

PERSPECTIVES
IN RECONSIDERING
HISTORICAL SOURCES
OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

*22nd symposium of the ICTM (today ICTMD) Study
Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music*



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*eds. Pál Richter,
Gerda Lechleitner,
Dániel Lipták*



ELTE RCH Institute for Musicology
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MTA MAGYAR
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Fieldwork in Bátaszék (Tolna county): Lajos Kiss researcher and Mrs. Lázár Csobot interlocutor, 1953. Photo by Gyula Kertész, Nz 6301.

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Preface

**GERDA LECHLEITNER
AND PÁL RICHTER**

The present peer-reviewed collection of articles includes some of the contributions that were presented at the 22nd symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources (today's ICTMD Study Group on Sources and Archives for Music and Sound Studies), held in April 2018 in Budapest, Hungary. The symposium organized by Susanne Ziegler, Ingrid Åkesson, and Pál Richter strove to discover the role of actors and their relationships in the process of ethnomusicological works in a historical context, viewed from various perspectives.

The location of the conference was no coincidence, as one of the initiators and founders of the study group, established in 1968, was the Hungarian music historian, Gregorian chant and folk music researcher Benjamin Rajeczky.

The topic of the symposium, marking the 50th anniversary of the study group's foundation, was centered around "the inside and the outside", and sought to answer the question: "Who is the other?" Such a topic concerns the relationship between manifold perspectives and identities met in ethnomusicologists' work. Who were the scholars and who were the objects of study? What kinds of persons and groups were positioned as the "other" in ethnomusicological research? Such questions have been proposed for consideration and discussion.

Three different sub-topics emerged:

(1) Inside/outside in a historical perspective: in parts of the world, as in Hungary and other countries in Europe, ethnomusicologists studied the traditional culture(s) of their own area or country, and this is still being done. The question is how the underlying basic concepts and theories have changed over time. Changes in perspective have occurred, as shown by revival and post-revival movements or the professionalization of traditional music. Moreover, the study of religious music in folk music archives as well as the impact on concepts of nationality etc., evident by the emergence of different varieties of world music and crossover culture, turned out to be of interest.

(2) Inside/outside of a musical culture: throughout the history of ethnomusicology, mostly Western scholars often studied musics and culture others than their own. This applies to social class, nationality/ethnicity, other kinds of background, and representation. Otherwise, musicians study their own music making, questioning the results of different perspectives.

(3) Inside/outside an institution (archives, university, research institute): collections and archives of traditional and vernacular music are sometimes also institutions of research, carried out by their staff, who in this case can be regarded as insiders in relation to the knowledge of the material. In other cases, the research is conducted by university/academic scholars who are rather in a position as outsiders concerning the archival material. Such confrontation leads to the question of the advantages and disadvantages of being an “archival insider” and points out the implications for research.

The wide range of papers of the symposium was organized in three parts following the three sub-topics.

In the order of the studies published in this volume, the sub-topics appear in a mixed fashion: the contributions have been rather arranged according to the external and internal areas of interpretation of the individual fields, as well as the professional, historical, and national connections. Four studies dealing with Hungarian subject matter were placed at the beginning; they address the issues of ethnomusicological practice, the collection of folk music, the making of a folk musical publication marking a historical event, and the external and internal perspectives of a period's folk music and national traditions. The next five contributions focus on multi-ethnic, Roma, Turkish, and Kazakh case studies, while the remain-

ing three contributions examine possible external and internal behaviors both in the institutional environment (museums and archives) and in the evaluation of sources, from the perspective of individual actors.

The release of our volume has been delayed by several years, which was caused by a series of restructuring measures, financial difficulties, as well as the Covid-19 pandemic, i.e., due to both *external* and *internal* factors affecting the Budapest Institute for Musicology, which had taken on the publication. But as the saying goes, better late than never. Thanks to the perseverance of the editors and authors (*insiders*), readers and the interested parties (*outsiders*) can now finally peruse our book and read the studies it contains.

November 2025, Vienna–Budapest

AUTHOR

Imola V. Szűcs began her musical studies as a singer. She gained her first diploma in the church cantor department of the Baptist Theological Academy, and along with this studied solfège, music theory and choral conducting at the Music College in Miskolc. Her graduation dissertation was on the mutual influences of folksong and church songs. As an MA student in the Musicology department of the Liszt Academy she wrote her dissertation on the operatic performance history of Bluebeard's Castle. Her chief spheres of interest are the history of opera, the influence of church folk songs on folksong and the use of folk sources in later examples of composed music. At present she is working at the Institute for Musicology of the ELTE Research Centre for the Humanities (ELTE HTK Zenetudományi Intézet), and she is teaching music history and folk music at the Leo Weiner High School of Music.

ABSTRACT

What did it mean to be an insider or an outsider in the field of ethnomusicological research in the 19th and 20th centuries? This presentation will examine this question by comparing two manuscript songbooks written between 1820 and 1840. One of these manuscript songbooks was prepared with the intention of a folk song collection. The same issue is presented by manuscript songbooks sent to the Folk Music Research Group in 1969, and by the Folk Music Research Group's professional collections. The presentation is aimed at showing the challenges by today's ethnomusicologic and the possible answers to the present research problems.

KEYWORDS

ethnomusicology, 19th, 20th, insider, outsider

Inside and Outside of Ethnomusicology in the 19th and 20th Centuries in Hungary

IMOLA V. SZŰCS
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AT THE BEGINNING OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN HUNGARY

In Hungary, the practice of collecting folk songs can be traced back to 1782, when the first call for collection was published in *Magyar Hírmondó* by Miklós Révai (Fig. 1).

This invitation was followed by several other ones, but they practically passed without results. The first call to bring some results was in the paper *Hasznos Mulatságok* in 1817 and 1818, and subsequently, the paper began publishing submitted texts (Paksa 1988:10). The term *pór-dal* (peasant song), *köz-dal* (common song) first appeared there. By these terms, they meant songs “in which the common people expressed themselves, their national interests, desires, feelings.” (Paksa 1988:11). At the beginning, collecting was restricted to lyrics (Paksa 1988:11). The real turning point came with the foundation of the Hungarian Scholarly Society in response to a magnanimous donation by Count István Széchenyi. At the statutory meeting of the Society in 1831, a resolution about the collection of folk songs was passed. “This intention of the Accademia,” János Erdélyi wrote in the preface to the *Hungarian Folk Songs and Tales*, “was strongly encouraged by the authorities, too.” (Erdélyi 1846:6). More and more people put down the lyrics and music of what was then perceived as folk songs. Among the notated manuscripts, a new group of sources appeared in the 1830s: the manuscripts created in response to the Scholarly Society’s call to collect folk songs.

Which brings us to the question: Who can be seen as an insider and who as an outsider in the period around the founding of the Hungarian

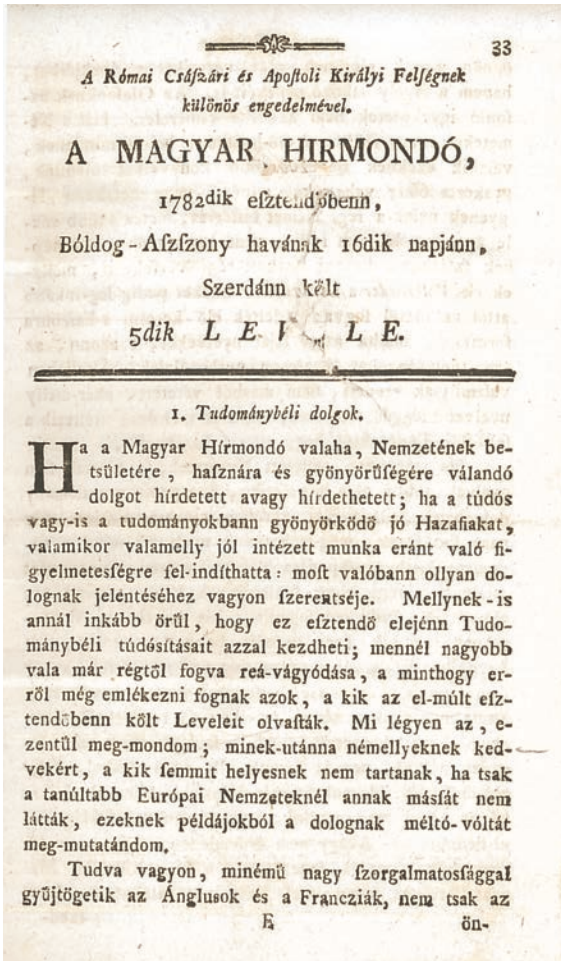


Figure 1. The first call for collection
in Magyar Hírmondó, 1782

ence was inevitably tied to the emancipation of the Hungarian language, in contrast to the German and Latin culture of the country's ruling class. This makes it clear why Mindszenty advocated for the writing of Hungarian songs in the following lines. Mindszenty himself was an accomplished composer, and he also supported the initiative to elevate the Hungarian folk song to the stage. It is not only his anticipation of the later concept of folk song that shows him as an early insider type, but also makes him one of the first (or perhaps the very first) of genuine folk song collectors. "Like Dugonics, who raked together the parables, I also collected the folk songs from inhabitants of diverse areas," most of them in Upper Hungary (Mindszenty 1832a:5).

Academy of Sciences and the advent of folk song collection in Hungary? The writers of the mentioned new source group must be named as the first insiders. Outstanding among them was Dániel Mindszenty, who attached his essay on folk songs and their significance to his submission to the Academy, too (Fig. 2).

"When you take the songs of the 'people,' and especially those that are sung by a peasant girl or a lad staggering home from the pub howling on the way, separately: the ear of a musician does not find so much refinement, grace, nourishment in them" than in the pieces of great classical composers, he began. Further down, he continues: "These"—the folk songs, that is—"have their origin with the peasant ('pór') class," which means he used the later clarified concept of "peasant music" at a time when there were widely diverse ideas about the folk song (Mindszenty 1832a:1).

In his paper, he also touches on the significance of collecting folk songs, which he found in the revival of vernacular culture. At the time, the struggle for the country's independence

1831. XXII. 189.
 A népdalok gyűjteményje ügyében.
 Hasonló több ízben olvastam a felszólítást, hogy
 bár valaki találkozna, ki a népdalokat örököző
 seni, megvallom, nem hiszem villana keblembe, hogy
 tán valakora művel is bírhatunk oly gyűjteményt,
 minővel régóta dicsérik a külföld; hanem mind
 ezig nem árada oly hazafi, ki eme virágatlan
 mezőre indulni akart volna.
 Ha az ember külön vepi a nép dalait, s kíván
 azokat, mellyeket egy falusi gardaleány, vagy a
 csapellból kúrgongatva kara ballegő legény
 oda lételet: a hangmivépi fél nem találomni;
 kellemet, bajt, s táplálékos beindít, mint Rossini,
 Cherubini, Weber, s egyébél zene-darabjaiban; sőt
 ezt a művészet sáros rendpere után isélve
 akkor sem találomni-meg, ha valamennyit egy lo-
 szoniba fiz-őve. A hovi dalokat egészen más
 szempontból kell tekinteni, mint a mesterség, s
 leányjeit, hogy érdemöl maga fényjében kitünkeppen.
 Külön a fél megelvre ides vagy keserű érelemlenél
 vidul, sorong, s dagad; alarabban is bizonyos kan-
 góra fakad, s ha az indulat legfőbb része taga,
 ezen hangok mindegy rendes alalban solognát
 nyelvére, mellyektől az vagy frónon zengvény támas;
 hozzá járulhatván olykor a művészet, pallérozó kére
 az efféle ihletés által sötémese kiterjedési darab
 származhatna. A muresida zema polzis; amabban
 egy fejszeti. Ki indulatját az ügyes mester, mint emelben,
 s mind a lottóval-külömböző módon ugyan - a barasság,
 peresét, könyömlét karag, szanarozás s at tözetet
 telébeszethei a halgatói lelkeben. Mind a lottóval val
 zót az üdőtörni, valamint változó azon nép. jellemé,
 mellyel eredetöl vepis. Az ömerekkel s csinosodás
 gyarapodása, az elelem s foglalatosság, változása, a
 sánsálosdás, véallat egyelánt folytat bi e sziv képi
 zó mesterséget emelkedésébe, vagy hanyatlásába.
 Közönséges vélemény, hogy a mokrési gyűjtemény
 után komonul-él a magyar nemzet melódiaja.

Figure 2. Beginning of Dániel Mindszenty's essay about folk songs

The written music of Mindszenty's work was lost, but Zoltán Kodály found it at an auction in 1941 and restored it to the manuscript collection of the Academy of Sciences (Kodály 1943:3-4). "88 original Hungarian songs for the fortepiano and with guitar accompaniment as a supplement to the collection of national songs by Dániel Mindszenty." (Mindszenty 1832b). (Fig. 3).

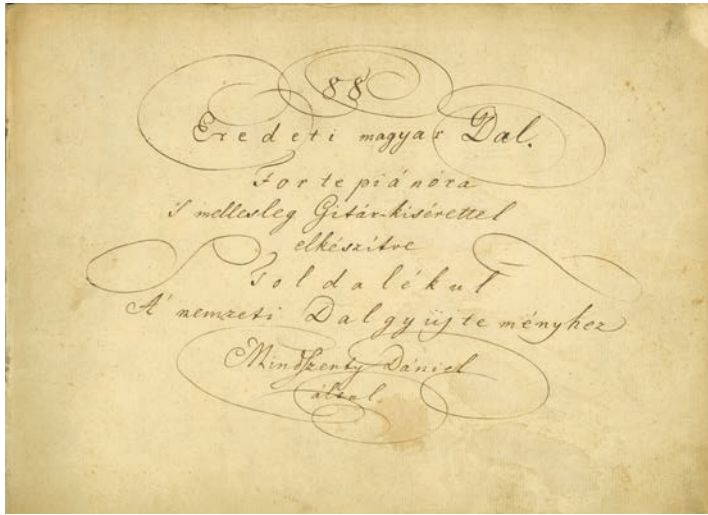


Figure 3. The title page of Dániel Mindszenty's collection

The book of music also includes a long introduction, in which he writes about the three-part structure of the work. The first includes “[s]ongs directly from the mouth of the common people as they were born by the heat of the moment—without embellishment, and folk songs written by some of our writers and spread far and wide,” the second part includes songs whose authors were unknown but he deemed more artistic, and the third part contained “more nicely tailored songs,” “most by our famous writers or from books” which “deserved public acclaim” (Paksa 1988:25).

The introduction makes it clear that although the term *folk song* is used by Mindszenty in today’s sense of the word. The material in his book is musically diverse. When you leaf through the manuscript, the categories are not easy to tell apart, as he himself did not differentiate them clearly. There are only a few songs under the heading “soldiers’ songs” that are clearly marked off at the end of the volume (Mindszenty 1832b:45); he failed to indicate which ones he collected himself and where.

What differentiates his manuscript from any other contemporary outsider’s work? Comparing his work with another song collection for private use from 1836 sheds light on the question. The songs collected by István Márkus, a Calvinist law student studying in Pápa (Márkus 1836), are well suited for comparison because, as the number of patriotic songs in the collection reveals, the writer was fuelled by the same enthusiasm as Mindszenty for the compilation of his work.¹ The two follow an almost

¹ The Márkus manuscript is kept in the National Széchényi Library.

identical format: songs are numbered serially, and are followed by a table of contents. The most striking feature is that out of István Márkus's 237 songs, only 28 are notated, in contrast to Mindszenty's collection, which has music throughout. (Fig. 4).

	Dániel Mindszenty 1832	István Márkus 1836
Number of songs	88	237
Songs with sheet music	88 (100%)	28 (12%)
Non-Hungarian/macaronic texts	0	4 (1,5%)
Data in the Stylistic and Typological System of the Hungarian Folk Songs in The Folk Music Archives	69 (78%)	14 (1,5%)
Songs in folk use	10 (8,8%)	3 (1%)

Figure 4. Comparative table of the contents of Mindszenty's and Márkus's collections

Eight of these 28 are the first eight songs in the book, then 19 notated songs in a row are grouped together at the end of the first third. There is one more, numbered 222, almost at the very end. Presumably, he wrote down the music for the songs which he did not know well or were new to him as a note to himself. This theory is supported by the fact that the very first song has three staves instead of one, for the three parts of a chorus (Márkus 1836:1-2). At one point, he also indicates the origin: song No. 59 is "Spring morning" by Szilvásy—the Pannonhalma organ player János Szilvásy's work "Spring morning". The title is followed by the upper part of each movement of the cantata with the names of the characters. The 19 songs with music in the first third of the book have one or two stanzas, sometimes also marked where the lyrics would continue, as they indeed do a few pages later. By contrast, Mindszenty, who meant his book to be published by the Academy, attached almost the entire lyrics to the music of each song. The exception is "Every day, every day you must live on good wine," of which only the first Hungarian stanza is given, along with a remark: "this is usually sung in any language in merry company" (Mindszenty 1832b:40). In István Márkus' book, there are Latin and sometimes macaronic texts, too, while there are none in Mindszenty's.² The Calvinist law student also included a song from his school: "Be warmly welcome, our dear guest," which was sung to Count Károly Eszterházy

² Macaronic text: Mixed-language text, for example, the lines of verse are in Hungarian or Latin language changing.

when he visited his alma mater. Márkus must have been dissatisfied with it because he remarked: “He is not worth it” (Márkus 1836:228). István Márkus included several songs translated from German, such as “Close to the beloved” or “Henrik is resting next to his new spouse,” while Mindszenty omitted these.

The ratio of genuine folk songs in the two books can be inferred from the *Stylistic and Typological System of the Hungarian Folk Songs in the Folk Music Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Szendrei-Dobszay 1992) and from Katalin Paksa’s work titled *Hungarian folk music research in the 19th century*. The comparison must obviously include the songs without music in István Márkus’ collection, too, otherwise the comparison will be distorted. The *the Stylistic and Typological System* of folk songs includes folk tunes “in the broad sense,” that is, tunes that did not originate among the peasants, but are popular in their circles, too. Katalin Paksa tried to trace all songs in use among the peasantry, together with the ratio of genuine peasant songs. None of the latter can be found in either work, yet the table of comparison speaks volumes. The ratio of tunes from the two books included in the *Stylistic and Typological System*, that is to say, the ratio of melodies in peasant usage, clearly shows the difference between the intentions of the two writers. Hardly any item in Márkus’s work is also included in the *Type Catalogue*, except for one, “The wind blows cold eastward from Vienna,” to which Zoltán Kodály added a collected version (Márkus 1836:2) (Fig. 5).

By 1832, sufficient material for two volumes had been accumulated in the Academy, but there was no consensus on whether the publication should be for the education of the common people or for scholarship (Paksa 1988:15). In the first case, the songs, including popular art songs, would have to be published in a somewhat edited form to be pleasing for the general audience; in the latter case, everything would be kept in original forms, possibly with notated music. Finally, the collection *Hungarian Folk Poetry* was published 15 years later, and in line with the first goal, it only contained lyrics. The discourse about the material to be collected, the definition of the folk song, and the methods of collecting and publication was continued throughout the entire 19th century (Paksa 1988:15).

ON THE WAY OF PROFESSIONALISM

“The first collectors could not have achieved scientifically satisfactory results even if they had wanted to, because the most important device, the phonograph was still missing,” Bartók wrote in his paper *Why and How Do We Collect Folk Music* exactly a century after István Márkus’ songbook

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"48 as."

Pilismarót (Kertsgom),
1922. II. 22. K. Z. megré.
Pintér Bálint
57 é.

♩ = 112. - 116. Poco rubato.

1. Beis vá - ros - tól nyu - got - ról ke - let - re,
Bá - ma - tot hoz a má - gyar nem - zét - re,
hi - de - gin fúj a szél,
mert vé - le fel - hó - kél,
Héj, Beis vá - ros - tól, hin - né - e va - la - ti,
Er - ed (mogy - nyi ma - gyar víz) (om - la - ti.
be sók on - tól ti.

2. De - visem Pest alá a kömnyet,
Pest alá el - visem az "
Kévisem Belgradra
ell. - ta,
Haq? arassár azoi videret,
Kér ott elhullánár.

3. Duna, Duna, karánár siveré,
be sóvozt megáradt - - -

4. Duna, váed mért olyan reserü, s árdod
mért van tele?
Mert Pozsonnál sár reserü tömnyü
ömlöt abla bele.

15.0630/1
B

Figure 5. "The wind blows cold eastward from Vienna"
from Zoltán Kodály's folk songs collection

(Bartók 1936:4). He laid down the basic principles of professional folk music collecting still regarded as valid to this day. He argued that "descriptive music folklore must be followed by comparative music folklore," which requires lots of data (Bartók 1936: 5). It is forbidden to collect from

gentlefolk, because they do not sing the peasant (folk) repertoire. The personal information of the informants must be registered: age, position within the village, and financial standing, whether he/she is said to be a good singer in the village, whether others, too, know the song, which is their favourite song and why, and from whom they learnt it. Does a custom or dance usually go with the tune? If yes, the custom must be described, the dance named, and its movements should be written down, if possible. Who provides the music for the dance? Do people sing it while the musicians play? Does everybody sing, or just certain people, and who? What term is used to refer to the song? “Evidently, each tune connected to every custom in every village should in theory be described in that much detail,” Béla Bartók wrote, and immediately added that all these guidelines were impossible to follow (Bartók 1936:8–15). Zoltán Kodály’s 1922 folk song base-sheets show that long before Béla Bartók described the principles of folk music collecting in 1936, they had already been followed by professional folk music collectors for at least 14 years. The name and age of the informant, the place and date of collection, and the name of the researcher were never omitted (Figure 5). From the time of Dániel Mindszenty, the Academy had made great strides forward in folk music research.

What about the outsiders? Let us look at an example in the Archives of the Institute of Musicology in Budapest. In 1969, a volume of 1342 tunes arrived at the Folk Music Research Group addressed to assistant researcher Imre Olsvai. A retired officer and music teacher from Baja, Bálint Molnay, sent in this collection upon some external encouragement (Molnay 1969). A short biography and a letter were attached to the collection, revealing that he mainly collected in the 1930s, in the isolated farmsteads around Szentes. He also touched upon his method of collection: he only notated a song when he had heard the singer sing it several times and had made sure he/she always sang it in the same way. “In my experience, many elderly Hungarians would sing a song differently each time, as they had no musical ear,” he wrote and apologised that unfortunately he had not written down who sang and when; he could only recall that it was in the 1930s and the singers were old people from the farmsteads. When he wrote the letter and submitted his collection, he must have already read Bartók’s study. He also noted in his letter that there were maybe 15 songs that had not been written down earlier (Fig. 6).

Molnay’s book demonstrates that he had taken enormous care to write out the fair copy. At first glance, it looks like the collections of the 1840s–1860s: each tune is written out in a numbered stave with the words of one stanza under it. What differentiates Molnay’s work is the lack of a table of contents or an index. The section with music is followed by several blank pages before the section with further stanzas of lyrics begins.

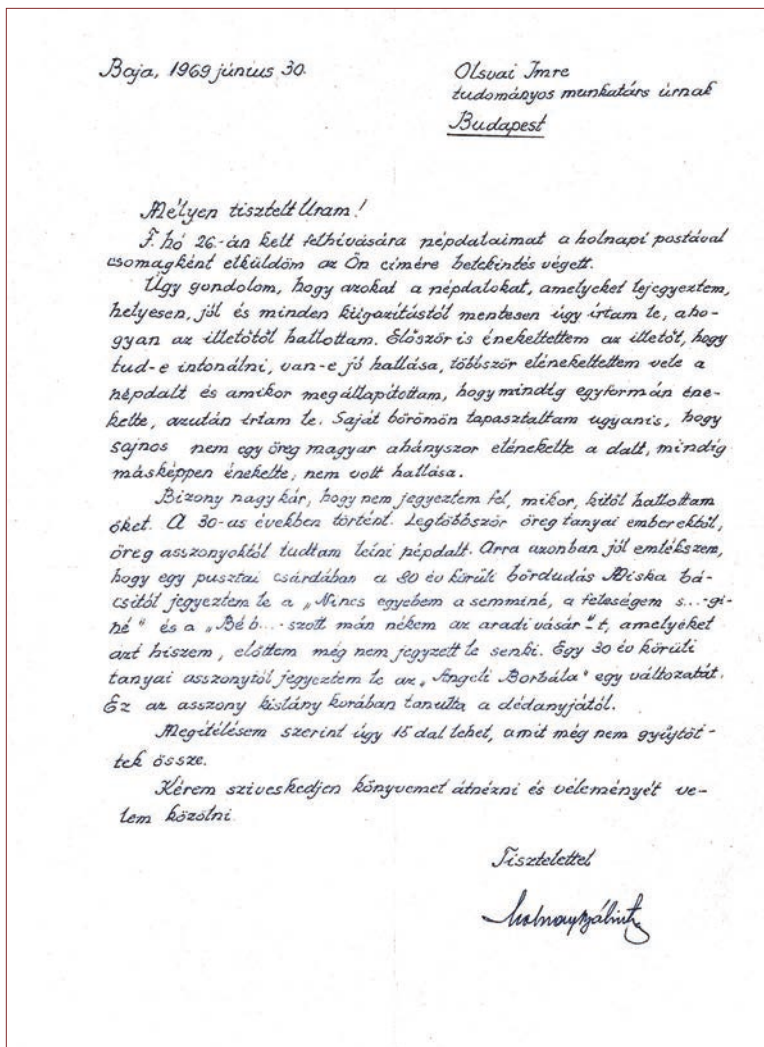


Figure 6. Bálint Molnay's letter to Imre Olsvai

It is possible that he intended to continue with other songs. The sequence of the tunes is somewhat chaotic: blocks titled “Old-style folk songs,” “New-style folk songs,” and “Game songs” alternate. The first song after opening the book is a melodic relic by Fülöp Pominóczki from 1520, with the name and date written above the song, which obviously could not have been collected by Molnay (Molnay 1969:1). At times, a source can be clearly identified because the sequence of songs is the same as in the book he copied from. For instance, numbers 92–93 were clearly copied from Bartók and Kodály's *Transylvanian Hungarians: Folk songs* (Figs. 7–8).

91. *Andante.* *Kézai (Székely m.)*
 Pó - ka ha - nek e - se - déz - nek, ha - ra ré - né, ná - ma

92. *Poco rubato.* *Szerelmes (Bukovina)*
 Sze - rel - mes vi - rág, sze - rel - mes vi - rág.

93. *Grave.* *Lengyel (Székely m.)*
 Egy asszony-nak va-lis három fi-gy-a. Szerelmes virág, szerelmes virág.
 Nincsen annál szebb kincs, kinek szebb kincs. Nincsen, nincsen, nincs.

Figure 7. Folksongs copies from Bartók and Kodály's *Transylvanian Hungarians: Folk songs in Molnay's collection*

19 2. *Poco rubato. J. es. es.*
 Szo - mo - ru fia - fi - nok
 Har - minc - há - rom á - ga,
 Ar - ra ré - a szál - lott
 Har - minc - há - rom pá - va.

2. Ki szébe, ki kékbe,
 Ki földig fehére
 Csak az én éldéssem
 Tisztá feketébe.

3. Szőlőttem vóna,
 Széktem bálizni,
 Egy ilyen ifiat
 Mágasmeríteni.

18 3. *Házasító dal.¹⁾*
Tempo giusto.
 Egy asszony-nak va - lis három fi - gy - a.
 Sze - rel - mes vi - rág, sze - rel - mes vi - rág.
 Nincsen annál szebb kincs, kinek szebb kincs.
 Nincsen, nincsen, nincs.

2. Hármán ülnek vala három ablakba:
 Szerelmes virág, szerelmes virág.
 Nincsen annál szebb kincs, kinek szebb kincs.
 Nincsen, nincsen, nincs.

¹⁾ L. Krisz, Vadászák, 245. sz.
 Lengyelfalva, (Útvárhely vm.) 1908. Orbán Ákosné. Mus. F. 476. sz.
 Vikár, lej. Bartók.

Iszteneigita, (Bukovina) 1914. Varda Balbina, 50 éves. F. 186. sz. - Kodály.

Figure 8. The same songs in Bartók and Kodály's *Transylvanian Hungarians: Folk songs*

The songs are, however, mixed up: perhaps the collection had other goals in music pedagogy, or in growing a repertoire, as suggested by the tunes notated from No. 104 to No. 106, which are variants of the ballad *Bad wife*, copied out from different publications and also known in two adaptations by Zoltán Kodály. The first challenge in studying Bálint Molnay's collection was not the lack of data but filtering out the copies. Similarly to Dániel Mindszenty's book, it is difficult to ascertain what was collected by the author and what was copied. Researchers must know not only the material of published volumes, but also the classifications of different folk song arrangements. This knowledge is indispensable today for filtering out revival data.

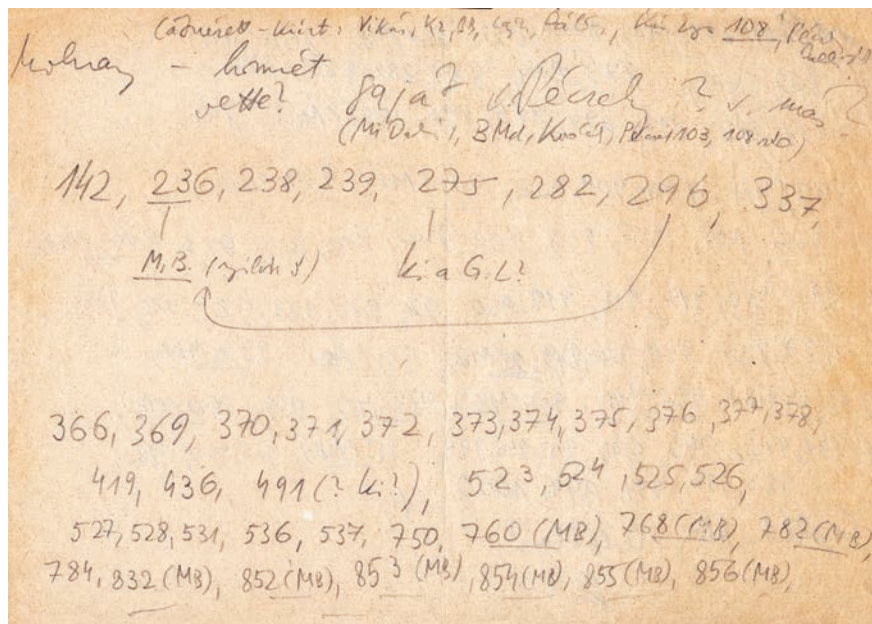


Figure 11. Molnay's serial numbers noticed by Imre Olsvai

He picked a total of 161 tunes out of the 1,342, noting for himself that 69 had initials, 60–80% were in the popular style, 12% were ballads, and 8% were folk songs. At this point, he abandoned the work, perhaps because there were too many unanswered questions or perhaps because he was diverted by other engagements from this collection deemed of lesser importance. The posthumous estate documents do not reveal which were the 15 tunes meant by Bálint Molnay as songs not yet notated earlier. A further project that has not been completed yet should be to collate the 161 tunes selected by Olsvai, particularly those with the initials MB, with the data in the folk music archives of the Academy of Sciences. Some data are lost for good: the performer's identity, age, and social status cannot be ascertained any more. What can safely be established is that although outsiders have covered a long road over the past one hundred years, the distance between academic and amateur folk music research has increased greatly.

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ABSTRACT

Although sound or film recordings of folk music, transcriptions, and fieldwork reports can be treated as faithful documentation, in some particular cases, the influence of ethnomusicological concepts on the collector is noticeable in them. In this study, some instances of this phenomenon are presented from Hungarian instrumental folk music. This study focuses on the collected folk music materials and on the historical sources of a widely known tune to further explore their relationship to urban music. The popularity of this melody often elicited peculiar value judgments from collectors, traditionalists, as well as from researchers.

KEYWORDS

folklorisation, popular art songs, folk dance research, research history, verbunk

Inside and Outside: The Impact of Collectors on Ethnomusicological Field Data

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Inside and outside: one of the diverse manifestations of this dichotomy in ethnomusicology is present in the relationship between collectors and informants. The former sees folk culture from a different perspective than the latter, even if they come from the same village where they do

fieldwork. Collectors, whether they are academically trained or not, usually assume the attitudes of ethnomusicologists, or at least they are impressed by them. Although sound or film recordings of folk music, transcriptions, and fieldwork reports can be treated as faithful documentation, the influence of ethnomusicological concepts is sometimes noticeable in them. In early fieldwork, for instance, collectors were forced by limited technical and financial possibilities to be strongly selective about what to record. As a result, they preferred tunes they considered archaic, valuable, or important, despite the fact that, as a whole, these tunes were not representative of the contemporary local repertoire. Melodies that were popular in urban music were typically overshadowed by older folk song styles, even if they had become a part of the folk tradition in the twentieth century. In some cases, the collectors' perspectives considerably affected the results of fieldwork. In this study, some peculiar instances of this phenomenon are selected from Hungarian instrumental folk music, focusing on a widely known tune whose popularity often evoked a particular value judgment from collectors, members of folk revival movements, or researchers, influencing fieldwork as well as writings in ethnomusicology.

HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE *RITKA BÚZA*

The song, mostly known with the lyrics beginning *Ritka búza, ritka árpa, ritka rozs* [Sparse wheat, sparse barley, sparse rye], was one of the most widespread Hungarian popular art songs favoured by the educated elite as well as by the lower strata of society in the twentieth century (Fig. 1).

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Ritka búza, ritka árpa...

Méry Béla.

Kedélyesen.

Ének. 

Zongora. 













Figure 1. The *Ritka búza* in Béla Méry's song collection [1895]

Some of its written sources have been collected by the composer and ethnomusicologist Zoltán Kodály, who integrated historical data into his folk song collection, held in the Institute for Musicology, Budapest. His goal was to learn the origins of the folk tunes, and the earliest sources were soon introduced in his study on a nineteenth-century collection (Kodály-Gyulai 2011:62). However, to research not only the origin of the tune but also its transmission, which resulted in its extreme popularity, later sources could also provide valuable information. In the first part of this study, I introduce the written sources of the tune, including those from Kodály's collection marked with the corresponding KR numbers,¹ supplemented with further examples with key roles in the tune's history from the second half of the nineteenth century (see Appendix).

The first data of this type of melody come from the first half of the nineteenth century. The lyrics beginning with *Ritka búza, ritka árpa, ritka rozs*, closely linked to the tune in the twentieth century, cannot be found in the early sources, while different variants of the melody occur, suggesting an already existing living tradition at the time. The earliest dated source comes from the handwritten song collection for voice and piano, compiled between 1832 and 1843 by the Calvinist church organist István Tóth, who worked in a small town on the Great Hungarian Plain. Compared to the melodic variant ornamented with melismas, instrumental character transitions, and triplets, the lyrics beginning with *Délig szántok apádnak* [I will plough for your father until noon], the second half of which is a predecessor of the corresponding part of the *Ritka búza*, are rather vernacular (Fig. 2). A variant of these lyrics,

Dé - lig szán - tok A-páád - nak Dél - u - tán meg A - nyá - ád - nak

Dé - lig vesd be A - pá - á - dét, dél - u - tán meg A-nyá-á-dét.

Héj Lil - la Lil - la Lil - la e - szem az A - nyá - dat,

Ha egy ki - csit na - gyobbvol - nál Majd meg csó - kol - ná - lak.

Figure 2. The tune from István Tóth's manuscript collection

1 The KR-numbers refer to the place of a data in Kodály's systematic catalogue, available online at <http://db.zti.hu/kr/index.htm>. In some cases, I could not find the original manuscript or issue to which a particular data in Kodály's collection refers, therefore the corresponding data listed in the Appendix may be insufficient.

more directly indicating obscenity, appears with a variant of the tune in the folk song collection of the Hungarian poet János Arany (1817–1882), who notated the songs of his childhood and youth much later in 1874.

The popularity of *Ritka búza* around the middle of the century is reflected by several pieces of art music, often from foreign composers, in which well-known Hungarian melodies were arranged. The titles of these instrumental pieces do not refer to any lyrics, suggesting that the melody might have been popular as an instrumental tune, of which a humorous variant could have been the mentioned song. The melody occurs in the Trio part of *Magyar Mars* [Hungarian March] by Franz Morelli (Fig. 3). Another example, also with a march character, is Franz Jüllig's *Ungarische*

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the Trio section of 'Magyar Mars' by Franz Morelli. The score is written for piano and is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It consists of five systems of music. The first system is marked '2^{da} Trio.' and begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The melody in the right hand is characterized by eighth-note patterns and rests. The bass line provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development. The third system features a section marked with a forte (f) dynamic, showing more complex chordal textures. The fourth system returns to a piano (p) dynamic. The fifth system concludes the piece with a 'Marcia Da Capo.' marking, indicating a repeat of the march section.

Figure 3. Ferenc Morelli: *Legújabb pesti báléji virányok. Magyar Mars*

National Melodien, published in Vienna (Fig. 4), and one can be found in the series of piano pieces for children based on popular tunes edited by István Bartalus. In *French Quadrille*, based on Hungarian national melodies and published in Graz under the name of F. Moszonyi, the first half of the melody appears in the maggiore middle part of the No. 3, *Poule* transformed into 6/8 time, according to the corresponding dance type of the ballroom dance cycle. The diversity of the early variants is manifested in various elements, for instance, the rhythm of the melismas can be dotted or steady, the instrumental character ornaments are elaborated in different ways, and differences can be detected in the melodic line.

The image shows a page of musical notation for a piano piece. At the top, it is labeled 'Marschmässig.' and 'No. 2.'. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The first system shows the piano part (p) and the forte part (f). The second system continues with the forte part (ff) and includes first and second endings. The third system features a piano part (p) with tremolo markings and pedal instructions. The fourth system continues with piano and tremolo markings. The fifth system concludes with a forte part (ff). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Figure 4. Franz Jüllig: *Ungarische National-Melodien für das Piano-Forte. No. 2*

In the later history of *Ritka búza*, its appearance in a folk play (in Hungarian: *népszínmű*) seems to be important not only for the spread of the song in general but also for the lyrics and the crystallisation of a certain melodic variant. The folk play was a popular genre in Hungary, particularly from the 1840s to the end of the century, related to the contemporary movement of nation-building and the efforts to create national unity. The story of these works often takes place in a town or a village and reflects on actual social or political problems, while the music consists of simple arrangements of popular melodies (Kim-Szacsvai 2012:102-115). The tune analysed here can be found in the first musical number of the folk play *Ágnes asszony* [Mistress Agnes], first played in 1879, written by Sándor Lukácsy and composed by Gyula Erkel. The most famous songs of the work were published by Elek Erkel, the brother of the composer, arranged for voice and piano (Fig. 5). The lyrics beginning with *Ritka, ritka, ritka búza ritka rozs* first appeared in this work.

Rit-ka rit-ka rit-ka bú-za rit-ka rozs Rit-ka rit-ka kis-lány ta-ka-ros
 Lám az e-nyém ta-ka-ros Ki-csit a-la-csony nem ma-gos
 Hej kis-lány, kis-lány, kis-lány, csó-ko-lom a kis szá-dat
 Ha egy ki-csit na-gyobb vol-nál mind-járt meg-csó-kol-ná-lak.

Figure 5. The *Ritka búza* from the folk play *Ágnes asszony*

Several later song collections, such as the ones by Béla Méry or Sándor Huber, as well as the piano piece by Anton Faulwetter, contain a close variant of the tune to the one in *Ágnes asszony*. Moreover, the folk play was sometimes mentioned as the original. In general, *Ritka búza* proves to be much less variable in the later written sources that include piano pieces or song collections, some of which were published several times, than before *Ágnes asszony*. Some commercial records have been preserved from the beginning of the twentieth century which feature popular Gypsy bands, singers accompanied by the piano, or military bands performing the song.²

2 E. g., *Ritka búza, ritka árpa*. Performed by Béla Berkes Jr and his Gypsy band (“Diadal” Record, 53403/D 1066); several records by Imre Pintér, the singer of the Folk Theatre (Odeon Record, H-661/No. 5302, Lyrophon 6031 U/No. 6031; Favorite Record,

The melodic variants which survived on the early gramophone disc recordings show a popular tradition that may also be related to the folk play. Further recordings witness the long-term popularity of the tune in urban Gypsy music; from the period between the two world wars, for example, there are recordings from Imre Magyari Sr and Jenő Farkas, and from Sándor Lakatos and Gyula Toki Horváth from the 1950s and 1960s.³

Variant groups can be detected, however, among the musical data of later written sources. Variations can be found, for example, in the rhythm. The eighth notes at the beginning of the first, second, and fourth lines can be consequently dotted or consequently steady, similar to the early variants, while the *csárdás*-type rhythm pattern with a dotted rhythm followed by steady eighth notes, which occurred in the folk play and became the most typical on twentieth-century folk and Gypsy music recordings, was not yet common. The cadence of the third melodic line is a peculiar point in the tune, and it helps detect the path of its oral transmission. Similar to other elements, this point is variable in the early sources. In the folk play *Ágnes asszony*, the third line ends on the second note of the tone-scale representing the dominant function together with the accompaniment, which is also true in the case of Gypsy music and its variants. However, in almost all of the later issues, including the published songs of the folk play, the third line ends on the third note, even if they are close to *Ágnes asszony*. Béla Méry's collection of 102 popular songs titled *Blaháné dalai. 102 legszebb magyar nóta* [Mrs Blaha's songs. One hundred two of the most beautiful Hungarian songs] refers to the stage repertoire of the popular actress Lujza Blaha. The collection contains a variant of the tune almost identical to the one in the folk play, but the cadence of the third line is different (see Figure 1). This fact is peculiarly interesting in terms of the oral transmission of the song, inasmuch at this point as well as in the rhythm of the beginning motif, the variant type survived in the urban Gypsy music and in folk culture corresponds not to the publications but to the folk play *Ágnes asszony*.

2277-f/1-25650); performed by the actor Ernő Király (Scala-Record, 47565/No. 47565); played as a *csárdás* by the "Cs. és kir. 23. gyalogezred zenekara" military band (Parlament-Record, 1-22553/344; Gramophone Concert Record, 13815 b /G. C. -70707). Online access of these recordings: <https://gramofononline.hu/en/search.php?p=0&sf=0&q=Ritka%20b%C3%BAza> (accessed 30 March 2020).

3 *Imre Magyari the Elder and his Gypsy band*. Archive recordings. (Qualiton, LPX 10109); *Ritka búza ritka árpa*. Performed by Jenő Farkas and his Gypsy band. (Imperial, JU 3073); *Nótacsokor és csárdás* [Popular songs and *csárdás*]. Performed by Sándor Lakatos and his Gypsy band (Qualiton, LPX 10027); *Famous Hungarian Folk Songs* (Qualiton, LP 121) and *Réten, réten...* (Qualiton, LPX 10078), the 'Ritka búza' was performed on both of them by Gyula Toki Horváth and his band.

RITKA BÚZA IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL WRITINGS

The intense popularity of *Ritka búza* may have caused the song to appear at the beginning of the twentieth century as an emblematic example of popular art songs played everywhere. In 1906, at the time of their first ethnomusicological fieldwork, which marked the beginning of modern Hungarian ethnomusicology, Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók published a collection of twenty Hungarian folk songs arranged for voice and piano with the aim of calling the audience's attention to peasant songs which were less known by educated people. In the Foreword, the twenty-four-year-old Kodály mentioned the widely known *Ritka búza*, and contrasted it with the more authentic peasant tunes he wanted to introduce as a foundation for a new Hungarian art music style to be created. "But the time will come: a time when there will be Hungarian music in the home, when Hungarian families will not be content with the most inferior foreign music-hall songs or with the products of domestic folk song factories, when there will be Hungarian singers, when not only the lover of rarities will know that there are Hungarian folk songs other than *Ritka búza* and *Ityóka-pityóka*" (Bónis 1974:9-10).

The young Kodály emphasised the unique originality of the old peasant tunes here, which had influenced him as a composer in a period when Hungarian music was mostly represented by popular art songs and *csárdás* dance tunes performed by Gypsy musicians. His attention-grabbing statement in a musical publication is not contradicted by the objective historical approach, which was manifested in his later scientific works. As a researcher of Hungarian folk music and music history, Kodály considered the popular art song repertoire worth researching and undertook the classification of many handwritten or printed sources of folk songs and popular art songs, and included *Ritka búza* in his systematic folk song collection to facilitate comparative historical studies on certain tunes (Szalay 2004:194-196). However, the context in which he discussed the song in his writing (mentioned above) for a wider audience, which has later been re-published several times, presumably influenced the attitudes of collectors and researchers to *Ritka búza*.

During the twentieth century, researchers' marginalization of *Ritka búza* can be observed multiple times, perhaps due to its popularity and Kodály's words. Between 1931 and 1944, nationwide folklore festivals were organised yearly in Budapest under the title *Gyöngyösbokréta* [Pearly Bouquet], where peasant groups from the whole Hungarian language area performed their dances or customs (Pálffy 1970). Folklorists and other intellectuals participated in coordinating these events, influencing the programmes and verifying their authenticity. They thought *Ritka búza* should be eliminated from the productions. Reporting on the 1938 festival

in *Ethnographia*, the journal of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society, ethnographer Sándor Gönyey emphasised that care must be taken to ensure that the programmes follow tradition faithfully. On one hand, he tried to fend off newly learned, rootless, or theatrical productions. He also rejected what he considered foreign elements, which had replaced the original traditions. As types that should be avoided, he mentioned multi-part singing, which was truly unusual in Hungarian folk tradition, as well as popular art songs. He specifically mentioned *Ritka búza*, and suggested that “real folk songs with the same rhythm should be used instead” (“ezek helyett azonos ritmusú igazi népdalokat kell felhasználni”) (Gönyey 1938). Such changes were indeed made, for example, the tune of the *verbunk* presented by the Western Hungarian village of Gencsapáti was originally *Ritka búza*. Still, it was replaced with a different melody for the Gyöngyös-bokréta festivals (Pesovár 1979).

The research on popular art songs of historical value, begun by Kodály, was continued by the ethnomusicological group working at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under his direction. The most important popular songs of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were introduced by ethnomusicologist György Kerényi. His book was first published in 1961 as the third volume of a three-volume series on Hungarian folk music, scholarly in its method but intended for a wider audience. The first two volumes were written by Pál Járdányi and focused on the main melodic types of Hungarian folk songs. In the Introduction to the third volume, Kerényi emphasised the historical significance of popular art songs and showed that although Kodály mainly criticised their mixing with folk songs, his followers often underestimated their significance (Kerényi 1961:8). Kerényi approached these tunes with ethnomusicological interest inasmuch as he primarily selected popular art songs already known at the beginning of the twentieth century and, at the same time, surviving in folk tradition. However, he mentioned *Ritka búza* only in the Appendix, where he listed songs that had disappeared from use or that he regarded as less valuable (Kerényi 1961:228).⁴ Based on written and audio sources and Kodály’s words, there can be no doubt about the popularity of *Ritka búza* at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the tune was a living part of twentieth-century folk music. The song could only have been omitted from the main text of the book due to the author’s value judgment.

4 This remark in the Introduction, the whole Appendix, including *Ritka búza* were omitted from the German version of the book published three years later (Kerényi 1964).

THE TUNE IN FOLK DANCE RECORDINGS

Despite the concept of intellectuals being involved in organizing the Gyöngyösbokréta festivals, *Ritka búza* was undoubtedly a part of the folk music and dance tradition in many Hungarian villages in the twentieth century. The tune lived in vocal as well as in instrumental form, indicating a close relationship between popular and folk music. Studying village data of a widespread popular art song, we need to ask: Was the tune in question an integral part of the local tradition, or was it a result of superficial urban influences? In case of the data on *Ritka búza* gathered from the northern folk music dialect of the Hungarian language area,⁵ this seems to be, less problematic. Contrary to many old folk tunes that had already been out of use but were considered worth recording even without their original context by collectors, *Ritka búza* was played at each collecting event to accompany a folk dance, which was mostly filmed as well, confirming its folk use in that region. In all likelihood, many more village musicians must have known the popular tune, but collectors may have accepted its authenticity or its importance only as a part of the folk dance tradition.

The tune accompanied different folk dances even in the same village, such as the men's dance verbunk, the couple's dance csárdás, and some folk-style art dances both in solo and couple's formats. It may have been played during the slow and the fast parts of the dance. Folk-style couple's art dances were also called *ritkabúza* after the first words of the lyrics. Folk dances performed to the tune were filmed between 1966 and 1987 in Tardoskedd,⁶ Kéménd,⁷ Lontó,⁸ Deménd,⁹ Ipolykér,¹⁰ and Kolon,¹¹ all located in

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- 5 As defined by Béla Bartók in 1924, the region north of the Danube and of the upper Tisza; now partly in Slovakia. (Suchoff 1981:4).
 - 6 Tardoskedd (now Tvrdošovce, Slovakia), 28 December 1966. Played by Alajos Círók (b. 1911) and his band. Collected by Margit Tóth, András Takács, György Martin, Jolán Borbély. ZTI_Mg 1769 A-B, ZTI_Mg 1770 A, ZTI_Ft. 590. The ZTI_Akt, ZTI_Mg and ZTI_Ft scores here and below refer to the manuscript documents, tape and film recordings, respectively, held in the Folklore Archive of the ELTE RCH Institute for Musicology, Budapest.
 - 7 Kéménd (now Kamenín, Slovakia), 29 December 1966. Played by an unknown string band. Collected by Margit Tóth, András Takács, György Martin and Jolán Borbély. ZTI_Mg 1770 B, ZTI_Ft. 591.
 - 8 Lontó (now Lontov, Slovakia), 24 October 1975. Played by András Bodonyi, violin. Collected by Géza Sebők. ZTI_Mg 3414A, ZTI_Ft. 918.
 - 9 Deménd (now Demandice, Slovakia), 29 July 1989. Played by János Prégi, violin, and his band. ZTI_Mg 5733, ZTI_Ft. 1338.
 - 10 Ipolykér (now Kiarov, Slovakia), 13 October, 1984. Played by Tibor Oláh, violin (b. 1941), and his band. Collected by István Németh, András Takács, Gyula Pálffy, László Felföldi. ZTI_Mg 4870–4871, ZTI_Ft. 1183.
 - 11 Kolon (now Koliňany, Slovakia), 8 July 1987. Played by Elemér Murka, violin (b. 1929) and Rudolf Macho, accordion (b. 1947). Collected by Mariann Fónod, István Katona and Gyula Pálffy. ZTI_Mg 5329, ZTI_Ft. 1269.

one area in Slovakia (Fig. 6). We have only limited information about their tradition but, for example, a woman in Kolon, born in 1909, said that her father had performed the verbunk to the same tune at weddings or other events.¹²

The image displays a handwritten musical score for two instruments: Violin and Violin or Viola. The score is written on four systems of staves. The top staff is labeled 'Violin' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Violin or viola'. The music is in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. A tempo marking of '♩ = 160' is present at the beginning. The score features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are also some performance markings such as '2.1' and '3' above certain notes. The handwriting is clear and legible.

12 Kolon (now Koliňany, Slovakia). 5 July 1987. Conversation with Viktória Süttő (b. 1909). Recorded by Gyula Pálffy. ZTI_Akt. 1161, 21.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled 'Verbunk'. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has two staves: the upper staff is for the vocal line, and the lower staff is for the piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment features a consistent eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. The vocal line includes various ornaments such as grace notes, triplets, and slurs. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Figure 6. Verbunk, collected in Kéménd in 1966. Transcribed by Lujza Tari

In the quickly urbanising middle part of the northern Hungarian folk music dialect (see Tari 2012), where these data come from, older layers of folk music were relatively less preserved. The older dance types of the area include girls' circle dances to vocal songs, shepherd's dances, and ritual wedding dances, while the newer layers are represented by the verbunk and the csárdás, both accompanied with new-style folk songs, popular

songs, or instrumental art dance tunes, as well as folklorised urban ballroom dances such as the polka, the waltz, or the *padegatta* (from the French term *pas de quatre*) (Martin–Takács 1981:12–17). Very impressive verbunk dances survived with their associated folk tunes in the western as well as the eastern part of the northern Hungarian folk music dialect. The verbunk of the middle part of the region may have become interesting to collectors and traditionalists in this context, and as a result, it was recorded even to the tune of a well-known popular art song, although often poorly performed and played by the few remaining traditional musicians.

However, when publishing *Hungarian verbunk* from Tardoskedd in their above-mentioned book, Martin and Takács indicated only in a footnote that the original tune of the dance was “the well-known art song” beginning *Ritka búza* without any explanation, and that they chose to refrain from publishing it and chose to include a folk song of a similar structure instead (Martin–Takács 1981:126). They published the dance with a new-style Hungarian folk song with the lyrics beginning *Írok, írok, mindig írok*, collected in the same village. In fact, Takács mentioned in his earlier book that the verbunk of Tardoskedd could have been danced to any new-style folk song or any art dance tune for *csárdás*, and he named *Ritka búza* as an example (Takács 1969:47). The choice of the new-style folk song in their later book was therefore not necessarily the result of an exchange, but of selection from authentic tunes.

RITKA BÚZA ON FIELDWORK RECORDINGS

In the eastern part of the northern dialect, where different verbunk tunes survived, *Ritka búza* has been perceptibly overshadowed by older and more unique folk tunes, especially in earlier fieldwork projects, such as a field recording made in the industrial city of Kazincbarcika in 1979. The sixty-four-year-old Gypsy violinist in the recording had worked as a young musician in the nearby villages before World War II, and when he was asked about the tune of the verbunk danced in one of these villages, namely Tardona, he played the first motifs of *Ritka búza*. However, the collectors did not want him to perform the whole melody, although they were interested in other verbunk tunes.¹³ In this area, the verbunk, or *vasvári* as it was called here, was usually accompanied by an instrumental folk tune, which did not appear in the repertoires of urban Gypsy bands. It was collected relatively early around the small town of Rozsnyó, where János

13 Kazincbarcika (Hungary). 15 and 31 March 1979. Played by József Nagy, violin (64 years old). Collected by József Kriston and András Vavrincez. ZTI_Mg 4476 B.

Manga recorded it from the eighteen-year-old violinist Pál Ruzsnyák in 1955 and 1956.¹⁴ In 1956, he collected this and two further verbunk tunes from the region's outstanding violinist, János Kristóf and his band, but *Ritka búza* was not among them.¹⁵ However, later fieldwork revealed that in this area, the popular song often went along with the dance.

János Kristóf's violin playing was recorded again later, by Tibor Ág in 1967. Unlike in most fieldwork, two different sound recordings of the same event were preserved. In Tibor Ág's own recording, known from the collector's estate transferred to the Institute for Musicology in Budapest after the collector's death, only the special verbunk tune of the small area is present.¹⁶ A copy of the recording had previously been made by the same institute, as with many external collectors.¹⁷ This includes a longer material: after announcing vasvári verbunk, Kristóf began to play *Ritka búza*. Soon after, the recording was interrupted with only the last notes of the tune audible before a local verbunk tune is played. The two recordings were clearly identical originally, and at the beginning of Tibor Ág's own tape, a cut can be heard pausing the ongoing music. The immediate reason for the deletion may have been an attempt to save tape, but some kind of prejudice against *Ritka búza* could also have stood behind the fact that the tune's recording was not kept by Tibor Ág, and it was preserved by the Institute for Musicology only as a reference.

No information is available about the role the tunes played in the local tradition in the documentation of these field-works; only the name vasvári refers to the folk dance. In 1981, near Szilice, Tibor Ág asked some people, the violinist János Kristóf among others, which tune the verbunk dance went with. Kristóf played the folk tune of the vasvári in response, but to further questions, he answered that the verbunk dance used to start with *Ritka búza* and continued with another verbunk tune everywhere in the neighbourhood.¹⁸ The fact that collectors and folk music activists were

14 Rudna (now Rudná, Slovakia). January 1955. Played by Pál Ruzsnyák (18 years old), violinist, and his band. Collected by János Manga. ZTI_Mg 4335 B; November 1956. Played by Pál Ruzsnyák, violin, and Kálmán Kónya, viola (40 years old). Collected by János Manga. ZTI_Mg 1623 A.

15 Berzété (now Brzotín, Slovakia). November 1956. Played by János Kristóf (known with the nickname Figur), violin (49 years old), and his band. Collected by János Manga. ZTI_Mg 1623 A.

16 Berzétékőrös (now Kružná, Slovakia). 28 October 1967. Played by János Kristóf (Figur) and his band. Collected by Tibor Ág. From his own collection held in ELTE RCH Institute for Musicology, Budapest, tape recording 54B.

17 Berzétékőrös (now Kružná, Slovakia). 28 October 1967. Played by János Kristóf (Figur) and his band. Collected by Tibor Ág. ZTI_Mg 3532 B.

18 Szilice (now Silica, Slovakia). 1981. Collected by Tibor Ág. From his own collection held in ELTE RCH Institute for Musicology, Budapest, tape recording 118A.

interested primarily in the second tune may have influenced the violinist to play only the former at first. Nevertheless, in ethnomusicological works discussing the verbunk tradition of this small region (Takács 1971; Takács 1990; Takács-Fügedi 1992), *Ritka búza* is not mentioned.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in Domaháza, a relatively isolated village about 70 km south of Szilice, on the Hungarian side of the border. Domaháza had long preserved its tradition; the verbunk was still a living practice in 1950,¹⁹ although ten years later it was only rarely performed by middle-aged and older people.²⁰ The dance collector László Erőss noted that ethnographic fieldwork may have influenced local people to value their heritage more, and in addition, they had become familiar with the collectors' preferences. They mentioned the verbunk tune unique to the region when asked about melodies related to the verbunk dance, and also added some old-style folk songs and *Ritka búza*. In 1971, a folklore group was founded in the village, like in many villages in that period, and they went on to participate in folklore festivals regularly. As the leader of the local cultural institution recalled, they performed the verbunk, partly because they were encouraged to include it in their repertoire by the collector and dancer Sándor Timár, who made sound and film recordings in Domaháza from 1975 onwards (Elek, n.d.).

The sound recordings of the verbunk of the village, found in the Institute of Musicology, are from 1976 and 1978. They were made at different folklore events, documenting the process of creating a stage production.²¹ Although local people spoke of string bands of Gypsy musicians playing the verbunk, as usual for the often virtuoso verbunk tunes, the Domaháza group was accompanied by zither, an instrument of peasants and amateurs. In this period, however, the zither group was a typical form of peasant folk ensembles and perhaps it was more in line with the identity of the Domaháza group. They danced the verbunk to a regional verbunk tune,

19 Field-work report of Géza Léka, György Katona, Zoltán Szépfalvi. 23 November 1950. Manuscript, ZTI_Akt. 44.

20 Report of László Erőss' field-work in Domaháza. 22 April 1960. Manuscript, ZTI_Akt. 708; László Erőss' handwritten summary about his fieldwork in Domaháza between 1959 and 1961. ZTI_Akt. 751. 10–13.

21 Domaháza (Hungary), 9 May 1976. Collected by Sándor Timár. ZTI_Mg 3564 A-B, ZTI_Ft. 930; 23 May 1976. The recording was made at a folklore festival in Parád-fürdő (Hungary) by György Martin, Ágoston Lányi, Sándor Timár, Ilona Borsai, Gyula Pálffy. ZTI_Mg 3543, ZTI_Ft. 929; 10 June 1976. Collected by Sándor Timár. ZTI_Mg 3564 B; 26 July 1978. The recording was made at the Danube Folklore Festival in Kalocsa (Hungary) by György Martin, Pál Sztanó, Gyula Pálffy, Ferenc Pesovár and Jolán Borbély. ZTI_Mg 3786, ZTI_Ft. 996; 3 December 1978. Collected by Sándor Timár. ZTI_Mg 3904 A. The names of the instrumental musicians were not recorded in the case of any of these recordings.

and to old-style folk songs. The collectors assisting in the re-learning of the dance may have had a role in the fact that from the tunes mentioned in the village, only *Ritka búza* was omitted from the verbunk performance.

In a nearby small region, Medvesalja, *Ritka búza* was played to the vasvári dance at a fieldwork event in 1974,²² to the csárdás in a stage production by the local folk dance group in 1975,²³ and again to a verbunk in 1985.²⁴ Three years later, the peasant fiddler of the latter group, Albert Péter Mag (born in 1929), told collector Gergely Agócs that there had been a dance that accompanied the *Ritka búza*, but Tibor Ág had said it was a song of the upper classes. Agócs agreed with the statement, but according to the fiddler, *Ritka búza* could not have come from the upper classes, because they played it at dances on village weddings. Unfortunately, the conversation was interrupted, and although the fiddler sang *Ritka búza* at a later point, the collector did not ask him to play it.²⁵

Next year, Albert Péter Mag repeated the same to other collectors again, with a small variation this time. He said that according to Tibor Ág, *Ritka búza* was a song from the upper layers of society and had been adopted by the villagers. He added that local people working in the nearby towns had learned it by imitating townspeople.²⁶ His description of the dance, accompanied by *Ritka búza* and presented at festive events by six girls and six boys in front of them, suggests a constructed folk-style art dance, which, however, does not exclude the tune's use for folk dances. Nevertheless, the violinist might have come to the latter conclusion based on Tibor Ág's earlier remark. He had been involved in the folk music movement early on, and researchers sometimes observed the impacts of folklorists in his words, for instance, during a fieldwork event in 2004, he emphasised the authenticity of the melodies he played to ethnomusicologist Lujza Tari (Tari 2010:123–127).

22 Almágy (now Gemerský Jablonec, Slovakia), 17 August 1974. Played by János Balázs, violin (47 years old), and his band. Collected by András Bodonyi and György Martin. ZTI_Mg 3193 B, ZTI_Ft. 858.

23 CSEMADOK peasant group from Medvesalja (now in Slovakia; in Slovakian pod Medvešom), accompanied by an unknown Gypsy band. The recording was made at the Danube Folklore Festival in Kalocsa (Hungary), on 25 July 1975, by György Martin, Ernő Pesovár, Pál Sztanó, István Németh, Gyula Pálffy. ZTI_Mg 3339, ZTI_Ft. 889.

24 Medveshidegkút (now Studená, Slovakia), 13 July 1985. Played by Albert Péter Mag, violin (b. 1929) and József Mag, bass (74 years old). Collected by Károly Csapó, István Németh, Gyula Pálffy. ZTI_Mg 4966, ZTI_Ft. 1207.

25 Medveshidegkút (now Studená, Slovakia), 3 April 1988. Conversation with Albert Péter Mag. Recorded by Gergely Agócs. ZTI_Mg 5663 B.

26 Medveshidegkút (now Studená, Slovakia), October 1989. Conversation with Albert Péter Mag. Recorded by Attila Abonyi, Béla Halmos and Norbert Varga. ZTI_Mg 5698 A.

To sum up, several aspects of the phenomenon of intellectuals exerting influence on data being recorded, published, or popularised in visible in the examples linked to the Hungarian song and tune known as *Ritka búza*. Although the presence of the tune in twentieth-century folk dance and music culture is unambiguous, in some cases it was intentionally or unintentionally neglected by collectors and researchers. This manifested in selecting what to record during fieldwork or what to publish from a collection, in forming revival productions, and in influencing the villagers' value judgements. Research on the history of the song revealed that *Ritka búza* had already been popular by the first half of the nineteenth century in different variants, but its appearance in a successful folk play contributed to its extreme urban popularity, which led ethnomusicologists to consider it less valuable. This phenomenon may have been reinforced by the fact that the occurrence of the melody in a folk play standardised a certain variant type in popular as well as in folk culture. During the twentieth century, the importance of Gypsy music and urban music repertoire increased in the villages (Tari 2010:10). However, *Ritka búza* lived on in folk music in multiple variants, reflecting the diversity of folk tradition. The popularity of the song in different social groups might have originated in its really folk-like melody, and, ironically, besides one remark of Zoltán Kodály, it was exactly this popularity that made many collectors and ethnomusicologists less interested in it.

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APPENDIX (SOURCES OF THE SONG *RITKA BÚZA*)

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on Kodály's and Bartók's joint collection of soldiers' songs and two concerts staged during the Great War, with certain historical research implications. In this context, the insider/outsider duality can be explored in its great complexity, not only in the controversial historical interests of the Dual Monarchy (horizontally) and in the historical-political-cultural schisms of the Hungarian society (vertically), but also in the paradigmatic change of folk music research as the third dimension.

KEYWORDS

soldiers' songs, Kodály, Bartók, World War I, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Bernhard Paumgartner

Warfare or Homeland Defence

Hungarian Folk Songs of World War I

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This paper is based on my research aimed at reconstructing the manuscript of *Hundred Hungarian Soldiers' Songs* compiled by Bartók and Kodály, which survived in a damaged condition, but was eventually published in book form in 2010. (Fig. 1). Adapting the conference highlight of insider-outsider relations to this context, I am looking at four strands of the theme without going into the historical aspect: how the manuscript of the soldiers' songs came about; the "Historical Concert" in Vienna; the Budapest concert modelled on the former; the soldiers' song as a means of warfare or homeland defence.

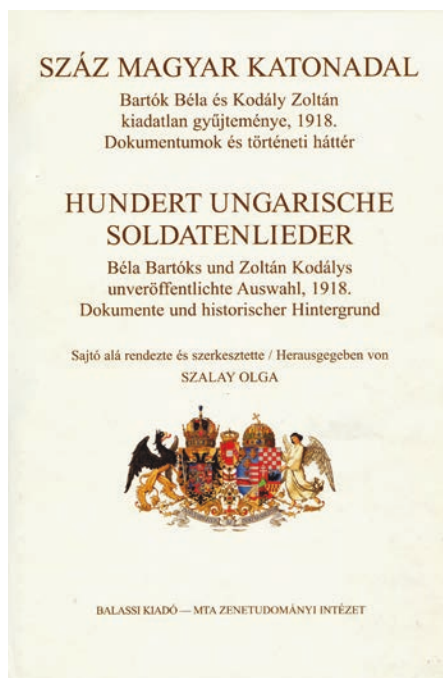


Figure 1. The reconstructed edition of the Hundred Hungarian Soldiers' Songs (2010)

HOW THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE SOLDIERS' SONGS CAME ABOUT

The imperial and royal War Ministry of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy made a peculiar decision in the summer of 1916, the second year of the World War I, amidst the increasingly taxing military difficulties: it initiated the collection and publication of soldiers' songs from the entire Monarchy under the direction of the *Musikhistorische Zentrale* (Centre of Music History) set up within the ministry. The idea was the brainchild of Bernhard Paumgartner (Fig. 2), who had his plan sanctioned by no less a figure than the chief of staff of the k.u.k. army, Franz Konrad von Hötzendorf (Fig. 3). The press department of the high command then appointed Bernhard Paumgartner to head the newly established *Zentrale* in July 1916.



Figure 2. Bernhard Paumgartner (1887–1971), Austrian conductor, composer and musicologist. Later he became director of the Mozarteum



Figure 3. Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf (1852–1925), chief of the staff of the k. u. k. army



Figure 4. Egon Wellesz (1885–1974), Austrian-British composer, musicologist and teacher

Since all nationalities of the Monarchy¹ were to be involved in the project he led, Paumgartner looked for colleagues. Through their common friend Egon Wellesz (Fig. 4), he first contacted Béla Bartók (Fig. 5) among the Hungarians, who recommended bringing Zoltán Kodály on board (Fig. 6). As a result, the Centre of Music History of the Austrian War Ministry asked both to contribute as external collaborators.

¹ Austria-Hungary included 11 nationalities: Hungarian, Czech, Serbian, Croatian, Polish, Ruthenian, Romanian, Slovak, Moravian, Slovenian, Italian.



Figure 5. Béla Bartók (1881–1945), Hungarian ethnomusicologist, composer, pianist and professor of music



Figure 6. Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967), Hungarian ethnomusicologist, composer, and professor of music



Figure 7. Samu Hazai (1851–1942), Minister of Defence of Hungary: 1910–1917

In the hinterland, the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, together with the Ministry of Culture, had already called on Bartók and Kodály earlier to collect soldiers' songs.

The Minister of Defence, Samu Hazai (Fig. 7), instructed the army command to support the collecting effort in a ministerial order dated 1 March 1916. The justification read: "I wish to lend the greatest possible support to the study and collection by musical experts of soldiers' songs created during the World War, as some of the ethnographically valuable relics of the nation's historic commitment, patriotism, and loyalty to the king."² In his order, he stressed that he had authorised Bartók and Kodály to contact the commanders directly. The Ministry of Defence also provided the researchers with a detailed list of all the headquarters, military institutes, convalescent squads, and military hospitals (see Kodály Archives N-28.56.1–2).

One and a half months later, an ordinance in German (*Abschrift*) with similar contents arrived from the joint War Ministry, instructing the Hungarian army commands of the joint army to promote the success of the collection with the most effective help possible (see Dille 1970:63).

The main goal of the request on the Austrian side was to publish a series of 100 songs by each nationality of the joint army's soldiers' songs, apart from the extension of the collecting work. The Austrian volume of the songbooks soon appeared with the title *Soldaten-Liederbuch Erster Band 100 deutsche Soldatenlieder* in Bernhard Paumgartner's edition (Fig. 8). The

² Originally in Hungarian: Kodály Archives N-28.52.1–2.

bulk of the booklet was a selection of 100 tunes from four earlier similar publications, so no new collecting was needed. The principle of dualism required that the second volume should be the Hungarian collection, for which Bartók and Kodály were contracted. Austria requested that the collected materials be submitted to the Viennese institution, in return for the promise that wherever they would need something from them, they would get it from Vienna.



Figure 8. Bernhard Paumgartner: *Soldaten-Liederbuch I*.

The Hungarian manuscript, meant to be published as a pocket book, was completed in March 1918. Since Bartók was kept from editing by other engagements, it was mainly done by Kodály. A part of the booklet included more recent folk songs written down in the barracks of the Hungarian and the common armies (see *Table 1* below), without recording them by phonograph.

BARTÓK			KODÁLY		
barrack	date	songs	barrack	date	songs
Pozsony	14–16. 04. 1917	(29)	Budapest	01. 05. 1916	(8)
Besztercebánya	27–29. 04. 1916	(37)	Kassa	08–12. 08. 1916	(176)
Arad	16–18. 07. 1917	(7)	Ránkfűred	09–10. 08. 1916	(37)
Marosvásárhely	06–09. 08. 1916	(53)	Nagyszalonta	04–06. 10. 1916	(37)

Table 1. Bartók and Kodály's soldiers' song collection in the barracks

The other part came from collections before the war, and some were recorded on wax cylinders. This supplement was needed to get a geographically and musically even distribution. The rough translation of the song lyrics on the clean copies of the notated music was done by the wives, Mrs Bartók, born Márta Ziegler (*Fig. 9*) and Emma Kodály (*Fig. 10*).



Figure 9. Marta Ziegler (1893–1967),
Bartók's first wife



Figure 10. Emma Schlesinger
(1863–1958), Kodály's first wife

The translations were needed because the manuscript—like everything related to the military—fell under censorship, so the Censor's Office was required to receive it first. It was, however, first sent to Paumgartner, who had already been transferred to Salzburg. He kept it for quite a long time, then the Censor's Office in Vienna asked for the original Hungarian texts, too. Since these were each on one sheet together with their music, the whole manuscript had to be submitted and was examined by the Press Department of the War Ministry (*Fig. 11*). They concluded there that some songs were too negative about the war, and some of the songs referring to the Emperor as Ferenc Jóska (Francis Joe) were disrespectful. Finally, they asked for the replacement of three songs. The editors complied, but the new songs had different musical features, which required the re-numbering of the songs already arranged in a musical system, and made some

changes necessary in the manuscript. Due to the protracted process of censorship and supplementary work, the publication of the manuscript, which arrived back in July 1918, by Universal Edition was foiled by the collapse of the Monarchy and the end of the war.

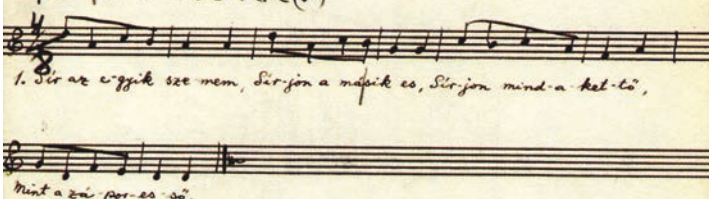
16.
1-8

1907. Csikszenttamás, (Csik) m.
Gy.: B. B.

Batalus
el!

5(4)5
63!

Tempo di marcia (♩)



1. Sir az egyik sze mem, Sir-jon a másik es, Sir-jon mind a ket-to,
mint a zsi por-es só.

2. Mer még az feeske es
Ahol nevelkedik
Busan énekel, ha
Indulni kellekik.

3. A bus harangok es
Kéna hangon szólnak,
Mikor indulni kell
Szegény katonáknak.

4. Látom a ~~szép~~ ^{kik} eget
Föltűntek fémleni,
Békesség felhőjét
Rajtunk lengedezni.

5. Talán vérmexóbe
Háromszini zászoló,
A seregek Ura
Legyen ottalmazóm.

6. Felkötöm a kardot
Apáméit s anyáméit,
Megforgatom én a
Szép magyar hazáméit.

7. Nem szánom véremet
Ontani hazáméit
Mégis fáj a lelkem
Az én kis honoméit.

Vom Preßbureau des Kriegaministeriums
genehmigt.
Wien, am 1-3 JUNI 1918.

8182

Figure 11. Base sheet from the Kodály System (KR 13.001.),
tune transcribed by Bartók. On top of the sheet Paumgarten's handwriting
(Tempo di Marcia), below the red office stamp of the Press Department. It was
censored out of the Hungarian collection because of the "negative" text

THE “HISTORICAL CONCERT” IN VIENNA

The Viennese centre had another joint project. They planned a major charity concert titled *Historical Concert* (Historisches Konzert) for the benefit of war widows and orphans (Fig. 12). The concert was held on 12 January 1918 with grandiose circumstances and had both an Austrian and a Hungarian part. Bartók was asked to organise the Hungarian section, and he willingly did so. The most recent folk song arrangements by Bartók and Kodály were also performed by the singer Ferenc Székelyhidy’s rendering. (Fig. 13). At home, Székelyhidy reported that the greatest applause had been elicited by the Hungarian pieces.



Figure 12. Poster of the *Historisches Konzert* (Historical concert) in Vienna, designed by Jenő Divéky, Hungarian artist

Figure 13. Exceptional voice and musical talent: Ferenc, Székelyhidy (1885–1954) opera singer, a Hungarian contributor of the Historical Concert in Vienna

The war played a great role in the rapid spread of new-style Hungarian folk songs over a large territory. The recognition of the unique features of the new style of Hungarian folk music resulted from the work on the soldiers’ songs. Bartók’s pivotal study was first printed in German in the program brochure of the *Historical Concert*, with the title *Die Melodien der madjarischen Soldatenlieder* (The melodies of Hungarian soldiers’ songs. Bartók 1918:36–42; see Fig. 14).

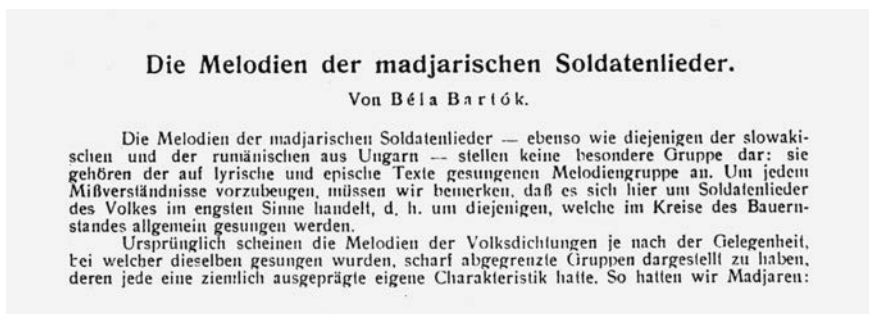


Figure 14. The *Melodies of the Hungarian Soldiers' Songs*. Title of Bartók's fundamental study in the German program brochure of the Historical Concert (1918)

Before printing, the program brochure of the *Historical Concert* was also checked by the Censor's Office. In one place, the familiar "Francis Joe," an oft-used nickname for the emperor in soldiers' songs, was found disrespectful towards the monarch (Emperor Charles was expected to attend the concert, and he would understand the Hungarian lyrics). As a result, the original lines (*Nem lehetek én rózsza / Elhervaszt Ferenc Jóska* [I can no longer be a rose / Francis Joe's going to wilt me]) of the song *Olvad a hó, csárdás kis angyalom, tavasz akar lenni* [The snow's melting, sweetheart, it's going to be spring] were rewritten into the somewhat clumsier *Nem lehetek én rózsza / Elhervadok bánatba* [I can't be a blooming rose / I will wilt in sorrow]) after the censorship.

With regard to the relationships between the contributors of the soldiers' songbooks and the *Historical Concert* in Vienna, no fault lines are visible in the professional collaboration between the Austrian and the Hungarian sides. The distance that is still noticeable was of a political nature, appearing in mistrust in the Austrian military leadership and the Hungarian collectors, respectively. In this sense, it is rather odd that the Viennese War Ministry, which actually requested the collaboration, treated the Hungarian part as outsiders.

THE "HISTORICAL CONCERT" IN BUDAPEST: MUSIC OF VALIANT TIMES [DALIÁS IDŐK MUZSIKÁJA]

Titled *Music of Valiant Times*, the equivalent of the Vienna concert required by the principles of dualism was held at the Budapest Opera on 26 May 1918 (Fig. 15). Originally conceived to be identical with the concert in Vienna, the program—to the astonishment of the Austrian side—was completely changed, and Bartók and Kodály, who had been involved in the project upon state commission, were left out. For the decision-makers in

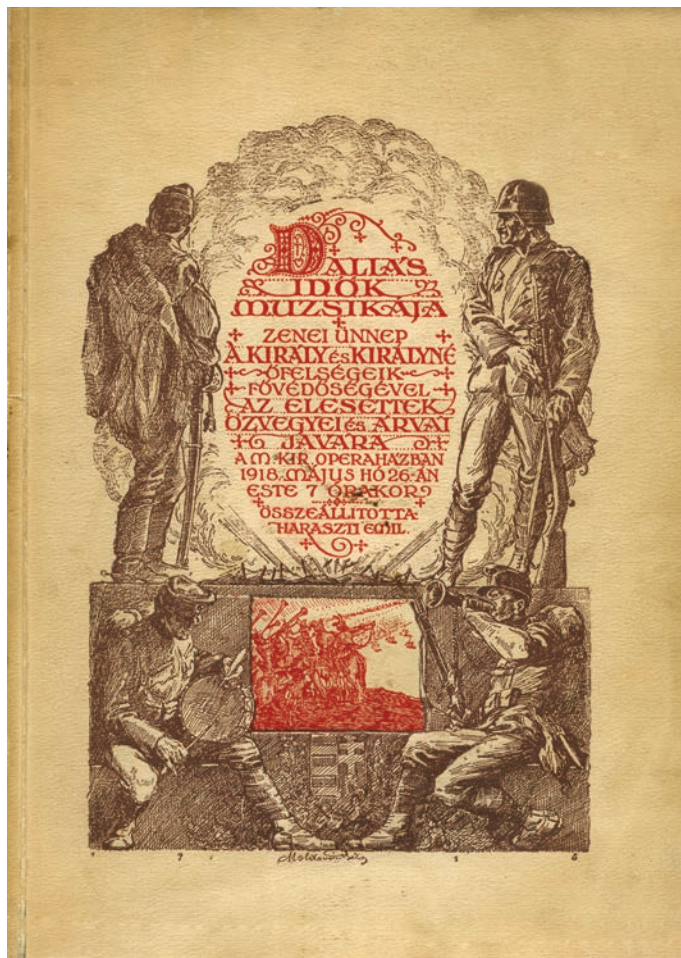


Figure 15. The concert in Budapest with the title:
Music of Valiant Times

the Hungarian music world, this concert was a golden opportunity to display their opposition to the new Hungarian music and personally to Bartók and Kodály, and to promote the advocates of the musical trend that was allegedly Hungarian and conservative, but was, in fact, German-oriented. Obviously, the organisers' hostility to the newest Hungarian compositions went together with their aversion to the Hungarian folk songs arranged in them.

The Budapest concert clearly reveals that there was a conflict within the Hungarian musical community, whose self-declared elite treated Bartók and Kodály as outsiders to the profession and made their stance explicit fairly rudely.

THE SOLDIERS' SONG AS A MEANS OF WARFARE OR HOMELAND DEFENCE

There was yet another fault line between the participants of the cooperation, as demonstrated in the points below.

The Vienna Centre as a political position

There is an autograph note in the Kodály archives in which Kodály proposed some points to be negotiated by the Hungarian side. He argued that Hungarian interest would demand a Hungarian centre to be set up for the collection and publication, and the Hungarian material should not leave the country. Specifically, he feared that the submitted material would no longer be under Hungarian control or might even get lost.

In the same document, Kodály also refers to the problem of treating the Magyars as an “ethnic tribe”. The term went over into public discourse from an earlier official utterance of Francis Joseph.³ Kodály’s suggestion for the Hungarian standpoint contests this manner of thinking: “A Hungarian specialist delegated to the Vienna centre would be the representative of one of the many »ethnic tribes«. Hungary could only be adequately represented by an organisation in Budapest, one of equal rank to that in Vienna.”⁴ This Hungarian specialist, upon Kodály’s recommendation, was to be László Lajtha, but in the end, nobody was delegated. As far as we know, the material collected by Bartók and Kodály did not get to Vienna, but the inventory book of the Vienna centre registered the arrival of some material, which perished in the tempests of history.

The soldiers' song as a psychological tool

Apart from the musical and ethnographic aspects of the selected material, the editors of the booklets of soldiers’ songs had to make sure that the texts did not hurt the sensitivity of the Austrian side, while at the same time, they wished to promote Hungarian perspectives. They tried to pick songs that strengthened the Hungarian identity and expressed the charac-

3 Reference to the general order of Francis Joseph issued in Chlopy, Galicia, in September 1903, which made a great uproar. The monarch firmly rejected any effort that would jeopardise the unity of the army of the Monarchy. The public was offended not only by the tone of the order, but also by labelling the Hungarians as one of the “ethnic tribes” of the Monarchy, which was seen as a violation of the basic principles of dualism. (See MTK 1987: 389.)

4 The title of the document in Kodály’ handwriting: A N[agy]m[éltóságú] honv[édelmi] min[ister] Úr kérdései [The questions of His Excellency the Minister of Defence] Kodály Archives N-28.220/1-5.

ter of the Hungarian soldier. Their unstated goal was to lend emotional support to the soldiers, so that the soldiers' songs could become a means of survival for the Hungarian soldiers in an alien environment, serving foreign interests, perhaps in an army using a foreign language of command.

On the Austrian side, the goal of singing soldiers' songs was to demonstrate the strength of the empire, and to advance the war toward victory, so a triumphant, merry, positive tone was preferred. Singing was considered to be a psychological means of relief in the long war. For this reason, the Hungarian editors were intent on selecting songs that projected hope into the soldiers, but they could not ignore the fact that the Hungarian folk songs, particularly those of the soldiers leaving to fight for foreign interests, were typically sad, especially the Transylvanian plaintive songs.

Warfare or homeland defence—the conflict of identities

Let us pose the question: Why did the Austrian high command deem it important to launch a folk song collection and publication in the face of a nearly lost war entailing enormous losses of life and resources?

Based on historical studies, the answer lies in the role of the imperial army. In a Monarchy comprised of 11 nationalities in addition to the Austrians, the army had a salient role from the beginning. By some Austrian interpretations, particularly in the Viennese court, a common army with German as the official language and the language of command, together with a staff of officers of unconditional loyalty to the ruling house, was a symbol of the integrity of the dualist state, embodying a certain supranationality. The emperor and the archduke Francis Ferdinand saw it as perhaps the most important force holding the empire together (Cf. Pollmann 1994:283 and Balla 2003:12). The geographic, economic, and cultural diversity of the Monarchy and the inequality of its lands were unfavourable for strengthening a unified imperial identity. The army represented something that the Monarchy was otherwise lacking: it embodied unity despite differences. In the increasingly heated debates about the unity of the Monarchy, the ruling house was also in favour of the conservation of the unified empire while keeping the unique circumstances of its nations in mind, and supported such efforts. The Music Historical Centre project of the War Ministry was in support of this position.

By contrast, what did the collection compiled by Kodály and Bartók represent for a Hungarian soldier? When singing, the soldiers were immersed in their own tradition. The melody brought the atmosphere of home to them, but a soldier's song owed its identity mainly to the words, which soldiers moulded to express their own needs. Most often, the lyrics of previously existing lyrical or outlaw songs or earlier soldiers' songs

were updated and refashioned. That is why Francis Joe replaced Lajos Kossuth's name and why the name of the platoon, weapon, or battlefield got into the song. These lyrics mixed reality with poetry, soberness with humour, patriotic zeal with despair, fear with heroism. Singing in the common vernacular already creates a community and strengthens the common identity. For a soldier torn from his home, from the circle of his loved ones, it created a virtual home in a setting where everything and everybody was unfamiliar. The mentions of his sweetheart, his mother, the village, and the native soil meant fundamental ties by which the individual repeatedly defined himself and was able to draw on the past to renew his hope for the future.

To conclude, the Hungarian soldiers' songs as spontaneous expressions of the national identity of Hungarian soldiers were antithetical to the expectation of an imperial identity formulated by the power position and expressed in the propagandistic efforts of Vienna. From the latter perspective, the former is an outsider phenomenon. That is what the title "Warfare or homeland defence" refers to. It suggests a rift on a historical scale beyond the concrete projects and actors, and implies the contradictions of the two members of the dualist state.

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- ungar[ischer] Soldaten*. K.u.k. Kriegsministerium Musikhistorische Zentrale, Leitung Dr. Bernhard Paumgartner, Wien: Universal Edition.
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AUTHOR

Pál Richter was born in Budapest, graduated at the Liszt Academy of Music as a musicologist in 1995, and obtained a PhD degree in 2004. His special field of research is 17th-century music of Hungary, and he conducted his PhD research in the same subject. His other main fields of interest are Hungarian folk music, classical and 19th-century music theory and multimedia in music education. Since 1990 he has been involved in the computerized cataloguing of the folk music collection of the Institute for Musicology and has also participated in ethnographic field research. From 2005 he was the head of Folk Music Archives, and since 2012 is the director of the Institute of Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities. He regularly delivers papers at conferences abroad, publishes articles and studies and teaches music theory and the study of musical forms at the Liszt Academy in Budapest. From 2007 till 2021 he directed the new folk music training, and is the founding head of the Folk Music Department.

ABSTRACT

Popular art song, Hungarian *nóta*, Hungarian national music, Gypsy music, folk or peasant music: these keywords are found regularly in literature relating to 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian music history, the style *hongrois* and Hungarian musical style. Some of these keywords imply a variety of phenomena that contain insufficiently defined technical terms. Following Hungarian cultural and historiographical processes from the outside, these changes are almost impossible for a foreigner to comprehend. The present study aims to contribute to the process of reconsidering issues raised by Hungarian popular art music on the one hand, and by folk music on the other.

KEYWORDS

18th–19th century Hungarian music, folk music, folk dance, style *hongrois*, popular art song, Gypsy music, Liszt, Erkel, Bartók, Kodály

Hungarian Musical Tradition from Inside and Outside Perspectives

Interrelations Between Popular Art Music and Folk Music

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Popular art song, magyar n3ta, Hungarian national music, Gypsy music, folk music, peasant music, Liszt, Erkel, Bart3k, and Kod3ly: these are some of the keywords found regularly in literature relating to 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian music history, the style *hongrois* and Hungarian musical style.

Aside from canonised composers, who are associated with specific styles, approaches, images and identities, some of these keywords implying a variety of phenomena contain insufficiently defined technical terms. Unsurprisingly, therefore, such idioms are frequently misunderstood or misused in the international musicological literature. Definitions of such terms have evolved over time in Hungarian musical historiography. Following Hungarian cultural and historiographical processes only from the outside, these changes are almost impossible for a foreigner to comprehend. Simultaneously, the processes through which these terms have shifted were burdened by wider phenomena embedded in the respective value systems of an era, leading to the dichotomies of “black-or-white” and “authentic-or-artificial”. The tension between value and worthlessness makes it difficult to see clearly, even for Hungarians. As far as the foreigners are concerned, the situation has not changed much since the 1930s; the lack of comprehension persisted—even if not to the same degree—until the end of the twentieth century. We are familiar with Bart3k’s review “Gypsy music or Hungarian music?” (Bart3k 1931) of volume 12 of the series *Das Lied der V3lker*, edited by Heinrich M3ller, and titled *Ungarische Volkslieder*. In this collection, M3ller expressed the following opinion about Bart3k and Kod3ly’s discovery of Hungarian folk music and peasant music:

Liszt, Brahms, Hubay, Chován, and others in their Hungarian rhapsodies and similar works placed too much emphasis on gypsy music and more recent art songs; the modern folklorists in their turn show an inclination to deprecate gypsy music, they do not want to accept gypsy-influenced melodies and popular art songs as folk song. [...] According to their theories, “true” Hungarian folk song is only that which the *peasants* sing, and which they shape and formulate themselves according to certain procedures. [...] In trying to segregate the so-called peasant songs from the whole of Hungarian folk song we do not even arrive at a clear classification, for the notion of peasant song is as relative from historical, sociological and stylistic points of view as the notion of folk song in general. (Möller 1929)¹

We know Bartók’s answer, which he based on his own field experience:

We are obliged to state that the collection is unsatisfactory from both scholarly and artistic viewpoints, and we warn the German readers not to form an opinion of the Hungarian folk song from it, not even of the popular art song. (Bartók [1931] 1976:223)

But even though this review, initially published in the Hungarian journal *Ethnographia*, appeared in German, too, first in the July 1931 issue of the *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, and then in an abridged version in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, it obviously could not reach as wide a readership in German as Möller’s volume did.

In the francophone area, Bálint Sárosi encountered a similar ignorance (Sárosi 2015:84–93, 2017:235), even at the end of the 20th century, in a 1994 study (Antonietto 1994) published in the scientific journal *Etudes Tsiganes*,² as well as in a 1996 volume (Williams 1996) published in France on the Gypsies and their music in Hungary. Certainly, Sárosi’s book *Cigányzene*, also published both in German and in English, was the first monograph—frequently quoted in professional circles—that made an attempt to clarify the basic concepts and to reveal their relationship to each other, supported by historical facts and musical analyses (Sárosi 1971, 1977, 1978). Despite the internationally acclaimed and well-known work of Kodály and Bartók, Liszt’s errors (Liszt 1859, 1861) are still influential today, and it is still not self-evident that Romani folk music is not the same as “Gypsy music”, i.e., which is Hungarian music performed by Gypsy musicians. To illustrate the uncertainties and the general lack of information regarding the Hungarian style in art music, the so-called *style hongrois*, it is sufficient

1 From the preface quoted by: Bartók [1931] 1976:220.

2 Reviewed by (Sárosi 1997:4).

to recall Bellman's monograph (Bellman 1993), still the best-known book on the subject in international musicology.³ For all this, however, one cannot only blame Hungary's linguistic isolation or the superficiality of foreigners. Obviously, the above-mentioned system of values played and still plays a role in it; the antagonistic impact of this simplistic, one-sided interpretation can still be felt today, even among Hungarian audiences. The Hungarian distinction between urban and peasant folk music within what is perceived by many westerners as a virtually undivided folklore, has caused confusion and uncertainty, because it was associated with the context of worthless (or at least less valuable) vs. true value, and foreign vs. ancient Hungarian.⁴

If we take a look at the genres that served as sources for the representatives of the *style hongrois* in the 19th century, it is obvious to mention, in chronological order, the *verbunkos*, the *csárdás*,⁵ and the popular art song, but we must add that folk songs, according to modern classification, also occur once in a while. The compositions based on the musical characteristics, melodic turns, and rhythmic formulas of these genres were well received by contemporaries and became elements of the defining factors of self-identification for the Hungarian-speaking community. As Kodály commented on the 19th-century production of popular art songs as follows: "No doubt, this was the first mass appearance of a clearly Hungarian popular music that is still perceived as such by everyone even today." (Kodály [1939] 1982:242)

This music served as an ideological and emotional framework for the emergence of the Hungarian nation as a political and cultural entity. Every segment of society was imbued with the desire to search, create, or strengthen a national character. The flourishing of national identity and culture co-occurred with the spreading of a general taste for Romantic music and—among the developing Hungarian bourgeoisie—with a predilection for amateur domestic music-making (*Hausmusik*). So it was no coincidence that the *style hongrois* also underwent substantial changes, from a musical point of view as well, basically according to the already

3 Reviewed by (Richter 2010, 2012).

4 As Philip V. Bohlman describes the trend of classification in Hungarian folk music research: "[c]learly, identifying songs in the old style provided a strong argument for Hungarian nationalism. Recognising that songs in the new style had been influenced from the outside—that their rhythms were regularised and loosened from their connection to language—made an equally strong nationalistic appeal. This interweaving of musical style, national history, and cultural ideology is such that we find it difficult to determine which characteristic of a song was determined for musical reasons, which for ideological reasons, and which for both." (Bohlman 1991:200)

5 Rajeczky 1998.

mentioned filiation of the *verbunkos-csárdás*-popular art song. Time led to the near-hegemony of the minor scale, and dance-like rhythmic characters or repetitive motivic structures were replaced by melodies with a wider range and more impulsive, whimsical constructions. A number of melodic formulas and cadences became stereotypical—e.g., the use of augmented seconds, the dotted rhythm, and the so-called *bokázó* cadence. The emotional range veered into the extremes, and the transitions between virtuosic exhilaration and mournful sorrow gradually disappeared.

The most significant representative of this style—and at the same time of Hungarian national music—was Ferenc Erkel. In 1888, the novelist Mór Jókai praised Erkel, the composer, conductor, and music teacher, at the festivity organised to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Erkel's activity at the National Theatre, as follows:

And what makes Erkel's music poetry the most precious for us is the fact that his music is national and original all over. In Erkel's operas, we can find everything that is Hungarian, that is ours, in an idealised and ennobled manner, from the majestic to the popular character, from the dignified seriousness of palaces to the mourning of tragedies and to the musing daydreams of the *puszta*.⁶

The influence of the *verbunkos*, and later, the *csárdás*, can be traced well throughout the compositional output of Ferenc Erkel. The musical construction considered at the time as folk song-like appeared later as Kodály noticed in Erkel's folk plays (*népszínmű*). In 1921, Kodály gave a lecture in Erkel's native town of Gyula, with the title *Erkel és a népzene* [Erkel and Folk Music]. As Kodály saw it, the issue could be approached from two sides: on the one hand, by examining how folk music influenced Erkel; on the other hand, how Erkel influenced folk music. Kodály chose the latter aspect to elaborate in his paper, which only came out in print much later, in 1960. In the epilogue of the published version, he added:

Few people know, and no one ever mentions it, but Ferenc Erkel already embarked on the path of bringing music closer to the people and bringing the people closer to music. He composed music for a number of folk plays using folk songs. (Kodály [1921, 1960] 1982:95)

6 Mór Jókai (1825–1904) greeted Erkel on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his career as a conductor at a ceremony held on 16 December 1888 at the concert hall of the Vigadó [Redout] in Budapest. The speech was published in the review *Zenelap* II/28 (22 December 1888), 210–211., as well as in the commemorative volume by Kornél Ábrányi, Sr. (Ábrányi 1895:183).

According to recent research, Erkel was more of a compiler and editor of folk play music, rather than their actual composer.⁷

Speaking about Erkel's oeuvre, his contemporaries already referred to folk songs in the 19th-century sense of the term. In the autumn of 1880, following the premiere of Erkel's opera *Névtelen hősök* [Unknown Heroes], Jenő Péterfy remarked: "Sometimes, it is as if we heard Hungarian folk songs."⁸ And indeed, one of the characteristic features of the opera is the song-like construction of its melodies. The "Soldiers' Chorus," for example, evokes the beginning of a Hungarian new-style folk song (Fig. 1a, b), and the male protagonist courts his future wife, Ilonka, with a tune which—according to certain data—served as a march in the 1848–1849 War of Independence (Fig. 2a, b).

Throughout Erkel's career, beginning from his first opera, *Bátori Mária*, the main source of national music remained the verbunkos, which he was able to use for a wide variety of purposes. The csárdás appears almost exclusively as a dance, starting with the opera *Hunyadi László*, while his arrangements of popular art songs in the early works display melodies and forms ornate with verbunkos elements, giving way to a simpler, more folksong-like character in the late works.⁹



Figure 1a. "Katonák kara" [Soldiers' Chorus]
from Erkel's opera *Névtelen hősök* [Unknown Heroes]

- 7 Szacsvai Kim Katalin: *Az Erkel-műhely. Közös munka Erkel Ferenc színpadi műveiben* (1840–1857) [The Workshop of Erkel. Collective Works in Erkel's Stage Compositions.] PhD thesis (Budapest, Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem, 2013), 89–141. <http://real-phd.mtak.hu/60/19/Szacsvai.pdf> (accessed 8 August 2019).
- 8 For Jenő Péterfy's critique, see the review *Egyetértés* XIV/332 (1 December 1880), 2., quoted in (Véber 1976:94). The opera was addressed in a similar way elsewhere as well: "the folk-like tone led [Erkel] towards folk music, from where he changes over into the highest style of cosmopolitan art." Text signed as "h. j." in the review *Ország-Világ* 1881/7, page 166. Also available online: https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/OrszágVilág_1881/?pg=199&layout=s (accessed 20 April 2020).
- 9 A doctoral dissertation on the Hungarian elements in Erkel's operas was written by Gyula Véber in 1976 in the Netherlands; it was published in German (Véber 1976).

♩ = 76

5) 1)

Nyiregyházi kaszárnya, de magas a te-te-je,

6) 2) 3)

De sok barna kislánynak benne a kedve-se!

7) 8) 2) 3)

Lám, az enyém nincs benne, itt ül az ő-lem-be,

9) 7) 4)

Páros csókot osztogat, kacsingat a szemem-be.

1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6) 7) 8) 9)

2. 2. 2. 2. rep. 2. 2. 2., 2. rep. 2., 2. rep. 2. rep.

Figure 1b. A new-style folk song
Cf. (Berezky 2013:3142), type number 1429

With the advent of scholarly folk music research and the discovery of various archaic styles and the role of the pentatonic scale in Hungarian folk music, the image of Hungarian music became more colourful and offered new opportunities. This process coincided with a paradigm shift in Western music, i.e., the end of a long period known as Romanticism and/or the epoch of the *kadenzierende Tonalität*.¹⁰ Thus, the issues to study are not just what folk songs (or peasant songs) are and how they differ from other repertoires, but also, as Kodály put it, what “the folk” sings. Let us add: What do they dance to, and what are they entertained by? If we approach the subject from this direction, then we can only list the very same, already mentioned genres, in view of the last 150–200 years: the verbunkos, the csárdás, the *nóta* (i.e., popular art song), and folk music as defined by 20th-century research. Moreover, much of the first three genres have been fully integrated into the folk tradition, even the peasant musical tradition, as it was most rigorously defined by Bartók.

If we leave the archaic stylistic layers of Hungarian folk music out of consideration, the main difference between folk music and art music does not reside in the melodic material. A number of folk dance tunes originate from art music and display melodic sequences, broken chords, or functional harmonic progressions, and this kind of melodic material occurs in

10 The expression “Die Epoche der *Kadenzierenden Tonalität*” was used by Heinrich Schenker, in his treatise of harmony (*Harmonielehre*) published in 1906. Quoted in (Keller 1996:205).

Csi - tul a láz, he - ve már csil - la - pul,
sze - mem - ben száz ra - gyo - gó csil - lag - gyúl

Figure 2a. Elek Andorffi's song to Ilonka, from Erkel's opera *Névtelen hősök* [Unknown Heroes]

$\text{♩} = 108$
Fúj - ják a trombitát, fújják a nyergelőt,
Sok szép tiszt urak verik a kiszü - lőt.
Kis - pus - ka ropog, villognak a kardok,
Si - ral - mas nótát fújnak a bajno - kok.

Figure 2b. A new-style folk song (Bereczky 2013:639–640), type number: 112.

folk songs as well. Out of the 62 types of descending melodies of major scale in Szendrei and Dobszay's *Catalogue of Hungarian Folksong Types*,¹¹ several dozen are widely-known csárdás melodies, compatible with functional accompaniments; also, there are 27 types of descending art song melodies in the minor scale, bearing the characteristic features of *nóta* compositions (melodies in the melodic minor scale, sometimes with augmented seconds).¹² Data on folk music originating from art music is available and shows that the most important difference between Hungarian folk music and *style hongrois* is not in the melodies, but in the manner of

11 The *Catalogue* was made by Janka Szendrei and László Dobszay. Its manuscript is stored in the Institute for Musicology RCH, Budapest. One part of it has already been published: (Szendrei-Dobszay 1992).

12 The group of descending minor popular art songs is connected to the fifth-shifting descending stylistic block only through a formal way, many of these songs are well-known csárdás melodies, regularly performed in the dance house movement. For more on the group, see: <http://nepzeneipeldatar.hu/bongesztes/?sid=3> (accessed: 20 April 2020).

performance.¹³ The next musical example is a csárdás melody well known in the northern part of the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld).¹⁴ Its performance is defined by the marked presence of the accompanying rhythm necessary for the dance, the presence of strong accents, and the peculiar intonation of the violin, characteristic of the Szatmár and Szabolcs region, features which no longer characterised the performance of urban Gypsy musicians in the 20th century. (Fig. 3a, b).



Figure 3a. Melodic skeleton of type 18.089.0/0¹⁵



Figure 3b. A tune played for the dance *lassú csárdás*, Nyírmada¹⁶

Most melodies of the *verbunk* and other men's dances extant in folk tradition (*legényes*, *sűrű tempó*, *ritka tempó*, *pontozó*, etc.)¹⁷ originate in art music. However, the practice of performing them in the villages makes this issue of secondary importance, as it testifies to their incorporation in

13 The use in folk tradition is, of course, not only reflected in the performance, folklorisation also modifies the musical characteristics of the popular art song's melody. See, for instance, (Richter 2018:382–383).

14 The type number of the melody in the folk music classification of the Institute for Musicology RCH Budapest: 18.089.0/0.

15 For more on the type, see: <http://nepzeneipeldatar.hu/kereses/index.php?tid=1571> (accessed 20 April 2020).

16 ZTI_AP 10205j1, published online: <https://zti.hungaricana.hu/hu/audio/9217/#record-82536> (time code: 17:45). Performed by the *prímás* (lead fiddler) Ferenc Rózsa, the *terces* (second fiddler playing thirds) Lajos Oláh, as well as Gusztáv Jónás (viola), Mihály Samu (contrabass), and Ferenc Rózsa Jr., (cimbalom). Collected by: György Martin, István Halmos, Ernő Pesovár, Ferenc Pesovár in 1974. Simplified notation, based on Zsuzsa Kubinyi's transcription from 1987.

17 For explanation of Hungarian dance names, see AHFM 2012.

the local tradition. The question is therefore not that of the origin, but whether a melody and its performance have been adapted to the musical tradition of a given community and have become part of it, in other words, whether the melody has been *folklorised* or not. The basic condition for the process of folklorisation is prolonged use in the oral tradition, a period usually spanning over several generations.¹⁸ (Fig. 4a, b).



Figure 4a. Verbunk melody from Mezőkölpény (Culpiu, jud. Mureş, Romania)¹⁹

- 18 Compared to Bartók, Kodály had a wider interpretation for the concept of folk music; he included in the research—next to the orally transmitted repertoire—the written tradition, i.e. the historical sources as well, and consequently, he also examined the church hymns in popular use. Bartók rigidly rejected the latter category, because he considered them as being Western art musical creations by nature, and origin. Yet if a member of the village community does sing such hymns, we must consider them ethnographically relevant data, but according to Bartók's interpretation, these songs do not belong to the corpus of folk music from a musical point of view. Kodály's wider concept of folk music necessarily brought in the instrumental and vocal melodic set of historical sources into the ethnomusicological research, and shifted Bartók's concept of peasant music focused on the origins towards a concept emphasising use and quality of use. For the statements of Bartók and Kodály on the concept of folk music, see (Bartók [1931] 1989:138–139), and (Kodály [1937] 1982, [1937] 1984:14).
- 19 Performed by fiddler Viktor Szabó (1939–2010); collected by István Pávai, 9 April 1984; transcribed by Pál Richter. The same tune performed by Viktor Szabó can also be heard at: ZTI_AP 15215a, published online: [<https://zti.hungaricana.hu/hu/audio/10568/#record-133650> (time code: 0:00)], and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nx0JvvqnAG0> (time code: 2:23).



Figure 4b. Melody of a *sűrű tempó* dance from Szék (Sic, jud. Cluj, Romania)²⁰

In his 14th Hungarian Rhapsody, Liszt used a *csárdás* melody he heard—according to the tradition—probably in Count Sándor Teleki’s castle in Koltó (now Coltău, jud. Maramureș, Romania).²¹ The melody, originally a popular art song preserved in a series of 19th-century sources, has survived in the Hungarian folk tradition mostly in Transylvania, e.g., in the area located between Kalotaszeg (in Romanian: Țara Călatei) and the Maros and Küküllő Rivers, as well as in Szeklerland. (Fig. 5).

Jó é - tel a rák mēg a hal,
 Bo - lond, ki bú - já - ban mēg - hal.
 Harsa, csuka, ká - rász. ponty, ke - csē - go,
 A - ki bú - sul, an - nak nin - esen e - sze.

Figure 5a. “Hussar” song and *csárdás* (around 1850)²²

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- 20 Performed by lead fiddler Márton Ferenczi; collected by László Lajtha in 1941; notated by István Pávai (the transcription was published in [Pávai 1980]), the call number of the recording at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest is: Gr094Bc, published online: <http://db.zti.hu/24ora/mp3/Gr094Bc.mp3>. Close variants of the tune in historic sources: *24 originelle ungarische Nationaltänze 3. Heft* (1810/11) in: (Papp 1986:258) number 178; Manuscript number 33164 from Esztergom in: (Domokos 1978:98) number 105.
- 21 About the eighteenth-century precedents of the tune and on Ferenc Liszt’s visit at Count Teleki’s, see (Richter 2016:15), (Walker 1983:433–435), (Kovássy 1986).
- 22 (Kerényi 1961:52). It is more widely known with the lyrics *Erdő mellett nem jó lakni* [It is not good to live near the forest]. Further versions of the melody, from the 19th century: (Papp 1999:158, 255) numbers 129 and 208, entitled *Falusi csárdás*



Figure 5b. *Friss (fast) csárdás*, Kolozs (Cojocna, jud. Cluj, Romania)²³

[Village csárdás]. The number of the type in the folk music classification of the Institute for Musicology RCH Budapest: 18.549.0/1, published online: <http://nepzeipeldatar.hu/kereses/index.php?tid=2548>; printed in: (Szendrei-Dobszay 1992) type number: IV/270.

- 23 Performed by György Sztojka Sr. (fiddle), György Sztojka Jr. (kontra), József Mácsingó (viola), and József Sándri (bass); collected, and Bálint Sárosi 1983, at the Institute for Musicology in Budapest: ZTI_AP 12537g. Further audio recordings: Gyerővásárhely (Dumbrava, jud. Cluj, Romania), ZTI_AP 13345e-f, available online under http://db.zti.hu/24ora/mp3/13345e_f.mp3 (time code: 01:42); Bonchida (Bontida, jud. Cluj, Romania), ZTI_AP 4159e, available online under <https://zti.hungaricana.hu/hu/audio/5796/#record-29115> (time code: 11:58); Marosjára (Iara de Mureş, jud. Mureş Romania), ZTI_AP 8704i; Magyarpéterlaka (Petrilaca de Mureş, jud. Mureş Romania), ZTI_AP 14877c, available online under <https://zti.hungaricana.hu/hu/audio/10201/#record-130312> (time code: 01:12:10); Szeklerland - Sóvidék Region (Zona Ocnelor, jud. Harghita, Romania), PI_Mg 078a, recording and transcription published (Pávai 2016).

In traditional instrumental performance, this melody with an AABB_k structure is joined, as an interlude, by a variant of line B transposed a fifth higher, and then the second half of the melody, i.e., the two B melodic lines, is played again.²⁴

Bartók and Kodály's views also differed from those of their 19th-century predecessors in that they heard this music not only from the urban Gypsy bands, but also in the performances of villagers or rural Gypsies, whose manner of performance had a significant impact on their compositions integrating folk songs and popular art songs. In these pieces, the same gestures, the same air, and the same atmosphere are reflected. As Bartók put it:

The simple rural Gypsy plays in a manner entirely different from his urban cousin's. To mention a few examples, in the poor Rumanian villages of the County of Maramures, music-making has passed from the hands of the native peasant bagpipers into those of the Gypsies. Most of these gypsies play the repertory they inherited from the pipers in a genuine peasant style on the fiddle, and one would look for augmented seconds in vain (there is merely the scale d² e² f²~ g^{2#} a² b² c³) or distorted rhythms. In the County of Bihor, the Gypsy fiddlers play with the same simplicity as their Rumanian peasant colleagues, and the same is true of the gypsies who live in the villages of the Hungarian backwoods. (Bartók [1931] 1976:222)

This state of affairs was accompanied by the change of style and musical thinking taking place in Western music (concerning harmonisation, musical forms, writing, playing technique, orchestration, etc.), which resulted in a separation of traditional music from the long 19th century. As Kodály put it in 1921,

In the fight that had been going on since the sixteenth century between the “vertical” and “horizontal” principles, harmony prevailed. By the nineteenth

24 “In 1846, during his concert tour in Transylvania, the composer notated *Koltói Csárdás* in score form in his sketchbook, which is evidence of a melody heard in live performance by Gypsy musicians. The song had been ‘folklorised’ from a popular art song, and in a vocal form we chiefly know with the lyrics *Erdő mellett nem jó lakni* [It is not good to live near the forest], while we know its instrumental version either as *Friss csárdás*, or as an instrumental intermezzo taken from the third and fourth lines of the stanza. The latter appears in various forms in dance melodies associated with archaic couple’s dances. The melody is also played with an opening in the minor key. Liszt arranged this melody as the fifth theme of the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 (*Vivace assai*, from bar 209), applying both the major and minor key versions.” (Tari 2017:8). On the *Koltói Csárdás*, see also Gárdonyi 1978:212, Tari 1981, 1983.

century, harmony became so dominant in music that melody and rhythm became increasingly impoverished. [...] What Saint-Saëns sought for in the Far East and in the church modes, what Debussy found in the Russian songs, Bartók discovered in the old Hungarian folk song. (Kodály [1921] 1982:429)

We must add that not only Bartók made this discovery, but Kodály did, too, and it spoke not only of the Hungarian folk song itself, but also the traditional manner of performance, a practice entirely different from 19th-century art music. These issues, however, should be dealt with in another study.

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ABSTRACT

At the end of the 19th century, Hungarian researcher Béla Vikár recorded thirteen Prekmurje folk songs in Tišina, a village in Slovenska krajina/Vendvidék (Slovene March). His audio recordings, which are kept at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest, are a valuable testimony to folk singing in Prekmurje. The extraordinary attention to the singing from the village on the edges of the land between the Mura and Rába Rivers raises different questions which take us to the issues of relations between Slovene and Hungarian people in this region, their closeness and detachment, i.e., the attitude to the Other.

KEYWORDS

Otherness, folk songs, Prekmurje, priests, recordings, Béla Vikár

Trapped in Otherness

The Influence of Church Politics and the Role of Prominent Clerics in the Collecting of Slovene Folk Songs

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The Slovene March, known in German as *Wendenland* or *Bezirk der Wenden*, or *Tótság* in Hungarian, belonged under the “crown of Saint Stephen,” i.e., the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy at the time when the *Tišina* recordings were made.¹ Slovenes, who represented the majority population

in this area, were marked by otherness on several levels: following the constitutional reform of the Austrian Empire in 1876, which instituted dualism, the preservation of languages and cultures of non-Hungarian nations was rapidly losing legitimacy, putting them in a position of otherness. They were also differentiated from the linguistically similar Slovenes, from whom they were separated by the Mura River and by strict security at the borders. The historical division between the Catholic and Lutheran denominations went beyond the otherness and exacerbated it at the same time. Underdevelopment in the region further intensified the otherness; 95% of the population lived below the poverty line (Anon. 1915:80).

The multilayered otherness of Slovenes between the Mura and Rába rivers had marked their coexistence with the majority Hungarians for almost a millennium. However, the few local Slovene members of the intelligentsia and those coming to the region from elsewhere were becoming

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more acutely aware of the otherness at the beginning of the 19th century, a time when the ideas of romantic nationalism opened the door for small nations to a dialogue with other nations (Leersen 2006; Juvan 2008).

Slovenes living under the Hungarian crown did not respond to the initiatives of romantic nationalism in the same way as their compatriots on the other side of the Mura River. The region was undeveloped, isolated, and inaccessible, which meant that people had little to no insight into the contemporary social currents; they were at the far end of their underdeveloped political unit, while the lack of bridges over the Mura River meant that contact was only possible with simple ferryboats. Bad infrastructure also plagued the interior of the region; the hilly north did not have good roads, while the marshes in the low-lying plains hindered the quality of life there as well. Poverty prevented the families from sending their sons to school, which became possible only once the orphanage in Kőszeg (Kisek) was established.

The self-awareness of the Slovenes was marked by servitude to the Hungarians, which led to the acceptance of the Lutheran and partly Calvinist religions in the 16th and 17th centuries (Slavič 1921:18). They understood Protestantism as identification with the ruling Hungarian elites. From the 16th century on, religious affiliation would define important dividing lines, one of them being the linguistic division: language was in the service of new religious ideas. Connections between Catholicism and the Slovene nation created dual differences and otherness. Slovene Catholics who lived under the Hungarian crown did not receive protection from their Lutheran ruling class; consequently, they paid a high price during the Ottoman sieges. Some Slovene villages disappeared completely (Gruden 1914:38) or decreased in size. In some places, the landowners would bring in German or Hungarian settlers to live in the emptied villages such as Dobra, Dobrovnik, and many others (op. cit.: 38–39), especially after the battle for Vienna in 1683 when the Ottoman army retreated from Hungary and the Esterházy brought Hungarian peasants to the emptied villages in the Lendava area (Kovačič 1922:41).

Centuries of religious differences and other social changes created differences within the religiously mixed Slovene communities. In general, however, the differences existed between the northern part of the Slovene March, i.e. the land of Slovenes between the Mura and Rába rivers (known as *Slovenska okroglina*, or *Vendvidek and Slovenska krajina*, or *Totsag*), where the affiliation with the Lutheran faith continued, and the plains, where people mostly returned to Catholicism. Slovene Catholics belonged under two dioceses: from the 12th century on, after disagreements among several dioceses, the northern part was allocated to the Diocese of Győr, while the south-eastern part came under Diocese of Zagreb (Sedar 2013:31–32),

which, in 1730, was still known as the Slovene diocese (Sedar 2013:34). In 1719, however, several thousand of Lutherans from Prekmurje moved from Vas County to Somogy County (Slavič 1921:18).

In the 18th century, religious differences among Slovenes in Hungary were somewhat artificial and were mitigated by the spread of book publishing. Book production was spearheaded by the of Lutherans Slovenes from Prekmurje, who, up until the 18th century, perused the books of Carniolan Protestant writers (Gruden 1914:41). In 1715, Franc Temlin issued a translation of the catechism in the German city of Halle. This was followed by the translations of Biblical and other texts. The activities of István Küzmics (according to the Slovene orthography used today: Števan Küzmič), a priest from Surd (Šurd), were the most impactful, and Šurd became the centre of Slovene Protestant literature of the time (Fekonja 1892:173).

Their own book publishing production cemented the self-identification of Protestants from Prekmurje, and in 1782, their status was further improved by the Edict of Tolerance. Catholics also saw changes in self-awareness; in 1777, Maria Theresa established a diocese in Szombathely (Sombotel), which brought the Catholics of the Slovene March together as the new diocese also included Slovenes from the Vas and Zala counties. The first bishop, János Szily, saw that the Catholics in Hungary did not have books in their own language and proposed to Catholic priest and dean Miklós Küzmics (Mikloš Küzmič) to translate the essential religious texts and a spelling book (Gruden 1914:61). The publishing activities started by Mikloš Küzmič reinforced not only religious affiliation but also affiliation to the Slovene March (Fekonja 1892:174).

Both Protestant and Catholic writers called the language they wrote in “old Slovene language” (Fekonja 1892:173). They used the Hungarian alphabet, which, together with the language, differentiated them from other Slovenes. At the end of the 18th century, the recognisability of Slovenes in the region was further boosted by the publishing of songs. In 1796, Protestant teacher and organist István Szijjártó (Števan Sijarto) published a booklet titled *Mrtvecsne peszmi* (Dirges).

The writing, copying, and publishing of these songs was highly important for the Slovene March: printed songbooks were typically seen in the Lutheran community, while handwritten songbooks were standard for the Catholic community. The hymn (religious song) repertoire of the two communities intertwined, also seen with other types of songs as well (for more, see Pisk 2018:26; Jesenšek 2019). In addition to religious activities, which at the time were the key element of identification for Slovenes of both denominations in the Slovene March, some hymns, especially dirges, connected the Catholic and Lutheran communities.

Copies of the *Mrtvecsne peszmi* were spread with the help of teachers, who were also organists at the time. Schools in that period operated within the frame of individual parishes, which meant that they were also religiously differentiated into Catholic and Lutheran schools (Sedar 2013:140–141). School lessons were in the local Prekmurje language. Until the second quarter of the 19th century, Latin was used as the official public language in Hungary, and various ethnicities would use their own languages in schools and churches.

The initiative for self-reflection and self-promotion of the Slovenes living in the Slovene March came from outside: at the request of Slovak ethnologist Johann Csaplovics (Jan Čaplovič), József Kossics (Jožef Košič), a priest from Alsószölnök (Dolnji Senik), described the life and culture of Slovene March. In *Croaten and Wenden in Ungern* (1829), which is actually considered to be Čaplovič's work,² Košič presented his compatriots from the point of view characteristic of the writers of the Enlightenment: he describes the basic geographic features, living conditions and the main expressions of their culture. Slovenes, who called themselves *Sloveni* while the Germans referred to them as *Wenden* or *Wandalen* and the Hungarians as *tótok*, were therefore presented through the otherness that distinguished them from their neighbours. Košič also pointed out the closeness with the Slovenes living in Styria and Carniola (Csaplovics 1929:81).

Košič focused on the area's remoteness and underdevelopment as characteristics that distinguished the region from the others. He wanted to draw attention to the incredibly poor living conditions, which hindered any progress the Slovenes living between the Mura and Rába Rivers could have made. Slovene homes were very modest across the board, from the homes of people with some means to the homes of the poorest sharecropping winegrowers. Other specifics were also highlighted in the descriptions of food, clothing culture, wedding customs, and farming. He then described the people from the plains as incredibly hardworking and was critical of some bad habits (Csaplovics 1829:49–115).

Košič did not elaborate on music: he claimed Slovenes had no dances of their own, and so music was not of much importance. His description makes it clear that few people played the fiddle, and in the Cankova and Črenšovci parishes, people played wind instruments and also performed in churches. In the northern, hilly areas, there was more singing than on the plains inhabited mainly by Catholics, who would only sing hymns as they did not have secular music (Csaplovics 1829:116).

2 When the work was first published, Kossics's name was not mentioned as Csaplovics published it under his own name (Novak 1949). However, the authorship is clear from other sources (Brtň 1980:255).

Although Košič had already written his work in 1820, it was only published after Čaplovič had asked him to write about funeral customs and practices (Brtaň 1980:255). This work gives us an insight into these customs, which reflect specific distinguishable characteristics of the people living in the Slovene March. When describing the specifics of lamenting, the writer noted not only the differences between the characteristics of the northern hilly part and the lower lying plains, but also the differences between the Catholics and Lutherans and the expressions of differences in wealth as well as some regional differences (Csaplovics 1829:119–126).

Language was given special attention in this work. The use of the Prekmurje literary language went beyond the pragmatic, communicative level and became a demonstration of identity. The age and the importance of the language were specifically emphasised by quoting the Lord's Prayer (Csaplovics 1829:81–82). It was clearly stated that priests were of paramount importance in the lives of Slovenes. The schools did not offer enough to the children, who only had Hungarian and German school books that they did not understand, and so they learned to write mostly by copying church hymns (Csaplovics 1829:91–98).

However, a new era was about to come for the languages and the attitude to languages in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The role of Latin was taken over by the Hungarian language. At first, the change was not understood as exclusive. From the linguistic point of view, there was a big divide separating Slovenes whose community was divided by the Mura River. Slovenes living in the Austrian Hereditary Lands, i.e. on the other side of the Mura River, felt linguistically endangered and wanted to assert their right to use their own language at all levels. Apart from the language, folk songs were also significant for the national identity of Slovenes in these lands. Within the context of interest in Slovene folk songs, one of the first collectors working in the Slovene lands was Stanko Vraz, who also came to the Slovene March, visiting both the Catholic and the Lutheran communities, where he recorded several folk songs (Vraz 1839:138–145) (*Fig. 1a, 1b*). His contemporary, the Polish researcher Emil Korytko, who also collected and prepared a publication of Slovene folk songs (1839–1844), did not include this region in his project. As a political refugee, he was limited to Ljubljana and could not take into account the recommendation of the Slovene linguist living in Vienna, Jernej Kopitar, who, on 11 July 1838, encouraged Korytko to include the traditions of all Slovenes who at the time lived in the area from Friuli to the Lake Balaton (Kidrič 1910:684).

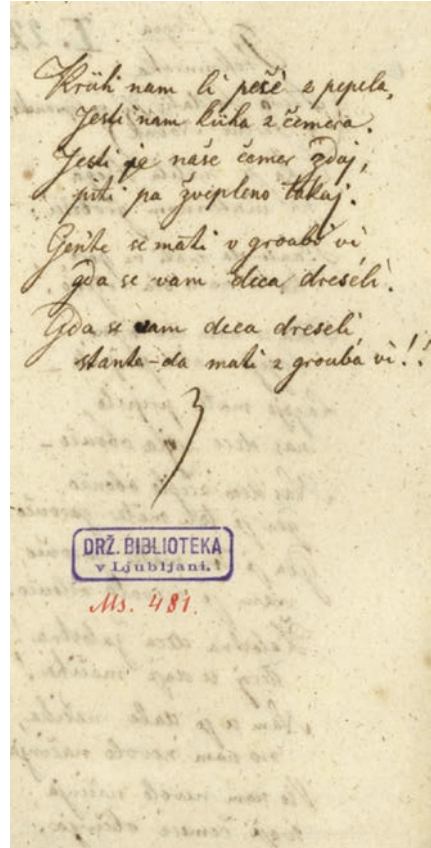
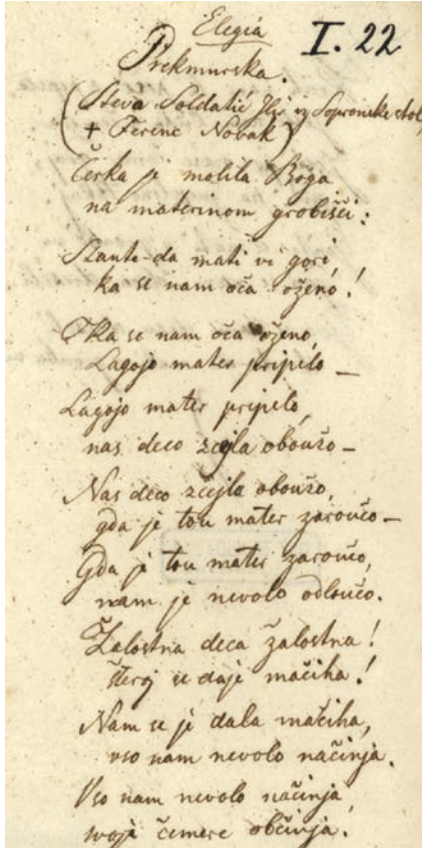


Figure 1a, 1b. In the first half of the 19th century, the Slovenes in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy didn't present themselves through their folk songs. At that time, some important folk song texts were written down by the South Styrian Stanko Vraz. The Slovenian song about a cruel stepmother came from the Sopron county. (NUK, Ms. 481, X, 22)

For Slovenes living in the Slovene March at that time, progress was more important than promoting ethnic self-identification through collecting and publishing folk songs. From this perspective, the Lands of the Hungarian Crown were to follow the lead of the Austrian Hereditary Lands. In the mid-19th century, Jožef Košič wanted to provide his compatriots with better opportunities for learning. In his book *Zobriszani Szloven i Szlovenka med Mürov i Rábov* (Educated Slovenes between the Mura and Rába Rivers), Košič highlighted the specifics of the Slovene March as they reflected in religious division and pointed out the return to Catholicism after the pressure from the Hungarian rulers subsided (Kossics 1845:80). Being a priest, Košič saw education and good manners as essential to the progress of the nation, so he continued to introduce new songs. He described

singing psalms on *gregorjevo* (St Gregory's Day on 12 March) (Kossics 1845:14–20) and published a psalm to be sung when collecting presents for the local teacher. The psalm was translated from Hungarian (Kozar-Mukič 1992:21) and called attention to the importance of school for the general progress of the nation.

At the same time, changes in education were also taking place. After the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 and after Hungary was placed under martial law, the school in Prekmurje became de facto Slovene; it had Slovene teachers and used Slovene schoolbooks (Jerič 1890:8–9).

While Košič was trying to emphasise the importance of education by following the lead of the Slovene lands in the Austrian part, these, on the other hand, became interested in Slovenes living in the Slovene March because of their language. A Styrian priest and linguist, Božidar Raič, called the region between the Mura and Rába Rivers “the most classical Slovene land,” meaning the most original Slovenian region. Literary production, which was based on creativity with religious content, created an important identity; in broader terms, language affiliation was significant for the national identity (Fekonja 1892:172).

Life in the common state and the connections among students and the intelligentsia sustained the closeness between the inhabitants of the Slovene March and the Slovaks. The Slovak people referred to Slovenes, who lived mostly in Vas (Eisenburg), Zala, Somogy, and Baranya (Baranja) counties at the time as *zadonavski Slovenci* (Slovenes beyond the Danube). Based on the census of 1845, the number of Slovenes living in these counties was 56,913 (Janežič 1863:85–86, 116). A Slovak writer, whose essay was introduced to Slovenes from other regions by the priest, writer, and editor Anton Janežič from Carinthia, observed the characteristics of life and culture of *zadonavski* Slovenes and pointed out the similarities with Slovaks in, for example, wedding customs and highlighted the customs accompanying death and the experience of death as a very distinct, specific characteristic; *zadonavski* Slovenes grieved intensely. Cleaning the deceased with the water blessed on the day of the Three Kings was one of the central acts, along with lamenting that included a recounting of the deceased's good deeds, long prayers for the deceased and giving alms to the poor. Language and religious divisions, which were reflected in two different literary trends, were also considered unique to these Slovenes (Janežič 1863:115–117).

The author also pointed out the influence of the language of the ruling nation on the minority. He illustrated the process with the events in Somogy county by listing where the Hungarian population, living together with the Slovene people, was on the increase: Mihalovci (Mihálad, today Miháld),

Sand and Pad (Path; today Pat), Lisa (Liszó), Sv. Peter,³ Porog (Porrog), Čurgova (Csurgó), Bukova (Bükösd; today Somogybükkösd), and Sv. Pavel⁴. “All of these villages are ancient and were mentioned in the documents as early as the Mongolian times⁵—but now Slovenes live there mixed with Hungarians” (Janežič 1863:87). Analysing religious divisions, Janežič noted that Lutheran priests in some parishes preached to Slovenes in Hungarian (Janežič 1863:116). The consequences of this practice were obvious in places where Slovenes were in minority. In Surd, which was the centre of the Slovene Evangelical community at the time of Štefan Küzmič, priest Pál (Pavel) Szabó (1833–1862) still held services in the Slovene language, at the request of the Slovenes. However, when the Slovene language was abandoned in churches, it soon disappeared from Slovene homes as well (Slavič 1921:19).

In this period of time, the interest in ethnographic presentations was on the rise. This was most noticeable in the work *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (1886–1902) (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture), which, in the 1880s, introduced nations across the monarchy through the basic characteristics of their traditional culture. Slovenes from Zala and Vas counties were introduced by the Slovenian ethnologist, Bálint Bellosics (Belošič).

Unlike the clergymen before him, Bellosics did not emphasise religious differences, and instead, he defined Slovenes living between the Mura and Rába Rivers as *Goričanci*, *Dolinci*, and *Ravenci*, i.e., people from the hills, the valleys, and the plains, respectively. He introduced Slovene people from an insider’s perspective, and his education in ethnography afforded him a broader view on the topic. He described male and female costumes, homes, family life, wedding and funeral customs, some customs connected to the calendar, and also customs connected to farming. One of the characteristic types of folk songs he mentioned was the category of farewell songs, but he also stressed that people enjoyed singing church hymns. Lutheran seasonal workers sang their own psalms on Sundays. He mentions seasonal work as an important factor that also affected singing habits, but when doing their seasonal job or working in vineyards, Slovenes would learn Hungarian tunes and would then add their own words to them. Furthermore, he emphasised that the folk songs sung by Hungarian Slovenes are practically unknown elsewhere, mentioning a narrative song as an example (Bellosics 1896:259–270).

3 Most probably Pogányszentpéter.

4 It is unclear which village is meant here—Somogyszentpál or Porrogszentpál.

5 Janežič refers to the documents, but today the historiography agrees that Lutheran Slovene families moved these localities from their original Mura valley homeland in the 18th century, because the Catholic landlords forced them to leave the original places.

In his conclusion, Bellosics describes the Slovenes of old Pannonia as incredibly hard-working and patriotic people. At the time, there were at least 70,000 Hungarian Slovenes (Bellosics 1896:270), and his presentation put them on the cultural map of Austria-Hungary, but it did not take a critical look at the language issue, something that most Slovene priests on both sides of the Mura River emphasised.

Language as a determinant of national identity was becoming increasingly important in the 1880s. Catholic priests, while creating closer and closer connections with the Slovene lands in the Austrian part of the monarchy, respected people's sense of belonging to the Hungarian crown. Nevertheless, they understood that the language issue had two levels: people ethnically identified as Hungarian Slovenes; at the same time, this identification was also strictly Slovene. In the first instance, the predominant writing language was the Prekmurje literary language, and in the second, the activities were more and more linked to *Mohorjeva družba*, a Slovenian cultural organisation in Klagenfurt (*Celovec* in Slovenian), which promoted literacy and education through their publishing activities. In the Slovene March, the *Mohorjeva družba* memberships first began in 1870. The initiators and *Mohorjeva družba* agents were usually priests. At the end of the 1880s, the number of members fell rapidly (Vovko 1998:153). In the 1890s, the state made the deliveries of books from *Mohorjeva družba* impossible, and their agents were considered enemies of the state and Pan-Slavists, so the books would be smuggled to Prekmurje in turnip barrels ([Baša] 1992:44).

The otherness of the Slovenes was also perceived at school. The first education law of 1869 made it possible for non-Hungarian ethnicities to have their own schools where learning Hungarian was not required. This, however, did not last long, and only a few years later, the bishops, who regulated religious schools, ordered the Hungarian language to be a mandatory subject. In 1879, this decree became part of the new education law. Around 1890, all folk schools became entirely Hungarian (Jerič 1890:8–9). The Slovene language was also prohibited in public offices, and so the area inhabited by Slovenes became recognisable only through the Slovene sermons in churches (Slavič 1921:36).

In the 1890s, the tendency to have a unified state identity was rapidly gaining ground. Affiliation with the Slovene community was being preserved outside ordinary communication, through hymns linked to religious ceremonies, mainly funeral customs. Songbooks containing dirges were therefore highly important, both as manuscripts and as printed songbooks (see Pisk 2018; Jesenšek 2019).

Regarding the attitude towards the Slovene community, one of the hymnals had a special mission. In 1893, the St Stephen's Society in Budapest published a hymnal by József Pusztai, a teacher from Martjanci, with

the purpose of helping Hungarian learners. Pusztai believed that the language of the majority nation offered more possibilities for cultural expression of Slovenes, so he included some items in Slovene and some in Hungarian. In the introduction, Pusztai wrote that the time people would praise the Lord in one and the same language, i.e., Hungarian, was not far, which was met with severe opposition from Slovenes themselves (O[blak] 1894:703). Slovene priests refused to use the hymnal, and a big part of the edition remained unsold (Slavič 1921:31).

Among the Slovenes living in other regions of Austria-Hungary, only intellectuals, predominantly clergymen, had insight into the situation in Hungary. Common people would generally meet Hungarian Slovenes on pilgrimages and would recognise them by their singing. They also began referring to Hungarian Slovenes as *Prekmurci*, alluding to the Mura River, which was the main dividing line that separated the two communities. (Slavič 1921:82). In the “ethnographic short story” *Prekmurci* (Prekmurje People), which was published in Klagenfurt (Celovec), priest Jakob Meško portrayed the cultural imagery of the Slovenes living in the Slovene March with great empathy toward the fate of his compatriots from the other side of the Mura River (Meško 1882:519). He described their singing as an important part of their self-image: “Prekmurje people, just as Slavs in general, like to sing. It is a pleasure to hear their sad voices when they come on pilgrimage to sv. Trojica in Slovene Hills or to Sladka gora near Šmarje; but they have happy and jocular songs, too” (Meško 1882:522).

During the 1890s, when Dr Karel Štrekelj began publishing a large collection of *Slovenske ljudske pesmi* (Slovenian Folk Songs) (1895–1923) in Ljubljana as an expression of cultural belonging, the Slovenes from the Slovene March had few rights to express their identity. In Murska Sobota, a Hungarian Educational Society of the Slovene March (Vendvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület) began operating in 1893. The Society was very active in spreading the Hungarian language, culture, and Hungarian national consciousness among the inhabitants of today’s Prekmurje. They organised language courses, political and cultural events, but at the same time, they also strived to improve the local economy (Jerič 2001:6).

In the 1890s, the differences between the conditions of Slovenes in the Austrian Hereditary Lands and those of Slovenes living under the Hungarian crown were at their peak. While the former could best express their national autonomy through songs, the latter had very restricted language rights. Consequently, Karel Štrekelj was able to include only the material from the Vas and Zala counties that Stanko Vraz had recorded half a century before in his Slovenian Folk Songs collection (Fig. 2).

This meant that—from the perspective of song traditions—a large community was practically overlooked. According to the census from 1900,

(Prekmurska iz saladske županije.)

Čerka je molila Boga Na materinom grobišču: „Stante da, mati vi, gori, 5 Ka se nam oča oženo — Ka se nam oča oženo, Lagojo mater pripelo — Lagojo mater pripelo, Nas deco z cejla oboužo — Nas deco z cejla oboužo 10 Gda je tou mater zaroučo — Gda je tou mater zaroučo, Nam je nevolu odloučo! Zalostna deca, žalostna,	Šteroj se daje mačiha! 15 Nam se je dala mačiha, Vso nam nevolu načinja — Vso nam nevolu načinja, Svoje čemere občinja. Krüh nam li peče s pepela, 20 Jesti nam kúha z čemera, Jesti je naše čemer zdaj, Piti pa žvepleno takaj! Gen'te se, mati, v groubi vi. Gda se vam deca dreseli — 25 Gda se vam deca dreseli, Stante da, mati, z grouba vi!“
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Figure 2. In the comprehensive collection of Slovenian folk songs *Slovenske narodne pesmi* from the end of the 19th century, the Slovenes of the Slovene March were represented only by the texts recorded by Stanko Vraz. The song about a cruel stepmother was ascribed to Zala county. (*Slovenske narodne pesmi* I, 1895–1898: 384)

51,006 Slovenes lived in Vas county, 21,932 in Zala county and 1,587 in Somogy county (Trstenjak 1905:6). In an isolated community of Tarany (Taranj), which was characterised by folk culture similar to that of Prekmurje and by the same Prekmurje names at the beginning of the 20th century, 1,597 villagers defined themselves as Slovenes. They had preserved the Slovene language, and the author noted that “they are not aware of their nationality in the same sense as we understand it” but they “remain true to their old traditions” (Trstenjak 1905:14–17). Their language was limited to their local environment, so it gradually disappeared.

At that time, Slovenes from the Slovene March who spoke Slovene in public were believed to deny and betray their Hungarian homeland. The ruling authorities interpreted this as a threat of separatism or Pan-Slavism. In the 1890s, everyone who arrived to the Slovene March from Styria was considered suspicious. Similarly, Slovene priests from the Slovene March who wanted to accompany people on the pilgrimage were not allowed to cross the Mura River. Slovene geographic names were changed into their Hungarian equivalents, and personal names had to be changed as well. Furthermore, Slovene priests were transferred to non-Slovene parishes. The consequences of this policy were obvious, especially in the areas where Slovenes constituted a minority (Trstenjak 1914:125–128).

This situation was strongly opposed by Franc Ivanóczy (1875–1913), a Catholic priest whose original surname, Kodela, had been changed, most probably in the Kőszeg (Kisek) orphanage (Trstenjak 1914:126). In 1889, Ivanóczy left the position of professor of theology in Szombathely (Sombotel) and became a priest in Tišina. He did this despite having been recommended for the position of dean of Augustineum by bishop Hidasz, then for an institute of theology in Vienna and for the court chaplain, which in itself was a step towards becoming a bishop ([Baša] 1992:28). Ivanóczy returned to the Slovene March as a highly educated intellectual.

His wish was to serve the poor, from where he hailed from. He understood the problems people faced and was painfully aware of their poverty; 95% of people were impoverished (Anon. 1915:80).

The pressure to identify with the Hungarian homeland became even more intensive in 1896, the year that marked the millennium of the arrival of Hungarians to the Pannonian Basin. That same year, Ivanóczy was accused of teaching at Sunday school and of hearing confessions in Slovene (Anon. 2015:80–82). The bishop of Szombathely (Sombotel), Hidasy, could not help him with his defence. Despite the opposition of the teaching staff and administration, Ivanóczy continued teaching at Sunday school and giving sermons in Slovene as well as introducing Slovene books. Believing that having both a mother tongue and a state-recognised language (Hungarian) are not mutually exclusive and that both can contribute to the progress of the homeland, he continued to defend his standpoint also as the school supervisor (Anon. 1915:83–88). He based his point of view on theology: he was certain that it was God who created different languages in order to be praised in different languages. Ivanóczy also published articles about Slovenes and their traditions in Hungarian with the aim of raising awareness of the importance of Slovene culture (Trstenjak 1914:127–129).

During this time of extreme harshness towards otherness, presumably in 1898, Hungarian researcher Béla Vikár arrived in Csendlak, as Tišina was officially called at that time, Franc Ivanóczy's parish. With his phonograph, he filled at least six cylinders with thirteen recorded songs (Kunej 2008:73). The songs included love songs popular at the time, narrative songs, songs about nature, and two ritual songs, one of which, intended for collecting gifts for the teacher, had been published by Jožef Košič half a century earlier (Kossics 1845:138–143) (Fig. 3).

♩ = 168

Svet Gre-gor dok - to - ra, mo-dra pre-cep - to - ra, na nje - ga den
 po- leg sta - re re - de šo- la na - stav - le - na je za fče - nje.

Svet Gregor doktora,
 modra preceptora,
 na njega den
 pouleg stare rede
 šoula nastavlena
 je za fčenje.

Saint Gregory, the doctor,
 Wise preceptor,
 On his day
 As in old order
 The school was established
 For learning.

Odite vi z nami,	Come with us,
ar smo po vas prišli,	For we came for you,
dobra deca.	Good children.
Odimo vu šoulu,	Let's go to school,
vu tou ižu božu,	To this blessed house,
s toga mesta.	From where we stand.

Figure 3. GNI, 11-MH 1224

Despite the numerous attempts to get information about Béla Vikár's arrival in Tišina, no data could be obtained about the choice of the recording location (Kunej 2008:83). The recognition of Ivanóczy's work, his notes on the culture of Slovenes and his personal connections with influential members of society at the time allow for the possibility that Béla Vikár's arrival at Tišina was linked to Ivanóczy. Nevertheless, recording Slovene songs at the time while promoting the Slovene language in Hungary was, mildly speaking, unwelcome. It proves that Béla Vikár and his work overcame the politics of national coercion.

In the following years, the bishop of Szombathely (Sombotel), Vilmos István, helped Ivanóczy to overcome such political pressure. With his support, Ivanóczy established the Society of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (Trstenjak 1914:130), which, in 1903, was the first to publish an almanack in the Prekmurje language. A year later, Ivanóczy's chaplain in Tišina, Jožef Klekl Sr, began publishing a monthly magazine titled *Marijin list* (Mary's Paper) and soon after that, a weekly paper *Novine* (News), as well. Getting news on local events in the Prekmurje language would move people to tears. Right before the beginning of World War I, the self-awareness of the Slovene community was expressed and further strengthened by issues of folk traditions, including a booklet *Narodne pesmi Vogrskih Slovincov* (Folk Songs of Hungarian Slovenes) (1913).

World War I brought significant changes to the situation and perception of Slovenes between the Mura and Rába Rivers. At the end of March 1919, Hungary came under the rule of a Bolshevik government. Differences among the Bolsheviks themselves led to the second Bolshevik period, when the government turned against the clergy and several priests were executed. The priests striving to help poor people were the targets of the new regime. On 12 August 1919, the Yugoslav army marched into Prekmurje (Slavič 1921:48–54).

The negotiations on new state borders taking place at the Paris Peace Conference were also attended by two priests, Prof. Dr Matija Slavič and Fran Kovačič. Matija Slavič was the one who pushed the hardest for Prekmurje to join the other Slovene lands. The Treaty of Trianon, signed on 4 June

1920, split the former Slovene March between two countries: Prekmurje, which still used the name *Slovenska krajina*, came under the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, while the Rába Valley remained in Hungary. A Hungarian minority remained in Prekmurje, living in the areas of Lendava, Hodoš, and Dobrovnik and, partly, in Šalovci and Moravske Toplice.

Books in the Slovene literary language were introduced into schools, and only the catechism remained in the Prekmurje literary language, both in the Catholic and the Lutheran Churches. The founding of the Prekmurje Lutheran Seniority meant that the Lutheran community could preserve the traditions of the Prekmurje literary language, defined with their first prints, through Prekmurje prayers, such as the Lord's Prayer, and hymns. On the other hand, Catholics, and especially Catholic priests in Prekmurje, were gravely disappointed with the new Yugoslav state when it transpired that they would not get their own diocese, which they had been promised. The biggest blow was the prohibition of the Prekmurje language in churches, including the catechism (Slavič 1921:126). With this, the basic prayers in the Prekmurje literary language that derived from their own Catholic tradition were effectively removed from schools and Catholic churches. However, this tradition was preserved in the Catholic churches in the Rába Valley, the part of the former Slovene March that the Treaty of Trianon allocated to Hungary.

In the following decades, the Prekmurje regional identity was preserved only through Prekmurje folk songs. Some of them soon became of interest and a new source of inspiration for researchers from central Slovenia; the others fell into oblivion. It is for this reason that the recordings from Tišina have become a valuable audio monument: they preserve the memory of folk singing in the Slovene March, their ethnic relations, and their political framework, which people were able to overcome through song.

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I will demonstrate how the cultural politics and the research concerning Finnish Romani music go hand in hand in different historical and cultural contexts. Based on my fieldwork, I argue that the study of Finnish Romani music and related perspectives and methods appears with the ethnic-political activism of the Roma. Thereby, I present a brief history of the Finnish Roma as well as cultural features and their significance to the Romani community, along with cultural practices such as respect and modesty. This article also briefly investigates the position of the Roma in Finnish society, education, and religiosity along with developments in these areas among today's Romani population.

KEYWORDS

Finnish Romani music, research concerning Romani music, historical and cultural contexts

Finnish Romani Music and the Research Tradition

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INSIDERS, OUTSIDERS, AND OTHERS

Cultural diversity manifests in all relationships, including musical research relationships. Ethnomusicologists work across a broad range of cultures that go beyond ethnicity. This is not only the case with Roma, but with many ethnic groups, including research or ethnographic work; definitions and categories are created by which ethnic cultures can be distinguished from one another. Less often have the influences been examined by which various communities—Finnish Roma, Russian immigrants or the majority population and different ethnic groups, etc.—melt into one another. Also a review of relevant literature suggests that ethical implications begin with the power dynamics in the research relationship. Consent, research processes, research design, data ownership, and use of data are also salient issues that arise. Conducting research across any cultural context requires intense attention to ethics. Moreover, a perspective that is well suited to my research is the notion of tradition or “heritage” as an individual process of choice. Jeff Todd Titon (1980:276) has suggested that personality or individuality—not the whole community—is the main ingredient in one’s biography. In this sense, people interpret music tradition within their own frameworks, and commitment to a specific genre of music or musical environment does not exclude the possibility of other circles of tradition (Åberg 2002; 2015).

In this paper, I will show how the interest in the Roma emerged in Finland in the 18th and 19th centuries, the time of exoticism in both schol-

arship and the arts. I will also show that in the early 20th century, Finnish musicologists remained outside the international discussion on Romani music. The few texts published on the topic were mainly concerned with the orchestral music of the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe. We may attribute the Romantic turn in Finnish approaches to Romani music. For example, a description of the performances of Romani orchestras from 1923 by the composer Axel Törnudd (1874–1923), a trailblazer of music pedagogy in Finland, noted the creative nature of the performances. Researchers of Romani music unanimously rejected the idea of a national dimension for it, focusing their attention on all phenomena characteristic of Romani music. In the spirit of Romanticism, there were discussions of the impression made by the music on its listeners (see Blomster 2012; Åberg 2015). I would not claim that the interpretations of Törnudd, Väisänen and the researchers who followed them regarding the music culture of the Roma were fundamentally incorrect. These descriptions describe culture in terms of general principles (global Gypsy stereotypes) within which identity was understood as a project of belonging and collectivity, the essential theories of Romani culture. It is illustrative, however, that both in Finland and elsewhere in Europe, questions of the origin of Romani music were emphasised. In this paper—based on my fieldwork among the Roma comprising 28 years—I will also demonstrate how musical identities are continuously changing and adapting phenomena. For the Roma, identity has always been constructed in relation to hegemonic powers such as nationalism, regionalism, patrons of the arts, socialist ideologies, and European Union officials (see Silverman 2012:55; Åberg 2015). Identities vary according to the opportunities of the situation and areas of culture concerned, and they are bound to the contexts within which they are constructed (Strand and Marsh 2005:12–13).

THE CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

Owing to the small number of studies on Finnish Romani music, it is hard to speak of Romani music research to the same extent as elsewhere in Europe. However, the Finnish research focused for a long while on music collection and documentation, gradually achieving broader theoretical dimensions. This article is rooted in my long-term interest in the music of the Roma; it has been nearly 25 years since my first fieldwork on Finnish Romani music and musical culture. My musical path has wound in many directions over the years, encompassing several different genres of Romani music. My occasional collaboration with Romani artists working in Finnish popular music has enriched not only my personal musical iden-

tity but also my understanding of the multiple meanings of Finnish Romani music (Åberg 2015).

Over the past 20 years, I have sought various things in the empirical material of my research. The basic question, however, was already crystallised in 1994, in an early stage of the research process: How are the elements of cultural meaning in the songs and the informants' conceptions of the songs constructed? The purpose of my research is not only to describe the songs in terms of music and lyrics, or events of song culture, or to chart their distribution, but also to seek more complex ways of understanding and explaining them.

My approach is based on the notion that knowledge is socially constructed. According to my theoretical framework of social and cultural constructivism, the reality of music culture is constructed via its actors (cf. Berger and Luckmann [1966]1994; Hacking 2009; Strand and Marsh 2005; Järviluoma 1997; Rice 2007:24–30). To me, this means that when we perform music or discuss it, we construct or lend signification to the subject. Recent studies of Romani music have also focused attention on the relations of interaction between the music, the musicians, the audience (Hemetek 2007; Fennesz-Juhász 2007; Helbig 2007; Jurkova 2010; Silverman 2012), and between Romani groups and their surrounding cultures (Marushiakova and Popov 2007; Belisova 2002:13). Along with the discourse concerning the music and its performance, the researcher's interpretations of the phenomena concerned are also general. Like James Clifford and George E. Marcus (1986), I maintain that explanations that do not take into account the participation of the researcher obscure the process whereby the material is formed (Dahl and Thor 2009). In other words, the process and the results both belong to the arguments concerning construction (see Hacking 2009:63).

Before moving on to the details of my argument, I want to launch this discussion with a few words about the importance of a historical perspective. Writing about this very point, we all know that a sense of history plays an important part in social life. History can serve as collective memory, the storehouse of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and future prospects. As noted by Keith Negus (1996:137), "history is important for an individual and group sense of identity; it provides knowledge and ideas from which 'we' decide who 'we' are, where we came from and where 'we' are going." In this chapter, my point is that historical knowledge about music is directly related to how different people construct a sense of identity as an active process, as coming from somewhere and going towards something.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FINNISH ROMA (KAALE)

Much has been written about the Roma in Finland, as will become apparent later in this article. However, there are few histories written by the Roma themselves about their people's experiences (see Mroz 2008:119). Romani history has been written by and from the perspective of the majority population, based on materials produced by the administrative apparatus of the majority (Pulma 2006:11; 2012). Although the goal has been to create a general picture of the history of the Romani population, many of the texts have suffered from a recycling of materials that construct stereotypes. In Finland, as elsewhere, writing about the Roma has removed them from the rest of social history, focusing almost exclusively on events that only affected them. This has made it impossible to create a realistic picture of their treatment during different periods compared with the treatment of other groups (Viljanen 2003:75; Pulma 2006:12; 2012). A notable exception is *Suomen romanien historia* (*History of the Finnish Roma*, 2012), edited by Panu Pulma, which shows on what kinds of views national and local politics have been based, what the aims of Romani policy have been over the past 500 years in the Nordic countries, and what means have been employed in the name of these policies.

The first mentions of Romani ethnicities in Lithuania are from 1501 and 1557. These records have been cited as definite evidence that the Roma came to Finland from Sweden. In later centuries, additional Romani came from the Baltic region and Russia as well (Pulma 2006:32). (Fig. 1).



Figure 1. Romani routes to Europe. Source: Blomster 2004

The central significance of kinship in Romani social life and subsistence strategies led to geographic divisions of the Finnish Roma in terms of

families. The Lindgrens dominated the Northern Ostrobothnia region, the Hagerts the northern parishes of Central Finland, the Swartzes the Kainuu area, the Lindemans Central Finland and the border parishes of Southern Ostrobothnia. The Walentins held sway in Sysmä, the Grönstrands in Satakunta, the Borgs in Hartola and Keuruu (Pulma 2006:103) and the Nymanilainens in Eastern Finland. In the 1900s and before, horses played a central role in Romani occupational life: almost all Romani trades related to horse trading, gelding, or working as farriers. Women earned a living by weaving and other smaller handwork. Occasional craftsmen's trades included blacksmith, tailor, cobbler, and woodworking (see Pulma 2006:104; Grönfors 1981; Vehmas 1961). Temporary farm labour was also an integral part of the income of nomadic Romani groups. Begging also continued as an important part of their income, something which the state often frowned upon. The combination of begging and vagabondage was the factor that constantly threatened the Roma with being labelled as vagrants. Travelling as family groups, however, protected the Roma simply because officials lacked the means for placing large groups in workhouses (see Pulma 2006:104).

Secondly, in the 1960s, rapid structural changes altered the sources of livelihood for the Roma in such a way that the traditional occupations lost their significance. Like the rest of the rural poor, the Romani population quickly became urbanised but encountered insurmountable obstacles in the new labour and housing markets. Third, as the international flow of information became more efficient, new publicity gave rise to a wave of ethnic organising all around Europe, something that was observed closely in the Nordic countries as well. An example is the establishment of the Suomen Mustalaisyhdistys (Finnish Gypsy Society, now the Finnish Romani Society) in 1967, a joint project of New Left intellectuals, the older generation of Romani activists, and young Romani radicals (see Pulma 2006:201). Around the same time, the political discourse woke up to the existence of the Romani language, and public discussions of the significance of language became more common. In 1975, some 42 Members of Parliament from the governing and opposition parties delivered a written enquiry addressed to the government concerning "safeguarding the study and maintenance of the Gypsy language" (Pulma 2006: 192). As the state took clear steps in its social policy, the interest of the Roma themselves in cultural policy and the education of the Romani minority increased. "Gypsy author" Veijo Baltzar published his first novel, *Polttava tie* (*The Burning Road*) in 1968 and the religious Suomen Vapaa Romaniyhdistys (Finnish Free Romani Society) began its activities in 1964.

The breakthrough of international ethno-political rhetoric and accompanying modes of argumentation was rapid, swiftly sweeping through

the political arena in Finland as well. As a result of this development, the entry of the Roma's own organisations, e.g., the Mustalaisasian neuvotelukunta (Gypsy Issues Advisory Board), as political actors created a new kind of ethno-politics both at the national and the international levels. The condemnation of assimilation policies required a new kind of policy in all areas, one that could meet the requirements of protecting and strengthening minority rights. In these political processes, representatives of the minorities and the political system together framed definitions related to the ethnic and cultural character of the minorities. At the same time, the Finnish Romani population stayed significantly dependent upon the state, particularly from the perspective of the various income transfer and state-provincial support systems: beginning in the 1990s and 2000s, the status of the Romani minority has been a subject of constant regulation by the Council of Europe and the EU (Pulma 2006:202). As the turn of the millennium approached, many different Romani organisations worked to improve the status of Romani culture across Europe (see Hansen and Johanssen 2006; Sobotka 2005; Mroz 2008). The Nevo Roma Association, founded in 1999, started to bring together people interested in preserving Romani traditions. The association has organised a concert series of Romani music, *Indiako Drom*. In 1995, the Finnish Constitution was strengthened, forbidding discrimination based on one's birth origin, and in 1997, a Romani language committee was founded with four Romani representatives (see Markkanen 2003:47). International Romani Day was celebrated for the first time in Tampere on the 8th of April 2005 (cf. Hansen and Johansson 2005). In the 2010s, attention was directed to Romani education and professional training. Along with this, the status of the Romani language was strengthened, and publishing activity by those of Romani origin increased. Discussions about social inequality and discrimination have also been at the forefront.

At present, the Romani Issues Advisory Board grants the Paarkiba ("Thank you") Prize to individuals or organisations who make significant and innovative contributions to the advancement of the status of the Romani people, their language and culture (*Latso Diives* 2010:9). The first Paarkiba Prize was awarded to President Tarja Halonen in 2006. A society for creative Romani culture, *Drom ry*, organised a large series of events in March and April of 2010, titled "The Forgotten Genocide," to commemorate the genocide experienced by the Roma during World War II. The Global Music Centre and the Romani Art Centre combined their resources in the fall of 2009 to emphasise Romani music in the Global Music Centre's *Etno Soi!* (Ethno Play!) festivals (*Latso Diives* 2009:28). The International Romani Day is celebrated on April 8 with numerous activities and cultural programs such as concerts. The Finnish Roma have also distinguished

themselves in politics in recent years. The artist Kirsti “Kiba” Lumberg ran for the European Parliament in 2009 as a candidate for the Left Alliance on a platform of improving the status of women and of human rights in general. Despite a significant number of votes, Lumberg did not gain a seat (*Latso Diives* 2009/3).

EARLY RESEARCH ON ROMANI MUSIC IN FINLAND

Interest in the Roma emerged in Finland in the 18th and 19th centuries in both scholarship and the arts. A study by Christfrid Ganander (1741–1790) from 1780 is regarded as the first scholarly work on the Roma of Finland (see also Rekola 2012:47; Viljanen 2012:375–377). It focused on the vocabulary of the Romani language but also included interpretations of the origin of the Roma. The material consisted of published sources along with an ethnographic approach. After Ganander, “Gypsy Baron” Arthur Thesleff (1871–1921), known as a bohemian figure in research, compiled the first known collections of Romani songs in Finland, including songs in the Finnish and Romani languages (see Tervonen 2012:89–92; Blomster 2012; Åberg and Blomster 2006). As a non-academic musicologist, Thesleff was not oriented towards comparative research, unlike his colleague Heikki Klemetti, who wrote about Oriental influences in Finnish Romani music. In his 1922 article *Zigenarmusiken* (Gypsy Music), Thesleff makes a distinction between their “own” Gypsy tunes performed by the Roma and their music-making that is primarily popular with the majority population (Blomster 2012:324–326; Åberg 2015).

It is interesting to see how the nationally focused Finnish musicologists of that time faced the question of whether Romani musical tradition belonged to Finnish folk music. Material in the folk poetry archive of the Finnish Literature Society suggests that the definition primarily concerned the language of the songs. Rhyming folk songs in verses are known in Finnish as “sleigh songs” (*rekilaulu*) and sung in Finnish by the Roma were included among Finnish folk music, while songs in the Romani language were not considered to be folk music (cf. Blomster 2012:292).

In the early 20th century, Finnish musicologists remained outside the international discussion on Romani music. The few texts that appeared in this area were mainly on the orchestral music of the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe. The composer Axel Törnudd (1874–1923), a trailblazer of music pedagogy in Finland, noted the creative nature of the performances:

They do not know modulation, for example. They boldly plunge from one key to another without modulation, and their scale differs from ours. It has the following form, of Oriental origin: c, d, e flat, f sharp, g, a flat, h, c. It gives their whole chord system a colouring that is strange to us but also fascinating. Their rhythm is also strange, capricious, at times wild and at times gentle, but strong and resilient, and they add many odd ornaments to the melody with passages, beats, and endless twisting melodic clusters. Gypsy music is not uniform in the same way as our music. One idea leads to another, and one emotion generates another. The same melody is never repeated. The Gypsy's instrument gushes with ever-new themes, flowing like a brook in the spring, foaming, cascading, rippling and singing, surprising and enchanting, but nonetheless creating a whole mood (Törnudd 1923:6-7).

Törnudd's contemporary, the ethnomusicologist A. O. Väisänen (1890-1969), adopted his contemporaries' interpretations of the naturalness of Romani culture and applied it to his considerations of Romani music. In a description of Hungarian "Gypsy music" from 1942, he noted that Hungarian Roma have not created their music themselves, but in adopting Hungarian tunes they gave them a special character with their way of performing them; this impulsive-virtuoso urban style was marked by profuse, rhythmic capriciousness and a rhapsodic nature (see Blomster 2012:294). Researchers of Romani music unanimously rejected the idea of a national dimension, focusing their attention on all phenomena characteristic of Romani music. In the spirit of Romanticism and in its wake, there was a discussion of the impression made by the music on its listeners (see Åberg 2015).

I would not claim that the interpretations of Törnudd, Väisänen and the researchers who followed them regarding the music culture of the Roma were fundamentally incorrect. Nonetheless, there is a reason to regard them as inadequate in the sense that they describe Romani culture using general principles where identity was understood through global stereotypes. It is illustrative, however, that both in Finland and elsewhere in Europe, questions of the origin of Romani music were emphasised.

The 1960s and 1970s. The emergence of ethnic awareness and the systematic collection of traditional music

The political awakening and ethnic awareness of the Roma grew stronger in the 1970s, particularly in Great Britain (Mroz 2008:107). The democratisation of social life is also reflected in the first attempts at organising among the Finnish Roma. However, the ethnic homogeneity of politics still denied Romani actors any real space to operate. A fundamental, radical shift occurred in Finnish Romani policy in the 1960s; a deeper inte-

gration of Finland in the international systems in other areas also forced the nation to adapt to policies in the international community designed to protect the rights of minorities (Pulma 2006:201). This was visible both at the European and the Nordic levels. Most Finnish Roma came to Sweden in the 1960s. Like other Finnish immigrants, they came to find jobs, better social welfare, and to try their luck at building a decent life on the other side of the Baltic Sea. In Sweden, the authorities' attitude towards the Roma was largely parallel to that of Finland. Similarly, the Swedish majority institutions considered the Romani culture to be the cause of all the social problems that were associated with the Roma. The solution of these problems, therefore, was believed to be found in the assimilation of the Roma through schooling and housing (Thurfjell 2013:25).

As traditional music remained on the reverse side of the public image of the Roma, the emergence or promotion of the first Romani popular music stars at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s was partly associated with the radicalisation of Romani politics in the decade concerned. It was important for the value and self-esteem of the ethnic minority to prove it and produce an original culture of its own. The achievements of the Roma of Hungary and Spain in music and the work of the *Romen Theatre (Teatr Romen - Moscow's Romen Theatre)* in the Soviet Union served as examples for the emergence of the Finnish Romani. At this time, dancer Reima Nikkinen, who came from a family of musicians, gained a more prominent role in the folkloristic cultural movement of the Roma. Nikkinen knew a number of musicians and singers, and when Anneli Sari, who had gained her reputation as a singer of popular music was persuaded along with her relatives Feija Åkerlund and Taisto Lundberg to perform both traditional Finnish Romani music and international Gypsy music, their success was assured. The music of the Hortto Kaalo group, founded in 1970, was effective propaganda for the Romani cause and gave the issues of the Roma in Finland exposure at the everyday level (Jalkanen 1976; Blomster 2012; Åberg 2002; Åberg and Blomster 2006).

In the wake of the Romani folkloristic cultural movement, the first Romani tango singers - trailblazers in the stage performances of Romani music in Finland - now became known to the whole Finnish people. The first domestic stage style of the Finnish Roma can be seen in the "Gypsy tangos" of the 1960s (Blomster 2004:79). Tango singers who became celebrities helped to reinforce contemporary ethno-political discussion on the Roma population. Where the vocal and instrumental group Hortto Kaale made propaganda for equality, asking "why doors are shut to us," the Romani performing artists of the 1960s and 1970s reflected a radical change in attitudes. Dark and wistful tango accompanied the coming together of arguments for human and minority rights, and actors of the

music scene that bridged the social and cultural gaps between different groups. Although the stage performance style of Romani music came to Finland relatively late compared to the Roma in other European countries, the stage Romani image also had an important influence on descriptions and mental associations concerning Romani music in Finland.

In the 1960s, the democratisation of society was reflected in the first attempts organised among Finnish Roma, although national unity in politics did not initially give Romani actors many opportunities to operate. In these political processes, representatives of minorities and the political system jointly formulated definitions of the ethnic and cultural nature of minorities (Pulma 2012). In the study of Romani music, this was evident at the national and international levels as various projects for collecting traditional music (cf. Jalkanen and Laaksonen 1972). When the existence of the Romani language and Romani music was recognised at the political level and given more and more publicity, research began to focus on national forms of “Gypsy music.” Political and especially cultural “leftism” defined the study of minority and Romani music with the purpose of studying things previously unexplored, disenfranchised. In the 1960s and 1970s, ethnomusicologists reacted to the spirit of the times by launching campaigns for collecting Romani folklore.

The most important activities were the collection projects of the Finnish Literature Society (1967–1973) and the Department of Folklore Studies at the University of Tampere from 1970 to 1972. Erkki Ala-Könni, who held the Chair in Folklore Studies at the University of Tampere, collected materials among the Roma over the course of several years at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s. This material, known as the A-K Collections, is located in the Folklore Archive of the Department of Folklore Studies at the University of Tampere. Most of the music-related Romani material of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) was collected in 1968–1973 in South Ostrobothnia and South Finland. As a result of the collection work, roughly 135 hours of recorded Romani heritage and folklore were added to the Society’s archive of recordings. They include approximately 1,200 songs (Åberg and Blomster 2006:266).

During the period of cultural music research, Roma music was viewed as part of the social environment (e.g. Jalkanen and Laaksonen 1972; Jalkanen 1976; Jalkanen and Lahtinen 1981). Following the tradition of musical anthropology, music was investigated *in* culture, within the cultural context, or *as* culture (cf. Merriam 1964). In the spirit of the times, a comprehensive approach was underlined: the meanings of Romani music were not regarded as isolated but instead as contextually organised. The meanings of music could be found according to its context of use and from the musicians themselves (see Moisala 2009:242). Broader cultural activism

faded away towards the end of the 1970s, when the main cultural problems of the period began to be addressed in public administration and legislation. Romani music became unfashionable for a while.

Why did their “own” sung music of the Finnish Roma become a subject of study only as late as the turn of the 1960s and 1970s? Earlier, nationally oriented music collection projects ignored the Roma population’s tradition of song for a long while. On the other hand, the Roma themselves were reluctant to give their heritage into the hands of the majority. This can be understood, since many early studies on the Roma were used from the perspective of the majority against the Roma (or many Roma thought this was the case). Although there were no actual collections of Romani music, materials presenting Finnish folk music most likely contained songs with Romani background (Blomster 2012:317).

In the 1960s, folk music research unanimously rejected the idea of international Romani music shaped in the spirit of Romanticism, with its traces still deeply and prominently visible in the music of the Roma in Finland. At the same time, the vision of a uniform Romani people reinforced the hypothesis of a unified culture, in which music also had a place within the overall picture. The frequency of the word “culture” clearly grew in everyday and scholarly parlance about Romani traditional music. In 1971, the graduate theses of a group of students of ethnology known as the “Gypsy Heritage Working Group” pointed to an orientation of research focusing on both the special features of Romani culture and theoretical perspectives. Jouko Heinonen studied Romani clothing and related norms, Mervi Naakka’s topic was norms and sanctions in Romani alimentary practices and Anna Maria Viljanen focused on rites of passage among the Roma (Blomster 2012:318). In keeping with the spirit of the times, it was maintained that the musical activity of the Romani community and music culture in general was defined by human interaction, and, by the same token, communality as a factor defining the Roma people could be derived from the individual. According to the prevailing interpretation, songs were transformed and processed into the heritage through the interaction of individuals, thus gaining a collective character.

The aim of contemporary researchers of the Roma (also in areas other than music) corresponded to the functionalist theory of culture derived from anthropology, which researchers sought to verify by compiling a wide range of suitable factors steering the social behaviour of the Roma. The meanings of traditional Romani song were sought from a broad sector, often from the past. In the same connection, the present culture of the Roma was condemned both from within and outside the community as fragile. The first boom period of collecting of Finnish Romani music and the related interpretations in the 1960s and 1970s were also marked by a tendency to

prove that the Roma population was able to maintain an original culture different from that of the majority. The collection work appears to have been accompanied by the idea of offering an alternative to the present evolution of society (see Blomster 2012; Åberg and Blomster 2006).

The 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The reactivation of Romani studies

In Finnish Romani-related research, the 1980s were an overall a quiet period in the study of Romani music along with other areas of Romani culture. Despite this, traditional music continued to have an important role in the everyday life of the Romani people (Åberg 2015). One influence on the decline of collecting and studying traditional Romani music was the emergence of the influence of religion, especially the Pentecostal revival movement, as part of Romani politics. Many Romani activists were involved in the revival movement, which served to move traditional music from the centre to an outer sphere. It could even be said that in an atmosphere of intolerance, the existence of traditional Romani music was recognised only if it could be placed so far back in the past that it could not be regarded as influencing the present. Despite this, traditional music lived on and had a strong presence in the everyday lives of the Roma.

The study of Romani music and related publication work was revived in the atmosphere of identity discourse in the 1990s. “Romaniness” and identity were new topics for research. They were defined as ethnic, national, religious, gender-related and, alongside these, musical issues. At the same time, towards the turn of the millennium, various Romani organisations worked to reinforce the cultural standing of the Roma everywhere in Europe. Festivals presenting a broad array of Romani music were held in various parts of Europe, and the public image of this music became broader in scope. The focus of research also shifted from local to international phenomena and from national to global aspects. Along with the increased mobility of Romani groups and the evolution of mediaexamples such as Balkan Gypsy music, Sinti or Gypsy jazz, Flamenco, and Romani hip-hop illustrate these developments. It is interesting to note that the performers are by no means always of Roma background.

In outlining the guidelines of an ethnomusicological study, we are undoubtedly on the right course in keeping to the multidisciplinary principle and thoroughly discussing the theoretical, methodological, and ideological models and choices. Concrete examples can be found in studies of Romani music in the countries where chronological and local perspectives are emphasised. Nonetheless, it appears that we are so pleased with overall explanations and descriptions that even when they are seriously lacking, they seem more convincing than individual facts contra-

dicting them. Therefore, it is necessary to consider if Romani culture and the Roma are still presented as a homogeneous group in writings and visual descriptions of both people with a Romani background and outsiders. For example, notions of individual creativity, inasmuch as they appear in the context of traditional Romani music, still rely on folkloristic specialist conceptions of the communal nature of tradition. I do not discuss this issue any further here; and perhaps the descriptions, such as the definitions of being Roma, which are now being heatedly discussed in the online community of Romani researchers, will be perceived in better ways when we recognise underlying chronological-spatial and national distinctions, which, regardless of their problematic nature, have a broad influence on discussions of identity.

The 2010s and 2020s. Intracultural perspectives on Romani policies and musicology

Social change has given traditional Romani music a central role in the discussion on Romani culture. New developments have led to various interpretations within the culture of who has the authority and the right to present the traditional culture which previously functioned within the community, and distribute it outside the community. If traditional music had previously been a means of communal community, does its performance in public then signify non-communality? Discussion about the research of Romani culture and music has spread among the Roma. At the same time, notions of Romani history have changed along with new approaches. “History [research] is often embellished and exaggerated, although recent history has a great influence on the present day. Present Romani historiography instils old notions of Romani customs, which is why I have some reservations about them” (male, 50 years old/2012).

Parallels between the study of Romani history and interpretations of the past and the present arouse criticism among the Romani population. At the same time, research opens up new approaches and alternative interpretations of areas previously regarded solely in positive terms, such as religion: “The Christian faith of the Roma is a serious matter; most of them have experienced a Christian awakening, but we have been hit on the head with the Bible; as they say, we are superstitious and we have learned the fear of God in the wrong way” (male 50 years old/2012). It can be suggested that, since the study of Romani history is not limited to nostalgic interpretations of communality and the past of the community, it will lead to a change in the internal perspective of the culture and to considerations of what disturbs this ideal image by transgressing its order. In this respect, Magne Velure (1977:84–85) aptly notes that the symbolic

value of folklore is the greatest for its core group, for it serves as a concrete measure for evaluating other norms and ideals which bind the group together and emphasise group solidarity.

In my ethnographic studies of Romani music, the Romani-political and cultural changes can be perceived in various ways. While my music research and the collection of material in the late 1980s and early 1990s were marked by a kind of mutual atmosphere of perplexity—I had to argue continuously for the purpose of my work and my “foreign” topic—, the Romani musical heritage has recently become a public commercial item which not only sells but also defines its own price. With regard to music, this also involves the cultural structure of values and norms, its instability and permanence alike.

Nowadays, as Romani policies become more international and unified, it has been interesting to notice that Romani nationalism has also been on the rise. It is important to emphasise the Finnish aspect as part of the Romani identity. The emancipation of traditional Finnish Romani music to public forums is an excellent example. The 21st century has seen the unprecedented public exposure of traditional Romani music in Finland to audiences outside the Romani community. In addition to collecting Romani music, the image of traditional music has been enhanced by numerous television documentaries, recordings, and published books in which people of Romani background openly describe their own heritage. In the wake of the contemporary political climate, Romani music has risen and been raised to become part of the plurality of Finnish folk music. Individual Romani performers, such as Hilja Grönfors, have been showcased, receiving the distinction of Master Folk Singer (2005) and the esteemed Ethno Emmy Prize (2008).

From the internal perspective of Romani culture, however, the public image of traditional Romani music has not received unequivocal support in all quarters. The internal systems of values and norms of the culture, such as hierarchies of age and gender, are still inflexible in places, and musical practices differing from the tradition find it hard to permeate the thick layer of culture. For example, when referring to celebrity performers, their opinions concerning age and gender in particular, arouse critical views. This is ultimately a question of power, of who has the right, permission, and authority to present community traditions for purposes of personal fame.

Revised selectively and linked to commercial interests and folklorism, the Romani musical tradition could be a symbol of supporting and uniting the community, but it could also lead to conflict because the public character of these activities, the ethical values of the Romani community and various human factors do not resonate ideologically with the ideal dimen-

sions of identity (Kopsa-Schön 1996:141). Traditional music and its encoding for the majority population find parallels in many ways with the Romani language and its function as the international code of the community. “Fortunately, however, I think most people respect these traditions and know the Romani songs. And the Romani language” (male, 45 years old/2006).

CONCLUSIONS

The study of Romani music and related perspectives and methods appears to go hand in hand with the ethnic-political activism of the Roma. One of the goals of collecting material from around the turn of the 1960s and 1970s appears to have brought forth the original culture of the Roma. In the 1980s, as Romani policies focused increasingly on issues of education and social equality, traditional music was temporarily relegated to the outer margins of the culture, in a way, as a result of assimilation policy. Religious background factors partly influenced this phenomenon. Along with the discussions on identity of the 1990s and 2000s, oral tradition once again shifted from the margins to the central area of the culture. Present-day research has particularly underlined the relationship between music and identity and focused on studies of change and variation in music. An important area of study in recent years consists of empirical and theoretical investigations of music and musical culture. Nationalism was also reinforced through the mobility of Romani groups.

The intra-cultural perspective, passing on Romani values of heritage and traditions, such as music, making the majority aware of them, for example with the means of folklorism, has created a fundamental contradiction, which affects social relationships within the Romani and majority communities alike. Still, I repeatedly come across fervently held opinions that “Gypsiness” must not be sold to the “white folk”, nor to the arts or research.

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ABSTRACT

From 1987 to 2015, my wife and I visited several Sufi communities in Turkey, including Bektaşis, Alevis, and Tahtacıs. Our core goal was to perform a musical survey, because their music has hardly ever been studied. Moreover, one cannot understand Turkish culture without knowing Sufi culture and music. We recorded many interviews and songs, and were able to study their—sometimes secret—religious ceremonies. We learned many ideas from their spiritual leaders, and, more importantly, gained a deeper insight into their lives and ideas. Due to limited space, I now concentrate on their song repertoire.

KEYWORDS

Sufi, religious songs, folksong, identity

The Musical Tamga of a Mystic Anatolian Sect

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In this volume, the authors discuss the insider-outsider dichotomy abundantly and broadly. In my article, the issue runs more like a hidden thread. Initially, I will give a brief introduction to the Sufi religion and beliefs. I also shed light on the Sufi faith's relations with Inner Asia and shamanism on the one hand, and with European Chris-

tian culture and the old Hungarian faith on the other. I will also quote you some of their thought-provoking basic sentences that reflect the European principles of older times.

My knowledge of the Turkish language and the 30 years I had spent researching in Turkey greatly facilitated my integration into the Bektaşî community. After a while, the leader of one of their groups offered me to join their community. This is unusual because these Sufi groups still form relatively closed circles and, in many cases, impose penitence on the culprits among themselves.

In the end, I did not join them. I paid attention to everything, tried to understand the thinking of these extremely well-meaning people, and fell in love with them. However, as a professional, I focused primarily on collecting their music and conducting comparative analysis.

The 80 million people living in Turkey have very complex ethnogenesis both ethnically and culturally, which has had a substantial effect on their music. Besides the dominant Sunni Islam, we find various branches of the mystical Sufi Islam here, e.g., Alevis, Bektaşîs, and Tahtacıs.

Before we turn to our ethnomusicological topic, let us review some information about the branches of the Sufi religion in Turkey, focusing specifically on the Tahtacı sect among them.

ANCIENT TURKISH BELIEFS, SHAMANISM

The beliefs of the ancient Turks were connected to nature; they practiced a the cult of trees and rocks, and Tengrism was prevalent among them. However, there are data to substantiate a hypothesis of shamanism in Central Asian Turkic societies (Ocak 1983:34). There is no reference to shamanism in the oldest record of the Turkish language, the Orhon inscriptions of the 8th century, or in the early Chinese sources about Turkic religion, which, of course, does not disprove that Turks had shamans in the 6th century. Ocak presumes that the Turks' ancient religion was different and that shamanism spread among them later.

It is probably not accidental that the ancient religion of nomadic Arab tribes was similar; they worshipped stones, trees, and fountains (Goldziher 1981:777). The same applies to the Mongols, as the *Secret History of the Mongols*, written for the Mongol royal family some time after the death of Genghis Khan in 1227, reveals. The cult of rocks also appears in the Hungarian tradition: "Those who, according to pagan custom, sacrifice by wells or bring gifts to trees, springs and stones, must pay for their sin with an ox." (from the so-called I. Code of Hungarian King László I). Eliade (1997:135) deems it possible that ancient Thracians also venerated the sky god. As the Chinese chronicles also mention, the ancient Turks erected most of their sacrificial shrines on mountain tops and performed the shamanic rituals mainly in the mountains. They believed that the deities lived on mountain peaks, which were regarded as sacred and tagged as *mübarek* 'blessed', *mukaddes* 'holy', *büyük ata* 'great father', *büyük hakan* 'great ruler'. The Turks, Mongols, and Manchus of the Altay offer their sacrificial rituals to the god of the sky on top of mountains (kind oral communication by Katalin Uray-Kőhalmi, a scholar of the history and culture of the people living in the Eurasian steppe).

The role of music also points beyond earthly existence among the Sufi groups. Several of them firmly stated that their *nefes*es had healing powers. Typically enough, the word *nefes* is of Hebrew origin, translated in the Bible mostly as 'being' or 'soul'. The meaning of the Turkish word is also 'soul', but it also means 'healing with breathing, incantation'. The latter alludes to the healing effect of collective singing with faith and its shamanistic origins.

In some *nefes*es, the words 'sieve' and 'drum' are connected to *derişes*: "The candidate is screened through a fine sieve" or "I was sieved and kneaded." (Sipos–Csáki 2009: № 12 and № 138). These motifs can be seen as shamanistic in their origins. The Bektáři poets of our days, the *aşiks*' plucked instrument is also analogous to the shaman's drum or other instrument by which he can visit other worlds (Reichl 1992). Today, however, the musician beats the cover plate of the instrument instead of a drum with the ring finger of his right hand.

Another pre-Islamic practice related, as some claim, to shamanism is the religious ritual called *zikir*, during which men and women sing, dance, and enter into ecstasy together. An important analogy exists regarding the ancient Thracians. Euripides also mentions the Dionysus cult. In *The Bacchae*, he narrates that they held their rituals in the mountains at night by torchlight, accompanied by wild music during which the believers cried out in joy in the round dance as it intensified to ecstasy. They used fire in their rituals, respected the forces of nature, sacrificed an animal when a guest arrived, and so on. (Fig. 1).



Figure 1. A Bektaşî priest (baba) Hasan Yıldız, and his wife, Fatma, at a sacred place of the Bektaşîs (photo: János Sipos)

OTHER INNER-ASIAN INFLUENCES

Some Turkic peoples had already been influenced by Buddhism and Manichaeism and had become acquainted with Zoroaster's teachings before they moved in from Central Asia. For instance, the Uyghurs living in Turfan were Buddhists in the 9th–10th centuries, the Yellow Uyghurs are still Buddhists, while in the 8–9th century, the Uyghurs around Orhon were Manicheans (Rudelson 1997:178, Biacsi–Danka–Ótött 2014:57, Ocak 1983:70).

Sufi teaching is closely tied to Buddhism by the belief in the transmigration of the soul (although the Buddhist concept of the soul differs from the Christian or Islamic concept). The word Buddha means 'awakened, enlightened', denoting a person who has got rid of the bonds of the material world and realised the perfect state of mind free from confusion and pollution. It corresponds to the Sufi *kamil insan*, the 'perfect man', who dies before his death. He dies to worldly life and withdraws, rejecting the chaotic bustle. The desire to unite with God deepens in him. There are no material or other concerns that keep his attention captive.

Zoroaster founded the first monotheistic religion, which has a dualist world view: the world is the venue of the fight between good and evil (light and darkness), but the two sides are manifestations of one and the same God, Ahura Mazda. The notions of heaven, hell, prophet, Messiah, Doomsday, and the host of angels that are so well known in the Jewish-Christian culture appear in this religion first. The adherents of Zoroastrianism have a distinguished appreciation for the basic elements: earth, water, fire, and air. The direct or indirect impact of all this can be discerned in Sufism. An example: in the Sufi faith, there are four doors (or gates, or *kapi*) through which one moves from outside to inside, to knowing deeper levels of interiority, and becoming one with interiority. Each of the doors is linked to one of the four classical elements: air, fire, water, earth—respectively; the four modes thereby also become progressively more tangible, more real (Yılmaz–Öztürk 2009: 44–59).

The Turkic peoples met with the Sunni, Shiite, and mystical traditions of Islam in Central Asia. These branches were already heterogeneous then; thus, the Islamic mystics could pick and choose from the most diverse views of the appealing elements to forge their syncretistic belief. (Fig. 2).

ANATOLIAN CHRISTIAN IMPACTS

The religions of Anatolia prior to the Ottoman Turks also contributed to the shaping of Turkish Islam. After the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 between the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk Empire, won by the latter, some or all of the native non-Islamic population was frightened enough to move



Figure 2. *Dervişes* in the early 20th century (from Birge 1937, illustr. 20)

away from the eastern areas, vacating the place for the incoming Turks (Birge 1937:27–32, 215–218). As time passed, the indigenous populace also learned the Turkish viewpoint concerning non-Muslims, so they gradually eased back and assimilated for centuries. The Ottomans were tolerant and levied smaller taxes than the Byzantines, so the native people found the Turkish rule more beneficial. From the beginning, the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants chose the Ottomans over the Byzantine Empire. The entry of *Anadolu* ‘Anatolia’ in the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* deals with this issue in more detail (Topaloğlu 1991:112).

After the Seljuks had settled, great commercial centres evolved in Central Anatolia by the 13th century, e.g., Konya, Kayseri, and Sivas. Here and in surrounding villages, the Muslims mingled with the Christians and the Jews, who were fewer in number. Christianity was present in Anatolia from its first centuries: many early Christians fled from the Holy Land to escape persecution. They found shelter in the caves of the Ihlara Valley and Cappadocia, where they created underground towns for themselves (Johnson 1995).

Owing to the significant rate of Christians and the close ties between Christians and Muslims, several Turkish rulers lived in a Christian milieu before they ascended the throne and thus could get to know Christian spirituality. There were mixed marriages, too. Christian and Turkish communities learned each other’s languages and influenced each other’s religious practices. There were towns where the Anatolian Greeks or the Armenian Christians converted to Islam, influenced by the Turks living in the same town. There is hardly any documentation about conversions, but

it is widely known that their number was high and that there were converts in families of the most diverse ranks. It is known, for example, that Greek noblemen from the Gavras and Komnenos families filled Turkish state offices, the precondition for which was the conversion to Islam. There are examples of the christening of Muslims, especially in the border zones. Several Sufi texts display the influence of Christianity. For instance, the motif of the crucifixion appears in the Bektaşî baba Hasan Yıldız's *cönk defteri*. People copy the words of fine sacred hymns or psalms in notebooks, date calendars, etc., heard at different occasions several times during one's lifetime. There is no music notation, and the verses are often put down with Thracian dialectal elements at places.

A gown and a vest were all left on me,
I took them off before God.
Crucify your body on the cross, you said,
Behold, we have crucified it.¹

Setting out on the road may also mean joining a religion in Christian communities, e.g., among the Baptists of Hungary. Religious life is wandering, taking the narrow path; faith is health, faithlessness is illness; these are metaphors of the Christian Baptists and the Sufis. The obstacles on the road, the crossroads, the destination, resolve along the road, etc., all appear among the concepts of both religions.

The community of Sufi Bektaşî dervişes has proclaimed the holy trinity of Allah-Muhammad-Ali following the Christian model since the 13th century (Birge 1937:132). The point is the consubstantiality of the three persons, and the divine essence present in all three that only becomes consummated together with the other two. This is the Sufi holy trinity, as compared to its Christian counterpart, in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are consubstantial. The identity of the three is expressed in several works of Sufi literature, for example in the poem of the mystic poet Sefil Abdal: "God-Muhammad-Ali is a single secret." Similarly, in the very first song of our Thracian collection, the poem of Pir Sultan Abdal has the following strophe, cited from the handwritten songbook of the Sufi *derviş* Orhan Bulut:

God is one: Allah-Muhammad-Ali,
This name fills the entire world.
This way is the way of Allah, Muhammad, and Ali,
Come into the shrine of Muhammad Ali.²

1 From Hasan Yıldız' *defter* (see above).

2 From handwritten songbook of Orhan Bulut Sufi *derviş* (see above).

This does not apply to all sects. For example, the extreme Shiite Nusayri sect added the prestigious Selman Farisi as the third member of the holy trinity alongside Ali and Muhammad (Goldziher 1981:230).

As it has happened worldwide, the feasts of earlier religions were adapted to the new religion. The cults of some Christian saints were Islamized. At Ürgüp, for example, the cult of Haji Bektash evolved from the cult of Saint Haralambos. On the whole, however, Christianity rapidly lost its foundation in Anatolia with the influx of the Turks.

As we have seen, Sufism in Anatolia is intertwined with other religions by several threads. Indeed, there is little difference between their prescriptions of gates and *makams* and the correct Christian behavioural norms expected to be followed. At the level of ordinary existence, the differences are not unbridgeable. (Fig. 3).



Figure 3. Cami in a Bektaşî village (photo: János Sipos)

It was thirty years ago that I first met the representatives of Muslim mysticism. At that time, I was a lecturer of the Hungarian Studies Department at Ankara University. Besides this activity, I continued Béla Bartók's Anatolian research of 1936. In 1989–1992, I visited Sufi Tahtacı communities living near Mersin/Mut several times. I returned to these villages many

times and lived with them for weeks. Thanks to my knowledge of Turkish and to the fact that I am Hungarian—they accept Hungarians as related people—I could conduct several research projects among them.

Since banning their order, Sufi sects in Turkey have held their ceremonies (*ayin-i cem* or simply *cem*) in secret, in spacious rooms of private houses in villages or towns. Guards keep unauthorised people off these premises. An example: in 1985, a Bektaşî baba named Hasan Yıldız had built a large assembly room (*dergah*) at the lowermost level under their house that opened to a pantry. A cooking facility and washbasin were installed in the foreground of the *dergah*. During the month of mourning, *aşure* was cooked on kitchen ranges placed here. The assembly room could be accessed from the main entrance through a narrow passage and down-winding stairs. However, entry was also possible from the side street through a small narrow corridor near the coal cellar and the firewood shed.

There is no strict liturgy of *cem*, but it has obligatory parts. We have experienced several variations of this event. However, the atmosphere of a *cem* and the elevated spirits of a community living in a metropolis of several millions or in a remote village were similarly high.

Van Bruinessen (1999:549–553) wrote a review on Mélikoff’s book written on the Bektaşîs (*Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars*), and argues that Mélikoff is right to compare *ayin-i cem* with the Turkish *toy* ‘wedding’, because women and men alike take part in eating and drinking feasts. However, the reviewer misses mentioning Christian elements by the author of the same book, the ceremony (e.g., *The Last Supper*). Van Bruinessen deems the question of the origins of the Alevi and Bektaşî religions and the nationality of their adherents to be very complex. Among early Christians, having dances and meals in the church was not rare. An allusion to this is, e.g., at the Council of Rome: “there are some people, especially women, who take delight in going to church on the sacred feasts to dance and sing heinous songs, dancing round dances like the pagans” (Goetz 1991). In medieval Paris, the ham market was outside Notre Dame at Easter, and the ham was consumed in the church. The meal was followed by dancing the *ronde*, or ‘round dance’, which often became out of control. In Spain, the round dance remained a custom until recent times in the ritual of the church (Martin 1979:15).

Ceremonies are usually suspended for the summer, as this is the time when village communities living on agriculture do most of the work. Harvest has priority, and everybody concentrates on it. Accordingly, the first autumn *cem* can be held only in mid-November.

These occasions have a double function: the fundamental religious role is complemented by a social one, an education serving community-building. The rate at which participants can translate the thoughts heard here into

their everyday life indicates the extent to which they have identified with the idea. Tahtacıs do not regard their faith as a religion, but rather as a way of life, a road or *yol* 'path', that can be taken by one who takes delight in it. Men, women, and children are all present in ceremonies held on closed premises (*cem evi*, 'gathering place') as we have witnessed several times. Newcomers to the *cem* bow their head in front of the holy threshold, kiss it, and never step on it. All in clean clothes, barefoot, or in socks, they head directly to the principal place where they greet the religious elder, the *baba*, who sits cross-legged on a sheepskin. The sacrament of the holy threshold is widespread among Altaic peoples. In his account of travels 1247, Plano Carpini mentioned that among the Tartars, if anyone stepped on the threshold of the khan's yurt, he would be killed without mercy.

In their teaching, the religious leaders (*babas*) use poems of great Sufi poets instead of the Quran. They are usually simple, sometimes even illiterate men. The religious theory is translated into simpler maxims, and Tahtacıs live their daily lives according to these sayings. The ceremony is entirely in Turkish. In Musulça village, a religious leader has explained: "There may be one or two words that we have not yet been able to translate, but it is basically all in Turkish. We do not pray in a language unintelligible to us."³ One of the most commonly used among them is *Eline, beline, diline dikhat et* (Control your hand, your lust, and your word). Some other axioms are as follows:

Don't seek success, for success is disastrous.

As you flee from a lion, so you shall flee the crowds of people; try to be alone.

Don't laugh too much, refrain from loud laughing, for much laughing kills the heart.

And a very important one:

Whatever you search for, search in yourself.

During a field trip, a Sunnite family, the relatives of a *baba* and his wife invited us to a *mevlit* in Kırklareli. It was a merry feast of thanksgiving with at least a hundred guests, with sacrificial animals served and followed by thanksgiving prayers read by women in Arabic from the Quran for hours. The event was held on the first birthday of a sickly grandson. The *baba* himself, though being invited, was not present, as he regarded the whole ceremony to be hypocritical.




³ See above: a religious leader has explained.

Towards the end of the ceremony, the members of the Anatolian Sufi communities swirl a *samah* and approach God with an elevated soul. This kind of movement—known in Europe mainly after the whirling Mevlevi dervişler—can be found in the rituals of several Sufi orders. The *samah* looks like a dance to an outsider, but those who perform it vehemently protest. For them, it is a prayer performed with sacred enthusiasm, and their most ardent wish is to get near God. Those whirl *samah* during the ceremony are prescribed to carry out certain gestures (kissing hands, touching the forehead to the ground, etc.), varying across Anatolia. There are several choreographies even within a single community, and the same choreography can be performed differently.

Many scholars discern the continuation of shamanic traditions in the Sufi custom of whirling, but Van Bruinessen (1999:549) argues that the *samah* fundamentally differs from the shaman's dance.

In 2011, I researched a Tahtacı group in Akçainiş village (Antalya), concentrating on their song repertoire. As usual, I went with one of the local people, a researcher born there. We made friends with some religious leaders, who allowed us to join ceremonies. Relying on this material, I want to describe the Sufi community's folk and religious songs.

The *traditional* song repertoire of the Tahtacı consists of only a few melody types and their variants, a known phenomenon in other parts of the world, e.g., in Azerbaijan (Sipos 2004). The genre of the melodies can be lullaby, lament, bride's lament, wedding song, or dance song; similar songs also play important roles in their religious repertoire. The structure of these melodies sung in a free *parlando-rubato* mode is seemingly simple, but in fact follows quite refined composing techniques, reminding us of Anatolian *uzun hava* tunes: after reciting more or fewer syllables in a few tones, the melody rests on a degree of the E-D-C-B \flat -A scale, and then descends to the next tone in the same manner. Let me mention that, though in Anatolia, the second degree of the Aeolian scale is often unstable—for a European ear sounds between the minor and major second—we are dealing with a Phrygian scale, which is otherwise rare in this area.

One of the basic Bektaşî melody types mentioned above can be realised with eight, eleven, or more syllables. Of course, the eight-syllable sections realise this descent more straightforwardly than the eleven-syllable ones. The underlying rhythm scheme of the eleven-syllable sections is  , which, in religious tunes, might be followed by some additional  , while that of the eight-syllable ones is .

The most typical forms of these melody types can be seen in the example:

a) 

b) 

c) 

d) 

e) 

f) 

Example 1. Variant of the central Tahtacı melody type:

a) eleven-syllable melody with a descent in the middle of its section,
 b-c) two-sectioned eleven- and eight/six-syllable melodies. Their first section descends to or near the final tone in a similar way to a), while the second section descends from a lower degree and d-e-f). Two-sectioned, eleven- and eight-syllable melodies. At the end of the first section, the descent stops on C or D

In the next example I show a concrete realisation of my collected melodies.

$\bullet = 88$



Dam ba - şın - da ge - zi-yoñ da ya - ya yar a-man, o

İ - fa - de-mi ya - zı - yol-lar nen - ne, nen - ne

Ma - lım ol - sun Tu - fan be - ye - ye - ye - yem

Oğ - lak gi - bi yü - zü - yol-lar ne - ne, ne - ne

Yı - ğıt a - ğam ne - ne, ne - ne, ne - ne, koç yı - ğı - tım ne - ne, ne - ne.

Example 2. A Tahtacı lament from Köprübaşı village,
 Mesin/Mut/Turkey (Şipos 1995: № 398)

The picture is more complex, however, if we have a look at the *religious* melody repertoire of the Tahtacı people. The homogeneity on a larger area of the otherwise quite complex Tahtacı religious melody repertoire can be explained by the fact that in the ceremonies, only the religious leaders and *zakirs* (music specialists) sing and play their musical instrument, the *bağlama*. These men learn from each other, widening and, at the same time, homogenising the repertoire.

The basic concept of the semah is *devir*, which means whirling and circulation. For them, it implies rebirth and reincarnation. Bektaşis think that after death, one's soul is reborn in another body or form. As we mentioned above, there are melodies similar to folk songs among these religious psalms. In the breaks of the religious ceremony in Akçainiş village, the melody sung repeatedly by zakirs and babas showed a Phrygian descent we have already seen in the folk repertoire as a lament (*Example 3*). The repetition of the last three or five syllables of the text lines leading the melody to the final stop is characteristic. As an example, let us listen to a Tahtacı lament from Mustafa Topal, Mut/Mersin/Turkey (Emre Dayıoğlu Arşivi: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhK04APYeko>).

♩ = 90

Bun-lar ma-ca-ra mıy-dı dü-şü-mü, dü-şü-mü-yü

Bah-lak has-ta hal-dı-yı a-man ba-şı-mı-yı, a-man ba-şı-mı-yı.

Example 3. Tahtacı lament from the Turkish village Köprübaşı (Sipos 1994: N° 420)

♩ = 100

Bir gü-ze-li bir çir-ki-ne ver-se-ler,

Bir gü-ze-li bir çir-ki-ne ver-se-ler,

Gü-zel ağ-lar, çir-kin gü-ler bir za-man,

Gü-zel ağ-lar, çir-kin gü-ler bir za-man.

Example 4. Tahtacı mengi from the Turkish village Köprübaşı (Sipos 1994: N° 133)

The ritual *semah* has a secular form with an entertainment function, the so-called *mengi*, danced outside the ceremony. There are *mengis* danced to the same *parlando-rubato* melody we have heard before, with an accompaniment in a tight rhythm of 9/16. *Example 5* shows a *mengi* melody with the same melodic line as the lament in *Example 4*. The only difference is that the form of the lament is AB, while that of the *mengi* is AABB (*Ali ile Nurgul* from Mersin/Mut/Sinamis, 25/08/2012 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VHWcW5RoSGI>)).

All in all, we may call the melody type in *Examples 3* and *4* the musical *tamga*—a distinctive, identifying musical mark—of the Tahtacı community, which plays a fundamental role in their ceremonies and everyday lives.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the results can be summarized in short: folk Islam often borrows melodies from the folk song repertoire, but the reverse is rarely seen. I only observed it among Karachay-Balkar people living in the Caucasus Mountains. In our book, written together with Éva Csáki, *The Psalms and Folk-songs of a Mystic Turkish Order*, I compared the religious music and the folk songs of the Sufi Bektāşis living in the westernmost part of Turkey, and I revealed a strong connection between them. Of course, it is logical and natural to suppose a connection between any people's religious and folk song repertoire if there is no centrally directed and canonised religious hymn tradition. A good example could be Hungarian hymns, which are strongly connected to the folk song tradition. Another example is the connection of folk songs with shamanic songs (Szabolcsi 1925–26 and Birtalan-Sipos 2004:58–59).

Another fact: the religious musical repertoire of the Tahtacı people can be traced back to only a few melody types. The insider does not recognise the correlation between these types: the different realisations of this musical form appear in different genres and social environments. Of course, religious melodies are not *music* in the Western sense for these people.

A longer stay in a group may allow us to develop some knowledge about their way of thinking and their inner life. However, full and deep cognisance is hampered if the researcher and target community belong to very different cultures and if the outsider's language skills are not at a native level—which happens often.

Though we know about the rise and fall of comparative musicology, recording, archiving, and cataloguing melodies and doing comparative analysis of musical phenomena remain relevant today (Dobszay 2010).

Indeed—insider or outsider—ethnomusicologists doing analytical and comparative music research can play a great role in mapping different musical forms and in exploring the relationships among them. Furthermore, this is just one area where a well-trained outsider ethnomusicologist might have an advantage over an insider.

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ABSTRACT

Complex questions of insider/outsider positions concern the co-authors' archival work on Tihamér Vujicsics' [Tihomir Vujičić] ethnomusicological legacy through the bilateral research project of the Institutes of Musicology in Budapest and in Belgrade. Vujičić's identity can be explained as a double-insider in both Serbian and Hungarian (musical) cultures and languages, and as in between the other South Slavs' cultures in Hungary and the Yugoslav researchers' community. In the paper will also be discussed insider/outsider position of Vujičić's legacy within the Institute of Musicology in Hungary, as well the position of ethnomusicologists from Belgrade dealing with Vujičić's various archive materials.

KEYWORDS

Identity/-ies, insider/outsider, cosmopolitanism, ethnomusicological archival work, Tihamér Vujicsics [Тихомир Вујићић/Tihomir Vujičić], Serbs in Hungary, South Slavs in Hungary

Tihomir Vujičić's Ethnomusicological Legacy

Identifying, Negotiating, and Overcoming Insider/Outsider Oppositions*

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Researchers in the humanities frequently find themselves in a position to consider their own scholarly position in qualitative research (see e.g., Dwyer and Buckle 2009:55). The question might be whether it is more or less insider or outsider, or somewhere in between, regarding numerous nuances between the two poles that characterise every particular research case. Whatever the position of the scholar could be, it always demands, above all, “particular challenges requiring careful consideration and appropriate responses” (Breen 2007:170), because “in every research we navigate complex and multi-faceted insider-outsider issues.” (Ibidem) The experience we will discuss here, in a form of case study, belongs to this radius of problems and it refers to our work on the archival ethnomusicological collection as a part of the legacy of Tihomir Vujičić [Тихомир Вујићић/Tihomir Vujičić] (1929–1975), composer¹ and

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1 Although we are aware that the data about his work as composer (which made him renowned and appreciated in Hungary) are important for the whole picture of his professional identity (about his author musical works, see Timár 2014), here, we will focus on his activities in the field of ethnomusicology.

musical folklore researcher² in Hungary. Starting from the premise that “the researchers’ identities are also under question and reconsideration” (e.g., according to Zempi 2016:9), we base our study on exploring identities of: (1) Tihomir Vujičić as a researcher, musician, and a personality, (2) his estate itself as the archival collection, containing different materials as objects of his work, and, finally, (3) the two of us, as the researchers who dealt with the estate and who present it all in our study. Within the frames of our investigations, we meet not only multifaceted roles of all the participants/sides in the process, but also a sensitive question about “a greater consciousness of situational identities and...the perception of relative power” (Dwyer and Buckle 2009:55) in all three sides that we present here. Moreover, through our analyses of intertwining all the aspects of insider/outsider positions, we also convey their relations in the three main contexts within the settings in which they occur: institutional, cultural, and historical.³

Over the course of turning archival sources into research materials and the interpretation of its contents, we received help from the connoisseurs of Hungarian cultural history and geopolitics, and also of Serbian culture in Hungary—its insiders: Pero Lastić (Péro Lásztity), Head of the Serbian Institute in Budapest, the late Prof. Dr Dimitrije E. Stefanović, philologist, Vujičić’s contemporary and acquaintance, and especially by Marietta Vujičsics, Tihomir Vujičić’s sister-in-law (widow of his late brother Sztoján/Stojan). Her insider knowledge in recognising the contents of a significant part of sound recordings (recognising voices and situations recorded on tapes) partly compensated for the lack of metadata following the recordings. Our work was also greatly helped by interviews with other researchers from Belgrade (whose positions were similar to ours): late musicologists Prof. Dr Danica Petrović and Academician Dimitrije I. Stefanović.

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- 2 Though scholars nowadays also designate him as an ethnomusicologist, in this paper we would rather avoid that for several reasons, primarily because his interest in composing and playing traditional music is named as his most important inspiration in his own writings: “Pisac ovih redaka je kompozitor koji stalno crpi iz ‘nepresušnih vrela’ balkanskog folkloru, i začudo, ta vrela su zaista nepresušna” [These lines are written by a composer who continuously draws from the ‘inexhaustible springs’ of Balkan folklore; surprisingly, these springs are truly inexhaustible] (Vujičić T., [s.a.]).
- 3 Keeping the ethical attitudes and researchers’ responsibilities in humanities in mind (AAA 2019), it is important to mention that despite our tendency towards maximum objectivity, we are aware of the inevitable presence of our ideological biases and the unattainability of an ideology-free approach.

1. LIFE, WORK, IDENTITY, AND INSIDER/OUTSIDER POSITIONS OF TIHOMIR VUJIČIĆ

Tihomir Vujičić was (if we follow the vocabulary of contemporary public/political and scholarly discourse) a member of the Serbian minority in Hungary, though he would rather describe himself, in a manner of an insider, or, as Serbs from Hungary would say, simply a Serb from Hungary. This is the way his ethnic identity is designated. He was born in Pomáz/Pomaz, one of the several villages near Budapest, settled mainly by Orthodox Christian Serbs as the son of a Serbian Orthodox priest (archbishop vicar). His ancestors immigrated from Herzegovina to Baranya county in Hungary in 1690, in the great wave of newcomers from the Balkans fleeing the Ottoman invasion (see Vujicsics S. 1999:5–6; Vujicsics M. 2012:21). Every event and circumstance in his life—his birth, education, upbringing, developing his career, and being recognised as a successful composer, performer and traditional folk music researcher—show that his cultural identity was dual, with both Serbian and Hungarian components. Besides his Serbian ethnic identity, his writings show that he also considered himself a member of a wider South Slavic community in Hungary, and also as a member of a wider community of South Slavs, taking into account their culture in former Yugoslavia. So, formally, he was a member of a minority whose native identity was twofold—Serbian and South Slav.⁴ This self-definition helped him capture the fullest possible interpretation of the South Slavic musical tradition in its complexity.

An important aspect of Vujičić's identity is his wide-ranging education. Besides his interests in art and in traditional music, as well as folk music and Orthodox Church music in the broadest sense, he developed other interests, such as history, literature, philosophy, arts, and physics (Vujicsics M. 2007:76). He was a polyglot: his contemporaries and members of his family witnessed that he could speak and write in ten languages.⁵ All these intentions qualify him as genuinely cosmopolitan, which was clearly shown in his papers, notes, notations, his research topics, in his interest in differ-

4 An important topic related is the question of Vujičić's identification in communication with members of a South Slavic Roman Catholic group in the village Tököl/Tukulja, near Budapest. On the cassette tape recording (Nr. MK 100, recorded on the 11th April 1973), it is clearly audible that in addressing the group, he faced an unusual resistance from the informants, expressed in unwillingness to answer his questions. Vujičić himself has not left any written commentary on this situation. The aspect of this field work, in which Vujicsics might be considered both an insider and outsider, deserves full attention. We will explore the topic in a different project as it is beyond the scope of this paper.

5 Within the estate, there are manuscripts in Serbian (in Latin and in Cyrillic alphabet), Hungarian, Greek, Georgian, Romanian, Italian, German, and Albanian.

ent musical idioms, cultures, and languages, as well as in building connections with his colleagues and his audience in Hungary and elsewhere.

Vujičić's professional biography has deep roots in his talent and multifaceted interests in music. Due to his musical talent and charisma, his contemporary, the ethnographer Ernő Eperjessy characterised him as a "Serbian musical genius" (Eperjessy 1999:161). He enrolled in the Liszt Academy of Music in 1948; he attended folk music classes conducted by Zoltán Kodály, who said about him: "There is nothing he could learn from me" (see Richter 2012:265). In 1949, the Communist regime in Hungary made it impossible for him to study; he was expelled from the Academy because of his ethnic and religious background (Ibid). There are two possible reasons why he was regarded as an Other at this time of the Cominform,⁶ which also reflects on his investigations of traditional music. On one hand, belonging to the Serbian minority implied that he might be a Titoist,⁷ and on the other hand, he might also show up as a representative of the clerical class whose musical expressions were not considered desirable in the given political circumstances (see e.g., Herczeg 1979:8).⁸

Although Vujičić had to leave the Academy of Music, he continued his studies and graduated from the National Conservatory/College of Music (National Music High School) in Budapest.⁹ It is also important to mention that in the same year, 1949, the department for church music at the Academy was shut down; moreover, "no opportunities were provided for the prospective new generation of researchers of either Hungarian music

6 The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1947-1956).

7 A label used for the Serbian minorities in Hungary and in Romania (we do not know if similar oppressive labels were used for other ethnicities originating from the former Yugoslavia as well) due to Yugoslavia's post-WWII policies by its president Josip Broz Tito. These policies were understood to be in opposition to the policies of the USSR and the Eastern Block.

8 The state pressure on religious outsiders was very much expressed in this period of history; it might be illustrated by the fact that in 1949, the same year that Vujičić was expelled from the Academy, the Serbian Cathedral church in Budapest (built in 1742-1775, burned down in 1810 and reconstructed in 1824), severely damaged in WWII (by bombs), but after the war it was destroyed (mined), partly for urban planning goals, partly for political reasons, because of sharpened political relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia of the time (see Čaki, Golub et al. 2018:5-7, 9; internet source: <http://www.galerijamatice.rs/2018/images/izlozba-taban/Katalog%20izlozbe%20Saborna%20crkva%20u%20Tabanu.pdf> (in Serbian; accessed 9 March 2020; see also Vujičić 1998:335). A telling detail is that Vujičić's father, a priest, was the one who performed religious services right in this church and who saved some of its treasury from the bombing in WWII.

9 These data we received courtesy of Marietta Vujicsics; they are a part of the oral history that she shared with us about her brother-in-law's life and work (Vujicsics M. 2025).

history or folk music” until 1951.¹⁰ So, despite the interest in traditional music study, the field had no state support, and the official circumstances were changing. Vujičić continued his steady effort during this trying time.

Vujičić was active and appreciated in the field of music as an artist: a composer, arranger, conductor, multi-instrumentalist, and vocalist, and also as a traditional folk music researcher. Although he was not officially trained in ethnomusicology, he followed the methodological and theoretical postulates given by Béla Bartók, well known to him through the Hungarian music educational system. He was brought up to respect traditional culture, especially traditional music (and its reflections in popular music) as a cultural expression that contains ancient and universal connections of peoples and cultures, which is still a resonant idea among traditional music researchers (cf. Brown and Jordania 2011). Vujičić was gradually developing his research knowledge and experience. The subjects of his interests were primarily musical traditions of Serbs and other South Slavs in Hungary. Today, we might call his pursuits “life-long research” (Katsanevaki 2007) and non-systematic, which lasted from the late 1940s to the end of his life. According to the available documents, these research projects were in part realised through his cooperation with other researchers and with the support of South Slavic minority institutions. He published a selection of recorded and notated material in his two melodies’ collections: *Naše pesme* [Our Songs] (1957) and *Muzičke tradicije Južnih Slovena u Mađarskoj* [Musical Traditions of South Slavs in Hungary] (published posthumously in 1978, re-edited in 2020, see Richter et al. 2020); the latter is his most significant and most complete work in this field. However, even with this book, he did not present himself as a scholar and researcher in the professional sense. Keeping his remark in the Introduction to the book in mind, pointing out that the main aim of the book was to provide materials for live performances of folk melodies (Vujičić 1978:35) in the spirit of the folk revival movement in Hungary at the time, there is no doubt that he considered his own research with self-criticism. It seems that he saw himself as an enthusiast, but not as a fully competent ethnomusicologist, and that he rather considered his professional identity as a multi-practitioner in the field of music.

Vujičić’s maintained continuous ties with the country of his ethnic origin, Yugoslavia, from his birth and after the World War II (first, with Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later with the federal socialist state of Yugoslavia) within the framework of relationships between the two neighbouring communist/socialist countries, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Vujičić advanced his ethnomusicological knowledge and work on South Slavic

10 See: <https://lfze.hu/history/college-to-university-120086>, accessed 27 March 2020.

music through his meetings with Yugoslav colleagues. In particular, he used to attend the annual Congresses of the Unity of Folklorists' Associations of Yugoslavia, and sometimes gave papers there, and also attended conferences in other countries. The multiplicity of Vujičić's identities, e.g., the constant ambivalence of his insider/outsider position, could be seen particularly clearly in his treatment at these conferences in Yugoslavia. He considered these gatherings as occasions for professional contacts important for his development as a researcher; here, he was in a position to share and exchange ideas and to get competent feedback on his presentations. Although these expectations were at least partly fulfilled,¹¹ which affirmed him as an insider to some extent, the conference programs show that he was officially treated as a foreign participant, that is, as an other, an outsider. Regardless of the formal character of that categorisation, it would probably (unfortunately) also mean a substantial difference, considering how the official discourse of the time used to strongly affect the lives and thoughts of ordinary people in Socialist countries. Thus, his life was marked by the constant ambivalence of the insider/outsider positions, and he himself was overcoming it through his interests in similarities and connections instead of insisting on differences and borders.

Multifaceted understandings of Vujičić's identity and viewing his life and work as those of an insider in relation to Hungarian culture and music are visible in the statements of his Hungarian contemporaries. Gábor Eredics, frontman of Vujicsics Ensemble from Szentendre (a famous tamburitza orchestra which took his name after his death as a sign of a deep respect) wrote about him: "he was ours: he belonged to the Hungarians, as much as to the Serbs, to Southeast Europe, as much as to the whole world." (Eredics 1999:167). Vujičić was deeply rooted in both the Serbian and the Hungarian musical traditions; his 'bi-musicality' is recognisable in his ability to play and sing music that belongs to both nations as a native musician, as well as from his compositions and arrangements. Iván Vitányi, sociologist and aesthete wrote that "in his music, these two elements cannot be separated," (2007:70). György Szabados, composer and pianist, characterized him as "an unforgettable personality of the Serbian and Hungarian culture of the 20th century" (Szabados 2007:97). Perhaps Lajos Vargyas, folklorist and folk music researcher, phrased it most accurately: "Tihamér Vujicsics had the opportunity to see the two folk music traditions from the 'inside', and thus his work was significant for the two peoples: Serbian, to which he belonged, and Hungarian, where

11 We can trace these contacts through his correspondence with Yugoslavian ethnomusicologists Cvjetko Rihtman (Sarajevo) and Vinko Žganec (Zagreb), as well as through a written dedication from him to Dragoslav Dević (Belgrade).

he lived and worked. His personality was a link that tied the two peoples.” (Vargyas 2007:104).

Writings of Serbian (or Yugoslav) contemporaries about him as a composer, researcher and/or personality are rare; we only know of a few such contributions by a handful of Serbian scholars.¹² Nevertheless, we can safely assume that in Yugoslav and Serbian circles, he was recognised both as an outsider and an insider at the same time. One more reason for this might be that in the Yugoslav and Serbian official and public discourse of the time, there was not (much) place for Serbs who lived outside the borders of Serbia itself; they were rather considered as others to the vast majority of the Yugoslav and Serbian population of the time.¹³

From these data, it is obvious how complex the discourse about Vujičić is, both in terms of his insider/outsider positions, and also in the light of his historical and political circumstances and the musical cultures of the two countries.

2. VUJIČIĆ'S ESTATE AND ITS TREATMENT IN THE ARCHIVE

Vujičić's life ended early and suddenly.¹⁴ For a long time, his voluminous musical estate stayed inaccessible to the general public, unresearched and under unsettled legal status—that is, without an owner to provide high-quality professional care. The tide turned when the Director of the Institute for Musicology HAS of the time, Pál Richter found adequate conditions for keeping these materials in 2014.¹⁵ However, the key guideline for choosing a location to preserve them was that his materials belonged to the Hungarian state. Therefore, the majority of his estate was handed over to the Archive of the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In this respectable national institution, internationally recognised and confirmed as one with a long and rich experience in the archival treatment of musicological and ethnomusicological documents of all kinds, the estate was organised

12 As far as we know, written comments on his life and contributions were given by two fellows of the Institute of Musicology, SASA in Belgrade: by musicologist and academician Dimitrije I. Stefanović (1999), and by ethnomusicologist Ana Matović (also in 1999). Neither of these papers has been published.

13 Scholars who dealt with the topic of Serbs living outside Serbia were also rare.

14 He died in a plane crash when he was at the age of forty-six.

15 According to the agreement, both Vujičić's widow Rózsa Kovács and Marietta Vujicsics gave the Institute some materials which had been in their possession by then (before that time, Mrs Vujicsics had already donated a part of the estate to the National Library).

and kept according to the highest professional standards. This way, Tiho-
mir Vujičić's non-institutionalised work (in other words: his institutional
outsider position) found its place within a specialised Hungarian institu-
tion and gained the status of archival materials of special importance
(Lechleitner 2014; see also Nettl 2005:162), as the possessions of a respect-
ed insider and a contributor to Hungarian musical culture. This way, the
estate itself was confirmed as having gained the status of an insider among
the written musical materials of the cultural heritage of Hungary as a
whole.

Vujičić's estate was introduced to international scholar circles for
the first time by Pál Richter at the ethnomusicological conference in
Belgrade in 2011,¹⁶ and later in his published paper on this subject. The
study tells us about valuable materials that the estate encompasses as
a whole, and points out the significance of its rich and precious ethno-
musicological component, in its manuscripts and in audio recordings
(see Richter 2012).

Thus, a dichotomy in the treatment of the estate appeared: on the one
hand, it arrived at an institution of competence for its preservation, where
the experts are respectable archival insiders care for the documents as a
set of objects to be treated and preserved (Garcia 2017:10), and also com-
petent at evaluating as (ethno)musicological sources. On the other hand,
it turned out that the part of Vujicic's estate has not been comprehensible
to Hungarian colleagues, because of its language(s), written in Serbian
and in other (South) Slavic languages, especially those written in the Cyril-
lic alphabet, and because of its contents, including with a great majority
of Serbian and South Slavic folk and religious musical texts and song
lyrics. Language barriers and a lack of expertise made them outsiders to
this part of the estate. Hence, outside help was needed, and the help of
insiders with enough content knowledge to make an approach to the
estate as discursive knowledge possible (Garcia 2017:10). Apparently, the
insider/outsider dichotomy became relevant to the musical culture(s) that
has/have been represented in it.

Our Hungarian colleagues' care resulted in financial support from the
Hungarian state for the bilateral international project between the Institute
for Musicology HAS in Budapest and the Institute of Musicology SASA in
Belgrade. The project was named *Processing of Tihamér Vujicsics' (1929–1975)
ethnomusicological legacy*, and encompassed the period 2016–2018. It took
the form of regular several-day visits by the researchers from Belgrade to

16 *Musical Practices in the Balkans: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*, Belgrade, 23–25
November 2011, Institute of Musicology SASA—Serbian Academy of Sciences and
Arts, Department of Fine Arts and Music.

the Institute in Budapest and work in the Archive.¹⁷ Cooperation was made possible by confidence and trust, since their academic expertise and enthusiasm to bring any new knowledge about Vujičić's work enabled the Serbian and Hungarian colleagues to act as insiders to light.

3. SERBIAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGISTS WORKING ON ARCHIVAL ASSIGNMENTS AT THE HUNGARIAN ARCHIVE

The work on the project started in spring 2016 when we arrived at the Institute of Musicology HAS as guest researchers. As scholars from abroad/ from Serbia we were outsiders in this institution, but insiders when it came to languages and materials, and members of the international academic community. However, our position within the Institute in Budapest could also be explained as external-insiders (see Kerstetter 2012:101): insiders in terms of belonging to the Serbian and South Slavic culture, and external in terms of not being Hungarian.¹⁸

Our expertise enabled us to undertake the organisation of materials. However, to complete the process of turning the materials into discursive knowledge and to deal with different subjects in other disciplines, we called on other specialists to help, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

Within the estate, we found numerous manuscripts with musical texts and with remarks in Serbian and other (South) Slavic languages (and also in Hungarian, Romanian, Albanian, Greek, German, French, English, Turkish, and Georgian languages). On various sheets, Vujičić often noted down

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- 17 On the Hungarian side, the team of the bilateral project included Anna Dalos, Eszter Emilia Wutzel, musicologists, and Elvira Vučurević, violinist, student at the Liszt Academy, and on the Serbian side, the authors of this study. The main logistical, practical, and financial support came from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Some financial support (travel expenses) was provided by the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade, and the full amount of per diems for 2017 was provided by the Serbian Institute in Budapest. Practical and competent help (mainly in translating texts from Hungarian to English, scanning important materials and access to the different parts of the Archive and to Vujičić's rich personal library), necessary directions and support were provided by our colleagues at the Institute for Musicology in Budapest.
- 18 A peculiar detail is that J. Jovanović's family partly originates from Hungary, as Serbs from Baranya county. Due to family cultural heritage, some cultural, linguistic and musical features were a bit more familiar to her and easier to comprehend. The same can be said not only about the elements of Serbian culture in these areas, but also about those of the other groups of inhabitants. This fact illustrates a certain indisputable cultural and historical bonds and similarities between them.

his miniature scores and transcriptions. There are versions of the author's manuscripts: his transcriptions of his field findings and other vocal, instrumental, and vocal-instrumental musical pieces he had heard; there were also copies of the primary notations, all written by himself (these melodies are partly published in his books). We also found manuscripts of folk melody arrangements and short fragments and sketches of the author's compositions based on folk themes. In addition, there were manuscripts of the author's (unpublished) ethnomusicological papers, and many of his own short reflections written on folk and/or religious (East Christian/Byzantine and Islamic) music. There are concert programs and those of symposiums that Vujičić attended; there is also professional and administrative correspondence, and many other papers. There are copies of musical transcriptions from collections and papers published by other ethnomusicologists worldwide, as a part of Vujičić's personal scholarly library.

Vujičić's estate contains various audio recordings; our research focuses on his ethnomusicological recordings, particularly his own field recordings collected among the South Slavs from different parts of Hungary. These are collected from Orthodox Serbs, from Roman Catholic Croats, and/or other groups with other local ethnic names and self-identifications. Sound materials that represent Slovene tradition are absent from the estate.

Our first aim was to get acquainted with the estate's contents and with Vujičić's interests, methods, ways of thinking and working. Our goals were as follows: (1) identification and classification of the materials; (2) making the estate available to other researchers, from different nations and countries (our legends and comments are written in English and in Serbian, in the Latin alphabet, to be more accessible); (3) editing and publishing the new, expanded critical edition of Vujičić's voluminous collection, *Musical Traditions of South Slavs in Hungary*, according to contemporary ethnomusicological standards. The goal is to rely on the primary conception of the collection, but also to make it reliable as a highly valuable ethnomusicological edition; that is, to make the collection more usable and available to colleagues and devotees of both South Slavic music in a wider geo-cultural scope, and of Slavic minorities musics in Hungary. This approach asks for thorough work on all the necessary interventions on the first edition and on the translation of the author's and editors' notes and comments to three languages (Hungarian, Serbian, and English). We selected unpublished musical examples; some of them were included in the new edition (especially selected variants of melodies that were already there). One of the primary purposes of the book was for it to serve in live performances of music, made possible by the release of musical/field recordings. Thus, in this project, ethnomusicology and archival studies inter-

sect with performance and the written and recorded documents are given a new life in living sound (see Eredics 1999:168; Araújo 2008:17). At this point, our work at the Institute turns to the notion of “aesthetically oriented knowledge” or “knowledge in process” (Garcia 2017:10), whether it can be understood as “congruent or not with mainstream academic discussions” (Ibid.; see also Nettl 2005:161). Moreover, this category was also encouraged by the affective potential of the manuscripts, which enabled us to see Vujičić’s ethnomusicological work as part of a widely understood creative process of a scholar and composer.

When we started the project as ethnomusicologists, outsiders at the Institute of Musicology HAS, we were aware of the challenging nature of our task. We had not been trained as archivists, and the scope of the project did not allow for making up for all that we were missing in this area. Still, we had some experience from the digitisation projects we had taken part in during the previous years (see: Jovanović and Jakovljević 2008; Dumnić and Lajić Mihajlović 2014; Lajić Mihajlović and Jovanović 2014), at the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade (since the Institute has a rich archive, but at the time when the project was accurate, had no professional archivist), which helped us in the crucial stages of our work.

Here, the notions of insider/outsider, as well as the institutional, cultural, and historical aspects of the project, intervene in the general phases and purposes of the archival work in the most complex way. It took a considerable period of time, and within it a process of becoming familiar with the estate contents. Moreover, our project had two main phases. The first one was dealing with the estate within the framework of the ‘archive as a set of [material] things’, as we became acquainted with the contents of the estate. The second phase included discursive knowledge. Moreover, moving towards the categories of aesthetically oriented knowledge or knowledge in process was encouraged as a parallel course, directing our attention to the general appearance of the manuscripts and their physical condition. These guided us toward higher levels of thinking to see Vujičić’s ethnomusicological work as a part of a widely understood creative process of a scholar, a composer, and an author.

During our work, we faced the intensive feelings of anxiety about the data we found, as perfectly described by Garcia (see 2017:17) and about the space between these data points, especially regarding their quantity and extreme diversity. Working with materials, we were repeatedly surprised by the quantity of data, information, thoughts, questions, and conclusions written on almost every free part of paper sheets, usually without any consideration for organised writing, considering the contents. Over time, we realised that the process demanded a wider and wider perspective to be able to include not only the diversity of Vujičić’s topics,

but also to understand the many connections between his interests, inspirations, motives, and searches. Numerous flaws and strengths (pointed out by G. Lechleitner, 2014:12) of the estate were constantly widening the scope of the challenge. It was on us to understand them and to work with them in a way that would at least approximate, if not reach, the level of Vujičić's approach.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

There are two main theoretical and/or methodological questions we explored: (a) who is the insider/outsider in the work on archival materials, or, in other words, where is the dividing line between the archival collections' treatment as archival sources and the research on this material, and (b) what are the advantages and disadvantages of a cross-perspective approach in minority research. The latter question is especially important regarding the complex topics concerning insider/outsider roles in this work and, moreover, the historical aspect of Vujičić's and our time of life and work. Within the following paragraphs, we shall try to get some answers to these questions.

The impact of insider/outsider positions on the approach and the interpretation of data (Kerstetter 2012:111-112) was one of our main concerns. At the very beginning, we realised that we felt like acting as insiders following these criteria: we acted as trained ethnomusicologists and experts for Serbian traditional music and, in a wider sense, for South Slavic music. When working with sources and materials concerning these cultures;¹⁹ it is the approach to *our own native culture*. Furthermore, there is our general distance and caution coming from the awareness of our *otherness*, as being outsiders to the traditional culture of Serbs and especially other South Slavs in Hungary, comprising of historically and culturally conditioned specificities (according to Naaeke et al. 2012:1). Still, our experiences in our earlier research projects on traditional Serbian music in Vojvodina (North Serbia) and in the Romanian part of the Banat region encouraged us to take on this challenge. These areas, as well as those in Hungary, form the wider region of South Pannonia and considering the cultural

19 Namely, both of us studied ethnomusicology in Yugoslav times, in the class of the late Prof. Dr Dragoslav Dević, who had included ample information about different nations and ethnicities of the country in the study program, which gave us a reliable foundation for understanding the diverse musical phenomena in different South Slavic geo-cultural areas.

influences that prevailed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, we were aware of many cultural and musical similarities.

Especially sensitive subjects arose when we came to materials recorded from Croatian and Slovenian informants. We tried to solve these questions by involving Croatian and Slovenian colleagues in the project, as they were more familiar with these traditions. Furthermore, knowledge of the specificities of earlier Serbian and South Slavic musical cultures from Hungary and the traditions of several groups of South Slavs, originating from a shared history, provides interesting and inspiring material for collaborative scholarly work in the future as general insiders—heirs to a common musical heritage.

Our role in the project is that of authority figures who have profound insight into the estate and who revealed elements of Vujičić's work previously unknown to the scholarly community. At this point, the ethical question is clear: the privilege of our position turns into responsibility towards the estate, towards Vujičić's work, especially when discursive knowledge is in focus,²⁰ and towards international scholars and the interested public. Considering our place and role in this work, perhaps our position would be most precisely described as being “in the middle” (according to Breen 2007:169).

The historical aspect of Vujičić's and our work stands out as especially important and delicate. In light of the time period when Vujičić's lived and worked, his intention to research all of the South Slavic minorities in Hungary (at that time, the Serbian language used a specific term, *narodnosti*), might be seen as following the identity policy of Yugoslavia of that time and the ideology of “brotherhood and unity”.

However, after finding profound insight into his work and writings, we can confirm that Vujičić's ethnomusicological and artistic approach and interests were distinctively cosmopolitan and tended toward universal values (see also Vargyas 2007:104). Looking at his manuscripts and reading his texts, reflections, and concepts that referred to music originating in the broad geographical and cultural scope from the Inuit to the Balinese, getting in touch with his rich library and numerous books (many with dedications from his colleagues from America to Georgia), thinking of his endeavour and effort to communicate in many languages and to understand languages of cultures, we conclude that he was an *artist-researcher* who tended to break the (political) boundaries between cultures and built a foundation for a cross-cultural spreading of knowledge and

20 This is especially valid considering the danger of a kind of epistemological violence towards the object of research (Teo 2010)—in this case, towards the legacy of our colleague to whom we nevertheless have deep respect.

artistic communication. His ethnomusicological approach was historically comparative. Moreover, his approach had no politically-coloured background, as seen through his non-institutional engagements. Finally, Vujičić himself said: “I was born in a double membrane, because I understand the two languages! I agitate as much as my throat, my flute, and everything I have got, all my talent, allow me” (Szokolay 2007:102).

This cosmopolitan point of view, seen in Tihomir Vujičić’s artistic personality and research, demanded that we, as researchers, develop such a spirit and widen our own horizons to achieve the level of observation compatible with Vujičić’s. In other words, we were challenged to experience and exhibit multiculturalism, as he used to do (Zempi 2016:1). This challenged not only our ethnomusicological competences, but also our general multicultural background (Ibidem). At the same time, it gave us room to reassess and to apply it to our work. We might also discuss Vujičić’s active interculturality, seen in his activities. The spirit of enthusiasm and faith in the communicative power of the arts, especially in traditional musical arts, which we recognised many times in Vujičić’s materials, helped us overcome doubts about our engagement. Approaching the finalisation of our project, our position as outsiders to the archival work had been overcome by our new insights and experiences. Thus, the archival work can be regarded as both necessary and beneficial to the researchers in many ways.

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ABSTRACT

Modern music in Kazakhstan reflects the complex identities evolved in the 20th century. In many pairs of notions it used to describe a person's or a tradition's identity: Kazakh vs. Kazakhstani, ethnically based or not, endogenous vs. westernised. The different attitudes to *inside* and *outside* positions influenced ethnomusicologists and traditional musicians in evaluating the current condition of traditions. The inside-outsider position allowed me to uncover negative and positive trends in the education of modern traditional musicians, including the transition from oral tradition to mostly fixed (notated) musical texts and the development of new approaches to preserve skills of oral transmission.

KEYWORDS

Kazakh music, institutionalisation of traditional music education, music in post-Soviet Kazakhstan

Kazakh traditions, ethnic and westernised

A view from inside the
country and from
outside the ethnicity*

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1. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN KAZAKHSTAN

Kazakhstan is a unique country since its population is small, but its ethnic composition is very complex in terms of personal, ethnic, and national identity. Representatives of more than 125 peoples have Kazakhstani citizenship. Although all the diasporas keep their cultural heritage, Kazakh culture dominates, and it carries the core features of Kazakhstani identity. So it is better to divide the two components of identity into ethnic and national. The first one—Kazakh—is inherent to representatives of the Kazakh people, which separated from the Turkic-Mongol super-ethnos around the 16th century. The second—Kazakhstani—emerged in the 20th century during the Soviet period, under the direct influence of national and cultural policy and developed after 1992 in the independent Republic of Kazakhstan.

When speaking of the identities of citizens of the republic, political scientists Kristoffer Rees and Aziz Burkhanov distinguish different types of identities, such as *ethnically-based*, *non-ethnically-based*, and *hybrid* (Rees & Burkhanov 2018). There is a kind of antinomy between more exclusive ethnonational Kazakh and more inclusive civic Kazakhstani identities. As far as musical tradition is a socio-cultural phenomenon, it seems truly

* The paper is the outcome of my personal experience in researching the complex condition of the music culture of modern Kazakhstan—the subject of my PhD dissertation defended in 2017.

important to consider the identity of its bearers as a vital factor. Moreover, using the metaphoric “semiotic personality” (Lotman 1992) for tradition as a sign system, we could also try to define the identity of the whole tradition (Dulat-Aleyev 1999).

The culture of Kazakhstan in its current state includes many regional sung and instrumental oral traditions, mass (popular) music of the western kind, and the art music by composers (so-called written tradition). Such a situation leads to a very complicated interaction between different identities personalised in ethnic Kazakh and westernised Kazakhstani traditions, as far as between inside and outside of them. Let us imagine a simplified structure of the modern traditions of Kazakhstan in the following scheme (Fig. 1).

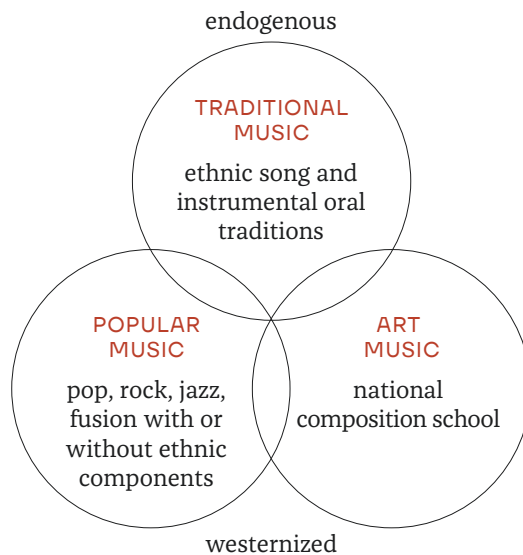


Figure 1. Structure of identities in the musical culture of Kazakhstan

Due to the use of Russian as the language of interethnic conversation and due to language estrangement, most of the non-Kazakh and urban Kazakh traditions are not deeply rooted in ethnic Kazakh art. They intensively participate in the westernised music creation. This causes, paradoxically, a parallel coexistence of two Kazakh (or Kazakhstani) musics—traditional and westernised music that interact with each other, as well as with the ethnic traditions of different diasporas.

These two dichotomies—endogenous vs. westernised, Kazakh vs. Kazakhstani—form the main directions of cultural interactions inside Kazakh society and determine the way of development for musical traditions. As one may see, despite the distinction between Kazakh and Kazakhstani, the first has a strong influence on the latter. That is why, speaking of mod-

ern traditional culture, I will consider Kazakh ethnic traditions first. None of the traditions and genres in contemporary Kazakh culture is self-contained. However, I would consider their varying degrees of restrictiveness. The need for interaction is more substantially manifested by academic (westernised) and mass music. For example, for a long time, *dombyra kui* inspired Kazakhstani composers to create different orchestral variations of this genre (Kokisheva & Nedlina 2016). The urge to belong to the national culture is characteristic not only of the art music of Kazakhstani composers but also, for example, of performers on European instruments (Tleubergenov et al. 2018:68). Traditional musicians rarely interact with westernised music in an intentional way and seldom form any kinds of experimental mixed genres.

I would also define two more dichotomies in Kazakhstani culture that represent its complex structure: rural vs. urban, and ethnically Kazakh vs. non-Kazakh. They may be applied when defining any specific tradition or one's self-identity.

2. KAZAKHSTANI SELF-IDENTITY IN THE STUDY OF ETHNIC TRADITIONS

I identify myself as a non-Kazakh urban person. I am an ethnic Jew born in Kazakhstan. As a scholar, I am involved in studying the worlds of Kazakh music, both traditional and westernised. The status of being both non-Kazakh and Kazakhstani allows me to distance myself from ethnic identity but understand it as a representative of the Kazakh people, which helps me be more objective while staying involved. The reflection on the duality of Kazakh music and multilingual Kazakhstani culture allows the use of personal perception and identity as a research method, which I applied in my dissertation on the contemporary music culture of Kazakhstan, a method that may be useful in other ethnomusicological studies.

I will demonstrate this on a few specific questions:

- (1) How is traditional musicians' education institutionalised? How does this influence traditional art?
- (2) Could Kazakhs have avoided the changes of the 20th century if they hadn't been a part of Soviet cultural policy?

Let me stop briefly on each issue to demonstrate the position "inside the country and outside the ethnicity".

Although the question of the institutionalisation of traditional musicians' education is vital, it has rarely been asked by traditional musicians

themselves. There are two opposite opinions on the issue pertaining to different groups of insiders of Kazakh traditions: ethnomusicologists (inside the culture, outside the tradition) and performers (inside the culture, inside the tradition).

The first one is extremely negative. Researchers such as Asiya Mukhambetova and Gulnar Begalinova harshly criticise the transition from traditional to institutionalised education, especially in the early post-Soviet period (Mukhambetova & Begalinova 2002). Indeed, in the 1930s, a transfer of musical texts from the potential to the fixed form through notation happened, and directions for the accuracy of transmission, characteristic of the performers' academic education, were adopted. All this harmed the systemic foundations of the professional art of oral tradition.

Another opinion, mainly shared by traditional musicians involved in institutionalised education, states that all the modern schools and traditions date back to pre-Soviet times. They insist that music education institutions are strongly connected with authentic traditions and preserve the core principles of ethnic music with no more than a few external features of Western education. Famous traditional performers such as Karshyga Akhmediyarov and Karima Sakharbayeva repeatedly have made this point.

Whether you are inside Kazakh ethnomusicology, which developed under the ideological pressure of Soviet cultural policy, or inside the performing art school of westernised institutions such as Kurmangazy Conservatoire's Folk Music Department, it would be impossible to stay objective. My position as an outsider allowed me to ask: Could Kazakh traditional culture have avoided changes in the era of globalisation? Are the negative consequences of institutionalisation irreversible? How do traditional musicians perceive the danger of losing their oral communication, and how do they resist it?

To find the answers, I turned to three sources: the theory of traditions (oral and written), the history of the institutionalisation of Kazakh musical education, and contemporary musicians who teach and study in Kurmangazy Kazakh National Conservatory.

Asiya Mukhambetova and Gulnar Begalinova criticised the turn toward notated traditional music, and many of their colleagues share this opinion. To explore the reasons for this, I will compare the two types of professionalism offered by Nonna Shakhnazarova based on the mostly oral Makamat traditions in Central Asian cultures (*Table 1*).

Oral professionalism	Written professionalism
Origin and existence in the secular tradition (34)	Origin in sacred art (48-49)
A work exists potentially (36-38)	The work exists as a text. Therefore, it is alienated from the creator (54)
Forms of fixation: neumes, mensural, <i>haz</i> , Khorezm notations, etc. (33)	Creation and improvement of notation (54)
Stability of norms (as a result of collective censorship) (39-40)	The dissemination of the experience partly through music printing leads to other forms of competition (ingenuity) (54)
A strict and highly developed system of musical thinking, long training (39), large forms (43)	A strict and highly developed system of musical thinking, long training (39), large forms (43)
The audience is limited to the narrow circle of those present (at a festival, at court, etc.) (55)	Broad concert audience (church) (55)
Performance-creativity, skill depends on talent and level of preparation (40)	Separation of types of creativity: performance and composition. Elements of performance-creativity are preserved (the art of improvisation) (54)
The brightest individuals create new traditions within the framework of pre-established laws (40)	Uniform principles of thinking, allowing for individual, regional and national differences (54)
Methods of developing the material: variation, ornamentation	Method of developing the material: polyphonic development (53)

Table 1. Comparative characteristics of types of professionalism according to Nonna G. Shakhnazarova (1982)¹

As seen in Table 1, syncretism, or the division of creative activities (*performance-creation* or *composition and performance*), is essential for the system of mastery transfer. Another conceptually significant idea is the distinction between *the work as a potential (each time recreated) text vs. an alienated (work-artefact²) text*. These differences in the professionalism of oral and written traditions determine the criteria for mastery (in the first case: the talent for improvisation; in the second: the accuracy of text transmission), and, consequently, the direction of the musician's training.

The creation of a new music environment in the Soviet period significantly changed the image of the authentic performer and the attitude to samples of oral culture. The traditional system of knowledge transfer could

1 The parentheses in the table include the page numbers where the indicated criteria are discussed in detail.

2 Compare: minstrel and opus cultures as described by M.A. Saponov (2004:263).

not educate artists for the new stages of philharmonics and theatres. A new kind of performers, ready to perform in concert halls, were demanded in order to meet the emerging aesthetic and market needs. This fact answers another central question. Kazakh culture, like many other Asian and African cultures, couldn't avoid the changes that came with industrialisation, urbanisation, and globalisation. Globalisation changes the music environment of the most conservative spheres of people's lives, even in the most remote areas where nomadic life is still preserved, suggesting that the changes were inevitable. Fuki Yagi described the changes in the wedding ceremony of Mongolian Kazakhs in the Bayan Olgii Province in Mongolia, where the new pop-songs could be heard along with traditional genres such as *toi bastar*, and *bet ashar* (Yagi 2020). In this sense, few achievements that were significant for the preservation of regional traditions took place in the very early history of institutionalised education of Kazakh traditional musicians.

The institutional system of Soviet music education (music school-college-conservatory), which replaced the traditional transfer of knowledge from teacher to disciple (*ustaz-shakirt*), has become a kind of foundation for cultural construction. It acts as a successor of the tradition, preserving some aspects of the exchange of mastery secrets, while at the same time losing others in the conditions of professionalising the written tradition.

Since the first days of a new system of musical culture in general and institutional education in particular (Music and Theatre College, 1932; Alma-Ata Conservatory, 1944), departments of folk music have been included. The system involved excellent traditional professionals, such as the direct creative heir of the Kurmangazy school, the *kuishi*-composer Makhambet Bukeikhanov (1890–1937), the representative of the West Kazakhstan song tradition, the connoisseur of songs and *kuis* by Mukhit and other West Kazakhstan authors Ganbar Medetov (1898–1940), the grandson of Mukhit and the continuator of his traditions Lukpan Mukhitov (1897–1954), and other folk musicians. Thus, the continuity between generations of musicians of different formations was ensured, following the ideas of the founder of institutional music education in Kazakhstan, Akhmet Zhubanov.

Not being the heir of any particular regional tradition, Zhubanov was familiar with the world of traditional art from the inside, and simultaneously explored it from the outside, from a European academic standpoint.³

3 A.K. Zhubanov graduated in 1932 at the historical and theoretical faculty of the N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov Conservatoire in Leningrad, entered the graduate school of the Institute of Art Criticism (later LGITMiK, now Russian Institute of Art History), but was summoned by the authorities of Kazakhstan to Alma-Ata to work

A kind of duality of the position of the musician-traditionalist and academic researcher, the combination of various activities (conductor of symphonic and folk orchestras, soloist, composer, researcher, teacher) is also characteristic of the followers of A. Zhubanov: *kobyz* player Fatima Balgaeva (1926–2005); *dombyra* player, conductor and composer Nurgisa Tlendiyev (1925–1998); *dombyra* player, violinist and conductor Shamgon Kazhaliyev (1927–2015); *dombyra* players, *kuishis* and researchers Karshiga Akhmedyarov (1946–2010), Karima Saharbaeva (born 1952), Bilyal Iskakov (born 1955), and others. The syncretism of the national musician has been transformed into a multi-vector creative activity of modern bearers of traditions.

One of the main standpoints in evaluating the level of preservation of tradition is the method of education. In the 1930s–1950s, the ability to read scores and to fix pieces in notation was considered the criterion of professionalism. Many outstanding musicians who grew up in conditions of oral tradition learnt to read and write scores to stay involved in cultural activities as professionals. But in such aspects as performing skills, vocal or instrumental technique, artistic expression, or repertoire, academic education tended to preserve and develop the methods of oral tradition, rather than invent something fundamentally new.

Perhaps the systematic nature of primary education should be considered as the main difference in this regard. From the stories of famous *kuishis* and their pupils, recorded, in particular, by Akhmet Zhubanov (1958), it is known that the young performers acquired their primary skills in the family. A single method of mastering the performing technique did not exist. In institutional education and in the presence of a collectively developed teaching method, the role of the mentor remains ideally forming the individual trajectory of the young musician's creative perfection through the gradual technical complication of the repertoire. Therefore the critical difference is the nature and degree of the musician's creative activity, his or her ability to recreate, to become a co-author of the masters of the past.

Now we have come to the question of how traditional musicians resist the negative consequences of Soviet music education. In general, the formal side of the musical education of traditional musicians—the technique, the initial training, and the preliminary work with the text—in its

at the musical and theatre college. Here, he organised an experimental music workshop in a short time. He regularly published articles and monographs on Kazakh traditional music. In 1942, he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Art History for his foundational work “Life and work of Kazakh folk composers of the 19th to early 20th centuries.” With the foundation of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, he became a full member (Ketegenova 2009).

current form belongs mostly to the written tradition. The mere presence of a notated text reduced the significance of variation of the traditional genre and the creative principle in the process of its interpretation. For example, the variants of the same *kui* are now sometimes performed as independent works.

Nevertheless, the musicians themselves feel the loss of the oral culture's values and make efforts to preserve traditional musical communication in the educational process and its adaptation to the institutional musical education of the written tradition. Thus, teachers still keep the oral transmission of the text as the primary method in traditional instrumental classes. The former dean of the Faculty of Folk Music of the Kurmangazy Kazakh National Conservatory, Karima Sakharbayeva noted in conversation that students in her classroom are trained almost exclusively by hand, although the score is before their eyes. Thus, they keep the ability to catch musical text by ear and eye (Karima Sakharbayeva, pers. comm., April–May 2015).

The new subject 'ethnosolfège' (ethnic ear training, or solfège with the *dombyra*), developed by ethnomusicologists Abdulkhamit Raimbergenov, Saule Utégaliyeva (2005), Aygul Baibek (2009), and others, was introduced to the education process of a traditional musician. In this course, students learn to catch by ear and memorise large sections and whole pieces (songs and *kuis*), and to reproduce them in notes, as well as in sung and instrumental performance. The study of various regional styles and traditions, both instrumental and vocal, is an essential aspect of the course from the standpoint of compositional thinking and a holistic complex of means. The main emphasis is placed on the oral acquisition of texts. Still, students master the reproduction of musical pieces and their fragments in two ways: through performance (aurally) and through musical notation.

The interest by young persons trained as traditional musicians in collaboration with pop-musicians and in creating fusion projects is a notable trend in contemporary Kazakh music practice. Including folk instruments as a part of the traditional worldview in music and videos by contemporary artists and bands creates "powerful messages of Kazakh national identity for contemporary audiences in Kazakhstan" (Rancier 2009:387). I. Zemtsovsky notes that the urban genre of *folk estrada*—a kind of Kazakh pop music—absorbs almost all traditional genres into a concert scene (Zemtsovsky 2006:525). Young musicians create new (often collectively authored) compositions, mixing acoustic and electronic sounds in a way of popular music genres. A new type of folk ensemble "consolidating the native national instruments—*dombyra*, *kobyz*, *shankobyz*, *sazsyrnai*, *zhetigen*, *sybyzgy*, etc.—into a single sound or including them into the accompaniment of the compositions of entertainer ensembles is often

practised” (Gafurbekov et al. 2018:168). This case, and many others, demonstrate a broader inclusivity of the Kazakh oral traditions than it was commonly believed. It seems that many musicians now have broadened their self-identity from Kazakh to global-Kazakh, which sparked a new discussion on how to let traditions preserve and develop themselves based on cultural-historical identity in a changing world (see, for example, Omarova, Alpeissova, Kuseubay, 2015). To evaluate all the processes in contemporary traditional art, A. Raimkulova calls “to shift the emphasis in ethnomusicological studies from a ‘hermetic’ approach to tradition as a self-valuable phenomenon to the study of musical traditions in a broad cultural context” (Raimkulova 2020:35).

CONCLUSION

I maintain that a position inside the country and inside the Kazakh national conservatory allowed me to fully explore the institutional education of traditional musicians. At the same time, the role of the outsider provides the ability to evaluate institutionalisation without any political background. Studying the modern education system, I came to the following conclusions:

- (1) The only negative change, which is, nevertheless essential and perhaps irreversible, is the transition to fixed (notated) musical text instead of a potential masterpiece of oral tradition.
- (2) The Soviet education system had not only negative but also positive consequences: outstanding oral professionals became involved in mass music education and shared their mastery with an ever-broader circle of disciples.
- (3) Contemporary traditional musicians try to keep the features of oral transmission by using it in performance classes and by developing new courses where both Western and Kazakh methods of education are used.

There is one more consequence of my interest in the institutionalisation of traditional musicians’ education. Karima Sakharbayeva, who shared her knowledge on the issue with me, researched the continuity of traditions and connections between regional schools of the past and contemporary conservatory classes, and published an article in Kazakh (2014). I hope that our insider/outsider collaboration will continue in future research projects and publications.

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ABSTRACT

Historically oriented museums convey history and collective identity. They reconstruct the past while also serving as media of cultural memory—often through regional or national references. This paper examines several music exhibitions in Germany, each centered on local themes and directed at local audiences. I explore how these exhibitions contribute to the formation of cultural memory and seek to uncover the curatorial intentions behind them.

KEYWORDS

collective identity, cultural memory, local culture, music on display

Curating for an Insider Audience

Cultural Memory and the Presentation of Local Themes in Music Exhibitions

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Museums are heterogeneous institutions designed with a variety of perspectives in mind and are received by the public in a variety of ways. As Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett writes, a museum exhibition can—inter alia—be conceived of as a “laboratory for creating new knowledge,” a forum for public

debate, a “party, where great achievements and historical moments can be celebrated,” or an advocate for preservation (1998:138–39). In at least the two latter cases, the museum is part of what Pierre Nora (1989) refers to as the “lieux de mémoire” and is thus an institution of cultural memory, a term introduced by Jan and Aleida Assmann. According to Jan Assmann, cultural memory “is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural identity” (2010:110). Remembering goes hand in hand with forgetting, and cultural memory, therefore, requires institutions to preserve it. As societies do not literally remember things, the terms such as remembering and memory should be understood metaphorically in this context (see Erll 2010:5). However, Astrid Erll notes that “much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the process of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs” (ibid.).

According to Aleida Assmann, the formation of cultural memory can bring about “the threats of distortion, reduction, and manipulation” (2012:6). In line with Astrid Erll’s considerations, it might be worth considering

whether selectivity causes reduction and distortion and whether distortion is a form of manipulation that causes the supposed threats to affect cultural memory in general. Nevertheless, since collective identity can be a political concern, curatorial interference can be assumed to differ depending on both the individuals' intentions and on the respective topics of a museum when it comes to institutionally promoting a shared past.

The following sections introduce music exhibitions from four local German museums. Each display deals with topics that play a role in the respective region, with the curators addressing local visitors and thus expecting an insider audience. The investigations are part of a larger research project titled *Music on Display—Studies on the Presentation and Reception of Musical Topics in Museums*, which is affiliated with the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen (Germany).¹ As part of the project, I explore how exhibitions contribute to the formation of cultural memory and investigate the role of curatorial interference.

I adopt a narratological approach and define exhibitions and parts of exhibitions as narratives composed of or illustrated by heterogeneous elements such as objects, panels, photos, and sound samples. I therefore also investigate the particular ways the local topics are presented. Museum narratives are characterised by the spatial arrangement of items. Unlike written texts or films, which maintain a linear structure, museum narratives can be described as non-linear texts “without a defined beginning and without a defined end that are composed of different types of signs” (Schirnhöfer 2010:19). These narratives are often explored through individual approaches, for instance, in terms of the order of viewing the objects on display. This approach can lead to individual conclusions by visitors and may have a lasting impact on them (see Meyer 2017:178). Personal exploration, however, can be restricted by linearly structured information in written texts, audio guides, or films. Accordingly, I investigate both the unambiguity and the openness of the museum narratives.

In a highly cited article, Peter Vergo describes a spectrum of opinions about what a museum should be like. At one end of the spectrum, he writes, there are the proponents of “‘aesthetic’ exhibitions” in which “the object itself...is of paramount importance.” At the other end, there are the advocates of “contextual exhibitions” that consider an artefact mainly “as a token of a particular age, a particular culture, a particular political or social system, as being representative of certain ideas or beliefs” (Vergo 1989:48). Most concepts of music exhibitions occupy a middle position on

1 Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation). Empirical data were collected by María del Mar Alonso Amat, Elisabeth Magesacher, and the author. (see Alonso Amat, Magesacher, Meyer 2021).

this spectrum, with artefacts being shown for both aesthetic and contextual motivations. I thereby also investigate the extent to which museum narratives focus on presenting knowledge and/or on triggering emotions (e.g., due to the aura of the artefacts) in their appeal to a local audience.

When strengthening group cohesion, narratives that treat the group critically can be as important as common achievements. Austrian historian Heidemarie Uhr has pointed out that the creation of cultural memory should be considered a “seismograph for the moral-ethical constitution of a society” (2010:10). This perspective also influences my discussion of the exhibitions, and I therefore additionally investigate the extent to which societal fractures and abuses play a visible role in the curatorial conceptualisations.

MUNICH CITY MUSEUM: MUSIC COLLECTION²

The city-owned Münchner Stadtmuseum has exhibitions relating to Munich and houses various collections, including photography, puppet shows, and musical instruments.³ It is targeted towards a heterogeneous audience, but also especially towards people from Munich. According to the museum’s website, “[e]veryone—and especially every Munich resident—has a certain image of this city, and the exhibition is expected to garner both support and criticism.”⁴ The music display titled *Sammlung Musik* (“music collection”) was founded in 1940 and contains music from a private collection by Munich’s Georg Neuner (Varsányi 2018:307). According to the website, the museum owns more than 6,000 instruments, about one-fifth of which are on display,⁵ and more than half of them come from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania.

The entrance area of the music display is dedicated to the Free State of Bavaria and to the city of Munich. A scenic constellation in a glass cabinet displays Bavarian Folk Music. A table and two chairs stand in front of a wallpaper depicting folk musicians, and folk music instruments, including accordions, zithers, and a harp are placed around the display. Short labels provide information about the instruments, and a longer text with

2 Münchner Stadtmuseum: *Sammlung Musik*. The exhibition has been closed since 2024.

3 <https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de/sammlungen/uebersicht.html> (accessed 8 April 2020).

4 Translated from German by the author. See <https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen.html> (accessed 6 April 2020).

5 <http://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen/dauerausstellung-musik> (accessed 8 April 2020).

the subtitle *Bavarian House Music* is located on the glass of the cabinet. However, the music is not described as being originally Bavarian, but rather as being “Alpine”, and references are even made to the French *musique de chambre*. The goal here is not to emphasise Bavarian folk music as something special. According to curator András Varsányi,⁶ the museum simply wants to welcome visitors in their local region (2018:316). There is also a cabinet dedicated to Carl Orff in the entrance area. Although Munich was his hometown, the city itself hardly plays a role in the display, which focuses on Orff’s affinity for non-European music instead. The display includes a photo of Orff with an Indonesian angklung and a number of instruments from different cultural areas (Fig. 1), among other things. According to Varsányi, the cabinet was designed to lead to the exhibits of objects with “non-European provenance” in the following rooms (Varsányi 2018:318).

The final section of the exhibition mainly presents instruments of European art music. With a few exceptions, no exhibits are prominently labelled as being representative of the most outstanding pieces of their time, despite the fact that many were manufactured by renowned Bavarian instrument makers. Moreover, the panel texts do not explicitly indicate the instrument makers. The instruments primarily highlight organological issues and—as announced on the website—represent special forms of each instrument and display diversity and development.⁷

From April 2018 to January 2019, the Munich City Museum showcased an exhibition on acquisitions of the Museum under National Socialism.⁸ An introductory text stated: “The exhibition offers comprehensive insight into the provenance research carried out at the house to date. It presents an important chapter in its own history to the public for the first time. The Munich City Museum wants to fulfil its historical responsibility.”⁹ Alongside many other artefacts, the exhibition displayed musical instruments owned by Jewish art dealer L. Bernheimer: a barrel drum from China, a gong from Myanmar, and a West African ivory trumpet. The museum acquired the objects under undisclosed circumstances after the Bernheimer family had to leave Germany. Various banners in the exhibition provided information about the fate of the family and their company. A text panel pointed out that the director of the house was not dismissed after

6 András Varsányi was the head of the collection from 2009 to 2018.

7 <https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen/dauerausstellung-musik> (accessed 9 April 2020).

8 “Ehem. jüdischer Besitz’ – Erwerbungen des Münchner Stadtmuseums im Nationalsozialismus.”

9 Translated from German by the author.



Figure 1. Münchner Stadtmuseum (Munich City Museum):
Presentation on Carl Orff (photo: Andreas Meyer)

World War II, even though the museum had bought looted works of art under his supervision.

As for the permanent music exhibition, the backgrounds of the collection are also critically examined and include written texts and contributions in the audio guide, especially when it comes to non-European music. At one point, for instance, the audio guide states that “[t]racing the colonial heritage of the collection remains a challenge to this day. The region from which the respective instrument originated, the circumstances of the acquisition, or the previous owner are only known in a few cases.”¹⁰

¹⁰ Translated from German by the author.

MUSEUM OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG¹¹

The inventory of artefacts at the Museum of Musical Instruments can be traced back to the collection of music publisher Paul de Wit, who founded his own Music History Museum in Leipzig in 1893 with over 1,000 objects (including instruments, components of instruments, paintings, lithographs, etc.). Today, more than 9,000 objects are housed in the museum,¹² which is divided into a permanent exhibition, a study collection that is only accessible upon registration, a room for special exhibitions, and a museum education department known as the “sound laboratory”. The current permanent exhibition was opened in 2006, and a new management was established in 2014. Since then, some parts of the museum have been changed.

The connection to Leipzig and Saxony is relevant in both the older and the newer parts of the exhibition. Leipzig is presented as an important centre of music. In the older parts, local elements are conveyed by means of panel texts. Furthermore, local artefacts are presented from an auratic point of view, with particularly beautiful and particularly old instruments being shown. As for the newer parts, organological elements are more important, and the instruments were chosen less for aesthetic reasons. However, in these newer parts, many references to special musical achievements and outstanding skills in constructing instruments connected to the city of Leipzig are also evident, with the presentation of instrument makers Martin and Johann Christian Hoffmann and their instruments serving as a good example. An accompanying text indicates the high reputation that the family enjoyed and reveals their close contact with Johann Sebastian Bach. There is a large map of historical Leipzig on the floor that contains an illustration of the family’s workshop. Locals can identify the location and are thus able to relate the presentation to their own environment.

Another newer section presents different kinds of self-playing mechanical instruments, most of which were manufactured in Leipzig, including table barrel organs, pneumatic player pianos, and instruments designed as home furniture. A constellation titled “Self-Playing Musical Instruments at Home” displays various music machines placed in front of a photo of a room as if they were part of it. According to a panel, the room is an apartment at Leibnizstrasse No. 24 in Leipzig city centre. An elaborately designed compilation of artefacts in the same section relates

11 Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität Leipzig.

12 <https://www.uni-leipzig.de/universitaet/struktur/museen-und-sammlungen/musikinstrumentenmuseum> (accessed 15 April 2020).

to the company Ludwig Hupfeld AG, the production plant in Leipzig's Böhmlitz-Ehrenberg district, which is shown on a photo wall. A text panel points out that the company had been "Europe's largest plant for self-playing pianos and orchestrions."¹³ Next to the panel, there are a number of photos, including ones showing Max Reger, Wilhelm Backhaus, and Edward Grieg being recorded producing piano rolls at Hupfeld. Various instruments manufactured by the company are presented in front of the photos. The images with the famous musicians bear testament to the company's reputation. The photo of the factory building corresponds to the text, and its imposing exterior indicates economic success. The building still stands to this day (Fig. 2), and locals are likely to recognise it.



Figure 2. Former factory building of the company Ludwig Hupfeld AG in Böhmlitz-Ehrenberg, Leipzig (photo: Andreas Meyer)

13 Translated from German by the author.

*ROCK AND POP IN THE POT*¹⁴ – 60 YEARS OF MUSIC
 IN THE RUHR DISTRICT.¹⁵ SPECIAL EXHIBITION
 OF THE RUHR MUSEUM, ESSEN

The Ruhr Museum was established in 2010 in the former coal washing plant of the Zollverein colliery in Essen, which is recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is sponsored by the state Stiftung Ruhr Museum (Ruhr Museum Foundation). The special exhibition *Rock and Pop in the Pot* was open from May 2016 to February 2017 and was devoted to the history of pop music in the Ruhr district, with a focus on both the music itself and on its reception. As a local museum, the house considers itself “a repository for the Ruhr Metropolis.”¹⁶ Accordingly, the introductory text to the pop exhibition in the audio guide indicated that a primary focus of the exhibition was to support “collective memory”. In his greeting, Thomas Kufen, Mayor of the City of Essen, listed a series of pop events that had taken place in the Ruhr area since the 1960s and had “become deeply etched into the cultural memory of the district” (2016:n.p.).¹⁷ This sentiment indicates the basic orientation of the display. A gallery in the entrance area, titled “Starparade” (Parade of Stars) presented photos and descriptions of nationally renowned pop musicians from the region. Other parts of the exhibition were also dedicated to renowned musicians and gold records and other prizes were displayed, as well as original instruments. One section, “Rock and Pop Festivals”, referenced the pioneering work of local festival makers. For example, one cabinet displayed the program and a ticket to the *International Essen Pop and Blues Festival*. A copy of an advertisement in the British magazine *Melody Maker* with the heading “First German Blues Festival” emphasised the international importance of the event. A text panel pointed out that many famous pop stars had made their debut at the festival.

In some cases, critical facets were also examined. One area of the exhibition was devoted to the techno scene and included a number of artefacts, such as synthesisers, samplers, DJ setups, and posters for dance events. Next to these items, an interactive media station displayed a television documentary on the “Love Parade”, including a report of the disaster of 2010, in which 21 people died during the festival in Duisburg due to overcrowding. One section titled “Music of the Immigrant Society” primarily dealt with the music of Turkish immigrants who had come to the

14 “Pot” = nickname for the Ruhr district and its coal mines.

15 *Rock und Pop im Pott – 60 Jahre Musik im Ruhrgebiet*.

16 <https://www.ruhrmuseum.de/startseite> (accessed 15 April 2020). Translated from German by the author.

17 Translated from German by the author.



Figure 3. Ruhr Museum, “Rock und Pop im Pott” (“Rock and Pop in the Pot”): Presentation of LPs and CDs from local pop musicians (photo: Andreas Meyer)

Ruhr area at the beginning of the 1960s mainly to work in the coal mines and large industrial plants. The exhibits mostly referenced the Turkish music scene, and the panel texts referenced hostilities and pressure that the immigrants had faced. Some artefacts indicated xenophobia, including a poster for a play titled *Kanaken* (a pejorative term for non-Germans). Nevertheless, the poster also referenced cultural reactions to xenophobia, and this reference continued with a constellation of artefacts that were devoted to a multi-ethnic festival in Kemnade Castle (near the city of Bochum). A cabinet contained posters, an admission ticket, photos from the festival, and an LP with recordings of the festival, among other things. The cabinet label read:

A poster in 1974 advertised a festival at Kemnade Castle: The question “We are humans, are you human, too?” was printed beneath a photograph of people of “Mediterranean appearance.” For 38 years, the “Kemnade International” festival was the stage for immigrant music. The initiative was originally coordinated by Museum Bochum. In just a few years, “Kemnade International”

developed into a multi-ethnic bazaar and forum, also for political exiles who had escaped military dictatorships in Chile and Turkey. The festival relocated to the Jahrhunderthalle in Bochum in 2012.

A newspaper article from 1974, also displayed in the cabinet, bore the title “Bochumers Danced into the Night with Guest Workers”.

Various constellations of the exhibition focused on individual recollections. In one of the showrooms, photos and descriptions of music clubs were shown under the title “Venues and Concert Halls”. The photos themselves did not appear remarkable as exhibits; rather, the aim was clearly for visitors to walk through the gallery in search of well-known clubs in which they may have danced themselves. Another part of the exhibition, titled “Group Photo—The Bands of the Ruhr District,” displayed covers of LPs and CDs (Fig. 3) and was impressive in its volume. With regard to individual artefacts, recognition was again crucial. The comment of the audio guide concluded with the request that each visitor should check whether he or she owned records (“rarities”) from the Ruhr district that were not on display: “Become a part of this exhibition as a lender,” the closing line invited.

*HANDEL WITH HEART – THE COMPOSER AND THE CHILDREN OF THE LONDON FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.*¹⁸ SPECIAL EXHIBITION OF THE HÄNDEL-HAUS, HALLE

The “Händel-Haus” museum in Halle comprises a building complex with Handel’s birth house and another building nearby. Established in 1948 and part of a private foundation (Stiftung Händel-Haus) since 2007, the museum presents permanent exhibitions on Handel and local music history, a collection of musical instruments, as well as numerous special exhibitions. The special exhibition titled *Handel with Heart* was dedicated to Handel’s social commitment to the Foundling Hospital in London and was on display from February 2016 to January 2017.

Handel supported the Foundling Hospital in many ways, including with annual charity performances of his oratorio *Messiah* at the hospital chapel. He also composed a choral work titled *Foundling Hospital Anthem*. The exhibition spread over four rooms. Only a few exhibits were shown, with most topics being conveyed via illustrated texts on banners that were hung around the rooms. Various media stations offered additional infor-

¹⁸ “Händel mit Herz – Der Komponist und die Kinder des Londoner Foundling Hospital”.

mation and audible music. A small room called the “treasury” presented valuable loans, including a copy of a score from the *Messiah* in addition to a score from the *Foundling Hospital Anthem* with handwritten notes by Handel himself.

The exhibition presented some artefacts borrowed from the Francke Foundation in Halle. August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) was a German Protestant theologian. The Francke Foundation, which still exists today, includes various social and cultural institutions. A large model of the building complex was shown in one of the rooms, with an explanatory panel:

As a student of Alma Mater Halensis, he [Handel] was certainly familiar with August Hermann Francke’s progressive ideas and works before leaving Halle in 1703. Handel must have noticed that the school complex had grown, at the latest, when visiting relatives. Francke’s blessings for the orphans in Halle may have inspired Handel to later become as committed as he was to the Foundling Hospital in London.¹⁹

Handel’s experience in Halle may have motivated his social engagement—an idea that is also emphasised in an audio-visual media presentation in which a child reads a funeral poem that Handel wrote at the age of twelve about his own father’s death. The connection between Handel’s engagement in London and the early loss of his father is explained on a panel next to the screen as well as in the accompanying text for a painting of Handel displayed in another room:

Handel was a generous sponsor of the Foundling Hospital. He lost his father when he was twelve and knew what it meant to be ‘fatherless,’ even if he was spared the fate of growing up in an orphanage.²⁰

The display of the score of the *Foundling Hospital Anthem* is again related to Handel’s time in Halle. Handel used the melody of a chorale by Martin Luther in his first version of the composition. Later, he removed the chorale, and it was not included in the exhibited score. Nevertheless, this chorale was mentioned in detail in a touch-screen text, which concluded that “This is an impressive illustration of how Handel felt a bond with his musical roots in the heart of Germany.”

¹⁹ Translated from German by the author.

²⁰ Translated from German by the author.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The exhibitions presented here contribute to promoting common memory in different ways and to varying extents. Although the custodial manipulation of displays is presumably intrinsic to the formation of cultural memory, the examples illustrate significant dissimilarities regarding curatorial intentions and interference. Local themes found in the Music Collection in Munich are presented rather concisely and unspectacularly. In the entrance area, locals can establish a connection to their home region and can then turn to the other, more extensive areas. The exhibitions in Leipzig and Essen aim to point out the importance of musical arts in the respective regions. In the special exhibition *Handel with Heart*, the connection between Handel's engagement in London and his time in Halle was largely constructed by the curators. For locals, this constructed connection contributes to the image of Handel as being one of us.

Local topics are generally described linearly and unambiguously by means of explanatory panels and comments from an audio guide in all four exhibitions. In addition, various presentations in Leipzig and Essen contain narratives that are more open in terms of interpretation. The close connection between panels and exhibits, such as pictures, posters, and newspaper articles conveys some of the topics presented in Essen. A number of artefacts connected to local pop musicians promote auratic feelings. The older exhibition in Leipzig presents many instruments made in local manufactories from an aesthetic point of view. Conclusions ("such beautiful instruments were made in this town") have to be made by the visitors themselves and may have a particular, emotional impact on locals. The vast variety of mechanical instruments on display, almost all made in Leipzig, can have a similar effect. The exhibitions in both Leipzig and Essen also address personal experiences: in Leipzig, specific places known to the local audience are named and depicted, and in Essen, personal recollections are stimulated. In both cases, emotions play a role and are connected to a sense of home for the local visitors. In Halle, the emotional element is also important, as evidenced by the presentation of Handel's poem on his father's death.

A critical approach to local topics is not significant in Leipzig. At the end of the exhibition, a cinema-like room displays texts and images on the history of the collection in a continuous loop on a screen. Apart from a photo of the destroyed building from 1945, the period of the Third Reich is not taken into account. The exhibition in Essen discusses some critical issues regarding the region, such as the problems of Turkish immigrants, who have often faced hostility. The critical impact of this element is softened somewhat by placing a special focus on cultural events that were aimed at combating xenophobia. The exhibition in Halle addresses human

misery in the history of the region; however, the focus is on social engagement. The Museum in Munich takes a critical look at its own collection as well as at the process of gathering artefacts in general in its exhibitions. Throughout the course of the project “Music on Display—Studies on the Presentation and Reception of Musical Topics in Museums,” we visited a great number of exhibitions in different European countries, none of which displayed a similar level of self-criticism as the Munich City Museum.

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ABSTRACT

For more than 20 years now, discussions about global perspectives on audiovisual archives in the 21st century (Seeger & Chaudhuri 2004) and reflections about theoretical barriers to the use of archival collections (Sewald 2005) have been conducted. Moreover, the topic of archives has become prestigious in post-colonial studies and cultural heritage activities and their political influence. The dichotomy of inside and outside or "our own and the other" (Grupe 2005) was seized at the same time. Based on such considerations, the ambivalent role of researchers and/or archivists against performers will be in our focus.

KEYWORDS

Phonogrammarchiv, sound recordings, Georgia, musician, scholar, archivist

Performer, Researcher, Archivist

A Continuing Shift of (Insider/Outsider) Perspectives

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INTRODUCTION

If we talk about insider and outsider perspectives, we have to be aware that such a strict distinction has been discussed for quite a long time. As Marcia Herndon (1993:64) already noted, the fascination with oppositions might partly arise from the beginnings of the discipline of ethnomusicology, shaped by European scholarship in particular. Recent years have seen a growing interest in reflexivity, debates on colonialism and post-colonialism, and the notion that researchers sometimes act both subjectively and not completely objectively (cf. Herndon 1993:65).

When considering a shift between insider and outsider perspectives, this contribution will specifically focus on the history and concomitant changes in ethnomusicology as a discipline, its methods and results. Today, the dichotomy of insider/outsider or emic/etic is weakened, and the assumption of a continuum from total insider to total outsider does not seem useful (cf. Herndon 1993:67).

The idea of this article stems from the assumption that researchers' interests are the driving force behind various methods or technologies to gain new insights and results. One of these special approaches was possible due to the invention of sound recording. Thus, the interest in previously unknown musical practices and languages around the world gradually led to the recording of singing, instrumental music, and speech. The possibility of repeated listening and of taking not only sheets of paper with written notes home but also audio documentation was a major advantage

when compared with former times (cf. Exner 1900:2). Moreover, further research on such audio documentation was made possible by preserving these sources in archives (Exner 1900:1). That way of thinking again was driven by Europeans and was addressed by researchers for researchers. Sound archives were mostly established in Europe and later on in America; therefore, the sound recordings were taken away from the regions where they had originally been made in most cases. The researchers probably told the performers that their singing or playing an instrument would be preserved in a safe place, in an archive, for the future. Much later, however, improved technology (mainly digitisation) made it possible for descendants to claim access and dissemination rights to those earlier records. In the early days of ethnomusicology, the relationship between researcher and performer was probably different from today's practice. It was not the custom to include performers and their knowledge equally. The scholars were in close contact with the performers but appreciated them as informants, as their helpers in gaining some knowledge from inside for their approach, which was driven from an outside perspective.

The performers were simply asked to act in front of the horn, to answer the researcher's questions and transmit their knowledge. However, the approach to and the regard for fieldwork and its results have changed. The recognition of the performers' and the communities' knowledge about their cultural practices has existed and has been mentioned, but such an approach has gained more and more influence over the years. This process blurred the borders between the insider/outsider positions. Scholars became increasingly aware of the need to leave behind binary categories of opposites, such as insider/outsider, and focus instead on the implications, contexts, intentions, and conceptualisations of any field situation, the way of interaction with the performers, the communities, the people dealing with special aspects of music (cf. Herndon 1993:68). Finally, the researchers' and archivists' cooperation and collaboration with performers are part of the state-of-the-art workflow today.

In the past decades, archives have seen tremendous changes in their technical possibilities, notably, increasing digitisation accompanied by changes in communication, and the quasi end of old colonial domination; archives are thus confronted with new challenges of how to acquire, preserve and disseminate their audio-visual holdings (cf. Seeger and Chaudhuri 2004:71). Consequently, important questions arose: what right do archives have over their collections? What is the appropriate relationship between archives, the researchers or collectors who deposit their recordings, and the performers and communities who were recorded? As early as 2004, Anthony Seeger and Shubha Chaudhuri organised a workshop on these topics and published its outcomes under the title "Rights, intel-

lectual property and archives today” (2004:7-115). It is the relationship between performer, researcher, and archivist which matters when thinking about archives, their position as places of knowledge production and memory storage. Today, researchers and performers work together more closely than ever, and archives are far more involved in discussions about their holdings; the questions are how sound recordings came into existence, what research methods shaped the contents and the interpretation, and what the context was. Archives are places of power negotiation and memory creation (Schwartz and Cook 2002). Finally, each of the three protagonists feels somewhat ignored by the other, the performers by the researchers, the researchers by the archivists; the reason is that each of them is led by another approach.

Some years ago, a practical exercise was undertaken when a researcher, a performer, and an archivist made a multi-perspective analysis of videographic data on the performance of spirit possession (Schaffler and Brabec de Mori 2015:122-123). Three results circled around the question whether a specific trance, a situation of possession, could be considered a skilful performance (as the researcher, Yvonne Schaffler proposed), a forceful performance (as the performer, José perceived the situation) or a good performance (as the archivist, Bernd Brabec de Mori, who otherwise acted as a researcher, stated).

These few considerations mirror the different approaches of the protagonists in their positions and show how these were perceived over time. What originally seemed to be a strict model in the sequence of performer/researcher or collector/archivist is debated today and appears as a shift or merge between insider/outsider perspectives.

To illustrate such questions, we present an example that has been taken from the recordings made in prisoner-of-war camps during World War I. Initially, the Anthropological Society in Vienna conducted this project, taking advantage of the presence of people considered to be of different races for anthropometric measurements. Rudolf Pöch, an ethnologist and anthropologist, and a controversial figure as seen today, also proposed to make sound recordings. A pioneer in field research and an assistant at the Phonogrammarchiv, Pöch described the situation in the prisoner-of-war camps as an extraordinary research opportunity to enlarge the Phonogrammarchiv’s collections by adding recordings of peoples from the Tsarist Russian Empire performing in what was then unknown languages and (folk) music (Pöch 1916:21). The musicologist Robert Lach followed the request to conduct this project and created a working plan. Due to the rather short time he was able to spend in the camps (only two months in 1916 and three in 1917, cf. Lach 1917, 1918), he decided to concentrate on those ethnic communities not well known at the time. Accord-

ingly, he focused on peoples from the Caucasus region, the Turk-Tatars, and the Finno-Ugric peoples (Lach 1917:3-4). The Phonogrammarchiv supported the project and sent technicians to make the recordings; the documentation followed the Phonogrammarchiv's specifications.

When it came to publishing this huge collection, the editors had to search for specialists who were familiar with the respective languages, music and culture in general. The collaborators could be either trained specialists or native speakers who were familiar with the songs, poems, and spoken narratives, etc. To illustrate such a working situation, namely the teamwork of colleagues with different backgrounds and approaches, this text represents a kind of experiment, i.e., a dialogue, a sequence of questions and answers, unveiling shared experiences made during the preparation of these recordings for the recently published CDedition (Lechleitner & Liebl 2018).¹

CONVERSATION

Gerda: Concerning this thought experiment—which position would be yours?

Nona: Although I am deeply acquainted with early Georgian recordings, I needed somebody who knew the recorded songs very well and would be able to answer my questions. Therefore, I visited Anzor Erkomaishvili, professor and founder of the Rustavi choir. My work with Anzor took several years, during which I had positioned Anzor as an insider, a person closely connected to Georgian music practice. I played many recordings to him and asked him about his estimation. Firstly, Anzor commented on the sound quality, the interpretation, the singers and their skills; then he mentioned the histories of the songs and their main characteristics through an analysis.

We used the following workflow: We first discussed the notes I had made before the interview, as well as further questions; later, I visited Anzor again, and we listened and discussed them together. We repeated this process many times. During these sessions, I took the role of the outsider, as I always visited Anzor in his house in Tbilisi. On the other hand, I changed my position when working with those recordings and discussing the topic with Gerda in Vienna. Later on, I contacted Anzor

1 Nona represents what has been called an insider perspective (as someone who grew up with Georgian music and became a scholar later on), while Gerda's part reflects an outsider perspective (as an archivist and researcher).

again, with all the extensive information I had compiled on the songs, supplemented by material from the Phonogrammarchiv. In this case, Anzor moved to the position of an outsider, and I found myself to be the insider.

What do such considerations mean? Depending on knowledge, experience, and engagement, scholars and musicians might contribute from various angles that enrich each other—a continuing process moving towards some truth. Therefore, it can be assumed that any participant actively engaged in a research question might contribute either more with an insider's or more with an outsider's knowledge, depending on the given request.

G: Nona, which recording should we choose?

N: I suggest *Miq'vars patskha*—"I like the hut."²

G: Why exactly this song?

N: First, because this song was very popular and well-known at that time. Nowadays, it is not sung anymore, only very rarely. Second, it is interesting that the singers came from different provinces (two from Mingrelia and one from Guria) and together sang a typical Mingrelian song. And third, all of them were good singers and they had sung together with many others, performing a wide repertoire. Finally, Levarsi Mamaladze seems to be the main person regarding arranging singing groups and choosing the songs.

G: Generally, researchers trust in the so-called protocols, the written documentation accompanying the sound recordings, and in what these data tell us. The basic questions then are: who, from where, sang what, and when?

N: The names of the singers in this recording are Levarsi Mamaladze, Nikola Pataraiia and Ilia Topuria. Pataraiia and Topuria were both from Mingrelia, but Mamaladze was from Guria; although both provinces are geographically close and situated in the western part of Georgia, along the shores of the Black Sea, they differ in cultural practices. The recording of *Miq'vars patskha* was made in July 1916 in the prisoner-of-war camp at Eger (today's Cheb in the Czech Republic). However, in August 1916, they sang together again

2 See Lechleitner & Liebl 2018: (Folder) 1. Recordings CD 1: 11, Ph 2764.

for another recording.³ At that time, they performed a Kakhetian work song, thus a song from East Georgia. Generally, they were able to sing a wide repertoire, including songs from the countryside as well as from the city.

Levarsi Mamaladze had already been recorded by Pöch, who had started his work in the camps as early as 1915 and then recommended those he considered the best informants (cooperators). Mamaladze was a special person: obviously, he was not only a performer, but also assisted the scholars and could easily understand their goals, helping with transcription and translation. He was from Chevi, in Guria, a village still famous for its singing tradition. The family name Mamaladze stands for good, non-professional musicians to this day. They transmitted a special (family) tradition when singing Gurian songs. Levarsi was lucky to find other good singers. He took on the role of a leader who directed and arranged the performances; thus, his influence shaped the interpretation. Together with three others, he sang only Gurian songs; as a solo song, however, he sang an urban song. Moreover, he recited—in literary language—the myth of Amirani, a variant of the Greek Prometheus legend. Three more poems and a story show him to be a good speaker. All these activities characterise him as the main informant.

G: I would like to add some notes on Robert Lach, an ethnomusicologist and a scholar well acquainted with Georgian singing. He approached the topic from an outsider perspective, in contrast to the above-mentioned assessment by a performer. In his publication, Lach thanks the highly intelligent Gurian, Levarsi Mamaladze, who helped him a lot as singer and translator, acted as an intermediary and transcribed the texts (Lach 1928:21). Moreover, Lach quoted the singers when they told him that choirs usually sang the recorded songs (1928:15). At the same time, Lach distinguished between highly developed songs and less developed ones, and named those which, in his opinion, were nearly worthless in musicological terms (1928:15–19). He thought these songs lacked the folkloristic (authentic) style, because they were performed by members of the upper class, who had lost touch with rural society (Lach 1928:17). Such statements clearly show Lach’s approach and estimation: he just wanted to document the genres he thought of as “pure” and typical (1928:4), and he thought to have found at least some of the right examples. In this case, I speculate that Mamaladze was the driving force who shaped the collection to a certain extent.

3 See Lechleitner & Liebl 2018: (Folder) 1. Recordings CD 1: 23, Ph 2763.

G: What do you think of the interpretation of *Miq'vars patskha*?

N: This song has been sung very often, but today it is no longer so popular, because many other songs for choirs are much more appreciated by the audience. Nevertheless, other songs with the same lyrics but different melodies are popular today, e.g. *Keisruli*. In the countryside, earlier as well as today, the inhabitants sing their own regional songs, i.e. *Kakhetians* only sing *Kakhetian* songs, *Mingrelians* sing *Mingrelian* songs, etc. This is why they practice their familiar regional songs more than those of others. In the city, however, regionally mixed choirs are widespread.

To explain this issue in more detail, let me give a short historical overview. On November 15, 1886, the first concert of the Georgian Choir took place in Tbilisi. This choir, founded by Lado Agniashvili and conducted by Josif Ratil, flourished until 1890 (see Gegechkori 2007:51–52). In 1900, another choir, focusing on folk songs and European classical music, was founded in Tbilisi by Pilimon Koridze (see Sukhiashvili and Kandelaki n.d.:91–93). On January 15, 1940, official approval was given to the Georgian State Folk Song Ensemble, which included members from different regions in Georgia. This ensemble arose from the East Georgian Choir with its conductor Sandro Kavadze, and the West Georgian Choir, conducted by Kirile Pachkoria. These two choirs debuted in Moscow on January 8, 1937 (see Gegechkori 2007:268–270). In different regions and villages, however, the respective choirs have been singing the repertoire of their home regions until this day. The early recording of *Miq'vars patskha me megruli* is of special interest because at that time, during World War I, prisoners of war were perfectly singing together despite coming from different regions (personal communication with Erkomaishvili, February 2020). This might be the first example of musicians from different parts of Georgia singing together; *Miq'vars patskha* is sung by one Gurian and two Mingrelians, recorded in July 1916 in the prisoner-of-war camp at Eger.

Let us now turn to the historical recording from 1916. It is a well-executed recording, but, as already stated, the music transcription in Lach's publication is only partly correct, as only two parts are written down, but three voices are audible.⁴ I interviewed Anzor Erkomaishvili, a professional musician and insider, and he characterised the singing by the three performers as excellent. In his opinion, the singers had very good pitch and were skilled at singing multi-part songs together. Thus, he concluded that they had probably sung together for a while; probably they had some

⁴ See Lach 1928:98 and 219, no. 263.

free time and used it for making music, and as a result, they sang like trained singers.

G: It seems that the researcher's aim was to find the best performers (see Pöch 1917:1–3), and, in that case, Lach was obviously lucky and successful.

N: Yes, although the singers did not represent an ensemble but just met in this special place and they gave a good performance. *Patskha* was not only widely known, but this recorded variant was also widespread. When listening closely, it becomes obvious that the singers did not exactly know all the parts: the bass part is used in a particular way, only at distinct points. That arrangement shows the creativity of the interpreters and must have taken a few rehearsals to prepare.⁵

G: Would it make sense to compare these scholarly recordings with commercial historical recordings, like those the Gramophone Company made during its recording tour in 1902?

N: Following Anzor Erkomaishvili's estimation, this approach would be the only way to achieve some insights: the professionally recorded choirs, well known at the time, not only provide a musical testimony dating back more than 100 years; they also consisted of singers from the same region, while in the prisoner-of-war camps individuals were from different regions. They had not met before, but the situation of making music brought them together. Among those prisoners, some were outstanding; they knew songs and they could read and write. But it might also have been the case that back in their villages, they had not been recognised as gifted singers, while subsequently, in this new situation in the camp, they all remembered songs familiar to them. One singer might have started with "his" song, which gave the other an idea as he tried to learn it, but performed it in his own way. As a result, a new version arose, and such versions probably needed a few rehearsals before recording.

G: Is it correct to say that some kind of exchange took place and a very early form of amalgamation within Georgian regional styles was created?

N: In that respect, Anzor has two possible explanations: first, one singer taught another, who spontaneously improvised in his version as he did

⁵ See Lechleitner & Liebl 2018: Audio CD (OEAW PHA CD 45/1: 11).

not exactly know the song; second, probably his variant was not typical, but he just taught what he knew, and it did not matter if it was different (cf. *Erkomaishvili*, interviews December 2018). In summary, the recordings comprise songs from different regions, sung by singers coming from different regions, but not from the regions where the songs originated.

G: Could we then speak of an amalgamation of regional songs interpreted by various singers, e.g. Gurian singers singing Mingrelian or Kakhetian songs, etc.? Furthermore, could it be possible that the recorded variants have not been known until now because they just sounded Georgian to those not familiar with the real situation (and were labelled as such)?

N: In Anzor's estimation, this collection comprises outstanding variants which could only come into being in the setting of prisoner-of-war camps (*Erkomaishvili*, interviews, December 2018).

G: But Lach, in contrast, was eager to record what he considered "real" Georgian songs, and obviously his informants guided him. It is only now, while preparing the commented source edition, that we have seized the chance to try and explain the content embedded in a special context.

Until recently, the archived titles had just been labelled as "Georgian." However, when preparing the collection for publication, specialists stated that some of the items were still well known, while others were less known, and some even unknown; some of the lyrics were common, but were combined with different melodies; some songs were sung professionally, others were interpreted in a special way. Maybe we could now describe this collection as both the result of Lach's approach, interests and considerations, and as Mamaladze's achievement. One hundred years later, we cast doubts on the documentation, Lach's approach and his appraisal, and we find new insights in the discussion with those who are close to the musical practice following different tendencies. Nevertheless, the various perspectives always have to be checked for mutual benefit.

Finally, let us listen to what Georgians themselves had to say when confronted with such concerns:

N: Having become aware of the Phonogrammarchiv's recordings featuring Georgian prisoners of war, I visited this institution in 1993 to make a film. My goal was to conceive this film as a Georgian expat's (insider's) presentation in order to demonstrate to Georgians in Georgia what non-Georgians (outsiders) searched for in respect of Georgian musical practice.

G: A Georgian delegation visited the Phonogrammarchiv in 2003—they were highly impressed when listening to those historical voices. Although we informed them about the unethical and amoral recording situation, we observed that they did not mind. Overwhelmed by the listening experience, they just perceived these recordings as the voices of their ancestors.

CONCLUSION

Nowadays, we are aware of multiple approaches to widening and correcting results. Changes in the discipline have also changed the approaches and methods based on strict distinctions, e.g., insider/outsider perspectives. Such thinking also influenced archival work. From the very beginning, as far as it was then possible, cooperation between performers, researchers and archivists has been indispensable; it has, however, changed over time, resulting in much more mutual recognition. The researcher was never the only one with knowledge, but information contributed by the performers, though in fact very much needed, was often not properly acknowledged. The changing understanding generated an awareness of equality in knowledge production, including archivists, researchers, and performers, thus improving archival work and similar pursuits. Historically, it was the researcher's interest that led to the production of sound recordings; each such recording was used for an immediate purpose but could also serve further research. To make this possible, archives were founded, with the responsibility and balance between performers and researchers as one of the archives' main goals.

In this case study, contemporary performers, researchers, and archivists necessarily replaced the original (historical) ones. We do not know whether discussions like this one were conducted 100 years ago. However, the emancipation of all involved has led to new epistemic methods and created new knowledge—and this, we believe, is a fruitful outlook, isn't it?

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ABSTRACT

In a strict sense, all music which is not contemporary is to be considered as historical. Often there are hardly any living witnesses of a “historical” music tradition. In this respect archivists as well as researchers, and even members of the community under discussion are outsiders. To approach the historical setting, the archivist, who—in the best case—is a researcher as well, must bridge the gap between the time of recording and the time of archiving and publishing. A few examples, taken from my experience as an insider in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, are given.

KEYWORDS

Historical Sources, Berlin Phonogramm Archiv

“We Are All Outsiders” – Evaluating Historical Sources

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1. INTRODUCTION

The topic chosen for the 22nd Symposium of the Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music held in May 2018 in Budapest, Hungary offered the chance to present different perspectives on historical sources of ethnomusicology: inside/outside of a historical perspective, inside/outside of a musical culture, and inside/outside of an institution, such as an archive, a university, or a research institute.

Before discussing historical sources in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv as an archival insider, I shall briefly review historical sources in the history of ethnomusicology and in the history of the Study Group on Historical Sources in the ICTMD.

According to an earlier statement of the ICTMD Study Group on Historical Sources of Traditional Music, historical sources are defined as “written documents (chronicles, daily life reports, letters, treatises on music, etc.), notations, sound recordings, iconographic materials, and historical film documents, ...which may contribute to more knowledge on the history of orally transmitted music [...]”. The statement has later been modified, expanding the term “source” to a broader contemporary understanding: “[the] Study Group on Historical Sources is dedicated to discussing music, sound, and dance sources. It focuses on any kind of source, both digital and non-digital (e.g., audio and visual recordings, manuscripts, edited texts, images, musical scores, iconography, films, etc.) [...]”¹ Jona-

¹ This statement was published on the ICTM website in the summer of 2018. At the 24th Symposium held in Brussels Oct. 2022 the Study Group changed its name to

than McCollum and David G. Hebert (2014) broadly discuss historical ethnomusicology, historical methods, the rediscovery of history, and historical research in general; they also describe the historical turn, that has been observed in recent decades; however, historical sources as such are not their focus.

In the beginning, ethnomusicology—in contrast to historical musicology—was considered an ahistorical or non-historical discipline. Historical sources, i.e., written documents, such as texts, treatises on music, letters, critiques in journals and newspapers, etc., and above all, musical notations, opera by composers, and analyses of compositions form the basis for studies in historical musicology. In ethnomusicology, the study of music in the field was for a long time, and probably still is, the main concern, going back to Erich von Hornbostel's demand, expressed first in 1905: “[we] must save whatever can be saved...” (1975:270).

Therefore, the search for historical documents was not the main concern of comparative musicology in the first half of the 20th century; exploring the different music cultures of the world was a more important task and synchronic studies were favoured over diachronic research.

Searching for historical documents in ethnomusicology began in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, which can be understood as the European answer to a change in understanding our subject and against the growing influence of Anglo-American ethnomusicology. European scholars like Walter Wiora and Benjamin Rajeczky have played a major part in stressing the importance of historical studies and research; they were music historians and initiators of the Study Group on Historical Sources, founded in 1964 within the International Folk Music Council. Initially, the Study Group focused on written historical sources and iconographic documents in European folk music, and the relationship between classical music culture and folk music was discussed in its early meetings and publications.² Later, from the late 1980s onwards, the interest in historical sources did not concentrate exclusively on European folk music but expanded to traditional music worldwide. This had become possible because historical sources were no longer understood exclusively as written sources. Due to new technological developments, historical audio sources gradually became accessible on new sound carriers.

The growing interest in historical sound recordings accelerated the process of rerecording the first available recordings of traditional music

Study Group on Sources and Archives for Music and Sound Studies [mus.a], the statement did not change. See <http://ictmusic.org/studygroup/musa>.

² For more information about the history of the Study Group cf. Ziegler 2010 and Ziegler and Åkesson 2022.

as well, which have been preserved on wax cylinders in sound archives and private collections. At the same time, sound carriers, such as vinyl records, cassettes, and tapes, also have to be considered as historical today, since all recordings are now made on digital devices. History is coming closer to us, and the word "historical" may now denote field recordings collected only a few years ago. Therefore, if we define historical sources of traditional music in a strict sense, all music that is not contemporary has to be considered historical.

2. SOUND ARCHIVES, ARCHIVISTS, COLLECTORS, RESEARCHERS, AND USERS

As we have seen, the focus of historical studies in European ethnomusicology shifted from written sources to orally transmitted music preserved on different sound carriers, mainly in archives. In the United States, the discussion about historical sources concentrated first and foremost on historical sound recordings and was therefore connected with a discourse on sound archives (Sewald 2005a, 2005b). Jonathan Sterne discusses early wax cylinder recordings and calls them "resonate tombs", and considers archives as cemeteries and places for preserving recordings for future generations. A rediscovery of these historical sound recordings started mere decades later, and it is therefore linked to a number of problems (Sterne 2003:287 ff.).

The importance of archives grew continually with the growing number of recordings, and the role of archivists has changed accordingly. Collections and archives of traditional and vernacular music are not only seen as places for storing and archiving recordings, but also as institutions of research carried out by the staff (cf. Landau and Topp-Fargion 2012:131 ff.). The archivist-researcher can be regarded as an insider when it comes to expertise in the subject. When research is done by university scholars, they are in the position of outsiders with regard to the archival material. What are the implications for research in these two cases? Do scholars ask the same questions, independent of their background? Are there advantages or disadvantages to being an "archival insider"?

Much has already been written about sound archives, about their users, preservation strategies, sustainability, future tasks, etc. (cf. for example, Seeger, Gray, Topp-Fargion, Sewald, Lechleitner, et al.). My focus here is not the archive as an institution, or its holdings, or the collections in the archive, but the individuals active in the archives: archivists, collectors, researchers, users, and their status in relation to the archive. Several scholars have already discussed the role of individuals involved

in an archive today. Gerda Lechleitner (2007) discusses the relationship of performers, researchers, and archivists briefly and stresses that a co-operation of all those involved will be necessary to get the best results, i.e., the best possible recording and the best possible information on the recording. Carolyn Landau and Janet Topp-Fargion (2012) and Ronda Sewald (2005a; 2005b) investigate the relationship between archivists and ethnomusicologists. The role of archivists, researchers, performers, and users is widely discussed from today's point of view, but the archive at the beginning of the 20th century was very different from what it is today, and so were its tasks.

One topos in discussing the role of archives is the Other. It is widely known that most of the sound collections in the archives of Europe and the US have been collected by people other than those working in the archives.³ But is the Other an outsider as well?

In questioning the insider and outsider perspectives, we must always ask in which respect and viewed from which position. The insider/outsider perspective can be seen in historical, institutional, geographical, and cultural dimensions. In all of these, the insider/outsider problem amounts to more than the emic/etic perspectives, as discussed at length in the fields of anthropology and ethnomusicology in the last decades of the 20th century. My focus here is the institutional aspect of the insider/outsider problem, and I shall discuss it through the example of the historical wax cylinder collections of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv was first and foremost a place for research; archiving and storage played a secondary role and were not even done by specialists. I will briefly review the different positions of the archivists, collectors, researchers, and users in relation to the collected wax cylinders recorded in the first decades of the 20th century, and finally, I will touch upon issues around the publication of our series "Historical Sound Documents".⁴

Archivists

According to Anthony Seeger, the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv was "a centre for research and a place for the preservation of fragile audio recordings for analysis by scientists..." (Seeger 2002: 41); it was not a place for archivists. Except for Carl Stumpf, the founder and protector of the archive, and Erich von Hornbostel, the brilliant researcher, no other person work-

³ Cf. Sewald (2005a).

⁴ The CD series "Historical Sound Documents of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv" started in 2003 and continues to the present day. 18 CDs have been published up to date.

ing in the archive had been designated as an archivist. A technician was working on demand only, as were several others from other disciplines, for example, Otto Abraham and Max Wertheimer. Hornbostel cannot be designated as an archivist, as he was indeed the living archive: he had deep familiarity with all of the collections and he also knew what was missing. He was so curious to listen to new, incoming sound recordings that he did not wait until copies were made, but listened to them immediately, and, unfortunately, several recordings were damaged this way. Many documents in Berlin attest that Hornbostel did not spend much time and energy on keeping the Phonogramm-Archiv organised;⁵ he was rather more interested in listening to and analysing new collections. No wonder that no catalogue of the holdings was published under his directorship. Hornbostel had all recordings in his head, he was the one to advise collectors on what to record, he transcribed and analysed the recordings and compared them with earlier material.

In 1922, when the archive was transferred to the Music High School, one of the conditions was that an inventory should be made, but this was never accomplished due to the growing collection on the one hand, and the lack of financial support and personnel on the other. Hornbostel was asked by director Georg Schünemann several times to fulfil his duties as director of the Phonogramm-Archiv. Yet in the late 1920s, Hornbostel's health was deteriorating, and the archive did not receive the necessary support, causing him great disappointment. In 1934, the archive was incorporated into the Museum of Ethnography, and acting director Marius Schneider began an inventory of the wax cylinders. The records of this inventory are still available, but they are incomplete and were not continued after 1943. Schneider was a trained musicologist, albeit obviously overburdened or not interested in managing the huge, yet important archive. Fortunately, he had a secretary who kept the archive running between 1941 and 1945, even after Schneider had been conscripted to the army and eventually moved to Spain in 1943.⁶

In light of the early history of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv between 1900 and 1945, the members working in the archive cannot be viewed as archivists in the contemporary sense, but rather as researcher-musicologists. The role of archivists changed with the growing importance of archives towards the end of the 20th century, as by then, many of them had been trained as ethnomusicologists or anthropologists.⁷ Today, the main

5 For more details, see Ziegler 1998.

6 Cf. Ziegler 2006:26 ff.

7 Cf. Landau and Topp-Fargion (2012:129 footnote 10): "In reality...most archivists have ethnomusicology training and practice within that discipline."

task of an archivist is managing the archive and bringing all stakeholders together, insiders and outsiders alike.

The increased interest in archival sound recordings from cultural heritage communities, the ethical and moral responsibility of sound archives to facilitate access to their materials, and the increasing technological capabilities of archives has led to dramatic changes in archiving philosophy and access policies. One fundamental change for sound archives has been in the user profile of held materials. Who accesses the material and how they do so are now the central issues for archivists around the world (Landau and Topp-Fargion 2012:128).

Collectors

Today, source materials are recorded by ethnomusicologists or anthropologists, who are interested in collecting and doing research themselves. This was different in the first half of the 20th century. Stumpf and Hornbostel themselves only seldom made phonographic recordings. Stumpf sometimes made recordings in Berlin, such as of a Thai theatre group in 1900, or of the harpsichord player Wanda Landowska in 1908, and he personally made a few recordings in prison camps near Berlin during World War I. Hornbostel made recordings in Berlin with foreign musicians, the so-called “Archival recordings”. Nevertheless, he is usually considered an armchair ethnomusicologist, even though he made field recordings together with George A. Dorsey in Oklahoma with Pawnee Indians in 1906, and he recorded some songs among the Sorbs, a Slavic population in Spreewald near Berlin in 1907 with the Favorite Record Company. In any case, both Stumpf and Hornbostel were researchers and insiders with respect to the archive, and only occasional collectors, in this position they were actually outsiders to the music culture which they recorded. Schneider is known as the collector of only a few wax cylinders.⁸

Having reviewed the great number of collectors who made recordings for the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, it is safe to say that most of them were anthropologists, colonisers, or researchers from other disciplines, who were not yet or who never became familiar with the ethnic group they were studying and its culture of music.⁹ In contrast to later collectors, their recordings—if we can call their short-term stays and occasional recordings

⁸ For more detailed information on the collections of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, see Ziegler 2006.

⁹ The biography section in Ziegler 2006:325–391 lists 207 names as collectors of 351 different wax cylinder collections.

“fieldwork”—were made upon request of the Phonogramm-Archiv and/or the Ethnographical Museum, and the wax cylinders were delivered to their respective institutions upon their return. The collectors were requested to provide detailed information about the recordings. Nonetheless, the documentation of the recorded material was usually brief, and the collector was seldom involved in the research on the recorded music, which was transcribed, analysed, and published by Stumpf or Hornbostel. The collectors were typically not interested in what would happen to their recordings later on, nor were they investing in learning more about the music. The collectors were outsiders to the archive and also outsiders to the musical cultures they recorded. In the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, there is not a single collection from outside of Europe that was recorded by indigenous people, and none of the collections have been analysed or annotated by the institution’s early collectors. However, there were a few cases after 1920 where the collector himself was interested in what he recorded, most prominently Robert Lachmann, who made recordings and worked as an outsider to the archive, and also transcribed, analysed, and published his recordings of Arab and Jewish music himself.

Researchers

The researcher is the person who studies, transcribes, and analyses the music and publishes about it. The majority of researchers working for and in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv can be considered outsiders, because they studied material collected by others. The most prominent researcher was, of course, Hornbostel, and, in the beginning, Stumpf. They were confronted with completely strange material, which had never been described before, and they had to find new ways to transcribe and analyse this music. Unfortunately, as in most cases, the information provided by the collector of the material—if available at all—did not help in understanding the new, often complicated musical features. The only option was to compare it with already available archival material and, of course, to compare it with examples of European music. Ultimately, Stumpf and Hornbostel can be credited with establishing a new field of musicology: comparative musicology. Insiders, in this case, members of the given community, were not present when the material was researched. However, in the case of the so-called archival recordings made in Berlin by Hornbostel and others, the performers were at hand and were probably interviewed, but it frequently turned out that these musicians were not familiar with their own culture of music. So, at the beginning of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, outsiders were all around.

After 1945, when those working in the Phonogramm-Archiv began to do fieldwork and to bring their own recordings into the archive, the situation changed. The person responsible in the Phonogramm-Archiv was not only an archivist, but also a collector and researcher, for example, Kurt Reinhard, Dieter Christensen, and Artur Simon.¹⁰ Naturally, the collector-ethnomusicologist was interested in researching and publishing the material that he had collected. Usually, the archive staff also included a technician, sometimes an assistant, and students as freelancers. Today, it is common practice that every collector who deposits what they have collected in the archive will reserve his/her rights to research that collection. Therefore, most collectors today are ethnomusicologists and/or anthropologists.

Users

In the first half of the 20th century, users of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv were exclusively academics, but not necessarily musicologists. Sound recordings were requested for research in various disciplines for comparative analysis, as well as for demonstrations in public, when collectors returned from their expeditions. Accompanied by pictures and lively reports, the music served as a background for these presentations. It was common practice not to return the sound recordings to the communities where they had been recorded, and people from those faraway places “[...] had relatively little interest in the recordings housed in distant archives they could never visit” (Seeger 2002:41).

This practice has, of course, changed since, as archives grew more aware that their recordings were valuable treasures for these communities (see Seeger 2002, Gray 2002, Landau and Topp-Fargion 2012, et al.). Today, we witness that the bearers of these traditions, that is, members of the communities in which the recordings were once made, show a great deal of interest in their historical sound recordings made a century ago in their communities and preserved in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. However, we have often noticed that even members of a community can be outsiders with respect to their own musical traditions. There are hardly any living witnesses of “historical” music practices. Thus, everything recorded some one hundred years ago sounds strange instead of familiar to them. A musical tradition, an instrument, a specific style of singing, or a genre that existed earlier can quickly become obsolete until no one in the community is able to demonstrate it, because the tradition has meanwhile disappeared.

¹⁰ Cf. also Simon 2000:31–46.

Therefore, if no bearers of a historical musical tradition are still alive, what is the best way to approach and evaluate the historical sound sources preserved in our archives?

3. EVALUATING AND PUBLISHING HISTORICAL SOURCES

The digitisation of the valuable collections of wax cylinders did not begin until the late 1990s due to the eventful history of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, which included the evacuation of the archive towards the end of World War II, the transfer of its holdings first to Leningrad, then to East Berlin (DDR) in 1960, and their final return to the Museum of Ethnology in 1991. It was our main goal to make these unique historical sound recordings accessible again in a state as complete as possible. This meant to publish not only the digitised material, but also to search for accompanying historical documents and written sources, such as collectors' correspondence, diaries of field expeditions, publications and photographs. It was clear from the very beginning that this would be an enormously time-consuming, long-lasting, and probably never wholly satisfying process. The archivist-researcher today starts as an outsider to the archive as well as to the musical culture of the collected material, but hopefully, he/she will become an insider in time. A great deal of historical knowledge is required for researching the circumstances of a specific collection, and a historian would probably be as competent as an archivist. Therefore, cooperation with colleagues from other disciplines is indispensable.

In preparing a collection for publication, the archivists' responsibilities include, but are not limited to looking for and providing additional written and iconographic documents which complete the historical sound collection. In fact, this often means looking for correspondence not only in Germany or Europe, but around the whole world. However, sometimes the search does not bring satisfying results, and it is left to future researchers to shed more light on several, as of now mostly unknown collections.

The archivist as an insider in the archive is responsible for providing the necessary material, but will probably not be familiar with every kind of music recorded several decades earlier. So, the archive has to find a specialist familiar with the given music culture. But who is the suitable expert? Should he/she be a member of the society to be researched? Should this person be an expert in traditional music as well? Or is it better to look for someone who is familiar with the tradition under discussion but not a member of the ethnic group, in fact, an outsider? In publishing the historical wax cylinder collections of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, we followed different approaches with various results.

Here, I shall present some examples. The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv holds some collections of music recorded by people who are no longer alive with no witnesses or descendants available. This was the case with the recordings that Martin Gusinde made in Tierra del Fuego at the beginning of the 1920s. His recordings served as the foundation for our publication of Gusinde's work, along with written historical documents, publications, photographs, correspondence, as well as transcriptions and publications by Hornbostel. Our picture of the Fuegian Indians is based entirely on outsiders' views: looking at the collector (Gusinde), the first researcher in the Phonogramm-Archiv (Hornbostel), a prospective user (no bearer of the tradition alive), and the contemporary researcher (M. Garcia).¹¹

During the last 100 years, the world has changed considerably and musical cultures have also changed accordingly. As a result, historical sources often present materials which are incomprehensible to those belonging to the same culture today. This was true for music from Palau, recorded by a German missionary in 1936,¹² and for music among Indians in Brazil, recorded in 1934 by the ethnologist Heinrich Snethlage.¹³ In both cases, the members of the communities and the music specialists were familiar with current musical practices but were outsiders to the historical sources of their music. Therefore, we asked fellow ethnomusicologists to research the historical sound documents. It was important to find specialists who had been in contact with the community under discussion for a long time and had a deep understanding of the music of the community. This type of research requires long-term studies, and, unfortunately, no results have been published about other historical collections preserved in Berlin (Papua New Guinea, Ethiopia, India, China, etc.) so far.

11 Cf. CD "1907–1923 Charles W. Furlong, Wilhelm Koppers, Martin Gusinde: *Walzenaufnahmen der Selk'nam, Yámana und Kawésqar aus Feuerland. / Grabaciones en cilindros de cera de los selk'nam, yámana y kawésqar del Tierra del Fuego.*" Lars-Christian Koch, Ricarda Kopal, eds. Author: Miguel Garcia. 2017. Berlin: Staatliche Museen—Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Historical Sound Documents of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv BPhA-WA 12/13.

12 Cf. CD "1909 • 1936 *Walzenaufnahmen aus Palau, Mikronesien/Wax Cylinder Recordings from Palau, Micronesia.*" Lars-Christian Koch, Susanne Ziegler, eds. Author: Birgit Abels. 2011. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Historical Sound Documents of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv BPhA-WA 6.

13 Cf. CD "Emil Heinrich Snethlage 1934—*Walzenaufnahmen aus Brasilien/Gravações em cilindros do Brasil.*" Lars-Christian Koch, Susanne Ziegler, eds. Authors: Ricardo Pamfilio de Sousa and Angela Lühning, Gleice Mere. 2013. Berlin: Staatliche Museen—Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Historical Sound Documents of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv BPhA-WA 8.

4. CONCLUSION

When we began working on the publication of “Historical Sound Documents—Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv” in 2003, we were at the very beginning of our project. Of course, the easiest way would have been to find experts located in Berlin or in Germany interested in historical recordings; however, there were very few. Instead, we invited interested colleagues from other parts of the world, who served as contacts between the Phonogramm-Archiv and the local communities.

By judging the results of my work in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, I may state that we were all outsiders, even though all of us—archivists and researchers—did our best to gain as much knowledge as possible about respective collections of historical recordings. Indeed, filling the enormous gap between the time of recording, the archiving process, and the contemporary researcher’s task is not easy. I suspect that the situation will not improve in the future; on the contrary, the more time passes, the less we will know about the early historical recordings. On the other hand, the world is getting smaller and more documents are being made accessible online. So hopefully, further research will continue to contribute to our knowledge about historical sound recordings in general, and, in particular, the historical wax cylinder collections of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv.

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