgen Svensson was succeeded by Fleming Dyrkov as pipe-major of the WHPB.⁶² Dyrkov stayed on as pipe-major until 1975 when Kaj Larsen was appointed. In 1976, there were so many members that the band was divided into an A band for more experienced players and a B band for beginners.

⁵⁸ The group also used the name The Scottish Pipe Society of Denmark.

⁵⁹ If not otherwise stated this section builds on a presentation of the history of The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band in a booklet by Jørgensen, Gunni & Lykking, Albert, 1991.

⁶⁰ Hamish Barclay, M.B.E.: See also chapter six, page 228.

⁶¹ Schjerning, Palle, 'Den skotske sækkepipes historie i Danmark', undated draft about Scottish piping in Denmark. (From the contents the sketch can be dated to around 1997.) Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998

⁶² Scandinavian championships 1975, programme, band presentation, 'The White Hackle Pipe Band', 31 May 1975: 12.

Although single members had visited Scotland the WHPB never went over as a band. In 1975 and 1976, the band was taught in Denmark by Tom McAllister and Alex Duthart from The Shotts & Dykehead Caledonia Pipe Band, a Scottish grade one band.

In 1977, Larsen was succeeded by Ib McCarthy as pipe-major. After a few successful years, a period followed when many members left and the activity in the band declined. McCarthy was succeeded as pipe-major by Niels Aaboe in 1980. There were now discussions of disbanding the WHPB due to the lack of members, but a solution to the band's problems appeared from elsewhere.

In 1977, Peter Ulrik Scheel, who had been a member of The Heather Pipes & Drums since 1970, started evening classes in piping for beginners. The classes were not connected to any existing band, but were held separately, although Scheel was still a playing member of the HP&D. Around 1981, there were about eight pipers at the evening classes, and Scheel now initiated discussions with Hamish Barclay and Niels Aaboe about the possibility of incorporating his pupils into The White Hackle Pipe Band. The band had a drum corps of four side drummers as well as a bass and a tenor drummer but only two pipers. In addition, the band had assets in the form of drums and uniforms.⁶³

It was decided that the pipers from the evening school should join The White Hackle Pipe Band, and in December 1981, the band name was changed to The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band. Peter Ulrik Scheel was appointed pipe-major and Hamish Barclay stayed on as the leading-drummer.

The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band (CCPB)⁶⁴

Among the new pipers who joined the band were Albert Lykking, Lise Rindel and Claus Andersen. The renamed band retained the full dress uniform and Prince Charles Edward Stewart Tartan of The White Hackle Pipe Band. This uniform is still worn by the band today. During his involvement with The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band, Scheel continued to play as a piper in The Heather Pipes & Drums A band. This was not seen

⁶³ Scheel, Peter Ulrik, interview, 18 Oct. 2000

⁶⁴ This section builds on a presentation of the history of The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band in a booklet by Jørgensen, Gunni & Lykking, Albert, 1991 and a continuation of the band history in a booklet by Lykking, Albert, 1998. In addition, the section is based on two interviews: Scheel, Peter Ulrik, 18 Oct. 2000 & Lykking, Albert, 24 Feb. 2001.

as a problem by any of the bands as they to a great extent involved members of different playing abilities. In The Heather Pipes & Drums, with quite a number of more experienced players, Scheel's involvement in the other band was seen as positive as it meant another band on the arena.

With its new members and pipe-major the band started to work hard to improve its playing. In addition to the weekly band practices the CCPB started to organise regular band week ends, and the band played at many engagements. In 1985, Scheel retired as pipe-major and was succeeded by Tue Johannesen and Per Nørklit Jensen was appointed leading-drummer instead of Hamish Barclay.



Fig. 3-3. CCPB
Band Emblem

In 1987, Lars Hørl, with a background in The Heather Pipes & Drums, became the pipe-major of the CCPB. He stayed on until 1989, when he was succeeded by Claus Andersen. By then the band had made contact with two Scottish instructors, the piper James Campbell and the drummer David Brown, who inspired the band with new ideas of how to practise and improve their playing.

During the 1990s, the band was very active. A number of concert tours were made to France, and the band competed several times in Belgium and also in Scotland. In 1995, the CCPB won first prize in the Danish championships and, they were placed first in grade four and third in the open grade medley at the Scandinavian championships. The following year, they won first prize in grade four and got second in the medley competition. During these active years the CCPB also competed with many quintets at The Copenhagen Winter Competition.

In 1994, Sven Harboe succeeded Per Nørklit Jensen as the leading-drummer and in 1995, Kim Persson was appointed pipe-major. He stayed on until 1997, when Henning Bech was appointed. In 1999, both Bech and Harboe left the band and a period followed when the band had no appointed musical leaders. In 2000, Tue Johannesen was appointed pipe-major and Per Nørklit leading-drummer, although Johannesen only stayed on until 2001. Although a drummer, Per Nørklit was then appointed overall musical leader of the band.

Today the CCPB is divided into three smaller bands or groups, one for experienced players with Bernard Bouhadana as pipe-major and Anders Jensen as leading-drummer, one 'main' band with Henning Bech as pipe-major and Per Nørklit as leading-drummer and one 'street parade band' with Elo Andersen, a previous member of The White Hackle Pipe Band as pipe-major.⁶⁵

The Lochlann Pipe Band (LPB)⁶⁶

The members who left The White Hackle Pipe Band in 1972, started The Lochlann Pipe Band in the autumn the same year. Among them were Palle Schjerning, Kaj Larsen, Ib McCarthy and Jens Neerup. Initially, McCarthy was appointed pipe-major, but within a few months, he and most of the other members returned to the WHPB. Palle Schjerning took over the leadership of The Lochlann Pipe Band and he taught evening classes in piping two times a week to get new members to the band.⁶⁷



Fig. 3-4. LPB
Band Emblem

The band's name 'Lochlann' was taken from the Gaelic expression for "the country on the other side of the water" – that is Scandinavia, the home of the Vikings.⁶⁸ The band emblem was a Viking ship encircled by the buckle and strap of a traditional Scottish clan crest. The tartan worn by the band was Red Gordon which Schjerning had seen on the sleeve of a record with The Invergordon Distillery Pipe Band in Scotland.

In the mid 1970s, Palle Schjerning lived in Scotland for about three years with his Scottish wife, whom he had met in Copenhagen where she was employed at the British embassy. During Schjerning's stay in Scotland there was no activity in The Lochlann Pipe Band, but when he returned to Copenhagen he started the evening classes again. A smaller group of players with Schjerning as pipe-major did performances, often together with Scottish dancers led by Knud Polycarp, an enterprising dance enthusiast who organised many events including traditional dances from various countries. The group performed under the name The Lochlann Pipers & Dancers.

Gradually, pupils from the evening classes started to join the band and in the early 1980s, The Lochlann Pipe Band was forming into a full band. The drum corps was led by Per Nørklit Jensen who had left The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band, and among the pipers were Henning Bech, Ingrid Borg and Helle Kristjansen. In 1984, the LPB competed for the first

⁶⁵. Lykking, Albert, email, 26 Mar. 2003.

⁶⁶. If not otherwise stated, the first part of this section builds on an interview with Schjerning, Palle, 19 Oct. 1998 and the second part builds on an interview with Kristjansen, Helle, 29 July 2001.

⁶⁷. Schjerning, Palle, 'Den skotske sækkepipes historie i Danmark', draft (ca. 1997).

⁶⁸. Scandinavian championships 1996, programme, band presentation, 'The Lochlann Pipe Band', 25–26 May 1996: 20, original Danish quotation: "»landet på den anden side af vandet» – altså Skandinavien, vikingernes hjemsted."

time in the Scandinavian championships at Slagelse. Around 1985, Nørklit returned to The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band and the LPB found a new leading-drummer in Tom Andersen with a background as an FDF drummer. The pipers of the band also got regular tuition from Pipe Major Robert Kilgour, M.B.E.

According to Helle Kristjansen, Palle Schjerning was a very inspiring teacher and he also worked to create a good social spirit in the band, organising many band parties and social events. He also encouraged all band members to take part in solo competitions to improve their playing.

Due to disagreement between the committee of the band and Palle Schjerning in 1986, he decided to leave the band. Shortly after he started yet another band, The Gordon Pipes & Drums. Henning Bech succeeded Schjerning as pipe-major in The Lochlann Pipe Band.

The band continued to compete yearly in the Scandinavian championships and in 1990 the band took part in the World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow. Later the same year, Henning Bech left the band to join The Heather Pipes & Drums, and he was succeeded by Helle Kristjansen as pipe-major in the LPB.

During the 1990s, the interest among the band members declined and gradually a number of players stopped or left for other bands. After having attended the summer courses of The Scandinavian School of Piping & Drumming in the mid 1990s, Helle Kristjansen was inspired to improve the playing in the LPB, but many of the band's pipers had started to play late in life and Kristjansen found it difficult to develop the playing standard in the band. The band took part in a few more competitions during the first half of the 1990s, but around 1998 there was little enthusiasm left in the band, especially among the pipers. The drum corps was more active with Michael Ambech as the leading-drummer. In the mid 1990s, he had been in Canada where he had played with The Simon Fraser University Pipe Band, one of Canada's most successful pipe bands.

Together with Paul Martin Holm, who was then the pipe-major of the B band of The Heather Pipes & Drums, Kristjansen and Steffen Jensen, a piper who was also the chairman and drum-major of the LPB, initiated discussions of the possibility of cooperation between the two bands. The HP&D B band had quite a number of pipers, but were looking for drummers and saw a possible leading-drummer in Michael Ambech. The two bands started to cooperate in 1998, and in 1999 they competed together in the Scandinavian championships as The Heather of Lochlann Pipe Band, where they were placed first in the grade four competition. In Jan-

uary 2000, the two bands amalgamated formally under the name The Heather Pipes & Drums.

The Gordon Pipes & Drums⁶⁹

As mentioned, The Gordon Pipes & Drums was initiated by Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning in 1986, and he has been the band's pipe-major from the start. Other early members in the band were Ingrid Borg, Thomas Christensen and Henrik Strandberg. This was the third time Schjerning was involved in starting a pipe band in Copenhagen, and again he taught beginners at evening classes to recruit new pipers to his band. Initially, there were no drummers in the band, but after some time Stig Breyt-Sørensen, who had been one of the early drummers in The Heather Pipes & Drums, helped The Gordon Pipes & Drums to start a drum corps. In 1993, Henning Nør, whom Schjerning knew from the Home Guard in Copenhagen, joined the band and became the leading-drummer until 1996, when he left the band and stopped playing.

In the mid 1990s, The Gordon Pipes & Drums performed with about fourteen players and also a team of nine dancers. The band competed a few times in the Scandinavian championships and in the Danish championships. Between 1991 and 1997, The Gordon Pipes & Drums regularly invited Mats d Hermansson to teach piping and Marie Nordström to teach bass and tenor drumming. In 1996, the band competed together with The Murray Pipes & Drums in marching and discipline at the Scandinavian championships in Copenhagen.

In 2001, the band competed in the Danish championships together with The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums. The joint bands were led by Bernard Bouhadana with Anders Jensen as the leading-drummer. The two successful young players had been working as instructors in The Gordon Pipes & Drums for some time.

By permission of the Marquis of Huntly, the clan chief of the Clan Gordon, the band members wear the Gordon Tartan in old colours.⁷⁰ The uniform and badge of the band are modelled on those worn by The



Fig. 3–5. Gordon P & D
Band Emblem

⁶⁹ If not otherwise stated this section builds on Schjerning, Palle, 'Den skotske sækkepi-bes historie i Danmark', draft (ca. 1997) & Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998.

⁷⁰ Old, sometimes called ancient, colours in connection with tartans are lighter in hue, and are made to resemble older dyes made from herbs and flowers.



Photograph 3–6. Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning, pipe-major of The Gordon Pipes & Drums tuning the drones for Jesper Lindhard, one of his band members at the Copenhagen Winter Competition.

Photo: Marie Nordström, 1996.

Drums & Pipes of the Gordon Highlanders, the pipe band of a Scottish regiment which was amalgamated in 1994 with the Queens own Highlanders forming a new regiment – The Highlanders.⁷¹

Silvia and John Munro are the patrons of The Gordon Pipes & Drums and the band has given a number of concerts and formal band balls at their castle, Ledreborg Slot on Sjælland. Palle Schjerning has always been interested in Scottish traditions and history, and The Gordon Pipes & Drums is one of the bands that still takes a great interest in the traditional

⁷¹ Scandinavian championships, programme, 2000, band presentation, 'Foreningen The Gordon Pipes and Drums, Pipe Major's & Chairman's Office', 10–11 June 2000.

aspects of piping and drumming. The band also has an association of supporters who receives a news letter with information about the band's activities and articles about Scottish history and traditions. In addition, the band organises regular concerts and parties for their supporters.

Clan Rose Pipes & Drums, Slagelse (CRPD)⁷²

Mogens Gatsviller, a Dane with an ardent interest in march music and piping was the organiser of the Slagelse Tattoo, started in 1979. In 1980, the pipe band of The 4th Royal Tank Regiment, a Scottish regiment stationed in Germany at the time, was engaged to play at the Slagelse Tattoo. Gatsviller's daughter, Anne Marie, had started to learn to play the pipes in The Heather Pipes & Drums and she played with their B band. In connection with the visit of the Scottish army pipe band, she got a few lessons from its pipemajor, Peter Wood Elder.⁷³ In 1981, The 4th Royal



Fig. 3-6. CRPD
Band Emblem

Tank Regiment was again invited to play at the tattoo in Slagelse. By then Pipe Major Elder was due to finish his army career after twenty-three years of service. He and Anne Marie Gatsviller decided to marry and he moved to Slagelse, where he was employed in Mogens Gatsviller's firm. According to Peter Wood Elder, the pipe band would never have been started had it not been for Mogens Gatsviller's enthusiasm, and he goes on to say:

He was on my back from the minute I arrived: 'You are going to start a pipe band'. And I had no ideas of starting or even playing. I was quite happy to come back, get in a house and hang up the silvers [the silver mounted pipes (author's remark)] on the wall. That was me finished. I had had 23 years in the army with it, you know.⁷⁴

But Peter Wood Elder did not get his break from piping. In the autumn of 1981, evening classes were started with Peter Wood Elder as the teacher and Anne Marie Elder as his assistant. After about a year, The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums was formed with the more successful pupils from the

⁷² If not otherwise stated this text builds on an interview with P/M Peter Wood Elder, B.E.M., 29 Oct. 2001.

⁷³ For a short presentation of Peter Wood Elder, see chapter six, page 244.

⁷⁴ Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

evening classes as members. Initially, Mogens Gatsviller helped to finance instruments and uniforms for the band, but within three months they got their first engagement.

Initially, the band performed in a simple uniform consisting of kilts and blue jerseys. The first set of hose used in the band were hand knitted by Anne Marie Elder and she even made artificial blackcock feathers for the glengarries.⁷⁵ Eventually, the band acquired military style dress uniforms. According to Peter Wood Elder, the tartan of the band, the Clan Rose Hunting Tartan, was chosen because Mogens Gatsviller was an unofficial chieftain of the Clan Rose in Denmark (the family, not the pipe band). This was also the tartan worn by the pipers and drummers of The 4th Royal Tank Regiment.

The drum corps was taught by Tine Mathari, who had previously been a side drummer in The Heather Pipes & Drums. She was the organiser of the Scandinavian championships for pipes & drums held in Slagelse, in 1982, and she had problems finding a piping adjudicator from Scotland. She asked Peter Wood Elder if he would be willing to judge the competition, to which he agreed under the condition that Tine Mathari would teach the drummers in The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums.

To teach pipers and run a pipe band had been Peter Wood Elder's profession for over twenty years. His ambitions when he started The Clan Rose Pipe Band were high and after about two years, the band had grown to about 16 pipers and 11 drummers, and he goes on to say:

As a true and good piper, a pipe-major of many years, I wanted a band that I could take somewhere and win something.⁷⁶

From 1983 until 1996 the band competed frequently at the Scandinavian championships and was placed first in grade four already in 1984. The success was repeated in 1987 and 1990. In addition, the band won the marching and discipline competition at numerous championships, and at their only visit to Scotland in 1994, the band won grade four in The North East of Scotland Championships.

During this successful period of the band's career the social bonds within the band were very strong, which was of major importance for the success of the band (see quotation in chapter seven on page 274).

⁷⁵ A Glengarry bonnet is the type of headgear most commonly worn by pipers. In most regimental pipe bands a blackcock feather is worn in the glengarry with No. 1 dress uniform. See *Photograph 3–6*.

⁷⁶ Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

Although Peter Wood Elder's disciplined army style of running the band was very effective and successful, it also created imbalances in the band among civilian Danes with a democratic tradition. Around 1985, a group of drummers from the Holbæk area left the band. These were Ole Venø, Jens Hedegaard and René Fredriksen and they became the founders of the Holbæk pipe band. They were joined by André Mittun, one of the pipers from Slagelse.

For various reasons, many band members left The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums in the mid 1990s. Some moved to Scotland and others to Copenhagen, where they started to play with other bands. For a period Jørgen Overgaard took over as pipe-major, but today (2002) Peter Wood Elder is the pipe-major again. He is now working to form a new edition of The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums.

Holbæk Pipe Band (HPB)⁷⁷

In July 1986, about a year after they had left The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums, Ole Venø and Jens Hedegaard took the initiative to start the Holbæk Pipe Band. Formed by two experienced drumming instructors the band was very drumming oriented from the start, and drummers were recruited from the FDF scout band and from the youth band in Holbæk. In addition, a few beginners, some of them flute players, started to learn the pipes on the practice chanter, but most of them found it too difficult and stopped at an early stage. The newly formed group was helped by piping instructors from The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums and The Heather Pipes & Drums, among them Paul Martin Holm and Tom Harboe. The first piper to join Holbæk Pipe Band was André Mittun from Clan Rose Pipes & Drums, and he became the band's first pipe-major, in 1988.⁷⁸ By then the band had a strong drum corps but hardly any pipe corps, and at the Scandinavian championships in 1988, the drum corps and pipe-major of the band competed in a joint venture with The Murray Pipes & Drums, where the situation was reversed with a number of pipers but no drummers.



Fig. 3-7. HPB
Band Emblem

⁷⁷ If not otherwise stated the text is based on interviews with Ole Venø, 20 Feb. 2001, Jens Hedegaard, 20 Feb. 2001 and David Lundgreen, 22 Oct. 1998.

⁷⁸ *The Heather Pipes & Drums of Copenhagen*, <http://www.heather.dk>, printed 3 Dec. 2002.

From then on The Holbæk Pipe Band slowly but steadily grew bigger. Among the pipers who started their career in Holbæk Pipe Band were some of today's best female players in Scandinavia, such as Jette Hansen, Christine Dinsen, Kirstine Moll, Charlotte Schmedes and Helle Klausen. Due to good contacts in the Holbæk area, the band managed to get a number of engagements to pay for uniforms and instruments, but this was not enough. For a number of years the dedicated band members worked extra before Christmas, cutting down Christmas trees for export, to get an extra income for the band. The pioneer spirit and comradeship in the band was very strong, and many social events were held centred around the band's own practice rooms in central Holbæk.

The band's tartan has a peculiar history of its own. Jens Hedegaard had a tie in the colours of Hunting MacPherson Tartan, and he and Ole Venø decided that this was the tartan they wanted for the band. When they contacted Jean MacPherson at The House of MacPherson, one of the bagpipe and Highland dress outfitters in Edinburgh, for samples of this tartan it was found that the pattern on the tie was not an accepted clan tartan of the MacPhersons. The Danes then requested Jean MacPherson to have material made up to match the tie and, Ole Venø continues:

Jean said no to letting us have a different colour made up, but then when we came to talk to her, and got more contact with her, she realises that we are actually serious about this, and she contacts Cluny [the clan chief of the MacPhersons (author's remark)] and acquires a permission [...] to let us wear the Hunting MacPherson, and that she may make kilts for us, which she at that time could not without a permission, because it was a protected tartan. [...] Through Jean MacPherson, we asked Cluny if we could be allowed to make a special colour code with different colours, and when he sees the sample and the description of it, he grants his permission.⁷⁹

The name of the tartan is 'Hunting MacPherson, Holbæk', and it is worn by the band together with semi formal black kilt jackets.

⁷⁹ Venø, Ole, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Så Jean så nej til at vi kunne få lov til at lave en anden farve. Da vi kommer i snak med hende, og får mere kontakt med hende, da finder hun ud af at det rent faktisk er seriøst det her, og hun går til Cluny og får en tilladelse [...] til at vi må bære Hunting MacPherson, og at hun må lave kilte til os. Det kunne hun på daværende tidspunkt ikke uden at få tilladelse, for det var en beskyttet tartan. [...] Hunting MacPherson, bad vi om, igennem Jean MacPherson til Cluny, om vi måtte lave en særlig farvekode med andre farver i, og da han ser prøven på det og beskrivelsen af det giver han tilladelse til det."

In 1990, the band competed in the Scandinavian championships at Holbæk playing a march, written by the leading-drummer, Jens Hedegaard. Again an example of the pioneer spirit in the band, but the novelty was not appreciated by the Scottish adjudicator, Pipe Major Iain McLeod, who was of the opinion that this grade four band should have been able to find a suitable well-known Scottish tune.

In 1993, both André Mittun and Jens Hedegaard left the band and joined The Heather Pipes & Drums. They were tired of being leaders and wanted to play with a more established band. Mittun was succeeded by Charlotte Schmedes as pipe-major in Holbæk. In 1994, The Holbæk Pipe Band won grade four at the Scandinavian championships, but then a period followed of disagreement regarding the aims of the band. A number of experienced pipers and drummers left the band and joined other bands in Copenhagen.

Around 1995, Helle Klausen, who was the chairman of Holbæk Pipe Band, realised that something had to be done to save the situation, and she contacted David Lundgreen in Copenhagen and persuaded him to take over the leadership of the band.⁸⁰ Lundgreen, known as a good soloist with fifteen years' playing experience in Dungillie Pipe Band and The Heather Pipes & Drums, accepted the invitation. At that time, he had had serious discussions with the side drummer René Fredriksen and a few others, about starting a new band in Copenhagen. One reason was that they had new ideas about pipe band leadership which they wanted to try out. David Lundgreen was appointed pipe-major and René Fredriksen leading-drummer in Holbæk. Fredriksen, with a background as an FDF drummer, and then as a side drummer in The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums and The Heather Pipes & Drums, had recently returned from Canada, where he had played with The Simon Fraser University Pipe Band and acquired much new knowledge.

According to Ole Venø, the two new band leaders really made the band in Holbæk develop, and after some time, young promising pipers and drummers from other bands started to join the band. For a period around the turn of the millennium the band was sponsored by the Hatting Bakery. The band won the Scandinavian championships, grade four in 1997 and 1998. In 1999, the band was upgraded to grade three after successful competition results in Scotland and elsewhere. In 2000, the band got second in grade 3b at the World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow. At the Scandinavian championships at Holbæk the same year, the

⁸⁰. Klausen, Helle, informal discussions.

band won the overall title Scandinavian Champions of Champions. Today the band is graded in grade 3a.

During these successful years many players from other bands joined The Holbæk Pipe Band, but, on the other hand, many left for other bands. Primarily, there has been an exchange back and forth of players between Holbæk and The Heather Pipes & Drums. The Holbæk Pipe Band is one of Scandinavia's most progressive and competition oriented bands. In 2002, the band appointed a new young pipe-major, Rune Jensen, and a new leading-drummer, Michael Ambech.

Jylland (Jutland)

*Aarhus Pipes & Drums (AAPD)*⁸¹

Aarhus Pipes & Drums, was founded in November 1988,⁸² on the initiative of a group of drummers from the Boys' Brigade organisation FDF and a few existing pipers in Århus. In February the same year, the FDF drummers had visited The Copenhagen Winter Competition, where they competed as a drum corps in the drum salute competition.⁸³ Among the founders of the band were the bass drummer Søren Yding and Carsten Christensen on the side drum, and he became the leading-drummer. The first pipers were Dennis MacAllister, who had moved from Northern Ireland to Århus, and Jan Sandal.

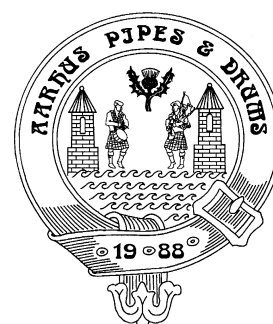


Fig. 3–8. AAPD Band Emblem

Lejf Fomsgaard, who had been working in Copenhagen for a couple of years after finishing his studies in Århus, returned to Århus in 1989. In Copenhagen he had started to learn the pipes in 1985, taking evening classes from Ninni Mærsk Møller from The Heather Pipes & Drums. Somewhat later he joined The Heather Pipes & Drums and played with their B band until he moved back to Århus. When Lejf Fomsgaard joined the band in Århus in 1989, the group was still under construction. At about the same time, Fleming Dyrkov, another piper from Copenhagen with a long experience as a member of The White Hackle Pipe Band and other bands in Copenhagen also moved to Århus. According to Lejf Fomsgaard,

⁸¹ If not otherwise stated this text builds on an interview with Lejf Fomsgaard, 18 Apr. 1999.

⁸² *Aarhus Pipes & Drums*, information leaflet, not dated.

⁸³ CWC programme, 1988: 22

Dyrkov had a lot of experience and enthusiasm and he became an informal leader and a teacher in the emerging band. At this time, there were many discussions of whether the band should acquire a more strict style of leadership to develop faster, or follow a more easy-going style inherited from the FDF roots of the drum corps. Another source for quarrel was the choice of which tunes to play, and due to this the repertoire was often changed. The choice of tartan and uniforms led to yet a big discussion. The band decided to wear the Mackenzie tartan, because two members already had kilts in that tartan. Initially, the band dressed in a quasi military uniform (see *Photograph 3–7*). Lejf Fomsgaard explains:

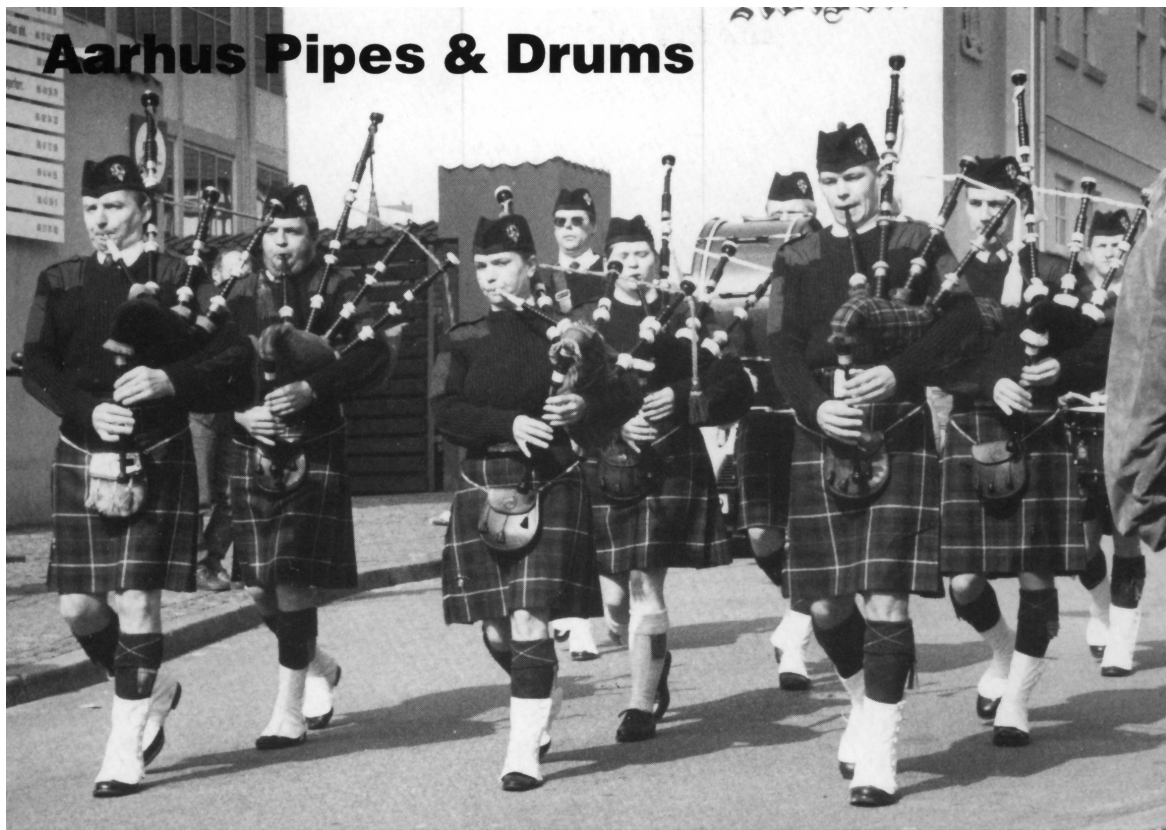
We started out wearing spats, which so to say is part of a full dress uniform, but we did not have jackets, but used a cheap acrylic army sweater in a navy blue colour that could go with the rest, so that was actually the first real uniform we had.⁸⁴

Later the band bought black semi formal civilian kilt jackets. These are worn today with white kilt hose and no spats, in the style of most civilian competing pipe bands.

In 1991, the band made contact with Duncan Greathead, a South African piper who had moved to Århus with his Danish wife due to the disturbances in South Africa. According to Lejf Fomsgaard, Greathead played at a reasonable level and he became the first pipe-major of the band. He had learnt to play in a high school band in Pretoria and, although, he did not have any prior experience as a pipe-major he had many good ideas and was very enthusiastic, so his playing and leadership developed fast. In addition, he introduced a special form of march drill which he had learnt in Pretoria. This is still practised by The Aarhus Pipes & Drums.

Under Duncan Greathead's leadership the band grew and started to play better. In the mid 1990s, he moved to Fyn where he played for a short while with The Dungillie Pipe Band, but he stopped playing due to his work situation. Duncan Greathead was succeeded by Thomas White-law Christensen as pipe-major in Aarhus Pipe Band. Christensen only stayed on for a year as he moved from Århus when he had finished his studies. He was succeeded by Lejf Fomsgaard, whose intention was to

⁸⁴ Fomsgaard, Lejf, interview, 18 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Vi startede så også op med at have spats, som jo ligesom er en del af full dress, og da havde man så ikke jakker, men da brugte man så en billig akryl army trøje [...] mørkeblå som egentlig kunne passe til det, så det var egentlig den første rigtige uniform man havde."



Photograph 3–7. Aarhus Pipes & Drums in their first uniform.

Photo: Taken at Randers, 1991, photographer unknown. By kind permission of Aarhus Pipes & Drums.

create a stable organisation where the musical development was backed up by a good social atmosphere in a mix of the old FDF traditions and a developing pipe band. To develop musically, the band in Århus has sought tuition, not primarily in Scotland, but among the more experienced Scandinavian pipers and drummers. Guest teachers have been invited from both Denmark and Sweden. The band has also encouraged its members to take part in the summer schools held by The Scandinavian School of Piping & Drumming and also the courses held by The Bass- and Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia.

Over the years, many band members have come from the university milieu, and beginners interested in piping are continuously recruited among the students at Århus University. Drummers with a background in the FDF drum corps still join the pipe band as they find Scottish drumming more of a challenge.

In the mid 1990s, the band had a few engagements together with the Scottish ‘folk rock’ group Wolfstone in connection with the Celtic music festival at Tønder in Denmark (Tønderfestivalen) and at Nive. The music played was mostly traditional Scottish folk tunes. According to Lejf

Fomsgaard, Wolfstone did not perform with pipers in Scotland. The idea that they should play together with the pipe band was brought up by the Danish and Scottish organisers at Tønderfestivalen in Denmark.

The present pipe-major (2002) is Thomas Whitelaw Christensen and the leading-drummer is Sven Harboe. Today The Aarhus Pipes & Drums is a stable and established Scandinavian band with almost twenty playing members.⁸⁵ The band won the Danish Pipe Band Championships in 2001⁸⁶ and in 2002 they were placed second in grade 4b at the World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow. In addition, they won first prize in grade 4 at the Perth Highland Games, in August 2002.⁸⁷

Frederikshavn Frivillige Drengesforbund Pipe Band (FFDF Pipe Band)⁸⁸

In 1968, Jørgen Svensson, the pipe-major of The White Hackle Pipe Band, was invited to play at a village feast by the naval defence authorities in Frederikshavn on Jylland (Jutland). In connection with this visit he also played and talked about piping at the local flute and drum band of the youth organisation Frivillige Drengesforbund (FDF). As mentioned, the Danish FDF youth bands often had a great interest for Scottish music and drumming. Svensson helped the band to get a few practice chanters and a tutor book, but the group did not really start to learn seriously until 1971, when Peter Berthelsen, who later became the band's first pipe-major, started off to learn on his own. Soon, more piping pupils were engaged among the flute players, and around 1972, the flute and drum corps had increased its capacity with two or three pipers.

Initially, the pipers were a part of the flute and drum band, but in the mid 1970s, a separate pipe band was formed. The drum corps too, originated in the flute and drum band where they played to flutes and bugles as well as to the pipe band. A separate pipe band drum corps did not develop until 1977.

During the first years, the group worked to learn on its own, but in the mid 1970s, they got tuition from Paul Martin Holm and Klaus Jes-

⁸⁵ *Tulach'ard* (AAPD members' information letter), No. 1, downloaded from the Aarhus Pipes & Drums, web site, www.aapd.dk, printed 6 Nov. 2002.

⁸⁶ Participant observation, Danish Pipe Band Championships 2001, Svendborg, 24 May 2001. The author was one of the adjudicators at this event.

⁸⁷ *Aarhus Pipes & Drums*, <http://www.aapd.dk/forside.html>, printed 6 Nov. 2002.

⁸⁸ This section builds on a text by Erik Godtlielsen, received in email, 20 Jan. 2003, based on questions sent to him by the author.

persen from The Heather Pipes & Drums. They also had tuition for a weekend from Carl-Axel Roslund, the pipe-major of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band. In 1977, the FFDF band were hosts for a visit by the Aberdeen Boys' Brigade Pipe Band, and this brought them into contact with the Scottish pipe-major, David Duncan, and leading-drummer, David Brown, Senior, who provided further tuition.

The first sets of pipes, bought through a Danish shop, were made in Pakistan, but later some members bought instruments from well-known Scottish makers. The drums are owned by the FDF organisation and the side drummers in the band still play the old Premier S81 snare drum, popular in the mid 1970s. The players wear the Mackenzie tartan, chosen because this was the tartan that happened to be on the cover of the first set of pipes bought by Peter Berthelsen. In addition, the colours matched the grey FDF shirts worn by the band.

The FDF youth organisation, of which the pipe band is an integrated section, is the natural recruiting area of the band, and over the years the number of players have varied between six and fourteen. Today, the Frederikshavn branch (section 2) of the FDF, with about 110 members, is much smaller than in the 1970s, when it had around 230 members. When the pipe band started, there was also a small brass band in addition to the flute and drum band, but today only the pipe band remains.

The band competed in the Scandinavian championships a number of times during the second part of the 1970s, but decided to stop competing, partly because they often were not enough players and partly because they did not have the ambition to compete. Over the years, the band has performed at many engagements in northern Denmark and has also taken part in a number of music festivals in northern Germany, among them the festival for brass bands in Bad Bramstedt, north of Hamburg.

Peter Berthelsen stayed on as pipe-major until 1987 when Allan Michaelsen took over. In 1998, Karsten Nyemann-Thode was appointed pipe-major. Erik Godtlielsen has been the leading-drummer of the band since its formation. Some of the members of the new group, The Northern Pipes & Drums in Aalborg, south of Frederikshavn, have started their career in the Frederikshavn band.

In the early years, some members of the FFDF Pipe Band did a few trips to Scotland together, and as Erik Godtlielsen expresses it: "a number of us were probably more «Scottish than the Scotsmen»."⁸⁹ Today, accord-

⁸⁹. Godtlielsen, Erik, email, 20 Jan. 2003, original Danish text: "flere af os var nok næsten mere »skotske end skotterne»."

ing to Godtliebsen, the group primarily socialises at band practices, which sometimes leaves little time for playing.

Fanø Pipes & Drums (FPD)⁹⁰

The Fanø Pipes & Drums was formed in 1983 by Steffen Lassen and Bente Korsgaard on the small island of Fanø (with about 300 inhabitants) on the west coast of Denmark outside Esbjerg. Steffen Lassen's interest for piping had started in his youth when he saw the Edinburgh Military Tattoo on Danish television together with his father in the late 1960s, but it was not until the early 1980s that he acquired a practice chanter and started to learn on his own from a few tutor books, among them *The College of Piping Tutor*. In addition to the books, Lassen listened to recordings in order to find out how to play. Initially, Lassen bought a Pakistani set of pipes in a music shop in Esbjerg, but later he found a good second hand set made in Scotland.

Steffen Lassen, who has been the pipe-major from the beginning, took the initiative to start the band because he wanted to play with others, as that is what they did at the tattoo. A few persons interested in drumming joined the group and the drummers too started to learn by copying what they heard on records. Gradually, more players were recruited, about three fourths coming from Fanø and the rest from the mainland, and today the band has about fifteen players, both men and women, aged 18–72. In the band there are a few players who are also members of the small group Gjesing Piper Laug on the mainland. With the exception for some influences from other Danish bands in connection with tattoos, the players in FPD are autodidacts.

The members of The Fanø Pipes & Drums have decided not to be involved in competitions, playing primarily at parades and other engagements such as village and sports parties and at the Fanø golf course. The band has also played at Denmark Tattoo at Varde together with other Danish pipe bands. At the tenth anniversary of the Fanø Pipes & Drums in 1993, the band organised a tattoo on Fanø inviting a number of other Danish bands to take part. According to Steffen Lassen the ambition of



Fig. 3–9. FPD
Band Emblem

⁹⁰ This section builds on an interview with Steffen Lassen, 22 July 2002.

the band is to give the audience an interesting experience. All activities in the band is noted in the band's 'log book'.

The band members are dressed in a semi military style uniform, but the band has tried to avoid a strict military style of marching and discipline. The first uniforms in the band were home made but today the dress is ordered from Scotland. The band wears the Princes Mary Tartan as it has the same colours as some items of the local Fanø folk costume.

Fyn

The St. Alban Pipe Band of Odense⁹¹

Erik Henningsen (1932–2002), one of the piping pioneers in Malmö in the early 1970s, lived in Malmö but had his roots in Odense on Fyn in Denmark. At a visit to Odense, Henningsen played his pipes in a field and was heard by a teacher named Nils Peder Fredriksen and his wife. The encounter resulted in a decision to start a pipe band in Odense and at a meeting in May 1979, at which about twenty interested persons showed up, The St. Alban Pipe Band was formed. The name of the band was taken from St. Alban, a saint connected to Odense.

Initially, progress was very slow but a few active members, among them Torben Melgaard, made contact with the Dungillie Pipe Band in Svendborg, where they got piping tuition from Heidi Johansen and also a few lessons from Pipe Major Robert Kilgour and Paul Martin Holm from Copenhagen. In 1981, the group of pipers in Odense got their first engagement at a village feast. By then they were four pipers, Torben Melgaard, Preben Olstedt, Palle Jørgensen and Poul Erik Jørgensen, who has been the pipe-major of the band since the start.

Around 1982, the pipers started to cooperate with the drum corps of the police band in Odense. One of their drummers had been playing with The White Hackle Pipe Band. In 1982, the pipers of The St. Alban Pipe Band competed together with the police drum corps at the Scandinavian championships at Slagelse. This is the only time the band has competed. Later, the band formed its own drum corps.

Torben Melgaard describes how he wrote to ten different kilt makers and received fifty samples of tartan, and he goes on: "And then we sat there like a bunch of women, discussing material. It took a long time."⁹²

⁹¹ If not otherwise stated this section is based on an interview with Torben Melgaard, 30 Oct. 2001.

In the end Farquharson tartan was chosen for the band. Many years later in 1991, the band sent a photo of themselves to the clan chief, the Laird of Invercauld, who wrote back that he was flattered they had chosen the tartan of his clan out of the fifty samples.⁹³

The St. Alban Pipe Band has performed at various places around Denmark, but mostly on Fyn and in Odense. The members of the band also include three pipers from The Long Island Pipe Band, Hans Erik Theodorsen, Bjarke Breyt Low and Elizabeth Low, who originally started her piping career in The Heather Pipes & Drums.

Dungillie Pipe Band, Svendborg (DPB)⁹⁴

In 1979, Heidi Johansen, happened to meet Jens Foldager in his textile shop in Svendborg. Johansen had moved to Svendborg from Copenhagen where she had played the side drum in the Heather Pipes & Drums. Johansen and Foldager had a common interest in pipe music and in 1980 the two together with Jens Foldager's son Lars, formed The Dungillie Pipe Band. Johansen was a drummer but she started to learn the pipes together with Jens and Lars Foldager.

The early group got tuition from several pipers from Copenhagen such as Pipe Major Robert Kilgour, Paul Martin Holm, Bente Kilgour (Viuf), Palle Schjerning and Kaj Larsen. The group practised in Jens Foldager's shop and they could be seen from the street. Gradually more members joined the band. The drummers were taught by Tine Mathari from the HP&D.

Later, some pipers of the band were taught by George Kilgour (brother of Robert Kilgour, mentioned earlier) during his stay in Denmark. He also supplied some of the bagpipes in the band. The first pipe-major of the DPB was Heidi Johansen, but she was succeeded after about a year by Lars Foldager who has been the band's pipe-major since then. Claus Olsen, initially taught by Tine Mathari and later by Alistair Dowling and Graham Brown in Scotland has been the leading-drummer of the band for a number of years.

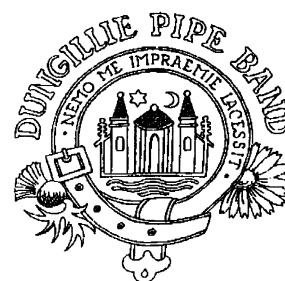


Fig. 3–10. DPB
Band Emblem

⁹² Melgaard, Torben, interview, 30 Oct. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Og så sat vi jo ellers omkring som en flok kvinder og diskuterede stof. Det tog lang tid.”

⁹³ Farquharson of Invercauld, Alwyn C., letter, 6 Dec. 1991.

⁹⁴ If not otherwise stated this section builds on an interview with Lars Foldager, 2 Nov. 1997.

From the start, the members saw Highland dress as a natural part of the interest in piping and drumming and a semi military dress was designed for the players. This is still worn by the band and consists of kilts in Lindsay tartan and remade Danish military jackets. A number of the kilts were made by Jens Foldager himself, modelled on an old army kilt which he owned. The band name is a direct translation of the Danish town name Svendborg into Gaelic.⁹⁵

Since its formation, the band has taken part regularly in the Scandinavian and Danish championships for pipe bands, and at the Copenhagen Winter Competition. In 1985, the band competed in Scotland in Aboyne and also took part in a parade at the Aberlour Highland Games. In 1987, the Danish band was invited to take part in the same event again. During the same trip, the band made contact with The Kirkwall City Pipe Band at the Orkney Islands, and since then the two bands have maintained regular contacts. In 1997, the Scottish band visited their fellow band in Denmark. In 1995 the band performed at The Inverness Tattoo in Scotland, both with a show of their own and together with the pipes & drums of the Scottish regiment – The Highlanders.⁹⁶

According to Lars Foldager the band has become more competition oriented in later years, and he continues:

Before we went to competitions mostly to give the playing a try and to meet other people and have a beer. [...] Now that is still a part of the whole thing but it is also a matter of winning. [...] I think this is part of the tendency of our time to have more of a fixed purpose.⁹⁷

Smaller Groups in Denmark

There have been a few other smaller or less established groups in Denmark. These have often been connected to scout organisations or local marching bands for boys and girls. Only on a few single occasions have any of these bands taken part in the Scandinavian championships, although individual members have competed in solo competitions.

⁹⁵ Gaelic: dun – fortress, gillie – young man (A pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language).

⁹⁶ Scandinavian championships 1996, programme, band presentation, 'The Dungillie Pipe Band', 25–26 May, 1996: 21.

⁹⁷ Foldager, Lars, interview 2 Nov. 1997, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Før tog vi til konkurrence mest for at prøve at spille og at møde andre mennesker og få en øl. [...] Nu er det jo også en del af det, men det er også for at vinde. [...] Det er en del af tidens tendens, at der er en større målrettedhed."



Photograph 3–8. Highland Pipers in Skive Pigegarden ‘Corps Tattoo’, Skive, Denmark. From left Jannie Larsen, Suzanne Thomassen and Winnie Jørgensen (b. Frydendal).

Photo: Early 1990s, photographer unknown. By kind permission of Skive Garden.

Kibæk Pipe Band, was one of these groups with roots from 1972 in an FDF/KFUK drum corps,⁹⁸ located in Kibæk south west of Aarhus. The group was started by Ole Behrmann who got some tuition from the FDF Frederikshavn Pipe Band. In the early 1990s, the band in Kibæk had about fifteen players, but as Kibæk is a small village of about 3 500 inhabitants a number of players gradually left for jobs and education in larger towns. The Kibæk Pipe Band does not exist any more, but a few of the

⁹⁸. Scandinavian championships 1994, programme, band presentation, ‘Kibæk Pipe Band’, 21–22 May 1994. The name of the scout band was FDF/KFUK Tambourkorps.

pipers, are still playing with other bands. Among them Lonny Krægpøth who is playing with The Aarhus Pipes & Drums and Lisbet and Bodil Kværnø who are playing with The Heather Pipes & Drums. According to Lonny Krægpøth, another of the Kibæk pipers who is still playing is Kirstine Follman, who now lives in Bergen in Norway.⁹⁹

Another Danish youth band which had pipers around 1990 was Skive Pigegarden with the pipers dressed in the same uniform as the rest of the band (see *Photograph 3–8*). Later, two of the pipers from Skive, Winnie Jørgensen (b. Frydendal) and Suzanne Thomassen started to play with The Aarhus Pipes & Drums.¹⁰⁰

The Long Island Pipe Band, a small group of pipers playing on the island of Langeland south of Fyn, have been mentioned above in connection with The St. Alban Pipe Band (see page 129). Other Danish groups are Gjesing Piperlaug in the vicinity of Esbjerg on the west coast of Denmark and The Roskilde Pipe Band started in Roskilde, west of Copenhagen, by Steen Horst in 1997.¹⁰¹ A new Danish band, formed only a few years ago, is The Northern Pipes & Drums in Aalborg led by Casper Nellemann.¹⁰²

Sweden

Stockholm

The Thistle Pipe Band (TPB [I]¹⁰³)¹⁰⁴

As mentioned above in connection with Per Colliander, The Thistle Pipe Band, Sweden's first pipe band, was formed in the Autumn 1968 by mem-

⁹⁹ Krægpøth, Lonny, emails, 22 Feb. 2003, 23 Feb. 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Jørgensen, Winnie, email, 22 Oct. 2002, Petersen, Carsten (Chairman, Landgardeforeningen af 1992), email, 27 Nov. 2002.

¹⁰¹ *Roskilde Pipe Band*, <http://membres.lycos.fr/henrikl.dansk1historie.htm>, printed 3 July 2002.

¹⁰² *The Northern Pipes & Drums*, <http://www.northernpd.dk/hjem.htm>, printed 11 Mar. 2003.

¹⁰³ The Roman numerical is added here by the author to distinguish between The Thistle Pipe Band before the band split up in 1985 and the one of the two resulting bands which retained the name after the split. Both the present Thistle Pipe Band and The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers date their origins to the start of The Thistle Pipe Band in 1968.

¹⁰⁴ In addition to a printed text by Börje Högländer, 1988, and the stated interviews, the following website has been used as a source for this section: *The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers*, <http://www.sackpipa.com>, printed 21 Jan. 2003.

bers of the The Eagle Pipers' Society in Stockholm. Per Colliander was the driving force behind the project and he became the band's first pipe-major. Among the other early pipers were Börje Högländer and Christer Colliander, Per Colliander's brother. In the spring 1968, the pipers had met the Scottish architect Bill Pardon, who lived in Stockholm, and who had been a drummer in The Gordon Highlanders Cadet Corps. Pardon started to form a drum corps in the band and he became the band's first leading drummer. Among the other early drummers were, Magnus Wrethammar, Anders Gjörling, Jan Almlöf and Vilho Löfgren. The band's first engagements were in connection with the 'British week', arranged in Stockholm in 1968, where a quintet of three pipers and two drummers played. After this many performances followed on a variety of occasions. In 1970, the band appeared on national Swedish television in 'Hylands hörna', a popular family show with a big audience.¹⁰⁵ (Sweden only had two television channels in those days.¹⁰⁶)

During the early years, many interested beginners started to play, but according to Börje Högländer, only about ten percent stayed for more than one or two lessons. Torkel Ekman started to play the bass drum in the band and he introduced flourishing for the bass and tenor section. The first drum-major of the band was Anders Lundin, but he was succeeded by Derek Lewis (1928–2003), whose experience as a drill-sergeant in the British Army suited the band particularly well.¹⁰⁷ Per Colliander had a background as an officer and he was highly interested in the military aspects of pipe bands. From the start, The Thistle Pipe Band aimed at a strict military style in dress and performance. As it was not associated with any clan, The Black Watch Tartan was chosen for the pipers and drummers, and the No. 1 dress uniform of the band was partly modelled on that of the Scottish regiment The Black Watch.¹⁰⁸ According to Mathias Cramér, who started to play with the band around 1970, the military style was an ideal in the early band and the members excelled in using military titles of various office holders in the band, such as pipe-corporal, drum lance-corporal etc.¹⁰⁹



Fig. 3–11. TPB II
Band Emblem

¹⁰⁵. Högländer, 1988

¹⁰⁶. Sweden got its second television channel in 1969. (*Sveriges Television – Om SVT*, <http://www.svt.se/svtinfo/historia/historia2.htm>)

¹⁰⁷. Högländer, 1988

¹⁰⁸. Note that the pipers of The Black Watch Regiment wore The Royal Stewart Tartan.

¹⁰⁹. Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

Höglander writes that the social activity in the band was significant and every band practice was finished with a pub evening at the British Social Club, and he goes on:

The Scottish and British elements were strong. As many of the band's guests, friends, instructors and members were of British descent we found it natural to see the band as a copy of a Scottish model. The official band language was English.¹¹⁰

In the first Scandinavian championships for pipers and drummers, organised in Copenhagen in 1970, the band won first prize, and in 1971 TPB got first again. The other two bands taking part were The Gladsaxe Pipe Band and The White Hackle Pipe Band. The individual pipers of The Gladsaxe band were better players and they won most of the solo competitions, but the strength of The Thistle Pipe Band was that they played better as a group.

In 1972, the band went on a trip to Scotland and competed at The Cowal Highland Games at Dunoon and at The European Championships at Shotts. The band was placed in the middle of grade four, but according to Börje Höglander: "Considering our circumstances regarding knowledge, traditions and resources it was an incredible result."¹¹¹ The big achievement, however, was that the band became the European champions in marching and discipline at Shotts and got second best in parade at Cowal. A Scandinavian pipe band was a novelty on the Scottish pipe band scene and the Swedish band was greatly appreciated by the Scottish audience.

According to Alf Sandek, who started to play with the band around 1971, Per Colliander had a very charismatic personality, which was of great importance for the formation of the band,¹¹² and his death, in 1973, was a great loss to the band.

Börje Höglander took over as pipe-major and stayed on until 1975, when he was succeeded by Alan Logan,¹¹³ a Scottish piper who lived in

¹¹⁰ Höglander, 1988, original Swedish text: "Det skotska och brittiska inslaget var markant. Genom att så många av bandets gäster, vänner, instruktörer och medlemmar var av brittisk härstamning fann vi det naturligt att betrakta bandet som en kopia efter skotsk förebild. Det officiella bandspråket var engelska."

¹¹¹ Höglander, 1988, original Swedish text: "Med tanke på våra förutsättningar i fråga om kunskaper, traditioner och resurser var det ett enormt resultat."

¹¹² Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

¹¹³ I tried to interview Alan Logan at Inverness in Sept. 1999, but it was not possible to arrange a meeting.

Stockholm with his Swedish wife. Logan had been playing in The Scots Guards and was known as a good player. With his first hand knowledge of Scottish army piping he was seen as a natural authority by the players in The Thistle Pipe Band. His technique was good and he also knew a lot of history about the tunes. In Mathias Cramér's opinion, Logan's leadership was somewhat chaotic, partly because he was undisciplined and talked much during practices and partly because he was very dominating and did not work according to Swedish democratic traditions.¹¹⁴ Another subject for argument was that many band members wanted the band to have a drum-major, but Logan did not approve of that.¹¹⁵

In 1976, Alan Logan decided to leave, which led to a splitting up of the band. Some of the pipers, among them Mårten Smith and Christer Colliander decided that they wanted to follow Logan because of his technical and musical knowledge, and they started The Caledonian Quintet, which later developed into the Caledonian Pipe Band.¹¹⁶

In The Thistle Pipe Band, Mathias Cramér took over as pipe-major. The split had left the band with only four pipers and a campaign was started to recruit new members. The repertoire of the band had largely consisted of simple marches and slow airs,¹¹⁷ but Cramér now aimed at improving the overall musical expression of the band and he introduced new tunes such as modern 6/8 marches and strathspeys which required more attention to expression.¹¹⁸ During his leadership the band won grade four in the Scandinavian championships in 1979 and in 1981.

In 1983, Niklas Hannah was appointed pipe-major. Hannah, with a Scottish father and a Swedish mother, had started to learn to play in the band in his teens. He had also had some tuition in Scotland when he stayed with relatives, and he was developing into a very successful player. His interest was solely in the music and he had no interest in the military aspects of marching and discipline.

In 1985, The Thistle Pipe Band split up a second time, but this time the process was more painful. Alf Sandek explains that one group of band members still had a great interest in the military aspects of piping and drumming, which had been the original approach in the band, whereas others did not share that interest to such a great extent. In addition, there

¹¹⁴ Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

¹¹⁵ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

¹¹⁶ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

¹¹⁷ See example of TPB early repertoire list in chapter six, *Table 6-2*, page 251.

¹¹⁸ Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

had been indications that Niklas Hannah was going to resign as pipe-major and members of the group with military interests were against a re-election of Mathias Cramér, who was favoured by others.¹¹⁹

Among the leading persons in the group with a military interest were Gregor von der Heyde, who was the drum-sergeant and the chairman of the band, and Alf Sandek, who was the secretary. According to Mathias Cramér, the split was initiated in a rather abrupt manner by the group with a military interest, involving a change of practice halls from the usual location to a regiment, K1, without prior notice to all band members. In addition, uniforms and other assets were moved to the regiment without any decision by a band meeting.¹²⁰

The actions taken resulted in the formation of two groups. One group was led by Sandek and von der Heyde and also included many of the drummers. The other group included many of the pipers, among them, Mathias Cramér and Niklas Hannah, but also the drummer Lars Östlund.

Later, uniforms and other assets were handed over to the ‘civilian’ group, but disagreement regarding money, uniforms, other assets, and the band name made the civilian group report the incident to the police. The matter was investigated by the police and even the chief prosecutor, but no further actions were taken.¹²¹

After the split both groups used the name The Thistle Pipe Band. In 1987, the ‘civilian’ group was offered to become the honorary band of a Swedish regiment, Svea Ingenjörregemente, an offer which they accepted and they adopted the name The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers.¹²² The group with the military interests retained the old name, The Thistle Pipe Band.

The Thistle Pipe Band (TPB [II]¹²³)¹²⁴

Since the split in 1985, Alf Sandek has been the pipe-major of The Thistle Pipe Band. From 1985 until 1991, the band had its premises at the Royal Lifeguard Dragoons in Stockholm and since 1992 at The Royal Military

¹¹⁹ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

¹²⁰ Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

¹²¹ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 oct. 1999

¹²² Thistle Pipe Band, the, “The Original and True TPB”, The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers, ‘Annual Report, 1 Oct. 1986 – 30 Sept. 1987’, PD1RE Archives.

¹²³ See footnote 103, page 133.

¹²⁴ If not otherwise stated the section builds on an interview with Alf Sandek, 13 Oct. 1999.

Academy at Karlberg in Stockholm. The first task was to train new pipers and drummers to build up a band again, and a number of new members were recruited among young men doing their military service.

Many band members were of the opinion that too much time had been spent practising on a few competition tunes before the split, and it was decided that The Thistle Pipe Band should not take part in international competitions. According to Alf Sandek, the decision was not an easy one to make. By not taking part in competitions, the natural arena for the Scandinavian bands to meet, the The Thistle Pipe Band, to some extent, made themselves outsiders to the Scandinavian pipe band community.

From the split, the band has emphasised the importance of marching, discipline and correct dress, in line with Scottish military traditions, aiming at a performance where the music, dress and drill function as a unity. The Thistle Pipe Band developed close contacts with the Scottish regiment The Royal Scots, a regiment with historical links from the seventeenth century to the Swedish regiment The Royal Lifeguard Dragoons, during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus II. The Swedish king had a brigade of four Scottish regiments serving under him during the Thirty Years' War.¹²⁵ The players of The Thistle Pipe Band have practised and performed together with The Pipes & Drums and Military Band of The Royal Scots in Germany and Scotland. According to Alf Sandek, the strict drill of the Swedish pipe band has sometimes inspired the Scottish army pipe band.

To make the band more interesting to the traditionalistic Swedish officers of their host regiment in Stockholm, Alf Sandek also initiated a trumpet and bugle corps and a drill corps in the band.

In 1989, a few members, among them Daniel Lindgren and Hjalmar Eriksson, left the band and formed a group named Svenska säckpipeföreningen, but the group did not live on to develop into a band. In conformity with Scottish conservative regimental custom, the members of The Thistle Pipe Band are exclusively males. Over the years a few members have left the band to join the Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers or the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, but no players from the other bands have ever joined the TPB. The TPB and the PD1RE still wear the same tartan and their military dress uniforms are similar, and a few times



Fig. 3–12. TPB [III]
Band Emblem

¹²⁵. *The Thistle Pipe Band*, information leaflet, no date.

the two bands have been mixed up, but this has not been considered a major problem by The Thistle Pipe Band.

The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers (PD1RE)¹²⁶

When The Thistle Pipe Band split up in 1985, Mathias Cramér was appointed pipe-major in the ‘civilian’ group, which in 1987 decided to change its name to The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers.¹²⁷ The band got some sponsorship from this Swedish regiment, for instance in the form of free bus transports.¹²⁸ Cramér stayed on as pipe-major until 1991, when Niklas Hannah took over.

After the split it was the general opinion that the band should acquire civilian Highland dress as a complement to the military dress uniform.¹²⁹ The band started a dedicated work to form a competition band. Although many drummers had joined the other group at the split, the PD1RE had a great asset in Lars Östlund, who developed into one of Scandinavia’s best side drummers and leading drummers. The band won grade four in the Scandinavian championships in 1986, and again in 1991. In 1990, the band competed in Scotland and got fifth in grade four at Rothesay.

The band grew bigger, had many engagements and rented its own band rooms in central Stockholm. The band rooms with good practice facilities have been of major importance for the development of the PD1RE. In the early 1990s, the band was divided into two groups; the A band for more experienced and ambitious players and the B band for less experienced players. After successful participation in competitions in Scotland the A band was upgraded to grade three by The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association.

Regularly, the PD1RE has invited well-known players from grade one bands, such as P/M Ian MacLellan from Glasgow and Richard Parks from Northern Ireland, to teach the players of the band.



Fig. 3–13. PD1RE
Band Emblem

¹²⁶. A photograph of the PD1RE can be seen on one of the record sleeves in *Example 7–1*, page 281.

¹²⁷. Svea Ingenjörregemente

¹²⁸. Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

¹²⁹. Thistle Pipe Band, the, “The Original and True TPB”, ‘Minutes from band meeting, 12 Dec. 1985’, PD1RE Archives.

As mentioned, the band had no contacts with The Thistle Pipe Band with the exception for a few players who left the TPB to join the PD1RE, one of these were Jonas Hallgren, who later became the pipe-sergeant in the PD1RE. The relations to the Caledonian Pipe Band, on the other hand, steadily grew better. The bands had performed together a few times at the amusement park Gröna Lund in Stockholm.¹³⁰ In 1989, two experienced players came over from the Caledonian Pipe Band, Mårten Smith, who had been the pipe-major, and the drummer Anders Gjörling, who now became the drum-major of the PD1RE. They had both been members of the 'old' Thistle Pipe Band. In 1991, Gustaf von Sivers, another experienced piper from the CPB, joined the PD1RE.

The old policy from The Thistle Pipe Band, not to accept female players in the band was preserved initially, but at a general band meeting in 1993, this policy was finally changed in favour of admitting female members.¹³¹

In 1992, the PD1RE became the Scandinavian pipe band champions. This was quite an achievement, as The Heather Pipes & Drums had not been beaten by another Scandinavian band since 1971. The success was repeated by the Swedish band in 1994.

In 1998, an amalgamation of the Caledonian Pipe Band and The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Engineers was discussed. The CPB was disbanded and a few of the players joined the Engineers, among them, Ulf Schönberg, who had started his career in The Murray Pipes & Drums, and Krister Bergman, two very experienced pipers.

Bergman was appointed pipe-major of the PD1RE in 2000. The A band now had a number of experienced pipers and a stable drum corps led by Eugen Qvarnström, appointed leading-drummer in 1999. In June 2001, the band again won the title Scandinavian Champions in Copenhagen, and in August the same year they were placed first in grade 3 A at The World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow, and so were upgraded to grade two.

In 2002, Shane Stewart from Auckland in New Zealand took over as pipe-major. By then there were about 70 members in the band, divided into an A, B and C band as well as a beginners' band.¹³²

¹³⁰ Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999

¹³¹ Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers, the, 'Minutes from general meeting, 13 May 1993', PD1RE Archives.

¹³² *The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers*, <http://www.sackpipa.com>, printed 21 Jan. 2003.

Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm (CPB)¹³³

Under the leadership of Alan Logan, the group of pipers who left the Thistle Pipe Band in 1976 started the Caledonian Quintet. Among the other members were Mårten Smith, Christer Colliander and Gustaf von Sivers. The group, which later changed their name to Stockholm Piping Society, eventually developed into the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm.

In 1978, a project to start a ladies' pipe band was initiated by Karin Litzén,¹³⁴ the wife of one of the players in The Thistle Pipe Band, where only male members were accepted. Initially, about twenty women interested in learning to play the pipes turned up, but the plans of forming a ladies' pipe band connected to the TPB were never fulfilled. In the autumn 1979, five remaining young women were taken on as pupils by Alan Logan, as they were not accepted as members in The Thistle Pipe Band. Two of the women stayed on and learnt to play, Ingrid Hoffsten and Eva Bolander, and they were invited to join The Caledonian Quintet.

According to Ingrid Hoffsten, Alan Logan was a man with a strong personality and he was a very positive and inspiring teacher. During the first years, the group consisted of pipers only, and they gave a few concerts. The men were dressed in kilts and the ladies in skirts, as Alan Logan did not approve of the ladies wearing a male garment. The tartan chosen was Caledonia, a tartan not connected to any clan. Logan, with a background in the Scottish army, underscored that the CPB was a civilian group and that he did not want them to perform in military style uniforms. Commands and the style of marching were executed in a less strict 'civilian' manner.

Around 1981, Alan Logan moved back to Scotland and Mårten Smith took over as pipe-major.¹³⁵ Around 1984, Anders Gjörling, one of the early drummers in the TPB was asked to join the group to form a drum corps. He had also been involved in forming The Caledonian Dance Circle, a Scottish dance group and the Scottish folk group, the Corbies, where Smith was involved too.¹³⁶ Gjörling had many contacts and ideas and he started to find engagements for the Caledonian Pipe Band, which

¹³³. If not otherwise stated this sections builds on an interview with Ingrid Hoffsten, 4 Aug. 2001.

¹³⁴. Hoffsten, Ingrid, telephone conversation with Marie Nordström, 30 Mar. 2003.

¹³⁵. *The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers*, <http://www.sackpipa.com>, printed 21 Jan. 2003.

¹³⁶. Gjörling, Anders, letter to the members of the CPB, 20 June 1989, PD1RE Archives.

was now developing into more of a regular pipe band with pipers and drummers, although keeping the civilian touch.

The social activities in the band thrived and involved a lot of traditional Scotticisms such as the celebration of Burns Night (the birthday of Robert Burns, Scotland's national poet). In addition, some of the players took an interest in the making of Highland dress and some items of dress worn in the band, such as kilts and plaids, were made by band members.

In the late 1980s, Bolennart Lindberg took over as leading-drummer, and in 1988, he persuaded Marie Nordström to form a bass and tenor section in the band. Lindberg and Nordström had both started their careers as drummers in The Griffin Pipes & Drums in Malmö.

Gustaf von Sivers was very concerned that the band should develop their playing ability, and through his contacts the band brought over instructors a few times from the Black Bottle Pipe Band, a Scottish grade one band. Among them were the pipe-major, Don Bradford, the leading-drummer, Jackie Houlden, Liam Chalmers, who played pipes and side drum, and the drummers Andy Gillespie and David Coll. Coll was specifically invited to teach bass and tenor drumming.¹³⁷

In 1989, Smith was voted out and Lars Erik Norstedt was appointed pipe-major. Smith¹³⁸ and Gjörling, and somewhat later Gustaf von Sivers too, left the CPB and joined the PD1RE. According to Ingrid Hoffsten, Norstedt brought new life into the band, and he also worked to make Scottish dancing a part of the pipe band's show. The band had close contacts with The Caledonian Dancers and they often performed together with the pipe band at engagements. The band and dancers developed a carefully planned stage show, and during the 1990s, they did several concert tours in Scandinavia, the Baltic Countries and in Brittany. The CPB has also competed several times in Scandinavia and a few times in Scotland, as well as in Belgium and Indonesia at the Jakarta Highland Gathering. The band was placed first in the Scandinavian championships, grade four, in 1989 and in 1993.¹³⁹

Ulf Schönberg, who had moved to Stockholm from Gothenburg, was appointed pipe-major in 1992,¹⁴⁰ and he was succeeded in 1996 by Krister Bergman. For some time in the mid 1990s, a number of dancers were in-

¹³⁷. Nordström, Marie, informal discussion.

¹³⁸. Smith, Mårten, letter to the CPB, Sept. 1989, Marie Nordström's files.

¹³⁹. *Caledonian Pipe Band – Stockholm at An International Highland Bagpipe Discography by Ulf Schönberg*, <http://www.ljudochbildarkivet.se/slba/bagd/bild/bagd.omsl.cpb.htm>, printed 20 Aug. 2002.

¹⁴⁰. Schönberg, Ulf, email, 13 Dec. 2002.

corporated into the band and a dance corps was formed, but in 1998, the band and the dance corps split up again due to disagreement regarding both financial issues and how to develop the activities of the organisation. When the CPB was disbanded in 1999 due to diminishing interest, a few players joined the PD1RE, whereas others stopped playing, among them Ingrid Hoffsten.

Malmö

*The Hamilton Pipes & Drums, Later The Griffin Pipes & Drums*¹⁴¹

Inge Willman (1931–2002), was probably the first person to take up Highland piping in Malmö. In his youth in the late 1940s, he had encountered a visiting Scottish pipe band marching down the street in Malmö, and he became fascinated by the sound and appearance of the pipes and drums. In the 1960s, he visited Scotland to buy clocks for his antique clock shop, and this time Willman also bought a set of pipes, which he brought home and hung on a wall.

Willman had not been thinking of starting a band, but when he watched The Thistle Pipe Band's performance in Swedish television in 1970, he realised that if they could start a pipe band in Stockholm he could try too. Willman got in touch with Per Colliander through Swedish television and Colliander advised him to buy a practice chanter and tutor books. Later, Willman got lessons from Colliander over the telephone.

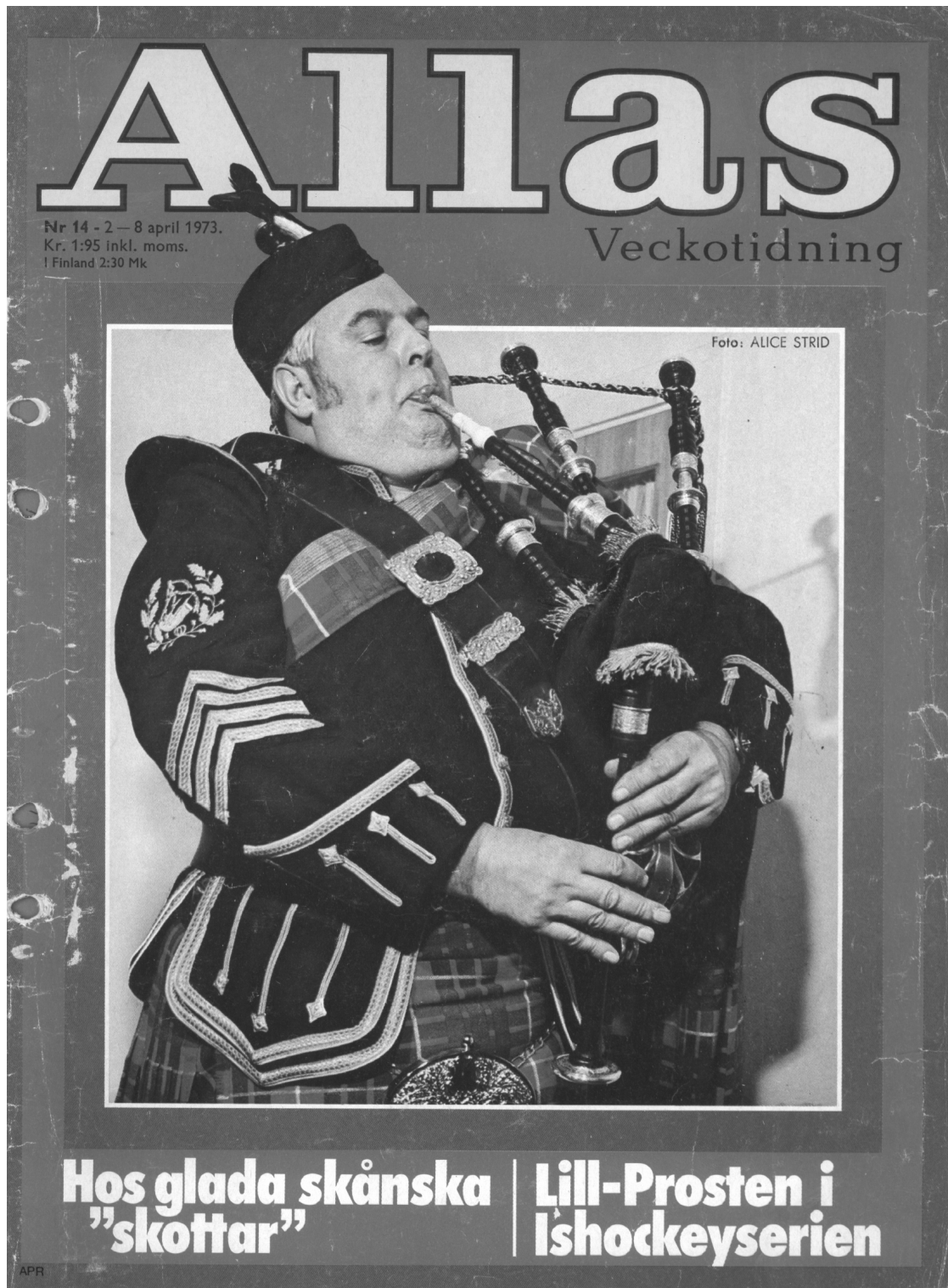
Willman started to play together with a few other enthusiasts in Malmö, among them Erik Henningsen, mentioned in connection with The St. Alban Pipe Band of Odense, and the cartoonist Ian Colbell. There were many strong wills in the early group and within short, the group split up. For some time around 1972, a group named The Griffin Pipe Band existed, led by Sten Hansson.¹⁴² The other group, with Inge Willman as pipe-major, formed The Hamilton Pipes & Drum in 1973. Christer Colliander, the brother of Per Colliander, served in the Swedish air force in the south of Sweden at the time, and he gave the group weekly tuition.



Fig. 3-14. Griffin
P & D Band Emblem

¹⁴¹ If not otherwise stated, the first part of this section is based on an interview with Inge Willman, 10 Aug. 1998.

¹⁴² According to copy of article by signature 'Kajsa', in Colliander Archives 1972. The date and name of the paper or magazine has not been noted on the copy.



Photograph 3-9. Inge Willman, pipe-major of The Hamilton Pipes & Drums on the front page of the weekly magazine *Allas*.

The Swedish text to the left under the picture refers to the article about the pipe band and translates as 'With happy Skånska "Scotsmen"', ['Skånska' is the Swedish adjective for people who come from the county of Skåne.]

Photo: Alice Strid, Allas, No. 14, 2-8 April 1973.

New members joined the pipe corps, among them Lars Holmstrand and Carl-Axel Roslund, and a drum corps was formed with Hans Bernekov and Ulf Adamsson among the early drummers. Bill Pardon from The Thistle Pipe Band was invited to Malmö to teach the drummers. Later the drum corps was developed by Anders Andersson and Bolennart Lindberg. Carl-Åke Blomstrand, another piping enthusiast, started to learn the pipes but became the drum-major of the band.

The initial band name and tartan of the band was Hamilton, chosen because of the historical links in Sweden from the 17th century with the Scottish clan Hamilton. According to Willman, the Scottish clan chief, the Duke of Hamilton granted his patronage to the band when Willman visited him at Lennoxlow Harris, east of Edinburgh.

Willman left the in the band in the mid 1970s, and Göran Lundin was appointed pipe-major. In 1978, the band changed its name to The Griffin Pipes & Drums, as the city arms of Malmö includes a griffin, and the following year, the Hamilton tartan was exchanged for the Black Stewart Tartan.¹⁴³ In 1974, Carl-Axel Roslund had left Malmö and moved to Stenungsund, north of Gothenburg, but he returned to Malmö, and in 1978 he was appointed pipe-major of The Griffin Pipes & Drums.¹⁴⁴ Roslund resigned in 1980,¹⁴⁵ and shortly after, he gave up piping altogether to pursue his political career. (In 2002, Roslund was voted into the Swedish parliament.)

From its formation until the late 1980s, the band competed regularly in the Scandinavian championships. The Griffin Pipes & Drums have had a great many performances in the south of Sweden and has also taken part in several music festivals in Germany.

Over the years, the members of the band have rented their own band rooms in various places in Malmö, where many social events have been held, culminating every year with the celebration of the fictitious ‘Alma Hamilton’. At this event the traditional band meal of ‘punch with pea and peas with punch’¹⁴⁶ is served.

¹⁴³. The Pipes and Drums of Sweden, *Säckpipor så in i Norden*, text on sleeve, LP, 1980, (‘Crossing Noise’, CNLP 101).

¹⁴⁴. Roslund, Carl-Axel, letter, 30 May 1978, to all Scandinavian pipe bands, MPD Archives.

¹⁴⁵. Roslund, Carl-Axel, letter, 22 Nov. 1980, to all Scandinavian pipe bands, MPD Archives.

¹⁴⁶. Swedish: ‘punsch med ärta och ärtor med punsch’. The meal is based on the Swedish traditional dish of yellow pea soup, served with hot Swedish arrack punch.

Together with The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, the band visited a college arranged by The Scottish Pipe Band Association in Glasgow, in 1978. Afterwards, a photograph of the two Swedish bands appeared on the front page of the associations magazine *The Pipe Band*, with the following text inside:

The photograph on our cover this issue of the Scandinavian Group who came to our College in Glasgow in November—The Gothenburg City Pipe Band and The Griffin Pipes & Drums—and this is an indication of the strong relationships, musical and social, which are developing across the North Sea.¹⁴⁷

In 1979, the two bands went to London together, where they had tuition from James Kirkpatrick.

Jörgen Fischer, who is also an accomplished player of the uilleann pipes,¹⁴⁸ was the band's pipe-major from 1981 until 1984, when he was succeeded by Sten Sjöholm. Since 1987, Åke Gullander has been the pipe-major of The Griffin Pipes & Drums. In the early 1990s, Christina Tomas (1965–2000) was appointed leading-drummer. She had started to play the tenor drum in the early 1980s, and later she learned to play both the side drum and the bagpipes. Her death in 2000 was a great loss to her family and the band.

During the 1990s, there have been few players in The Griffin Pipes & Drums. The band has not competed, but has continued as a performing band, sometimes with guest players from other Scandinavian bands to make up the numbers. Among the members today are some of the veterans, such as Göran Lundin, Gun Friberg and Anders Andersson, but in addition a few beginners.¹⁴⁹

Gothenburg

The Gothenburg City Pipe Band (GCPB)

In 1974, Carl-Axel Roslund from The Hamilton Pipes & Drums in Malmö, moved to Stenungsund north of Gothenburg. He took the initiative to start The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, which was formed in February, 1974.¹⁵⁰ Among the early members were Arne Boström, the piping pio-

¹⁴⁷. *The Pipe Band*, No. 6, Nov.–Dec. 1978, 'Commentary'. Thanks to Donald MacBride, Scotland, who presented me with this issue of *The Pipe Band*.

¹⁴⁸. Irish bellows blown bagpipe.

¹⁴⁹. Gullander, Åke, email, 21 Mar. 2003.

neer previously mentioned, Olle Fagrell (1923–1995) and Hasse Arvidsson.¹⁵¹ Fagrell was a drumming enthusiast with a long experience of Swedish march drumming, and he started to form the band's drum corps. Later, when the band had more drummers, Fagrell was appointed drum-major. The band's first drum-major was the British clock maker John Innes, with a background as a drum-major in the British army.

According to a newspaper article there were six girls among the early beginners,¹⁵² but none of them actually started to play in the band. Initially, The Gothenburg City Pipe Band had ambitions to become pipers and drummers to the king of Sweden, and in 1974 they were invited to play at King Carl XVI Gustav's royal tour of Sweden. The offer was declined though, as the band did not feel ready to perform in front of the king.¹⁵³ Eventually, the band got the opportunity to play to the king and queen at their visit to Gothenburg in November 1976.¹⁵⁴ The aspirations to be called the king's pipers and drummers were never fulfilled, though.



Fig. 3–15. GCPB
Band Emblem

The band decided to wear The Royal Stewart Tartan. Initially, the band used civilian green tweed jackets, but later, military style full dress uniforms were acquired.

Roslund proved to be a very enterprising band leader. In 1975, within little more than one year from its formation, the band entered its first competition at the Scandinavian championships in Stenungsund on the west coast of Sweden.¹⁵⁵ In addition, Roslund was the organiser of the event that year. Much effort was put into learning to play well and to get good tuition. In September, 1974, Paul Martin Holm, pipe-major of The Heather Pipes & Drums in Copenhagen, was invited to teach the pipers in Gothenburg.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Hansson, Björn, 'De vill starta Göteborgs första säckpipsorkester', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 4 Feb. 1974; 'Säckpipe-entusiasterna organiserar sig, Vill bli kungens blåsare', *Göteborgs-Posten* 28 Feb. 1974.

¹⁵¹ The author of this thesis was also one of the founding members of the band.

¹⁵² Hansson, Björn, 'Säckpipe-entusiasterna organiserar sig, Vill bli kungens blåsare', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 28 Feb. 1974.

¹⁵³ Hansson, Björn, 'Göteborgare blir mästerskapsvärdar men än är de inte kungens säckpipare', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 23 Sept. 1974.

¹⁵⁴ Forsström, Carol, 'Rapport från spelningen för kungen och drottningen den 4/11' in *Gothenburg City Pipe Band*, members' magazine, Dec, 1976; Leufstadius, Birgitta, 'Dom är kungens pipblåsare', *Göteborgs-Tidningen* 27 Nov. 1976.

¹⁵⁵ Scandinavian championships, programme, 31 May 1975.

In his endeavour to find suppliers of bagpipes and Highland dress Roslund wrote to a number of pipe and kilt makers in Scotland. One of these was the owner of Thistle Bagpipe Works, James Kirkpatrick, a pipe maker from Bonhill south of Loch Lomond.¹⁵⁷ Kirkpatrick (called Jimmy by everybody) not only offered to supply kilts and bagpipes, but also to teach piping for free to the Swedish pipers. In connection with the championships in 1975, Kirkpatrick was brought over to instruct The Gothenburg City Pipe Band. In December the same year, he was invited again together with the drum-sergeant of his band, David Good.¹⁵⁸ In June and July 1976, The GCPB organised a concert tour on the west coast of Sweden for The Loch Lomond and District Pipe Band, the juvenile band of which James Kirkpatrick was the pipe-major. They played at various places along the west coast of Sweden.¹⁵⁹

A quintet from The Gothenburg City Pipe Band took part in The Copenhagen Winter Competition in 1976. At the Scandinavian championships in 1977, again organised by Carl Axel Roslund, this time at Ödsmål on the west coast of Sweden The Gothenburg City Pipe Band was placed second in the grade four competition.¹⁶⁰ When Roslund moved back to Malmö in 1978, Hannu Lintunen took over as pipe-major in Gothenburg.

As mentioned, the GCPB went to Scotland for tuition together with The Griffin Pipes & Drums in 1978 and to London in 1979. In the late 1970s, the drum corps of the band had tuition from the Scottish drummer Robert Bruce.¹⁶¹ He was also a composer of pipe tunes and he wrote a tune for the band, 'The Gothenburg City Pipe Band March'.

During the 1980s, the band was quite stable with many players led by Carol Forsström, who succeeded Lintunen as pipe-major. They had their own practice rooms in central Gothenburg and did many performances in Gothenburg and around the west coast of Sweden, but did not take part in competitions. The GCPB had contacts with a Scottish grade four

¹⁵⁶ Hansson, Björn, 'Göteborgare blir mästerskapsvärdar men än är de inte kungens säckpipare', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 23 Sept. 1974.

¹⁵⁷ For a presentation of James Kirkpatrick see chapter six, page 247.

¹⁵⁸ *Bobuslänningen*, 'Säckpipefolk från Skottland "gästspelar" i Stenungsund', signature: B.M., 2 Dec. 1975; *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 'Skottar i stan!' signature: Lasse, 2 Dec. 1975.

¹⁵⁹ Loch Lomond & District Pipe Band, tour of the west coast of Sweden, summer 1976, retrospective participant observation.

¹⁶⁰ *Göteborgs-Posten*, 'Danmark tog hem slutsegern, Bäst i Norden på säckpipa', 31 May 1977.

¹⁶¹ The Pipes and Drums of Sweden, *Säckpipor så in i Norden*, text on sleeve, LP, 1980, ('Crossing Noise', CNLP 101).



Photograph 3–10. The Gothenburg City Pipe Band

Photo: MPD Archives, photographer unknown.

band, The Neilston & District Pipe Band located south of Glasgow, and the pipe-major, Iain MacDonald, visited the band in Gothenburg several times.

Due to low activity in the early 1990s, the band had to leave their own practice rooms,¹⁶² but their voluminous activity was still remembered by the neighbours almost ten years later.¹⁶³ During the 1990s and into the new millennium, the organisation has lived on, but not as a full band and with diminishing activity. Around 1992, Johnnie Nordlund, one of the GCPB most active pipers, left the band and restarted The Murray Pipes & Drums together with Mats d Hermansson. For some time, Rolf Littorin worked together with Hasse Arvidsson, David Holm and a few others to renew the interest in the GCPB, but with little result.¹⁶⁴

In the mid 1990s, the pipers in the GCPB were joined by Jimmie Dellbing who had been a drum-major in The Murray Pipes & Drums, in the early 1980s. At about the same time Dellbing started a group of pipers and drummers connected to the helicopter squadron at Säve in Gothen-

¹⁶² Littorin, Rolf, interview, 10 Feb. 2002

¹⁶³ Sandstig, Ola, 'livet på långgatorna', *Göteborgs-Posten*, 'Två Dagar', 7 Dec. 2002: 12.

¹⁶⁴ Littorin, Rolf, interview, 10 Feb. 2002

burg, and some of the members of the GCPB became involved with that group as well.

The Murray Pipes & Drums (of Gothenburg) (MPD)¹⁶⁵

The Murray Pipes & Drums was formed in March 1976, by three members of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, Mats D. Hermansson, who has been the band's pipe-major from the start, Peter Jakobsson, who played pipes, and Ola Ohlson who was a drummer.¹⁶⁶ They were joined by Martin Skarhall who was learning to play the pipes.

The idea to leave the recently established Gothenburg City Pipe Band and start a new group emerged due to a number of reasons. The members of the group were somewhat younger than the rest of the members in the GCPB, and they had formed close bonds within the old band as they met several times a week, practising and socialising. Their lives circled around piping and drumming and they were interested in trying their own ideas. The influence of James Kirkpatrick, the Scottish piping teacher mentioned earlier, played an important role too. He had made a great impact on the young piping and drumming enthusiasts and they held his teaching as a law, not to be violated. In a letter to Kirkpatrick the newly formed group wrote (almost in homage):

We intend to build up a pipe band with discipline and people interested in Scottish music and who are not afraid of hard work to achieve this, instead of sloppiness, lack of interest and booze. [...] We want the people of Sweden to look at pipe music as a work of art and not just to be looked upon and used as a gag.¹⁶⁷

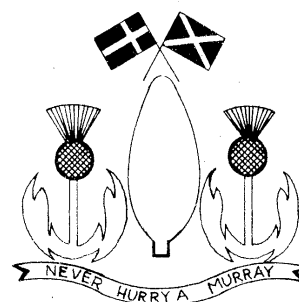


Fig. 3-16. MPD
Band Emblem

¹⁶⁵. As I was one of the initiators of this group and have been its musical leader since then, the text is influenced by my personal memories. To equal myself with other informants and persons described here, I refer to my 'historical I' in the third person, to mark a difference from the present I, the writer of this text. I have also attempted to support as much as possible of the text with written material from the extensive archives of The Murray Pipes & Drums.

¹⁶⁶. The Murray Pipes & Drums, the, minutes from general meeting, 6 March 1976, MPD Archives.

¹⁶⁷. Hermansson, Mats D., draft for letter to James Kirkpatrick, 12 Mar. 1976, MPD Archives

The members of the older band did not take it well that the four members left, and to some extent the two bands acted as if the other band did not exist. Still, the members of the two bands socialised now and then,¹⁶⁸ and in 1979, at the Gothenburg Tattoo, the two bands played jointly under the name The Pipes & Drums of Gothenburg;¹⁶⁹ the only performance the two bands ever did together with exception for events organised by The Pipes & Drums of Sweden. In 1978, Ola Ohlson stopped playing and he was succeeded as drum-sergeant by Ingemar Bengtsson.

James Kirkpatrick had explained that it was only years of patient practice that would make a good player, so the motto chosen for the band was: “Never Hurry a Murray”,¹⁷⁰ and indeed progress was slow. In the period 1976–1979, only a few new players were trained every year. From the start until the present day the band, following Kirkpatrick’s advice, has emphasised that meticulous attention should be paid to the basics of piping such as finger technique, phrasing and instrument maintenance, and many beginners have been scared off by this fastidious policy.

The name of the band was taken from the Murray of Atholl Tartan, which the group decided to wear in old colours. The 10th Duke of Atholl, the clan chief of the clan Murray, was asked by letter to become the patron of the band.¹⁷¹ The patronage, which was granted in March 1977,¹⁷² did not only give the band a moral right to wear the Murray of Atholl Tartan. If the group’s style of playing was legitimised by adhering to the strict teaching of James Kirkpatrick, the patronage of a real Scottish duke made the small group of Swedish enthusiasts feel that they to some extent had become part of living clan history.

Within the band there was also an interest in other aspects of Scottish culture, particularly those connected to the notion of romantic Scotland such as the celebration of Burns Night.¹⁷³ Some of the band members also engaged in Scottish dancing in The Gothenburg Branch of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society.

¹⁶⁸ Löfvendahl, Anders, ‘Kilt och säckpipa hyllade Burns’ in *Hänt i veckan* [Weekly magazine], Jan. 1977, photos from Burns Night Supper, 29 Jan. 1977, MPD Archives.

¹⁶⁹ Almqvist, Jonas, ‘Dags för Göteborgs Tattoo’, *Göteborgs-Posten*, 28 Aug. 1979.

¹⁷⁰ This was also an advertising slogan for British sweets named ‘Murray mints’.

¹⁷¹ Duke of Atholl, letter, 9 Mar. 1976, MPD Archives.

¹⁷² Duke of Atholl, letter, 9 Mar. 1977, MPD Archives.

¹⁷³ There is a tradition in Scotland to celebrate the birthday (25 Jan.) of Robert Burns, Scotland’s national poet. The festivities follow a ritual where a haggis is piped in and addressed by Burns’s poem ‘To a Haggis’ before it is duly ‘slaughtered’. Formal speeches are held and poems by Burns are read.

Members of the group had been taking part in Scandinavian solo competitions, but it was not until 1979, that the group had reached the magic number of six pipers and three drummers required to compete as a band. Later that summer, the band went on a trip to Scotland to attend a course at The Scottish Pipe Band Association,¹⁷⁴ and also to visit Blair Atholl, where the band made its first performance to the Duke of Atholl at his home Blair Castle. Some pipers also visited James Kirkpatrick at Bonhill. During a second trip to Scotland, in 1980, the whole band was taught for one week by Kirkpatrick.¹⁷⁵

In 1982, the band won the grade four competition at the Scandinavian championships in Slagelse. This success was repeated in 1983 in Helsingborg, where the band also won the marching and discipline competition. In June the same summer, the Duke of Atholl visited Gothenburg where the band played to him and saluted him with a cannon salvo in the town-square, Gustav Adolfs Torg (see *Photograph 3-11*).¹⁷⁶

After the summer of 1983, a number of members gradually left the band. A few of the remaining pipers wanted to increase the ambitions of the band, but others were not interested in spending more time on the band. The efforts had been concentrated to raise the standard of playing among the existing members, and little work had been done to educate new groups of beginners that could fill the vacancies. This became the end of the first phase of the band's existence.

The second phase of the history of the band circled around the four pipers who had wanted to increase the musical ambitions of the band. The group, consisting of Mats d Hermansson, Ulf Schönberg, Björn Ols-son and Sven Axelsson, worked more as a team than a traditional pipe band, and between 1984 and 1988 there was little interest in forming a full pipe band again. During this time, a group of four Highland dancers were connected to the group and the pipers and dancers did a number of performances together. Ulf Schönberg was one of the most creative forces within the group. He started his piping career in the band at the age of twelve in 1977¹⁷⁷ and soon proved to be a successful player and

¹⁷⁴. The Scottish Pipe Band Association (Now: The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association), letter, 20 June 1979, MPD Archives.

¹⁷⁵. Kirkpatrick, James, letters, 31 May [1980], 28 July [1980], regarding the visit and tuition, MPD Archives.

¹⁷⁶. The Duke of Atholl, letters, 18 Jan. 1983, 1 Mar. 1983, 1 April, 1983, 10 May 1983, 9 June 1983, 23 June 1983; MPD drafts & copies of letters, 2 Feb. 1983, 15 Mar. 1983, 23 May 1983, 28 July 1983, correspondence regarding the visit, MPD photo album, photographs, MPD Archives.

also a keen administrator. Among many other administrative tasks, he systematised the archives of the band, which have been of great value as a source for this thesis. Björn Olsson was working on a career as a singer at the opera in Gothenburg and later he became a professional singer of opera and musicals worldwide.

During these years there were no really keen drummers in the band and the group of pipers started to cooperate with different drummers from Denmark in connection with quintet competitions. The quintets produced by the group were increasingly becoming more avant-garde and the MPD got a reputation within the Scandinavian pipe band world of mixing a very traditional style of playing with unorthodox music and performances.¹⁷⁸ Through the cooperation with the Danish drummers the Swedish pipers acquired many friends and contacts in the Danish pipe band world.

In 1988, the pipers of The Murray Pipes & Drums, plus some of the older members who had stopped playing, competed in the Scandinavian championships in Svendborg, together with the only piper and the drum corps of Holbæk Pipe Band. That marked the end of the second phase of The Murray Pipes & Drums.

The third phase of the band's existence started at the beginning of 1992. At that time, just as in the MPD, there was very little activity in The Gothenburg City Pipe Band. One of its members, Johnnie Nordlund, made contact with Mats d Hermansson and they started to play together on a small scale. There were vague discussions of merging the two bands in Gothenburg, but it came to nothing. In the summer, Marie Nordström, a drummer in the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm joined the two pipers in Gothenburg. She started to form a drum corps in the MPD and was appointed drum-sergeant. Originally, Nordström had started her drumming career in Malmö in The Griffin Pipes & Drums, in 1980, and she was an experienced player of the bass and tenor drums. Sven Axelsson, who had been working for some time in Dublin, returned and started to play with the band again.

The group engaged in the twofold mission of taking up the experimental quintets at The Copenhagen Winter Competition and to find beginners in Gothenburg, so that the band could be restarted. Towards the end of the millennium, The Murray Pipes & Drums again had enough players to compete. At the Scandinavian championships in Copenhagen

¹⁷⁷. Schönberg, Ulf, email, 13 Dec. 2002.

¹⁷⁸. See chapter seven, page 302.



Photograph 3-11. The Murray Pipes & Drums with their patron His Grace the 10th Duke of Atholl at his visit to Gothenburg in 1983.

The duke in civilian dress.

Photo: MPD Archives, photographer unknown.

in 2001, the band was the first to win 'The Lochlann Memorial Cup' as the best grade four band in open grade. At present (2002), the band has a small but stable group of eleven players.

Smaller Groups in Sweden

There have been and still are a few smaller groups of pipers and drummers in Sweden. Some of these have existed over a longer time span whereas others have only survived for a short period. A few of these groups will be briefly mentioned here.

The Borås City Pipe Band was formed in 1978 in Borås situated about seventy kilometres west of Gothenburg.¹⁷⁹ Among the members were Ragnar Anderzon, Anders Näsström, Eva Medin and Anders Wägnerud. The band had close contacts with The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, and got tuition from Carl-Axel Roslund and Hannu Lintunen.¹⁸⁰ The pipers and drummers in Borås were involved in the activities of The Pipes & Drums of Sweden, and a massed bands parade for the Swedish bands was arranged in Borås in 1979¹⁸¹ as well as a Burns night supper in 1981.¹⁸² When The Griffin Pipes & Drums decided to change their tartan, The Borås City Pipe Band bought their old kilts and so came to wear the Hamilton tartan. The group's activity stopped in the mid 1980s.

Another group which only existed for a short time was Svenska säckpipeföreningen, formed in 1989 by a few pipers and one drummer from The Thistle Pipe Band, among them Daniel Lindgren and Hjalmar Eriksson.¹⁸³

Today, there is a small active group of pipers in Linköping, among them Hans-Erik Lundin with a background in The Gothenburg City Pipe Band and The Murray Pipes & Drums and Olle Hörfors, who previously played with the Thistle Pipe Band.

In the mid 1990s, a few individuals led by Jimmie Dellbing, who was active as a drum-major in The Murray Pipes & Drums around 1980, started a piping and drumming group connected to the Helicopter Squadron of

¹⁷⁹ Roslund, Carl-Axel, letter, 30 May 1978, to all Scandinavian pipe bands, MPD Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Näsström, Anders, 'Det rör på sig i Borås', in *The Pipes & Drums of Sweden*, members' magazine, Vol. 3. No. 3, Apr. 1980: 64.

¹⁸¹ Murray Pipes & Drums, the, photo album, Vol. 1, MPD Archives.

¹⁸² Blomstrand, Carl-Åke, signature: Charlie, 'Burns Night i Borås 1981', in *The Pipes & Drums of Sweden*, members' magazine, Vol. 4. No. 1, Feb. 1981: 6.

¹⁸³ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

the Swedish armed forces at Säve Airport in Gothenburg. The group has had close connections with members of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band and a few times pipers and drummers dressed in the uniform of the GCPB have performed under various names connected to the Helicopter Squadron.¹⁸⁴

In addition to these more regular groups, members of the established Swedish pipe bands have formed smaller temporary groups to compete or perform together.

Finland, Helsinki

The MacGregor Highlanders, Later The Helsinki Pipes & Drums¹⁸⁵

As mentioned above, The MacGregor Highlanders was started in Helsinki in 1991 on the initiative of the expatriate Scotsman John Hardie,¹⁸⁶ who actually got his first piping lessons in Finland from Jorma Katrama in the late 1980s. Among the other early members were Mauri Einola and Albert Lindqvist. In 1993, the group was joined by Sauli Savisalo, another piping enthusiast, and Manne Laukanen, with an education as a jazz and pop percussionist and a background as a professional percussionist. He became the band's first side drummer.

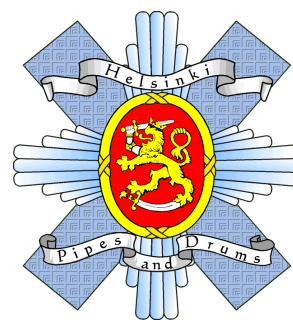


Fig. 3-17. Helsinki P & D Band Emblem

In 1994, Gustav Henriksson got piping tuition from John Hardie, and later the same year he became a member of the band. According to Henriksson, Hardie was very dominating in the group, and he was also very enterprising and goal oriented, pressing the band to develop. He found a number of engagements for the band including participation in a few television shows in 1995. For Hardie the band was more than a hobby, it was a major source of income.

¹⁸⁴. *Göteborgs-Posten*, 'DFDS Seaways', advert, 5 May 2001, the group is announced as 'Försvarmaktens Helikopterflottiljs Säckpipekår;' performance at DFDS Seaways, Frihamnen, Gothenburg, recorded field observation, 13 May 2001; *Göteborgs-Posten*, 'Femmanhuset, Nordstan', advert, 2001 (date unknown), the group is announced as 'Swedish Armed Forces Pipe Band'.

¹⁸⁵. If not otherwise stated this section builds on an interview with Henriksson, Gustav, 24 Apr. 1999 and the website *Helsinki Pipes and Drums*, <http://www.saunalathi.fi/~ucm/ehelpd1.htm>, printed 13 Mar. 2003.

¹⁸⁶. John Hardie used the artist name John MacGregor.

Through its website on the Internet, the band was invited to play at The Long Island Highland Games in New York in 1996. The travelling costs were sponsored by a Finnish firm. At this trip, Ulf Schönberg and Henrik Montgomery from the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, accompanied the Helsinki band. A few years earlier, Schönberg had heard about the band in Helsinki and had contacted John Hardie offering to help the establishing Finnish band. Together with the piper Krister Bergman and the drummer Henrik Montgomery, Schönberg had been invited to teach The MacGregor Highlanders.

In 1997, John Hardie moved to Tallinn in Estonia and Gustav Henriksson was appointed pipe-major in Helsinki. At this point, the band changed its name to The Helsinki Pipes & Drums and was formed as a non-profit organisation like other pipe bands in Scandinavia. The contacts with the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm continued and at the Scandinavian championships at Strängnäs in 1997, members from the two bands competed together as The 1997 Trans- Baltic Pipe Band.¹⁸⁷

In connection with the Scottish Highland Games World Championships, an athletic competition for strong men, held in Oulu in Finland in 1998, The Helsinki Pipes & Drums organised a combined Scandinavian pipe band of seventeen players from Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

In 2000, Gustav Henriksson moved to Stockholm and he was succeeded by Annukka Matilainen as pipe-major.

Norway, Oslo

The MacLeod Pipes & Drums, Later The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band (OCPB)¹⁸⁸

As mentioned in the section above about Åge Jonny Jørgensen, he stopped playing in 1979, but in the early 1990s, he took up his interest in piping again. In 1993, he went to Stockholm to see and hear the Scandinavian championships for pipes and drums. Several of the participants from Denmark and Sweden expressed the opinion that there ought to be an interest to form a pipe band in Norway. Jørgensen, who had failed to

¹⁸⁷ Scandinavian championships, programme, 7–8 June 1997.

¹⁸⁸ If not otherwise stated, this section builds on the following sources: Jørgensen, Åge Jonny, 'Mine (Sekkepipe-) memoarer', a sketch of Norwegian piping history received by mail 26 June 2000; Jørgensen, Åge Jonny, letters, 15 Mar. 1996 & 16 Oct. 1996; Jørgensen, Åge Jonny, interview 18 Jan. 2002; Robertson, Robert, interview, 20 Jan. 2002.

form a band in the 1970s, considered the idea again, but he was very sceptical, and he writes:

I knew the Norwegian mentality of this instrument. I did not really think it was possible, and I wanted to prove this to the Swedes and the Danes, that it was impossible to start a band in Oslo. Then I could say that I had tried, but that nobody had shown any real interest.¹⁸⁹

In the autumn 1994, Jørgensen advertised for persons interested in joining a pipe band, and a few individuals turned up, among them Stig Ulvad and Peter MacAllister Hall. After an article in a newspaper, *Aftenposten*, another ten persons turned up of whom some stayed on. Later, the group was joined by William (Bill) Carr and Terje Andersen and a few others. Åge Jonny Jørgensen had proved himself wrong, and in February 1996, the group formed the first Norwegian pipe band, The MacLeod Pipes & Drums of Norway.

Initially, Stig Ulvad was appointed pipe-major but the leadership of the group was soon taken over by Terje Andersen. In the spring 1996, the band was joined by Robert Robertson,¹⁹⁰ an experienced Scottish piper who lived in Oslo, whom Terje Andersen had met at The Caledonian Society of Norway. With his background as a piper in Scottish grade one bands, Robertson proved to be a great asset to the newly formed group. Among the early drummers were Robert C. Holt-Hansen and Sander Tufte.

The group's first engagement was in the summer 1996, at Pillargurifestivalen at Otta in Gudbrandsdalen, a festival commemorating the massacre in 1612 of a small force of Scottish mercenaries on their way to Sweden.¹⁹¹ Towards the autumn, the band in Oslo experienced major problems and there were quarrels about both economical issues and how the group should develop its playing. Some members were not satisfied with Terje Andersen's leadership, and a few members decided to leave the band. In the winter, The MacLeod Pipes & Drums were disbanded.

Some of the players continued to meet and play together, but now without Terje Andersen who had left the group. In February 1997, Robert

¹⁸⁹ Jørgensen, Åge Jonny, letter & sketch, 26 June 2000, original Norwegian text: "Jeg kjente den norske mentaliteten til instrumentet. Jeg trodde egentlig ikke at det skulle være mulig, og dette ville jeg også bevise for svenskerne og danskerne at det var umulig å få til noe korps i Oslo. Da kunne jeg si at jeg hadde forsøkt, men at ingen egentlig hadde vist interesse for det."

¹⁹⁰ For a short presentation of Robert Robertson see chapter six, page 249.

¹⁹¹ See chapter two, page 53.

Robertson returned to Oslo after having spent a few months in Scotland. He was appointed pipe-major of the group, which now took the name The Oslo & District Caledonian Pipe Band (later changed to The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band). The band decided to wear the Robertson Tartan. Among the other players were Åge Jonny Jørgensen, Stig Ulvad, William Carr and Sander Tufte.

Gradually, the OCPB has been joined by more players, some of whom have been taught within the band. A difference in comparison to other Scandinavian bands is that there are more non-Scandinavian players in the OCPB, among them some expatriate Scotsmen, an Australian and a Frenchman.

A few times, the OCPB has played together with Hans Majestet Kongens Gardes Musikkorps (The Band of His Majesty's Guard), at one occasion to prominent guests including His Majesty King Harald. On a few tracks on the CD *Amazing King's Guard*,¹⁹² the pipe band plays together with this military band.¹⁹³

The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band has not competed in the Scandinavian championships, but a quintet from the band took part in The Copenhagen Winter Competition in 2002. According to Robert Robertson, the aim of the band now is to increase the standard of playing so that the band can start to compete and meet other Scandinavian bands.

The Scandinavian Pipe Band Community – A Few Remarks

The Scandinavian piping and drumming community started out with a few strong individuals. Some of them kept playing and gathered other enthusiasts around them to form bands. Often, conflicting strong minds led to the splitting up of already small groups and the formation of new groups of which some became bands. Generally, groups have formed in densely populated urban areas, at first in the capitals and then in other major cities. This happened in Denmark as well, but on Sjælland a few bands were formed in smaller towns within a short travelling distance from Copenhagen. Another factor, which separates the growth of pipe bands in Denmark from the rest of Scandinavia, is the tradition of bands of drummers and flute players within the youth organisations (FDF for boys and FPF for girls) related to the Boys' Brigade in Scotland. In his ar-

¹⁹² The Band of His Majesty's Guard 1998, *Amazing King's Guard*, CD, 1999, (NGMF99)

¹⁹³ *Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band*: <http://home.no.net/ocpb/>, printed 3 July 2002.

ticle about Scottish pipe bands in Scandinavia Ulf Schönberg writes that in Denmark:

There is a tradition for marching bands which makes it natural for every small village to have several *boys'* and *girls' bands*. Maybe, it has not been so unnatural for Danes to start playing in a pipe band instead, only more exciting and exotic.¹⁹⁴

In fact, several of the Danish pipe bands have close connections to the FDF, and many pipe band drummers in Denmark have a background as members of an FDF drum corps.

The majority of players in Scandinavia since the start of the first pipe bands thirty-five years ago have been male. The female players I have been talking to have generally expressed that they feel that they are on equal terms with the male players within the Scandinavian bands. A major exception is the fact that two bands in Stockholm with common roots did not welcome female members from their start and well into the 1990s.

The general audience has a picture of a piper as a Scottish male, but the response to female players is almost exclusively that of a positive surprise. The most outspoken prejudice against female players have come from a few invited Scottish adjudicators, with comments like “good looking drum corps” on the judges’ sheets in a competition where there were two female drummers in the band.

There are less female players in Sweden than in Denmark, and this is not only the case in Stockholm but also in Malmö and Gothenburg, where female players have always been welcome. Again, one explanation is the Danish FDF/FPF tradition which encourages both girls and boys to engage in marching bands. A number of female players in Denmark have a background in this youth organisation.

The ages of the players in the Scandinavian piping and drumming community ranges from children to pensioners. Many of the pioneers were in their late teens or early twenties when they started to play in the 1960s and 70s, but today, children, teenagers, young adults as well as middle aged persons turn up for beginners’ courses.

¹⁹⁴ Schönberg, 1990: 345, original Swedish text: “Där finns en tradition för marschorkestrar som gör det självklart för minsta lilla danska by att hålla sig med flera *drenge-* och *pige-garden*. Kanske har det därför inte förefallit så onaturligt för danskar att i stället börja spela i ett säckpipeband, bara litet mer spännande och exotiskt.” (Italics as in original text.)

In Denmark and Sweden groups of enthusiasts playing regularly together were formed in the mid 1960s, but it was not until the 1990s that regular groups were formed in Finland and Norway. One explanation is that the first enthusiasts, Jorma Katrama in Helsinki and Terje Andersen in Oslo were not personally interested in forming bands, but that does not account for the fact that there were few other early enthusiasts?

As mentioned, Åge Jonny Jørgensen tried to form a band in Oslo in the 1970s, but according to himself, he did not succeed because of “the Norwegian mentality of this instrument.”¹⁹⁵ This indicates that the idea of playing an instrument strongly connected to another country was seen as more foreign in Norway than in Denmark or Sweden, at least in the 1970s. In Norway there is a tradition of marching youth bands similar to that in Denmark, but these have not taken an interest in Scottish piping and drumming like the Danish youth bands.

Possibly the situation is similar in Finland with piping and drumming seen as something very exotic and foreign. According to Gustav Henriksson from Helsinki:

Nobody identifies with this as a hobby or way of life. [...] Probably they think that you are quite strange and very few can imagine themselves getting involved.¹⁹⁶

I will return to the activities and development in the Scandinavian pipe bands in chapter seven, but before that I will give a brief background of Scandinavian society in chapter four, consider the pioneers and their interest in chapter five and discuss how they actually learned to play in chapter six.

¹⁹⁵. See quotation on page 158.

¹⁹⁶. Henriksson, Gustav, interview, 27 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Swedish quotation: “Ingen identifierar sig med det här som en hobby eller livsstil. [...] De tycker nog att man är ganska konstig och väldigt få kan själv tänka sig börja.”

4 The Cultural Context in Which Scandinavian Pipe Bands Were Formed

And surely you think all the small cosy traditions are excellent as they are? Isn't that true? Traditions are only like icing on the indigestible cake. If we can only palm off a lot of good traditions on all naive persons they will forget that everything sucks. There are sexual, economical and administrative traditions. Theatre, with only one cause: people shouldn't think for themselves!¹

Leif Panduro, 1958

Writing about continuity, change and stability in the analysis of history, Kevin Korsyn points out that:

One assumption that historians rely on to engineer continuity is the idea of a stable, enduring background against which change takes place. This strategy neutralizes and domesticates change by positing a realm of stability as a balance to the world of historical contingency.²

The Scottish pipe band culture was not imported and let loose in a stable unchanging Scandinavian culture. The process of bringing Scottish piping and drumming to Scandinavia emerged and developed in interplay with a changing context within Scandinavia, to a great extent in a dialectic relationship with the genre in Scotland and its changing context, but also in the wider global changing context of the modern world. The emergence of a Scandinavian pipe band culture can indeed be termed a marginal event from a general cultural perspective. It is therefore of particular interest to focus on the individuals involved in learning to play the music. They were the most important driving force in the formation of Scandi-

¹ Panduro, 1984. Original Swedish text (translated from Danish by Nenne Runsten): "Och du tycker säkert att alla de små rara traditonerna är utmärkta som de är? Inte sant? Traditioner är glasyr på den svårsmälta tårtan. Om vi bara kan pracka på alla naiva människor en massa bra traditioner så glömmmer de att allting är åt helvete. Det finns sexuella traditioner, ekonomiska och administrativa. Teater, som bara har ett ändamål: folk skall låta bli att tänka själva!"

² Korsyn, 1999: 65

navian pipe bands. These keen pioneers often creating their personal identities through their engagement in piping or drumming will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Even Ruud writes that “The formation of identity does always take place within a certain social, historical and cultural context.”³ In this chapter I will focus on some traits of the context in which the pioneers of Scandinavian piping and drumming acted.

Some Aspects of Post II World War Western Society

The post World War II period was one of great and extremely rapid change in many fields in society. Apart from economical and industrial growth, this period saw the growth of youth culture, an increase and a changed conception of leisure time because of shorter working hours and longer holidays as well as an increase in travelling and tourism. Maybe, more than anything, the growth and impact of mass media changed the world leading to what Anthony Giddens terms “the dialectic interplay of the local and the global”.⁴ Writing about music and identity in the 1960s, Even Ruud points out that:

Because this was the sixties with the Vietnam War, the cold war and an emerging post colonialism. The sixties was indeed a time when norms were set free, or when identity was set free, as the German culture scholar Thomas Ziehe has pointed out. [Reference to Ziehe 1982]. Institutions such as the family, marriage, the church, housing and eating habits were questioned.⁵

The new generation to a lesser extent followed in the footsteps of earlier generations. According to Anthony Giddens, the concept of life style acquires new significance in the world of modernity. Choices of life style has to be made by each individual in the creation of a personal identity

³ Ruud, 1997: 19, original Norwegian text: “Identitetsdannelsen foregår alltid innenfor en bestemt sosial, historisk og kulturell kontekst.”

⁴ Giddens, 1991: 5

⁵ Ruud, 1997: 31, original Norwegian text: “For dette var sekstiårene med Vietnamkrig, kald krig og gryende postkolonialisering. Sekstitallet var nettopp en tid hvor normer ble frisatt, eller hvor identitet ble frisatt, som den tyske kulturteoretikern Thomas Ziehe har bemerket. [Reference to Ziehe 1982] Det ble stilt spørsmål ved institusjoner som familie og ekteskap, kirken, ved boformer og matvaner. (Ziehe, Thomas, 1982: ‘Om narcissismens sårbarhet. Kulturelle frisættingsprocessers psykiske nedslag’, in Bjerg, Jens og Elle, Birgitte (eds.), *Ungdom, Socialisation og narcissisme*, Copenhagen: Unge pædagoger.

including everything from housing and eating habits to musical preferences. Modernity offers more freedom and possibilities at the expense of safety and “introduces risks which previous generations have not had to face.”⁶ Giddens also points out that:

Modernity, it might be said, breaks down the protective framework of the small community and of tradition, replacing these with much larger, impersonal organisations.⁷

The realisation of self-identity by means of life style choices does not exclude standardising influences of other types than tradition. A typical example being commodification, where:

[T]he project of the self becomes translated into one of the possession of desired goods and the pursuit of artificially framed styles of life. [...] The consumption of ever-novel goods becomes in some part a substitute for the genuine development of self; appearance replaces essence as the visible signs of successful consumption come actually to outweigh the use-values of the goods and services in question themselves.⁸

The end of the 1960s saw the start of several protest movements as a reaction to the unreflecting exploitation of society, nature and human resources. Several of these could be described as having neo-Rousseauian qualities, a second round of the ‘back to nature’ movement, a movement partly searching for a lost, more humane, safer society with traces in tradition. However, these protest movements of the late 1960s and early 70s, although looking back, were more radical than conservative. The folk music revival was one of these movements.

The Folk Music Revival

The end of the 1960s saw the start of an increasing interest in folk music in many Western countries. In his article about Scottish Scandinavian pipe bands, Ulf Schönberg mentions that the folk music revival might have helped increase the number of Scandinavian beginners interested in learning to play the Scottish pipes or drums. This in spite of the military connotations of pipe bands, not quite in line with the revivalists’ concep-

⁶ Giddens, 1991: 4

⁷ Giddens, 1991: 33

⁸ Giddens, 1991: 198

tion of folk music. On the other hand, Schönberg points out, the folk music revival did probably not have any major impact on the growing interest for piping and drumming in Scandinavia, and he goes on:

Instead a strange collection of individuals gradually emerges, enthusiastic originals with a copious desire to assert themselves and make themselves known and with a wish to create a small personal world.⁹

In chapter five, I will return to these colourful pioneers of the emerging Scandinavian piping and drumming community and explore their interests further, but first I will discuss a few traits that the new Scandinavian pipe band scene actually shared with the folk music revival, as well as a few fundamental differences.

The folk music revival was an international movement, and according to Märta Ramsten:

This international revival does not only have many ideological, political and socio-cultural values in common, but also common musical means of expression – the drone-“sound” cultivated in many countries being one example.¹⁰

In Sweden, the revival could be considered a part of *the music movement* an alternative, anti-commercial movement emerging in the late 1960s.¹¹ Under the parole, ‘play yourself’, the movement advocated that ‘ordinary’ people should take part in and take control over music and music making in opposition to mass produced commercial music. The major idea was to play actively not to produce professionally sounding music. Emphasis was put on participation and understanding of music by ordinary people. Lars Lilliestam points out that although the music was called progressive it did not imply that new and progressive styles of playing was created but alluded to the leftist political overtones of the movement.¹²

In his analysis, from a leftist point of view, of the music movement Johan Fornäs terms it a movement against the established bourgeois cul-

⁹ Schönberg, 1990: 344–345, original Swedish text: “Mer och mer framträder istället en märklig samling människor, entusiastiska original med ett ovanligt stort behov av att hävda sig och visa upp sig, en vilja att skapa en egen liten värld.”

¹⁰ Ramsten, 1994: 297, original Swedish text: “Denna internationella revival har inte bara många gemensamma ideologiska, politiska och sociokulturella värderingar, utan också gemensamma musikaliska uttrycksmedel – bordun-”soundet” som odlas i många länder är ett sådant exempel.”

¹¹ Nationalencyklopedin, 1994, Vol. 13: 522, article: ‘musikrörelsen’.

¹² Lilliestam, 1998: 103

ture. A culture formed by the capitalist modes of production, characterised by divisions such as private–public, work–leisure time, production–socialisation and culture–non-culture, where a majority of people have little possibilities to express themselves.¹³ Fornäs explains the formation and strength of the Swedish music movement as a result of a weak interest from the Swedish record industry for Swedish rock music in the mid 1960s. This left a gap in the Swedish bourgeois popular music culture. In a growing left wing political climate among young people there was a demand for a domestic rock music, building on their own ideology, with texts in Swedish. The gap in the established popular music culture paved the way for the success of the music movement.¹⁴

Although this movement predominantly involved popular music, it also encompassed folk music. According to Jan Ling:

In their search for an alternative to the music of international commercialism and upper class art music, some of these young people began to turn their interest towards folk music. Here they met other groups of people who also sought alternatives, those who campaigned for home-grown bio-dynamic vegetarianism or similar forms of neo-Rousseauian “back to nature” ideology, for example. The reaction against the establishment included a form of “anti-professionalism”, which led some to go so far as to refuse to tune their guitars, so as to sound as amateur and “folky” as possible. Such reactions to the art music of the concert platform and to the music of international entertainment led people to seek music with *proletarian* roots.¹⁵

Many groups formed, representing a variety of genres and styles of both popular music and folk music. One aim of the movement was to break up established genres and create new constellations.¹⁶

Märta Ramsten attributes “the ‘ideology’ of the 1970s, with alternative lifestyles and new attitudes to the roles of men and women in society”, as the major reason for the ‘generation shift’ of folk music.¹⁷ The existing Swedish folk music institutions, often with somewhat older members, had a conservative conception of folk music. The new generation of folk musicians ranged from purists who searched for an archaic sound to radicals

¹³ Fornäs, 1979: 35

¹⁴ Fornäs: 1979: 54–56

¹⁵ Kjellström et al., 1985: 179, (Original quotation by Jan Ling in his article: ‘Folkmusik – en brygd’, in *Fataburen*, 1979.)

¹⁶ Ramsten, 1994: 298

¹⁷ Ramsten, 1985: 196

who mixed folk music with traits from other genres such as jazz, rock and non-Western folk music. In spite of the variety of styles they all seemed to share a common basic repertoire of songs, tunes and styles of playing rooted in music collected and canonised by previous generations of folk musicians and scholars.¹⁸

Around the 1970s, not only the number of people interested in folk music increased, but it also spread to new geographical areas as well as to new social groups. For instance, folk music became more popular in urban areas. One explanation for this phenomenon was the support of mass media, with an increasing number of newspaper articles and programmes in television and radio about folk music.

Also, folk musicians were very industrious at organising themselves, which helped to stabilise and further the interest in folk music. Fiddlers' clubs¹⁹ are one example of this type of folk music organisation in Sweden. Gunnar Ternhag points out as remarkable the concentration of newly formed groups in the period ranging from the end of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s.²⁰ According to Dan Lundberg and Gunnar Ternhag, all the organised work to promote folk music in folk music clubs, folk dance clubs, at folk music competitions and meetings as well as the ideological backing of their activities are usually summarised in the Swedish concept 'spelmansrörelsen' or freely translated, 'the folk musicians' movement'.²¹

The increasing interest in folk music also led to a development of the technical playing style of the music. One explanation for this was the expansion of the Swedish municipal music schools,²² which, although seldom teaching folk music, supplied a number of children with instrumental playing skills and an increased understanding of music reading. Furthermore, the folk music revival brought on an increasing number of folk music courses, typically held at weekends and during the summer.

Another aspect of the folk music revival was the increased interest in amateur instrument building. Before the revival, the traditions of instrument making were often passed on locally or within families. Due to the increased interest in the 1970s, many amateur instrument building courses were held in Sweden. Birgit Kjellström points out that "the main sourc-

¹⁸ Ramsten, 1994: 298–301 in Jonson & Åstrand (ed.).

¹⁹ Swedish: spelmanslag.

²⁰ Ternhag, 1985: 189

²¹ Lundberg & Ternhag, 1996: 82

²² Swedish: Kommunala musikskolan.

es of inspiration were active players, and players who made their own instruments.”²³

Indigenous Nordic Bagpipe Traditions & the Revival of the Swedish Bagpipe

The book about bagpipes in the Nordic countries by Per-Ulf Allmo,²⁴ including articles by a number of other authors, is a comprehensive study of bagpipe traditions in the various Nordic countries. There are no present living indigenous bagpipe traditions in Denmark, Finland or Norway. There is evidence that bagpipes were played in Denmark from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. A number of documents indicate that some of the pipers were not Danish but came from eastern Europe. A few preserved pipes (that might have been played with bags) dated to the eleventh century as well as a number of church paintings, from the late middle ages, depicting bagpipes, indicate that bagpipes might have been played in Denmark before 1500.²⁵

The historic evidence of bagpipes in Finland is very scarce but there are a few older references indicating a limited use of the instrument in parts of Finland.²⁶ In Norway the situation is similar with few historic references to bagpipes, but with a possibility that bagpipes might have been played in parts of Norway.²⁷

Per-Ulf Allmo traces the Swedish bagpipe tradition to medieval times, possibly earlier, and there is evidence that bagpipes were played in Sweden from the sixteenth century and onwards. Early sources indicate that the instrument was played in bourgeois environments in cities, but the instrument was also used among peasants, with a concentration of sources from parts of southern Sweden. According to Allmo, the popularity of the bagpipe in Sweden started to diminish around the mid eighteenth century, and a hundred years later almost no interest remained. An exception was the county of Dalecarlia where the use of the bagpipe rather seems to have increased from the mid eighteenth century and survived into the twentieth century.²⁸

²³ Kjellström 1985: 203–208 (quotation on page 208).

²⁴ Allmo, 1990

²⁵ Munch-Pedersen, 1990: 197–236

²⁶ Allmo, 1990: 283–294

²⁷ Berg, 1990: 309–315

²⁸ Allmo, 1990: 47–77

The Swedish ethnologist Mats Rehnberg had an interest in folk music, and during field work in Dalecarlia he had heard about a Swedish bagpipe tradition there. Later, he was involved in the evacuation of the collections of Nordiska museet in 1939, and in one of the boxes of the museum he found a number of old bagpipes. His interest grew, and he started to work on a thesis about the Swedish bagpipe. During his work he got in touch with the last known Swedish piper in the 'old' Dalecarlian tradition, Gudmunds Nils, who died in 1949.²⁹ Rehnberg's licentiate's dissertation³⁰ about the Swedish bagpipe was published in 1943, but at the time of its publication, the thesis was not given much attention.³¹

Largely due to Rehnberg's thesis, a few attempts to revive the tradition were made in the following decades, but during the folk music revival in the 1970s, the interest in the Swedish bagpipe soared. According to Allmo:

The turning point for the bagpipe in Sweden was when Leif Eriksson, who was then a saw mill worker, together with the folk musician Per Gudmundson and encouraged by the curator of Dalarnas museum, Gunnar Ternhag, managed to develop a working model. The achievement was also perfectly timed; during the later part of the green folk music movement of the seventies.³²

Today, variants largely modelled on the revived Dalecarlian bagpipe³³ are played in most parts of Sweden, but with a concentration of players in bigger cities and in Dalecarlia.³⁴ The Dalecarlian bagpipe has become *the* Swedish bagpipe, although other variants have existed in Sweden.³⁵ In chapter two, I suggested that the Highland bagpipe has 'colonised' the bagpipe concept worldwide, and similarly, from the 1970s, the Dalecarlian bagpipe, to some extent, has monopolized the Swedish bagpipe concept.

²⁹ Allmo, 1999: 159

³⁰ Rehnberg, 1943

³¹ Ronström, 1990: 145–152

³² Allmo, 1990: 155, original Swedish text: "Vändpunkten för säckpipan i Sverige kom när dåvarande sågverksarbetaren Leif Eriksson tillsammans med spelmannen Per Gudmundsson och under uppmuntran av Dalarnas museums intendent Gunnar Ternhag lyckades få fram en allmänt fungerande modell. Insatsen låg också rätt i tiden; under senare delen av sjuttioalets gröna folkmusikvåg."

³³ Basically, a one droned low pressure 'small pipe' with single beating reeds in both chanter and drone.

³⁴ Boström, 1997: 11

³⁵ Allmo, 1990: 415

On the other hand, players of the Swedish bagpipe also have to relate to the common view that the bagpipe is a Scottish instrument. In his essay about three Swedish pipers, Mathias Boström points out that:

For OG [Olle Gällmo, one of the informants (author's remark)] the Swedishness of the bagpipe has a *contrastive* meaning. The Swedishness becomes important because it is *not* Scottish. He tells that the Swedish model is probably older to make clear that the Swedish bagpipe cannot be an offspring of the Scottish bagpipe.³⁶

Players of the Swedish pipes are also asked by audiences to play tunes typically associated with the Highland bagpipe, such as the 'Amazing Grace'.³⁷ The Swedish pipers have nothing against Highland piping as such, but are opposed to its strong position in the minds of people, or as Boström expresses it:

The struggle [among the Swedish pipers] against the hegemonic position of the Scottish bagpipe in the minds of Swedes is evident.³⁸

The revival of the Swedish bagpipe and the expansion of the Scottish pipe band culture in Scandinavia occurred at about the same time, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As Ulf Schönberg has pointed out, the growing interest for Highland piping on the one hand and the revival of the Swedish indigenous bagpipe on the other hand were not connected.³⁹ There are a few Scandinavian Highland pipers who also own a set of Swedish pipes, but over the years there has been little contact between players of the Swedish bagpipe and players of the Great Highland Bagpipe in Sweden.⁴⁰ Probably, the explanation is that the more folk music oriented tradition of the Swedish bagpipe and the formal elitist tradition of Highland

³⁶ Boström, 1997: 28, original Swedish text: "Säckpipans svenskhet har hos OG en *kontrastiv* betydelse. Det är på grund av att den *inte* är skotsk som svenskheten blir betydelsefull. Det är för att förtydliga att den svenska säckpipan inte kan vara en avknoppning från den skotska som han berättar att den svenska modellen antagligen är äldre." (Italics as in original text.)

³⁷ Boström, 1997: 39

³⁸ Boström, 1977: 47, original Swedish text: "Kampen mot den hegemoniska ställning den skotska säckpipan intar i svenskars medvetande framträder klart."

³⁹ Schönberg, 1990: 339

⁴⁰ In the late 1970s, I was approached by Leif Eriksson regarding how Scottish pipers made their bags tight and the construction of the valve on the Highland pipe. This is about the only direct contact I have had with the early revivalist Swedish piping community.

piping differ so materially that they have appealed to individuals with different interests.

The Formation of Scandinavian Pipe Bands & the Folk Music Revival

The formation of Scandinavian pipe bands, by the end of the 1960s, shared a number of traits with the folk musical revival and the Swedish music movement. The Highland bagpipe, indeed a drone instrument, with its strong romantic Highland history was in line with the neo-Rousseauian ideals, prevalent around 1970. The first Scandinavian pioneers dedicated their lives to learn to play the Scottish pipes and drums themselves. The newly formed bands were organised as non-profit organisations and fitted well into the conception of non-commercial music and movements. The tuition of beginners was often organised as evening courses and the bands started to organise weekend courses.

The establishment of a Scottish piping culture in Scandinavia included radical as well as conservative aspects, in a context where folk music became increasingly popular with a younger generation, in this case in urban areas. Importing Scottish piping and drumming was, indeed, radical in comparison to taking up traditional Swedish or Danish folk music. It was also well in line with the new interest in mixing traditional folk music with other genres and the growing interest in the folk music of foreign cultures.

On the other hand, the general idea among the pioneers of piping and drumming was that the Scottish music and culture imported should be purely Scottish. Everything from instruments and dress to the playing styles and performance practice should be Scottish down to the tiniest detail. Many of the early Scandinavian players even acquired a Scottish accent when speaking English.⁴¹

With one or two exceptions there has never been any interest in amateur instrument making among Scandinavian players of the Highland bagpipe. This is in accordance with the Scottish tradition, where pipes and accessories, such as reeds, are supplied by professional manufacturers. In the 1980s, a few attempts were made to make reeds by Stig Bang Mortensen and one set of drones was made by Jeanot Bouhadana in Copenhagen. It was not until the end of the 1990s, that Rolf Littorin at On-

⁴¹ It is of course easy to pick up a bit of an accent when you tend to talk with people from a particular area which you like to visit often.

sala, south of Gothenburg, engaged in more professional making of Highland bagpipes. I will return to that topic in chapter seven.⁴² Among players of the indigenous Swedish smallpipes the situation is quite different. In a survey of 212 Swedish pipers in 1995, it was found that 16% had made their own set of pipes.⁴³

Regarding dress, initially the general idea was that everything should be produced in Scotland, but in many bands items of uniforms have been home made by the Scandinavian musicians themselves due to lack of funding. In some bands, such as the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, there was also a direct interest in the actual making of traditional Highland dress. Generally speaking, though, the Scandinavian pioneers had a purist view of the culture they were engaging in. The Scottish piping and drumming tradition in itself was, of course, already extremely traditional and conservative. In fact, the genre of Scottish pipe band music was an integrated part of what David Cannadine, writing about the concept of the British monarchy in the 1950s, terms as “the ritual of the British monarchy [...] a unique expression of continuity in a period of unprecedented change”,⁴⁴ a concept consciously constructed, developed and marketed by British politicians from the end of the nineteenth century. This notion of good old British tradition as the tradition per se, was well established in many societies of the world, including Scandinavia.

The strong and strict playing tradition of piping and drumming, including its military connections, was not at all in line with the softer folk ideals of the revivalists. Scottish piping and drumming could rather be described as an elitist tradition, and, in fact, that is what it remained in many Scandinavian bands. One of the major charms of this music for the pioneers was its elitist, excluding rather than including, aspects. I will expand on that topic in the following chapters. Consequently, the Scandinavian pipe band culture in general could not be said to adhere to the leftist ideals of the folk music revival, maybe with the exception of the non-profit organisation of the bands.

Piping & Drumming as the Exotic, Positive ‘other’

The concept acculturation is often used to describe processes where two different cultures meet and affect each other. The imported Scottish pip-

⁴² See ‘Scandinavian Highland Bagpipe Making’ on page 300.

⁴³ Boström, 1997: 13

⁴⁴ Cannadine, 1992: 139

ing and drumming culture is in effect too small to really make any significant impact on Scandinavian society. The establishment of a pipe band culture was a marginal event in the Scandinavian culture in general. On the other hand it could be argued that the Scandinavian culture hardly has affected the imported pipe band culture either, at least regarding the music and its performance practice. A concept that might better describe this situation is incorporation, which in this case means the incorporation in Scandinavian society of a small marginal part of a foreign culture, not materially affecting the domestic culture.⁴⁵

As suggested in chapter two, the concept of the bagpipe as an icon of a romantic Scotland had already been implanted in Scandinavia during the ninetieth century, but in the twentieth century world of high modernity with its increasing emphasis on personal identity choices, a few individuals found a new use of the genre of Highland piping. As I will argue in the following chapters, a major reason for bringing this colourful culture, with its peacock aesthetics, to Scandinavia was its excellent qualities for representing the marginal, exotic other. This was first realised by a few pioneers, maybe unconsciously, but soon other actors employing pipers, realised that the music could be used to signal not only the Scottish, but also the exotic other.

⁴⁵ Nationalencyklopedin, 1994, Vol. 1: 36, article: 'ackulturation'.

III From Icon to Identity

5 The Imaginary Pipe Band Searching an Identity in the Icon but Finding it in the Music Beyond the Icon

...you've got to get obsessed and stay obsessed. You have to keep passing the open windows.¹

John Irving

The first Scandinavians taking an active interest in learning to play the Great Highland Bagpipe from the 1950s and onwards acquired an interest in a genre of music that was foreign to their own local culture. At the same time, Scottish piping, together with many other non-mainstream genres, occupied a marginal position in the general Western culture as manifested in mass media. In the case of the Great Highland Bagpipe and its genre of music this position was particularly well defined due to their strong connotations as icons of Scotland. There had been a few visits of Scottish pipers and pipe bands to Scandinavia, but the general influence of these visits compared to that of mass media is likely to have been limited.

Here the keen pioneers of the Scandinavian pipe band world will be discussed. Without this bunch of headstrong individuals who succeeded (and succeed) in realising their dream to play the instruments of a small foreign culture, a Scottish pipe band culture would never have emerged and developed in Scandinavia. What can be said about their reasons for taking up piping or drumming? How did they acquire the urge to play these 'exotic' instruments and wear the colourful Victorianised dress with origins in the Scottish Highlands? What was and is the aim of these men and women and what are their motives?

The theoretical discussion will focus on how an interest is awakened as a fantasy or a desire and how that fantasy is realised. Sociological, ethnomusicological and post-structuralist concepts such as affinity, choice and desire will be put into play against psychoanalytical theories and thoughts about identity.

¹ Irving; 1981: 520

In chapter four I have argued that the post Second World War modernity of Western societies not only opened up new possibilities for individuals to create personal identities, but it even demanded that every successful individual should create his or her own identity. Habermas points out that in modern society individualism has become an institution where every person is expected to create his own individuation “in isolation and freedom but as a linguistically mediated process of socialization and the simultaneous constitution of a life history that is conscious of itself.”² The change from a society built on tradition to one centred on the individual to some extent opens up the possibility, or even forces, individuals to ‘do their own thing’. Lars Lilliestam writes:

Music is *one* means, and a very effective one, through which you can create a style and position yourself socially, mark off your identity and belonging and sympathy. Although this applies much more to the youth of today than to their parents and above all their grandparents.³

One of my Scandinavian informants explained that in his youth, a visiting class-mate of his played the piano to him and his mother. Afterwards she had let her son understand that she wanted him to play the piano just as well as his class-mate, and he continues: “At that point I decided that I would find an instrument on which nobody could beat me.” Somewhat later, he heard the Edinburgh Military Tattoo on the television, and he realised that he had found his instrument – the Great Highland Bagpipe.

From Impact of the Music to Desire for the Icon

The Impact of the Music

For the past forty years a very limited number of Scandinavians have decided to take up Scottish piping or drumming as ‘their thing’. A major issue here is to question how they acquired their taste for this genre of music and why? In chapter three I have written about Mogens Zieler who was inspired to learn to play the pipes when he heard The Drums and

² Habermas, 1992: 152–153

³ Lilliestam, 2001: 122, original Swedish text: “Musik är *ett* medel, och ett mycket effektivt sådant, med vars hjälp man kan konstruera en stil och placera sig socialt, markera sin identitet och tillhörighet och sympati. Detta gäller dock i betydligt högre utsträckning för dagens ungdomar än för deras föräldrar och framförallt far- och morföräldrar.” (Italics as in original text.)

Pipes of the Gordon Highlanders on the radio and Per Colliander who was thrilled by the uniforms and the music of a visiting pipe band in Stockholm. In fact, many informants tell similar stories when asked how they got interested. They happened to see and hear a pipe band on television, or in many cases live in the street, and were so impressed that they wanted to learn to play themselves. Often this meeting with the pipes and drums happened when the person was a child or teenager.

As I have explained in chapter two, the Great Highland Bagpipe and its music developed in the sixteenth century clan society as part of the power structure of the clan chief. When the clan society declined the Highland bagpipe was incorporated via the Scottish regiments into the power apparatus of the British Empire. To a great extent, the sound of the pipes and drums and the visual appearance of the dress and bearing of the pipers and drummers developed to produce a powerful impact on the listeners and onlookers. Reactions from Scandinavian spectators of pipers or pipe bands today, attest that the music still functions in this way. Often, comments about the fantastic power of the sound are expressed and the impressive exotic dress of the players is admired. Generally, the reactions of audiences also imply that the actual sound and appearance of a pipe band are largely interpreted through the iconic preunderstanding and connotations presented in chapter two and four. Some listeners become very excited and it is quite common that persons, especially children, ask where a set of pipes can be bought and if it is possible to have lessons. The Scandinavian bands are always offering beginners' courses to find new players and those interested are usually invited to a band practice, but very few of the persons asking about lessons in the spell-bound excitement after a performance actually turn up for lessons.

The powerful sound of the pipes and drums seems to arouse strong feelings (in some cases of antipathy), but what can be said about those who actually start to play and particularly the pioneers whose interest was so strong that they engaged in the painstaking and time consuming project of importing the music from Scotland to Scandinavia?

Affinity or Seduction, Choice & Belonging

Mark Slobin has developed three concepts that might help elucidate this issue: 'choice', 'affinity' and 'belonging'. The concept of 'choice' is based on the assumption that everybody grows up with *something* (or many somethings), "but we can choose just about *anything* by way of expressive culture."⁴ This ability to choose is a fundamental property of the in-

dividualism of modern society discussed in chapter four. Giddens points out that:

In a post-traditional social universe, an indefinite range of potential courses of action (with their attendant risks) is at any given moment open to individuals and collectivities. Choosing among such alternatives is always an ‘as if’ matter, a question of selecting between ‘possible worlds’.⁵

According to Slobin, choices are not made at random and he suggests the concept of ‘affinity’, to describe the initial strong attraction an individual may experience towards something that might later be chosen by him. This initial affinity is probably experienced by many or even most spectators, but the actions taken due to the experience vary. As mentioned above, most people tend to cool down after the immediate enthrallment of the musical experience is over. The event becomes a memory, maybe a strong positive one, but still just a memory. Others might decide to go out and buy a recording of the music they have just heard. Often bands are asked after a concert if they have CDs for sale. A few individuals decide that they want to become a part of what they have just experienced. According to Slobin, a choice to follow up an affinity may lead to ‘belonging’, although, the level of commitment may vary from being a casual participant to a full time musician. Slobin’s own example of the process of affinity, choice and belonging (from the United States) is indeed to the point:

Take the case of a student of mine who, after simply hearing a Highland bagpipe band outside her window, became so attracted to the music that she became a professional piper, not an easy task for a woman in the 1970s.⁶

Another angle of the strong momentary feeling of attraction described by Slobin as ‘affinity’ can be elucidated by the concept of ‘seduction’ as discussed by Baudrillard, who writes that: “Surface and appearance, that is the space of seduction.”⁷ Everywhere meaning is produced “to make the world signify, to render it visible. [...] [W]e are gorged with meaning and

⁴ Slobin, 1993: 55 (Italics as in original text.)

⁵ Giddens, 1991: 28–29

⁶ Slobin, 1993: 56

⁷ Baudrillard, 1988: 62

it is killing us.”⁸ Meaning is jealously guarded and appearances dismissed as malefaction, and Baudrillard goes on:

Under these circumstances only few things and at rare moments attain pure appearance, and only these are seductive. The entire strategy of seduction is to bring things to a state of pure appearance, to make them radiate and wear themselves out in the game of appearances.⁹

Seduction works on the level of the surface “through empty, illegible, insoluble, arbitrary fortuitous signs”,¹⁰ and it is characterised by a striking elusive immediacy; a feature it shares with ‘affinity’. Baudrillard points out that:

Challenge, and not desire, lies at the heart of seduction. Challenge is that to which one cannot avoid responding, while one can choose not to respond to desire.¹¹

The powerful music of a pipe band coming round the corner can indeed be seen as a challenge to the spectator. From this point of view the initial impact of the band described by many spectators can be interpreted as a meeting with an overwhelming surface that is not easily and instantaneously deciphered, facilitating many spectators to be seduced by the sight and sound of the band, whereas others, who find themselves unable to meet the overwhelming challenge, are not seduced and turn away from the spectacle.

Desire of the Other in the Shaping of an Identity¹²

Baudrillard writes that: “Seduction is not desire. It is that which plays with desire...”¹³ Among the spectators who are seduced, a few choose to follow up their affinity. They acquire a desire to belong to the spectacle manifested before them or, from another point of view, a desire to make it part of their own identity. One explanation for this choice of wanting to belong to a cultural group different from one’s own could be expressed

⁸ Baudrillard, 1988: 63

⁹ Baudrillard, 1988: 62

¹⁰ Baudrillard, 1988: 59

¹¹ Baudrillard, 1988: 57

¹² This section is based on Lacan 1977, 1–7, 16–25, 137–139 and Muller and Richardson, 1982: 26–34, 46–50, 135–136

¹³ Baudrillard, 1988: 67

as a conscious or unconscious wish for something different or something that is lacking, a ‘desire for the Other’ (with a capital O) in the Lacanian sense.¹⁴

In *Écrits*, Jacques Lacan writes about the importance of the mirror stage in an infant for the formation of the ‘I’. An infant first experiences itself as a unity, instead of previous fragmentation, as it perceives some kind of reflection of itself in something outside itself and identifies itself with the image. In this mirror stage, the infant (the subject) undergoes a transformation because of its identification with the image. This primary identification will then be the basis of all subsequent ‘secondary’ identifications, but as this identification involves an ‘other’ (with a lower case o), exterior to the subject, it also incorporates alienating and fictional qualities. The subject can never attain total unity with this identity, which can only be approached asymptotically.

The mirror stage is ended as the specular ‘I’ deflects into the social ‘I’. The confusion of the external image of the ‘I’ with images of other subjects, due to the first identification in an external object, leads to a process of ‘social dialectics’ in the relationships with others and knowledge of external things. The subject identifies himself in other persons and objects in an endless dialectical process in which the recognition of objects and the ego is constantly revised. Lacan goes on to say that:

It is in this erotic relation, in which the human individual fixes upon himself an image that alienates him from himself, that are to be found the energy and the form on which this organization of the passions that he will call his ego is based.

This form will crystallize in the subject’s internal conflictual tension, which determines the awakening of his desire for the objects of the other’s desire: here the primordial coming together (concourse) is precipitated into aggressive competitiveness (concurrence)...¹⁵

Here, the object’s desirability becomes more important than any intrinsic quality it may have, “things are treated narcissistically as reflections of the ego”,¹⁶ and take on the role of a “defensive armour”¹⁷ that yields a certain permanence and identity to the ego.

¹⁴ Lacan differs between the ‘other’ and the ‘Other’, which will become evident if not clear from the following discussion.

¹⁵ Lacan, 1977: 19

¹⁶ Muller and Richardson, 1982: 34

¹⁷ Lacan, 1977: 17

The discussion of the Lacanian ‘Other’ (with a capital O) becomes slightly more complicated. The Other is described as

the locus in which is constituted the I who speaks to him who hears [...] this locus also extends as far into the subject as the laws of speech, that is to say, well beyond the discourse that takes its orders from the ego, as we have known ever since Freud discovered its unconscious field and the laws that structure it.¹⁸

The ‘Other’ in question here is connected to “the self’s radical ex-centricity to itself with which man is confronted;”¹⁹ an “other to whom I am more attached than to myself”, whose

presence can be understood only at a second degree of otherness, which already places him in the position of mediating between me and the double of myself, as it were with my counterpart.

If I have said that the unconscious is the discourse of the Other (with a capital O) it is in order to indicate the beyond in which the recognition of desire is bound up with the desire for recognition.²⁰

This Other is the locus of the ‘memory’ termed the ‘unconscious’ by Freud. Lacan suggests that this ‘memory’ is the ‘signifying chain’ or the ‘symbolic order’, which

develops in accordance with logical links whose grasp on that which is to be signified, namely the being (l’être) and the existent (l’étant) operates through effects of the signifier, [described by Lacan] as metaphor and metonymy.²¹

According to Lacan, “produced as it is by an animal at the mercy of language, man’s desire is the desire of the Other.”²² Muller and Richardson interprets this “dynamic, propelling dimension of the decentred self” as a desire of language, or the Other “as the being of the subject that is ‘other’ than his conscious ego, i.e., the subject’s being insofar as this is in want-of-being.”²³ Alternatively, it can be seen as the desire of the Other

¹⁸ Lacan, 1977: 141, Muller & Richardson, 1982: 138

¹⁹ Lacan, 1977: 171, Muller & Richardson, 1982: 172

²⁰ Lacan, 1977: 172, Muller & Richardson, 1982: 172–173

²¹ Lacan, 1977: 215, Muller & Richardson, 1982: 221

²² Lacan, 1977: 264, Muller & Richardson, 1982: 281

²³ Muller & Richardson, 1982: 282

insofar as the being of which the subject is in want is the being of the Other that will fill out his own ineluctable finitude, restoring the illusion of plenitude that was shattered by entrance into the symbolic order.²⁴

Another angle of this is the individual's demand for recognition by the Other "that simulates, and in a measure restores, the radical affirmation of a primordial unity."²⁵

Lacan's discussion about 'the desire of the Other' presents further possible clues to the mechanisms behind Slobin's concepts of 'affinity', 'choice' and 'belonging'. As the presumptive pipe band enthusiast is struck by the impact of the powerful sound and sight of the pipes and drums a dialectic, narcissistic²⁶ process takes place within him. The onlooker is impressed by the pipe band, visualises himself as a piper or drummer identifying himself with the other, with that power in front of him. He imagines himself in his mind to be the Other that makes this impact on him. In the case of Scottish piping and drumming, the other is not only conspicuously colourful and exotic with an impressing powerful sound. Through its iconic identity, it also carries connotations to power, militarism and romantic tradition. A desire to be part of or belong to this powerful other is aroused in the onlooker. A desire to have that power over others, and maybe also to find security or even confidence within the seemingly stable untouchable tradition. If the desire is strong enough, and for some reason remains after the immediate enchantment of the performance has passed, the quest to become part of the desired culture is begun. The underlying processes suggested here would be mostly unconscious, placed in the symbolic order of the Other (capital O), but also driven by a desire of this Other. The conscious side of the process is that the affected person creates a fantasy or an image of himself as a piper or drummer – *the imaginary musician*.

Affinity in Sound

Naturally, a central aspect of why anyone is attracted to a musical instrument is the person's fascination for the sound and music of that particular

²⁴ Muller & Richardson, 1982: 282

²⁵ Muller & Richardson, 1982: 282

²⁶ I am using the term narcissistic here as a natural healthy phenomenon as opposed to narcissistic pathology. According to Frosh, (1991: 98) "...several psychoanalytic theorists, to some extent following Freud's link between narcissistic libido and sublimation, suggest that some narcissism is healthy, necessary, for example, for creativity, empathy with others, acceptance of death."

instrument. Slobin's 'affinity' concept still functions as a description of the strong attraction process. In this case however it would not be the attraction of the other culture, but an attraction to a specific sound or music; a psychological and aesthetic aspect which is even more difficult to get at and discuss. A number of Scandinavians have started to play Scottish pipes or drums because of a general interest in woodwind instruments, bagpipes or drums. Talking about his great fascination for drumming Jens Hedegaard says:

I remember how I sat every evening, and as I say not practised, but sat and played [sheet after sheet] of music, any music I could find at all. I sat and played American and Scottish and so called Scottish and classical stuff, classical scores that is, everything, simply because I enjoyed it.²⁷

For a majority of players the fascination for the music and the instruments seems to grow stronger over time, whereas the interest in the surrounding paraphernalia of kilts, uniforms and Scottish history diminishes.

This 'sound' aspect of the affinity process can hardly be separated from other aspects such as the preunderstanding of the listener, generally shared connotations of the genre, the situation in which the music is heard and the aims of the listener. In connection with 'peak experiences' Even Ruud points out

music's possibility to lift us out of our everyday life and into unexplored realms of our consciousness. [...] [T]he experiences made through such symbolic or even irrational experiences, can have a constructive influence on «real» life. Or to put it in a different way, something that happens in fantasy, can become part of a new reality.²⁸

The comments made by listeners of the sound of the pipes and drums heard live, can often be characterised as being about peak experiences.

²⁷ Hedegaard, Jens, Interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Jeg kan huske hvor jeg sad hen aften efter aften, og som jeg siger ikke øvede, men sad og spillede [blad efter blad], alt musik jeg overhoved kunne få. Jeg satte mig og spillede det, amerikansk og skotsk og såkaldt skotsk og klassiske ting og sager, altså nogle klassiske partiturer, alt muligt bare for at jeg nød det simpelthen bare."

²⁸ Ruud, 1997: 40, original Norwegian text: "musikkens muligheter til å trekke oss ut av hverdagen og inn i utforskede deler av bevisstheten. [...] [D]e erfaringer vi gjør oss gjennom slike symbolske eller gjerne irrasjonelle opplevelser, kan ha en konstruktiv virkning på det «virkelige» liv. Eller sagt på en annen måte, at noe som skjer i fantasien, kan bli en del av en ny virkelighet."

The music is referred to as powerful, overwhelming, grand and magnificent. Here I should like to remind of the analysis, in chapter two, of the sound of the bagpipe in relation to the Gramscian concept of hegemony. The concept of hegemony describes the social dynamics by which a certain class or group within society can maintain the political power, not primarily by force but by creating

an equilibrium between ‘leadership’ or ‘direction’ (*direzione*) based on consent, and ‘domination’ (*dominazione*) based on coercion in the broadest sense.²⁹

The powerful sound of the pipes calling people from afar, the volume of the chanter keeping those coming near at a respectful distance, although within the enthralling soundscape of the drones. Some experience the music so strongly, sometimes to an ecstatic level, that the memory of the sound stays with them as something very positive; something they really like and identify with, maybe all their lives. In a few cases, it works the other way round. A certain type of music is strongly despised. Even Ruud points out that we often use arguments about music to delimit ourselves, socially and culturally. Certain values are inextricably tied to certain genres of music, which we are not prepared to accept.³⁰

References to ‘peak-experiences’ in connection with music are not only common, but part of the general Western conception of the functioning of music, from everyday comments about extraordinary musical experiences to the vast historical discourse on music’s ability to make our minds ‘transcend’ into unknown or even divine metaphysical realms. Strong musical experiences are often referred to as having physical, bodily properties; the listener being carried away or even experiencing “the feeling of being brought up into higher domains.”³¹ These experiences are often connected to strong emotions. In their report about a Swedish research project, which focused on strong musical experiences, Alf Gabrielson and Siv Lindström point out that such experiences were generally described by the informants as ‘extreme’, ‘fantastic’, ‘unbelievable’, ‘unforgettable’ etc. and were associated with physical reactions connected to strong emotions. They could also be connected to negative feelings such as anxiety, panic and even fear and because of that Gabrielson and Lind-

²⁹. Gramsci, 1979: 42

³⁰. Ruud, 1997: 41

³¹. Ruud, 1997: 175, original Norwegian text: “følelsen av å bli hevet opp.”

ström advocates the expression ‘Strong Experiences of Music’ (SEM) instead of ‘peak experiences’.³²

The comments from piping and drumming enthusiasts in Scandinavia, both players and listeners, often allude to positive peak experiences. At the age of eight, Paul Martin Holm, who became a pipe-major in The Heather Pipes & Drums, heard a Scottish army pipe band play in Copenhagen and as he expresses it: “that music, the sound of the pipes, made an enormous impression on me.”³³ A few years later at the age of thirteen he heard The City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band play and he goes on: “That simply shook the ground under me.”³⁴ Some of the pioneers’ first encounter with pipe music was in early childhood and their personal memories of the actual events are weak, but it is reasonable to believe that their early experience of pipe music was strong, as they often express that they have always been crazy about pipe music and “have always wanted to learn to play.” When asked if he experienced a difference in audience response between Scotland and Norway, Robert Robertson the Scottish pipe-major of The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band, expressed that in Scotland he had mostly played at competitions to a knowledgeable audience whereas:

In Norway a lot of people have heard the bagpipes, have seen bagpipes on TV, but have never really experienced them live, and then they become almost overwhelmed with how loud they are and how powerful an instrument it actually is when they see it live. A lot of people are quite surprised by that.³⁵

Those in an audience who are not in favour of pipe music are seldom indifferent, but usually vehemently opposed to the sound of the pipes. In their case, it is a question of a negative strong experience of music. Ruud writes that sometimes: “The music «hits» so strongly and reaches so deeply that a few become afraid.”³⁶ He goes on to point out that we are likely to be more susceptible to peak experiences of music at certain occasions in

³² Gabrielsson and Lindström 1993: 118–120, see also Ruud 1997: 175–185 and Gabrielsson, 2001: 431–449.

³³ Holm, Paul Martin, interview 21 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: “den musik, sækkepibernes lyd, det gjorde et enormt indtryk på mig.”

³⁴ Holm, Paul Martin, interview 21 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Det slog simpelthen benene væk under mig.”

³⁵ Robertson, Robert, interview, 20 Jan. 2002

³⁶ Ruud, 1997: 183, original Norwegian text: “Musikken «slår» så sterkt og når så dypt at enkelte blir redde.”

life, depending on circumstances such as what mood we are in, certain phases in life etc. Sometimes these ecstatic musical experiences give the individual a feeling of “being drawn into another dimension of reality.”³⁷

Even Ruud as well as Gabrielsson and Lindström draw on Abraham Maslow’s extensive discussion about peak-experiences in *Toward a Psychology of Being* (1968).³⁸ According to Maslow, peak-experiences differ from everyday experiences in various ways. The peak-experience is often fully attended to shutting out the perception of other things. It makes the perceiver feel a rich unity with the situation in a self-justifying moment with a characteristic disorientation in time and space. A peak-experience is always positive. (Cf. Gabrielsson’s and Lindström’s expression ‘Strong Experiences of Music’ above.) Normal experiences are usually relative, embedded in history and culture, whereas peak-experiences are non-classificatory, more absolute and less relative. Maslow also writes that:

The emotional reaction in the peak experience has a special flavor of wonder, of awe, of reverence, of humility, and surrender before the experience as before something great.³⁹

In addition, Maslow connects peak-experiences with ‘acute experiences of identity’, where the individual “comes closer to his own Being.”⁴⁰

The peak-experiences as described here can be related to Baudrillard’s notion of ‘seduction’, and also to Lacan’s ‘Other’, discussed earlier. Peak-experiences are described as strong, immediate experiences in the present. The emphasis is on experience not on contemplation, and when Maslow writes about the “pleasant fear of being overwhelmed”⁴¹ by the peak-experience, his discussion points towards the striking elusive immediate challenge of seduction. The descriptions of ‘acute experiences of identity’ where the individual “comes closer to his own Being” can be interpreted as reflections of the Lacanian ‘Other’.

³⁷ Ruud, 1997: 181–184, quotation on page 184, original Norwegian text: “forrykkes inn i en annen dimensjon av virkeligheten.”

³⁸ Maslow, 1999: 83–106

³⁹ Maslow, 1999: 98

⁴⁰ Maslow, 1999:104

⁴¹ Maslow, 1999: 98

The Imaginary Piper or Drummer – Imaginary Identity & Figured Worlds

Dorothy Holland et al. points out that “[i]dentity’ is a concept that invokes and relates to theories from various streams of psychology, social psychology, anthropology, sociology, and now from such interdisciplinary fields as cultural studies.”⁴² Here I will focus on a few aspects of identity relevant to my discussion. Above I have touched upon Lacan’s concept of the formation of the ‘I’ in the mirror stage (a first step towards the creation of a self-identity) and its later deflection into the social ‘I’, where the subject identifies himself in other persons and objects in a process of ‘social dialectics’. Holland et al. writes that “[i]dentity is a concept that figuratively combines the intimate or personal world with the collective space of cultural forms and social relations”, and they focus both on “identities, the imaginings of self in worlds of action, as social products”, and “psychohistorical formations that develop over a person’s lifetime.”⁴³ According to Anthony Giddens a person’s self-identity depends on “the capacity to keep a particular narrative going.” Events that occur in the external world must be integrated “into the ongoing ‘story’ about the self.”⁴⁴ “It is *the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography.*”⁴⁵ This reflexively constructed self-identity also depends on plans for the future and lifestyle choices,⁴⁶ which brings us back to the discussion about the concept of choice based on affinity as developed by Mark Slobin⁴⁷ and choice as “selecting between ‘possible worlds’” according to Anthony Giddens.⁴⁸

As suggested above, the presumptive piper or drummer, having had a peak-experience in the meeting with the performance of the pipes and drums forms a desire to become part of the other culture. The desire is transformed into a hope or a fantasy in which the individual images himself as a player of the pipes or drums – the imaginary piper or drummer, but so far, it is only a fantasy or a dream. Especially, that was the case for the early Scandinavian piping-pioneers. The option to learn to play the pipes was not really a selectable ‘possible world’. There was no playing

⁴² Holland et al., 1998: 4

⁴³ Holland et al., 1998: 5

⁴⁴ Giddens, 1991: 54

⁴⁵ Giddens, 1991: 53 (Italics as in original text.)

⁴⁶ Giddens, 1991: 85

⁴⁷ Slobin, 1993: 55

⁴⁸ Giddens, 1991: 28–29

tradition, there were no piping schools or teachers and there were no pipe makers. Often, middle aged persons who contact Scandinavian pipe bands asking about beginners' lessons, claim that they have wanted to learn to play the pipes all their lives, but they did not think it was possible to learn in Scandinavia. This implies that a number of individuals who wanted to learn thought it was impossible, or they faltered at the obstacle of going to Scotland to acquire the instruments and the knowledge. Maybe they were the realists. Many of the Scandinavian pioneers can be said to have invested and acquired much of their self-identity in piping and drumming. I suggest that they for some reason turned their initial desire into an imaginary future identity as pipers or drummers, probably a quite unrealistic view in Scandinavia in the 1960s.

Dorothy Holland et al writes about the human disposition to enter into imaginary worlds by means of dreams, daydreams or spectatorship. They refer to these imaginative human activities as entering 'figured worlds' depending "upon people's abilities to form and be formed in collectively realized 'as if' realms."⁴⁹ They relate these to Lev Semonovic Vygotsky's research regarding children's play and their use of signs and symbols in the manipulation of imaginary worlds, the symbols acting as 'pivots' to shift into the imagined world. Initially these symbols may be tangible objects (such as a piece of candy representing a jewel), but as children grow older and games become less concrete, the tangible symbols may be discarded. When the conceptual world of the game is entered

[a] child's desires become related to "a fictitious 'I,' to her role in the game and its rules" (Vygotsky 1978: 100). It is this competence that makes possible culturally constituted or figured worlds and, consequently, the range of human institutions.⁵⁰

These culturally figured worlds pervade everyday life and

provide the contexts of meaning and action in which social positions and social relationships are named and conducted. They also provide the loci in which people fashions senses of self—that is, develop identities.⁵¹

⁴⁹. Holland et al., 1998: 49

⁵⁰. Holland et al., 1998: 50–51

⁵¹. Holland et al., 1998: 60

It is possible, that those pioneers of piping and drumming who disregarded the ‘impossibility’ or difficulty of the project of learning to play, had developed particularly strong imaginary identities as pipers or drummers; imaginary identities that fuelled their desire. It might also be the case that their ‘figured world of piping and drumming’ was particularly real to them, in comparison to ‘the realists’, and thus not so improbable. An additional factor of interest was that becoming a piper or drummer could not be immediately realised. For some of the pioneers, the idea of being a piper or drummer was nourished for years, as a fantasy, before it could be realised. This period of suspense might have increased the individuals’ interest in the genre and their desire to belong to it, accounting for the accumulation of keenness and energy characteristic of the pioneers’ later involvement in the creation of a Scandinavian piping culture.

Motives Behind the Imaginary Identity

Here I will explore some possible driving forces or motives behind the creation of the imaginary identities and the subsequent choices to engage in piping or drumming. These driving forces or motives are likely to vary between individuals and so will the individuals’ awareness of them. According to Giddens:

We should regard motivation as an underlying ‘feeling state’ of the individual, involving unconscious forms of affect as well as more consciously experienced pangs or promptings.⁵²

Holland et al writes that figured worlds depend on people’s use of cultural artefacts. These “gain a kind of force by connection to their social and cultural contexts, to their figured worlds.”⁵³ They are pivotal in the Vygotskyian sense (like the piece of candy turned into a jewel), and used to achieve self-control.

As we use artifacts to affect others, we become, at some point in our growing up, aware of and capable of using artifacts to affect ourselves. [...] We learn how to control ourselves from the outside, so to speak (Vygotsky 1978); we learn how to position ourselves for ourselves.⁵⁴

⁵² Giddens, 1991: 64

⁵³ Holland et al., 1998: 63

⁵⁴ Holland et al., 1998: 63–64

Empowerment & Security in Tradition

In chapters two and four the importance of the genre of piping and drumming as a symbol of power coupled with its connotations to tradition and historical times has been pointed out. Giddens writes that

tradition creates a sense of the firmness of things that typically mixes cognitive and moral elements. The world is as it is because it is as it should be.⁵⁵

The ‘post-traditional order’ of modernity, on the other hand, “institutionalises the principle of radical doubt and insists that all knowledge takes the form of hypotheses”.⁵⁶ The Scandinavian pipe band era started in the 1960s, at a time when high modernity was gaining full force and large parts of the Western World had a rather opportunistic view of the potentiality of technical development to solve the problems of mankind. At the same time, there were rising fears of this very fast rate of development, leading to protests movements of a neo-Rousseauian kind.⁵⁷ The interest in piping and drumming with its connotations to history and tradition was tinted with a search for security in a (at least seemingly) stable musical culture.

According to Carl-Gunnar Åhlén, this escapist search for security in traditional symbols had started in the open⁵⁸ Western society which emerged in the early twentieth century. In his thesis on the tango in Europe he writes:

Not only the World War, but also the open society of the big cities created a void, which had to be filled with something else, e.g. musical symbols of safety.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Giddens, 1991: 48

⁵⁶ Giddens, 1991: 3

⁵⁷ Ling, 1979, ‘Folkmusik – en brygd’, article in *Fataburen 1979*.

⁵⁸ Åhlén differs between ‘open’ and ‘closed’ societies, where ‘closed’ refers to a traditional society giving its members identity through fixed ethnical-ritual emblems of safety, protected by taboos, but at the cost of personal freedom. The ‘open’ society offers its members maximal freedom, but at the loss of the stable security based on fixed emblems. Instead security is sought in numerous symbols of security, ranging from luxurious consumer goods to ‘musical side-scenes’ (Åhlén, 1987: 57–60).

⁵⁹ Åhlén, 1987: 63, original Swedish text: “Inte bara världskriget utan också storstadens öppna samhällsform skapade tomrum, som måste fyllas med annat, t.ex. musikaliska trygghetssymboler.”

Giddens points out the alienating effects of the abstract expert systems of modernity which permeates everyday life undermining local or personal control,⁶⁰ but simultaneously

the expansion of abstract systems creates increasing quanta of power – the power of human beings to alter the material world and transform the conditions of their own actions.⁶¹

The search for security in tradition was coupled with and facilitated by a wish for empowerment through the colourful other. According to Giddens, it is the post-traditional conception of the self as a reflexive project that facilitates empowerment.⁶² If the world of high modernity made a number of individuals feel deprived of ‘old fashioned stable tradition’, it also left room for this very feeling of loss and also for the possibility to use it in the creation of a high modern self-identity.

The Exhibitionistic Wish to Be Seen & Heard – Searching an Identity in the Powerful Peacock Aesthetics of Piping & Drumming

In my opinion, every artistic enterprise to some extent includes aspects of the artist’s wish to be seen and heard. An exhibitionistic wish to be noted. Maybe, this is particularly evident where the artist meets the audience eye to eye in live performance. To take it one step further, alluding to the previous discussion of reflecting oneself in the Lacanian Other in the process of shaping a self-identity, I suggest that part of the artistic enterprise is that the artist narcissistically reflects himself and his music in the response of the audience. Likewise, it could be stated that the members of the audience reflect themselves in the artist. The artist and the audience get involved in a dialectic interplay in a figured world where they confirm each other reciprocally; a situation of dialectic narcissism. This is particularly evident when a ‘good’ performance is experienced by the ‘right’ audience, at those magic occasions when the artist and audience feel that they reach each other. Maybe this process is rooted in the period in a child’s development (between six months and two and a half years) described by Lacan as the period when

⁶⁰. Giddens, 1991: 137

⁶¹. Giddens, 1991:138

⁶². Giddens, 1991: 32, 138–139

[t]he child who strikes another says that he has been struck; the child who sees another fall, cries. Similarly, it is by means of an identification with the other than [sic!] he sees the whole gamut of reactions of bearing and display, whose structural ambivalence is clearly revealed in his behaviour, the slave being identified with the despot, *the actor with the spectator* [my emphasis], the seduced with the seducer.⁶³

There is, however, a difference between wanting to be seen for something you have achieved or worked for and wanting to be seen just in order to be seen. It is clear that not only the powerful sound of the music, but also the conspicuous uniforms were a major interest among some of the Scandinavian pioneers of piping and drumming. Discussing Madonna's use of sexually evocative dress in her shows and teenage fans dressing up like her, John Fiske suggests that individuals acquire a certain amount of power by controlling the way others look at them, for instance by wearing a certain type of dress or by behaving in a certain way.⁶⁴ Fiske grounds his discussion in the concept of 'semiotic power' the power to make meanings underpinning the basic economic power of capitalism and its counterpart semiotic resistance which

results from the desire of the subordinate to exert control over the meanings of their lives, control that is typically denied them in their material social conditions.⁶⁵

By wanting to play the pipes and drums and wear the colourful Highland dress, some members of the Scandinavian pipe band culture aimed at placing themselves in the position of producing the impact that they were once subject to themselves, thus giving them some control over the meanings of their lives. The kilt, the central garment of Highland dress from a general point of view, is often compared to a lady's skirt because of their visual likeness. At the same time it seems to be a common notion that the kilt is a very manly garment, bordering on being 'macho' or 'hypermanly'. Particularly, the military style pipe band uniforms, which were generally more common in Scotland in the 1960s and 1970s than today, alludes to power, with all their Victorian military pomp, including different insignia of rank. The title pipe-major⁶⁶ in itself renders a certain glam-

⁶³ Lacan, 1977: 19

⁶⁴ Fiske, 1989: 100–102

⁶⁵ Fiske, 1989: 9–10

⁶⁶ Title originating in the Scottish army of the leader of a pipe band, but also used in civilian pipe bands.

our to the holder, not to mention the obligation to function as a leader, but from the point of view of an imaginary identity it might sometimes be more important with the visible signs of the title than its intrinsic qualities and the ensuing responsibilities. In more than one case, individuals ordered military style Highland uniforms with pipe-major insignia even before there were any bands to lead, and in one newly formed band, in the 1970s, two different members acquired pipe-majors' uniforms simultaneously. Giddens points out the importance of dress as "a means of symbolic display, a way of giving external form to narratives of self-identity."⁶⁷ It can be claimed that the emphasis on uniforms among some of the pipe band pioneers did not signify an identity as a piper or pipe-major, but rather the wannabees' imaginary identities as pipe-majors.

The Leaders of the Imaginary Pipe Bands

The anecdotes about the pipe-major uniforms points to another motive of the Scandinavian pipe band pioneers. Some of them had clear ambitions to become leaders. These individuals did not only imagine themselves as players of the pipes & drums; they wanted to be the conductor of a pipe band. Here I want to introduce yet an imagined world – *the imaginary pipe band*.⁶⁸ This concept was not only of consequence to the early pipe band enthusiast, it is still of major importance in the everyday life of every Scandinavian pipe band. Had it not been for some of the pioneers' desire to become leaders of bands it is likely that the process of spreading the knowledge to new participants had been much slower. By means of adverts, newspaper articles and connections to existing schools offering different evening classes, courses in piping and drumming were offered to anyone interested, at little or no cost. This was and still is the only way to realise the imaginary pipe band in Scandinavia.

The concept of the imaginary pipe band was based on the established Scottish pipe bands (civilian or army) with many competent players, usually dressed in full dress military style uniforms. A few Scandinavians had seen such bands in Scotland or as guests in Scandinavia in connection with British weeks or state visits, but primarily these were the bands that could be heard on records or seen on television, especially the shows broadcast from The Edinburgh Military Tattoo, from the late 1960s. Many

⁶⁷. Giddens, 1991: 62

⁶⁸. Thanks to my colleague Karin Eriksson for inspiring me to find this concept.

Scandinavian pipers and drummers mention the Tattoo shows on television as a source of inspiration for awakening their interest.

Most of the Scandinavian bands have always struggled to set up the minimum of ten⁶⁹ players required to compete as a band in the Scandinavian pipe band championships. Talking about Holbæk Pipe Band in the late 1980s Jens Hedegaard says:

We had great difficulties [...] in setting up a pipe corps. Every time we felt we had six pipers who could play, one of them had to sit an exam or do something else. All grade four bands know that story.⁷⁰

Only a few of the bands have really managed to keep a band of more than fifteen pipers and drummers of a reasonably high playing standard. The most notable bands have been *The Heather Pipes & Drums* in Copenhagen and *The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers* in Stockholm who have been able to set up comparatively big bands over a period of time, although, now and then these larger Scandinavian bands have had their problems too in finding enough players. The two bands are subdivided into two or more bands of different competition grades having each a grade four band for less experienced players and a grade two band for more competition oriented players.⁷¹ The Holbæk Pipe Band managed for a short time around 2000 to set up both a grade three and a grade four band.

Desire for the Icon of the Other

The pioneers of piping and drumming in Scandinavia faced a number of problems in their endeavour to learn to play the pipes and drums. The major problem was that they had little or no knowledge of what traditional Scottish piping and drumming was actually all about. With the exception of their initial meeting with the genre that generated their desire to become pipers or drummers, they did not know more about the genre than anyone else in Scandinavia. They shared the notion that this music

⁶⁹. It was a minimum of nine until 1999, when a compulsory tenor drummer was added to the list of six pipers, two sides and one bass drummer.

⁷⁰. Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Vi havde meget svært [ved] at få et pipe corps stablet på benene. Lige når vi følte, at vi havde seks pipers der kunne spille, så var der en der skule til eksamen eller et eller andet. Det kender alle grade four bands den historie.”

⁷¹. Grading of bands: See footnote 110, page 67.

was an emblem of Scotland with all its connotations to romantic history, highly affected by the MacPherson paradigm presented in chapter two. This music of the wild mysterious Scottish Highlands, rooted in tradition, was also connected to the pompous militarism and warfare of the British Empire – in short, the iconic view previously described.

In addition, according to the analysis at the beginning of this chapter, the first enchanting meeting with piping and drumming which created the desire to play, often took place at the surface level of seduction in Baudrillard's sense, leading to a desire of the icon of the Other.

Consequently, the initial interest of the Scandinavian pioneers was directed towards the icon or the surface of the genre for two different reasons. The first of these was that the desire fuelling their interest had started as they were seduced by the surface of the genre. It was this iconic view that had impressed them and started off their desire to make this Other part of their own identity. The second reason was that as there were no insiders of the genre in Scandinavia the only existing view was that of the surface as seen by an outside audience. Therefore, what the pioneers first set out to do, was to acquire the icon. This had many implications for the emerging Scandinavian pipe band culture.

The Realisation of the Imaginary Identity – Scandinavian Scottish Piping & Drumming as an Emerging Reality

In Search of the Icon

Buying the Icon – The Great Highland Bagpipe

A natural way for the pioneer of approaching the urge to become a piper was to start the process of acquiring a set of pipes. A seemingly wise decision, as it appears logical to possess an instrument before you can play it. Therefore, the first object of desire was a set of pipes. There was of course no knowledge of what should be looked for in a good set of pipes, or even where to buy them. In quite a number of cases cheap, Pakistani pipes,⁷² poorly made from inferior wood, were bought, in a few cases in Scandinavian music shops, but more often in Scottish tourist shops. In

⁷² There are a handful of makers of Great Highland Bagpipes in Pakistan. The trade was learnt from Scottish pipe makers during the time of the British colonisation. The quality of the bagpipes vary very much from maker to maker. Some better sets are made of quality wood and mounts, but a large amount of very cheap tourist sets are also made. Many of these are sold via the Scottish tourist industry.

fact, some Scandinavian players have started their piping careers as they bought a set of ‘tourist’ pipes during a trip to Scotland. Of course some persons were lucky and managed to buy a reasonable set or in some cases really good sets. As explained in chapter two, at first, when someone is learning to play the Highland pipes, the actual set of pipes is not required at all. The basic scales and finger techniques as well as a number of tunes are always taught on the practice chanter. The pupil does not require a set of bagpipes until a number of exercises and tunes have been mastered on the practice chanter. This may take from about six months to a year. How the actual music and know-how of the genre was brought to Scandinavia will be further discussed in chapter six.

Another side of the icon was the cherished Highland dress and pipe band uniforms. A very important part of the icon, but also an integrated part of the actual genre of Highland piping from its very beginning in the Gaelic clan society. For many of the Scandinavians, the dress was almost as important as the bagpipes and the playing of the music, or as Inge Willman, one of the inaugurators of The Hamilton Pipes & Drums, expressed it:

You [...] always felt about half a metre taller than everybody else. It cannot be helped, but that uniform [...] it gives you a hell of a posture, that cannot be argued, and I suppose that is what I liked very much with pipers and drummers, to see that it was people who moved with dignity. It was an incredible pride and dignity in both the way they marched and played. Above all, very much discipline.⁷³

In some cases, Highland dress was ordered from Scotland, but often, more or less successful home-made items would have to suffice. It was not uncommon to mix items of dress made in Scotland with home made or modified garments that might look more or less like the Scottish original. Not really knowing much about the culture and music beyond the icon, some of the Scandinavian pioneers endeavoured to ‘buy the icon’. By buying a set of pipes and acquiring some kind of Highland dress, the

⁷³ Willman, Inge, interview, 10 Aug. 1998, transcription of original Swedish quotation: “Man [...] kände sig ju alltid ungefär en halv meter högre än all andra ju. Det kan inte hjälpas för att den uniformen [...] den ger ju en djävla resning, det är inget resonemang om saken, och det var väl det jag tyckte väldigt mycket om hos, att se hos säckpipare och trummare, att det var ju folk som förde sig med värdighet. Det var en otrolig stolthet och värdighet i deras sätt att både marschera och spela. Framförallt, väldig disciplin.” (See photograph of Inge Willman in his uniform, chapter five, page 144.)

project of becoming a piper was considered well under way. In any case, it was possible to look like the desired icon.

In fact, this way of dealing with an initial interest in piping or drumming was not confined to the first pioneers only. The story is repeated over and over again, as new persons in Scandinavia are attracted to piping or drumming. Although there are a number of bands and individuals with a fair amount of knowledge today, the Scandinavian pipe band culture is marginal and little known in Scandinavian society at large. It is not uncommon that bands get requests for lessons by persons who have bought sets of tourist pipes on holidays in Scotland. Unfortunately, these persons are often put off by the fact that the instrument they have bought is not for playing, but intended as a wall ornament. No known new groups or pipe bands have been started since the end of the 1980s, except as offsprings of the existing Scandinavian pipe band community. A plausible explanation is that most individuals who have acquired an interest in Scottish piping or drumming since then have been directed to the existing bands. This implies that although the bands are not universally known in society they can be found quite easily by those who look actively.

It is also possible that the socio-psychological conditions that existed in the 1960s and 70s which facilitated the establishment of a Scandinavian pipe band culture have changed, directing people's interests to other activities. However, to determine if that might be the case lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Realisation of the Wish to Be Seen & Heard

It was not uncommon that the early Scandinavian pioneers were engaged in paid public performances, at a premature stage of their playing experience. The reasons for this were manifold. The pioneers had no teachers who could tell them they were not good enough to perform, they had no known players to compete with and the general notion was that the audiences did not know how it should sound anyway. The last reason is true to a certain degree because most listeners do not know how a tune or the embellishments should be played, but most people can tell if the instruments are in tune and if the player is producing some kind of melody and rhythm.⁷⁴ Furthermore, organisers were often more interested in

⁷⁴. See also chapter eight, page 344.

the iconic properties of the musicians, than how they were actually playing. I will return to this topic in chapter eight.

Explanations to why some of the pioneers were so eager to get onto the street and play can also be found in the discussion in the previous section, where I suggested that those who actually started to play, among those who acquired the interest, were the ones who were not so realistic and the ones whose vision of themselves as imaginary pipers or drummers was particularly strong. Their urge for an identity as pipers or drummers, maybe coupled with a daring attitude, encouraged them to live out their fantasy in reality, especially under ‘disguise’ of the empowering Highland dress. They simply could not wait to go out and be seen and heard as pipers and drummers and fulfil their exhibitionistic dream to be the powerful other, impressing people with the exotic, mighty sound of the pipes and drums. It was not uncommon that beginners dressed up in uniforms, but with plugged bagpipes or blowing the drones only, were incorporated at performances by some of the early bands, to make the bands look bigger than they actually were. Such non-playing performers are referred to as dummies.

The wish to be seen and heard, not to mention a certain amount of self-importance, is also evident in various newspaper articles about the newly formed bands. For instance, the newly started Gothenburg City Pipe Band sought the patronage of the Swedish King,⁷⁵ and in 1976, The Murray Pipes & Drums (with four members) expressed in a newspaper article that their ambition was to become the best pipe band in Scandinavia.⁷⁶

The Quest to Become an Insider

The Imaginary Homeland of Piping & Drumming

The iconic view of pipe music incorporates a historical view of Scotland, as presented by authors like Sir Walter Scott; later exploited by the Scottish tourist industry. Scott’s romantic stories set in Scottish history dwell on the fantastic, the glorious and the gallant independent Highlander in the environment of the wild nature of Scotland. The general notion of a Scottish piper often includes a setting in the misty Highland glens be-

⁷⁵ Hanson, Björn, ‘Säckpipe-entusiasterna organiserar sig. Vill bli kungens blåsare’, *Göteborgs-Posten*, 28 Feb. 1974.

⁷⁶ Hallgren, Karl-Eric, ‘The Murray Pipes & Drums – Vi ska bli Skandinaviens bästa säckpipeband’, *Göteborgs-Posten*, 10 June 1976.

tween the wild mountains or outside an old Scottish castle. Indeed, excellent imaginative settings in the figured world of the genre of piping and drumming. These ‘pictures’ of the piper are, to some extent, founded in the actual history of the hereditary clan pipers, but they are far from the ‘reality’ of modern pipers, in Scotland or elsewhere, with the exception, of course, for performances staged in settings of that type.

Many of the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers took a great interest in Scottish history, particularly those aspects pertaining to the Gaelic clan system and the Scottish regiments – the origins of Highland piping and pipe band drumming. Often, the historical interest was directed towards or nurtured by issues related to dress, the tartans of the various clans (to a great extent a romantic invention)⁷⁷ and the uniforms of the regiments. If the enterprise of becoming pipers and drummers had started out as a fantasy involving these romantic notions of the genre, it was only natural that great emphasis would be given to them at the start of the realisation of the project. Furthermore, the view of the genre by the surrounding Scandinavian society supported the iconic view. Pipers in kilts were and are still referred to as ‘Scottish’ or ‘Scotsmen’, even after it has become perfectly clear to the spectators that they are Swedes or Danes. At engagements, Scandinavian pipers and drummers are frequently asked if they have Scottish ancestry, but although there are one or two who have, the majority have no known Scottish ancestry whatsoever.

This close connection between the genre of piping and drumming and ‘Scottishness’ gave the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers a quasi identity as Scottish, a quasi identity that a few defied and others embraced. Mogens Zieler, the first Scandinavian to take up Highland piping, was very much against the idea of Danish pipe bands performing in Highland dress. He was also of the opinion that a Danish style of piping on the Highland pipes should be developed. In a draft for a letter from 1971, he writes:

[T]hey [The St. Andrew Society of Denmark (author’s remark)] want to copy the [S]cottish competitions here in Denmark. And I say: We are not Scots; we shall make it our own way, and first shape a [D]anish tradition. But the other [D]anish players want to copy, and behave like Scots; they use correct [S]cottish uniforms, and other Danes, I think of the listeners and the spectators believe they are listening to a real [S]cottish band. I find this development ridiculous.⁷⁸

⁷⁷. See Trevor Roper, 1992: 15–41

His view was quite the opposite of that of Per Colliander in Stockholm resulting in some enmity between these two pioneers. Zieler also corresponded on the subject with Seumas MacNeill, principal of The College of Piping in Glasgow, but MacNeill answered:

When people who are not Scots want to learn to play the bagpipe I feel that they pay us a big compliment. I am not sure why they want to learn, and I am often asked this question.

If in addition they want to wear our Highland dress, I feel that this to[o] is a compliment, and I admire their courage. It seems a strange state of affairs, but there must be a reason behind it. I wish I knew what it is.⁷⁹

The previous discussion about the imaginary musician and figured worlds might elucidate the choice of the majority to indulge in Highland dress and the Scottish style of playing. As the desired goal of being a piper or drummer was so closely connected to being Scottish, it was only natural for some of the pioneers to acquire a quasi-imaginary Scottish identity. Already by engaging in the project of realising their dream, they had left the safe ground of their Danish or Swedish identities.

Mark Slobin uses the concept *interculture* about links set up by sub-cultures across national borders, and discusses the importance of the 'homeland' or 'mother country' of such cultures.⁸⁰ In the case of Scottish pipe music, the mother country is extremely well defined. Scotland is not only the 'homeland' of pipers and drummers with Scottish ancestry, but of everybody who has chosen to belong to the Scottish piping and drumming culture, although home in these cases have slightly different meanings. Maybe, the real 'homeland' of Highland piping is the romanticised imaginary iconic figured world of the clan society in the misty Highlands and the Scottish regiments of the past.

A further aspect of 'belonging' to a culture different from one's own everyday culture might result in a personal identity that clearly stands out or opposes the surrounding (own) community. As I have suggested, part of the motive for playing pipes or drums was a wish to be seen and heard

⁷⁸ Zieler, Mogens, draft for letter, 24 Mar, 1971, to Jean & John [Pipe Major John Durbin in The Gordon Highlanders, listed by Arne Keller as one of Zieler's contacts], Mogens Zieler Archives, Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen. Obvious spelling mistakes corrected.

⁷⁹ MacNeill, Seumas, letter to Mogens Zieler, 30 Sept. 1971, Mogens Zieler Archives, Musikhistorisk Muséum, Copenhagen.

⁸⁰ Slobin, 1993: 64

and maybe to find a niche where a slightly exotic identity could be developed. Talking about how his interest in Highland piping affects his personal identity, Gustav Henriksson piper from Helsinki said:

This is not in any way something that each and every one does, so of course you definitely strengthen your identity as different by doing this, but in addition, it feels very good for oneself to actually have a, I call it a hobby, although it probably is more than a hobby.⁸¹

Discussing the involvement of Scandinavians in piping and drumming Karin Kell Nielsen, a drummer in the HP&D in Copenhagen, expressed that:

It is very special. In that way it actually gives some power. It is a way of differentiating yourself from the rest.⁸²

In this context the previous discussion of the narcissistic dialectical process taking place between artist and audience can be extended to the identification of the piper or drummer in her relation to both his own culture and the foreign culture. As total 'belonging' to the foreign culture cannot be achieved, the person engaged in the foreign culture is likely to get a dual position with more or less insight into both cultures. However, her identity is also likely to develop a third position where she will find herself in a borderland between the two cultures.

Here the ethnicity problem is turned the other way round. It is neither a group of people trying to preserve their own ethnic group identity in a foreign culture, nor a situation of immigrants trying to acquire a place in their new country, but a few individuals seeking respect in their own community by striving to be conspicuously different, seeking a personal identity in the other of a colourful foreign ethnicity.

⁸¹ Henriksson, Gustav, interview, 27 Apr. 1999: 14, transcription of original Swedish quotation: "Det här är ju inte på något sätt nånting som massan håller på med så man stärker ju sin egen identitet som annorlunda definitivt genom det här, men det känns väldigt bra för en själv också att faktiskt ha en, jag kallar det fortfarande hobby, fast det nog är mer än en hobby."

⁸² Nielsen, Karin Kell, interview, 2 Feb. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Det er så specielt. På den måde er det jo også lidt magt. Det er en måde at skille sig ud på."

From Outsider to Hyperinsider

The quasi Scottish identity among many of the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers in the 1960s and 1970s, made many of them indulge not only in learning to play the pipes and drums, but also in finding out as much as possible about the historic background of the instruments and the music. Many players plunged into everything Scottish, such as the poetry of Robert Burns, the construction and wearing of Highland dress, tea-drinking not to mention malt whiskies. Especially those aspects of Scottish culture (of which maybe the Great Highland Bagpipe is the prime object) highlighted by romanticism in the nineteenth century and boosted by the Scottish tourist industry in the twentieth century were cherished and often brought home, not so much as souvenirs as trophies. Many of the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers filled their homes with tartan tea towels, Loch Ness Monster toy animals, pictures of the Scottish Highlands, Scottish flags etc.

This was yet a manifestation of the process of ‘buying the icon’ of the imaginary homeland of the Great Highland Bagpipe. A way of seeking the core of the fantasy of the imaginary piper or drummer and trying to become an insider of the culture of the beloved music, but not even the tourist shops in Prince’s Street and along the Royal Mile in Edinburgh can keep everybody happy forever. As the Scandinavian pipers and drummers got more acquainted with a real, contemporary Scotland, they sought more profound knowledge and started to learn more about the culture behind the persistent tourist facade, but learning about something is not the same thing as being a born insider. By employing hard work and seeking tuition in Scotland, a few Scandinavians acquired a reasonable standard of playing. The skills of piping and drumming could be learned, but being an insider could not.

Some of the Scandinavian players acquired a type of outsider, etic expertise about the Scottish culture they had adopted and wanted to become part of; an expertise very different from the emic expertise of the Scottish insiders themselves. Thus, the position of some of these Scandinavian pipers and drummers could be compared to that of a scholar engaged in participant observation of a culture, albeit, with an emphasis on participation. Eventually, the endeavour to learn more and more about the culture and its members made some of the Scandinavians end up as what I would venture to call *hyperinsiders*. The term hyperinsider implying, not a better insider, but an outsider who has acquired profound, often somewhat analytical, knowledge of the culture in his quest to become

an insider. Maybe, this thesis can be considered an extreme continuation of that process.

Military Role Games Versus Music

The interest in the military side of piping and drumming was common among the early pioneers of the Scandinavian piping scene in the 1960s. Actually, some of the very first pioneers had military careers such as Per Colliander who was a lieutenant in the reserve and Palle Schjerning who was an officer in the Danish army. As explained in chapter two, the playing of pipes and drums in unison, was a practice started in the 1850s in the Scottish regiments, and it was the Scottish regiments, which spread piping to many parts of the world. Consequently, it was primarily military style piping that was known to people outside of Scotland. I have already mentioned the importance of The Edinburgh Military Tattoo in this context.

The militarism of the Scottish regiments and particularly that of the pipe bands is extremely colourful and might even be termed exotic. The full dress uniforms styled in the late nineteenth century, modelled on the romanticised Highland dress, including kilt, plaid, doublet embroidered with gold and silver, feather bonnet⁸³ and traditional Highland weapons, such as sgian dubh,⁸⁴ dirk⁸⁵ and broadsword, incorporates militarism and romanticism in a tight-knit union. It lends to its wearer quite an amount of dignity, not to mention a lot of attention caused by its very conspicuousness. Add to this the powerful sound and the impressive sight of the pipes and drums: the Highland pipe developed in the service of political power for 500 years and the drums likewise connected to military and other powerful scenes for ages. It could be argued that the military pipe band as an entity epitomises both the ceremonial (theatrical, good) aspect of the power of the British Empire and the romantic, exotic notion of Scotland instigated by nineteenth century romanticism.

As mentioned in chapter two, the performance practice of a civilian pipe band, basically, adheres to that of the regimental bands, although, the strictness of the drill varies considerably. Over the years, there has been Scandinavian bands which have paid more attention to dress and discipline whereas other bands have been less interested in that side of

⁸³. An imposing tall bonnet made of emu feathers.

⁸⁴. Small black knife worn on the outside of the right leg in the hose.

⁸⁵. Big Highland dagger, often with attached cutlery.

the culture. In some of the early bands the military pipe band aspects were not only part of performances, but permeated the bands' activities almost like a role play like 'Dungeons and Dragons', but with the participants playing a game of the 'jolly good old Scottish army'. In one band dinners were arranged where the band members, dressed in military style Highland Uniforms, were served by their beginners. Here the analysis of the emerging Scandinavian pipe band culture as an imaginary figured world becomes particularly pregnant. Still, at Scandinavian piping competitions, two pipe-majors can be heard simultaneously saluting each other with the word 'pipe-major' in a toast of whisky.

The question of whether dress and marching and discipline is just a necessary evil or an important and interesting part of the activities of the bands has been discussed ever since the first pioneers started to play. At some occasions the issue has been part of the reason for bands splitting up into new groups. It has not only been a question of militarism versus music but also of Highland dress versus music. The general trend in most bands today (2002) is that the military interest has declined almost entirely. It is notable that these bands to a great extent build their activities around practising up to and taking part in pipe band competitions. This is in accordance with the situation for most civilian bands in Scotland and elsewhere. None of the few Scandinavian groups that still emphasise the military side of the performance have competed regularly since the 1980s. The music seems to be winning in the long run, at least among the insiders.

Finding an Identity in a World of Music Beyond the Icon

The Scandinavian pipe band era did not really start until the 1960s. Mogens Zieler, who started to learn to play the Highland pipes in 1948, seems to have been in a different position compared to his followers. Indeed he took a great interest in many aspects of the Highland bagpipe and its music, but he did not seem so eager to build his identity on being a Scottish piper and to adopt all the traditional surrounding paraphernalia. Although he was the progenitor of piping in Copenhagen he more or less left the scene as the first pipe bands were formed. An explanation might be that his interest was not to acquire an identity as a Scottish piper, but rather to explore a fascinating instrument and its music. Mogens Zieler was a painter, and maybe he could take up the exotic music of the pipes in his own right as the eccentric artist, without having aspirations to change his Danish identity.

Zieler was, however, an exception. The majority of pioneers sought more of an identity in their involvement in piping and drumming. Although they initially aimed towards the surface of the icon, they soon found out that beyond the icon there was a world of real knowledge carried by real individuals; pipers and drummers who were willing to share their knowledge. That process will be further discussed in chapter six. The encounter with the actual real culture, the instruments, the music, the dress, the performance practice and the practitioners was found to be very different from the imaginary iconic view of the fresh pioneers. Generally speaking, the art of piping and drumming proved to be quite time demanding and difficult. Some of the early Scandinavian pipers and drummers who were primarily interested in the imaginary icon stagnated or simply left. Others who stayed on and challenged the difficulties developed an interest and an identity primarily in the intricate music of the pipes and drums.

Discussing different types of ensembles, Mark Slobin differs between 'bands' and 'affinity groups', where bands are described as "performing units of professional or semiprofessional musicians that play for the pleasure of paying customers."⁸⁶ Affinity groups, on the other hand, are: "charmed circles of like-minded music makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding."⁸⁷ In this terminology pipe bands, not only in Scandinavia, definitely belong to the category of 'affinity groups'. The pipe band pioneers who stayed on did not only learn to play the instruments of their desire, they also found a companionship with other like-minded individuals, with whom they continued to build the small marginal Scandinavian piping and drumming community. Often strong bonds formed between the members of the new bands and no effort was spared in the creation of a band identity. In addition, the Scandinavian pipers and drummers became members of a worldwide fellowship of Scottish pipers and drummers. These issues will be further explored in chapter seven.

When playing to Scandinavian audiences, these pipers and drummers actually became the producers of the impressive icon that had once made them start to play. So far, they can be said to have succeeded in their quest, but they achieved something more. By learning to play the music and to control the sound of the instruments, they made the very sound of the music part of their self identity, affecting their conception of them-

⁸⁶. Slobin, 1993: 98

⁸⁷. Slobin, 1993: 98

selves. A good musician must always listen closely to his own music as he is playing, enjoying the sound of his own performance, knowing that he has power over the music; over the sound. I refer to this necessary aspect of music making as ‘narcissistic listening’, where the ego of the player is carried by the music he is producing, engaging in a dialectic with the music and the instrument. Recalling Abraham Maslow’s thoughts presented above regarding “acute experiences of identity” in connection with peak-experiences, I suggest that peak-experiences perceived when playing an instrument can be even more intense than those experienced when only listening. When the instrument is well in tune and the musician is in command of the playing he is likely to be close to his ‘real idiosyncratic self’, or indeed to the Lacanian ‘Other’. At an interview, Bente Viuf, who was one of the first Scandinavian women to take up Highland piping and who is now working as a priest in the Danish Church, expressed that when the pipes are in tune *they constitute the power that keeps evil away*, and she continued:

Sometimes I have the feeling, [...] especially when playing piobaireachd, that it is not me that is playing the bagpipe, it is the bagpipe that is playing me, that it is using me.⁸⁸

⁸⁸. Viuf, Bente, interview, 29 June 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Jeg har nogle gange haft fornemmelsen, [...] især når man spiller piobaireachd, at det ikke er mig der spiller på sækkepiben, det er sækkepiben der spiller på mig, der bruger mig.”

6 Reconstructing a Genre of Music or the Cloning of a Strong Tradition?

To play like that would require weekly tuition from me for almost a period of ten years, plus maybe another ten years playing after that; now, that is what's involved.¹

James Kirkpatrick

Breaking the Surface & Entering the Desired Icon

A proficient musician often has an air about him making the act of playing look simple and enjoyable. The explanation lies in the fact that the musician (usually after years of practice) is in control of both the music and the art of performing it, often to an extent that leaves room for him to enjoy the playing in spite of its technical and intellectual demands. In the preceding chapter, possible reasons for acquiring an interest in piping and drumming was discussed, an interest often started off by the individual's meeting with the powerful surface of the music and its performance practice. It is precisely this 'end-product' – the good musician playing music at ease – that is sought by the keen learner seeking help from a music teacher. Well aware of all the hard work that is involved in understanding and learning the music and its strong tradition, the experienced teacher of the pipes or drums, giving a beginner a first lesson, might well hesitate for a second at the thought of having to, more or less, break down the beginner's enthusiastic surface view of what he or she is going to engage in. The early Scandinavian enthusiasts did not, however, have access to piping or drumming teachers nearby. When they set out on their quest to learn to play the pipes and drums, they really engaged in an adventure where little or no guidance was available in Scandinavia. In the first part of this chapter their actions to realise the wish to become pipers and

¹ Kirkpatrick, James, cassette tape, early 1980s, MPD Archives, MPD JK 5. This statement was made by James Kirkpatrick, Luss, on a cassette tape with piping tuition sent to Frank Jonsson in *The Murray Pipes and Drums*. The comment is made about the playing of the famous Scottish player P/M Donald MacLeod.

drummers will be discussed. The second part will focus on the music they learned to play.

As mentioned in chapter five, many individuals who acquired an interest in the music of the Highland bagpipe never even tried to fulfil their wish to learn to play because they did not know where to go for tuition. The few who actually engaged in trying to learn to play initially, were those with an unusually strong interest in piping, coupled with a fair amount of entrepreneurial capacity. The initial obstacle was not to learn to play, but to find the location of the knowledge.

How Do We Learn Music?

Before discussing the actions taken by the pioneers to learn to play the pipes and drums a few theoretical concepts will be introduced. This short theoretical introduction will touch on a few aspects of how music is learned and transmitted and various strategies that might be involved in the process of learning to play. The issues of how music is learned and transmitted, not to mention the overarching general questions of learning and how culture is transmitted, are of course immensely vast and complicated and the presentation here cannot explore them at great depth.² The aspects of music learning brought up here have mainly been chosen in their capacity to shed some light on the major themes of this chapter – how the Scandinavian pipers and drummers learned to play and how the music was affected in the process.

Cultural Learning

Alan P. Merriam points out that culture, including music, is learned behaviour, and he goes on to say that “each culture shapes the learning process to accord with its own ideals and values.”³ According to Roger Säljö, knowledge is always connected to social and cultural contexts. This view opposes the idea of knowledge as neutral and independent of whom has produced it.⁴ Reality is mediated to individuals by means of “physical, as well as intellectual/linguistic, tools”.⁵ From this social and cultural perspective the context is not a background that affects human

² For a general introduction on the issue of learning see for instance Säljö, 2000.

³ Merriam, 1964: 145

⁴ Säljö, 2000: 26

⁵ Säljö, 2000: 81, original Swedish text: “fysiska, liksom intellektuella/språkliga, redskap”.

behaviour. Instead, the context is created by and is part of human action.⁶ Consequently, the same knowledge can be interpreted or understood differently by different individuals, groups or societies, depending on their preunderstanding or goals.⁷ This also explains the tenet that new problems are often approached as a variant of something known.⁸

In general, learning should be seen as a life long process rather than something that takes place in schools and universities only. Roger Säljö writes:

Learning is [...] a possible result of all human activity and cannot in any simple way be connected to particular arrangements like schools or teaching.⁹

In this context, Merriam brings up the concept of ‘enculturation’, a concept describing cultural learning, used by Melville J. Herskovits according to whom:

The aspects of the learning experience which mark off man from other creatures, and by means of which, initially, and in later life, he achieves competence in his culture, may be called *enculturation*. This is in essence a process of conscious or unconscious conditioning, exercised within the limits sanctioned by a given body of custom.¹⁰

The complex process of enculturation continues throughout life and includes both the unconscious adoption of customs surrounding the individual as well as more conscious forms of learning such as education and schooling.¹¹ According to the *Swedish National Encyclopedia*, enculturation in adults “is a more conscious adoption or denial of a certain behaviour, this might lead to cultural change.”¹² Herskovits writes that “[e]ncul-

⁶ Säljö, 2000: 135

⁷ Säljö, 2000: 126

⁸ Säljö, 2000: 73

⁹ Säljö, 2000: 13, original Swedish text: “Lärande är [således] ett möjligt resultat av all mänsklig verksamhet och kan inte på något enkelt sätt kopplas till bestämda arrangemang som skola och undervisning.”

¹⁰ Herskovits, 1948: 39. See also Merriam, 1964: 145–147 and Green, 2001: 22.

¹¹ Merriam discusses various aspects of enculturation; socialisation (social learning in early life), education (informal and formal direct learning processes) and schooling (processes of teaching and learning at specific institutions) (Merriam, 1964: 146). Others have described these processes slightly differently as *primary and secondary socialisation* (Berger-Luckman, 1979: 154) and *habituation and education* (Bohannon, 1963: 17–20).

turation is [...] the process which permits most behavior to be carried on *below the level of conscious thought*.”¹³ In his book *How Societies Remember*, Paul Connerton differs between ‘incorporating practices’ and ‘inscribing practices’, where the latter refers to

devices for storing and retrieving information, print, encyclopedias, indexes, photographs sound tapes, computers, [which] all require that we do something that traps and holds information, long after the human organism has stopped informing.¹⁴

The incorporating practices are messages that are transmitted intentionally or unintentionally by the senders “own current bodily activity”.¹⁵ Such incorporating practices often have habitual qualities and become part of the individual’s unconscious embodied bodily behaviour. An example is the difference between a beginner fumbling and finding his way on a new instrument versus the skilled player, from the introduction of this chapter, who has incorporated the instrument, almost making it part of his own body.¹⁶

Introducing Michael Polanyi’s concept ‘tacit knowledge’ and the Swedish philosopher Bengt Molander’s discussion of the concept, Lars Lilliestam writes that tacit knowledge can be described as:

[T]he unverbalsed knowledge of skills that manifest themselves in actions but are not dressed in words, that are not formalised, theoretised, systematised, pedagogised or summed up in textbooks or manuals.¹⁷

The concept is controversial and has been given different meanings,¹⁸ but nevertheless it is a useful tool for discussing certain aspects of knowledge. Here I will restrain the meaning of the word to the definition above, and in this context Lilliestam suggests that “[p]laying by ear can be said to be [...] a *tacit knowledge*”.¹⁹

¹² Nationalencyklopedin, 1991, Vol. 5: 525, article: ‘enkulturation’, original Swedish text: “[Hos den vuxne] innebär enkulturation ett mera medvetet accepterande eller förskjutande av beteenden, något som kan leda till kulturell förändring.”

¹³ Herskovits, 1948: 42 (Italics as in original text.)

¹⁴ Connerton, 1989: 73

¹⁵ Connerton, 1989: 72

¹⁶ Connerton, 1989: 92–93

¹⁷ Lilliestam, 1996: 199. See also Lilliestam, 1995: 39–41.

¹⁸ See for instance Rolf, 1991 for a thorough discussion on tacit knowledge.

Possibly, the process of learning this knowledge is more conscious, whereas once the knowledge is learnt and becomes a skill it has been embodied and has turned into tacit knowledge, often to a level where the practitioner is quite unconscious of how the action is actually performed. The successful teacher must have the ability, not to explain the tacit knowledge, but to direct the learner through steps that lead to the acquisition of the tacit knowledge. What is implied here is that, although, the teacher to a greater or lesser extent may have created some kind of verbal explanation of the tacit knowledge to himself, the transmission of it is not necessarily dependent on a verbal explanation as such of the knowledge. A relevant example is when rudimentary drumming is taught 'by rote' where the instructor repeatedly plays a phrase and this is copied by the learners. The process is repeated more or less without analytic comments until the instructor thinks the learners have acquired the phrase correctly. It is possible that such a process of learning generates knowledge that is more incorporated or habitual in comparison to verbalised knowledge, which is likely to be more conscious and analytical.

Another aspect of learning in different traditions is the way knowledge is transmitted and conceived of. Of interest here is the distinction between strong and weak traditions as described by Bertil Rolf. In the strong tradition there is an overarching social structure regulating the teaching process. The relation between the master and the apprentice is incorporated within this structure. In a weak tradition there is no clear overarching structure formalising the relation between the teacher and the student. In the weak tradition the quality of knowledge is judged by its usefulness, for instance determined by its market value. In the strong tradition the quality of knowledge is partly determined by criteria handed down within the tradition. The teacher and student are expected to be faithful to the ideals of the tradition.²⁰

According to Lilliestam, rock and folk music are obvious examples of music with weak traditions of learning.²¹ In these genres a recurring pattern of learning is that the learner receives instruction from a parent, a relative or a friend when the interest has been awakened. Recordings are another important source of information and as Lilliestam points out: "the record, certainly has an infinite patience and repeats the phrase as long as the student wants without getting tired."²²

¹⁹ Lilliestam, 1996: 199 (Italics as in original text.)

²⁰ Rolf, 1991: 148–150

²¹ Lilliestam, 1996: 207–208

In this context Tomas Saar differs between *vertical* and *horizontal* teaching. Transmission from master to pupil (as in folk music) is a typical example of vertical teaching whereas an example of horizontal teaching is when a group develops together (with rock music as a typical example). Saar writes that you have to

learn the form of the music at the same time as the skills must be anchored in one's fingers and body. The group has to, if it is going to work, learn to learn together.²³

Ruth Finnegan brings up the same topic in *Literacy and Orality* differing the learning processes in jazz and classical music, and she writes:

Learning jazz was usually not through the formal graded instruction from written texts typical of classical music teaching, but rather a self-introduction to the skills of jazz playing either as an individual (usually by using a sound recording as a basis) or, as their instrumental skills developed, playing together with others in a group: learning-by-doing.²⁴

In connection with such informal processes of learning Tomas Saar discusses 'self-learning', a concept he finds problematic because it implies that the learning takes place isolated from a social and cultural context, and he points out that the actual processes of learning may not be so different in formal and informal situations of learning.²⁵ One major difference, though, mentioned by Roger Säljö, is the particular communicative pattern created in formalised institutional learning, where student and teacher accept different roles and positions in the classroom. In most classroom situations, there is a competition for attention and space among the students and some individuals are more successful than others in adapting to this type of situation.²⁶ It becomes important for the student not only to acquire knowledge, but also to understand the specific communicative patterns of the educational milieu.²⁷

Bruno Nettl discusses what is actually learned when music is transmitted, asking what is emphasised in the process of transmission and what

²² Lilliestam, 1996: 206

²³ Saar, 1992: 19, as quoted in English in Lilliestam 1996: 208.

²⁴ Finnegan, 1988: 130

²⁵ Saar, 1999: 28–29

²⁶ Säljö, 2000: 45

²⁷ Säljö, 2000: 209

is left to be picked up by chance. He suggests that the main characteristics of a musical system are “closely associated with the particular way in which it is taught, as a whole and in its individual components.”²⁸ If this is the case the ‘same’ music learned in a master-pupil relation versus learned on one’s own might come out very differently.

Aural, Visual, Tactile & Verbal Strategies

In his article ‘On playing by ear’, Lars Lilliestam writes that “in a highly developed literate culture *both* oral and literate techniques are used to convey information.”²⁹ The issue of oral and written culture has been thoroughly discussed,³⁰ but often the tendency has been to focus on the differences between oral and written cultures, opposing non-literate, older or tribal societies with modern western literate society, although Finnegan points out that orality and literacy are not

two mutually exclusive and opposed processes for representing and communicating information. On the contrary they take diverse forms in differing cultures and periods, are used differently in different social contexts and, insofar as they can be distinguished at all as separate modes rather than a continuum, they mutually interact and affect each other, and the relations between them are problematic rather than self-evident.³¹

Lilliestam suggests that it might be more relevant to think of orality and literacy as two different strategies used for different purposes.³² However, when dealing with the issue of how we learn and perceive music the oral and written strategies require to be complemented with further strategies. Lilliestam discusses different kinds of memory that can be used for remembering music: auditive, visual, tactile and motoric as well as verbal memories. The auditive memory refers to a memory used to remember music heard and which makes it possible for us to imitate it by our voice or an instrument. The visual memory helps us remember visual aspects of music making, for instance patterns of finger positions on an instrument. These can also be shown in chord or finger charts for different instruments. By means of the tactile and motoric memories we remember

²⁸ Nettl, 1983: 324

²⁹ Lilliestam, 1996: 197. See also Lilliestam, 1995: 22–27.

³⁰ See for instance Ong, 1982 and Finnegan, 1988.

³¹ Finnegan, 1988: 175

³² Lilliestam, 1996: 197. See also Lilliestam, 1995: 33.

how it feels to play a certain movement, where for instance chords, scales and melodies are stored as ‘muscular memories’ and are remembered as ‘finger routes’. The verbal memory facilitates us to remember names of tunes, scales, tones etc. Onomatopoeic imitations of musical sounds and rhythms are mentioned as a special case of verbal memory. Furthermore, Lilliestam writes that we often remember music by constructing personal mental maps, which function as mnemonic aids together with the four types of memory previously mentioned.³³ He points out that little research has been done on how musicians who play by ear (such as folk or rock musicians) actually learn to play. Allan Merriam has suggested that listening to other musicians and then trying to imitate them may be a “universal first step in the process”,³⁴ and he goes on:

There is reason to believe that in most societies the casual performer receives relatively little training of a direct nature and instead learns entirely from imitation, while the future specialist must almost always undergo some sort of instruction, for special skill requires special training.³⁵

Here Merriam differs a process of learning by imitation without instruction from one where an instructor is involved, but both methods might well include imitation. The difference lies mainly in the character of the source, where learning aided by instruction is, hopefully, structured by the teacher in a situation where communication can take place between instructor and learner. Still the pupil might be required to imitate the teacher.

Taking Lilliestam’s different aspects of memory for remembering music as a starting point I should like to suggest some possible strategies involved in the processes of learning music (see *Table 6–1*). The table should not be seen as a model of learning music, but only as a presentation of concepts that might be used to understand various aspects of the complex processes of learning music. The word *perception* has been written against the three concepts ‘aural’, ‘visual’, and ‘tactile’ to separate them from ‘verbal’ which is associated with *language*. Lilliestam points out that the different ways of memorising music interact in complex ways.³⁶ Consequently, the table should not be read in a static sense. In

³³ Lilliestam, 1996: 201–202. See also Lilliestam, 1995: 45–50.

³⁴ Merriam, 1964: 147

³⁵ Merriam, 1964: 150

³⁶ Lilliestam, 1995: 48

Table 6-1. Possible strategies when learning music.

| | Type of memory | Learning strategy |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Perception</i> | Aural | Sounding music – imitation |
| | Visual | Written music – reconstruction Live/Picture – imitation |
| | Tactile/Motoric | Feel physically |
| <i>Language</i> | Verbal | Oral/Written – reconstruction Onomatopoeia – imitation |

most cases of musical learning more than one or often all strategies are used simultaneously or in a rotating or oscillating process of ‘time sharing’. All strategies imply some kind of interpretation and use of preunderstanding by the learner.

The concepts and strategies are also interdependent in ways not shown in the table. For instance, sounding music can often to some extent be visualised in written notation. If the sounding music is recorded it can be repeated and so share the stability-over-time property of writing. Oral onomatopoeic utterances very much resembles sounding music and can to some extent be heard as actual music. Canntaireachd, the old sung notational system of piobaireachd,³⁷ is a good example.

The various strategies can involve a teacher or not. For instance verbal knowledge of how to play may be transmitted orally by the teacher or can be read from a printed book. In both cases the learner must interpret the verbal message and try to perform it on the instrument. The big difference is the skilled teacher’s ability to structure the learning process mixing oral, aural and visual aspects of the playing technique, and the possibility of two-way communication.

In the table I differ between ‘imitation’ and ‘reconstruction’. By imitation a more immediate process is implied where the learner hears a musical phrase or sees a behaviour associated with the music making and tries to imitate it. An example of imitation might be trying to hold the instrument in the same way as the teacher or trying to imitate a certain finger position on the instrument. The concept reconstruction is used to denote the process involved in interpreting a written score or text, recreating the music or the musical behaviour. Here the learner must reconstruct the musical phrase or the behaviour from the score or the text before it

³⁷ For a short presentation of canntaireachd, see chapter two, page 48.

can be reproduced on the instrument. Chord or finger charts too must be reconstructed. To some extent they constitute a simple form of written music. Oral verbal utterances must be reconstructed into musical behaviour in a similar way.

Acculturation

Acculturation is a concept often used in connection with processes of change that occur when different cultures and traditions meet and affect each other. The word has been used in varying ways, but one feature commonly associated with the concept is that the involved cultures to some degree mutually affect each other, maybe leading to new syncretic expressions.³⁸

A related issue is to what extent a genre of music is changed when it is taken up by members of a new culture or even when it is performed to audiences of a different background. Bruno Nettl writes:

Exaggeration is a phenomenon resulting from the Western listener's expectation of great exoticism in the sound of non-Western music.³⁹

Lilliestam brings up a few examples of how black jazz musicians, such as Louis Armstrong and Sam Wooding, overemphasised certain traits of their own music when playing in front of white audiences. When white musicians started to play the music they tended to change the style of playing, maybe simplifying it. Drawing on his analyses of recordings of 'Hound Dog' Lilliestam continues:

Thus, it is foremost the surface building blocks that have been included or adapted in the acculturation process, whereas the deeper and more subtle, and consequently less accessible, building blocks have not been included.⁴⁰

It might, however, be difficult to distinguish between the underlying factors in these processes of change. They may be intentional, fuelled by audience demand, maybe due to a different function of the music in the new culture, or the musicians may have a particular interest in certain as-

³⁸ Lilliestam, 1998: 48

³⁹ Nettl, 1983: 352 (Italics as in original text.)

⁴⁰ Lilliestam, 1988: 188, original Swedish quotation: (Det är alltså främst de yttre formelementen som följt med eller anpassats i ackulturationsprocessen, medan de djupare och subtilare, och därmed svåråtkomligare, elementen inte följt med.)

pects of the music, leading to a situation where traits that are new or different are emphasised because they are cherished as exotic. On the other hand, changes may well be due to the fact that the musicians taking up a foreign genre might have misunderstood aspects of the music because of their different cultural background.⁴¹

How the Scandinavians Learned to Play the Pipes & Drums & Kept Passing on the Knowledge

Although the early piping and drumming pioneers had experienced something that had made them interested in learning to play, they shared the general cultural background of people in Scandinavia, including the iconic view of the Highland bagpipe as described in chapters two and five. There seems to be a peculiarly strong general opinion that if you play the Highland bagpipe you are (or at least ought to be) Scottish or at least of Scottish ancestry.⁴² From the viewpoint of the discussion about enculturation above, a hasty conclusion could be that it is easier to learn to play the pipes if you have grown up in Scotland. It was often assumed among the early Scandinavian pipers that Scandinavians could never be equally good pipers as Scotsmen. In the introduction to his second book of Scandinavian music for the Highland pipe, Mogens Zieler wrote:

I—we—love to listen to the Scottish (and Irish) tunes, especially when played by a Scottish master. We love to play them ourselves too, but know, that we shall never be able to play the wonderfull [sic!] music so well as a first class Scottish piper.⁴³

But, of course the simple fact is that most people in Scotland do not play bagpipes. Scotsmen in general will have heard live piping and drumming, and due to their cultural background they will have a different view of what pipe music is, but that does not mean that they automatically know more about how to play the instruments or know more about how the music is constructed. Maybe, the only individuals truly enculturated into the knowledge of playing an instrument are those who have grown up in an environment of musicians, for instance in the family. In the 1960s, as today, many of the better Scottish players (but far from all) had actually

⁴¹. See Lilliestam, 1988: 187–189

⁴². I would venture to say that players of pipe band drums are not so strongly connected to Scotland, except when they are wearing Highland dress.

⁴³. Zieler, 1973: 1

grown up in a family with piping traditions. Pipe Major Ronald Lawrie is indeed an example of a person who has grown up in such a piping environment and he tells about his childhood:

When I was born and brought up in Oban, I thought the whole world was piping because I had two uncles and cousins living in the same street, and they all played pipes, and there were a number of other pipers in the same street that played pipes. Quite a number in that area that I was born in and grew up in, and I thought this was the normal thing to do, to play pipes.⁴⁴

For those in Scotland without family connections in piping there were teachers, pipe bands and other organisations, such as the Boys' Brigade, offering piping and drumming tuition nearby.

The major difference in Scandinavia was that there was no existing piping or pipe band culture at all. It only existed to the pioneers as an imaginary vision, the elements of which had to be found and imported piece by piece and then reconstructed into some kind of functioning musical reality. However, this enterprise did not start from 'above' with a plan of how to achieve the goal. Initially, single individuals pursued their interest seeking knowledge in various ways about the bagpipe and its music, but at an early stage, many of these individuals found each other and started to interact, helping each other piecing together a small, but active, Scandinavian piping and drumming community.

Acquisition of Bagpipes Leading to Contacts & Tuition

The first pipers such as Mogens Zieler and Per Colliander largely started off the process of learning on their own, but still they made contacts with Scottish pipers at an early stage. During his first trip to Scotland in 1963, Per Colliander was introduced to the basics of Highland piping by an ex pipe-sergeant in the Kings' Own Scottish Borderers,⁴⁵ a man he had met in a pub.⁴⁶

As mentioned in chapter five, a common first action taken by the Scandinavian pioneers of Highland piping was to locate and buy sets of pipes. Surprisingly, some bought their first sets of pipes in music stores in Copenhagen and Oslo, although, these sets were often of the cheaper

⁴⁴ Lawrie, Ronald, interview, 29 Aug. 1999

⁴⁵ Högländer, 1988

⁴⁶ Colliander, Eva & Hans-Lennart, interview 27 July 1998

variety produced in Pakistan for the Scottish tourist industry.⁴⁷ For instance, Palle Schjerning first bought a Pakistani set in Copenhagen, but he soon found out that they were not particularly good and he ordered a new set from a pipe maker named Alexander.⁴⁸ In a few cases the Scandinavian music stores could also supply practice chanter and tutor books.

Others purchased their instruments and tutor books during trips to Scotland. Per Colliander bought his first set of pipes during his visit to Scotland in 1963, but he did not buy a practice chanter until somewhat later.⁴⁹ One of the most well-known piping shops to the early Scandinavian pipers was The Highland House, situated in the Lawnmarket on The Royal Mile in Edinburgh, only a few hundred yards away from the Esplanade in front of Edinburgh Castle, where the renowned tattoos are held. Bente Viuf from Copenhagen was one of those early piping enthusiasts who went into the shop, during a visit to Edinburgh in the late 1960s, and she continues:

We went into a shop, The Highland House in Edinburgh, and I said: “I would like to buy one of those bagpipes, one of the small ones.” He looks at me and then he says (it was Gordon Stobo himself) and he says: “Well, they are not worth anything”, he says, “you cannot play them, they are Pakistani pipes. Would it not be something to learn to play?” And in my total bewilderment I said yes, and ten minutes later I sat in the back room and got my first lesson from a piper in The Edinburgh City Police [Pipe Band].⁵⁰

The proprietor of the shop, Gordon Stobo, also informed Bente Viuf that there were a few pipers in Copenhagen and he directed her to the newly formed Gladsaxe Pipe Band, where she became a member.

At a visit in the same shop also in the late 1960s, Inge Willman, one of the inaugurators and the first pipe-major of The Hamilton Pipes & Drums in Malmö, was invited by a piper from the Edinburgh City Police

⁴⁷ Pakistani pipes: See footnote 72, page 197.

⁴⁸ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998

⁴⁹ Colliander, Eva & Hans-Lennart, interview, 27 July 1998

⁵⁰ Viuf, Bente, interview 29 June 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Vi [gik] ind i en butik, The Highland House i Edinburgh, og så siger jeg: ‘Jeg vil gerne købe sådan en sækkepibe, en sådan lille en.’ Så ser han på mig og så siger han (det var Gordon Stobo himself) så siger han: ‘Ja, de er ikke noget værd, dem kan man ikke spille på’, siger han, ‘det er pakistanske sækkepiber. Var det ikke noget at lære at spille?’ Og i min totale forvirring sagde jeg ja, og ti minutter efter sad jeg i baglokalet og fik min første lektion fra en piper fra Edinburgh City Police [Pipe Band].”

Pipe Band to inspect the supply of about 300 bagpipes in the basement. In addition, Willman was introduced to bagpipe maintenance and how to tie the stocks into a new pipe bag.⁵¹ Alf Sandek, the present pipe-major of The Thistle Pipe Band, went to Scotland around 1970, to buy a set of pipes. He had been directed to an old established pipe maker in The Royal Mile. Sandek worked for a summer in the shop, where he also got lessons from Pipe Major George Stoddart who used to visit the shop. Stoddart advised Sandek to contact The Thistle Pipe Band in Stockholm and he gave him Per Colliander's telephone number.⁵²

Once contacts had been established with Scottish pipe makers, instruments and accessories were increasingly acquired by mail order. Usually, the pipe makers also supplied Highland dress and pipe band uniforms, and items of dress were ordered in the same fashion.

Another opportunity to get first hand knowledge of the genre was when pipers or pipe bands visited Scandinavia. As mentioned in chapter three, P/M Ronald Lawrie visited both Denmark and Sweden several times as a piper in The City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band. In Copenhagen he met Mogens Zieler and in Stockholm Per Colliander, and he discussed piping with both these Scandinavian pioneers.⁵³ In the mid 1960s, the well-known Scottish piper, Jock Speirs was in Oslo playing for the whisky company Johnny Walker. Terje Andersen contacted Speirs at his hotel and had some tuition.⁵⁴ Later many well-known pipers have visited Scandinavia as adjudicators at competitions or invited as teachers by the bands.

The very first step of entering a bagpipe shop, such as The Highland House, apparently resulted in possibilities to meet and make contacts with knowledgeable pipers willing to give lessons, often at no cost. The Scottish pipers could even direct the beginners to existing newly formed Scandinavian groups with an interest in piping. The early Scandinavian piping enthusiasts met with experienced pipers in Scotland who were equally enthusiastic about the music, and who were willing not only to share their knowledge but also to assist in the formation of a Scandinavian piping community.

The major problem, however, was that tuition could only be had sporadically during short visits to Scotland or in connection with occasional

⁵¹ Willman, Inge, interview, 10 Aug. 1998

⁵² Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999

⁵³ Lawrie, Ronald, interview, 29 Aug. 1999 and 7. Colliander archives 1971. See also page 95.

⁵⁴ Andersen, Terje, interview, 19 Jan. 2002

visits to Scandinavia by experienced players. This meant that a lot of knowledge had to be made out of little tuition. Here the reader is reminded of the discussion earlier in this chapter about tacit and verbalised knowledge and learning by copying or by understanding. In situations where only a few lessons can be offered, it is plausible that the enthusiastic teacher, well aware of the time limit, will do everything to squeeze in as much information as possible in the short time span provided, and the student will be extremely motivated and attentive, trying to absorb as much as possible. Such a cherished session is likely to be very different from a recurring weekly lesson where the same information can be repeated and where there is time for the teacher to play a movement over and over again for the student to copy. In the single or rare lesson case, the teacher is more liable to find more descriptive verbalised ways of explaining the music so that the student can reconstruct it later. Likewise, the student, instead of just trying to copy the teacher, might be more inclined to verbalise the knowledge for himself and later to his colleagues at home. An additional fact accounting for more verbalised tuition was that the Scandinavian pioneers were adults or in their late teens when they got their first tuition, whereas beginners in Scotland are often children.

If this is the case, it would mean that the pipers and drummers in Scandinavia acquired a more verbalised knowledge of piping and drumming in comparison to their Scottish colleagues more tacit knowledge, partly acquired by rote – the copying over and over again of a phrase or movement repeatedly played by the teacher. This question is of course rather complicated. Most pipers can read music, but at the same time there is a tradition for learning by ear. According to P/M Robert Kilgour:

When I first joined the Scots Guards we almost never had any music on the table, and you used your eyes and you used your ears. [...] You went round the table with the tune [...] being played first of all by whoever was in charge of the practice [...] with the most expert players on his left hand and working right round to the least expert players on his right hand. By the time he got around to the newcomer [...] he may have heard the tune [between sixteen and a hundred times ...] so he should really know it by that time.⁵⁵

Mathias Cramér, who has a long experience teaching the pipes as a pipe-major in The Thistle Pipe Band and later in The Pipes & Drums of the 1st

⁵⁵ Kilgour, Robert, interview, 4 Nov. 1997

Royal Engineers, has pointed out that Scandinavian pipers, having to make use of every little scrap of tuition, often have come to a personal conclusion of how to play by carefully contemplating what different teachers have said. In his own words:

We are often starved on instruction and [...] we try to get the most out of very little. Talk about minimalism! You get a morsel which you try to squeeze the most out of, and sometimes you have had to weigh different instructors who have been saying different things and finally you reach your own conclusion regarding what they are actually doing themselves when you listen to it.⁵⁶

In addition, Cramér points out that Scandinavians are often more careful when writing the music in staff notation, but Scottish pipers often notate their own compositions erroneously. An explanation to this less exact notation can be that the interpreter within the tradition knows how to play the details anyway, whereas the Scandinavians having to bring home and reconstruct the genre after a few lessons have been more inclined to rely on written sources, paying more attention to exact notation as well as verbal comments.

Tutor Books

The most commonly used tutor books in Scandinavia have been *Logan's Complete Tutor for the Highland Bagpipe*⁵⁷ and *The College of Piping, Highland Bagpipe Tutor Parts 1–3*.⁵⁸ Both *Logan's Tutor* and *The College of Piping, part 1* present the basic finger technique of Highland piping, explaining how to play the scale and various movements and embellishments, although, *The College of Piping Tutor* gives much more detailed explanations of how every movement should be fingered, including pedagogical hints of how to practice. Both tutors also give the basics of music reading and a few words about music theory. *Logan's Tutor* presents the technique of ceòl beag in a few pages followed by a number of tunes. At

⁵⁶ Cramér, Mathias, interview, 11 Oct. 1999, transcription of original Swedish quotation: "Vi är ofta svältfödda på instruktioner och [...] vi försöker få ut det mesta möjligt ur det lilla. Snacka om minimalism alltså. Man får en liten fjäder och den suger man åt sig som sjutton och försöker mjölka ur det mesta man kan ur va, och ibland har man fått väga olika instruktörer som säger olika saker och så till slut kommer man fram till en egen hållning om at det där är nog det som de gör själva när man hör på det."

⁵⁷ MacLellan, J (ed.), 1963

⁵⁸ MacNeill & Pearston, no year.

the end of the book the basic technique of ceòl mòr is explained in a few pages, followed by the music for one piobaireachd. In *The College of Piping Tutor*, parts 1 and 3, the presentation of the technique of ceòl beag is interwoven with relevant tunes of various types and of increasing technical difficulty. Part 2 is a very comprehensive technical description of the bagpipe and its maintenance. Another bagpipe tutor is published in The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association's, *Tutor and Text Book Volumes I-II*,⁵⁹ but these were not so common as tutor books among the pioneers. In addition to the tutor books, there were quite a selection of Highland bagpipe music books available, covering more or less all of the traditional repertoire.

It is doubtful whether any of the two tutors is suitable or indeed written for self study without the aid of a teacher who can explain or at least sing or play the phrasing of embellishments, gracenotes and tunes. Considering the micro phrasing of embellishments and the agogics of pipe music, I think such a book is impossible to write. Still, many Scandinavians made quite a lot out of the knowledge in the books. For instance in 1968, Paul Martin Holm was instructed over the phone by Mogens Zieler to buy a practice chanter and a copy of *The College of Piping Tutor*, and then to follow the instructions in the book. Holm continued practising on his own for three months before he met any of the other pipers in the Pipers' Club of Copenhagen, but by then he had already superseded some of them in his ability to play.⁶⁰

There was also some information in the books about the maintenance and tuning of the instruments. According to Palle Schjerning: "There was nobody who could help, and when you tuned a set of pipes you had to read about how to do it."⁶¹

Another autodidact was Terje Andersen in Oslo, who learnt to play from *The College of Piping Tutor*. He did not find the technique difficult to understand, but initially he made some mistakes with the rhythm. These were later corrected by Jock Speirs at the meeting mentioned above. Andersen also read about how to set up a set of pipes with reeds.⁶²

⁵⁹ The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 1962 & 1971.

⁶⁰ Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998

⁶¹ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Der var ikke nogen til at hjælpe, og da man stemte en sækkepipe måtte man læse sig til det."

⁶² Andersen, Terje, interview, 19 Jan. 2002

Commercial Recordings

As in many other genres,⁶³ one of the greatest sources of knowledge and inspiration have been commercial recordings of pipe bands and solo pipers. In most cases, the pioneers bought records before they started to play, sometimes before they even thought of learning to play themselves. The records were also used to find out what tunes to play. According to Palle Schjerning:

We chose most of the tunes because we gradually acquired an astonishing collection of records. ‘That sounds good!’ Then we searched for the written music. We bought a lot of music books in Scotland, but we had no idea of what [...] to buy. But then we found that it was [in one of the books] and we played it because we liked it.⁶⁴

Often, the records have featured some of the best bands and players in Scotland. In general, this has been excellent because it has made it possible for the Scandinavians to hear piping and drumming at its best, or as Helle Kristjansen expresses it:

When you have heard records it has almost exclusively been grade one bands, so it is an unbelievably high standard you have heard, and of course it is the good ones that have been used as a yardstick. [...] The ultimate aim is to be just as good as them.⁶⁵

On the other hand, as Klaus Jespersen, one of the early Scandinavian drummers has pointed out, the Scandinavian pioneers did not always have enough knowledge to separate the good recordings from the poor ones.⁶⁶ As will become evident, there were also negative consequences connected to listening to professional players.

⁶³ See for instance Lilliestam, 1996: 206 and Green, 2001: 61.

⁶⁴ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: “De fleste melodier valgte vi jo fordi vi havde jo en utrolig pladesamling efterhånden, ikke. ‘Den lyder godt!’ Så fandt vi altså noderne frem til den. Man købte jo masser af bøger i Skotland, man anede ikke hvad [...] man skulle købe. Men så bagefter fandt vi ud af, at den var deri, og så spillede vi den, altså for at vi godt kunne lige den.”

⁶⁵ Kristjansen, Helle, interview, 29 July 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Når man har hørt plader så er det jo næsten altid grad et orkester, og det er en utrolig høj standard man har hørt, og der så det, man har brugt som målestok, det har selvfølgelig været de gode. [...] Det ultimative mål man har der er at blive lige så god som dem.”

⁶⁶ Jespersen, Klaus, interview 4 Feb. 1999

Early Scandinavian Pipe Band Drumming

In many ways the situation for drumming differed from that of piping. It was not until some of the early piping enthusiasts decided to form pipe bands, in the late 1960s, that drummers were involved. The drums are an important part of a pipe band, but they are not imbued with romantic, iconic connections in the same way as the Great Highland Bagpipe. In addition, there were already existing traditions for march drumming in Scandinavia, which meant that although pipe band drumming differed a lot from Danish or Swedish military drumming it was not seen as equally exotic as Highland piping.

As mentioned in chapter three, a difference between Denmark and Sweden is the Danish tradition of having flute and drum corps within the youth organisations FDF and FPF.⁶⁷ Many Danish pipe band drummers have been recruited from these corps. In Sweden there is no such tradition of youth drum corps and many pipe band drummers instead have a background in civilian brass bands or as army drummers.

As mentioned in chapter three, the drum corps of The Gladsaxe Pipe Band, one of the two Danish pioneer bands in the late 1960s, had its origins in an FDF drum corps. One of these early drummers, Klaus Jespersen, explains that they found the Scottish style of drumming very different from the Danish FDF style, which to a great extent consisted of old nineteenth century march beatings. Pipe band drumming was much more varied and elaborate with more beats per time unit and more intricate rudiments. In addition, there were both marches and other music in a variety of time signatures and tempos, and the style of playing was lighter and more varied. In comparison to the marching drums used by the FDF drum corps, the pipe band side drums were more technically developed and had a crisper sound as they were equipped with nylon heads instead of heads of skin. Initially, Jespersen found as highly impractical, the Scottish practice where the leading drummer of every band produces band specific drum scores to more or less every well-known tune, although later he realised that this gave a specific sound to every band and made playing more interesting.⁶⁸

Jens Hedegaard, mentioned in chapter three as one of the initiators of The Holbæk Pipe Band and with a background as a drummer in the FDF,

⁶⁷ FDF and FPF: See chapter three, footnote 48, page 107 and text and quotation on page 160.

⁶⁸ Jespersen, Klaus, interview, 4 Feb. 1999

points out that FDF drummers often saw Scottish drumming as a challenge because it was considered more difficult, and he goes on:

In FDF, when we wanted to be cool, and wanted to show off [...] we played what we called Scottish drumming, and we played it to flutes playing ‘The Green Hills of Tyrol’ and ‘Scotland the Brave’ and ‘We are No Awa Tae Bide Awa’.⁶⁹

Again, The Edinburgh Military Tattoo, broadcast on television, functioned as a source of inspiration. Beatings were written down from commercial recordings, which were of even greater importance to the drummers than the pipers as there has never been many published books with drum scores. Talking about the period before he was engaged in the pipe band community, Jens Hedegaard says:

I had sixteen drum salutes, which I had written down from records before I started in this piping bustle, and I could play them all, but I did not fully know what they were doing.⁷⁰

Ole Venø, the other initiator of The Holbæk Pipe Band, describes the time consuming process of learning beatings by ear directly from the recordings:

I buy records, and then on the gramophone I play a section, then move the pick-up back and listen to the section again and again and again, and in that way learn to play something that sounds similar, but I have no scores, so I play by ear only.⁷¹

In The White Hackle Pipe Band, the other pioneer band in Copenhagen, the Scotsman Hamish Barclay, M.B.E., mentioned in chapter three, be-

⁶⁹ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “I det her FDF, når vi skulle være seje, når vi skulle spille og vise noget vi var dygtige [til] [...] så spillede vi hvad vi kaldte skotsk tromning, og det spillede vi til fløjte der spillede ‘Green Hills’ og ‘Scotland the Brave’ og ‘We Are No Awa Tae Bide Awa’.”

⁷⁰ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Jeg havde seksten drum salutes, som jeg selv havde skrevet ned fra plader, før jeg startede i det her pipe-halløj, og jeg kunne spille dem allesammen, men jeg vidste ikke helt hvad det var de lavede.”

⁷¹ Venø, Ole, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Så køber jeg plader, og så, på grammofonen, og spiller et stykke, og tager pickuppen tilbage igen og hør stykket igen og igen og igen og lær så at spille noget der lyder sådan, men jeg har ikke noder, så jeg spiller udelukkende per øre.”

came the leading-drummer after a few years. Barclay, who lived in Denmark and was married to a Dane, had a background as a drummer in The Royal Air Force Pipe Band. He was a keen Highland dancer and was also the president of The St. Andrew Society of Denmark for many years.⁷²

In The Thistle Pipe Band in Stockholm the situation was similar. Their first drum corps was formed by the Scottish architect Bill Pardon, who lived in Stockholm. He had been a drummer in The Gordon Highlanders Cadet Corps in Scotland.⁷³ Bill Pardon was also invited to teach the first drummers in the Hamilton Pipes & Drums in Malmö in the early 1970s.⁷⁴

When The Gothenburg City Pipe Band was formed in 1974, Olle Fagrell, a keen drummer with a long experience in Swedish march drumming, started to build the drum corps. His style of playing in the pipe band was, however, always tinted with the sound of Swedish march drumming. In 1975, through the piping teacher James Kirkpatrick, the drummers of the band made contact with and received tuition from the Scottish drummer David Good.⁷⁵

A major difference between the early pipers and the early drummers was that there was no existing piping culture in Scandinavia, but there was a long tradition of march drumming. The early Scandinavian drummers used their existing knowledge of march drumming as a point of departure when they started to play in the pipe bands. In comparison to the piping pioneers, they had a very different preunderstanding of what they were going to engage in (Cf. the discussion of cultural learning above on page 210).

Although the Danish bands have had the advantage of recruiting drummers from the FDF scout bands, this has sometimes caused problems because of the preunderstanding of the drummers. According to Leif Fomsgaard, who has been the chairman and the pipe-major of The Aarhus Pipes & Drums:

There have been some problems on the drumming side because some come along who has been playing in the FDF for many years, and consequently they consider themselves as very experienced and that means that they join in and there is a totally different technique and some can relearn very fast whereas others have to start all over again, giving the result that some have not used enough energy. They thought they could

⁷² Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998

⁷³ Högländer, 1988

⁷⁴ Willman, Inge, interview, 10 Aug. 1998

⁷⁵ Retrospective participant observations as a member of the early GCPB 1974–1976.

just join in on a free ticket, and that everything was just easy, and that after three practice nights they could join the band, but when they realised that this was not the case they were not prepared to put in the necessary effort and they left again.⁷⁶

In cases where the learner's 'old' knowledge is not quite adequate for the situation, or where its perspective prevents the individual from seeing the new ideas, the preunderstanding can be an obstacle in the way, rather than a help, when learning to play a new instrument or a new style.

The concept of 'heavy percussion'⁷⁷ used in FDF drum corps, can be used to further elucidate the influence of preunderstanding. The heavy FDF percussion section consists of bass drum, Danish 'tenor drum' and cymbals, and the beatings are comparatively simple. For an FDF drummer it might be natural to compare the bass and tenor drums in a pipe band with the heavy percussion section in an FDF drum corps. Marie Nordström, who has taught bass and tenor drumming in most Scandinavian pipe bands, have pointed out that drummers with a background in an FDF heavy percussion section, sometimes find it difficult perceive the difference between the lighter pipe band style of playing and the FDF heavy percussion style of playing.⁷⁸

According to Klaus Jespersen, the tenor drum was new to the Danish pioneers, and nobody could teach how to play it.⁷⁹ This implies that the Scottish side and bass drums were likened with the Danish FDF bass and march drums, in spite of both the technical differences between the instruments and the style of playing. For some reason, the Swedish pipe bands have always taken a greater interest in tenor drumming than the Danish bands, especially the visual show of flourishing and feathering. One reason for this was the interest in the military drill and visual aspects of the genre in the early Swedish bands. Although, according to Marie Nordström, there was not much tuition to be had when she started to play

⁷⁶ Fomsgaard, Lejf, interview, 18 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: "På trommesiden har det været problem fordi det kommer nogen som har spillet i FDF i mange år og det vil sige de betragter sig selve som meget erfarne og det vil sige at de kommer ind og det er en helt anden teknik og for nogen kan de meget hurtigt omstille sig og andre de [skal] helt ind fra bunden a og det har også gjort at nogen der ikke har ydet den energi, de troede de bare kunne komme med sådan på en fribillet og det var bare nemt og tre øveaftener så var de med der, og det har de så oplevet at det ikke var og ikke været indstillede på, at yde det der skulle ydes og de har så faldet fra igen."

⁷⁷ Danish: 'tungt slagtøj'

⁷⁸ Nordström, Marie, several informal discussions.

⁷⁹ Jespersen, Klaus, interview, 4 Feb. 1999

the tenor drum in The Griffin Pipes & Drums in 1980, and Nordström sought every opportunity to learn more from visiting Scottish military tenor drummers at Scandinavian pipe band competitions.

A common view among the early Scandinavian players was that the bass and tenor drums were simple to master and that expert tuition was not really necessary, but this was not always the view of the Scottish expertise. For instance, at James Kirkpatrick's first visit to The Gothenburg City Pipe Band in 1975, he emphasised the importance of a steady bass drummer with a good sense of rhythm and correct playing technique for the overall musicality and sound of the band.⁸⁰

If there were few tutor books for the Highland bagpipe there were even less for pipe band drumming. To a great extent, drumming was, and still is, taught orally and aurally. There were particularly two books available to the Scandinavian pioneers: The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, *Tutor and Text Book Volumes I-II*, where the basics of pipe band drumming are described.⁸¹ Very few side drum beatings had been published and practically no beatings for the bass and tenor drums, the major reason being that every drum corps tended to play band specific scores.

Practising

In general, pipe bands in Scandinavia practise according to the same routines as Scottish bands. First, the pipe corps and the drum corps play separated in different rooms on practice chanters and practice pads, often sitting around a table. The bass and tenor drummers often play with their sticks directly on the table as their sticks are softer. The tunes and embellishments or details of beatings are discussed and practised and played over and over again, and are finally learnt by heart. Sometimes pipers and drummers play together on practice chanters and pads. Then the pipes are tuned up and the pipers and drummers play together on the big instruments, most of the time standing in a circle, but sometimes a band practice also incorporates a short spell of playing and marching in ranks and files.

Possibly, this is a logical way to pursue a band practice, but probably the Scandinavian pioneers were also influenced of how to run things during visits to Scotland. Paul Martin Holm had regular tuition at The College

⁸⁰. Retrospective participant observation, at James Kirkpatrick's visit to Gothenburg, in Dec. 1975.

⁸¹. The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 1962 & 1971.

of Piping for two weeks, in 1969.⁸² During visits to Scotland, the pioneers often tried to contact pipe bands to visit their band practices. For instance in 1973, members of The Heather Pipes & Drums visited the Muirheads & Sons Ltd. Pipe Band and The Shotts & Dykehead Pipe Band, two of the best bands in Scotland at that time.⁸³ There were also a few Scottish players around in Scandinavia.

The Strong Playing Tradition of the Great Highland Bagpipe

In many ways, the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe is rather minimalistic, with its soundscape of the mere nine notes of the scale played against the soundscape of the drones. Some tunes, especially in *ceòl mòr*, are often pentatonic or even built on four notes only. Still the repertoire of pipe music is vast and pipers can spend a lifetime studying and playing it. One reason is that Scottish piping is a genre of music where every little detail is given great importance. In addition to the basic melody notes, the music is richly embellished with standardised grace notes.

Pipers are trained to pay attention to detail, and when knowledge is passed on to students of pipe music, the reverence for detail is passed on in the very process of teaching. This means that the beginner is schooled into a tradition where there is little or no room for personal influence until the playing style of the tradition is learnt. Once the piper, through hard labour, has learnt to appreciate the minute details of traditional piping, he in his turn is liable to pass on a quite unchanged style of playing to new generations of pipers. He becomes the tradition. The piping competitions, having been a major part of the genre for over 200 years, have indeed given priority to certain styles of playing and have consequently played a major role in the development of the homogeneous playing style of today.

Thus, the learning tradition of the Great Highland Bagpipe with its master pipers and formal competitions can definitely be described as a strong tradition in Rolf's terminology (see page 213). As mentioned above, Lilliestam considers rock and folk music obvious examples of music with weak traditions of learning. This supports my view that Highland piping is not a typical example of folk music, but is better described as formal traditional music. On the other hand, Highland piping shares other typical features of folk music such as its vertical transmission from master

⁸² Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998

⁸³ Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998

to pupil, as described by Tomas Saar (see page 214). The serious student of bagpipe music is meticulously taught the exact fingering of the tradition as it has developed into modern times, and this applies to both *ceòl mòr* and *ceòl beag*. With very few exceptions, the basic finger technique of the various embellishments differs very little between different players of a reasonable playing standard. The major technical differences between players are to be found first of all in how exact they perform the same finger movements. From beginning amateurs to professionals aim at playing the same type of technique, and with very few exceptions the same technique is played by pipers in Scotland, Canada, Australia and everywhere else where this genre exists, including Scandinavia.⁸⁴ It should be made clear that there are many amateur players of the Highland bagpipe and naturally not everybody are expert players, but in general a majority try to play some form of the complicated technique.

When it comes to the playing and phrasing of tunes, the situation is similar, although, there are some differences between *ceòl mòr* and *ceòl beag*. The traditional light music is basically played and phrased similarly by most pipers of a reasonable standard. Obviously, different pipers phrase and play tunes in slightly different ways, but the variance in most cases is not great, although, the insiders can indeed hear it. In *ceòl mòr* there is more variance, especially as the theme and variations are played in varying rhythms and tempos, often without a definite beat. Here the line of teaching from piper to piper (or in recent time from recordings) can be traced more easily. Still, most players of *piobaireachd* today tend to play and phrase a certain tune in similar ways. The fact that all music is learnt by heart (usually from the printed music on the practice chanter) and is never performed on the bagpipe directly from the written music, probably strengthens and preserves the impact of the oral teaching.

Although the tunes and the embellishments are minutely notated in printed music, every player's style is influenced by his teacher. As an example of this, I will discuss the variants of the piping embellishment 'throw on D' in Scotland and Scandinavia. This discussion will also further emphasise how closely the Scandinavian style of playing adheres to that in Scotland. On the other hand, the example will also point to the phenomena that 'exported' cultures to some extent can retain older traits that have been abandoned in the original culture.

⁸⁴ Of course there are people around the world who happen to own a set of Great Highland Bagpipes playing them in ways totally foreign to the tradition, not aiming to learn the traditional style of playing, but those cases fall outside the objectives of this thesis.

The Throw on D – One of the Few Examples of Clearly Different Playing Styles

The ‘throw on D’ is one of the most common complex embellishments in Highland piping, existing in most tunes in ceòl beag and many tunes in ceòl mòr. It is, however, one of the few movements that is played in two distinctly different ways. The two methods can be seen in *Example 6–1*. Most players tend to play one of the two in all types of tunes, but some players use both types, but in different contexts. In printed music the movement has come to be, more or less, exclusively represented by the variant with one G, but it is still played by different pipers with one or two Gs according to their own taste.

Example 6–1. The two different versions of *the throw on D*



Among pipers, there is sometimes a discussion about which movement is correct, often with each individual’s playing style as the point of reference. There is, however, evidence that both styles have old roots. In his thesis about the first piping competitions in Scotland, Iain MacInnes points out that there is written evidence that both styles existed at the time when pipers started to write their music in staff notation.⁸⁵ Donald MacDonald writes the throw on D with two low Gs in his *Collection of Ancient Martial Music*, published in 1820. In *The Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe* by Joseph MacDonald, written about 1760, and in Angus MacKay’s *Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd*, published in 1838, the lighter throw on D with one G only, is used. So clearly, both styles were played around 1800. How it was played before that, nobody knows, as there are no recordings. In the written version of the canntairachd, the singing notation of ceòl mòr which preceded staff notation, the vocable is *tra*, maybe suggesting a rather heavy sound.

In Scandinavia, both playing styles exist side by side. The most probable reason for this is that those Scandinavians who have had original tuition from Scottish players, advocating one variant, have continued to play and in their turn teach that variant. This, in spite of the fact, with very

⁸⁵ MacInnes, 1988: 276

few exceptions, that only one variant (the one with one G) is used in printed pipe music. There are also examples of Scandinavian players who have changed from one style to the other when changing bands or teachers. Again, this proves the importance given to the oral teaching from the more experienced piper to the beginner. It also exemplifies the level of importance given to small details in Highland piping, and that these small details have also come to be regarded in Scandinavia.

Without having made any investigation, but after having heard many pipers live and on recordings, I would venture to say that most of the best and more well-known players in Scotland today use the lighter (one G) throw on D. I do not know the reason for this. A number of Scandinavian pipers still play the heavier movement. One reason for this might be that a few Scottish teachers were very influential in Scandinavia at an early stage, and that among them there just happened to be representatives of both playing styles. Another explanation could be that at the time the music was first brought to Scandinavia, in the 1960s and early 70s, there were more players in Scotland of the heavier throw than today. In any case, the heavy throws in Scandinavia might be an example of a feature of the, now slightly changed, original culture, preserved in Scandinavia. Maybe, due to reverence paid to the precious imported culture.

However, I would venture to say that the minor differences in the playing of the throw on D is one of very few possible differences between the playing styles of Scandinavia and Scotland. Especially, competing bands in Scandinavia keep informed of the state of the genre in Scotland and keep up to date regarding what type of music that is played by the best bands and what type of pipe and drum sound that is in vogue.

Reconstructing a Genre of Music

In an article discussing field experience and field methods in ethnomusicology and the insider/outsider issue from a dialectic point of view, the American ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice describes how he learnt to play the Bulgarian bagpipe, the gaida, and how he was taught by Kostadin Varimezov, one of Bulgaria's finest pipers. He writes that initially he had mastered certain aspects of the playing technique, but he continues:

I had failed to understand how to create the characteristic high-pitched ornaments that seemed so crucial to the bagpiper's style. Kostadin could not explain them to me in words, gestures or musical notation the way he could melody, rhythm, and articulation, and whenever I

tried to insert them by lifting my thumb before the melody note, he would complain that I had “lost the style” and that I did not yet have “bagpiper’s fingers.”⁸⁶

Later, by slowing down tapes of Kostadin’s playing, Rice managed to analyse the music and he realised that the ornaments were more complicated than he had thought or heard initially. With that knowledge he improved his playing greatly by practising the complicated movements slowly and then gradually brought the speed up. His high-pitched embellishments and playing were later approved by Kostadin and other Bulgarians as true Bulgarian piping. Rice goes on to say that when he “solved the mystery of the bagpiper’s fingers, [he] “did so in dialogue with Kostadin’s tradition of playing, preserved in recordings.”⁸⁷ His understanding of the music was neither emic nor etic, but “fell right into the gap between insider and outsider.”⁸⁸ He could now explain verbally what the insider could not, so his understanding was not emic, but by engaging in the playing of the music his understanding was not quite etic either. He felt as if he had found a mediation between these two theoretical categories.

In comparison to Rice’s adventure into Bulgarian piping, the Scandinavian pioneers of piping had a somewhat easier position as Highland piping from an emic point of view was presented in very exact notation, described in tutor books and to some extent available by means of oral teaching. The piping pioneers had acquired instruments, they had access to recordings as well as tutor and music books and some had received a few sporadic lessons from pipers in the tradition, and by means of these sources they started to learn to play. All the strategies discussed above (aural, visual, tactile and verbal) were used in this process, but depending on circumstances and individual preferences, different individuals approached the music from various angles. Some, such as Paul Martin Holm and Terje Andersen mentioned above, managed to learn a lot just by reading a tutor book, playing according to written instructions. Others, having difficulty finding out how to read music, trusted their ability to use their ears, and they listened to recordings of tunes they wanted to learn and then learned to read the music once they were familiar with the tune.

Lilliestam points out that it is difficult to copy exactly what you hear on a record. There are several reasons for this, such as the musical ability and preconceptions of the listener, the acoustics of the recording and the

⁸⁶ Rice, 1997: 108

⁸⁷ Rice, 1997: 110

⁸⁸ Rice, 1997: 110

complexity of the music played.⁸⁹ In the Bulgarian example above it is clear that Rice did not perceive the complexity of the embellishments until he slowed down the recording. It is easier to hear finer points if you know what to listen for. The embellishments of Highland piping too are difficult to hear for the untrained listener.⁹⁰

Both the strategies of recreating the music from books and a few lessons and trying to copy the music heard on records were used by the pioneers in the learning process. Eager to become pipers and with little or no guidance the pioneers often overlooked, misunderstood or simply ignored the small details to which so much attention is paid in traditional piping. For instance, correct fingering without crossing noises⁹¹ proved difficult to learn from books and the embellishments were often smothered over. In addition, many tunes above the ability of beginners were attempted. But in fact, these are common features of beginners learning to play the Highland bagpipe, not only in Scandinavia but in Scotland too.

To learn to play the embellishments correctly is a time consuming process involving a lot of practice. To be able to play the embellishments at the correct speed in a tune a beginner must start off by playing the tune very slowly with the embellishments played open and controlled, gradually bringing up the speed to the point where the embellishments fit into the tune.⁹² The same embellishment can be played and phrased differently depending on the context and the type of tune. In general, the pioneers only had access to recordings of full bodied musicians playing at a high tempo. They had nobody nearby to explain the micro phrasing of the embellishments and demonstrate them slowly. Although the printed music displays in detail all the minute gracenotes the pioneers often smothered them over. Part of the explanation might be that the aural source of the

⁸⁹ Lilliestam, 1988: 212

⁹⁰ At a few musicology conferences I have played excerpts from pipe band recordings from the 1960s with pipers and drummers playing in unison, asking the audience to listen closely for details, and even when the example is repeated, with the written music including all embellishments displayed on the overhead projector, the non-piping audience of musicologists finds it difficult to hear the detailed embellishments.

⁹¹ 'Crossing noises' or 'change over notes' are short unintentional notes heard between intentional notes due to faulty fingering.

⁹² In a test made by E. Geoffrey Walsh, The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, the finger control of Highland pipers generally proved to be considerably higher than that of other instrumentalists and non-musicians (Walsh, 2003, 'Scientific Test Prove Pipers Surpass All Others in Fingering' in *Piping Times*, Vol. 55, No. 4, Jan. 2003).

recordings were used more as a source for interpretation than the printed music, but most certainly the most pressing factor was the urge of a majority of the pioneers to dress up in kilts and go out and perform in the streets. The latter explanation also accounts for the number of premature performers in Scotland and elsewhere, including Scandinavia, today. Beginners are often rushed so that bands can perform (and compete) with more players.

Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm and Owe Ronström points out that authenticity is often seen as more important in diasporic cultures.⁹³ From the very start, the pioneers had an ideal to play and dress in a correct Scottish style. A certain amount of authenticity was needed to legitimise the Scandinavian adoption of the Scottish culture, but the time consuming process of learning to play the technically difficult music had to be weighed against the urge to play as soon as possible. For the same reason, parts of the cherished but expensive ‘Highland’ uniforms were often home made due to lack of funding.

Still, a number of the Scandinavian pioneers kept improving their playing. As mentioned, there are many mediocre players in Scotland, where there are a number of excellent players and teachers around to ask for help, whereas some of the early Scandinavian players made ‘a lot’ out of books, recordings and a little tuition. Probably, the most important factor for success was the varying amount of dedication and hard work put into the project by different individuals, coupled with an ability to create a personal skill out of the pieces of advice and knowledge found in books and from Scottish teachers. According to P/M Robert Kilgour:

[The early Scandinavian pipers] gathered their knowledge, you could say, of piping from several different personalities in Scotland, and of course used their brains and intelligence to read and understand properly the piping tutors that were around at the time.⁹⁴

Mathias Cramér’s reflection, mentioned above, that Scandinavian pipers have pieced together a personal knowledge by contemplating scraps of tuition from various teachers seems to be well in line with Rice’s experience of a mediation between an emic and an etic understanding of the music. Klaus Jespersen, points out that in trying to figure out what they were doing in Scotland in order to reproduce the music, his approach to Scottish drumming became analytical.⁹⁵ He remarks that most Danish

⁹³ Lundberg et al., 2000: 79

⁹⁴ Kilgour, Robert, interview, 4 Nov. 1997

pipe band drummers have been able to read music. At a visit of Danish drummers to Scotland, the famous drummer Alex Duthart used the Danes' ability to read music to tease his own Scottish drummers who were not so good at reading music. It was also good for the self confidence of the Danish drummers.⁹⁶

For obvious reasons, the knowledge that was most difficult to perceive and learn was the micro phrasing of embellishments and the agogics in the phrasing of various tunes, especially in *ceòl mòr*, or as the late Pipe Major Angus MacDonald, M.B.E., expressed it: "You have to find the song in the tune."⁹⁷ This type of knowledge cannot be read from the printed sheet and although the song can be heard from a recording, it is difficult for an untrained player to produce that song on the pipes without stumbling on all the embellishments. Maybe, only those learners who combine a keen ear with the luck of getting lessons from a good player have a chance to penetrate these inner secrets of the music.

As mentioned, the pioneers made contact with some of the best pipers and drummers in Scotland at an early stage. Klaus Jespersen has pointed out that the Scandinavian piping and drumming community has never had to go through the "Scottish hierarchy" of players when inviting teachers and adjudicators.⁹⁸ It is remarkable that these Scottish expert players offered their help to the emerging Scandinavian piping and drumming community and that they have continued to offer tuition to Scandinavian pipers and drummers. Maybe, they have been flattered that people from abroad took an interest in their music. Furthermore, they have been given the opportunity to travel. Some of them were involved with firms selling bagpipes and Highland dress, and most certainly they also sought new markets for their products. I believe, however, that their major reason was a genuine interest in sharing their knowledge, a sharing of knowledge which is part of the core of a strong tradition. Bertil Rolf writes that within the strong tradition

allegiance to the ideals of the tradition must be inculcated in the young apprentice. The master must implant into the apprentice the knowledge necessary to have his performance rewarded within the tradition.⁹⁹

⁹⁵: Jespersen, Klaus, interview, 4 Feb. 1999

⁹⁶: Jespersen, Klaus, interview, 4 Feb. 1999

⁹⁷: MacDonald, Angus, informal discussion at the Scandinavian Championships, Copenhagen, 3 June 1995.

⁹⁸: Jespersen, Klaus, interview, 4 Feb. 1999

The passing on to new generations of the accepted knowledge is of paramount importance for the survival of the strong tradition and the very principle of sharing is likely to be enculturated or incorporated in the apprentice along with the other knowledge passed on. In addition, some of the Scandinavians had a very serious interest in the music of the pipes and drums and their keen earnest interest is likely to have inspired the Scottish teachers.

When the early Scandinavian players met with serious Scottish piping teachers they were sometimes advised to go back and learn from the start as beginners. The Scottish bagpipe maker James Kirkpatrick (see page 246), who taught many pipers on the west coast of Sweden, made the following remark to Frank Jonsson, a member of The Murray Pipes & Drums:

So many young people in Sweden listen to a tape and then try to play at the same speed and the same type of tunes; now, this is impossible, one cannot do it. We must be patient, learn the techniques, good fingerwork and the melodies first, then we can try to become a much better piper.¹⁰⁰

Various individuals have different goals and ambitions with their engagement in a musical genre. In addition, some are fast learners others need more time. Thus, what is considered correct or acceptable playing varies between individuals and groups as well as for an individual and within a group over time. When met with stern comments rooted in professional, elitist and competitive piping, some players lost their interest in playing alternatively decided to ignore them and keep playing in a less rigorous style, admittedly played by many Scottish street or gala bands and less competition oriented solo players. Other Scandinavian players were challenged by the difficulty and minimalistic charm of competitive piping and drumming and they increased their efforts to learn the traditional style of playing.

To a large extent the early pioneers were autodidacts. They endeavoured to learn the strong tradition of Highland piping and pipe band drumming, but in a situation where there was no tradition, let alone a

⁹⁹ Rolf, 1991: 150, original Swedish text: "Trohet mot traditionens ideal måste inskräpas i den unge lärlingen. Mäster måste till lärlingen förmedla kunskap som behövs för att få prestationerna belönade inom traditionen."

¹⁰⁰ Kirkpatrick, James, cassette tape, early 1980s, MPD Archives, MPD JK 5. This is the second part of Kirkpatrick's statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

strong tradition in Bertil Rolf's terminology. Using Tomas Saar's concept, it can be said that they tried to learn piping and drumming horizontally, helping each other in a process of learning to learn together. They engaged in a genre of music which was traditionally transmitted vertically from master to pupil or in pipe bands with military traditions, but by necessity their initial relation to this strong genre was free and independent.

The earliest Scandinavian piping culture was a weak one without any real authorities. Many of the early pioneers sought an identity in the colourful genre of piping and drumming, and for some the initial interest in piping involved elements of romantic escapism. Recalling Roger Säljö's discussion about the particular communicative pattern in formalised institutional learning and various individuals' adaptability to such learning situations, I suggest that the fact that there was no existing Scottish piping culture was of importance for some of the pioneers' interest in the genre. Many of them sought a niche of their own where they would be at the centre of interest. Had there been an existing strong culture with more structured channels of learning some of them would not have felt at home. The few momentary meetings with the strong culture in Scotland did not last long enough to put them off and was rather used to further their own positions at home.

The Inside of the Desired Icon

Scottish Players of Material Importance for the Dissemination of Piping & Drumming to Scandinavia

A number of Scottish pipers and drummers have been involved in bringing knowledge to the Scandinavian piping and drumming culture. The majority have acted as instructors to Scandinavian pipers visiting Scotland or have been invited by the bands to teach in Scandinavia. A few Scottish players who live or have been living in Scandinavia have been more personally involved in the creation of a Scandinavian piping and drumming culture. Some of those primarily connected to one band have been mentioned in the presentations of the bands in chapter three, but there are a few players who have had a more general impact.

ROBERT ALLAN MILLER,¹⁰¹ was born in Edinburgh and he started to learn to play the pipes in The Boys' Brigade at the age of thirteen. Miller was a successful art student and he became a professional sculptor. His studies were interrupted as he had to serve time in the army during the Sec-

ond World War. He was not enlisted as a piper, but he played pipes in his spare time.

After the war, when he graduated from The Glasgow School of Arts, Miller was given two scholarships, and the director of the college suggested that Miller should continue his studies in Copenhagen. By the end of the 1940s, Miller went to Copenhagen to study sculpture at Kunstakademin. In Copenhagen he met his wife to be, a drama student, and in 1950, they married in Denmark. For five years they lived in Sunderland in England, where Miller worked as a teacher at an art college, but they then decided to go back to Denmark. Robert Miller opened a small gallery in Strøget, in the centre of Copenhagen, and he used to play his pipes every day in the gallery. Around 1957, Mogens Zieler met Miller in the shop and invited him to The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen. Miller became a regular member of the club and he taught many of the early Scandinavian pipers there.

As mentioned in chapter three, Robert Miller became one of the founders and the first pipe-major of The Gladsaxe Pipe Band in 1969,¹⁰² and he stayed on as pipe-major until 1972.¹⁰³ He was then invited to play with The White Hackle Pipe Band,



Photograph 6–1. Robert Miller playing in The Royal Mile in Edinburgh.

Photo: Mats d Hermansson, 1999.

¹⁰¹ If not otherwise stated the presentation builds on an interview with Robert Miller made in Edinburgh, 31 Aug. 1999. Before the interview me and my colleague Sven Axelsson were invited by Miller to play with him for the tourists in The Royal Mile, which we did. Playing in the street me and Miller were then engaged to play at a wedding in Edinburgh the same afternoon.

¹⁰² See 'Gladsaxe Pipe Band, Later The Heather Pipes & Drums (HP&D)' on page 107.

¹⁰³ Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998

which he did for a couple of years. In 1979, Miller and his wife moved back to Scotland, and at the time of the interview (1999) they lived in Kilconquhar northeast of Edinburgh, across the Firth of Forth. The photograph of Robert Miller (*Photograph 6-1*) was taken in Edinburgh in The Royal Mile, where he is often seen and heard playing to the tourists during the summer season, in spite of being in his eighties.

PIPE MAJOR ROBERT L. KILGOUR, M.B.E.,¹⁰⁴ has been a great asset to the Scandinavian piping community since 1979 when he moved to Copenhagen with his wife Bente Viuf, the Danish piper mentioned earlier. Robert Kilgour started his piping career at the age of sixteen and was taught in Edinburgh by P/M George Ackroyd. Kilgour played with the pipe band of the Home Guard in Edinburgh between 1941 and 1944. In 1944, he joined the Scots Guards in London where he became a member of the pipe band in 1945. He took his pipe-major's course¹⁰⁵ at Edinburgh Castle under P/M William Ross in 1946. In the Scots Guards, Kilgour reached the rank of pipe-sergeant and he was then appointed pipe-major in The Seaforth Highlanders for some time, but decided to go back to the Scots Guards, where he became the pipe-major of the 2nd battalion in 1962.¹⁰⁶ Robert Kilgour retired from the army in 1966 and



Photograph 6-2. Pipe Major Robert Kilgour, M.B.E., Copenhagen tuning a set of miniature pipes made by his brother George Kilgour, Edinburgh.

Photo: Mats d Hermansson, 1996.

¹⁰⁴. If not otherwise stated this section builds on an interview with Robert Kilgour 4 Nov. 1997 and a questionnaire filled in by him, 4 Nov. 1997.

¹⁰⁵. Comprehensive course in piping including piobaireachd required for British army pipers aspiring to the rank of pipe-major.

¹⁰⁶. Scots Guards, 1965: xiv

started to work as a civil servant at the Ministry of Defence at the Headquarters Scotland Army in Edinburgh.

When he moved to Copenhagen he joined The Heather Pipes & Drums, where he played from 1979 until 1982. He was the pipe-major of the A band between 1980 and 1982. Since then, Kilgour has been the adjudicator at innumerable Scandinavian piping competitions and he has taught many pipers and bands in both Denmark and Sweden. With his great knowledge of piping and bagpipes in general, and piobaireachd in particular, he has been a major source of inspiration and knowledge for many Scandinavian pipers. In addition to being a judge at The Copenhagen Winter Competition, Kilgour has often functioned as the *fear an tìghe* (Gaelic: man of the house, expression used for host or compere) at the traditional recital given by the judges coming from abroad. Robert Kilgour, was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire¹⁰⁷ for his services to Highland piping in Scandinavia at The New Year Honours in December 2000.¹⁰⁸

PIPE MAJOR PETER WOOD ELDER, B.E.M.,¹⁰⁹ the Scottish pipe-major who moved to Slagelse in Denmark at his retirement from the army in 1981, has been mentioned previously in connection with The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums.¹¹⁰ His main influence on piping and drumming in Scandinavia has been that he started this Danish band. Today, some of his pupils have moved on to play in other Danish bands.

Peter Wood Elder was born in the north of Scotland and both his father and uncle played the pipes. Initially, Elder was taught to play by his uncle Christoffer Milne. At the age of fifteen, Peter Wood Elder joined the army cadets of the Scottish regiment The Black Watch. When he was ‘seventeen and a half’, he enlisted as a piper in the 1st battalion, The Black Watch. He stayed with the regiment for about five years and became a pipe-corporal under Pipe Major John MacNicoll. After having reached the rank of pipe-sergeant in The Black Watch in Dundee, Elder decided to join The Royal Scots Greys as a private, where he reached the rank of

¹⁰⁷. ‘Member of the Order of the British Empire’ (M.B.E.) – Award given by H.M. the Queen to British subjects who have distinguished themselves.

¹⁰⁸. The exact wording was: “For services to British cultural interests, Denmark. (*BBC NEWS: In Depth: New Year Honours 2000: Diplomatic Service and overseas*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/uk/2000/new_year_honours_2000/1092669.stm)

¹⁰⁹. This text is mainly based on an interview with Peter Wood Elder, 29 Oct. 2001.

¹¹⁰. See chapter three, page 118.



Figure 6–1. RCA Special Award to Peter Wood Elder for the success of the ‘Amazing Grace’.

(By kind Permission of Peter Wood Elder.)

pipe-sergeant under Pipe Major James Pryde, M.B.E. During this time, Elder took his pipe-major’s course at Edinburgh Castle.

When The Royal Scots Greys was amalgamated, in 1971, with the 3rd Carabiniers (Prince of Wales Dragoon Guards) and became The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards,¹¹¹ Peter Wood Elder was side stepped by a former pupil at the appointment of the pipe-major of the new regiment. He decided to move on and was posted to the piping school of The Scottish Division in Edinburgh, where he was teaching pipes as the pipe-sergeant under Pipe Major John Allen. Before Elder left The Royal Scots Greys he was involved in the famous recording of the ‘Amazing Grace’, in 1971. When the tune reached the top of the British hit charts, in 1972, Peter Wood Elder was commissioned to promote the tune in Edinburgh for the

¹¹¹. Commemorated with the LP record *Farewell to the Greys*, The Pipes and Drums and Military Band of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards (RCA International 1971, [Camden], INTS 1279) including the famous recording of the ‘Amazing Grace’ with pipes, drums and military band.

television companies. He got a special award from the record company, RCA, for his involvement in the successful tune (see *Figure 6-1*).¹¹²

After about two years in The Scottish Division, Peter Wood Elder was asked by the bandmaster of The 4th Royal Tank Regiment if he would be interested in forming a completely new pipe band for the regiment. Elder, who was also armour corps trained, was ideal for this position combining his piping knowledge with his training in tank warfare. He accepted the position and became the pipe-major with the rank of staff sergeant in the regiment. Pipe Major Elder worked hard to form a band organising everything from tuition to uniforms. Within the regiment he taught young soldiers with no prior piping knowledge, and in addition he managed to attract a few good pipers from other regiments. Within a short time, the band amounted to about sixteen pipers plus drummers. The band never had time to compete but was graded in grade one. Five of the pipers taught by Elder within the regiment managed to achieve their pipe-major's certificates. Peter Wood Elder stayed on as the pipe-major of the band until his retirement. He was awarded the British Empire Medal, mainly for his services to army piping by forming the pipe band of The 4th Royal Tank Regiment.¹¹³

Pipe Major Elder has competed successfully a few times, but his army career has not given him much time to compete. His main interest in piping has been to share his knowledge and teach others to play, or as he expresses it himself:

I am a great firm believer in spreading the disease. I was taught pipes to teach, and I have done it, and I am spreading it, and I will spread it, I suppose, until I die.¹¹⁴

JAMES KIRKPATRICK (19?¹¹⁵–1999), a Scottish pipe maker from Bonhill south of Loch Lomond, was the most influential Scottish piping teacher on the west coast of Sweden. When The Gothenburg City Pipe Band was started in 1974, Carl-Axel Roslund, the initiator and first pipe-major, wrote to a number of pipe makers asking for price lists of instruments and uni-

¹¹² See chapter eight, page 323, for a discussion of 'Amazing Grace'.

¹¹³ 'British Empire Medal' (B.E.M.) – Royal medal given to soldiers for meritorious service.

¹¹⁴ Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

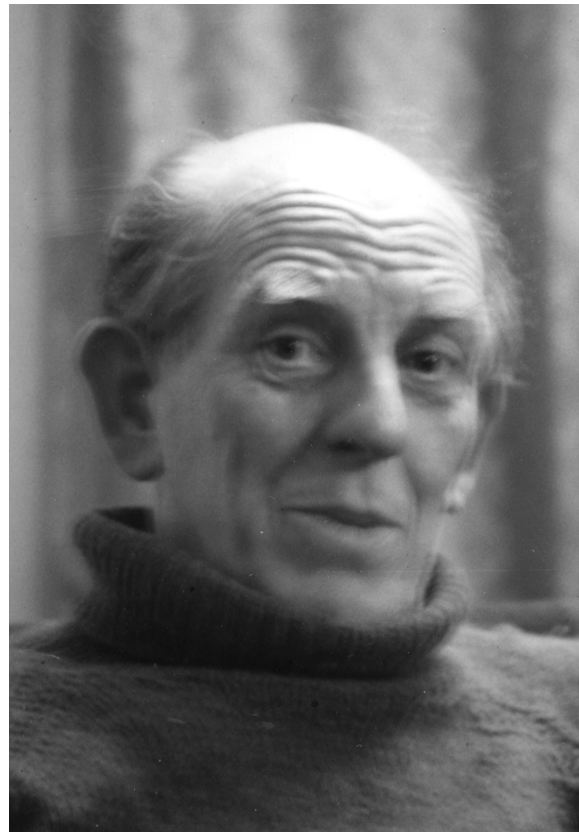
¹¹⁵ I have not been able to find out when Kirkpatrick was born. The first time he visited Gothenburg in 1975, he asked me to hold his passport for a second. I remember being tempted to look inside to find out his age, but out of respect I did not.

forms. One of these firms, The Thistle Bagpipe Works, was owned by Kirkpatrick, who wrote back offering free tuition to the newly formed band in Gothenburg. James Kirkpatrick, or 'Big Jimmy' as he was called by his Scottish pupils, taught an extensive number of young pipers in Scotland. He was also the pipe-major of a juvenile pipe band, The Loch Lomond and District Pipe Band.

In May 1975, Kirkpatrick came over to Gothenburg to teach the band in connection with the Scandinavian championships held at Stenungsund north of Gothenburg. Later that year, a few members of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band visited Kirkpatrick in Scotland, the first in a long series of visits by Swedish pipers searching tuition from him. In addition, as a pipe maker and shop owner, he supplied bagpipes and Highland dress, but Kirkpatrick was always annoyed when people were more interested in the uniforms than in the music. Kirkpatrick himself was always dressed in a kilt.

Kirkpatrick's tuition was meticulous, aiming at educating pipers at a professional level. According to one of his Scottish pupils, Gordon Convoy, Kirkpatrick was always very generous with his knowledge, and he had his own special method of bringing it over to his pupils. Convoy, who worked as an apprentice at Kirkpatrick's firm in the early 1980s, explains:

He would give you a guide line but he would always make you, or anyone, follow their own path, as long as [it was] within a sort of reasonable constraints. [...] He sort of put you down a path of being an individual, and anything you wanted to discover or find out, you shouldn't need to ask, you should [find out through] self discovery. [...] You never ended up being reliant on what he had to say, but if you were stuck [...] then it was unquestionably that you just got the advice that was necessary.¹¹⁶



Photograph 6-3. James Kirkpatrick, Luss, Scotland.

Photo: Ulf Schönberg, 1984.



Photograph 6–4. James Kirkpatrick polishing a pipe chanter in his workshop at Bonhill.

Photo: Mats D. Hermansson, 1975.

Here the Swedish pioneers met with a very serious man at the core of a serious tradition. As mentioned in chapter three, different views of how to adhere to the teaching of Kirkpatrick was part of the reason why a few players left The Gothenburg City Pipe Band and started The Murray Pipes & Drums. After the split in 1976, both bands kept in touch with Kirkpatrick, and for a number of years tuition by means of tape recordings was continued between Kirkpatrick and The Murray Pipes & Drums.¹¹⁷ These tapes are pedagogical but also personal and filled with general comments about how to play, examples of exercises and embellishments played by Kirkpatrick's own Scottish pupils at various stages, recordings of traditional piping executed by expert pipers as well as personal comments to individual Swedish pipers. In addition to this there are many comments of how to run a pipe band successfully and often stern com-

¹¹⁶. Convoy, Gordon, interview, 12 Sept. 1999

¹¹⁷. Kirkpatrick, James, cassette tapes dated around 1980, MPD Archives, MPD JK 1–5.

ments of the importance of learning everything well by hard practice and not to play tunes above the players' ability. Here is yet an example of Kirkpatrick's comments from the tapes, spoken in his low persuasive and almost enthralling voice:

...now, every person that I have here in Scotland is a prize winner in competition [...] they are getting exactly the same tuition as is available to you people in Sweden [...] I cannot force you to play, I cannot make you do what I ask you, but if you do what I ask and played the way I ask, I guarantee that you too would win competitions anywhere, even in Scotland.¹¹⁸

As the tapes include the playing of the Swedish pipers with Kirkpatrick's comments, they clearly display his painstaking work to get across the traditional style of playing to the Swedes.

James Kirkpatrick also taught the two other bands on the Swedish west coast: The Griffin Pipes & Drums and The Borås City Pipe Band. For instance in 1979, The Gothenburg City Pipe Band and The Griffin Pipes & Drums went on a joint trip to London where they received tuition from Kirkpatrick.¹¹⁹ James Kirkpatrick was indeed one of the most influential Scottish pipers in the dissemination of a traditional style of playing to Sweden. He died on 31st August 1999. In the sermon at his funeral the minister underlined that James Kirkpatrick, who had always been a great Scottish patriot, had devoted his life to piping, teaching persons all over Great Britain and even in Sweden.¹²⁰

ROBERT ROBERTSON,¹²¹ lives in Oslo and is the pipe-major of The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band. As a child he lived with his family in Edinburgh and at the age of six he was 'grabbed' by the sight and sound of the pipes and drums when he saw The Edinburgh Military Tattoo at the castle in Edinburgh. He got a practice chanter and a tutor book as a birthday present, and at the age of eight he was introduced as a beginner in the well-known Polkemmet Colliery Pipe Band, a band which, according to

¹¹⁸ Kirkpatrick, James, cassette tape, dated around 1980, MPD Archives, MPD JK 3.

¹¹⁹ Roslund, Carl-Axel, 'The Griffin Pipes & Drums', report in *The Pipes & Drums of Sweden* (members' magazine), No. 5, Vol. 2, 1979.

¹²⁰ James Kirkpatrick's death occurred only a few days before I had hoped to interview him regarding his work teaching Swedes to play the bagpipes. Instead I ended up attending the funeral of my old teacher at Bonhill Parish Church together with my friend and colleague Sven Axelsson, who had also had tuition from Kirkpatrick. The Funeral Service took place at Bonhill Parish Church on 6th September, 1999.

¹²¹ This section builds on an interview with Robertson, Robert, 20 Jan. 2002.

Robertson, had a good reputation for teaching young pipers. Initially, he was taught by the band's pipe-major Simon Reid and later by the pipe-sergeant Robert Strathearn. In less than a year, Robertson competed with the junior band. He stayed and competed with the band until he was twelve years old, when he followed his teacher Robert Strathearn to another well-known band, The Boghall and Bathgate Pipe Band.

At first, Robertson played with the juvenile band. This was in the early 1980s, and during his period in the junior band they won the World Pipe Band Championships two years in a row. Shortly after that, at the age of fourteen, Robertson started to play with the senior band, which by then was moving into grade one, with Robert (Bob) Marten as pipe-major. Robertson played with the band until he was seventeen. He had a break from serious playing for about two years and then he played with various Scottish bands for a year or two, but then he moved to Italy and did not play seriously for a period of almost ten years.

In 1994, Robert Robertson moved to Norway with his Norwegian girl friend, whom he had met in France. When he made contact with the piping enthusiasts in The MacLeod Pipe & Drums in Oslo in 1996, he joined the group and started to play regularly again.

Other Influential Scottish Players

In Stockholm, the Scottish piper Dugald Murdoch, previously mentioned in connection with the meetings of the first enthusiasts in Stockholm,¹²² played in The Thistle Pipe Band for some time around 1972, and at that time he taught the pipe corps of the band.¹²³ Dugald Murdoch, who has a background as a successful competing piper and soloist in Scotland, has not been much involved in the Scandinavian piping scene at large, but he has been influential in the Stockholm region where he has taught a number of pipers.

Another Scottish piper who was very influential in Stockholm in the 1970s was Alan Logan. He has been mentioned in chapter three in connection with The Thistle Pipe Band and as the initiator of The Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm.¹²⁴

¹²² See chapter three, page 99.

¹²³ Högländer, 1988

¹²⁴ See pages 135 and 141.

As mentioned in the section about drumming above, there were also two Scottish drummers involved in the early Scandinavian pipe bands, Hamish Barclay in Copenhagen and Bill Pardon in Stockholm.

Repertoire

Although the quotation from James Kirkpatrick's tape, dated around 1980, indicates that some tunes above the ability of the Scandinavian players were chosen, repertoire lists proves that many simple tunes were played by the early bands. Often simple 2/4, 3/4 and 4/4 marches were played as well as slow airs. (For an example of an early repertoire list of The Thistle Pipe Band see *Table 6-2*.)

Table 6-2. The Thistle Pipe Band, repertoire 1969.^a

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Retreat Set | Drummers' Call |
| The Green Hills of Tyrol | Slow and Quick March |
| Lochanside | My Home |
| When the Battle's O'er | Cock O' the North |
| Circle Set | Selection of 2/4 Tunes |
| Murdo's Wedding | The Road to the Isles |
| Skye Boat Song | The Old Rustic Bridge |
| Scotland the Brave | A Man's Man |
| Sean Thriubas | Scotland the Brave |
| Liberton Polka | |
| The Dark Island | |
| Murdo's Wedding | |

^{a)} Högländer, 1988. The music for 'Scotland the Brave' and 'The Green Hills of Tyrol' can be found in chapter two, examples 2-14 and 2-6.

A performance plan for The Heather Pipes & Drums from 1970, displays a number of somewhat more difficult tunes, including a set of a march, strathspey and reel (see *Table 6-3*), but in general the tunes are not too difficult. However, a plan for band practices for the same band leading up to the Scandinavian championships in 1971, proves that the group was gradually aiming for more difficult tunes. The plan includes, among other tunes, two lighter competition type marches, 'The 79th's Farewell to Gibraltar' and 'The Hills of Perth' and also the four part strathspey 'Monymusk'.¹²⁵ Note that none of these early lists include the 'Amazing Grace', which did not become popular among pipers until 1971. (See

¹²⁵ Holm, Paul Martin, 'Program', leaflet dated 7 Jan.–5 June 1971, in Elizabeth Low Archives, HP&D.

Table 6–3. Repertoire from description of a ten minute programme for The Heather Pipe & Drums, 1970.^a

The leaflet includes a description for figurative marching.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Highland Laddie, 2/4 march | March Strathspey & Reel |
| The Skye Boat Song, slow march | The Siege of Delhi |
| Scotland the Brave, 4/4 march | The Marquis of Huntly's Highland Fling |
| Hot Punch, 6/8 march | Tail Toddle |
| Cock o' the North, 6/8 march | |
| Glendaruel Highlanders, 6/8 march | |
| Leaving Lochboisdale, slow air | |

^{a)} Heather Pipes & Drums, the, Beskrivelse af 10-minutter programmet, 19 Apr. 1970, in Elizabeth Low Archives, HP&D.

'Piping in the Superculture' on page 323.) It is clear that many tunes were picked from favourite recordings as a number of sheets of music used in the bands have references to the recordings from which they have been sampled.

Through the Scandinavian championships, started in 1970, regular contacts grew between the pioneer bands, and a common repertoire of a few tunes that everybody could play together was established. This massed bands repertoire has hardly changed over the years and is more or less played by all Scandinavian bands today (see *Table 6–4*).

Table 6–4. The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, repertoire for massed pipes and drums in 2000.

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 2/4 Marches | 4/4 Marches |
| Corriechoillie's 43rd Welcome to the Northern Meeting | Scotland the Brave |
| Teribus | The Thistle of Scotland |
| | The Rowan Tree |
| 3/4 Marches | 5/4 March |
| The Green Hills of Tyrol | Cullen Bay |
| When the Battle's O'er | |
| | Slow Air |
| | Amazing Grace |

In addition to the pipe music The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia has published a set of standard beatings to be played with these tunes. The standard beatings for 3/4 retreat marches can be seen in *Example 6–2*.

Bands formed later in Scandinavia have tended to follow the same pattern, starting off by learning a few simple traditional standard marches and slow airs, then gradually aiming at playing more difficult tunes. Some bands have developed slowly, tending to be stuck with the simple stand-

Example 6–2. The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, massed bands beatings for 3/4 retreat marches. (Traditional)
(Typeset in MusixTeX and DrumTeX by Hugo Flordal)

Side drum

Tenor Drum (Signs for flourishing and feathering underneath, see *Example 7–2*, page 299.)

Bass Drum

ard repertoire for years, whereas other bands have developed faster learning to play competition type march, strathspeys and reels and selections of quicker tunes, such as hornpipes, reels and jigs. Bands taking a great interest in competitions have tended to develop faster. Another important factor for how a band develops is the general attitude in the band depending much on its inaugurators and subsequent leaders. In general, higher demands are put on members of competing bands, which may shut out those players who are slow learners or who have less time to spend on their piping or drumming. This is not a problem where there are several bands with different levels of ambition, but where there is

only one band of charmed pioneers with different ambitions it can lead to long and bitter struggles, where friends have to be sacrificed for the cause of the band.

If the bands, in general, have aimed at repertoires that have not been too difficult, some individuals have attempted to play more intricate tunes on their own, sometimes with success and sometimes with less success, again depending on the individual and the tuition available. Some of the tunes played by the winners of the very first solo piping championships in Scandinavia in 1970 (see *Table 6–5*) were more difficult than the tunes played by the bands at that time. Of course, it is natural that a handful of players are keener and more successful than the average band member.

Table 6–5. The tunes played by the winners of the first Scandinavian solo piping championships in Copenhagen 1970.^a

1st, Ole Block Jensen

‘By Loch Etive side’ (slow air), ‘The 51st Highland Division of Wadi Akarit’ (2/4 march), ‘Mrs. Ada Crawford’ (strathspey), ‘Piper of Drummond’ (reel), ‘Paddy’s Leather Breeches’ (jig) and ‘The Old Knife Grinder’s Spring Song’ (Danish tune, see *Example 6–4* below).

2nd, Robert Miller

‘Leaving Lochboisdale’ (slow air), ‘The Hills of Perth’ (2/4 march), ‘Mrs. Drummond of Perth’ (strathspey), ‘Jenny Dang [the Weaver]’ (reel).

3rd, Paul Martin Holm

‘Highland Cradle Song’ (slow air), ‘25th’s Farewell to Meerut’ (2/4 march), ‘Dorrator Bridge’ (strathspey), ‘The Rejected Suitor’ (reel), ‘Glendaruel Highlanders’ (6/8 march).

^{a)} *Euphoni*, 1970, Vol. 1, No. 5: 5

Often, but not always, it is the band leaders who have been the most successful solo competitors. New types of tunes have been tried and learned by a smaller group of individuals, and some of these tunes have later made their way into the band repertoires. Gradually, a small number of Scandinavian pipers and drummers have managed to become quite good solo players, especially of *ceòl beag*. Many Scandinavian pipers from Mogens Zieler to those of today have been fascinated by *ceòl mòr*, the earliest known music of the Highland bagpipe, but still there is no Scandinavian player who has a great repertoire of *piobaireachd*. Far from all pipers in Scotland even attempt to play *piobaireachd*. Admittedly, *ceòl mòr* is difficult to play from the printed music and it is also more ‘academic’ and inaccessible than *ceòl beag*, but in addition, in Scotland and elsewhere, it has acquired an unduly respectful reputation of being difficult, and beginners have often been discouraged from trying to learn it.

Scandinavian Tunes Played on the Great Highland Bagpipe

The interest to play other types of music than tunes traditionally played on the Highland bagpipe has been very limited in Scandinavia. The repertoire of the Scandinavian players has almost exclusively consisted of traditional piping, but of course Scandinavian tunes have been adapted for the pipes as well. However, with the exception for Mogens Zieler and maybe one or two others, Scandinavian music for the pipes has never really been taken seriously within the Scandinavian Highland piping community. In general, the Scandinavian pipers have been interested in learning the music and performance practice of Scottish piping. Their attraction for the Highland bagpipe has not primarily been for a musical instrument, but for an instrument including its music and performance practice.

There are basically three different categories of Scandinavian tunes played on the Great Highland Bagpipe. The first type, which up till now has been the most common of the three types, consists of traditional Scandinavian tunes with a range that can be played on the Highland pipes. The second type are tunes composed by Scandinavian players directly for the Highland pipe, and the third consists of two tunes composed in a Scandinavian 'idiom' by the late Pipe Major Iain MacPherson, M.M.¹²⁶ from Scotland.

TRADITIONAL SCANDINAVIAN TUNES were played from the very start by the Scandinavian piping pioneers. It was only natural that they would try to play Scandinavian tunes on the pipes. Any musician hearing a tune or knowing a tune might want to try playing it on his instrument. Furthermore, as the style and repertoire of Highland piping is so strict, the playing on the pipes of 'non-piping' tunes of any genre generates something of a ludicrous humorous air to the insider of Highland piping. Finally, musicians want to reach their audiences and the playing of Scandinavian or popular tunes might be part of an endeavour to make a Scandinavian audience listen to the music instead of just watching the spectacular dress of the piper.

Mark Slobin writes that "many subcultural musics engage in complex layering, piling code upon code",¹²⁷ and type one and three discussed below are clear examples of this. Starting with type one – traditional Scandinavian tunes – it could be said, that the very fact that the familiar tunes

¹²⁶. 'Military Medal' (M.M.) – British medal awarded to junior officers for gallantry in the field.

¹²⁷. Slobin, 1993: 94

are played on a totally foreign instrument, with its strong iconic connotations to Scotland, adds a new dimension to a tune such as ‘Gärdebylåten’. This tune, which has become something of a musical symbol for Sweden, became extremely popular after having been played by Rättviks Spelmanslag (Rättvik Fiddlers’ Club) on a recording in 1948.¹²⁸ When the tune is played on the Highland bagpipe, the first reception by most Swedish audiences is one of astonishment by means of recognising something familiar in a foreign soundscape. “Oh, is it possible to play that tune on the Scottish bagpipes!” Then, the outcome for both the musicians and the listeners, as they realise the ‘marriage’, or clash, of the two traditional cultures, becomes almost facetious, but nonetheless musically effective. However, the code piling does not stop at that, because as the technical playing style of Highland piping is so strong, the Scandinavian tunes are invariably dressed in the highly technical, embellished playing style of the Highland bagpipe. Here two possible attitudes emerge. Either, the piping embellishments can be regarded as totally foreign to the Swedish tune, or they can be regarded as part of the ‘instrumental idiomacy’,¹²⁹ peculiar to the Highland bagpipe, through which the tune is given a good rendition on that particular instrument. In support of the latter view, it could be argued that the technique of Scottish piping has been developed, at least partly, to emphasise certain notes and make others weaker, on an instrument on which everything must be played legato and where the volume is constant. In general, pipers always play the traditional Highland pipe embellishments when playing other types of tunes than traditional pipe tunes. In my opinion, the embellishments are typically played according to the ‘instrumental idiomacy’ of the Highland bagpipe, to mark out the rhythm, emphasise or soften certain notes and, maybe most important of all, to make the piper’s fingers ‘feel at home’ when playing the tune by the use of known tactile-motoric ‘finger routes’, as described by Lilliestam.¹³⁰

As a matter of curiosity, it could be mentioned that Carl-Axel Roslund, who was the initiator of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band in 1974, sent a copy of ‘Gärdebylåten’ to James Kirkpatrick in Bonhill with a request that he should add ‘correct’ piping gracenotes to the tune. When the sheet came back from Scotland, Kirkpatrick had rewritten the whole tune thinking that Roslund was incapable of writing music scores, which was defi-

¹²⁸ Ternhag, 1985: 187

¹²⁹ Lilliestam, 1995: 43–45, 164–168. See also Lilliestam, 1996: 202.

¹³⁰ Lilliestam, 1996: 202

Example 6-3. Gärdebylåten (Trad. Arranged for the pipes by Carl-Axel Roslund in 1974 or 75.)
 (Facsimile of Roslund's original manuscript. By Kind permission of Carl-Axel Roslund.)

GÄRDEBYLÅTEN *arr. C-A Roslund*
 (Tune from Gerdeby) Trad.

D.C. al fine

nitely not the case, so Carl-Axel Roslund added grace notes to his own taste (see *Example 6-3.*). Later, the misunderstanding was sorted out, and The Loch Lomond & District Pipe Band, the Scottish juvenile band of which James Kirkpatrick was the pipe-major, started to play the Swedish tune in Scotland, and they also played it on their tour to Sweden, in 1976.

The adaptation of Scandinavian tunes for the pipes was encouraged by the very first known Highland piper of Scandinavian origin, the Danish



Figure 6–2. The front cover of Mogens Zieler’s first book of pipe music.
(Mogens Zieler (1966) *Nogle danske melodier omsat til sækkepibe*)

painter Mogens Zieler. He published two books of pipe music: *Nogle danske melodier omsat til sækkepibe, Vol. 1 & 2*, published in 1966 and 1973 (See *Figure 6–2*).¹³¹ Most of the tunes are arrangements for the pipes of traditional Danish music, but there are one or two examples of Zieler’s own compositions. Mostly, these tunes were played by Danish pipers, but one tune taken up by established Scottish pipe bands was ‘Den gamle skærslippers foraarssang’ by Kai Normann Andersen, included in Mogens Zieler’s first book (see *Example 6–4*). The tune, under the name ‘The Danish Knifegrinder’s Spring Song’, was played at The 1980 World Pipe Band Championships, in Glasgow, by The Wallaceton and District Pipe Band, who won Grade two¹³² that year.¹³³ At the 1983 World Pipe Band Championships, in Glasgow, the tune was included in the selection played by the winning grade one band – The Strathclyde Police Pipe Band, this time named ‘The Old Knife Grinder’s Spring Song’.¹³⁴ Ian MacLellan, who was then the pipe-major of the band, had received the tune

¹³¹ Zieler, 1966 and 1973. (*A few Danish Tunes Arranged for the Bagpipe, Vol. 1 & 2.*)

¹³² Grading of pipe bands: See footnote 110, page 67.

¹³³ *The World Pipe Band Championship 1980*, LP recording, BBC records, 1980, REC 401.

Example 6-4. Den gamle skærslippers foraarssang (Kai Normann Andersen, arranged for the pipes by Mogens Zieler)
(Facsimile from Mogens Zieler's book No. 1, 1966.)

Den gamle skærslippers foraarssang. *Slow air*
Kai Normann Andersen.

med tilladelse af
Wilhelm Hansen,
Musik-Forlag

Note: I denne melodi afviger 2det measure's 4 første takter fra originalens, der her naar high-b

when he met Mogens Zieler at a visit to Denmark in 1964. According to him the tune had also been played by another grade one band, The Muirhead & Sons Ltd. Pipe Band.¹³⁵

In connection with the Scandinavian championships for pipes and drums Mogens Zieler initiated a solo contest named 'Scandinavian tune' in which the competitors were requested to play a tune of Scandinavian origin on the Great Highland Bagpipe. The event has been part of the championships since they started in 1970, and in 1999 it was taken up by The Copenhagen Winter Competition as well. Most of the Scandinavian tunes played on the Highland bagpipe have been well-known traditional tunes from the Scandinavian repertoire of folk music or traditional songs, such as 'Gärdebylåten' and 'Kalle på spången' in Sweden and 'I skovens dybe stille ro' and 'Manden som gik efter øl' in Denmark. Only a few single tunes from other genres such as popular music or military marches have been taken up. Through the years, some pipers have realised that

¹³⁴. *The 1983 World Pipe Band Championships*, LP recording, BBC records, 1983, REC 490. The tune is also included on *The Strathclyde Police Pipe Band*, LP recording, Lis-mor recordings, 1983, LILP 5129, this time named 'The Old Grinder's Spring Song'.

¹³⁵. MacLellan, Ian, email, 17 Jan. 2003.

tunes composed for the pipes by Scandinavians also are of Scandinavian origin and so they have competed playing their own compositions. This leads us over to the second type of Scandinavian music played on the Highland pipe.

TUNES COMPOSED FOR THE PIPES BY SCANDINAVIANS. There are many examples of such compositions, but very few have been published. As mentioned, Mogens Zieler included a few in his collections. Tom Harboe from Copenhagen, one of the most prominent pipers in Scandinavia, has composed several tunes printed in *The German Summer School Collection of Bagpipe Music*.¹³⁶ In 1999, The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia (PBAS) initiated a composition contest, the winner to be announced in connection with The Scandinavian Championships held annually at Whitsun. In 1999, the task was to compose a 2/4 march and six tunes were submitted. Code piling might be evident in some of these tunes composed for the pipes by Scandinavians, but quite a number of the tunes can be said to be composed in a traditional style of Highland piping.

An example is the winning tune of the composition contest in 1999, 'The 30th Scandinavian Championships Jubilee March' by Thomas White-law Christensen and Thue Kjelstrøm (*Example 6–5*), which follows the format of a typical light 2/4 Highland bagpipe march. For instance, it shares a number traits with 'Corriechoillie's 43rd Welcome to the Northern Meeting' (*Example 2–5*, page 57). Both tunes follow the simple two-bar phrase pattern ABAC, they build on a mixture of groups of 'pointed and cut' notes and 'evenly played' groups, typical of Highland pipe light marches, both tunes starts off on the note 'A' (the basic note of the drones), end phrase B on the note 'E' and finishes off every part on 'D', the basic note of their mode.¹³⁷

The members of Svenska säckpipekvintetten/fraktionen¹³⁸ in Stockholm wrote much of their own material, with Johan Gregefalk as the most prolific composer. Another Scandinavian piper with a keen interest in composing pipe tunes is Carsten Bruun Rosbæk in Denmark. He won the PBAS composition contest in 2000 with his 9/8 march 'Captain Buster'.

¹³⁶ Published by *The Bagpipe Association of Germany* (bag) in 1991.

¹³⁷ Other traditional 2/4 marches that follow a similar pattern are 'The Portree Men' (J. Mauchline) and 'Major Norman Orr Ewing' (P/M W. Ross, Scots Guards), although, they start off on 'D'. There are also many 6/8 marches in the same style, such as 'The Bugle Horn' (traditional) and 'Dovecote Park' (Jas. Braidwood, Jr.). [All these examples in *Standard Settings of Pipe Music of The Seaforth Highlanders*, 1936, but they can also be found in many other standard collections of Highland pipe music.]

¹³⁸ See chapter seven, page 304.

Example 6–5. The 30th Scandinavian Championships Jubilee March (Thomas Whitelaw Christensen and Thue Kjelstrøm)

The winning tune of the PBAS 1999 composition contest.

(By kind permission of Thomas Whitelaw Christensen & Thue Kjelstrøm. Typeset by Sven Axelsson in MusixTeX & Bagpipe.TeX.)

The image shows a musical score for a pipe tune in 2/4 time. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a style characteristic of Scottish bagpipe tunes, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. There are repeat signs at the beginning and end of the piece. A first ending bracket labeled '1' spans the final two measures of the third staff, and a second ending bracket labeled '2' spans the final two measures of the fourth staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks typical of bagpipe music.

To mark the Scottish ancestry of its founder, Chalmers University of Technology in Gothenburg specifically ordered a fanfare including Highland bagpipe, to be played at the ceremony in connection with the conferment of doctors' degrees in 2002. The fanfare for brass instruments and Highland bagpipe was composed by Jerker Johansson who is the senior conductor of Göteborgsmusiken, a professional brass ensemble and part time military band in Gothenburg.¹³⁹

PIPE TUNES IN A SCANDINAVIAN IDIOM WRITTEN BY SCOTTISH PIPERS are certainly not common, but at least two tunes exist written by the late Pipe Major Iain MacPherson, M.M., who was a well-known piper working as a piping instructor in the schools in Glasgow. He was invited to Sweden on several occasions as a judge at the Scandinavian championships, at Helsingborg in 1981 and 1983 and in Gothenburg in 1985. He was also invited to Gothenburg in 1985 to teach The Murray Pipes & Drums. At Helsingborg in 1983, Iain MacPherson judged the 'Scandinavian tune' competition mentioned above. Obviously some, or at least one, of the competitors played a Scandinavian polska, because MacPherson was inspired to write two tunes, which he classified as Scandinavian polskas.

¹³⁹ Participant observation, I added grace notes to the tune and was engaged to play it at the ceremony, Gothenburg, May 2002.

Example 6–6. The ‘G-D-E grace notes’ and ‘tachum’ movements



Example 6–7. Kryssning över sundet (Iain MacPherson, M.M)

Note the ‘G, D, E movement’ [within squares] in part one, bars three and four, and the tachum movement [encircled] in bars three and seven of all parts as well as in part two, bars one and five.

(Facsimile of MacPherson’s own manuscript, author’s archives. Squares and circles added by author.)

Kryssning över Sundet

SCANDINAVIAN POLKA. IAIN MACPHERSON, M.M.

The image shows a facsimile of a musical manuscript for 'Kryssning över Sundet'. It consists of six staves of music in treble clef. The manuscript is annotated with squares and circles. Squares highlight specific rhythmic patterns in the first part (bars 3 and 4), and circles highlight 'tachum' movements in bars 3 and 7 of the first part, and bars 1 and 5 of the second part. The title 'Kryssning över Sundet' is underlined at the top. The composer's name 'IAIN MACPHERSON, M.M.' is written in the top right corner. The genre 'SCANDINAVIAN POLKA.' is written in the top left corner.

He named the first tune ‘Kryssning över sundet’¹⁴⁰ (after having toured back and forth on the ferry the short distance between Helsingborg and Helsingør) and the second ‘Helsingborg’. The tunes feature Scottish bagpipe embellishments and constructing the tune ‘Kryssning över sundet’,

¹⁴⁰. ‘Crossing the Sound’

Iain MacPherson also used two standard Highland piping combinations of notes: a variety of the ‘G-D-E grace notes’ and the ‘tachum’ (see Examples 6–6 and 6–7). The code piling is evident in the combination of Scottish piping embellishments and the typical Scandinavian polska rhythm.

Is There a Scandinavian Style of Scottish Piping & Drumming?

From the viewpoint of Bruno Nettl’s suggestion, that the characteristics of a musical system are “closely associated with the particular way in which it is taught”,¹⁴¹ it might be expected that piping and drumming in Scandinavia should differ from the genre in Scotland. Of course, the early attempts to play, when the pioneers tried to find instruments and knowledge did not result in excellent musical performances, but who wants to listen to a beginner trying to learn any instrument, let alone one that is extremely difficult to learn to blow and tune and which can produce a volume of over 100 dB on its own?

Initially, some groups spent much effort in copying the surface appearance of the genre, but a number of individuals managed to learn to play at a reasonable level. Others remained at a fairly undeveloped level of playing ability. This reflects the situation in Scotland where there are some excellent players, many reasonable players and quite a number of less proficient players. According to P/M Robert Kilgour:

The good ones over here [Scandinavia (author’s remark)] mostly have worked hard at it. They have listened to whomever they have heard and as they have got better and better themselves so they have began better and better to be able to recognise a good player from a bad one and copy what the good players do and eventually really become experts themselves.¹⁴²

As the Scandinavian pipers and drummers acquired more knowledge of the traditional style of playing they were aiming for, their playing gradually became more and more like that in Scotland. This was not a case of going from a Scandinavian to a Scottish style, but going from less knowledge to more knowledge. Just as in Scotland some players engaged in elitist, competitive playing whereas others were more interested in performing in public including aspects of the genre such as Highland dress and military drill.

¹⁴¹ Nettl, 1983: 324

¹⁴² Kilgour, Robert, interview, 4 Nov. 1997

Today, the teaching of new pipers and drummers is mostly carried out in close connection with an existing band. Beginners usually pay very moderate fees to the bands for tuition. Most of the work is made on a non-profit basis, and consequently Scandinavian teachers are usually not paid within the bands.

A few Scandinavian players equal some of the better players in Scotland. The better Scandinavian players can be divided into two different groups. The first being those who have been playing for many years, have had little formal tuition, but have continued to learn and practise the music. Often these are the ones who have sought and found the knowledge and passed it on to new generations. Among these are a few of the early pioneers and some of their early followers. The second group are those who have been meticulously taught from the beginning of their career by the first group. Their development has in general been much faster than that of the first group. A number of individuals from the second group too has gone to Scotland or elsewhere, such as Canada, to improve their playing, seeking tuition from more experienced teachers or to be able to play with better bands. The first Scandinavian generations of really keen players imported and pieced together the knowledge and shared it with others. The keenest players among their followers, benefiting from the knowledge and contacts of the first generations, have gone back to the sources to refine their playing even further, but they do not come as outsiders seeking new information. They meet the established Scottish piping and drumming culture as insiders, already schooled into the strong tradition.

Especially those players and bands that have engaged in competitive piping and drumming have improved their playing ability. There are examples of Scandinavian pipers and drummers who have won solo competitions in Scotland and elsewhere outside Scandinavia, although, there are not yet any Scandinavian soloists at the absolute top level. On many occasions, Scandinavian pipe bands have competed successfully in Scotland. Particularly, The Heather Pipes & Drums, The Holbæk Pipe Band and The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers have participated in many competitions in Scotland. In 2001, the Engineers won 1st prize in grade 3a in The World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow.

Several Scottish expert pipers who have been in Scandinavia as adjudicators or instructors have said that the playing in Scandinavia does not differ materially from that in Scotland.¹⁴³ Tom Speirs, a very well-known Scottish piper and teacher who has been teaching at The Scandinavian School of Piping and Drumming on three occasions, was asked if he per-

ceived any difference between Scandinavian and Scottish pipers, and he remarked that he did not hear any major difference in the style of playing, but he found the Scandinavian attitude to the music to be more relaxed in comparison to Scotland.¹⁴⁴ One explanation for this might be that the Scandinavian 'Highland' piping culture emerged thirty years ago in a weak amateur tradition. In Scotland the genre has a 500 year long history connected to authority, power and the army. Expressing his view about the differences of piping in Scotland and Denmark, Pipe Major Peter Wood Elder said that

the comparison between the two, is not that great apart from [that] you might get a wee bit more loyalty and teamwork in Scotland than in Denmark. It's hard to achieve teamwork in Denmark. You can do it. I have done it. It is hard to keep it.¹⁴⁵

He also remarked that the upbringing in Scotland is more serious than in Denmark and that Danes are more playful. In his opinion, Danes often go to a certain stage, but then they tend to stop. The goal for many Danes seems to be to learn to play the pipes and once that is accomplished they go on to something else, whereas Scotsmen who reach a certain playing ability want to go on and climb, and he continues:

I have had quite a few pipers that just stopped, and [for] no apparent reason [...]. The excuse is always: 'I am going to take a break.' Now, I have learned, since I came to Denmark, in twenty years, that the word taking a break means, *finito*, that's it.¹⁴⁶

Coming from an insider of both the Scottish and the Scandinavian pipe band cultures, these comments are interesting. However, the statements are difficult to assess and must partly be understood from the perspective of someone who has been a professional pipe-major in a regimental pipe band with enlisted soldiers as pipers and drummers. In addition, in comparison to the situation in civilian Scottish bands, there are so few players in Scandinavia that every single person who decides to stop playing is a great loss to the band.

¹⁴³. During my work on this thesis I have brought this issue up with various Scottish players when they have visited Scandinavia.

¹⁴⁴. Speirs, Tom, informal discussion at Ueberup Højskole, Denmark, July 1998.

¹⁴⁵. Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

¹⁴⁶. Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

Recalling the phenomenon (introduced on page 218) where certain traits of music seen as exotic is exaggerated when taken up by new groups or when it is performed to new audiences, I would dare to say that, with the exception for a few minor things such as the variants of the throw on D (see page 234), Scandinavian pipers and drummers have not exaggerated any particular traits of the imported music. On the other hand, it could be stated that the appearance and iconic aspects of the genre have been exaggerated, both by performers and audiences. I will return to that topic in chapter eight.

The Cloning of a Strong Tradition

Disregarding the question of personal ability and playing skill, different styles of playing can be distinguished in Scandinavia, just as in Scotland. Some players tend to play a more relaxed and pointed style others play a faster and crisper style. Probably, it might even be possible to find minor Scandinavian traits, at least with some players, but to explore this at great depth would rather be like splitting hairs. On the whole, the pioneers did not develop a particular Scandinavian style of playing, and as P/M Robert Kilgour pointed out: “What is done in Scotland has been copied, simply, by the Scandinavians.”¹⁴⁷

In realising their dream to learn to play bagpipes or drums, different individuals depended on various strategies in acquiring the knowledge. Having started off by copying or importing the foreign music and its culture to Scandinavia they soon found themselves incorporated in the genre of Scottish piping and drumming. The strong Scottish style of playing was *cloned* in Scandinavia when the early players engaged in recreating the music out of books, records and a few lessons. The process of acculturation was not so much one where two cultures met and merged, but rather one where the Scandinavian players were engulfed by the strong traditions of Highland piping and pipe band drumming.

¹⁴⁷. Kilgour, Robert, interview, 4 Nov. 1997

7 The Scandinavian Piping & Drumming Community Consolidated

To start with, there was a big discussion if we could play in a Scottish style at all – like the Scottish bands played – or if we would play with a Scandinavian accent, but we do not. The music has no borders. It does not take seven generations to learn to play. That is just balderdash.¹

Paul Martin Holm

Being in the Icon

The Formation of Pipe Bands

As described in chapter three, the first Scandinavian pipe bands emerged out of The Eagle Pipers' Society of Stockholm and The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen, around 1968, and then spread to other Danish and Swedish cities. The interest to play had often been set off by an encounter with a pipe band, live or on television so the aim of starting bands was in line with the general Scandinavian conception of Scottish bagpipe music – pipers and drummers playing together in a band. The urge to be playing in (and for some to be the leader of) a pipe band, including the wearing of military style Highland dress uniforms, at first created a dream or a fantasy, which I have referred to as the imaginary pipe band in chapter five. In general it can be said that serious Scandinavian interest for solo piping developed somewhat later. Maybe, simply due to the fact that solo piping is more of an insiders' affair, and the Scandinavian pipers did not really get in touch with that side of piping until they made contact with pipers in Scotland. There were a few individuals, such as Mogens Zieler, who never really engaged in the emerging pipe band culture, but they were exceptions.

¹ Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: "I starten, der var en stor diskussion om vi overhoved kunne spille skotsk – som de skotske band spiller det – eller om vi ville spille det med en skandinavisk accent, og det gør vi ikke. Altså, musikken kender ingen grænse. Der skal ikke syv generationer til at lære at spille det. Det er noget værre sludder."

Table 7–1. Possible origins of Scandinavian pipe band names.

| Scandinavia | Scottish connection, elements |
|--|---|
| The Gothenburg City Pipe Band | The Edinburgh City Police Pipe Band |
| The White Hackle Pipe Band | The Red Hackle Pipe Band |
| Borås City Pipe Band | The Gothenburg City Pipe Band [sic!] |
| The Gordon Pipes & Drums | The Drums & Pipes of the Gordon Highlanders |
| Thistle Pipe Band Heather Pipes & Drums | Flowers symbolic of Scotland |
| The Hamilton Pipes & Drums The Murray Pipes & Drums (of Gothenburg) The MacLeod Pipes & Drums The Clan Rose Pipe Band | Name of tartan or clan connection of band |
| Dungillie Pipe Band | Translation of the Danish town name Svendborg into Gaelic: dun – fortress, gillie – young man. ^a |
| Lochlann Pipe Band | Lochlann is Scandinavia in Gaelic. ^a |
| The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm Oslo Caledonia Pipe Band | Caledonia is Scotland in Latin and is commonly used in Scottish band names |
| Holbæk Pipe Band Helsinki Pipes & Drums Gladsaxe Pipe Band Aarhus Pipes & Drums Fanø Pipes & Drums | Location of band |
| The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers The FDF Pipes & Drums of Frederikshavn | Name of other organisation to which the band has connection. (Swedish regiment and Scout Organisation.) |
| The Griffin Pipes & Drums | The Griffin is a symbol of Malmö, where the band is located. |

^{a)} MacLennan, 1979, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*.

When the pioneers started to realise their imaginary pipe bands they did not only engage in finding instruments and learning to play, in addition much effort was spent on designing a band identity. Every band was formed as a very strong and comparatively closed unit from the beginning, often with a few enthusiasts at the centre. Band names were chosen, often modelled on names of well-known Scottish pipe bands in existence at the time (see *Table 7–1*). Alternatively, names were constructed using

well-known Scottish symbols. Often the names also alluded to the location of the band. Some of the groups designed mottoes styled on clan mottoes as well as band emblems. (See examples in chapter three.) A band tartan was chosen together with jackets and other details of band uniforms. By reading and looking at pictures (often on record sleeves) the pioneers acquired a fair amount of knowledge about Highland dress and pipe band uniforms. The contacts with Scottish suppliers of these items resulted in deeper knowledge about materials, designs and prices as well as what was available and what might be 'correct'.

From a Military to a Civilian Style

Among the early bands The Thistle Pipe Band and the White Hackle Pipe Band were more oriented towards the military aspects of piping and drumming. The bands acquired full dress military style uniforms at an early stage, and their band cultures were military oriented, for instance paying comparably much attention to military rank titles and issues of marching and discipline. The Heather Pipes & Drums, on the other hand, was wearing a partly home made civilian Highland dress, and had a more civilian band culture altogether. Often, newly started groups started off with a mixture of items bought from Scotland and home made garments. Up until around 1980, most bands strove to acquire military style uniforms, but from then on Scottish civilian bands started to wear civilian Highland dress and so did most of the Scandinavian groups.²

The military aspects of pipe band culture to a large extent disappeared during the 1980s. Today, pipe bands still march and give military style commands to start and stop, but the interest for marching and discipline, uniforms and various ranks have largely given way for the interest in competitions where the music is at the centre of interest, although filtered through the mode and procedure of the competition. This applies both to Scandinavia and other parts of the piping & drumming world. There are civilian bands that still take a great interest in the military side of the genre, but these groups are rather exceptions. The best example of a Scandinavian band which has retained the military interest is The Thistle Pipe Band in Stockholm. Alf Sandek, their pipe-majors says:

We want to see the marching and discipline as a natural part of the performance because the audiences in general, they do not listen with their

² For an example of civilian style day and evening wear, see *Photograph 3-6, page 117* and of military style dress uniforms, see *Photograph 3-10, page 149*.

ears, they listen with their eyes. This is an old tenet, expressed in the British army.³

Those of the other groups that have access to military style uniforms still use them at some performances as they realise that the colourful uniforms sell engagements. There is still a marching and discipline competition at the Scandinavian championships, but most bands do not take part. There is also a solo event for drum-majors, but the interest for that event too has been weak for a number of years.

There are natural reasons for this shift from a military oriented piping and drumming culture to a more civilian style. The importance of piping and pipe band music in the army has gradually been decreasing during the twentieth century.⁴ Instead, the music has increased its importance as a civilian activity, mostly due to competitive piping and drumming, where the music has found a new self supporting arena. I will return to this topic in chapter eight. When the first civilian pipe bands were started they were modelled on the military bands. A strong traditional musical culture such as pipe band music is not likely to change fast, but as the genre increasingly became a civilian activity certain aspects of the military background, including expensive uniforms and military drill, started to fade.

The title of pipe-major with its origin in the Scottish army was initially given to the leader of a group of pipers and later a pipe band within a regiment. As I have suggested in previous chapters the title and the ensuing insignia of rank to be worn on the uniform was of special interest to some of the pioneers in Scandinavia, but as the Scandinavian pipe band culture and the knowledge of its members have developed, the interest in the formal signs has given way for a more pedagogical interest in musical and administrative leadership.

Although the general trend in the pipe band culture is definitely going towards a more civilian style, the military roots of the genre are clearly present. This quasi civilian-military milieu can make various customs and habits in the culture difficult to interpret. The following may serve as an example.

³ Sandek, Alf, interview, 13 Oct. 1999, transcription of original Swedish quotation: "Vi vill se marching and discipline som en naturlig del i det man gör därför att publiken i allmänhet, de lyssnar inte med öronen, publiken lyssnar med ögonen, det är liksom en gammal sanning som man säger i brittiska armén."

⁴ Cf. the process of diminishing government support of military music in Sweden during the twentieth century (Edström, 1982: 61–67, 101–102).

Still, two Scandinavian pipe-majors can be seen saluting each other in military fashion as their bands pass in the competition field. Exactly such an incident occurred at the Scandinavian championships held at Holbæk in 2000, where a leader of one band saluted another band on its way to the starting line in the competition field.⁵ The question is whether to interpret this salute as a romantic fascination for military etiquette, or simply as a friendly gesture signifying ‘good luck’ using a conventional sign inherited in the tradition. To understand the mechanisms behind the interpretation of this simple salute, we can make use of Clifford Geertz’s discussion of ethnography, and his use of Gilbert Ryle’s notions of ‘thin’ and ‘thick’ description in connection with the interpretation of culture, where a good interpretation “takes us into the heart of that of which it is the interpretation.”⁶

In this case the ‘thin description’ would be the information that a salute was given whereas the ‘thick description’ would be an understanding of its actual meaning for the persons involved. The outside onlooker, connecting a salute to a military situation, might without much consideration have interpreted the salute as a military sign. Probably, the casual onlooker would not take the interpretation further, but should he be asked to verbalise it he might suggest that the salute was signifying an interest of the involved persons in playing soldiers. The individual giving the salute, the band members receiving it or other insiders seeing the incident, again without verbalising their interpretation, would probably see it as a positive friendly signal, maybe with a tint of respect (because salutes are not as common as they used to be among civilian pipe bands). The individual who gave the salute in this particular case, is not known at all to be interested in the military aspects of piping, so nobody among the insiders are likely to have interpreted this particular salute as an interest in playing soldiers. The gesture has been part of the pipe band culture for so long that it can be said to be a habitual incorporating practice, as described by Connerton.⁷

What is of interest here are the various layers of meaning in this simple gesture. Due to the roots of pipe band culture in the army, the salute is a natural habit in the genre, but the meaning is slightly different from that in the army. In the army the salute is a conventional way of saying

⁵ Participant observation, Scandinavian championships for pipes & drums 2000 at Holbæk.

⁶ Geertz, 1973: 18

⁷ See chapter six, page 212.

hello and of paying respect to each other, but it also incorporates elements of subordination, compulsion and obedience. In a modern civilian pipe band the salute is still used to say thank you to an applauding audience and between bands it is sometimes used to say hello and to pay respect. There is, however, no element of subordination or compulsion in the ‘civilian’ salute. Still, it alludes to the military roots of the pipe band, and as the formalised highly stylistic gesture in itself is clearly distinguishable as a military sign (with its connotations) it functions as a very powerful sign in comparison to a wave of the hand, a nod or a bow. When used in a civilian pipe band in front of an audience it has become ‘part of the show’, like the military commands given and the marching in ranks and files in colourful Highland dress. I usually refer to this behaviour as ballet militarism.⁸

Pipe Bands or Social Clubs?

Every band was started by a few enthusiasts sharing related interests, be it Scottish military pipe bands, Scottish romantic history or the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe or pipe band drums. Close bonds were formed between the members of every group as they strove to find instruments, knowledge and uniforms as well as engagements to finance it all. Engagements and the use of piping and drumming will be further discussed in chapter eight. In addition to being bands engaged in music making the groups functioned as social clubs, and members often socialised with each other, sometimes several times a week. Mark Slobin’s description of the ‘affinity group’ is indeed to the point here:

[T]he charmed circle of the affinity group, a jointly imagined world that arises from a set of separate strivings temporarily fused at a moment of common musical purpose.⁹

Within the bands it was not only the wish to play the pipes or drums that was realised, but also the imaginary identity as a Scottish piper or drummer was lived out in a ‘jointly imagined world’. For many players *the band* became the primary group, and during the thirty or forty years’ existence of the small Scandinavian pipe band community, many of its members have found their partners within the piping and drumming

⁸ Sometimes facetiously referred to as ‘Operetta Fascism’ in *The Murray Pipes & Drums*.

⁹ Slobin, 1993: 60

community. In a few cases, Scandinavian and Scottish players have formed couples and sometimes married.

Parties held in the bands have often been connected to some kind of Scottish tradition, such as the celebration of the St. Andrews Day (Scotland's national day) or Burns Night Supper.¹⁰ This was particularly the case in the early Scandinavian piping community and Highland dress was often worn at parties, Scottish songs were sung, there was Scottish country dancing, Gaelic toasts were proposed and of course the participants played pipes and drums. Here the romantic interest of the early pioneers in all things Scottish was lived out with the participants playing at being Scotsmen in an imaginary world well described by the MacPherson paradigm, presented in chapter two.

Over the years, the 'Scottish' parties have diminished in most bands, and internal band traditions have evolved instead. In general, it can be said that the romantic and historic interests, which many of the early members had, are given much less attention in today's Scandinavian piping community. Occasionally, some of the traditional parties, such as Burns' Night, are still celebrated in a few bands, but the interest in wearing Highland dress and playing at being Scottish has abated, and today many players see the kilt primarily as stage dress. The bands still function as social units, but parties and meetings tend to be less pretentious and more relaxed. Still the participants eat and drink and play pipes and drums, but the Scottish national paraphernalia is nonexistent at most occasions. With the exception of piping and drumming, whisky is probably the strongest remaining item of Scottish culture at festivities within the Scandinavian pipe band community.

Many bands organise practice weekends a few times every year, sometimes with instructors invited from other Scandinavian bands or from Scotland. Band weekends are often located at a school or scout cabin where it is possible to stay overnight, so that the members can practice all day, socialise in the evening and continue practising the next day.

It is clear that the social life within the bands constitutes an important part of their activities. Lejf Fomsgaard in Aarhus Pipes & Drums says that:

For me, one of the most important things is that the social side of things works out well, because if the social aspect does not work out, first of all, I am not interested in staying in such a band, at least not for a longer period, and the second thing is that otherwise we cannot keep the members, and we will not make any good music either.¹¹

¹⁰ See for instance Höglander, 1988. Burns Night: See chapter three, page 141.

Emphasising the importance of the social contacts within a band for it to function well musically, Peter Wood Elder in The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums points out:

I have always said that it is essential that [in] any band, that wants to be a good band, you have to be good pals. You know, you have got to, not sleep together, but you have to party together. [...] In that way you will get a band that will play for each other.¹²

A relaxed social fellowship within a band is of paramount importance for the members, not only because of its enjoyment value. There seems to be general agreement that if the group functions well socially, the members will play better together. In addition, if the social bonds between the players are good each individual is likely to take more responsibility for the group and its music. After all, playing in a band is a social activity in itself.

Members' Magazines & Internet Sites

Over the years a number of internal members' magazines have been produced within the Scandinavian pipe bands, some have lasted for years, others have only appeared in one or two issues. Here I will comment briefly on some of the magazines.¹³

One early magazine was *Euphoni*, started in the Gladsaxe Pipe Band (later The Heather Pipes & Drums) as early as in 1970. This was a serious magazine with information for the members, reports from engagements, articles about the maintenance of instruments and how to practice etc. This type of content has been typical for many band magazines. Occasionally, there is evidence of conflicts being debated, often including strong feelings. The HP&D still has a members' magazine named *Lyngtidende*.

The Gothenburg City Pipe Band was another band with a members' magazine. The magazine was named as the band and was produced from 1975 and for a couple of years. When The Pipes & Drums of Sweden was started in 1978, all Swedish bands contributed to the magazine of the

¹¹ Fomsgaard, Lejf, interview, 18 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: "For mig da er et af de vigtigste punkter, det er, at det sociale fungerer, fordi hvis det sociale ikke fungerer, så for det første har jeg ikke lyst til at være i sådant et band, ikke i længere tid i hvert fald, og det andet er også, at så kan vi ikke fastholde medlemmerne og så får vi ikke heller noget godt musik ud af det."

¹² Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

¹³ A list of members' magazines can be found among the sources.

same name. As several bands now wrote in the same magazine, there was less information to band members and more general reports of what was going on in the bands. The general interest to write in the magazine diminished and in 1982 the magazine and the organisation was discontinued.

Towards the end, only a few members in The Griffin Pipes & Drums and The Murray Pipes & Drums had been writing in the magazine. Among the most active were the editor Carl-Åke Blomstrand in Malmö and Martin Skarhall in Gothenburg, and they started the new magazine *Muffins*, for their two bands, and they kept it going until 1983.

Other magazines were *The Hackle Cackle* in the White Hackle Pipe Band, *The Thistle Pipe Band Saga* in the Thistle Pipe Band and *The Oil Rag* in The Pipes & Drums the 1st Royal Engineers. In the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, a magazine named *Canntaireachd* was produced for some time followed by *Chantertrash* and a few issues of *Calleposten*.

More recent publications are *Tulach'ard*, a news letter produced by The Aarhus Pipes & Drums as well as The Gordon Pipes & Drums' news letter, sent to band members and supporters.

To a great extent the Internet has now taken over the role of the members' magazines. Due to its flexibility, the Internet has many additional functions and information can be reached worldwide. More or less all the active bands and groups have Internet sites.¹⁴ The sites are used mainly for four purposes; to recruit new members, to find engagements, to inform the band members and to educate the web surfers of various topics ranging from the music of the Highland bagpipe to the history of clans and tartans. Possibly, a fifth use could be described as a wish to be noted as one among other bands, but with various signs to mark out the identity or character of each group.¹⁵

A major difference between Internet sites and magazines, of importance for their value as historical documents, is that Internet sites are printed and preserved to a far less degree than magazines, although there are general Internet archives with the ambition to preserve older editions of Internet sites.

¹⁴ A number of Scandinavian pipe band websites are listed among other websites in the sources.

¹⁵ Fight for visibility: Cf. chapter eight, page 331. Websites: See also chapter eight, page 333.

The Individual & the Group

The early enthusiasts were often somewhat original and in addition strong individuals. Most certainly, those characteristics were necessary for their involvement in the project of importing piping to Scandinavia. Possibly, the pipers were more individualistic than the drummers. As mentioned in chapter six, in Denmark, drummers were often recruited from existing Danish drum corps within the youth organisation FDF, and these drummers were used to playing and working together as a unit. Klaus Jespersen, mentioned earlier as one of the pioneers of Danish pipe band drumming, vividly describes the situation in the newly formed Gladsaxe Pipe Band when his group of FDF drummers started to play

with these very, very, very strange persons, as we saw them. We came as a group, and they were about five, six, seven, eight or ten individuals and eccentrics of the first rank who came along. That is, we did not put on our FDF uniforms when we went to practice on the drums, but here were individuals who rode on a bicycle from Amager, dressed in the kilt, to Gladsaxe, a distance of about fifteen to twenty kilometres, and then they arrived there in kilts and took out their peculiar bagpipes and tried to make them sound in one way or another, and then they cycled all the way back, still wearing the kilt. We found that strange.¹⁶

Initially, the pipers seemed to be working as individuals and the drummers as a unit. As mentioned previously, strong opinions of what a group should emphasise, but also of who should be the leader, often led to the already small groups splitting up at an early stage. In some cases there was a competent leader among those who left the existing group, which resulted in two functioning groups. In other cases it was more a question of individuals who were too individualistic to work in a group at all. As suggested in chapter five, for some the interest in piping was inspired by a wish to be different. Although the effect of a pipe band playing in the street might well be exotic and different, the individual players have to

¹⁶ Jespersen, Klaus, interview 4 Feb. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: “med disse meget, meget, meget mærkelige mennesker, som vi opfattede dem som. Vi kom som gruppe, og her var der en fem seks syv otte ti individualister og originaler af rang der kom. Altså vi tog jo ikke vores FDF uniformer på når vi gik til træning og øvning på tromme, men her var det altså folk der kørte på cykel fra Amager i kilt til Gladsaxe, det er vel en strækning på en femten tyve kilometer, og så kom de der i kilt for at tage deres mærkelige sækkepipe op og prøve at få den til at lyde som et eller andet, og så kørte de hele vejen tilbage i kilt. Det syntes vi var besynderligt.”

adhere to the strict discipline within the group, where every piper is supposed to play exactly the same thing in unison with the others and where there is no room for personal interpretations. Neither does the strong competitive style of solo piping leave much room for personal interpretation.

As the bands recruited new members and became bigger, the existing leaders had the joint advantage of a history as leaders in the bands and more experience of the music and the culture. Thus, they were more easily accepted as leaders by the newcomers. This led to a more stable growth of the bands. Still, changes of leadership in the 1970s and 1980s often led to the splitting up of groups or bands.

It is quite possible that today's more stable competing Scandinavian bands, with a clear leadership, attract individuals of a different personality compared to the early pioneers. When the bands can offer guided tuition, less adventurous individuals might well engage in learning to play the pipes or drums. In fact, a number of second and third generation players, some of whom have been successful both as players and leaders, did not engage in piping and drumming owing to a burning interest, but because they took an evening course in piping or because a playing neighbour or relative brought them along to their band.

On the other hand, the more individualistic and colourful personalities might not feel so well at ease in the highly structured reality of a hard practising competing pipe band. The diminished interest in romantic historic Scotland and the paraphernalia of Highland dress, in favour of the interest in the music, is also liable to exclude many individuals who might have felt more at home in the 'jointly imagined world' of the early bands.

Another related issue is the fact that where the early pioneers had to find the knowledge and piece it together, and in Tomas Saar's words: "learn to learn together",¹⁷ the beginners who come to an existing Scandinavian pipe band today are met by a more school like situation, where they are guided through a beginners' course. Recalling the discussion in chapter six regarding different individuals' adaptability to formalised institutional learning,¹⁸ it is likely that the established bands are less liable to attract persons who do not feel at home in classroom situations. On the other hand, a talented beginner who gets knowledgeable tuition from the very start, learns to play much faster and without all the faults and bad habits easily picked up by the autodidact during his trial and error

¹⁷ Saar, 1992: 16

¹⁸ See page 214.

learning process. It is, however, possible that the tuition “served on a silver plate” is not as highly appreciated as the hard earned understanding of the autodidact, and as Jens Hedegaard puts it:

[Today] a beginner who starts to play at eleven can actually be at a high level at the age of fourteen or fifteen, but without the accompanying full social competence and, maybe, without having had to really fight for something.¹⁹

Those individuals interested in power and leadership and in finding an individualistic niche for themselves are maybe not willing to engage in an established culture were they have to work themselves up from the bottom to the top. It is more likely that they will take up genres that are not yet established in Scandinavia.

It is clear that the establishment and maintenance of a small Scandinavian pipe band community, to a large extent, has depended on the devoted work and dedication of a few enthusiasts who have made piping or drumming their life-style. For them their bands have been even more important than their own families, or as Lars Foldager, pipe-major of The Dungillie Pipe Band, expressed it:

If you have a band job, you put everything else off. For example, I always brought my small girls, who are now seven and nine years old, to band practices in the evenings. They lay in their prams when the band played and, well, if they cried while the band was playing, the band finished the set, and then you went to comfort your child. That is dedication.²⁰

Towards the end of the 1990s, some bands had difficulties in finding new leaders when older pioneers ‘retired’ or left for other bands. In some bands more or less involuntary leaders were appointed as they realised there was maybe no other choice if the band should be able to continue

¹⁹ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “[I dag] en nybegynder der starter som elveåring kan rent faktisk som fjortenårig være på rigtigt højt niveau, men uden at den sociale kompetence er fuldt med og uden at man måske helt er blevet nødt til at kæmpe for noget.”

²⁰ Foldager, Lars, interview, 2 Nov. 1997, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Konkret så fejrer du alt andet bort hvis der er et band job. Mine små piger, som nu er syv og ni år, de har altid været med til band practice om aftenen for eksempel. De låg i deres børnevogn når bandet spillede og, ja, hvis de græd hvis bandet spillede så spillede bandet færdigt og så går man hen og trøster sit børn derefter. Det er dedication. [The last word pronounced in English].”

its activities. This was quite a difference in comparison to the period when some pioneers fought about the leadership. Partly, this explains why The Lochlann Pipe Band started to cooperate with The Heather Pipes & Drums in 1998, leading to the amalgamation of the two bands in 2000. The Lochlann Pipe Band was started in 1972 by Palle Schjerning who left the band in 1986.²¹ The Heather Pipes & Drums was originally formed as The Gladsaxe Pipe Band in 1969. Both Palle Schjerning and the founders of The Gladsaxe Pipe Band such as Paul Martin Holm had been playing together in the group formed by Robert Miller in 1967. Through the amalgamation of the bands in 2000, two groups with a common origin over thirty years ago were united.

The same thing happened in Stockholm in 2000, where the Caledonian Pipe Band amalgamated with The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers. The Caledonian Pipe Band originally formed as an offspring of The Thistle Pipe Band in 1976.²² The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers took their present name in 1987, after the split into two groups of The Thistle Pipe Band.²³ Again two groups with a common origin were amalgamated.

In areas with more than one band there has been a possibility for individuals to change bands. This has been less common for members of newly formed groups, where close bonds evolved among the members in their endeavour to build a band, especially as new groups were often formed due to some kind of dissatisfaction with an existing group. As new members joined the bands and the original reasons for splitting up faded into history, individuals changing bands became more common. Sjælland in Denmark is the Scandinavian area with the highest concentration of bands and groups within a reasonable travelling time of about one to one and a half hours. During the past ten years, many players have moved between bands in Sjælland. The reasons for changing have ranged from disagreement about playing styles, different ideas about how to run a band and which goals to pursue to personal disagreement or have simply been that a player has moved to a new geographical area. Jens Hedegaard points out that:

A very great part of the schisms within pipe bands is that we are absolutely and totally amateurs and that we are absolutely and totally vol-

²¹ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998

²² Smith, Mårten, letter to CPB, Sept. 1989. Marie Nordström files.

²³ Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers, 'Annual Report 1 Oct. 1986 – 30 Sept. 1987', 27 Oct. 1987. PD1RE Archives.

unteers and that it is our hobby and all that, but our knowledge and our skills and our ambitions are often at a world class level. A pipe-major's dream of having twelve identical chanters in tune and to be played identical, is at a higher level than The Royal Orchestra in Copenhagen when they want their woodwind players to play together.²⁴

Common reasons for changing bands are that players look for challenges in a more competition oriented band or vice versa, that a less ambitious player leaves an ambitious band for a less demanding band.

Recordings of Scandinavian Pipe Bands

Considering that there have been pipe bands in Scandinavia for about thirty-five years, the number of Scandinavian pipe band records produced is remarkably low. A limited number of Scandinavian players have been recorded as guest instrumentalists in other genres,²⁵ but less than ten pure Scandinavian piping and drumming records have been published by more than 500 players in over twenty bands and groups over a period of thirty-five years. Clearly, the production of records has not been of great interest within the Scandinavian pipe band community.

I have not made any investigation into this question, but I will suggest a few possible explanations behind this low interest in producing records. Some of the reasons for wanting to publish a record might be a hope to earn money, a desire to make oneself known or a wish to preserve the sound of a certain group of players at a certain time. Starting with the last reason, it should be made clear that there are many recordings of bands and soloists from practices, performances and competitions, but extremely few of these have ever been published. These recordings have mainly been used to listen to one's own playing in order to improve it.

A common view among Scandinavian players is that the only records worth listening to are those featuring the top grade one bands and the elite among the soloists. It would be somewhat contradictory to produce a record that you are not willing to listen to yourself. In addition, there is

²⁴ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Et meget stort del af skismaet omkring det her pipe band her er jo at vi er totalt og aldeles amatører, og vi er totalt og aldeles frivillige og det er vores hobby og alt det der, men vores kunnen og vores dygtighed og vores ambitioner er jo nogle gange i verdensklasseniveau. En pipemajor's drøm om at få tolv identiske chanters til at stemme og blive spillet identisk er jo højere end det Kongelige Kapel i København, når de skal have deres træblæsere til at spille ens."

²⁵ Pipers and drummers as guests in other genres: See chapter eight, page 326.



Figure 7-1. Recordings published by Scandinavian pipe bands.

(PDS – *Säckpipor så in i Norden*; MPD – *Murrays Abstracts*; TPB – *Tribute*; *The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers*; HPB – *Debut*.)

not likely to be any money in the production of Scandinavian pipe band records as the genre is very marginal. If there is no market for a record and the general feeling is that a grade one band can make a better recording anyway, one remaining incentive for producing the record is to make yourself known or to manifest yourself. In addition, the actual production process can be seen as an interesting project in itself. Below, I will mention the few records that have actually been produced in Scandinavia.

In 1980, The Pipes & Drums of Sweden (see page 288) published the LP, *Säckpipor så in i Norden*.²⁶ The record was made on the initiative of Carl-Axel Roslund and featured the three bands on the Swedish west coast, The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, The Griffin Pipes & Drums and The Murray Pipes & Drums. The label was wittingly named ‘Crossing Noise’, alluding to the most basic finger mistake in piping, but maybe also to the fact that the music had crossed over from Scotland to Sweden. Mostly, the record features traditional pipe band music, but there are three tracks (one per band) that deviates from standard Scottish pipe band music. On one track by the MPD, the band members sing the nationalistic Scottish song ‘Scots Wha Hae’²⁷ with a solo piper, and on one of the tracks by the GCPB, a Scottish slow air on the pipes is accompanied on the piano. The Griffin Pipes & Drums on their final track play an arrangement for the pipes of ‘Gärdebylåten’²⁸ followed by Johannes Brahms’ ‘Lullaby’ with the pipe band accompanied on the organ.

In 1988, The Murray Pipes & Drums produced the cassette, *Murrays Abstracts*,²⁹ featuring newly recorded music with some experimental piping including music from Sweden and Brittany as well as older live recordings of the band. The production of the cassette had the dual aim of preserving the historical material and to publish the experimental piping.

In 1992, The Thistle Pipe Band produced their record *Tribute*.³⁰ This is not a traditional pipe band record and features a mixture of Scottish pipe band tunes, Swedish and British Hymns as well as military trumpet signals and marches. The record also features a track where pipe music is mixed with the sounds of a battle.³¹

²⁶ Pipes & Drums of Sweden, *the, Säckpipor så in i Norden*, LP 1980.

²⁷ Sometimes referred to as Scotland’s unofficial national anthem.

²⁸ ‘Gärdebylåten’, see *Example 6–3* on page 257.

²⁹ Murray Pipes & Drums, *the, Murrays Abstracts*, sound cassette 1988.

³⁰ Thistle Pipe Band, *the, Tribute*, sound cassette 1992.

³¹ *An International Highland Bagpipe Discography*,
<http://www.ljudochbildarkivet.se/slba/bagd/bagd.home.htm>

The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers published a CD in 1993 named after the band.³² This is mostly a traditional pipe band record, but the initial track features Niklas Hannah, the pipe-major, singing against a background of sounds from nature including bleating sheep.

In 2000, Holbæk Pipe Band published their CD, *Debut*.³³ This record is a typical record within the modern tradition of pipe band music. Some of the pipe tunes played are composed by two Danish pipers, David Lundgreen, who was the pipe-major of the band at the time of recording, and Bernard Bouhadana.

The Heather Pipes & Drums produced the CD *Heather Pipes & Drums in concert* in 2001.³⁴ These are all the Scandinavian pipe band recordings I have come across. Possibly, there are one or two additional recordings, but the total number is still remarkably low.

Various Scandinavian Piping & Drumming Organisations

In addition to the pipe bands, there are a number of other Scandinavian organisations related to piping and drumming. Some of these will be briefly introduced here.

The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia (PBAS)

Per Colliander, was very interested in cooperation between the Scandinavian bands, and he took the initiative to start a Scandinavian pipe band organisation.³⁵ According to Palle Schjerning, the first meeting was held in Copenhagen at Hotel Kong Fredrik where a big luncheon and a number of drams were consumed,³⁶ and according to Paul Martin Holm, who was also present, Per Colliander climbed on top of a table and started to play his pipes during the proceedings. Thus, The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia was launched and Per Colliander became the first chairman of the association. Among the other persons present were Inge Willman, pipe-major of The Hamilton Pipes &



Fig. 7-2. PBAS Emblem

³² Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers, the, *The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers*, CD 1993.

³³ Holbæk Pipe Band, *Debut*, CD 2000.

³⁴ Heather Pipes & Drums, the, *Heather Pipes & Drums in Concert*, CD 2001.

³⁵ Viuf, Bente, interview, 29 June 1999

³⁶ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998

Drums, Jørgen Svensson, pipe-major of The White Hackle Pipe Band and Per Bergenholtz, the honorary secretary of The St. Andrew Society of Denmark.³⁷ The St. Andrew Society had an important role in bringing the Scandinavian bands together by taking the initiative to start the Scandinavian championships for pipers and drummers in 1970. The hilarious first meeting of the PBAS was held around 1971.³⁸ I have not been able to find any documents regarding the association from this period, but it is clear that it existed in April 1972, as it is mentioned as one of the coorganisers in the invitation to the third Scandinavian pipe band championships.³⁹

One of the issues discussed at the first meeting was a common repertoire, and Paul Martin Holm made a first leaflet with music for such a repertoire.⁴⁰ Another area of common interest was the competition rules. A document dated 7 May 1974, presented rules for competitions organised by the PBAS, stating that all existing Scandinavian bands until further notice were graded in grade four in Scotland, and also that The Scottish Pipe Band Association's rules for grade four bands should apply at Scandinavian competitions.⁴¹

From the very start, cooperation between the bands proved difficult. After Per Colliander's death in 1973, there was a period of little activity in the association, but around the beginning of 1975, some initiatives were taken by the PBAS committee in connection with the coming championships to be held in Stenungsund, north of Gothenburg, the first time it was arranged in Sweden. At this time, the committee was based in Copenhagen with Bente Viuf as chairman. The Danish initiatives were not appreciated or were maybe misunderstood by the leaders of the Thistle Pipe Band in Stockholm and a rather rancorous correspondence followed between Stockholm and Copenhagen.⁴² In the members' magazine of The Gothenburg City Pipe Band (Dec. 1976) their pipe-major, Carl-Axel Ros-

³⁷ Willman, Inge, interview, 10 Aug. 1988

³⁸ Holm, Paul Martin, interview, 21 Oct. 1998

³⁹ The St. Andrews Society of Denmark, letter regarding the 3rd Interscandinavian Piping and Pipe Band Championships, 26 Apr. 1972, HP&D, Elizabeth Low Archives.

⁴⁰ The PBAS massed bands repertoire is also mentioned in chapter six, page 252.

⁴¹ Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, the, Regler for Pipe Band konkurrencer arrangeret af PBAS, 7 May 1974, HP&D, Elizabeth Low Archives.

⁴² Thistle Pipe Band, letter to Bente Viuf and Paul Martin Holm, 30 Mar. 1975; Viuf, Bente, open letter to all Scandinavian bands and the 'presumed' committee of the PBAS, 10 Apr. 1975; Holm, Paul Martin, answer to open letter from The Thistle Pipe Band sent to all secretaries and pipe-majors, 8 Apr. 1975. Copies of all these letters in Elizabeth Low Archives, HP&D.

lund, wrote that the major problem within the association was the member bands' inactivity and tendency to isolate themselves, especially in Sweden, and he goes on:

Why has it turned out this way? I think that an underlying reason is that our hobby is so unique that you easily imagine that you are something special and should be treated accordingly, that is, a direct inability to subordinate oneself to decisions taken in common. If you are a "star" at home it is maybe an unpleasant experience at meetings to be only 1 of 100 pipers, maybe even a bad one. Instead one might prefer to isolate oneself with one's group.⁴³

Maybe to avoid offending the individualistic pipers and drummers in the independent minded bands, a new policy was worked out by the committee of the following year, now with Kaj Larsen from Copenhagen as chairman. According to the annual report of the association for 1977, the PBAS had decided to create a new image "more as an organisation giving service and guidance to the single band than as a ruling superior authority over the members."⁴⁴ Since then, the policy of the association has been to preserve this low profile, with the main ambitions to maintain a set of Scandinavian competition rules and a massed bands repertoire, appoint organisers of the Scandinavian championships and to facilitate contacts and information between the Scandinavian bands.

From 1978 to 1989, the activity in the association was more or less nonexistent. In 1989, Mathias Cramér, started to work for a revival of the PBAS and he was elected chairman.⁴⁵ The regulations of the association as well as the competition rules were revised, but the organisation still kept a very low profile, although now with annual general meetings in connection with The Copenhagen Winter Competition in February.

⁴³ Roslund, Carl-Axel, 'PBAS' in *The Gothenburg City Pipe Band*, members' magazine, 5 Dec. 1976, original Swedish text: "Varför har det då blivit så? En bidragande orsak tror jag är att vår hobby är såpass unik att man gärna inbillar sig att man är något särskilt och bör bli behandlad därefter, alltså direkt oförmåga att underställa sig gemensamt fattade beslut. Är man 'stjärna' på hemmaplan är det kanske en obehaglig upplevelse att vid träffar bara vara 1 av 100 pipare, kanske rent av en dålig sådan. I stället kanske man föredrar att isolera sig med sin grupp."

⁴⁴ Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, the, 'Formandsberetning for bestyrelse i P.B.A.S. for året 1977', 14 Feb. 1978, MPD Archives, original Danish text: "en organisation som mere tager sig af det service af vejledende for de enkelte band end som et styrende og overordnet organ for medlemmerne."

⁴⁵ Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, the, 'Kallelse till ordinarie årsstämma för PBAS', 27 Jan. 1989; 'Referat af ordinær generalforsamling i Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia (PBAS)', 12 Feb. 1989, MPD Archives.

Cramér resigned as chairman in 1997, and Mats d Hermansson was elected.⁴⁶ At the same annual general meeting it was decided that the organisation should be made more visible outside Scandinavia, and a website and an email newsgroup for the PBAS was established. In 1999, the chairman presented the association and the Scandinavian pipe band scene in general, at an international meeting in Glasgow at the headquarters of The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (RSPBA), to which the PBAS is affiliated.⁴⁷

In 1998, after a several hour long discussion, new competition rules were accepted by the PBAS. These had been worked out in cooperation with the committee of The Copenhagen Winter Competition so that the same set of rules could be used at both these major Scandinavian events. The most difficult discussion at the meeting was whether a minimum of one compulsory tenor drummer should be added to the then existing minimum of six pipers, two side drummers and one bass drummer, required to compete as a band. Everybody agreed that tenor drummers add to the performance of a band, but those against the suggestion pointed to the fact that tenor drummers are not compulsory at competitions in Scotland. Those in favour of a compulsory tenor drummer claimed that it was discriminating to rule out one of four categories of players in the bands. The final decision was in favour of a minimum of one tenor drummer.⁴⁸ Here the Scandinavian pipe band community decided on rules different from those in Scotland, partly on the democratic grounds that one group of players should not be treated differently from their colleagues.

The Scandinavian School of Piping & Drumming⁴⁹

The Scandinavian School of Piping and Drumming was started by Sven Harboe, David Lundgreen and Thomas Hellner, in 1994. Sven Harboe had taught side drummers and his brother Tom Harboe had been engaged as a piping teacher at a summer school in Germany. A number of Danish players used to go to the German school, and the idea was born to or-

⁴⁶ Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, the, 'Agenda for the Annual General Meeting', 14 Feb. 1997, PBAS Archives.

⁴⁷ Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, the, International Meeting, Glasgow, 16 Aug. 1999, participant observation.

⁴⁸ Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia, the, 'Report from the Annual General Meeting 1998', 13 Feb. 1998, PBAS Archives; participant observation.

⁴⁹ This text mainly builds on an interview with David Lundgreen, 22 Oct. 1998, and in addition, participant observations from the summer schools of 1996, 1997, 1998 and 2002.

ganise a Scandinavian school in Denmark. Hellner did not play himself but was engaged in Holbæk Pipe Band as his children played in the band.

The first school was held in 1994, at a boarding school in the countryside outside Holbæk, with about thirty pupils of varying playing abilities. The piping teachers were the late P/M Angus MacDonald, M.B.E. from Scotland and Kjeld Adam from Copenhagen. Tom Brown from Scotland taught side drumming. The school proved to be a great success and has been repeated for one week every summer since then with various teachers from Scotland and Scandinavia. The School was held at Farmen until 1997 and from 1998 it was moved to Ubbørup Folkehøjskole outside Kalundborg.

The philosophy behind the school is to offer expert tuition in conjunction with recreation and a social atmosphere. These aims pinpoint the interest among the Scandinavian players of piping and drumming as leisure activities, but where the music is taken very seriously. Many players return year after year to the school.

Other Scandinavian Piping & Drumming Organisations

THE PIPERS' CLUB OF COPENHAGEN, the very first piping organisation in Scandinavia, was started by Mogens Zieler and Pipe Major Donald Shaw Ramsay, B.E.M. in 1949.⁵⁰ Members of the club still meet once a month and play to each other.

The club holds in trust a set of Highland pipes belonging to the Danish queen, and every year one piper in the club is appointed to play and take care of the royal bagpipe. The set of ivory and silver mounted pipes, made by MacRae in 1904, were presented by The St. Andrew Society of Denmark in 1967, to princess Margrethe (who was later to become Queen Margrethe II of Denmark) at her marriage, and the bagpipe hung for many years as a wall ornament in a French castle. In 1989, Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning, the chairman of The Pipers' Club of Copenhagen, heard about the pipes from the former chairman of The St. Andrew Society of Denmark, Hamish Barclay, M.B.E. Schjerning wrote a letter to the Danish court explaining that it was a waste that such a fine set of pipes should be used as a wall ornament, and the court answered that the Queen and Prince had agreed to let The Pipers' Club take care of the instrument so that it would be played and properly maintained.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See 'Mogens Zieler in Denmark' on page 94.

⁵¹ Foreningen The Gordon Pipes & Drums, 'Nyhedsbrev 1999 – 2', 19 Sept. 1999.

THE FORMER PIPE MAJORS' CLUB is an association for former pipe-majors of Scandinavian pipe bands. To be eligible a person must have been appointed pipe-major in a Scandinavian band and have led that band in a competition at the Scandinavian championships.

THE PIPES & DRUMS OF SWEDEN (PDS), was an association for Swedish pipe bands, initiated by Carl-Axel Roslund in 1978.⁵² It was intended for all Swedish bands, but it was only the bands on the west coast of Sweden that were actually active.⁵³ The association arranged a few Burns Night Suppers and massed bands parades. The record *Säckpipor så in Norden* featuring three of the bands was also made under the name of PDS (see page 280). In addition, a number of members' magazines were produced. The interest for the organisation diminished in the early 1980s, and the last magazine was produced in 1982.⁵⁴

THE BASS AND TENOR DRUMMERS OF SCANDINAVIA (BTDS), was started on the initiative of Marie Nordström in 1995 to promote the tuition and interest in bass and tenor drumming in Scandinavia. The organisation has arranged a few courses and has worked to raise the status and standard of bass and tenor drummers in the Scandinavian bands.



Fig. 7-3. BTDS Emblem

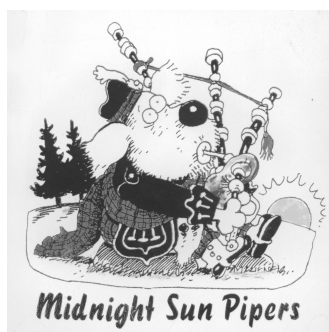


Fig. 7-4. Midnight Sun Pipers, Emblem

THE MIDNIGHT SUN PIPERS, formed in Helsinki on the initiative of Jorma Katrama in 1994, is an organisation for enthusiasts of various bagpipes. Today (2002), it has about 20 members, among them members of The Helsinki Pipes & Drums.⁵⁵

⁵² Roslund, Carl-Axel, letter, 30 May 1978, to all Scandinavian pipe bands, MPD Archives.

⁵³ The Borås City Pipe Band, The Gothenburg City Pipe Band, The Griffin Pipes & Drums and The Murray Pipes & Drums.

⁵⁴ *The Pipes and Drums of Sweden*, members' magazine, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1982, MPD Archives.

⁵⁵ Katrama, Jorma, email, 26 Aug. 2002.

Scandinavian Piping & Drumming Competitions

As explained in chapter two, competitions have become the major arena for Scottish piping and drumming. Once the first bands were started in 1968, it did not take long for the Scandinavian championships to develop as an annual event. Within a few years, a second competition was launched during the winter time – The Copenhagen Winter Competition, an indoor competition for soloists and quintets.

The Scandinavian Championships

In June 1970, the first Scandinavian championships for pipers and drummers were arranged at Frilandsmuseet in Copenhagen. The championships were part of a Highland Games arranged by The St. Andrew Society of Denmark. According to a summary of the event in *Euphoni*, the members' magazine of The Gladsaxe Pipe Band, the competing bands were The Thistle Pipe Band from Stockholm, The Scottish Pipe Society of Denmark and Gladsaxe Pipe Band. In addition, there were dancers and other members from the St. Andrews Society of Denmark and also a group of caber tossers from the Swedish island of Gotland.⁵⁶ The adjudicators were Pipe Major Angus MacDonald from The City of Glasgow Police Pipe band and Mogens Zieler. The event was described as a success for the participants and the audience.⁵⁷

The competition was arranged annually in Copenhagen by the St. Andrew Society of Denmark the following years until 1975, when it was organised for the first time in Sweden at Stenungsund, north of Gothenburg, by Carl-Axel Roslund. Since then, the championships have been held annually, although in 2002, it was not possible to find an organiser. There has been an ambition to alternate the location of the event between Denmark and Sweden every second year, but the event has been held more often in Denmark.⁵⁸ The organisation of the championships, which involves a lot of work, has sometimes been undertaken by one of the pipe bands or by a committee of individuals from the pipe band community. Often it has been difficult to find somebody to organise the event.

⁵⁶ The tradition on the island of Gotland of tossing the caber (Sw. stångstörtning) is quite different from the Scottish tradition.

⁵⁷ *Euphoni*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1970: 4, signature: PMH.

⁵⁸ A list of the Scandinavian championships 1970–2001 with location, organiser and winning bands can be found in Appendix B, page 381.



Photograph 7-1. Massed bands parade in connection with the Scandinavian championships at Holbæk, Denmark.

In front is Ole Venø, drum-major of the Holbæk Pipe Band and ten times winner of the drum-majors' contest at the Scandinavian Championships.

Venø has repeatedly been one of the organisers of the championships.

Photo: Marie Nordström, 1990.

There are both band competitions and solo contests at the championships, which are held over a weekend, often at Whitsun, with the band competitions held on the Saturday and the solo competitions on the Sunday. Over the years, the event has been judged by many of the best known band leaders and soloists from Scotland, Northern Ireland and Canada. From around 1990, the competition organisers started to engage experienced Scandinavian players as adjudicators as well, although, primarily in the competitions for the less experienced players. There has never been any cash prizes in Scandinavian piping and drumming competitions and most prizes are in the form of challenge cups.⁵⁹

In 1970, the championships featured, in all, one band from Sweden and two from Denmark, since then the number of participating bands have increased, but not particularly much. During the 1990s, the number of competing bands have been around ten, with two or three bands from Sweden and the rest from Denmark. A few times there has been a group of players from Finland, but so far no full band. Occasionally, there have also been visiting players and bands from other countries such as Scotland, England, Germany and Holland.

⁵⁹ A list of some Scandinavian challenge cups can be found in Appendix D, page 384.



Photograph 7–2. Sven Harboe, Copenhagen, competing on the side drum, accompanied by his brother Tom Harboe, at the Scandinavian championships at Holbæk, Denmark. The adjudicator is Jackie Houlden, Scotland.

Photo: Marie Nordström, 1990.

Initially, all the Scandinavian bands competed in grade four, where the requirement is to play marches, but at the championships in Malmö in 1979, an open grade competition was initiated, featuring The Heather Pipes & Drums A and the visiting Scottish band The Tennent Caledonian Breweries Pipe Band. They were required to play a march, strathspey and reel,⁶⁰ and the following year the requirement was a selection.⁶¹ From 1981 and onwards, there has been two open grade competitions, one for a march, strathspey and reel, the other for a selection.

Over the years the number of solo competitors have increased and so has the gap between the more experienced players and the beginners.

^{60.} Scandinavian championships, 'Highland Games 79', information about competition, 2 May 1979, MPD Archives.

^{61.} Scandinavian championships, 'The 11th Scandinavian Pipe Band Championships 1980, konkurrenceregler', 2 June 1980, MPD Archives.

Because of that the solo competitions have been graded into different levels. During the past few years, however, the number of solo competitors have diminished somewhat.

Largely, the Scandinavian championships have been modelled on Scottish pipe band competitions, although, the competition rules have been adapted to Scandinavian conditions (see page 286). The event also functions as an important social occasion for the Scandinavian pipe band community and the Saturday evening party is seen by many participants as equally important as the actual competitions.

To promote the competition and to facilitate fund raising for the organiser, the day of the band competitions has traditionally been started off with a street parade of all the bands. As mentioned in chapter six (see page 252) a common massed bands repertoire which all Scandinavian bands play have been determined for these occasions. Lately, the interest to organise and take part in these parades has diminished, possibly due to the fact that the attraction among the players to a great extent has changed from the surface aspects of the genre to the intricacies of the music and the competitions.

Often, bands have not been able to compete because they have not had enough players to fulfil the minimum requirement of six pipers, two side drummers, a bass drummer and a tenor drummer. Sometimes bands have borrowed players from a band that is not competing and on other occasions two smaller groups have decided to cooperate. For instance, at the Scandinavian championships there has been cooperation between The Murray Pipes & Drums and The Holbæk Pipe Band (Murray Holbæk Interscandinavian Pipe Band) in 1988, the MPD and The Gordon Pipes & Drums in 1996, the MPD and The Helsinki Pipes & Drums in 1998, and the MPD and the Aarhus Pipes & Drums (Aalrays Pipes & Drums) in 2000. In 1997, the Caledonian Pipe Band and The Helsinki Pipes & Drums competed as The 1997 Trans- Baltic Pipe Band. A number of pipers and drummers from various bands in Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Aarhus and Helsinki also competed between 1997 and 2000 as The Mayfly Pipes & Drums. The Gordon Pipes & Drums and The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums cooperated in the Danish championships in 2001.

These mixed competition bands have been possible to realise much due to the fact that experienced players from one band has been invited to teach in other bands. This has created contacts between bands and across borders.

The Copenhagen Winter Competition (CWC)

In December 1973, The White Hackle Pipe Band and The Heather Pipes & Drums organised an indoor solo competition, The Copenhagen X-mas Competition. In February 1975, the two bands organised a second event under the name The Copenhagen Winter Competition. Since then the CWC has been held annually in February as a competition for soloists, drum corps and quintets (three pipers, one side drummer and one bass or tenor drummer).

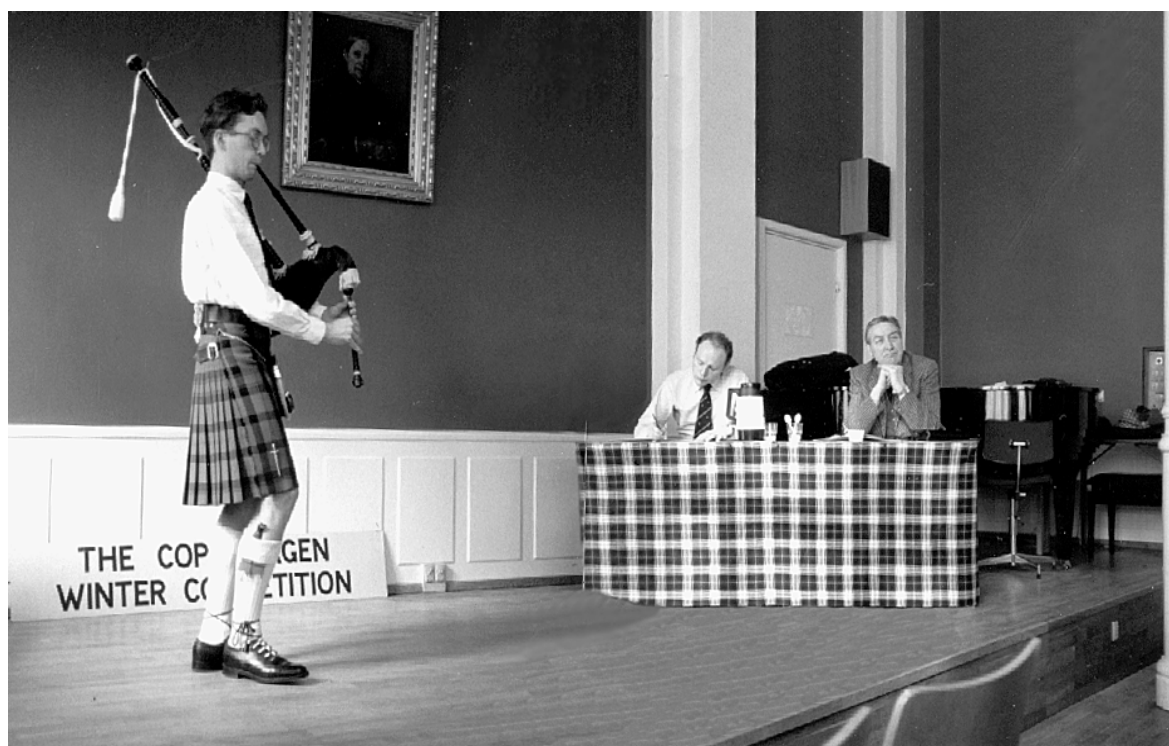
At the early competitions the two bands alternated inviting instructors from Scotland at the time of the competition, and these instructors were also used as adjudicators. In this way the two bands sponsored the adjudicators of the competitions. The early competitions lasted for one day, having less than fifty competitors.

The competitions did not carry their own costs and around 1979 the event was highly debated in the bands. A few people feared that the competitions would not be held at all and stepped in offering to take care of the project in a group not connected to the bands. Among the persons involved were Kaj Larsen, Stig Bang-Mortensen, Hanne Monberg, Karin Kell Nielsen, Kate Lange and Charlotte Bang-Mortensen. The bands agreed to the project.

The famous Pipe Major John D. Burgess from Scotland had been invited to judge the event in 1979, and he suggested that the committee should arrange a recital with him in connection with the competition. The recital would give the committee the extra income necessary to pay Burgess the fee he wanted (which was higher than had previously been the case). In addition, the competition was extended to last for two days to give time for more competitions and it was also moved to a new location, N. Zahle's Gymnasieskole, a school in central Copenhagen, where the competition has been held every year since then.

The committee realised that a good way to make the financial side of the competition work was to run a bar facility, open to the competitors and the audience during the competition and also at the 'after the games party' in the evening. A few years later, a television set showing the competitions was placed in the bar so that the onlookers could watch the competition without having to leave the bar.

The committee aimed at a competition with a high service level for the competitors, so that they could concentrate on their playing. The idea was to make everybody feel that they had a great time at the competition, both from the competitive and social points of view.



Photograph 7–3. Ulf Schönberg, Gothenburg, competing at The Copenhagen Winter Competition 1987. The adjudicators are Murray Henderson, Scotland and P/M Robert Kilgour, Copenhagen.

Photo: MPD Archives, photographer unknown.

Many members of the first committee were of a about the same age and had not yet formed families and they worked in a very social way often having parties together. Everybody took an interest in everything that happened. This was not always very effective, but meant that everybody knew about everything. According to Kaj Larsen: “As one person was typing something, the rest would be standing around the typewriter watching what was being produced.”⁶² In recent years, it has become increasingly more difficult to find individuals willing to engage in the competition committee.

In order to get an audience, apart from parents and friends, the first committee took every chance to make the competition known through national and local newspapers as well as the local radio stations. This resulted in a small but welcome audience of ‘outsiders’. A compere was there addressing the audience and introducing the competitors. The CWC became a very popular and highly successful event attracting players

⁶² Larsen, Kaj, interview, 16 Nov. 1996

from all over Europe. In the CWC programme from 1985, Pipe Major Robert Kilgour wrote:

The Copenhagen Winter Competition which is now coming up to its 12th year, the last five of which I have attended is now upon us once more. I suppose that one could say that this competition is unique in that it is, the only one held in Scandinavia which in size and importance comes any where near to the solo competitions in Scotland. [...]

Pipers all over Denmark and Sweden come to compete and many others from as far away as Holland, Belgium, and Britain. For a couple of years we had a competitor from a British army unit stationed in Germany.⁶³

To a great extent, the CWC of today is still working according to the same basic ideas as those developed from 1979 and onwards. It is run by a separate organisation, not connected to any pipe band or other organisation. The number of competitors have sometimes been in the region of 150, but according to the present chairman, Peter Mohr, the number of participants has been decreasing in later years.

In addition to the competitions and the social activities connected to the CWC, the recitals started in 1979 have been a great source of inspiration to Scandinavian pipers and drummers. There is no other event in Scandinavia where so many of the World's best solo pipers and drummers have performed.

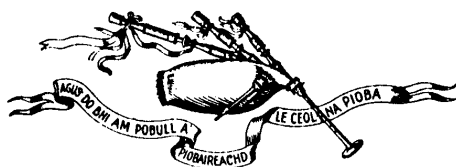


Figure 7–5. CWC Emblem

The Scandinavian Championships and The Copenhagen Winter Competition are the two major events of the Scottish piping and drumming culture in Scandinavia. In fact, without these two events there would hardly be anything that could be called a common Scandinavian piping and drumming culture, only a handful of bands and individuals spread over a large area. But the competitions have not only facilitated the formation of a Scandinavian pipe band culture, in addition, the competitions have helped to raise the standard of playing in Scandinavia. A number of

⁶³ Kilgour, Robert, 'Introduction', CWC programme, 1985: 4

Scandinavian players have attested to this. In the CWC programme of 1987, Mårten Smith, who was then the pipe-major of The Caledonian Pipe Band wrote:

The standard of playing has risen with every year, at the competition as well as in Scandinavia as a whole. Which proves that there is nothing like a little friendly competition to boost one's motivation to practise.⁶⁴

The Danish Championships & Other Events

The Danish Championships were started in 1991, on the initiative of Jens Hedegaard, who was then the leading-drummer of Holbæk Pipe Band. He had just returned from Canada where there are many pipe band competitions every year and this inspired Hedegaard to start a new competition in Denmark. The event has been held annually in various Danish towns since it started. This one day event limited to grade four bands is usually held on Ascension Day, one week before the Scandinavian championships. To keep costs to a minimum the competition has been judged by experienced Scandinavian players.⁶⁵

Another annual event is The Copenhagen Pipe Band Championships organised by The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band. These championships were started in the early 1990s by Albert Lykking and Per Nørklit.⁶⁶ In addition to these regular competitions there have been a few other singular events and smaller competitions within bands and organisations.

Successful Scandinavian Solo Competitors

The Scandinavian piping and drumming community has spent most of its time and effort on the formation of pipe bands. Most individuals interested in solo piping have been involved with a band and often, but not always, the best soloists in an area have also been the band leaders. Over the years, various pipers and drummers have been among the leading solo competitors in Scandinavia, but a few have been especially successful in competitions.

Tom Harboe, in Copenhagen, is the Scandinavian piper who has been most successful in competitions over the years, with innumerable prizes

⁶⁴ Smith, Mårten, 'The 14th Copenhagen Winter Competition' in *CWC Programme 1987*: 5.

⁶⁵ Danish Pipe Band Championships 2000, programme.

⁶⁶ Lykking, Albert, interview, 24 Feb. 2001

in both ceòl mór and Ceòl beag. He started his piping career in The White Hackle Pipe Band and later he started to play with The Heather Pipes & Drums, where he at present (2002) is the pipe-major of the grade two band. Another noted Danish prize winner, who has also been the pipe-major of The Heather Pipes & Drums, is Tue Johannesen. Among the younger successful pipers, Bernard Bouhadana should be mentioned. He has played with several Danish bands and has won a number of major Scandinavian solo prizes.

Two of the most successful Scandinavian side drummers in competition have been Sven Harboe, and Jens Hedegaard. They have both been the leading drummers of various Scandinavian bands. At present, Sven Harboe is the leading-drummer of Aarhus Pipes & Drums and Jens Hedegaard of The Heather Pipes & Drums, grade two. René Fredriksen and Claus Olsen are two other Danish side drummers who have been successful prize winners through the years. Among the younger Danish drummers Jacob Jørgensen should be noted as an acknowledged prize winner. Other young successful Danish side drummers are: Michael Ambech, Louise O. Hansen and Anders Jensen.

Niklas Hannah from Stockholm has been the most successful competing solo piper from Sweden through the years, with many prizes in light music and piobaireachd. He was also the pipe-major of The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers from 1991 to 2000. Since the Scandinavian solo competitions for tenor drummers were started in 2000, Jessica Karlsson from Gothenburg has won all five events.

Later Developments

Interscandinavian Tuition & Tutor Books

The presentation in chapter three of early piping and drumming in Scandinavia, makes clear that there was a willingness, maybe typical of pioneers, of helping others with the same interest. Naturally, bands that had just split up were not always the best of friends, but there was an open mind for helping those who lived in other regions. Over the years, experienced Danish players have helped pipers and drummers in Sweden and vice versa. In later years, instructors from Denmark and Sweden have visited Helsinki and Oslo. Leif Fomsgaard from Aarhus points out that:

Part of the challenge today is that there is still a pioneer spirit within the Danish pipe bands, that everybody should help each other, also all over Scandinavia.⁶⁷

Example 7-1. Tenor beating: The Sound of Sleat, reel (Jessica Karlsson & Marie Nordström)

Under the music the signs designed by Marie Nordström denote the visual show of feathering and flourishing (see *Example 7-2*).

(Typeset in MusixTeX by Hugo Flordal.)

The musical score is written in 2/2 time and consists of four staves. The first staff begins with a repeat sign and contains notes with accents and a '2nd time 4th measure' bracket. The second staff features a triplet of eighth notes and drumming symbols. The third staff contains four triplets of eighth notes and drumming symbols. The fourth staff has a '1st time 4th measure' bracket, a double bar line with a scissor symbol, and drumming symbols. Drumming symbols include vertical arrows, pairs of vertical arrows, and a scissor symbol.

Interscandinavian tuition has also been offered through the summer courses of the Scandinavian School of Piping and Drumming and The Bass & Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia (see page 287).

To make piping and drumming available to new pupils, a few bands and individuals have also produced their own tutor books. This is well in line with the thoughts presented in chapter six, that many Scandinavians have acquired a more intellectual understanding of piping and drumming by having to find the knowledge in Scotland and then bring it home and piece it together.

Some of the Scandinavian bands have produced their own tutor books. The early members of The Heather Pipes & Drums compiled a tutor book for the Highland bagpipe in the early 1970s. Another early Scandinavian tutor book for pipers, based on Alan Logan's tuition, was produced by Mårten Smith in The Caledonian Pipe Band.⁶⁸ In the 1990s, Sven Axelsson and Mats d Hermansson wrote a tutor book based on James Kirkpatrick's tuition, and in 1995, Marie Nordström compiled a tutor book

⁶⁷ Fomsgaard, Leif, interview, 18 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Noget af udfordringen i dag er så også, at det stadigvæk inden for de danske sæk-kepipbands er den der pionerånd, at alle hjælper alle, også i hele Skandinavien."

⁶⁸ Schönberg, 1990: 349

Example 7–2. Signs to denote flourishing and feathering in tenor drumming, designed by Marie Nordström.

(Typeset in MusixTeX by Hugo Flordal.)

| Flourish | Symbol | Feathering | Symbol |
|------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|
| Swing, right stick | | Shoulder mark, right stick | |
| Swing, left stick | | Shoulder mark, left stick | |
| Swing, both sticks | | Shoulder mark, both sticks | |
| Singling, right stick | | Side mark, right stick | |
| Singling, left stick | | Side mark, left stick | |
| Singling, both sticks | | Side mark, both sticks | |
| Doubling, right stick | | Mark drum, right stick | |
| Doubling, left stick | | Mark drum, left stick | |
| Doubling, both sticks | | Mark drum, both sticks | |
| Butterfly, right stick | | Elevator, right stick | |
| Butterfly, left stick | | Elevator, left stick | |
| Butterfly, both sticks | | Elevator, both sticks | |
| Low butterfly, right stick | | Throw, right stick | |
| Low butterfly, left stick | | Throw, left stick | |
| Low butterfly, both sticks | | Throw, both sticks | |
| High butterfly, right stick | | Throw down, right stick | |
| High butterfly, left stick | | Throw down, left stick | |
| High butterfly, both sticks | | Throw down, both sticks | |
| Lost butterfly, right stick on top | | Throw up, right stick | |
| Lost butterfly, left stick on top | | Throw up, left stick | |
| Cut, right stick | | Throw up, both sticks | |
| Cut, left stick | | Click | |
| Flying cut, right stick | | Ground position | |
| Flying cut, left stick | | | |
| Flying cut, both sticks | | | |
| Moth, open | | Other signs | Symbol |
| Moth, closed | | Cross beating | |
| Half wheel, right stick | | Repeat arrow | |
| Half wheel, left stick | | | |
| Wheel | | | |
| Spread | | | |
| Drunken eagle | | | |
| Helicopter, right stick | | | |
| Helicopter, left stick | | | |
| Helicopter, both sticks | | | |
| Oyster, right stick | | | |
| Oyster, left stick | | | |
| Oyster, both sticks | | | |

for tenor drumming, including special signs to denote the flourishing and feathering, the visual show of swinging and moving the drum sticks (*Examples 7–1 and 7–2*).

Scandinavian Highland Bagpipe Making

There is no tradition in Scotland or elsewhere of making your own set of Highland pipes. At least from the 1800s, Highland pipes have been made of expensive wood, for instance Ebony and wood of the Grenadilla family, such as Cocuswood and Blackwood. To work with this type of hard wood requires special tools and special turning skills. The mounts too, are either turned in ivory or plastic materials or are made of nickel silver or Sterling silver, often engraved.

Neither do pipers make their own reeds, these are made by special reed manufacturers. Usually, the piper only does minor adjustments to the reeds like scraping or squeezing the blades. To my knowledge, only one Scandinavian piper, Stig Bang Mortensen who lived in Copenhagen at the time, made reeds on a small scale.

During his stay in Sweden, Alan Logan, one of the founders of the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, experimented with pipe making, and he made a few models of Highland pipes in various types of wood.⁶⁹

Jean Bouhadana in Copenhagen, has made a set of Highland pipes as a hobby project, but in a lighter type of wood. He is not playing himself, but his son, Bernard Bouhadana, is one of Scandinavia's best soloists.

Rolf Littorin,⁷⁰ who lives at Onsala south of Gothenburg, is the only Scandinavian who has engaged seriously in the making of Highland bagpipes. He got his interest for Highland piping during a holiday trip to Scotland with his family around 1990, and he started to play in The Gothenburg City Pipe Band when he got home. He also got lessons from Mats d Hermansson in the early 1990s.

Being a trained engineer and designer as well as a skilled turner, Littorin decided that he wanted to make a practice chanter, and he started to experiment with various designs and solutions. The result was a number of practice chanters that were very different from the traditional Scottish ones, but they were well made and had a good sound so a number of pipers both in Scandinavia and Scotland wanted Littorin to make practice chanters for them, especially as he was willing to personalise the design for each individual.

The next project was to make a pipe chanter, the most important and delicate part of a set of pipes. By examining and meticulously measuring

⁶⁹ Hoffsten, Ingrid, telephone conversation with Marie Nordström 30 Mar. 2003.

⁷⁰ This part builds on an interview with Rolf Littorin, 10 Feb. 2000. I have also been involved in a few processes where instruments have been tested, and I have had the pleasure of playing many of the pipes made by Littorin.



Photograph 7–4. Rolf Littorin at the lathe in his workshop at Vallda.

Photo: Sven Axelsson (Nov. 2002)

a number of chanters from various makers Littorin started to design his own pipe chanter. Again he succeeded and he produced a number of chanters for pipers in Scandinavia and abroad. In cooperation with The Murray Pipes & Drums he produced matched band chanters.⁷¹

Finally Littorin made a full set of pipes, his prototype, and this was followed by more sets, among them two sets with mammoth tusk and silver mounts produced for Sauli Savisalo and Gustav Henriksson in The Helsinki Pipes & Drums. In addition to making the pipes, Littorin learnt how to make mounts in various materials ranging from ivory to engraved Sterling silver. The only parts ordered from Scotland have been the bags, the cords and the covers as well as the reeds. An additional asset for the Scandinavian piping community with Littorin's knowledge of pipe making is that repairs do not have to be sent to Scotland any more.

Littorin did not have any tuition from a skilled pipe maker. He talked to a few Scottish pipe makers, among them James Kirkpatrick, but they were not very talkative about their methods. In fact, Littorin recreated the process of making a set of Highland pipes by examining and measuring various sets of pipes, by reading the scant literature on the subject and by

⁷¹ Every modern pipe band plays a set of chanters produced to be exactly in tune and function well together.

a process of trial and error. He also had to make all the necessary tools. When asked how this was possible he answered:

That is what sifts the wheat from the chaff. [...] It is a method, I mean if you are a constructor and have worked as a constructor, well then you have. To construct is often a question of finding the components that should be part of the construction and put them together in a way so that it works. That is exactly the same thing.⁷²

According to Littorin, the fact that he did not have any guidance made the process more time consuming, but on the other hand, it is possible that the end product got better as he did not inherit any bad habits from the past. In Scotland, Rolf Littorin has had some very positive comments about his pipes and chanters, among others from the late Pipe Major Angus MacDonald, M.B.E., but he has also discerned a certain amount of protectionism from some quarters in Scotland.

On the Margins of the Marginal

Most of the Scottish piping and drumming in Scandinavia has been connected to pipe bands and traditional solo piping, but there have been exceptions of which I will mention some here.

A few Scandinavian pipers and drummers have been involved with folk groups. In Stockholm, the Scottish folk music group, The Corbies, was formed around 1970, by a few pipers and drummers from The Thistle Pipe Band, among them Anders Gjörling and Mårten Smith. In Copenhagen, Stig Bang Mortensen played pipes in the group MacMortensen's trio. They produced the cassette, *MacMortensen's Trio*.⁷³

Furthermore, some pipers and drummers have performed with groups playing various styles of popular music. For instance, Aarhus Pipes & Drums' involvement with the folk rock group Wolfstone has been mentioned in chapter three. In addition, in a few cases pipers have played with symphony orchestras. I will return to this topic in chapter eight.⁷⁴

⁷² Littorin, Rolf, interview, 10 Feb. 2000, transcription of original Swedish quotation: "Det är det som skiljer agnarna från vetet. [...] Det är ju en metodik, jag menar är man konstruktör och har jobbat som konstruktör va, så har man. Konstruktion det är ju ofta det att leta fram komponenterna som skall ingå i konstruktionen och peta ihop dem på ett sätt så att det fungerar. Det är precis samma sak."

⁷³ *MacMortensen's Trio*, sound cassette, 1989 (BIEM, ncb), Holm Cassette.

⁷⁴ See 'Piping in the Superculture' on page 323.

In connection with the quintet competitions at The Copenhagen Winter Competitions during the 1980s and 1990s, there have been a few instances of what could be termed *avant garde* piping and drumming, performed by members of The Murray Pipes & Drums and The Caledonian Pipe Band plus guests from a few other bands. It all started in connection with the CWC 1985, when a trio of pipers from Gothenburg made an agreement to compete with two Danish drummers as there were no active drummers in Gothenburg. The group played a mixture of traditional Scottish pipe band tunes and some traditional Swedish music. In 1986, the group performed again at the same event, but this time the drums were left out and instead Sven Axelsson played the Breton bombard⁷⁵ together with three pipers. This disqualified the group from winning the competition, but competing was not their aim. They wanted to play their experimental music to a knowing audience. In 1987, the group played the first two variations of the traditional *piobaireachd* 'The Unjust Incarceration' together with Dan Andersson who played a blues inspired accompaniment on an electric guitar. The players were dressed in kilts and welding helmets. The audience was divided between those who loved the performance and those who saw it as sacrilege. By now the audience and participants at the competition started to expect an *avant garde* performance from the group every year. Consequently, in 1988 the group played a very traditional set of a march, *strathspey* and a reel. This time together with two drummers from the newly formed Holbæk Pipe Band.

In 1990, 'The Half Way Inn Quintet', sponsored with drinks by a pub of the same name in Stockholm, played at the CWC. Their programme included the Beatles' hit 'Yellow Submarine'. In 1992, a quintet from Stockholm competed with a set of tunes including an arrangement for the pipes, made by Ulf Schönberg, of Dave Brubeck's 'Blue Rondo à la Turk'.

In 1993 a group from The Murray Pipes & Drums together with the Danish drummer Sven Harboe competed with a set that started out traditionally but ended up with everybody including the pipers playing percussion instruments. In 1994, the group competed with traditional Scottish tunes in the mode of B,⁷⁶ but with the drones tuned to the note B of the chanter, instead of the usual A, and in 1995, the group performed a last crazy quintet consisting of a number of more or less free variations on the well-known tune 'Frère Jacques'.

⁷⁵. Bombard: See footnote 105, page 66.

⁷⁶. A number of traditional tunes have the B of the pipe chanter as the basic note, although the drones are tuned to A.

There have also been a few unorthodox performances of drum salutes. For instance, one drum salute by The Heather Pipes & Drums in the late 1980s, featured a children's choir (among other things), and in 1997, The Bass & Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia performed a drum salute with a great number of tenor drums, two bass drums and only one side drum on which only two single taps were played.

Between 1994 and 1997, a group of pipers in Stockholm named Svenska säckpipekvintetten/fraktionen (The Swedish Bagpipe Quintet/Fraction) played and competed together. The members of the group were Krister Bergman, Johan Gregefalk, Henrik Montgomery, Pelle Stübler and Ulf Schönberg. A new feature within Scandinavian piping was that a large proportion of the quintet's repertoire was composed by the members themselves. In addition, the group made many arrangements for the pipes and drums of traditional Swedish folk tunes as well as Scottish, Irish and Breton music.⁷⁷

At competitions, these experimental performances have been well received by the audiences, but the adjudicators have found it difficult to handle them within the strict format of competitive piping and drumming.

Scandinavian Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scotland

A few Scandinavian bands and a handful of soloists have competed in Scotland with good results. In addition, a few merited Scandinavian pipers and drummers have played with successful grade one bands in Scotland and Canada. Several of the Scandinavian bands have performed in Scotland and the response has often been very positive. For instance, in 2001, when The Murray Pipes & Drums took part in the Northlands Festival the programme included visits to two Scottish schools, where the Scandinavian pipers and drummers actually lectured Scottish school children about Scottish culture. The result was that a number of children wanted to go to Scandinavia to learn to play the pipes and drums.⁷⁸

An Identity in a Marginal Genre of Music

In chapter five I claim that many of the Scandinavian pipe band pioneers found an identity in a world of music beyond the surface view of the bag-

⁷⁷ Schönberg, Ulf, email, 3 Mar. 2003.

⁷⁸ Northlands Festival 2001, Scotland, Thurso & Wick, 21–26 Sept. 2001, participant observation.

pipe as an icon of romantic Scotland. Today there is a small but active Scandinavian pipe band community of about 250 players. In the globalised world of the twenty-first century, the Scandinavian piping and drumming enthusiasts, together with pipers and drummers elsewhere, belong to a small global community – a marginal genre of world music, if we use that concept in a wide meaning.

For many of the Scandinavian insiders today, piping and drumming is less about Scottish culture and more about the music and being part of this small genre of world music. Discussing the change of the Scandinavian pipe band scene over the years, Peter Ulrik Scheel who has been playing since 1970, pointed out that:

To a great extent, what started it [the interest] thirty years ago was a fascination with things Scottish, and the bagpipe is one expression of that, but so is the kilt and haggis and whisky and things like that. There was a lot of fascination around everything about Scotland, and then I think that today we are perhaps more professional regarding the music, whereas the Scottish aspect is not so central any more.⁷⁹

It is not a question of finding out where to find the knowledge any more, but to improve the existing abilities and to work on the finer points of the music. In the 1970s, a lot of thought and energy was spent on kilts, uniforms and appearance. Today, a number of players tend to think more about how their band can reach a higher grade.

In chapter six, I suggest that the Scottish style of playing was cloned in Scandinavia. The process of acculturation was not one where two cultures merged, but rather one where a few individuals were engulfed by the strong Scottish tradition. The Scottish pipe band culture is more of an exclusive enclave in Scandinavian society than an integrated part of it. The players on the other hand are generally well integrated into Scandinavian society, many coming from a middle class background. The insiders who have been playing for a number of years, do not see their involvement in piping and drumming as something exotic, but as a natural part of their everyday lives and identities.

⁷⁹ Scheel, Peter Ulrik, interview, 18 Oct. 2000, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Meget af det der startede det for tredivte år siden, det var fascinationen af det skotske, og så sækkepiben, der jo så er et af de udtryk der er, men kilten er også et udtryk og haggis og whisky, og sådant noget. Det var meget fascination omkring alt det der med Skotland, og da tror jeg, at i dag er vi måske mere professionelle omkring musikken, hvor det skotske ikke er så afgørende.”

However, the general Scandinavian audiences still have the view of Scottish bagpipe music as a romantic icon of Scotland. I will return to this topic in the final chapter. Some of the pupils who are attracted to the beginners' courses offered by the bands today have an interest in the romantic aspects connected to the genre, but lately, the tartanry aspect of the interest seem to be less prominent among beginners too. According to Helle Kristjansen:

Earlier on, well, anybody could have a try at blowing a set of pipes, [and] people were impressed [...] and people had seen the tattoo on television and they just wanted a piper and the quality of the music was not all that important, whereas I think that those who start to play today they are more centred on the music.⁸⁰

One possible explanation is that the existing pipe bands signal that they have the music at the centre of their interest and consequently attract less individuals interested in the extramusical traits of the genre. Furthermore, as Kristjansen points out, when there are people around who know how to play, the new members are inevitably faced with higher demands from the very start. In addition, where the early players approached the strong traditions of piping and drumming gradually in their search for knowledge, the beginners in today's Scandinavian pipe bands are immediately supplied with a practice chanter or a practice pad, a tutor book and an instructor. Although this is highly effective it is also possible that it deprives the learners of some of the romantic charm of their interest at a premature stage.

The early bands consisted of a mixture of those interested in tradition and romanticism on the one hand and those more interested in the music on the other hand. The trend now seems to be a division into competing bands and parade bands. With the limited number of persons interested in engaging in the genre at all, it is possible that the competing bands will find it difficult to recruit enough players with the necessary time and energy required to play in a competing band. Especially, as the beginners might need some time to develop the somewhat narrow interest in competitive piping and drumming.

⁸⁰ Kristjansen, Helle, interview, 29 July 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: "Før i tiden, ja da kunne hvem som helst stille sig op med en sækkepibe. Folk blev imponerede [...] og folk har jo set tattooet i fjernsynet og de skulle bare have en sækkepibespiller, så var det lige meget hvordan det lød, ikke? Hvor jeg tror at de folk som starter i dag de er mere fokuserede på musikken."

IV Icon or Music?

8 The Use & Function of Scottish Piping and Drumming Through History

Our playing of rock music was something quite different. It was definitely not of any practical use. Nobody saw any value in it, not even ourselves. Nobody needed it. We were simply playing around, opening our hearts, letting the music out.¹

Mikael Niemi

The preceding chapters have explored how Scottish piping and drumming developed and spread to Scandinavia. This final chapter will focus on the actual use of the music in society and what functions it may possibly have. An underlying issue is how this particular genre of music has been used by various actors through history and how this has affected the genre and its connotations.

Use & Function of a Genre over Time

The Concepts of Use & Function

As mentioned in the introduction, Alan P. Merriam saw ethnomusicology as “the study of music in culture”,² and he wrote: “We wish to know not only what a thing is, but, more significantly, what it does for people and how it does it.”³ He took the two complementary concepts ‘use’ and ‘function’ as points of departure in his discussion of the study of musical behaviour. Merriam’s ethnomusicological perspective was closely connected to cultural anthropology, focusing on music as human behaviour.⁴ Consequently, he employed the concepts of ‘use’ and ‘function’ from the

¹ Niemi, 2000: 203, original Swedish quotation: “Vårt rockspelände var något annat. Till någon nytta var det definitivt inte. Ingen såg något värde i det, inte ens vi själva. Ingen behövde det. Vi lekte helt enkelt, vi öppnade våra hjärtan och lät musik komma ut.”

² Merriam, 1964: 6 (Original quotation: Merriam, 1960.)

³ Merriam, 1964: 209

⁴ Merriam, 1964: vii–x

viewpoint of society, or to be more specific, primarily from the perspective of an outside analyst describing a foreign culture.

“Use” then, refers to the situation in which the music is employed in human action; “function” concerns the reasons for its employment and particularly the broader purpose which it serves.⁵

In connection with ‘use’ and ‘function’ Merriam differed between the emic ‘folk evaluation’ of the members of a culture who could discuss the *use* of their own music, and the etic, ‘analytical evaluation’ made by the outside observer whose “frame of reference is not himself but rather whatever phenomenon he is studying in its own context”⁶ By studying the use of music and its folk evaluation, the outside analyst might understand the deeper significance of the studied object – the *function*. Merriam proposed ten major overall functions for music in society,⁷ the functions of:

1. *emotional expression*
2. *aesthetic enjoyment*
3. *entertainment*
4. *communication*
5. *symbolic representation*
6. *physical response*
7. *enforcing conformity to social norms*
8. *validation of social institutions and religious rituals*
9. *contribution to the continuity and stability of culture*
10. *contribution to the integration of society*

Discussing Merriam’s ten functions, Bruno Nettl has pointed out that it sometimes can be difficult to distinguish between use and function and that Merriam’s list of functions also could apply to other arts and activities in society.⁸ In function Merriam was “searching primarily for generalizations which are equally applicable to all societies”,⁹ trying to answer “the question of what music does for and in human society.”¹⁰ Approaching

⁵ Merriam, 1964: 210

⁶ Merriam, 1964: 209

⁷ Merriam, 1964: 219–226

⁸ Nettl, 1983: 149

⁹ Merriam, 1964: 218

¹⁰ Merriam, 1964: 219

the issue from the slightly different angle of in what way music reflects the values of a culture Bruno Nettl writes:

[T]here is a line between the function of all music in a given society or population group and the functions of individual genres styles and pieces.¹¹

Both Merriam and Nettl discusses the function of music from the viewpoint of society, but where Merriam is looking for cultural universals, Nettl's reflection quoted above points to a discussion of the function of music in a complex heterogeneous modern society.

The Identity Function of Music in Modern Western Society

To describe how various genres and styles of music are used in Western society should not present a major problem, but to say something in general about the function of music in modern society might prove more difficult. The reasons for this are manifold, but the core of it is the abundance of genres and styles available to everybody everywhere and the personalised choices and uses of various types of music by each and every individual. Every single genre of music will have some type of function for its particular users and many functions will be the same for various individuals engaged in various genres, but the issue seems to draw attention to the individuals rather than to society at large.

Merriam, writing in 1964, focused on the use and function of music from the perspective of society, but in the present globalised world with its multitude of musical genres and styles used in different ways by various agents, individuals and groups it seems more fruitful to study the use and function of music on the level of the individual or the smaller group, bearing in mind, however, that every individual is always in various ways related to and a part of the surrounding society. In later years, an increasing number of musicological studies have been made from the perspective of individual identity.¹²

Harald Jørgensen has pointed out that some of Merriam's functions of music can be related to the individual listener, such as the functions of *aesthetic enjoyment*, *entertainment*, *communication*, *symbolic representation* and *physical response*, but according to Jørgensen the number of possible functions from the perspective of the individual are practically

¹¹ Nettl, 1983: 150

¹² See for instance: DeNora, 2000; Ruud, 1997; Öblad, 2000. Cf. Bohlman, 1988: 72.

limitless, for instance in connection with emotional experiences.¹³ Examples of such emotional functions can be the functions of *creating a specific mood* or *recalling a memory*, although here function and use intertwine considerably.

One of the main discussions in this thesis is related to the creation of a personal identity, and I will introduce yet another function of music from the perspective of the individual:

The function of shaping and projecting a personal identity

In the following discussion I will make use of Merriam's ten functions of music in society and my function of music for the individual to elucidate various aspects of the genre of piping and drumming. My interest is not to find universals or to prove any general truths about music. I see the formulations of various functions of music merely as one set of tools among others, which can be used to illuminate different facets of music.

The Genre as Such – Tradition as Its Change Over Time

Writing about tradition and the transmission of folk music Philip V. Bohlman suggests that:

[T]radition as the sum of all individual performances is shaped by the process of change, whereas the unit of transmission, the performed version of the piece, is the product marking various stages of these processes. Tradition, moreover, acquires the dynamism of history; it has an essentially diachronic nature. Because it can denote a particular moment in tradition's temporality, transmission approximates synchrony.¹⁴

Having this conception of temporality and tradition in mind, a specific genre or tradition, such as Scottish Highland piping and pipe band drumming, can be described as emerging at some time in history and developing through various ages up until the present time. The development of the genre through history may constitute greater or smaller changes of the instruments, the music, the role of the musicians and the performance practice. The musical genre is materially carried through history by means of the physical instruments as well as the individual practitioners consisting of musicians and instrument makers with their knowledge of how to make and play the instruments, the musicians repertoire of music, their

¹³ Jørgensen, 1988: 66

¹⁴ Bohlman, 1988: 26

performance practice and their conception of their own role and the role and history of the genre.

Of vital importance for the genre to survive is that new practitioners are drawn into the culture and that they somehow acquire the intrinsic knowledge of the genre. Knowledge of a traditional practice as piping is often, but not always, brought on in a master-pupil relationship, as discussed in chapter six. This process of transferring a tradition to new individuals is one explanation for the changes a tradition undergoes over time. There must also be a reason for the practitioners to engage in the specific genre. These reasons can range from job opportunities, carrying on a family tradition to a pure interest in playing the music as a leisure pastime. The reasons too, are liable to change over time.

Another angle of this is to think of how a certain genre develops at a certain time and place due to specific historical circumstances and needs and how the genre is then used and conceived of by subsequent generations. In *Resistance Through Rituals* this aspect of culture is touched upon by the authors:

Men and women are, thus, formed, and form themselves through society, culture and history. So the existing cultural patterns form a sort of reservoir – a pre-constituted ‘field of the possibles’ – which groups take up, transform, develop.¹⁵

As a result of the use and function of the music in society, in connection with traits of the music and its performance practice over time, the genre will acquire a certain status within society and be imbued with various conceptions. These are likely to become part of the intrinsic tradition of the practitioners within the genre as well as how the music is received and understood by society at large, although, the interpretations of these traits are likely to differ to some extent between the insiders of the genre and the outsiders. The relationship between the musicians and these musical and extra-musical traits are also likely to vary between individuals and over time.

From its emergence until the present time, the genre will exist within a larger cultural framework of a continuously changing society. Franco Fabbri points out that “single genres change their function according to the times, and within them the musical events.”¹⁶ The use and function in society of a specific genre of music will change through history and

¹⁵ Clarke et al., 1975: 9

¹⁶ Fabbri, 1982: 54

many of the developments within the specific genre will be adaptations that reflect the changes in society at large. Bohlman writes about the adaptability of folk music to new environments and audiences:

The profile of one audience may be that of the ethnic community of the performer; another audience may contain a mixture from several ethnic groups in an area; still another might consist only of members from a community completely unlike that of the performer.

When performers who are specialists or professionals successfully meet the contrasting musical demands of these audiences, it is because of their ability to recognize the cultural boundaries, whether delimiting or expansive, and to locate each performance accordingly.¹⁷

The society in question might constitute a smaller or larger geographical area, although in the modern world of mass media traces of most genres can occur anywhere. This leads over to another aspect of post modern society. In an article about modernism and post modernism in Nordic music Jens Brincker writes:

Post modernism is [...] disconnected from the historical continuum. It does not differ between new and used [...] For the post modernist, all music is present at the same time, present as simultaneous musical phenomena deprived of every reciprocal connection. [...] Post modernism [...] consumes traditional material without thought of its traditional function and meanings.¹⁸

I have suggested here that the use and function of a genre changes over time as it is used by new groups and individuals through history.¹⁹ From a rigid post modern perspective of music the concepts of use and function become obsolete in the discussion of various genres in an eclectic post modern society where all music is available everywhere and for any purpose. It is true that CDs of almost any genre of music can be found side by side in record stores and theoretically any music can be used for any purpose. On the other hand, due to the various connotations that are

¹⁷ Bohlman, 1988: 59

¹⁸ Brincker, 1985/86, original Danish text: "Postmodernismen er [...] rykket ud af det historiske kontinuum. Den skelner ikke mellem nyt og forbrugt [...] Al musik er til stede på samme tid for postmodernisten og til stede som samtidige musikalske fænomener berøvet enhver indbyrdes sammenhæng. [...] Postmodernismen forbruger [...] traditionelt gods uden tanke på dettes traditionelle funktion og betydninger."

¹⁹ Cf. Lilliestam, 1988: 20

more or less closely connected to different genres, maybe more rigidly adhered to by the general public than among musicians, a strict post modern use of music freed of historical connotations seems less plausible. According to Lars Lilliestam:

We always hear music through a filter of interpretations, conceptions, tales and anecdotes which we have made contact with in advance and which have created a framework of expectations, previous knowledge and preunderstanding around the music.²⁰

The Function of Scottish Piping & Drumming Through History

So far I have outlined an idea of the specific genre changing over time, imbued with conceptions, carried through history by its individual practitioners and changed by their individual choices of how to use the genre, bound within, and interdependent on (but to some extent distinguishable from) an environment of a changing society. Against the background of the concepts of use and function and the idea of a genre changing over time I will recapitulate the history of piping and drumming from chapter two. The text here also relates to the sketchy chronology of piping and drumming presented in *Figure 8-1*.

The history of the Great Highland Bagpipe can be traced to the late fifteenth century at a time when the clan chiefs needed to strengthen their political power. The Highland bagpipe was introduced as an instrument of power and prestige, used at the courts of the clan chiefs and on the battlefield. Its main function was to support political power. Its connection to the political power rendered the few hereditary pipers a comparatively prestigious position in society. The music developed for the pipes was intricate and prestigious too.

Merriam's ten functions of music work quite well to elucidate the functions of piping (primarily piobaireachd) in the Gaelic clan society. The first being *the function of music to express emotions*. We know that a great number of piobaireachd are laments and probably these served a purifying, cathartic purpose at funerals. There are also examples of piobaireachd supposed to express hatred such as 'A Flame of Wrath for

²⁰ Lilliestam, 2001: 7, original Swedish text: "Vi hör alltid musik genom ett filter av tolkningar, föreställningar, berättelser och anekdoter som vi kommit i kontakt med på förhand och som skapat en ram av förväntningar, förkunskaper, och förförståelse kring musiken."

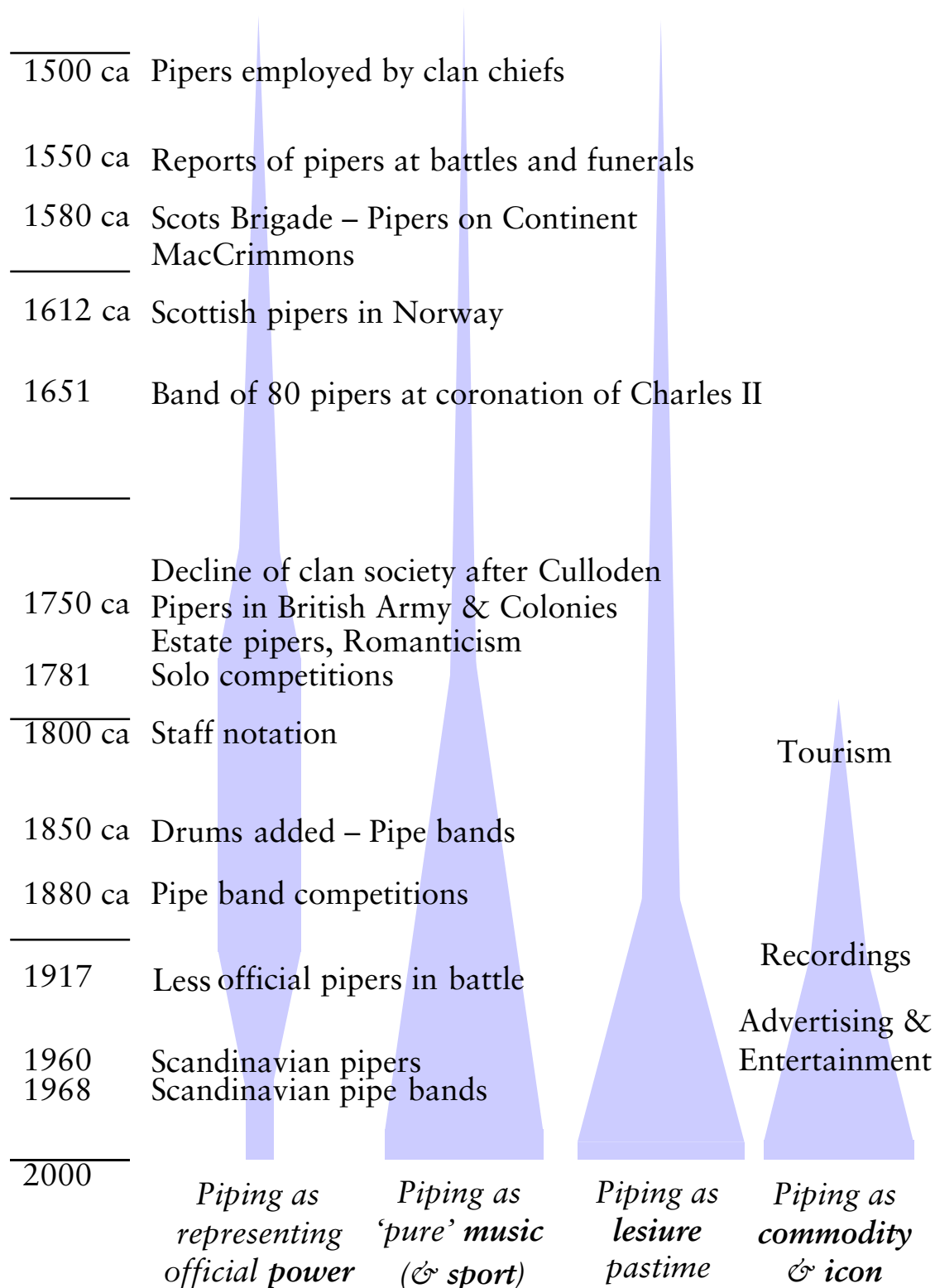


Figure 8–1. Scottish piping and drumming through history.

The profiles in this chronology should be seen as rough approximations of the importance of various aspects or functions of the genre over time.

The figure is related to the text. See also chapter two.

Patrick Caogach'. The story connected with this tune is related by Angus MacKay in his history about the MacCrimmons:

The "Flame of Wrath" was the setting on fire of a number of houses in Kintail by Donald Mór MacCrimmon in revenge for the murder there of his brother Patrick.²¹

In the battlefield the piping served to keep the clansmen together, and there are innumerable stories and anecdotes about the bagpipe's capacity to inspire the Highlanders to brave deeds in the battlefield. This is an example of music's capacity to create attitudes like group rapport and patriotism.²²

Next comes *the function of aesthetic enjoyment*. The strict form of piobaireachd with its theme and variations and likeness with other forms of Celtic art implies that it was composed according to some aesthetic principles.

The function of enjoyment. Most certainly piping was enjoyed at the mini courts of the Gaelic clan chiefs. Especially in times of peace, at weddings and other social events.

The function of communication. The gathering tunes played to summon the clansmen to battle is maybe a good example of straightforward communication.

The function of symbolic representation. An example of this in piobaireachd is its similarity in form with other aspects of Celtic art, where a basic framework is filled with more and more intricate patterns, usually in the form of the Celtic knot, representing eternity.

The function of physical response. The piping on the battlefield was used to make the warriors of the clan feel stronger. In addition, when pipers were used to frighten the enemy the music was used to entice fear.

The function of enforcing conformity to social norms. Again the gathering tunes that summoned clansmen to battle can be used as an example. Also, the piper playing in front of his chief contributed to giving him an aura of grandeur, which strengthened him in his capacity as the leader of the clan.

The function of validation of social institutions and religious rituals. The piper was an important part of the establishment of the clan chief. He played at all major functions such as weddings, funerals and when

²¹ The Piobaireachd Society, Book 5, 1934: 140

²² McAllester, 1960: 469. See also Merriam 1964: 220.

important guests arrived or departed. He also marched in front of his clan chief at formal occasions.

The function of contribution to the continuity and stability of culture. From the sixteenth century the piper, together with the bard and the harpist, served to preserve the myths, legends and history of the clan. Also the piper was, indeed, part of the clan chief's, and the clan's, power structure.

The function of contribution to the integration of society. Merriam points out that if music have the function described in the previous paragraph, it follows that it also has the function to integrate society. It can make the members of a culture feel that they belong to the same culture.

The added *function of shaping and projecting a personal identity* was relevant too, from the perspective of the clan chiefs' use of pipers to boost their own images as powerful and important persons. The music was used in the creation of the identity of the clan chief in competition with possible opponents, a function that should be separated from the stabilising social functions mentioned above. Of course the hereditary pipers also used the music to create a personal identity and a career.

When the Gaelic clan society declined during the second half of the eighteenth century some of the 'modern' landlords employed pipers, but these pipers did not enjoy the same privileged situation as their predecessors in the clan society. The function of the pipers and their music changed. Probably the music still had *the function to express emotions, the function of aesthetic enjoyment* as well as *the function of enjoyment*. It is more dubious whether piping at the estates had *the function of communication* or *the function of physical response* (except, maybe, if the piper provided music for dancing). On the other hand *the function of symbolic representation* took on a new meaning and became more important. The land owners were afraid that the Highland culture with its ancient and martial pipe music would be forgotten. The proud figure of the piper in his Highland garb now came to be an emblematic or iconic symbol of that old, and romantic, Highland culture.

The estate pipers still had the *function of enforcing conformity to social norms* as they added to the prestige of the landlord. On the other hand, *the functions of validation of social institutions and religious rituals, contribution to the continuity and stability of culture* as well as *contribution to the integration of society* were probably much reduced, except in the emblematic sense mentioned above.

The landlords did no longer fight each other in clan wars, so their pipers did not have the function of keeping the clansmen together in battle. However, an increasing number of pipers were now employed by the

Scottish regiments, and the instrument, its music and its practitioners retained and strengthened their connotations to war and political power. (This is illustrated as a widening of the 'power' staple in *Figure 8-1*.) The rigour of military discipline was gradually incorporated into the genre. Simultaneously, the growing romantic interest in music and folklore of the past, coupled with the formation of a Scottish nation modelled on Gaelic Highland culture, added an air of romanticism onto the exotic genre of Highland piping. The introduction of piping competitions in 1781, further emphasised the equilibristic and prestigious aspects of the music, but in addition the competitions offered an arena where the music was much more at the centre of interest in comparison to battlefields and ceremonial occasions, although through the competitions piping also became something of a sport.²³ (This is illustrated as the widening of the 'music' staple in *Figure 8-1*. The emerging 'icon' staple illustrates the formation of piping as a romantic emblem of Scotland.)

The addition of drums to pipe music in the 1850s, strengthened the genre's connection to warfare, discipline and military power. As pipers and drummers were part of the British army the genre was spread by the British Empire to colonies around the world.

In the army piping retained a number of functions from the old clan society. The pipers played to encourage new recruits to enlist, and here it could be said that it was *the function of symbolic representation* as well as *the function of enforcing conformity to social norms* which were at work. The piper with his new emblematic representation of the romantic clan society reminded the Highlanders of their proud reputation as excellent warriors. Just as the piper of the Gaelic clan society had played the gathering piobaireachd to summon the clansmen to battle, the army piper now summoned the Highlanders to join the regiments. It was not uncommon that the clan chief of an area was present as the Scottish regiments recruited new soldiers, making them feel that they joined him, as they were used to in the clan society. McCrone writes:

[T]he raising of Highland regiments after 1745 was a master-stroke by the British state in incorporating the symbols of its enemies into its own identity.²⁴

So, actually, all the *functions of communication, validation of social institutions and rituals, contribution to the continuity and stability of cul-*

²³ Cf. quotation in chapter two, page 87.

²⁴ McCrone, 1992: 184

ture as well as *contribution to the integration of society* could be attributed to piping in the army. Here the word identity is not referring to personal identity, but to the identity of the state.

During the nineteenth century ceòl beag (the light music) became increasingly popular. Different light tunes were used as regimental tunes and routine pipe calls, such as 'Johnny Cope' (Reveille), 'Brose and Butter' (Dinner Call).²⁵ Again it was *the function of communication* at work. In addition, piping served *the function of physical response* in the old Highland way, as pipers played to encourage the Scottish soldiers in battle. Roderick Cannon writes:

As late as 1918 an officer could write that not only were pipers too difficult to replace, but that also 'when the men heard the pipes they would lose control of themselves, and in eagerness to get forward would be apt to rush into their own barrage' (B. Seton and J. Grant, 1920, 74).²⁶

The bagpipe, together with other traits of Gaelic Highland culture, had become part of Scotland's national identity. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the notion of the Highland pipes as exotic, romantic and connected to war and power had spread over the world. The formation of civilian pipe bands and pipe band competitions towards the end of the nineteenth century paved the way for greater number of players and for piping and drumming becoming leisure activities. (This is illustrated as the widening of the 'leisure' staple in *Figure 8-1*.) With the growth of mass media and tourism in the twentieth century the Great Highland Bagpipe as an icon of Scotland was firmly established in large parts of the world, and with this *function of symbolic representation* the Highland pipe was increasingly used to represent Scotland and to advertise Scottish merchandise. After the second world war the genre was taken up as a leisure activity by interested individuals in other European countries. The practice of having pipers playing in the front line of the battlefield was discontinued during the First World War, and gradually during the twentieth century less pipers and drummers were employed by the army.²⁷ (Illustrated as a narrowing of the 'power' staple in

²⁵ Scots Guards, *Standard Settings of Pipe Music*, (Book 1), 1965.

²⁶ Cannon, 1995: 120. [Quotation in: Seton, Brevet-Col. Sir Bruce, and Grant, Pipe Major John (1920) *The Pipes of War, a record of the achievements of pipers ... during the War 1914-18*. Glasgow. Reprinted Wakefield, 1975.]

²⁷ Cannon, 1995: 120, 164

Figure 8-1.) Instead, amateur piping and drumming flourished, very much due to pipe band competitions.

Super-, Sub- & Interculture

Before turning to a discussion about the use and function of Scottish piping and drumming today, I want to introduce a trio of terms used by Mark Slobin: ‘superculture’, ‘subculture’ and ‘interculture’. These are tools used by Slobin in his discussion of the global, complex world music of today.²⁸ Slobin writes that there is no simple way to analyse this unpredictable changing music. As we concentrate on one issue, other issues get less attention, and consequently a conscious choice of focus must be made by the analyst. When Slobin presents his concepts, he points out that they should not be seen as fixed, and he refers to terms as “creatures of discourse”.²⁹ Slobin wants us to find new ways of thinking about music, concentrating on the musical interplay that takes place between individuals, society, smaller groups, industry and the state.

Slobin’s notion of superculture is connected to the Gramscian term hegemony, as amplified by Raymond Williams.³⁰ This hegemony can be seen as a mainstream line of thought internalised as ideology in a society of individuals, politicians, industries and subcultures. The hegemony is not monolithic, it is not controlled by any defined body, and it is contradictory and complex. The hegemony is administered by ordinary people, and the centre of power is constantly changing. For Slobin the term superculture “implies an umbrellalike, overarching structure that could be present anywhere in the system.”³¹ It could be described as the accepted, the ordinary and the commercially successful. Slobin goes on to mention three basic components of the musical superculture:³²

- The musical industry with its technoscape, mediascape and finanscape.³³

²⁸ This presentation builds mainly on Slobin, 1993.

²⁹ Slobin, 1993: 12

³⁰ Slobin, 1993: 27

³¹ Slobin, 1993: 29

³² Slobin, 1993: 29–33

³³ These are three of five concepts used by Arjun Appadurai to discuss aspects of the global cultural economy, where technoscape relates to the global configuration of high and low technology, mediascape to the global dissemination of information via mass media and the images of the world thus created and finanscape relates to the global disposition of capital (Appadurai, 1990).

- The state and its influence on what is considered appropriate music, for instance in schools, or how copyright rules are applied.
- Stereotype quiet assumptions about music, built into the ideology of a society, such as career paths for professional musicians or certain accepted standard styles.

Subculture is a vague term, according to Slobin, and it is more difficult to define. He approaches the subculture by studying individuals, smaller groups and the role of the individuals in the different groups. One person can belong to more than one musical group and can have different roles in the different groups. This has been further explored by Ruth Finnegan in her study of music making in the English town of Milton Keynes, where she discusses the interaction of various musical worlds and the fact that some individuals participate in more than one musical genre.³⁴ Trying to understand what subculture actually can be, Slobin mentions the possibility that, at least to some extent, it is defined by the superculture. There is a constant interplay and interchange between the superculture and the subcultures. The term minority might be used to describe a subculture. It can also be of an ethnic nature comprising people belonging to the same ethnic group, for which a certain type of music might be part of the group's identity.

On the other hand, returning to the issue of the importance of music in the creation of a personal identity, Philip V. Bohlman writes:

Musical activity in some cases, has come to define the subgroup, rather than the subgroup defining its musical practices.³⁵

In modern society different genres and styles of music interact all over the world. Slobin adopts the term *interculture* for this process. One important factor for the growth of the modern global culture is the 'master narrative' of the Enlightenment with its principles of education and liberal democracy; another is the role of media and the technoscape serving capitalism. Of course the superculture acts worldwide, but different subcultures too are involved in the interaction. Slobin mentions the 'diasporic' interculturalities where members of an ethnic group, situated in different countries, communicates and links are set up by subcultures across national borders. Slobin mentions the importance of the 'homeland' or 'mother country' of such cultures.³⁶

³⁴ Finnegan, 1989: 180–190

³⁵ Bohlman, 1988: 139

Possibly, some music that belong to the sphere of the superculture is approaching a general function in modern society. An example might be contemporary commercial radio music which is present almost everywhere in society; in restaurants, super markets, a majority of radio channels and even used as pause music in telephones. This music, functioning as a 'drone of the market',³⁷ can be said to have the function of making people feel that they are safely within the womb of the market of modern Western society. Ola Stockfelt has called this music of the Western mass media "a non-verbal lingua franca, a common cultural repertoire over traditional borders of culture, class and age."³⁸ This function falls under Merriam's general categories of *contribution to the continuity and stability of culture* and *contribution to the integration of society*.

Piping in the Superculture

The most obvious examples of Scottish piping in the superculture can be summarised in two tunes; 'Scotland the Brave'³⁹ and above all the 'Amazing Grace'.⁴⁰ These two tunes are associated with Scottish piping at least all over the Western world, and pipers are asked by audiences to play these two tunes over and over again.⁴¹ The origins of the tune 'Scotland the Brave' is not known, but the origins of the 'Amazing Grace' as a pipe tune are somewhat easier to trace.⁴²

The tune was first taken up by a few pipers in The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons), a Scottish cavalry regiment which was to be amalgamat-

³⁶ Slobin, 1993: 64

³⁷ Eriksson, et al., 1995.

³⁸ Stockfelt, 1988: 172, original Swedish text: "ett icke-verbalt lingua franca, en gemensam kulturell repertoar över traditionella kultur-, klass- och åldersgränser."

³⁹ Various texts have been sung to the tune, the most well-known lyrics written by Cliff Hanley (see chapter two, page 33).

⁴⁰ In the Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm the two tunes were named the 'Scottish tune' (Sw. 'Den skotska') and the 'Nice tune' (Sw. 'Den fina') as audiences always asked for the 'nice tune' meaning the 'Amazing Grace'.

⁴¹ Cf. chapter four, page 170.

⁴² The text 'Amazing Grace' was composed by the adventurer and priest John Newton, in the 1770s, first published in *Olney Hymns* (1779). The origin or the composer of the tune is not known. The tune first appeared in a tune book published in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1829, with another text. In 1835, the tune was published with Newton's text in a tune book by the Baptist singing school teacher William Walker. 'Amazing Grace' was included in Judy Collins' album *Whales and Nightingales* (1970, [Elektra]). (*Texas Baptists' top 10 tunes are rich in history*, http://www.baptiststandard.com/2001/10_29/pages/hymns_history.html; Judy Collins: *UK Top 10 hits*, <http://www.chartwatch.co.uk/TopTen/acts/ACT01102.htm>.)

ed with The 3rd Carabiniers or The Prince of Wales Dragoon Guards, forming a new regiment, The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards. As mentioned in chapter six, Pipe Major Peter Wood Elder, B.E.M., who started The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums in Slagelse in Denmark, was one of the pipers involved in the recording of the 'Amazing Grace' during his time in The Royal Scots Greys.⁴³ According to him:

This happened when I was in The Scots Greys. It was just a year before we amalgamated into The Scots Dragoon Guards, and this Judy [Collins] had a hit singing Amazing Grace, and I liked it and I used to play it. [...] The band master Stewart Fairbairn, our band master, [...] he said: "this is nice, this would go nice with the pipes", because we used to play combined quite a lot, you see. So he brought out this arrangement, and I was the pipe-sergeant of The Scots Greys at the time under Jimmy Pryde, and we just picked it up in five minutes.⁴⁴

The tune was recorded by The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards at Redford Barracks in Edinburgh, in May, 1971, and was included on an LP recording commemorating The Royal Scots Greys.⁴⁵ What then happened is described on the sleeve of one of the regiments subsequent records through a quotation from *Time*:

Rules for creating a hit record in the pop field: find a snappy melody for the Now Generation. Add socially aware lyrics. Dress the song up in a razzle-dazzle instrumental sound. To make a Top 40 chart nowadays, a producer must follow all of these prescriptions—or none. To wit: RCA's new release of Amazing Grace. It is a most unsnappy, 200-year-old American hymn tune, performed on that ancient instrument, the bagpipe. It is also No. 19 on the Billboard Hot 100 chart this week and has sold 1,200,000 copies throughout the world in the past eight weeks [...]

A few months ago, a late-night disc jockey in London took a fancy to one of the tracks on the album [*Farewell to the Greys* (author's comment)], *Amazing Grace*, and began promoting it. As performed first by the soloist, Pipe Major Tony Crease, then by the full band, the song is as unabashedly emotional as the sound of the pipers accompanying

⁴³. See chapter six, page 244.

⁴⁴. Elder, Peter Wood, interview, 29 Oct. 2001

⁴⁵. The Pipes and Drums and Military Band of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, *Farewell to the Greys*, LP 1971, RCA Ltd., Camden (INTS 1279), record sleeve.

Cary Grant, Victor McLaglen and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. on their march to the rescue in *Gunga Din*.⁴⁶

(TIME, June 12, 1972)⁴⁷

By April, 1972, the attention given to the tune, as it was played on BBC Radio 2 by the late-night disc jockey, made The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards' version of 'Amazing Grace' go straight to the British hit lists, where it stayed as No.1 for seven weeks. Since then the record has sold in millions.⁴⁸ The bagpipe version of the 'Amazing Grace' became a great hit in the United States as well, and according to the *American Roots Music* home page:

The recording helped establish a tradition of pipers playing it at political or military funerals, and at the services for policemen killed in the line of duty. The song was heard often at memorials for victims in the days after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.⁴⁹

Through the public attention in the mass media given to its pipe version, the tune has become inextricably connected to the Highland bagpipe for the general audience in many parts of the world. Although only thirty years old as a pipe tune, the 'Amazing Grace' is held by the public as the most traditional piece played on the Highland bagpipe.⁵⁰

According to Slobin the superculture and the subcultures interact, constantly affecting each other, and he writes that:

Subcultural musicians keep one eye on their in-group audience and the other on the superculture, looking out for useful codes and successful strategies, while a third inner eye seeks personal aesthetic satisfaction.⁵¹

⁴⁶. This is the film mentioned by Jorma Katrama. See chapter three, page 101.

⁴⁷. The Military Band of The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, *Amazing Grace*, LP, 1972, RCA Ltd., (INTS 1386), record sleeve.

⁴⁸. *Summersdale Publishers Ltd.*, Peter Kerr, <http://www.summersdale.com/authors/peterkerr.htm>, printed 21 Nov. 2002; *Lycos Music*, Royal Scots Dragoon Guards Biography, <http://music.lycos.com/artist/bio.asp?QT=A&QW=Royal+Scots+Dragoon+Guards&AN=Royal+Scots+Dragoon+Guards&MID=4867&MH=>, printed 21 Nov. 2002; *OZ Net Musicchart*, Number 1 Hit Singles of 1972, <http://www.onmc.iinet.au/top/1972.htm>, printed 21 Nov. 2002.

⁴⁹. *American Roots Music*, http://www.pbs.org/americanrootsmusic/pbs_arm_es_standards.html, printed 21 Nov, 2002.

⁵⁰. Cf. Richard Middleton's discussion of 'Amazing Grace' as used by British football crowds, which he suggests was also inspired by Judy Collins' 1971 hit. (Middleton 1990: 16–18).

⁵¹. Slobin, 1993: 89

There are some instances where the superculture has adopted Scottish bagpipe music into Western popular mainstream music. Pedro van der Lee mentions Paul McCartney's *Mull of Kintyre* (1977), Peter Gabriel's 'Biko' (1980) and John Farnham's 'You're the Voice' (1986).⁵² In the Swedish Melody Grand Prix in 1994, two pipers from The Murray Pipes & Drums played the Highland pipes in 'We Are All the Winners' by Nick Borgen.⁵³ An example of Highland piping in Western art music is 'An Orkney Wedding – With Sunrise' (1985) by the Scottish composer Sir Peter Maxwell Davies. (A problem for pipers is that the piece is written in the key of A instead of B^b, the basic pitch of the modern Highland bagpipe.)⁵⁴

In the late 1990s, some players from The Heather Pipes & Drums in Copenhagen started to play with the popular Danish group Infernal. According to Bernard Bouhadana, who was one of the pipers involved, they played at almost every discotheque in Denmark. Some of the music played was actually pipe tunes such as 'The Mason's Apron'.⁵⁵

In all these instances, the piping is more or less adapted to suit the style of the importing genre. From the pipers' point of view, this is not traditional piping. Bouhadana acknowledged the benefits of playing with a well-known group, but expressed that he did not get any satisfaction out of the actual music. He preferred to play *piobaireachd*.⁵⁶ Jens Hedegaard, the leading drummer, of The Heather Pipes & Drums found it difficult to play to the metronome pace of the techno bass after years ofagogic pipe band drumming.⁵⁷

Another use of pipers and drummers in the superculture is when the classical musician André Rieu and his orchestra play the 'Amazing Grace' with a pipe band, in full dress uniforms, playing behind the classical orchestra. The orchestral arrangement is in every aspect made to sound grand and powerful finishing on a big crash of the cymbals. In this rather commercial enterprise, which according to the CD leaflet is "bridging the gap between classical music and the general public",⁵⁸ it is clear that Mr.

⁵² van der Lee, 1996: 8 (footnote)

⁵³ The pipers were the author and Johnnie Nordlund

⁵⁴ Paul Martin Holm has played the pipes at performances of this composition at Odense and Aalborg (Holm, Paul Martin, interview 21 Oct. 1998). Ulf Schönberg played it in Karlstad and Säffle in Sweden in November 1996, with Värmlands sinfonietta (Schönberg, Ulf, informal conversation). Jorma Katrama in Finland, has played it three times. Once with the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Sir Peter Maxwell Davies himself. (Katrama, Jorma, email, 26 Aug. 2002).

⁵⁵ Bouhadana, Bernard, email, 13 Jan. 2003.

⁵⁶ Bouhadana, Bernard, informal conversation, 29 Jan. 1999.

⁵⁷ Hedegaard, Jens, interview, 20 Feb. 2001

Rieu is the big star. The function of the pipes and drums can be interpreted as being that of boosting the power of André Rieu as a star-conductor and musician and to add power to his orchestra. Here the pipes retain their role from the Gaelic clan society, where they were used to support the power of the clan chief and the clan, again in the function of *shaping and projecting a personal identity*.

The function of the pipes in Nick Borgen's 'We Are All the Winners' is similar. The tune was originally written as a sports fan song and alludes to winning the sports event (and maybe to the hope of winning the Melody Grand Prix competition).⁵⁹ The pipers were used in conjunction with a figurative choir of well-known female athletes to emphasise the winning qualities of the song and the songwriter. There is, however, a difference between Borgen's and Rieu's use of the bagpipe. Rieu picks up the two tunes that have become famous as pipe tunes in the superculture, whereas Borgen uses the pipes in his own composition. Both cases are examples of the pipes being used, to some extent, in an eclectic post modern way, as they are mixed freely with other genres and broken out of their traditional scenes. On the other hand, within the new genres the function of the pipes is still alluding to their historic power connotations.

As mentioned in chapter two, the soundscape of the Highland pipe with its chanter and drones, rich in harmonics, is an important part of its connotation to power (see chapter two, page 42). When used together with other instruments the special sound of the bagpipe adds a timbre that cannot be produced by other instruments. When I suggest here that the pipes are used to boost the power of an orchestra or an individual, it is not only the extramusical connotations to power that are important, but equally much (if not more) the sound of the instrument itself. It is, however, doubtful whether the sound and extramusical connotations, in general, are separated by the casual listener.

The Use & Function of Piping & Drumming in the Late Twentieth & Early Twenty-first Centuries

As mentioned in chapter two, there are still pipers and drummers employed by the Scottish army to represent the official power, but the

⁵⁸ André Rieu, *La vie est belle*, Polydor CD 549 227–2, 2000. André Rieu's orchestra, at this only occasion backed by The Murray Pipes & Drums, also performed this tune in Swedish Television, Channel 4, in the programme *Bingolotto*, 4 Nov. 2000.

⁵⁹ Which he did not, but he was placed second.

number of players and the general use of pipe music in the army has diminished during the second half of the twentieth century. The majority of players today are amateurs, who have chosen piping or drumming as their hobby. A great number of these players all over the world are involved in competitive piping or drumming.

The Self Contained Arena of Piping & Drumming Competitions

The major arena for traditional piping and drumming today is the competition field and all the activities that lead up to it, including learning to play and practising. For a limited number of professional competing pipers, the competitions serve the function of establishing who are eligible for the few job opportunities as professional pipers. Most pipers and drummers, however, are more or less proficient amateurs, as they are not making a living out of their music. Still, some of these players, taking a very serious interest in their music, are first rate musicians, and their playing is at a professional level. Others take it more easy and enjoy their playing just as a hobby.⁶⁰ The common denominator of all these pipers and drummers is that most of them at some time take part in competitions. The reason being that the competition arena, for the past 200 years or so, have been the place to meet others who share the same devotion for this music. At the competition the music, its performers and judges are at the centre of interest. Competitions, simply, have become a major part of the genre. Today, the genre of competitive piping can be described as a small world of its own; a microcosm having its own internal ideals and practices, where competitions are one of the major factors keeping the genre together, making it thrive. This microcosm is in no way confined to Scotland. It extends to many corners of the world and can be described as a diasporic intercultural musical world of piping and drumming.⁶¹ As mentioned in chapter two, the competitions constitute a self supporting arena for piping and drumming, an arena not really dependent on external patrons or audiences, but only on the insiders themselves.

The function of the music here is very much that of *shaping and projecting a personal identity*, but of course the functions of *emotional expression, aesthetic enjoyment* and *entertainment* (for the insiders themselves) are present as well. If the small world-wide diaspora of competing

⁶⁰ See the discussion about professional piping and the concept of professionalism as used by Ruth Finnegan in chapter two on page 86.

⁶¹ Drawing on Mark Slobin's concept 'diasporic interculture' (Slobin, 1993: 64) and Ruth Finnegan's concept 'musical world' (Finnegan, 1989: 31–32).

pipers and drummers is viewed as a subculture, the functions of *enforcing conformity to social norms, validation of social institutions (and religious rituals)*,⁶² *contribution to the continuity and stability of culture* and *contribution to the integration of society* can be said to be at work as well, but only within the subculture as the competition is part of the internal validating system of the strong culture. Seen from a different perspective, the function of the competitions is the very activity of the players competing. Here the function and the activity collapses into each other and as remarked by Bruno Nettl it becomes difficult to differ between use and function (see page 310). Maybe, this is a trait that piping and drumming shares with other genres where competitions are an important activity, such as American drum corps competitions and the brass band movement,⁶³ but also with a multitude of other leisure activities such as various sports and hobbies.

Piping & Drumming as a Subculture in Modern Western Society

Competitive piping and drumming can be described as a subculture in Slobin's terminology, and so can traditional piping and drumming when performed to the general public. It definitely, does not belong to the commercially successful mainstream music, and it is not part of the Western art music, which is maybe not always commercially successful, but often preserved by government institutions. In a few exceptional cases, mentioned above, Highland piping is a guest in the superculture, but the music played is not traditional piping. From the viewpoint of the superculture, traditional Highland piping is primarily treated as an icon of Scotland. Here it falls under Slobin's third basic component of music in the superculture, mentioned above. According to Slobin:

the superculture provides a set of standardized styles, repertoires, and performance practices that anyone can recognize, if not like, a common coin of the musical national currency that we all carry around all day.⁶⁴

Slobin points out the difference between what he refers to as bands versus affinity groups. In his terminology bands are professional or semiprofessional musicians playing for paying audiences; affinity groups are

⁶² Piping is of course not a religion, but the genre and its competitions have strong elements of ritual.

⁶³ See Herbert, 1991.

⁶⁴ Slobin: 1993: 33

“charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding.”⁶⁵ He goes on to say that bands can place themselves anywhere in the territory from within a subculture to the superculture. Affinity groups, on the other hand, “locate themselves at a determined point and may even build walls around their musical strongholds.”⁶⁶ In this sense not only single pipe bands, but actually the whole genre of Scottish piping and drumming could be seen as one big affinity group. In this context Highland dress and tartanry acquire quite a different symbolic meaning. For pipers and drummers all over the world, the kilt is not predominantly a symbol of a Scottish heritage, but a sign of belonging to the musical genre of piping and drumming.

Of course there exist different opinions and sub-styles within such a numerous, worldwide community as that of piping and drumming. The biggest difference is probably to be found between players who are or have been involved in competitive piping or drumming and those who play in a ‘street’ or ‘gala’ band⁶⁷ with the aim to entertain. In comparison to their competing colleagues, many of these non competing players display a greater interest in the extramusical aspects of the genre, such as Highland dress, military drill or Scottish romanticism.

It is clear, however, that a major function of the genre for competing as well as non competing players is that of *shaping and projecting a personal identity*. This also explains as quite natural (and possibly even desirable from the insiders’ point of view) the attitude, mentioned in the introduction, of the mistrust towards outsiders having an opinion about piping, including comments like: “Does he play at all?”

The Use & Function of Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia

When Scandinavians started to play the Highland bagpipe and later the pipe band drums they became part of the almost 500 year long process of different agents choosing these instruments and this particular genre of music for various reasons. As discussed in chapter four, there is reason to believe that the Western society in which they lived had developed certain traits that made it conceptually more possible to choose to play in-

⁶⁵. Slobin, 1993: 98

⁶⁶. Slobin, 1993: 98

⁶⁷. These terms are used about the Wick Pipe Band in a book about the history of the band. See Lyall & Reid, 2001: vi.

struments so closely connected to a foreign culture. The primary use the pioneers made of the new genre was to pursue a personal interest, and the function was again that *of shaping and projecting a personal identity*. By choosing this exotic music of the ‘other’ culture, these early pipers and drummers to some extent positioned themselves as outsiders in their own culture. By doing that they made themselves visible. Lundberg, Malm and Ronström, writing in 2000 about multiculturalism in Sweden, points out that in the fight for power among various cultural groups, *visibility* is of vital necessity.⁶⁸ If the aim of the pioneers was to become visible, they succeeded to some extent because, although, there were only a few individuals involved in piping and drumming in the late 1960s and 1970s, the pioneers were given relatively much more attention in the press in comparison to the more stable and successful bands and players of today, or as Palle Schjerning expresses it: “At every engagement we had then, there was press coverage.”⁶⁹

A reason might be that Scandinavian society was more homogeneous in the 1960s. In today’s globalised musical world it is more difficult to draw attention to a small marginal subculture, in spite of its loud volume and conspicuousness.

Different Agents – Different Perspectives

A discussion of the use and function of piping and drumming in Scandinavia of today must be initiated by distinguishing between the totally different situations for various agents; the insiders – the Scandinavian players who are at the core of interest in this thesis, the outsiders – the general Scandinavian listeners and the organisers or buyers of live piping and drumming and, finally, the overall society.

The Players

Naturally, the meaning of piping and drumming to the players themselves is of great importance. The presentation of the pioneers in chapter five, their keen interest in learning to play the music in chapter six and the consolidation of the culture in chapter seven should make this evident. For most of the players piping and drumming is a leisure pastime, albeit

⁶⁸ Lundberg et al., 2000: 25. See also Lundberg, 2000: 106.

⁶⁹ Schjerning, Palle, interview, 19 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Ethvert engagement vi var ude til, der var pressen jo tilstæde.”

an engulfing and time consuming one. Hardly any of the Scandinavian players have any income from their involvement in piping or drumming. In spite of this, quite a number take their music more seriously than an average hobby. According to David Lundgreen the involvement in piping and drumming

becomes a fixed point in life in spite of what you are doing, whether you go to school or are working or whatever you do, this is something you do week after week, you go to your band practice or [...] tuition [...] and the very fact that you have that fixed point in life, whatever you are doing, gives a certain security, and it is quite clear that this has meant a lot to me.⁷⁰

For a majority of players the involvement in piping and drumming is of great importance for their self-identity and their social lives. In chapter five I have suggested that many of the Scandinavian players initially were drawn to piping and drumming because of the genres connotations to power. To a great extent, they used the genre in the formation of a powerful and sometimes colourful personal identity. To some degree this is still the case, but an increasing number of Scandinavian players today seem to form their identity less on the iconic conspicuousness of the genre, but more on the participation in a community of competing musicians, or as Karin Kell Nielsen in the HP&D expresses it:

I can also get this feeling when I stand at a competition [...] here are all these individuals, we share this experience and I simply like each and every one of them and we have something to achieve together. I think this is a fantastic feeling. This feeling of affinity that prevails.⁷¹

From this point of view, the piping and drumming competitions, where the insiders play the music of their own choice to each other and to invited Scottish expert adjudicators, are of major importance for the devel-

⁷⁰ Lundgreen, David, interview, 22 Oct. 1998, transcription of original Danish quotation: “bliver et holdpunkt i livet uanset hvad man laver, om man går i skole eller om man arbejder eller hvad man nu laver så er det noget som du har uge efter uge, du går til din bandtræning eller [...] undervisning [...] og bare det giver en vis sikkerhed, og det er helt klart noget, der har betydet noget for mig.”

⁷¹ Nielsen, Karin Kell, interview, 2 Feb. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Jeg kan også få det sådan når jeg står til en konkurrence [...] her der står alle de mennesker, vi er fælles om det her, og jeg holder bare af hvert enkelt menneske og vi har et eller andet vi skal nå sammen. Det synes jeg er en fantastisk lækker følelse, altså. Den her samhørighed der er.”

opment and continuation of the genre.⁷² The non-competing bands and players seem to focus more on the iconic romantic visual aspects of the genre instead of the elitist strong playing tradition cherished by the competing bands and players. For both groups, however, the Scandinavian piping and drumming culture is primarily there for the insiders, the participants.

The music has also functioned as a means through which borders have been transgressed by the players. They have become more than acquainted with Scottish culture by engaging in piping and drumming, and a number of personal contacts have been made over the years between Scandinavia and Scotland, but also with pipers and drummers in other countries. The music has also brought a few Scandinavians closer to each other. Ole Venø points out that:

In Scandinavia, the music has helped to create bonds back and forth across borders, to create friendship, and I find that very important, that we can keep it and that it lives on.⁷³

Engagements are important for the bands to help finance instruments, uniforms, travelling etc., but although all groups and bands offer a pipe band or pipers and drummers to play at functions, hardly any present themselves as commercial musicians. For instance, on their websites most Scandinavian bands present themselves more like charmed affinity groups than as performing artists. Among the competing bands emphasis is put on positive competition results. All bands invite new members and offer tuition, and some bands have home pages about the history of the bagpipe and Scottish clans.⁷⁴

An exception is ‘Säckpipsorkestern’ (The Bagpipe Orchestra) in the Stockholm region, which offers performances by Highland pipers and drummers on the website of Säckpipeföreningen Raven.⁷⁵ ‘Säckpipsorkestern’, initiated and maintained by Bolennart Lindberg, is not a traditional pipe band involved in competitions and the education of pipers and drummers. It is a concept through which smaller groups of pipers

⁷² Hermansson, 1997: 105

⁷³ Venø, Ole, interview, 20 Feb. 2001, transcription of original Danish quotation: “Musikken har været med til, i Skandinavien, at danne bånd på kryds af grænserne, danne venskab, og det finder jeg meget interessant, at vi kan holde ved lige og at det lever.”

⁷⁴ The URLs to the present (2002) websites of various bands can be found in the list of sources.

⁷⁵ *Säckpipeföreningen Raven*, www.sackpipa.nu/sack.html, printed 6 Aug., 2002.

and drummers, often coming from other regular pipe bands, can be engaged to play at weddings, parties and other functions. The group or the musicians are not presented as having any particular identity of their own. Here, piping and drumming is clearly sold as a commodity – the romantic icon of the kilted Highland piper. In comparison to the more idealistic Scandinavian pipe bands this concept is very different. On the other hand, this is exactly what a majority of the Scandinavian customers are interested in buying.

Audiences & Organisers – Opposite Views of the Same Aspect

Scandinavian pipers and drummers are employed to play at a great variety of occasions ranging from christenings to funerals. The music is particularly used in four different situations:

- As part of events where Scottishness is to be signalled. For instance in situations where Scottish goods is promoted. In these cases the music can be said to have Merriam's functions of *communication* and *symbolic representation*, as an icon of Scotland. A special case of this type is piping used to signal bargain prices, alluding to the prejudice of Scotsmen as tight-fisted or economical. For instance, The Gordon Pipes & Drums in Copenhagen have played on a great number of occasions for the Danish chain of low-price super markets named 'Netto', who also use a Scottish terrier as their emblem.⁷⁶
- As a surprise (what I use to refer to as 'sounding flowers' or 'piper in the box') at birthdays or parties. Here the role of the music is to astonish the audience; maybe a form of aesthetic function? This use builds on the exotic, loud and conspicuous properties of the genre as the colourful 'other'. At this type of events, the genre of piping is sometimes seen as somewhat jocose or even ridiculous.
- At formal occasions such as weddings, funerals and openings. Here, the music is used in one of its original ways, as part of a formal ceremony. The function could be said to be that of *validation of social institutions and religious rituals*, but also that of *shaping and projecting a personal identity*, as the music is used to glorify or draw attention to the guests of honour or other participants at the event. When a piper is hired to play at a funeral where the deceased has

⁷⁶ In a food store in Gothenburg in 2002, a sign advertising whisky flavoured sausages included a picture of a set of Highland pipes.

been a bagpipe aficionado, the music is even used post mortem to project the identity of the deceased.

- In its power capacity to highlight a certain situation. For instance by drawing attention to a certain shop in the street. Again this is one of the original uses of piping in the Gaelic clan society where the powerful sound of the bagpipe was used to strengthen the position of the clan chief. Again one of Merriam's functions is appropriate: *the function of contribution to the continuity and stability of culture*, although, the culture supported in this case might consist of an individual or a department store, but in addition, the identity function is involved.

Of course, the categories overlap. The power aspect, for instance, is present in all categories and so is the 'Scottishness' aspect. Often, organisers want the players to approach from a distance so that the sound of the pipes & drums is gradually dawning on the listeners. This can be interpreted as emphasising the concept of the genre as the exotic 'other' coming from afar. It also alludes to the romantic connotations of pipers playing on the moors of the Scottish Highlands, a notion well represented in Cliff Hanley's text of 'Scotland the Brave' (see chapter two, page 33). Regarding the use of Highland pipers at weddings in Finland, Gustav Henriksson said: "It is supposed to be special, but still traditional."⁷⁷

When people are asked why they are interested in hiring a piper for a wedding there are two typical answers.⁷⁸ One is that the person has some kind of strong memory of piping. These memories are usually described in very similar terms to those used by the players when telling why they acquired their interest in learning to play. (See the discussion about peak experiences in chapter five on page 185.) The other common reason given for wanting to use pipe music is that it is so "powerful, grand and magnificent".⁷⁹ These are also typical descriptions of the music given by members of a Swedish audience when asked by the players what they think of the music.

In general, individuals who hire pipers for a wedding or a birthday party express a strong liking and interest for bagpipe music. However, it

⁷⁷ Henriksson, Gustav, interview, 24 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Swedish quotation: "Det skall vara extra men det skall ändå vara traditionellt."

⁷⁸ During my work on this thesis I have made many enquiries among customers of The Murray Pipes & Drums about their interest in highland piping and their reasons for wanting to hire pipers and drummers.

⁷⁹ Examples of Swedish expressions used about the music: "kraftfull, mäktig, pampig".

is very seldom that these patrons of pipe music have much actual knowledge about the music and the genre, for instance of known players and bands or different types of music or tunes. This type of knowledge can be acquired by listening to recordings and reading record sleeves or CD leaflets; pursuits that might typically be expected among individuals interested in a musical genre. Recordings of pipe bands and pipers have been available in larger Scandinavian record stores at least since the 1960s, but few of those who hire a piper for their wedding or birthday party have a collection of piping or pipe band records. The music (and appearance of the players) are thought of and called for in connection with very special occasions in life, such as weddings. Most individuals who at some point in their lives choose to hire a piper seem to conceive of piping as something to be used to highlight a special occasion, but not as music for active or passive listening.

Some of the Scandinavian bands have existed for twenty or thirty years, but still there has never evolved a Scandinavian cognoscenti audience of piping and drumming outside the bands. Of course there are single non-playing individuals who have shown repeated interest in the music and activities of the bands, but these are very few. One notable example is an elderly lady who contacted one band to ask if they could play at her funeral. The band leader informed her that of course pipers from the band used to play at funerals when asked, but he suggested that the lady should come and listen to the band while she was alive. She had not considered that possibility, but accepted the offer and visited a few band practices. She also engaged a piper to play at her 80th birthday. If she will require pipers at her funeral remains to be seen.

Society

Generally speaking, the existence of a Scandinavian piping and drumming community is of extremely marginal significance to the Scandinavian society at large. What is important though, is that it is possible for a marginal culture, such as piping and drumming to exist within the Scandinavian community. If the existence of marginal cultural groups was not feasible and encouraged, society would be substantially poorer. From that perspective, it can be said that the piping and drumming culture, constituting a strand in the chord of many subcultures making up the diversified modern Scandinavian society, is part of a democratic pluralistic society. In this capacity piping and drumming have the functions of *contribution*

to the continuity and stability of culture and contribution to the integration of society.

The majority of engagements for the Scandinavian players have been and are of the types described above. There are, however, some examples of Scandinavian pipe bands having been engaged by the ‘official’ Scandinavian community in more illustrious situations. For instance, The Heather Pipes & Drums played at Fredensborg Castle at the celebration of the Danish Prince Joachim’s fourth birthday, in 1973.⁸⁰ The Thistle Pipe Band, in 1974, played in connection with the wedding of their patroness, the Swedish Princess Christina.⁸¹ Another such instant was when The Murray Pipes & Drums was engaged by the city of Gothenburg to play at the state visit of Queen Elizabeth II, in 1983.⁸² In 1988, The Pipes & Drums 1st Royal Engineers, as an honorary band of a Swedish regiment (Svea Ingenjörregemente), was invited to play at the ‘changing of the guard’ at the royal castle in Stockholm. This was the first time an amateur band was invited to play at this official event.⁸³ The band’s participation in the ‘changing of the guards’ was repeated in 1991, 1992 and in 1997.⁸⁴ In Denmark, The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band played along the parade route in connection with the fiftieth birthday of the Danish Queen in 1990.⁸⁵

At these few occasions, the pipes and drums were used in their age old capacity to represent and honour official power. Although comparatively unknown, the Scandinavian pipe bands have been invited to take part in these official events. Now and then, the reputation and conspicuousness of the pipes and drums, have brought these amateur musicians right into the middle of the lime light of royalty and celebrities, if only for a few minutes.

Occasionally, the Scandinavian pipe bands have been engaged to play at other major events. For instance, The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers played at the interment of the film star Greta Garbo, in 1999.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Danish Court, letter, 10 May 1973, signed K. Knuth-Winterfeldt, to the HP&D, Elizabeth, Low Archives, HP&D.

⁸¹ Swedish Court, letter, 27 June 1974, signed Tom Wachtmeister, Court Marshal, to TPB, Colliander archives.

⁸² Secretary to Queen Elizabeth II, letter, 3 Jan. 1984; MPD register of engagements, MPD Archives.

⁸³ Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers, Information leaflet about the performances on 24–26 June 1988. PD1RE Archives.

⁸⁴ Qvarnström, Eugen, email, 24 Aug. 2002.

⁸⁵ Jørgensen & Lykking, 1991; Harboe, Sven, email, 24 Aug. 2002.

Most Scandinavian bands have also appeared on television on some occasion. Sometimes the music has been used in the iconic Scottish sense mentioned before, but in many cases the pipes & drums have actually been used as a musical (and visual) spot between other items in talk shows or entertaining debate programmes.

Some of the Scandinavian players have also been involved in films. Robert Miller played pipes in the Danish film *SS Martha* from 1967. The piper is never seen and there is no apparent connection to anything Scottish in the film. The bagpipe is part of the background music and plays a recurring theme, often together with other instruments.⁸⁷ The Gothenburg City Pipe Band took part in Per Oscarsson's Swedish comedy *Sverige åt svenskarna (Sweden for the Swedes)* from 1980, where they acted as Scottish troops, dressed in their No. 1 dress Scottish pipe band uniforms, but with some kind of helmets instead of the usual glengarries or featherbonnets.⁸⁸ The Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm took part in Lasse Åberg's comedy *Den ofrivillige golfaren (The Involuntary Golfer)* from 1991. The band acted as a Scottish pipe band which the Swedish principal character had learnt to know during a golf trip to Scotland.⁸⁹ In Lars von Trier's film *Breaking the Waves* from 1996, Tom Harboe from Copenhagen played pipes, acting as an ordinary Scottish piper in Scotland. In addition, a number of members of the Danish pipe band community acted as extras in various scenes.⁹⁰

Underinterpreted Music or Overinterpreted Icon?

As discussed in chapters six and seven, the Scandinavian pipers and drummers (to varying degrees depending on interest and ability) share much of the musical and historical knowledge of their Scottish colleagues, but of course their everyday cultures differ in certain aspects, and so do their apparent heritage of the music. This is no problem for the Scandinavian insiders of the culture, because they know that they can learn to play it just as well as anyone with the right interest. Likewise, the Scottish insiders are so used to people from all over the world playing the

⁸⁶ Qvarnström, Eugen, email, 24 Aug. 2002.

⁸⁷ Miller, Robert, interview 31 Aug. 1999; Balling, E., *s/s Martha*, 1967.

⁸⁸ Oscarsson, Per, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 1980.

⁸⁹ Åberg, Lasse, *Den ofrivillige golfaren*, 1991.

⁹⁰ von Trier, Lars, *Breaking the Waves*, 1996.

Scottish pipes and drums that they too find it quite natural. When it comes to the general Scandinavian audience the case is quite different.

Many Scandinavian spectators are surprised when finding out that the 'Scottish' piper they have encountered playing in the street or at a party is not Scottish, but in fact Scandinavian. This is equally true in 2002 as it was in 1968, although today a number of inhabitants will know that there is a local pipe band in their town. The appearance of a piper or drummer in Highland dress is still often seen as something foreign in the Scandinavian culture, although, always recognised as a Scottish traditional piper or drummer. Most Westerners have seen and heard a Scottish pipe band on television and many have seen live pipe bands in Scandinavia, Scotland or elsewhere. A majority of Scandinavians also know of the two Scottish bagpipe tunes of the superculture, 'Scotland the Brave' and the 'Amazing Grace'. Of course, any musician will evoke interest from spectators, but the questions and connotations will differ depending on the genre the musician represents. For instance the Highland piper will often be asked if he or she is Scottish or of Scottish ancestry.

In the title of her essay on national instruments, Lisbeth Torp, the director of Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen, asks the question: "Do you become Scottish by playing the bagpipes?"⁹¹ The essay, primarily discussing the background of the concept of national instruments, does not really answer the question posed in its title. In the presentation here, however, I find it relevant to conclude that where the players themselves form their *personal identities* primarily as musicians in a conspicuous exotic genre, they are often routinely given a *group identity* as Scottish by the spectators. That a number of Scandinavian pipers and drummers over the years have played at being Scottish is quite a different story.⁹²

The Scandinavian Highland piper or pipe band drummer is usually accepted by the spectator after some short answer to the question: "But why did you start to play the pipes?" In my opinion, this is not mainly because our society is becoming increasingly multicultural due to the influence of immigrants, but rather because of the previously mentioned availability of a multitude of cultures and genres on television and radio as well as in the form of records for sale or music groups for hire. This is especially true in urban areas, where people expect to be able to purchase food and other goods as well as music with roots in cultures from all over the

⁹¹ Torp, Lisbeth, 1998: 231, original Danish title: "Bliver man skotte af at spille på sækkepipe?"

⁹² Cf. 'From Outsider to Hyperinsider' on page 204.

world. I write roots, but not necessarily origins, because the connection with the mother culture might be conceptual rather than physical, often consisting of techniques and ideas (such as the making of pizzas) rather than physical origin (pizzas imported from Italy).

The general view of Highland bagpipes and pipe band music in Scandinavia adheres to the iconic MacPherson paradigm, discussed in chapter two.⁹³ Words such as kilt, whisky, tartan, clans, castles and Loch Ness Monster follow suite when the bagpipe is mentioned. In an article about pipe bands and Scottish identity Gary West writes:

Unfortunately, piping in nearly all its forms within Scotland is often seen by many as a contributor to this brand of Scottishness: as an icon belonging to the kitsch end of the Scottish cultural spectrum. [...] It is rather the visual image of a piper or pipe band that is remembered as opposed to the skill and ability of the players.⁹⁴

What the spectator meets could be described as the surface of the music and its culture. The inside, as opposed to surface, in this case is detailed knowledge, on different planes, of how to play and perform and of the history of the genre and dress. In short, knowledge of how the surface of the genre is constructed in terms of music, dress and performance practice. The spectator who is not an insider hears the music and sees the conspicuous dress of the players, but knows little about how the music is constructed and played from the insiders' point of view. In fact, it could be argued that the spectator has a reduced conception of what he or she encounters compared to the insider. Possibly, this is a natural and rational effect of what Peter Bastian terms the 'ego-defence', an unconscious psychological property of the human mind that 'defends' our inner integrity by censoring incoming information, accepting some information as relevant and not harmful (often consolidating previous knowledge) whereas some information is rejected because it seems harmful or irrelevant.⁹⁵ To reduce different fields of culture into simplified iconic entities might be a way of economising one's human resources.

Many Scandinavians seeing someone dressed in a kilt will often ask where the pipes are, and vice versa, someone hearing a piper who is not dressed in a kilt may well ask the piper where his kilt is. These two as-

⁹³. See page 81.

⁹⁴. West, Gary, 'Culture or Kitsch? Pipe Bands and Scottish Identity' in *The Piping World*, 1, (August/September 1996): 14

⁹⁵. Bastian, 1990: 38

pects of a performance of pipe music are seemingly inseparable for many listeners/spectators. Of course, there are people in the audience who express particular appreciation (or in rare cases dislike) for the actual music, but generally it seems as if the music *is seen* as well as heard.⁹⁶ Naturally, the dress of other musicians too is part of their performance, but the connection is not generally as strong as that of bagpipes and kilts. For instance, not every man or woman dressed in formal evening dress is mistaken for someone who has escaped from a symphony orchestra.

In the case of Highland piping, the actual music could be said to be underinterpreted by the listener, whereas the conglomerate bagpipe-kilt-Scotland is overinterpreted or superimposed onto the music irrespectively of what is actually played by the piper. *The icon is read into every performance by the audience.* Philip V. Bohlman writes that:

During the performance, the audience's response may draw attention to the violation of traditional expectations or it may encourage creativity.⁹⁷

If the general audience response to Scottish piping in Scandinavia should determine the repertoire, it would be confined to the two tunes known in the superculture. From the viewpoint of the serious piper, who puts a lot of effort into playing what he considers to be good music, this type of listener reaction can be very discouraging. This has also led to a situation where a number of pipers, like many other musicians, tend to see the general audience as unknowing and thus uninteresting as listeners, often leading to comments like: "It does not matter if you play a mistake because they will not know it anyway." In addition, pipers in general are bad at marketing the music they like to play themselves, often yielding over and over again to the tedious two-tune demands of the audience, thus cementing the situation. On the other hand, it is important to point out that audiences seem to get great satisfaction out of hearing their two tunes and the players are amply rewarded by great acclaim at their performance.

In addition to being an icon of Scotland, the genre itself is seen as an example of the 'other', something different, an anomaly. In fact, some of the charm of the genre to many spectators and organisers is this exotic 'otherness'. Discussing organisers of pipe bands in Scandinavia Leif Fomsgaard from Aarhus Pipes & Drums pointed out that:

⁹⁶ Cf. quotation in chapter seven, page 269.

⁹⁷ Bohlman, 1988: 73

Of course, they [the organisers] were interested in what I use to call ‘the zoological gardens’. They needed somebody to promote their market and to make the audience come and look at something. [...] Bagpipe music – well, for them it was only something that was strange. It was not that it meant anything at all to them. It was just because it was different. It was something that could attract people and cause sensation. But it was OK, they had a reason to hire us and we had a reason to play.⁹⁸

It is not uncommon that pipers and drummers in Scandinavia are hired to play in unusual situations, for instance in connection with the launching of a new super market. Often these performances are badly organised with a minimum of spectators. Lars Foldager, pipe-major of The Dungillie Pipe Band, usually refers to such engagements as “refrigerated display cabinet jobs”.⁹⁹

This underinterpretation of the music also explains the average use of Highland piping in popular music. The bagpipes in a tune such as John Farnham’s ‘You are the Voice’ is only used as a sound, a surface, maybe signifying the exotic or powerful ‘other’ or at best a contrast of something not understood. Nothing of the technical potential of traditional Highland piping such as grace notes, minimalistic agogics in the rhythm or the rich soundscape of chanter versus drones are used, neither are there any traces of traditional Scottish melodies. Here even the sound has been turned into a flat icon.

The Conscious Use of Music & Various Modes of Listening

In her thesis about the use of music in cars, Carin Öblad writes that individuals consciously choose music for different purposes.¹⁰⁰ She goes on to say:

⁹⁸ Fomsgaard, Lejf, interview, 18 Apr. 1999, transcription of original Danish quotation: “De hade selvfølgelig brug for det jeg kalder zoologisk have. De hade brug for nogen til at promovere deres marked og til at få publikum til at komme og kik på noget. [...] Sækkepipemusik for dem – ja det var egentlig bare fordi det for dem var mærkeligt. Det var ikke fordi det betød noget som helst for dem. Det var bare fordi det var anderledes. Det var noget der kunne trække folk til og vække opmærksomhed. Men det var fint, de hade et foremål med at hyre os, vi hade et foremål med at spille.”

⁹⁹ Foldager, Lars, interview, 2 Nov. 1997, transcription of original Danish quotation: “kølediskjobs”.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Lilliestam, 2001: 123–128

My concept use music means that an individual in a certain situation chooses music to achieve a certain effect.¹⁰¹

These effects vary from creating a certain mode such as arousal or relaxation to recalling a memory or to relive an intense feeling.¹⁰² She also refers to Ola Stockfelt's discussion about listener reception of music. In his thesis, Stockfelt uses the concept 'listener modes' to explain different listener strategies for different situations and various genres of music where

Every listener has a great repertoire of listener modes, equivalent to the great repertoire of music styles and listener situations of the everyday sound milieu.¹⁰³

According to Stockfelt, the same music can be heard in various ways by different listeners in different situations and at different times through history. He also points out that, although, every style of music can occur in almost any context, it is usually bound to a few environments typical of the particular genre. Every genre comprises a number of 'listener situations' which govern the relation between music and listener and which are decisive in determining what genre the music belongs to and the ideal relationship between listener and music, including traits such as how the music is composed and arranged and the performance practice of the genre.¹⁰⁴ Stockfelt also points out that different listener situations give different quality standards both for the music and the listener.¹⁰⁵

These thoughts can further elucidate the use of piping and drumming as event music rather than music for listening to. As mentioned, a number of individuals when hiring a piper or pipe band for a wedding or a special occasion have had a past peak experience of piping. Piping and drumming is often associated with an intense experience. Carin Öblad writes that music is often used to relive an intense feeling and can function as an index for a certain occurrence or event.¹⁰⁶ If pipe music (including its visual performance practice) tends to create a peak experience in some

¹⁰¹ Öblad, 2000: 126, original Swedish text: "Mitt begrepp *använda musik* innebär att en individ i en viss situation väljer viss musik för att uppnå en viss verkan."

¹⁰² Öblad, 2000: 78–86

¹⁰³ Stockfelt, 1988: 172, original Swedish text: "Varje lyssnare har en stor repertoar av lyssnarmodi, motsvarande den vardagliga ljudmiljöns stora repertoar av musikstilar och lyssnarsituationer."

¹⁰⁴ Stockfelt, 1988: 176

¹⁰⁵ Stockfelt, 1988: 182

¹⁰⁶ Öblad, 2000: 15

individuals it is logical that the music is used at 'peak' occasions such as weddings or birthdays. The listener mode here is neither an intense listening to the actual music nor what Stockfelt would term as active lazy listening,¹⁰⁷ but one where the music acts as an amplifier of an already exalted situation. The important thing is not so much the performance of the music, but the very presence of the pipers and drummers in their colourful Highland dress. It is not primarily what is played that is important but the sight and sound of the pipes and drums, acting to recall and recreate the peak experience of the listener. The function of the music is to recall, not only a memory, but a mood.¹⁰⁸ This also explains why less proficient pipers and drummers are hired over and over again, usually by satisfied customers. It is not the actual music played but the presence of the players and the general soundscape that is at the centre of interest.

Here, I think, lies part of the explanation to why the bagpipe has a bad reputation among some listeners. Although many listeners to any piper or drummer might well look at and listen to the performance in the indexical way, without actually hearing the music, there will also be some listeners who pay attention to the actual sound of the music. If the players are less skilled most people who actually listen to the sound of the music are likely to find it less pleasant to the ear, but not knowing how the pipes should sound they might well condemn the whole genre instead of the players in question.¹⁰⁹ I have observed that when a group of pipers and drummers of reasonable standard (in my opinion) is playing in the street people tend to stop and listen and beat time with their feet. When less proficient pipers and drummers play, most people give the group a glance and hurries on. It is plausible that the sound becomes much more important in such situations as the passers-by are not predisposed to relive a peak experience. To evaluate and comment on listener reactions is difficult and the comments here are informed reflections rather than analyses based on rigid research. A future investigation of listener response and reaction to bagpipe music based on observations and interviews would be of interest.

¹⁰⁷. Stockfelt, 1988: 183

¹⁰⁸. Cf. the discussion of emotional function above, page 311.

¹⁰⁹. I have encountered listeners who have expressed that they had always hated the pipes until they heard a good player.

The Double Power of a Strong & a Weak Tradition

Much change and development have taken place in the genre of Highland piping and its culture during their 500 years' of existence, but change has been slow and many traits of the music and its culture have been preserved. A number of aspects of Highland piping have survived for centuries, keeping comparatively untouched. To some extent, the genre has even managed to retain its basic functions. In the Gaelic clan society the conspicuous colourful figure of the piper supported the political position of the clan chief. The powerful music did not only retain the same function and formality in the British army, but these aspects were even strengthened and consolidated there. In modern times pipers are still employed in their powerful capacity to promote various bodies, ranging from persons celebrating their birthdays and weddings to the advertising of various merchandise. The functions are the same, but the patrons and the contexts are different. The power and grandeur bestowed by the pipers and drummers are now used by wedding couples, persons celebrating their birthdays or by firms which have hired the players to highlight festive occasions or to impress guests or customers.

There is a range of explanations to why Highland piping has retained so much of its integrity. It started out as a small, but prestigious genre, closely guarded and highly cherished by patrons and practitioners alike. The origin in an oral culture shaped its minimalistic style of music with the use of various musical formulas. At a comparatively early stage around the 1800s, the music was written on the stave but also the oral *canntaireachd* used by the pipers to remember *ceòl mór* was preserved in writing. The written music in conjunction with the strong oral tradition served to preserve the music further. The instrument itself, with its powerful volume, peculiar scale and soundscape made it less suitable for playing together with other instruments, with the exception for percussion instruments. In the army the special function of the genre as part of the political power structure of the British Empire was underscored. The inauguration of piping competitions, in 1781, encouraged the equilibristic, competitive and prestigious aspects of the music. The romantic positioning of Highland piping at the centre of iconic Scottishness further isolated the genre. Finally, this extremely strong and well defined tradition with its clear nationality and connotations was established as an emblem of Scotland by the mass media of the twentieth century.

Within this enclave, pipers, later joined by drummers, through history developed their strong elitist tradition of a minimalistic but technically difficult music. It was the 'protected' environment of political power that fa-

cilitated the development of the strong musical culture, which later found its true arena on the competition field. But it was the same power environment that forged the icon of the bagpipe as an emblem of Scotland. Here the genre of piping and drumming falls apart into two strong entities. The first of these is the strong playing tradition, with all the marks of a strong tradition according to Bertil Rolf, where the music is meticulously judged from within the tradition in a master-apprentice relationship, with competitions as the major instrument of judgement.¹¹⁰ The second entity is the equally strong iconic aspect of the genre, but from the viewpoint of Bertil Rolf's definition of strong and weak traditions it rather more resembles a weak tradition, as its survival depends more on its market value than on criteria handed down by the insiders. If audiences are interested in buying the colourful icon to highlight their festive occasion, the intricate, minimalistic knowledge of the music, cherished by the master players in the strong competitive tradition, has little market value against gaudy uniforms.

Admittedly, many Scandinavian players first got their interest for the pipes and drums through a meeting with the fancy surface of the genre, but a majority gradually became more interested in the intricacies of the strong competitive traditional music. However, the iconic aspect of the genre to some extent creates a possibility to finance the insiders' arena – the competitions and the playing and practising leading up to them.

¹¹⁰. See chapter six, page 213.

Summary & Conclusions

When a few Scandinavians got interested in learning to play the Highland bagpipe and the pipe band drums from the 1960s and onwards, it was not only the music that attracted their attention. Often, their interest was equally inspired by the colourful romantic and military culture, which was by then inextricably associated with the music.

The genre of Highland piping emerged about 500 years ago in the Gaelic clan society of the Scottish Highlands, where the Great Highland Bagpipe was used as a court instrument in support of the political power of the clan chiefs. The small privileged group of hereditary pipers developed a formal and highly technical style of playing.

When the power of the clan chiefs declined in the mid eighteenth century, the instrument was not only taken over by the British army; its particular use as an instrument of power was emphasised both politically, as it became part of the power symbols of the British Empire, and musically as the concept of the pipe band was formed, with pipers and drummers in strict marching order dressed in magnificent uniforms playing together on voluminous instruments. The introduction of piping competitions and later pipe band and drumming competitions made the music even more elitist and intricate.

In the nineteenth century the genre was spread to many parts of the world by the army of the British Empire. In conjunction with the conspicuousness of the Great Highland Bagpipe, which was its original *raison d'être*, and the romantically inspired culture that developed around it, the bagpipe emerged into a strong national iconic symbol of Scotland. This marginal musical genre, created to boost the power of the clan chiefs in the Gaelic clan society, proved to be more powerful than the culture it had been designed to serve. In spite of being one among a great variety of bagpipes in the world, the Highland bagpipe became *the* bagpipe to a majority of people, at least in the Western world.

In the post Second World War Western society, values were changing fast and the concept of life style acquired a new significance. Individuals had to rely less on tradition and more on life style choices in the creation of a personal identity. In addition, through the rapid growth of mass media, the knowledge of various types of foreign music became more accessible to people in the Western world. The amount of leisure time in-

creased, and in conjunction with a better domestic economy for a majority of the population, it made holiday trips to other European countries more common. These features of modern Western society facilitated the choice of engaging in the traditional music of a foreign country, both physically and conceptually.

The first known Danish Highland piper started to play in 1948, but it was not until the 1960s that the interest was taken up by several individuals in Denmark and Sweden. The first pipe bands were formed in Copenhagen and Stockholm in 1968 and during the 1970s bands were started in other cities and towns in Sweden and Denmark. In Norway and Finland groups were not formed until the 1990s. A vast majority of the pioneers and players have been of Scandinavian origin. However, a few Scottish pipers and drummers living in Scandinavia, but taught within the tradition in Scotland have been very influential in the Scandinavian community.

The Great Highland Bagpipe and its performance practice were created and have been used over the centuries to make an impact. Many Scandinavian players and also general listeners confirm that they have been impressed by the powerful sound and sight of the pipes and drums. Mark Slobin has described the process through which an initial encounter with a genre through a feeling of affinity can lead an individual to acquire a wish to become a member of that culture. In this thesis one way of understanding the underlying psychological processes behind such an interest has been suggested by using Jacques Lacan's concepts of the 'other' and the 'Other'. At the encounter with the other foreign culture of piping and drumming, a dialectic narcissistic process takes place within the onlooker where he visualises himself as a piper or drummer, identifying himself with the other in front of him, and where the interest in the other culture is fuelled by the desire of the Other, the unconscious 'symbolic order' where language is situated. The *idea* to become a piper or drummer – the imaginary musician – is born. A few individuals then choose to start the project of trying to realise their fantasy.

Motives for engaging in a colourful exotic genre of music such as piping and drumming might range from a fascination for the actual sound of the music, over a search for security in a stable tradition to an interest in being different and finding a personal niche in society.

The early Scandinavian piping pioneers shared the general Scandinavian view of the bagpipe as an icon of Scotland, and initially much attention was paid to the extramusical traits of the genre such as Highland dress and military drill. As the pipes and drums were so closely connected

to Scotland and Scottish culture, the pioneers aimed at becoming insiders in this musical culture not only by learning to play, but also by taking an interest in other aspects of Scottish culture. However, by acquiring this type of outsider (etic) expertise of a foreign culture, they rather became *hyperinsiders* instead of insiders.

When the Scandinavian pioneers started to realise their wish to play they met with a very strong tradition of Scottish pipers and drummers who were more than willing to share their knowledge and tradition. The early Scandinavian pioneers' approach to the strong tradition was gradual and often time consuming due to the distance to the players in the tradition. Early knowledge of the music and how to play was acquired in several ways; aurally by listening to records and visually through tutor and music books as well as by means of a few cherished lessons from visiting Scottish players or during holiday trips to Scotland.

As Highland piping was a new genre in Scandinavia the players started out with little knowledge and gradually learned to play better, but the style of playing adhered to the Scottish tradition. Many Scandinavian pipe band drummers have had a background from youth drum corps, brass bands or military bands and the early Scandinavian pipe band drumming often sounded more like Danish and Swedish march drumming than as Scottish pipe band drumming. Soon, however, a majority of Scandinavian pipe band drummers started to learn the pipe band style of drumming. A few Scandinavian tunes have been arranged and composed for the Highland bagpipe, but, generally, a Scandinavian style of playing has not evolved. On the contrary, the strong Scottish genres of piping and pipe band drumming have been cloned in Scandinavia and today the Scandinavian players belong to a marginal world-wide musical culture, although one with very clear roots in Scotland, or at least in an idealised romanticised Scotland of the past.

Although part of a world-wide pipe band community every Scandinavian pipe band has formed as a small community or world with its own traditions, uniform and emblem. The bonds between the members within the bands are very strong, but frequently individuals with conflicting ideals have caused bands to split up which has often led to the formation of new groups. Practically none of the Scandinavian players have piping or drumming as their major source of income, but in spite of this, many players take their interest in piping or drumming more seriously than an average hobby.

Gradually, since the first pipe bands were started until today, the interest in the extramusical aspects of the genre have diminished and the

music and competitions have become the centre of interest to a majority of players. For the players themselves piping and drumming function as serious hobbies that give them an identity. One aspect of this identity is that by engaging in a genre that is seen as exotic it is possible to be special and to find a niche. Other aspects of identity, which are maybe more important in the long run, can involve being part of a small community of like minded musicians and to develop a personal understanding and playing ability of a musical genre.

Where the players have become – not Scottish insiders, but Scandinavian insiders of Scottish piping and drumming as a world-wide musical culture – the general audience and organisers have retained much of the surface view of the genre as an icon signifying Scotland or simply as something exotic and conspicuous. The iconic or exotic aspects of the genre are overinterpreted and the actual music with all its minute details is underinterpreted. From the perspective of Scandinavian society at large, the pipe band culture is very marginal, but as one of many smaller cultures within the Scandinavian community it constitutes a strand in the chord of many subcultures making up the pluralistic modern Scandinavian society.

Highland piping emerged 500 years ago as a conspicuous genre, good at making an impact. This quality was valued by the clan chiefs and later by the Scottish regiments within the British Empire. To a great extent, this is the quality that initially has attracted many of the players of this instrument today, in Scandinavia and elsewhere. Due to its powerful capacity to make an impression, the Highland bagpipe has been adopted, comparatively unchanged, by new categories of players and patrons over the centuries.

Among the reasons for the Highland bagpipe's survival for a period of 500 years, are its exotic and conspicuous capacities and its adoption as an icon of Scotland, but the traditional music of the Highland bagpipe and pipe bands is rather kept alive and developed through piping and pipe band competitions – the insiders' own arena.

Fascinated by the Great Highland Bagpipe and the pipe band drums the Scandinavian pioneers initially sought the romantic icon, but found a personal identity in a small but dedicated sister and brotherhood of Scottish Piping and Drumming in Scandinavia.

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General Lists of Scandinavian Piper Band Material

Members' Magazines & Other Printed Scandinavian Pipe Band Material

The various members' magazines were or are distributed among members, but have never been published publicly. Many issues are to be found in the MPD archives and in the archives of the author. This also applies to programmes from piping and drumming competitions. Known volumes or issues have been stated. This does not exclude the existence of further issues unavailable to the author. Some printed formal information texts from bands have also been included here.

Aarhus Pipes & Drums, Information leaflet, not dated.

Calle Posten, Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm, members' magazine

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Copenhagen Winter Competition, the, programmes, 1980–2002

Danish Pipe Band Championships, the, programmes

Euphoni, members' magazine, The Heather Pipes & Drums

Gordon Pipes & Drums, the, news letter

Gothenburg City Pipe Band, the, members' magazine, 1975–1977

Hackle Cackle, members' magazine, The White Hackle Pipe Band

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Lykking, A; Jørgensen, G, The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band 20 år, 1991

Lyngtidende, members' magazine, The Heather Pipes & Drums

Muffins, members' magazine, The Griffin Pipes & Drums and The Murrays Pipes & Drums, 1982–1983

Oil Rag, the, The Pipes & Drums of 1st Royal Engineers

PDS Bladet, members' magazine, The Pipes & Drums of Sweden 1978–1982

Scandinavian Championships for Pipes & Drums, the, programmes 1970–2001

Strikken, members' magazine, The Heather Pipes & Drums

Thistle Pipe Band Saga, the, members' magazine, The Thistle Pipe Band

Tulach'ard, news letter, The Aarhus Pipes & Drums

Archives & Personal Files

The size and contents of these archives vary considerably. A few are sorted or catalogued to some extent but most are less orderly kept. There is reason to believe that much material is to be found with various individual members of the bands and organisations. The location (or the keeper) of an archive has been stated where known. Note that this may change at short notice.

Copenhagen Caledonian Pipe Band, Albert Lykking personal archives, Copenhagen.

Fanø Pipes & Drums, Logbook of band history, Steffen Lassen, Fanø.

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St. Alban Pipe Band of Odense, the, Torben Melgaard, personal archives, Odense.

Thistle Pipe Band, the, Eva Colliander, personal archives including material by the late Per Colliander, Stockholm.

Zieler, Mogens, personal archives & two bagpipes including a substantial amount of items for the maintenance of bagpipes, deposited at Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen.

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Texts with a named author, printed in Scandinavian competition programmes, members' magazines and similar pipe band related publications have been included in the bibliography. 'Insider' texts without a named author are to be found in the lists of sources under the heading 'Quoted Printed & Written Sources' on page 357. Year within brackets denote original publishing year where a later edition has been used.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary of abbreviations, piping & drumming related concepts & Gaelic words

AAPD – Aarhus Pipes & Drums

Balmoral bonnet – bonnet of beret type.

BTDS – The Bass & Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia

canntaireachd – (Gael.) chanting, singing notation used to remember and transmit cèol mór, especially before piobaireachd was written in staff notation.

CCPB – The Copenhagen Caledonian Pipe Band

ceòl beag – (Gael.) the little music.

ceòl mór – (Gael.) the big music, also referred to as the classical music of the bagpipe, (see piobaireachd).

CPB – Caledonian Pipe Band, Stockholm

CRPD – The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums

crunluath – the last and most embellished variation of a piobaireachd

CWC – The Copenhagen Winter Competition

D/M – Drum Major

D/S – Drum Sergeant

dirk – big Highland dagger, sometimes with cutlery attached to it.

DPB – Dungillie Pipe Band

drum-major – person leading band with a mace, or sometimes a merited leading-drummer. In civilian bands the drum-major is not necessarily a drummer but often a front figure only. In the army a drum-major is a promoted drummer with leading functions.

drum-sergeant – usually title of leader of drum-corps.

Dungillie – Direct translation into Gaelic of the Danish town name ‘Svendborg.’ (Gael.) dun – fortress, gillie – young man.

feather bonnet – tall bonnet made of emu feathers. Worn with full dress uniform.

FFDFPB – Frederikshavn Frivillige Drengforbund Pipe Band

FPD – Fanø Pipes & Drums

full dress uniform – military style Highland uniform worn with featherbonnet. The concept is often used about all military style Highland uniforms.

Gàidhealtachd – (Gael.) Gaeldom, the Gaelic community.

GCPB – The Gothenburg City Pipe Band

Glengarry bonnet – the most commonly worn headgear in pipe bands.

HP&D – The Heather Pipes & Drums

HPB – Holbæk Pipe Band

L/D – Leading Drummer

leading-drummer - usually leader of drum corps, often titled drum-sergeant or sometimes playing drum-major. Plays piano or solo parts of scores in the drum corps.

Lochlann – (Gael.) Scandinavia.

LPB – The Lochlann Pipe Band

matched chanters – pipe chanters produced to be in tune and function well together, every band has a set of matched chanters.

MPD – The Murray Pipes & Drums (of Gothenburg)

No. 1 dress uniform – military style Highland uniform worn with Glengarry bonnet.

OCPB – The Oslo Caledonian Pipe Band

P/M – Pipe Major

P/S – Pipe Sergeant

PBAS – The Pipe Band Association of Scandinavia

PD1RE – The Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers

PDS – The Pipes & Drums of Sweden

pìob mhór – (Gael.) the great Highland bagpipe.

piobaireachd – (Gael.) bagpipe tune, used about a piece of music in cèol mór or sometimes about the whole genre of cèol mór.

pipe-major – leader or conductor of a pipe band both in army bands and in civilian bands.

pipe-sergeant – assistant leader of a pipe band.

RSPBA – The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, earlier The Scottish Pipe Band Association (SPBA).

sgian dubh – small black Highland dagger worn in stocking.

SLBA – Statens ljud- och bildarkiv (The National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images, Sweden)

TPB – The Thistle Pipe Band

urlar – (Gael.) floor, musical concept for ground or theme in piobaireachd.

Appendix B: Pipe band results from the Scandinavian championships 1970-2002.

| Date | Scandinavian Championships (No., Location, Adjudicators) | Grade 4 March | Grade (Open & 3) Medley | Grade (Open & 2) M/S/R | Marching & Discipline | Organiser |
|----------------------|--|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1970-06-13 | 01 Frilandsmuseet (A MacDonald [CGPB], M Zieler) | TPB | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1971-06-05 | 02 Frilandsmuseet (J Cameron, J Good??) | TPB | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1972-06-10 | 03 Frilandsmuseet (A MacDonald [CGPB], R Barr) | HP&D | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1973-06-10 | 04 Frilandsmuseet (J MacFadyen, W Young) | HP&DA | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1974-06-02 | 05 Köpenhamn, Rostadion (RG Hardie, R Turner) | HP&DA | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark and PBAS |
| 1975-05-31- 06-01 | 06 Stenungsund (by the sea) (J Rea, J Chrichton) | HP&DA | - | - | - | C-A Roslund |
| 1976-06-05- 06 | 07 København, Frilandsmuseet (A MacDonald [CGPB]) | HP&DA | - | - | - | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1977-05-28- 29 | 08 Ödsmål (sports arena) (R McCrooskie, W Young) | HP&DA | - | - | - | C-A Roslund |
| 1978-05-28- 29 | 09 Köpenhamn, Rosenborg Ekserserplads & Lyngby Stadion (T McAllister, R Turner) | HP&DA | - | - | HP&DA | The St Andrews Society of Denmark |
| 1979-06-02- 03 | 10 Malmö, Hästahagen (R Shepherd, R Montgomery) | TPB | - | TCBPB (HP&DA) | ? | Highland Games 79 |
| 1980-09-05- 06 | 11 Slagelse (R Kilgour, J Moneagle) | HP&DB | PoMP&D (HPD&DA) | - | TPB | Mesterskabskomiteen B Andersen, P-M Holm et al |
| 1981-06-06- 07 | 12 Helsingborg, Sofiero Slott (I MacPherson, S McMurchie) | TPB | HP&DA | ToP&D (HP&DA) | HP&DA | Highland Games 81 G Lundin, L-Å Holmström |
| 1982-08-27- 28 | 13 Slagelse (sports arena) (P Wood Elder, Gilmore) | MPD | HP&DA | KOSB (HPD&DA) | KOSB (HPD&DA) | Scandinavian Championships 82 T Mathari, A Lykking |
| 1983-05-21- 22 | 14 Helsingborg, Sofiero Slott (I MacPherson, D Brown) | MPD | HP&DA | - | MPD | Highland Games 83 G Lundin, L-Å Holmström |
| 1984-08-25- 26 | 15 Slagelse (sports arena) (Ian McLeod, R Kilgour, A Dowling) | CRP&D | 4th RTR (HPD&DA) | HP&DA | CRP&D | De Skandinaviske Mestrskaber T Mathari, D Jeppesen et al |
| 1985-05-25- 26 | 16 Göteborg, Trädgårdsföreningen (I MacPherson, S MacMurchie) | HP&DB | HP&DA | HP&DA | CRP&D | Highland Games 1985 M Skarhall, U Schönberg |
| 1986-06-07- 08 | 17 Köpenhamn, Rosenborg Slot (H MacInnes, J Noble) | PD1RE | HP&DA | HP&DA | HP&DA | Scandinavian Championships 1986 P Holm, T Harboe |
| 1987-06-06- 07 | 18 Helsingborg (R Kilgour) | CRP&D | HP&DA | HP&DA | CRP&D | Highland Games 87 G Lundin, L-Å Holmström |
| 1988 | 19 Svendborg, Valdemars slot, Tåsinge (R Kilgour) | PD1RE | HP&DA | HP&DA | ? | |
| 1989-06-03- 04 | 20 Stockholm, Rålambshovsparken (JK McAllister, A Wright, Wilson Young) | CPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | PD1RE | Stockholm Piping Festival |
| 1990 | 21 Holbæk, Strandparken (Iain McLeod, J Houlden, M Hermansson) | CRP&D | HP&DA | HP&DA | ? | O Venø |
| 1991-05-18- 19 | 22 Göteborg, Hvitfeldtska Gymnasiet (R Lawrie, A Dowling) | PD1RE | HP&DA | HP&DA | PD1RE | ScCh91 The Murray Pipes & Drums |
| 1992-06-06- 07 | 23 Slagelse, Nørrevangsskolen (R Kilgour, I MacLeod, A Gillespie) | HPB | PD1RE | HP&DA | ? | Clan Rose Pipes & Drums J Overgaard Hansen |
| 1993-05-29- 30 | 24 Stockholm, Rålambshovsparken (J Wilson, R MacShannon, J Kilpatrick) | CPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | CRP&D | PD1RE, A Gjörling |
| 1994-05-21- 22 | 25 Holbæk, Strandparken (I MacLellan, A Wright, D Brown, T Johannesen, M Cramér, J Hedegaard, K Larsen) | HPB | HP&DA | PD1RE | CRP&D | Holbæk Pipe Band O Venø |

| Date | Scandinavian Championships (No., Location, Adjudicators) | Grade 4 March | Grade (Open & 3) Medley | Grade (Open & 2) M/S/R | Marching & Discipline | Organiser |
|---------------|--|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1995-06-03-04 | 26 København, Aldershvile (P/M A MacDonald) | CCPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | CRP&D | Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band |
| 1996-05-25-26 | 27 København, Kastellet (J Duncan, Gary Corkin, P M Holm, O Venø, K Jespersen) | CCPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | CRP&D | SM 96 The Heather Pipes & Drums |
| 1997-06-07-08 | 28 Strängnäs, Västerviken (R Wallace, J Noble, M Cramér, K Larsen) | HPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | PD1REA | L Östlund |
| 1998-05-30-31 | 29 Holbæk, Strandparken (R MacLeod, A MacDonald, P Turner, C Ooms, K Larsen) | HPB | HP&DA | HP&DA | HP&DA | O Venø |
| 1999-05-22-23 | 30 Holbæk, Markedspladsen (Ian MacLellan, A Wright, W Young, R Fredriksen) | HoL | PD1REA | HP&DA | HP&DA | Holbæk Pipe Band |
| 2000-06-10-11 | 31 Holbæk, Strandparken (C MacLellan, W Morrison, P Turner, R Fredriksen, O Venø) | HP&D4 | HPB | HPB | HP&D2+4 | O Venø |
| 2001-06-02-03 | 32 København, Frederiksberg Have (J Wilson, G Lee, M Cramér, H Monberg, K Adam, O Venø) | HP&D4 | HP&D2 | PD1REA | HP&D2+4 | The Heather Pipes & Drums |
| 2002 | No competition | - | - | - | - | |

Abbreviations adjudicators

| | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| CGPB | City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band |
|------|----------------------------------|

Comments

The lists of adjudicators and organisers are not complete.

Abbreviations in prize list**Summaries**

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|--|----|----|----|----|
| 4RTR | 4th Royal Tank Regiment, Scotland | | 1 | | |
| CRP&D | Clan Rose Pipe & Drums | 3 | | | 7 |
| CPB | Caledonian Pipe Band (Sthlm) | 2 | | | |
| CCPB | Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band | 2 | | | |
| HoL | Heather of Lochlann Pipe Band | 1 | | | |
| HPB | Holbæk Pipe Band | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| HP&D | Heather Pipes & Drums | 1 | | | |
| HP&DA (2) | Heather Pipes & Drums A (Grade 2) | 6 | 17 | 15 | 6 |
| HP&DB (4) | Heather Pipes & Drums B (Grade 4) | 4 | | | 1 |
| KOSB | King's Own Scottish Borderers, Scotland | | | 1 | 1 |
| MPD | Murray Pipes & Drums | 2 | | | 1 |
| PD1RE | Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers | 3 | | | 2 |
| PD1REA | Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers A | | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| PoMP&D | Pride of Murray Pipes & Drums, England | | 1 | | |
| TCBPB | Tennets Caledonian Brewery Pipe Band, Scotland | | 1 | | |
| ToP&D | Toyota Pipes & Drums, Scotland | | | 1 | |
| TPB | Thistle Pipe Band | 4 | | | 1 |
| Total | | 32 | 23 | 20 | 20 |
| Missing | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Number of competitions | | 32 | 23 | 20 | 24 |

Band within (brackets) denotes best Scandinavian band where a non-Scandinavian band has won the event.

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PBAS Archives, original lists of results.

PD1RE Archives, annual reports.

PDS blad et, articles about competitions in member magazine.

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Appendix C: Standard topics brought up at interviews

- Interest: How did it start? Why?
- Who taught you to play? Alone or in group? Scottish/Scandinavian teachers?
- Scandinavian connection (for non-Scandinavians)
- Resident, playing, judging (for non-Scandinavians)
- Contacts to other bands? In Scandinavia and elsewhere?
- Do you teach?
- Forming of band? Played in more than one band? Why?
- Choice of instruments?
- Practice rooms?
- Engagements, band economy?
- Archives, recordings?
- Competitions: solo/band?
- Uniforms?
- Piping vs. drumming?
- Scottish culture at large?
- Other interest of music?
- How was it to play then/now?
- Identity, personal meaning of piping and or drumming?
- Group interaction (also pipes/drums)?
- Male/female?
- Influences, travelling?
- PBAS/RSPBA?
- CWC?
- Development over time? Personal and the culture?
- Scandinavia/Scotland: relation, differences?
- What is piping and drumming for the average Scandinavian audiences?

Appendix D: Challenge prizes – The Scandinavian championships & The Copenhagen Winter Competition

Some of these prizes still exist, others have disappeared over the years. Possibly, more prizes exist which are not mentioned below.

The Scandinavian Championships – Cups & Prizes¹

The St. Andrew Society of Denmark Cup, best pipe band in grade 4. Presented to the Scandinavian championships by The St. Andrew Society of Denmark, in 1971. The original name of the cup was 'The Glasgow Cup' and it was presented to the society on Jan. 25th 1975 by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, The Right Hon. Sir D. M. Liddle. This cup was originally a gift from The St. Andrew Society of Hong Kong to The Highland Light Infantry in 1901.²

The Pipe Major Angus MacDonald Quaich (1972), best drum corps in grade 4.

The Kvällsposten Trophy, best pipe band in grade 3 (or open grade).

Slagelse Tattoo Trophy, best band in grade 2 (or open grade).

The Lawson Trophy, best band in marching & discipline.

The Stenungsund Trophy, the drum-major who receives the title Scandinavian Champion.

The Clan Rose Trophy, best drum corps in drum salute.

The Thomas Gordon and Sons Ltd. Quaich, winning trio.

The Arla Milk Trophy, winning quintet.

The Petrochemical Industries of Stenungsund Cup (1975), and

The Mogens Zieler Cup, winner of the Scandinavian tune, solo piping contest.

Gothenburg City Pipe Band Cup (1975), best solo piper in march closed.

The Pipe Major Iain McLeod Trophy, winner of the piobaireachd competition (from 1998 piobaireachd advanced).

The Edinburgh Trophy for Solo Drumming, best solo drummer in the march, strathspey and reel competition. Presented in 1974, by the Rt. Hon. Jack Kane, O.B.E., Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

The City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band Cup, the piper who receives the title Scandinavian Champion.

The Challenge Cup for a Good Performance, presented to a solo piper of good ability who has never won a prize. Presented in 1973, by The Heather Pipes & Drums.

The Former Pipe Majors' Cup, presented to a promising beginner in piping.

¹ The information here is taken from various competition programmes for the Scandinavian championships for pipes & drums.

² Scandinavian championships, programme, 5 Jun. 1971

The LG Trophy, best Swedish pipe band in grade 4. Presented by The Highland Games Committee, Lars-Åke Holmstrand and Göran Lundin.

The PBAS Pipe Banner, the pipe band which wins the title Scandinavian Champions. Presented by the PBAS in 1999 to commemorate the 30th jubilee of the Scandinavian championships. The banner was embroidered by Helle Kristjansen.

The PBAS Composition Quaich, presented to the winner of the PBAS composition contest in connection with the Scandinavian Championships.

The M&M Cup, winner of the piobaireachd competition (not advanced). Presented by Marie Nordström and Mats d Hermansson.

The BTDS Tripod, best solo tenor drummer. Presented by The Bass- and Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia. The tripod was designed by Åsa Lockner, former tenor drummer in The Caledonian Pipe Band.

The Lochlann Memorial Cup, best grade 4 band in open grade. Presented in 2001, by The Lochlann Pipe Band to commemorate the band after its amalgamation with The Heather Pipes & Drums.

The Copenhagen Winter Competiton – Cups & Prizes³

Copenhagen Winter Competition Solo Piping Trophy, 1st slow air piping – beginners. Donated in 1981 by George Kilgour.

Slow Air Beginners Piping, 2nd place. Donated in 1973 by Kaj Larsen.

March Beginners Piping Copenhagen Winter Competition, 1st March – beginners, prize introduced in 1995.

Solo Piping March – Copenhagen Winter Competition, 1st 2/4 competition type march – intermediate. Donated in 1978 by Robert & George Kilgour.

March/Strathspey/Reel Int. Piping, 1st march/strathspey/reel – experienced. Donated in 1996 by Carlsberg Mindefond.

Solo Piping, 1st march/strathspey/reel – former winners. Donated in 1975 by Kilgour of Strathspey.

Piobaireachd Beginners, 1st piobaireachd urlar. Introduced in 1995.

Copenhagen Challenge Trophy for Piobaireachd, 1st, piobaireachd – advanced. Donated in 1983 by Kaj Larsen.

CWC Solo Drumming March (Closed), 1st march – beginners. Donated by The St. Andrew Society of Denmark.

March Beginners Drumming, 1st march – beginners. Donated in 2000 by Slagtøjs Centeret.

³ The information here is based on the CWC web site: *Trophies and Prizes*, <http://www.the-cwc.org/cwc/index.asp?page=/competition/trophiesprizes>

Carlsberg Mindefond 1996 March Int. Drumming, 1st march 2/4 – beginners. Donated in 1996 by Carlsberg Mindefond.

March/strathspey/reel – Scandinavian Winter Contest Drumming, 1st march/strathspey/reel – intermediate. Donated in 1979 by The St. Andrew Society of Denmark.

Experienced Solo Drumming, 1st solo drumming combined – experienced. Donated in 1999 by Per Nørklit Jensen.

CWC Drum Salute, 1st drum corps. Introduced in 1989 by the CWC.

Quintet grade 4, 1st place quintet – grade 4. Donated in 1999 by The Clan Rose Pipes & Drums.

The CWC & PBAS Jubilee Cup, Champion of Champions Solo Drumming. Introduced in 2000 by the PBAS and the CWC.

The CWC & PBAS Jubilee Cup, Champion of Champions Solo Piping. Introduced in 2000 by the PBAS and the CWC.

Piping Slow Air/Jig Intermediate, 1st slow air/jig – intermediate. Donated in 2001 by The Aarhus Pipes & Drums.

Drum Major Anders Gjörling Cup, Winner M/S/R Former Winners Drumming 1st Royal Engineers, Sweden. Donated in 2002 by D/M Anders Gjörling, Pipes & Drums of the 1st Royal Engineers.

Solo Tenor Drumming, 1st solo tenor drumming. Donated in 2002 by Eva Mohr.

Best Bass Drummer Quintet, best bass drummer – grade 4. Donated in 2002 by The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band.

Best Bass Drummer Quintet Open, best bass drummer – open grade. Donated in 2002 by The Copenhagen Caledonia Pipe Band.

Copenhagen Winter Competition 1st Prize Piobaireachd Inaugurated in 2003 in honour of the 30th Anniversary of the CWC 2003. Presented by the CWC and Eoin Ashford.

Copenhagen Winter Competition 1st Prize Open Grade Quintet Inaugurated in 2003 in honour of the 30th Anniversary of the CWC 2003. Introduced by the CWC.

The Heather Pipes and Drums of Copenhagen Trophy Hornpipe/Jig Former Winners Piping 1st Place CWC, 1st hornpipe/jig – former winners. Donated in 2003 by The Heather Pipes & Drums of Copenhagen.

The Heather Pipes and Drums of Copenhagen Trophy Hornpipe/Jig Former Winners Drumming 1st Place CWC. Donated in 2003 by The Heather Pipes & Drums of Copenhagen.

The Dungillie Pipe Band Drumming Trophy 1. Prize M/S/R Experienced. Presented in 2003 by The Dungillie Pipe Band.



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Scottish Piping & Drumming in Scandinavia

Skrifter från Institutionen för musikvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet, nr 75, 2003
(Publications from the Department of Musicology, Göteborg University, No. 75, 2003)

ISBN 91 85974 71-4

Gotthenburg