

Listening to technologically mediated music in film

Representations of social and solitary listening in Swedish cinema 1930–70

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About one-third of the way into Astrid Henning-Jensen's 1969 film *Mej och dej* / 'Me and you', there is a scene where the film's main character Jan Asker (played by Sven-Bertil Taube) is seen aimlessly wandering about his apartment while eating an apple.¹ Asker is not in the best of moods, having just received a note from his fiancée Mai saying that she is leaving him. Eventually he ends up in the living room where a large radio is visibly placed in one of the corners. As if by a sudden whim, Asker goes straight to the radio, and when he turns it on an *Intermezzo* by Johannes Brahms is heard (Winqvist, 1990, p. 43). Asker then turns away from the radio and walks across the room to an old rocking chair. He sits down in the chair and at the same time crumples up the piece of paper on which Mai's farewell note was written. He lights a cigarette and then a candle light, after which he gets up again and walks to the bookshelf where he lingers for a while staring absentmindedly at the books. Meanwhile the music halts and we now instead hear a radio voice presenting a rather sophisticated, and to our modern ears perhaps a bit pretentious, analysis of the music just played: 'Brahms provoked a violent opposition among conservatives already with his earlier compositions in which the regular rhythmic schemes of classicism were modified in a way that has been of crucial importance [...]' By the time this piece of information is given, Asker has moved to the adjacent bedroom where he sits down on his bed. Now in a recognisably bad mood, Asker takes off his shoes and throws them angrily at the door. The scene ends as the words 'crucial importance' are heard on the radio.

It is clear that during the whole scene Asker has paid little, if any, attention to the music on the radio or, for that matter, to the speaker's voice analysing it. His mind has

1 Following the practice adopted by Mariah Larsson and Anders Marklund in their edited anthology *Swedish film: an introduction and reader*, I use the Swedish titles of the films. The first time a film is mentioned it is followed by the English title, e.g. *Chans* / *Just once more*. Also in line with Larsson and Marklund, 'if the film [...] has not been released in an English version, the title in English is a translation and this is noted not by italicising it but by putting it in quotation marks', e.g. *Sigge Nilsson och jag* / 'Sigge Nilsson and I' (Larsson and Marklund, 2010, p. 14). To determine whether or not a film has been released in an English version I have relied on *The Swedish film database*, which is hosted by the Swedish Film Institute: <<http://www.sfi.se/en-GB/Swedish-film-database/>>

been completely occupied by something else, and if we could step into his apartment and ask him what music had just been playing, he probably would not have a clue, even if he was normally a lover of classical music. During most of the scene the music was present in his living room, but Asker did not really hear it. This is quite a common situation in Swedish cinema and, I suspect, in cinema more generally. Characters turn on their radios, gramophones or other music devices but they do not really listen, or at the most their listening is characterised by a noticeable inattentiveness (Biancorosso, 2016, pp. 90-93). Instead of listening, they often proceed to do something else. In one sense this is to be expected. Cinema (or classical mainstream cinema at least) is above all a dramatic and narrative medium, and portrayals of musical listening, like other elements of the cinematic apparatus, are basically required to serve the film's narrative development in one way or the other.² Even so, we may reasonably ask what scenes such as the one from *Mej och dej* can tell us about how musical listening is represented in Swedish cinema, and in particular how listening is represented in relation to the use of music technology.

In the scene from *Mej och dej*, the music on the radio is an example of what film music scholars call diegetic music, which is to say that it is unambiguously anchored within the film's fictional world (Gorbman, 1987, p. 3; see also Buhler, 2001, pp. 40-41).³ With regard to diegetic music in cinema, a distinction can be made between music represented as live performance and music represented as technologically mediated. In this article I will discuss the latter form of representation with the aim of showing how, in Swedish cinema, musical listening is depicted in relation to the use of technical music devices. To this end I have examined 128 scenes in 101 Swedish feature films, all of which premiered in Swedish movie theatres between 1930 and 1970.⁴ The scenes I am concerned with are ones where characters interact with or make use of broadcasting and recording technologies, in particular radios and gramophones, which means that they are without

2 Ben Winters (2014, pp. 38-39) makes a similar point with respect to the performance of music with a specific focus on cinematic representations of symphonic concerts. See also Halfyard (2006).

3 Its opposite, so-called nondiegetic music, is often defined as that kind of film music that is not heard or accessed by the characters in a film (Gorbman, 1987, pp. 3-4). More positively it can be described, in the words of David Neumeyer, as belonging to 'the register of the narration or the narrator' (Neumeyer, 2015, p. 38; see also Stilwell, 2007, p. 184). For a thorough discussion of the diegetic/nondiegetic distinction in relation to film music, see Heldt (2013, pp. 48-118).

4 The 128 scenes that constitute the core of my empirical material were identified through a two-step process: First, all films that premiered in Swedish movie theatres between 1930 and 1970 were indexed chronologically in *The Swedish film database*. Secondly, beginning from the year 1930, every film was surveyed using a track-forward function with an interval of one minute, amounting to a review of approximately 900 films. (All films were accessed through the *Swedish media database* [SMDDB] at the National Library of Sweden.) As a way of identifying the type of scene I was looking for this method had its obvious weakness: occasional scenes might have been missed within the one-minute intervals. To view the films in their entirety was, however, not possible within the time frame of the present project. For an overview of the 101 films I found that contained depictions of character-interaction with sound reproduction technology, see the appendix at the end of this article.

exception instances of diegetic music in film. Since my study focusses exclusively on feature-length fiction films I will not discuss representations of technologically mediated musical listening within other audio-visual genres (i.e. documentary films, promotional films, short films and commercials). Involving these genres would have been unmanageable within the scope of the present article. The period I am studying spans from the inauguration of Swedish sound film⁵ to the beginning of the 1970s. By the 1970s technologically mediated music was, in one form or another, a natural part of most Swedes' everyday lives and many of the listening practices that emerged in connection with this kind of music – representations of which only gradually started to appear in the Swedish cinema of the previous decades – had by this time become the norm.

In the two sections that follow my approach is basically descriptive. The next section is concerned with how, in Swedish cinema between 1930 and 1970, music technology was represented in relation to social forms of engagement and interaction with music. I then proceed to discuss the growing number of scenes in the 1950s and 1960s that portray a more solitary kind of listening.⁶ The concluding section discusses these changes in relation to the concept of mediatisation, a concept that has received a plurality of definitions within media and communication studies,⁷ but that can basically be taken to refer to broader media-related social and cultural changes over time (Ekström et al., 2016, p. 4).

Music technology in the service of social interaction

In addition to being an example of diegetic music, the scene from *Mej och dej* is an example of *solitary* listening. Asker is alone in his flat, and so there are no other people with whom he can share his (admittedly very inattentive) listening. In Swedish cinema, such representations of solitary listening first begin to appear with some regularity in

5 According to Torsten Jungstedt, the first Swedish film with synchronised sound was *Konstgjorda Svensson* / 'Artificial Svensson' from 1929. But the first Swedish film containing sound effects, songs and music (though not recorded speech) from beginning to end was *Säg det i toner* / *The dream waltz*, which premiered at the Palladium movie theatre on 26 December 1929 (see Jungstedt in Winquist, 1980, pp. VI-VII; see also Lauritzen, 1944). However, both *Konstgjorda Svensson* and *Säg det i toner* were produced according to the Vitaphone system, which meant that sound and music were recorded on separate discs. Instead, as Furhammar (1991, p. 129) points out, the first bona fide talking film in Swedish was *När rosorna slå ut* / 'When the roses blossom' from 1930. See also Natzen (2010, p. 118).

6 Of the 101 films containing scenes with technologically mediated musical listening, six were directed by Ingmar Bergman: *Törst* / *Thirst* (1949), *Till glädje* / *To joy* (1950), *Sommarlek* / *Summer interlude* (1951), *Tystnaden* / *The silence* (1963), *Persona* / *Persona* (1966) and *Skammen* / *Shame* (1968). Bergman is of course a towering figure in Swedish film history, so it might seem strange that none of the relevant scenes from the just mentioned films will actually feature in this article. However, the scenes singled out for discussion below have not been selected on the basis of the originality of the director, or on standards of artistic excellence, but rather on how well they represent the different categories of social and solitary listening that have emerged in the analysis of the material. The scenes from Bergman's films all fall into one or the other of these categories.

7 See, for example, Krämer (2011), Krotz and Hepp (2011), Hjarvard (2013), Lundby (2014), and Adolf (2017).

the 1950s. Before that, depictions of technologically mediated musical listening – with two exceptions, discussed below – involve two or more persons. In other words, in the cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, listening to recorded music is above all a social phenomenon.⁸ Characters listen together with other people, whether their family, a lover or a larger group of people at a party. Moreover, even if characters are dancing, talking to each other or engaging in romantic encounters, they pay at least a minimum of attention to the music, in contrast to Asker's total inattention. A birds-eye view of Swedish cinema from the inauguration of sound film in the late 1920s to the end of the 1960s reveals that the kind of solitary listening enacted by Asker becomes progressively more prevalent from the 1950s onward, at the same time as representations of social listening gradually become a proportionally less common phenomenon.

These changes in how technologically mediated musical listening is represented can be understood as reflecting changes in musical listening habits in everyday life. During the first decades of the radio and the gramophone, solitary listening to technologically reproduced music does not seem to have been widespread.⁹ In 1923 *The Gramophone* published an article addressing what seems to have been a common attitude of suspicion toward solitary listening. How, asks the author, would you react if you encountered someone listening to music on his gramophone in complete solitude? And he is in no doubt about his answer:

[...] you would look twice to see whether some other person were not hidden in some corner of the room, and if you found no such one [you] would painfully blush, as if you had discovered your friend sniffing cocaine, emptying a bottle of whisky, or plaiting straws in his hair. (Quoted in Katz, 2010, p. 20)

In the Swedish cinema of the 1930s and 1940s one would be hard pressed to find such explicit expressions of bewilderment about solitary listening. Instead, with two notable exceptions, the idea that someone would want to listen to music in this way simply does not seem to arise. With regard to representations of live music this should not be surprising; live music is almost by definition a social, non-solitary activity. Technological

8 Björnberg (2012, p. 132) writes that up until the mid-1930s technologically mediated musical listening is regularly represented as a social activity, although he detects sporadic illustrations of solitary listening in Swedish musical magazines from the early 1930s (Björnberg, 2012, p. 134). Thus it would seem that depictions of solitary listening in cinema appear with some delay.

9 Clarke (2007, p. 63): 'When records and gramophones first started to become reasonably widely available in the first quarter of the twentieth century, they retained something of the social character of live performance'. Similarly, in discussing the impact of recorded music on listening practices in Britain in the 1920s, Nick Morgan stresses the 'importance of the [live] concert as a dominant paradigm for the consumption of [recorded] art music', arguing that 'solitary listening had not yet become the dominant mode of experiencing classical music that it appears to be today' (Morgan, 2010, p. 155).

devices such as the radio and the gramophone, however, carry the potential for a more private and solitary kind of listening (Bull, 2007, p. 2). The absence of such listening in Swedish cinema during the 1930s and 1940s can therefore perhaps be seen as an indicator of the absence of such listening in society at large. But if listening to technologically mediated music is always represented as a social activity, what kinds of social activities are depicted? What are characters *doing* when they listen to music through the radio, gramophone or other such devices?

When considered in connection with depictions of music-related social activities, the functions of technologically mediated music in Swedish cinema can be divided into three broad, and partly overlapping, categories: (1) *the use of technologically mediated music for dancing*; (2) *technologically mediated music as a prop for music-directed activities and discourses*; and (3) *technologically mediated music as backgrounded and 'unheard'*. In the first category we obviously find those scenes in which characters are dancing to recorded music. This is by far the largest category. The second category covers scenes that do not feature dancing, but where the music and music technology nevertheless are fully acknowledged by the characters, typically by being explicitly commented upon. The third category refers to scenes or passages where the music is not the focus of the characters' attention, but rather functions as a kind of unacknowledged sonic background to whatever other activities they are engaged in. All three categories continue to hold a place in Swedish cinema throughout the period covered by this article, even though some of them become increasingly rare in the 1950s and 1960s.

The use of technologically mediated music for dancing

If we were to take Swedish cinema as a guide to how people in the 1930s and 1940s used music technology in their everyday lives, we would most likely arrive at the conclusion that they mainly did so for dancing.¹⁰ In Swedish cinema of the same period, there is an abundance of scenes depicting characters dancing to music, and a fairly large number of these scenes involve portrayals of music technology. A representative example can be found in the film *Frestelse* /'Temptation' from 1940. About thirty minutes into the film, we are presented with a scene that takes place in a typical Swedish living room of the time. A larger group of people have gathered for a party. At one end of the room a young man is seen standing by the gramophone. Searching for some suitable music, he digs through a stack of records. After some hesitation he decides to put on a record with the typical jazz music of the time – swing. Obviously pleased with his choice, he walks

¹⁰ See Devine (2013, pp. 168-170) for an argument that recording technology was indeed widely used as a vehicle for dancing several decades into the twentieth century.

straight across the room to one of the young women. In a polite but self-confident manner he asks her for a dance. This immediately catches on with the other people at the party, and soon the living room is crowded with people dancing.

Scenes depicting young people dancing to jazz music in domestic settings occur with some regularity in the Swedish cinema of the 1930s and 1940s. Such scenes can be found, for example, in *Sigge Nilson och jag* /'Sigge Nilson and I' (1938), *Lärarinna på vift* /'Teacher on the loose' (1941), *Lidelse* /'Passion' (1945) and *Var sin väg* /'Each their own way' (1948). Similar scenes, with a continuously updated 'youth music', also continue to hold a place in the cinema of the 1950s and 1960s, as evidenced by such films as *Vildfåglar* /*Wild birds* (1955), *Stöten* /'The heist' (1961) and *Siska* /*Siska* (1962).

The majority of instances depicting dancing to technologically mediated music are representations of younger generations and their music, whether it be swing, 1960s British pop (*Livet är stenkul* /'Life is great', 1967) or Brazilian samba (*Flickorna* /'The girls', 1968). Occasionally, however, one encounters depictions of older people dancing to a radio or a gramophone. In the film *Vårat gäng* /'Our gang' from 1942, there is a long sequence that cuts back and forth between a broadcast studio, where we see a young woman singing a typical popular song of the time, and an older couple sitting in front of their radio at home listening to the same song. In one of the last shots of the scene (the scene already having cut several times between the studio and the couple's home) we see the couple dancing quietly to the music in their living room. A slightly different scenario can be found in a scene from Carl Dreyer's *Två människor* /'Two people' (1945). At the beginning of the scene we see a middle-aged couple sitting in front of a radio trying to tune in a station with suitable music. When they find the music they are looking for they get up and begin to dance. Gradually, their dancing turns into a more romantic encounter until the scene ends with the couple kissing each other.

Whether featuring younger or older generations, the relative prominence of scenes depicting dancing to technologically mediated music in the Swedish cinema of the 1930s and 1940s reflects an important fact about musical behaviour of the time, namely that music technology was largely used as a substitute for live music in connection with social activities like dancing (Pontara and Volgstén, 2017b). The scarcity of scenes that involve representations of technologically mediated listening to Western art music is also telling in this regard, since art music is generally less suited for dancing.¹¹

11 The three films I have found where such scenes occur in the cinema of the 1930s and 1940s are *Intermezzo* /*Intermezzo* (1936), *Ombytte av tåg* /'Between two trains' (1943) and *Två människor* /'Two people' (1945).

Technologically mediated music as a prop for music-directed activities and discourses

While the most common representation of technologically mediated diegetic music in Swedish cinema between 1930 and 1970 is related to depictions of dancing, other forms of social interaction in connection with such music also occur. Scenes depicting what can be called music-directed activities and discourses are scenes that showcase social interaction in relation to recorded music, but that do not involve depiction of dancing. Such scenes can be divided into two broad categories depending on the nature of the interactions depicted: verbal and non-verbal. Both types of interaction, while occurring rather sparingly in the cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, become progressively more common from the 1950s onward. I will first look at a few examples of non-verbal interaction and then proceed to discuss the more common phenomenon of verbal interaction.

An early example of non-verbal interaction involving the representation of music technology can be found in the film *Bröllopsnatten* / 'The wedding night' from 1947. In the scene referred to here, Albert, a famous opera singer, is sitting at his breakfast table while rehearsing a passage from the opera he is going to perform later that evening. He is soon interrupted by his wife who, entering the room, starts to mimic him mockingly. Displeased by what he takes to be unacceptably insulting behaviour by his wife, Albert goes to the other side of the room and fetches a portable radio which he places on the table in front of him. He switches it on and turns up the music to high volume. Obviously pleased with the annoyed expression on his wife's face he turns up the volume even more, while pretending to listen carefully. But when his wife takes their silent quarrel to a new level – opening a window to let in the cold air (which she knows he fears will affect his voice negatively) – Albert cannot control his irritation any longer. He abruptly turns off the radio and angrily tells her to shut the window immediately.

Bröllopsnatten may be the first Swedish film to weave into its narrative the possibility that music technology affords to play music at an annoyingly high volume. A somewhat different theme related to social interaction around music technology is addressed in *Lek på regnbågen* / *The rainbow game* from 1958. The film contains a scene where two young men engage in a playful and non-verbal competition over what music should be played. It opens with a shot of two (other) men sitting in a living room and conversing intensely with each other. In the background we see a third man putting a record on the record player. He is immediately interrupted, however, by yet another man who pushes him aside in order to put on a different record. As soon as he has done so, the third man turns it off and puts on the first record again. At this point the man who had just interrupted him has moved to another part of the room where he is seen browsing through a stack of record sleeves. The whole scene can thus be seen as humorously enacting what

had arguably become a fairly common phenomenon by the late 1950s, namely the struggle to decide what music should be played in domestic settings.

Encounters around music and music technology that involve verbal interaction demonstrate a concern with two different kinds of conflict that tend to arise in connection with technologically mediated music in domestic settings. The first kind of conflict has to do with complaints and disagreements about the appropriateness of playing and listening to recorded music at home. The second kind of conflict relates to disagreements over musical genres and tastes.

Depictions of disagreements about sound volume in connection with technologically mediated musical listening at home are quite rare in Swedish cinema. Between 1930 and 1970 I have identified only three scenes that explicitly address this phenomenon. The first of these is found in the 1948 film *Var sin väg*. Again we are presented with a party in a domestic setting. People are dancing to jazz music and talking. Seemingly dissatisfied with the low volume of the music, one of the guests walks over to the gramophone and turns it up. Still not pleased he turns the volume up a second time; the music now sounds very loud in the small living room. This, however, is not to the liking of the host, who, clearly irritated, turns around and shouts: 'No, god damn it, there are people trying to sleep at this hour!' The second scene, from *Ett sommaräventyr* / 'A summer adventure' (1965), is not set in a domestic setting but instead on the beach. Yvonne, one of the main characters, has brought a transistor radio.¹² On the radio, piano music of a more popular variety is playing at a fairly high volume. Yvonne's friend, who is trying to concentrate on reading a book, tells her that she should turn the radio off, since she is disturbing other people on the beach. Yvonne first pretends not to hear, but after a while she turns down the volume, even though she does not turn off the music completely. The third scene occurs in the film *Som natt och dag* / 'Like night and day' (1969). Two men are seen standing in a living room and funky jazz music is blasting from the loudspeakers. Clearly annoyed, the older of the two goes to the stereo and turns down the music to a minimal volume. He is there to have a serious conversation with the other man, not to listen to music. The younger man, however, shows no sign of interest in such a conversation, and when the older man temporarily leaves the room he turns up the volume again, this time to an even higher level than before. The older man then returns to the room

12 The portability of sound and music was a reality long before the invention of the transistor radio in 1954. As Alf Björnberg (2012, p. 125) points out, portable gramophones, so-called 'travelling gramophones', were commercially introduced in Sweden in the early 1920s. In fact, what is in all likelihood the earliest Swedish advertisement for a portable gramophone occurs already in 1909 (in *Skandinaviska grammofoon*, October supplement, 1909). My thanks to Alf Björnberg for pointing this out to me.

and with noticeable irritation he tells the younger man to turn the music off. Hesitatingly, the younger man complies.

These three examples show that even though disagreements about high volume are certainly not a central subject of Swedish cinema, they nevertheless play a part in how technologically mediated musical listening is depicted. Just as in real life, the possibility to control auditory space that music technology affords gives rise to disagreements and quarrels among cinematic characters. Moreover, with recording technology there is always the option to stop the music in a way that a live performance does not allow, especially if the music is being played in domestic settings where the risk of social embarrassment is much lower than it would be in a public place like a concert hall, a restaurant or a ball room.¹³

These considerations also apply to representations involving disagreement over musical genres and tastes. In Swedish cinema, such disagreement becomes an explicit theme only in the 1960s. In *Chans /Just once more* (1962), based on the 1961 novel with the same title by Birgitta Stenberg (Furhammar, 1991, p. 276), we follow the vulnerable and norm-breaking teenager Mari as she tries to make contact with her former boyfriend and his friends in Stockholm. Music, especially jazz music, is important to Mari, as it seems to be the one area where she can establish a sense of identity and self-worth. This is exemplified in Mari's brief encounter with a waitress at a café in Stockholm. Mari has selected a piece of jazz music from the jukebox, and when the waitress comes to her table to pour her a cup of coffee Mari provocatively asks her what she thinks of the music. When the waitress answers that it is too 'noisy' for her, Mari stares at her with undisguised contempt and says 'Noisy, yeah right.' A similar musical positioning occurs in the film *För vänskaps skull /'For friendship's sake'* from 1965. The scene depicts the familiar situation of a man and a woman in a living room. The man is standing by the record player and asks the woman if she wants to 'hear some music'. She nods and says that 'something with Charlie Parker would be nice', to which the man answers 'no Charlie Parker, but I have something better'. The man then puts on Abraham Godfaden's arrangement of the traditional Jewish song *Rozinkes mit Mandlen* (Winquist, 1990, p. 127). This is clearly not to the woman's liking; the camera pans in to a close-up of her face and she murmurs to herself: "'Better", what the hell does he know about better?' As a third and final example of explicitly staged disagreement and confrontation in relation to musical genres, we can

13 This difference between recorded and live music is pointed out by Eric Clarke, who writes that the 'repeatability [of recorded music] allows interruptibility, since without the uniqueness of the live event, and the social constraints that go with it, listeners can decide whether their priorities lie either with the continuity of whatever it is they are listening to, or with responding to the unexpected knock at the door, the telephone call, or the sudden thought that the potatoes need to go into the oven' (Clarke, 2007, p. 52).

consider a scene from Lars-Magnus Lindgren's *Träfracken* / 'The wooden tailcoat' (1966). Once again the setting is a modern living room. A young man walks up to the gramophone and puts on a record with Johann Sebastian Bach's *St John passion* (Winquist, 1990, p. 99). He then sits down in a comfortable armchair and begins to study the score of the music. Seconds later a woman enters the room. She sits down beside the man and looks at him with surprise. 'I didn't know you could read music', she says teasingly, after which she gets up and starts to dance in a rather provocative manner. This is definitely not to the man's liking. He stares at her angrily, stands up and walks to the record player where he demonstratively turns off the music.

As cinematic representations of what was going on in society at large, the above examples demonstrate how music technology enabled new kinds of social behaviour and interaction. In struggling for control of music technology in domestic settings, people could quarrel over sound levels and position themselves in relation to different musical genres and tastes in ways that probably would have appeared rather peculiar to previous generations. Furthermore, the examples also show that, as a topic in Swedish cinema, such quarrels and positionings became more overt in the 1960s. As a reflection of the process by which music technology became a vehicle for a more antagonistic and individualistic social behaviour, Swedish cinema thus provides an important entry point for understanding broader changes in musical culture during the twentieth century. This is also true of the third category mentioned above, to which I now turn.

Technologically mediated music as backgrounded and 'unheard'

The possibility of reducing music to a form of sonic wallpaper, or using it as a medium to stage a certain emotional atmosphere that music technology enables, is regularly addressed in Swedish cinema. There are many scenes where music technology and technologically mediated music function as background music in large social gatherings as well as in more intimate encounters between two characters.

An early example of this kind of backgrounded diegetic music, perhaps demonstrating the emerging impact on musical listening of an increasingly conventionalised film music practice, can be found in Gustaf Molander's *Sara lär sig folkvett* / *Sara learns manners* from 1937.¹⁴ The scene in question takes place in an upper-class living room or salon where the family has gathered for the evening. The high spirits of the family members are reflected in the light-entertainment music playing from the radio or gramophone

14 Of all the films mentioned in this article *Sara lär sig folkvett* is one of only two that is explicitly commented upon in the 2010 anthology *Swedish film: an introduction and reader* (the other being *Intermezzo*). Thus Per Olov Qvist notes that *Sara lär sig folkvett* 'was described as a parody of Swedish film in the 1930s' (Qvist, 2010, p. 130).

(it is unclear which). After a while the conversation turns to the subject of the new and inexperienced housemaid Sara and whether or not she should be allowed to stay on as a member of the household. The family is clearly divided on the matter, and different arguments for and against her possible dismissal are given, the music playing in the background all the while. As this friendly dispute continues, one of the younger men suddenly makes the joking comment that 'this music will be a suitable accompaniment to the upcoming family drama'. Up to this point, however, the music has not been acknowledged by any of the characters, functioning more as a sonic background to the family's informal conversation.

A somewhat different example of seemingly unacknowledged diegetic music occurs in a scene in the 1940 film *Juninatten / June night*. It begins with a shot of a woman lying on a bed and smoking a cigarette while listening to music on the radio. A few seconds later another woman enters the room and sits down on the bed. After a brief silence the two women begin to talk about how many lovers they have had. The conversation continues until the first woman reaches for the radio and turns it off. Again, the music has functioned as a kind of backgrounded 'aural wallpaper' (Keightley, 2008, p. 317) that neither of the two characters has shown any obvious sign of noticing.¹⁵

Not surprisingly, the most common depiction of technologically mediated music as backgrounded music is in connection with romantic encounters. In my material I have found no less than 23 scenes where a romantic situation between two characters is accompanied by seemingly unacknowledged diegetic music playing from a radio or a gramophone.¹⁶ The example I will give here – which is representative of such scenes, although the kind of music can vary – comes from Stig Björkman's film *Jag älskar, du älskar / I love, you love* (1968). The setting is a modern living room. A man is sitting on a sofa. On the other side of the room a woman is seated in an armchair. On the gramophone classical music is playing, the second movement of Mozart's Piano concerto no. 21 in C major. Having gazed intensely at each other for a while, the man and the woman rise and walk towards each other. When they reach the middle of the room they embrace

15 Keightley connects his term 'aural wallpaper' to what he calls 'unconscious listening', which he links to an increasing propensity from the 1940s onward of 'using radio [and the gramophone] as a sonic background to other activities' (Keightley, 2008, p. 317). This way of listening (or not listening) to music he in turn associates with what he calls 'the easy listening era', which he places 'between the end of the swing era circa 1946 and the rise of rock culture after 1966' (Keightley, 2008, p. 309). Tim Wall and Nick Webber observe a more specific variant of distracted listening related to the introduction of the car radio on a wide commercial scale in the 1950s: 'The shift to the mobile car radio in the mid 1950s established a new set of dominant radio programming structures and the idea of distracted listeners using radio as a secondary medium, one that involves them while they do something else.' (Wall and Webber, 2015, p. 544) As Richard Burgess points out, the first commercial car radio, the so-called 'Motorola', was introduced as early as 1930 (Burgess, 2014, p. 67).

16 To my knowledge the earliest such scene in Swedish sound cinema appears in the film *Vå två / The two of us* (1930).

and then hesitatingly begin to kiss. As the music continues in the background, their kissing becomes more passionate. We are not allowed to follow them into their more private erotic encounter since the scene ends here, but there is no doubt about the direction things are going.

The examples belonging to this third category can be characterised as 'unheard music'. The quotation marks here signal that the music is not unheard by the characters in the same sense as nondiegetic music is unheard by them. What distinguishes the scenes in this category from those in the other two categories discussed above is that the characters' attention is directed elsewhere in a way that makes the music seemingly go unacknowledged, thereby representing what cultural historians Tim Wall and Nick Webber term 'secondary listening' (Wall and Webber, 2015, p. 544). The music is relegated to the characters' perceptual background, rather like how much nondiegetic underscoring is 'unheard' by the audience of a film (Gorbman, 1987). Thus understood, the growing number of scenes portraying technologically mediated music as a kind of sonic wallpaper, as well as a mood enhancer in the characters' romantic encounters and everyday activities, may be taken as an early reflection of an emerging 'experience economy' (Rifkin, 2000) and as indicative of what Mike Featherstone has referred to as an 'aestheticization of everyday life' (Featherstone, 2007, pp. 64-80).

The emergence of solitary listening: Swedish cinema in the 1950s and 1960s

So far I have dealt with representations of music technology and technologically mediated music in connection with scenes involving two or more characters. In contrast to depictions of such social listening practices and activities, depictions of solitary listening are very infrequent in the cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, and only gradually become more common during the 1950s and 1960s.

The first occurrence of solitary listening to recorded music in Swedish sound cinema that I have found is a brief sequence two-thirds of the way into the film *Intermezzo / Intermezzo* (1936). Margit Brandt, wife of the famous violinist Holger Brandt who has left her for another woman, is alone in the couple's tastefully furnished living room. Knowing that there will be a broadcast of one of her husband's performances that evening, she approaches the radio and hesitatingly turns it on. With an expression of petrified despair on her face she stands with one hand on the radio and listens to the music until the scene comes to an end.¹⁷ The next instance of solitary listening occurs in the 1943 film *Fångad av en röst / 'Captured by a voice'*. Dick Grabe, director of the

¹⁷ For a more extensive analysis of *Intermezzo* and its music, see Stockfelt (1998).

gramophone company Bellacord, is sitting alone in his living room at home playing a solitaire while listening to the radio. On the radio we hear a compere announcing that 'now Inger Mo will perform a couple of songs for us' (in the film Inger Mo is a pseudonym for the singer Britt Lind who has been trying unsuccessfully to capture the attention of Dick). When the music starts, Dick silently continues with his solitaire, and it is unclear to what extent he is really listening to the music. This scene is followed by another scene seven minutes later that brings us back to the living room where we again see Dick sitting and playing solitaire while another popular song with Inger Mo is playing on the radio (see also Winquist, 1983, p. 28).

For the third occurrence of solitary listening we have to go to the 1952 film *Eldfågeln* / *The firebird*. The scene in question begins with a close-up of a spinning gramophone record. The music is the 1930 Neapolitan song *Torna* by Italian composer Nicola Valente, here with Swedish lyrics by Karl-Ewert Christenson (Winquist, 1985, p. 127).¹⁸ The camera then pans upward, revealing an elegantly dressed woman standing by the window in a sparingly furnished room (in fact, a dance studio). She appears deeply immersed in the music, or rather in romantic reveries about the man with whom she has fallen in love. After a few seconds she begins to dance. Then follows a cut to a man walking up the stairs to the woman's apartment/studio. Arriving at the front door he reaches for the doorbell, but hesitates when he hears the music coming from the apartment. The scene cuts back to the woman who again is seen standing by the window, now with a blissful smile on her face. After this the music comes to a full stop, and the scene ends with the sound of the doorbell ringing.

Throughout the 1950s, scenes involving solitary listening to technologically mediated music occur sporadically. It is only from the beginning of the 1960s and onwards that depictions of such listening begin to appear with some regularity in Swedish cinema. Some of these depictions are explicitly concerned with new listening practices associated with an emerging youth culture. A representative example can be found in a scene from *Chans* where Mari is listening to jazz music alone at home. Although she seems to be deeply immersed in the music there is also a performative element in Mari's solitary listening as she repeatedly moves her head back and forth to the rhythm of the music. Similarly, towards the middle of the film *Mordvapen till salu* / 'Murder weapon for sale' (1963) we see a young man listening in solitude to rock 'n' roll music. Like Mari, he demonstrates his appreciation of the music by lightly swinging his head back and forth, as if he was being observed by an invisible audience.

18 Though sung in Swedish the song is in all likelihood performed by Tito Gobbi, as the famous Italian opera singer was engaged for the film (see Furhammar, 1991, p. 218).

To judge from depictions in the Swedish cinema of the 1960s, however, the practice of listening to recorded music alone had spread to people of all ages. For example, the very beginning of the 1961 film *Pojken i trädet* / *The boy in the tree* features a scene with an older man who is driving his car through a nocturnal Swedish landscape. Keeping his eyes on the road in front of him the man reaches for the car radio and turns it on. With one hand on the steering wheel he then searches for a radio station with appropriate music. When Mozart's Piano concerto no. 20 in D minor (Winquist, 1990, p. 47) begins to sound from the car stereo, the man smiles appreciatively to himself and with a content expression on his face continues his driving. He listens attentively to the music, glancing several times at the car stereo (as if the musicians were really there), until he is suddenly interrupted by a loud bang that sounds conspicuously like a pistol shot. Clearly disturbed by this loud sound the man stares intensely out of the car window and the scene ends with him turning the radio off. Later in the film we encounter the same man again. Once again he is alone, this time sitting behind a writing desk in his working studio at home. In the background classical music (baroque) is playing softly from a gramophone.

Another example that would seem to confirm that solitary listening had become a firmly established cultural practice by the 1960s can be found in Bo Widerberg's film *Barnvagnen* / 'The pram' from 1963. This example is interesting because it might be the first time in Swedish cinema that solitary listening is depicted as occurring in a public setting. The scene takes place at the national library, where the film's main character, Britt, is sitting in one of the listening cubicles with headphones on her head. She appears to be concentrating intensely on the music, although we do not yet know what she is listening to. After a while her new acquaintance Björn enters the cubicle and also puts on a pair of headphones. He then asks her if she likes the music to which she first answers in the affirmative and then, after some hesitation, says 'no, not really'. Björn smiles and tells her that the music they are listening to is by Antonio Vivaldi. For the rest of the scene they continue their listening – each in their own sonic world – without any further words being uttered.

Yet another way in which the increasing ubiquity of individual listening is reflected in Swedish cinema can be found in scenes presenting technologically mediated music as a kind of sonic wallpaper or background to everyday tasks and activities carried out in solitude. Early in the film *Mordvapen till salu* there is a scene with a young woman alone at home cleaning up her apartment. Taking a short break, she turns on the radio, sits down on a sofa and begins to hum along with the popular song that is playing. After a while, still singing and humming to herself, she gets back up and returns to her cleaning while the radio music continues to play in the background. A similar theme appears in Yngve Gamlin's *Badarna* / 'The bathers' from 1968. In a stereotypical display of traditional

gender roles, a sequence of shots shows us first a woman preparing dinner in the kitchen and then a man sitting alone in his car. In the first shot a transistor radio is plainly visible on the kitchen countertop. A Swedish dance-band version of a Russian folk song is playing at a rather high volume (Winquist, 1990, p. 117). Unlike the scene from *Mordvapen till salu*, the woman is not singing along with the music, although she clearly seems to enjoy it. The following shot features the same music, but now coming from the man's car radio.

From the above examples we can see that Swedish films from the 1930s onward portray a range of emerging listening practices associated with a more individual and solitary kind of listening. At least as it is reflected in Swedish cinema, this emerging solitary listening could take both concentrated and distracted forms. The scenes from *Chans*, *Pojken i trädet* and *Barnvagnen* are examples of scenes depicting a more attentive kind of solitary listening, albeit one that involves a certain degree of self-performativity. (In the car scene from *Pojken i trädet* this self-performative element is subtly conveyed by the man's facial expression as he repeatedly looks at the car radio with the air of a connoisseur.) In contrast, the scenes from *Fångad av en röst*, *Badarna* and to some extent *Eldfågeln* feature a more diverted kind of solitary listening that more closely resembles Jan Asker's distracted listening in *Mej och dej*.

Conclusion: Swedish cinema and the mediatisation of everyday listening

On the assumption that cinema can be taken as a fairly reliable indicator of broader social and cultural trends (Belton, 1996) the study of Swedish cinema may tell us something about changing listening practices in twentieth-century Sweden. From this perspective, the changing use of music technology represented in Swedish cinema reflects an ongoing transformation of everyday musical listening in Swedish society during this period.¹⁹ The most significant changes concern the gradual transformation of technologically mediated listening from a largely social practice in the 1930s to an increasingly solitary and individualised phenomenon in the 1960s. However, and taking care not to fall into the trap of technological determinism (Katz, 2010, p. 3; see also Wall and Webber, 2015, p. 540), I cannot help but see the continuous spread of new technological innovations and the ever-increasing availability of recorded music as important preconditions for the occurrence of these changes (see Björnberg, 2012, p. 132; also see Pontara

¹⁹ Changes in how musical listening is depicted in cinema may also partly depend on changes in film style, film aesthetics and other cinematic conventions, as well as on the emergence of new cinematic genres. This is an aspect I have not discussed on the above pages. I would argue, however, that representations of musical listening in cinema should *primarily* be explained in terms of changing listening practices in society at large.

and Volgsten, 2017b). Thus understood, the gradual emergence of various kinds of solitary musical listening is inextricably bound up with a broader *mediatisation* of music and musical listening during the twentieth century.

As described by media and communication scholar Mats Ekström, mediatisation denotes a process of 'long-term media-related social change' (Ekström et al., 2016, p. 4). More specifically the concept 'applies to *long-term transformations* of sociocultural practices and institutions, assumed to be related to an *increase* in the spread and implications of media as technologies, institutions and cultural forms' (*ibid*; emphases in original). Hand in hand with an increasing presence of music technology in both public and domestic settings (stationary and portable radios and gramophones, earphones, jukeboxes, etc. and eventually moving-image media like the TV) new ways of listening to and engaging with music emerged during the period covered by this article (Björnberg, 2012; see also Pontara and Volgsten, 2017a). This mediatisation of musical listening involved not only the gradual increase and normalisation of solitary listening, but also new ways of interacting socially with and in response to technologically mediated music, one of which was an increasing proclivity to negotiate, debate and control the make-up of domestic auditory space (Keightley, 1996).

In this article I have approached this mediatisation of everyday musical listening somewhat indirectly by studying how technologically mediated musical listening was represented in Swedish cinema between 1930 and 1970. However, to the extent that cinema should be understood not only as a mirror of social and cultural trends, but also as playing an active part in shaping and maintaining such trends (Rafter, 2006), cinematic representations of music technology and musical listening should themselves be seen as an inherent part of the mediatisation of musical listening. Representations of technologically mediated musical listening in Swedish cinema may thus allow us to better understand how musical listening practices were transformed in twentieth-century Sweden, while at the same time such representations did themselves contribute to these transformations.

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Appendix

This appendix is an overview of Swedish feature films produced between 1930 and 1970 that contain scenes featuring characters interacting with sound reproduction technology. In the parentheses are given the release year of the film and the name of the director. The films are listed in chronological order.

1. *För hennes skull* (1930, Paul Merzbach)
2. *Vi två* (1930, John W. Brunius)
3. *Fasters millioner* (1934, Gustaf Molander)
4. *Ungdom av idag* (1935, Per-Axel Branner)
5. *Intermezzo* (1936, Gustaf Molander)
6. *Han, hon och pengarna* (1936, Anders Henrikson)
7. *En flicka kommer till stan* (1937, Carlo Keil-Möller et al.)
8. *Sara lär sig folkvett* (1937, Gustaf Molander)
9. *Kamrater i vapenrocken* (1938, Schamyl Bauman)
10. *Svensson ordnar allt!* (1938, Theodor Berthels)
11. *Med folket för fosterlandet* (1938, Sigurd Wallén)
12. *Sigge Nilsson och jag* (1938, Sigurd Wallén)
13. *Frun tillhanda* (1939, Gunnar Olsson)
14. *Med livet som insats* (1940, Alf Sjöberg)
15. *Familjen Björck* (1940, Anders Henrikson)
16. *Frestelse* (1940, Arne Bornebusch)
17. *Juninatten* (1940, Per Lindberg)
18. *Blyge Anton* (1940, Emil A. Pehrsson)
19. *Snurriga familjen* (1940, Ivar Johansson)
20. *Söderpojkar* (1941, Gösta Stevens)
21. *Landstormens lilla argbigga* (1941, Nils Jerring)
22. *Första divisionen* (1941, Hasse Ekman)
23. *Lärlarinna på vift* (1941, Börje Larsson)
24. *Vårat gäng* (1942, Gunnar Skoglund)
25. *Lågor i dunklet* (1942, Hasse Ekman)
26. *Olycksfågeln nr. 13* (1942, Sigge Fürst)
27. *Ombyte av tåg: en allvarlig komedi* (1943, Hasse Ekman)
28. *Fångad av en röst* (1943, Ivar Johansson)
29. *Lille Napoleon* (1943, Gustaf Edgren)
30. *Pettersson Et Bendels nya affärer* (1945, Erik Bergstrand)
31. *Två människor* (1945, Carl Th. Dreyer)

32. *Lidelse* (1945, Gösta Cederlund)
33. *Begär* (1946, Edvin Adolphson)
34. *Bröllopsnatten* (1947, Bodil Ipsen)
35. *Supé för två* (1947, Ragnar Arvedson)
36. *Var sin väg* (1948, Hasse Ekman)
37. *Synd* (1948, Arnold Sjöstrand)
38. *Törst* (1949, Ingmar Bergman)
39. *Till glädje* (1950, Ingmar Bergman)
40. *Restaurant intim* (1950, Erik 'Hampe' Faustman)
41. *Flicka och hyacinter* (1950, Hasse Ekman)
42. *Påhittiga Johansson* (1950, Hugo Bolander)
43. *Medan staden sover* (1950, Lars-Eric Kjellgren)
44. *Sommarlek* (1951, Ingmar Bergman)
45. *Eldfågeln* (1952, Hasse Ekman)
46. *Skuggan* (1953, Kenne Fant)
47. *Kvinnohuset* (1953, Erik 'Hampe' Faustman)
48. *Vi tre debutera* (1953, Hasse Ekman)
49. *Resa i natten* (1955, Erik 'Hampe' Faustman)
50. *Männen i mörker* (1955, Arne Mattsson)
51. *Ute blåser sommarvind* (1955, Åke Ohberg)
52. *Vildfåglar* (1955, Alf Sjöberg)
53. *Litet bo* (1956, Arne Mattsson)
54. *Lille Fridolf blir morfar* (1957, Per Gunvall)
55. *Möten i skymningen* (1957, Alf Kjellin)
56. *Lek på regnbågen* (1958, Lars-Eric Kjellgren)
57. *Jazzgossen* (1958, Hasse Ekman)
58. *Den kära leken* (1959, Kenne Fant)
59. *Stöten* (1961, Hasse Ekman)
60. *Pojken i trädet* (1961, Arne Sucksdorff)
61. *Pärlemor* (1961, Torgny Anderberg)
62. *Vaxdockan* (1962, Arne Mattsson)
63. *Chans* (1962, Gunnar Hellström)
64. *Raggargänget* (1962, Ragnar Frisk)
65. *Siska* (1962, Alf Kjellin)
66. *Det är hos mig han har varit* (1963, Arne Mattsson)
67. *Barnvagnen* (1963, Bo Widerberg)
68. *Den gula bilen* (1963, Arne Mattsson)

69. *En söndag i september* (1963, Arne Mattsson)
70. *Tystnaden* (1963, Ingmar Bergman)
71. *Mordvapen till salu* (1963, Per G. Holmgren)
72. *Sällskapslek* (1963, Torgny Anderberg)
73. *En vacker dag* (1963, Göran Gentele)
74. *491* (1964, Vilgot Sjöman)
75. *Är du inte riktigt klok?* (1964, Yngve Gamlin)
76. *Att älska* (1964, Jörn Donner)
77. *Bröllopsbesvär* (1964, Åke Falck)
78. *Åsa Nisse i popform* (1964, Börje Larsson)
79. *Klänningen* (1964, Vilgot Sjöman)
80. *Kattorna* (1965, Henning Carlsen)
81. *För vänskaps skull* (1965, Hans Abramson)
82. *Festivitetssalongen* (1965, Stig Ossian Ericson)
83. *Ett sommaräventyr* (1965, Håkan Ersgård)
84. *Ormen: berättelsen om Iréne* (1966, Hans Abramson)
85. *Myten eller han snodde en blomma och fick springa för livet* (1966, Jan Halldoff)
86. *Träfracken* (1966, Lars-Magnus Lindgren)
87. *Heja Roland!* (1966, Bo Widerberg)
88. *Persona* (1966, Ingmar Bergman)
89. *Livet är stenkul* (1967, Jan Halldoff)
90. *Ola & Julia* (1967, Jan Halldoff)
91. *Skammen* (1968, Ingmar Bergman)
92. *Badarna* (1968, Yngve Gamlin)
93. *Jag älskar, du älskar* (1968, Stig Björkman)
94. *Flickorna* (1968, Mai Zetterling)
95. *Mej och dej* (1969, Astrid Henning-Jensen)
96. *Som natt och dag* (1969, Jonas Cornell)
97. *En dröm om frihet* (1969, Jan Halldoff)
98. *Eva: den utstötta* (1969, Torgny Wickman)
99. *Duett för kannibaler* (1969, Henning Carlsen)
100. *Jänken* (1970, Lars Forsberg)
101. *En kärlekshistoria* (1970, Roy Andersson)

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Abstract

Listening to technologically mediated music in film: representations of social and solitary listening in Swedish cinema 1930–70

Cinematic representations of musical listening may be understood as reflecting changing listening practices in society at large. Proceeding from this assumption the article examines a variety of scenes from Swedish feature films, all of them produced between 1930 and 1970, where characters are involved in different kinds of musical listening. Focussing specifically on representations of technologically mediated musical listening, the article aims to show how sound reproduction technologies such as the radio and the gramophone were represented in relation to both social and solitary forms of listening in Swedish cinema during the period in question.

Keywords

Swedish cinema; music technology; representation; social listening; solitary listening.

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