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Moldavian Csángó Folk Musical Instruments and Ensembles Changes through Temporal, Social, and Political Perspectives

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ABSTRACT

After the change of regime, from the 1990s onwards, a number of Hungarian ethnographers started fieldwork in the Moldovan Csángó settlements, but alongside scientific research, an ideological trend emerged, which was concerned with the preservation of the identity, language and culture of the Moldovan Hungarians, while generating 'non-authentic' traditions.

Keywords: tradition, authenticity, folk musical instruments, folk musical ensembles

IZVLEČEK

Po spremembi oblasti v devetdesetih letih, je več madžarskih etnografov začelo s terenskim delom v moldavskih naseljih madžarske skupnosti Csángó. Ob znanstvenem raziskovanju pa so se pojavila tudi ideološko pogojena prizadevanja za ohranjanje identitete, jezika in kulture moldavskih Madžarov, ki so ustvarjala 'neavtentične' tradicije.

Ključne besede: izročilo, avtentičnost, ljudski glasbeni inštrumenti, ljudski glasbeni sestavi

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Transformation of Rural Culture

The transformation of rural culture in Hungary began at the end of the nineteenth century, when the rapid development of manufacturing industry displaced the old crafts with its mass-produced, cheap products. Additionally, the expansion of road and railway networks facilitated the spread of urban and popular culture, leading to significant changes in the previously self-contained rural communities. As a consequence, from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, the villages of a modernising society no longer had any need for either local peasant bands or Romani bands. During this period, the *táncházas* [dance hause movement] emerged, drawing inspiration from the traditional dance culture of the village of Szék [Romanian Sic] in Transylvania. The *táncház* at its core was known by various names in different regions, including *batyubál*, *csűrdöngölő*, *fonóbál*, and *taposóbál*. The idea of the first Budapest dance hause came from the Bihar ensemble, who believed that dancers would enjoy performing unstaged dances much more than choreographed, stylised stage productions. For this reason, they organised a dance evening with the *Vasas Művészegyüttes* [Art Ensemble], accompanied by live music, which took place on 6 May 1972 in the Liszt Ferenc Könyvklub [Book Club], where the famous Budapest bookshop Írók Boltja [Writers' Shop] is located today. As the dance party began attracting interest from passersby, a disagreement emerged. While the Bihar ensemble preferred to maintain it as a private event exclusively for experienced dancers, many organizers believed it would be beneficial to welcome anyone who wished to participate. As a result, the Bartók ensemble took over the organization of the dance parties, including the dance lessons. In the second half of the 1980s, at the University of Horticultural Science, the Táltos ensemble was the first to perform Moldavian folk dance music.[1]

Authenticity

The concept of authenticity, understood as genuineness or validity was significantly developed by McCannel in 1976 in the context of tourism.[2] He argues that tourists seek places that exist in a different time from their own for the sake of exoticism, but that they can only find them at the level of a staged realitydesigned for external observers.[3] The notion of authenticity has since been applied to the musical and instrumental heritage of traditional or folk cultures, often positioning itself in contrast to world music. However, the main characteristic of folk music – the 'natural filter of the community' – can no longer operate effectively in the absence of its original rural societal context. Folk music

1 József Kozák, "A moldvai csángómagyarok zenéjéről", *Folk Magazin* 3, (2008): 36.

2 Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 589–602.

3 John Urry, "Mobility and proximity", *Sociology* 36, no. 2 (2002): 259.

historically thrived within rural communities, which, in contrast to urban societies, were characterized by self-contained, localized ways of life.[4] However, due to the urbanisation of the post-World War II period, rural society ceased to exist in its former form, and therefore the use of the terms revival and survival became widespread in ethnography.[5] Folk music research has also applied this distinction to the study of surviving and revived folk music traditions.[6]

Survival traditions are typically found in regions where traditional village communities have experienced less exposure to modernization and industrialization, allowing for the preservation of historical practices within their cultural context. Since the Hungarians living between the Eastern Carpathians and the Prut, also known as the Moldavian Csángó, became isolated from Hungary and the rest of the language area in the Middle Ages, and lived as an ethnic group in isolation among Romanians, a people with a different language and culture, many archaic features of their culture, both spiritual and material, have survived. It should be noted that this archaism has only recently acquired value, because previously, due to notable differences in the respective regions' historical development, the neighbouring Szeklers considered the Csángó to be Romanised. Therefore looked down upon them because of the different nature of their traditional costume and dialect, and regarded their own more modern dance and music culture, which they ironically considered 'primeval', as *the* typically Hungarian tradition.[7] Before the Romanian regime change, research in Moldova was difficult, but from the 1990s onwards, a large number of ethnographers began to do fieldwork in Moldovan Csángó settlements, focusing mainly on the collection of religious data and folk songs, folk instrumental music and folk dance.[8]

Csángó Research and Csángó Rescue

At the same time, in addition to the scholarly investigation of the culture of the Moldavian Hungarians, an ideological trend also emerged, the essence of which was the wish to preserve the identity, language and culture of the Moldavian Csángó in the period after the Romanian regime change,

4 "Falu", in *Hungarian Ethnographic Dictionary*, MNL 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó: 1979): 23–29.

5 Károly Marót, "Survival és revival", *Ethnographia* 56. nos. 1-4. (1945): 4.

6 László Lajtha, *Lajtha László összegyűjtött írásai* I, ed. MelindaBerlász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1992), 149.

7 István Pávai, "A népi és a nemzeti kultúra viszonyának néhány zenei vetülete Erdélyben", in *Népzenei Tanulmányok*, ed. Ferenc Pozsony (Kolzsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság 1999), 144.

8 Anikó Péterbencze, "Adatok a moldvai csángók folklórjához-Táncok és táncos szokások a Bákó környéki falvakban", in *"Moldovának szíp táiaind születtem…": Magyarországi Csángó Fesztivál és Konferencia*, ed. Péterbencze, Anikó (Jászberény: Magyarországi Csángó Fesztivál és Konferencia, 1993), 68–69.

a concerted effort that came to be known in Hungary and Transylvania as "Csángó rescue".[9] While authenticity is often emphasized as a key principle in the 'Csángó rescue' project, its socially constructed nature means that determining what is 'authentic' is shaped more by political and cultural-historical contexts than by objective or scientific criteria. Authenticity is often treated as a universally recognized category; however, in practice, it is constructed and legitimized through the influence of external, powerful actors or practices, rather than arising inherently within the cultural element itself.[10] Related to the authenticity conceptualised as inhereted feature, a fetishisation of difference typically comes to the fore, with the expectation that those living in a given culture remain 'pure and uncorrupted' in relation to those who just visit it.[11] As a result, lay people interested in the subject have typically grounded and disseminated their views not in a scientific but rather in a subjective and speculative way, with a 'romantic-idealising approach'.[12]

Since the 1990s, it has been noted that the dance houses, dance camps and guest performances that started after the change of the Romanian regime resulted in significant functional and formal/stylistic changes in Moldavian Csángó dances.[13] Overall, in the last two to three decades, we can speak of a fashionable folklorism of Moldavian folk dance and folk music, which is being jointly promoted by local specialists and domestic cultural organisers.[14] In this context, we can also observe a change in the composition of the orchestras accompanying Moldavian dances, which largely determines the style and performance of dance music. Only since the 1990s we have evidence of the combination of flute, violin, cobza and drum as components of the 'Moldavian Orchestra Model', a composition which did not exist in the spontaneously organised traditional music of the Csángó communities.[15]

9 Lehel Peti, "A csángómentés szerkezete és hatásai az identitásépítési stratégiákra", in *Lenyomatok 5. Fiatal kutatók a népi kultúráról*, eds. Jakab Albert Zsolt and Szabó Á. Töhötöm (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság 2006), 129–155.

10 Emese Batizán, "Áruba bocsátott etnicitás-turizmusra vállalkozva", in *Sztereotipiák, választások, túlélések, kisebbségi léthelyzetekben*: *Határhelyzetek* V, ed. Szilvi Szoták (Budapest: Balassi Intézet Márton Áron Szakkollégium, 2013), 399.

11 Krüger, "Undoing Authenticity as a Discursive Construct", 95.

12 Pál Hatos, "Szempontok a csángókutatás kulturális kontextusainak értelmezéséhez", *Pro Minoritate* 22. no. 4. (2002): 5.

13 Vivien Szőnyi, "A moldvai csángó magyar táncok funkcionális és formai-stiláris változásai", in *Alkotás – befogadás – kritika a táncművészetben, a táncpedagógiában és a tánckutatásban: IV. Tánctudományi Konferencia a Magyar Táncművészeti Főiskolán*, 2013. november 8–9. Budapest, eds. Gábor Bolvári-Takács, János Fügedi, Katalin Mizerák, and András Németh (Magyarország, Budapest: Magyar Táncművészeti Főiskola 2014), 180–188.

14 Peti, "A csángómentés szerkezete és hatásai", 149–150.

15 László Németh, "A hagyományos moldvai kobozkíséret rekonstrukciójának lehetőségei" (thesis, LFZE Zenetudományi Tanszék 2021): 31.

The Question of the Use of Drums in the Traditional Dance Music of the Moldavian Csángó

Related to this is the phenomenon that, despite the use of the *tapan* drum type being universal among all of today's Moldavian traditional dance bands playing in dance halls, this drum type, which is widespread in the Balkans and the Middle East, was originally not used by the Moldavian Csángó.[16] In the second half of the 1980s, the Táltos ensemble, which was the first to perform Moldavian folk dance music at the University of Horticultural Science in Budapest, and which was primarily concerned with entertainment rather than authentic traditions, used the flute, cobza and drum trio as a basis for later bands.[17] Following the example of the Táltos ensemble's use of the drum in 'Moldavian music', a former member of the Tatros ensemble dance band brought a *davul* (mostly called *tapan* in the Balkans) drum from Turkey in 1989, which later revival bands took over and adopted as a 'traditional' instrument.[18] In traditional Moldavian folk dance music, the use of drums is not recorded from the period before World War II (Pávai, 1993, p. 37). For example, in Pusztina (Romanian Pustiana), the use of drums was introduced by Romani musicians after World War II, in the period 1945–50, and its use was justified by the expansion of the orchestra and the use of brass instruments.[19]

Furthermore, the use of different types of drums, such as the *buhay*-type friction drum and the various types of framed drums, has been preserved in the musical accompaniment of dramatic folk customs such as the Farewell to the Old Year chanting ceremony *urálás*.[20] In this context, the Moldavian Csángó music of Mária Petrás, who performed on the stage of the 2018 Kurultaj (Tribal Assembly) in Hungary, accompanied by a frame drum, is described in its accompanying text in the following words: "At the same time, a significant part of their culture: their songs – dances, costumes, beliefs and customs – preserve elements of the early shamanistic culture, which leads us back to the time of our ancient religion."[21] This statement is based on the fact that the Moldavian Csángó do indeed mostly use a framed drum (but also

16 Ildikó Sándor, "A hangszerkészlet és a táncélet változásai Klézsén", *Ethnographia* 106. no. 2 (1995): 933.

17 Kozák, "A moldvai csángómagyarok zenéjéről", 36.

18 Léna Tekauer, "A moldvai autentikus kobzolás szerepe a táncházmozgalomban: A koboz tanítása az alapfokú művészetoktatási intézményekben" (thesis NYF-BTMK, Ének-zene Tanszék 2010): 25.

19 Krisztián Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei" (thesis, LFZE Népzene Tanszék 2018): 17.

20 József Brauer-Benke, *A History and Typology of Folk Instruments of Music* (Budapest: HAS Research Centre for the Humanities Institute for Musicology 2018): 62–63, 71.

21 http://kurultaj.hu/2018/07/a-2018-as-kurultaj-szinpadan-petras-maria-moldvai-csango-zeneje/, last viewed 16 June, 2023.

other types of drum) to accompany their dramatic folk custom of seeing off the Old Year, formerly called *hejgetés* and, since the 1970s, increasingly *urálás*.[22] It should be noted, however, that the Romanian term *urare* [well-wishing] may have become widespread, on the one hand because the Csángó used the Romanian term known to all collectors, rather than the little-known Hungarian term *hejgetés*, and on the other hand, the language of the folk custom itself gradually changed, and the Hungarian text of the greeting poem gradually became faded and obscured, the Romanian version becoming more and more dominant.[23] However, the Romanian *urare* or greeting is part of several different dramatic folk customs, and therefore it cannot be considered as a custom analogous to the Csángó *hejgetés*, and therefore the latter is not the equivalent of the Romanian *colindă* but a Hungarian analogue of the Romanian tradition called *pluguşor* [the little plough].[24]

Ethnographic Analysis of the Drum Types Used in the Traditional New Year Customs of the Moldavian Csángó

The typical instrument of the magical healing rituals of Siberian shamanism is the frame drum with a stick. The *colindă*, which is related to the Csángó *urálás*, is also found among the Romanians, but they use a friction drum as an accompanying instrument of the custom. Therefore, according to Vilmos Diószegi, the frame drum type with rattles that participants in the *urálás* ceremony use cannot originate from the neighbouring peoples, and he believes that it can be regarded as a vestige of the shaman drum.[25] It is questionable, however, whether the use of frame drums for *hejgetés* can really be historically related to the frame drums of the shamans, because the data indicate that the custom of *hejgetés* has been enriched with constantly expanding elements, while at the same time it has continuously abandoned earlier elements, and by analogy the instruments used at this folk custom may also show constant changes.[26] Further, the frame drums at the *urálás* are related not only to shamans' drums, because in large parts of the Balkans, frame drums with disc bells but beaten by hand are also widespread, their common name being the Arabic-derived *dayre*, which was used in the fourteenth century. Its first known representation is known from a fresco in the Zemen monastery in western Bulgaria.[27]

22 Ferenc Pozsony, "Újesztendőhöz kapcsolódó szokások a moldvai csángóknál", *Néprajzi Látóhatár* 3, nos. 1-2 (1994): 151.

23 Pozsony, "Újesztendőhöz kapcsolódó szokások a moldvai csángóknál", 152.

24 József Faragó, "Újév a moldvai Gyoszényban", in *Dolgozatok a moldvai csángók népi kultúrájáról*, ed. Ferenc Pozsony (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság Évkönyve 5, 1997), 288.

25 Vilmos Diószegi, *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben* (Budapest: Akadémiai 1958): 177–209.

26 Brauer-Benke, "A History and Typology of Folk Instruments of Music", 72–73.

27 Roksanda Pejović, "Balkanski narodni instrumenti", *Musicological Annual* 25 (1989): 82.

The rattle-frame drum type is also known in the Eastern Carpathians among Poles and Ukrainians, and in northern Moldavia the masked performers of the Romanian *jocul ursului* [bear dance] also accompany their performances with rattle-frame drums played by one-handed percussion.[28] In addition, the Csángó participants in the *urálás* ceremony in Gyoszény (Romanian Gioseni) call the drum beaters *masuka/másuka*, which is related to the Romanian *maciuc*.[29] The frame drums known as *búbny/buben/bubón*, which are also widespread among Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians, also have models with noise-making devices attached to the rim, similar to the iron rattles used on the drums of Siberian shamans, or with a handle attachment, single-handed percussion and thin, cross-shaped, bell-armed types, which are morphologically related to the types of frame drums used by the Csángó masked performers at the *hejgetés/urálás* ceremony.[30]

As a more distant ethnographic analogy, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa also have cross-bar, single-membrane-framed drums similar to Siberian shaman drums, which are similarly played with a one-handed mallet. In addition, among the Tonga people, the single-drum, cross-handled frame drums called *matshomane* are used to accompany exorcism ceremonies of the *gongondjela*.[31] Among the Pedi people, the same type of drum is used by local healer-magicians to cure headaches. Since comparative studies have shown structural and typological similarities that are not genetically related, it is likely that the need for single-headed, single-membrane-framed drums may have been generated by the way the drum was struck with a single mallet, because in its absence it would be very difficult to keep the drum from being struck hard with the mallet. Therefore, the morphological similarities between the types of frame drum with a lever handle can be explained not only by geographical and historical relationships, but also by the theory of *Elementargedanken*. Indeed, the single-drum, cross-bar frame drum type of the Csángó masked performers at the *hejgetés/urálás* is related in its construction to the shaman drums of the Inner Asian, Siberian and Arctic peoples, but it is also related to the cross-bar, single-drum frame drum types of the sorcerers of the South African peoples. Since the cross-stick, single-diaphragm frame drum type is also found in neighbouring Ukrainian and Belarussian ethnic groups, the presence of this drum type alone does not provide sufficient evidence to establish a historical link between the frame drum of the Csángó and the shaman drums used by related peoples in Siberia.

28 Tiberiu Alexandru, *Instrumentele muzicale ale poporului Romin* (Bukarest: ESPLA 1956): 34.

29 Faragó, "Újév a moldvai Gyoszényban", 302.

30 Brauer-Benke, "A History and Typology of Folk Instruments of Music", 73.

31 Percival Robson Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press 1968), 42.

Traditional Musical Ensembles of the Moldavian Csángó

The drums outfitted with cymbals that spread among the Moldavian Csángó after World War II may have been the forerunners of the brass drum types of military or fire-brigade bands, but we must also take into account the spread of the drum type among the neighbouring Moldovans and Hutsuls, which they began to use as a supplement to their small ensembles combining flute and *cimbalom* [hammered dulcimer] with violin, a combination originally consisting of three parts (*troitsa muzyka*). The origins of the *troitsa muzyka* as an orchestral form date from the eighteenth century, when ensembles of violin-cello (or double bass), and *cimbalom* became widespread in Red Ruthenia [Red Russia], Volhynia, Podolia and Galicia.[32] This suggests that the instrumental music of the Moldavian Hungarians until the period of Turkish dependence, i.e. until the mid-eighteenth century, was probably played with *tapan* drums, which can be found in the eastern part of the Hungarian-speaking region.[33] Then, after the partition of Poland in 1772, when the northern part of Moldavia became a province of the Habsburg Empire as Bukovina (Duchy of Bukovina), Jewish klezmer music ensembles of southern German origin specialised in providing complex accompaniment, and later Romani bands modelled on them began to spread, which could meet the requirements of complex dance accompaniment without percussion instruments.[34]

Their antecedents, based on historical research, are the stringed duet, a common instrument in the sixteenth to eighteenth century, which consists of *sotar* and *dutar* in much of the Middle East and throughout Inner Asia.[35] This string-playing duet, based on Bardun musical thinking and widespread during the Turkish occupation, may have been widespread in the areas occupied by the Turks, because the Pashas and the Beys took their Romani musicians with them everywhere to recite songs of valiant warriors and the Surah of Victory.[36] These Romani musicians were often taken prisoners and they also learned the Hungarian heroic songs. Although they were Romani musicians, they did not belong to the category of Gypsy Bands, which only later became widespread, because it already meant string ensembles with at least three members, complete with *cimbalom*.[37] The Gyimes (Romanian Ghimeș) and Csík (Romanian Ciuc) violin-*ütőgardon* duos belong to this oriental bordun-based small

32 Paul M. Gifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer: A History* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 118.

33 Brauer-Benke, "A History and Typology of Folk Instruments of Music", 67.

34 József Brauer-Benke, *Hangszerek és ideológiák* (Budapest: BTK Zenetudományi Intézet 2023), 157-158.

35 Jean During, "Power, Authority and Music in the Cultures of Inner Asia", *Ethnomusicology Forum* 14, no. 2 (2005):, 157.

36 Sándor Takáts, *Török–magyar énekesek és muzsikások: Rajzok a török világból*, vol. I (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1915), 420.

37 Bálint Sárosi, *Hangszerek a magyar néphagyományban* (Budapest: Planétás Kiadó 1998), 131.

ensemble, just as the Middle Eastern and Inner Asian fidula and lute duo may have been a precursor of the violin-and-cobza duo typical of the authentic folk music of the Moldavian Csángós. This may also be confirmed by the fact that there are descriptions of violin-cobza (or lute) ensembles from Transylvania as early as the end of the sixteenth century.[38] Indeed as early as 1905 it was believed that the violin-cobza pair could representa kind of ancient Hungarian dance accompaniment ensemble.[39]

Like the flute, *cimbalom* [hammered dulcimer] and violin trios of the neighbouring Hutsuls and the panpipe, violin and cobza trios of the Romanians, the Moldavian Csángó sometimes added some type of wind instrument, because in the 1930s the most frequently invited musicians at weddings were still violinists and cobza players, sometimes accompanied by a clarinetist, and in 1935 the young people of Pusztina (Romanian Pustiana) were still learning to dance to the sound of a flute and cobza.[40] Therefore, as can still be observed in rural Romani bands today, for whom urban experts on 'tradition' cannot define what is 'authentic', Romani bands are organised for complex dance accompaniment in such a way that there should be both melody-making and accompanying instruments and, what is more, within the traditional milieu there is no issue of 'authentic' versus 'non-authentic' instruments. For as early as the 1930s, it was observed that wealthier families would welcome a brass band accompanied by a drum.[41]

Then, after World War II, it became a widespread fashion to invite more musicians to weddings, ensembles that included violin, flute, cobza and, in the late 1950s, hammered dulcimer, double bass, drums and brass.[42] By the 1960s, the *cimbalom* and the keyboard harmonica had increasingly replaced the cobza, and changing musical tastes meant that it was no longer only the well-to-do who demanded the musical performance style provided by the brass band. The spread of the hammered dulcimer (now often the concert *cimbalom*) and the disappearance of the cobza can also be explained by the fact that the hammered dulcimer in Moldavian Csángó music played the same accompanying role as the cobza, similar to the role of the hammered dulcimer in the Romanian music of the Western Wallachia, in which the hammered dulcimer began to replace the cobza in the former violin-cobza instrumental pair.[43] This points to the fact that the accompanying instruments of dance music were constantly changing in the light of current fashion trends, since they are products of material culture,

38 István Pávai, *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje* (Budapest: Teleki László Alalpítvány 1993), 71.

39 Marián Réthei Prikkel, "A hajdútáncz", *Ethnographia* 16 (1905), 225–361.

40 Gyula Hankóczi, "Egy kelet-európai lantféle – a koboz", *Ethnographia* 99, nos. 3-4 (1988): 312.

41 Hankóczi, "Egy kelet-európai lantféle – a koboz", 320.

42 Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 3.

43 István Pávai, *Az erdélyi magyar népi tánczene* (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaságm 2012), 228.

unlike the more durable elements of intellectual culture, and thus less constant and therefore more responsive to changes in the environment.[44]

'Moldavian Orchestra Model' in Dance House in Budapest

The romantic ideology of the urban intellectuals in Budapest and the subculture of the defenders of heritage in Szeklerland, who are committed to 'Csángó rescue', is based on the assumption that the people living in a traditional culture have passed on their instruments to their descendants in unchanged form for centuries, following the traditions of their ancestors, and therefore only those from 'ancient and pure sources' are of real value.[45] For this reason, when the Budapest dance-house enthusiasts spread and 're-educate' the Moldavian dance orchestra model consisting of the flute (or *kaval*), violin, cobza, and drum – "a form of Budapest dance-hall ensemble" which they consider traditional – back to the Moldavian Csángó, they are in fact creating a pseudo-tradition. The creation of pseudo-traditions can also be observed in the case of the Szekler 'Csángó rescuers' based in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Romanian Sfântu Gheorghe) and organised by the Association of Moldavian Csángos, who try to banish the drum from the 'authentic' dance music of the Moldavian Csángos, but in their lessons based on flute music they also 're-teach' melodies that were not known at all in the village.[46] In Moldavia, as in other parts of the Hungarian-speaking region, the use of the flute was linked to pastoralism. Children who were in charge of guarding sheep or cattle were given a flute to keep them awake. The older shepherds played mostly for their own amusement, while the younger ones played dance tunes in the so-called *guzsalyas* and in the girls' spinning and sewing workshops at night. In some poorer villages or hamlets, flute-players were hired for the smaller dance parties if there was not enough money to hire Romani musicians. At folk music camps and festivals, organisers often include fiddlers and flutistsin combination, although they would never have played together on traditional occasions, because the two functionally different primary instruments greatly reduce each other's possibilities of variation. Furthermore, in the context of 'Csángó rescue' melodies are 're-taught' that were not known at all in the village.

The Case of the Female Flutist

The teaching of female flutists has also become a widespread practice, even though the flute, as a pastoral instrument, was considered a distinctly male instrument in traditional cultures, and thus closely gender deterimned. This is probably the reason why, although a large number of female flute players are

44 Jenő Barabás, *Kartográfiai módszer a néprajzban* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1963), 107.

45 Anca Giurchescu and Lisbet Torp, "Theory and Methods in Dance Research: A European Approach to the Holistic Study of Dance", *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 23 (1991): 2.

46 Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 14.

now able to join folk music courses or study folk music in higher education institutions, teachers are discouraged from teaching them to play the long flute, which is a highly controversial form of gender discrimination. However, this gender segregation is known worldwide, since, as Curt Sachs points out:

> *The gender of the player and the form of his instrument, or at least the interpretation of it, are interdependent. Since the magical function of more or less all primitive musical instruments is life, procreation, fertility, it is obvious that the life-giving role of either sex is manifested or reproduced in their shape or playing movement. The male instrument takes the form of the male sex organ, and the female instrument of the female sex organ. In the latter case, the addition of a fertilizing object is not far off.*[47]

The Case of Cobza Instrument

There is also a revived tradition observable in the spread of the cobza among the Moldavian Csángó, although the use of the instrument among the surrounding Romanians and Romanian Gypsies never completely disappeared, and the Romanians had already established folk-instrument schools in the 1950s to teach the playing of this instrument.[48] It was still popular among Hungarians living in Moldavia in the 1930s, but after the Second World War, in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, in Pusztina (Romanian Pustiana) the cobza was completely replaced by modern ensemble instruments.[49] Historical research shows that, despite the fact that the *koboz* was already in use in Hungary in the thirteenth century, it went out of use by the nineteenth century. However, the cobza in its present form is not related to the Turkish instruments of Inner Asia, because their bodies and necks are carved from the same block of wood, and therefore the Moldavian cobza is related to the Persian *barbat* and the Arabic *ʿoūd* and could only have spread in the region sometime after the eighteenth century.[50]

The cobza evolved from a melody-playing instrument to a rhythmic accompaniment instrument, and the violin-cobza duo may have developed in a similar way to the violin and accordion pair sometime during the eighteenth century. Further, just like pairs of musicians playing the violin and accordion, most of whom were of Romani origin, there are records of pairs composed of a male violinist and a female cobza player. Since the cobza's sectioned body, consisting of 5–7 wooden staves, and the curved neck, which is attached to the body of the instrument by tapping, is rather complicated, most of the instruments were made in small instrument-making workshops.[51] Such an in-

47 Curt Sachs, *The history of musical instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton 1940), 51.

48 Hankóczi, "Egy kelet-európai lantféle – a koboz", 324.

49 Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 3.

50 Brauer-Benke, "A History and Typology of Folk Instruments of Music", 335–336.

51 Hankóczi, "Egy kelet-európai lantféle – a koboz", 307.

strument-making workshop operated in the village of Szásznádas (Romanian Nadeș), where local craftsmen had been making cobzas on an industrial scale since 1862.[52] In addition, rural instrument-makers also made cobzas, and there are also scattered oral records of some cobzas having their bodies made by hollowing out a block of wood. Although no such old instruments have survived, a folk musician and folk instrument maker who took an active part in 'Csángó rescue' produced a number of such instruments which at first did not live up to expectations (the sound was not louder), but when fitted with gut strings they produced a good sound quality, and he then made several such carved-body cobzas for students at the Hungarian House in Pusztina (Romanian Pustiana).[53] It is important to stress, however, that the use of hollowed instrument bodies and gut strings is not a revival of an old tradition, but rather a sign of the musician's experimenting spirit. In a related context, the idea for the lid of a carved instrument body was inspired by a Romanian cobza from Bukovina, which, as far as we know, was not widespread in the region.[54]

Revival, Survival and Authenticity

Overall, as research in the 1980s shows, village instrument-makers of earlier periods also experimented with similar solutions, and some of them modified mandolins or tried to change the acoustic properties and appearance of their instruments by omitting the sound hole.[55] However, unlike in earlier periods, the adoption of these innovations no longer passes the 'test of community control', and on the whole the "Csángó rescue" activists disseminated instruments or melodies that had not existed in these forms in the localities concerned. A related source of much controversy is the traditional Moldavian cobza, because at the time of the instrument's spread to the dance halls in the late 1980s, no collections of original Moldavian cobzas were available. Therefore, musicians who became acquainted with the instrument often picked it up and played it using their musical skills based on other instruments that they had previously learned to play, and disseminated tuning and playing techniques that had not existed in traditional Moldavian cobza playing.[56] As a consequence, there are also opinions that, despite the fact that there are now a larger number of

52 Feodosia Rotaru, "Date istorice privind dezvoltarea meşteşugurilor din județul Bacău (sec. XVI-II-XX)", *Carpica* 41 (2012): 310.

53 Feraru "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 17.

54 The original cobza is now in the instrument collection of the Horniman Museum in London (ref: M1.1.57/2), and according to the information given there, it was made by Dumitru Clipit in Sucava County, Bukovina, around 1946.

55 Hankóczi, "Egy kelet-európai lantféle – a koboz", 308.

56 Mátyás Bolya, "Kobozjáték a mai táncházas gyakorlatban: Gyakorlati és elméleti útmutató", in *Moldvai hangszeres dallamok sültün, kobzon, hegedűn*, ed. Balogh Sándor (Budapest: Etnofon Kiadó 2001), 124.

Moldavian cobza collections available, mastering earlier playing styles is no longer considered essential due to their perceived simplicity.[57] Therefore, they are not considered as a basic principle to be followed even at the level of stage performances or even in education.

Because the folk musicians performing on stage are working to earn a living, they are no longer trying to satisfy the musical tastes of a small, traditional, local communities, but rather the needs of a much larger and perhaps less demanding audience. This broader audience typically values novelty over the preservation of traditional cultural expressions. However, these changes are less troubling for Moldovan Hungarians, who generally view the learning of instruments such as the flute and cobza, alongside Hungarian language lessons, as a way to reconnect with their nearly forgotten culture and resist the pressures of assimilation.whose main demand is for novelty, as opposed to the musical needs of those in traditional culture. [58] On the other hand, the attitude towards dances is much more critical, as both the older and younger generations say that the dances taught in the educational programme are often not authentic and therefore do not feel like their own.[59] The negative effects of the 'Moldovan' dance festivals in Budapest, which are uniform, have reached the Moldovan Csángó themselves and attracted the attention of folk dance research. The research line proposed by the folk dance researchers thus aims to study the composition of the dance repertoire and changes in dance life, taking into account economic, cultural and social changes at the level of each region and village.[60] In connection with this, a unifying process, viewed as a generally negative development, can also be observed in the field of the use of 'authentic' instruments. Local studies reveal that, there was no uniform instrumental tradition in Pusztina (Romanian Pustiana), for example, as the richer and poorer parts of the village show different traditions in instrument use and, not unrelated to this, in dances as well, showing both chronological and spatial variation.[61]

Overall, the review of the instrumental traditions suggests that the ambivalent process of 'Csángó rescue'. On the one handlocals view it as a way to preserve their Hungarian identity through the relearning of traditional culture. On the other hand, they neither claim nor recall with precision the specific instruments historically used in their village. With external support from Hungary and Szeklerland, locals are also adopting a unified instrumental culture that previously did not exist, reflecting trends similar to those in dance culture-trends that have no conection with historically localized traditions. In fact, the Romani musicians, often central to local musical traditions, were significantly

57 Tekauer, "A moldvai autentikus kobzolás szerepe a táncházmozgalomban", 32–34.

58 Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 14.

59 Ibid., 24.

60 Szőnyi, "A moldvai csángó magyar táncok funkcionális és formai-stiláris változásai", 186–187.

61 Feraru, "A moldvai csángó tánczene hangszerei", 5.

affected by these changes, as their use of the accordion was considered as non-authentic and led to their exclusion from events for a time.

The Impact of Multiculturalism and World Music

As a counterpoint, there is a new development: young musicians from Budapest, who play 'folk and world music' with a multicultural rather than national inspiration, regularly visit Moldova to collect, play and teach. Thanks to these mixed bands, which include locals and Budapesters alike, the traditional dance music is accompanied by flute, violin and cobza, but also by instruments such as double bass, saxophone and electric guitar, as in the 1960s and 1980s, and accordion is making a comeback.

Conclusion

In general, unlike their approach to dances, the Moldovan Csángó do not place much emphasis on using the exact instruments their grandparents played. Instead, they seek to educate young people through organized programs, encouraging them to play not the modern instruments of the 1980s and 1990s, but rather the instrumental ensembles of Budapest dance bands, which are regarded as 'Moldavian', to provide dance music. In this way, they want to contribute to the preservation of their Hungarian identity and serve the nascent desire to make a living from it by staying in their homeland, becoming a tourist destination, and preserving their culture. However, the difficulty of access to the region is still a major problem, and if this obstacle is removed by the development of highways and air travel, it is doubtful whether the need for a staged 'authentic culture' for tourism, which has created other problems in other parts of the world where this has been achieved, will remain a preferred demand in the future.[62] The question therefore remains whether later generations of a more modernized and prosperous Moldovan Csango culture will not feel humiliated by the need to dress in folk costumes and sing and dance to the accompaniment of 'authentic' instruments for the entertainment of tourists.

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SUMMARY

As a rule, survival traditions can be documented in such parts of a language area where traditional village communities are least exposed to modernisation. Since the Hungarians between the Eastern Carpathians and the Prut River, or Moldavian Csángós, were separated from Hungary and the rest of the Hungarian language area already during the Middle Ages and had lived among Romanians of a different language and culture as an isolated ethnic group, many archaic features survived in their folklore and material culture. Prior to the end of communist rule in Romania, research in Moldavia was difficult. However, from the 1990s onwards, many Hungarian ethnographers started fieldwork in the Moldavian Csángó settlements, mainly focusing on the religious life, the music, and the dances. In addition to the scientific research, an ideological trend also emerged, concerned with preserving the identity, language, and culture of Moldavia's Hungarians. Scholarly discourse designated this intervention coming from Hungary and Transylvania as 'Csángó rescue.' One might expect authenticity to be the priority of such a rescue operation. However, the definition of authenticity in the actual practice tends to become a political and cultural-historical issue rather than a scientific one. As can be documented from the 1990s onwards, dance houses, dance camps, and guest performances initiated after the regime change in the Romania have led to significant functional and formal-stylistic changes in Moldavian Csángó dances. Looking at the last two to three decades, we get the overall impression of a 'fashion folklorism' of Moldavian folk dance and folk music, which has been fostered by both local specialists and cultural organizers in Hungary. In this context, one can observe changes in the composition of the bands accompanying Moldavian dances that have largely determined the style and performance manner of dance music. In my article, I reviewed these changes concerning both the instruments and the ensembles. I also examined the reflexive effects of the Budapest dance houses on contemporary Moldavian dance music culture.

POVZETEK

Moldavski ljudski glasbeni instrumenti in ansambli skupnosti Csángó ter njihove spremembe s časovne, družbene in politične perspektive

Praviloma je mogoče preživetje tradicije dokumentirati v tistih delih jezikovnega območja, kjer so tradicionalne vaške skupnosti najmanj izpostavljene modernizaciji. Ker so bili Madžari med vzhodnimi Karpati in reko Prut, ali moldavski Csángós, že v srednjem veku ločeni od Madžarske in preostalega madžarskega jezikovnega območja ter so živeli kot izolirana etnična skupina med Romuni, ki so govorili drug jezik in imeli drugačno kulturo, se je v njihovi folklori in materialni kulturi ohranilo veliko arhaičnih značilnosti. Pred koncem komunističnega režima v Romuniji je bilo raziskovanje v Moldaviji težavno. Od 90. let 20. stoletja naprej, pa so mnogi madžarski etnografi lahko začeli s terenskim delom v moldavskih čangoških naseljih, kjer so se osredotočili predvsem na versko življenje, glasbo in plese. Ob znanstvenem raziskovanju se je pojavilo tudi ideološko motivirno prizadevanje za ohranjanje identitete, jezika in kulture moldavskih Madžarov. Znanstveni diskurz je to posredovanje iz Madžarske in Transilvanije poimenoval 'reševanje Csánga'. Pri takšni reševalni akciji bi pričakovali, da bo avtentičnost na prvem mestu. Vendar pa opredelitev avtentičnosti v praksi pogosto postane politično in kulturno-zgodovinsko vprašanje, ne pa znanstveno. Kot je

mogoče dokumentirati od devetdesetih let naprej, so plesne hiše, plesni tabori in gostovanja, ki so se začeli po spremembi oblasti v Romuniji, privedli do pomembnih funkcionalnih in formalno-stilističnih sprememb v moldavskih csángó plesih. Če pogledamo zadnji dve do tri desetletja, dobimo vtis 'modnega folklorizma' moldavskega ljudskega plesa in ljudske glasbe, ki so ga spodbujali tako lokalni strokovnjaki kot kulturni organizatorji na Madžarskem. V tem kontekstu lahko opazimo spremembe v sestavi glasbenih skupin, ki spremljajo moldavske plese in so v veliki meri določile slog in način izvajanja plesne glasbe. V svojem prispevku predstavljam te spremembe tako v zvezi z instrumenti kot z ansambli. Raziskujem tudi refleksivne učinke budimpeških plesnih hiš na sodobno moldavsko plesno glasbeno kulturo.

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JÓZSEF BRAUER-BENKE (Brauer-Benke.Jozsef@abtk.hu) studied ethnography, folklore, cultural anthropology, and African studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest from 1995–2000, and from 2001–2004 he completed the Doctoral Programme in European Ethnology at the same institution. His doctoral dissertation examined the history of Hungarian folk musical instruments. He has been a lecturer in the African Studies Programme at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest from 2003–2008, and has lectured at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music from 2008–2022. He currently holds an appointment as ethno-organologist and museologist at the Institute for Musicology in the Research Centre for the Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His book about by a typology and historical overview of the musical instruments of the Carpathian basin that was published in English translation in 2018. He is currently involved in comparative research into the history of European, Asian and African folk musical instruments.

O AVTORJU

JÓZSEF BRAUER-BENKE (Brauer-Benke.Jozsef@abtk.hu) je med letoma 1995 in 2000 študiral etnografijo, folkloristiko, kulturno antropologijo in afriške študije na Univerzi Eötvös Loránd v Budimpešti, med letoma 2001 in 2004 pa je na isti ustanovi zaključil doktorski študij evropske etnologije. V doktorski disertaciji je raziskoval zgodovino madžarskih ljudskih glasbil. Od leta 2003 do 2008 je bil predavatelj na programu afriških študij na Univerzi Eötvös Loránd v Budimpešti, od leta 2008 do 2022 pa je predaval na Akademiji za glasbo Franza Liszta. Trenutno je zaposlen kot etnoorganolog in muzeolog na Inštitutu za muzikologijo v Raziskovalnem centru za humanistične vede Madžarske akademije znanosti. Leta 2018 je izšel angleški prevod njegove knjige o tipologiji in zgodovinskem pregledu glasbil na območju Karpatov. Trenutno se ukvarja s primerjalnimi raziskavami zgodovine evropskih, azijskih in afriških ljudskih glasbil.