

STUDIEN ZUR SPRACHE, GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DER TÜRKVÖLKER

Band 23

# Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary

Edited by

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RUMEN ISTVÁN CSÖRSZ

FROM THE TURKISH PIPES TO  
THE HUNGARIAN TURKISH PIPE

Trumpeters and pipers progressing in a row,  
Followed by the drummers and cymbals galore,  
When they begin playing, ears burst with clamour,  
Even Echo our neighbour comes to join the furore.<sup>1</sup>

The lines above, by István Gyöngyösi, evocatively describe the attitude of the Hungarian “audience” to the Turkish military band, *mehterhane*. Several hundred musicians in a sultanic procession must have been a fascinating, impressive spectacle, but even a band with a few members at a frontier fortress of the occupied territory could effectively represent the might of the Ottoman Empire. The corps, also including the standard-bearers, was headed by the *mir-i alem* (master of the standard) with the musicians forming groups (*böliks*) by instruments. The band leader, *mehterbaşı*, was also the head of the *zurna* players (pipers), that is, of the melody-playing instrumentalists. The rest of the instruments included trombones (*nefir*, *boru*), pairs of small kettle drums (*nakkare*), large kettle drums (*kös*), double-headed bass drums (*davul*) and cymbals (*zil*).<sup>2</sup> On official occasions and in the battlefield the musicians always performed classical music, *peşrevs* and *semais*, but in peacetime they occasionally played at wedding festivities. Relevant data on Ottoman military

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István Gyöngyösi, *Porábúl megéledett Főnix avagy Kemény János emlékezete* [The Phoenix reborn from its ashes. The memory of János Kemény]. (Régi Magyar Könyvtár, Források, 10.) Ed. by József Jankovics – Judit Nyerges, Afterword by József Jankovics. Budapest, 1999, 146. Some historical sources and bibliography on the *tárogató*: Zoltán Falvy – Bernhard Habla (eds.), *A tárogató: történet, akusztikai tulajdonságok, repertoár, hangszerkészítők / Das Tárogató: Geschichte, akustische Merkmale, Repertoire und Instrumentenbauer*. Budapest–Oberschützen, 1998.

2 Balázs Sudár – Rumen István Csörsz, “*Trombita, rézdob, tárogató...*” *A török hadizene és Magyarország* [“Trumpet, copper drum, *tárogató*”. The Turkish military music and Hungary]. Enying, 1996, 33–38.

musicians are available for fortresses in Ottoman Hungary from the 1540s (pay-rolls, travel accounts), which suggests that music of this kind was probably continuously present for the next 150 years.<sup>3</sup>

In Europe, the music of the *mehterhane* appeared strange and frightening. In the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries depreciatory words were not spared by western travellers or Hungarians, who compared the music to howling wolves and disparaged the performance of the musicians as wretched and primitive.<sup>4</sup> Around the mid-seventeenth century, however, the evaluation of the *mehters* apparently changed. Although this kind of music still belonged to the enemy, in Transylvania certain political gestures were made through which the official reception of these instruments preceded their slow and spontaneous influx. Prince of Transylvania Imre Thököly, for instance, kept a *mehterhane* to express his status as a vassal of the Turks.<sup>5</sup> This factor of identity was thus turned inside out: in his own best interest he adjusted his representation to the Ottoman manner, pretending that this was his music too (while he also kept French baroque musicians...).

Further rumours about the identity-forming strength of Turkish music also circulated. A later legend purports that a Turkish *bey* driven off from Szabadka-puszta in the Long War (1593–1606) was hiding around Rimaszombat (today Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia). Two citizens of Szombat, Lopocsy and Zarkóczy, saved him and escorted him to Istanbul. There the *bey* gave them a pipe, hearing the sound of which the Ottomans would refrain from harassing the town. To achieve this, the pipe was played every quarter hour in the tower of the church. There are indeed two instruments perhaps of Turkish origin in Rimaszombat, but the authenticity of the story itself is doubtful.<sup>6</sup>

This fad of the Turkish style was unusual and repulsive for many people. A Transylvanian nobleman István Wesselényi wrote in his diary that in the time of Ferenc Rákóczi II's war of independence, the Ottomans themselves were surprised by all that drumming with “dog-like devotion”.<sup>7</sup> The diary of István

3 *Ibid.*, 64–68, 117–122.

4 *Ibid.*, 7–65.

5 *Ibid.*, 72.

6 Imre Findura, *Rima-Szombat szabadalmas város története* [The history of the exempted city Rimaszombat]. Budapest, 1894, 145–147.

7 28 March 1707. István Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ. Napló (1703–1708)* [Pressured world. Diary 1703–1708]. Ed. by András Magyarai – Lajos Demény. Vol. II, Bukarest, 1983–1985, 126.

Halmágyi reveals that “when Ogelli’s regiment entered, they brought along Turkish drums and cymbals; they say many a regiment owns such things; some people do not make anything good of this tendency to adopt customs of the enemy without a reason”.<sup>8</sup>

Wesselényi recorded the following case of German troops in Transylvania: “The same pipers, the customary pipers of the regiment who had served music for the banqueters, came forth with 6 big Turkish drums with cymbals and seven pairs of smaller drums and started to blow and beat Turkish tunes for the gentlemen, and the gentlemen listened to them with keen attention.” We learn that earlier, the Hungarians used to order Turkish music to annoy the Germans, “and now they are making fun of our loyalty by having Turkish music performed”. The Hungarians took delight in this derisive music, “which made me despair and weep, but the Germans – seeing the attention of the gentlemen – found it laughable”.<sup>9</sup>

### The Instruments and Their Names

Although the terminology of instruments was not unified in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries or later, I adduce language-based examples. Pipe (*síp*) never denoted a single instrument, but usually stood for double reeds. All these data would rightly belong to the subject matter, but my specific aim is to systematize the available information on the Turkish pipe (*török súp*) and the *tárogató* (on the basis of the caption of an eighteenth-century print and usage of the word in the nineteenth century).

The Turkish pipe is the only Hungarian instrument whose name refers to Turkish origin. It is highly likely, however, that the specimens kept in museums today and those only known from written sources designate a group of kindred reed instruments instead of a single unified type. The analogous Hungarian words *törökbúza* (lit. Turkish wheat = corn) and *törökméz* (lit. Turkish honey = honeycomb toffee) warn that not all things called Turkish are of Turkish origin, even if they denote cultural goods coming from afar.

8 Cf. Marián Réthei-Prikkel, ‘A tárogató súp eredetisége [The originality of the tárogató pipe]’, *Nyelvőr* 47 (1918) 4.

9 22 September 1704. Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ*, Vol. I, 230. György Gábr, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’, *Studia Musicologica* 13 (1971) 61–72.

Reliance on the written sources does not make things easier. The two names of the instrument type – *töröksíp* and *tárogató* – are sometimes side by side (in such cases they are not identical), and sometimes they are synonyms; the nineteenth-century press articles usually fed on memories and not on the facts of the present; the enthusiasm for the national cause often overcame precision. Around 1859 everyone turned out to be experts on the *tárogató* and scores of utopian essays were written, for it was believed to be a national relic, related even to the legendary horn of Lehel, the Hungarian chieftain who lived in the tenth century (after András Dugonics, see below). Taking the *tárogató* for a literary motif may throw some light on the evolution of our conception of the past. Below I should like to review the Hungarian career of this instrument type, with an outlook to the mentioned aspect as well.

In Asia and this region of Europe a variety of oboe-type folk instruments can be found. They divide into two subtypes: the conic *schalmey* (shawm) type and the *zurna* type with a (more or less) cylindrical body and a short wide bell at the end. We can neither confirm nor confute László Lajtha's hypothesis that the Hungarians arriving in the Carpathian Basin had borrowed it from the Turkic groups using double-reed instruments.<sup>10</sup> It is presumed that the *shawm* was known here in the middle ages. Woodwind players were generally called pipers (*sípos*) (on the model of Latin *fistulator*) at that time, just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the seventeenth century mentions are made of German and Polish pipes in sources, which might have been relatives of the *schalmey* or *bombarde* (*pommer*). Played foremost by German and Polish musicians, they were carefully differentiated from the Turkish pipes. One German and four Turkish pipers were included in Thököly's orchestra in 1685.<sup>11</sup> It is not unlikely that in seventeenth-century Hungary a shawm family and a freshly borrowed *zurna* type lived on side by side.

The name Turkish pipe does not occur in Hungarian sources before 1643. Obviously, at first the *zurna* was called by this name, initially in the form of a noun phrase (as compared to the later compound word *töröksíp*). In legation in 1687, Márton Boér mentions a Bulgarian wedding at Dragoevo where “a

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10 László Lajtha, 'A tárogatóról [About the *tárogató*]', in *Lajtha László összegyűjtött írásai* [Collected papers by László Lajtha]. Ed. by Melinda Berlász. Budapest, 1992, 201.

11 Bence Szabolcsi, 'A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje [Hungarian aristocratic court music in the 17th century]', in Idem, *A magyar zene évszázadai* [Centuries of the Hungarian music]. Vol. I, Budapest, 1959, 248.

Turkish piper and a drummer were invited.”<sup>12</sup> István Almády mentions these instrumentalists in the band of the pasha of Buda receiving Thököly in 1692.<sup>13</sup> Thököly sent Ferenc Horvát “to the gate keeper (*kapuci başı*) Ahmet Ağa” in 1691 to acquire six Turkish pipes and four Hungarian trumpets.<sup>14</sup> The prince also had native Turkish musicians, so he might have wanted to get instruments for them.

The origin of the word *tárogató* is also obscure. The name of the *tarakawa* of the Sorbs of Lausitz<sup>15</sup> suggests onomatopoeic origins; one hypothesis is that Hungarians borrowed it and tried to make it comprehensible by folk etymology. The word form can be retraced in sixteenth–eighteenth-century dictionaries, but these entries are far from being unambiguous. In Murmellius’ glossary of 1533 it stands for the bagpipe.<sup>16</sup> In 1572, a musician in Márkó Horvát’s employ is said to be a *tárogató* piper and a “good player of the bagpipe, too”.<sup>17</sup> In 1597 and in Wagner’s dictionary (1750) it stands for *fistula* (“pipe”).<sup>18</sup> In the dictionary of Calepinus (1585) and that of Albert Szenczi Molnár (1604, 1611) the Latin equivalent of *tárogató* or *billegető sip* (lit. tilting pipe) is *tibia*, a double-reed instrument.<sup>19</sup> Comenius says it was an instrument for military music: “the trumpeters doubled with the blare of the

12 Márton Boér, ‘Historia...’, in József Jankovics (ed.), *Énekek és versek 1686–1700* [Songs and poems 1686–1700] (Régi Magyar Költők Tára, XVII. század [henceforth RMKT XVII], 14.) Budapest, 1991, No. 17, line 960.

13 István Almády’s diary. (Palánka, 1 July 1692) Cf. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 239.

14 *Ibid.*, 248.

15 See the article “tárogató” in Loránd Benkő (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language]. Vols. I–IV, Budapest, 1967–1976. Cf. Leopold Haupt – Johann Ernst Schmalzer, *Volkslieder der Sorben in der Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz*. Grimma, 1841, 218, image 4 (Instrument without keys, with oboe-like reed). The modern clarinet-like tarakakwa has 9+1 tone holes and 4 keys.

16 *Ascaula. Sackpfeiff. Tarogato syp*. See the article *tárogató* in Benkő (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*. The identification of the instruments must be an error.

17 Emil Haraszti, ‘II. Rákóczi Ferenc a zenében [Representations of Francis Rákóczi II in music]’, in *Rákóczi-émlékkönyv* [Book in memory of Rákóczi]. Vol. II, Budapest, 1934, 246. Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

18 *unum fistulatoreum cum fistula, quae vulgo tarogato sip nuncupatur* (1597). Réthei Prikkel, ‘A tárogató sip eredetisége’, 3.

19 See the entries *Tibia*, *Tibicen*, *Billegetősip*, *Tárogató sip*, *Tarogato sipos* in the Calepinus-dictionary published in 1585, and Albert Szenci Molnár, *Dictionarium Latinoungaricum*. Nürnberg, 1604. Facsimile edition. (Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, XXV.) Budapest, 1990.

*tárogató* pipes encourage redoubled activity”;<sup>20</sup> elsewhere schalmey is used.<sup>21</sup> Ferenc Pápai Páriz clearly speaks of a double-reed instrument, a Turkish pipe, “Tárogató pipe: tibia, eine Schyalmey, Pfeife. Türkische Flöte [!].”<sup>22</sup> This is taken over by Dávid Baróti Szabó: “Turkish or ancient Hungarian pipe.”<sup>23</sup>

References to the *tárogató* in the literature are earlier than those of the Turkish pipe. In 1606 “the *tárogató* pipe was being blown with joy”.<sup>24</sup> A poem of 1636 says that at a banquet of the prodigal son, the enormous orchestra

Shall have nine fiddlers, virginal players fourteen,  
Excellent harpists ten, *tárogató* players four...<sup>25</sup>

### Seventeenth-Century Musical Occasions Involving the Turkish Pipe

One of the main roles of the Turkish pipe was in military music. The Turkish piper of János Kemény, Prince of Transylvania, János Bossó, had his arm shot through in the battlefield and his drummer companion was also wounded.<sup>26</sup> In the epic of László Listius about the battle of Mohács (reflecting upon his own age, the seventeenth century), both the Hungarian and the Ottoman troops included Turkish pipers. Of Louis II he writes:

He had the trumpets blare, his tent undone, his flags raised,  
[He ordered] his fine Turkish pipers and *tárogató* players to play,  
and the drums to roll.<sup>27</sup>

20 On page 149 of Johannes Amos Comenius’ *Janua*. Cf. Réthei Prikkel, ‘A tárogató sip eredetisége’, 3.

21 Johannes Amos Comenius’ *Orbis sensualium pictus* is cited by Izabella Biró, ‘Tárogató [Tárogató], *Magyar Nyelv* 65 (1965) 208. István Pávai, *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje* [The folk dance music of Hungarians in Transylvania and Moldavia]. Budapest, 1993, 26.

22 Ferenc Pápai Páriz’s *Dictionarium* is cited by Réthei Prikkel, ‘A tárogató sip eredetisége’, 3.

23 Ibid.

24 Imre Mikó, *Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok* [Transylvanian historical data]. Vol. III, Kolozsvár, 1858, 84.

25 János Szentmártoni Bodó’s versified story ‘A tékozló fiú históriája [History of the prodigal son]’ (1636) is quoted in Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 233.

26 July–August 1644, along the Nyitra. ‘Kemény János Önéletírása (1664) [Autobiography of János Kemény]’, in Éva V. Windisch (ed.), *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* [Works of János Kemény and Miklós Bethlen]. (Magyar Remekírók) Budapest, 1983, 238.

27 László Listius, *Magyar Mars* [Hungarian Mars]. Vienna, 1653, Part V, couplet 52. Further reference to the Turkish pipe: Part IV, couplet 5 (in general).

As for the Ottoman camp:

Everywhere in the front and rear the signal was sounded,  
 Trumpets blared forth, and in the crowd Turkish pipes were  
 blown...<sup>28</sup>

As the lists of orchestras in the court of Transylvanian princes reveal, 1 or 2 Turkish pipers were employed (with a larger number of trumpeters). The account books of Prince György Rákóczi I for 1655 does not name an exact number, but mentions “Turkish pipers” in general. In 1666, Prince Mihály Apafi had 1 Turkish piper, in 1672 he had two. 1 Turkish piper, 1 Polish piper and 4 piper apprentices are known to have been employed in Ferenc Rákóczi I’s court (1668).<sup>29</sup>

Aristocrats also only kept a Turkish piper or two. One was in the service of László Rákóczi (imprisoned for an offence committed on 29 August 1654).<sup>30</sup> In the fortress of Munkács (today Mukačeve, Ukraine) there were two Turkish pipers (*tereksípos*) (1686).<sup>31</sup> When the bride of Leopold I was received in Vienna in 1666, the pipers were in pairs too,<sup>32</sup> similarly to a funeral in Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania) organized by István Wesselényi. The list of Pál Esterházy’s troops includes two *tárogató* players in 1684, one of them accompanied by a piper apprentice.<sup>33</sup>

The instrument was a permanent participant in the processions and festive occasions of the courts of the Transylvanian princes and aristocrats.

*Entries, paying homage.* When Prince Ákos Barcsai entered Beszterce in 1659, he proceeded in concert with drums and trumpets.<sup>34</sup> When in the same

28 *Ibid.*, Part XI, strophe 33.

29 Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 247, 277. Kornél Bárdos (ed.), *Magyarország zenei története*. Vol. II: 1541–1686 [History of the music in Hungary, 1541–1686]. Budapest, 1990, 114.

30 29 August 1654. *Rákóczi László naplója* [Diary of László Rákóczi]. (Magyar Hírmondó) Ed. by Ildikó Horn. Budapest, 1990, 62.

31 4 June 1686. Sándor Szilágyi, ‘Zrínyi Ilona levelei [The letters of Ilona Zrínyi]’, *Történelmi Tár* (1880) 422. Gábrly ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

32 Lajos Szádeczky, ‘I. Lipót mátkájának bevonulása Bécsbe (1666. december 5-én) [The entry of the bride of Leopold I into Vienna (5 December 1666)]’, *Századok* 18 (1884) 143–145.

33 Frigyes Bubits (ed.), *Cornaro Frigyes velencei követ jelentése* [Report of the Venetian Ambassador, Federico Cornaro]. Budapest, 1891, 376.

34 2 March 1659. The Latin text uses the term *fistula Turcica*, which alludes to the knowledge of the Hungarian term. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 276.



year Prince György Rákóczi II entered Marosvásárhely (today Târgu Mureș, Romania), a Turkish piper played the “tune of the Wallachian girl”.<sup>35</sup> In 1684, Prince Mihály Apafi II went to the Ottoman envoy and later to the old prince for dinner to the sound of Turkish pipes, trumpets and drums.<sup>36</sup> Péter Apor claims that when a young lord “had his horse jump with fine moderation, Turkish pipes and trumpets were sounded”.<sup>37</sup> In 1707, wounded Ferenc Gyulai was escorted by his captive piper and a German musician.<sup>38</sup> In 1708, Ferenc Rákóczi II was greeted several times with dawn music played by his pipers and trumpeters, the pipers playing both Turkish pipes and *salezmai* (shawm).<sup>39</sup>

*Table music.* Péter Apor mentions several times that the Transylvanian aristocrats “were very fond of the Turkish pipe as a musical instrument, together with the drum; there were fine Hungarian tunes which they played and the best of the people were drinking by that music. The tunes they played on the pipe made the people drink and make merry; now those beautiful Hungarian tunes cannot be played by anyone any more in Transylvania.” Everyone had table musicians: “trumpeters, Turkish pipers, fiddlers, bagpipers, recorder and dulcimer players, singers, table entertainers or fools, as they were called.”<sup>40</sup>

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35 Andreas Franck’s account (29 September 1659). Ferenc Pesovár, ‘Az elveszett juhait sirató pásztor története. Újabb adalék egy táncpantomim elterjedéséhez [The story of the shepherd who lost his sheep. New data about the spread of a dance-pantomime]’, *Táncművészeti Értesítő* 1969, fasc. 2, 87. Ernő Pesovár, *A magyar tánc történet évszázadai* [Centuries of the Hungarian dance history]. Budapest, 1972, 37.

36 18 September 1684, Gyulafehérvár; reception of the sultan’s insignia acknowledging Mihály Apafi II as Prince of Transylvania. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 223. Bárdos (ed.), *Magyarország zenei története*, Vol. II, 115.

37 Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (1736). Ed. by László Kóczyány – Réka Lőrinczy. Bucharest, 1978. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 241.

38 23 August 1707. Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ*, Vol. II, 275.

39 On 1 January 1708 the New Year is greeted (in György Körössy’s accounts of 2 January: *Töröksíposoknak cantálásba 1 arany; ... salezmai síposoknak 2* [For the New Year music presentation to Turkish pipers 1 gold; ... for salezmay <shawm> pipers 2]). On 1 May 1708 in Szerencs, the start of the martial year is greeted with music, on 1 January 1709 the New Year was greeted with music at Munkács. Tamás Esze, ‘Zenei történeti adataink II. Rákóczi Ferenc szabadságharcának idejéből (1703–1712) [Music history data from the period of the war of independence of Ferenc Rákóczi II (1703–1712)]’, in Bence Szabolcsi – Dénes Bartha (eds.), *Zenatudományi tanulmányok. A magyar zene történetéből* [Studies in musicology. From the history of Hungarian music]. Vol. IV, Budapest, 1955, 73–75, 77.

40 Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 42–43, 78.

*Wedding processions.* The earliest data is from 1643. During the reception of the bride for the wedding of Prince György Rákóczi II and Zsófia Báthory, eyewitnesses emphasized the playing of Turkish and Polish pipers in their recollections.<sup>41</sup> As Péter Apor reports, in a wedding procession the kin of the bride and groom marched at the head of the party, preceded by the Turkish pipers and trumpeters with drums.<sup>42</sup>

*Dance accompaniment.* It can be read in the 1703 diary of Ferenc Gyulai that on a stormy night Hungarian and German officers danced to the music of 6 (!) *tárogató* pipers. “The louder it was thundering and lightning ... the louder music the German officers ordered from the pipers.” In November the *kuruc* fighters made merry to the music of the Turkish pipe and *tárogató* pipe several nights; it means that the two instruments were not identical.<sup>43</sup>

*Funerals.* Imre Thököly escorted István Borbély to his grave “to the music of drums, trumpets, and Turkish pipes”.<sup>44</sup> In 1708, István Wesselényi hired two pipers for a funeral procession; they played alternating with three trumpeters.<sup>45</sup> They followed a coach, although Péter Apor recorded that in the procession “Turkish pipers and trumpeters were followed by the coaches of the nobility, and then came the commoners. ... A couplet was sung by the students, another was played by the trumpeters and Turkish pipers, who had such plaintive laments for funerals that even the men were made to weep, and the women kept sobbing. And the students sang, the musicians played right up to the burial place...”<sup>46</sup>

The literary, metaphorical occurrence of the Turkish pipe alludes to Transylvania’s pro-Ottoman politics. Towards the end of the seventeenth

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41 2 February 1643. Bárdos (ed.), *Magyarország zenei története*, Vol. II, 114: 16 trombitás, két töröksípos, két lengyel sípos (16 trumpeters, 2 Turkish pipers, 2 Polish pipers). Legate’s report to Palatine Miklós Esterházy in Gábor Várkonyi (ed.), *II. Rákóczy György esküvője* [The wedding of György Rákóczi II, Prince of Transylvania]. (Régi magyar történelmi források, 2.) Budapest, 1990, 66.

42 Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 98.

43 Szatmár, 28 June 1703; 10, 11, and 12 November 1703. Sándor Márki (ed.), *Gróf Gyulai Ferenc naplója (1703–1704)* [Diary of Count Ferenc Gyulai]. Budapest, 1928, 11–12, 114. Esze, ‘Zenei történelmi adataink’, 53–54.

44 Diary of Imre Thököly (23 March 1693). Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 234.

45 Nagyszeben, 14 April 1708. The musicians walked after the coaches. Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ*, Vol. II, 491, 494. The two pipers and the drummer got 6 florins, and the three trumpeters got 10. *Ibid.*, 496.

46 Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 132, 133.

century the image of “who pays the piper calls the tune” (in Hungarian, literally you must dance to the tune played for you) is more and more frequent.<sup>47</sup> In a verse insert of an eighteenth-century history book it is included in this sense, but there is a versified line put down as late as the 1870s, saying: “Transylvania will dance as the Turkish pipe plays.”<sup>48</sup>

Around 1660, in a song about the conflict with the Tatars, the Tatar pipe for military and dance music is used in this context, explicitly alluding to the Hungarian troops “being led on a cruel dance”:

I will not forget earthen defence,  
Where the Tatar pipe was blown,  
There the Tatars owned the floor,  
And the Magyar had a wretched dance to dance.<sup>49</sup>

## 1711–1835

The legend saying that after the war of liberation led by Ferenc Rákóczi II the Habsburgs collected and burnt all *tárogató* pipes, looking upon them as symbols of independence, has not been substantiated so far. Most likely it was a product of the *kuruc* romanticism in the nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

The popularity of the instrument did not decrease with time passing. It can be read in a letter of 1734 that Sándor Károlyi’s “Turkish pipe was taken along for the recruitment by Captain Imre Irányi”.<sup>51</sup> The inauguration of Sámuel

47 RMKT XVII/14, No. 87, verse 82.

48 István Bartalus, *Magyar Népdalok Egyetemes Gyűjteménye* [General collection of Hungarian folk songs]. Mezőkövesd, 1873–1896.

49 ‘Miért sírsz a hegyen, Sebes? [Why are you crying on the mountain, Sebes?], in Imre Varga, *Az 1660-as évek költészete* [Hungarian poems of the 1660s]. (RMKT XVII/10.) Budapest, 1981, No. 48, couplets 122 and 124. In a similar sense: couplet 52.

50 It first appeared in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of Leipzig in 1814. Ervin Major, ‘A Rákóczi-kor zenéje. Adatok a XVIII–XIX. század magyar zenetörténetéhez [The music of the Rákóczi period. Data to Hungarian music history of the 18th–19th centuries]’, in *Fejezetek a magyar zene történetéből* [Chapters from the history of Hungarian music]. Budapest, 1967, 113. Pávai, *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje*, 26. Béla Tóth, ‘A tárogató [The tárogató]’, in Idem, *Magyar ritkaságok* [Hungarian curiosities]. Budapest, 1899, 294.

51 Letter to Sándor Károlyi (12 May 1734). Géza Papp (ed.), *Hungarian Dances (1784–*

Kemény as *főispán* (*supremus comes*) of the county at Bilak on 11 April 1737 was celebrated “by the noble county with drums, trumpets, and Turkish pipes”.<sup>52</sup> The caption of a picture says the Hungarian Hussars mounted their horses to *tárogató* music.<sup>53</sup> In 1740 in the fortress of Erdőd the New Year was greeted with the sound of drums, trumpets, and Turkish pipes.<sup>54</sup> In István Tóth’s poem of 1742 the nobility of Szabolcs<sup>55</sup>

Mounted frisking steeds like soaring birds,  
And made merry with tár[o]gató pipes.

When in 1784 the Holy Crown of Hungary was returned, the *tárogató* was frequently included in the festivities. In Buda, the keepers of the crown headed the ceremonial procession, “followed by the Cumans, Jazygians and people from Kecskemét with Turkish pipes”.<sup>56</sup> In Nagyvárad (today Oradea, Romania) the noblemen gathered “amidst sounds of *tárogató* pipes and trumpets”.<sup>57</sup> In 1790, on the occasion of the diet in Buda the *tárogató* was played in front of the mounted troops of Tolna, Zala, and Szabolcs Counties.<sup>58</sup> The *tárogató* was also played at the coronation of Leopold II in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) when the crown was carried across the bridge. Several mentions are

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1810). (Musicalia Danubiana, 7.) Budapest, 1986, 13.

- 52 Szabolcsi, ‘A XVII. század magyar főúri zenéje’, 241. Bence Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje [Hungarian college music in the 18th century]’, in Idem, *A magyar zene évszázadai* [Centuries of Hungarian music]. Vol. II, Budapest, 1961, 91.
- 53 Piper of the Hungarian regiment (first half of eighteenth century), in Martin Engelbrecht (ed.), *Theatre de la Milice etrangere...* Augsburg, 1742: *Ich pfeiff dazu den Marsch, wann all’ zu Pferde sitzen*, quoted in Sándor Domanovszky (ed.), *Magyar művelődéstörténet* [History of Hungarian culture]. Vol. III, Budapest, 1939–1943, 26, 613.
- 54 László Szalay (ed.), *Gróf Károlyi Sándor önéletírása és naplójegyzetei* [Count Sándor Károlyi’s autobiography and diary notes]. Vol. II, Pest, 1865. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 91.
- 55 Géza Orlovsky (ed.), *Toth István költői művei* [Poems by István Toth]. Budapest, 2001, No. 1, Part 8, couplet 43. Cf. Biró, ‘Tárogató’, 208.
- 56 21 February 1784. Ede S. Hoffer, *Krónika Magyarország polgári és egyházi közéletéből a 18-dik század végén. Keresztesi József eredeti naplója* [Chronicle about the public life of the civic and ecclesiastic spheres of Hungary at the end of the 18th century. Original diary of József Keresztesi]. Pest, 1868, 201. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 94.
- 57 15 March 1784. Hoffer, *Krónika Magyarország polgári és egyházi közéletéből*, 212. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 94.
- 58 Hoffer, *Krónika Magyarország polgári és egyházi közéletéből*, 249. Gábor Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története és egyéb írások* [General history of music and other writings]. (Magyar Hirmondó) Ed. György Gábry. Budapest, 1984, 131.

made of Hungarian soldiers blowing the *tárogató* pipe to play “Turkish music” in the versified account of József Gvadányi.<sup>59</sup> There are also indications of a fashion for the western variant of music *alla turca* as we find it in compositions by Gluck, Mozart, and Haydn.<sup>60</sup>

At the wedding of László Székely and Kata Bánffy (on 7 August 1742) the festive procession included two Turkish pipers and a copper drummer with a string band behind them and two trumpeters bringing up the rear.<sup>61</sup> In György Rettegi’s report of 1760 the Turkish piper also played in a wedding procession: “The crowds set out, with a Turkish piper if they had one, and other musicians such as fiddlers, gardon and dulcimer players, and headed where the parents of the bride or she herself lived.”<sup>62</sup>

The vociferous instrument was used to accompany dances in the eighteenth century too. The writing of János Laczkovics and Ignác Martinovics mocking the boorishness of the nobility (1790) also alludes to dancing: “In addition to their *tárogató* pipe, they are satisfied with the Jew’s harp, bagpipe, and recorder to whose ear-splitting grousing and screaming you can click your ankles enough.”<sup>63</sup> The *tárogató* also occurs in poems by Mihály Fazekas and Márton Etédi Sós.<sup>64</sup>

In the memoirs of András Fáy there is mention of the military assembly (“insurrection”) of the regional nobility at Sárospatak, during which he first heard this instrument. The *tárogató* had an “extremely shrill penetrating sound, to such a degree that we, standing by the Catholic church, heard its notes blown a considerable distance away from us, at the College, as clearly as if it had been played next to us”.<sup>65</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century there are several accounts of the surviving instrument. The name Turkish pipe gradually disappeared, but

59 József Gvadányi, *A’ mostan folyó ország gyűlésinek satyrico criticé való leírása* [A satirico-critical account of the ongoing diet]. Lipsia, 1791, 64, 205, 207, 265. Cf. *Déliabáb* (1853) 126–127.

60 Cf. Sudár – Csörsz, “*Trombita, rézdob, tárogató...*”, 72–81.

61 Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 91.

62 *Ibid.*, 92.

63 The work of Ignác Martinovics, *A Magyarország gyűlésiben egybengyűlt...* [Oratio ad proceres et nobiles regni Hungariae...]. Translated by János Laczkovics. S. l., 1791, is quoted in Haraszti, ‘II. Rákóczi Ferenc a zenében’, 180–181. Szabolcsi ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 280.

64 Biró, ‘Tárogató’, 208.

65 András Fáy, ‘Sáros-Patak 1794 tájban [Sáros-Patak around 1794]’, *Nefelejcs* (1859) 5. Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 95.

*tárogató* remained. Kristóf Simai (1792, 1809) mentions “tárigató and tárogató pipers” and Antal Szalkay speaks of the “táragató”.<sup>66</sup> István Sándor and Sámuel Gyarmathi mention it as a synonym for *tarot* (the French archetype of the bassoon).<sup>67</sup>

Kálmán Thaly’s story about Hungarians enraged to such a degree by the sound of the *tárogató* that they killed forty Germans is probably mere fanciful raving.<sup>68</sup> The Hungarian composer János Fusz (Johann Evangelist Fuss) describes the instrument in his *Letter from Pest* in 1809: “The oldest instrument of the Hungarians is the *War pipe* [sic!], a screeching, penetrating, ear-splitting relative of the shawm audible from a large distance, and resembles the oboe but is somewhat shorter. ... In a region of Hungary people still dance to its sound after a wedding, although it has a plainly rough, barbarous tone.”<sup>69</sup>

The cult of the *tárogató* in literature began at this time. The authors mainly refer to it as a military instrument, alluding to its alleged origin at the time of Magyar Conquest. In András Dugonics’s novel *Etelka* (1788), it is identical with the legendary horn of the Magyar chieftain, Lehel.<sup>70</sup> In 1807 Antal Szirmay also describes it as a military instrument used by the infantry together with the drum, but he identifies it with the Etruscan and Roman trumpet called *lituus*.<sup>71</sup> In 1800, the grammarian József Márton used it to designate “Schalmey”, “Feldschalmey”.<sup>72</sup> Gábor Mátray describes it as a clamorous instrument similar to the clarinet, sounded before battles.<sup>73</sup> It was also used in the Napoleonic wars: it was named in a speech given during festivities of the Stipits Hussars in Zsombolya in 1810.<sup>74</sup> In 1812, Lieutenant General László Jakkó

66 Fáy, ‘Sáros-Patak 1794 tájban’, 5. Szabolcsi ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 95.

67 Cf. Sámuel Gyarmathi, *Vocabularium in quo plurima hungaricis vocibus consona variarum linguarum vocabula collegit S. Gy. / Szótár, melyben sok magyar szókhöz hasonló hangú, idegen nyelvbéli szókat rendbe szedett Gy. S.* Vienna, 1816, 77. István Sándor, *Sokféle* [Miscellaneous]. Vol. XII, Győr, 1808, 139. Biró, ‘Tárogató’, 209.

68 Gy. B. (?), ‘A bujdosó tárogató’ [The hiding tárogató], *Magyar Vasárnap* (1951) 5.

69 János Fusz, ‘Pesti levél [Letter from Pest]’, *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 1809. Haraszi, ‘II. Rákóczi Ferenc a zenében’, 182.

70 András Dugonics, *Etelka*. Vol. I, Pozsony–Pest, 1788, 266. Biró, ‘Tárogató’, 208.

71 *Musica Hungarorum: Lituus Tárogató sip, et tympana peditum, tuba equitum bellica musica fuit.* Antal Szirmay, *Hungaria in parabolis sive commentarii in adagia et dicteria Hungarorum*. Buda, 1804<sub>1</sub>, 1807<sub>2</sub>, §.101.

72 Biró, ‘A tárogató’, 211.

73 Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története*, 59, 142.

74 *Hazai és Külföldi Tudósítások* 1810, fasc. 22; Haraszi, ‘II. Rákóczi Ferenc a zenében’, 249.

writes (metaphorically) of “light pipes of the meadow”.<sup>75</sup> In Ádám Pálóczi Horváth’s *Ötödfélszáz énekek* (Four-hundred and fifty songs) the name of the instrument is included in titles and (his own) poems.<sup>76</sup> He stresses that “Magyars do not dance, but go to battle to the sound of the *tárogató*.”<sup>77</sup> Mihály Piringer says that noblemen had them played ahead of them in procession when they went out to the fields.<sup>78</sup>

The instrument is particularly frequent in the traditional area of the Jászkunság. During the Seven Years’ War, the cavalry of this area had their own *tárogató* players.<sup>79</sup> During the inauguration of archbishops of Eger, Károly Eszterházy (1790), Ferenc Fuchs (1804), and István Fischer (1807), Jazygians and Cumans played the *tárogató*.<sup>80</sup> When around 1814–15 Antal Somogyi was inaugurated as captain-general of the Jászkunság area, István Selyem of Kunszentmiklós played the *tárogató*.<sup>81</sup> It was around this date that the later “spokesman” of the instrument István Fáy met Ferenc Kazinczy who called his attention to an 80-year-old cattle-herd and *tárogató* player in Fony (Abaúj County). Unfortunately, by the time Fáy arrived there, the musician had died and as his son refused to follow in his footsteps, the piper had burnt his instrument before his death.<sup>82</sup>

Lajos Szilágyi “discovered” the 74-year-old *tárogató* player András Sós of Hegyközpályi in 1822. The aged musician was invited to Nagyvárád to play: his night music allegedly attracted a thousand or so people to the window of

75 Letter of László Szalárdy Jakkó to Gábor Döbrentei (Újpecs, 6 March 1812). Ágnes Gupcsó, ‘Jakkó László táborigénygyűjteménye. Egy ismeretlen kézirat nyomában [The military song collection of László Jakkó. In the wake of an unknown manuscript]’, in Mária Domokos (ed.), *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok* [Studies in musicology]. Budapest, 1982, 123.

76 No. 11, *Tárogató* [Haj, Rákóczi, Bercsényi]; No. 46, *Tiszamellyéki mars, ekhós tárogató* [March from the Tisza, *tárogató* with echo]; No. 47, *Túl-a-tiszai mars* [March beyond the Tisza], line 22: ...*Fújd meg a tárogatót!* [Blow the *tárogató*]; No. 81, *A kiszabadult madár* [The freed bird], Trumpet, copper drum, *tárogató* or military tilting pipe.

77 Dénes Bartha – József Kiss (eds.), *Ötödfélszáz Énekek. Pálóczi Horváth Ádám dalgűjteménye az 1813. évből* [450 songs. The song collection of Ádám Pálóczi Horváth]. Budapest, 1953, 761: No. 45.

78 Michael von Piringer, *Ungarns Banderien, und desselben gesetzmäßige Kriegsverfassung überhaupt*. Bd. II, Vienna, 1816, 388.

79 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 512.

80 G. I.’s (?) report, *Déliabáb* 1853, 126–127. Tóth, ‘A *tárogató*’, 295. Kornél Bárdos, *Eger zenéje (1687–1887)* [The music of Eger]. Budapest, 1987, 213, 215, 217.

81 Lajos Virág’s report. *Déliabáb* 1853, 186. Gábry, ‘Le “*tárogató*”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

82 *Déliabáb* 1853, 126–27.

Captain Simonyi.<sup>83</sup> There was an intention to copy his instrument in Debrecen, but the attempt was foiled.<sup>84</sup>

At the inauguration of the *főispán* of Arad County József Wenckheim in 1825 a *tárogató* player in a black shirt and loose pants from Nógrád County played, but “he played poorly, and the instrument was cracked, anyway”.<sup>85</sup> When Gábor Keglevich was inaugurated in Balassagyarmat (6 November 1827), two *tárogató* players played as the cavalry marched in.<sup>86</sup> When the *főispán* of Abaúj County Lajos Károlyi entered into office, *tárogató* pipes were played again (1830).<sup>87</sup> A musician of Rimaszombat, Márton Radics (Raditt) claims that in Eger, around 1830, a *tárogató* player from Debrecen called Boka was in service.<sup>88</sup> In Szatmár the last *tárogató* player died in 1832, but until then the craft was passed down from father to son.<sup>89</sup>

The two *tárogató*s allegedly of Turkish origin kept in the town hall of Rimaszombat were used for tower music (to indicate the clock strokes) until 1835; they were played when Duke Koháry entered the town and *főispán* Zichy was inaugurated.<sup>90</sup> During the inauguration of Imre Palugyai as Bishop of Nyitra (1839) a *tarittyú* player called Ligats performed, having learned to play in his family.<sup>91</sup>

The Age of Reforms (1825–1848) and the years of the dualist monarchy from 1867 onwards abound in deliberate attempts to keep the old Turkish pipe alive.<sup>92</sup> In his incidental music for József Gaál’s play *Svatopluk*, Károly Thern had it appear with orchestral accompaniment on 23 February 1839. For the inauguration of György Károlyi as *főispán* of the county, the *Túrkeve* lawyer

83 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1862, 246.

84 *Bihar* 1863, fasc. 29. *A Hon* 1863, fasc. 83.

85 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1862, 246. Ottó Lakatos, *Arad története* [History of Arad]. Vol. I, Arad, 1881, 92.

86 Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története és egyéb írások*, 307. Pávai, *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje*, 26.

87 Tóth, ‘A tárogató’, 295.

88 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 571. *Magyar Sajtó* 1859, 1122–1123 (he thought it was Recsky who played). He might perhaps be identical with András Boka, the uncle of the band leader Károly Boka, who was the trumpeter of the cavalry regiment of Szabolcs in 1809. Bálint Sárosi, *Cigányzene* [Gypsy music]. Budapest, 1971, 111. Not included in the list of musicians in Bárdos, *Eger zenéje*.

89 *Magyar Sajtó* 1859, 1122–1123.

90 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 571.

91 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 476. *Pesti Napló* 1859, fasc. 260. Tóth, ‘A tárogató’, 295. Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

92 In more detail: Sudár – Csörsz, “*Trombita, rézdob, tárogató...*”, 95–98.



László Hajdú, a famous advocate of the instrument in the press, was asked to play the *tárogató* on 16–17 May 1842. His articles inform posterity of several, now lost, instruments.<sup>93</sup> When in Nyitra, Count Lajos Károlyi was installed, a reconstructed copy of János Ligacs's instrument (inherited from his father) was also involved.<sup>94</sup>

In 1843, Gergely Czuczor mentions it as a peasant instrument.<sup>95</sup> From an account of a wedding near Miskolc we learn that “next to the flag walks the Turkish piper whose pipe is identical with Rákóczi's lost and now wholly unknown *tárogató*. The Turkish pipe has a brass pipe inside: its sound is plaintive and intense. I heard such a Turkish pipe when I was a child, and when Count Reviczky visited Borsod again, the Turkish pipe was played to honour the ceremonial procession of the mounted men in blue shirts from K... The poor old piper wanted to play one of Rákóczy's old tunes, but his chest was too weak to blow. Nobody can blow the Turkish pipe today.”<sup>96</sup>

In 1848, the *tárogató* cropped up again as fuel to patriotic feelings. Band leader Károly Boka (died in 1853)<sup>97</sup> acquired an instrument around that time. The band leader of Gömörharkács (today Hrkáč, Slovakia), Marci Dombi (1801/8–1869), who joined the national guard with his sixteen-strong band also had a *tárogató*.<sup>98</sup> The title of a famous chapbook of Debrecen printed during the war of liberations is *Tárogató*.<sup>99</sup>

Deliberate collection of the instrument began in the 1850s. In 1853, István Fáy proposed that as “an original ancient Hungarian instrument” the *tárogató*

93 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 534. Ferenc Scherer, *Gyula város története* [History of the town of Gyula]. Vol. I, Gyula, 1938, 466–467.

94 *Napkelet* 1859, 733–734. *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 476.

95 Pesovár, *A magyar tánc történet évszázadai*, 37.

96 Szeredy's account in Vol. 1844 of *Életrajzok*; cited by Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 266.

97 Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története és egyéb írások*, 331–332. He says that in Károly Boka's Gypsy band winds were also played.

98 *Magyar Vasárnap* 1951 (B. Gy.'s writing). The band leader is also mentioned by Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története*, 333. Sárosi, *Cigányzene*, 110. László Marosi, *Két évszázad katonazenéje Magyarországon* [Military music of two centuries in Hungary]. Budapest, 1994, 56.

99 Péter Pogány (ed.), *Riadj magyar! 1848–1849 fametszetes ponyvái, csatakrónikái* [Wake up, Magyar! Chapbooks and battle chronicles of 1848–1849 with woodcuts]. (Magyar Hírmondó) Budapest, 1983: No. 78. In note 634 it states that between 1 July and 31 December 1848 the news column in Kossuth's *Hírlap* was titled like that. In the supplement *Nemzetőr* of Imre Vahot's *Budapesti Divatlap* and also in Pécs, there was a similar column.

be researched and popularized.<sup>100</sup> Lajos Virág had an instrument from Kunszentmiklós copied and gave it to the Hungarian National Museum,<sup>101</sup> and in 1864 the original – so-called Beliczay *tárogató* – was also deposited there.<sup>102</sup> In 1854, he deposited a more puritanical instrument.<sup>103</sup> In 1857, Ferenc Bethlen donated a *tárogató* to the museum in a leather case – possibly the instrument that had belonged to András Sós.

In response to a call published in *Vasárnapi Ujság* in 1859, several accounts were submitted. István Fáy called on Gypsy musicians to learn to play the *tárogató* and incorporate the instrument in their bands.<sup>104</sup> The initiative had repercussions in other circles as well. On 8 December 1859 the oboist of the National Theatre, András Suck presented the Beliczay *tárogató*, fitted with an English horn reed, at the ceremonial hall of the National Museum. Reviews emphasized that “the sound of the *tárogató* has a moving tone of grief. Particularly the mid-range tones are fine. In the upper registers it could still be improved”.<sup>105</sup> “Its sound closely resembles that of the clarinet, but it is more penetrating and more pleasant, coming perhaps closest to the singing voice from among all wind instruments.”<sup>106</sup> But Suck did not have the courage to play the Rákóczi march on that occasion...

Suck’s later development of the instrument, alloying qualities of the oboe and the clarinet could not save the old double-reed *tárogató*. Gyula Káldy sought out Vencel József Schunda, an instrument maker of international renown for his improvement of the cimbalom (Hungarian pedal dulcimer), and convinced him to build the instrument known today (1894–1895). That was the end of the history of the traditional Turkish pipe. The shift from double-reed instruments to instruments with a single reed – clarinet or saxophone – is demonstrable all over the Balkans (Greeks, Serbs, Turks, Dobrudja Tatars).<sup>107</sup>

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100 *Délibáb* 1853, 126. Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

101 György Gábry, ‘A tárogató [The tárogató]’, *Folia Archaeologica* 18 (1966–1967) 254.

102 *Ibid.*, 254.

103 *Délibáb* 1853, 186–87. Gábry, ‘A tárogató’, 254.

104 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 501. Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

105 *Pesti Napló* 1859, 11 December.

106 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 549. *Aradi Híradó* 1859, fasc. 48. Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

107 Pávai, *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje*, 27. He mentions here his own collection of Dobrudja zurnas.

In the markets of the Székely land a beggar playing the *tárogató* could still be found in the 1860s.<sup>108</sup> In 1863, István Fáy reported that the *tárogató* could only be found in Jászberény, where it was played in the midnight mass at Christmas.<sup>109</sup> A watchman in Balmazújváros blew his instrument from the tower every hour in the 1870s and its sound carried far to the farmsteads. After his death, this job was not continued.<sup>110</sup>

## Repertoire

There is hardly any information on what was played on the Turkish pipe. The tunes at that time were not notated for wind instruments but for keyboard instruments, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, mainly for the violin. There is a single title indicating a piece for a woodwind instrument, *Sípos* (Piper) in the Vietoris tablature.<sup>111</sup>

In 1659, in a procession in Marosvásárhely, the Turkish piper “incessantly played the well-known Wallachian tune called the song of the Wallachian girl in Hungarian, who lost her goats in the mountains, and lamented her loss, even kept mourning her lost goats during the search”.<sup>112</sup>

Let us recall Péter Apor’s sentence: “Nobody could perhaps play those fine tunes now in Transylvania.” That means the archaic tune stock was already declining, decreasing in the mid-eighteenth century. Apor<sup>113</sup> and Mihály Cserei wrote nearly identically about funeral music: “Turkish pipers, trumpeters had separate music for funeral occasions, which they played so sadly and grievously that even strange men, and particularly the women were all made to cry.”<sup>114</sup>

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108 *Kolozsvári Közlöny* 1860, 38.

109 *Nemzeti Képes Újság* 1863, fasc. 14 (from István Fáy’s letter).

110 Tóth, ‘A tárogató’, 297.

111 Ilona Ferenczi – Márta Hulková (eds.), *Tabulatura Vietoris saeculi XVII.* (Musicalia Danubiana, 5.) Bratislava, 1986, No. 14.

112 Andreas Franck’s report (29 September 1659): Pesovár, ‘Az elveszett juhait sirató pásztor története’, 87. Pesovár, *A magyar tánc történet évszázadai*, 37. Although Bálint Balassi’s *ad melodiam* reference to a similar tune is known, it cannot be ascertained exactly what tune it actually was.

113 Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 132.

114 Gábry, ‘Le “tárogató”, ancien chalumeau hongrois’.

Apropos the patriotism of the nobility in the late eighteenth century, a tune with the incipit *Haj, Rákóczi, Bercsényi* was often mentioned. As Martinovics and Laczkovics put it, “the tunes of Bercsényi, Rákóczi, Bezerédi are played on the *tárogató* pipe, dreadful to the ears, or sung” by the noblemen.<sup>115</sup> On the morning of the mentioned ceremony in Nagyvárad in 1784 this tune was also played, together with the late seventeenth-century exile’s song with the incipit *Őszi harmat után* (After the autumn dew). Its first notation is incomplete, consisting of a single line, though it might also have been played like that.<sup>116</sup> The fact that it was played on the Turkish pipe suggests the expansion of its original context (of love, farewell to the lover).<sup>117</sup>

The text of the Rákóczi song first crops up in handwritten songbooks around 1750; the earliest notation of the tune is in the Vietoris tablature (of the 1670s) and in the dance tune collection of Anna Szimayné Keczer (first half of the eighteenth century).<sup>118</sup> In 1816 it was published in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* of Leipzig by János Fusz (for *tárogató* or *Rákóczi pipe*).<sup>119</sup> It was notated with the title *Tárogató* by Ádám Pálóczi Horváth, indicating the original performing instrument (1813).<sup>120</sup> All András Sós of Hegyközpályi could play “was the sad song of Rákóczi and Bercsényi, and *Felemelé Kádár szeméit az égbe* (Kádár lifted his eyes to the sky)”.<sup>121</sup> The latter is a narrative of seventeenth-century origin, but also printed in popular publications until the nineteenth century and spread in folk variants as well, describing the death of a certain István Kádár (*Szörnyű nagy romlásra készült Pannónia* [Pannonia was on the verge of a dreadful disaster]).

In the nineteenth century it is often noted that the instrument is favourable for “portamento and andante”. Not suitable for merry tunes, it was consequent-

115 Szabolcsi, ‘A XVIII. század magyar kollégiumi zenéje’, 280.

116 ‘Tél, szél [Winter, wind]’, in Bartha – Kiss (eds.), *Ötödfélszáz Énekek*, No. 252.

117 Rumen István Csörsz, ‘Történelmi hősök helyzetdala a 18–19. századi magyar közköltészetben [The situated songs of the historical heroes in the 18th–19th century Hungarian popular poetry]’, in Ágnes Szemerényi (ed.), *Folklór és történelem* [Folklore and history]. (Folklór a magyar művelődéstörténetben, 3.) Budapest, 2007, 129–130.

118 Bence Szabolcsi: ‘A XVII. század magyar világi dallamai [Hungarian secular tunes in the 17th century]’, in Szabolcsi, *A magyar zene évszázadai*. Vol. I, 332–333.

119 *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 1816, 13 March. Introduced: Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története*, 137. Major, ‘A Rákóczi-kor zenéje’, 113.

120 ‘Tárogató’, in Bartha – Kiss (eds.), *Ötödfélszáz Énekek*, No. 11.

121 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1862, 246.

ly reserved as an instrument of lamentation.<sup>122</sup> This role was unquestionably inherited by Schunda's variant of the instrument...

### Turkish Pipers – By Name

Below I give a short list of the Turkish pipers known by name. Though several mentions of pipers without further specification are known, particularly from the seventeenth century, here only the expressly Turkish or *tárogató* pipers are named, who were certainly not German pipers or shawm players.

Mention was already made of the Turkish piper János Bossó, who was wounded in the fights of János Kemény in Upper Hungary in 1644. Márton Tárogató Sípos with an apprentice and Péter Tárogató Sípos were in service with the troops of Pál Esterházy in 1684.<sup>123</sup> Among Thököly's court musicians there were Márton and András Sípos, as well as Ferenc Pribik and János Horvát:<sup>124</sup> they were the non-German pipers. Tamás Esze claims that the Turkish pipers of the *kuruc* troops must have been of peasant origin, while the German pipers and trumpeters came from among the tower musicians of German towns and were paid far better than their Hungarian colleagues.<sup>125</sup>

Several pipers are mentioned in Ferenc Rákóczi II's accounts: at first András Sípos and Mihály Sípos (with different pay scales),<sup>126</sup> later János Kún head piper and Sámuel Tolnai vice piper.<sup>127</sup> In 1711, two pipers were in service around the prince: the son of László Bai (presumably identical with the shawm piper) and an anonymous Turkish piper. The former received 42 florins, the latter 17.<sup>128</sup> The piper of Ferenc Gyulai (from Méhész, Torna County), István Sípos of peasant origin, died in Villanova in 1704; his employer looked after his orphans.<sup>129</sup> In 1705, János Horvath, the captain of the Serbs in Nagyszében kept a stableman by his side called Péter; "as he could play a little on the

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122 *Aradi Híradó* 1859, fasc. 48. *Kolozsvári Közlöny* 1860, 38.

123 Bubits (ed.), *Cornaro Frigyes velencei követ jelentése*, 376.

124 Sárosi, *Cigányzene*, 47.

125 Esze, 'Zenetörténeti adataink', 87.

126 Vetés, camp, 25 August 1703. The different *conventio* of the two pipers is noted by the prince. *Ibid.*, 54.

127 24 June 1706–27 January 1707. *Ibid.*, 64–66.

128 Accounts of György Körössy (5 April 1711). *Ibid.*, 82.

129 Villanova, 12 March 1704. *Ibid.*, 57. Márki (ed.), *Gróf Gyulai Ferenc naplója*, 202.

Turkish pipe, he was needed.<sup>130</sup> A nineteenth-century account says that András Bóne, captain of (Nagy)Várad had a *tárogató* player called János Darabont, whose instrument was preserved by András Sós.<sup>131</sup> In a Bihar County document of 1720 there is mention of a Johannes Drabant.<sup>132</sup>

The Kunszentmiklós musician, István Selyem played for a captain called Bercsényi in the 1810s, believing that he was a descendant of the *kuruc* general.<sup>133</sup> He blew the *tárogató* alternately with a dweller of Dabas at the inauguration of the captain-general of the Jász-kunság, Antal Somogyi, in 1814.<sup>134</sup> The last known *tárogató* player of the banderium was György Kovács, whom the fighters nicknamed Sípos (Piper) in recognition of his achievements. His instrument was still extant in Jászberény in 1859.<sup>135</sup> In 1827, two *tárogató* players are named in Balassagyarmat, János Péntes and a *hajdú* (heyduck) called Illés. Gábor Mátray allegedly knew of the latter that he was later a field-guard in Hugyag, then night-watchman in Gyarmat before he died of the cholera.<sup>136</sup> The last *tárogató* player of the town hall in Rimaszombat (around 1835) was a musician called Budai.<sup>137</sup> The mentioned musician of Hegyközpályi, András Sós was 74 years old in 1822, so he must have been born in 1748. He claimed to be a descendant of the mentioned *kuruc* piper János Darabont on his mother's side. After his death, his instrument was donated to the National Museum by Ferenc Bethlen.<sup>138</sup> In 1830, a *tárogató* player called Boka appears in Eger; perhaps he was the uncle of Károly Boka, the trumpeter of Szabolcs County cavalry in 1809.<sup>139</sup> He might have taught László Hajdú to play wind instruments in Debrecen in the late 1830s. In 1839, János Ligats jr. of Nyitra (today Nitra, Slovakia), scion of a dynasty of *tárogató* players had a damaged old instrument cherished by the family copied and then used it.<sup>140</sup> At

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130 4 March 1705. Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ*, Vol. I, 369–370.

131 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1862, 246.

132 Miklós Kázmér, *Régi magyar családnevek szótára (XIV–XVII. század)* [Vocabulary of early Hungarian surnames, 14th–17th centuries]. Budapest, 1993, 281.

133 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 572.

134 *Déliab* 1853, 186–187.

135 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 512–513.

136 Mátray, *A Muzsikának Közönséges Története*, 307.

137 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 571.

138 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1862, 246. *Bihar* 1863, fasc. 29.

139 *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 571–572. Sárosi, *Cigányzene*, 111.

140 *Napkelet* 1859, 733–734. *Pesti Napló* 1859, fasc. 260.

the time of András Suck, a clarinetist Gypsy from Szatmár called Arany (Gold) also played the *tárogató*, both in pubs and on the stage.<sup>141</sup>

Túrkeve lawyer László Hajdú, who wrote several articles about the *tárogató*, also played on it. He was born around 1817–1818. In Debrecen, Gypsy musicians Miska and Károly Boka taught him various wind instruments. In 1842, he was officially asked to play for an inauguration.<sup>142</sup> Hajdú mentions a doctor of Kunhegyes, Benjámín Németh, who had an instrument of his own in 1842. The last *tárogató* player in Árokszállás was a local person called Sóska. A *tárogató* player called György Uram lived in Táb, Nógrád County, in 1859.<sup>143</sup> As far as Mihály Mosonyi was aware, someone who could make the reed for the instrument lived in Félégyháza in 1869.<sup>144</sup>

The latter piece of information is particularly intriguing because the present author had the chance to play the instruments kept in the Hungarian National Museum with different reeds (as assistant in János Pap's instrument acoustic research). With the long copper tube and an oboe-like hard and narrow reed, the Beliczay *tárogató* had a stifled sound and inaccurate scale. When, however, the reed of a simple Turkish zurna was fitted to it, which was broad, short and fairly flexible, it had a great volume of sound and crystal clear notes. This makes it probable that such a reed was practicable for outdoor events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

#### Depictions of the Turkish pipe (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries)<sup>145</sup>

Representations of the instrument carry associations with a variety of instruments, similarly to the specimens kept in museums. All cannot be discussed here in detail, but the proportions revealed by the depictions are worth touching on.

141 *Kolozsvári Közlöny* 1860, 38. *Nemzeti Képes Újság* 1863, fasc. 14.

142 Katalin Szőnyi-Szerző, 'Hajdú László cikke elé... [Prologue to the paper of László Hajdú]', in Mária Domokos (ed.), *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok* [Studies in musicology]. Budapest, 1981, 399.

143 All data: *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1859, 534.

144 *Zenészeti Lapok* 1860, 117.

145 I refrain from a detailed description of the museum instruments for lack of space. See the relevant chapter in Sudár – Csörsz, "*Trombita, rézdob, tárogató...*", 104–111.

In a military band of 1652, two mounted Turkish pipe players are shown between trumpeters and drummers. The instrument is relatively long and the finger holes are open, so they can be observed quite well.<sup>146</sup> An engraving of the fortress of Kapronca with soldiers dancing in front of it (1686) shows a very similar instrument providing music alone, without drums, for the dance.<sup>147</sup> The illustrator of Mátyás Bél's *Notitia* must have relied on it using it for the title illustration of the chapter on Nógrád County, in mirror inversion as dictated by the engraving technique. This confirms that two generations later, in further reaches of the country, the Turkish pipe was still a typical instrument.

In a mid-eighteenth-century drawing one can see an instrument with a long thin tube ending in a short bell, accompanied by a double-headed drum.<sup>148</sup> A mounted musician also has a similar instrument. In the series of Martin Engelbrecht's engravings several different instruments resembling the Turkish pipe can be discerned. One type is represented by a piper of the Tisza region and a pipe in the hand of a child accompanying an elderly woman playing the hurdy-gurdy: they are short stocky instruments with a small bell, the latter perhaps with a cylindrical bore. The other type resembles the peasant instrument in the Kapronca picture more closely: its long tube tapers out visibly, and it has a long narrow bell adorned with lathed rings. Unfortunately, Engelbrecht depicts the instrument in flute position, which is impossible. In another eighteenth-century drawing, a short stout instrument can be seen.<sup>149</sup> It might have been drawn in the knowledge of Engelbrecht's engraving (the face and instrument type are similar). In a painting dating from *kuruc* times a piper is seen in a company making merry around a table. This instrument has a long thin tube and a narrow bell.<sup>150</sup>

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146 Funeral of four Esterházy in Nagyszombat with music (1652), engraving: Bárdos (ed.), *Magyarország zenei története*, Vol. II, plates No. 11–14.

147 *Ibid.*, plate 25.

148 Alexander Mózi, *Szlovák–magyar zenei kapcsolatok* [Hungarian–Slovakian musical connections]. Bratislava, 1977, 25.

149 Gábry, 'Le "tárogató", ancien chalumeau hongrois', image No. 117.

150 Miklós Asztalos, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc és kora* [Ferenc Rákóczi II and his age]. Budapest, 1934, plate near page 273.



The sketchy overview above illustrates how a military pipe got removed gradually from its natural context, first becoming a ceremonial, occasional instrument, and later the relic of a national romantic trend. The long-lived tradition of Hungarian ceremonial bands emulating the Ottoman form of representation (occasions for using the Turkish pipe in a more familiar context) indicates that the terrifying image of the enemy gradually sank into oblivion, and they became an expression of the eighteenth-century self-awareness among the nobility looking with increasing pride upon their eastern roots, thus providing a counter-pole to German music and the Habsburg imperial identity. Re-discovery of the instrument in the Age of Reforms and attempts – after the 1848 Revolution – to reconstruct it were meant to conceptualize and salvage this entire cultural conglomerate. However, another 120 years had to pass before the Turkish pipe came into use again in Hungary: it became widespread through the folk dance-house movement, primarily adaptations of folk tunes (*Kolinda*, *Vízöntő*, *Muzsikás* bands, etc.) as well as the early music ensembles.<sup>151</sup> The nineteenth-century ideals were best served by the modern Schunda *tárogató*. Its great success owed (apart from its ingratiating tone) to its time-honoured but – admittedly – unjustly used name, which belonged to an instrument said to have had a harsh sound even in its own age, even if it had become a symbol: the Turkish pipe.

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151 With the soprano and alto saxophone making headway, its role also decreased here. In the Hungarian world of music ensembles in the 1990s and 2000s the *tárogató* was only used as a curiosity.