6. FOLK MUSIC AS A NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL SYMBOL

From the mid-19th century, Swedish folk songs were spread over the continent by such singers as Jenny Lind, Christina Nilsson and Signe Hebbe, and it is through them that they gained an – albeit modest place – in European concert stages alongside Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies, Chopin's polonaises, and Ole Bull's "sæterbesøk". In 1868, Christina Nilsson was a huge hit at the Paris Opera as Ofelia in Ambroise Thomas's *Hamlet*, a role written specifically for her. In the madness scene, the composer had even added a soupcon of Nordic exoticism – *Näckens polska* – thus converting the dance melody, which Afzelius's lyrics had once had the Geatish Society in raptures, into a brilliant French coloratura aria: one of many examples of the remarkable cultural concoctions that could be brewed through the Romantic era's penchant for the chronologically and geographically remote.

Between 1850 and 1860, the Swedish music debate and the reviews of Dybeck's concerts expressed a growing desire for a more lavish artistic treatment of the folk music raw material. Dybeck had exposed the "nuggets of ore" and now it was time to "tap their rich veins". Composers were sought with the "will and ability to work them, to sort and refine the gold-beladen ore with the implements of art" (*Aftonbladet* 31/3 1862). The time was ripe for the composers to take the final step – from the arrangement and quotation of folk tunes to newly composed "folk-style" music. August Söderman's incidental music, peasant weddings and songs in the folklore style paved the way.

Alongside this emergent folk-based national tonal idiom continued the dogged documentation of folk culture – but now under partially different circumstances. The liberal folk-cultivation (*folkbildning*) ideals of Scandinavianism were still relevant in scholarly and cultural circles, even if its political ideas were being abandoned. Neo-Geatishism, which started to inspire fine art, architecture, literature and music in the 1860s, itself drew inspiration from the artefacts of folk culture. From the 1870s on the collection process intensified under more permanent forms as it became organised and institutionalised. Artur Hazelius's Scandinavian-ethnographic collection and the National Museum of Cultural History formed the heart of these endeavours. The first dialect societies were formed at Uppsala, Lund and Helsingfors universities at around this time, all primarily established to map out Swedish dialects and other aspects of folk culture, especially the music. This anchorage in the relatively well-developed field of linguistics placed more stringent demands on scientific precision. Activities were closely tied to the various student "nations" (provincial houses) and thus had a clearly provincial underpinning. The rich treasure of the tales, legends and songs of Sweden's provinces was brought into the light, creating a solid platform for the provincialism that injected such vitality into the literature, painting and music of the 1890s.

The dialect societies nurtured many of the late 19th century's leading folk-music collectors. In 1887, the Skåne dialect society in Lund asked lawyer Nils Andersson to "gather up valuable melodies and stories" with another student. Andersson, who was a talented amateur musician and flautist, was responsible for notating the melodies (O. Andersson 1958, p. 46 f.). The product of their travels of collection was reported in *Teckningar och toner ur skånska allmogens lif* (1889). Most of the melodies are instrumental, with the musicians named and the melodies compiled in folk-musician repertoires – a principle that Nils Andersson would emulate in his later, more voluminous publications.

During the ensuing Christmas and summer celebrations, Nils Andersson complemented the records with tunes from other parts of Skåne county. The collection of some 500 melodies was submitted for publication in the journal of the dialect societies, *Svenska landsmål*, but

publication proved too trying. *Skånska melodier* was divided up into several volumes, of which the first was published in 1895 and the last in 1916. In 1895 and in connection with the melodies, Nils Andersson also published his essays “Musiken i Skåne” and “Skånska danser”, his most comprehensive works on folk music. Like most other students of dialect, Nils Andersson thus began his researches in his own home tracts. Later, his ambitions would incorporate much wider domains (see below).

One of the “dialecticians” in Uppsala was the future doctor August Bondeson. In the summer of 1879 and with the support of Hazelius and others, he started to record folklore from his home county of Halland. Initially, his travels were driven by the quest for folk tales and legends, but in protest against the not so uncommon view that folk music had fallen silent, and that the “the simple popular songs that somehow still lived on” were not worthy of hearing “let alone preserving”, he began to focus more and more on folk songs (Bondeson 1903, vol 1. p. IV). The results he was eventually able to publish in his *Visbok* from 1903, subtitled “Folk songs as they live and are sung in our time”. The material is arranged in personal repertoires, with each singer presented by name, profession and home district. In his foreword, Bondeson admits having deliberately overlooked “ancient songs”, as they had been well-documented in earlier publications. His intention was another:

“Herein is the main part of the entire horde of the people’s most commonly sung songs from disparate times: love songs, war and recruitment songs, sea shanties, lampoons, &c. For it is these very songs that are most worthy of protecting, oft-disdained though they may be. While they might not always be able to claim to possess great artistic value, cultural value they nonetheless have.” (Bondeson 1903, vol 1 p. VIII).

This collection reflects in many respects a more liberal attitude towards folk culture – and a closeness to the material – that becomes increasingly common in the latter half of the 19th century. Already in the comic operas of the 1840s, a liberatingly disrespectful view of folkishness broke through. Such figures as Löpare-Nisse in *Värmlänningarna* heralded a blooming element of luxurious slapstick. In an effort to make public their research results, the dialect students – Bondeson amongst them – would often themselves appear as entertainers, telling stories in dialect, singing songs, playing fiddle and sometimes even accordion. Their way of popularising folk music could not be further from the drawing-room and concert events of the early century.

Skansen – a bastion of folklore and patriotism

For the “great national beggar” Artur Hazelius, the founding of the National Museum of Cultural History and its huge ethnographical collection was not enough. His entire life work was suffused with neo-Geatish ideas and the cultivational ideals of the modern century. In 1891, he opened his open-air museum Skansen, a Sweden in miniature. Here he sought to put on display, in a living environment, the full breadth of national culture. In Lapp huts, peasant cottages and country houses, actors played out tableaux from the everyday lives of their original occupants – all, naturally, set against a backdrop of folk music. Hazelius himself writes of the music at Skansen:

“At Christmas, starboys [the boys in special gowns who attend the annual Lucia processions] roam around with the Epiphany star singing Staffan songs and other Christmas carols. ... Every Sunday can be heard rhythmic chorales – our most delightful old psalms and songs derived from mediaeval antiphons... . Here we hear the nyckelharpa, there the fiddle, both playing often ancient, half-forgotten melodies, while the calls of the lur and herdsman’s horn echo in the valleys. The old folk dances and ring games are no longer cowering in the recesses of the libraries – they are danced with life and lust by the young people who gather here... . Graceful rococo dances are danced under the sky and the rococo orchestra in period costume play melodies from the days of the third Gustav and Bellman.” (Hazelius 1900; after Bohman 1979, p. 36 f.)

This setting gave Stockholders their first ever opportunity to hear folk musicians perform live. The first "official" folk musician (*spelman*) on fiddle Skölds Anders Hedblom from Leksand performed already in the inaugural year of 1891. Dressed in provincial costume he played tunes on the dance pavilions and in the dwellings. The following year, a herdgirl blew her horn for the Skansen public and a few years after that it was time for the first nyckelharpists.

Much space was also devoted to folk dances. In 1893, the Friends of Swedish Folk Dance association was formed on Hazelius's initiative, and he engaged special dancers to perform at Skansen. The idea of Skansen's folk dance troop – as well as much of its repertoire – he borrowed from Uppsala, where the students had founded the folk dance society Philochoros back in 1880 – the first in all the Nordic countries. In the true spirit of the dialect societies, members collected melodies and information on folk dances. But they also took in many of the "country dances" that choreographer and dancer Anders Selinder had created earlier for the theatre.

The events arranged at Skansen broke the disparate late-century attitudes towards folk culture – on the one hand the antiquarian attitude rooted in Geatism, on the other one more irreverent and jaunty. The folk musicians whom Hazelius summoned from around the country were there to play "old songs" on the fiddle, nyckelharpa, hummel (a kind of drone zither) or clog fiddle – in other words, to be the incarnation of Sweden's national cultural heritage. Alongside the performers, dialect students dressed in peasant garb would provide entertainment, with disdain for neither accordion nor slapstick.

But Skansen soon also became a bastion of patriotism. The programme reflects the tensions so characteristic of the 1890s between pompous chauvinism and more down-to-earth provincialism. On historical national days, celebrations were held in memory of the "hero kings" Gustav II Adolf and Karl XII. It was also at Skansen that Gustav Day was celebrated for the first time as Sweden's national day – 6 June, 1893. This revived calls for a Swedish national anthem and competitions were announced (1895 and 1899). Entries were many, but the results meagre. For want of a glorious alternative, Dybeck's "Du gamla, du fria" was accorded the rank of the nation's hymn. It is an irony of history that this eulogy to the Nordic region was vaunted as a chauvinistic national symbol at a time of bitter crisis in the union.

The master folk musician steps forth

Events of the kind that Skansen organised turned the spotlight on the individual folk musician. With the master folk musicians (*storspelmän*) now beginning to appear on stage, with all the power and originality of their playing, any romantic notion of the music of the anonymous folk soul paled. So now folk musicians, too, have their virtuosos. And this happens at the same time as rural Sweden undergoes a total structural reorganisation, as villages disintegrate and folk musicians lose their traditional role in provincial society.

Of fundamental significance to the new view of the folk musician and the emergent folk musician movement were all the conventions and contests that became a characteristic feature of 20th century Swedish music. Nils Andersson was one of the driving forces behind these arrangements. In setting up the competitions, he hoped to sift out the folk music gold and find the musicians who had the most valuable repertoire and who best represented the different local traditions. In the spring of 1905, he and some friends from Jämtland had discussed the possibility of arranging a folk musicians' convention in Mörsil, plans that for various reasons were dropped. That same summer, artist Anders Zorn hit on the idea of a competition for horn-blowers and fiddlers. During a visit to a hill farm in Mora, he found that the herding

music of his childhood summers and the art of blowing a horn were dying out. Zorn writes in his *Självbiografiska anteckningar* (Autobiographical notes):

> "I turned to the local lasses who had gathered and had them know that it would be an eternal shame if they did not practise this art. The one who blew on a cow horn best after a year was up would earn 50 kronor from me. … I also decided to include the fiddle in my little contest and that only old songs could be played…. Imagine striking a blow for the so-called Devil's instrument, the fiddle, which during the pietist epidemics was banished for being a gateway straight to hell." (Zorn 1982, p. 138)

Sixteen horn blowers and as many fiddlers entered the context at Gesundaberget near Siljan in 1906. Thirteen of the horn players were women, while all the fiddlers were men – giving a glimpse of the traditional gender roles of folk music. Vocal hill farm music was not included in these contests, nor any form of folk singing. The contests and the conventions concentrated from the beginning solely on instrumental music.

The repertoire that the folk musicians offered up in Gesunda corresponded poorly to the ideal of Zorn's intentions - "only the old songs". It was natural for the musicians to want to showcase all they were capable of, especially the more fashionable tunes. Not for them the antiquarian puritanism of the collectors! The following conventions were exploited by the arrangers and turned into a highly conscious and effective vehicle of propaganda for certain instruments and types of tune, thus establishing the image of genuine Swedish folk music, as had previously happened with the folk song. There is no small measure of nationalist romantic folk-cultivational pathos in this – to educate the "folk" about "genuine folk culture", to teach folk musicians what was valuable in their music and how it should be performed.

Zorn's original intention with the Gesunda contest was, as we have seen, to breathe new life into the music of the herding horn and hill farm. In this he achieved some success, but most of all he sparked an interest in the very concept of folk music contests. Grand public demonstrations of folk culture were à la mode. Similar arrangements had, incidentally, appeared much earlier in other countries. In Switzerland, for instance, folk music contests were being arranged as early as 1805 and 1808 at the first two grand "Alpenhirtenfesten" events in Unspunnen. In Norway, the first folk musician contest was held in the 1870s, with the Norwegian Tourist Board amongst the initiators. Despite the gap in time and space, there are striking similarities between the Gesunda contest and these other events. In all cases, the main contestants were horn or lur players. And the purpose was the same – to resuscitate the national values that folk music was seen to embody by stepping up to rescue this moribund musical tradition. In Switzerland, all this was happening during the tumult of the Napoleonic Wars, in Norway and Sweden during the union crisis.

The Gesunda contest soon had its emulators. Already a year after it was held, similar arrangements sprang up around the country. Zorn himself announced new contests in the summers of 1907 and 08, this time at Sandängarna in Mora. Countless horn blowers competed, but now the fiddlers were in a clear majority – a tendency that becomes even more salient over the years to come. In August 1910, a National Folk Musician contest was held at Skansen. Sixty-five musicians, including two women (horn player Ris Kerstin Persdotter from Rättvik and Maria Sohlberg, fiddler from Munkedal in Bohuslän), took part, performing on the fiddle, nyckelharpa, horn, chanter and clarinet. "The exclusion of accordion and brass need not require further explanation", wrote Nils Andersson in the programme. Like Dybeck and Ydredrotten Rääf of earlier times, arms were taken up against foreign "drivel" that threatened to undermine native and "genuine" folk music. The onslaught was no less fierce and the polemics just as acerbic as Dybeck's ever were. The enemy, however, had taken on another form. Now, the main source of the threat was the ever more torrential flood of popular music in general and accordion playing in particular. Hugo Alfvén's declaration of war at the folk music convention in Mora in 1907 barely needs repeating:

"Chop up all accordions you come across, trample them to smithereens, cut them up into pieces and throw them to the pigs, for that is where they belong." (Alfvén 1948, p.87)

The Folk Music Commission and Swedish songs

In 1908, Stockholm saw the country's first Swedish folklore conference. One of the speakers there was Nils Andersson, whose address on "The collection and notation of folk music" ended in an appeal for a national plan to rescue folk music. The meeting adopted a resolution to "let the recording of folk melodies be conducted with the utmost zeal" in its quest for "a large central collection of Swedish folk melodies". A committee – the so-termed Folk Music Commission – was also formed to actively pursue such endeavours. On it sat, alongside Nils Andersson himself, Anders Zorn, rector Rickard Steffen, National Museum of Cultural History director Bernhard Salin and orchestra leader Lars Zetterquist. They were later joined by Karl Silverstolpe, president of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, and National Museum assistant Nils Keyland. In Fataburen in 1909, the commission published its own appeal for sheet music books and other notated music, and for financial subsidies to augment that guaranteed by the state.

The collection efforts were driven mainly by Nils Andersson, who undertook his own recording trips around the country. However, with less and less time left him by his legal career, he had no choice but to rely on local assistants. In 1909 he made the acquaintance of barber and folk musician Olof Andersson from Åhus, who became his closest colleague. In the correspondence between them we can trace the development of N. Andersson's decision to publish *Svenska låtar* and how O. Andersson is asked to do an increasing amount of the fair copying and compilation ahead of its publication (O. Andersson 1963). Following N. Andersson's untimely death in 1921, responsibility for the publication passed to O. Andersson. As secretary of the Defence Commission, he collaborated with Hjalmar Wijk, a culturally minded parliamentarian and businessman from Gothenburg, who became the project's patron.

Svenska låtar eventually comprised 24 volumes (1922–40) and a total of 7,910 songs and tunes from all provinces with the exception of Gotland, Ångermanland, Västerbotten, Norrbotten and Lappland. Following Nils Andersson's editing principles, the material was presented first topographically by county and parish and then by the repertoire of the folk musicians, each of whom is given a brief biographical introduction.

While neither Nils nor Olof Andersson spoke openly about the selection principles, the report of the 1924 government commission into folk culture reads:

"When collecting purely Swedish folk music and even more so in his plans for publishing it in print, Nils Andersson had adhered to the principle of including only the 'good old music', i.e. such music that has been so long a part of Swedish folk culture that, to his thinking, it could be said to have merged with and been shaped by the Swedish disposition. At the same time, included was only such music as was performed on the old instruments, such as fiddle, clarinet, lur, pipe and birch-bark horn as well as vocal music. The time limit he set at around 1880, which was when the accordion began to make an entrance."

These remarks are confirmed when comparing the printed edition and the "surplus" material (the Swedish Museum of Performing Arts), and it tallies with the Fataburen appeal of 1909. The material was reproduced without arrangement and with various degrees of practical detail regarding performance, such as fiddle tunings, rhythmic properties, use of resonant strings, etc.

Other folk music documentation from the turn of the century

A pair of the most adept recorders at this time, Einar Övergaard and Karl Petter Leffler, ended up working outside the confines of the Folk Music Commission. Einar Övergaard, like Nils Andersson, had folk music as his life's interest alongside his regular profession – he was a biologist and worked most of his life as a teacher at Uddevalla grammar school. As a young student, he resided in Valdres, Norway, where he came into contact with the local folk musicians. He learnt to play their tunes and made attempts to document their repertoire. He returned often to different parts of Norway in the early 1890s to acquaint himself with the county's folk music.

During his student years in Uppsala in the 1890s he made the acquaintance of Professor Johan August Lundell, editor of the journal *Svenska landsmål*. While the activities of the dialect societies had begun to ebb away, some collection work was still being done in Lundell's circles. Lundell urged Övergaard to continue his recording efforts and promised to publish them in the journal. From 1897 to 1904, Övergaard spent the summers travelling with his notepad around the Swedish provinces: Bohuslän, Dalsland, Värmland, Dalarna, Hälsingland and Härjedalen. All told there are over 800 songs and tunes preserved in his hand in both rough and fair copy. Only a handful of melodies were published in his lifetime, it was not until 1982 that all of them were put into print.

His records reveal great insight into different local playing traditions as regards both repertoire and performance. There are countless notes and comments on the folk music's idiosyncrasies and on the difficulties of pinning down this kind of music onto conventional staves – revealing an awareness in Övergaard of the specific nature of folk music that is far from the norm in the recorders of the time.

In later years, when illness prevented him from holding down his teaching post, he became intensely occupied with studying phrase structure in polska melodies using a self-devised method of analysis.

The Folk Music Commission contacted Övergaard on repeated occasions from 1910, urging him to put his collections at its disposal for publication. But Övergaard was wary, and when the first parts of *Svenska Låtar* were published he was rather scathing of the results, making such pronouncements as "The recorder may not change or improve!!" and "Nils Andersson was perhaps no *fiddler* by 'trade'".

Karl Petter Leffler also started to operate outside the Folk Music Commission, but unlike Övergaard he had a great deal published during his lifetime. Leffler, who was a newspaperman, came across the dialect societies' collection of dialects and folklore during his student years, and since he had a degree of musical training he devoted his collection efforts to musical folklore, especially – during this time – from Uppland, Södermanland and Gästrikland.

In 1906, Leffler moved to Härnösand, where he became a journalist for *Västnorrlands Allehanda*. With the newspaper as his platform, he championed folk music in Västernorrland county through his writing and the folk musician contests he arranged. He was also put on the board of Föreningen för Norrländska Hembygdsforskning (roughly the Norrland folklore research society), on whose behalf he did a considerable amount of recording. In 1919 the position of curator for the society's music section was created for him, enabling him to take up these endeavours full time.

Leffler collaborated with the commission for many years of the 1910s, submitting reams of material from Medelpad and Ångermanland for printing in *Svenska Låtar.* The partnership between Nils Andersson and Leffler collapsed, however, and Leffler later decided to publish a larger volume, *Folkmusiken i Norrland*, instead.

Leffler's own publications reveal him to be a pioneer in the field of ethnomusicology. His detailed and eloquent comments place the music in its culturohistorical context and provide informative descriptions of the tradition-bearers and their environment. He is also anxious to acknowledge the influence of dance on folk tune structure.

As mentioned earlier, *Svenska låtar* bypasses a few provinces, Gotland amongst them. Here, folk musician and cantor August Fredin had collected a great deal of material, which was published in instalments in the magazine *Svenska landsmål* from 1909. Unlike most of his fellow-collectors, Fredin was a "peasant's" son, who had trained as an elementary school teacher and cantor, rendering him well-equipped to notate the traditions with which he had grown up. Of the 213 songs that were eventually published, around 80 came from his mother Elisabeth Olofsdotter; there were also several instrumental tunes from his father Nils Mårtensson Fredin ("Florsen"):

"My interest in Gotlandic folk music derives from my earliest infancy, when daily I would hear songs being sung by my mother and Gotlandic folk music played by my father, 'Florsen', who was known to have been Gotland's most accomplished folk musician in his day, and by his many boy pupils." (Fredin 1909–33, p. VIII.)

Fredin had made the acquaintance of Professor Lundell in Uppsala during a summer course in 1893. Lundell offered to publish his recorded Gotlandic songs in *Svenska landsmål*, but despite Fredin's having submitted his whole collection of 797 numbers by the turn of the century, the publication process was so tardy and that *Gotlandstoner* was not completed until 1933.

The instrumental material in *Gotlandstoner* is very different to that notated on the mainland. Apart from the many tunes from "Florsen", some 90 per cent are from "ballroom folk musicians" (*balspelmän*) – i.e. sextons, priests and yeomen who could play fiddle and cello and read music. "Florsen" himself was probably reckoned as a peasant folk musician (*bondspelman* as opposed to *balspelman*) but was certainly heavily influenced by his tutors and fellow-musicians assistant vicar Olof Laurin and sexton Olof Laugren. It can therefore not be ruled out that the picture of folk music that Fredin paints in *Gotlandstoner* is of the more artistic and "classier" kind. It is hard to judge in retrospect the extent to which Fredin had consciously or unconsciously passed his informants through the filter of his musical background and environment, and whether there were even other kinds of folk music being played alongside that which he deemed acceptable.

Come the turn of the century, folk music started to become woven into new contexts – the chauvinistic demonstrations during the collapse of the union, in the folklore and cultural tradition movement, in folk cultivation and outdoor recreation. These trends made their indelible mark on the emergent folk musician movement, not least the contributions made by Nils Andersson and Anders Zorn. The "chauvinistic generation" also includes author and folklorist Karl-Erik Forsslund, whose *Med Dalälven från källorna till havet* (1919–1939) depicts the nature, people and villages of Dalarna.

Forsslund was without doubt one of the leading early-century figures of Swedish cultural life and a driving force in the labour, abstinence and youth movements, in folk cultivation and folklore preservation. He appears in his writings as a catalyst and exponent of a number of contemporary currents of thought, of radical liberalism and cultural patriotic traditionalism. This is also true of his approach to folk music, which is a critical part of his monistically tinted vision of a society in which the dialectic of nature/culture, old/new and town/country was eradicated (B. Sundin 1984, p. 322). His magnum opus on the parishes around Dalälven is suffused with an intense naturalism as well as a religiously coloured evolutionism that posits evolution as an expression of nature's creativity, with music

constituting links in the evolutionary chain – everything from the early yoikings from Dalälven's northernmost springs, via the calls of the hill-farm maidens, to the virtuosic polskas of the master folk musicians.

The notation of folk music continued long into the 1900s, despite the availability of sound recording technology and the opportunities it created for preserving an additional dimension – the manner of playing and singing. The Folk Music Commission was wary of recording technology and made no use at all of the phonograph in spite of the importunities of Axel Boberg, organist, composer and folk music recorder from Malmö, and musicologist Carl-Allan Moberg. In Finland, the phonograph was used by several folk music researchers, A. O. Väisänen and Otto Andersson amongst them, and in Hungary Bartók and Kodály had already by the turn of the century embarked on a mission of extensive field recordings.

In Sweden, however, the phonograph was put to the service of music by a mere few. Ethnographer Yngve Laurell had learnt to use the new technology from the leading ethnomusicologist Erich von Hornbostel in Berlin. Following a lengthy expedition to Australia in 1910–11, he returned to his homeland, where he proceeded to use the phonograph to record the folk musicians who performed at Skansen at various times during the summers; he also took his phonograph to folk musician contests in his home tracts of Västergötland. Some one hundred cylinders survive from this time (The Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research) and in recent years have been copied onto gramophone (*Äldre svenska spelmän 1-3*).

In 1911, Karl Tirén, railway employee and folk music recorder, also began to apply the phonograph to his pioneering efforts to document Sami music. For the coming few years he went on recording expeditions amongst the Sami, criss-crossing much of the Swedish mountains in the process. His collected material comprises approximately 400 audio (Swedish Museum of Performing Arts) and 500 notated recordings. It was published in 1942.

Laurell and Tirén must be regarded as pioneers of the audio recording of folk music practices in Sweden – an endeavour that has since been adopted by institutions (Swedish Radio and the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research).

The preservation actions described here and, in particular, the ideologies that drove them, eventually made their mark on the world of folk music itself. Folk musicians became increasingly organised into cultural movements and influenced by these ideas and ideals, which inevitably affected their playing techniques and repertoires. The folk cultivation movement, which burgeoned in the 1930s and 40s, as well as the introduction of the radio and gramophone, also had an important part to play in this process of change, bringing us to the revolutions of our own century.

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