

ISTVÁN PÁVAI



Hungarian Folk Dance Music  
*of Transylvania*

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# **Hungarian Folk Dance Music of Transylvania**



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# I INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 ON THE CHOICE OF TOPIC

In this book, I intend to summarize the current state of knowledge about the music of Hungarian folk dances in Transylvania, one of the major areas of Romania, ceded to the country by Hungary in the peace treaty after World War I. By *folk* dances and their music I understand pertaining elements of culture that have been formed and preserved through transmission from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup> I rely primarily on my own research, but obviously also make use of earlier results. I began field research in the early 1970s when I was still a student of musicology. Upon the influence of my professors János Jagamas and Ilona Szenik, I plunged into fieldwork for my master's thesis on the folk music of the Sóvidék region (1976), which already included some instrumental dance tunes in addition to a survey of vocal tune types. I had also studied László Lajtha's monographs, Bálint Sárosi's publications on instrumental folk music, György Martin's studies on dances and dance music, as well as the relevant Romanian literature. My familiarity with Romanian folk music is to be thanked to another two of my professors, Traian Mârza and Romeo Ghircoiașiu, who also introduced me to the Romanian monographic approach developed upon the influence of Dimitrie Gusti's school of sociology.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of my research, there was a dearth of instrumental folk music accessible in print or audio recording, which made it imperative to get acquainted with private collections such as those of Zoltán Kallós, Piroska Demény, or István Horváth, and the unpublished instrumental recordings by musicians involved in the dance house movement in Hungary or in Transylvania. Noticing my attraction to folk dance research, György Martin encouraged me at the end of the 1970s to specialize as a musicologist on the study of folk dance music. At the beginning, that meant intense fieldwork. Projecting the Transylvanian dance music collected in the first seven decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onto the map, I realized the immense extent of blank spots, with respect to regions as well as genres, without any previous data. I found that the folk music repertoire of a traditional village band was far wider than what a few field recordings could

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<sup>1</sup> In more detail, see the chapter *Status, role, ethnicity*, p. 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the Hungarian reception of Gusti's school, see Lükő, G. 1935.

capture. Subsequent research has proven, for example, that Lajtha's substantial phonograph and gramophone recordings ("Patria" records) of the village of Szék contain less than half of the local repertoire of dance music, and some dances and tune types were not documented by Lajtha at all, e.g. *ritka tempó*, or *szarkatánc*.<sup>3</sup> This deficiency even elicited conjectures that in the early 1940s, at the time of Lajtha's fieldwork, the men's dance *ritka tempó* was non-existent in Szék yet,<sup>4</sup> whereas first-hand descriptions of it survive from 1943.<sup>5</sup> As Lajtha himself warns in the preface of the book, "These one hundred and some tunes are insufficient to call this collection a monograph of Szék."<sup>6</sup>

Having perused all accessible research up to the mid-seventies, I realized that the repertoire was incomplete even within the much-studied regions, while some unknown and hardly examined regions also needed thorough exploration. At the onset, there were hardly any recordings of dance tune sequences as played for a traditional dance cycle, with several tunes to each dance, and with the customary transitions from one dance to the next one. With very few exceptions, early research approached dance music from vantage points other than that of the dance. Since field recordings concentrated on individual tunes, the data collected about the life and social role of folk dance music remained very sparse.

For a real insight into folk dance music, it is not enough to register the repertoire of the musicians in deliberate recording sessions. The so-called functional recordings made during spontaneous dance events, or the musical recordings of dance-centered fieldwork, involving active dancers, allow for observations that are not possible when music alone is to be recorded, namely about the correlation between music and dance, or music and text, about proxemic regularities, etc. During music recording sessions, researchers can inquire about the phenomena noticed in functional recordings, to complement live observation through exploring folk memory and registering verbalized knowledge. Moreover, folk dance music and the related interethnic implications have several aspects which can only be revealed by means of oral history, i.e. conducting, analyzing and comparing interviews. In the final stage of the disintegration of traditional culture, such verbal recollections may be the only available source of information about the previous state of folk music. This may be complemented with the visual information perpetuated by photographs, cherished by generations as family relics, the outcome of the century-old custom in villages to have one's photo taken.

As the above-said will have revealed, my choice of topic concerns a special field as yet hardly explored, particularly as regards choreological implications of music (while musical features of dances have been thoroughly examined by ethnochoreology from the

<sup>3</sup> See Lajtha, L. 1954a; Sebő, F. (ed.) 1985; 2001.

<sup>4</sup> Halmos, B.–Virágvolgyi, M. 1995. 6, 208.

<sup>5</sup> Sümeghy, V. 1944. 65; Pálfi, Cs. 1970. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 4.

onset). Moreover, some partial facets of this topic have not been researched at all. That is why I have been engaged in this research for nearly four decades, primarily to stop the mentioned gaps, and to bring the mentioned aspects to bear. While processing or publishing parts of the gathered material, ever new unanswered questions arose, egging me on to do further field research. As a result, a stock of over 600 hours of audio and video recordings, as well as thousands of film frames and snapshots has been collected. Its partial processing and comparison with the relevant literature and the archived material collected by others provide the documentary background of this work.

## 1.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO THE HUNGARIAN FOLK DANCE MUSIC OF TRANSYLVANIA

Up to the present, no detailed synthesis of the musical accompaniment of folk dances in the Hungarian language area<sup>7</sup> has been written.<sup>8</sup> The main reason is that the attention of folklorists only gradually turned from textual folklore to folk music, and then to folk dance. Moreover, even within each field there may be delays of several decades, at times centuries, between the publication of collections or descriptions on the one hand and their scientific processing on the other. Hungarian folk music research reached the level of scholarly analysis and systematization, as well as interethnic comparison, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, through the contribution of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. However, the examination of folk music from the angle of dance could not be initiated until ethnochoreology had come abreast of ethnomusicology in the 1960s.

The main focus of Hungarian ethnomusicology has been vocally performed folk music, as against instrumental music, from the beginning to our days. Take the quantity of the musical material published, the topics researched, or the number of specialists, the study of vocal music and related theoretical issues has far exceeded that of instrumental music. As for the latter topic, research has been dominated by organological descriptions of instruments, as well as investigations of pertaining historical relations. Second in significance have been studies of the repertoire and the playing technique, while far less time has been devoted to the observation and analysis of polyphony and harmony. The rhythmic role of accompanying instruments was pointed out only after the relatively late onset of folk dance research, but it was obviously beyond its field of

<sup>7</sup> This term, widely used in Hungarian as *magyar nyelvterület*, refers to the area where the Hungarian language is spoken by indigenous populations, whether majority or minority.

<sup>8</sup> Summaries on Hungarian instrumental music in general: Sárosi, B. 1998; 2017. Monographic works on regions or instruments: Virágölggyi, M.–Pávai, I. (eds.) 2000, Virágölggyi, M.–Felföldi, L. (eds.) 2000, Agócs, G. (ed.) 2001. The first of them includes studies expressly on dance music. Summary of dance music in Transylvania and Moldavia: Pávai, I. 1993 (partially the antecedent of the present book).

interest to study the harmonic aspect. Thus, no detailed synthesis has been published on the harmonic issues of Hungarian folk music; only a few studies, subchapters, passages, or sporadic remarks on harmony in works of different focus can be cited as relevant literature.<sup>9</sup>

The unique achievements of Hungarian ethnomusicology in the systematization and publication of its corpus of tunes are the outcome of the selfless efforts of generations of researchers for nearly a century. As a side effect of this progress, however, other areas of folk music research failed to develop at the same pace. As regards vocal music, hints at the near completeness of the collected material, or at least doubts about the possibility of finding yet undiscovered tune types, appeared at a very early date. Just over thirty years after the first phonograph recordings, Kodály writes, “there is practically no new material to count on.”<sup>10</sup> About the same time, Lajtha also finds it “improbable that we might chance upon so-far wholly unknown types in Hungarian peasant music in the future.”<sup>11</sup> A couple of years later, Pál Járdányi sees the situation in the same way: “it is more and more unlikely that a considerable number of unknown tunes would ever crop up.”<sup>12</sup> Outlining the goals of the field research restarted after World War II, Benjamin Rajeczky urges the documentation of the known tune types with new variants, rather than the discovery of new types.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, folk song collection gathered new momentum after the classical period of field research, and the rapid increase in statistical data refuted all prognoses about the end of collecting. As against 14,000 items arranged in the Bartók System until 1937,<sup>14</sup> Járdányi had 8,000 more items to include in his new system in 1958; a total of 60,000 tune variants in 1960; which increased to 100,000 by the time of his death in 1966. Today, the number of items, considering only those transcribed into notation, is over 160,000.

At the same time, several scholars pointed out the shortage of information on the instrumental repertoire, as well as the lack of research on the role of instrumental music in traditional culture. As Bartók stated in 1927, “In my view, the most important task is to collect from instrumental folk musicians.”<sup>15</sup> Kodály was of a similar opinion in his work cited above: “We do not have sufficient knowledge on the folk’s instruments and how they use them. How does the player learn it: by himself or from someone else? When, what, and for whom does he play? For money (at a dance), or just for his own pleasure? There is no accurate record about the musical activity of peasant bands, or village Roms

<sup>9</sup> See the bibliographies in the volumes cited in fn. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Kodály, Z. 1937/1981. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Lajtha, L. 1937/1992. 92.

<sup>12</sup> Járdányi, P. 1943a. III.

<sup>13</sup> Rajeczky, B. 1952. 483.

<sup>14</sup> See the edition of the Bartók System as an online database, Pávai, I.–Richter, P. (eds.) 2017 at <http://systems.zti.hu/br/en>.

<sup>15</sup> Bartók’s statement in the 23 February 1927 issue of *Ellenzék*, a Kolozsvár paper. Wilhelm, A. 2000. 86.

ignorant of notation. What instruments do they use? Who organizes or teaches them? How do they prepare for a performance individually or together? How do they increase their repertoire?"<sup>16</sup> Kodály also often stressed the significance of functional research in the case of vocal tunes: "The importance of individual songs and song types has to be examined in relation to the everyday life of the people. In other words, it is as important to know the purpose served by the songs as to know the songs themselves. There is a pressing need for further research aimed at filling this gap in our knowledge."<sup>17</sup>

It took several decades after the publication of Kodály's above list of deficiencies until any important results on Hungarian instrumental folk music were published, namely by Bálint Sárosi. Besides him, there was a single full-time researcher maintaining an interest in instrumental folk music for decades, Lujza Tari. In the Institute for Musicology of Budapest, a Department of Instrumental Folk Music existed for a relatively short time (1974–1988). The department was headed by Bálint Sárosi, and besides him and Tari, it also employed Béla Halmos for a few years.<sup>18</sup>

The difficulties to collect, transcribe, and process instrumental folk music, particularly the repertoire played by ensembles, were a drawback compared to vocal research, not to speak of the dance-dependent function of this music, which could only become a topic of serious research after the emergence of ethnochoreology. Laying a modern scholarly basis for Hungarian folk dance research, and integrating it into the framework of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1965, provided the preconditions for a dance-centric study of folk music.<sup>19</sup> It is an eloquent fact that the number of Transylvanian instrumental variants of tune type I in volume VI of the *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae* (Collection of Hungarian Folk Music) grew eightfold between 1965 and 1970, owing to dance music collection.<sup>20</sup> All this prepared the way for the research of diverse subtopics related to dance music, including issues of repertoires and ethnographic implications, and also, from the early 1970s onwards, questions of the manner of instrumental performance and its technical details.

That was the period when the dance house movement, a new wave of folklorism, emerged.<sup>21</sup> The new idea was to replicate the native function of village dance tradition in the city—at first in Budapest (1972), later also in Transylvanian cities with Hungarian communities (1977). The leading figures of the movement set the aim that traditional dance and music should be acquired on a native level. The importance of personal encounter with living traditions, also stressed earlier by Bartók and Kodály, was now re-experienced. A new collecting spree on a mass scale emerged, not so much on the part of

<sup>16</sup> Kodály, Z. 1937/1981. 6–7.

<sup>17</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 23.

<sup>18</sup> See the works and their bibliographies listed in fn. 8.

<sup>19</sup> See Felföldi, L.–Pesovár, E. (eds.) 1997. 7–14, 473–494 (Combined bibliography).

<sup>20</sup> CMPH vol. VI. 38.

<sup>21</sup> See Quigley, C. 2014.

academic researchers, much rather among prominent figures of the dance house movement, and of the new trend of staged folk dance under its influence. This enhanced interest coincided with the appearance of relatively cheap amateur cassette recorders, and later of the amateur video technology, which made it easy to conduct audio-visual documentation on the spot. The immense stock amassed in this way, which produced novelties even in the field of vocal music, previously deemed completely documented,<sup>22</sup> shed an entirely different light on folk dance music than what could be expected on the basis of the earlier data, encountered as side products of the research of mostly vocal tune types. Nevertheless, relatively little has been transcribed and made available for research, compared to the immense quantity of new material collected by the dance house movement with the new technical possibilities.

To conclude, the survey of Hungarian folk dance music as a whole was still insufficient in the early 1990s, and its research is still on the agenda. In the following, I will examine the coverage of Transylvania as a research area in previous investigations, pertaining to folk dance music and its interethnic relations.

In Hungarian ethnography in general, the eastern part of the Hungarian language area has always had salient importance. Its traditional culture, generally deemed archaic, has been attracting scholars from the beginnings. As Kodály, also on behalf of Bartók, wrote in the preface to their joint Transylvanian tune collection published in 1923, "It is well known that the oldest, most deeply rooted, and, as regards folklore, most valuable part of Hungarian culture is to be found almost exclusively in the areas that Hungary has lost. Among them, Transylvania, a treasure house of relics of language, folk poetry, and folk art, has long been in the first place. But its primacy in the richness and originality of folk music has only been proven by the collecting work of recent decades."<sup>23</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Hungarian ethnography regarded Transylvania as principally tantamount to its regions with large blocks of Hungarian population, that is, Székelyföld (Szeklerland) and Kalotaszeg,<sup>24</sup> of which the volume by Kodály and Bartók was no exception.

<sup>22</sup> "An even greater influx of new collections started in 1961, mainly from Transylvania and the Felvidék, thanks first of all to Zoltán Kallós and Tibor Ág. They partly added further shades to the overall picture of the types and partly modified the inner character of certain types. And most luckily, even new types were found" (Olsvai, I. 2004. 205). "We still could not get access to the material preserved in the Cluj archive of the professional folk music researchers of Transylvania. However, multitudes of audio recordings from private collections flowed in, and in the course of their transcription and systematization, several new folksong types took shape which were still unknown when Járdányi worked out his typology" (Paksa, K. 2001. 243–244). For recent publications of the Cluj material, see Pávai, I.–Zakariás, E. (eds.) 2014; Pávai, I.–Gergely, Z. (eds.) 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Bartók, B.–Kodály, Z. 1921. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Kósa, L. 1998. 334.

Bartók intended to continue his fieldwork primarily in Transylvania even after the political changes brought about by World War I, but several external and internal factors prevented him from doing so. I quote some of his relevant statements and interviews from contemporary press:

“It is my firm intention to return to Transylvania soon, and explore its untapped abundance of folksong treasures” (1926).

“[Bartók] now wishes to pursue research among the Transylvanian Székelys [Szeklers] and Romanians, and he is profoundly sorry he has no opportunity to do so. For a long time after the war, it was out of the question because of the Romanians [i.e. measures by the Romanian state], and now he has no time due to other engagements. He has to give concerts, and prepare for them, because money has to be earned” (1926).

“No one has ever researched the extremely rich material of Háromszék County, and there must also be plenty of undiscovered treasures in Udvarhelyszék, although Vikár collected a lot there with the phonograph. Could this work be continued, the focus of attention should be on the folk songs of villages with mixed Hungarian–Romanian inhabitants, so as to observe the mutual interactions. That would have been my next goal, had it not been for the World War” (1927).

“... there are entire regions, particularly in Háromszék, and also in some parts populated by Romanians, where we could not collect at all. Thus, there are still innumerable questions we cannot answer”<sup>25</sup> (1933).

After World War II, researchers from Hungary could hardly ever enter Transylvania to conduct fieldwork. This situation made Kodály solicit help from his former student, the Transylvanian János Jagamas, several times. In a letter of 16 May 1950, he asked Jagamas to clarify on the spot some questions of instrumental technique relating to the dance music of Szék in Lajtha’s recordings.<sup>26</sup> In the same letter, he encouraged Jagamas to conduct research on the sociology of folk music: “Szék is very interesting anyway, and if concomitantly we might get a nice and concise article about the social role of Romani musicians, and the use of their music in the life of the community, it could be published here, too.”<sup>27</sup>

In another letter, dated 16 September 1953, Kodály asked Jagamas the following favor: “The attached wedding tune was put down by Linda Dégh in Csíkménaság and published in *Ethnographia* 1950, vol. 57 no. 1. It would be useful to check if the tune really goes like that, and if it has any variants. If so, please send them to my address. I would be pleased to receive further, newly collected wedding tunes, if I could get them soon.”<sup>28</sup> In the same year, Jagamas travelled to the site and recorded further

<sup>25</sup> Wilhelm, A. 2000. 66, 79, 85–86, 132.

<sup>26</sup> For the pertinent part of the letter, see p. 66 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Legány, D. (ed.) 1982. letter No. 665.

<sup>28</sup> Legány, D. (ed.) 1982. letter No. 734.

variants of the wedding tune, which were later published in the *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae* alongside the variant collected by Dégh.<sup>29</sup>

Under the political conditions of the time, the material collected by Jagamas and his colleagues in the 1950s, and gathered in the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy in Cluj,<sup>30</sup> could only partially make its way into the relevant volumes of the *Corpus*. The significance of these collections is further attested by the fact that Kodály solicited the director of the “Constantin Brăiloiu” Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Romanian Academy<sup>31</sup> in Bucharest, Sabin Drăgoi, to interfere that he might send Jagamas a tape recorder to conduct fieldwork, strictly outside his office hours, for the *Corpus*. On 28 January 1960, Kodály informed Jagamas that the permission had been received “to hand over the material.” The addressee of another letter dated 11 February of the same year was Mihai Pop, the new director of the Bucharest Institute of Folklore. This time, Kodály made an attempt to acquire photocopies of “the Hungarian folk songs collected in Romania.” In the same letter, he pleaded for László Gurka, who had been dismissed from the Cluj Folklore Archive because he had given Kodály a catalogue of that collection the previous year. The request must have been unsuccessful, as Kodály complained to Pop in 1962 that although the microfilms of Bartók’s complete Romanian transcriptions had been sent to Bucharest several years earlier, the Hungarians still had not received “the Hungarian material of the Cluj collectors.” The significance of this Hungarian material from Transylvania and Moldavia was underscored by Kodály arguing that without it, “our current systematizing work will be thwarted indefinitely.”<sup>32</sup>

Based on a statistical analysis of the vocal material collected between 1949 (the foundation of the Cluj Folklore Archive)<sup>33</sup> and 1955, Jagamas redrew the map of Hungarian folk music dialects in Romania, even though he noted that the collection “is far from being complete enough to declare that our inferences are conclusive.” Of interest here is his remark concerning the extent of research on Transylvanian folk dance music: “the deficiency [...] in our instrumental folk music research is far greater than in our vocal collection, and since the overwhelming majority of that material is only on tape, without transcription, we must resign from studying it and exploring possible dialectal differences.”<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, Jagamas’ manuscript of 1971 *On the research of folk dance music and instrumental music in Romania* is currently unavailable.<sup>35</sup> The instrumental

<sup>29</sup> CMPH vol. III/A. Nos. 425–427.

<sup>30</sup> Present-day name: Institutul “Arhiva de Folclor a Academiei Române” Cluj-Napoca.

<sup>31</sup> Present-day name: Institutul de Etnografie și Folclor “Constantin Brăiloiu” a Academiei Române.

<sup>32</sup> Legány, D. (ed.) 1982. letters 973, 986–987 and 1048.

<sup>33</sup> The institute in fn. 30 was originally founded as a department of the institute named in fn. 31. Both names changed several times over the years.

<sup>34</sup> Faragó, J.–Jagamas, J. (eds.) 1954. 49–50; Jagamas, J. 1956, 1957, 1977; Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (publ.) 1974. 356–358.

<sup>35</sup> Jagamas, J. 1984b. 236.

collections of Jagamas and Ilona Szenik have been published recently, but their scholarly processing has not taken place yet.<sup>36</sup>

Hungarian folk dance research, achieving more and more important results from the 1960s onwards, has been encompassing, from the beginnings, the entire Carpathian Basin with its various ethnicities, and assigning a salient role to Transylvanian culture:

“Regarding research into the historical past and development of the Hungarian dance stock, the most significant area is the eastern or Transylvanian dance dialect. The interpretation of Transylvanian dance culture, preserving its archaic features despite its highly advanced level, may shed light on several dim points of Hungarian dance history, which cannot be illumined solely by investigating the scarce written sources available. There are numerous questions that the study of the dance stock of today’s Hungary, although thoroughly researched, cannot answer alone. The reason for this is that the uniform new Hungarian dance style, namely *verbunk* and *csárdás*, emerging in the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, came to dominate the central part of the Hungarian language area, almost completely sweeping away or obscuring the remains of earlier dance strata by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>37</sup>

Owing to its special geographic and historical position, Transylvanian dance folklore is a valuable source, not only for Hungarian and Romanian, but also for European culture history in general. Transylvania joined vigorously in the early trend of European couple dances, spreading from late medieval Western Europe and flourishing in the age of the Renaissance, as its farthest outpost in the south-east. The peoples of the Balkans were far less affected by this fashion wave, owing to the Ottoman domination.”<sup>38</sup>

Hungarian folk dance research, coming to a head in the 1960–70s, pointed out the fact that the regions populated by Hungarians in compact blocks, namely Kalotaszeg and Székelyföld, earlier in the focus of attention, were in fact affected by modernization to a relatively high extent.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, the new discipline turned to newly discovered regions, such as Mezőség in a broader sense, Gyimes, and later the region of the Maros and Küküllő rivers. That, in turn, delayed in-depth research into the dances and dance music particularly of Székelyföld and the Hungarian diaspora in Southern and Northern Transylvania until the 1980s. As Martin concluded in 1982, despite the considerable results achieved, “Transylvanian Hungarian folk culture, although particularly diverse and rich in subdialects, is the least known of all Hungarian dialects [...] For a historical interpretation of folklore, it is indispensable that the increasingly dissolving differences of these subdialects be urgently recorded.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Pávai, I.–Zakariás, E. (eds.) 2014; Pávai, I.–Gergely, Z. (eds.) 2019.

<sup>37</sup> Pesovár, E. 1980a.

<sup>38</sup> Martin, Gy. 1970–1972. 220–221.

<sup>39</sup> Martin, Gy. 1970–1972. 230, 238.

<sup>40</sup> Martin, Gy. 1982. 205.

Lajos Vargyas, who provided a synthesis of the whole of Hungarian folk music based on the collections before 1980,<sup>41</sup> asserted in 1986 that further collecting work would particularly be fruitful in “the isolated Hungarian communities of the neighboring countries.” Their culture had been relatively rich in “archaic tradition” even within historical Hungary, and “this conservative tendency is even stronger today, as cultural transformation is taking place at a slower pace there than in Hungary.”<sup>42</sup>

László Kósa affirmed in 1991 that “the ethnographic image perpetuated by the classic Hungarian ethnographic descriptions and folklore collections, the image whose uniqueness and originality lies in its complexity, is definitely crowned by Transylvania.” Nevertheless, he had to conclude as late as 1998 that the coverage of Transylvania in ethnographic research was still insufficient. Among the reasons, he named the lack of Hungarian institutions and specialists after World War I, the preponderance of merely descriptive publications, and the quality of the syntheses on the whole of Transylvania that rarely rose above the level of popular science.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, he justly missed research on interethnic relations. Transylvania’s high diversity in geographic, ethnic, and religious terms, as well as its relative isolation, contributed to the conservation of such a rich and differentiated system of inner strata which would require much more meticulous collecting, describing and interpreting activity than has been possible.

The survey above leads to the conclusion that the information on the dance music of Transylvania to be found in archives and publications is, though considerable, still insufficient compared to the richness and conserving potential of the region. As instrumental folk music appears in far greater variability of form than vocal music, adequate documentation of each tune type requires a greater number of variants in this case. At the same time, since earlier research concentrated on the assessment of the repertoire, a relatively small amount of background information has been recorded, indispensable as it is for an understanding of tune-independent characteristics of folk dance music. Another factor hindering research is that a great part of the audio and video recordings in official archives and private collections, particularly of instrumental music, hence also dance music, are not transcribed or processed, and therefore out of sight for researchers.

For the reasons above, it can be confirmed that Transylvania has extraordinary significance for the research of folk dance music in general. Because of its relatively high potential to conserve traditional culture on the one hand, and the insufficiency of research and analysis devoted to its instrumental dance music on the other, further research into Transylvanian folk dance music is still reasonable.

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41 Vargyas, L. 2005.

42 Vargyas, L. 1986. 3.

43 Kósa, L. 1991. 207–208; 1998. 280–281.

### 1.3 ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This book is obviously founded on many of my earlier publications on the topic, especially *Az erdélyi és a moldvai magyarság népi tánczenéje* [The folk dance music of the Hungarians of Transylvania and Moldavia], first published in 1993. The first manuscript of that book was ready by the mid-1980s, and revised at first by János Jagamas. With the recommendation of Ilona Szenik, it was on the list for publication at Kriterion, the Bucharest-based publishing house responsible for books in Hungarian. However, just around that time a ban was imposed in Romania on publications of ethnographic content in Hungarian, so despite the editor's intention, my book could not be published. After the political changes in 1990, Kriterion returned the manuscript for financial reasons. Three years later, the offer to publish it in Budapest came unexpected, so there was no time to revise or expand the content, except for the addition of literature that appeared after 1988, and some modifications to comply with the observations of proofreader Imola Küllös. Thus, the volume could not include my later research findings.

The present work is not a simple revision of the 1993 book. It has been enlarged by several new chapters and subchapters, as well as subsequent research findings, with the earlier parts also extended with further data. The comments of several experts about the earlier version were taken into account. An even closer precedent of this book is my doctoral dissertation *A tánczene és interetnikus kapcsolatai az erdélyi magyar néphagyományban* [Dance music and its interethnic connections in the traditional culture of the Hungarians of Transylvania], submitted to the Liszt Academy of Music, Budapest, in 2004, and defended in 2005. Considering comments by opponents Bálint Sárosi and Lujza Tari led to further modifications included here. However, the possibility of the current edition also took me unawares, and the time was again too short to include anything but a few important results of my archival and field research after 2005. Similarly, reference to the most recent literature is also defective. However, the basic conception of the work is not marred by all that. Apart from all afore-mentioned scholars, I also owe my gratitude to the proofreader of the present edition Pál Richter for his valuable observations.

Compared to the 1993 version, interethnic relations have a greater weight in this book. However, the material on the Hungarians of Moldavia has been omitted from detailed analysis altogether, as fresh research of their dance music has raised several issues whose discussion would go beyond the frames of this book. The inclusion of Moldavian dance music in the 1993 version had been influenced by the approach of classic Hungarian ethnochoreology treating Moldavia and Transylvania as a single eastern dialect of Hungarian dance, whereas on the present level of research, they can clearly be seen as distinct dance dialects, similarly to their status in ethnomusicology. Nonetheless, there are still several references to Moldavia here, and, for that matter, also to other

regions of the Hungarian language area, but only as far as needed for the interpretation of the Transylvanian material.

The work described above was published in Hungarian in 2012 and 2013.<sup>44</sup> The present English edition is its translation with minor modifications. Thus, I only refer to publications after 2013 in a few exceptional cases.

Though I present transcriptions of several dance tunes, primarily from my own collection, the aim of this book is not to map the tune repertoire of the Hungarian dance types of Transylvania, as that would far exceed the purview of this book. Since research on folk harmony is currently at an inchoate level, I will not touch on the specific harmonizing style of each regional unit in the chapter on polyphony,<sup>45</sup> but merely define a set of criteria for research.

As the book discusses several parallel subtopics, which could as well be presented in another linear sequence, no general summary on research history has been attached. Instead, I touch on previous research within each chapter as much as required by the subtopic.

Following the progressive tradition of Eastern European ethnomusicology, I make use of the methods and concepts of cognitive musicology, cultural anthropology, and visual anthropology, including notions that have not become current in traditional Hungarian folk music research, such as performance and competence, status and role, etc.<sup>46</sup> For the same reason, I found it necessary to include a considerable number of photographs. Most of my visual collection documenting the topic of this book came about through on-the-spot digitization of villagers' family photographs. On these occasions, I interviewed the owners in detail about the musicians, bands, and dancing scenes in the photos, which gave an opportunity for an oral history research of the phenomenon. However, it is to be noted that approaches to folk music resembling methods of cultural anthropology had been present in Hungary well before they were first addressed theoretically in Western Europe and the United States of America. A case in point is Oszkár Dincser's study of 1943, *Két csíki hangszer. Mozsika és gardon* (Two instruments of Csík: fiddle and gardon) displaying a far-reaching parallelism with Alan P. Merriam's book of 1964, *The Anthropology of Music*, as has been shown by Dániel Lipták.<sup>47</sup>

The theoretical terminology, the system of concepts, and the methods of analysis that have risen along with the history of European art music cannot be applied mechanically to pieces of folk music; they may even lead research astray. One reason for that is that at the beginning, in the Middle Ages, this conceptual system evolved to solve problems of playing and learning music, rather than analyze and interpret it, even though, as heir

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<sup>44</sup> Pávai, I. 2012a; 2013.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 321 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See Stachó, L. 2006. 194–196.

<sup>47</sup> Lipták, D. 2018.

to classical Greek music theory, it retained some of its theorizing bent. The other reason inheres in the fundamental differences between art music and folk music, or written music and orally transmitted music. At the same time, it is obvious that no sharp lines can or should be drawn between these categories.

The information about the music examples, as well as the references, are presented in footnotes, so the reader will not have to keep leafing through the book for abbreviations or informants' particulars. I also indicate the accompanying rhythm in the footnote when the notation does not contain the accompanying instruments, yet I deemed such reference important.<sup>48</sup>

For tunes that can be ranged with the System of Folk Song Types at the Institute for Musicology, developed to systematize vocal tunes in the first place, I indicate the corresponding type or subtype number.<sup>49</sup> Where this number is missing, we have an instrumental tune at issue for which the system contains no suitable tune type yet.

For musical examples, I indicate the self-declared ethnicity of the informant where available. In the case of professional instrumental musicians, this will mostly be Romani. I may also add the dominant cultural orientation of a Romani musician, if known, e.g. Hungarian Rom or Romanian Rom (see the subchapter *Interethnic aspects* for further details).<sup>50</sup> If the ethnicity of the informant had not been recorded during a fieldwork but I managed to identify it later, I put it in square brackets, or else no ethnicity is designated.

In expositions related to scale degrees, I adopt the conventions of Hungarian research. Arabic numerals denote the degrees above the keynote, Roman numerals those below it (see also Kodály, Z. 1971. 150.). As the keynote is generally assumed to be g<sup>1</sup>, intervals deviating from the scale of natural notes over g<sup>1</sup> are indicated with accidentals, e.g. the minor third above the keynote is b3:



As is customary in Hungarian folk music research, I transcribe the vocal tunes to end in g<sup>1</sup>. Any other ending (e.g. f<sup>1</sup> or a<sup>1</sup>) customarily indicates different ending variants of identical tune types. On the other hand, I present the instrumental tunes in their (relative) original key and register, also in line with the Hungarian literature. I only deviate

<sup>48</sup> For the description of the types of accompanying rhythms, see the chapter *Rhythmic accompaniment of dances*, p. 241 ff.

<sup>49</sup> See Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. 7–8, and 36–38. For an online database of the System, see Pávai, I.–Richter, P. (eds.) 2007.

<sup>50</sup> See p. 98 ff.

from this rule in the case of comparative tables. I indicate differences between repeated performances of a tune only if the aim of the example is to demonstrate variation. In other cases, a repeat sign will call for the repetition (without structural role) of a section, irrespective of deviations.<sup>51</sup>

The detail of transcriptions varies between intricate and sketchy, depending on the text they serve to illustrate. In comparative tables of tunes, for example, the ornaments and rhythmic subtleties irrelevant for the comparison are omitted.

The harmonies played by the accompanying instruments are sometimes given in an ideal form, abstracted from several performances. Obvious mistakes and slips are thereby omitted, as I tried to reconstruct the form on the informant's mind that he did not always manage to realize. In the annotation of music examples, the remark "reconstructed harmony" refers to such practice.

Some musical examples taken from other researchers may be metrically revised according to a set of criteria proposed by Hungarian folk dance research, with a view to specificities of both choreometrics and musical metrics.

I present the sung texts according to the textological rules of Voigt and Balogh,<sup>52</sup> except for a few cases in which they are incompatible with the manner of vocal performance I wish to render. Consequently, records of lyrics and other verbal utterances from informants only approximately follow the dialectal characteristics.

In references, simple number(s) at the end of a reference allude(s) to the respective page number(s) of the cited work, or booklet of an audio album. When No. precedes a number, it refers to the serial number of the tune in the quoted publication. When n. precedes the number, the reference is made to the note attached to the given tune.

Place names are used in the form corresponding to the Hungarian edition, except for those which have an English equivalent. The country to which they belong, and their current equivalent in the official language of that country, are given for each place name in the *Index of geographic names* in the back matter.

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<sup>51</sup> On repetitions with or without structural role, see Gárdonyi, Z. 1953. 410–411.

<sup>52</sup> Voigt, V.–Balogh, L. 1974.

## 2 CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE TOPIC

Before embarking on the discussion of the topic, it is necessary to interpret a few aspects implied by the title, which delimit the topic at issue. What is meant by folk dance music? What period in time does the research concern? Why is it important to study Hungarian folk dance music in an interethnic context?

### 2.1 THE CONCEPT OF FOLK DANCE MUSIC

At first sight, the concept of folk dance music appears to be easy to define: it designates any music used partly or wholly for dancing for several generations by communities with a traditional way of life. This is obvious in the case of functional recordings, made during spontaneous or deliberately organized dance occasions. When, however, the music is performed vocally or by a single instrument during a music recording session, its character as dance music can be impaired in several aspects. Without an audience as users of dance music, or without the accompanying instruments providing the rhythmic basis for dancing, the informant playing the tune may not necessarily choose the right tempo for the given dance type, or he may skip the rests at the end of tune sections which are needed for metrical regularity. Even in such cases, one may recognize that the recording documents, albeit imperfectly, a piece of dance music, or reconstruct the tune's "correct" form as such.

In the course of previous fieldwork, a huge number of vocal tunes have been registered without proper information about their genre or function. Many of them are performed *tempo giusto*, which may have made researchers take them for dance tunes. In multiple cases, subsequent dance music research has not confirmed, or has even downright refuted such conjectures. For example, Nos. 21–70 of the Kodály–Vargyas compilation<sup>53</sup> are ranged under the heading "Dance tunes", but the Moldavian tune No. 47 ("Z *annya ő szíep lányát...*") is never used for dancing. Indeed, there is a whole set of Moldavian *guzsalyas* songs of *tempo giusto* character, sung by girls in the spinning room

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53 Compilation of examples by Lajos Vargyas to Kodály's book *A magyar népzene* (Kodály, Z. 1937/1981).

(Hun. *guzsalyas*) collectively, but never with dancing. Similarly, tempo giusto tunes independent of dancing may be found in the genre of soldiers' songs in Moldavia and elsewhere. Examples No. 50–52 in the “Dance tunes” section of the Kodály–Vargyas compilation are variants of the tune belonging to the Whitsuntide folk custom *hesspávázás*, always sung without dancing.<sup>54</sup> Of course, at an earlier stage of local culture, these tunes might have been performed with dancing.

Vocally performed dance tunes recorded without dancing or instrumental accompaniment count as dubious cases regarding their function as dance music, as their rhythm and tempo may be loosened to the extremes. In such cases, László Lajtha used the designation *Molto rubato*, while János Jagamas usually put *Quasi giusto* at the head of the score,<sup>55</sup> although *Quasi rubato* would be more justified, since the basic pulsation of the dance is easily recognized even in the rhythmically looser performance, as Ex. 1 demonstrates.

Ex. 1. *Lassú. Szék (Northern Mezőség region)*<sup>56</sup>

♩ = 54      ♩ = 62      ♩ = 77      ♩ = 41

Ka-pum e - lött van egy vá - - - lu meg egy kút,

♩ = 75    ♩ = 92      ♩ = 89    ♩ = 82      ♩ = 48

Ab - ból i - szik,      ab - ból i - szik há - rom ka - csa      meg egy tyúk.

♩ = 112      ♩ = 71      ♩ = 106

De ja ka - csa jatt is csak azt      há - pog - ja,

♩ = 76      ♩ = 71      ♩ = 78

Én is vó' - tam ti - éd ró - zám      va - la - ha.

<sup>54</sup> Kodály, Z. 1937/1981. 125–126.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., two vocal variants of the same Szék tune: Lajtha, L. 1954a No. 60 and Jagamas, J. 1974. No. 254.

<sup>56</sup> Singing: György Szabó “Varga” (b. 1907). Recorded by István Pávai, 11.04.1982. First published in Pávai, I. 1993. No. 119. Published variants *ibid.* No. 119j.

When asked about the tune above, the informant told it was also commonly sung during dancing, though not the same way, but “after the musicians,” that is, according to the rhythmic specificities of the dance known in Szék as *lassú*, adjusted to one of the rhythmic formulae shown in Ex. 2.

Ex. 2ab. Variants of the basic rhythm of the dance *lassú*. Szék (Northern Mezőség region)



Due to its rhythmic and metrical peculiarities, as well as its frequently changing tempo, the tune variant shown in Ex. 1 cannot be regarded as dance music. However, it is not rubato proper either, for the typical pulsation of the Szék *lassú* is distinctly felt; it is the whimsical changes in the proportions of this rhythmic pattern that bring about its quasi rubato (rather than quasi giusto) effect. Independently of the rhythm, the melodic contour itself can be taken as that of a dance tune, as confirmed by the interview with the informant, as well as by the variants in functional recordings. Even more problematic are the cases where such proof of the genre of a tune, performed with loose pulsation alluding to dance rhythm, is missing, for it has been documented at a music recording session only. After due reflection, such tunes may be tentatively categorized as dance music.

In some cases, the difficulties to categorize certain tunes as dance music may stem from traditional culture itself, rather than just the situation of recording. Peasants working in the fields take pleasure in singing to themselves when the work allows, including tunes that are sung during dancing, but they do not care to render the dance rhythm accurately, as other aspects, like free ornamentation, may be more pleasurable. For dancing, they would not sing the tune in the same way, nor would they be satisfied with singing alone; they would need an instrument, and even a band to ensure the basic rhythm of the dance. A tune may thus have two or more functions, differing to some extent in rhythm and tempo, one of these functions being that of dance music. This question is therefore beyond the concept of *proportio*, which is understood within the realm of dance music.<sup>57</sup>

As shown by the example above, the screening of an enormous archival material for dance music tunes raises special questions, as the clarification of the exact functions, particularly the dance function, is often missing from research aimed primarily at documenting vocal tune types.

<sup>57</sup> For a description of the phenomenon of *proportio* in folk music, see p. 279 ff.

## 2.2 TIME LIMITS WITH REGARD TO CONSERVATION AND MODERNIZATION

At first sight, it might seem feasible to define a fixed time interval for the present investigation of folk dance music. The starting point could be, say, the date of the first sound recordings of Transylvanian items, since transcriptions by ear of folk dance music, mostly instrumental, virtuosic, and highly variable, are inevitably of more or less dubious authenticity.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, Seprődi, Bartók, Kodály, or Lajtha often warned that mechanical registration might also perpetuate erroneous or atypical data, which can by no means be considered more reliable than handwritten field notations of experienced researchers. To start the examination with the beginnings of sound recording would also mean ruling out a historical approach, that is, the intention to explore the past antecedents and causes of current phenomena. There is a discrepancy between incessantly expanding technical possibilities, ensuring more and more accurate documentation, and the gradual disintegration of traditional communities. Thus, the earlier the phenomenon to be examined, the fewer reliable data we have; on the other hand, the wider the spectrum of technical possibilities, the less survives of the self-reliant culture of traditional communities.<sup>59</sup>

The endpoint of the time interval set for research could be, for example, the beginning of the disintegration of folk tradition, or the upswing of modernization influenced by urban culture, or some major historical turning point that massively influenced traditional culture, such as the end of World War I, or of World War II, or the political changes of Eastern Europe in the 1990s, etc. However, field experience and written data both suggest that the process of the disappearance of folk culture, has been taking place latently, in a geographically and socially differentiated pace; indeed, it still has not come to an end. Among the Hungarians of Transylvania, the Székelys, living in the eastern counties as a massive majority group, have always been on a higher level of cultural modernization than the scattered groups of Hungarians in other regions. For example, the musical culture of the Hungarians of Moldavia is still dominated by the archaic repertoire, whereas folk songs of the so-called new style, and popular art songs, play a marginal role in it. The latter usually occur in truncated or highly transformed form. Their rate was even smaller in the collections of the 1930s, and their later dissemination was probably due to schooling in the Hungarian language, allowed in Moldavia for a short period in the 1950s. Commonly known Hungarian soldiers' songs are relative newcomers here, even if sung to an archaic tune. They must have been learned after the end of World War I, when Transylvania was ceded to Romania, as from then on,

<sup>58</sup> In more detail see the cited opinions of Seprődi, Bartók, Járdányi in the sub-chapter *Sound recording* (p. 54 ff.).

<sup>59</sup> In detail, see *Technical issues of documentation* from p. 41 ff.

Székelys served together with Moldavians in the Romanian army. The informants usually confirm the newly imported status of such tunes.<sup>60</sup> Another aspect of the Moldavians' conservatism is that "Out of all Hungarian musical dialects, the ornamentation of melodies is the most vigorous here. A comparison of the first phonograph recordings of the 1930s with new tape recordings reveals that the performing customs are just as rich today," Katalin Paksa wrote in 1993.<sup>61</sup>

Within Transylvania, the traditional culture of Mezőség and other relatively isolated regions is also more conservative than that of the Székelys. But within Székelyföld itself, there are considerable differences in this respect by subregions. Even more interestingly, the tendency to preserve or change tradition may also differ by social groups in a single village, a phenomenon scarcely examined so far. When in 1941 gramophone recordings were made in Budapest with László Lajtha's informants from Böződ upon the invitation of the Museum of Ethnography and the Hungarian Radio, Lajtha asked Marosvásárhely-based writer György Böződi to get proper clothes for János Bágyi, as he had none. As Lajtha confirmed, Bágyi was absolutely needed, because "he knows several songs that the others do not."<sup>62</sup> Lajtha also wrote on a sheet of transcription from the records: "an apoplectic man, which is why the words of his songs are hard to make out; he was the best singer and story-teller;"<sup>63</sup> "there are tunes and texts nobody knows but him; he lives alone in a pithouse at the end of the village."<sup>64</sup>

There are, of course, examples to the contrary, but the case of Lajtha's informant appears to prove Lajos Vargyas' conclusion: "The upward-striving strata differentiated themselves from all typical characteristics of landless peasant life, and when they deigned to sing, they only sang gentry songs, art-songs of town entertainment, hits, just like the noblemen in the area. This is why folk tradition can be found among the poor strata of the peasantry, in poorer areas, too."<sup>65</sup> This may be the motivation behind the name of a dance, the local variant of the *lassú pontozó* dance type, in the valley of the Szárazvám in Kutasföld, region of the Maros and the Küküllő rivers: *szegényes* ('of the poor').

Cultural conservatism does not only depend on financial standing, but also on occupation and the way of life concomitant to it. An apt example is the difference between farmers' and herdsmen's culture in, say, the degree of absorbing urban influence. Likewise, the repertoires and the receptivity to novelties also differ by age groups, the latter evidently always greater among young people. However, further specification is

60 Veress, S. 1989. 306; Jagamas, J. 1957. 474–475; Martin, Gy. 1970. 246; Pávai, I. 2002. 44; 2005. 166.

61 Paksa, K. 1993. 149.

62 Pávai, I. 1992. 138.

63 György Böződi edited two volumes of tales told by János Bágyi: *A tréfás farkas* [The tricky wolf] (Budapest, 1942; 1943), *Az eszős gyermek* [The bright child] (Bucharest, 1958).

64 Transcription sheet for MH 4023a in the Folk Music Collection of the Museum of Ethnography.

65 Vargyas, L. 2005. 371.

needed here. As can still be observed, the virtuosic Transylvanian men's dances display a greater number of ostentatious leg-hitting motifs among the young dancers, while in the dance of more mature age groups, these are more proportionately combined with heel-clicking, leg-circling etc. motifs, which are actually more difficult to learn. As the youngsters get older, they naturally transform their dance style gradually in that direction.

This differentiation applies to the sung repertoire as well. The favourite stock of young people gathering in the spinning room or singing together on other occasions partly differed from that of older people. Later in life, their repertoire would change, and become similar to that of the elderly. An observation Sándor Veress made in Moldavia in the 1930s is informative about the separate song stock of young people: "a group of girls set out and made some lovely singing at one of the houses [...] What they sing is almost like a new style. It is different from our new songs in Hungary; it is like another shoot of the old style which branched off here."<sup>66</sup> Anyone who has collected from both the old and the young in Moldavia, even in recent decades, will know without any further explanation or examples what Veress meant by the notion of this "new style" in Moldavia: the favorite, collectively performed songs of the young people that differ from the stock of older people. In this case, the difference of their songs from those of the old was not due to a new fashion bringing new songs from somewhere else, but to a special age-related traditional repertoire.

In culturally more conservative regions (e.g. Mezőség, Gyimes, Moldavia), I found that older singers take the meaning of texts in the old song repertoire very seriously, and they gladly sing songs that "befit them," or correspond to their individual lives. One of my informants<sup>67</sup> commented: "these songs are all about love, one sings this, the other sings that... all about a kind of peasants' lovesickness. Among the gentlefolk, lovesickness is different; there it comes out in the *hallgató* songs [a genre of popular art songs]." Younger people in general do not yet have those negative experiences, partly private, partly social, which call for such songs known as *keserves*, or plaintive songs, as comfort.

A case from Hungary around 1900, narrated by Béla Vikár, illumines the point clearly: "Years ago I visited Puszta-Földvár, a little village in Békés County, to collect songs and tunes. On one occasion, I pretended I was very happy to hear a singer's favorite song I had in fact long known: 'Wherever I pass by, even the trees shed tears...' An elderly woman sang it. Seeing her eyes brimming with tears, I asked her why she was weeping. I'm crying, she said, for this was the song that lured my husband's heart back to me long ago. I was a young wife; my husband was crazy for another woman and detested

<sup>66</sup> Veress, S. 1989. 306

<sup>67</sup> József Székely, aged 62, Szék (Mezőség), 23 August 1984.

me. I was brooding and brooding, all in vain. One day, on the way home, I was singing this song. I had a nice and strong voice; the whole village heard me sing. My man was coming from somewhere, heard the song and came up to me. Then we got reconciled and he never left me again.”<sup>68</sup>

The transmission of such songs to the next generation is relatively difficult, not only for their archaic character, but also for reasons of genre, function, and manner of performance. This may partly explain the relatively high variability, or low homogeneity, of *keserves* tunes and texts compared to other strophic genres. The relatively vigorous survival of the genre in Gyimes may be due to the custom of hiring musicians for wakes to play sorrowful tunes, including the favorite *keserves* of the deceased.<sup>69</sup>

The genre was also relatively common in the Mezőség region, especially in the texts for the slow couple dances with asymmetrical rhythm (e.g. *lassú* of Szék, *lassú cigánytánc* of Inner Mezőség), which can hardly be differentiated from collective singing in front of the musicians before real dancing is started. The omission of this dance from the young people’s dance cycle also had to do with the opinion that “it belongs to the old.” At the time of field research, the young people did not consider it their own, but they could usually dance it when asked to. Martin outlined three temporal phases of the transformation of the Szék dance cycle;<sup>70</sup> generational differences must also be considered in this respect, as the dance occasions in Szék were differentiated by age. The “dance house” only belonged to the young people, parents or grandparents were not allowed in even as passive spectators, while in wedding parties the leading role was played by married people. That is why in the 1970–80s, when the *lassú* was disappearing from the dance house, it was still in use at weddings and other dances organized by adults, though less regularly than before.

Further examples of this phenomenon may be the dance names *vénes* (‘of the old’), or the adjective *öreges* (meaning the same) in *öreges pontozó* or *öreges csárdás* in the region of the Maros and Küküllő rivers.<sup>71</sup> The tunes of the latter are often sung with *keserves* texts. The former presence of the trend in Székelyföld is suggested by the fact that in some parts of Marosszék, the archaic slow couple dances (in addition to the more general name *jártatós*, ‘walking’) are also referred to as *keserves*, *zöld keserves*, owing to the plaintive character of the texts sung to them. Seprődi’s publication from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century confirms that such dance music “has a painful, sad tone; this is what the name *keserves* [...] alludes to.”<sup>72</sup> A similar term in Udvarhelyszék around that time was *kesergő*,

68 Vikár, B. 1906: XXXVII–XXXVIII.

69 Kallós, Z. 1960; Sárosi, B. 1963. See also the sub-chapter *The ownership of a dance* tune from p. 93.

70 Martin, Gy. 1981. 249–250.

71 In connection with this, see the table showing the frequency of use of dance names in the region of the Maros and Küküllő rivers in György Martin 1982. 196–199.

72 Seprődi, J. 1974. 146–148.

e.g. in the denomination of the tune recorded by Béla Vikár in 1899, and used by Bartók in his *Rhapsody No. 1* (BB 94).

The importance of the observations above will be clear if we consider that the researchers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, seeing almost everywhere the difference of the young people's set of songs, mostly of the new style, from that of the elderly, predicted that the archaic repertoire would die out soon. In reality, though it kept dwindling continuously, it did not disappear as fast as the change of generation occurred, not even outside Transylvania.<sup>73</sup> As Lajos Vargyas explained this, "Individual knowledge of songs preserves and bequeaths far more than can be found in collective practice."<sup>74</sup> Young people often learned some of the repertoire of the adults, including archaic tunes, in childhood, but they did not use them in collective events, which had their own prescribed frames of tune selection; instead, they kept them as a passive reserve in their memory. A young informant would involuntarily sing new tunes to a collector, for "this is the music of the village on the surface, flowing toward us without having to dig deeper,"<sup>75</sup> but an inquiry after old tunes may bring them forth. It frequently occurred that an informant refused to sing a song she knew if other villagers were present, even if expressly asked to do so, because the community deemed it improper for her to sing it.

Similar was the case with the older people: they usually remembered the songs of their youth, but did not spontaneously sing them in a collecting session, thinking that such songs were no longer proper for them. This is one reason why it is hard to collect children's songs from the elderly; the collector will not succeed, unless the informants are aware that the aim of the fieldwork is "to seek antiquities" and their help is requested. The old rubato songs would usually be sung in solitude, or at most in the presence of young grandchildren, as singing them sometimes implied specially subjective emotions, which were not meant for the public. In peasant societies, the transmission of traditional knowledge was the task of the grandparents rather than the parents, usually more engaged in daily work.<sup>76</sup> The generation of the grandchildren, in turn, might bring some earlier, more archaic repertoire back into fashion, in contrast to that of their parents with larger amounts of new influences.

Such interweaving of generations proved favorable for the symbiosis of old and new elements on the long run. The gradual erosion of tradition, however, must be accepted as a fact. Moreover, this process accelerated so much toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the organic assimilation of new elements to traditional culture became problematic.

73 [The prehistoric tunes of Hungarian folk music] "are known only to old people and are gradually dying out. But this is not so everywhere or all the time; in many places people cling to them with amazing tenacity." (Kodály, Z. 1971. 62).

74 Vargyas, L. 2005. 372.

75 Kodály, Z. 1937/1989. 322.

76 See Morvay, J. 1965.

The elements acquired during acculturation did not always reach the phase of adaptation, and change of the way of living more and more frequently lead to total and irreversible change of culture.

However, the pace of this process has been differentiated by area, by genre, and often by ethnicity. At the onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, not even the least conservative Hungarian village of Moldavia confronted the researcher of traditional musical culture with such a state as was experienced by Bartók a century earlier in the Transylvanian region of Gyergyó, according to his bitterly ironic letter to Stefi Geyer on 16 August 1907, entitled *A Dialogue in Gyergyó-Kilyénfalva*.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, as most dance occasions are tied to the communal life of the young people, the folk dances and their music, a field neglected in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, could still be researched even in Gyergyó, as late as the last decades of the century.<sup>78</sup>

In the 1980s, when communist dictator Ceaușescu planned and began the physical annihilation of villages, the impoverishment incident to totalitarianism resulted in the survival of certain forms of traditional music. The increasingly more frequent and unpredictable blackouts foiled the employment of modern bands with electric instruments in village weddings. This led to a sort of survival of nearly defunct traditional sets of instruments in some places, as their use did not depend on electricity supply.

As masses of rural population were resettled in cities and proletarianized in Romania, they tended to adhere to their old village customs for a long time. It was customary in Transylvanian suburbs to see a wedding procession with musicians march up to the umpteenth floor of a block of flats for a ceremonial farewell of the bride, or a wedding party at least in half with traditional dancing and music at a factory canteen rented for the weekend.<sup>79</sup>

Such protracted decline of tradition also has genre-related causes. Dance and dance music generally survive longer under increasingly modernized conditions than, say, funeral laments or some other more conservative genres. Couple dances used in social events have the best chances to survive. In addition, professional village musicians tend to preserve the repertoire longer than their potential audiences do. I met fiddlers who knew several intricate *verbunk* tunes, which no one ever asked them to play at a wedding. Such is the tune shown in the following example.

<sup>77</sup> Demény, J. (ed.) 1976. 120–123. More recent digital publication: Pávai, I.–Vikárus, L. (eds.) 2007.

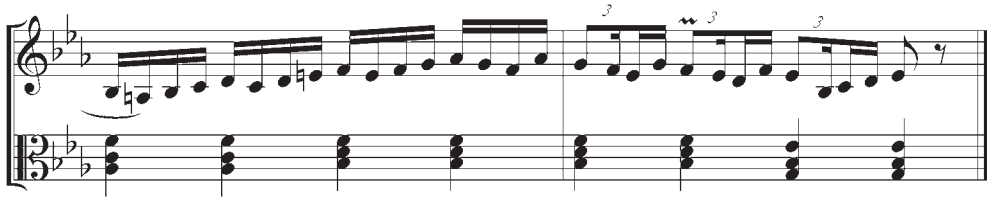
<sup>78</sup> I carried out research on this topic in the villages of the Gyergyó Basin between 1981 and 1993. Some of the collected tunes were published (Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 6, 27, 54, 78, 126–128, 181; Agócs, A.–Eredics, G.–Kiss, F.–Vavrinecz, A. 1996. 2nd disc, No. 18; Pávai, I. 2012b. 2.3.1 Gyergyó). On traditions, conservation, and cultural conditions in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Kilyénfalva, see Péter, Á. 1946; Fodor, F. 1995. 113–181.

<sup>79</sup> Similar phenomena were found by Zoltán Tóth (1991) in connection with the possibility of ethnographic research in Transylvania quite late.

Ex. 3. *Verbunk. Mezőkölpény (Marosszék part of Mezőség).*<sup>80</sup>

The musical score is for a three-stringed *kontra* in 3/4 time, with a tempo of 123. It is written in a key with three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The score consists of five systems of music. The first system includes a 'simile' marking. The second system has first and second endings. The third system features a five-measure rest in the right hand. The fourth and fifth systems continue the melodic and harmonic development.

<sup>80</sup> Fiddle: Viktor Szabó, Calvinist Hungarian Rom, aged 46, Mezőkölpény (Marosszék part of Mezőség). Three-stringed *kontra*: János Moldován "Pirki", Hungarian Rom, b. 1911, Póka (Upper Maros region). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 24.05.1985, Marosvásárhely. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 100.



The phenomenon is connected to the disintegration of the dance cycle type with the men's dance (or dances) as starting item, followed by slow and fast couple dances. At the first stage of this process, the men's dance would be expressly asked for, maybe ordered from the musicians for extra money, and at the second stage it was omitted. The performer of the tune above learned it from his father, Lajos Szabó of Mezőkölpény, who remarked his son might need it one day. However, it was only folk music collectors who ever asked him to play it. This case is a proof that collections do not always register a current state of traditional culture, but the memories pertinent to it. Still, this fact may not be verbalized during fieldwork, so a researcher processing the material later may regard the registered tune as an element in actual use at the time of collection.

Another factor that may have helped the passive survival of such instrumental tunes longer than their actual function as dance music is that village fiddlers, similarly to their urban colleagues, strove to teach their sons as many virtuosic pieces as possible, including those in infrequent keys, to improve their instrumental technique. At several places, both the bride and the groom hired a band each for a wedding, which merged at the ceremony of the bride's farewell from her parents. During the subsequent church ceremony, the two bands often engaged in a "bow duel" outside the church, playing virtuosic pieces in infrequent keys, which they thought the other side would not know. Elek Sarkadi's observation about Csík musicians, published in 1937, refers to similar cases: "the instrumental dance tunes undergo lesser or greater ornamental changes almost from year to year, which naturally result in considerably great and significant regional differences. One reason is the rivalry of village Roms to see who can play this or that tune in a more ornate way."<sup>81</sup> This custom thus contributes to the survival of former dance music tunes in a secondary function. "Bow duels" could also arise on other occasions when musicians without the routine of playing together spontaneously met. A similar case in point is the customary testing of unknown accompanists with pieces of admittedly difficult keys, or rarely played tunes with peculiar melodic contour. Such customs have been prevalent among urban Romani musicians, and probably appeared in the villages due to their influence, for in earlier times, playing in diverse keys had not been required in rural music making.

<sup>81</sup> Bándy, M.—Vámszer, G. 1937. 114.

To summarize, the disintegration of traditional peasant society took place in highly diverse ways by regions, by inner social strata of a village, by categories of folklore, by genres, customs, and ethnicities. In many cases, communities that could no longer be counted as “traditional” in terms of occupation, costume, or house construction, were still traditional in terms of dance and dance music. In Szék, the traditional forms of dressing, music, and dance still flourished when a great part of the village had been earning their living as wage workers in towns for decades. Elsewhere, the costume disappeared but the dance remained. Therefore, regarding the study of folk dance music, it is inexpedient to define an endpoint in year or decade beyond which the term no longer applies.

A delimitation of my research much rather concerns issues of content: the subject matter includes the phenomena of dance music in small communities acquired through traditional procedures of transmission. Consequently, I do not examine recent phenomena that may or may not get involved in such procedures later. It is necessary, however, to study all those phenomena that entered the culture of a small community “from outside” (i.e. from other social strata, from “high culture,” or from the repertoire of a different ethnic group, etc.), but got past the elementary phase of folklorization, and gradually became traditional.

### **2.3 TRANSYLVANIA AS INTERETHNIC CULTURAL SPACE**

Transylvania is a geographically and historically, hence also ethnographically, considerably distinct area, though with a marked inner diversity of religion, social stratification, and ethnicity. Around the mountain passes, communication with neighboring non-Transylvanian areas, and concomitant demographic mobility, brought about transitional regions. This partly explains why such regions, e.g. Szilágyság, or Gyimes, have been classified now to one side, now to the other in previous research. Regarding the interpretation of the area's inner subdivision, there may be differences between ethnographic, ethnomusicological, and ethnochoreological research, as well as between Hungarian and Romanian research, due to their different vantage points. Moreover, the amount of available information or the chosen criteria of research may also influence the interpretation of subdivision within the same discipline. That is why it makes no sense to speak of, say, Székelyföld or Kalotaszeg from the viewpoint of Romanian traditional culture, for these regions can be defined on no other ground than the culture of their Hungarian inhabitants.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, it is expedient to study together the music

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<sup>82</sup> Cf. the findings of László Kósa (1991) concerning the relativity of archaism, modernization, and other criteria when approached from the viewpoints of different ethnicities.

and dances of different ethnic groups coexisting in Transylvania, amalgamating in different proportions over the centuries.

In an earlier study,<sup>83</sup> I sketched a system of regional division for Transylvanian folk dance music, based on geographic features, historical background, past administrative units, local identity of inhabitants, as well as the features of the dances and their music, relying selectively on the achievements of Hungarian ethnographic, folk music and folk dance research. In this work, therefore, I do not embark on outlining the inner regional division of Transylvania in this respect, but I use the names of the regions established to locate the phenomena discussed. (For the hierarchical system of the regions, see p. 427 ff.) Identifying the regional unit concerned is more relevant than, say, the birthplace of the musician, for Romani musicians move often. Their current place of living does not necessarily determine the music they play, e.g. certain parts of their repertoire may never be demanded in their native village. On the other hand, there are very few tunes or dances known in a single village only, and even if such specimens occur, they are often due to lacunae of the collections.

In the present work, I refer to cultural regions outlined through the research of the Hungarian ethnicity, which is to mean that from the viewpoint of other ethnicities, the relevant ethnographic regions may be partly or wholly different, not only in their names, but also in their geographic demarcation. At the same time, fluctuation of ethnic identities must also be taken into consideration, in addition to constant cultural exchange. Not just individuals, but also whole communities may have changed ethnic identities over the centuries, which resulted in a transfer of culture from one ethnicity into another. This phenomenon is especially conspicuous in dance and dance music, both highly independent of language. In Transylvania (and also in Moldavia) there are groups of villages whose entire population speaks Romanian today, while an earlier presence of Hungarian-speaking communities among them can be documented. A part of the Romanian-speaking Catholics of Moldavia, without any knowledge of the Hungarian language, are aware of their Hungarian origin, and the surrounding Orthodox Romanians also consider them as such, in line with the regionally prevalent stereotypes equating Catholics with Hungarians, and Orthodox Christians with Romanians.<sup>84</sup> Among former Transylvanian Hungarians, who shifted to a Romanian ethnic identity and converted to the Orthodox faith, fewer retain an awareness of their Hungarian origin, but the study of their culture is still relevant for Hungarian ethnography, and should not be subsumed exclusively under Romanian ethnographic research. For such reasons, I found it important to refer to historical and interethnic implications in connection with the topics discussed. In this respect, my work was often hindered by

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83 Pávai, I. 2012b.

84 In more detail see Pávai, I. 1995a; 1996b; 1999; 2005.

differences between the outlooks of Romanian and Hungarian folklore research, by the different coverage of certain regions in research, and by the varying degree of processing applied to the data collected. This made me lay great stress on field research, and on the registration of the dance music of every ethnicity living at a certain locality, together with all relevant information.

The interaction of Hungarian folk music primarily with the folk music of the Romanians and the Roms, and to a lesser extent with the musical tradition of the Saxons and the Jews, is of basic importance in Transylvania. A traditional band usually knew the music of several ethnic groups, and there were places where the dance events were organized jointly. This resulted in a greater degree of overlapping, even in the melodic repertoire, than revealed by publications of earlier results. Folk harmony, an issue practically ignored by the village community as users of the dance music, and concerning exclusively the class of instrumental musicians, obviously cannot have as conspicuous ethnic characteristics as the melodic repertoire. For this reason, it is impracticable to study the instrumental folk harmony of Transylvanian Hungarians, Romanians, etc. separately, since actually it is a harmonic style of the instrumental musicians, predominantly of Romani origin, which they apply to the tunes of any ethnic group.

From the very beginnings, some Hungarian researchers of folk music have extended their interest to interethnic connections. As the April 29, 1897, issue of *Pesti Hírlap* reports on a meeting of the Kisfaludy Society, “[Béla] Vikár stressed that the collection of tunes must be extended to the music of the nationalities of the country [the still-existing historic Kingdom of Hungary], for they also possess real treasures, as well as numerous Hungarian borrowings, just as our people borrows many tunes from the nationalities.”<sup>85</sup>

The comparative research of high scholarly level started later by Bartók initiated a trend in Hungarian ethnomusicology to examine the traditional culture of multi-ethnic regions as a single interwoven texture. This approach was labelled “biology of folk music” by László Lajtha, who also pointed out in 1962 that the music played by Romani musicians in the service of different ethnic groups should not be researched within “national purview,” but clarified through a complex of “universal human, ethnographic, sociological, and ethnological viewpoints.”<sup>86</sup> It was vitally important for Lajtha to widen the scope of research from the collection of the tune repertoire toward the study of folk music as a social phenomenon. He called such research “anthropomusicology,” and several international authorities of the profession supported the spread of that new designation in contemporary terminology.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Sebő, F. 2006. 180–181.

<sup>86</sup> Lajtha, L. 1962/1992. 154. The Hungarian draft of an English-language presentation which, as Melinda Berlász opines, “was presumably held in 1962 at Oslo University” (Lajtha, L. 1992. 310. item 25).

<sup>87</sup> Lajtha, L. 1963/1992. 302.

“What should we do, what should we demand? We must require of every researcher, and therefore the musical folklore researcher also, the greatest objectivity that is humanly possible. While he works he must ‘do his best’ to suspend his own national feelings so long as he is occupied with comparison of the material. I deliberately use the wording ‘*do his best*’ and I specially emphasize it, because this requirement is, after all, only an ideal which one must approach as nearly as possible but which hardly can be attained. Man is, in the last analysis, an imperfect creature and is often the slave of his sentiments. And the sentiments connected with the maternal language and the affairs of his country are just the most intuitive, the strongest. But there should be sufficient strength of mind in a true researcher to refrain from and hold back these sentiments where necessary.”<sup>88</sup> Lajtha cites Bartók in the introduction to his collection from the village of Szépkenyerűszentmárton, an attempt to explore Romanian–Hungarian interactions in folk music. To Bartók’s words he adds, “The research method I recommend should only be undertaken by such researchers of musical folklore who value the music of both peoples equally, who see the beauty and the ethnographic value in both alike. Finding equal pleasure in both, and never forgetting about Bartók’s strictness, thoroughness, and impartiality, they will come ever closer to the truth.”<sup>89</sup>

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Because of the differences in the conservation and loss of traditional culture, as well as the varying amount and quality of data by periods and regions, it is impossible to outline a geographically or temporally balanced picture of folk dance music. Consequently, the following chapters can only illumine the most important phenomena of Transylvanian folk dance music as far as the available data permit.

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<sup>88</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 28.

<sup>89</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954b 7.



### 3 TECHNICAL ISSUES OF DOCUMENTATION

As mentioned earlier, the research of folk poetry, folk music, and folk dance evolved gradually, in this temporal order, with lags of decades between them, to become self-contained disciplines as branches of folklore research. Thus, the research of folk dance music, on the interface between the latter two, but also connected to the first, could not develop before the consolidation of all three of these disciplines. The temporal lags were not caused by disinterest in certain areas, much rather by the fact that a professional investigation of music, and particularly of multipart folk music, demands not only special expertise, but also technical tools, which were not available as early as interest in the topic arose. At the same time, today's research has a historical dimension, trying to find out how a phenomenon of dance music is rooted in earlier tradition, and what changes it has undergone over the centuries. To reconstruct earlier states of the tradition, logical or analogical methods may be used with lesser or greater success, but the reliability of these results, and the probability of certain hypotheses, largely depends on available documentation from a given period, on a given phenomenon.

Thus, first of all we have to see what tools were at the disposal of research in its different stages to document folk dance music, and what kinds of data could be collected with their help. In this chapter, I will survey the methods used for data processing, but I will not embark on a detailed presentation of the results achieved, which are to be discussed in the respective chapters.

#### 3.1 MANUAL REGISTRATION OF DATA

First, I will survey the sources that may provide information on folk dance music from times prior to the appearance of sound recording and photography. The majority of these data are of ethnographic rather than particularly musical nature, documenting the circumstances of music-making, such as instruments, ensembles, proxemic relations of music-making and dancing, etc., rather than the music itself. Of course, all such information is sketchy, and probably defective, compared to later musical and ethnographic data produced by audio and video recording, which can be replayed, slowed down, or segmented.

Evidence about dancing or dance music from past centuries may be found in images, works of literary fiction, regulatory prohibitions, lawsuit records, sermons, or travelogues. None of them were put down with the intention to record ethnomusicological data, but since in that time there was no professional data collection at all, their significance is immense,<sup>90</sup> for the further we go back in time, the fewer the sources about dancing, and particularly about dance music.<sup>91</sup>

### 3.1.1 Literary data

Medieval ecclesiastical prohibitions, almost the exclusive sources of dance history from that age, hardly divulge anything about the music of folk dances. Later allusions, and still later accounts, mention at most the musical instruments or the visiting musicians in royal or aristocratic courts. With due reservations, they can still be used to document our topic. As Italian humanist Galeotto Marzio observed in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary, songs in the Hungarian language were understood by peasants and townsfolk, commoners and aristocrats alike.<sup>92</sup> A detailed survey of such literary sources of music history would stretch the frames of this book, but the most important ones will illumine such issues as the one-time significance of now extinct or disappearing instruments of dance music.

Some records were put down on the spot, synchronously with the observation of the phenomenon described, while others were written from memory, maybe decades later. Both cases have advantages and disadvantages. The on-location accounts may convey the experience more freshly, more accurately, and in more detail. On the other hand, as before the era of mechanical recording, not only professional data collection, but also scholarly data processing was missing, very important information may be provided by memoirs. Based on observations of several decades, they may survey changes of customs, or their relation to the culture of other regions or countries. A case in point is Péter Apór's *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, written with the overt aim to register how customs and general taste changed in Transylvania in the period of increasing Austrian influence after 1687, as compared to the times he had lived through as a child. In the third chapter of his work, we learn among others about the music to the Transylvanian dances of the time.<sup>93</sup>

Works of literary fiction may also be sources of data for related topics, especially where there are no other reliable sources for a given period, region, genre, or phenomenon.

<sup>90</sup> I published a set of relevant data gleaned from such sources on Transylvanian dance music in Pávai, I. 1993. 15–81.

<sup>91</sup> See Pesovár, E. 1972; 2003; Nagy, Z.–Lakat, E. 2002.

<sup>92</sup> “Unde fit, ut carmen lingua Hungarica compositum rusticis et civibus, mediis et extremis eodem tenore intelligatur.” Galeotto Marzio: *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae* (1485).

<sup>93</sup> Apór, P. 1736/1978. 43. See pertinent quotation on p. 214.

For example, poems by János Arany may count as such sources for the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup> Mention must be made of travelogues of earlier centuries. The main reason for their importance is that a traveler from abroad, or even from a distant region, or a different social milieu within the same country, will record such details that are different from his cultural background, but too self-evident for the local intellectuals to notice.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.1.2 Iconographic data

Images may also serve as indirect sources on early folk dance music. Even if they were not created with the aim of scholarly documentation, the artists captured the use of instruments from real life; therefore, they may provide reliable information on the dance music of different periods.<sup>96</sup>



*Fig. 1. A Transylvanian Romani fiddler, late 18<sup>th</sup> century.*<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See pp. 172, 209, 213, 235, 246.

<sup>95</sup> Pesovár, E. 1972; 2003.

<sup>96</sup> Lajtha, L. 1929/1992. Rajeczky, B. 1942/1976. 328; Galavics, G. 1987; Nagy, Z.– Lakat, E. 2002; Nagy, Z. 2003. See also Alexandru, T. 1957/1978. 198.

<sup>97</sup> Ink and watercolor series of Transylvanian costumes by an unknown artist. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.

Unfortunately, very few iconographic data associated with Transylvania, depicting instrumentalists or dancers, like the drawing in figure 1, have been found. In the relation to the Hungarian language area, the majority of such depictions document the central or western regions.

Not only works of high art, but also representations on folk objects with anthropomorphic or skeuomorphic motifs may provide information for the research of folk dance music. Fine examples of folk organography can be seen on mirror boxes and salt-cellars from Western Hungary, adorned with colored wax inlay. The ornaments often include dancing and music-making figures, revealing possible instrumental ensembles of the time. A thorough survey of museum collections for the relevant material pertinent to Transylvania would be of great value.



*Fig. 2. Mirror box, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Southern Transdanubia.<sup>98</sup>*

Drawings of ethnographic material were often made by the ethnographers themselves, especially in the times when taking photographs still required great cost and special expertise. Some of these sketches show musical instruments, like the depiction of a small homemade cimbalom in figure 3, with the caption “simple instrument of a band of adobe makers [Roms of the lowest classes].”

<sup>98</sup> Somogy County. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. Photo by Károly Szelényi.

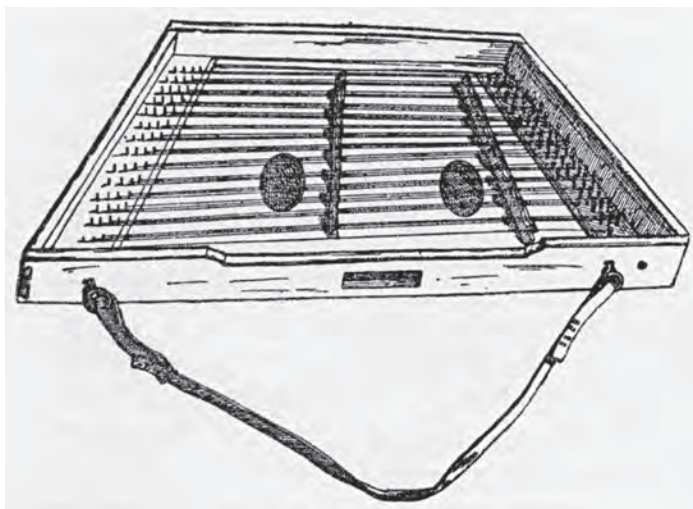


Fig. 3. Portable small cimbalom. Szolnok-Doboka County.<sup>99</sup>

Of course, we cannot expect a high degree of organological precision of such a drawing; therefore, no conclusions as to tonal range, tuning, or even the number of strings should be drawn here. Unfortunately, even the exact provenance of the depicted instrument is unknown.

### 3.1.3 Written ethnographic records

The idea of an exact scholarly study of folk dance music and folk harmony appeared in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, though not yet as an independent discipline, but as an offshoot of treatises on dances and instrumental music. In this period, the primary role was played by written accounts of the observed phenomena.

In his book of 1908, Bertalan Fabó wrote about the music of Hungarian dances, evidently based on his own previous observation of urban Romani musicians: “The slow *csárdás*, just like a *verbunkos* or a *körmagyar* [Hungarian round dance of the gentlefolk], must be performed in sharp rhythm, with strongly accentuated accompaniment, and with the powerful playing of the left hand. The fast *csárdás* is to be performed as if it were a trio or coda of *palotás* [Hungarian couple dance of the gentlefolk], in very fast rhythm, adorned with trills or triplets. Since these two kinds of *csárdás* are dance music, the melodies may not be performed in free rhythm. The way of playing required for singing, or as *hallgató* [‘for listening,’ i.e. rubato], is different from that required for

<sup>99</sup> Viski, K. 1941. 382.

dancing.” Fabó also describes the joint performance of a band: they “usually start playing pensively, in the *hallgató* manner, with soft accompaniment to the leading fiddle; when the fiddle sustains a final or high-pitched note of a section, the whole band joins in with a rumble, often sustaining the note longer than the first fiddler. (Foreigners usually find such delayed entries and lengthy echoes of the band interesting at first, but unbearable later.) In the third line, where the tune culminates, the whole band rumbles, the sticks of the cimbalom shuttle like a fairy’s bobbins, only to die away softly and quietly like an evening breeze in the fourth line.”<sup>100</sup>

The account above is highly suggestive, but it is dubious whether anyone unfamiliar with the manner of performance of Hungarian urban Romani bands can figure out what it is all about. However, a researcher familiar with the phenomena described, and with later sound recordings, can interpret such textual accounts, and accordingly project certain elements of a well-known orchestral sound into a period before the advent of sound recording.

### 3.1.4 On-the-spot transcriptions of music

Obviously, no textual explanation can substitute for musical transcriptions, indispensable to capture the repertoire, the manner of playing, and the harmonization. Hungarian dance tunes have been put down in diverse Western and Central European tune collections for keyboard and plucked instruments from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, at first typically in tablature, later also with mensural and modern notation.<sup>101</sup> Such tunes, however, are presumably not from the repertoire of village communities. Even if they can be related to orally transmitted recent material in a few cases, they are clearly not equivalent, as ethnographical data, to scholarly records, for their aim was to help music-making, rather than expand knowledge.

Later, however, we can find printed publications of on-the-spot transcriptions, some of which may give an approximate picture of the regional distribution, the manner of performance, or even the accompaniment of certain tunes. Of course, the data of provenance they provide do not meet the standard set in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. in terms of the informants or the circumstances of collection. A fine example is a Romanian tune from Transylvania, transcribed after the playing of two fiddlers, and published in the 23 November 1814 issue of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of Leipzig. In the part of the second fiddle, we can observe the dance rhythm and the drone-like harmony played with a single double stop throughout, a rudimentary form of *dúvő* accompaniment (p. 47, facs. 1).<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Fabó, B. 1908. 543–545.

<sup>101</sup> Their summary table is published by Domokos, M. 1990. 477–480.

<sup>102</sup> On *dúvő* in more detail, see p. 246 ff.

*Fac. 1. A Romanian dance tune with accompaniment. Transylvania, 1814.*<sup>103</sup>



From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, dance tunes have been written down with the intention to record data on an almost scholarly level, particularly after the foundation of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society (1889) and the launching of its periodical *Ethnographia* (1890).<sup>104</sup>

As investigations of instrumental folk music evolved, the focus of research was extended to features of the instrumental technique and the manner of performance. Examining the instrumental music of Csík County, Oszkár Dincser, an associate of the Museum of Ethnography of Budapest, reported among others on the *kontra* playing by fiddlers,<sup>105</sup> adding important data to the sparse that-time knowledge on folk harmonization. In addition to textual descriptions, he presented in notation the set of stops used in local *kontra* playing, complete with fingering.

*Ex. 4. Double stops of kontra players in Csík County.*<sup>106</sup>



Only by listening to sound recordings, no definite conclusions can be drawn as to the fingering. Dincser's on-the-spot notes above, by contrast, allow us to try and identify the fingering in certain sound recordings. Such fields of interest in the Hungarian research around 1940 were in line with Kodály's conviction: "this music is not only unwritten, but actually impossible to write down. Something always remains that cannot be conveyed even by the signs of the most sophisticated notation specifically devised for this purpose [...] there can be no scholarly knowledge of musical folk tradition, unless based on first-hand experience of live performance."<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Published by Major, E. 1929. 42.

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. Farkas, L. 1895, Pintér, S. 1891.

<sup>105</sup> See the chapter *Kontra*, p. 150 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Dincser, O. 1943. 43.

<sup>107</sup> Kodály, Z. 1933/1982. 231–232.

### 3.2 MECHANICAL DATA RECORDING

In the following, I will review the most frequent forms of ethnographic data registration by mechanical tools, such as photography, sound recording, and motion picture technology in diverse stages of their development, as well as ways of their combined application.

#### 3.2.1 Photography

With the invention of photography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ethnographers received an important tool for the visual documentation of instruments and instrumental ensembles of folk dance music, as well as of proxemic relations of musicians and dancers. Initially expensive and cumbersome, it was still rarely used around the turn of the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, although in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian ethnographic research began to treat photographs as ethnographic documents.<sup>108</sup> For this reason, every piece of information in an early photograph is highly valuable. A case in point is the photograph taken in the village of Sellye in the Ormánság region of Southern Hungary (figure 4), showing a band of a fiddle, a *kontra*, and a bass. This setup might be regarded as a Transylvanian peculiarity today; earlier, in light of Lajtha's collections, it was believed to be typical of the village of Szék only. The photograph, however, proves that this type of ensemble also existed in Southern Transdanubia at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the same characteristic hold of the instruments, and with the same type of home made two-stringed bass of non-standard size.

Folklorist, ethnographer, and folk song collector Béla Vikár recognized the importance of photography relatively early. At the beginning of his research, his wife, born Júlia Kerkács, took the pictures; later, he was aided in his fieldwork by György König and Antal Herrmann as photographers.<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, very few of their photographs are related to music, and even fewer to Transylvanian folk dance music (fig. 5 on p. 49 and fig. 12 on p. 57).

Both Kodály and Bartók took photographs during their fieldwork. Kodály documented several children's games and Nativity plays, but only the shots taken during his trip to Bukovina in 1914 have some relevance connected to Transylvania. There are two further photos of 1915 in the Kodály Archive, one of a soldier playing the flute, the other of Kodály trying out a reed pipe in the company of a Romanian soldier.<sup>110</sup>

Some of Bartók's letters reveal his first attempts with photography. On 2 August 1915, he writes his mother about his research trip in regions mainly inhabited by Slovaks:

<sup>108</sup> Fogarasi, K. 2000. 729.

<sup>109</sup> Pávai, I. (ed.) 2011. 8–9, 25–26, 33.

<sup>110</sup> Pávai, I. (ed.) 2008b. 16, 25, 30–31, 33.



*Fig. 4. A village band of Romani musicians with a fiddle, a kontra, and a bass.  
Sellye (Ormánság region), 1901. Jenő Pápay's collection.*



*Fig. 5. Musicians of the Barcaság region, Transylvania, 1903. Photo by Béla Vikár and György König.  
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest*

"I've started taking photographs, too. What a nuisance! Now I forget this, now that, and I'm very sorry for each spoiled shot, as it's so hard to get these American film rolls [...] Perhaps I'll get some experience in time. Mind you, it's much harder than working with the phonograph!" On 7 August he writes, "The sight of the photographs opened the lips of the girls in Hédel." On the 11<sup>th</sup>, he sends a postcard of his own photograph to his sister Elza with the following remark: "Behold, one of my first masterpieces [...] It shows my excellent old people of Padkóc, who have sung so much beauty for me." This is followed by a postcard to his mother on 19 August, with Bartók's photo of Padkóc girls.<sup>111</sup>

Photography gradually became a standard tool of ethnographic research. In the interwar years in Transylvania, several researchers were engaged in documenting ethnographic topics, but rare are the photographs showing performers of folk dance music. One example can be found in the photo archives of the Kriza János Ethnographic Society, a photo taken by Géza Vámszer of a couple of Oltszakadát, dancing to the music of an ensemble of strings and cimbalom.<sup>112</sup> During the recording sessions for the "Patria" gramophone series at the Hungarian Radio, from the late 1930s onwards, photos were always taken of the performers.<sup>113</sup>



*Fig. 6. István Ádám, fiddler of Szék, during the Patria recordings. Budapest, 1941*

The Galloway Collection in the Transylvanian Museum of Ethnography in Cluj is a highly significant assortment from this period. Scottish artist and photographer Denis Galloway (1878–1957) lived in Romania from 1926 to 1950. He took mostly black-and-white photos on glass plates, and a smaller number of color photos on autochrome plates, for the museum, in different ethnographic regions of Transylvania. He

<sup>111</sup> Bartók, B. Jr. 1981. 241–243.

<sup>112</sup> Photo archive of the Kriza János Ethnographic Society, Cluj, No. 11489.

<sup>113</sup> See Fig. 6, and the pictures in Pávai, I. (ed.) 2009. 31–36.

documented in great detail the life of Hungarian peasants in Kalotaszeg; Romanians of the Kalota region, Erdőhátság, Hátszeg, and Avas; Saxons of Nösnerland, as well as Hutsuls of Northern Bukovina. His photographs often include musical instruments, sometimes in dance music function: a band of a fiddle, a *kontra*, and a bass, accompanying dancers during a harvest in Sztána; a children's game with singing and dancing in Sztána; wedding processions with musicians in Kettesd, Sztána, and Kispetri; men dancing *legényes* in front of the musicians in Kispetri; a Romanian wedding scene in Marótlaka, with only two instruments of the band included, identified as three-stringed violas in enlargement. In a photo documenting a Saxon wedding, the procession in the street is escorted by a button accordion player, and a woman playing two cooking lids like crash cymbals. The collection includes several photos of Romanian bagpipers from the Hunyad basin, among others, from Cserbel, the village known for Bartók's bagpipe recordings with the phonograph and gramophone.<sup>114</sup> The photographs reveal that in those days, dances of Romanians were often accompanied by a single instrument, such as a flute, a bagpipe, a clarinet, or a fiddle, sometimes providing the music for the duration of a whole wedding. Among the Hutsuls, Galloway documented the use of alphorns.<sup>115</sup>

The Museum of Ethnography in Budapest preserves a relatively large collection of Transylvanian ethnographic photographs taken between 1940 and 1944, the years when Northern Transylvania once again belonged to Hungary. The majority of them were taken by Sándor Gönyey, Béla Gunda, Galimdsán Tagán (Galimyan Girfanovich Tagan), and Mihály Erdődi.<sup>116</sup> Gönyey's stock includes, for example, the shots taken in the center of Szék in 1943, showing four young men dancing *tempó* in front of a band of two fiddles, a *kontra*, and a bass, surrounded by villagers. Mihály Erdődi took a series of photographs on music-making and dancing in Gyimes, Gyergyó and Kalotaszeg.

To this day, some 400,000 photographs have been amassed at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest; however, it is difficult to find the relatively few shots of musicians playing for dance. They are usually filed under folk customs involving music and dancing, such as weddings, or voluntary collective work. From the immense stock, those with musicians, and particularly those from Transylvania, have to be picked one by one. Researchers of folk instruments, e.g. Oszkár Dincser, took many photographs of instruments and instrumentalists, and, less frequently, instrumental ensembles. But they rarely documented real, spontaneous dance occasions, and in the few such cases even fewer photos show the musicians. Such events were mostly photographed by dance researchers in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, still, the majority of dance collections

<sup>114</sup> Pávai, R. 2002.

<sup>115</sup> Tótszegi, T.–Pávai, I. 2010. 30, 34, 36, 42, 48, 54, 74, 83, 97–100, 103, 107–109, 118, 120, 130–133, 141, 150.

<sup>116</sup> Fogarasi, K. 2000. 780.

document dance occasions deliberately organized for the research. There is a large number of such photos taken in Transylvania in the Photo Archive of the Institute for Musicology, Budapest.<sup>117</sup>



*Fig. 7–8. Dancing in the Gyimes region, accompanied by a band of fiddle and gardon.<sup>118</sup>  
Color slides by Mihály Erdődi, 1941. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest*



*Fig. 9. Dancing at a wedding in Körösfő (Kalotaszeg region). Color slide by Mihály Erdődi, 1941.  
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest*

<sup>117</sup> See [db.zti.hu/24ora/fotok.asp](http://db.zti.hu/24ora/fotok.asp)

<sup>118</sup> For the gardon, see p. 162 ff.

Professional or semi-professional photographers tended to take photos of musicians in good light conditions, that is, outdoors, in front of barns in peasant courtyards, or in natural landscapes (which does not mean natural settings). They set the musicians into poses of playing and asked them not to move, which resulted in unnatural holds of the instruments. It is intriguing in such postured photos that the *kontra* players, since that job was valued lower than playing the tune, held their instruments just like the band leader. It is therefore hard to decide by such a photograph whether the band consisted of, say, two fiddles, a cimbalom, and bass, or one fiddle, one *kontra*, a cimbalom, and a bass, if there is no other information concerning that region.

Collecting rural family photos also contributes to visual documentation. This proved difficult earlier, because informants were reluctant to part with keepsakes showing their ancestors or successors for the researcher to copy them. Even so, hundreds of thousands of such photos from the past century can be found in archives, and some of them include musicians providing dance music. From the second half of the 1990s, portable computers and digital photo scanners have been available for on-the-spot digitization. In the past decades, I have scanned thousands of such photos during fieldwork, asked my hosts to identify the persons, events, places, and dates of the scanned photos shown on the screen, and recorded the interviews with a video camera. I have found that the images are much more helpful to retrieve memories about old-time customs and traditions than just conversation. This method is therefore an important supplement to the documentation of folk dance music.

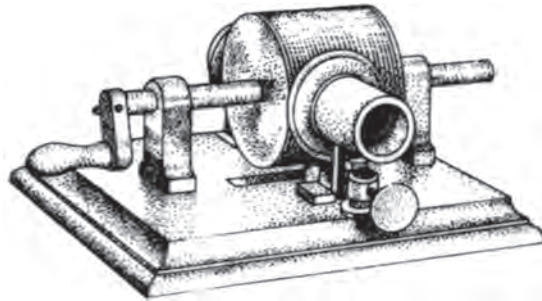


Fig. 10. Three-stringed kontra player Kálmán Váski "Huszi," and fiddler János Mihály "Macsuka," with the bass of Jóska Váski Jr. in the background. Bonyha (Upper Vízmedellék region), mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3.2.2 Sound recording

Apart from earlier music machines, some of which also preserved a few tradition-related tunes, the first important apparatus to record sound was the phonograph. This invention of Thomas Alva Edison (1877) was later improved by Chichester A. Bell and Charles Sumner Tainter, and patented in 1885 by the name graphophone.

Originally, the phonograph had a manually turned cylinder covered with tin foil (fig. 11). During recording, the foil was etched mechanically, according to the changes of the sound vibrations, by a stylus fastened to a diaphragm. By reversing the process, the indented sound image could be converted into audible vibrations.



*Fig. 11. Edison's tin foil phonograph, 1877*

On such a cylinder, preserved in Vienna, Brahms himself plays one of his Hungarian dances.<sup>119</sup> Later, the receiving surface was made of wax, the movement of the stylus became more subtle, and the technology of multiplying the cylinder via electrolysis was also worked out. Bartók called the attention of the Slovak Viliam Figuš-Bystýr to this procedure in a letter of 20 August 1924.<sup>120</sup>

The first to use the phonograph for folk music recording was the American Jesse Walter Fewkes, researching among Native American Zuni people in New Mexico (1889),<sup>121</sup> followed by Béla Vikár as the first in Europe with his recordings in Csincsetanya, Borsod County (1896).<sup>122</sup> But the use of the phonograph in Hungarian folk music research was anticipated by Antal Herrmann already in 1890: “ethnography in general, if it truly wishes to be a scholarly discipline, must make use of the latest achievements of technology. Dialectology, or the study of traditions in language usage, will not stand on firm

<sup>119</sup> Rowley, Gill 1981. 132. Zsornickaja, M. 1987.

<sup>120</sup> Demény, J. (ed.) 1976. 3050.

<sup>121</sup> Fewkes' collection was transcribed and published by B. J. Gilmann (Rajeczky, B. 1972/1976. 334). On problems of this recording and dilemmas of transcribing mechanical recordings, see Molnár, A. 1953. 333–335.

<sup>122</sup> On problems of dating the first recording of Vikár, see Sebő, F. 1995.

and objective foundations unless the sounds of the folk's language and music can be registered with a device like the phonograph, just as we capture the objects of ethnographic interest in photographs." Independently of him, the same idea was raised in the same year by the Kolozsvár telegrapher Béla Pungur. Writing about his collecting fieldwork in Finland, Vikár mentions, among other things, the difficulties of collecting laments, remarking that "the phonograph would have been a real blessing" for that work.<sup>123</sup>

From Vikár's field research evolved the cylinder collection at the Department of Ethnography of the Hungarian National Museum, the predecessor of today's Museum of Ethnography.<sup>124</sup> This was followed by the foundation of the phonogram archives in Vienna (1899), Paris (1900), Saint Petersburg (1903), and Berlin (1905).<sup>125</sup> The landmark significance of the phonograph in folksong research is common knowledge, even if with occasional reservations.<sup>126</sup> It was János Seprődi, still before Bartók, who made a point that it is indispensable in the collection of folk dance music. I will quote a longer passage from his pertinent article, published in 1909:

"Apart from general negligence, the lack of data on folk dance music may be explained by the difficulty to transcribe such music into notation [...] The performer's idiosyncrasies, and the nature of the musical instruments may confront the researcher with difficulties that cannot be overcome with the direct method used for sung data. Owing to the fast tempo and the rich ornamentation, it is impossible to notate a piece of folk dance music after one hearing, and if we try to have it repeated, we may get something wholly different from what we expect. The performance of the folk's musicians is namely as instinctive as can be. This instinctiveness is a universal feature of folk poetry, but it is even more obvious in folk music, especially in dance tunes [...] maybe [the musician] could not reproduce the same dance tune twice in the same way, however hard he might try [...] It is mainly this last-mentioned feature that forces the researcher to resort to the phonograph. Even so, many difficulties remain, but if we do not content ourselves with using the phonograph alone, as especially those not trained in music have been doing,<sup>127</sup> but use it as a tool of the direct method, we may get as close to dance music as is possible to render music with notation. First-hand observation will control the mistakes (e.g. false stops, shortened bars) which may derive from the unusual agitating effect of the phonograph on the performer; it will complement the use of the phonograph by

<sup>123</sup> Herrmann, A. 1890a. 57; 1890b. 162. Vikár, B. 1890. 238.

<sup>124</sup> Pávai, I. 2000b. 828–840.

<sup>125</sup> Lajtha, L. 1931. 236.

<sup>126</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 18–19; Kodály, Z. 1937/1981. 5–6. Less frequently quoted is Bartók's letter written on 1 February 1913: "The phonograph recorder behaved badly. All of a sudden it was less sensitive to sound. Now before each recording we have to whistle into it and knock it, but then at least it works well" (Bartók, B. Jr. [ed.] 1981. 223). On the attitude of village informants so far unfamiliar with the recording machine, see Pávai, I. (ed.) 2011. 25–30.

<sup>127</sup> Seprődi alludes to Vikár.

defining the register and meter prior to recording, and supply the blurred notes. Even so, all *individual* specificities of the performers will remain on the phonograph cylinder, while all general, *typical* features may be put to paper, satisfying the requirements of a scholarly approach [...] I must admit that at the beginning, I was averse to collecting with the phonograph [...] It is not that the phonograph has changed for the better, though undoubtedly it has improved, but that a difficulty arose that could not be surmounted in any other way. I had already had some dance tunes in my collection, but they had been put down after whistling or singing, hence they could be no more than sketches of the natural forms.”<sup>128</sup>

Two years after Seprődi's publication, Bartók expressed similar thoughts about instrumental music: “In Hungary and elsewhere, very little has been recorded of the music that peasants perform on instruments, whether the peasants play ‘professionally’ as paid entertainers of others or as ‘amateurs’ for their own pleasure. There is no doubt that vocal music is the beginning of any music; for a long time vocal music was the unique expression of man's sentiments, and even today it plays a far greater role with rural folk than instrumental music. Consequently folk songs (that is, melodies with texts) were the first to be recorded, since they were more easily available. The difficulty of recording instrumental music is another factor which has impeded collection of such material.

There is a considerable amount of ornamentation and improvisation in the sung form of folk melodies, especially in the case of peasants ‘uncontaminated’ by civilization; so much, in fact, that even a musician who has a good ear but is inexperienced in these matters might be confused. The better peasant musicians embellish melodies played on instruments to a great extent, and there is much improvisation in tempo changes and ornaments. Indeed, these aspects vary on repetition to such a degree that their notation—if not impossible to achieve—is always a very lengthy task; in fact, writing down a single melody might even take thirty minutes. The continuous repetition thus required would exhaust the performer in a short time, eliminating the possibility of obtaining numerous examples. Apart from that, the notated results still are only approximate, because the musician, tiring of the many repetitions, sooner or later omits a part of the ornamentation.

There is a simple solution to the foregoing problem: the use of the phonograph. This splendid invention, unlike those others which have been responsible for the destruction of beautiful things, has seemingly been given us by way of compensation for the immensely great devastation that has been the consequence of this age of inventions. With the help of the phonograph we can record in a few minutes the most elaborate melody, in all its completeness and natural state, and it is an easy task later to transcribe the melody from the phonogram.”<sup>129</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Seprődi, J. 1909. 323–324.

<sup>129</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 239.

Both Bartók and Kodály insisted on taking notes on the spot in addition to mechanical registration, as a tool to control the occasional errors of the recording. In the case of folk dance music, however, Bartók did not find such control necessary: “On-the-spot notation of instrumental music can generally be dispensed with, since instrumentalists—usually professionals—are in the main more sure of themselves. Instrumental variants, therefore, may contain such slight divergencies that it would be hardly worth while to record them.”<sup>130</sup>

Vikár also had a pioneering role in recording instrumental dance tunes in particular. The paper *Székelyudvarhely* reported about a field trip in its April 18 1900 issue: “Béla Vikár [...] came to Udvarhely County in the middle of March [...] He was joined by Géza Kovács [...], Dr Antal Herrmann, and his son [...] After lunch, the company set out on foot for the village of Medesér [...] It was the eve of March 15 [a national holiday] [...] The schoolmaster immediately convened the mixed choir of the youth, and they sent for the famous fiddler János Balogh, who could play such genuinely fine Székely *kesergő* tunes<sup>131</sup> with his small band [...] After the ceremony, Béla Vikár recorded the *kesergős* of Balogh’s band with his phonograph.”

During the recording in Medesér, a photograph was also taken, which is the only source to reveal that Balogh’s band consisted of a fiddle, a cimbalom, and a bass.



Fig. 12. Romani fiddler János Balogh with his band in front of the phonograph. Behind them, in the middle, Béla Vikár; to the right, Antal Herrmann. Medesér (Lower Nyikó valley), 1900.  
Photograph by Géza Kovács. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest

<sup>130</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 19.

<sup>131</sup> Slow dance tunes that can be sung along with plaintive texts, see p. 31 f.

As the recording is of rather poor quality, one can hardly make out whether there are accompanying instruments at all. Bartók's transcription of the "kesergő of Árvátfalva" by Balogh's band, which he used for his Rhapsody No. 1, contains nothing more than the melody played on the fiddle.<sup>132</sup>

*Facs. 2. Transcription of phonograph record MH 99II/a. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest*

1. H. 99 II / a. Medesés. Udvarhely. Vikár.  
 „Árvátfalvi kesergő.” Balogh János, cigány.

Legedő ver. 1. ver. 2.  
 ver. 3. ver. 4.  
 ver. 1. ver. 2.  
 ver. 3. ver. 4.

A dallamot többször ismétli; látványosabb pléresprélkül.

In some cases, researchers found it impossible to transcribe instrumental music from phonograph records, as testified by remarks noted on data sheets, sometimes together with the technical reasons.

*Facs. 3. Detail of the transcription sheet belonging to phonograph cylinder MH 98/I, with the remark "Transcription impossible: sound too weak"*

M. H. 98 / I. hanggeres zene.  
 Nem jegyezhető le: túl gyenge.

<sup>132</sup> The facsimile below is of a clean copy of Bartók's transcription. Cf. Bartók's manuscript published by Somfai, L. 1981a. 305–306.

Lajtha asserted even later that he had never managed to take orchestral phonograph recordings: "In the interwar years I began to devote greater attention to the manner of performance of such bands of Romani musicians, without knowledge of notation, who provided music for the inhabitants of small and isolated villages. We were still collecting with the phonograph, which was not suitable to record ensembles. I was very sorry, for what I heard was often stunning."<sup>135</sup> He does not mean, of course, that he never recorded a band with the phonograph, but that the recorded accompaniment could not be interpreted or processed. "In the first bar, the first notes of the accompaniment can be heard", he writes in the note to instrumental tune No. 69 ("lassú magyar of Bánffy") in his collection of Szépenyerűszentmárton, and he notated what could be heard, merely as a rhythmic formula of a single bar, without the actual harmonies.

It is possible that Lajtha placed the horn of the phonograph too close to the fiddler, which led to a poor recording of the accompaniment. Bartók, by contrast, had recorded, as early as 1912, some Romanian dance tunes played on the fiddle, and accompanied, as can be well heard, with a three-stringed *kontra*, in Mezőszabad, Maros-Torda County. In nearby Idecspatak in 1914, he even made an accompaniment-focused recording by having the *kontrás* stand closer to the horn.<sup>137</sup> In a letter to his wife Márta Ziegler, he wrote a detailed fieldwork report from Nyárádremete, even notating the peculiar tuning of the *kontra* (“violino II”):



<sup>137</sup> Bartók, B. 1967. No. 425 (MH 2040b), No. 400 (MH 3558b).

Later he transcribed the tunes together with the accompaniment, and even published one of them in 1934 in his study “Népzenénk és a szomszéd népek zenéje” [Hungarian folk music and the folk music of neighboring peoples].

*Facs. 4. Transcription of Bartók's recording of a tune played by a fiddle and a three-stringed kontra (excerpt).<sup>138</sup>*



In a footnote, he writes about the tune, used for the Romanian slow processional dance *de-a lungu*: “as is customary in Mezőség, it was accompanied by a *kontrás*, who played a three-stringed fiddle tuned to



with the strings all in one level.”<sup>139</sup> The right order of the strings is shown notated in the letter to his wife quoted above (see p. 59): g d<sup>1</sup> a, which tallies with the most frequent tuning of the three-stringed *kontra* found by later research (ex. 27, p. 152).

As seen above, the phonograph, though an important tool to record instrumental dance tunes in its age, was ill suited to capture the sound of a whole band accurately enough for a study of folk harmony. A more adequate apparatus for that purpose was gained with the advent of the gramophone.

The gramophone was invented by Emile Berliner in 1896 (p. 61, fig. 13). After the metal discs used in the beginning, the sound was later recorded on discs made of a shellac compound, which facilitated the multiplication of records from the “parent disc,” and thus their distribution on the market. The firms Odeon, His Master’s Voice, Columbia, and Pathé also released folk music discs, without involving research institutes, for commercial purposes. They primarily contained music from the colonies, but also of Romanians, Serbs, or Bulgarians.<sup>140</sup>

In a letter of 18 July 1914, Bartók compares the technical potential of the phonograph, the gramophone, and the pathephone: “[pathephone recordings] are better in that they are stronger, similarly to the gramophone records; there are no shouting or scraping

<sup>138</sup> Bartók, B. 1934/1966. 263.

<sup>139</sup> Phonograph cylinder MH 3557d at the Budapest Museum of Ethnography. Earlier number: F 1234d.

<sup>140</sup> Rajeczky, B. 1972/1976. 335.

records, which are so unpleasantly produced by the phonograph when the singer is too close to the horn; here the sound is simply stronger. Apart from that, both are equally bad or equally good. However, pathophone records can immediately be reproduced on the spot, which is impossible for the gramophone. The gramophone is driven by the sinking of a certain weight, whereas for the pathophone, this weight can be substituted by a stone, or sand, etc. anywhere, so we needn't carry it with the appliance." The transfer of cylinder recordings onto discs also intrigued Bartók: "It turned out that Pathé & Co. can transfer signs from phonograph cylinders to *discs* by means of a secret procedure. That is what they would do with my cylinders. In winter, we shall talk about that."<sup>141</sup>



Fig. 13. Berliner gramophone.<sup>142</sup>

In an article arguing in favor of disc recordings in 1937, Dénes Bartha writes, "phonograph cylinders, made of a very sensitive material, namely wax, deteriorate easily, and are inevitably subject to wear, or even dilapidation, by use. They therefore cannot be handled by the interested public. Copies of phonograph cylinders can only be made one by one, so they are useless for dissemination or propagation. Moreover, they give such an acoustically distorted image of a tune that their use in an auditorium, or in a radio transmission, is out of the question [...] The main advantage of the phonograph, which ensures its use to this day in collecting work all over Europe, is the fact that it is easy to carry and to operate; it can be used in a village without electricity, while all modern recording methods depend on electric supply."<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Bartók, B. Jr. (ed.) 1981. 231.

<sup>142</sup> Rowley, G. 1981. 132.

<sup>143</sup> Bartha, D. 1937a. 7–8. Cited partly verbatim by Bartha, D. 1937b. 9–10.

Lajtha expressed the advantages and museological significance of gramophone records several times, perhaps most concisely as follows: "Gramophone discs are not as sensitive and perishable as wax cylinders; their maintenance in a museum is much simpler. Any number of copies can be pressed from each mold, and destroyed molds can be reproduced by means of any ready disc. For the perpetuation of music, therefore, the gramophone disc is best suited. It can be replayed as many times as needed for checking, so it offers almost laboratory conditions for scholarly observation: it can be an ideal complement to on-location observation of traditional culture. At today's level of technological development, one need not fear that the gramophone record may distort speech or tune to however small an extent: it is characterized by an unbiased fidelity; even the artificiality inherent in such machines is the least disturbing here."<sup>144</sup>

The importance of high quality sound recording is also noted by Pál Járdányi in 1942. Describing the composition, playing technique, manner of ornamentation, and harmonization of the band of Ferenc Csoma of the village of Esztény, Járdányi remarks, "It is probable that the transmission and continuity of a traditional style is at issue, which must have preserved much of its character in the course of the change and modernization of the tune stock." He adds in parentheses, "To define this character more accurately will only be possible via phonograph, or rather, gramophone recordings."<sup>145</sup>

Obviously, research institutes also began to use the new possibility to archive folk music on gramophone records, from Paris to Bucharest. Hungarian research was, however, rather late in resorting to the gramophone, despite, or perhaps because of, its pioneering role in using the phonograph.<sup>146</sup>

The first gramophone records in the Museum of Ethnography were purchased ready-made in 1913–14. The assortment of 40–50 discs containing "international Russian, Serbian, African, Chinese, Turkish, Malay, etc. songs" was bought to "entertain the visiting public for an hour on each open day" in the museum. In the case of the gramophone, there was a significant difference between the recording and the playing device. Since the sale of records meant a lucrative business for the manufacturers, it was far more difficult to acquire a recording appliance. One such machine of the Berliner type "could only be procured," as Vilibáld Seemayer, then director of the Museum of Ethnography, writes, "that a former schoolmate of mine, L[ajos] L[eitner], the director of a Budapest gramophone factory (in military service at the moment), gave one of the recording machines over to us [...] in the interest of scholarly research." Seemayer also notes that the new recording appliance has been tried out with success.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Lajtha, L. 1938/1992. 96. See also: Ortutay, Gy. 1942. 4.

<sup>145</sup> Járdányi, P. 1943b. 9.

<sup>146</sup> Rajeczky, B. 1972/1976. 335; Lajtha, L.–Veress, S. 1936/1992. 91; Ortutay, Gy. 1942. 5.

<sup>147</sup> NMI 251/1916. It was included in the museum's inventory under no. 2591/1913 (NMI 24/1914).

In a letter of 14 February 1914, Bartók writes that he is about to hold a presentation on the Romanian music of Hunyad County, and wishes to bring along local informants at the cost of the Ethnographic Society. In the second part of his presentation, he was going to illustrate “how phonograph and gramophone records are made for the Department of Ethnography.” Bartók gave his lecture on 18 March, and during the stay of the Hunyad singers, instrumentalists, and dancers in Budapest, the museum recorded some 30 tunes on 13 discs with its own recording appliance.<sup>148</sup>

During World War I, another attempt was made to archive folk music on discs, initiated by geographer Count Pál Teleki, as vice president of the “Hungarian Eastern Cultural Centre.” All that a letter of 25 August 1916 reveals is that diverse folk music recordings were to be made among “Russian” prisoners of war (i.e. prisoners of war from Russia). The head of the Museum of Ethnography recommended Gyula Sebestyén, Vikár, Bartók, and Kodály for the work, and specified that the purchase of a large amount of raw discs and a recording appliance, and the employment of “a machine operator,” and “an interpreter speaking Russian and possibly also Tatar-Turkish” were necessary.<sup>149</sup> Eventually, this plan was not realized.

At the same time, the release of Hungarian folk music discs with authentic material was still in delay. Due to the potential of mass production, a disc series was planned to propagate folk music among the wider public, but the pertinence of original recordings for this purpose was doubted. Therefore, thirty His Master’s Voice discs were released at first, containing mostly folk song adaptations with piano accompaniment by Bartók, Kodály, and Lajtha, performed by classical singers.

During his visit to Bucharest in February 1934, Bartók found that Romanian research, led by Constantin Brăiloiu, used more up-to-date methods to archive folk music than the Hungarians did. In his draft “On the importance of perpetuating Hungarian folk music,” he writes, “Before 1925, they only had a meagre number of recordings; now they, who actually learnt the practice of collecting from us, have a collection of c. 8000 phonograph cylinders in Bucharest. Moreover, the ‘Association of Romanian Composers’ did not rest content with that, but founded an expanding gramophone record collection of peasant music in 1934, which already contains about 100 discs. We, in contrast, have not a single gramophone record of peasant music in peasant performance.”<sup>150</sup>

These words, put to paper on 20 May 1935, were originally addressed to Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös. Bartók included the calculation that an annual subsidy of 2000 *pengős* would be necessary for 5–6 years for a series of Hungarian folk music records. In a proposal

<sup>148</sup> Demény, J. (ed.) 1976. 217; Bartók, B. Jr. (ed.) 1981. 137–138. For more details, see Pávai, R. 2002. At present, there are 36 intact and some broken acetate discs made as “cutting test” prior to the inventory order of the Patria records.

<sup>149</sup> NMI 251/1916.

<sup>150</sup> Somfai, L. 1981b 7.

to the Ethnographic Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the following April, he asked for only 500 *pengős*, which, together with an identical amount of contribution by the museum, made the way for the first disc series, “for a narrow professional circle,” of Transdanubian folk music.<sup>151</sup> The recordings were led, beside Bartók, by László Lajtha and Vilmos Seemayer “on behalf of the Department of Ethnography,” the latter having conducted the preparatory fieldwork. The four-disc series was produced in 50 copies, and the printed material, namely the transcriptions that Bartók and Kodály prepared by courtesy, the photos of the performers, and an introduction and notes by Dénes Bartha, were also published as a bilingual museum booklet in Hungarian and English.<sup>152</sup>

Although the subtitle “Series I” suggested that the publication was to be continued, the recordings were eventually not carried on in this form. The Museum of Ethnography, in collaboration with the Hungarian Radio, took over the work, upon the initiative and organization of Gyula Ortutay. The goal was now to sample the entire Hungarian musical and textual folklore material, with possibly several variants for an item. Such an extensive program was beyond the financial budget of any Hungarian professional institution at that time, so the necessary fund of 4000 *pengős* was raised jointly by the Hungarian National Bank, the Association of Savings Banks and Commercial Banks, and the National Association of Industrialists.

The delay of the recordings had the advantage that the recording horn previously used, transmitting a frequency range of 600–1200 Hz, was by then replaced by electroacoustic microphones with a frequency spectrum between 100 and 5000 Hz. This resulted in a more transparent sound image even in the case of instrumental ensembles. The folk tale recordings were supervised by Ortutay, while the music recordings by Bartók, Kodály, and Lajtha, assisted by the best of then young researchers as fieldworkers, such as Sándor Veress, Péter Balla, István Volly, Oszkár Dincser, or János Manga; the religious folk hymns were selected for recording by Lajos Bárdos.

Although the project had a purely scholarly motivation, the use of the gramophone entailed, in addition to ensuring more reliable archiving than previously, the possibility of multiplication, which called for placing the collected material on the market. Apart from the advantages, this also had the drawback that releasing the records with the transcriptions of the music was only partly realized. The pace of transcribing could not come abreast of the tempo dictated by the commercial interest of the publisher. In nine years, 125 discs were produced, of which 107 were available on the market. The record collection thus created became known as the Patria series. The name was taken from the Patria Company, Péter Pál Kelen’s private enterprise, which pressed and marketed the records.<sup>153</sup>

151 Bartha, D. 1937a. I; 1937b. II; Somfai, L. 1981b. 7.

152 Bartha, D. 1937c.

153 Somfai, L. 1981b. 9.



Fig. 14. Zsuki's band of Szék during the *Patria* recordings. Budapest, 1941. Museum of Ethnography, Budapest

Although Northern Transylvania was reattached to Hungary during the period 1940–1944, the gramophone records of the *Patria* series represent relatively few Transylvanian localities. Vocal music was recorded from Kászónimpér, Szentegyházsfalu, Kecsetkiszfalud, Bözöd, Körösfő, and Szék. This material includes several tunes that are relevant to folk dance music, or can be interpreted as such. More important for the preservation and study of instrumental folk dance music and folk harmony are Lajtha's recordings with bands of Romani musicians from Szék and Kőrispatak.

On the new possibilities and new problems incurred by the new apparatus, Lajtha remarks, "It was the first time I had been able to record an instrumental ensemble on a gramophone disc, and it was the first time I had faced the difficulties of full score transcription. However hard I tried to be accurate and notate every detail, it turned out that it was not the transcriber alone that counted. Apart from the quality of the recording, the gramophone specially made for the transcription of music also played a great role. If the machine is better, one can hear more and put down more with certainty. Since ever more sophisticated machines are at my disposal, I could revise the notation with every new type, and this revision would never end. After all, we can even improve a transcription with each replay on the same apparatus."<sup>154</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 4.

The revision of transcriptions was also indispensable for the study of harmony. The Patria record F 83A/a contains an “old magyar” tune, performed by the band of Márton Ferenczi “Zsuki” on the fiddle, Albert Mikó on a three-stringed *kontra*, and Márton Ferenczi Jr. on the bass (p. 65, fig. 14). When it first appeared in print,<sup>155</sup> the score showed double stops for the *kontra*, and one note per beat for the bass. Later, as the entire Szék collection was published,<sup>156</sup> there are triads in the *kontra*, and double stops at places in the bass. Comparing the two versions of the transcription, the considerable difference in the recognition of the accompanying parts becomes obvious.

Ex. 6. Differences between two versions of Lajtha's transcription of the same recording.  
Szék (Northern Mezőség region). (An excerpt)<sup>157</sup>

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a fiddle, kontra, and bass ensemble. The top system shows the fiddle part in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and the kontra and bass parts in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The fiddle part features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with fingerings 6, 3, and 5. The kontra and bass parts feature double stops with fingerings 7, 7, 7, and 7. The bottom system shows the kontra and bass parts with different voicings and articulations, including triplets and slurs. The fiddle part is not shown in the bottom system.

Such difficulties in transcribing music from audio records are illuminated by a letter of Kodály to János Jagamas in Cluj, sent on 16 May 1950, asking him to clarify an issue on the spot: “When transcribing the gramophone records of Szék, our work came to a halt because the accompanying chords could not be heard clearly. We cannot make out how the three accompanying chords of the “old magyar” (the only one in E major) on record no. F 83/a are voiced. There is information that the viola is tuned g d<sup>1</sup> a. The

<sup>155</sup> Lajtha, L. 1943. 221.

<sup>156</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 26.

<sup>157</sup> *Magyar* “of the orphans.” a) Lajtha, L. 1943. 221. b) Lajtha, L. 1954a. 26.

small octave! Some of the chords as we hear them would be impossible to play. The cello is tuned C g d, and we cannot determine if the musician uses double stops or not. In the record, namely, diverse combination tones can be heard, which were not played but emerged during recording. So if you had an opportunity to make a trip to Szék and meet Márton Ferenci's trio (the bassist was his son, the violist [Mikó]), hear them play the piece, put down the accompanying stops, and also ask them why they tuned like that and whether they used other tunings as well – it would be a great help, and the provider of the information would be indicated in due place and time.”<sup>158</sup>

One disadvantage of phonograph cylinders was the relatively short playing time of a few minutes, which also applied to gramophone discs. This handicap was overcome through long playing records. Bartók explained their advantages in an article in the June 28 1942 issue of *The New York Times*, speaking of Milman Parry's Yugoslav folk music collection including eight records of instrumental music. He also remarked that the aluminum discs they used were more durable and less vulnerable during replaying.<sup>159</sup>

Though magnetic sound recording had been known since 1935, it was only after World War II that it started to be widely used. The first magnetic recordings of folk music in the Folk Music Archive of the Institute for Musicology in Budapest were taken with a Webster-Chicago wire recorder. They contain material collected in Hungary between 1949 and 1953.



*Fig. 15. Webster-Chicago wire recorder*

In the postwar years, the Museum of Ethnography continued recording on discs, from 1952 onwards no longer cut on the spot but transferred from magnetic tape. In the meantime, microgroove technology appeared in 1948, extending the playing time of discs to 20 minutes. The last nearly 100 pieces of the *Patria* series were recorded on

<sup>158</sup> Legány, D. 1982. letter No. 665.

<sup>159</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 495. 149.

such discs. Moreover, the transfer of old 78 rpm discs to long playing discs was also initiated by Margit Tóth, then leader of the Folk Music Collection.<sup>160</sup> However, there are hardly any recordings related to Transylvania in the post-war stock of the museum. Many pieces were recorded with Romani fiddler Zoltán Buházi, a native Transylvanian of Marosvásárhely, who allegedly played village tunes, but his style, polished in the urban milieu of Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Budapest, and Pápa, his repertoire, or his accompanists from Kőszeg make his recordings hard to evaluate as folk music.

Parallel with the new options, the phonograph remained in use for some time in the fifties. The associates of the Cluj Institute of Folklore, set up in 1949 as a department of the Bucharest Institute of Folklore,<sup>161</sup> used the phonograph, for example, among the Hungarians of Moldavia, including “dance tunes without words.”<sup>162</sup> János Jagamas later also stressed the ethnomusicological gain of the technical improvement in the 1950s, and particularly the possibility to transcribe tunes with several stanzas, and richly ornamented vocal data, also noting that it made the recording of the instrumental folk music repertoire possible at last.<sup>163</sup>

The gradual development of the tape recorder, based on electromagnetic sound registration, and its availability on the market, roughly coincided with a new phase in Hungarian folk dance research, and with the beginning of Zoltán Kallós’ fieldwork in Transylvania and Moldavia. The long professional collaboration between Kallós and György Martin exerted an influence on folk music research with a choreological perspective. Longer musical processes, comprising even the entire dance cycle of a region, could now be recorded.

However, the solutions of the period regarding transparent orchestral sound adequate for the investigation of harmony were still imperfect. Accurate transcription was still hindered by such features as the ringing of multiple strings on the cimbalom, traditionally played without dampers, or the recording of several musicians playing identical instruments with a single microphone on a single track. On a released disc of folk music, Bálint Sárosi demonstrated the playing technique of the accompanying instruments with a special recording of István Ádám’s band of Szék, where the microphone was shifted from the fiddle to the *kontra* and then on to the bass to document the manner of playing by each instrument.<sup>164</sup>

Stereo technology, recording on two tracks at the same time, began spreading in 1958, but it was only later applied to the widespread, cheaper devices, and not generally used

<sup>160</sup> Rajeczky, B. 1972/1976. 337.

<sup>161</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>162</sup> Faragó, J.–Jagamas, J. (eds.) 1954. 325–326, 329.

<sup>163</sup> Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (publ.) 1974. 12. For the activity of Jagamas and his colleagues in the 1950s, see also p. 18.

<sup>164</sup> Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1980. Side 5, track 2.

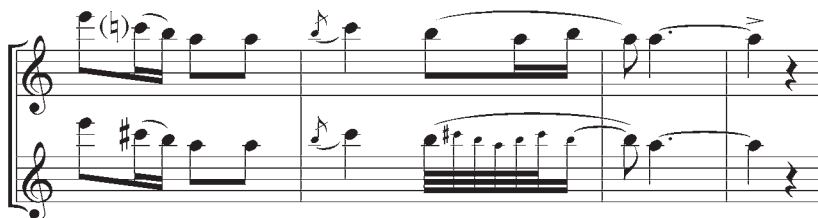
in ethnomusicological field recordings before the 1970s. This meant a great stride forward, and not only in capturing orchestral sound. In Lajtha's gramophone recordings, there are vocal tunes performed by a group of singers, with the transcription indicating individual deviations from the common melodic contour.

Ex. 7. *Melodic deviations, unidentified in terms of individual singers, notated on a separate stave by Lajtha (detail).*<sup>165</sup>



Since the recording was monaural, Lajtha could not attribute the deviations to one or another singer during the transcription, so there is no way to reconstruct the individual variants of the four informants. By contrast, the melodic variants of two fiddlers in a stereo recording, which in fact blend to a greater extent than singing voices, can be clearly separated, so each individual variant can be transcribed.

Ex. 8. *Differentiation of the deviations of two melodic instruments by performer in a stereo recording (excerpt).*<sup>166</sup>



Stereo technology also helped to devise an interesting way of musical data registration. I recorded the playing of fiddler Géza Csapai of Gagy, Udvarhelyszék (Keresztúr region), and his *kontrás* Béla Gábor "Pusi," with a tape recorder in January 1977. At that time, I could not record more than a few tunes, so I planned to continue later, but in the meantime, the *kontrás* passed away. Another researcher, Béla Fodor, was also

<sup>165</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. No. 49.

<sup>166</sup> For the complete transcription of the tune, see Pávai, I. 1993. No. 180.

interested in the music of Csapai. So I recommended that he should record his entire repertoire performed on the fiddle alone, then play the recordings back to the fiddler through headphones, so that he could accompany his own playing as *kontrás*, which could in turn be recorded with another tape recorder, and attached to the tune recordings. The plan was realized successfully, and, from a certain aspect, the result was even better than any performance of two musicians. On this recording, namely, we hear the *kontra* accompaniment exactly as Csapai imagined would best suit his playing, while Pusi's accompaniment would presumably have contained deviations owing to the fact that being a fiddler himself, he usually played some parts differently.

For the Institute for Musicology of Budapest, István Németh made a few recordings with instrumental ensembles, in which each instrument was recorded with a separate microphone on a separately replayable track, to make transcription easier, and to allow for subsequent sound mixing.

### 3.2.3 Motion picture technology, complex documentation

As has been shown, sound recording never solves all the problems. The best thing a researcher can do is use diverse methods in combination, that is, a complex method of documentation, and the best means for that is motion picture technology, which, apart from the initial silent film period, is suitable to make audio-visual kinetic documents. A complex tool in itself, it can be further complemented with manual notes, static pictures (photos, drawings), etc.

Lajtha offered the interested public his full-score transcriptions of the recordings of Vencel Kristóf's band of Kőrispatak with the following words: "However accurately I wish to notate a tune, I must omit a whole array of moments practically impossible to transcribe. For a relatively faithful image of the music, it is essential to listen to the gramophone recordings with the scores in hand. For one thing, the differences in dynamics and color of the tone cannot be notated. These printed scores notwithstanding, we should never forget that a score, or a gramophone record captures nothing but a moment of the constant variation of folk music. Therefore, I can boldly declare there can be no true knowledge of peasant music [...] without hearing it many times while staying among them. Live music can be substituted at best by sound film, or gramophone records, together with their transcriptions."<sup>167</sup>

In his work already cited, Oszkár Dincser attempted to describe the playing technique of the fiddle and the *gardon* (a stringed percussion instrument) on the basis of on-the-spot observation. The information he provided turned out to be highly important

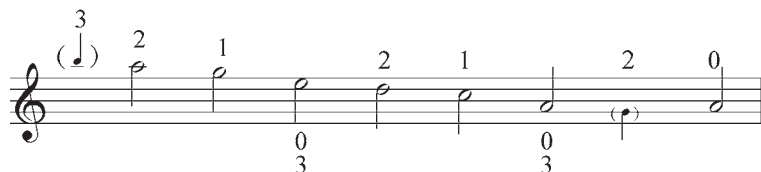
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<sup>167</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 6.

for ethnomusicology, as before him, no one had done such extensive research on these questions. He observed, for example, that in Csík County, contrary to fingering taught in urban music schools, “the basic position for most fiddlers is the second one; they slide the first finger up and down instead of using the first and second fingers. Thus, the second finger takes the place of the third, the third that of the fourth, while the little finger remains free in the air, next to the fiddle’s neck” (p. 73, ex. 10).

During my field research, I have found that this archaic fingering is typical in several other regions of Transylvania. Dincsér also noted that “the old Csángó pieces, particularly the slow ones, are pentatonic,” and he was surprised to find “how comfortably the pentatonic scale ‘fits’ the hand of the musician playing in the second position.” He illustrated this observation as follows.

Ex. 9. *The usual fingering of a pentatonic scale among Gyimes fiddlers.*<sup>168</sup>



“Each tune has its fingering,” he writes in the same place, but his on-location observations were not sufficient to reconstruct the fingering and bowing for each piece of the Csík and Gyimes repertoires he had recorded. To achieve that, visual recording would have been necessary. As is stated in a later publication, concerning the transcription of the men’s dance tune recordings of fiddler István Ádám “Icsán” of Szék, “It is largely due to the lack of motion picture recordings that the indication of bowing is not verifiable but suggested by the authors.”<sup>169</sup>

Musicians may be included in occasional footages of silent films from the initial period of Hungarian folk dance research, allowing the examination of the instrument hold, or the kinetics of playing. As György Martin pointed out, a musician in the corner of the frame in silent dance films, particularly one with an instrument of rhythmic accompaniment such as a bass, or a *gardon*, usually stressing the downbeats, may help the correct rhythmic interpretation of the dance. During fieldwork, when the dance collection was over, he often recorded the play of the musicians on the remaining film reel.

<sup>168</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 39–40.

<sup>169</sup> Halmos, B.–Virágvolgyi, M. 1995. 3.



*Fig. 16. Documenting the play of a Romani musician with a motion picture camera and a stereo tape recorder.  
Gagy (region of Keresztúr)*

In the beginning, sound film was used in those fields of ethnography where the visual element in the subject matter was more emphatic, e.g. folk dance research. Its use in folk music research started relatively late, for the most part with the spread of VHS camcorders. This delay was a consequence of an attitude that regarded music mainly as auditory experience, instrumental music as of secondary significance, and rural Romani musicians, and their manner of playing, as of questionable authenticity. On the other hand, the professional folk dance researchers of the Institute for Musicology were averse to the extensive use of VHS technology, as it did not offer a good solution for long-term conservation.<sup>170</sup> At the onset, therefore, this method was mainly used by musicians and choreographers, working in the spheres of staged folklore and the dance house movement, for chiefly practical purposes, i.e. learning dance and music. Of course, their works appearing in print may also have enriched scholarly research.

Making use of the technical possibilities offered by our time, Márta Virágvolgyi described the specific features of the left and right hand technique of several fiddlers, based on a thorough examination of video recordings of their play. Moreover, she also indicated the fingering, the bowing, and the position shifts in her transcriptions, and tried to infer conclusions as to the playing style of earlier performers who were

<sup>170</sup> Pálffy, Gy. 1997.

not filmed.<sup>171</sup> The same method was used by András Vavrincz in his publication of the tunes of Vajdaszentivány fiddler Elek Horváth.<sup>172</sup> The fingering in the following excerpts of fiddle tunes from the Gyimes region was identified with the help of video recordings.

Ex. 10. Fingering, identified from video recording, in details of fiddle tunes from Gyimes.<sup>173</sup>



As mentioned earlier, the combined use of traditional and up-to-date tools is especially productive in the current phase of research. Studying the *kontra* accompaniment of Szék, Dezső Sepsi represented the stops, i.e. chords, applied by the musicians in diagrams with fingering, and attached photos of the finger positions. He offered thus an insight into such details of the playing technique that cannot be inferred from audio recordings alone; for example, versions of the same triad that differ in fingering and voicing.<sup>174</sup> I have also taken similar photo series of the chordal stock of several Transylvanian *kontra* players.

In his questionnaire made for the examination of traditional fiddle technique, Imre Bokor notes: “Photography (pho), filming (fm), and tape recording (mg) may lend great help for the accurate registration of observations.” Using these abbreviations, he added to each point of the questionnaire the technical tool he found necessary for an accurate documentation of the phenomenon. Below is an excerpt from the questionnaire:<sup>175</sup>

“Holding of the bow and right hand technique:

4. At which point is the bow held? (pho)
5. How are the fingers positioned? (pho)
6. Is the bowing parallel with the bridge, or skew, in which direction? (pho)
7. The position of the arm related to the body. (pho)
8. Direction and extent of wrist movement. (fm)
9. Are notes attacked softly or with a scraping noise? (mg)
10. The execution of bowing (fm).” etc.

<sup>171</sup> Virágvölgyi, M. 1989.

<sup>172</sup> Vavrincz, A. 1992.

<sup>173</sup> Virágvölgyi, M. 1989.

<sup>174</sup> Sepsi, D. 1980–1981.

<sup>175</sup> Bokor, I. 1982.

From the 1990s, digital sound and picture recording has also been involved in the study of Hungarian folk dance music, bringing about further improvement to the quality of the recorded sound. Between 1997 and 1999, the Budapest-based music center Fonó launched a large-scale series of recording sessions titled *Utolsó Óra*, or Final Hour, with professional support from the Institute for Musicology and the Museum of Ethnography. We took digital recordings of the repertoires of still existing Transylvanian bands during five days for each, and burnt the material immediately on CDs.<sup>176</sup> Parallel with the audio recordings, we also made partly analog, partly digital video recordings. Later, the series was extended to include the entire Carpathian Basin.

I had two opportunities to make technically even more complex recordings, in the studio of the Hungarian Heritage House. On one occasion, we recorded a band of six Romani musicians from Gömör region (now in Slovakia) on seven parallel tracks, the seventh recording the collector's questions. The other session recorded traditional multipart singing of Csávás (Upper Vízmedélék region) on a separate track for each part. In both cases, digital video recording and digital photos were also taken.



Fig. 17. Multitrack recording of the play of the Szűtor band (Gömör region).  
Budapest, Hungarian Heritage House, 14 December 2002

<sup>176</sup> 68 edited audio CDs have been released with accompanying studies, of which 39 contain Transylvanian music. See the homepage <http://utolsoora.hu/en/uj-patria-series.html>.



*Fig. 18. Multitrack recording of traditional multipart singing of Csávás.  
Budapest, Hungarian Heritage House, 14 December 2002*

Another advantage of digital technology is the possibility, through certain software, to slow down recordings for transcription while the sound remains in the original frequency interval. Today, computers also have an important role in the archiving, retrieving, and multimedia presentation of data. Hungarian folk music and folk dance research is not yet fully prepared to exploit the data processing and researching possibilities implied by information technology, of which only a fragment is put to use now.<sup>177</sup> Still, considerable results had been achieved even before I closed the manuscript of this book. Besides audio CD supplements, DVD-ROM supplements to printed publications are more and more frequent. Independent DVD-ROMs and online databases as digital publications are also growing in number.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>177</sup> See Sebő, F. 1992; 1996; Pávai, I. 1996a; 2000a; 2000b 846–847, 848–850. Elemér Konkoly (2000) used acoustic measurements to study the playing technique of the Szék bass players.

<sup>178</sup> A few random examples: Pávai I. 2018; Pávai, I.–Richter, R.–Sebő, F.(eds.) 1999; Pávai, I. (ed.) 2012; Sebő, F. (ed.) 2001; 2009; Pávai, I.–Richter, P. (eds.) 2007; 2017; Richter, P. (chief ed.) 2012; Pávai, I.–Zakariás E. (eds.) 2014; Pávai, I.–Gergely, Z. (eds.) 2019.

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont

# Magyar Anthology Népzenei of Hungarian Antológia Folk Music

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## 4 STATUS, ROLE, ETHNICITY

The present investigation focuses on communities that (a) function as informal groups, (b) have a sense of “we,” (c) regard the preceding generations as reference group for their normative basis, and (d) have their members relate to a convergent system of norms with adequate conformity, and a minimal level of deviance. More precisely, I am interested in the social model in which a comparatively closed community organizes the dance occasions, and controls the dance music repertoire and the activity of the musicians; that is, the collective events with dancing are governed by the community’s own set of rules. The members acquire the pertinent behavioral patterns and activity forms from the predecessors, and transmit them to the next generation. They do not strive to modify the traditional system deliberately, and when external factors force them to carry out modifications, they restore the equilibrium in a relatively short time, integrating the influence into their system without fundamentally changing its essence.

It will be noted that the definition above concerns only the dance-related activities of a community. A group may not operate as a closed community any more regarding its economic activities or costume, which is to say they will not adhere to a unified set of norms in this respect; still, if traditional customs of organizing dance events still prevail among them, they will belong to my subject. It is also essential that the community be a *small group* as used in social psychology, with a limited size, with the members personally acquainted, with relatively high group cohesion, and low polarization.

Since the pertinent publications of Ralph Linton, cultural anthropology has been striving to grasp the working of a community as patterns of reciprocal behavior among its members.<sup>179</sup> The specific *status* of an individual is defined by his position in the community or group, i.e. in the relevant pattern, and by the corresponding rights and duties. Consequently, an individual necessarily has several statuses, as one may be a husband, a father, the leader of the local band of musicians, etc., at the same time. The totality of these partial statuses determines the individual’s status in the collective pattern of reciprocal behavior. As an individual occupying a status exercises his rights and duties, he acts

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<sup>179</sup> Linton, R. 1936. 103–106.

out the *role* (or roles) required by the status. Hence, status and role can be conceived as the static and the dynamic aspect of the same phenomenon.<sup>180</sup>

Concerning folk dance music, we can define several patterns for an investigation of the statuses, and the pertinent roles, inherent in them. For example, within the whole of the community, we can distinguish the statuses of musician and non-musician; in the group of the participants of a dance event: organizers (*kezesek*, 'guarantors'), members of the audience (dancers), musicians, etc.; within the group of musicians: professional and non-professional; within the band: melody-playing and accompanying instrumentalist; within melody-playing instrumentalists: leader (first fiddler, *prímás*) and non-leader (second fiddler, fiddler accompanying in thirds, clarinettist, etc.). All these statuses may be further differentiated by age and social prestige, as well as ethnicity.

Since the bulk of folk music and folk dance material has not been recorded in its original function, the researcher intruding upon the traditional community from outside constitutes a group together with the informants. Within this group, the researcher represents a specific status, and a structure of reciprocal behavior will emerge between him/her and the informants. Thus, the group consisting of collector(s) and informant(s) may also constitute a pattern to be studied.

In this chapter, I will examine statuses within their respective patterns that have particular relevance to folk dance music, such as relations of professional to non-professional musicians, musician to dancer, or collector to informant. In the last part of the chapter, I will discuss the interethnic dimension of Transylvanian folk dance music.

#### 4.1 THE STATUS OF PROFESSIONAL MUSICIAN

By a professional village musician, in the relation of folk music, I understand a musician who plays for the community the repertoire they require, which he acquired through oral transmission, and performs in the way the community expect him to do, even if he lives, or was maybe born, in a town. As expert performers of folk dance music, professional village musicians have a special place in the social hierarchy of the village. I regard every instrumentalist as a professional musician who is regularly hired by the village community for payment, even if this is not their sole source of income.<sup>181</sup> Their attitude to the traditional repertoire is different from that of other villagers. Being financially interested, they are better inclined to preserve traditional elements, keeping even such tunes in memory that the majority of the community no longer know, in case someone

<sup>180</sup> Linton, R. 1936. 113–116.

<sup>181</sup> On professional and non-professional village musicians in more detail, see Sárosi, B. 1980.

should ask for them one day.<sup>182</sup> At the same time, they are the first to adopt novelties, for if they cannot keep pace with fashion, they will no longer be hired to play. That explains why they have always been in contact with “gentlefolk’s music;” they strove to learn that repertoire as well, for villagers had always been longing for the urban culture they believed to be of higher rank. Those who can read sheet music are still in high respect among them, although they usually have a narrower repertoire, not to speak of the stylistic differences, which, particularly in regard to the suitability for dancing, tilt the balance in favor of the village “naturists,” i.e. the musically illiterate.

Since professional village musicians always possess a more prolific and, from the perspective of folk music, more archaic tune repertoire than those they serve, they may also develop a keener musical consciousness. They may realize melodic similarities, or even have a mental concept, based on the similarity of certain tunes, of a superior category related to what researchers call a tune type, without being able to verbalize it. (See the comment before ex. 83 on p. 286.)

The playing of the urban fiddlers may be more refined and sophisticated, their bowing technique more virtuosic, but they know very little of the archaic and richly ornamented style of their rural colleagues. Although they consciously elaborate figured variations for a tune, their ability of variation lags behind rural fiddlers’ spontaneous figurations, which result in ever different variations for each repetition. In general, the improvisation skill of urban Romani musicians is lower than that of the rural ones. Since the tunes received from “above,” e.g. from operettas or urban dance music, tend to be relatively uniform, as they are spread through sheet music or recordings, the mere intention to reproduce them exactly, even if unsuccessful, will narrow the opportunity for improvisation. Of course, it is still present in the playing of the urban musicians to some extent.

There is another explanation to this phenomenon, as József Patay argues in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: “the musicians of Pest, though otherwise skillful, keep performing under the mark when they play Hungarian tunes [...] even in a band of six or eight musicians, three will play the tune [...]. But the worst thing is that each is shackled thereby in playing, for they have to play the same way all the time, otherwise the whole thing would not tally. However, the real nature of Hungarian tunes is that they never let themselves be restricted; they need free flowing like a stream, and when this freedom is limited, their effect is lost. This is quite natural, for a Hungarian tune is never played the same way even by the same person, but always according to his mood. Sometimes he will sustain a note longer, or shorten the other one; sometimes he will add to the tune, sometimes take away from it, as his feeling and fancy requires, and this is the only way to perform it in an enchanting and charming way, but that is not possible when several fiddlers play together.”<sup>183</sup>

<sup>182</sup> See ex. 3 on p. 34 and the preceding comment.

<sup>183</sup> Patay, J. 1854. 331.

In reality, the divide between urban and rural musicians is not too sharp. In Transylvanian towns, there were Romani musical dynasties whose members would frequently be hired, even far back in time, to play in villages, knowing the local customs; at the same time, they could satisfy the taste of the townsfolk in restaurants. A relatively new phenomenon entailed by communist industrialization was the mass influx of village musicians into towns, which did not mean separation from the village, since providing music for rural weddings remained an important source of extra income. Such musicians usually knew both styles, though not at the same level in most cases.

On the other hand, it has also been common, for even a hundred years in retrospect, that some rural musicians had the ambition to satisfy urban tastes. After all, in larger rural settlements, the layer of “gentlefolk” (artisans, local intellectuals) was wide enough for local musicians to be financially interested in supplying music to them. During World War II, one of my informants<sup>184</sup> played “in Romanian for the gentlefolk,” as well as “in Romanian for peasants,” namely different sets of tunes for different dances in the Upper Maros region, along the river Sajó, and around Maroshévíz. He could also play “in Hungarian for the gentlefolk,” and “in Hungarian for peasants” in the Upper Maros region, or the Gyergyó Basin. In addition, he played special wedding and dance tunes for Jews (p. 104, ex. 19), and, of course, he played to Roms in villages of Romanian and Hungarian majority alike.

Professional rural musicians, similarly to their urban colleagues, constituted a kind of social and cultural network. A detailed examination of this phenomenon is Csongor Könczei’s study of the Romani musicians of Kalotaszeg. He concluded that up to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the activity of professional rural musicians in this region was governed by a system of rules, which was unwritten, but possible to describe accurately by the researcher. Their occupational, social, economic and cultural networks mutually determined one another.<sup>185</sup>

## 4.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANCER AND MUSICIAN

### 4.2.1 The musician playing for dance

A village community with a traditional way of life held the musicians able to play for dance in high esteem. When the inhabitants of Bogártelke, Kalotaszeg region, still had no Romani musicians in the village, they built a house by collective voluntary work to lure over the musicians from neighboring Türe, so important did they deem to have their “own” musicians.

<sup>184</sup> Dénes Moldován, fiddler of Marosoroszfalu, born in 1917.

<sup>185</sup> Könczei, Cs. 2011. 219.

A musician at work is always in close interaction with the participants of the dance. A good dancer likes to dance in front of the musicians, and they in turn will play differently in such cases. By contrast, when they see a poor dancer is in front of them, they will play with less enthusiasm. One of Martin's informants recalled such a case: "Well, Pista, alright. I'll turn to the wall and play my tune, and you dance over there, to your audience. Then the fiddler turned to the wall, for the man could never follow the tune at all. As for those who danced the right way, the musicians were eager to serve them, and played so fine. For a musician's strength to play is doubled when he sees a good dancer in front of him. But when he sees that he's working in vain, trying to finish the tune when the dancer finishes the figure, but that chap just won't get it, he'd still hold his leg in the air and sure won't slap it when needed, then he doesn't feel like playing on."<sup>186</sup>

I heard say about several other musicians that they turned their heads when someone in front of them was dancing out of rhythm. At a wedding in Szék, I saw a young man pay the fiddler to play the *tempó* (men's dance); when the fiddler saw the lad could not dance it in rhythm, he stopped playing and gave the money back.

The majority of village musicians are good at dancing, and therefore able to keep the rhythmic contact with the dancers visually, even if the dance figures feature no sounding elements, such as clapping, boot slapping, stamping, etc. As a fiddler from the Upper Maros region said, "When someone's dancing, you must watch his feet and play accordingly. They never had to tell me to play faster, or anything like that; I kept watching their feet as they danced, and I played accordingly. That's right, uncle Stefi, very good [– they would say]... Oh, I was a great dancer... My father taught me, he could even dance the *verbunk* well."<sup>187</sup>

Most village musicians in Transylvania can demonstrate as dancers the repertoires of up to three local ethnic groups (Hungarians, Romanians, and Roms), including the minute modifications in the common dances by ethnicity. Having served hundreds of dance occasions, they probably fix these small differences involuntarily in their memory. On the other hand, non-musician Roms living in ethnically mixed communities will also know the dances of each group, and join in, whichever kind of music is played, but they usually ignore the ethnic distinction of the dances, mixing up motifs, and sometimes omitting rhythmic closures; they tend to handle the whole motif stock more liberally and casually.

The term *cigányverbunk* ('Romani *verbunk*') is connected to this phenomenon. It does not usually mean a specific *verbunk* rooted in the Romani dance repertoire and integrated into their dance cycle; much rather, a Hungarian or Romanian men's dance performed in a distinctively Romani way. At the same time, Roms will be able to tell what music fits their dance best, when asked to.

<sup>186</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 366.

<sup>187</sup> Informant: István Moldován „Stefi,” 77-year-old fiddler, a Calvinist Hungarian Rom. Recorded in Magyaró (Northern Upper Maros valley), 13.09.1987, by István Pávai and András Vavrincz.



Fig. 19. A Romani fiddler dancing. Méra (Kalotaszeg region)<sup>188</sup>

Playing for dance does not mean the mere performance of a series of dance tunes, but also incessant visual communication between musician and dancers. When a men's dance is being danced in solo, the musician has to adapt to possible tempo differences between the consecutive dancers arriving in front of him, for the elderly usually dance slower, the younger ones faster. The task includes providing accented musical support to certain sounding elements of the dance.

In example 11 on page 83, staves (b) show the general form of a tune, with the usual *kontra* and bass accompaniment. Stave (a) captures the version that was played on an occasion when a dancer let his partner loose and started a series of solo figures including loud slaps on the boots and the thighs (*csapásolás*). In such cases, the accompanying instruments may also interrupt the continuous *kontra* rhythm (not shown in the example). Even independently of the fiddle part, closures of dance sections are often rhythmically emphasized by the accompanists.

It is a special feature of the music of the dances *lassú magyar* of the region of the river Kis-Szamos and *magyar* of Szék that extensions of a few bars may be added to either half of a tune (p. 86, ex. 12, last 4 bars, and p. 87, ex. 13, last 3 bars).<sup>189</sup> It turned out upon inquiry

<sup>188</sup> Ferenc Berki Jr. „Árus,” Méra (Kalotaszeg). Photographer unknown.

<sup>189</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1985. I; Lajtha, L. 1954a. 1, No. 10; Pávai, I. 1993. No. 91, cf. *ibid.* No. 86n.

that their use is dance-related in most cases. In Szék, these tags are played when the dancers, turning in circles of four, are about to change direction, which is indicated by the men leading the dance with stamping their feet and pressing the partner's hands. In the Kis-Szamos Valley, extension is the outcome of the relatively free structure of the dance *lassú magyar*.

Ex. 11. *Tárnáveana. Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség region)*<sup>190</sup>

The musical score is presented in two systems. Each system contains three staves: a fiddle staff (labeled 'a'), a 3-stringed kontra staff (labeled 'b'), and a bass staff. The fiddle staff is in treble clef, and the kontra and bass staves are in bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is indicated as quarter note = 78. The first system includes a '5' fingering bracket and 'simile' markings. The second system also includes a '5' fingering bracket. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

<sup>190</sup> Fiddle: Ignác Mácsingó, b. 1928; 3-stringed *kontra*: Sanyi Mácsingó, b. 1939, Imre Moldován, b. 1934; bass: Karsci Mácsingó, b. 1941, musicians of Magyarpalatka. Recorded in function, 07.04.1985, Visa (Inner Mezőség region), and transcribed, by István Pávai. Harmony reconstructed. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 71.

First system of musical notation, measures 1-2. The system consists of three staves: a (treble clef), b (bass clef), and a lower bass staff. Staff a contains a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes in measure 1 and a quarter note in measure 2. Staff b contains a complex accompaniment with a quintuplet of eighth notes in measure 1 and a triplet of eighth notes in measure 2. The lower bass staff contains a simple bass line with quarter notes.

Second system of musical notation, measures 3-4. The system consists of three staves: a (treble clef), b (bass clef), and a lower bass staff. Staff a contains a melodic line with eighth notes and a triplet of eighth notes in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4. Staff b contains a complex accompaniment with a quintuplet of eighth notes in measure 3 and a triplet of eighth notes in measure 4. The lower bass staff contains a simple bass line with quarter notes.

Third system of musical notation, measures 5-6. The system consists of three staves: a (treble clef), b (bass clef), and a lower bass staff. Staff a contains a melodic line with eighth notes and a triplet of eighth notes in measure 5, and a quarter note in measure 6. Staff b contains a complex accompaniment with a quintuplet of eighth notes in measure 5 and a triplet of eighth notes in measure 6. The lower bass staff contains a simple bass line with quarter notes.



#### 4.2.2 Singing and shouting dance rhymes during dancing

Another factor that may influence on-the-spot variation of a tune by the *primás* is singing, or shouting dance rhymes (Hun. *csujogatózás*, *kiátozás*, *rikótozás*, *ihogtatás*, Romanian *chiuit*, *ciuit*, *strigătură*, etc.), or their absence. Earlier it was widely, and mistakenly, believed that dance music was essentially instrumental, for in the Western European practice of dance music, instrumental music was indeed predominant. This made Gábor Mátray remark, as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, “The Romani (musicians) also use Hungarian folk songs as the subject of their performance. Already in centuries of yore, it was customary to sing Hungarian songs during festivities and banquets of Hungarians; and when Romani musicians were present, it was only natural for them to accompany these on their instruments, the first fiddle playing the leading notes of the song. Even today, one can experience that our impassioned youth, when the folk’s musicians play some favorite song to the Hungarian dance, sing the tune with text during dancing, with the accompaniment of the band.”<sup>191</sup>

Data collected in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also confirm that singing is possible during dancing, when the tempo is not too fast, the motifs of the dance are not too complicated, and if the local customs allow. The presence of singing thus partly depends on the genre, or type, of dance, and partly on the motifs of certain dance sections.

When the dancers sing, the fiddler also plays cantabile, with smooth ornamentation, omitting figurations, or only adding some at the end of sections. He cannot change tunes until the dancers have sung as many stanzas as they want. When they stop singing,

<sup>191</sup> Mátray, G. 1854/1984. 316.

he may repeat the tune enriched with figurations. Figuration sometimes only affects a half-tune or a section.

For the alternation of cantabile and instrumentally figured performance, the music of the dance *magyar* (more recently *négyes*) of Szék features particularly fine examples. In the example below, the informant sang and hummed the tune (ex. 12), and then played it on the six-holed flute with internal duct (ex. 13). Apart from differences in ornamentation, which did not affect the sing-song character, the flute version now and then inserted figurations into the basic rhythm of  $\text{♩}$  pulsation with dotted patterns.

Ex. 12. Magyar. Szék (Northern Mezőség region).<sup>192</sup>

♩ = 119

*sic*

E - sik e-ső, sza-kad, sza-kad, (de) Sze-ret-né-lek, de nem sza-bad,

*sic*

[lallázva]

*sic*

E - sik e-ső, sza-kad, sza-kad, Sze-ret-né-lek, de nem sza-bad,

[lallázva]

<sup>192</sup> Voice: József Székely, aged 53, Szék (Mezőség). Recorded on 22.10.1975, and transcribed by István Pávai. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 92.

*Ex. 13. Magyar. Szék (Northern Mezőség region).<sup>193</sup>*

♩ = 122

[fúrlúyán]

vibr.

sic

sic

vibr.

<sup>193</sup> Flute: József Székely, aged 53, Szék (Mezőség). Recorded on 22.10.1975, and transcribed by István Pávai.  
First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 91.

Quite common in Szék are such tunes with an extended strophic structure (often called *jajnóta* in Hungarian research), where each of the four melodic lines can be sung with 16 syllables, i.e. two lines of the text; in other words, a four-line stanza of the text corresponds to a half of the tune.<sup>194</sup> The dancer will usually sing to one or the other half of the tune, as desired, and leave the rest to the instrument alone. In recordings made with vocal performers, they may keep singing to one half of the tune only, or mix up the usual order of the halves, as it is customary to start singing along during dancing with the second half of a tune.<sup>195</sup> Thus, subsequent instrumental recordings may be needed to determine the actual full form of certain tunes in vocal recordings.

Such is the case of the tune below (p. 89, ex. 14). Concerning its version shown in stave (b), János Jagamas writes, “The melody is an invariant in our archive. In 1956, five years after it was first recorded, on-the-spot checking banished all doubt: it is still sung with an ending on f<sup>1</sup> [instead of g<sup>1</sup>] [...] [The people of Visa] learnt the tune, in the singer’s youth, from musicians of Magyarpalatka in the dance, and applied a text to it.” He quotes the informant saying “We’ve found words to it.” The instrumental version, originally played in a d tonality, includes further melodic sections, so the instrumental version in stave (a) is still a fragment, but the vocal parallel seems incomplete even in this comparison.

Such cases warn that purely vocal, out-of-context documentation of originally vocal and instrumental tunes may lead to the perpetuation of truncated forms. It is even more difficult to recognize the case if the full instrumental tune has an extended strophic structure, so the shortened vocal form can be regarded as a complete four-line tune. It is another question that these reduced four-line forms may consolidate in vocal practice, in which case they will be classified as separate types or subtypes. However, a system of tune typology ought to consider the origin of these tunes, for a mechanical categorization by one or another structural feature may lead to false results.

Tune (b) in ex. 14, being an “invariant,” cannot form a type in itself. In the Folk Music Collection of the Institute for Musicology, it is therefore ranged in group o8.o18o/VII of the “miscellaneous” block, reserved for musical data that cannot be included in the System of Folk Song Types. However, in the (partially transcribed) instrumental stock of this collection, several variants of the complete tune can be found, since it is often played for dancing, and in villages of the Inner Mezőség region (Mezőkeszü, Magyarpalatka, Magyarszovát, Vajdakamarás, Visa) it is still very popular. When they dance the threesome version of *ritka csárdás*, danced by a man with two women, known as *szászska*, or *szásztánc* (‘Saxon dance’), the musicians will usually play this particular

<sup>194</sup> For *jajnóta* (‘*jaj*’-song), see Lajtha, L. 1943; Paksa, K. 1977; Tari, L. 1985; Sárosi, B. 2017. 140–149; Szenik, I. 1999; Pávai, I. 1997b; 2000c.

<sup>195</sup> Jagamas, J.–Farág, J. (ed.) 1974. Nos. 291, 298; Lajtha, L. 1954a: 41n., 54n., 95–96n.

tune. In this case, a type could be outlined on the basis of the instrumental variants, with the single incomplete vocal version in the appendix.

Ex. 14. *An incomplete vocal tune with its complete instrumental version.*

a) *Szászka. Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség region)*

b) *[Ritka csárdás]. Visa (Inner Mezőség region).<sup>196</sup>*

[hegedűn]

Szállj le, ka - kas, a ka - pu - ról, I-gyál vi - zet a pa - tak-ból,

Mert a Ti - sza már bé - fa-gyatt, Az én ba-bám rég el - ha-gyatt.

When summarizing the folk dance music of the Székelys of Bukovina, Lajos Kiss also defines a category of “instrumental art music with occasionally applied text,” and lists five examples. He writes about one of the “tunes of instrumental origin,” played or sung in weddings of the Székelys of Bukovina, after the ceremony, for the first dance in honor of the bride: “Interestingly, the tune has many variants with words. It rarely appears with words throughout its complete form of 16-syllable sections [...] much rather, the words are applied to the first half of the tune, leaving no text for the second half, which is thus sung with hummed syllables [...] Because of this application of the text, the melody is often shortened to the half [...] but even in such cases, when the second

<sup>196</sup> (a) Fiddle: Márton Kodoba (b. 1942), Béla Kodoba (b. 1944). 3-stringed *kontra*: Imre Moldován (b. 1924), István Moldován (b. 1943). Bass: Károly Kodoba „Ica” (b. 1924). Source: Kallós, Z.–Kelemen, L. 1995, A/1. (b) Voice: Mrs Sándor Kelemen b. Mari Lakatos (aged 54). Collected by József Faragó, 07.1951. Source: Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (pbl.) 1974. No. 7.

half of the tune is repeated, 16-syllable sections appear again, proving the latter to be the original form.”<sup>197</sup> I have found similar phenomena among the Hungarians of Moldavia, namely in sung dance tunes originating in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>198</sup>

Dance rhymes usually influence the tempo only, occasionally also the rhythm, of the music and the dance. As an account of a dance from 1846 reveals, “Displaying characteristic joy, the lads dance enthusiastically to the florid tune of the musicians, who lag one behind the other at times; from their strong palms loud clapping, from their red lips words urging the failing fiddler can be heard, or some fragmentary rhymes, trying therewith to jolt the lasses, dancing in front of them with serious faces, out of their melancholy and make them laugh.”<sup>199</sup> Contrary to the observer quoted above, recent experience suggests that dance rhymes, including those prodding the musicians, are not among the most important means of communication between dancer and musician. Their function is rather to enhance the spirits and provoke mirth.

At a dance event, slightly uncoordinated playing of the musicians often occurs toward daybreak. I saw during the Easter ball of 1985 in Visa how the organizers (Hun. *kezesek*) shook and threatened the musicians of Magyarpalatka, about to fall asleep from weariness. As I heard say, the organizers had on one occasion doused a musician out of his slumber with a bucketful of water.

The relatively archaic state in which dance rhymes and sung dance tunes do not separate still survives in some parts of Transylvania. “These dance rhymes are exclaimed during the dance loudly, sometimes on one note, sometimes in a melodious recitative, leaving a break after each line,” István Lázár wrote about the phenomenon he observed in Alsó-Fehér County in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>200</sup> illustrating the observation with musical notes of the diverse variants of intonation and rhythm (p. 90, ex. 15).

Ex. 15. *Rhythm and intonation of dance rhymes. Alsó-Fehér County*



197 Kiss, L. 1958/2000. 196. For the examples cited, see CMPH vol. III. Nos. 142–147.

198 Pávai, I. 1997b 311. ex. 12.

199 Uszkay, M. 1846. 284.

200 Lázár, I. 1899. 527.

Such song-like use of dance rhymes (also described as “sung dance rhymes,” or “melodious exclamations”) may sometimes occur with diverse men’s dance tunes in Transylvania, often enough to be regarded as living practice.<sup>201</sup>

### 4.2.3 Special demands in the interaction of musicians and dancers

Dancers often demand special services from the musicians. Bálint Sárosi lists a few, also explaining the origin of the custom: “[A musician] must satisfy extra demands: for example, to escort with music a rowdy guest to the outhouse in the corner of the courtyard; or, when a guest requires, upon his leave from a wedding party, to kneel or lie down in the dust of the street and still play the clarinet or fiddle. Obviously, the more a musician depends on the income from music-making, the readier he is to put up with the treatment meant for professionals. After all, such requests are not as unpleasant as the accounts suggest, for these jests are only afforded by those who can pay a good price.

Such scenes are not meant to humiliate the musicians; they simply belong to the ritual of ‘gentlefolk’s’ entertainment, from where the peasants obviously borrowed them. Gentlemen, when in the mood, would send the musicians up a tree to play there, ‘competing with the singing birds;’ they would lower the fiddler into a well on the bucket chain, so that he could lead a tear-provoking song from there with his fiddle, for ‘it sounds even more grievous from there.’”<sup>202</sup>

Pál Péter Domokos also cites a few relevant examples: in Gyergyóalfalu, during the burial of Carnival on Shrove Tuesday, “they have the Romani musicians stand in barrels and play, drink, and eat there; that is how they go round the village.” In Csíkmenaság, “on Shrove Tuesday, the musicians are seated in a small ‘carcass cart’. In front, a rope of 20–30 meters in length is tied, with 10–15 sticks, each one meter long, stuck into it. The young men grab the sticks in couples right and left to the rope, and draw the carcass cart with the musicians.”<sup>203</sup> In Zselyk on the river Sajó, it was also customary to “give a ride” to the musicians during Carnival time.<sup>204</sup>

In Csávás on the river Kis-Küküllő, a special request to a musician was the peculiar performance of a well-known soldiers’ song, most often sung with the words *Udváromon hármát fordult a kocs* (“The coach turned thrice in my courtyard”) all over Transylvania (p. 349, ex. 119, stave (a)). Namely, at the end of a dance event, the

<sup>201</sup> Szenik, I. 1982. 149, 160.

<sup>202</sup> Sárosi, B. 1980. 79.

<sup>203</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 298–300.

<sup>204</sup> Oral information by courtesy of András Hunyadi, former director of the theatre of Marosvásárhely, who originated from a peasant family of Zselyk.

company would have it performed on a three-stringed *kontra*, in a way that the melody could be made out among the notes of the chords. As the informant recalled, “[I learnt it] from my grandfather, the old Kránci... He was a *prímás*, but when someone asked for it, he took [the three-stringed *kontra*] and played it like that, for he knew it, and he liked this song... that’s how the Csávás people wanted it [on the three-stringed viola]... they kept asking for it, they danced, they liked it... toward morning when the company was about to disperse.”

Such solo performance on the *kontra* outlining the melody is also documented from elsewhere in this region. As Domokos Bölöni, a Marosvásárhely-based writer born in Dányán, recalls, “My *kontrás* was called János Tóth; he moved here to [Maros]Vásárhely; he died in October 2002 at the age of 64. He could play in such a way that we ‘understood’ it [the tune] even without a fiddle. In the intervals of the dance, the tougher boys would even dance *verbunk* to his solo on the *kontra*, including the younger brother of János, Mihály Tóth, who now lives now in Budapest.”<sup>205</sup> Rather far from there, in the Northern Mezőség region, I also met a *kontrás* who played similarly, among others, the tune of ex. 119, though not alone but with the fiddler.<sup>206</sup>

Songs mocking the Roms, as well as other humorous songs, were usually sung at wedding celebrations or other revelries. They reflect a humorous view of one ethnic group by another. Similar humorous “interethnic” relations are shown by songs with macaronic, or bilingual, text, played or sung either as “reveling songs” (Hung. *mulatónóta*), or for dancing. It also belongs to musical humor to insert a funeral or other religious hymn, in an instrumentalized form, into the sequence of dance tunes (Upper Maros region), or sing them in an accelerated tempo in the spinning room, or during other entertainment of young people in small company (Bukovina).<sup>207</sup>

A similar musical joke can be made by inserting the melody of the Hungarian national anthem among Romanian dance tunes at a purely Romanian wedding festivity; I heard several Hungarian Romani musicians tell about that, and also experienced it in a few cases. This was not a wholly harmless form of joking, though. Apart from the risk of incurring the anger of the reveling Romanian company, it was also prohibited during Ceaușescu’s dictatorship to perform the Hungarian or the Székely anthem. Several cases are known when Romani musicians, or guests of a Hungarian wedding, were subsequently harassed, persecuted, or even assaulted for such offences.

<sup>205</sup> Oral information by courtesy of Domokos Bölöni (2019).

<sup>206</sup> Vice, 25.03.1978. See particulars of Fig. 83.

<sup>207</sup> Zsók, B. (ed.) 1995. 250.

Interesting cases of the dancer–musician relationship are those known as the *out-dancing* of the musician or *outplaying* of the dancer. In the Upper Nyárad region,<sup>208</sup> and also sporadically elsewhere, I found data on dancers challenging the fiddler to test who could outdo the other. The musician tries to outplay the dancer, i.e. to play until he cannot dance any longer. If the dancer can hold out longer, he has outdanced the musician. The loser pays a drink for the winner.

Another form of *outplaying*, known generally in Transylvania, is the expulsion of a girl who rejected a lad asking her for a dance. When the young man is refused, he will stop the music and ask for a march tune, usually the local version of the Rákóczi March, and the girl must go home “to her shame.”

#### 4.2.4 The “ownership” of a dance tune

Proprietary rights pertaining to a dance tune is a peculiar form of the relationship between dancer and musician. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, memoirist György Rettegi writes of an acquaintance, “he often came to our lodging which as a student in Kolozsvár I shared with János and Zsigmond Dobai, and they played music; I can remember a tune, perhaps still called the dance tune of the Dobais.”<sup>209</sup>

In his narrative poem of 1789 *Pöstyéni fürödés* [Bathing in Pöstyén], József Gvadányi evokes a scene of revelry with Romani musicians:

Vacsorálván szóltam: no muzsikállyatok,  
Ma néhány szép Lengyel Táncokat vonnyatok,  
Majd mingyárt néktek is, ennetek adatok,  
Kívánom aztán, hogy jól nyugodgyatok.

After dinner I called out, ‘Come on, play,  
give us some fine Polish dances today.  
I will have food served for you,  
and afterwards, I wish you have a good rest.’

Lengyel-tánc vonáshoz, hozzá- is fogának,  
Négyet-is ők egybe, össze kavarának,  
De nem volt itt hujja, a cigány cifrának,  
Ujjal húrokon is, gyakran pattogának.

They set off to play the Polish dances,  
Mixing up four into one.  
There was no shortage of Romani flourishes  
as they worked swiftly with their fingers on  
the strings.

<sup>208</sup> Informant: Ferenc Ács, Mikháza, b. 1927.

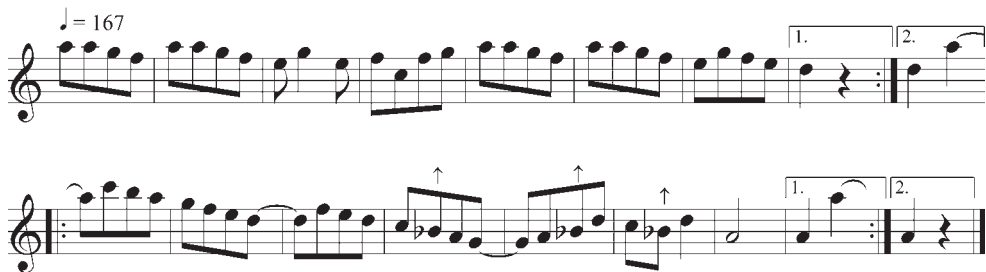
<sup>209</sup> EMSzT X. 311.

Egy táncot el-vonván, meg-mondták hogy kié,	Each time they played a dance [tune], they
Uram! ím ez a tánc, Fiscariusunké,	also told us whom it belonged to,
Ezs a más pediglen, mi Kasztnar Urunké,	‘Sir, this dance here belongs to the Procurator,
E pedig a hídnál lakó Vámosunké.	this other one to our Master Bailiff,
	and this one to our customs officer at the
	bridge.’ <sup>210</sup>

Lajtha writes about the people of Szék, “They are fond of dancing and dance tunes. It is customary to name a tune after the person whose favorite tune it was. They share easily, for there are enough tunes to choose from. A tune named after a person, e.g. ‘that of András Víg Samu,’ will have this as its title, or its name. Such a designation lives on well after the death of the name-giver. It must be held in respect, they say, and they do not touch the title, thereby paying tribute to a late good dancer or singer, and the descendants order the tune from the fiddler with this name.”<sup>211</sup> Such a designation can also be found in Lajtha’s collection of Szépkényerűszentmárton: “slow *magyar* of Bánff.”<sup>212</sup>

It has also been frequent in the recent decades to find tunes named after already deceased persons in Transylvanian villages. Examples with musicians’ names include the tunes “of Báró” in the Kászon region, “of Kézso” in Keresztúr region, “of old Kránci” in Csávás. Dancers thus remembered include “Ferkő Bonka,” “Ignác Gábor,” “the Köllös,” “Mihályka,” “Jankó,” or “Sompál” (abbreviated from Solyom Pál) in the Gyergyó region; “János Szabó” in Fejérd on the river Kis-Szamos, “András Vánca” in Felsőtők, etc. (See also ex. 24 on p. 138.)

Ex. 16. “Mihályka’s” (fast *verbunk*). Marosfalu (Gyergyó region)<sup>213</sup>



<sup>210</sup> Cited in Pesovár, E. 1972. 40.

<sup>211</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 6.

<sup>212</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954b. 151. 69n.

<sup>213</sup> Fiddle: József Balla, Hungarian, b. 1929. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 08.11.1981, Marosfalu (Gyergyó region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 27.

Ex. 17. "Ignác Gábor's" (slow csárdás). Gyergyóremete (Gyergyó region)<sup>214</sup>



Ex. 18. "Ignác Gábor's" (slow csárdás). Csíkszentdomokos (Felcsík region)<sup>215</sup>



<sup>214</sup> Fiddle: Vilmos Máté, aged 59, Hungarian Rom. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 02.10.1980, Gyergyóremete. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 127. Type No.: 18.026.o/o (XVIIIh). Variants: Bándy, M.–Vámszer, G. 1937. 54. Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 130. Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (publ.) 1974. No. 255. Juhász, Z. 1989. No. 42. Mîrza, T.–Szenik, I. etc. 1978. No. 501. Pávai, I. 1993. No. 127. Tari, L. 1989. No. 98.

<sup>215</sup> Fiddle: László Balog, Hungarian Rom, b. 1924. *Gardon*: Mrs László Balog b. Ida Hangya, Hungarian Romni, b. 1931, *estam*. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 20.03.1980, Csíkszentdomokos (Felcsík region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 124. Type No.: 18.169.o/o. Variants: Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. No. 1A35. Járdányi, P. 1943b. No. 13ab. Medan, V. 1968. No. 105; 1972. No. 93. Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 168–169. Szegő, J.–Dobó, K. 1958. 137–138. Tornea, P. 1978. No. 58.

Consider also the following details of interviews from Szék. “Certain tunes for the [dance] *lassú* belong to almost everybody, but some others got stuck to three or four persons... say, this is the *lassú* of Pista Kicsi Minya, the *lassú* of uncle Dani Kálmán, or that of uncle Gyuri Varga [...] A *lassú* may have different owners in each part of the village, in Forrószeg, Felszeg, or Csipkeszeg [...] In olden times, when you liked a *csárdás*, or a *lassú* [tune], you bought it [...] Pista ‘Icsán’ [a fiddler] told me: people were dancing at a party, and one said, ‘Well, uncle Pista, this one is very dear to my heart, from now on it will be mine, my *lassú*.’ Uncle Pista replied, ‘Well, sonny, then you must buy it. If you want to have it, I will always play it for you alone when you dance in front of me, but you must buy it.’ And he paid a high price [...] A good fiddler knows the habits of the people. Then they will say he is reliable, and can be hired to any party or wedding; he knows the village, he knows what to play for whom.”<sup>216</sup>

The quotation above also reveals that the names *lassú*, *csárdás*, etc. may not only refer to the dance, but also to its music, or a certain tune of it. This terminological practice is prevalent in all regions, and so it has been in the past. In the Nativity play of Ónfalva, the old shepherd tells his mate playing the flute, “Play a dance.”<sup>217</sup> In 1854, Gábor Mátray writes, “Hungarian dance music is simply called *magyar*. When we want the musician to play such a tune, we say, ‘Play a *magyar*.’”<sup>218</sup> Therefore, in the excerpt from Gvadányi quoted above, the persons named did not each have a different type of dance of their own, but a different tune they particularly liked for the same Polish dance. In most regions, the musicians are encouraged to play with such exclamations as “play a *csárdás*,” “play a *verbunk*,” and the musicians would say: “we played a dance.”

Thus, in traditional usage, the word dance (*tánc*), as well as the names of diverse dances, may also designate their music. This may cause problems in the communication between collector and informant, when the researcher means one of them (e.g. the dance) and the informant understands the other (the tune). It is another question that in some cases, the designation of the proprietary right might also mean a separate dance. In the Gyergyó region, for instance, “Ferkő Bonka’s” may mean a set of archaic tunes (identical with those of “Ignác Gábor”); alternatively, it may denote a manner of dancing, as a funny imitation of the late Ferkő Bonka dancing “tipsily” or “clumsily.” When they dance the usual slow *csárdás* to these tunes, the dance will not be called “Ferkő Bonka’s,” but the music still may.

<sup>216</sup> Virágvölgyi, M. 1982. 231; see also Halmos, B. 1980. 103. In Hungarian, any man older than the speaker may be called an “uncle” (*bácsi*) as an informal politeness device.

<sup>217</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1987. 498.

<sup>218</sup> Mátray, G. 1854/1984. 308.

### 4.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLLECTOR AND MUSICIAN

The interaction between collector and informant is a complex phenomenon worthy of research in its own right, as it may yield conclusions for the interpretation of collected samples of traditional culture.<sup>219</sup> Below I restrict the examination to the topic of this book, specifying a few typical cases of interaction between collector and instrumentalist supplying dance music.

During fieldwork, a researcher may find that a village musician plays differently when not playing for a dance, but e.g. for a recording. János Seprődi already observed this in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: “he plays differently when he is in high spirits, differently when scared, differently for good dancers, and again differently when reluctant. Surely, all people are subject to the effects of their momentary mood, but a musician of the folk so much so that he may change the amount and quality of ornaments accordingly, or conspicuously slow or quicken the pace.”<sup>220</sup>

Remuneration is another considerable factor. In Szék, a tune was named “*piculás csárdás*” (‘one-penny *csárdás*’), for a dancer once paid for it with small coins.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, musicians usually play it when they are not decently paid. Fiddlers playing for money are documented in Transylvania since 1573, the date of the following entry in the legislation records of Kolozsvár: “Miklós Ferkel testifies that he had a tavern at his house. Three foot soldiers came in and sat down [...] They also brought a fiddler along to play for them for money.”<sup>222</sup>

The success of fieldwork may often depend on the finances. Still, even if the musician is well paid, without dancers he may play faster or slower than usual, and the sequence of tunes, or the mode of performance, may also be partly different from the way he plays for dance. Therefore, as has been pointed out in the *Introduction*, so-called functional recordings, taken during spontaneous dance occasions, without external influence on the playing of the musicians, are indispensable for an insight into folk dance music. Even if the entire tune repertoire of a musician cannot be explored on such an occasion, it can still be investigated later, with the help of questionnaires. It is important to record conversations with the musicians, clarifying questions that remained in obscurity after passive observation. It is also worthwhile to ask good dancers, well versed in tradition, to check the relevant part of the information thus gained.

There are further data on the contractual relationship between collector and village musician. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lajos Kocsis, a student of János Seprődi, collected

<sup>219</sup> See Csalog, Zs. 1993.

<sup>220</sup> Seprődi, J. 1974. 143.

<sup>221</sup> Halmos, B. 1980. 99–100.

<sup>222</sup> EMSzT V. 2.

dance tunes by learning to play them on his violin after hearing from fiddler János Szalontai of Alsótök, whom he taught waltzes in return.<sup>223</sup>

There is a new kind of feedback observable in cases of recent fieldwork. Since researchers are usually in search of the archaic items of folk music, the informant is quick to realize the importance of the demanded material, and tries to preserve, or even deliberately learn archaic tunes from other fiddlers, singers, or dancers, so that he may “market” them during the next collecting session. Fiddler István Szabó of Szék “consciously collects old tunes, tries to preserve and keep alive old customs, and to teach the young” Márta Virágvölgyi writes.<sup>224</sup> As Szabó himself says of what he learnt in this way, “I make the others like them as they see that I like them. It’s up to us whether the past will remain with us.”<sup>225</sup> If the musician can dance, he likes to teach the children: “he taught them to dance the *tempó* (men’s dance of Szék), for he would get money for it later.”<sup>226</sup>

Further special aspects of collector–informant interaction are to be discussed in the subchapter *Factors of data collection influencing authenticity* of the chapter on folk polyphony (p. 328 ff.).

#### 4.4 INTERETHNIC ASPECTS

Before examining interethnic relations in folk dance music, first we must investigate the ethnicity of the musicians and the dancers, and the ethnic specificities that the music, or some elements thereof, may have.<sup>227</sup>

##### 4.4.1 Ethnicity and changes of ethnic identity

To determine the ethnic identity of a population is always a challenge, even for official statisticians working with a professional apparatus. The legal principle stipulating self-reported identity as the decisive criterion in official censuses seems to simplify the issue. Still, it may be in the presumed or their true interest of citizens to conceal their real identity; in addition, there are people, and even communities, with uncertain or dual identities. In such cases, there are often discrepancies between the data given in

<sup>223</sup> Almási, I. 1980. 274.

<sup>224</sup> Virágvölgyi, M. 1981. 222.

<sup>225</sup> Virágvölgyi, M. 1982. 232.

<sup>226</sup> Halmos, B. 1980. 102.

<sup>227</sup> Pávai I. 1998.

rubrics of nationality, mother tongue, and religious denomination. Here is an example from the history of the past decades. During the Romanian census of January 1992, the general practitioner of Tatrang (Barcaság region) distributed among local Roms medicines he had received through a western humanitarian aid program, asking them in return to report themselves as Romanians.

Besides such direct influencing, there are more natural processes of ethnic gravitation, first of all among the Roms. In Transylvania, both Roms and non-Roms colloquially categorize the settled Romani population, living together with other ethnic groups, as Hungarian Roms, Romanian Roms, and Saxon Roms, apart from those who still have a nomadic way of life. Similar distinctions can be found in Southwest Hungary between German and *vend* [Slavic] Roms, or in Dobruja and Bulgaria between Turkish, Vlach, and Bulgarian Roms.<sup>228</sup>

To avoid misunderstanding, it must be noted that the concept of Hungarian Roms in Transylvanian colloquial usage is not to be confused with the term *romungro* or *ungrorom*, which means literally the same, but mostly designates Roms in Hungary, Slovakia, and other countries who speak either Hungarian, or the Carpathian dialect of the Romani language, as mother tongue. By the same token, the Transylvanian concept of Romanian Roms is not identical in meaning with the term *oláh cigány/vlašíkó rom* (roughly 'Wallachian Rom') referring, again, to a linguistic dialect and the corresponding group of people. Nor should it be confused with an interpretation sometimes found in research literature that Romanian Roms should mean those Roms whose mother tongue is Romanian rather than Romani.<sup>229</sup> By contrast, the Transylvanian concept of Hungarian Roms refers to those who live in a Hungarian environment, use the Hungarian as second language in addition to their first language Romani, and strive to assimilate culturally to the Hungarians, their religion also aligning with a denomination mostly comprising Hungarians. The same applies to Romanian and Saxon Roms in relation to the Romanian and Saxon ethnic groups, respectively.

In reality, this fairly clear position of Roms between two ethnic groups is further tinted by the impacts of historical and social factors. None of the consecutive political systems emancipated the Roms; they were merely tolerated as citizens of secondary rank. That is the main reason why they had to choose from among the three categories described above, adjusting to the local majority. In settlements where the rate of two or three acknowledged ethnic groups was more or less balanced, the Roms obviously aligned with the dominant nation of the state they currently belonged to.

Owing to the changes of power over Transylvania in the course of history, Roms were under pressure to change strategies of adaptation rather frequently. Consequently,

228 Kósa, L. 1977. 426. (Transdanubia); Kovalcsik, K. 1984. 209 (Bulgaria); Saunders, Camilla priv. coll., István Pávai priv. coll. (Dobruja).

229 Hutterer, M.–Mészáros, Gy. 1967. 5; Kovalcsik, K. 1985. 9; 1988. 215.

there are several further Romani groups in today's Transylvania. There are groups who no longer speak Romani, proclaim themselves as Romanians or Hungarians, but are still regarded as Roms by their environment. For instance, in Székelyföld, not all Roms speak Romani. As a musician of Abásfalva replied to my relevant question in 1989, "In our parts, all the Roms are like us... speaking Hungarian. We don't even speak Romanian, let alone Romani... Only Hungarian. We are craftsmen, and diligent, honest Hungarians." One of his fellow musicians shaded the issue further, illuminating the peculiarity of their ethnic identity: "We are Hungarians. Only Hungarians say we are Roms."

In other regions, such as localities along the river Kis-Küküllő with a former Saxon presence, there were Roms speaking three languages, and culturally aligning in several directions. During the communist era, the authorities decided that the children of Hungarian Roms be enrolled in classes with Romanian as the language of tuition, without asking the parents. As a result, in ethnically mixed regions with a lower rate (hence lower linguistic and cultural influence) of Hungarians, Roms changed their bilinguality from Romani–Hungarian to Romani–Romanian, while they usually preserved their former religious denomination. That explains why Roms in the Mezőség region without a knowledge of the Hungarian language belong to the parish of Calvinist Hungarians. Recent generations of Mezőség musicians, playing also for Hungarians, belong to this category. Owing to the mass exodus of Transylvanian Saxons, the category of Saxon Roms is on the verge of dissolution. A few village musicians proudly mention that their fathers were Saxon Roms. In their way of thinking, the categories of Saxon, Hungarian, and Romanian Roms constitute a hierarchy in this order.

After the political turn of December 1989 in Romania, there was hope that the Roms might organize into an independent ethnic community. For the time being, however, the interethnic lines of forces that emerged in previous periods still appear to be effective, with an increasing factor of uncertainty. In the clash between Romanians and Hungarians of March 1990 in Marosvásárhely, the Roms in and around the town stood on the Hungarian side. In the municipal elections of 1992, by contrast, leaders of the Party of the Roma called on their members to vote for the candidate of the Romanian National Unity Party.

Similar intricate cases of ethnic transformation may be found in the case of former communities of Bulgarian, Greek, Armenian, or Jewish origin in Transylvania. Since their folk dance music has never been researched, nothing can be contended of the interethnic aspects of their culture in this field. It is known from the census of Szamosújvár in 1750, that the town with an overwhelming majority of Armenians also had its Romani musicians, for among the fifteen Roms registered, there were "10 blacksmiths, 1 boot-maker, 3 fiddlers or musicians."<sup>230</sup>

<sup>230</sup> Kádár, J. 1900–1903. VI. 200.

The traditional secular music of Jewish communities once living in Transylvanian villages mostly came into the focus of folk music research after World War II, when these communities no longer existed. Old rural Romani musicians who had already been active before the war still recalled some tunes they used to play at Jewish weddings or other dance occasions.

*Ex. 19. Jewish wedding circle dance. Marosoroszfalu (Upper Maros valley).<sup>231</sup>*



What has been said so far might give the impression that the complexity of interethnic relations in Transylvania was mainly caused by the relatively mobile ethnic elements, such as Roms or Jews, while the three large ethnic groups of Romanians, Hungarians, and Saxons were more stable. In fact, the situation is more complicated.

The first groups of people later called Saxons were resettled by King Géza II of Hungary from Luxembourg and the valleys of the Mosel and the Middle Rhine into the royal demesnes in Southern Transylvania, as well as the regions of the rivers Maros and Szamos, in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. At the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, new settlers arrived, this time to the environs of Beszterce and to the Barcaság region. After the Mongol invasion, King Béla IV invited still further settlers from Saxony to make up for the loss of population. The latter gradually took over the leading role from the Franconians among the German groups of Transylvania, which explains the designation of all these groups as Transylvanian Saxons. Warfare in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> centuries took a toll on the Saxon population as well. In the Western Transylvanian parts, many of them assimilated into the Hungarian ethnicity. To replace the losses, Maria Theresa resettled

<sup>231</sup> Dénes Moldován, Hungarian Romani fiddler, b. 1917. Recorded by István Pávai, 13.09.1987.

Austrian Protestants to Transylvania. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, settlers from Württemberg completed the variegated ethnic blend of Transylvanian Germans.<sup>232</sup>

Although the Transylvanian Saxon vernacular is closer to Luxembourgish than to standard German,<sup>233</sup> during the period of romantic nationalism the Saxon intellectuals educated in Germany advocated the spreading of standard German, and the idea of cultural affiliation with the *Mutterland*. This resulted in a top-down change of Transylvanian Saxon culture, which evidently affected their traditional dance culture. However, relatively little is known about this transformation. Saxon folk dances were never researched with strictly scientific methods, and now there is hardly any hope for success. The reason for that is not only the mass emigration, but also the impossibility to differentiate survival and revival elements. As late as in the 1970s, I met a Saxon intellectual who deemed the dance of Saxon villagers “incorrect” and taught them the dances anew on the basis of books from Germany. At any rate, Saxons must have had an important role in the Transylvanian dissemination of Western European couple dances of regulated structure from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and of the urban social dances in subsequent periods. Some of these dances became so thoroughly assimilated in Romanian or Hungarian folklore that their borrowing was forgotten. In Romanian villages around Maroshévíz, a German-style dance cycle of several sections is known with the name *ștraiere* (apparently formed from *steirisch* ‘Styrian’); the locals regard neither the dances, nor their name as German. Similarly, several tunes of German origin have been integrated in Hungarian folk music.<sup>234</sup>

Over the centuries of coexistence, the ethnic groups of Romanians and Hungarians became interwoven to a great extent. The reason for that is not only the fact that both groups absorbed similar Romani, Greek, German, Armenian, Slavic, or Jewish influence, but also the amalgamation of the two groups themselves. Among Transylvanian Romanians, there are many Hungarian surnames,<sup>235</sup> and even the most compact block of ethnic Hungarians, the Székelys, feature some names of Romanian origin. I will cite a few historical data on cases of changing ethnicity without trying to exhaust the topic. In pre-Reformation Transylvania, Catholic Hungarians had to pay tithe to the church, in addition to the services expected by the landlord, while Orthodox Romanians were only liable to pay “the fiftieth of sheep” (*quingagesima*). This motivated poorer Hungarians to convert to the Orthodox faith, which meant financial advantages. As a result, most converts gradually gave up their former ethnic identity and mother tongue, adapting to the customs of their chosen new collective. Pope Clement VI entrusted the Franciscans in 1345 with converting the Romanians of Byzantine rite to

<sup>232</sup> Kósa, L. 1981. 566–567.

<sup>233</sup> Sala, M.–Vintilă Rădulescu, I. 1981. 151.

<sup>234</sup> See e.g. Tari, L. 1999b.

<sup>235</sup> Iordan, I. 1983. 16.

Catholicism. Though King Louis the Great of Hungary supported this intention with the means of power, the mission was unsuccessful, first of all because the Catholic clergy insisted on the tithe, while no such obligation existed in the Eastern church. The Romanians in Transylvania began to fall under tithing with the decline of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary after 1526, but their financial situation still remained better than what could be expected south of the Carpathians. This is proven by three letters sent by the Voivodes of Wallachia to Prince Apafi of Transylvania in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, concerning entire villages of Romanians who had fled from Wallachia to Transylvania because of the heavy taxes.<sup>236</sup>

The ever sharper political rivalry between ethnic groups in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, led by intellectuals intent on developing the national identity of their respective communities, confused villagers of diverse ethnicity, mother tongue, and religion. Those in mixed marriages, or with double ethnic bonds of another nature, were increasingly forced to identify with the local majority. Subsequently, the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries saw consecutive waves of forced and state-controlled assimilation in favor of German, Hungarian, or Romanian identity, depending on the political regime. In the following, I will cite a less widely known case of the latter.

Although in Transylvanian general consciousness, being Orthodox implies being Romanian, there were sporadic Hungarian Orthodox communities until as late as the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their parishes had always belonged under the Romanian bishopric, but their priests preached in Hungarian. Balázs Orbán estimated the number of Orthodox Székelys in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at thirty thousand.<sup>237</sup> After World War I, Romanian authorities registered them as Magyarized Romanians and began to “re-Romanianize” them by ordering their schools and churches to use the Romanian language exclusively. By now, as a result, many have indeed become Romanians, others are struggling with confused ethnic identity. In one of these villages, where no Catholic or Protestant Hungarians live, who might help spread the Hungarian language, a young man said, “We are Romanians, but we all know Hungarian, we learnt it from our elders.” Interestingly, in these villages, the texts connected to wedding rituals are recited in Romanian, not only in church but also at the houses of the groom and the bride, while at the wedding party and other dance occasions, they dance the Hungarian dances of the vicinity, as they do not know any Romanian dances. During merry-making by the table in the intervals of dancing, they also sing Hungarian reveling songs, their Romanian repertoire comprising mostly urban popular songs, and none of the archaic Romanian stock.

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<sup>236</sup> Jancsó, B. 1931. 49, 66, 172, 174.

<sup>237</sup> Orbán, B. 1870. IV. 72.

To conclude, the coexistence of diverse ethnic groups in Transylvania has brought about a complex, highly intricate situation in which states between two or three categories, or uncertain identities owing to the pull of mother tongue, religion, and national identity in different directions, are encountered quite frequently. As will be seen in the following, this trend is even more emphatic in the field of folk dance music, since dances and instrumental music can be borrowed independently of the spoken language.

#### 4.4.2 Changes of ethnic affiliation in the dance music repertoire

As can be demonstrated for centuries in retrospect, dances and the related tunes have been spreading all over Europe in waves of fashion.<sup>238</sup> It would otherwise be hard to explain the connections in the following music example. I collected the tune of stave (b) among the Hungarians of Moldavia; it is played on the bagpipe to the dance *ciganyászka* (from Romanian *țigăneasca*, ‘in the Romani style’).<sup>239</sup> The same motif is repeated in two 16<sup>th</sup> century dance tunes, the one in stave (c) put down in Poland, the one in (d) in Italy. The earliest European occurrence of the motif is shown in stave (a), a 13<sup>th</sup> century gymel.

Ex. 20. (a) *Nobilis, humilis* (gymel, 13<sup>th</sup> c.); (b) *Ciganyászka* (Nagypatak, Moldavia);  
(c) *Heyducken Tanz* (16<sup>th</sup> c.); (d) *Danza* (16<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>240</sup>



<sup>238</sup> Pesovár, E. 1980c.

<sup>239</sup> For a detailed transcription, see ex. 31 on p. 173. For another variant from Moldavia, with a minor third, and with Hungarian words, see Domokos, P. P.–Rajeczky, B. 1956. 238.

<sup>240</sup> a) Forrai, M. 1977. 22. The indicated source: Codex Upsaliensis C 233; Adler, G. 1930. 136. b) János Duma „Porondi”, aged 86, Hungarian bagpiper. Recorded by István Pávai, 17.05.1978. The Romanian name of the dance: *ca la ușa cortului* (‘outside the entrance of the tent’). For a detailed transcription, see ex. 31. c) Szabolcsi, B. 1970. 48, no. 8b. d) Szabolcsi, B. 1970. 50, no. 12. The melody table only contains smaller excerpts from the examples.

A factor contributing to the blurring of ethnic specificities in Transylvania was the fact that folk dance music had been supplied by specialized Romani musicians for several centuries. Musical dynasties evolved who provided dance music to entire regions, regardless of ethnicity. It was in their financial interest to know the most archaic tunes, as well as the novelties of the latest fashion.<sup>241</sup> Bands of Jewish musicians, ready to supply music for diverse social groups, must also have been common in Transylvania, just as they were in Western and Southern Hungary according to several 18<sup>th</sup>-century accounts.<sup>242</sup> I have only found traces of such ensembles in Máramaros. In Central Transylvania, however, I often met with the terms *zsidóbrácsa* ('Jewish viola'), and *zsidóstím* ('Jewish tuning'), designating chiefly the less frequently used viola with four, instead of three, strings, and a flat bridge, as well as its tuning (p. 154, ex. 30). Sometimes the tuning of a three-stringed viola is also called *zsidóstím* (p. 152, ex. 27).<sup>243</sup> These terms must be remnants of the memory of one-time Jewish musicians.

Among professional rural musicians, differences in ethnicity do not necessarily mean differences in expertise. Therefore, the statistical fact that most of these musicians are of Romani origin may be misleading, for excellent Hungarian and Romanian fiddlers are also known. This may even apply to harmonic sense, for there are tone-deaf *kontra* and bass players among the Roms, whereas some Hungarian and Romanian musicians can play the *kontra* as tradition requires.

At the same time, it may be confusing to find *cigány* ('Rom') in diverse written sources as the term for musician. As early as 1943, Járdányi warns, on the basis of his experience in Kide, "Musicians may be called *cigány* even if they are not of Romani origin: 'Once he is a musician, he is a *cigány*!'"<sup>244</sup> That applies to the whole of Transylvania. In 1952, one-legged Hungarian musician András Csűrös of Kászonaltíz, then 65 years old, said, "I stole the tricks and effects on the fiddle from the Roms, and the tunes from the Hungarians... I was a perfect *cigány*!"<sup>245</sup>

<sup>241</sup> On the role of the Romani in the transmission of folklore, see Martin Gy. 1980c.

<sup>242</sup> Innsbruck-based specialist of the question András Borgó kindly informed me in a letter that the symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) in Schladming, Austria, in summer 1989, included a session on Jewish itinerant musicians. He also called my attention to some works elaborating or touching on the topic: Nettel, P. 1923; Idelsohn, A. Z. 1929; Slobin, M. 1982.

<sup>243</sup> *Zsidóstím* often means the tuning g d a of the Transylvanian three-stringed *kontra* as opposed to the more usual version g d<sup>1</sup> a; or, in other cases, the tuning c g d a of the four-stringed viola with a similarly flattened bridge.

<sup>244</sup> Járdányi, P. 1943b. 37, fn.11.

<sup>245</sup> Sebestyén Dobó, K. 2001. 265.



Fig. 20. Hungarian pupil of a Romani fiddler. Tarkó (Gyimes region). 1961

It is rare to find a professional village band consisting only of Hungarians or Romanians. Usually, a Hungarian or Romanian fiddler, *kontrás*, or bass player plays together with Roms (p. 302, fig. 80). A band exclusively of Hungarians is usually an emergency solution, when there are no specialized Romani bands at hand. In Alsósófalva, a band of Hungarians was formed to play at weddings when the Romani musicians of Felsősófalva had passed away. In Küsmöd, a band of local Hungarians was available for parties and weddings, in addition to the Romani band.<sup>246</sup>

In the decline of professional village music in the recent decades, one factor was that many good fiddlers were lured to play in urban folk ensembles, and several others moved to towns to seek jobs in factories. That coincided with the spread of popular art music, and composed *csárdás* pieces in the radio and on records. These styles no longer required the virtuosity and the traditional manner of playing transmitted from generation to generation among professional village musicians, so people with mediocre technique on the fiddle also proved fit to perform that less demanding music.

In earlier times, in addition to employing the same musicians, joint occasions of dancing for people of different ethnicities also promoted interethnic musical contact. The most frequent of such occasions were weddings of ethnically mixed couples. Besides, in small villages of mixed ethnicity, there were not enough young people, hence also insufficient financial resources, in each group to hold traditional weekend dances separately. In larger settlements, dances were organized separately, but members of other ethnic groups were also invited.<sup>247</sup> This was another good opportunity to learn each other's dances.

<sup>246</sup> Piroška, J. 1996; 2002. 79.

<sup>247</sup> Karsai, Zs. 1958. 125; Almási, I. 1980. 276; Kallós, Z. 1964. 238.

In the relatively vast *Mezőség* region, there is less difference between Romanian and Hungarian dances than is between the dances of *Mezőség* Romanians and, for instance, those of the Romanians in the *Avas* region. As Bartók observes in 1934, Romanian folk music “is not homogeneous but often completely different, almost opposite, in character from one smaller or greater area to the other.”<sup>248</sup> It follows that folk dance and its music are not among the cultural features that define the whole ethnicity.

#### 4.4.3 Dance names derived from ethnonyms

In György Martin’s view, “The dance names derived from the names of peoples usually have the function of determining genres or types, and the dances and pieces of music thus denoted are the vehicles of specific formal, musical and rhythmical characteristics.”<sup>249</sup> The vast quantity and spatial range of such dance names in and around the area at issue is surprising. The dances these names designate are often included in the dance repertoire of several ethnic groups, and it may also occur that those referred to by the name do not use the dance at all. In the Inner *Mezőség* region, for example, *lassú cigánytánc* is danced by Hungarians, never by Roms. Instead of meaning a Romani dance, as might be supposed, the name presumably refers to the fact that this dance is usually begun with singing in front of the musicians (*cigány* in local usage). The music of this dance with asymmetric rhythm is so slow that only upon hearing it, one would hardly imagine it is dance music at all. In the Northern *Mezőség*, by contrast, the *lassú cigánytánc* is faster, and is danced by Hungarians, Roms, and Romanians alike, usually to the same tunes (the Romanian name is *fiğănește rar*). As another example, *ritka magyar* (in Romanian: *ungurește rar*), is considered a Hungarian dance at one place, Romanian at another.

In the village of Magyarózd in the Kutasföld region, *cigányos* (‘in the Romani style’) is simply the slightly accelerated section of the slow *csárdás*, in which the tune is no longer played cantabile by the Romani (i.e. musician), but with instrumental figurations. Thus, the name again does not refer to an ethnicity, but to a characteristically instrumental playing style. Balázs Orbán observed the same logic of naming in Székelyföld as early as the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: “there are, though, so-called *cigány* tunes, but this is none other than a jerky, staggered version of Hungarian *csárdás*, for the Romani fiddler have never created music anywhere, they have merely learnt the national music in our country, just as they did in Turkey or Spain, and, comprehending its spirit, mastered it through their innate musical genius.”<sup>250</sup>

<sup>248</sup> Bartók, B. 1934/1999. 224.

<sup>249</sup> Martin, Gy. 1985. 181.

<sup>250</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. 48.

In addition to *magyar*, *magyaros* and its derivatives, the Hungarian repertoire includes such dance names derived from ethnonyms as *cigánycsárdás*, *cigánytánc* (Roms); *németes*, *sánta németes* (Germans); *oláhos*, *féloláhos* (Romanians); *orosz verbunk* (Russians); *szászka*, *szásztánc* (Saxons); *zsidós*, *zsidótánc* (Jews). In the Romanian stock, besides the names like *româneasca*, *românește*, referring to their own ethnonym, there are references to Roms and Hungarians, while in the areas beyond the Carpathians, dance names may also refer to Bulgarians, Russians, Armenians, Serbs, Turks, and Jews (*țigănește*, *ungureasca*, *bulgăreasca*, *leșeasca*, *ruseasca*, *armeneasca*, *sârba*, *turceasca*, *ovreicuța*, *jidoves*).<sup>251</sup> This is not to say, of course, that such a dance and its tunes are products of the ethnic group named. Much rather, the name testifies the fact that in some or another phase of incessantly changing folk culture, that dance or tune was regarded as characteristic of that ethnicity.

In Martin's view, the appearance of dance names derived from ethnonyms in Europe can be put to the 16–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and at the beginning, such a designation was used by another ethnic group than the one referred to. *Magyar* as a dance name began to be used by Hungarians in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, “to ostentatiously underline the national character.”<sup>252</sup> This custom, introduced in the higher classes, was sometimes locally manifested in such a way that *magyar*, *magyaros* were used for widely known tunes and dances, while local dances and tunes received more specific names. Such is the case of *magyaros* versus *csángós* tunes as differentiated by musicians in the Gyimes region. The Székelys namely label Hungarians of nearby Gyimes (and of Moldavia) as *Csángó*, therefore, *magyaros* and *csángós* indicate the distinction between general Hungarian and local Hungarian tunes.

With the passing of time, the dance name alluding to an ethnicity would become so common that no one thought of the original meaning when uttering it, but only to the dance or music it denoted. Ex. 21 (p. 109) shows that the same tune is used for (a) the *zsuka* (‘Romanian dance’) of Hungarians in Felcsík, (b) the *féloláhos* of Udvarhelyszék, and (c) the *călușar* of Romanians beyond the Carpathians. This tune type also has historical analogies in written sources.<sup>253</sup> Two of them are added here: one is (e) “Lázár Apor’s dance” from János Kájoni’s manuscript of Csíksomlyó, written in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century; the other is (d) “Air des Bouffons” from Thoinot Arbeau’s *Orchésographie* (late 16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>251</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967; 1995. 287–294. Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970, 1985. III; Tari, Lujza 2001. 362–371; Niculescu-Varone, G. T.–Costache Găinariu-Varone, E. 1979.

<sup>252</sup> Martin, Gy. 1985. 181.

<sup>253</sup> On the broader connections of the tune family, see: Domokos, P. P. 1964; Richter, P. 1999b. 355–356.

Ex. 21. (a) *Zsuka (Felcsík)*; (b) *Féroláhos (Sóvidék)*; (c) *Călușar (Moldavia)*;  
(d) *Air des Bouffons (France, 16th c.)*; (e) *Lázár Apor's dance (Transylvania, 17th c.)*<sup>254</sup>

The image displays five staves of musical notation, labeled a) through e). Each staff represents a different dance melody. The key signature is G major (one sharp). Staff a) features a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure. Staff b) features a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. Staff c) features a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. Staff d) features a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. Staff e) features a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

<sup>254</sup> a) Fiddle: László Balog, aged 56, Hungarian Rom, Csíkszentdomokos. Recorded by István Pávai, 20.03.1980. b) Elek Benedek, aged 68, Hungarian peasant, Atyha. Recorded by István Pávai, 27.06.1975. c) Burada, T. T. 1978. 209. d) Arbeau, T. 1596. 99. e) Seprődi, J. 1974. 227.



First system of musical notation, measures 1-4. The score consists of five staves labeled a) through e). The key signature is one sharp (F#). Staff a) features a triplet of eighth notes in measure 1, a dotted quarter note in measure 2, a half note in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4. Staff b) has a quarter note in measure 1, a dotted quarter note in measure 2, a half note in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4. Staff c) has a quarter note in measure 1, a dotted quarter note in measure 2, a half note in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4. Staff d) has a quarter note in measure 1, a dotted quarter note in measure 2, a half note in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4. Staff e) has a quarter note in measure 1, a dotted quarter note in measure 2, a half note in measure 3, and a quarter note in measure 4.



Second system of musical notation, measures 5-8. The score consists of five staves labeled a) through e). The key signature is one sharp (F#). Staff a) features a triplet of eighth notes in measure 5, a dotted quarter note in measure 6, a half note in measure 7, and a quarter note in measure 8. Staff b) has a quarter note in measure 5, a dotted quarter note in measure 6, a half note in measure 7, and a quarter note in measure 8. Staff c) has a quarter note in measure 5, a dotted quarter note in measure 6, a half note in measure 7, and a quarter note in measure 8. Staff d) has a quarter note in measure 5, a dotted quarter note in measure 6, a half note in measure 7, and a quarter note in measure 8. Staff e) has a quarter note in measure 5, a dotted quarter note in measure 6, a half note in measure 7, and a quarter note in measure 8.

#### 4.4.4 An interethnic dance cycle

Musical interactions may affect one or another element of folk music (melody, rhythm, form) separately, together, or in diverse combinations; besides, text, function, or manner of performance, in one or more features, may also be affected. When the influence affects all elements at the same time, we may speak of the borrowing of a complete folklore item. However, partial influences afford a far deeper insight into the cultural life of coexisting ethnicities; they may be explained by ethnic amalgamation, the natural cultural exchange resulting from coexistence, as well as the mediating role of individuals or communities of unstable ethnic identity, as described in the first part of this chapter.

Breaking down dance tunes to musical constituents, and demonstrating the complex interethnic influence in each case, would far exceed the scope of this book. Therefore, to conclude the discussion of interethnic issues, I will describe a specific case of interaction affecting entire tunes and dances. In the village of Vajdaszentivány near Marosvásárhely, the local dance cycle, as we may call a series of dances from interval to interval at weddings or other entertainments, has no ethnically distinct forms; i.e. there are no Hungarian, Romanian or Romani cycles, unlike in most multiethnic settlements.<sup>255</sup> All three communities dance the same cycle integrating Hungarian, Romanian, and Romani dances, or rather, dances traditionally attributed to these ethnicities, as well as dances they regard as ethnically mixed. The reason may be that there are rarely any separate dance occasions for each ethnicity; a Hungarian wedding is also attended by Romanian or Romani guests, and vice versa.

The Vajdaszentivány dance cycle opens with (a) *verbunk* (in Romanian, *bărbunc*), followed by (b) Hungarian *forduló*, (c) Hungarian *lassú*, or *lassú csárdás*, then (d) the allegedly mixed *korcsos* (in Romanian, *corcioșă*), (e) *cigánycsárdás* (in Romani, *butadyi*), and finally, (f) the Romanian *bătuta* (in the local Hungarian pronunciation, *batuka*).<sup>256</sup> As Vajdaszentivány fiddler Elek Horváth told me, *batuka* had a single Transylvanian Romanian tune in earlier times. During his army service in Bucharest, he learnt other Romanian tunes, which he applied to *batuka* at home.

<sup>255</sup> On dance cycles, see also Giurchescu, A. 1959; Martin, Gy. 1970, 1978; Pesovár, F. 1978.

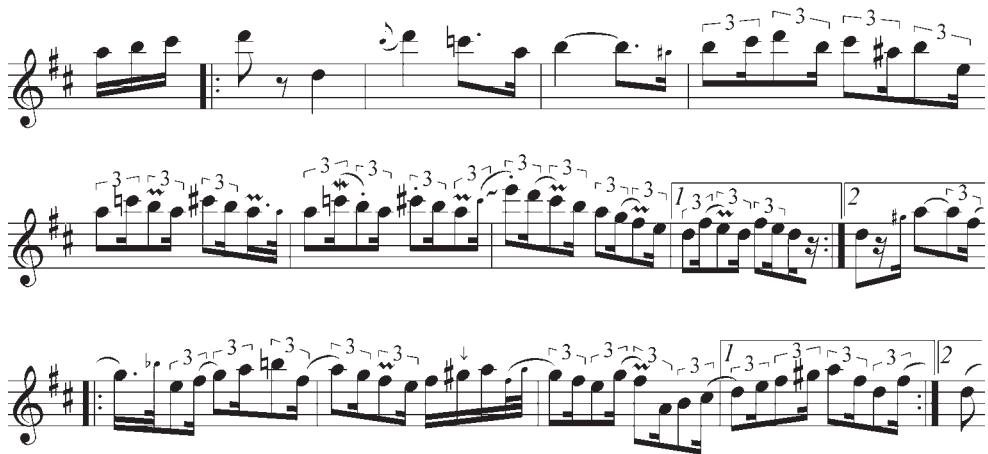
<sup>256</sup> Vavrincz, A. 1992; 2000.

Ex. 22. Examples of tunes for each dance of the Vajdaszentivány dance cycle (Upper Maros region).<sup>257</sup>

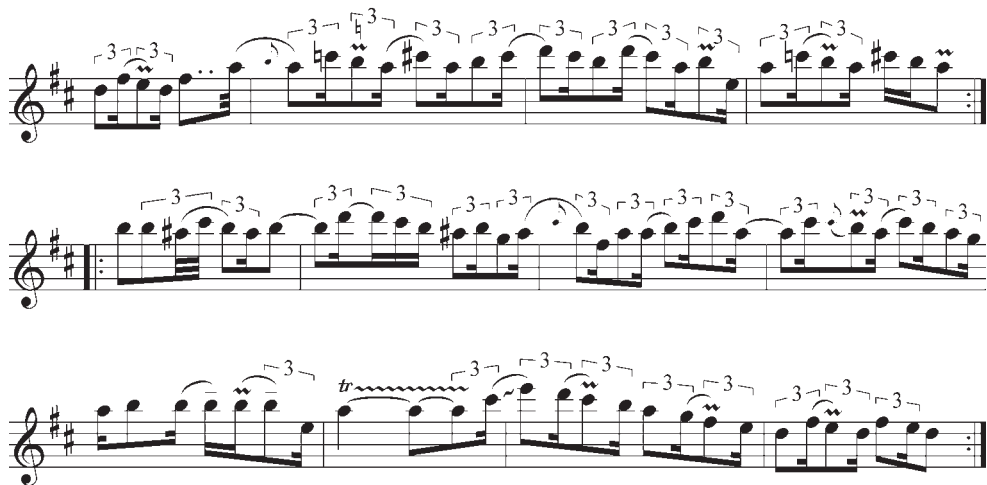
a) Verbunk – Bärbunc



b) Forduló



<sup>257</sup> Elek Horváth, Hungarian Romani fiddler, b. 1935. Recorded 15.05.1992, and transcribed, by István Pávai.

*c) Lassú (csárdás)**d) Korcosos – Corcioșă*

e) *Cigánycsárdás – Hutadyi*f) *Batuka – Bätuta*

#### 4.4.5 Interethnic changes in national and regional consciousness

It is generally accepted in Central and Eastern Europe that folk culture is part of the pertaining national culture. The question open to debate is, much rather, which elements or regional variants of folk culture can be seen as characteristic of the whole “folk,” or, further, of the whole nation. One common stereotype is fostered by members of an ethnic group (including intellectuals focusing mainly on in-group issues) who regard *their own* local culture as typical of the nation, and as the most “ancient” manifestation of its folk culture, while they consider partly different cultures of neighboring regions, which they may know only superficially, as degenerated due to foreign influence.

I have found this attitude among both Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania. In the 1980s, for example, I attended a Romanian wedding of a young man from a village on the river Kis-Küküllő, and a girl from the Upper Maros region near Szászrégen, who met in their workplace in Marosvásárhely. Such ethnically uniform but regionally mixed marriages were rare earlier; now they are common. The wedding guests mainly represented the two regions, in equal proportion. Upon the groom’s order, the musicians played the dance music of the two regions by turns. However, as the merriment and the amount of consumed alcohol increased, the two companies had less and less patience to hear the other group’s music, as they could not dance their own dances to it due to the differences in rhythm and tempo. For instance, both regions have a dance by the name *învârtita* (‘turning dance’), but they actually belong to different dance types; one is a couple dance in asymmetric rhythm and medium tempo, with fast *dăvô* accompaniment, while the other is a fast couple dance with *estam* accompaniment.<sup>258</sup> Obviously, neither of these dances can be danced to the other’s music. In the dispute, both parties insisted that theirs was *the* true Romanian *învârtita*; some people went so far as to declare that the dance of the other region was not Romanian at all.

I found myself in a similar situation during a sound recording session at the studio of the Regional Radio of Marosvásárhely. Waiting for their turn, the informants invited from different regions listened to each other’s music. A Romanian singer from Mócvidék opined that the dance music of Mezőség Romanians was wholly Hungarian, and did not understand why it was recorded at all. True Romanian music was, after all, what he sang.

I gathered similar experiences among Hungarians as well. Many Székelys look down on the Hungarian groups to the east and west of them, regarding the Csángós and the Mezőség people as inferior Hungarians. This is mainly due to their different linguistic dialect and traditional costume, which Székelys deem Romanian in character, compared to their own Székely costume. In fact, such regional differences often derive from phase

<sup>258</sup> For *dăvô* and *estam*, see the chapter “Rhythmic accompaniment of dances, p. 246 ff.”

shifts of historical development. The Székelys regard their relatively modern dance and music culture, which they deem ancient, as typically Hungarian, while they see the more archaic culture they label Csángó as alien. This designation in itself functions as a value judgment here.<sup>259</sup>

This attitude can also be observed in relation to music and dance tradition. The *gardon*, today known as a typical instrument of the Gyimes region, used to be indispensable in folk dance music throughout the Csík Basin until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Later, it went out of fashion, and only survived in Gyimes, and in some villages of Felcsík. Interestingly, this is not merely an issue of the disappearance of an instrument, but also of a changing attitude to it. In the late 1970s, I found several times in Csík villages that many disdained the *gardon*, branding it as a Csángó instrument.

Not only that once important instrument of Csík, but also the music itself, and the archaic manner of its performance, fell out of grace, eventually condemned as alien by their former users. Bartók writes to Stefi Geyer from Csíkrákos on 14 July 1907, “During a brief field trip of a week, we have collected six such peculiar tunes, which can’t be found ‘in Hungary.’ Should we find another fifteen, I would be ready to presume that they are prehistorical Székely melodies. And that would be a surprising discovery” (see p. 117, facs. 5).<sup>260</sup> As Kodály sums up Bartók’s Csík expedition of 1907, “He returned with such an immense amount of pentatonic tunes that, combined with my synchronous finds in the north, it became clear how fundamentally important that so-far unnoticed scale was.”<sup>261</sup> Both of them took this pentatonic tune stock as a basis for the intention to revive Hungarian art music in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As Bartók writes, “With us modern Hungarians, the case is a different one. We felt the mighty artistic power of the rural music in its most undisturbed forms—a power from which to start, from which to develop a musical style imbued even to the slightest details with the emanations from this virgin source...” “The important matter was to acquire the music language of our peasantry as a child learns his mother tongue, and, in possession of this musical mother tongue, to use it as a natural and, so to speak, unconscious means of expression in our works.”<sup>262</sup> Well, the majority of the richly ornamented pentatonic tunes collected here,<sup>263</sup> and particularly the ornamented vocal style itself, soon disappeared from the villages of the old Csík County, except for Gyimes, where the older generations preserved them until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By that time, Székelys of Csík labeled this manner of performance and repertoire as Romanian, or (in the best case) *csángó* in character.

<sup>259</sup> See Pávai, I. 1996b.

<sup>260</sup> Bartók, B., Jr. (ed.) 1981

<sup>261</sup> Kodály, Z. 1950/1982. 452. In more detail, see Pávai, I. (ed.) 2008a, chapter *A Székelyföld és a pentaton népdal felfedezése* [Székelyföld and the discovery of pentatonic folksong] (pp. 11–16).

<sup>262</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 383, 348.

<sup>263</sup> Rácz, I. 1972.

Facs. 5. A detail of Bartók's letter to Stefi Geyer. Csíkrákos, 14 July 1907.<sup>264</sup>

Vagy esetleg hasonló:



Ha kiindulok Erdély felől, ne nézz vissza hátra - felé, szűnnednek ne lépjen  
nehéz, hogy az idegen földre mégy



mi a közös zsigárdák ezeknek a melódiáknak?  
(milyen hangsor?!). Ugyebár ez a magyar hangsor:



a mely hasonlít az ősi-kínai hangsorhoz,



Rövid gy hat gy hatas után 6 ilyen különös  
melódiát adottunk össze, a melyen „Magyarorszá-  
gon” nem található. Ha még találunk vagy  
15 írt, akkor magyarul volna föltételezni,  
hogy ezek az ősi-keleti melódiák. I. er

264 Bartók, B. 1979, facs. 3.



Fig. 21. Bartók on his field trip in Csík County. Gyergyószentmiklós, 1907.<sup>265</sup>

This phenomenon actually consummates the process of the demise of archaic tune repertoire that Bartók witnessed, and described in another letter to Stefi Geyer, subtitled *A dialogue in Gyergyó-Kilyénfalva*, detailing the difficulties of fieldwork in a satirical tone.<sup>266</sup> On the disappearance of the ornamented manner of performance (“melismatic singing”), Kodály wrote down a remark in the early 1930s: “Many simply say it’s Romanian.”<sup>267</sup>

Repudiating the culture of one’s own ethnicity, and relegating it to another one, is not a new attitude, and can also be observed among intellectuals. Hungarians may be averse to a set of tunes taken over by other ethnicities (Romanians or Roms) from its former exclusively Hungarian use, and also to the Hungarian culture of other regions of which they have but sparse knowledge. As József Kádár writes about villagers of Szék in his monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County in 1903, “Their singing suggests some pensive brooding expressed in repeated, drawling motifs. When we hear a lad of Szék singing at a distance and cannot make out the words, we might even think it is a Romanian song.”<sup>268</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Photo by István Kováts. Ditta Pásztory’s estate in the Bartók Archives of the Institute for Musicology.

<sup>266</sup> Demény, J. (ed.) 1976. 120–123.

<sup>267</sup> Kodály, Z. 1993. 204.

<sup>268</sup> Kádár, J. 1903. 399.

Even more interesting is the view of Oszkár Mailand (1901), a folklorist, and a conscious researcher of Romanian–Hungarian relations: “The process of borrowing is wholly instinctive, as the following case testifies. I watched a dance in Szent-Gericze, where the fiddler played Romanian dance tunes, and the youth merrily danced the Romanian dances. Profoundly shocked, I asked the magistrate, a true Székely who boasted that despite his sixty years he was still ready to dance, ‘Why do you allow the fiddler to play Romanian dance tunes?’ In deep consternation, he insisted that the dance tunes were not Romanian, even summoning witnesses to prove his statement. There was no one to convince, for I would probably have injured their sense of national identity, had I clung strictly to my statement. I merely pointed out the different features of what they subsequently danced to Hungarian tunes compared to the earlier dance, and the magistrate admitted that the latter was indeed different, and promised to allow only this kind of dance from then on. The disseminator of the foreign tunes is obviously the Romani musician in this case, for he plays the same few tunes he knows best in Romanian and Hungarian Sunday dances alike.”<sup>269</sup> What Mailand saw was probably the Hungarian *forгатós* (‘turning’) dance, which really has common features with Romanian *invărtite*, though fairly different on the whole. In Mailand’s native region, Hunyad County, the Hungarians did not have this type of dance, while the Romanians did. That must have been the reason for his aversion to the Hungarian turning dance that he pleaded to ban. The dance he qualified as the Hungarian dance must have been the *csárdás*, of a relatively recent origin. Similar cases must have occurred elsewhere, which may explain why the archaic dances were pushed into the background in some regions, and why the *csárdás* became predominant nationwide; namely, the local intellectuals regarded the latter as typically Hungarian. The rural intelligentsia had always influenced the village communities they lived in, but their impact on the state of local traditional cultures increased from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and made strides with the elimination of illiteracy. The examination of this question is therefore important from the perspective of my topic.

It is intriguing to see the trend of cultural self-mutilation at work among Hungarian provincial intellectuals from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to our days. Depending on current ideologies received “from above,” it may also take other forms besides relegating the culture of one’s own ethnicity to others. It may also manifest itself in views like “only *magyar nóta* (urban popular songs) are genuinely Hungarian,” or its opposite “only ancient pentatonic folk songs are Hungarian,” or “only in arrangements may folk music be presented,” etc. The Hungarian dance house movement may have brought some change in this regard. In some places, simple villagers have learned to value their own traditional culture again, thanks to televised and broadcast programs promoting dance houses.

<sup>269</sup> Mailand, O. 1905. XVII–XVIII.



## 5 INSTRUMENTS OF DANCE MUSIC

International and Hungarian literature on the instruments of folk music, including Bálint Sárosi's publications, follow the six main aspects elaborated by the editors of the *Handbuch der europäischen Volksmusikinstrumente* Ernst Emsheimer and Erich Stockmann: (a) terminology, (b) ergology and manufacturing technology, (c) musical endowments and playing technique, (d) function, (e) instrument history, and (f) spatial range.<sup>270</sup> As my work is geographically limited to Transylvania, and in terms of genre, to folk dance music, there is no need to survey all these aspects in detail. In this chapter, therefore, I will include those instruments that were demonstrably used for *dance accompaniment* among the Hungarians of Transylvania in the period of folklore collections, or before, as verified by historical data.

I will not elaborate on the organological description of the instruments, or the technical details of sound production; on these aspects, Bálint Sárosi's summaries of the Hungarian material, and Tiberiu Alexandru's monograph of Romanian folk music instruments provide adequate information.<sup>271</sup> From the multifaceted history of instruments and their names, I only included such data that indicate from where, and in which periods, the studied instruments might have reached the Hungarians of Transylvania, and in which groups of society they were in use.

For the following overview of the instruments of dance music, I adopted the internationally acknowledged taxonomy, and its principles applied by Sárosi to the Hungarian stock of instruments. The foundations of this system were laid by Victor-Charles Mahillon in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; it was further improved by Curt Sachs and Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, and later by Hans-Heinz Dräger.<sup>272</sup> Accordingly, I present the instruments in the categories of idiophones, membranophones, chordophones, and aerophones. Further classification by the technique of sound production is, however, impeded exactly by the function of the instruments in dance accompaniment. For example, in some regions, the strings of the double-bass are sounded by rubbing with the hair of the bow for slow dances, but plucked or beaten for fast dances. At other times,

<sup>270</sup> Emsheimer, E.–Stockmann, E. 1967. 8.

<sup>271</sup> Alexandru, T. 1957; Sárosi, B. 1967, 1973a, 1976, 1998.

<sup>272</sup> Mahillon, V. 1880, <sup>2</sup>1897; Hornbostel, E.–Sachs, C. 1914; Dräger, H. 1948.

the body of the instrument may be beaten with the palm, temporarily subsuming the instrument under the idiophones. Thus, the varied practice of sound production makes it difficult to adjust to the well-known theoretical classification.

A special interpretation is required, due again to its peculiar use in folk music, by the *kontra*. Audiences and performers of folk dance music sometimes interpret it as a separate instrument, and expressly name it as such, irrespective of whether it is created by the transformation of a violin, or of a viola, or whether it is a home-made instrument of non-standard size. This is confirmed by the frequent naming of the melody-playing fiddle as *prima* in Hungarian, a backformation from *primás*. Similarly, the *gardon* is to be discussed as a separate instrument even if its form is cello-like, or if it was really transformed from a standard cello, because it is consistently used as a percussive instrument. At the same time, *gardon*, or *gordon*, is frequently used at several places in Transylvania for the double-bass or small bass.

As a rule, folk practice does not differentiate a factory-made double-bass, a cello, or a home-made bass instrument of non-standard size, by use or by terminology. I have no knowledge of any Transylvanian rural ensemble that performs differentiated cello parts, in accordance with the practice of urban Romani musicians, where the cello plays a counter voice. Thus, it would not be justified to discuss the cello separately from the double-bass as a functionally distinct instrument.

## 5.1 IDIOPHONES

### 5.1.1 Occasional rhythm instruments

Occasional rhythm instruments were commonly used for spontaneous and unplanned dances, or in communities whose financial, geographic, or social conditions prevented them from employing instrumentalists specialized in dance music, including manorial servants, dwellers of solitary farmsteads, herdsman, poorer Roms, and children. The objects used may be pieces of furniture, kitchenware, etc.<sup>273</sup>

Such a temporary rhythm section is perpetuated in a line by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos written in 1548, “They keep rattling two old pans, jumping and romping,” and illustrated by Balázs Orbán depicting itinerant Roms making merry on the outskirts of Csíkszentimre (Fig. 22 on p. 123 is a detail of fig. 66 on p. 216).<sup>274</sup>

<sup>273</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967. 144; Sárosi, B. 1969. 12–25; 1973a. 11–15; 1998. 8–11; István, L. 1994.

<sup>274</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. II. 48–49.



Fig. 22. Itinerant Romani child using a frying pan to beat the rhythm. *Alcsík region, 1860s*

### 5.1.2 Jew's harp

Among the idiophones, the Jew's harp is sometimes used as makeshift dance accompaniment. In parts of Asia and Oceania, it is made of bamboo. At some places, it is used by shamans to distort their voices. Its occurrence in Europe can be traced back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. In Alpine countries, it was a folk instrument of courtship.<sup>275</sup> It used to be common in the whole Hungarian language area; e.g. in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it was mentioned as a popular instrument around Nyitra.<sup>276</sup> The words of a children's game song recorded in Ótelek (Banat region) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century preserve the memory of Romani Jew's harp makers:

Jönnek, mennek a cigányok  
A széna murvába  
Hárman ülnek egy kis lovon,  
Dorombot csinálnak.

Roms come and go  
in the chopped hay,  
three of them sit on a small horse,  
they make Jew's harps.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>275</sup> BRZL I. 460.

<sup>276</sup> Kelecsényi, J. 1854. 207.

<sup>277</sup> Kiss, Á. 1891. 381. For another variant, as well as further data related to the instrument, see Sárosi, B. 1998. 19.

There are a few data on the instrument's occurrences in Transylvania from centuries ago. The municipal archives of Marosvásárhely preserves one of 1635: "[Katha] gave me two coins to buy a Jew's harp for her." The juridical records of the municipality of Kolozsvár for 1725 include the case of a thief caught red-handed with a bunch of Jew's harps and punished with caning.<sup>278</sup>

Among Hungarian ethnographic regions, the use of the Jew's harp remained most common by the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, also among women, in Moldavia. An excellent Jew's harp player, Mrs György Lőrincz born Luca Hodorog (b. 1920) of Klézse, played versions of the dance tunes used by Hungarians in the Szeret region for recording. There are sporadic data on the instrument in other regions.<sup>279</sup> It was probably known in a far larger area, but as it was not regarded a significant instrument, it has been defectively documented.

Historical linguists presume that the Hungarian name of the instrument *doromb* may be derived from the onomatopoeic verb *dorombol* ('to purr'); however, the form *doromblya* and other dialectal variants must have come from German *Trommel*, through the mediation of a Slavic language.<sup>280</sup> Among the Hungarians of Moldavia, it is sometimes called *dremba*, after Romanian *drâmbă*, e.g. in Klézse, where it was used in the spinning room for lack of a flute player, or before the arrival of the boys, if the girls already wanted to dance.<sup>281</sup> Among the Northern Csángós, its role was later taken over by the harmonica (called *muzikuca* in Szabófalva, or *muzsikaska* in Kelgyest).<sup>282</sup>

It is also to be taken into account that in some parts of Transylvania, the word *doromb* did not denote the metal idiophone Jew's harp, but a children's toy aerophone, made of willow bark, or onion, cucumber, or squash stalk, suitable only to produce a single droning sound.<sup>283</sup> As a child, I learnt its making and use from older children in Székelykeresztúr in the 1950s. In Korond, instruments of this kind are known among children as *figó* ('farter').<sup>284</sup> The *pásztordoromb* ('herdsmen's Jew's harp') or *duruzsoló* ('hummer') known in the Nagy-Sárrét region of the Great Hungarian Plain is, again, not a Jew's harp, nor an idiophone.<sup>285</sup> Thus, it is dubious whether the fields *Dorombkert* ('Jew's harp garden') outside Kraszna in the Szilágyság region were named after the idiophone.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>278</sup> EMSzT II. 467.

<sup>279</sup> Matyi, I. 1999. 239; Szilágyság; ÚMTSz I. 1007; Felsőszentmihály, Gyergyó region, Körösjánosfalva, Köröstárkány, Nagyszalonta.

<sup>280</sup> TESz I. 663.

<sup>281</sup> Gazda, J. [1993] 69.

<sup>282</sup> István Pávai priv. coll. Szabófalva; Gazda, J. [1993] 70; Kelgyest.

<sup>283</sup> István Pávai priv. coll. Székelykeresztúr.

<sup>284</sup> István, L. 1994. 8, 11–14, 17. 1994. 8, 11–14, 17.

<sup>285</sup> Sárosi, B. 1998. 93–94.

<sup>286</sup> Petri, M. 1901–1904 III 713.

## 5.2 MEMBRANOPHONES

### 5.2.1 Drum

As an instrument of shamanic rituals, the drum must have been used by Hungarian shamans (*táltos*) of the early Middle Ages as a cultic object of magic power.<sup>287</sup> However, ethnographic research in Transylvania has not documented its use in dance music at all, except for the recent appearance of percussion kits through the fusion of traditional bands with brass or pop bands. Instead, the only traditional percussion instrument of Transylvania is the chordophone *gardon*. In Lajos Vargyas' view, "This type of accompaniment presumably preserves the vestige of an advanced percussive music of early Hungarians."<sup>288</sup> The historical–etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language defines the Hungarian word for drum *dob* of onomatopoetic origin and discards propositions of Persian, Mongolian, or Turkic origin. In László Szabédi's Latin–Hungarian comparative phonology and morphology, *dob* is related to Latin *tubus* 'tube,' *tuba* 'sound tube.'<sup>289</sup>

In Hungarian settlements of Moldavia, the simple side drum or hand drum is used in the winter solstice custom *hejgetés* at some places, while at others, it may have been included in dance accompaniment as a product of musical self-sustenance. In the village of Trunk, animal skin was stretched over a sieve and sounded with a wooden stick. Villagers (never professional musicians) used it to accompany a melody-playing instrument, e.g. flute, koboz, or harmonica, at casual dance events like *táncguzsalyas* ('dance at the spinning room').



Fig. 23. Homemade hand drums for *hejgetés* and occasional dance accompaniment. Csik (Moldavia)<sup>290</sup>

<sup>287</sup> Diószegi, V. 1973. 69–71.

<sup>288</sup> Vargyas, L. 1990. 175.

<sup>289</sup> TESz I. 650; Szabédi, L. 1974. 163.

<sup>290</sup> Property of Grátzy Benke, Budapest, a native of Somoska (Moldavia).

Reliable old informants recalled that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, professional Romani musicians in Moldavia, or at least those who entertained local Hungarians, never used a drum. Its appearance was connected to modern trends among the majority Romanians; it was particularly used as an instrument in brass bands replacing traditional forms of music-making, e.g. in the village of Romani musicians Bacsoj on the left bank of the Szeret. Later, wind and stringed ensembles were occasionally mixed in diverse combinations, often including a drum, which was easier to use than any wind instrument. Thus, bass drums of brass bands, with a cymbal fastened to the top, have been common in folk dance music recently, both for Hungarians and Romanians (fig. 14). The drum is beaten with a thicker stick, the cymbal with a thinner one. The alternating rhythm thus produced is similar to the *estam*-like accompaniment on the *gardon* (see p. 162 ff.).



Fig. 24. Bass drum with cymbal. Bacsoj (Moldavia, left bank of the Szeret).<sup>291</sup>

<sup>291</sup> Property of Grátzy Benke, Budapest, a native of Somoska (Moldavia).

A snare drum may also be added to the cymbal and the bass drum, in which case the latter may be played with a pedal (fig. 25). Orthodox Romani musicians usually playing for Catholic Hungarians call such kits *jaz* or *jas* (pron. zhaz, zhas), as they were taken on from pop music.

Bass drums of brass bands also appeared in Székely regions where the local brass band learnt the wedding and dance music repertoire, and could substitute for the string band at wealthy weddings (fig. 26). Complex drum kits may appear in non-traditional bands of unfixed composition.

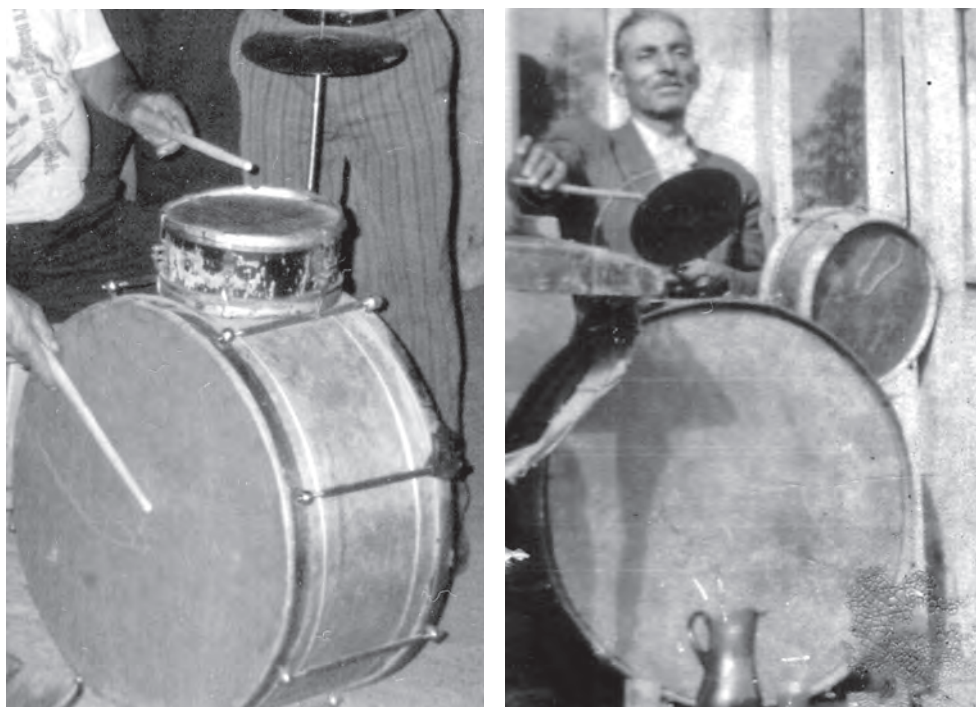


Fig. 25. (a) Bass drum, snare drum, and cymbal; (b) Pedal bass drum, snare drum, and cymbal.  
Redojé (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret)



*Fig. 26. A village brass band, which also played for weddings. Csikmadaras (Felcsik), around 1926*



*Fig. 27. A village Romani band of non-traditional composition. Ákosfalva (Lower Nyárád valley), 1970s–80s*



Fig. 28. A band of non-traditional composition, consisting of Hungarian villagers. Csíkrákos (Középcsík), 1973

### 5.3 CHORDOPHONES

#### 5.3.1 Zither

The most common plucked instrument in Transylvania is the zither (Hun. *citera*), which spread into almost every corner of the Hungarian language area in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the East, types of the zither have been in use for millennia, e.g. Chinese *zheng* and *guqin*, or Japanese *koto*.<sup>292</sup> However, the type with a fretboard used by Hungarians, similarly to Swedish *hummel*, or Norwegian *langleik*, is not of eastern origin, but a derivative of the Alpine *Kratz-Zither*, known since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Sárosi found that the instrument gradually spread eastward from the west, reaching the Csík Basin in the years of World War I.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Kárpáti, J. 1981. 104, 124.

<sup>293</sup> Sárosi, B. 1967. 30; 1973a. 37; 1983.

Of course, the name *citera* was known in Transylvania even earlier. Several 16<sup>th</sup>-century sources mention *citerás* musicians, and the word also occurs as a surname in Mezőmadaras in 1677.<sup>294</sup> It must be kept in mind, however, that the name may have designated different types of instruments earlier. Even if there were plucked ones among them, in 16–17<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian records, *cithara* could also denote the fiddle.<sup>295</sup> The Transylvanian dialect of the Romanian language still reminds one of this fact, calling the fiddle *cetera* to this day. The plucked zither (*țitera*, *țiitoarea*, *citura* in the Romanian vernacular) was used by Romanians around Bacău and Suceava (Moldavia), Ploiești and Bucharest (Wallachia), rather than Transylvania.<sup>296</sup> At places, *Citera* occurs in Romanian names of streams and fields; owing to its older provenance, this form is closer to the Hungarian original.<sup>297</sup>

The word *citera* comes from *kithara*, the name of an ancient Greek lyre type. Mediated by Latin *cithara*, it gave the name of several European instruments, including the *guitar*,<sup>298</sup> as well as types of the cittern, like the French *cither*, or the Italian *cetera*.

Balázs Orbán attests the spread of a new fashion of the zither in the 1860s, with regard to an earlier tradition: “In Etéd, there is an ancient instrument called *Timbora*, which I have never seen anywhere else. It is a long lute with four strings, fretted like the guitar; very fine plaintive trembling tones can be elicited from it; the strings are strummed with a feather. This may have been the instrument of our bards of olden times, and *the ancestor of the now perfected cythera*.”<sup>299</sup>

With reference to Balázs Orbán, the Pallas Encyclopaedia mentions the *timbora* in its entry of Etéd, and includes a detailed description in its supplementary volume: “*Timbora* is the name of a folk instrument in Székelyföld, particularly in Etéd. It consists of three wooden boards, 80 cm [31.5 in] in length and 10 cm [4 in] in width, glued together by the edges, laid with its blank side on a firm table fixed in place by its weight; for resonance, it has two coin-size holes on its upper side. At one end of the top plate, the six copper strings are fastened to six wooden pegs. It is not tuned according to the tuning fork but after the musician’s hearing, now lower, now higher. The originality of the thing is that the notes are only stopped on three strings with a blunt-end quill under the thumb of the left hand, while the right hand similarly strums the strings with a quill. The [melody] strings are all tuned to the same note. The other three are not touched with the fingers, being tuned to the notes of the chord. Obviously, only pieces in the given key, or

<sup>294</sup> EMSzT I. 385.

<sup>295</sup> Avasi, B. 1985; Király, P. 1987. 29–31, 34–38.

<sup>296</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 123, 126; Petri, M. 1901–1904. IV. 836.

<sup>297</sup> Tagányi, K.–Réthy, L.–Pokoly, J. 1901. I. 13; Petri, M. 1901–1904. IV. 836.

<sup>298</sup> In Brazil, the guitar tuned according to prevalent tuning is called *violão*, the five double-course smaller guitar is called *viola* (Corrêa de Azevedo, L. 1957. 123).

<sup>299</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. I. 145. (Italics in the last sentence added.)

transposed into it, can be performed on the instrument.”<sup>300</sup> One instrument was owned by the Regional and Ethnographic Museum of Kolozsvár at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Dezső Malonyay also makes a short note of it: “The old instrument timbora (not tambura) survived in the village of Etéd, nowhere else in Transylvania.”<sup>301</sup>

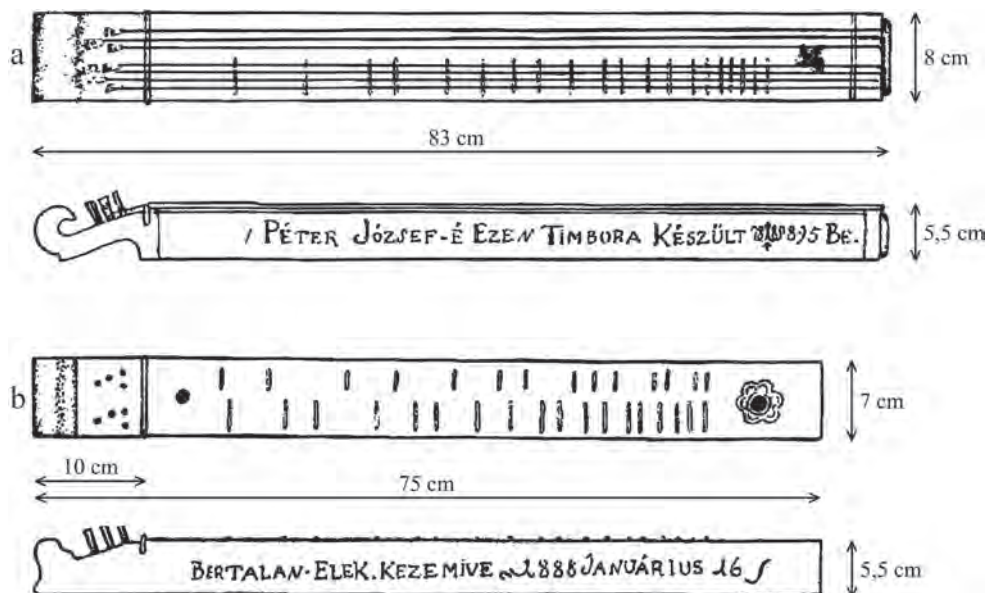


Fig. 29. Top and side views of two timboras. Etéd (Udvarhelyszék) (a) 1895; (b) 1888. After the drawings by László Gagyí

In the 1920s, “many people in Etéd had such an instrument, and some tried to play it almost in contest with each other. Sitting in groups outside the gates on summer evenings, the young people sang till late at night to the sound of the timboras, until at last the lads sang goodbye to the girls and went home. In winter, the choirs, or spinning companies, resounded with singing to timbora accompaniment.”<sup>302</sup>

Regarding the spread of the zither to the eastern peripheries of the Hungarian language area, it is interesting that Yrjö Wichmann’s dictionary of the Northern Csángó dialect of Moldavia includes *citera* with the meaning ‘citera, Zither’ (Szabófalva, 1907).<sup>303</sup> In addition, Hungarians in several villages along the Szeret remember the zither. There is also data on the instrument’s later (1939) spread toward Moldavia (Bogdánfalva), from

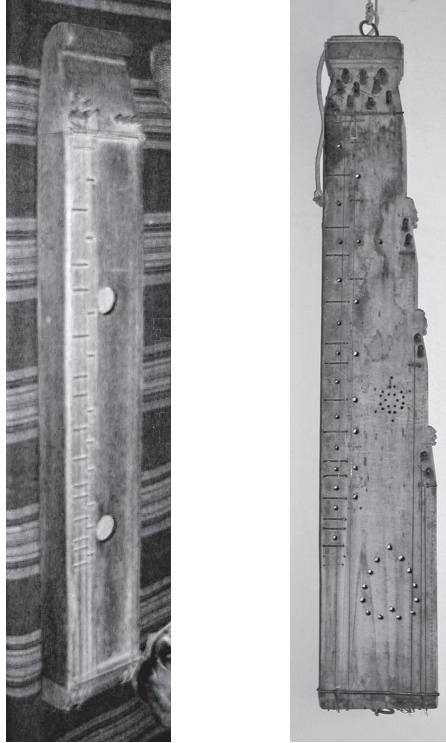
300 Pallas Nagy Lexikona XVIII. 729. Mór Jókai included the timbora, believed to be an ancient instrument, into his novel *Bálványosvár* upon Balázs Orbán’s influence (see Jókai’s note 69).

301 Seemayer, V. 1902. 148; Malonyay, D. 1907–1922. II. 3.

302 Gagyí, L. 1978. 84–86.

303 Wichmann, Y. 1936. 158.

around Brassó.<sup>304</sup> As a matter of fact, the zither occurred in many places, scattered over Transylvania from Gyimes to Szilágyság, in the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>305</sup> mainly in Székelyföld.<sup>306</sup>



*Fig. 30. Zithers from Székelyföld.  
(a) Zabola (Upper Háromszék); (b) Gagy (Keresztúr region)*<sup>307</sup>

<sup>304</sup> Kós, K. 1949/1997. 81.

<sup>305</sup> Hungarian folk music research in Romania has registered the rich occurrence of the zither west and northwest of Szilágyság, in the regions of Krasznaköz and Szamosköz (Petkes, J. 1978. 27: Csedreg, Dabolc, Dobra, Egri, Józsefháza, Kökényesd, Krasznabéltek, Mikola, Óvári, Pusztadaróc, Szaniszló, Vetés etc.), and from Bihar region (Borbély, G. 1979).

<sup>306</sup> Some data on the occurrence of the zither among Hungarians in Transylvania: Zoltán, A. 1973. 1019: Gyergyószárhegy; Almási, I. 1979. 15: Szilágyság; Zoltán Király priv. coll.: Etéd, Küsmöd; Fóriiss, Cs. 1994: Szer; Piroška, J. 1996: Küsmöd; Gáspár, A. 1999. 242: Kisdoba, Kraszna, Nagydoba, Sarmaság, Szilágycseh, Szilágyperecsen, Szilágysámson; Tamás, M. 2001: Lövéte; István Pávai priv. coll.: Ajnád, Csernátfalú, Csíkmenaság, Gagy, Etéd, Gyergyóalfalu, Gyergyócsomafalva, Gyergyóújfalu, Gyimesfelsőlók, Hidegségpataka, Kalotaszentkirály, Korond, Méra, Mezőbánd, Mezőpanit, Mezősámsond, Mikháza.

<sup>307</sup> (a) From the Székely collection in the Csángó Ethnographic Museum of Zabola. (b) From the author's private collection.

### 5.3.2 Cimbalom (Hungarian dulcimer)

The cimbalom belongs to the family of board zithers without fretboard. Its ancestor is the Persian *santur*, documented since the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, played with wooden beaters. The same name applies to the instrument in Armenia and Georgia. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the instrument type crops up in European sources under diverse names. It is used in folk music to this day, from Switzerland to Ukraine. Its plucked version, the psaltery, appears in translations of the *Septuaginta* for Hebrew *nebel*. The Arabs know it as *qanun*. It has several European variants, such as Chuvash and Mari *küsle*, Estonian *kannel*, Finnish *kantele*, Latvian *kokle*, Russian *gusli*, etc. The independent origin of instrument and name is obvious in the case of the cimbalom, as the ancient *kymbalon* was a kind of cymbal used in orgiastic cults. This is the root of the Latin *cymbalum*, and of several European instrument names, e.g. *cembalo* (Italian for ‘harpichord’), or the Hungarian cimbalom.<sup>308</sup>

The derivative *cimbalmos* occurs from 1596 onwards with increasing frequency, first as a reference to players of the instrument, later as a family name. However, this does not mean that the instrument was widespread in folk dance music in those times, since the written sources mostly concern musicians in the service of noblemen or princes.<sup>309</sup> Similarly, it is uncertain whether the cimbalom represented in a stone carving from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Haller mansion of Kerelöszentpál, alongside weapons, a pipe, and a trumpet, was an instrument of military music exclusively, or also used to accompany weapon dances. In Balázs Orbán’s view, the carving was a tombstone, and the standing figure in noblemen’s attire, with the depictions of weapons and instruments between his legs, was a warrior and musician at the same time.<sup>310</sup>

In urban Romani bands, the cimbalom has had a permanent role since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. It has inspired legends of its origin; as instrument maker István Horváth, purveyor to the Archduke Joseph, writes in 1896, “I heard some old Roma say that an anonymous Roma, not having any other instrument, pulled out the drawer of his table, strung it with steel strings, and created the first Hungarian cimbalom.”<sup>311</sup>

In Wallachia, the small portable cimbalom (*tambal*), tuned differently from the Hungarian tuning, earned popularity in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and, spreading on to Oltenia and Moldavia, gradually superseded the *cobză*.<sup>312</sup>

The range of the cimbalom in Transylvania is more limited than that of the zither, but wider than that of the *koboz*. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the cimbalom

<sup>308</sup> BRZL I. 334, 374; II. 268, 370; III. 161, 167; Rajeczky, B. 1985; Vikár, L. (ed.) 1984. 19, 26.

<sup>309</sup> EMSzT I. 1181–1182.

<sup>310</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. V. 34.

<sup>311</sup> Markó, M. 1896. 129.

<sup>312</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 61; Alexandru, T. 1956. 98.

was used in the Barcaság region in addition to the koboz.<sup>313</sup> As cimbalom player Péter Pulika, born in Gyergyóújfalu in 1882, recalls, when he started playing *kontra* at the age of 11 (1893) by the side of his musically illiterate father, the band already had a cimbalom player. At the same time, in the Csík region, the use of the instrument was not yet typical, as it only started spreading there after World War I.<sup>314</sup> In the recent decades, it came to be used in more and more settlements in Gyergyó, by Hungarian and Romani musicians alike. It remained less common in the Csík region<sup>315</sup> where it mainly appeared in connection with the growing demand for Romani bands of the urban type, while in the regions Háromszék, Erdővidék,<sup>316</sup> and Udvarhelyszék,<sup>317</sup> it occurred more frequently.



Fig. 31. Romani musician playing a small cimbalom. *Galambod* (Marosszék part of Mezőség)

<sup>313</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. VI. 147: Hétfalu region.

<sup>314</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 7, 11–12.

<sup>315</sup> István Pávai priv. coll.: Csíkközmás, Csíkszentdomokos, Kászonaltíz, Ditró, Gődü, Gyergyóremete, Gyergyóújfalu, Kilyénfalva, Marosfalva; Fodor, F. 1995. 114: Kilyénfalva.

<sup>316</sup> Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1980. 19, 28: Bereck; István Pávai priv. coll.: Béla falva, Csernáton, Dálnok, Kézdialbis, Kézdimartonos, Nagyajta, Ozdola, Szárazajta, Zágón.

<sup>317</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 11: Kőrispatak; Hergea, I.–Almási, I. 1970. 93–94: Felsőboldogfalva; Tamás, M. 2001. 16–19: Homoródújfalu, Lövéte; István Pávai priv. coll.: Alsósóf falva, Felsősfalva, Betfalva, Bikafalva, Bögöz, Csehétfalva, Csekefalva, Kecsetkisfalud, Korond, Kőrispatak, Rugonfalva, Siklód, Siménfalva, Székelyszenterzsébet, Vargyas, Zetelaka.



*Fig. 32. Romani musician playing the cimbalom. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék)*



*Fig. 33. Romani woman playing the cimbalom. Csikszentdomokos (Felsőcsik)*



Fig. 34. *Romani cimbalom player. Kerelőszentpál (Middle Maros valley)*

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the *forгатós* ('turning') dance of Kibéd "is dominated by the cimbalom," as Seprődi writes.<sup>318</sup> A groomsman's rhyme from Szentgerice, Marosszék, says:

Nosza, Laci koma, cimbalmod zendüljön.

Come on, old chap Laci, let your cimbalom resound.<sup>319</sup>

In the home regions of the *forгатós* couple dances, i.e. Marosszék and the Upper Maros region, the cimbalom is essential in folk dance music.<sup>320</sup> It is also quite frequent in Gyergyó, and apparently not upon the influence of urban Romani bands. In Southern Transylvania and Mezőség, it is far less frequent. The musicians of Bonchida,

<sup>318</sup> Seprődi, J. 1974. 147.

<sup>319</sup> Gál, K. 1895. 395.

<sup>320</sup> Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. 87: Makfalva; Nagy, Ö. 1980. 194: Havad; István Pávai priv. coll.: Ákosfalva, Galambod, Gernyeszeg, Erdőszentgyörgy, Kibéd, Makfalva, Magyarbólkény, Magyaró, Magyarpéterlaka, Marosjára, Marosvécs, Mezőcsávás, Mezőfele, Nyárádselye, Póka, Tancs, Torboszló, Vajdaszentivány, Vajola.

In Transylvanian folk music, the cimbalom does not usually provide chordal accompaniment, but plays the tune along, sometimes doubling a melody note at a third, sixth or fifth, and applying certain rhythmic formulae to the melody (Gyergyó, Sóvidék, Marosszék, Upper Maros region).

326 Cimbalom: András Bogányi, Hungarian Rom, aged 55. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 23.06.1983, Póka (Upper Maros region). Three-stringed *kontra*: fast *dűvő*. In the recording, a fiddle plays the tune in addition to the cimbalom. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No.66. Type no.: 13.014.0/1. On the tune family, see Pávai, I. 1984.

This peculiar feature already intrigued László Lajtha in the 1940s: “A village cimbalom player never plays harmonies only. He may indicate them with a note or two, but he excels in three other main roles:

1. he may play the tune along with the fiddler, in an improvised, individually ornamented and figured way, which displays his personality and imagination;
2. or he may develop his part with counterpoint-like motifs;
3. or he may enrich the sound with rhythmically repeated notes or leaps [...]

Only those players trained or active in good urban Romani bands play harmonies alone [...] Such harmonization is already known by quite a number of rural bands. But whenever I asked them not to play like that, but play as their elders used to play at weddings or balls, [...] the cimbalom player [...] instead of the open harmonies of silvery lustre [produced] with softly ‘gliding’ beaters, switched off to hard, dry, ‘hammered-out’ melody playing, or to one of the above formulae.”<sup>327</sup>

About the time of Lajtha’s recordings of *Kőrispatak*, Pál Járdányi put down similar observations about the band of Ferenc Csoma of Esztény, who played in the valley of the Borsa stream: “The cimbalom player played rather simply, mainly plunking out the melody somewhat decorated but rarely weaving in a chord or two.”<sup>328</sup>

As Ádám Ivácsony Barát, a Hungarian peasant musician of Gyergyóremete born in 1910, told me about this issue in 1985, he had always played the melody, sounding, to one or another note of the tune, a consonant interval with the other hand, thus supporting the fiddler. He regarded urban-style harmonic cimbalom playing imperfect, as the melody could not be made out of it.

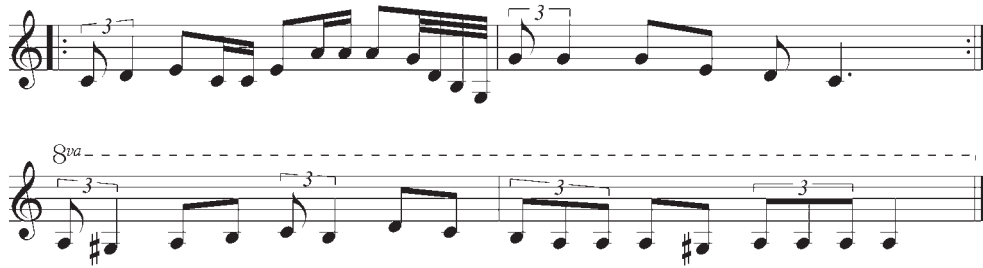
Ex. 24. “Ignác Gábor’s” (slow csárdás). Marosfalu (Gyergyó).<sup>329</sup>



<sup>327</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 7–8.

<sup>328</sup> Járdányi, P. 1943b. 8.

<sup>329</sup> Cimbalom: Márton Balla, Hungarian, b. 1926. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 08.09.1981, Marosfalu (Gyergyóújfalu). I did not indicate the ringing of strings owing to the lack of damper. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No.126. Variant: Bándy, M.–Vámszer, G. 1937. 54.



By contrast, the musicians of Bonchida in the Kis-Szamos valley, as well as those of the Szatmár region, generally play harmonic accompaniment, clearly to be attributed to the influence of urban music.<sup>330</sup>

It is also known from Lajtha that the manner of playing without harmonies or rhythmic formulae may have been general practice, in earlier times, not only in Transylvania, but also in Hungary, as traces of it could still be found at that time. “I remember a Nógrád band [...] The cimbalom player had a small cimbalom on a neck strap; he struck the strings with hard, uncovered beaters; its harsh, knocking, clanking sound stood out of the band sometimes. He usually played the tune, but with repeated notes, differently ornamented, figured in a way different from what the fiddle or the clarinet played.”<sup>331</sup> In such cases, the consonance of the melody-playing fiddle and cimbalom produces a heterophonic effect (ex. 40 p. 226, ex. 108 p. 337).

### 5.3.3 Koboz

Among the old plucked instruments, the *koboz* must have been widely popular throughout Hungary until around 1700, hence probably in Transylvania as well. As Márton Szepesi Csombor, in his Western European travelogue *Europica Varietas*, published in Kassa in 1620, relates, “[Chalons-sur-Marne] is a lovely town [...] I stayed at the inn called Wind Mill, where I had nice and quiet lodgings, only the hostess being at home. As I sat down to dinner, I heard plaintive koboz music; I cannot say whether it consoled or saddened me. I had not heard a koboz during all my journeys from [Gdańsk] up to this place. I asked the hostess whether we could call in the koboz player for money. The woman sent her servant for the koboz player, together with the fiddlers. As I expressed surprise at this unusual music, the koboz player asked if I had ever seen such an

<sup>330</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 192–193; 1973a. 47.

<sup>331</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 3.

instrument. I replied, 'It is not by the shape or sound of the koboz that I am surprised; what perplexes me is that having travelled through many countries and provinces, nowhere have I seen such an instrument except in this town, whereas in my homeland, even children keep plucking at it.' As we went on talking about why it is only used in this single town of Gallia, he gave the following reason: when that formidable foe Attila, about whom historians write he was defeated in the field of this town (the mounds erected from the bodies of his fallen warriors are still shown as a sight), he summoned innumerable koboz players, for there were plenty in his camp, and made them bitterly lament the grievous state of the dead."<sup>332</sup>

Proof of the instrument's presence in Transylvania (together with other instruments) is a prohibiting order from 1649: "Anyone who plays the fiddle, cimbalom, koboz, lute, or pipe at home or in the tavern on Sunday, and is caught, shall have his fiddle taken away and crushed to the ground, and he shall be put in the cage."<sup>333</sup> There are also data on Székely koboz players hired at Saxon villages of the Barcaság region.<sup>334</sup> The surname Kobzos ('koboz player') occurs several times in Transylvania between 1597 and 1696, mostly in Kolozsvár, but also in Magyarborosbocsárd and Szőkefalva. In an archival document from Marosvásárhely of 1638, "this János the hatter once said he would go home and bring his koboz, and back he came with the koboz. I heard Dani Csizsár tell that the koboz was taken from the hatter and broken on his back." As Prince John Kemény records in his autobiography, written during his captivity in the Crimean Khanate in 1657–1659, "We had three merry days in Munkács [...] while the Princess stayed there, Balling [...] arranged the dances and led them, too, playing his koboz, of which he was the most famous master at that time." In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, koboz-shaped vessels are also mentioned, e.g. in Marosszentkirály.<sup>335</sup>

The problem with verifying the earlier occurrences of the instrument is that the name koboz does not necessarily mean the instrument we know by that name today. It is certain that in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the name was applied to the bass or cello in some Hungarian sources.<sup>336</sup> As for the instrument itself, the only Transylvanian region where Balázs Orbán found it in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was Hétfalva ("kobza: a lute- or guitar-like instrument").<sup>337</sup> Here, it remained in use until the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; the last koboz player of Tatrang died a few decades ago. In Moldavia, it mostly occurs with eight strings arranged into four double-string courses. Their presumably most authentic tuning, from top to bottom, is 4 = d–d<sup>1</sup>, 3 = A–a, 2 = d–d<sup>1</sup>, 1 = G–g.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>332</sup> Szepsi Csombor, M. 1620/1943. 144.

<sup>333</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 54.

<sup>334</sup> Szabolcsi, B. 1959. 115.

<sup>335</sup> EMSzT VII. 17.

<sup>336</sup> See the sentence quoted from Mátray, G. on p. 157.

<sup>337</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. VI. 147.

<sup>338</sup> MNA I. 28; priv. coll. of István Pávai, and Attila Zakariás.

Interestingly, the Turkish knee fiddle *kemençe* is tuned in a similar way, without doubling:  $g\ d^1\ a^1\ d^1$ .<sup>339</sup> As a Romanian folk instrument, the koboz can be found in Moldavia, Wallachia and some parts of Southern Transylvania as *cobză*. The Ukrainians also call it *kobza*.<sup>340</sup>

*Koboz* as a name for instruments is common in Turkic languages; Hungarians perhaps borrowed it through the Cuman or Pecheneg language.<sup>341</sup> The Ottoman Turkish *kopuz* is a long-necked lute, just like the Chinese variant *huobosi*, which arrived from Central Asia. The Kazakh and Karakalpak *kobyz* is a bowed instrument; the Tatar and Bashkir *kubyz* is a Jew's harp. On the other hand, the short-necked instrument with a bent-back peg box used in Romania is a descendant of the *oud*, known in the entire Arabic–Islamic area from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and originating from the Persian *barbat*. A name variant *uti* survives in Greek folk music. Its relatives in the Far East are the Chinese *pipa*, the Japanese *biwa*, and the Vietnamese *đàn tỳ bà*. It must have arrived in Hungary through the Byzantine Empire. In Western Europe, similar instruments first appeared in the 12–13<sup>th</sup> centuries by the name *guitarra morisca* and *mandora*, and about a hundred years later, the lute evolved from the oud in Spain. The lute spread from the west toward Central Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as the instrument of minstrels.<sup>342</sup> I have found no reliable data on the use of the lute in Hungarian folk dance music, but several lute pieces related to Hungary can be found in foreign dance collections of the 16–17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>343</sup>

In Barcaság and Moldavia, the koboz is used as an accompanying instrument, playing broken chords in different rhythmic patterns, that is, its role was similar to that of the bowed *kontra* (see subchapter *Kontra* from p. 150). For modest dance occasions, Hungarian koboz players may also have played tunes on it. At such times, of course, they also sounded the open strings, or produced multiple stops. Such a manner of playing, of course, clouds the melody to a certain extent, so an unknown tune may be hard to make out from the sound fabric of simultaneously sounding strings. That is why in Benjamin Rajeczky's transcription, the octave-range *magyaros* tune, well known along the river Szeret (ex. 25, stave (a)), appears in the range of a mere tetrachord as “the repetition of a single motif.”<sup>344</sup>

Replaying the recording that Rajeczky published in transcription, I found that the transcriber always took the loudest string to be the respective note of the tune, and tried

<sup>339</sup> Bartók, B. 1937/1966. 509.

<sup>340</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 106; TMI. 28. For further data, see Hankóczy, Gy. 1988; Kobzos Kiss, T. 2001; Fábri, G. 2008; Horváth, Gy. 2011.

<sup>341</sup> TESz II. 509.

<sup>342</sup> BRZL II. 385–387; III. 122, 559; Darvas, G. 1975. 61; Farmer, H. 1943. 35–66; Kárpáti, J. 1981: fig.13; Szabolcsi, B. 1979. 132, 135; SzTZL 1965. I. 184; II. 302, 308; III. 493, 535, 748.

<sup>343</sup> For a detailed list, see Domokos, M. 1990. 475–480.

<sup>344</sup> Rajeczky, B. (ed.) 1972. 33.

to decipher a melodic skeleton out of these notes. Actually, however, the melody wanders from string to string, while other strings, although without a melodic role momentarily, are also sounded. With this in mind, I transcribed the recording in stave (b) of ex. 25, while in stave (c), I reconstructed the skeleton of the octave-range tune, omitting the notes that were strummed for the enrichment of the sound, but do not belong to the melody. The comparison of (c) with the *serény magyaros* version played on the flute (ex. 26) reveals that the melody is the same.

Ex. 25. *Magyaros. Lujzikalagor* (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret)<sup>345</sup>

<sup>345</sup> Koboz: György Gyöngyös, Hungarian, b. 1905. *Lujzikalagor*. Recorded by Zoltán Kallós, 1965. ZTI AP 933ob. Transcribed by István Pávai.

Ex. 26. *Serény magyaros. Klézse (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret)*<sup>346</sup>

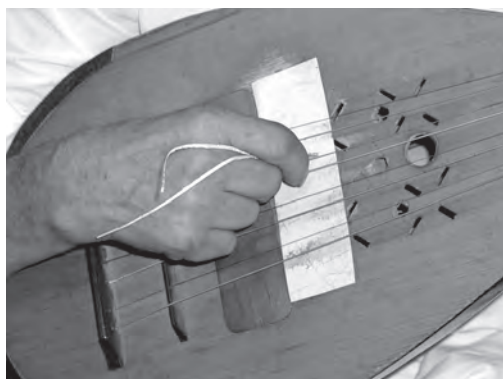


Fig. 35ab. Instrument of an Orthodox Romanian Romani kobo player, who mainly plays for Catholic Hungarians, with details of the hold of the left and right hand. *Redojé (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret)*.<sup>347</sup>

<sup>346</sup> Flute: Ferenc Benke Pap, Hungarian, aged 70. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 17.05.1978, Klézse (Moldavia). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 18. Type No.: 16.098.o/2. Variants: Seres, A.–Szabó, Cs. 1991. No. 49.

<sup>347</sup> Vasile Păun, b. 1937, Redojé (Moldavia). Photo by István Pávai, 15.07.2002. Tamásfalva (Moldavia).



Fig. 36. Orthodox Romanian Romani koboz player, who also plays for Catholic Hungarians. Bacsoj (Moldavia, left bank of the Szeret).<sup>348</sup>

### 5.3.4 Fiddle

The first mentions of the ancestors of today's European bowed instruments as *rabāb* survive in 10<sup>th</sup>-century Arabic sources. With the expansion of Islam, they probably got into Europe through the Byzantine Empire, after having spread in Asia from China to Java.<sup>349</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup>-century music historian August Wilhelm Ambros linked the appearance of the fiddle (Hun. *hegedű*) in the Carpathian Basin to the crusade of King Andrew II (reigned 1205–1235) in the Holy Land.<sup>350</sup> Others hypothesize that bowed string instruments evolved from the Celtic *chrotta*.<sup>351</sup>

In Transylvania, the fiddle is mentioned in the legal records of Kolozsvár in 1568: “I have a fine egg, I should knock it at my fiddle that it should ring loud.” There is an even earlier item for Kolozsvár from 1453 in the historical dictionary of the Hungarian language in Transylvania (EMSzT), of the use of the surname Hegedűs.<sup>352</sup> The number of occurrences as a surname is growing from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Its spread is also indicated by the later occurrences as geographic names: in Belső-Szolnok County, outside

<sup>348</sup> Ion Chilimbar (b. 1925, Korbászka, Moldavia). Photo by István Pávai, 20.08.2001.

<sup>349</sup> BRZL III. 190–191.

<sup>350</sup> Réthei Prikkel, M. 1924. 44.

<sup>351</sup> SzTZL 1965. III. 624.

<sup>352</sup> EMSzT V. 1, 3.

Retteg, a *Lake Hegedű* is mentioned in diplomas of 1643 and 1767, while a plot of land in Varsolc, Szilágyság is named *Hegedűs* in 1761.<sup>353</sup>

The origin of the word *hegedű* is unclear.<sup>354</sup> Earlier, it signified bowed and plucked instruments alike. While in the Teleki manuscript (1525–1531) “King David bowed the *hegedő* with all the singers,” Péter Meliusz Juhász (1565) writes that “King David took the kinnor, that is, the *hegedű*, and plucked and strummed its strings with his hands.”<sup>355</sup> John Amos Comenius (1673) also claims that the fiddle “was bowed with a bow and plucked with a plectrum.”<sup>356</sup> It is hard to decide subsequently, for lack of further data, whether two different instruments, or two different modes of playing a single instrument was meant. In earlier centuries, just like today, colloquial language would frequently designate instruments inaccurately, based on their external looks (see the case of flute and *tilinka*, expounded later). In German vernacular dialects, for example, the guitar is called “plucked fiddle” (*Zupfgeige*).<sup>357</sup> This is all the more interesting as in Transylvania, the use of a bow is documented relatively early: “The student Demeter somehow pierced the nose of the student Menihart with the fiddle bow” (Kolozsvar, 1599); on the other hand, the plucked *hegedű* is mentioned as late as the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (archive of Zsuzsa Haller, Oláhcsesztve, 1771): “I have seen, my dear brother-in-law, you can pluck the strings of the *hegedű* just as well as thirty years ago.”<sup>358</sup>

In 1628, it is recorded of a Hungarian fiddler that he cannot play the Hungarian fiddle, “he can only bow the German fiddle.”<sup>359</sup> In a pamphlet of 1683 printed in Freyburg, the Hungarian fiddle is described as oblong in shape, the body and the neck made of the same piece of wood, and the tuning pegs perpendicular to the top plate. Italian violins, i.e. those of the shape known today, spread to Hungarian regions from the direction of Cracow, so earlier they were called Polish fiddles.<sup>360</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Viennese and Leipzig violins were abroad in Transylvania.<sup>361</sup> Archaic types of fiddle, the descendants of the medieval *fidula*, are still used in some parts of Southeast Europe and Anatolia in different variants, e.g. Bulgarian *gadulka*, Cretan *lyra*, Turkish *hegit*,<sup>362</sup> in Transylvania, it is still remembered in Csernátfalú as an instrument of the forefathers.<sup>363</sup> Serbian fiddles are documented from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>364</sup>

353 Kádár, J. 1900–1903. V.531–532; Petri, M. 1901–1904. IV. 761.

354 TESz II. 82; attempted hypotheses of Sumerian, Turkic, etc. origins are summed up by Gábry, Gy. 1983.

355 Viski, K. 1943. 44.

356 Ferenczi, I. 1990. 143.

357 TMI. 660.

358 EMSzT V. 2, 4.

359 Papp, G. 1990. 455.

360 [Speer, D.] 1683. fol. 2r; Bartalus, I. 1882. 15.

361 EMSzT V. 2.

362 Sárosi, B. 1971. 190; 1973a. 51.

363 István Pávai priv. coll., 01.09.1986. Informant: Mrs István György b. Margit Papp in 1925.

364 Dolinescu, E. 1965. 271.



*Fig. 37. Hungarian Romani fiddler. Gagyi (Keresztúr region)*



*Fig. 38. Hungarian fiddler. Magyarszovát (Inner Mezőség)*



*Fig. 39. Hungarian Romani fiddler. Bánffyhungyad (Kalotaszeg)*



*Fig. 40. Hungarian Romani fiddler. Méra (Kalotaszeg)*



Fig. 41. Hungarian Romani fiddler. Csíkszentdomokos (Felcsík)

Among melody-playing instruments, the fiddle has primary importance in the folk dance music of all Hungarian regions; hence, by *muzsikaszó* ('sound of music') is meant primarily the fiddle or a fiddle-led band. Accordingly, the name of the instrument is *muzsika* or *mozsika* at many places, and the player is called *muzsikás* or *mozsikás*.<sup>365</sup>

Data on the term *muzsika* in the sense of fiddle can be found in the letters of the Dobolyi family of Nagyenyed, 1794: "Master Korponai [...] told me to go and play music, but I replied that I had no fiddle as [...] I had put it in pawn, so they went to get me a *muzsika* from somebody else."<sup>366</sup>

Among the Hungarians of Moldavia, the instrument may be called *bedegü*, *muzsika*,<sup>367</sup> or *cinige*, as in a poem of Demeter Lakatos, a Hungarian peasant poet writing in a Csángó dialect:

Húzza *cinigész* a nótát,  
Forogva, szél fújja fotát.

The *cinigész* [fiddler] is playing the tune,  
Swirling, the wind is blowing the skirts.<sup>368</sup>

(*Csángú tánc*)

<sup>365</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 6; Fodor, F. 1995. 162. ÚMTSz I. 705.

<sup>366</sup> EMSzT V. 1–2.

<sup>367</sup> See the excerpt from a folk song of Lészped on p. 223.

<sup>368</sup> Lakatos, D. 2003. 207.

The fiddle is popular in Romanian folk music as well; its names are *scripcă* in Moldavia, *țibulcă* in Dobruja, *lăută* in Wallachia,<sup>369</sup> *diblă* in Oltenia and Southern Transylvania, *higheghe* in Bihar, and *ceteră* or *tieceră* in Transylvania. Hungarian fiddlers in the Gyimes region sometimes use a fifth string tuned a<sup>1</sup> fastened under the fingerboard as a sympathetic string. Similarly, Romanian fiddlers in certain areas of the Southern Carpathians complement their instruments with one or more such extra strings.



Fig. 42. Romanian Romani fiddler: Vede (Western Wallachia)

Franz Joseph Sulzer encountered the Turkish arm fiddle *sine-keman*, with four melody strings and four sympathetic strings, in the Wallachian court of Voivode Alexander Ypsilantis (1774–1782). Accordingly, this kind of stringing may have been introduced to the local folk music along this route. As stated by Turkish researcher Rauf Yekta, the earliest extant *sine-kemans* in Turkey were manufactured in Vienna, which might suggest the European origin of this instrument.<sup>370</sup> By contrast, John Playford (1661) claims that the sympathetic, or aliquot, strings of contemporary European bowed instruments (*viola bastarda*, *viola d'amore*, *baryton*, etc.) are rooted in oriental music.<sup>371</sup> In addition to the instruments above, there are sympathetic strings e.g. on the Norwegian Hardanger fiddle, as well as several Indian bowed or plucked instruments, such as the *dilruba*, *sārangi*, *sitar*, or *veena*.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>369</sup> In 2002, I heard *beás* Romani musicians of Southern Hungary use the designation *lăută* identically to the Wallachian usage while talking among themselves in their Romanian mother tongue.

<sup>370</sup> Alexandru, T. 1957/1978. 205–208.

<sup>371</sup> BRZL I. 37.

<sup>372</sup> Rowley, G. 1981. 85; SzTZL 1965. II. 204.

Since a shorter version of this chapter appeared in print in 1989,<sup>373</sup> István Szőcs, a literary critic of Kolozsvár, kindly provided further data on the use of sympathetic strings in Hungarian folk music in a letter: “One winter, some twenty-five years ago, in the village of [Magyar]bece in Alsó-Fehér County, I saw such an instrument in a spinning-room. It was oblong, about 25 cm [10 inches] wide, 40–45 cm [16–18 inches] long, and black as if covered with tar. A lad played it like village viola players, moving the bow almost vertically. The tune was accompanied by great ringing and clattering; it had several rough wire strings (I could not count them), like the drone strings of the zither, and their tuning appeared undefinable. At that time, it did not enter my mind that this could be something remarkable; I thought it was just a makeshift homemade instrument. Many years later, I mentioned it to Bálint Sárosi, who said it must have been something like a rebab and I should inquire about it. I asked former teachers in [Magyar]bece in vain, they had never noticed such a thing. I received some sporadic, slightly uncertain but credible information from elsewhere. Here is what I found the most informative: instrument and cabinet maker Pál Gellért (born in Almásmálom near Bethlen, in 1898, died a few years ago in Kolozsvár) told me to my inquiry that he had seen such fiddles with sympathetic strings, and also knew a person who made or repaired such items. As I sensed, he didn’t pay much attention to that, regarding them as some peasant botch work (though he wouldn’t say that overtly).”

### 5.3.5 Kontra

The fiddle is not only a melody-playing instrument; it also has an important rhythmic and harmonic role in dance accompaniment when used as *kontra*. Alternatively, this role may be played by a viola, as in the Szilágyság and Kalotaszeg regions, or the Sajó valley, etc. The main point is the sounding of double stops, mostly on the two lowest strings, to provide the rhythmic base of dance music. Hereafter, I will refer to any of the two instruments in this role as *two-stringed kontra*. The earliest mention of *kontra* playing is to be found in the Freyburg pamphlet of 1683.<sup>374</sup> It is also reported in the 18th century in connection with the Romani bands of Panna Cinka and Mihály Barna playing for gentlefolks. An epic poem by József Gvadányi written in 1765 (*Badalai dolgok*) describes a village Romani fiddler accompanied by a *kontrás*.<sup>375</sup>

The first written record of a Transylvanian *kontra* player is found in the Keresd archive of the Bethlen family (Bethlenszentmiklós, 1767): “I am the fiddler, that is,

<sup>373</sup> Pávai, I. 1989.

<sup>374</sup> [Speer, D.] 1683, fol. 2v.

<sup>375</sup> Bartalus, I. 1882. 13–14.; Sárosi, B. 1971. 56, 65, 68.

kontrás, companion of Gyurka Rádúj.” An item in the Eszterházy–Mikó archives (Mocs, 1796) may also allude to a *kontra* player: “The Roma called Jóni Gitzi played the fiddle with a companion.” As reported in a testimony about a brawl of the village lads during the dance in Náznánfalva in 1843, “the new peasant [i.e. Rom] Iosi Grékuj Jobbágy was hired to play on Sunday every week with the pertinent kontrás.”<sup>376</sup> The surname *Kontrás* is documented from the Szilágyság region.<sup>377</sup> A work of a mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century peasant poet mentions a Romani clarinetist playing for dance, with his son playing the *kontra*, in the Háromszék region (Sepsisizék).<sup>378</sup>



Fig. 43. Playing two-stringed *kontra* on a fiddle. Csíkrákos (Felcsík region)

As is testified by 20<sup>th</sup>-century collections from Transylvania and the Partium, two-stringed *kontra* accompaniment has been usual in dance music in such regions as Krasznaköz, Szilágyság, sometimes Kalotaszeg, the Kis-Szamos valley, Gyergyó and Csík, and the western parts of Udvarhelyszék (Keresztúr region).<sup>379</sup> Sporadically, I also found two-stringed *kontra* accompaniment among Orthodox Romani musicians playing for

<sup>376</sup> EMSzT V. 2–3; VII. 188.

<sup>377</sup> Petri, M. 1901–1904. V. 795.

<sup>378</sup> In more detail, see the poem cited in the subchapter *Clarinet* from p. 181, and the pertaining note.

<sup>379</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 34, 55n, 61, 87, 103n, 127n, 133–135, 171n; Dincser, O. 1943. Csíkborszova, Csíkpálfalva, Csíkszentdomokos, Csíkszentmihály, Csíktaploca, Gyergyóújfalu, Gyimesbükk, Gyimesközéplak; Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1985. I. Bonchida; Dénes Imets priv. coll.: Csíkszentdomokos; Lajtha, L. 1955. Körispatak; Almási, I. 1979. 21, 48, 96, 242; Szilágysámsón; István Pávai priv. coll.: Alsóboldogfalva, Aranyosrákos, Csíkrákos, Erdőd, Erdőszentgyörgy, Gyergyóditró, Gyergyóremete, Kolozsnagyida, Krasznabélték, Madarász, Marosjára, Szamoskrassó. Tamás, M. 2001 mentions *kontra* players of Homoródalmás, Oklánd and Lövéte on pp. 16 and 18, but it is uncertain whether they played the three-stringed or the two-stringed *kontra*.

Hungarians of Moldavia (Redojé, right bank of the Szeret). There, it is not part of the prevalent practice, and is only resorted to when the koboz or the small cimbalom, the basic instruments of accompaniment, are missing, or when the accompaniment is otherwise too weak for numerous, or too loud, melody-playing instruments (e.g. saxophone).

According to general practice all over Transylvania, if two fiddlers play melody, and the second fiddler is not familiar with a tune, he will switch to playing *kontra*. The same happens if a string of the *kontra* or viola breaks, but the music must go on.

When the band includes two musicians on the two-stringed *kontra*, one usually plays a fiddle, while the other a viola. Skilled musicians may try to distribute the double stops, upon the influence of urban Romani musicians, so that they jointly produce triads or tetrads.

Far more frequent in Transylvania is the three-stringed *kontra*, which has a bridge cut straight at the top, so that the three strings are in the same level, and sounded simultaneously. Its powerful sound is frequently enhanced by homemade bows, shorter and thicker than the standard.

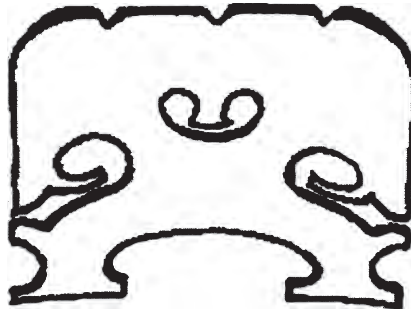
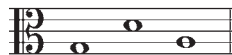


Fig. 44. Bridge of a three-stringed *kontra*

Its special tuning, sometimes called *zsidóstím* ('Jewish tuning'), is based on that of the fiddle rather than the viola. It has the fiddle's three lower strings, with the difference that the  $a^1$  string is replaced by a  $g$  string tuned to  $a$ . Thus, the  $a^1$  string is transposed an octave lower, and by bowing all three simultaneously, close triads can be produced.

Ex. 27. The most frequent tuning of the three-stringed *kontra*



On the three-stringed *kontra*, a great variety of harmonies may be sounded in theory; in practice, the exploitation of this potential depends on local tradition, and never

comes close to the number of all possible chords. For most harmonies, they only use one of the possible inversions, and the preference for an inversion is not determined by harmonic considerations, but simply by comfort. In some regions such as the Hegyalja, only four or five major chords are used.

In relatively archaic regions, such as the Mezőség, or the Maros–Küküllő region, the use of major chords prevails, perhaps extended with a few seventh chords. *Kontra* players trying to adopt the practice of urban Romani bands by using minor chords and functional harmony appeared relatively late (e.g. in Kalotaszeg, Upper Maros and Sajó valleys). As is documented by early recordings, melody-governed harmony with major chords used to be the norm in these regions as well.<sup>380</sup>

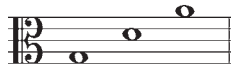
Rarely, the three-stringed *kontra* may have the middle string tuned an octave lower, or, more precisely, a viola's c string tuned to d (Marosoroszfalu, Görgényoroszfalu, Magyarpalatka, Méra, Gyalu).

Ex. 28. An exceptional tuning of the three-stringed *kontra*.  
Upper Maros valley, Inner Mezőség, Kalotaszeg



Sometimes, for lack of strings, but at places consistently, the *kontra* is tuned identically to the three lower strings of the fiddle, or the three higher strings of the viola; such an instrument may be called *kiskontra*, or *prímkontra*. In this case, the majority of chords are in open position (Magyarózd, Selymesilosva, Bonyha, Csávás).<sup>381</sup>

Ex. 29. Another exceptional tuning of the three-stringed *kontra*. Upper Vizmellék; Szilágyság



It is presumable that this tuning was the antecedent to the most frequent tuning of the three-stringed viola (p. 152, ex. 27).

The musicians of Kolozsnagyida, playing along the river Sajó, and in the northern part of Eastern Mezőség, apply a rare solution. They cut the bridge of a four-stringed viola flat, tuning both of the higher strings an octave lower, in keeping with the tuning principle of the three-stringed *kontra*, i.e. they put on c and g strings in place of d<sup>1</sup> and a<sup>1</sup>, and tune them to d and a:

<sup>380</sup> Pávai, I. 1979–1980.

<sup>381</sup> Szánthó Z. 2009.

Ex. 30. Tuning of the four-stringed viola with flush strings. Sajó region



Except for the Székelyföld, the three-stringed *kontra* has been used in most Transylvanian regions with Hungarian inhabitants: Szilágyság, Kalotaszeg, Mezőség, Maros–Küküllő region, Upper Maros region.<sup>382</sup> In Székelyföld, it only cropped up in Abásfalva along the river Homoród, and Vargyas in Erdővidék.<sup>383</sup> This wide dissemination is remarkable, given that after the discovery of the instrument in Szék (1941), it was generally believed to characterize the Mezőség region only, and has even been called Mezőség or Szék viola.

In addition to the mentioned regions, I have recorded bands with a three-stringed *kontra* active in the Máramaros, Bükkalja, Bányavidék, and Kővár regions, and the Lápos valley.

Apart from all the regions listed so far, where it is common that the same musicians play for Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons, and Roms alike, Romanian researchers have also documented the use of the three-stringed *kontra* in the Naszód region, and Northern Banat, for Romanian music alone. By contrast, among the Romanians of the Bihar and Avas regions, two-stringed *kontra* is prevalent. Among Wallachian musicians, the use of the fiddle for *kontra* accompaniment spread after World War I, especially through Transylvanian musicians settling in Bucharest who had acquired some knowledge of art music at home or abroad, mostly from conductors of brass bands.<sup>384</sup>

<sup>382</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 40, 49, 63, 69–71, 86, 100, 113–115, 118, 138–144, 162, 173, 176–177; Boér, K.–Fodor, B. Csorján priv. coll.: Vámosgálfalva; Demény priv. coll.: Bogártelke, Inaktelke, Magyarbece; Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1985. II–IV, Dejeu, Z. n.d. a–b: Buza, Ördöngösfüzes, Magyarzovát, Mezőszopor; Demény, p. n.d., MNA I booklet 26–29, CMPH vol. VI. 152n; Sárosi, B. 1976. 134, (ed.) 1980: 28; Küküllőkirályfalva, Magyarlóna, Magyarpalatka, Magyarpéterlaka, Méra, Szék, Türe, Vajdaszentivány; Kallós priv. coll.: Bánffyhunad, Feketelak, Gyalu, Gyerővásárhely, Kendilóna, Mocs, Szucság; Ádám Könczei priv. coll.: Marosgombás; Árpád Könczei priv. coll.: Szászfenes; István Pávai priv. coll.: Bonyha, Budatelke, Csombord, Felenyed, Felsőboldád, Gerendkeresztúr, Gógánváralja, Hari, Héderfája, Kerelőszentpál, Koltó, Marosjára, Maroslekence, Magyarbece, Magyarlapád, Magyarózd, Marosoroszfalu, Mezőceked, Mezővelkér, Mezőzáh, Miriszló, Nagymedvés, Nyárádtó, Radnót, Teke, Vajdaszentivány, Vice; Éva Szabó priv. coll.: Magyaró, Szásztancs; Pongrácz, Z. 1965. 100: vicinity of Biharkeresztes; Pálfi, Cs.–Timár, S. 1978. II/A1b: Lőrincréve.

<sup>383</sup> See ex. 106, as well as Pávai, I. 2000a; 2012b: 2.2.2 Homoród valley, 2.4.3 Erdővidék.

<sup>384</sup> Alexandru, T. 1959/1980. 93, 104–109; .n.d. b; Florea, I. 1975. 22; Rădulescu, S.–Betea, C. III, V–VI; Sebő, F. 1984. 4.



*Fig. 45. A left-handed Hungarian Rom with a three-stringed kontra and a homemade bow.  
Magyarózd (Kutasföld)*



*Fig. 46. A Romanian Rom, playing also for Hungarians, with a three-stringed kontra.  
Mezővelkér (Southern Mezőség)*



Fig. 47. A Hungarian Rom with a three-stringed *kontra*. Bonyha (Upper Vizsmellék)

Romani musicians playing in Hungarian, Slovak, and Rusyn villages in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin also use the three-stringed *kontra*.<sup>385</sup>

Still, one may look at this subject in an even broader perspective. Although the origins of the three-stringed *kontra* have not been clarified, it is known that the strings of the medieval bowed harp zither *rotta* were all in one level. Analogies from medieval Western Europe include the depictions of instruments on a statue console on the west façade of Amiens Cathedral, or on the archivolt of the Pórtico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. The shown instruments have flat, rather than arched, bridges, hence their strings are in one level, meant to be sounded simultaneously.



Fig. 48ab. Representations of bowed instruments, Santiago de Compostela Cathedral.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>385</sup> Oral communication by Gergely Agócs, based on his collections.

<sup>386</sup> Work of Master Matteo, c. 1166–1188 (Gülke, P. 1979. 118, fig. 1213; Darvas, G. 1975. 199).

### 5.3.6 Bass

The bass is a relatively young instrument of Hungarian folk music; it first appeared in manorial Romani bands of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. “By the name koboz we mean the small bass [cello] today, which is actually the product of later centuries,” Gábor Mátray writes at the end of the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>387</sup> In 19<sup>th</sup>-century iconographic sources, most bass instruments are cello-size rather than double basses; they were simply called bass at that time.<sup>388</sup> In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such instruments were common in almost every region of Transylvania, but old musicians recalled that in earlier times, no bass was used at all in certain regions. At some places, the small bass is still more popular than the double bass, or else, the choice between them may depend on the size of the venue and the circumstances of music making. In room-size places such as the “dance house” of Szék, or in a wedding procession, a small bass hung around the neck is more practical, while in large ballrooms or in the open air, the stronger sound of the double bass is needed.



Fig. 49. Homemade instruments sized between a cello and a double bass.  
 (a) A Hungarian Romani musician's bass. Gagy (Keresztúr region), the 1960–70s.  
 (b) A Hungarian musician's bass. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék), 1938

In Transylvania, the small bass (*kisbőgő*), the double bass (*nagybőgő*), and homemade replicas sized in-between, are all called *bőgő*. The Hungarian word, from the verb *bőg* ‘roar, boom, bell,’ is of onomatopoeic origin, as is another dialectal name of the instrument used

<sup>387</sup> Mátray, G. 1984. 143.

<sup>388</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 193; Vargyas, L. 1990. Figs. 9 and 11.

in Szilágyság and Bihar, as well as other parts of the Great Hungarian Plain, *brúgó*. All designate a low-pitched accompanying voice or instrument (cf. the *bögőhúr* ‘drone string’ of the hurdy-gurdy, *fűzfaböggő* ‘willow bass,’ a children’s toy instrument, etc.) A further synonym, *gordon*, is probably derived from Italian *bordone*, French *bourdon* ‘low-register instrument.’<sup>389</sup> This is supported by the name of the drone pipe of the bagpipe *bordó* or *gordó* in Palócföld.<sup>390</sup> The constitution of the Hungarian Pauline order dated 1409, regulating the singing of the monks, includes: “singing in *burdo* is generally prohibited in the order, except for those who cannot sing in the high register. *Burdo burdonis* is notably the mule, born of the horse and the donkey [...] And when the mule howls and shouts, two notes can be heard, a high and a low one. The point of this regulation is that our brethren shall not sing high and low at the same time, excepting those who cannot sing high.”<sup>391</sup>

These designations eventually derive (through diverse mediations) from the French onomatopoeic verb *bourdoner* ‘buzz, hum, roar, murmur.’<sup>392</sup> In the Great Hungarian Plain, around Kecskemét, the second, accompanying, pipe of the double flute, still used around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, was called *bordó* or *gordó*, which is another testimony to the gradual accommodation of the term in the Hungarian language, through the process *bordun* – *gordon* – *gardon*.<sup>393</sup>



Fig. 50. Bass used as a percussion instrument. Méra (Kalotaszeg)

389 TESz I. 1077; ÚMTSz I. 602; Sárosi, B. 1971. 194; 1973a. 33, 57.

390 Manga, J. 1979. 294.

391 Rajeczky, B. 198

392 Florea, I. 1974. 39.

393 Kubinyi, F. 1854. 334.

In nearly every region of Transylvania, the bass is used more or less as a percussion instrument, mainly in the fast dances. Pizzicato playing, particularly when snapping the string against the fingerboard, gives a percussive effect in itself. An account from 1844 by Ábrahám Palóczy of Bánvölgy, Borsod County, states that a Romani musician “angrily” beats the strings of his bass with the bow while playing.<sup>394</sup> An observation from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries points out that “the accompaniment to the Székely *csüördögölő* dance is in march rhythm, emphasized by the beating of the bass with the bow.”<sup>395</sup> The strings may be beaten with the stick of the bow, while the left palm bangs the upper bout of the instrument. The *estam* effect<sup>396</sup> may be even more accentuated by the knock of a ring on the left hand.

Sometimes a separate stick, in addition to the bow, is kept for this purpose.<sup>397</sup> In the Romanian music around Arad, they even use a further device, a *piscalău* or *sco-bitoriu* (‘poker’) to pluck the strings with the left hand.<sup>398</sup> Before the appearance of bows in Europe in the 10–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, the sounding of string instruments with beating or rubbing sticks was also common.<sup>399</sup> This legacy is preserved, in addition to the Transylvanian *gardon*, by the *tambourin de Béarn* in southern France, which also has strings beaten with a stick.<sup>400</sup>

In Transylvania, the bass is generally used together with the *kontra*, except in the region of Csík and Gyergyó, where its primary rhythmic role in folk dance music was performed by the *gardon* until a few decades ago. The bass only arrived here in the last phase of modernization of the dance culture. The bass appeared relatively late in Romanian folk music as well, and at first, in the smaller size.<sup>401</sup> In such conservative regions as the Inner Mezőség, the bass is strung with two homemade gut strings, in any tuning, but they usually play the tauter and louder one only; the function of the other string is merely to fix the bridge.<sup>402</sup> At other places, three-stringed basses (without the *E* string) are prevalent, also with gut strings. The four-stringed instrument of classical tuning is preferred by those musicians who have adjusted their manner of playing and technique of harmonization to the urban Romani style. The same applies to the use of the bow: in archaic regions, short and thick homemade bows are used, while the four-stringed double bass requires a standard bow. In practice, various combinations of these ways of tuning and bowing may be found.

394 Palóczy, Á. 1844. 188.

395 Veress, G. 1905. 21.

396 For the description of *estam*, see p. 265 ff.

397 Csíkszentdomokos (Szalay, Z. 1996. 8.); Felsősófalva (Pávai, I. 1993. 416. n.21).

398 Florea, I. 1975. 22.

399 BRZL III. 632.

400 Sárosi, B. 1967. 61; 1973a. 49.

401 Alexandru, T. 1956. 136.

402 István Pávai priv. coll.; Sinkó, A. 1980. 8.



*Fig. 51. Hungarian bass player with a homemade two-stringed instrument. Vice (Northern Mezőség)*



*Fig. 52. Romani musician playing a factory-made bass with two strings and a homemade bow. Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség)*



*Fig. 53. Three-stringed bass with a factory-made bow. Kerelöszentpál (Middle Maros region)*



*Fig. 54. Fiddler playing the bass. Bonyha (Upper Vizsmellék)*



Fig. 55. Three-stringed bass with metal strings and a homemade bow. Csávás (Upper Vizsmellék)<sup>403</sup>

### 5.3.7 Gardon

In the East Transylvanian regions of Csík, Gyergyó, and Gyimes, the term *gardon* is not used for the bowed bass, but for a cello-like homemade instrument, whose strings, all in one level, are beaten with a stick in the right hand, while the left hand pinches the outermost string and lets it loose to snap the fingerboard, producing an *estam*-like effect.<sup>404</sup> A fiddler of Gyergyóremete described the *gardon* technique as follows: “There’s not much ado about that beating. The first string is the thin one, which is plucked, and with the stick, you beat them to the rhythm... A *gardon* was always beaten, so it had thick strings, and a great sound... it was tuned d I guess... The plucking [string] was on another note, for it had to be [pinched] with the hand... But sure enough, it drove the music, so it helped the dance, too... As the tunes went, so was the beat on the *gardon*.” In the Felcsík region, the left hand could also use a metal box filled with coins to beat the strings, instead of snapping one string to the fingerboard.

The manner of playing by beating and snapping (p. 164, figs. 57 and 58), or “boxing,” (p. 165, fig. 59) produced an effect similar to the sound of the Turkish double-headed drum *davul*, beaten with a thick mallet on the left, and a thin switch on the right. This

<sup>403</sup> Mátyás Csányi, Hungarian Rom, b. 1953. Photo: Zoltán Szánthó.

<sup>404</sup> For the description of *estam*, see p. 265 ff.

drum type arrived in Europe with Janissary music (p. 165, fig. 60) and is still found in the Balkans with the name *tapan* or *tupan*.<sup>405</sup>

The *gardon* has been known in two types. In one type, the neck and the body, except for the top plate, is carved from a single piece of wood; Pál Péter Domokos calls this type *tekenőgardon* ‘trough gordon,’ first reporting its occurrence in Alcsík in 1934: “It is a double-bass-like primitive musical instrument, nailed together from planks. It has three strings tuned to g, d and A. The bridge is held in its perpendicular position by a piece of wood fastened to the tailpiece. The strings are beaten with a stick and plucked by the left hand... Rózsi Gránca, a 59-year-old woman of Csíkcsomortán, told me she had played for the youth of four villages with her band and with such a trough gordon for forty-five years.”<sup>406</sup> Three years later, the instrument is documented in Felcsík, the musician being called “*gardonyos* or *tekenyős cigánné* [‘Romani woman playing the trough’]. The villagers call her by that name, since the *artist’s* instrument is a trough-like, long-necked, three-stringed thing carved from willow wood, which came to be called *gardony* probably because it resembles the *gordonka* [cello].”<sup>407</sup> Since then, the *gardon* has disappeared from Alcsík; similarly, in Kászón, only its memory lived on in the 1950s. In Gyimes, where this type of *gardon* is used in the first place, I did not find the term “trough gordon.” Locals usually call the instrument *gardon* or *gardan*. The final *n* becomes palatalized as *ny* [nʲ] when a suffix is added, e.g. *gardonyok* ‘gardons,’ *gardonyos* ‘gardon player,’ etc.<sup>408</sup>

The other type of the instrument is called *kávás* [ribbed] *gardon* by the informants, for its greater resemblance to the standard cello form, differing only in size and proportions.

On the etymology of *gardon/gordon* see p. 158 in the subchapter on the bass. Still other versions of the name are *dargony* or *dargany*. According to a folk-etymological explanation in Gyimes, instruments tuned to d used to be called *dargony*, and the ones tuned to g, *gardon*.<sup>409</sup> This idea has naturally no serious foundation in practice.

During his field research in 1981–1984, Imre Bokor found 15 *gardons* in Gyimes, of which one had a sympathetic string. On each instrument, all the strings, including the plucking string, were tuned to d. Different tunings are not typical, and usually due to some practical reason. For example, fiddler Mihály Pulika “Halmágyi” told about the instrument used by his wife, born Gizella Ádám, as he was in charge of the tuning, “A string broke, and to mend it somehow, we raised it to e, and then her father repaired it, and now it’s as it used to be [tuned to d]... Just give it to me, let me lower it [from e to d], or I’ll be the laughed at, they will say I’ve started a new trend.”<sup>410</sup>

405 Alexandru, T. 1956. 89; Bartók, B. 1976. 141; BRZL III. 556; István Pávai priv. coll.; Camilla Saunders priv. coll.

406 Domokos, p. 1934. 184–185.

407 Bándy, M.–Vámszer, G. 1937. 9–11.

408 Bokor, I. n.d. 14.

409 Demeter, J. 1994.

410 Bokor, I. n.d. 13–15.



*Fig. 56. Playing the gardon with beating and plucking in Gyimes.<sup>411</sup>*



*Fig. 57. Playing the gardon with beating and plucking in Felcsík.<sup>412</sup>*



*Fig. 58. An occasional replacement of the plucked sound of the gardon in Felcsík.<sup>413</sup>*

<sup>411</sup> Mrs János Zerkula b. Régina Fikó in 1922. Tarkó (Gyimes), early 1980s. Photo: Zsolt Barabás.

<sup>412</sup> Ida Sinka, aged 76. Csíkszentdomokos, 1982. Photo: Lajos Szentes.

<sup>413</sup> Mrs László Balog b. Ida Hangya, Hungarian Romni, b. 1931. Photo: Gyula Ádám.



Fig. 59. Playing the *gardon* with beating and “boxing” in Felcsík.<sup>414</sup>



Fig. 60. Drum sounded with a thick mallet and a thin switch. Hungary, early 18th century.<sup>415</sup>

The *gardon* is found in Romanian music in the middle section of the Eastern Carpathians, with the names *gordună*, *dobă* (‘drum’), *dobă cu strune* (‘stringed drum’). Sometimes it is also called *dob* (‘drum’) in Csík, and occasionally, the same term may refer to its sound: “this one has a *dob* like nothing else,” as a *gardon* player of Csíkszenttamás praised his instrument.<sup>416</sup>

<sup>414</sup> Mrs Sándor Sinka b. Rozália Duduj „Malacos” on 27 Nov. 1939. Photo: István Pávai, 23 April 2004.

<sup>415</sup> Colour copperplate engraving by Martin Engelbrecht, between 1743–1750. Hungarian National Museum, T 7221. Publ. Sárosi, B. 1971. fig. 1.

<sup>416</sup> Dincser, O. 1943. 6, 48; István Pávai priv. coll.

## 5.4 AEROPHONES

### 5.4.1 Flute

Flutes, belonging to the edge-blown aerophones, are probably among the earliest instruments of dance music, while also popular worldwide until recently. The first iconographic data of their European occurrence come from 11<sup>th</sup>-century France, but archaeological research has unearthed several Paleolithic bone flutes in Europe, including the Carpathian Basin.<sup>417</sup> Perishable material, like reed or wood, may also have been used at that time. Some of the later finds are linked to Celtic and Germanic culture. One hypothesis originates these instrument from the East. This is contradicted by the fact that bone pipes far preceding the spread of Islam in North Africa and Iberia have survived in Northern Europe. Moreover, their significance in the medieval Middle East was far smaller than that of several other instruments that certainly spread from there. Nor is the hypothesis verifiable that the Germanic peoples borrowed them from the Slavs, although their popularity among the Slavs is undoubted.<sup>418</sup>

In Transylvania, the earliest information on the flute (Hun. *furulya*) is from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Marosvásárhely 1644, Alsószovát 1664). Around that time, the name *Furulyás* ('flutist') occurs with increasing frequency (Kelence 1645, Kolozsvár 1656, Nemeszsuk 1693). Even more data from the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be found in the historical dictionary of the Hungarian language in Transylvania.<sup>419</sup>

Among the Hungarians of Moldavia, the flute, called *sültü* or *szültü*, was more popular than in Transylvania.<sup>420</sup> In 1906–1907, Finnish linguist Yrjö Wichmann spent nearly five months among the Northern Csángó Hungarians in Moldavia. His posthumously published dictionary of the Northern Csángó dialect includes the entry *sültü*.<sup>421</sup> Károly Viski derives the word from the present participle *süvöltő* 'wuthering.' In his view, this early Hungarian word used to be widespread, but has been replaced by the loanwords *furulya* and *tilinkó* in other areas.<sup>422</sup>

Actually, *tilinkó* and *tilinka* mean different instruments in different areas of the Hungarian language area. *Tilinka* (also *tilink*, *tilinka*, *titlinka*, *pipilinka*, *csilinka*) is an overtone flute: a simple tube of wood or willow bark, without fingerholes or duct. Instead of a plug, the player's lower lip is used to force the airstream against the sharp

<sup>417</sup> BRZL I 624, Sárosi, B. 1998. 88.

<sup>418</sup> Meer, J. 1988. 18.

<sup>419</sup> EMSzT IV. 431–432.

<sup>420</sup> In detail, see Pávai, I. 1993. 16–20.

<sup>421</sup> Wichmann, Y. 1936. 219. See also *ibid.*: „sültül (-t, -ni) auf der Flöte spielen;” „sültüs (-ssek) Flöter.”

<sup>422</sup> Viski, K. 1934. Sárosi B. 1982b.

tube edge. Bartók also found a tilinka with an internal duct (*tilincă cu dup*) among the Romanians of Máramaros. Both types of *tilinka* were used there to play the *hora lungă*, related to the Ukrainian *dumy*, so they had no role in dance music.<sup>423</sup> The earliest written record of the instrument in Romanian folk music as *Tielinka* is by the Austrian military officer Franz Joseph Sulzer, who spent considerable time in Wallachia upon the invitation of Voivode Alexander Ypsilantis in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Almost a century later, Teodor T. Burada mentioned it by the name *telinca*.

Romanian organologist Tiberiu Alexandru regards *tilinca* as an ancient Romanian instrument, but he admits that during the institutional research for over three decades, only three tilinka players have been found in Romania, two of them discovered by János Jagamas among the Csángós of Moldavia in 1950 (Anton János Gábor, aged 23, Lujzikalagor; and Antal Kotyorka, aged 52, Klézse). About the Csángós, Alexandru remarks that they are “a Hungarian-speaking group settled in Moldavia.” He notes that Jagamas could only record one tune each from his informants, and he cites one titled “luring call to girls,” which is not a dance tune. From the third tilinka player, “Mihai Lăcătuș, a Romanian of Bukovina,” six tunes have been recorded on tape, including dance tunes. However, the study also reveals that Lăcătuș (also spelt as Lacatâș) had been a “cultural activist,” and the director of a house of culture, hence his authenticity as an informant is questionable.<sup>424</sup>

The international spread of this type of tilinka was examined by Ernst Emsheimer, who found that it is exclusively used by Finno-Ugrian and Altaic peoples (Finnish *mäntyhuilu*, Cheremis *shialtysh*, Udmurt *uze gummy* or *uzvy gummy*, Komi *chipsan*, Altay *shogur* or *choor*). Later, he found it among other peoples as well. In Bálint Sárosi’s view, “its relatives can be found in Asia and Africa.”<sup>425</sup> It is to be noted that Emsheimer’s Finno-Ugric and Altaic analogies, unlike the Romanian and Hungarian tilinka, all have finger holes. The common feature, in his view, is that the role of the wooden duct is played by the lip or the tongue.

Several Hungarian children’s rhymes of Transylvania or the Partium mention tilinka or tilinkó, the earliest recorded in 1835.<sup>426</sup> Some of them may have been recited or sung by children while making a willow whistle, sometimes called tilinkó. As Bartók writes concerning this name, generally supposed to designate the flute by intellectuals, “I inquired after the tilinkó among Székelys in Maros-Torda. They knew it, but in a degenerate form. In spring, children cut off a piece of a straight twig, about 10 cm [4 inches] in length, pull the bark off the wood, provide the tube thus produced with a wooden

423 Bartók, B. 1976. 269.

424 Alexandru, T. 1957. 107, 111, 113, 119.

425 Emsheimer, E. 1966. 30–34.; Vargyas, L. 1990. 175; Sárosi, B. 1973. 90.

426 Borsai, I. 1984. 30; Gazda, K. 1980. No.315; Borsai, I.–Kovács, Á. 1975. 101; Faragó, J.–Fábián, I. 1982. Nos. 5133, 5136.

plug on one open end, then cut a window in the bark, and the ‘tilink’ is ready. It is of course so short that it can only produce a single shrill sound; it is no more than a whistle. Most probably, they knew it earlier in its full form. It is an important fact that they still clearly differentiate the flute from the tilinkó, which makes it clear that, contrary to general opinion, they are indeed different instruments. It is presumable that the Romanians borrowed the name of the instrument from the Hungarian, or else, both may have taken it from some Slavic language.”<sup>427</sup>

The name *tilinkó* may indeed have designated the flute with six playing holes at places. As Ferenc Kubinyi writes in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, “In the Great Hungarian Plain, around Kecskemét, [...] diverse wind instruments are in use. The most ordinary one is the tilinkó, with six finger holes; one can see it in the hands of nearly all adolescents, young farmhands, horse-herds, cattle-herds, shepherds, and swineherds. It is made of elder wood, reed, even hemlock stalk, if need be. Herdsmen’s [tunes] are most often played on a tilinkó.”<sup>428</sup>

Returning to *sültü*, it probably used to be the general Hungarian name of the duct flute with six finger holes known today. The early 15<sup>th</sup>-century Schlägl Latin–Hungarian word list includes *siuelte* as the equivalent of Latin *fistula* ‘pipe, whistle.’ However, it is unclear whether the compiler of the glossary meant a duct flute by this name, as he renders *fistulator* as *sípus*, whereas *síp* corresponds to Latin *buccina*.<sup>429</sup> The early 16<sup>th</sup>-century Gyöngyös dictionary fragment has it that a *süvöltő* is made of reed or bone, which suggests a reed aerophone.<sup>430</sup> From the next century, Lajos Dézsi cites a relevant item: “he did not just *siult* loudly like a shepherd, but also blew the dawn [song, i.e. *alba*] by *siuoltes* [‘playing the flute’].”<sup>431</sup> János Apáczai Csere’s *Hungarian Encyclopedia* (1653) lists the following instruments: “organ, bell, trumpet, drum, fiddle, cimbalom, *síp*, *süvöltyű*, bagpipe, etc.”<sup>432</sup> As will be seen, *síp* ‘pipe’ means a reed instrument, so *süvöltyű* must mean a duct flute. Pál Péter Domokos refers to Gáspár Miskolczi’s zoological work of 1702 (*Egy jeles vadkert*), which also includes the instrument *süvöltő*.<sup>433</sup>

The terms *furulya* and *süvöltő* were also used for organ pipes in earlier times. As István Geleji Katona, in the preface to his Protestant hymnal *Öreg graduál* (Gyulafehérvár, 1636), suggests, “Those *furolyas* with big bellows, and blowers with many *süvöltős*, should be thrown out of the churches, wherever they are, and sent to a blacksmith’s workshop.”<sup>434</sup>

427 Bartók, B. 1976. 270.

428 Kubinyi, F. 1854. 333. See also: Viski, K. 1943. 376; Sárosi, B. 1982a. 286.

429 Szamota, I. 1894. 85.

430 Beke, Ö. 1935. 30.

431 Domokos, P. P. 1963. 119.

432 Apáczai Csere, J. 1977. 328.

433 Domokos, P. P. 1963. 119.

434 Papp, G. 1990. 447.

Reporting on his first field trip among the Mari at the Volga River, László Vikár notes that “a young man played a broad-range fifth-shifting tune on a flute with two finger holes they call *shialtysh* with miraculous dexterity,” and adds in a footnote, “Cf. the Csángó word *süvöltős* [sic], which also means flute.”<sup>435</sup> *Shialtysh* is not a duct flute like *sültü*, although it has newly discovered versions with duct.<sup>436</sup> Nevertheless, the Mari and Hungarian names may easily have a common origin.

In Transylvania and Bukovina, the flute also survived in Hungarian culture at many places, though with less frequency than in Moldavia. Researchers have found it mainly in Gyimes, Székelyföld, the the Maros–Küküllő region, Mezőség, and Szilágyság.<sup>437</sup> More recently, it has sometimes been replaced by a standard blockflöte.<sup>438</sup> Double or twin flutes are rare, with a few data from Gyimes,<sup>439</sup> where transverse flutes were also known earlier.<sup>440</sup>

### 5.4.2 Bagpipe

Bagpipes, or aerophones with reed pipes and a windbag, are known in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Their Hungarian name is *duda*, rarely also *gajd* or *csimpolya*. The earliest iconographic data originate in Hellenistic Egypt of the first century BC; in European manuscripts from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, they are frequently depicted.<sup>441</sup> Some scholars deny their eastern origin, as they are not mentioned in the Islamic world earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> century, while in Europe north of the Alps, they can be documented from the 9–10<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>442</sup> Bagpipes with a drone pipe appear in miniatures from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>443</sup>

In the Hungarian language area, the first bagpipe representations appear in the age of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), in the ornamental border of a Corvina codex, and in a stove tile of the royal palace in Buda, as well as in manuscript initials and marginal

<sup>435</sup> Vikár, L. 1959. 196.

<sup>436</sup> Emsheimer, E. 1966. 30.

<sup>437</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 42n, 57, 91; Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1980. 7–8, 28: Hadikfalva, Székelyszentmihály; Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1981. Nos. 5, 8–9: Ehed, Nyárádköszvényes, Nyárádremete, Székelyhodos; Demény priv. coll.: Hidegségpataka, Magyaraszóvár; Herțea, I.–Almási, I. 1970. Nos. 63, 84: Csíkszenttamás, Székelyvarság; István Pávai priv. coll.: Csíkjenőfalva, Hari, Orotva; Tari, L. 1978. 196: Gyimesközéplak, Istensegits; Zoltán, A. 1973. 1019: Orotva; Juhász, Z. 1989, 1990: Bálványospataka, Borospataka, Bükkhavaspataka, Gyimesfelsőlak, Lóvész, Tekerőpatak, Lővéte, Zetelaka; Almási, I. 1979. 15: Lele, Szilágysámsón.

<sup>438</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 8, 28; Demény, P.–Pávai, I. priv. coll.: Gagy.

<sup>439</sup> Sárosi, B. 1967. 73; 1973a. 101–103; 1980. 8.

<sup>440</sup> Oral information by courtesy of Zoltán Kallós.

<sup>441</sup> BRZL I. 468.

<sup>442</sup> Meer, J. 1988. 22.

<sup>443</sup> Sachs, C. 1940. 283; cited by Manga, J. 1968. 128.

decoration.<sup>444</sup> The first depictions of the bagpipe from Transylvania are not much later. It is shown on the title-page of István Taurinus' *Stauromachia* of 1519, depicting the execution of György Dózsa; on a cannon cast by Master Servatius of Nagyszeben in 1589; and on a corbel of the house of István Kakas (a diplomat of Prince Sigismund Báthory) from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>445</sup> As Péter Apor records about Prince Michael I Apafi (1662–1690), “The bagpipe was his much loved, favorite instrument.”<sup>446</sup>

Compared to Western Europe, where the dissemination of the bagpipe among the common people is documented from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards,<sup>447</sup> written data of the instrument in Transylvanian rural setting among Romanians and Hungarians are only available from a century later. In 1683 in Tarcsafalva, “Andras Karda [...] beat up the bagpiper.” According to the testimony of servant Gavrila Pap in Középföld, 1803, “that night and that day, Alexa Pántya drank with Nyikulaj Duma in the house of Mihály Babos; the day before, on Monday, nearly the whole village drank there, and I played the *csimpoj* [bagpipe] for them until Tuesday morning, when they dispersed, but Nyikulaj Duma and Alexa Pántya drank together the whole day again with Mihály Babos [...] and Alexa Pántya took me back [...] to play the bagpipe, and I played again.” The following three records originate from the archive of the Kornis family of Hunyad County: “I also knew Gyurka Rusz [...] who was a *csimponér*, that is, bagpiper, and I often went to work with him in Déva” (Halmágy 1745). “János Grohoti Petrutz answers, [...] I kindly asked the bagpiper to stay while I made merry, I gave him food and drink and a good treat, and as long as I stayed there, he was not wronged in any way; he should say straight out whether anybody assaulted him” (Tresztia, c. 1760). “As there was a wedding at the Teszur [...] Togyer Gláva was also there with his bagpipe to play” (Bukuresd, 1769).

Further data report on sums of money or payment in kind to bagpipe players: “for my bagpiper RHf. 9 xr 51 for a comb and other oddments” (Ádám Teleki's cost-book); “for Zsugya, bagpiper of Gájánél, 5 pints [of wine]” (Tresztia, c. 1760, archives of the Kornis family). The idiom *megtanít kesztyűvel dudálni* (lit. ‘to teach someone play the bagpipe with a glove’), implying a warning, appears in written records from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The name of the instrument may be used in a “humorously obscene sense,” according to the interpretation of Attila Szabó T., in the divorce register of the Calvinist parish of Szék: “Borka Veres demands absolution from András Dudás, who defrauded her, approaching her with the *duda*” (1695). Naturally, for the word *duda* to acquire this figurative meaning, it must have been in wide use among Hungarians in Transylvania much earlier than the date of this entry. The word *duda* or *dudálás* ‘playing

444 Sárosi, B. 1973a. 83, Falvy, Z. 1984. 30. See also Éri, P. 2001; Kozák, J. 2001.

445 Manga, J. 1968. 133.

446 Apor, P. 1736/1978. 49.

447 Falvy, Z. 1984. 30.

the bagpipe' appears in a similar meaning in lament parodies: "How many times he piped me from behind."<sup>448</sup>

A record from Magyarbólkény, 1757, reveals that the bagpipe was also called *síp*: "the name Sipos [of János Sipos] is not his true name; it just stuck to him because he is a *sipos*, or bagpiper."<sup>449</sup> In Moldavia, Hungarians call the bagpipe *síp* to this day. As a bagpiper of Nagypatak (fig. 61) said, the name of his instrument is *cimpoi* in Romanian, and *síp* in Hungarian.



Fig. 61. Hungarian bagpiper. Nagypatak (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret), 1978.<sup>450</sup>

The word *síp* is of onomatopoeic origin.<sup>451</sup> Besides the semantic identity, there is also a phonetic similarity between *síp* and Latin *tibia*. Cf. also the Komi word for the flute *chipsan*.<sup>452</sup> The word *duda* can be found in all Slavic languages except Macedonian and Bulgarian (the equivalent of Russian *volynka* was also *duda* in Old East Slavic) denoting

<sup>448</sup> CMPH vol. V. 1089.

<sup>449</sup> All quotations in this and the previous paragraph are taken from EMSzT II. 138, 489.

<sup>450</sup> János Duma „Porondi”, aged 86. Nagypatak, 1978. Photo: István Pávai.

<sup>451</sup> TESz III. 544. Emsheimer, E. 1966. 134.

<sup>452</sup> Szabédi, L. 1974. 167.

the same instrument.<sup>453</sup> In German, *Dudelsack* came into use in the 17<sup>th</sup> century upon Czech or Polish influence.<sup>454</sup> The *duduk*, or *düdük* in Turkish, is a reed pipe without a windbag, known in the Caucasus.<sup>455</sup>

In Hungarian, the bagpipe may also be called *gajd*. Derivatives of the word occur in the Transylvanian vernacular, though with a different meaning. By *gajdos* they mean not a bagpipe player but a drunken person who sings, or is fond of singing. It is therefore uncertain whether the archival record “János Gaidos” from Ozsdola of 1614 indicates a personal name derived from the denomination of a musician.<sup>456</sup>

Relatives of the word *gajd* meaning ‘bagpipe’ may be found in several regions across Europe, including the Spanish Arabic *gaité*, numerous languages of the Balkans, or the Czech *gajdy*, *kejdy*. The spread of the word probably involved Hungarian mediation.<sup>457</sup>

The fourth name, *csimpolya*, also denotes the bagpipe in Transylvanian Hungarian vernacular.<sup>458</sup> Its root is actually the same as that of *symphony*, thus it derives from the antiquity.<sup>459</sup> As an instrument name of the Old Testament, it is *simponyah* in Hebrew.<sup>460</sup> A bagpipe-like instrument of Assyrian–Babylonian culture is called *symphoneion* in Greek sources. In ancient Greek music, *synphone*, *synphonia* meant ‘sounding together,’ designating the consonant intervals, first of all, the octave. In Rome, *symphonicus* meant an instrumentalist who accompanied the bagpipe player or singer at an octave. As a name for the bagpipe, the term thus alludes to the simultaneous sounding of several pipes.

The word acquired further connotations in the Middle Ages and the early modern period: *symphoneta*, in Glareanus’ view (1547), meant a composer well-versed in creating polyphonic music, as compared to *phonascus*, who composed homophonic music. Thus, *symphonia* was a ‘multipart instrumental piece,’ but it could also mean ‘hurdy-gurdy,’ justified by the simultaneous sound of several strings. This name variant survives in several languages in diversely changed forms, meaning a wind instrument, mostly bagpipe: Spanish *cinfonía*, French *chifonie*, Georgian *chiboni*, Romanian *cimpoi*, Italian *zampogna*.<sup>461</sup> It is not certain that Hungarian *csimpolya* has always denoted the same instrument. János Arany, in the poem *Vojtina levelei öccséhez* (1850), mentions the *csimpolya* as a separate instrument beside *duda*.

<sup>453</sup> TESz I. 681–682.

<sup>454</sup> Manga, J. 1968. 129.

<sup>455</sup> TMI. 681; SzTZL 1965. I. 110, 437.

<sup>456</sup> ÚMTSz II. 383; EMSzT IV. 497.

<sup>457</sup> TESz I. 1013; Manga, J. 1968. 129.

<sup>458</sup> Márton, Gy.–Péntek, J.–Vöő, I. 1977. 104.

<sup>459</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 5.

<sup>460</sup> New Oxford History of Music I., London, 1957. 300.

<sup>461</sup> BRZL III. 116, 425, 454; Hammerschlag, J. 1965. 452; TMI. 157; SzTZL 1965. II. 87.

Romanian researchers found the bagpipe in Moldavia, Wallachia, Oltenia, Banat, Southwest Transylvania, and among the Megleno-Romanians resettled in Dobruja from Greece.<sup>462</sup>

The bagpipe has been present in recent times, at least sporadically, in the whole Hungarian language area, except for Transylvania.<sup>463</sup> György Stuber found Hungarian bagpipers in Moldavia in 1973, and has been documenting their activity ever since.<sup>464</sup> I recorded the playing of János Duma “Porondi” of Nagypatak (fig. 61) in 1978. His instrument had a *kontra* pipe beside the chanter, clearly related to the Hungarian bagpipe tradition, since Romanians of Moldavia use Balkan type bagpipes without a *kontra* pipe. Upon their influence, the latter type also occurs at places among the Hungarians of Moldavia.

I transcribed the following dance tune *ciganyászka* (from Romanian *țigăneasca* ‘in Romani style’) from János Duma’s recordings. This pantomimic dance imitates Romani blacksmiths’ movements. Not only Roms, but also Hungarians and Romanians dance it in Moldavia, and it is also known in Wallachia and Oltenia. The other Romanian designation for the same dance (*ca la ușa cortului*, ‘like at the entrance of the tent’) alludes to Romani blacksmiths working outside their tent.

Ex. 31. *Ciganyászka* played on the bagpipe. Nagypatak (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret).<sup>465</sup>

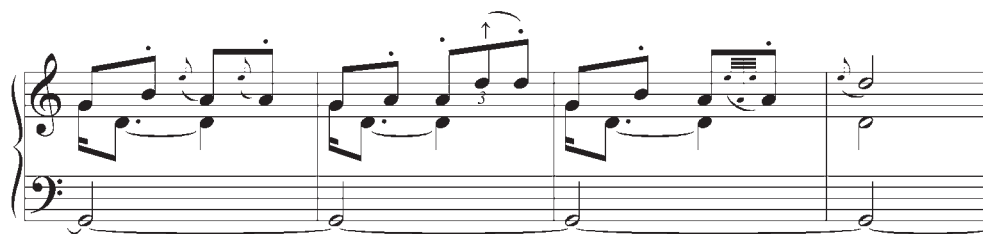


462 Bartók, B. 1967. 19–23, Alexandru, T. 1956. 77; Oprea, Gh. 1981. 374.

463 Manga, J. 1968. 152.

464 Stuber, Gy. 2010. 23.

465 Bagpipe: János Duma „Porondi”, Hungarian, aged 86. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 17.05.1978. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 1. Variant: Prichici, C. Gh. 1955. 98.





I have also documented beliefs and superstitions connected to the bagpipe, bagpipers, and dancing to bagpipe music in Moldavia.<sup>466</sup>

The bagpipe has disappeared from the Hungarian folk music of Transylvania; its memory is only preserved by the surname Sípós, the bagpipe-imitating music surviving on other instruments (in Transylvania, mainly in Romanian folk music), and the “bagpipe tunes” – *dudanóták* – sung with text, of different genres, not always connected to dance music. Concerning the former, the informants were also aware of the imitation of the bagpipe, but the name *dudanóta* was not found among them. It is much rather certain rhythmic features that make researchers subsume tunes like the one below in the category *dudanóta* (see the section on the bagpipe rhythm in the chapter *Rhythmic accompaniment to dances*, from p. 284 ff.)<sup>467</sup>

<sup>466</sup> Pávai, I. 1994.

<sup>467</sup> On bagpipe imitation, see Agócs, G. 1998; Alexandru, T. 1956. 64, 70; Georgescu, C. 1984. 136; Rădulescu, S.–Betea, C. III; Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1980. 12; Tari, L. 1986; MNA II. 3.3.b.

Ex. 32. Match-making song (*dudanóta*). Korond (Sóvidék).<sup>468</sup>

$\text{♩} = 152$

Rom-lik szí-vem, mind az ü - veg, Bu-jog a vér, mind a fel - leg.

Vaj-jon ki van be - teg ágy - ba, Be-teg ágy-ba, nya - va - já - ba?

Ex. 33. Wedding tune (*dudanóta*). Marosfalu (Gyergyó).<sup>469</sup>

$\text{♩} = 93$

El-ment a tyúk ván - do - rol - ni, Nem jön visz-sza töb - bé toj - ni.

Majd visz-sza-jön sül - ve, fő - ve, Fe-lül a ka - kas ü - lő - re.

Ex. 34. Wedding tune. Gyimesközéppok (Gyimes).<sup>470</sup>

$\text{♩} = 86$

A meny - asz-szony leg - e - lől ül, [érthetelen szöveg] ké - kül, zöl - dül.

A vő - le-gén-nek hírt kell ad - ni, Meny - asz - szont bé ke kon - tyol - ni.

<sup>468</sup> First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 7. Type No.: 18.219.o/o. Voice: Mrs Ferenc Györfi b. Róza Simó, aged 83. Recorded by István Pávai, 03.08.1976. Published variant: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 3n.

<sup>469</sup> First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 6. Published variants *ibid.* No. 3n. Type No.: 18.219.o/o. Voice and fiddle: József Balla, Hungarian, b. 1929. Cimbalom: Márton Balla, Hungarian, b. 1926. Recorded by István Pávai, 08.09.1981. "During the wedding when the roast is brought in."

<sup>470</sup> Voice: Mrs Fülöp Mónár, aged 64. Recorded by István Pávai, 07.1972. "When the bride is taken out and starts for the groom's house ... then is it sung." Missing part cannot be made out. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 5. Published variant *ibid.* No. 3n. Type No.: 18.219.o/o.

Ex. 35. Wedding tune. Tarkó (Gyimes).<sup>471</sup>

The musical score is presented in four systems. The first system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It includes a tempo marking of 82 and a 3-measure rest. The second system continues the melody and introduces a bass line. The third system features a repeat sign and a key change to one flat (Bb). The fourth system concludes the piece with a double bar line. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and fingerings (e.g., 3, 4, 5).

<sup>471</sup> Fiddle: János Zerkula, Hungarian Rom, aged 52. *Gardon*: Régina Fikó, Hung. Romni, aged 56; *estam*. Recorded by István Pávai, 10.08.1979. "When we are following the hen [we play this one]." First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No.4. Published variant *ibid.* No. 3n. Type No.: 18.219.o/o.

### 5.4.3 Töröksíp and tárogató

The double-reed pipe *töröksíp* (lit. ‘Turkish pipe’) has disappeared not only from Transylvanian, but also the entire Hungarian traditional culture. This historic instrument is a successor to the ancient Greek *aulos* and Etruscan *gubulo*, and the direct descendant of the *zurna* used in the Islamic world, with relatives still in use in Africa, China, or the Balkans.<sup>472</sup> It could also be named simply *síp* ‘pipe,’ as is suggested by the poem *A magyar nationalis tánc* [Hungarian national dance] by Dániel Cseh-Szombati published in 1823:<sup>473</sup>

... Szittya gyerek mutogatja táncát.	A Scythian [Hungarian] lad is showing his dance [...]
... Né, Né, hogy emelkedik	Look, how his soul is rising
A cimbalom-pengésre, a síp-,	to the clanking of the cimbalom,
A hegedü- s duda-szóra lelkel!	to the sound of the súp, fiddle, and bagpipe.

In the juridical records of Kolozsvár for 1584, the following threat probably alludes to this instrument: “I shall have a pipe made of your shin bone and have it played in front of you.”<sup>474</sup> It must be borne in mind that the Roman *tibia*, a predecessor of the *töröksíp*, was originally made from a shin bone. Italian friar Niccolo Barsi da Luca mentions the *töröksíp* by the name *piffaro* in his Moldavian travel report of 1633, as an instrument known among “the Moldavians and all the rest of the inhabitants of the province,” that is, the Hungarians and Germans of Tatros, the Armenians of Románvásár and Szeret, the Greeks and Turks of Galați.<sup>475</sup>

In the article *Geschichte der Musik in Siebenbürgen*, published in Nos. 46 and 47 of the 1814 volume of *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, it is stated, with reference to unidentified sources, that the Székelys mainly used the *töröksíp* for military recruitment, and during Rákóczi’s war of independence, it was a signaling instrument, hence it is also called “Rákóczi pipe.” Some say, the article claims, the authorities banned the instrument together with the song *Jaj neked, szegény magyar nép* (‘Woe is thee, wretched Hungarian nation’) after the crushing of the freedom fight.<sup>476</sup> This is, of course, insufficient explanation to the demise of the instrument. Its disappearance must also have been ushered by a modified demand on instrumental music, and the rise of other instruments.

<sup>472</sup> BRZL I. 84; III. 514, 721.

<sup>473</sup> Bán, I.–Julow, V. 1964. No. 27.

<sup>474</sup> EMSzT IV. 440.

<sup>475</sup> Alexandru, T. 1957/1978. 200.

<sup>476</sup> [Stock, S.] 1814. 770.

The *tárogató* occurs as a synonym of *töröksíp* already in Calepinus' dictionary (1585), as the rendering of the Latin *tibia*. It is also included in Albert Szenczi Molnár's Encyclopedia.<sup>477</sup> In the Latin–Hungarian bilingual version of Comenius' *Orbis sensualium pictus* (Brassó, 1675), it is mentioned in the group of winds as *tárogatósíp*.<sup>478</sup> As late as the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *tárogató* as the synonym of *töröksíp* still appears. The article of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* cited above uses it in this sense. It is hard to retrace the process of its extinction; in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there are still some sporadic data of its presence. It was used in the fight of the Hungarian nobility against Napoleon in 1809, and, as Gábor Mátray claims, even a few decades later: "For the festive inauguration on 6 November 1827 of Count Gábor Keglevich, former lord-lieutenant of Nógrád County, the vanguard of the county banderium led by Ferenc Kubinyi marched into Balassagyarmat to the sound of *tárogátós*. The *tárogátós* were played by former soldier János Péntes, and a hajduk of Nógrád County, Illés."<sup>479</sup>

After the failure of the war of independence in 1849, public mood in Hungary implied the longing to resuscitate glorious past struggles, hence also a romantic image of Rákóczi's age, and the idea of reviving the one-time Rákóczi pipe or *tárogató*. In the opera *Szvatopluk* by Károly Thern, premiered in 1839, it was still used, and in the early 1860s, the first attempts were made to reconstruct it. At first, the mouthpiece of the English horn was used, but the Romani musicians used to the clarinet were averse to the double reed, so this model never spread. Later, between 1888 and 1896, Vencel József Schunda, a Budapest-based instrument maker created the modern *tárogató* upon Gyula Káldy's advice, with a single-reed clarinet mouthpiece, but a conic bore.<sup>480</sup>

The new instrument gradually spread in Hungarian folk music, but it is only sporadically represented in field collections. The *tárogató* is missing from the instrumental collections of Kodály and Lajtha, possibly because of its association with an artificial fake-Hungarian style;<sup>481</sup> researchers interested in "authentic" folk music, including Bartók, did not regard it as a real folk instrument at first.

The pertinent data in the Folk Music Archive of the Institute for Musicology in Budapest reveal that the *tárogató* has been popular in Palócföld, and in the Great Hungarian Plain; less so in Transdanubia; in Transylvania, it has mainly been present in Székelyföld. It was sporadically known among the Székelys of Bukovina, and in Gyimes. Researchers have found a shepherd *tárogató* player in the Mezőség region in recent years.<sup>482</sup>

477 TESz III. 856–857.

478 Ferenczi, I. 1990. 143.

479 Mátray, G. 1854. 307.

480 Sárosi, B. 1971. 32, 195–196; 1998. 95–97, 100–101. Siklós, A. 1941. 136; SzTzL 1965. III. 339. More historical data: Falvy, Z.–Habla, B. 1998.

481 Tari, L. 2001. 19; 1992. 146–147; 1999. 25.

482 Tari, L. 1999a. 27. fn. 11. CMPH vol. VII. No. 160.

I found a *tárogató* player integrated in a Romani band in the western part of Udvarhelyszék (around Keresztúr) who played in local bands from the 1930s to his death, now the *tárogató*, now the bass (fig. 62; also p. 229, fig. 72 for the same musician playing with fiddlers).



Fig. 62. Romani *tárogató* player (Keresztúr region), the 1980s.<sup>483</sup>

Some *tárogató* players were peasants or townspeople who played for their own delight rather than for dance; their repertory mainly included *kuruc* songs, popular art songs, and folk songs. As accompaniment to dances, the instrument occurred at a few locations of Székelyföld, first of all Korond, where Lujza Tari registered 13 *tárogató* players, the oldest already playing from the onset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>484</sup> I recorded the dance tune below, an instrumental tune without words, in Korond, from a *tárogató* player not included in Lujza Tari's list (p. 181, ex. 36).

<sup>483</sup> Mihály Gábor, b. 1910. Photo: Béla Fodor.

<sup>484</sup> Tari, L. 1999a. 32–37.

Ex. 36. A tune of the marosszéki [turning dance] on tárogató. Korond (Sóvidék).<sup>485</sup>



Schunda's tárogató appeared in the Romanian folk music of the Banat by the name *torogoată*, around 1905–1909, when Romani musician Luță Ioviță of Dálcs (Krassó-Szörény County) had learnt to play it in Szeged and Budapest. It soon became popular in the Banat and throughout Transylvania, not only with professional Romani musicians, but also among Romanian peasants, many of whom even made *tárogátós* at home. In the interwar years, the alto saxophone appeared next to (or instead of) the *tárogató*, replaced toward the end of the century by the soprano saxophone, often also called *torogoată* or *taragot*. The same name is applied to the Stroh violin in Solymosbucsa (Arad County).<sup>486</sup>

#### 5.4.4 Clarinet

As written sources reveal, the clarinet (Hun. *klarinét*), a single-reed pipe with cylindrical bore, appeared in the Carpathian Basin with the Romani bands which began to form in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Later it also earned some role in rural dance music, under the

<sup>485</sup> Tárogató: Márton Lőrincz, Hungarian, aged 45. Recorded by István Pávai on 29.06.1975. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 56. Type No.: 13.057.0/11.

<sup>486</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 92–93. Florea, I. 1974. 271–272.

name *cigánsíp* or simply *síp*.<sup>487</sup> The name is of Italian-French origin, and spread internationally.<sup>488</sup> In Hungarian, diverse dialectal names evolved: *klárnét*, *kalárnét*, *klanéta*, *klánéta*, *kalánéta*.

Its occurrence in Transylvania can be documented from the 1830s onwards. According to a record dated 1833 at the municipal archive of Dés, “New peasant [settled Rom] István Vasvilla [...] can play the *muzsika* [fiddle] a little, and the clarinet well.”<sup>489</sup> In János Kriza’s folk poetry collection *Vadrózsák* [Wild roses] from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, there is reference to the instrument as *kalanéta*. In the chapter *Dance rhymes*, the part entitled *From Háromszék* begins with a poet’s account of a rural dance, interlaced with the dance rhymes used there. The second stanza reads,

Rupa, hallom, a szomszédba	I hear Rupa next door
Mán fú a kalánétába,	blowing the <i>kalánéta</i> ;
Minya fia rá kontorál,	his son Minya is accompanying him on the kontra,
S a legétség vígon ugrál.	and the lads are jumping merrily.

In the section describing the end of the dance, the instrumentalists appear again:

S ha a kontrás szusszal bírná,	If the Rom were not out of breath,
A legétség most es rakná.	the lads would still be dancing.
Kidőt a kalánétás es,	The clarinetist has given up,
Nyakángat a kontorás es.	the kontrás is faltering. <sup>490</sup>

In Kriza’s manuscript, the name of the instrument reads *kalanéta* rather than *kalánéta*, and the designation of the musician, *kalárinétos* instead of *kalánétás*. A marginal note in the manuscript allows for a more accurate definition of the provenance: “F[első] rákos August 1838 Sándor [?] Baroti [Barati] recorded this during a Sunday dance.”<sup>491</sup>

Balázs Orbán found the clarinet in the dance entertainment of the Hétfalu region under the name *klárika*.<sup>492</sup> At Székelybetlenfalva in Udvarhelyszék, in the 1870s “there was no clarinetist yet, as there is today,” Dénes Balásy, a native of the village, wrote in 1910.<sup>493</sup> The first phonograph recordings of clarinet music were also taken in Udvarhelyszék. Béla Vikár perpetuated the playing of Pista Gálfi, a Romani musician

<sup>487</sup> Sárosi, B. 1967. 85; 1971. 195.

<sup>488</sup> TESz II. 502.

<sup>489</sup> EMSzT VII. 5.

<sup>490</sup> Kriza, J. 1863/1975. 259–260.

<sup>491</sup> Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Irodalom 4–r 409/VI. fol. 52v, 52r. The accurate data above were pointed out to me by Katalin Olosz, for which I herewith express my gratitude.

<sup>492</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. VI. 147.

<sup>493</sup> Balásy, D. 1910. 298.

of Betfalva,<sup>494</sup> and later that of Tamás Elekes in Kápolnásfalva. In 1908, 50-year-old “klánétás” Gergely Nagy played for János Seprődi in Kibéd, Marosszék.<sup>495</sup> János Csíky’s early 20<sup>th</sup>-century phonograph recordings from the vicinity of Marosvásárhely also feature a clarinetist.<sup>496</sup>

Even later, the use of the instrument is connected to Székelyföld, mostly to the Homoród valley.<sup>497</sup> Linguistic research registered the word *klánéta* in Maros-Torda County in 1914 (without an exact place name). Folk custom research has unearthed data about a *klárinétás* in an ensemble playing for dance in Havad.<sup>498</sup> In the same band, a *folota* (‘flute’) and a *torombita* (‘trumpet’) could also be found, suggesting that it may have been a wind ensemble.<sup>499</sup>

In the early 1940s, Járdányi met a shepherd playing an A clarinet in Kide at the river Kis-Szamos, who only used it for his own entertainment, perhaps instead of the flute, as it was not used in bands in that area.<sup>500</sup>

In Romanian folk music, the clarinet began to spread in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (p. 200, fig. 65). Later, it was replaced by Schunda’s tárogató, and then by the saxophone.<sup>501</sup> Among the Turks and Tatars of Dobruja, the double-reed pipe *zurnai* was added, or replaced by, the clarinet from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but at the end of the century, I still came across *zurnai* players among the musicians of the region.<sup>502</sup> Similar processes of instrument replacement can be observed in Albania or Greece.<sup>503</sup>

### 5.4.5 Accordion

The ancestor of the accordion (Hun. *harmonika*), the manual *aeoline*, was constructed by the Berlin instrument maker Christian Buschmann in 1822. In 1829, Sir Charles Wheatstone patented the *concertina*. Two years later in Vienna, Transylvanian-born Cyrill Demian made the keys of the left hand suitable for chordal accompaniment, and named the new instrument *accordion*. An improved version of the concertina,

494 MH 375–378; Tari, L. 1989. 71.

495 Seprődi, J. 1974. 154.

496 MH 660–663.

497 Károly Boér, Béla Fodor, István Pávai priv. coll.: Abásfalva; Tari, L. 1978. 185; Kápolnásfalva; Sárosi, B. (ed.) 1980: 20, 28; Lövéte; Zoltán Király priv. coll.: Siklód; Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. 83, No. 180: Székelyvarság.

498 Nagy, Ö. 1980. 194.

499 Magyar Nyelvőr 1914/9–10. 448.

500 Járdányi, P. 1943b. 10.

501 Alexandru, T. 1956. 92–93.

502 István Pávai priv. coll.; Camilla Saunders priv. coll.

503 Sárosi, B. 1971. 33.

*bandonion*, was constructed by Heinrich Band around 1846. The constant development was also contributed to by Russian makers developing the *livenka*.<sup>504</sup>



Fig. 63. Hungarian Romani accordion player. Kolozs (Erdőalja)<sup>505</sup>

The button accordion, or *bayan*, is popular to this day in Russian folk music, and made its way to Finno-Ugrian, Turkic, and Caucasian peoples living together with the Russians.<sup>506</sup> Its variants produced in Czech and German areas also oozed into Hungarian folk music at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, without, however, striking roots. One piece of evidence is the Hungarian idiom *összement, mint a tót orgona* ('it collapsed like a Slovak organ').<sup>507</sup> There are data of sporadic occurrences from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century particularly in Hungarian areas closest to Bohemia.<sup>508</sup>

The most modern form, the piano accordion, arrived in Hungary after World War II,<sup>509</sup> and a little later in Transylvania, where it is popularly called *hermonika*, in

<sup>504</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 95; BRZL I. 118; II. 136–137.

<sup>505</sup> Sándor Lako, b. 1945. Photo: István Pávai: Méra, 23 June 2001.

<sup>506</sup> SzTzL 1965. I. 184, 437; II. 631; III. 45, 497.

<sup>507</sup> According to Viski, K. 1934. 43, *tót orgona* means the bagpipe.

<sup>508</sup> Kelecsényi, J. 1854. 207.

<sup>509</sup> Sárosi, B. 1973a. 87.

Szilágyság *huzamuzsika*, *húzómuzsika* ('stretcher *muzsika*').<sup>510</sup> Owing to its powerful sound, it squeezed the *kontra* and the bass into the background, first in Romanian, later also in Hungarian folk music practice.

At the same time, a fiddle accompanied by an instrument of such great volume had to be reinforced by a saxophone, even in those regions where traditional ensembles of dance music had not included wind instruments earlier. For example, in the greater part of Sóvidék, where the fiddle–cimbalom–bass ensemble had been documented since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (p. 228, fig. 70), the composition changed in the 1980s to fiddle–saxophone–cimbalom–accordion (p. 228, fig. 71).



Fig. 64. Fiddle–cimbalom duo extended with accordion and saxophone. *Felsőőfalva* (Sóvidék)

In Transylvania, the accordion is rarely used to play the tune, unlike in the music of the Balkans, or the recent folk music of Northern and Western Europe. The following Romanian dance tune from the Eastern *Mezőség* region is accompanied by the piano accordion, the right hand in the role of the *kontra*, the left in that of the bass; thus, the harmonic potential of the bass buttons remains untapped.

<sup>510</sup> Almási, I. 1979. 15.

Ex. 37. *Românește. Tuson (Eastern Mezőség)*.<sup>511</sup>

♩ = 82

3 3 3

simile

3 5

<sup>511</sup> Vasile Riza, Romanian Romani fiddler, b. 1941, and Ion Mureșan, Romanian Romani accordion player, b. 1959, Mezőceked (Southern Mezőség). Recorded by István Pávai, 28.02.1984. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 175. Type No.: 18.200.0/0.



The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a single melodic line in treble clef, featuring a triplet of eighth notes. The middle and bottom staves are grand staff notation, with the middle staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef, both containing block chords.



The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff features a complex melodic line with many beamed sixteenth notes. The middle and bottom staves are grand staff notation, with the middle staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef, both containing block chords.



The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff features a complex melodic line with many beamed sixteenth notes. The middle and bottom staves are grand staff notation, with the middle staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef, both containing block chords.

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of a single melodic line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4.

**System 1:**

- Melody:** The first measure contains a half note B-flat, followed by eighth notes D, F, and A. The second measure features a dotted quarter note G, a triplet of eighth notes (F, E, D), and a quarter note C. The third measure has a dotted quarter note B, a triplet of eighth notes (A, G, F), and a quarter note E. The system concludes with a quarter note D.
- Piano:** The right hand plays a series of chords: B-flat major (first measure), D major (second measure), F major (third measure), and A-flat major (fourth measure). The left hand provides a simple bass line with quarter notes B-flat, D, F, and A.

**System 2:**

- Melody:** The first measure begins with a trill (tr) on a dotted quarter note B-flat, followed by eighth notes D and F. The second measure contains a quarter rest, a triplet of eighth notes (F, E, D), and a quarter note C. The third measure has a dotted quarter note B, a triplet of eighth notes (A, G, F), and a quarter note E. The system ends with a quarter note D.
- Piano:** The right hand plays chords: B-flat major (first measure), D major (second measure), F major (third measure), and A-flat major (fourth measure). The left hand plays a bass line with quarter notes B-flat, D, F, and A.

## 6 TYPES OF MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT IN DANCE MUSIC

Folk dances without music are extremely rare; such are the “dumb” or “deaf” *kolos* known among the South Slavs of the Dinaric zone.<sup>512</sup> At any rate, most dances are danced to music. Curt Sachs distinguishes two types of accompaniment in dance music: one is *independent rhythmic accompaniment*, the other, *merely melodic accompaniment*.<sup>513</sup> György Martin rightly adds to them a third type, the simultaneous application of rhythmic and melodic elements, which he calls *complex accompaniment*.<sup>514</sup> The music of European peasant dances, or at least its forms the informants deem ideal, are to be subsumed in the latter type.

Accordingly, the instruments can be ranged in three groups by their role in dance accompaniment: rhythm-producing instruments, melody-playing instruments, and those capable of complex accompaniment. The organological features of some instruments qualify them to play either melody or rhythm (e.g. the cimbalom), but it depends on the time and place when and where it is used in one accompaniment type, when in the other, or when in both.

In this chapter, I will examine, on the basis of the most important accessible sources, how these three types are represented in the traditional culture of the Hungarians of Transylvania and Moldavia, compared to the forms known among other regional groups of Hungarians, as well as to present or past traditions of other peoples. I only examine those types of instruments, or their relatives, which have been involved in the practice of dance music among the Hungarians of Transylvania (see the previous chapter).

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<sup>512</sup> Ivančan, I. 1975. 118.

<sup>513</sup> Sachs, C. 1937. 176, 181.

<sup>514</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967. 144.

## 6.1 INDEPENDENT RHYTHMIC ACCOMPANIMENT

The use of independent rhythmic accompaniment can be documented continuously from the prehistoric to modern times, with archaeological, literary, iconographic and ethnographic data.<sup>515</sup> Rituals with ecstatic dancing, supported by percussion or occasional rhythm-producing tools were still frequent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. in West Africa,<sup>516</sup> in the ceremonies of Christian Ethiopian Copts,<sup>517</sup> or among American indigenous peoples.<sup>518</sup> Independent rhythmic accompaniment has been rare in European culture in the last centuries; however, *kolos* of Kosovo are sometimes danced to the sound of the *tapan* (large double-headed drum), and the Andalusian *polo* is accompanied by castanets, clapping and shoe tapping.<sup>519</sup> A peculiar manner of rhythm production among Eastern European Roms is known as *oral bass* (*bögözés*, *brugózás*), to which they may dance even without melody (in more detail, see the chapter *Rhythmic accompaniment of dances*, p. 265 ff.).

Since the only percussion instrument known in Hungarian folk music, the *gardon*, is not used on its own for dance, independent rhythmic accompaniment may only be produced by random objects (pieces of furniture, cutlery, etc.) used as occasional percussion for lack of voice or musical instruments.<sup>520</sup> Even the clicking of spurs alone could provide the rhythm of dancing.<sup>521</sup> A 19<sup>th</sup>-century source testifies the presence of uninvited mummers at a pig slaughter, performing, among diverse attics, the “sausage dance” to the growling sound of the friction drum.<sup>522</sup>

Informants in the Gyimes region claim that for lack of a *gardon* any old piece of furniture could substitute it, but in the dance practice of the region, they were always used to support a melody playing instrument, or, if none was available, sung dance tunes. Shorter or longer breaks may have interrupted the singing, when dancing continued to the sound of the rhythmic tools alone. Such occasional sections of independent rhythmic accompaniment may have occurred; still, among Hungarians of Transylvania in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this has never been regular practice for dancing, which always required a melody.

<sup>515</sup> A relevant set of data can be found in Pávai, I. 1993. 39–47.

<sup>516</sup> Sárosi, B. 1998. 10; 1973a 12. fig. 3. “Rhythmic accompaniment with drums (in the background) and a chest. Ghana.”

<sup>517</sup> Martin, Gy. 1966. 438.

<sup>518</sup> Balázs, F. 1929. 179; Lips, E. 1960. 156; Kunst, J. 1975. 144.

<sup>519</sup> Ivančan, I. 1975. 118; BRZL III. 133.

<sup>520</sup> Sárosi, B. 1967. 12, 25; 1973a. 12–14; 1973b. 58–60 fig.; 1998. 8–11.

<sup>521</sup> Vargyas, L. 2005. 83.

<sup>522</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 174.

## 6.2 MERELY MELODIC ACCOMPANIMENT

### 6.2.1 Dance accompaniment with singing

The elementary form of melodic accompaniment to dancing is singing. As a primeval syncretism of text, tune, and motion, this has been present from the antiquity, often connected to ritual acts.<sup>523</sup>

In early Christianity, round dances to singing were part of the divine service.<sup>524</sup> With the canonization of the liturgy later, dancing was left out of the ceremony, and the melodic repertoire was also put through the sieve of rigorous rules. The persistence of pre-Christian customs despite prohibitions is proven by an admonishing homily of Saint John Chrysostom (late 4<sup>th</sup> century): “Nowadays dancers sing hymns in honour of Aphrodite. They sing of fornication, adultery, orgiastic intercourse, and many other shameful and disgraceful songs [on the wedding day]. After getting drunk, and all those ignominious things, they escort the bride in a public procession while reciting immoral rhymes.”<sup>525</sup> Nor was the situation different two hundred years later, when the Council of Toledo in 589 decreed, “The impious custom of the people to keep vigil with dancing and wicked songs, when they should listen to the office, must be eradicated.” A late descendant of early Christian liturgical dance is the *contrapàs* of Catalonia, danced after mass to the tune of the Passion.<sup>526</sup> Liturgical circle dance to singing has been preserved in Hungarian tradition as well. As Sándor Bálint writes, “pilgrims around Gyöngyös [...] sometimes perform the dance of the Wedding at Cana [...] on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [...] When the circle is formed, they start singing the story from the Gospel while they perform movements in place.”<sup>527</sup>

On the popularity of dances to singing in secular environments, there is a multitude of data from over the past centuries.<sup>528</sup> As an analogy to a North Hungarian Whitsun custom, Károly Szabó cites the report of the diplomat Priscus, which survives in a 10<sup>th</sup> century transcription of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, about a women’s processional dance in the surroundings of Attila the Hun: “as Attelas reached the village, maidens came to welcome him. They paced one behind the other. Their heads were covered in white cambric veil. Their veils were so long, and flew around them at such length, that seven or more maidens could walk under each. The veils were held by a row of women

<sup>523</sup> Examples are enumerated in Pávai, I. 1993. 42–44.

<sup>524</sup> BRZL II. 341.

<sup>525</sup> CMPH vol. III/A. IX.

<sup>526</sup> BRZL I. 356.

<sup>527</sup> Bálint, S. 1977. I. 178.

<sup>528</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. 44–45.

on both sides, and there were many such rows of women holding the veils. And the maidens were singing Scythian songs as they walked.”<sup>529</sup>

The connection between singing and dancing can also be documented for the Inner Asian Tatars in the 13<sup>th</sup> century: “if they want to give somebody a stately treat and entertainment, one of them takes a filled cup. Two others accompany him on his right and left, and the three progress singing and dancing toward the person they wish to offer the cup.”<sup>530</sup> In the frame story of *The Decameron*, singing connected to dancing occurs several times. After a close examination of the context, the following two excerpts seem to allude to a chain dance to singing without instrumental accompaniment: “Filostrato ordered Lauretta to start a dance and sing some song;” “they found the ladies dancing to the singing of Fiammetta.”<sup>531</sup>

In late medieval and early renaissance court dances, such as *carole*, *espringola*, *reigen*, *tresken*, *branle*, etc., originally sung accompaniment became gradually replaced by instruments.<sup>532</sup> Carole was rarely accompanied with instruments, while its sung tunes are known by the names *virelai*, *rondeau*, *ballade*. French *rondeau*, or *rondel*, meant a song with a refrain in the 13–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The name alludes to the frequent return of the refrain, and maybe to the spatial form of the dance. In the 13–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Italian *ballata* was a song in which the stanzas sung by a foresinger are followed by a *ripresa* by the chorus. The synonyms *danza* and *canzone a ballo* link this genre to dancing. French *ballade* and Old Provençal *ballada* mean a strophic, sometimes polyphonic, song with refrain. The court dance tune *ballo* or *balletto* in Italy was optionally performed vocally or instrumentally, but only the latter remained in use later.<sup>533</sup>

The genre of ballad is thought by some scholars to be related to Italian *ballare*, Spanish *bailar* ‘to dance,’ while others relate it to Scottish Gaelic *gwallead* ‘street song.’<sup>534</sup> There are Scandinavian data from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on ballads sung during dancing in the churchyard; a similar custom survived until the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the Faroe Islands. In these cases, however, “ballad” is not equivalent to its meaning in today’s folklore research. The word “ballad” meaning ‘epic song’ was first used by the Scotsman Thomas Percy in 1795. Peasants never used it anywhere, or if they did, it was upon recent influence of intellectuals. Informants name such songs in Hungarian as *történetes ének* ‘history song,’ *hosszú ének* ‘long song,’ *istória* ‘history,’ *szomorú nóta* ‘sad song;’ in Romanian as *cântec bătrânesc* or *vitejesc* ‘song of the old,’ ‘heroic song;’ in Serbian as *narodne pesme*; in Modern Greek as *tragoudia*.

<sup>529</sup> Zolnay, L. 1977. 26.

<sup>530</sup> Zolnay, L. 1977. 31.

<sup>531</sup> Boccaccio, G. 1968. I. 280–281; II. 41.

<sup>532</sup> Martin, Gy. 1979. 13.

<sup>533</sup> BRZL I. 113–116, 295; III. 255.

<sup>534</sup> Katona, I. 1979. 161.

János Kriza published the ballad *Bagoly asszonka* ('The Owl Lady') as a "pillow dance," with the explanation, "During this song, the youth stand in a circle, a lad in the middle holding a pillow and looking round until he chooses a lassie from the circle. Then he puts down the pillow in front of her and kneels on it; the girl must also kneel and accept her suitor's kiss, then she has to take the lad's place in the middle, look round and choose a young man as described above, etc."<sup>535</sup> In the case of most Hungarian folk ballads, one-time performance with dancing is out of the question, for the majority of ballad tunes are in rubato rhythm, and the relatively few tempo giusto tunes are of relatively recent origin. Similar is the case with French ballads, the bulk of which belong to the musical genre of *complainte* (corresponding to Hungarian *keserves*). "Singing ballads and dancing appear to be incompatible," Bartók notes in a letter to Róbert Gragger in 1925, meaning Romanian and Slovak folklore as well.<sup>536</sup> As Lajos Vargyas sums up his position on the issue, "We must give up an inherited and not thoroughly deliberated scholarly tradition: ballad does not mean a unity of song and dance; it denotes a special textual genre which is always sung. Rarely, when the tune permitted, people might also have danced to it, among other similar tunes."<sup>537</sup>

The epic songs that were danced to according to the sources were not ballads in today's sense, but must have belonged to the genre of heroic songs. The roots of this practice go back to the age of Homer. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there are references to dancing during epic singing, though always with instrumental accompaniment. The Greek word *aoidos* clearly means the performer of epic songs.<sup>538</sup>

There is plenty of information on medieval and early modern European circle dances to singing. The Hungarian Márton Szepsi Csombor, for example, had the following experience during his travels in France in 1616: "In Nettancourt, I saw the marvellous dance of the village young lads and lasses. Many maidens held hands in a large circle, with four young men fenced in in the middle; the lasses sang loudly, and to certain words or rhythm, the lads kissed them in turns."<sup>539</sup>

In the musical novel *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus* (1683), Daniel Speer mentions dancing to a funeral lament: "Then I went with my host to a squire's funeral. In the end there was even dancing, but it was a mournful merriment in tears, to which some wailing women sang and wept." In János Kemény's autobiography of 1657–1659, we find a link between singing and hajduk dance: "my nurse was a maiden, if that is the right word; a maiden because she had no husband, and a wife

<sup>535</sup> Kriza, J. 1863/1975.

<sup>536</sup> Demény, J. (ed.) 1976. 318.

<sup>537</sup> Vargyas, L. 1976. I. 244–246, Martin, Gy. 1979. 16.

<sup>538</sup> Ritoók, Zs. 1973. 46.

<sup>539</sup> Szepsi Csombor, M. 1620/1943. 146.

because she had a son, and plenty of milk. She was a Székely woman of Marosszék, a good singer and good hajduk dancer, a woman soldier, of whom I took good care later." About the dance of the hajduks, the English physician Edward Brown writes in his travelogue of 1669, "They dance with naked Swords in their hands, advancing, brandishing and clashing the same; turning, winding, elevating, and depressing their bodies with strong and active motions; singing withal unto their measures, after the manner of the *Greeks*."<sup>540</sup> The handwritten songbook of György Szentsei (1705) includes a Transylvanian hajduk dance tune; the first stanza suggests that the dance was performed to singing:

Nosza hajdu Firge varju  
járjunk egy szép táncot  
nem vagy fattyu sem rossz hattyu  
kiálts hát egy hoppot  
Szájod mongyon lábod járjon  
egy katonatáncot.

Come on, hajduk, you nimble crow,  
let's do some pretty dancing;  
you're no bastard, nor a poor swan,  
so shout a resounding 'hey,'  
let your mouth sing and your feet dance  
a soldiers' dance.

The trilingual dictionary of Josephus Márton printed in Vienna, 1818, gives the Hungarian and German equivalents of *Chorea* as "dance, round dance, dancing and singing in a circle;" "ein Tanz in einem Kreis mit Gesang, Kreistanz."<sup>541</sup>

Balázs Orbán describes, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *Jungfernreigen* danced and sung by Saxon girls in the street in the Barcaság (Burzenland) region.<sup>542</sup>

The *Mollag Dance* of the Isle of Man, a circle dance with singing, is attached to a Saint Stephen's Day custom (26 December); *Cadi Ha* of Wales may also be subsumed in this type.<sup>543</sup> Round dances with singing of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Eastern Europe are surviving examples of medieval dance culture.

In Romania, similar dances survive at places in Romanian (Maros–Küküllő, Máramaros, and Szilágyság regions) as well as Hungarian (Bukovina, Homoród valley, Maros–Küküllő region, Szilágyság) culture.<sup>544</sup> Such dances sometimes had a ritual character: on Palm Sunday in Northern Hungarian villages, a straw puppet was carried round on a pole to ward off hail and plague. This end-of-winter custom would still end with a dance round a fire with singing as late as the turn of the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The round dance with singing disappeared from the Hungarian custom *villőzés*, but was retained in the Slovak, Moravian and Czech versions. Other

<sup>540</sup> Brown, E. 1685. 10.

<sup>541</sup> The data in the preceding paragraph are taken from Pesovár, E. 1972. 23–29.

<sup>542</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. VI. 290.

<sup>543</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 246.

<sup>544</sup> Martin, Gy. 1979. 14, 27, 275; Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 33.

spring rituals with singing and dancing included *zöldágjárás* (procession with green branches), *májusfadöntés* (felling the maypole), and *pünkösödölés* (Whitsun greeting). Around the winter solstice, some Nativity plays included the dancing of puppets to singing.

Some Hungarian dances imitating animals, such as fox, frog, mouse, or magpie dances, were accompanied by singing alone, either by the dancers or by others present.<sup>545</sup> In Szék, the humorous-erotic *szarkatánc* ('magpie dance') was danced by girls in the spinning room before the arrival of the lads, to the following tune:

Ex. 38. *Szarkatánc. Szék* (Northern Mezőség region)<sup>546</sup>

♩ = 137

I. Szar - ka va - gyok ug - rá - lok, Húst e - szek, ha ta - lá - lok.

[tallázva]

Szarka vagyok, ugrálok,  
Húst eszek, ha talállok.

I am a magpie, I keep skipping,  
I will eat meat if I find some.

Szarka menyén berekbe,  
Viszi farkát meredve

The magpie is walking in the grove,  
carrying its tail erect.

Some ritual wedding dances were danced to the singing of the wedding party without instrumental music. Such was the *candle dance* to escort the bride to bed, mentioned as early as 1736 in Péter Apor's *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* under the name *torch dance*.<sup>547</sup> Ethnographic data reveal that it was usually danced around midnight with burning candles in hand, to the usual song of laying the bride, sometimes without musicians. The dance ends with the bridesman running off with the bride toward the place of the nuptial bed, and the rest hurling the candles after them with fertility wishes.<sup>548</sup>

<sup>545</sup> Dömötör, T. 1977; Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 91–93, 148–152, 177.

<sup>546</sup> Voice: Mrs Márton Víg b. Zsuzsanna Fogarasi. Recorded by István Pávai, 24.10.1975, Szék (Mezőség region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 13.

<sup>547</sup> Apor, P. 1736/1978. 108.

<sup>548</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 131–132.

A western antecedent of this dance is known from 16<sup>th</sup> century France under the name *branle du chandelier* or *branle de la torche*.<sup>549</sup> It may have been a custom in antiquity (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) to escort the newlyweds to the nuptial chamber with torches, as the last lines of Longus' romance *Daphnis and Chloe* suggest.<sup>550</sup> Another wedding custom with singing and dancing is *menyasszonyporkolás* ('scorching the bride') or *hajnaltűztánc* ('dawn fire dance'), surviving in a few northern settlements of the Hungarian language area. They also danced round a fire, and jumped over it, on Saint John's Eve, which was also common among Slovaks and Croats.<sup>551</sup>

The memory of dancing to singing is preserved by some children's folk games with dancing, never accompanied by real musical instruments. In a game of the Csallóköz region, children accompanied their singing in the 1870s with wooden whistles, "reed fiddle" (as the song has it) and a tin pot for a drum.<sup>552</sup> Analogies for that can be found all over Europe. The narrow-range tunes with motivic repetition, sung by adults to make babies "dance," may also be regarded as dance accompaniment, with the incipits *Cini-cini muzsika*; *Hopp, cini, cineci*, etc.<sup>553</sup> *Cini-cini*, often occurring in such rhymes and ditties as an evocation of the fiddle, together with *tánci-tánci* confirming its function of dance music, can be found in a document dated 1781 in the Kendilóna archive of the Teleki family: "Calling at Hosszúfalu, Count János Teleki reprimanded Count Sámuel Teleki, saying, 'Young man, you just keep going *cini, cini* and *tánci, tánci*, and the property is going to the dogs; while it was in the hands of Count Pál Teleki, it was not so run down, but in its intact state.'"<sup>554</sup>

The *pergetés*, or 'rolling,' among the Roms also belongs to the category of vocal melodic accompaniment; it means a performance of vocal tunes in a quasi-instrumental manner, through vocal improvisation with nonsense syllables.<sup>555</sup> The equivalent of this manner of performance in jazz, known as scat singing, originates in Afro-American folklore as an expression of ecstasy. Vocal imitations of instrumental music became a particular stylistic hallmark of New Orleans jazz, first of all in the art of Louis Armstrong. The name of the first style of modern jazz, *bebop*, was also formed of two scat syllables.<sup>556</sup>

Dancing to singing is naturally widespread in diverse continents. For instance, a dance tune of the ritual of circumcision was recorded in New Guinea among the Kai tribe, sung falsetto by a chorus in the upper octave. A peculiar legacy of antiquity is the

<sup>549</sup> Arbeau, T. 1596. 86.

<sup>550</sup> Simon, R. 1974. 255.

<sup>551</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 133–134.

<sup>552</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 21.

<sup>553</sup> Borsai, I.–Kovács, Á. 1975. 22.

<sup>554</sup> EMSzT I. 1190.

<sup>555</sup> Víg, R. 1976.

<sup>556</sup> BRZL III. 99, 298.

work song, uniting rhythmic movement with melody, such as the songs of Indian rice workers or Egyptian cotton pickers.<sup>557</sup> The thrashing dance *ihil wekka* of the Amhara in Ethiopia consists of movements imitating the work, performed to singing.<sup>558</sup> Another example is the *hurkanóta* ('sausage song') of Mohács, Southern Hungary, sung by mill haulers with obscene text, "grabbing a long rope and dragging the [portable] mill from its winter station to its place."<sup>559</sup>

### 6.2.2 Dance accompaniment with melody-playing instruments

Under this heading, I will also list cases in which an instrument is coupled with singing, which is natural as singing may join dancing any time. First I will survey the data concerning wind, plucked, and bowed string instruments separately; then I will examine their combined occurrence. Since the cimbalom, played with beaters, cannot be subsumed in any of the categories above, and since I have found a single instance of its independent use for dance accompaniment, I will mention it here. A drawing by Károly Lotz of 1860 shows a dance with axes after a deal at the fair, to the music of a single cimbalom.<sup>560</sup>

#### 6.2.2.1 Dance accompaniment with a wind instrument

The role of wind instruments in dance music can be documented from the early antiquity through the European Middle Ages to the present day.<sup>561</sup> Contemporaneous accounts reveal that on 14 and 16 May 1500, Prince Sigismund Jagiellon was entertained during dinner at his accommodations in Buda by Ruthenians dancing to trumpet music with their bear. In 1519, trumpet-playing Bohemian and Hungarian bear-leaders visited the Netherlands.<sup>562</sup> In a drawing of around 1561, three wind instruments provided the music for the chain dance of the Nuremberg butchers on Carnival night.<sup>563</sup>

According to a record by Saxon envoy Andreas Frank, the ceremonial march of Prince George II Rákóczi into Marosvásárhely on 29 September 1659 was accompanied by a *töröksíp* player.<sup>564</sup> In an engraving by Justus van der Nypoort, three soldiers

<sup>557</sup> Szabolcsi, B. 1975. 29.

<sup>558</sup> Martin, Gy. 1966. 428.

<sup>559</sup> CMPH vol. VIII/B 1416, 253n.

<sup>560</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. Fig. 19.

<sup>561</sup> Detailed data are presented in Pávai, I. 1993. 50–52.

<sup>562</sup> Zolnay, L. 1977. 335–337.

<sup>563</sup> Martin, Gy. 1979. Fig. 7.

<sup>564</sup> Szilágyi, S. (ed.) 1887. 386.

are dancing with unsheathed swords to the sound of the *töröksíp* outside the castle of Kapronca, which proves that this instrument was not only used in military music but also for dance.<sup>565</sup>

As can be read in the minutes of the interrogation of a witness in the suit against the steward of the Kornis estate in 1740, “If there was no fiddler, he called in the flute player with the farm-hands, and often he danced all night with them, having me dance the *tőkés* dance with them.”<sup>566</sup> Another source for 18<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian dance culture is a song of Romanian–Hungarian macaronic text surviving in several variants, “Tódor Opre’s song.” In one stanza, lasses and lads dance to the music of an Oltenian flute player:

<i>Olteanule, zi-mi fluiere</i> , hadd menjünk a táncba,	You Oltenian, play the flute, let us begin the dance,
<i>Și ne jucăm cu fetele</i> , a gazda nem bánja.	Let us dance with the girls, the host will not take it amiss. <sup>567</sup>

Shepherds’ dances in Székely Nativity plays, usually danced to the flute, preserve a relatively old tradition until as late as the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An 18<sup>th</sup>-century text also refers to the wind accompaniment of a Nativity shepherds’ dance:

Bizony ighen hanghos majd fuok egy notát,	I surely will blow a tune loud,
E csinus musika megh érne egy krauczárt,	that pretty music would be worth a penny,
Az egész Pásztorságh ne kimellye lábát	no shepherd shall spare his legs,
Ki ki szep módgyáual iária itten tánczát.	all shall do their dance as best they can. <sup>568</sup>

As Balázs Orbán registers, well over a hundred years ago, in the spinning-rooms of the Hétfalu region, the lads “entertain the lasses with their flutes,” and “the spinning is usually ended with a dance.”<sup>569</sup>

Similarly to the text of several Nativity plays, a sung dance tune of Moldavia with the refrain *Édes Gergeljem* (‘My dear Gergely’) also alludes to dancing to the flute, or *sültü*. As a woman of Klézse said, “The *sültü* was not played at weddings, only in the spinning-room... In a village there were five or six spinning-rooms, there they danced to the *sültü*... There’s a dance, *Édes Gergeljem*, when this was played on the *sültü*, they danced, but it was such a slow dance that they stopped now and then, for they slowly

<sup>565</sup> Birckenstein collection, 1686; Pesovár, E. 1972. Fig. 1.

<sup>566</sup> Dani, J. 1973. 1033.

<sup>567</sup> Cf. Küllös, I. 1988. 260, stanza 6; 261, stanza 7; 264, stanza 4.

<sup>568</sup> Bogdán, I. 1978. 47.

<sup>569</sup> Orbán, B. 1868–1873. VI. 147.

stamped their feet, forward and then back, according to the song, and it was played on the sültü. My father could play the sültü well.”<sup>570</sup>

Ex. 39. *Kezes (Édes Gergelyem). Trunk (Moldavia, right bank of the river Szeret)*<sup>571</sup>

1. Mikor Ger-gel le-gén vót, csip-ke-fá-ból bot-ja vót.

E-hej, ked-ves Ger-gel-jem, E-hej, lel-kem Ger-gel-jem.

In the Gyimes region, the flute was played for merrymaking at home; in Bukovina, Hungarians used it for learning dances.<sup>572</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian dancing events were accompanied on the flute in Lozsád (Hunyad region), and the girls were also invited to a dance with flute music.<sup>573</sup> In Lőrincréve (Transylvanian Hegyalja region) in the 1950s, the village youth rallied outside the gate of a girl on Saturdays and Sundays, and danced to flute and singing.<sup>574</sup> Around that time in Hunyad and Temes Counties, several flute players played alternately in the Sunday dances of Romanians, because the flutes of different keynotes could not be played together.<sup>575</sup>

<sup>570</sup> Informant: Mrs György Lőrincz b. Luca Hodorog, aged 60, 1980.

<sup>571</sup> Voice: Mrs Piéter Bodó b. Bori Csobotár, b. 1920, Trunk (Moldavia). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 28.11.1982, Székelyudvarhely. “They dance and sing, too.” First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 22. Type No.: 17.124.o/o. Variants: Dobszay, L. 1984. No. 307. Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. IIIB72. sz. Domokos, p. 1953. No. 74. Domokos, P.–Rajeczky, B. 1991. Nos.63–64. Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (eds.) 1974. No. 215. Kallós, Z. 1973. No. 47. Szegő, J. 1988. No. 88. Szegő, J.–Dobó, K. 1958. No. 21. Veress, S. 1989. No. 101.

<sup>572</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 204; Belényesy, M. 1958. 74.

<sup>573</sup> Szász, J. 1976. 151.

<sup>574</sup> Karsai, Zs. 1958. 122.

<sup>575</sup> Florea, I. 1974. 39.



Fig. 65. Romanian dancers surrounding a clarinetist.<sup>576</sup>

A riddle of Kibéd also alludes to the dance music function of the instrument:

Hosszúkás a formája,  
táncolnak a hangjára.  
(*furulya*)

It is elongated,  
and they dance to its sound.<sup>577</sup>  
(*flute*)

In Hungarian traditional culture, the flute hardly ever appears in an instrumental ensemble. In the Gyimes region, it was used together with the *gardon*; in Moldavia, with the *koboz*, in smaller parties at houses, when no fiddle was available.<sup>578</sup>

#### 6.2.2.2 Dance accompaniment with a melody-playing bowed instrument

The family of bowed instruments is far younger than plucked strings or winds, therefore, the data documenting their use in dance accompaniment do not go back to a remote past. In medieval Western Europe, itinerant musicians played the bowed *vielle*,

<sup>576</sup> Photo NM D 1386 in the slide collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, taken of an unknown painting by János Manga.

<sup>577</sup> Ráduly, J. 1990. 195.

<sup>578</sup> Sárosi, B. 1973a. 103.

sang, and danced at the same time.<sup>579</sup> The early 14<sup>th</sup>-century Codex Manesse contains several illuminations showing dance accompanied on the *vielle* (fols. 146r, 312r, 413v). At a court festivity during the regency of Catherine de' Medici in France (1560–1563), Breton peasants danced *branles gais* and *passepieds* to the sound of a fiddle.<sup>580</sup> In Scotland, the fiddle squeezed out the harp from dance accompaniment in the 16–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>581</sup> In an English New Year custom, “the beheading of the fiddler,” the fiddler dances as well.<sup>582</sup>

When the fiddle appeared in Hungarian regions, it took over the role of dance accompaniment from other instruments in decline. Consequently, fiddlers incurred the wrath of ecclesiastical authorities: “All the fiddles found in towns and villages should be cut in half and hanged on willow trees, and the fiddlers who play dances should be hanged by their legs next to them” (1681). “People shall abstain from fiddling and dancing, for those who pay the fiddler shall be caned, together with the fiddler. The dancers shall also receive caning” (1683).<sup>583</sup> According to another document, “Mátyás Gyvanics [...] stirred a great scandal when he danced to fiddle music,” so he was banished from the city of Pécs after a sentence of fifty strokes in 1720.<sup>584</sup>

In men's entertainments without women, the fiddle often played a role. As can be read in the municipal records of Debrecen, 1749, “András Mocsi, Gáspár Monus, András Jó [...] had a fiddler play for them and danced at the Szeles tavern last Sunday, a fasting day; they shall be punished.” A testimony in a trial of Bihar County in 1761 contains the following: “I danced one or two dances there to the fiddle before the fight. I danced with Mihály Kiss, but I did not dance with a woman, as I never do.” As stated in the records of 10 March 1753 of Szalonta, “the recruiting soldiers went in, as is their custom, with fiddling and gamboling.”<sup>585</sup>

An archival document of 1757 on a quarrel in the city of Nagyvárád also provides information on the fiddle's role in dancing: “two soldiers came with a young woman, and then came a corporal with an officer's wife, who, eager to dance, told the fiddler to play a minuet for her. Mihály Lessán, already dancing, said the fiddler will keep playing his tune, as he had paid for it [...] the corporal asked him to let them have a dance and then they would leave and he could dance as long as he wanted, but he kept swearing in Romanian, and would not let them dance [...] and then the younger soldier slapped the dancing lad in the face.”<sup>586</sup>

<sup>579</sup> Gülke, P. 1979. 118.

<sup>580</sup> Vargyas, L. 1976 I. 161.

<sup>581</sup> SzTZL 1965. III. 375.

<sup>582</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 245–246.

<sup>583</sup> Cited by Pesovár, E. 1972. 86–87.

<sup>584</sup> Bárdos, L. 1976. 83.

<sup>585</sup> Béres, A. 1980. 423.

<sup>586</sup> Béres, A. 1980. 426.

Despite all official prohibitions, the fiddle had great popularity, as the versified story *Rontó Pál* by József Gvadányi (1793) confirms:

Kortsmákon muzsika vólt, és hegedültek	There was music in the taverns, they played the fiddle,
Városból sereggel lányok oda gyűltek	lasses from town gathered there by flocks. <sup>587</sup>

Gergely Czuczor's poem *Magyar tánc* ('Hungarian dance'), written 35 years later, also describes a dance with fiddle accompaniment:

Mit ültök itt vesztegelve?	It's a waste of time to sit here,
Táncra legények!	start dancing, young men!
Úgy szeretem az ifjakat,	I like to see young men
Hogyha serények,	when they are busy.
Rajta tehát, csak szaporán,	Get going, quickly,
Majd elmondom én,	I will tell you,
Ha megzendül a hegedű	when the fiddle starts playing,
Ki-ki mit tegyen.	who should do what.
[...]	[...]
Zengedez már a hegedű,	The fiddle is playing now,
Kezdjük el tehát,	let us start then.
Üssük össze bokáinkat,	Let us click our ankles
Pontban, egyiránt.	accurately, all at one.
Előbb jobbra, aztán balra	First to the right, then to left
Hármat ugorjunk,	let us skip thrice,
De a nótával egy huron	but our spurs shall clank
Pengjen sarkantyunk.	to the rhythm of the tune. <sup>588</sup>

From archival documents, scores of data can be cited of dancing to fiddle music. To present a few, "I heard with my ears that the fiddle was playing, they were revelling, dancing;" "the magistrate prohibited fiddling and dancing at weddings" (Kolozsvár, 1585, 1594); "they drank there for almost a week and had a fiddler play for them, and danced;" "fiddling and dancing I've seen and heard enough" (Marosvásárhely, 1639, 1640); "it happened oft that good wine aroused the desire to have the fiddle played, or even to dance the buck dance [men's dance]" (Kendilóna 1735); "he wanted to seize the fiddler from

<sup>587</sup> Pesovár, E. 1972. 92.

<sup>588</sup> Pesovár, E. 1972. 63–64.

the apprentices dancing there” (Geges 1762); “there is dancing and fiddling there like nowhere else” (Dés 1789).<sup>589</sup>

At farmsteads, roadside taverns, and even in towns, they often reveled by the sound of *muzsika*, a synonym for the fiddle.<sup>590</sup> In 1903, at a tavern in the city of Győr, “there was singing to fiddle accompaniment and lawyer György Hradek danced a Hungarian dance.”<sup>591</sup> “Children’s weddings,” earlier a widespread game, could do with a single fiddle.<sup>592</sup> As Kodály found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, similar cases may have occurred in real life: “In 1912, I was present when a well-to-do Székely farmer engaged a gipsy to play at his son’s wedding; he was the only musician in Kászonfeltíz [...] This single fiddler had to play for twenty-four hours in return for food and drink, some kerchiefs and five forints.”<sup>593</sup> As Bálint Sárosi writes, “Elderly shepherds recalled that in their youth there was a single Romani fiddler providing the music in the Hortobágy inn, his name was Rimóczi (he died in 1942). They say ‘he danced it, played it, and sang it’ alone. The regulars of the inn from the neighborhood were perfectly satisfied with him, they did not need more musicians for their entertainment. Rimóczi himself was happier to play alone than with accompaniment, ‘lest someone should spoil him’ – he would say.”<sup>594</sup>

According to the study in the 16 November 1814 issue of *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Romanian dances in Transylvania were accompanied by one or two fiddles.<sup>595</sup> In south Adriatic areas, the *kolo* was danced to the bowed *lijerica* even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>596</sup> In India, the bowed *sarangi* accompanied the performance of women dancers.<sup>597</sup>

### 6.2.2.3 Dance accompaniment with several melody-playing instruments

Several melody-playing instruments in unison, joined occasionally by singing, can also be ranged in the category of merely melodic accompaniment. In classical antiquity, all instruments (except percussion) were used to play melody; hence, they could not be combined to form a complex accompaniment, i.e. a fusion of melodic and rhythmic elements.<sup>598</sup>

<sup>589</sup> EMSzT IV. 2.

<sup>590</sup> Béres, A. 1958. 98.

<sup>591</sup> Bárdos, K. 1980. 245.

<sup>592</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maác, L. 1958. 106.

<sup>593</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 127.

<sup>594</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 191.

<sup>595</sup> [Stock, S. F.] 1814. 767.

<sup>596</sup> Ivančan, I. 1975. 119; 1987. 233.

<sup>597</sup> Darvas, G. 1977. 135.

<sup>598</sup> For data on this type of accompaniment from antiquity, see Pávai, I. 1993. 56–57.

In 14<sup>th</sup>-century Western Europe, a dance could be accompanied by several shawms and a trombone.<sup>599</sup> In the frame story of *The Decameron* (c. 1350–1355), “(since the ladies, similarly to the young men, could all dance, and some of them played and sang beautifully); upon the Queen’s command Dioneo took the lute, Fiammetta the fiddle, and they started some pleasant dance music.”<sup>600</sup>

In the church of the village of Ostrov in Oltenia, a mural dated 1787 shows a fiddler and a panpiper at the banquet table of King Herod while Salome, the dancer, is bringing the head of John the Baptist on a tray.<sup>601</sup> Upon the invitation of Voivode Alexander Ypsilantis, Franz Joseph Sulzer studied the Romanian culture in Wallachia in 1776. Back home, he wrote a monumental work on his experiences, the first three volumes published in Vienna with the title *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens* (1781–1782). He mentions that in the flatlands of Moldavia and Wallachia, dances are accompanied by ensembles of fiddles and a panpipe.<sup>602</sup>

As István Zajzoni Rab writes in 1862, the band accompanying the *borica* dance of the Hétfalu region consisted of “two or three *cigánys*, one of them must be a flute player, the other a fiddler, and if there is a third one, he plays the cimbalom.”<sup>603</sup> Here, the cimbalom probably also played the tune rather than harmonic accompaniment. Data of 20<sup>th</sup>-century folklore for ensembles of melody-playing instruments include the Polish fiddle–clarinet duo of Eastern Silesia, and the clarinet–cimbalom duo in the villages of the Upper Nyikó valley.<sup>604</sup> The latter case, however, may in fact be a “cut-out” of a customary fiddle–clarinet–kontra–cimbalom–bass ensemble as an emergency solution. As an informant of Kászónújfalu told in 1952, in 1912–1938 “Illéske Csobotár was our fiddler. He was a Székely Hungarian, not a Rom... Sándor Szilveszter was the cimbalom player. He died recently, in 1944. The music consisted of the two of them, and it was enough for us; we could dance well enough. The drum has been added only recently.”<sup>605</sup>

### 6.3 COMPLEX ACCOMPANIMENT

Complex accompaniment emerges when there is simultaneous melodic and rhythmic accompaniment to a dance. Even on melody-playing instruments, there are technical solutions that help emphasize rhythmic-metrical units of the music and the dance.

599 Gülke, P. 1979. 119.

600 Boccaccio, G. 1968. 27.

601 Breazul, G. 1981. 165.

602 Alexandru, T. 1956. 143.

603 Zajzoni Rab, I. 1862/2004. 21.

604 Dąbrowska, G. 1979. colour plate between p. 112 and 113; Pálfi, Gy. 1981. 323.

605 Sebestyén Dobó, K. 2001.

A complex accompaniment does not necessarily imply harmonic accompaniment, but it may contain harmonic elements or complete harmonies.

Transylvanian and Moldavian flute players, irrespective of ethnicity, generally produce a guttural sound in support of the dance, with interruptions corresponding to the articulation of the dance process.<sup>606</sup> This kind of flute playing was registered in relation to Romanians of Transylvania as early as 1814.<sup>607</sup>

The accented bowing of double stops or double open strings for the same purpose is particularly frequent among fiddlers of the Gyimes region, similarly to Norwegian Hardanger fiddlers. In Turkey, as well as among Turkic peoples of Inner Asia, and in Mongolia, all the strings of bowed or plucked instruments are continuously strummed to accompany the melody string. The highest pitched string of several European instruments was earlier called “singing string” (Italian *cantino*, French *chanterelle*), which suggests the earlier use of a similar manner of playing.<sup>608</sup> At any rate, the strings of the medieval bowed harp zither, or *rotta*, were sounded simultaneously.<sup>609</sup>

The evolution of polyphony in Europe led to the differentiation of the roles of instruments, which came to be even more emphatic in folk dance music. Some instruments gradually specialized for the harmonic-rhythmic function. Various combinations of melody-playing and accompanying instruments emerged, which produced complex accompaniment even without percussion, so they spread over large areas, to the detriment of earlier, simpler solutions of dance accompaniment.

I will start the following survey with such simpler models. Although sometimes just occasional emergency solutions, they mostly belong to the traditional forms of dance accompaniment.

### 6.3.1 Vocal complex accompaniment

An example of accompanying heroic songs with dancing or rhythmic movements may be the account by Theophylact Simocatta relating that Avars accompany the minstrel's song and playing with rhythmic clapping.<sup>610</sup> *Gegőzés* in the Great Hungarian Plain means singing without words while the thumb keeps plucking at the larynx, which adds a rhythmic effect to the melody; thus, it can be taken for a vocal version of complex accompaniment where a single person creates melodic and rhythmic effect.<sup>611</sup> Among

606 Martin, Gy. 1967. 145.

607 Buescu, C. 1985. 127.

608 Alexandru, T. 1959/1980. 69; BRZL I. 315; II. 131.

609 Gülke, P. 1979. 118.

610 Zolnay, L. 1977. 30.

611 Györffy, I.–Viski, K. 1941–1943. 375; ÚMTSz II 622.

Roms of Hungary, when sung or “rolled” dance tunes (*kbelimaski gili*) are accompanied by *oral bass*, the two elements are separated into two parts, both optionally joined by any number of people.<sup>612</sup> Both vocal techniques are assessed separately under the types of independent rhythmic and merely melodic accompaniment (p. 191 and 197, resp.); on the international relations of the latter, see the chapter *Rhythmic accompaniment to dances* (p. 265 ff.).

### 6.3.2 Complex accompaniment with a single instrument

#### 6.3.2.1 Jew’s harp

Some instruments are suitable for a primitive form of complex accompaniment in themselves. In the case of the Jew’s harp, the melody is sounded above a rhythmic part played on a drone-like fundamental note.<sup>613</sup> A similar vocal technique is known as throat singing (Khoomei) in Eastern Mongolia and Tuva; it consists of a humming laryngeal tone and a whistling melody of overtones produced in the mouth cavity, both by the same performer.<sup>614</sup> In Transylvania, with its advanced instrumental styles, collectors never devoted much time to documenting occasional solutions of dance accompaniment such as the Jew’s harp. In Moldavia, family entertainments, or the teaching of young family members to dance at home, were often carried out to the sound of the Jew’s harp.

#### 6.3.2.2 Bagpipe

The Hungarian three-part bagpipe is suitable to simultaneous melodic and rhythmic accompaniment to dancing through its chanter, *kontra*, and drone pipes. From the alternation of the two notes on the *kontra* pipe, a primitive rhythmic accompaniment emerges. This type of bagpipe was used in the Romanian folk music of Oltenia, Banat, Bukovina, and the Hunyad region, as well as by the Slovaks, and at some places by South Slavs.

In music historical sources, the number of pipes on European and Asian bagpipes ranges between two and eight, but it is not clear whether any have been suitable for rhythmic accompaniment. Therefore, the data below can only conditionally be included in the category of complex accompaniment; some of them may possibly concern merely melodic accompaniment.

<sup>612</sup> Víg, R. 1976; 1984; Balázs, G. 1987. 378–379.

<sup>613</sup> Bartók, B. 1976. 266.

<sup>614</sup> Vargyas, L. 1968. 70–71.

In *The Decameron*, “the king, in high spirits, called Tindaro and ordered him to bring his bagpipe, and he had the company dance to its sound for a long time.”<sup>615</sup> In a 16<sup>th</sup>-century depiction, the chain dance of Flemish peasants is accompanied with a bagpipe.<sup>616</sup> In *Don Quijote* (1615), we may read about a girls’ dance to a “bagpipe of Zamora.”<sup>617</sup> Among the Scots, the instrument came to the fore in the 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, pushing the harp into the background. In the Italian province of Lazio, it is included in wedding music.<sup>618</sup> The instrument of snake-charmers in India, the *been*, is also a type of bagpipe, with a chanter and a drone pipe attached to a gourd.<sup>619</sup>

Iconographic data prove the presence of the bagpipe in dance accompaniment among Croats and Serbs from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>620</sup> Until as late as fifty years ago, Romanians used the bagpipe in folk dance music in several areas. It is chronicled that Peter Aaron, Voivode of Moldavia (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century) liked bagpipe music and dancing.<sup>621</sup> In times of old, this instrument was frequent in Hungarian dance music as well. As Péter Meliusz Juhász writes, “Hajduks are inspired to the hajduk dance by the drone pipe.”<sup>622</sup> German music historian Walter Salmen explored the one-time popularity in Western Europe of the Hungarian dance to bagpipe: “The craze for Hungarian dance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, as the overwhelming majority of tablature records of Hungarian dance tunes indicate, of their performance to bagpipe music, is convincingly proven by the ambition of Duke William V of Bavaria to hire a Hungarian bagpiper in 1573 [...] This rustically powerful music and dance, widespread in this age in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, must have meant an exotic attraction in princely courts.”<sup>623</sup>

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, István Horváth reports from the mansion of Rohonc to Count Ádám Batthyány, “A bagpiper was brought, and the laundresses, the lads, and the lackeys nearly turned the place into a bear garden. God knows what they all did. I put them to rights with the whip.” As was recorded during the plague of 1645 in Hungary, “One Sunday, all sorts of idlers arrived in the village, bringing a bagpiper with them, and started a great dancing and carousal.” In his musical novel *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus*, Daniel Speer writes about a peculiar dance game performed after a funeral: “A man lay down in the middle of the room, his arms and legs stretched, his face covered with a handkerchief, unmoving. Then the company ordered the musician to play the dead man’s dance on the bagpipe. As he started, a few men and women, singing

615 Boccaccio, G. 1968. II. 42.

616 Martin, Gy. 1980a. 50.

617 Cervantes Saavedra, M. 1980. II. 150.

618 Szabolcsi, B. 1975. 73.

619 SzTZL 1965. II. 204; III. 375, 447.

620 Galavics, G. 1987. 184; Ivančan, I. 1987. 234.

621 Alexandru, T. 1956. 76–78.

622 Quoted by Réthelyi Prikkel, M. 1924. 135.

623 Papp, G. 1990. 451.

and half wailing, walked round the lying man, crossed his arms over his chest, tied his legs, turned him now on his belly, now on his back, and played all kinds of things with him. It was a hideous sight, as the lad did not flinch a lid, but stayed petrified as the others set his limbs. I saw this ugly play at weddings and in carnival time as well.”<sup>624</sup> As Mihály Cserei writes about Michael I Apafi, Prince of Transylvania (1662–1690) in his *Historia*, “I saw the Prince dance with the Princess; the gentlemen were all standing, and when the Prince turned to them, they bowed their heads. His heart’s delight was bagpipe music; he danced in the Hungarian manner, fine and calm; one could hardly see how he lifted his feet in the dance.”<sup>625</sup> The Vásárhelyi songbook, written about 1672, includes the following couplet:

Dudás, hosszan fudd a dudát  
Ne kíméld asszonyok talpát

Bagpiper, blow your bagpipe long,  
do not spare women’s soles.<sup>626</sup>

In György Szentsei’s handwritten songbook, from before 1704, “Transylvanian Hajduk Dance” contains the following stanza:

Nosza ránduly hol vagy viduly,  
fuid az bagi táncát,  
az emlőjét az tömlőjét,  
ne kéméld az sipiát.

Cheer up, wherever you are,  
blow the dance of Bagi.  
Blow the skin, blow the bag,  
do not spare the pipes<sup>627</sup>.

Sándor Kisfaludy’s poem about the vintage of 1795 also confirms how necessary the bagpipe was for merry-making:

Jó bor mellett duda nélkül,  
Bolond a tánc ugrás nélkül.

Even if there is good wine, without a bagpipe,  
and without skipping, a dance is foolish.

As Gábor Mátray reports, the bagpipe was also used in the military recruiting dance until 1812, even making its way to the stage later. “Bagpipes are mainly found in the use of shepherds. In 1812, the Pest recruiting squadron of the Esterházy infantry regiment, in addition to their Romani band, also had an excellent bagpiper with an ornate uniform, and a specially adjusted bagpipe with a carved goat’s head. He appeared on the Hungarian stage, in the Rondella at that time, in the last days of December of the same year, with the same band and the singers, performing the Hungarian cantata *Fajankó*

<sup>624</sup> Quoted by Pesovár, E. 1972. 22, 84–85.

<sup>625</sup> Quoted by Réthei Prikkel, M. 1924. 12.

<sup>626</sup> Quoted by Manga, J. 1968. 130.

<sup>627</sup> Pesovár, E. 1972. 23–29.

['Simpleton'], composed by the conductor of the named regiment József Resnitschek. The same bagpiper played at the festival on 1 June 1815 ordered by the late Palatine Archduke Joseph in honor of Her Highness Katharina Pawlowna, widowed Duchess of Oldenburg, on the Margaret Island between Buda and Pest. In addition, in the first years of the new Redout building of Pest, during Carnival balls, he was employed to blow a waltz (cleverly inserted among the rest) to the greater delight of the audience.”<sup>628</sup>

The English physician Richard Bright, visiting Hungary in 1815, attended the “Helikon” festivities in the agricultural college Georgikon of Keszthely. As he recalls his experience three years later, “about a dozen lads, dressed in their Hungarian leathern jackets and pantaloons, with boots and large fur caps, came marching on each side towards the terrace. They were the boys of the Graf’s forest school, and with them came the piper. Each had a large stick in his hand, and they immediately began a national dance, in which they sometimes moved in a circle, sometimes flourished their sticks triumphantly in the air, threw them upon the ground, then picked them up again; struck their boots with their open hands; clapped their heels together, making a loud clattering noise; then came towards the middle, with their sticks across, or pointed in varied directions, and maintained a succession of spirited manoeuvres. At length the different exertions, which often became very violent, being at an end, the actors retired as they had entered, to the sound of the rustic pipes.”<sup>629</sup>

Finally, János Arany’s ballad *Ünneprontók* (1877) describes dancing to bagpipe music:

Hát íme, kapóra dudás közeleg.  
Egy sanda, szikár, csúf szőrös öreg,  
Tömlője degeszre fújva;  
Füle táján két kis szarva gidának,  
– Mintha neki volna szarva magának –  
Sípján már billeg az újja.

Just in time, a bagpiper is approaching,  
a lean ugly hairy old chap,  
his bag blown up, almost to bursting;  
close to his ears the horns of a goat kid,  
as if he himself had horns,  
his fingers wagging on the pipe holes.

[...]

Ravaszul mosolyog fél szája hegyén  
S rákezd di dudáját halkan a vén,  
Minden sark billeg a táncra;  
Azután vidorabb lesz, majd sebesebb;  
A tánc is utána pörébb, hevesebb,  
Amint kopog és szaporázza.

[...]

With a sly smile in a corner of his mouth,  
the old man starts playing the bagpipe quietly,  
and all heels start wobbling to the dance;  
then it becomes merrier and faster,  
and the dance follows more swiftly and fiercely,  
figuring with knocking heels.

<sup>628</sup> Mátray, G. 1854/1984. 306.

<sup>629</sup> Bright, R. 1818. 377.

Iconographic data on dancing to bagpipe music include a fresco of the Thurzó House in Besztercebánya (15<sup>th</sup> c.); an engraving by Justus van der Nypoort (Birckenstein collection, 1686); a colored engraving after a drawing by József Bikkessy-Heimbucher (1816); Károly Lotz's painting *Dancing at hay-gathering* (second half of 19<sup>th</sup> c.); or Johann Baptiste Clarot's drawing of peasants dancing to bagpipe music in Bajna (between 1820–30).<sup>630</sup>

For entertainment in solitary farmsteads, or for “bagpipe balls,” the instrument was still popular in Hungary in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>631</sup> It has long disappeared from the Hungarian culture of Transylvania, but survived to our days among Hungarians of Moldavia. János Duma “Porondi” of Nagypatak provided the music for a whole wedding festivity alone when he was young. As Luca Lőrincz of Klézse relates the role of the bagpipe as dance accompaniment, and the beliefs pertinent to it, “When we would go to the spinning-room, an old man always played his *sip* [bagpipe]. In Romanian it is called *cimpoi*, but we knew it as *sip* when we were children. We kept asking those girls that the spinning should be at their house, so that we could dance to the bagpipe ... We took our work, for spinning... but we put it down, and the old man played, and we danced... People were reluctant to make a bagpipe, for they said that anyone who makes a bagpipe would be taken by the ‘fair women’ [witches] to play for them in the fields at night ... and they dance there somewhere in the field, outside the village.”<sup>632</sup>

The decline of the bagpipe is well illustrated by Oszkár Dincser's observation in 1938: “In the Palóc weddings in Nógrád County, the bride's musician is still a bagpiper at places, but the groom already hires a Romani band to escort him to the church. In front of the church, the piper stops playing, and in the wedding festivity only the Romani band plays for the dance. Similarly, among the Šokac [South Slavs in Southern Hungary], the *gajdaš* [bagpiper] is nowadays ousted by the tambura band.” Dincser was also the first who took note of the surviving demand for bagpipe music: “During merry-making in village taverns, the elderly in the Palóc villages of Nógrád County often forced the Romani band to imitate the perished bagpipe. The *primás* would begin to play some old bagpipe figuration, most often on the middle strings of the fiddle, continuously sounding the neighboring lower open string as well. The *kontrás* and the bassist accompanied him by having the adequate open strings resound, and thus a bagpipe-like overall sound was produced. From Romanian villages of Arad and Bihar Counties, we also have data of fiddlers imitating the bagpipe by sounding the open strings and by using certain typical figurations. This manner of playing is also known in Romanian villages of Szatmár County, even enriched with the imitation of the typical creaking of the bagpipe.”<sup>633</sup>

630 Pesovár, E. 1972. Figs. 6 and 9; 1980. 285; Réthei Prikkel, M. 1924.

631 Béres, A. 1958. 96, 99; Kaposi, E.–Maácz, L. 1958. 54, 106.

632 In more detail, see Pávai, I. 1994.

633 Dincser, O. 1943. 4–5.

An old woman of the West Hungarian county of Sopron told László Lajtha, “We loved dancing to the bagpipe. If we hired a fiddler, he also had to play fast bagpipe tunes which boosted our spirits.”<sup>634</sup> In the years after World War I, bagpipe was imitated on the organ during the Christmas midnight mass in Ipolyság.<sup>635</sup> The same was expected of the organist in Tápé.<sup>636</sup> Kodály had discovered this peculiar practice even earlier: “In 1911 in the village of Menyhe, Nyitra County, I learnt that some fifty years earlier there was more merriment in church at Christmas than today. Particularly during the midnight mass, some tunes to which ‘we could have danced’ were customarily played. And the way the organist accompanied them sounded quite like the bagpipe.”<sup>637</sup> Traces of this phenomenon can be found in the herdsman’s masses of Gyöngyös from 1767. For the Nativity play inserts of the masses, organ accompaniment with pedal points in fifths, marked “tuba pastorum,” was prescribed.<sup>638</sup>

### 6.3.2.3 Zither

The zither type used in the Hungarian language area is suitable for rudimentary complex accompaniment, for its drone strings, like the *kontra* pipe of the bagpipe, have a rhythmic function. It was used alone in “zither balls,” or spontaneous dance occasions such as corn husking, spinning, or family gatherings.<sup>639</sup>

The Pallas Encyclopedia also mentions the drone strings when describing the manner of playing the zither, locally known as *timbora*, in the Transylvanian village of Etéd, also used for dance accompaniment. “The originality of the thing is that the notes are only stopped on three strings with a blunt-end quill under the thumb of the left hand, while the right hand similarly strums the strings with a quill. The other three strings are not touched with the fingers; they give a drone, the bass of the chord, while three others are also tuned to the chord.”<sup>640</sup>

<sup>634</sup> Lajtha, L. 1962. 189.

<sup>635</sup> Manga, J. 1968. 132.

<sup>636</sup> Bálint, S. 1976. 97.

<sup>637</sup> Kodály, Z. 1916/1982. 60.

<sup>638</sup> Rajeczky, B. 1955. 224.

<sup>639</sup> Balogh, S. 1992. 3; Bogdán, I. 1978. 32; Dánielisz, E. 1976. 143; Méryné Tóth, M. 1983. 126; Pesovár, F. 1983. 125; Takács, A. 1987. 361.

<sup>640</sup> Pallas Nagy Lexikona [X]VIII 729. Cited by Gagyí, L. 1978. 84–86.

### 6.3.3 Instrument of complex accompaniment combined with melody-playing instrument

Complex accompaniment on a single instrument realizes the adjustment of melody and accompanying rhythm in an inchoate form. A slightly more advanced form is the pairing of such an instrument with a melody-playing instrument, or the singing voice. The latter solution may be more obvious, still, singing only randomly joins the instruments. In an early 15<sup>th</sup>-century Italian manuscript, an illustration for Boccaccio's *Decameron* shows how, "upon the Queen's request, six young girls and three young men, led by Tindaro, start dancing to bagpipe music and singing."<sup>641</sup>

#### 6.3.3.1 Fiddle and bagpipe

At a certain stage of the development of dance music, the fiddle–bagpipe duo seems fairly stable and universal. The earliest data come from medieval England, but it was prevalent throughout Europe.<sup>642</sup> The Augsburg pamphlet of 1514 reports on the execution of György Dózsa as follows: "And for this coronation, some sixty of their people had to dance before and behind him in their own manner, and to it they played fiddles and bagpipes in their own manner."<sup>643</sup>

The Hungarian nobility favoured the fiddle–bagpipe duo particularly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of the verses in the Esterházy song collection (1656) reads,

Keljünk föl asztaltól, ha jól laktunk bortól,	Let us raise from the table when we've had enough wine,
S táncoljunk,	and let us dance.
Szóljon hegedű sétáljunk	Let the fiddle play, let us walk;
Dudás is bőgjön mulassunk.	let the piper roar, let us make merry.

In paragraph 6 of *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, Péter Apor relates, speaking of a period before 1687, "During the Carnival, especially in the land of the Székelys [...] some ten or twelve kinsmen and noblemen sat in a sledge, clad in coats and stockings, before the sledge six oxen, two or three firkins of wine with them, that is how they drank and went to see each other, with a cape round the neck, a stick in the hand, Romani fiddlers and pipers in the sledge, with shouts and music they moved around in the province."<sup>644</sup>

<sup>641</sup> Gülke, P. 1979. Fig. 47.

<sup>642</sup> SzTZL 1965. I. 72.

<sup>643</sup> Cited in Pesovár, E. 1972. 25, 39.

<sup>644</sup> Apor, P. 1736/1978. 73–74.

Among the fifteen Hungarian folksongs in Ferenc Toldy's *Handbuch der ungarischen Poesie* (Pest–Vienna, 1828) there is reference to this instrumental duo in the tenth:

Ollyan temetést tetetnék!  
Hegedűst, dudást vitetnék.

I would make such a burial!  
I would hire a fiddler and a bagpiper.<sup>645</sup>

In his history of Moldavian theater, Teodor T. Burada (1915) reproduces a 19<sup>th</sup>-century painting showing a Romanian *călușar* dance accompanied by a fiddle and a bagpipe.<sup>646</sup> János Arany's poem *Népdal* ('Folksong') of 1877 testifies that the instrumental duo, used in South Slav folk music particularly in the Pannonian zone, was applied by the South Slavs in Hungary about a hundred years earlier.<sup>647</sup>

Bálint Sárosi presumed that at the turn of the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the fiddle–bagpipe duo was probably used in the regions with the most vigorous bagpipe culture in the northern and southern parts of the Hungarian language area; however, no sound recordings could be made of any.<sup>648</sup> It is certain that it was known in Palócföld according to a record from 1819.<sup>649</sup>

### 6.3.3.2 Wind instrument and bagpipe

The duo of a clarinet and a bagpipe was also typical of the Palóc region.<sup>650</sup> Combinations of the bagpipe with diverse melody-playing wind instruments can be documented from earlier centuries in various parts of Europe. The picture book of Verona from the 14<sup>th</sup> century has an illustration of the healing effect of music: two ladies dance holding hands to a bagpipe and two shawms.<sup>651</sup> On the miniature depicting a party in Taranto by Loyset Liédet (15<sup>th</sup> century), a processional couple dance of knights and ladies is accompanied by three trumpets and a bagpipe.<sup>652</sup>

In 1524, pilgrims from Hungary danced Hungarian and Wendish dances in Aachen and Cologne to the music of flutists and bagpipe players.<sup>653</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, a moresca of Korčula was accompanied by a double pipe, flute and bagpipe.<sup>654</sup> A glass

<sup>645</sup> Voigt, V. 2013. 223.

<sup>646</sup> Burada, T. T. 1915. 73.

<sup>647</sup> Ivančan, I. 1975. 117.

<sup>648</sup> Sárosi, B. 2003. 185.

<sup>649</sup> Szeder, F. 1819. 31.

<sup>650</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 48.

<sup>651</sup> Gülke, P. 1979. Fig. 44.

<sup>652</sup> Vályi, R. 1963. 331.

<sup>653</sup> Zolnay, L. 1977. 338.

<sup>654</sup> Ivančan, I. 1987. 234.

painting from Nuremberg testifies that this type of accompaniment was familiar in German lands as well. In the recent folk music of Basse-Bretagne, we find the *bombarde-biniou* (shawm–bagpipe) duo.<sup>655</sup>

### 6.3.3.3 Several melody-playing instruments combined with an instrument of complex accompaniment

Bagpipe accompaniment could be completed by bowed or wind instruments separately or simultaneously. Some late 18<sup>th</sup>-century Hungarian sources mention “tárogató” together with bagpipe, fiddle, flute, or Jew’s harp in rural dance scenes.<sup>656</sup> In the upper classes, different instrumental ensembles may have been possible, as in *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*: “Rising from the table, or still sitting, the fiddle and bagpipe, sometimes the flute and the cimbalom, were ready: the dance could begin.”<sup>657</sup> Another late 17<sup>th</sup>-century record even adds a virginal to fiddles, bagpipe, and cimbalom.<sup>658</sup>

In a small part of the Great Hungarian Plain, the duo of clarinet and hurdy-gurdy had a long-standing tradition, similarly to French shawm–hurdy-gurdy ensembles. The Bulgarians often have a flute, triangular fiddle (gusla) and bagpipe ensemble sometimes joined by singing. In Czech folk music, the trio of fiddle, clarinet, and bagpipe is widespread; it may occasionally be enlarged with a horn or a transverse flute. French hurdy-gurdy–bagpipe and violin–guitar duos are also related to the cases above.<sup>659</sup>

### 6.3.4 Melody-playing instrument combined with percussion

The combination of a dance tune with percussion is a more appropriate version of complex accompaniment. Even in the case of merely melodic accompaniment, the need to emphasize rhythmic units may arise. As has been recorded as early as the time of imperial Rome, a Spartan flutist playing for dance in the middle of the circle would beat the rhythm with his foot.<sup>660</sup> In the Hungarian language area, a single fiddler or flute player will often make up for the missing accompaniment in the same way, even when playing for a collector, as several sound recordings prove.

<sup>655</sup> Meer, J. 1988. 136.

<sup>656</sup> Bogdán, I. 1978. 9; Manga, J. 1968. 131.

<sup>657</sup> Apor, P. 1736/1978. 43.

<sup>658</sup> Cited by Manga, J. 1968. 130.

<sup>659</sup> Sárosi, B. 1973a. 59; 1973b. Fig. 68; SzTZL 1965. I. 429, 656.

<sup>660</sup> Lukianosz 1974. 741–742.

Positioning the musician(s) in the middle of a closed circle has been general practice in the Balkans (Fig. 65, p. 200), hence also in Hungarian communities connected in some way to the dance culture of the Balkans (Moldavia, Gyimes, Hétfalu).

#### 6.3.4.1 Singing with rhythmic accompaniment

The simplest form of simultaneous melodic and rhythmic accompaniment is singing with a drum or other percussion. In antiquity and early Christianity, dancing to singing may have been accompanied with clapping, or with the *scabillum* (foot clapper).<sup>661</sup> In 1439, a *moresca* stylized to a church dance was performed in the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville, with the melody sung by boy singers, and the rhythmic accompaniment provided with ivory castanets by the dancers.<sup>662</sup>

In the Americas, accompanying ritual dances with singing and drums or rattles is widespread among several indigenous peoples.<sup>663</sup> Similarly, ritual dances of the Koryaks of Kamchatka are accompanied by singing and drumming.<sup>664</sup> Africa has a rich tradition of dance accompaniment with choral singing and drums, also carried over to the New World by African slaves. Among the Inuit, a dancer with a drum may be accompanied by a group of women singing in unison. *Villancico* (villano meaning ‘peasant’) was a favorite musical–choreographic genre of the Spanish Renaissance; its recent variant is sung and danced at the winter solstice to drum accompaniment. The dance and singing of Muslim dervishes leading to ecstasy is also accompanied by the drum alone.<sup>665</sup>

In Hungarian culture, faint traces of dancing accompanied by singing and drumming can be found in children’s rhymes and games, as well as archaic wedding songs:

Itt kinn dárídobot vernek,  
Ott benn Julcsát öltöztetnek.

Out here they are beating the drum,  
in there they are dressing Julcsa.<sup>666</sup>  
(Zirc, 1954)

Other textual variants also characteristically mention the dressing of the bride parallel with the dancing of the guests outside, without reference to drumming.

<sup>661</sup> BRZL III. 296; Rajeczky, B. 1981. 40.

<sup>662</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 270.

<sup>663</sup> Szabolcsi, B. 1975. 25; Lips, E. 1960. 155, 157.

<sup>664</sup> Zhornickaya, M. 1987.

<sup>665</sup> SzTZL 1965. I. 584; III. 624, 763; Darvas, G. 1977. 140.

<sup>666</sup> CMPH vol. I. 176; vol. III. 96.

### 6.3.4.2 Occasional combinations of melody-playing instruments and percussion

Starting the survey with the European Middle Ages,<sup>667</sup> a 12<sup>th</sup>-century illumination from Reims, contrasting secular music (*usus*) with theoretically well-founded church music (*scientia*), shows dancers with an ensemble of a *vielle*, a horn, and a drum.<sup>668</sup> As Bonfini records, commoners in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary made merry with horns, drums, and pipes.<sup>669</sup> In *Orchésographie*, French dance theorist Thoinot Arbeau lists several melody-playing instruments as possible accompaniment to *pavane* and *basse danse*, but in each case, the drum was obligatory.<sup>670</sup> Cervantes describes an affluent wedding in Spain, mentioning flute, drum, harp, oboe, tambourine, and small bells, as instruments of dance music.<sup>671</sup>

In a wall painting of 1826 in Horezu, Oltenia, a circle dance is accompanied by a fiddler, a horn-player, and a drummer.<sup>672</sup> Romanian researchers documented ensembles of fiddle, transverse flute, and small drum in Northern Wallachia, as well as of fiddle, clarinet, and percussive cello in the Hunyad basin.<sup>673</sup> Balázs Orbán's drawing from the 1860s shows traveling Roms in Transylvania, making merry with a fiddle and a vessel beaten with a stick.



Fig. 66. Itinerant Roms revelling to the sound of a fiddle and a vessel. Alcsík region, the 1860s.<sup>674</sup>

667 For data of the antiquity, see Pávai, I. 1993. 67.

668 Gülke, P. 1979. 95.

669 Zolnay, L. 1977. 338.

670 Arbeau, T. 1596. 33.

671 Cervantes Saavedra, M. II, end of chapter 19.

672 Breazul, G. 1981. 161.

673 Alexandru, T. 1956. Figs. 62 and 67.

674 Orbán, B. 1868–1873. II. 48–49.

### 6.3.4.3 Duos of pipe and drum

The instrumental ensembles listed so far display no regularity; apparently, they are occasional forms, which might have become traditional at certain places for a longer or shorter time. By contrast, duos of a wind instrument and percussion seem to have been a permanent form of dance accompaniment since the antiquity.<sup>675</sup>

In Western Europe, the one-man band version of this combination has been traditional from the 9<sup>th</sup> century until recently: the musician plays the pipe with one hand and strikes the drum with the other. Examples include English pipe and tabor, or whittle and dub; French *flutte longue* and *tambourin*; Provençal *galoubet* and *tamboril*; Catalanian *flabiol* and *tamboril*; Spanish *fluviol* and *tamboril*; or Basque *txistu* and *tamborilon*. In England and Spain, weapon dances were frequently accompanied in this way. In the German-speaking area, similar instruments were played by two musicians.

Ritual dances to flutes and percussion are common among the first nations of North America. Similar ensembles accompany the *ball de cavallets* in the Balearic Islands. The *zurna*, known in the Balkans, Anatolia, Armenia, the Arab countries, among the Nogays, the Crimean Tatars, Kurdistan Jews, etc., is always accompanied by a drum when playing for dance.<sup>676</sup>

A clarinet–drum version has sometimes been used by Romanians of Bihar and Arad Counties.<sup>677</sup> Wider spread is the combination of bagpipe and drum, e.g. among Romanians of Bukovina, in Bulgaria and Macedonia (*gajde–tapan*), and even among the Mari of Russia (*shyuvr–tumyr*).

A painting by Amedeo Preziosi from 1868–1869 shows a dance at a fair in Romania with two bagpipes, a transverse flute, and drum.<sup>678</sup> For the *muiñeira* dance of Spain, the bagpipe is combined with two kinds of drum: *gaita–pandereta–tamboril*.<sup>679</sup> The *moresca* had similar accompanying music in the time of the madrigalists, according to madrigal texts.<sup>680</sup>

The pipe and drum ensemble was also familiar to Hungarians several centuries ago. As Péter Apor relates, “particularly the noble folk favoured the *töröksíp*, together with the drum, for their entertainment in times of old [in the decades before 1687].”<sup>681</sup> A diary entry from 1703 proves that it was still fashionable in the age of Rákóczi’s war of independence.<sup>682</sup> Reminiscences of this ensemble can be found in texts of Hungarian folk songs, and a widespread motif of children’s games:

675 For data of the antiquity, see Pávai, I. 1993. 68.

676 BRZL I. 490; III. 721; Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 240, 252, 254, 266, 270; Kovalcsik, K. 1984. 211; Lips, E. 1960. 167–168. Sárosi, B. 1971. 32; SzTZL 1965. I. 46; III. 730, 764.

677 Sebő, F. 1984. 3. István Pávai priv. coll.: Elek (Arad County).

678 Alexandru, T. 1956. 86; Ivančan, I. 1975. 120; Vikár, L. 1959. 196.

679 BRZL II. 589.

680 Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 243.

681 Apor, Péter 1736/1978. 42.

682 Esze, T. 1955. 86.

Hol sibolnak, hol dobolnak?  
Király udvarába.

Where are they piping and drumming?  
In the king's court.

Gólya, gólya, gilice  
Ki lányát vetted el?  
A tengeri bokrosét.  
Mivel vitted haza?  
Sippal  
Dobbal  
Nádi hegedűvel.

Stork, stork, little dove,  
whose daughter did you marry?  
The one of Tengeri Bokros.  
How did you take her home?  
With a pipe,  
with a drum,  
with a reed fiddle.<sup>683</sup>

(*Nagyszalonta*)

As an even stronger allusion to the context of wedding, a version from Moldavia is sung to the tune of a wedding song:

Daru, daru, katona!  
Kötöm el az utadat,  
Sippal, dobbal,  
Tekenyő kalácsval,  
Korsó pálinkával.

Crane, crane, soldier,  
I am blocking your path  
with a pipe, with a drum,  
with a tub of brioches  
with a jug of brandy.<sup>684</sup>

(*Egyházaskozár*)

#### 6.3.4.4 The duo of fiddle and gardon, and its occasional extensions

The ensemble of fiddle and *gardon* used in the Csík Basin and the Valley of Gyimes is, in Bálint Sárosi's view, an heir to the pipe-and-drum tradition.<sup>685</sup> This archaic duo has survived in Gyimes up to our days. Earlier, it was prevalent throughout Csík and Gyergyó, but by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it had gradually been pushed into the background. Alternatively, ensembles of fiddle–cimbalom–*gardon*, fiddle–*kontra*–*gardon*, or, less frequently, fiddle–*kontra*–cimbalom were also in use.<sup>686</sup> Before the spreading of the newer instruments, the duo could occasionally be extended in Gyimes by a second fiddle, or several, but always accompanied by one *gardon*. This usually happened at weddings and funerals, in keeping with the financial strength of the client, or the wish to

683 CMPH vol. IV. 604–605; Kodály, Z.–Gyulai, Á. 1952. 165; Kiss, Á. 1891. 6, 7, 503; Borsai, I.–Kovács, Á. 1975. 73–77; Faragó, J.–Fábián, I. 1982. 175; Gágyor, J. 1982 I. 26–27; Gazda, K. 1980. 186; CMPH vol. I. 251.

684 Domokos, P. P.–Rajeczky, B. 1956. 257.

685 Sárosi, B. 1971. 194.

686 Bándy, M.–Vámszer, G. 1937. 9; Dincser, O. 1943. 5, 7, 11–13, 17; private collections of Dénes Imets and István Pávai.

display it. When there are several fiddlers, the one next to the *gardon* player takes the lead. Instruments of recent urban origin (saxophone, accordion, *tárogató*, clarinet, drum kit) started spreading in Gyimes in the 1950s, local young people trying their hands at them as amateurs.<sup>687</sup> They never learned too much of the old repertoire, nor was it their aim, as they wanted to play contemporary pop music in concord with the fashion of the time everywhere, and only learnt as much of the traditional repertoire, secondarily, as was absolutely necessary to satisfy their audience.

In the Gyergyó region, the fiddle–*gardon* duo could be joined by a cimbalom, as data from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards attest, while bass and *kontra* appeared there much later. However, the cimbalom may have been a regular part of local bands even earlier, since the playing of peasant cimbalom players in Gyergyó does not follow the usual manner of urban Romani bands. The former always play the melody, occasionally playing two notes simultaneously to enrich the sound, but without the intention to provide harmony; much rather, they may be called multiphonic notes.

As a Hungarian peasant musician of Gyergyóremete claims, bands used to consist of a fiddle, a *gardon*, and a cimbalom. “The cimbalom could not be missing... There was no accordion earlier... We had no *kontrás* either... I was nine in 1919, I had just started playing the cimbalom... then I taught my cousin, and he took my place, and I started to play the fiddle... I had to replace my father, for he was old.” When his father was young, he also had a cimbalom player, but the informant, born in 1910, never knew him. Still, the manner of playing was learnt from the predecessors: “There were those great old men, famous musicians, like János Tódi... my father learned with him for some two months to play the fiddle... They are dead now, only the names remain... I never knew him, my father was still a young man when he learned from him, and then he taught us, and then he taught others... I have only taught four cimbalom players... We never learned the notes, I can’t read music.”

The other instruments came into fashion later: “Then there was already the small bass, which was not a *gardon*, but a decent little cello. We tuned it as usual and played it with a bow. And when needed, you could beat it, but not pluck it, the string was not good for plucking, it was thicker, so we just hit it hard with the bow, or kept a short stick on us, like we do for the double-bass, not only the bow but a beater, too, as need be... mind you, when you beat it, it drives the people’s dance better than with the bow... And also, a great volume was needed in the dance, so we bought the double-bass.”<sup>688</sup>

A Romani musician, also from Gyergyóremete, said they had learnt to play the bass and *kontra* from learned musicians: “My brother taught me to play the *kontra* from sheet music... as long as I couldn’t play at least three sharps and three flats on the bass,

687 Bokor, I. n.d. 14–15.

688 Ádán Ivácsóny “Barát,” Hungarian, b. 1910. Recorded by István Pávai, 07.11.1985.

he wouldn't take me along to play... so I learnt reading music as much as possible ... He taught me, for he knew the notes... He was a *primás*, he had learnt in Kolozsvár, at the academy.”<sup>689</sup> Exceptionally, the fiddle–*kontra*–cimbalom–*gardon* ensemble also occurred in Gyergyóújfalu from the 1930s–40s onwards.

As people recalled, before World War I, the only instruments of folk dance music in Csík and Gyimes were the fiddle and the *gardon*: “There were no bands back then, oh no, it only started after the war that five or six [people played together], with cimbalom and bass...” The new instruments were, also here, taken over “from above:” “when you had to play for a gentleman, he also wanted a *kontra*; otherwise, we just played by ourselves, with a *gardon*.” Since two-stringed *kontra* accompaniment was the initial stage of learning to play the fiddle, the *kontra* could also occasionally be included in the ensemble for peasants’ dances: “at fourteen [in 1934], I started with music... at that time there was nothing else than a *gardon*, and maybe a *kontra* sometimes,” a *primás* of Csíkrákos related.<sup>690</sup>



Fig. 67. A band of fiddle, *kontra*, and ribbed *gardon* heading a wedding procession. Csikmadaras (Felcsík), 1957

689 Vilmos Máté, Romani fiddler, aged 59. Recorded by István Pávai, 02.10.1980.

690 Mihály Sinka, Romani fiddler, b. 1920. Recorded by István Pávai, 24.10.1980.

However, examples of the permanent use of fiddle–kontra–gardon bands can also be found. As Elek László accounts in 1896, “The penchant of the Székelys of Csík for merry-making is aptly illustrated by the incessant dancing at Carnival. Five or six young people gang up (in a bigger village, there may be two or three such groups), and the house-warming having been done, they immediately ‘set in’ the dance. This is done as follows: these five or six lads, called hosts, hire the musicians for 18–20 *pengős*, namely a *prímás*, a *kontrás*, and a *gardon* player, who are to play for them three or four times a week, as they agree, until Ash Wednesday.”<sup>691</sup>

The fiddle–kontra–gardon trio is also known in the Romanian villages around Maroshévíz, while in Avas, Bihar, and among the Rusyns of Máramaros, a kindred ensemble of fiddle–kontra–drum is in use.<sup>692</sup> A similar combination can be found in a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century account, in which a Romani band in the Tiszahát region of Hungary is noted to include, beside a fiddle and a *kontra*, a tambourine with brass rings, beaten with the hand and the forearm.<sup>693</sup>

### 6.3.5 Ensembles including a plucked accompanying instrument (fiddle or flute with koboz)

In some ensembles of complex accompaniment, the rhythm is provided by a koboz, or cobză, as it is known in Romanian. Its oriental predecessor, the oud, has remained a melody-playing instrument with its distinctive technique of ornamentation and tone repetitions.<sup>694</sup> The accompanying function of the koboz may be a relatively new phenomenon in Southeast Europe; a description of Moldavia and Wallachia published in London in 1820 states that all instruments in that-time ensembles, including the cobză, played the melody. Recalling his impressions of Bucharest and Iași from 1846–1847, Franz Liszt already calls it an accompanying instrument, in line with a Romanian song collection published in Vienna in 1850. In the preface of his publication of 1860, Alexandru Berdescu writes that cobză players sometimes play rhythmic accompaniment, at other times, the melody.

In recent Romanian folk music, the duo of fiddle and cobză survives in Moldavia and Wallachia, but the melodic function may be performed by another instrument, or several, e.g. flute, panpipe, or clarinet, as several historical data prove. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Franz Josef Sulzer describes a band of fiddle, panpipe, and cobză. The same was the layout of Barbu Lăutaru’s band, who played for Liszt in Iași. A watercolor of Károly Szathmáry Pap, painted around 1860, shows three fiddlers, a panpipe (*nai*)

<sup>691</sup> Elek László, E. 1896. 387.

<sup>692</sup> Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. 60–61; Sulișteanu, G. 1976. 30.

<sup>693</sup> Uszkay, M. 1846. 283–284.

<sup>694</sup> BRZL III. 559.

player and a cobză player. The duo may also take on other accompanying instruments, such as a cimbalom or a bass.<sup>695</sup>

In several villages along the river Vedea in Western Wallachia, the musicians are at one in claiming that until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the duo of fiddle and cobză was the only ensemble of dance music. Small portable cimbaloms appeared later in place of, or beside, the cobză, followed even later by the accordion.<sup>696</sup>



Fig. 68. Small cimbalom, instead of cobză, accompanying the fiddle. Western Wallachia

In Northern Oltenia, the accompanying role is given to the *chitară cobzită*, that is, a guitar tuned like a cobză; in Máramaros, they use a guitar with a different tuning, called *zongoră*.<sup>697</sup> In these ensembles, the guitar provides chordal accompaniment, just as in many Western European (e.g. French) ensembles of folk music.<sup>698</sup>

In Transylvania, the first data on the duo of fiddle and koboz, or lute, date from the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in connection with bans on dancing: “no fiddle or lute shall be heard in taverns or streets;” “they did fiddling and lute-playing after midnight;” “György the coachman will take István Báthory’s fiddler and lute player to Rákpataka;” “with the fiddle and the lute [...] they kept dancing till midnight” (Kolozsvár, 1571–1595). Another mention of the same duo of instruments from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century is connected to a wedding celebration: “the fiddlers and lute players are taken to [Kendi]Lóna for Sándor Kendi’s wedding with the two-horse carriage of Tamás the rope maker.”<sup>699</sup>

695 Alexandru, T. 1956. 107–108, 143–144, Figs. 57. and 58.

696 István Pávai, priv. coll.

697 Rădulescu, S. 1984. 26–28.

698 SzTZL 1965. I. 656.

699 EMSzT V. 1–3; VII. 808.

There is no exact information on the manner of playing of early Hungarian koboz players, so it is uncertain whether they chiefly used it for melody-playing or for chordal-rhythmic accompaniment. Romanian analogies suggest that when paired with melody-playing instruments, they function as rhythmic support. That may apply to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century ensemble of fiddle, cimbalom, clarinet, and “kobza,” mentioned by Balázs Orbán in connection with dance entertainments of the Hungarians of the Hétfalu region. Similarly, the band accompanying the *borica* dance of Hétfalu is described by Antal Horger in 1899 as “four Romanian Roms with fiddles and a ‘kobza.’”<sup>700</sup> In the photo taken during Béla Vikár’s fieldwork in the Barcaság region in 1903, two fiddles, a clarinet, and a cobză can be seen.

This duo has been in use almost until our days in the tradition of the Hungarians of Moldavia, where the koboz always played the rhythmic-chordal role in dance tunes.<sup>701</sup> In a humorous folk song text from Lészped, listing which part of the magistrate’s dead horse will be used for what, we hear, “Its big head will make a good ‘kobza,’ [...] Its ears will make good fiddles.”<sup>702</sup>

Long ago in Klézse, “when they held a wedding, there was a koboz player and a fiddler, and that was all the band. There was no such immense loud music as there is now, so back then, we found that music more beautiful.”<sup>703</sup>

### 6.3.6 Folk music ensembles based on bowed string instruments

String ensembles in recent Eastern European folk music are rooted in 16–17<sup>th</sup> century “whole consorts” of Western Europe, meaning instrumental ensembles of the same type, in this case, of the viol family. The backbone of the symphonic orchestra, the *capella fiddicina* (string choir) evolved from them, as did the string quartet in chamber music.

The sound ideal of string ensembles appeared in Hungary with the 18<sup>th</sup>-century musical fashion imported by the aristocrats, and was adopted by Romani bands that began forming around that time in towns and manorial estates. They extended the bowed ensemble, also upon western models, with a chordal instrument, namely the cimbalom instead of the harpsichord, and a wind, usually the clarinet. The extension was not compulsory, of course; some instruments may have been doubled, others omitted, or replaced by others than those above.

<sup>700</sup> Horger, A. 1899. 109.

<sup>701</sup> István Pávai priv. coll.; Attila Zakariás priv. coll.; Tobak, F. 2001; Stuber, Gy. 2001–2002.

<sup>702</sup> Faragó, J.–Jagamas, J. (eds.) 1954. 154.

<sup>703</sup> Mrs György Lőrincz b. Luca Hodorog in 1920. Klézse (Moldavia, right bank of the Szeret).

In the 18<sup>th</sup>-century memoirs of György Rettegí, the guests at a Transylvanian nobleman's wedding "started in a large group, with a *töröksíp* player [...] and other musicians, such as fiddler, bass, and cimbalom player, to the house of the bride's parents."<sup>704</sup>

Female Romani fiddler Panna Cinka formed her band of fiddle, *kontra*, cimbalom, and bass in the same century. A recruitment dance is described in a poem of 1791 by József Gvadányi as accompanied by three fiddlers (possibly including one or two *kontra* players), a cimbalom player, and a bass player. Similarly, János Nagy mentions an ensemble of two fiddles, a cimbalom, and a bass, playing at a nobleman's house in 1790; Sándor Petőfi, in his epic parody "A helység kalapácsa" of 1844, has a band of a fiddler, a cimbalom player, and a bassist make music in a village tavern.

The band of János Bihari, celebrated Romani fiddler of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, was also restricted to strings and cimbalom. As a newspaper writes in 1823, "It is a notable feature of Hungarian music that it is generally performed on four instruments, namely two fiddles, a bass, and a cimbalom, though in recent times diverse wind instruments have been added." In a poem by János Arany ("A lacikonyha," 1850), a clarinet is included in the band. A band with and without the clarinet can be seen in Ágost Canzi's painting *Vintage festivity near Vác*, and Albrecht's lithograph of villagers dancing in a fair, respectively (both from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c.). Around that time, Romani bands could also be more sizeable: in Jancsi Polturás' band, there were two clarinets; in Feri Bunkó's, three brass instruments. The works of art mentioned also prove that this kind of band composition began to be used in villages from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. There, it may have amalgamated with already traditional forms of dance accompaniment, squeezing them out partly, or at places perfectly.<sup>705</sup>

In villages, the presence of several winds in a band is mostly due to the spread of brass bands. Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, quite a large number of them were set up, chiefly in Székelyföld, though not with the aim to assume the role of traditional local bands. Still, at some places, such changes of roles may have occurred, even if not permanently. In Lövete, along the rivers Homoród, for example, balls with brass band music were regularly held. The local people, however, found that the band "was too shrill and could not keep time as well as the *cigányok* [the string band]," and that "dancing to the [brass] band was like dancing with a sack on your back."<sup>706</sup> The brass band may also have been a tool of modernization, introduced deliberately from above, with the intention of "adult education," as we would say today. However, some of the better musicians could naturally join the local traditional string bands. The connecting link was most often the clarinet, which could have a role in both ensembles. There are a few 20<sup>th</sup>-century data from Vargyas (Erdővidék), and some villages of the Homoród valley (Homoródalmás,

<sup>704</sup> Jakó, Zs. (ed.) 1970.

<sup>705</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 61–62, 65, 71, 82, 194, 197–198, 248, Figs. 14. and 23.

<sup>706</sup> Tamás, M. 2001. 18.

Oklánd), of bands consisting of a fiddle (*prímás*), a *kontra* (*szekundás*), a flugelhorn (*fligeres*), a clarinet (*klanétás*), and a bass (*gordonos*). The band of Homoródújfalú included a cimbalom in addition. In this case, all the wind players were also Roms.<sup>707</sup> Such band composition may have been known in the southern parts of Udvarhelyszék, for in Fig. 69 a clarinetist and a flugelhorn player (*frigeres*) can also be seen.

By *traditional* instrumental ensembles I understand those that are characteristic of a certain region, and relatively permanent in composition for several generations there. Of course, the number and type of instruments may depend on the significance of the dance occasion, the size of the dance venue, the financial resources of the organizers, and the persistency of tradition.<sup>708</sup> Still, there were certain ensemble models regarded as ideal in a community, which came in (almost) the same lineup for frequent and major dance occasions. Below, I will give a detailed review of such traditional ensembles.



Fig. 69. Village Romani band of mixed composition. Betfalva (Keresztúr region), 1930s.<sup>709</sup>

<sup>707</sup> Tamás, M. 2001. 16.

<sup>708</sup> For more detail, see the subchapter *Factors influencing the choice of accompaniment type* on p. 232 ff.

<sup>709</sup> Photo of the Dodó band of Betfalva: clarinetist Sándor Dodó Sr., with a D or E-flat clarinet (b. 1888); cimbalom player Sándor Dodó Jr. (b. 1916); bassist Tivadar Erdei of Héjasfalva, with a two-stringed bass (the third string runs beside the fingerboard), with a home-made bow; flugelhorn player György Dodó (b. end of the 1890s), younger brother of Sándor Dodó Sr. In the middle of the background is the *cimbalom* carrier.

### 6.3.6.1 Fiddle–cimbalom–bass

This band type has no *kontra*, which in other formations specializes on the rhythmic accompaniment of dances. The cimbalom has a melody-playing, rather than harmonic, role, in keeping with the earlier data. At the same time, it obviously has an important role in the rhythm section, although it does not apply *dűvő* or *estam* accompaniment. The latter only occurs with Romani bands playing for stage dance groups, as a deliberate arrangement device to imitate *kontra* accompaniment, sometimes interrupted by broken chords, and rarely by melodic passages.

Traditional village cimbalom players, by contrast, play the melody in such a rhythmic way that reinforces the melody rhythm of the fiddle, which results in a peculiar kind of heterophony. The bass also joins in the heterophonic effect, following the melody as far as the compulsory application of dance-related rhythmic formulae permit (while also making quite frequent and obvious mistakes).<sup>710</sup>

Ex. 40. A tune of the marosszéki [turning dance]. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék).<sup>711</sup>

<sup>710</sup> The same is concluded by Rajeczky, B.–Vargyas, L. 1953 about the Kórispatak material collected by Lajtha.

<sup>711</sup> Fiddle: Mihály Paradica „Nyicu” (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); bass: Béla Rácz (b. 1955); musicians of Felsősfalva. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki. Recorded on 28.08.1982 in Alsósfalva, during the filming of dances. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 59. On the tune, see p. 295, ex. 86, and the preceding comments.



The band type without a *kontra* has been relatively permanent in some parts of Székelyföld, namely the upper stretches of the river Kis-Küküllő belonging to Marosszék, along the rivers Nyárád and Nyikó, and in Sóvidék (fig. 12, p. 57). It occasionally occurs in Gyergyó,<sup>712</sup> but it is rare in the Romanian music of Transylvania, while more frequent in Oltenia and Wallachia. The fiddle–cimbalom–bass layout is sometimes extended with a clarinet, e.g. in some parts of Marosszék.<sup>713</sup>

Other forms of enlargement are connected to the demand for urban dance music, which appeared in village weddings in the 1960–70s. The simplest way was to add a saxophone and an accordion, as they were available relatively cheap, and the playing technique could be learnt fairly quickly. Such bands, however, failed to become traditional, because from the 1980s onwards, new urban trends appeared, with a claim for even newer instruments, e.g. electric guitar, synthesizer.

<sup>712</sup> Fodor, F. 1995. 114: Kilyénfalva; István Pávai priv. coll.: Ditró.

<sup>713</sup> Nagy, Ö. 1980. 194: Havad.



*Fig. 70. A band of fiddle–cimbalom–bass. Felsőőfalva (Sóvidék)*



*Fig. 71. A fiddle–cimbalom–bass band extended with a saxophone and an accordion. Felsőőfalva (Sóvidék)*

### 6.3.6.2 Fiddle–two-stringed kontra–bass

The fiddle–two-stringed kontra–bass layout is relatively sporadic in Transylvania's Hungarian-speaking regions, mostly occurring as an occasional incomplete form of an urban Romani band. In those regions of Székelyföld and the Kis-Szamos valley where the three-stringed *kontra* is not in use, this trio may also occur (Gyergyó, Keresztúr region). It is more common in the Romanian folk music of the Banat and the region of Arad.<sup>714</sup> The musician with the *tárogató*, in the picture below is actually a bassist. The band usually played for dance as a fiddle–two-stringed kontra–bass trio, but to entertain guests making merry at the table, the bassist often switched to the *tárogató*.



Fig. 72. Band of a fiddle, a two-stringed kontra, and a tárogató.  
Gagy (Keresztúr region), the 1930s.

<sup>714</sup> Rădulescu, S. 1984. 30.

### 6.3.6.3 Fiddle–two-stringed kontra–cimbalom–bass

This ensemble is the combination of the previous two. It comes closer to the composition of a complete urban Romani band, but in Transylvania, it is even more sporadic than the previous one, only found in some parts of Udvarhelyszék and Marosszék, as well as the Kis-Szamos valley. It is much more frequent in the Upper Tisza region of Hungary. Sometimes it is extended with the clarinet, like in an urban Romani band. László Lajtha must have first heard the Kőrispatak musicians in this full layout; in a letter of 12 November 1941, he asks György Böződi, “How about the Kőrispatak band with the clarinet? Have you heard them? Do they play, do they know the repertoire of Gyuri Ádám?”<sup>715</sup>

### 6.3.6.4 Fiddle–three-stringed kontra–bass

The home of the fiddle–three-stringed kontra–bass bands is Kalotaszeg, Mezőség, the region of the rivers Maros and Küküllő, and the Homoród valley. The fiddle or the *kontra*, or both, can be doubled. In the Homoród valley, the clarinet, while in the Upper Maros region, the cimbalom may join the band. Research of these regions started rather late, particularly as regards instrumental music, so it is hard to explore how far in the past the tradition of this ensemble reaches.

The situation is aggravated by the obscure origin of the three-stringed *kontra*. It has never been used in urban Romani bands, and it implies a peculiar playing mode; yet, as shown in the previous chapter, instruments with a flat bridge were already used in the Middle Ages. For lack of adequate evidence, the question must be left unanswered.

This ensemble is known in Romanian folk music in the central and eastern parts of Transylvania, and it can also be found among the Slovaks and the Gorals.<sup>716</sup>

As far as I know, the musicians of Abásfalva are the easternmost representatives of the style of harmonization pertinent to this lineup, for in the Csík Basin neither three-stringed violas, nor harmonization exclusively with major chords can be found. True, the fiddlers of Felcsík and Gyimes often use major triad figurations to close a minor key melody.

This, in turn, might suggest that harmonization with major chords is deeper rooted in traditional music than the approximate time of the spread of three-stringed violas according to available data.

<sup>715</sup> Pávaí, I. 1983. 32; 1992. 138.

<sup>716</sup> See the audio records *Chodničky ...; Ej, hrajte ...; Pastierske nōty*.



*Fig. 73. The band of Ferenc Mezei Sr: "old Kránci." Csávás (Upper Vizmellék)*



*Fig. 74. Band of a fiddle, a three-stringed kontra, and a bass. Csávás (Upper Vizmellék)*

### 6.3.6.5 Fiddle–three-stringed kontra–cimbalom–bass

This ensemble is mainly found in the Upper and Middle Maros region, where the cimbalom is indispensable for major dance events. Such a band can be seen as a version of the previous type extended with a cimbalom, or a transformation of the urban Romani band through replacing the two-stringed *kontra* with a three-stringed one.

\*

In recent times, with the accordion and the instruments of pop music gaining ever greater ground, several new instrumental blends have been providing music for village dancing, which, at least for the time being, cannot be regarded as traditional.

To conclude this section, I will list some further traditional ensembles of dance music from the broader environment of Transylvania: Swiss fiddle–zither–clarinet–bass; Austrian and Swiss zither–dulcimer–harp–guitar–plucked bass; German fiddle–zither–clarinet–bass; Polish fiddle–clarinet–bass (sometimes with a bagpipe); Croatian gusle–gusle–bajs (three-string cello); South Slav and Hungarian tambura band (Southern Great Plain) based on the urban Romani band.<sup>717</sup>

## 6.4 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF ACCOMPANIMENT TYPE

As the survey above will have suggested, the musical accompaniment to dances may be influenced by several factors. Traditional culture may have fixed certain constant ensembles for varying lengths of time; therefore, some instruments may have been commonly associated with certain regions or ethnicities. For example, the modern standard *tárogató* emerged as a deliberately Hungarian instrument, but in the actual practice of folk music, it struck far deeper roots among Romanians.<sup>718</sup> Already in classical literature, there are references that the pairing of certain instruments may be favored or objected to (Horace, Epode IX).

Different types of accompaniment may be motivated by the demand for diversity. In the frame story of *The Decameron*, “around the fine fountain they started a dance right away, for which now Tindaro’s bagpipe, now some other instrument provided the music.”<sup>719</sup>

<sup>717</sup> Cf. Farkas, Gy. 1980. 20; Sárosi, B. 1971. 202; Širola, B. 1943. 116; SzTZL 1965. II. 440, 701; III. 765.

<sup>718</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 146–148.

<sup>719</sup> Boccaccio, G. 1968. II. 106.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the bagpipe was a standard member of many string ensembles in the Carpathian Basin, but later it was ousted. The opinion of 17<sup>th</sup>-century poet Gáspár Madách about the role of instruments may have been valid in a certain region or social stratum in his age, but it certainly cannot be generalized, for recent folk practice provides a far subtler picture of the issue.

Pöngését koboznak gyakran ha te hallod  
Minden vigságodat elmulatni látod,  
Gyönyörűségedet szomorúságra fordítod,  
Szép száraz szemedet könnyezésre hozod.

If you often hear the strumming of the koboz,  
you will see all your merriment depart,  
your joy will turn to sorrow,  
your dry eyes will shed tears.

Nem korcsmához való koboznak pöngése,  
Sem nem tánchoz való gyönyörű zengése,  
Mert hozatik tőle elme gyötrődése,  
Bujdosó elmének gondban törődése.

The plucking of the koboz is not fit for taverns,  
nor is its wondrous sound fit for dancing,  
for it brings the anxieties to mind,  
and the concerns of a soul in exile.

Hárfa, lant zengése gyönyörűséget hoz,

The sound of the harp and the lute brings  
delight,

Hegedűnek hangja lakodalomházhoz,  
Sípszónak az szava jó az ser kocsmához:  
De koboz pengése elmetörődést hoz.

the sound of the fiddle marks a wedding feast,  
the sound of the pipe is fit for an alehouse,  
but the strumming of the koboz brings brood-  
ing to the mind.<sup>720</sup>

Actual local circumstances largely influence the kind and number of instruments hired for dancing: whether there is a fairly large band nearby, whether there are resources to hire such a band, etc. Lajtha summed up his respective experiences as follows: "There were two kinds of bands: small and big. The small band of the village comprises three or four members: fiddle, viola kontra, bass (small or big); or sometimes fiddle, fiddle kontra, viola kontra, and bass (again, small or big). If they have to go to another village, the cimbalom will not be included, as it is difficult to transport. Particularly since portable cimbaloms disappeared, and were replaced by today's large cimbaloms on four legs. Of course, a small band is also cheaper than a big one. When no cart is sent for them, they will prefer a small bass to the double-bass, as it is easier to carry. In small settlements of Transylvania, there are more small bands than big ones. Those who can afford it, ask for a bigger band. The big band always includes a cimbalom. Further additions: fiddle, second fiddle (often accompanying the lead

<sup>720</sup> Papp, G. 1990. 449–450.

fiddle in thirds and sixths), clarinet, cimbalom, fiddle kontra, viola kontra, small bass, double-bass.<sup>721</sup>

We must differentiate between a band of minimal composition still regarded as ideal by the villagers, and incomplete solutions forced on them by necessity. Most probably, the clarinet–*kontra* duo only occurring in a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century document exemplifies the latter.<sup>722</sup>

As Luca Lőrincz of Klézse, Moldavia, said, “where there was no *síp* [bagpipe], we still gathered for spinning; there was no fiddle either, there was nothing but the flute... we call it *sültü*... If there was a lad who could play it, then there was flute music; if not, we sang and danced to it.” When on their own in the spinning room, girls or women could also dance, to their own singing, dances that in a real ball required instrumental music.<sup>723</sup>

An emergency solution for rhythmic accompaniment in lack of instruments is mentioned by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century poet Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos (“Sokféle részögösről,” 1548), writing of women and girls making merry in a cellar:

Két rossz tálat ők zörgetnek,  
szöknek, tombolnak.

They keep rattling two old pans,  
jumping and romping.

This item is especially interesting in view of a custom that survives in a few places: in Carnival season, women jointly moved to the wine cellars, letting no men in, and danced there to the sound of rattling jugs or the friction drum.<sup>724</sup>

While Hungarian women’s circle dances, originating in the Middle Ages, are generally danced to singing, men’s dances and couple dances are only danced to singing as the last resort; in cases of dance learning, Sunday gatherings of young people in the street, or spinning-rooms, they may also have accompanied their dancing with singing.<sup>725</sup>

The *kitchen dance*, marking the end of the kitchen work on the day preceding a wedding, is also danced to singing, as the musicians were not yet present.<sup>726</sup>

Antonio Bonfini writes in *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (4, 9) that upon the election of King Matthias (1458), the people of the castle cheered dancing and singing.<sup>727</sup>

<sup>721</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 9.

<sup>722</sup> For more details, see the poem cited in the subchapter *Clarinet* from p. 181, and the respective note.

<sup>723</sup> Sebestyén Dobó, K. 2001. 254.

<sup>724</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maác, L. 1958. 144.

<sup>725</sup> Gönyey, S. 1958. 134.

<sup>726</sup> Kaposi, E.–Maác, L. 1958. 128.

<sup>727</sup> Cited by Zolnay, L. 1978. 338.

A 17<sup>th</sup> century poem refers to the occasional character of such spontaneous solutions:

Intelek azért, hol peng az hegedűszó,	I advise that wherever the fiddle is sounding,
Gyakran érjen asztal mellett kakas-szó:	the cock-crow shall reach you by the table.
Sípszó helyén néha ének-szó is jó,	Piping may be substituted by singing,
Ének helyén néha hajdénánom is jó.	singing can be substituted by hey-doodle-do. <sup>728</sup>

There are similar literary data from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, e.g.:

Hol egy muzsikás? hegedű, vagy egyéb?	Where's a musician? A fiddle, or anything else?
Ha különb nem akad, dudaszó is elég.	If there is nothing better, a bagpipe will do.
	(János Arany: <i>Ünneprontók</i> )

A legal document of 1793 proves that for want of anything better, whistling could also accompany dancing.<sup>729</sup>

Villages often had good whistlers (*füttyerelő*), usually excellent dancers as well, with a special whistling technique, which enabled them to substitute for instrumental music as an emergency solution. It would also happen that such a good whistler might push the fiddler aside, and take over the lead by whistling the tunes. Even fiddlers sometimes learnt virtuosic instrumental tunes from them.<sup>730</sup> Hungarian fiddler Márton Magyarósi of Zselyk learnt the local *verbunk* tunes after his father's whistling. (See exs. on pp. 303–306.)

The first of the following examples presents a vocal form of the men's dance *pon-tozó* of Kutasföld, followed by the whistled version by the same informant, earlier a fine dancer. The third variant is performed on the fiddle by a musician of the region. The three versions clearly show how close the whistled variant is to the intricacy of fiddle music. (For comparison's sake, I also transposed the fiddler's version to end in g<sup>1</sup>.)

<sup>728</sup> Papp, Géza 1970. 23.

<sup>729</sup> Pesovár, E. 1972. 92.

<sup>730</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954b. 91; Martin, Gy. 1977. 360.

Ex. 41. Pontozó in three different kinds of performance. Kutasföld.<sup>731</sup>

a  $\text{♩} = 128$   
Ha ki - me - gye k a sző - lő - be, [dúdolva]

b  $\text{♩} = 120$   
[füttyölve]

c  $\text{♩} = 137$   
[hegedűn]

a  
Rá - lé - pek egy ve - nyi - gé - re, [dúdolva]

b  
[füttyölve]

c  
[hegedűn]

a  
Ve - nyi - gé - ről, ve - nyi - gé - re, [dúdolva]

b  
[füttyölve]

c  
[hegedűn]

<sup>731</sup> a–b) István Szakács (aged 41) Hungarian. Recorded on 24.II.1981. (a), 1975. I. (b), Hari (Kutasföld). c) Ferenc Barabás „Peci” (b. 1927). Recorded on 25.II.1981. Magyarsülye (Kutasföld). a–c) Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 43, 42, 41. Type No.: 13.001.0/6.

a *Vá-gyik szí- vem a sző- ké- re. [dúdolva]*

b

c



Fig. 75. Hungarian Romani musician with a three-stringed kontra. Póka (Upper Maros region), 1983.<sup>732</sup>

the mind of a musician who had never played a melodic instrument. (To demonstrate the instrumental character of the performance I notated the tune two octaves higher, in the register commonly used for this tune by local fiddlers.).

Ex. 42. "Sebes from Sárpatak." Upper Maros region.<sup>733</sup>

The musical score is written for a single system with two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 97. The score consists of four systems. The first system has a first ending bracket. The second system has a trill (tr) marking. The third system has a 'simile' marking and an 8va (octave up) marking. The fourth system also has an 8va marking. The bass line consists of chords and single notes, with 'simile' markings in the first and third systems.

<sup>733</sup> Humming and *kontra*: János Moldován "Pirki," Hungarian Rom, b. 1911, Póka (Upper Maros region). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 24.05.1985, Marosvásárhely. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 63. Type No.: 13.001.1/o.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 16-measure rest at the beginning. It contains a melody with a five-measure phrase marked with a '5' and a slur. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and contains a accompaniment of chords. The word 'simile' is written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

Of course, other cultures may also yield similar examples for factors influencing the choice of dance accompaniment types, for adjusting the accompaniment type to the occasion, or improvising it. As Ivan Ivančan, researcher of South Slav folk dances writes, dances in the Adriatic zone are never accompanied by singing. Where no instruments are accessible, the dancers imitate the instruments vocally, with syllables such as tra-la-la. He cites early 19<sup>th</sup>-century sources stating that local circle dances could be optionally accompanied by the *mijeh* (bagpipe), the *lira* (bowed knee fiddle), or the *šalmai* (shawm). For the skipping circle dance of the Dalmatian Morlaks, “the bagpipe player (*kosslo*) stands in the middle, though it can also be danced with fiddle (*gusle*) accompaniment.”<sup>734</sup>

<sup>734</sup> Ivančan, I. 1975. 119; 1987. 234–235.



## 7 RHYTHMIC ACCOMPANIMENT OF DANCES

Beyond the makeshift solutions described at the end of the previous chapter, those forms of folk dance music that informants deem ideal are performed by traditional instrumental ensembles. In this chapter, therefore, I will survey the types of rhythmic accompaniment on the basis of the techniques these ensembles apply.

When speaking of folk music, *accompaniment* has a dual meaning. In one sense, it refers to the part, played by one instrument or several, which accompanies the tune. The other sense, from the vantage point of the dance, refers to the whole musical accompaniment of dances, including melodic and rhythmic accompaniment. The latter, in turn, divides into the rhythm of the tune itself, and the rhythm provided by the accompanying instruments.

The first to examine the correlations between rhythmic accompaniment in Hungarian folk dance music and the rhythmic character of the pertaining dances was György Martin.<sup>735</sup> In his wake, I am trying to explore further specificities of such correlations in Transylvanian folk music, relying on my research in the past three decades. Phenomena observed in other parts of the Hungarian language area, or among other ethnicities in or near Transylvania, are only mentioned for comparison. Consequently, I will not elaborate on such issues as the rhythmic accompaniment of those Romanian dances without Hungarian analogies.

Within the concept of rhythmic accompaniment, the rhythm of the tune must be differentiated from the rhythmic schemes provided by the accompanying instruments, the latter more markedly belonging among the decisive factors of a dance type. For the sake of simplicity, I will call the rhythm provided by the accompanying instruments generally *kontra rhythm*, adopting Martin's idea. It is to be born in mind, however, that in some cases, the fiddle or viola used as *kontra* can only produce an accompanying rhythm pattern together with the bass. Besides, *kontra*, as a fiddle or viola used for accompaniment, is not present in all sorts of ensembles (e.g. fiddle–cimbalom–bass, fiddle–gardon, fiddle–accordion–bass, etc.).<sup>736</sup> Since in Transylvanian traditional music the cimbalom

<sup>735</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967; 1970–1972.

<sup>736</sup> In detail, see in the chapter *Complex accompaniment*, from p. 204.

usually plays melody rather than chordal accompaniment, I will not embark in detail on its rhythmic role. The rhythmic formulae of chordal cimbalom accompaniment, spreading in a small part of Transylvania relatively recently upon the influence of urban Romani musicians mostly imitate the rhythmic schemes of the *kontra* and bass.

The importance of the *kontra* rhythm for dancing is confirmed by the field experience that dancers accustomed to the music of complete bands can dance to *kontra* accompaniment even if the melody-playing instrument is missing, but are reluctant to dance to merely melodic accompaniment. Therefore, fiddlers will not usually agree to play for dance without “help” (*segítség*), that is, without the accompanying instruments. Earlier, László Lajtha observed that a *prímás* “is only reliable when leading a band.”<sup>737</sup> One of György Martin’s best dancer informants, István Mátyás of Magyarvista (fig. 76), evaluated the relationship between *prímás* and accompaniment as follows: “When the fiddler plays alone, one can’t match him... Without ‘help,’ the fiddler will play now faster, now slower. Then you can’t dance to it, because the foundation is missing.”



Fig. 76. István Mátyás “Mundruc” dancing a *legényes*. Magyarvista (Kalotaszeg), 1956.<sup>738</sup>

Mátyás also told Martin how he had once danced to mere accompaniment without the fiddle: “The fiddler won’t play now, only the *kontrás* and the *gordonos* [bass player].

<sup>737</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 5.

<sup>738</sup> Photo by Ferenc Pesovár. Photo Archive of the Institute for Musicology.

I start whistling a *legényes* tune. I say, Come on, accompany me! I start whistling a tune, and they do after it as I started. That's how I set in the two accompanists [*segítség*], the *kontrás* and the *gordonos*, and then I start dancing. My mind dictates the tune, for I've got it inside. I know when I have to hit [a leg with the palm], and where I have to end up [each section of the dance]. That's how it goes. No need for a fiddler to lead, like the driving wheel in a car, only the *kontrás* and the *gordonos*. But not everybody can dance like that."<sup>739</sup>

Kontra rhythm determines the metrical frame of the dance. Its basic rhythmic value is predominant in the pertinent dance type, while smaller or larger values are in minority. Dance ex. 1 (p. 244) shows that the dance motifs of a men's dance are based on ♩ values, just like the kontra rhythm of the music. Deviation between the kontra rhythm and the basic rhythmic value of the dance suggests a makeshift application of music to dance, mostly due to a recent fashion. Such is the case of the *Romani verbunk* in the Kalotaszeg region, where the basic pulsation of the music progresses in ♩ notes, while that of the dance in ♪ notes. The reason for this is that the dance motifs of the traditional *legényes* of Kalotaszeg have been applied to the relatively new *verbunk* music (p. 245, dance ex. 2).



Fig. 77. György Martin, Bertalan Andrásfalvy, and Zoltán Kallós on a field trip in Transylvania. 12–13 October 1961. Photo: Ferenc Pesovár

<sup>739</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 367.

*Dance Ex. 1. Pontozó (excerpt). Lőrincréve (Transylvanian Hegyalja), 1959.<sup>740</sup>*

<sup>740</sup> Dancer: Mihály Bárdi, aged 65. Collected by Jolán Borbély, Károly Falvay, Ágoston Lányi, György Martin. Transcribed by György Martin. Source: Martin, Gy. 1967. Dance ex. 3. ZTI Ft. 414. 9.

*Dance Ex. 2. Romani verbunk (excerpt). Méra (Kalotaszeg), 1961.<sup>741</sup>*

<sup>741</sup> Dancer: Ferenc Berki "Árus", b. 1931. Collected by Bertalan Andrásfalvy, Zoltán Kallós, György Martin, Ferenc Pesovár. Transcribed by György Martin. Source: Martin, Gy. 1967. Dance ex. 4. ZTI Ft. 496.

## 7.1 KONTRA RHYTHM

The three main forms of kontra rhythm applied to the dances of the Carpathian Basin are *slow dúvő*, *fast dúvő*, and *estam* (Hun. *esztam*).

The Hungarian word *dúvő* or *duva* (in the Szilágyság region, also *duvó*, *duvózás*) presumably originates from the Romani word *dujvar* or *duvar* ‘twice.’<sup>742</sup> Transylvanian Romani musicians of Romanian mother tongue call it *duva*, or, around Karánsebes, *duvai*. Some Romanian researchers claim, quoting the opinion of Romani musicians, that it is of onomatopoeic origin, and that it arrived from Western Europe with the spread of bowed string ensembles for dance accompaniment. Outside Transylvania and Hungary, this kind of accompaniment also occurs among the Croats, Slovaks, and Poles.<sup>743</sup>

Hungarian poet János Arany mentions this rhythmic bowing technique in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, in descriptions of bands playing at a fair, as *dövő* (*Falusi mulatság*, 1847; *A lacikonyha*, 1850). Trifling as they might seem, these data are the sole proof that the technique existed one and a half century ago, given that neither the historical-etymological dictionary, nor the new dialectal dictionary of the Hungarian language include either form of the term. In 1874, István Bartalus compiled his folk song collection based on János Arany’s recollection of songs in his youth. Here, the playful refrain of a song features *dúvő* in yet another form: “Duvó-duvó duvódu.”<sup>744</sup>

Further data can be found in the article *Gesztén és vidékén* [Geszt and its surroundings] by Sándor K. Nagy in No. 173 of the newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap* in the year 1885. In a tavern of the Püspökradvány *puszta*, “the bassist, leaning his back against the stove, rubbed the thick strings of the big ‘burugó,’ so ‘dúvő-dúvő’ could be heard half a mile away.”<sup>745</sup>

### 7.1.1 Slow dúvő

Slow *dúvő* means the kontra accompaniment progressing in four ♩ values per bar.

Ex. 43. *Slow dúvő*



Slow *dúvő* is known in two variants: limping slow *dúvő*, and steady slow *dúvő*.

<sup>742</sup> Almási, I. 1979. 16; István Pávai priv. coll.; Pongrácz, Z. 1965. 100.

<sup>743</sup> Florea, I. 1975; Vysloulzil, J. 1957.

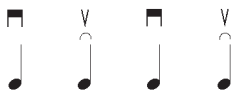
<sup>744</sup> Kodály, Z.–Gyulai, Á. 1952. I. No. 36.

<sup>745</sup> See also in Ferenc Török’s writing *Hamvazó szerdán* [On Ash Wednesday]. Magyar Szemle, 1895. No. 8. 93.

### 7.1.1.1 Limping slow *dűvő*

The name expresses an asymmetric pulsation, where every other beat is slightly lengthened, in the case of some Hungarian dances.

Ex. 44. *Limping slow dűvő*



The time rate of the four beats in the dance *lassú cigánytánc* of the Inner Mezőség region, or the *lassú* of Szék, is usually 2-3-2-3, but may as well be 4-5-4-5 in Szék.

Ex. 45. *Limping slow dűvő* of 2-3-2-3 and 4-5-4-5 proportions.



Similar in rhythm is the *zortziko* movement of the Basque dance cycle *aurreku*, but in a much faster tempo.<sup>746</sup> These pulses are always executed with separate bow strokes by the bass, and usually by the *kontra* as well, but the latter may rarely take two pulses to one bow stroke. This is particularly typical of the musicians of Magyarpalatka, namely in the closing bars of a melodic section, thus emphasizing the formal structure of the tune.<sup>747</sup>

In addition to the temporal schemes 2-3-2-3 and 4-5-4-5 shown in ex. 45, the “limping” may take still other, even changing, proportions in some cases. The cause for this irregularity may be the lengthening of one or another note of the tune with a complex ornamental formula, which the accompaniment must wait out; another influencing factor may be singing or rhythmic shouting during dancing. As musicians expressly declare, their intention is to alternate “short and long” pulses in identical proportion, but physical precision is impossible because of the extremely slow tempo. Still, psychologically, or musically, speaking, they recognize only two kinds of beats, short and long.

The point in this form of rhythm is not a given proportion of time values, but the short-long-short-long sequence of the four pulses in each bar, where the ratio of the short and long durations is approximately constant. Therefore, it is not adequate to render such tunes with time signatures as 10/8 or 18/16, for the basic metrical unit is not the

<sup>746</sup> SZTZL 1965. I. 85, III. 721.

<sup>747</sup> For diverse cases of exceptional and occasional bowing, see Szalay, Z. 1992. 166–167.

♪ or ♪, but the ♪ value in two different, alternating, lengths. In these cases, ♪ or ♪ may be nothing more than a mathematical–physical measuring unit.

The Romanian slow couple dances in the Mezőség region and along the river Maros, known as *purtata*, *de-a-lungu*, or *împiedecata*, also feature an asymmetrical pulsation, but the four pulses are short-short-long-long, or short-long-long-long. Sometimes we only find three pulses as 4–2–3 or 4–3–4, that is, the first two pulses merge into one.<sup>748</sup>

A study of the Romanian versions may suggest an interpretation that would not address a difference between basic metrical units in terms of time value, but a musical process that takes place at two parallel levels of tempo, a faster and at a slower one. The tempo is switched after each pair of pulses in some Romanian dances, or after each pulse in the Hungarian dances. As seen above, three temporal levels may also occur in the former. Further deviations are merely accidental, and may occur for the reasons described above. Consider the following excerpt of a Romanian dance, where “above” the beats rendered as ternary in value, the fiddler plays duplets and quadruplets, which is to say, he does not perceive any part of the tune as being in ternary time. The ternary value attributed to these notes of the accompaniment arose out of the transcriber’s intention to express the mathematical proportion of one beat to the preceding one.

Ex. 46. Excerpt from a tune of the *împceleca[ta]* dance. Faragó, 1966.<sup>749</sup>



Similarly, binary values in the accompaniment often correspond to ternary subdivisions in the melody, as several recordings attest. Thus, it would perhaps be more correct to notate the accompaniment in even ♪ values, and indicate the switches between the two or three tempos with metronome marks in beats per minute.

The one-time dance *lin* of the Hungarians of Lozsád (Hunyad region), must have been similar in kontra rhythm to the *lassú cigánytánc* of Mezőség, or the *lassú* of Szék. It was still danced in Lozsád some 30–35 years ago, and until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, also in the neighboring villages (Tordos, Batiz, Bácsi, Hosdát, Rákosd, Barcsa, Alpestes, Csernakeresztúr, etc.). This is at least suggested by descriptions of the dance, and by the

<sup>748</sup> See e.g. Bartók, B. 1934. 263–264. No. 67c.

<sup>749</sup> Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. 237.

notation of the tune in 5/8 time without accompaniment. The Romanians around Déva know it by the name *lina* ('quiet, smooth').<sup>750</sup>

A similar accompaniment can be found in the dance *lassú magyaros* of the Gyimes region. Here, the accompaniment is not provided by a *kontra* and a bass, but by the *gardon*, which is capable of even more complex rhythmic variations. In this case, the stresses beaten with the stick (ignoring now the secondary rhythmic elements obtained by snapping a string against the fingerboard) seem to form composite bars, where the temporal proportions may be rendered as 4-3-4-4-3-4, 4-3-3-4-3-3, 4-2-3-4-2-3, or 3-2-3-3-2-3.<sup>751</sup>

Ex. 47. Basic rhythmic schemes of the dance *lassú magyaros*, as played by the *gardon*. Gyimes.



If, however, the rhythm of the dance is taken into account, one finds that there are four basic pulses to a bar rather than six, with two temporal values alternating in the sequence short-long-short-long, just like in the *Mezőség* dances (p. 250, dance ex. 3).

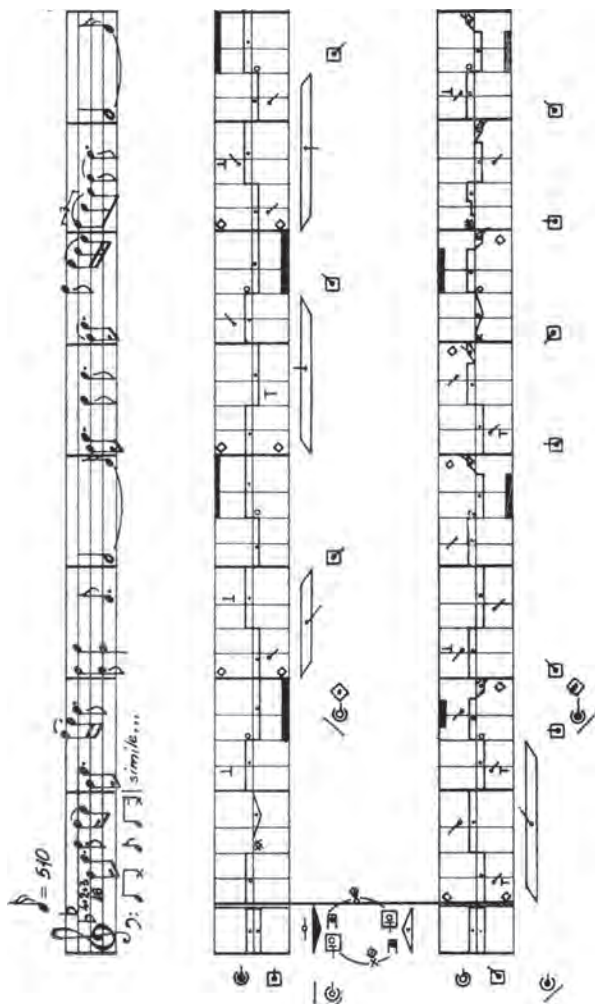
The reader will have noticed that in dance ex. 3, the metrical division is given as 4-2-3/16. The reason is that I did not want to modify the authors' original presentation to comply with my understanding of meter in folk music. Actually, every second bar line in this example should be erased to make it comprehensible in terms of the above explanation. The basic motif of these dances is a variant of the two-step *csárdás* motif, which fills a 4/4 bar. Even if the lengths of these four pulses are not identical in the dances with limping slow *dűvő* accompaniment, there is no reason to cut the bar into two.

This practice of transcription is rooted in the fact that such tunes were frequently recorded without accompaniment or dance, in which case the basic pulsation could not always be recognized. That is why a melodic rhythm of ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ is often notated in 5/8 time. In folk dance music, however, the meter can only be defined correctly if we consider the rhythm of the accompanying instruments, and that of the dance, together. Underlying the apparent 5/8 time is not an ♩-note pulsation, but two pulses of different lengths in the rate of ♩ ♩.

<sup>750</sup> Szász, J. 1976; Agopian, P.–Badea, M. 1963. 81.

<sup>751</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 212–214; No. 102.

*Dance Ex. 3. Lassú magyaros, Gyimesfelsőlök, 1962.<sup>752</sup>*



In the rare cases when the *lassú magyaros* of Gyimes is accompanied by a *kontra*, two beats are executed with one bow stroke in the time of a half-bar, so out of every three beats of the *gardon*, the last two are fused into one accent. This also proves that in this dance, there are four basic pulses rather than six (or  $2 \times 3$ ). The formulae of six numbers emerge by every other, i.e. longer, beat being divided, so the original schemes must have been: 4-7-4-7, 4-5-4-5, 3-5-3-5, 4-6-4-6 (= 2-3-2-3), which include the rates known from the Hungarian dances of Mezőség; in the rest, the short-long-short-long alternation is also consistent.

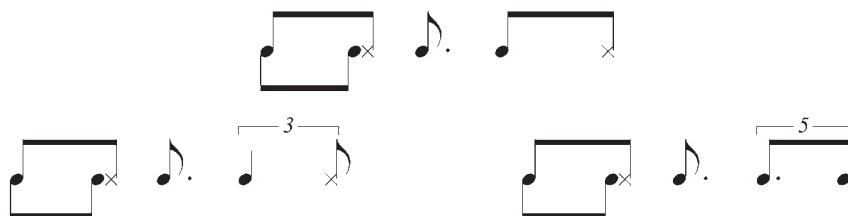
<sup>752</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. Dance ex. 2.

Ex. 48. Basic rhythmic schemes of the dance *lassú magyaros*, as played by the *kontra*. *Gyimes*



In the *gardon* accompaniment of *lassú magyaros*, the short pulse may also be divided into two beats, as is shown in ex. 49, in spite of the fact that the snapping of the string against the fingerboard, marked by a cross, already provides this division throughout. The consistent division of both rhythmic values finds its explanation in the dance, namely, it supports the motifs known as *ropogtatás* ('loud stamping') of identical rhythm, performed by a male dancer arriving in front of the musicians, while letting his partner loose with his left hand. The second half of the divided long pulse is further subdivided by the snapped string, which has no metrical-choreographic significance, as is shown by the irregularity of this subdivision, being now in triplets, now in quintuplets, now in a binary way.

Ex. 49. Rhythmic variants of the accompaniment of *lassú magyaros*. *Gyimes*



In the Kalotaszeg region, on the peripheries of Mezőség, in the Maros–Küküllő region, in Székelyföld, and in Moldavia, the dances corresponding to the limping slow *dűvő* have disappeared, but their music lives on in the genre of “reveling songs,” also known as *asztali nóta* ('table song'), *hajnali* ('dawn song'), *katonakísérő* ('soldiers' farewell song'), etc.<sup>753</sup> In this case, asymmetry may also be present in sung performance without accompaniment, perhaps modified to some extent. Even in relatively conservative regions, some “wearing-out” may be noticed recently, manifest in the levelling out of the two rhythmic values, or two levels of tempo, possibly upon the influence of urban *csárdás* music.

<sup>753</sup> Martin, Gy. 1970–1972. 228.

Limping slow *dűvő* is associated with the slowest dance type in the whole Hungarian language area, with 40 to 80 pulses of the two kinds per minute, and the melodic rhythm displaying the same asymmetry.

On the western edges of Mezőség, in the valleys of the river Kis-Szamos and the Borsa stream, a slow men's dance has been known as *lassú magyar*, *ritka magyar*, or *kurázsí*. While the men performed their figures in front of the band, the girls, holding to each other, turned in a circle, and shouted rhythmic dance rhymes. A derivative version in the Inner Mezőség region and Szék is performed by turning circles of two female and two male dancers each. In Szék, this dance is known as *magyar* (or, more recently, *négyes*), while all it preserves as a trace of the original men's dance is a few solo motifs, which the lads perform when, as a rest, the circle is loosened and the dancers walk round without holding hands.

The music of these dances is very similar in rhythm and meter. While the tune progresses in even 4/4, in vocal performance often in 6/8,<sup>754</sup> the *kontra* accompaniment is limping, at least in 4-3-4-3 ratio per bar, in septuplets compared to the meter of the melody,<sup>755</sup> or sometimes in quintuplets (2-3-2-3). Owing to the comparatively fast tempo ( $\text{♩} = 126\text{--}138$ ), the asymmetry is not so obvious as in the slow couple dances, and, particularly in the Inner Mezőség and the Kis-Szamos valley, it may come close to symmetry, partly owing to further acceleration.

In the *magyar* (*négyes*) of Szék, both the *kontra* and the bass used to play two pulses with one stroke in earlier times. Elsewhere, the bass bowed each note separately. In Bonchida (and recently, sometimes in Szék, too), the bass only sounds the first of the two beats in this dance type. Another example of the type is the *slow pontozó* of the Maros-Küküllő region, where the *kontra* plays fast *dűvő* of  $\text{♩}$  notes, while the bass plays  $\text{♩}$  notes. The overall impression is that of a slow *dűvő*, with the asymmetry rarely perceivable.

### 7.1.1.2 Steady slow *dűvő*

In the Hungarian dance repertoire, steady slow *dűvő* accompanies the relatively recent dance types *verbunk* and *slow csárdás*. Compared to the dances discussed above, these types are far wider known, almost everywhere in the Hungarian language area. Only their names may vary by region, e.g. *csördögölő*, *diriburi* for *verbunk*, or *jártatós* for slow *csárdás*, etc. Their tempo is usually between  $\text{♩} = 120$  and  $\text{♩} = 180$ . Tempo differences may be observed by region, but also within a single dance process, usually as acceleration.

<sup>754</sup> See Martin, Gy. 1970–1972. No. 120.

<sup>755</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 23.

For the steady slow *dűvő*, the *kontra* most often plays four pulses of  $\text{♩}$  value, two to a bow stroke, in each bar. For the bass, this is not regular; bass players tend to bow each pulse by a separate stroke.

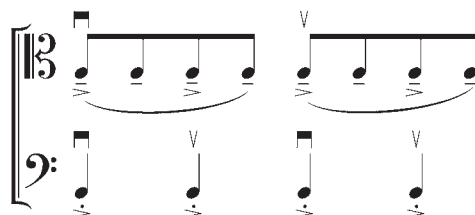
Ex. 50. Variants of the steady slow *dűvő*



In the Inner and Northern Mezőség regions, local versions of the slow *csárdás* (*ritka csárdás*, *cigánytánc*, *szászká*, *szásztánc*) may be as slow as  $\text{♩} = 80$ . At such a slow tempo, an asymmetry of short and long beats may appear, although to a lesser extent, and less consistently, than in the case of the limping slow *dűvő*.

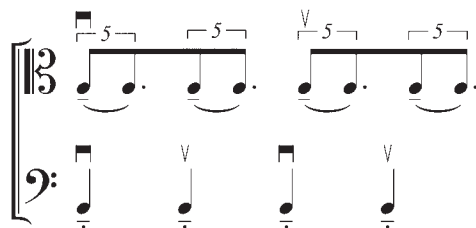
In most of the Maros–Küküllő region (Kutasföld, Vízmellék), and often in the Upper Maros region, *kontra* players would take four  $\text{♩}$ , instead of two  $\text{♩}$ , to one stroke. However, the greater stress on the first and third note, reinforced by the bass, which always plays  $\text{♩}$  values, shows that this technique is a variant of the slow *dűvő*, rather than the fast *dűvő*.

Ex. 51. A variant of the slow *dűvő* (Kutasföld, Vízmellék)



Along the stretch of the river Kis-Küküllő from Balavásár to Dicsőszentmárton (Upper Vízmellék) the slow *csárdás* has two tempo variants. Only the first is called *lassú csárdás* by the locals, the second is called *gyorscsárdás* ('fast *csárdás*'), although they do not considerably differ in dance motifs. Accordingly, the type of the slow *dűvő* described above has two subtypes. In both cases, the *kontra* moves in  $\text{♩}$  values, as shown in ex. 51, but the *lassú csárdás* may assume a light asymmetry in quintuplets.

The *kontra* practice of the Transylvanian Hegyalja region (around Nagyenyed) differs from the previous variant in that a bow stroke takes only two  $\text{♩}$  of quintuple subdivision, so the *kontra* actually plays fast *dűvő*. The bass, by contrast, stresses the four  $\text{♩}$  notes, so the overall effect is similar to slow *dűvő*. In this region, slow *csárdás* and the men's dance *lassú pontozó* share this kind of accompaniment (p. 254, ex. 52).

Ex. 52. A variant of the slow *dűvő* (Hegyalja)

In the *gardon* accompaniment of the slow *csárdás* in the Gyergyó, Csík, and Gyimes regions, the slow *dűvő* effect is blurred, as the beating of the accented ♩ notes together with the snapping of the unaccented ♪ notes produces more of an *estam* effect. In such cases, the actual meter is shown by the basic rhythm of the tune and the dance. If, however, a *kontra* (and bass) is added to the *gardon*, the slow *dűvő* character of the accompaniment is unambiguous.

The greatest confusion is caused by the accompanying practice of the recently spread accordion, which plays a kind of fast *dűvő* for all dances, even those that originally require slow *dűvő*. The accents, however, usually help make out whether it is real fast *dűvő*, or a variant of the slow *dűvő* featuring ♩ notes.

From Szilágyság in the west to Marosszék in the east, the *verbunk* is also accompanied by slow *dűvő* in most cases (even if in the regions of Kalotaszeg and the Transylvanian Hegyalja, it is used merely as wedding processional music rather than dance music). The only exception is the case when a dance under the name *verbunk* in fact belongs to another dance type, that of the *legényes*.

In the case of the East Transylvanian *verbunks*, metrical interpretation may be ambiguous, not only because of the *estam*-like accompaniment on the *gardon* or the accordion, (Gyimes, Csík, Gyergyó), but also in connection with the *kontra* and bass. The same tune called *verbunk* or *csördögölő* may be accompanied first with slow *dűvő*, and then with *estam*, e.g. in the villages of the Hungarian diaspora along the river Olt in Nagy-Küküllő County.<sup>756</sup> In such cases, the *dűvő* version should be notated in 4/4, the *estam* version in 2/4 time, analogously with slow and fast *csárdás*.

In Transylvania, the *verbunk* spread relatively late, and could never wholly supplant the archaic men's dances of ♩ basic value. Typically, the motivic stock of the old dances was adapted to the new *verbunk* music, originally of ♩ note pulsation. Besides, there are several men's dances in Székelyföld (poorly researched in terms of choreology) in goliardic rhythm on an ♩ basis, which took on the name *verbunk*, usually as an alternative to some other name.<sup>757</sup> These dances are known by diverse names, such

<sup>756</sup> Pávai, I. 2000a. 289.

<sup>757</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 212.

as *féloláhos* (in Gyimes), as well as *figurázó*, *zsukáta*, *oroszverbunk*, *árvátfalvi*, or often just *verbunk*. In Gyergyó, they are often associated with a personal name (*Jankóé*, *Mihálykáé*, *Sompálé*). They probably represent the eastern branch of the *ugrós* and *legényes* dance types, as does the solo men's dance form of the *silladri* among the Székelys of Bukovina. In addition to the examples below, see also the *orosz* ('Russian') *verbunk* of Csíkszentdomokos, the ♪ note-based items of the series of *zselyki verbunk* (p. 304, ex. 89) and the tune, also from Zselyk, called *marosmenti verbunk* ('verbunk of the Maros valley,' p. 306, ex. 92).

Ex. 53. *Verbunk*, or "*árvátfalvi*." *Felsősfalva (Sóvidék)*.<sup>758</sup>

The musical score is written for two staves, likely representing a fiddle and a cimbalom. It is in 2/4 time, with a tempo marking of 156. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems. The first system includes the instruction "sempre con pedale". The second system includes fingering numbers 5 and 3. The third system includes first and second endings, with the instruction "Da Capo" at the end.

<sup>758</sup> Fiddle: Mihály Paradica "Nyicu", Hungarian Rom, b. 1925. Cimbalom: János Paradica, Hungarian Rom, b. 1928. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 28.08.1982. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék). The bassist beats the open strings with a wooden stick and hits the shoulder of the instruments with his left hand (estam). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 33.

Ex. 54. Old Hungarian verbunk. Gagy (Keresztúr region).<sup>759</sup>

The musical score is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as 156. The melody is in treble clef, and the accompaniment is in bass clef. The first system includes a 'simile' marking. The melody features various ornaments, including grace notes and slurs. The accompaniment consists of a steady bass line with occasional chords. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

<sup>759</sup> Fiddle: Béla “Pusi” Gábor, Hungarian Rom, aged 68. Kontra: Géza Csapai, Hungarian Rom, aged 55. Collected and transcribed by István Pávaí. Recorded 01.1977. Gagy (Keresztúr region). “The men lined up in a semicircle to dance their figures.” Type No.: 13.055.0/2. First published: Pávaí, I. 1993. No. 34.

*Ex. 55. Féloláhos. Fenyőkút (Sóvidék).<sup>760</sup>**Ex. 56. Silladri. Bukovina.<sup>761</sup>*

$\text{♩} = 107$

A le - á - nyok, a le - á - nyok fa - ci - pő - be jár - nak.

A - zok é - lik vi - lá - gi - kot, a - kik ket - ten hál - nak.

Lám én ma - gam sze - gén fe - jem csak e - gye - dül há - lok,

Éj - jel nap - pal ma - tol - lá - lok, sen - kit sem ta - lá - lok.

<sup>760</sup> Voice: Mrs András Tófalvi, aged 73. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 04.07.1975. Fenyőkút (Sóvidék). Type No.: 13.033.1/0. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 30.

<sup>761</sup> Voice: József Szatmári, b. 1910, János Mészáros, b. 1940, Csernakeresztúr (Hunyad). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded 06.05.1978. Felpertes (Hunyad). "At wedding feasts, at night, when the best-man's cake was brought in, this was danced by everyone, particularly the women." Type No.: 13.058.0/5. Variant: Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. No. III (D) 119. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 23.

In addition to variants of the Hungarian slow *csárdás* and *verbunk* (excepting the cases above), slow *dűvő* is used by non-Hungarians for the following dances: Transylvanian Romanian *bărbunc*, *ceardaș rar*, *ceardaș românesc*, *leneșă*, *romana*, *țigănește pe doi pași*, *țigănește pe doi lături*; Transylvanian Romani *čingerdž*; Slovak *čardáš*, *verbunk* and *solo madár*.

Compared to the dances listed so far, this mode of accompaniment comes in much faster variants ( $\text{♩} = 180\text{--}220$ ) in the Romanian *mărunțeaua*, *mărunțelu*, *mânântălu* or *roata* of the Bihor and Arad regions, as well as *góralski*, *krzesany*, *ozwodny*, or *brzezowicka* of the Tatra region.<sup>762</sup>

### 7.1.2 Fast *dűvő*

Fast *dűvő*, where the basic time value is the  $\text{♩}$ , is also associated with a variety of dance types. In all cases, the *kontra* takes two  $\text{♩}$  notes to a bow stroke.

Ex. 57. Fast *dűvő*



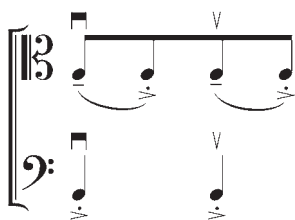
Fast *dűvő* also displays subtle variation in terms of tempo or regions. The bass may either produce the same *dűvő* technique as the *kontra*, or sound the main beats only, depending on the region or the dance type. The fast *dűvő* is associated, first of all, with the men's dances of the slow and fast *legényes* types, and the couple dances of the *forgatós* ('turning') type. It may also be used in certain versions of the fast *csárdás*, either exclusively, or as an alternative to *estam*, or even in combinations of both techniques, for which see the subchapter *Estam*, p. 265 ff. A more prevalent name for the fast *dűvő* in the Szilágyság region is *csuburubu*, or *csubórubó* in Szilágypanit, while the musicians of Szilágysámson use the term *duvózás*.<sup>763</sup>

#### 7.1.2.1 Slow *legényes* dances accompanied with fast *dűvő*

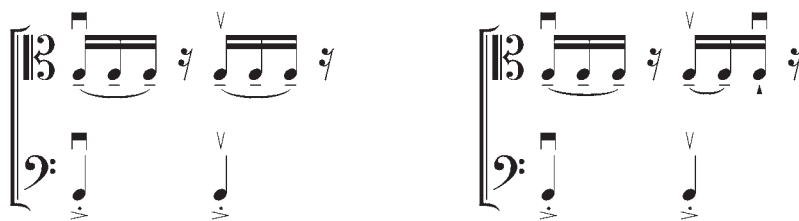
Versions of the slow *legényes* dance type, known in the Mezőség region as *ritka magyar*, *ritka tempó*, or *ritka fogásolás*, are danced to fast *dűvő* in the relatively slow tempo of  $\text{♩} = 69\text{--}112$ . The bass usually sounds the  $\text{♩}$  notes only (ex. 58).

<sup>762</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967. 149; 1970–1972. 93.

<sup>763</sup> Almási, I. 1979. 16.

Ex. 58. *Fast dúvő as the accompaniment of a slow legényes (general form)*

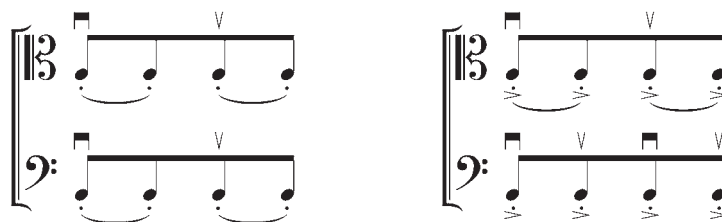
In some parts of Northern Mezőség (Ördögösfüzes, Vice), the odd-numbered ♩ notes of the *kontra* divide into two ♩ notes, thus creating a rhythmic pattern of anapaestic character.

Ex. 59. *Fast dúvő as the accompaniment of a slow legényes (Northern Mezőség)*

The *kontra* accompaniment of this dance type is characterized by the tendency to support or imitate the rhythmic sound effects of dancing, such as clapping, leg hitting, or stamping. This may be manifest in breaking off the even pulsation with stops, or in asymmetric ♩-note motion (in 2-3 ratio), where every second pulse is stronger emphasized. Of course, these features are not quite general; they may appear partially, or be missing, or may mix with other patterns at places. Still, reliable data suggest that they were regular in an earlier phase of the folk culture less exposed to external impacts. Among the Romanian men's dances of Transylvania, *haidău*, *ponturi*, *fecioarește rar*, *ungurește rar*, or *joc de băță* are accompanied in a similar way.

#### 7.1.2.2 Fast legényes dances accompanied with fast dúvő

Quicker variants of the fast *dúvő* (♩ = 109–138) accompany the dances of the fast *legényes* type, known in the Mezőség region as *sűrű magyar*, *siska magyar*, or *sűrű fogásolás*; in Szék as *sűrű tempó*; in the Kalotaszeg region as *legényes*; in the Szilágyság region as *figurázó*, or *verbunk*; in the Maros–Küküllő region as *pontozó*, *magyaros*, or *sűrű verbunk*; in the Aranyosszék region as *csüddöngölő*; and in the Székelyföld region as *féloláhos*. At such a fast tempo, asymmetry is much rarer, but the staccato character is prevalent.

Ex. 60. Variants of the fast *dűvő* in fast *legényes* dances

For these dances, the bass also progresses in  $\text{♩}$  notes in most regions; the only deviation from the *kontra* may be the separate bowing of each  $\text{♩}$ . Exceptions include the western part of Mezőség and the central stretch of the valley of the Kis-Küküllő (Vízmellék), where the bass plays  $\text{♩}$  notes.<sup>764</sup>

In the *pontozó* as played in the Kutasföld subregion, the second  $\text{♩}$  of the first  $\text{♩}$ -note pair is split, producing dactylic rhythm, which is reinforced by the fiddle at the cadences (p. 236, ex. 41, stave (c), bars 8 and 16). In the upper part of the Kis-Küküllő valley (Upper Vízmellék), virtuoso *kontra* players keep the dactylic character constant, often shortening the second  $\text{♩}$ .

Ex. 61. Fast *dűvő*. Kutasföld, Upper Vízmellék

In the Upper Vízmellék, one *kontrás* (p. 261, fig. 78) knows twelve variants of the fast *dűvő*, applying all of them in *sűrű verbunk*. The choice depends on the peculiar rhythm and formal structure of the given tune, as well as the actual dance motifs. This is certainly not a new phenomenon, but an example of the high degree of rhythmic adjustment of dance and music, prevalent at an earlier stage of traditional culture. As the informant reports, he has learnt the twelve fast *dűvő* variants from his grandfather “old Kránci.”

László Lajtha's Szék collection of 1940–41 proves that the bass part of the Szék *sűrű tempó* was probably far more varied earlier.<sup>765</sup> Similarly, in the case of the Inner Mezőség region, early recordings of György Martin and Zoltán Kallós (1960–70) attest that the accompaniment of the *legényes* dance *sűrű magyar* combined with *estam* is due to recent influence of the local couple dance *ritka szökös*.

<sup>764</sup> Virágvolgyi, M. 1983. 170.

<sup>765</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. Nos. 5, 6, 11, 14.

Further specimens of the fast *legényes* dance type accompanied with fast *dűvő* include Romanian dances known as *ungurește iute*, *fecioreasca*, *bărbunc*, or *ponturi*; the Slovak *odzemok*, *hajduch*, or *marhanská*, and the Goral *zbójnicki*.

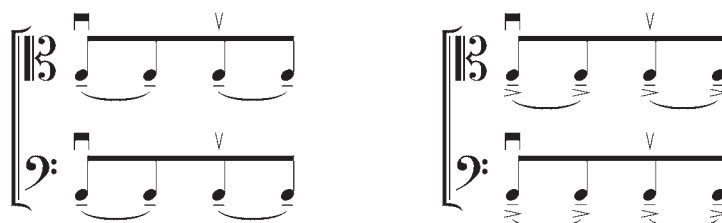


Fig. 78. Ferenc Mezei Jr. “Csángáló” (b. 1951),  
Calvinist Hungarian Romani *kontrás*, grandson of “old Kránci.”  
Csávás (Upper Vismellék), 1986

### 7.1.2.3 Couple dances accompanied with fast *dűvő*

Couple dances of the *forгатós* ('turning') type are also accompanied with fast *dűvő*, with regional differences in tempo and character. With very few exceptions, the staccato character of the fast *dűvő* is missing here; the bars follow one another smoothly, in accord with the gently swinging rhythm of the dance.

Ex. 62. Variants of the fast *dűvő* for *forгатós* ('turning') dances



Such dances, known as *forгатós*, *vetéllős*, or *vármegyés* in Marosszék itself, are referred to as *marosszéki* in other parts of Székelyföld. In the interwar years, it reached Csík in the east, but its “foreign” origin was always remembered. This is manifest in the small number of tunes played to it, e.g. in Csíkmenaság (Alcsík), it is danced to a single tune.<sup>766</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the villagers of Gyergyóremete invited Illyés and József László, musicians of Kibéd (informants of János Seprődi), to live in their village (later they settled in nearby Ditró). That explains why a relatively broad repertoire of *marosszéki* tunes have been played in the Gyergyó region, as even farther away, in Csíkrákos, fiddler Dénes Márkus “Román” reported to have learnt from Illyés László.<sup>767</sup> People in Gyergyóremete remember that the dance had been known there before the Lászlós’ arrival by the name *jódias*.

In the inner parts of Udvarhelyszék, the *forгатós* dance type also spread relatively late. In his recollections of the 1860s and 1870s, Dénes Balásy does not mention it among the dances used in his native village Székelybetlenfalva.<sup>768</sup> In the subregions bordering on Marosszék (Sóvidék, Keresztúr region), it must have appeared earlier, as is attested by László Lajtha’s *Kőrispatak* collection of the 1940s, with an ample repertoire of *marosszéki* tunes. These recordings also document details of the accompanying rhythm: the ♩ notes are steady, two to one bow on the *kontra*, the bass sometimes bowing each separately. Several ways of accentuation are also to be found; in addition to the version in ex. 62, see also ex. 63.<sup>769</sup>

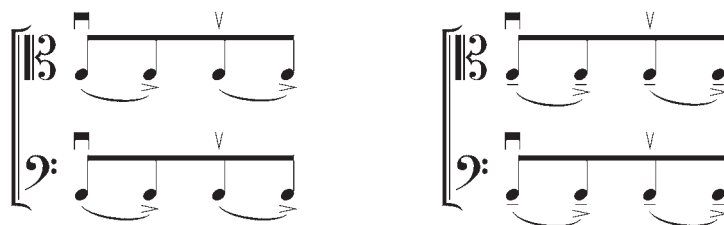
<sup>766</sup> Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 161.

<sup>767</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 11.

<sup>768</sup> Balásy, D. 1910.

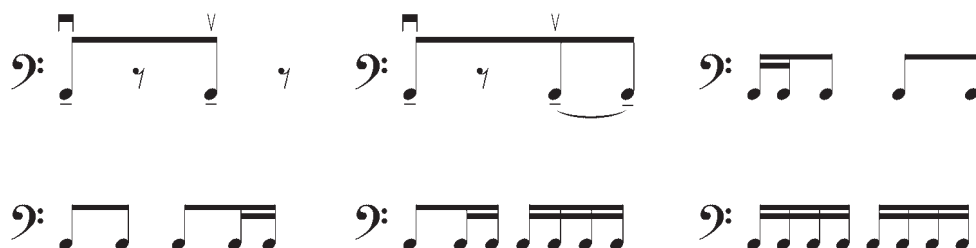
<sup>769</sup> Lajtha, L. 1955. 35.

Ex. 63. Accompaniment of the marosszéki, or *forгатός* dance. *Körispatak* (Keresztúr region)



The bass sometimes interrupts its *dűvő* to play one of the below formulae, thus reinforcing the rhythm of the tune, or lending rhythmic support to the cadences. Of course, such rhythmic variants in the bass part occur in other regions, too.

Ex. 64. Variants in the bass part of fast *dűvő*. *Körispatak* (Keresztúr region)



In the southern and eastern parts of Udvarhelyszék, the first two ♪ often merge and become slightly shortened, coming close to the asymmetric rhythm of the Romanian *învărtita* ('turning dance') along the Küküllő. This may be attributed to the fact that the musicians of Abásfalva and Székelyszenterzsébet, who mainly use this solution, also play in Romanian villages to the south and west of Székelyföld.

Ex. 65. Asymmetric accompaniment of the marosszéki *forгатός* in some parts of the Homoród valley and of Keresztúr region.



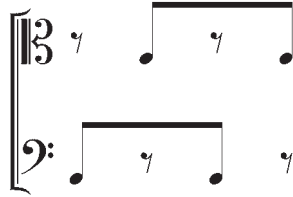
In the Vízmellék region, the local couple dance of the *forгатός* type is known as *féloláhos*, with relatively few tunes. The *kontra* part has a quintuplet swing, and the bass may not play every ♪.



### 7.1.3 Estam

Estam means the type of accompaniment in which the bass sounds the ♩ notes on the beats, while the *kontra* sounds the off-beats.

Ex. 67. *Estam accompaniment*



The rhythmic effect of estam is illustrated by the sound of the two syllables in its name, which made Martin regard it as onomatopoeic in origin.<sup>774</sup> Since it belongs to the terminology of Romani musicians, we might presume that it evolved in the Romani language. Knowing, however, that in medieval Western Europe, the Provençal dance name *estampida* designated a stamping dance,<sup>775</sup> it is not unjustified to think of its relationship with the term estam as we use it. All the more so, as Martin presumed yet another kind of relationship between that dance and the Hungarian dance tradition, to which I am going to return in the chapter *Correlations between dance and tune sections* (p. 309).<sup>776</sup>

It is noteworthy that this accompanying rhythm is performed with a far greater variety of syllables in the *oral bass* of Romani folk music than the syllables es-tam would suggest. The musical phenomenon called in the vernacular *szájbögzés* or simply *bögzés*, elsewhere *brugózás*, means the production of rhythmic effect by uttering nonsense syllables, including explosive, nasal, laryngeal, and click consonants, perhaps to imitate the *kontra* accompaniment of string bands, but producing far more varied effects in timbre and rhythm combinations.<sup>777</sup>

There is a distantly related practice in orally transmitted Indian classical music. Beating different points on the membranes of the special Indian pair of drums, the *tabla*, different tone qualities can be produced. Their names are derived from the mnemonic syllables (*bol*) of Vedic recitation. The tabla player improvises variations on a rhythmic sequence (*taala*). To memorize the rhythmic sequences and transmit them without instruments, the *bols* are uttered vocally, which produces an effect similar to the oral bass of Central Europe, e.g. *dhin-dhin dhage-tirikita tu-na kat-ta dhage-tirikita* etc. Even

<sup>774</sup> Martin, Gy. 1983. 533.

<sup>775</sup> Already pointed out in Vályi, R. 1963. 332.

<sup>776</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 375–379.

<sup>777</sup> See e.g. Víg, R. 1976.

more interesting is a phenomenon in the *bharata natyam*, a style of Indian dance drama of ancient origin. When singing to meaningless syllables, the singer enters the realm of instruments, for the harshly snapped syllabic formulae (e.g. *ta-ka-ta*, *ta-ka-dhi-mi*, *ta-ka-ta-ji-ta*, etc.) almost sound like a percussion part.<sup>778</sup> In this case, the function of dance accompaniment is present, similarly to the oral bass of the Roms.

A practice of the hurdy-gurdy players in the Great Hungarian Plain may also be mentioned as a parallel. The most common formulae of the accompanying rhythm, played by means of the buzzing bridge, were also inculcated verbally, with rhymes such as *Ve-re-bet fog-tam*, *kop-pan-tot-tam*<sup>779</sup> in the rhythm:



Like the other two types of kontra rhythm, *estam* also has different variants by region and dance type, most often attached to faster couple dances. Fiddler Mihály Sinka, born in 1920, told me that before World War II, such dances had been accompanied with *dűvő* in the Csík Basin; *estam* came into fashion later. “I started with music at the age of fourteen [in 1934]. At that time, nobody knew what *estam* was... they just kept bowing, they didn’t do the *estam* for the fast *csárdás*. When they played a *lassú*, they bowed long [playing *dűvő*], and when they played the fast *csárdás*, they also bowed long, but a bit quicker. That was all the difference. Now there is the long accompaniment [*dűvő*] for the slow *csárdás*, and the *estam* for the fast *csárdás*, but back then it was not known.”<sup>780</sup> Similarly, Romanian bands in the nearby Görgény valley never play *estam* for the quick turning couple dance *învârtita*; the *kontra*, just like the bass, plays tenuto ♩ notes, unlike in slow *dűvő* (p. 267, ex. 68). It is also customary in other regions, such as the Marosszék part of Mezőség, that in a band with two *kontra* players, one plays *estam* to a fast couple dance, while the other performs the same bowing as the bass, playing the beats without taking two on one stroke as in *dűvő*. The former style of accompaniment might be an application of the latter for a smaller line-up.

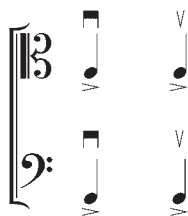
The slowest forms of *estam* can be found in the Mezőség region (♩ = 82–138). In the Inner Mezőség (Magyarszovát, Magyarpalatka), the bands usually use two *kontra* players, one playing staccato fast *dűvő*, the other performing so-called “long *estam*,” or “long *kontra*,” which means that he ties his accentuated even-numbered ♩ notes over to the following odd-numbered ♩ note. As a result, a kind of syncopation chain evolves, which, together with the ♩ motion of the first *kontra*, and the stressed beats of the bass, produces an *estam* effect (p. 267, ex. 69).

<sup>778</sup> Kárpáti, J. 1981. 165, 218.

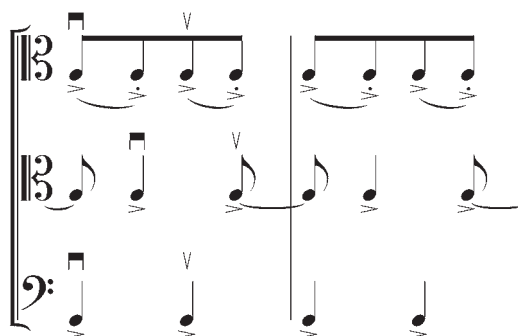
<sup>779</sup> Sárosi, B. 1973a. 57.

<sup>780</sup> Csíkrákos, 1980.

Ex. 68. Accompaniment of the couple dance *invártita*. Görgényoroszfalu (Upper Maros region)



Ex. 69. Accompaniment of the couple dance *ritka szökös*. Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség region)



If there is a single *kontrás*, he will always play fast *düvő*, but together with the bass, the outcome is still an *estam* effect. The dance thus accompanied is known as *ritka szökös*, or *összerázás*, in the Inner Mezőség.<sup>781</sup>

Recent research has shown that the term *összerázás*, which first cropped up in Magyarország, is a sort of relative dance name. That village still preserved the earlier dance cycle scheme, in which *lassú cigánytánc* and *ritka szökös* constituted a single pair of dances. When the dancers had enough of the slow dance, they would call out to the musicians: “shake it up!” The band would then play the *összerázás*, i.e. the *ritka szökös*. It turned out later that other dances could also be “shaken up,” the “shake-up” of *ritka csárdás* being the *sűrű csárdás*. I also heard in Szék that the *lassú* “can be shaken up” either with the *szapora lassú*, or with the *csárdás*. In the *sűrű csárdás* of the Inner Mezőség, both *kontrás* (if there are two) play long *estam*,<sup>782</sup> which may become short at cadences, where the *kontra* may even sound the beat rather than the off-beat.

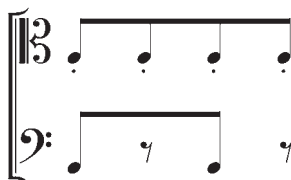
The *csárdás* of Szék is commonly accompanied by one *kontrás*, playing long *estam*. He usually switches to short *estam* when the fiddler plays a tune section on the “thick string” (g string), so that the long *estam* should not outvoice the relatively soft low

<sup>781</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. No. 176.

<sup>782</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. No. 177.

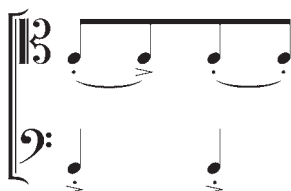
notes of the fiddle. However, at sustained notes in the “thick string” section, the *kontra* may return to long *estam*. These “rules” are not binding everywhere, but are observable particularly in earlier recordings perpetuating a former practice. The recently spreading accordion never plays actual *estam* in this dance type. The left hand playing the bass buttons replaces the bass, while the triads of the right hand provide a kind of fast *dűvő*.

Ex. 70. Accordion accompaniment corresponding to *estam*. *Mezőceked* (Southern *Mezőség*)



Leaving the *Mezőség* in any direction, we find that the fast couple dances taking *estam* accompaniment will be danced at a higher tempo ( $\text{♩} = 160\text{--}240$ ). The fast *csárdás* type as played in the Maros–Küküllő region (*szökő*) preserves the archaic practice reported by the Csíkrákos fiddler above; the bass plays  $\text{♩}$  notes, each on a separate bow, while the *kontra* plays fast *dűvő*, performed in the Vízmellék and Kutasföld regions with a peculiar *estam*-like accentuation.

Ex. 71. *Estam* accompaniment of *szökő*. *Kutasföld*, *Vízmellék*



Similarly to the *Mezőség*, the fast couple dance *szapora* of Kalotaszeg also displays an alternation of long and short *estam*, but often as a particular tool to produce occasional effect. It is especially frequent in the interludes between tunes that the *kontra* regularly alternates bars of long and short *estam*, corresponding to the repeated melodic motifs.

In Székelyföld, the fast *csárdás* and the men's dances (*verbunk*, *csüördögölő*) may have *estam* accompaniment, but the latter may also take slow *dűvő*. In the rest of the Hungarian language area, *estam* is the exclusive accompaniment for the fast *csárdás*, while it is rarely used for a *verbunk*, mainly in two-part versions, in which the first part of the tune is accompanied with slow *dűvő*, and the second with *estam*. This pattern is also

prevalent for dances of the *ugrós* type, from Bihar in the east to Western Transdanubia, and in its versions as solo *cigánytánc* ('Romani dance') along the Tisza.

In the Csík and Gyimes regions, the possibilities of the *gardon* call for *estam* in most dances, similarly to the drum type *tapan/davul* of the Balkans and Asia Minor, played with two kinds of beater. In Csík, the dances *féloláhos*, *medvés*, *sebes csárdás*, as well as the ritual dance of the bridegroom's parents at weddings, are accompanied with *estam*. The *gardon* inevitably plays *estam* to the slow *csárdás* and the *verbunk* as well, but if these dances are accompanied by bass and *kontra*, they will play slow *düvő*. In Gyimes, in addition to the dances listed above, the couple dance *sebes magyaros*, the chain and circle dances belonging to the Balkanic dance stratum, most western-type country dances of urban origin, and peculiar pieces of the wedding repertoire, also take *estam* accompaniment.<sup>783</sup> In this region, *estam* is frequently applied in an asymmetric version of 3-2 proportion, and embellished with different rhythmic variants. The latter are often adjusted to the rhythm of the stamping motifs (*ropogtatás*) which a male dancer displays when he gets the chance to dance in front of the musicians.

Ex. 72. *Estam variants of the gardon. Gyimes*



Among the Hungarians of Moldavia, the Jew's harp accompanies nearly every dance with *estam*. Kobož accompaniment to the dances of the Balkanic stratum consists of broken chords following particular rhythmic patterns, similarly to the *fiituri* of Romanian musicians. On the other hand, the dances with Hungarian connections (*őreg magyaros*, *lapos magyaros*, *serény magyaros*, *csárdás*) are accompanied with *estam*, produced by moving the plectrum up and down. Asymmetry is also frequent here, in the proportions 3-2, 2-3, 1-2, or 2-1.<sup>784</sup>

The pair of dances known as *kettős* in Gyimes has a peculiarly syncopated accompaniment, related to the *estam*.

Ex. 73. *The gardon accompaniment of kettős jártatója. Gyimes*



<sup>783</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970.

<sup>784</sup> Attila Zakariás priv. coll.

The dance *gyedoj* among the Hungarians of Moldavia, accompanied in a similar rhythm, belongs to the same dance type, as well as *de doi*, *ungureasca*, or *ca la Breaza* of the Carpathian dialect of Romanian dances.<sup>785</sup>

In Transylvania, many fast couple dances of the Romanians are accompanied with *estam*, e.g. *bătuta*, some types of the *învârtita*, *ceardaș iute* ('fast *csárdás*'), *zdrăncărita*, *poșovaica*, as is the fast couple dance *hutadyi*, of Transylvanian Roms. Examples from beyond Transylvania include the Slovak *polka*, *odzemok*, *bašistovská*, *čardáš*, *frišká*, *hore*, *uklakovaná*; the Moravian *zbojnická*, *verbunk*, *danaj*; *goralská polka* of the Gorals, and many more.<sup>786</sup> Several chain dances of the Balkanic dance culture are danced to *estam*, also to be found in most kinds of *polka*, spread all over Europe. The triple-time accompaniment of the waltz may be considered another variant of the *estam*, as "es-tam-tam." It is known as *vajcer* in Gyimes.

The alternating accompaniment known as Alberti bass in Western European art music also has an *estam*-like effect. It was first used consistently by the Italian composer Domenico Alberti in his eight homophonic piano sonatas published in 1748. The composers of the Viennese Classicism had a penchant for it, e.g. W. A. Mozart in his Piano Sonata in C-major, K. 545.<sup>787</sup> Possible antecedents of this type of accompaniment in that-time Western European folk musics have not been clarified yet. It is also unclear, for that matter, whether the *estam* as known in Eastern European folklore evolved upon an influence of art music, or in an autochthonous way. As regards possible origins, it is worth taking into account that in Eastern and Southern Romania, Romani musicians (*lăutari*) call the traditional local formulae to accompany *horas* and *sârbas* on the *cobză* (koboz) and the *tambal* (cimbalom) "Romanian" accompaniment (*țituri românești*), while the *estam* that came to replace them is called "German" accompaniment (*țituri nemțești*).<sup>788</sup>

## 7.2 MELODIC RHYTHM

The other component of the rhythmic accompaniment of dances is melodic rhythm. From the perspective of dance, it has smaller significance than *kontra* rhythm. The emergence of its diverse forms is not clearly and exclusively linked to dance accompaniment in each case. Considering aspects of dance music, the rhythm of the Hungarian dance tunes of Transylvania can be ranged in five large groups: motivic-repetitive rhythm, go-liardic rhythm, bagpipe rhythm, syncopated rhythm, and dotted rhythm.

<sup>785</sup> Sulișteanu, Gh. 1976. Nos. 141–181.

<sup>786</sup> Martin, Gy. 1967. 151–152; 1970–1972. 96–97.

<sup>787</sup> BRZL I. 64.

<sup>788</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 102–103.

### 7.2.1 Motivic-repetitive rhythm

Motivic-repetitive rhythm, the most elementary form of melodic rhythm, also characteristic of children's game songs, probably existed even before the emergence of any strophic form.<sup>789</sup> Its fixed and constant element is the length of the motif, usually two bars in 2/4 time, while the changeable element is the rhythm filling these units. The basic pulse is the note, which may divide into binary, ternary, dactylic, anapaestic, etc. patterns, or merge with another ♩, resulting in a ♩. In the Hungarian culture of the eastern regions, this form of rhythm can only be found in some archaic dance types, usually of the Balkanic dance stratum, mostly in Moldavia (p. 173, ex. 31) and Gyimes.<sup>790</sup> It is also present in several Romanian *sârba* tunes,<sup>791</sup> and in every archaic dance culture, such as that of the Mari of Russia, or the Sani of China.<sup>792</sup> Beside the principle of motivic repetition, periodic structure may also appear, and from the combination of two periods, strophic tunes may emerge, as in the wedding dance *medvés* ('bear dance') of the Felcsík region.

Ex. 74. *Medvés. Csíkszentdomokos (Felcsík)*.<sup>793</sup>



789 Brăiloiu, C. 1948; Kodály, Z. 1971. 77–78; CMPH vol. I. XV.

790 See also Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 220–221.

791 Cernea, E. 1977; Georgescu, C. 1984.

792 Vikár, L. 1958. 254; 1958. No. 4.

793 Fiddle: László Balog, Hungarian Rom, b. 1924. *Gardon*: Mrs László Balog b. Ida Hangya, Hungarian Romni, b. 1931, estam. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 20.03.1980. Csíkszentdomokos (Felcsík). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 2. Cf. Apor, P. 1978. 106: "The second dance was the dance of the bridegroom's father with his wife."

### 7.2.2 Goliardic rhythm

Goliardic rhythm is partly similar to the previous group, but instead of two-bar motifs, the basic frame is normally the four-bar line. The corresponding term *kanásztánc-ritmus* used in Hungarian ethnomusicology is motivated by the tunes of Hungarian “swineherds’ dances,” which are almost exclusively of this rhythm. As Bence Szabolcsi pointed out, their rhythm is essentially identical with the goliardic meter of medieval European literature, also present in Arabic and Ottoman poetry as *ramal* or *remel*, and in the antiquity as *versus Saturnius*. In folk music, it is widespread in Eurasia, and has had an important role to this day in the dance music of diverse ethnicities in the Carpathian Basin (Romanian *ardeleana*, Rusyn *kolomyjka*). It is also the characteristic rhythm of the *ungaresca* and *hajduk* dances of 16–18<sup>th</sup>-century musical sources, often in Sapphic formal frames.<sup>794</sup>

In Hungarian folk music, the lines of goliardic rhythm usually combine to four-line tunes, and may be associated to various tune types.<sup>795</sup> In terms of folk dance music, I use goliardic rhythm as a simplifying term for the rhythmic scheme of strophic tunes progressing in ♩ notes, without consistent syncopation. Therefore, I do not only count to this group four-line or two-line formations of four-bar lines, but also several partly different forms. Some of these exceptional forms may have three bars per line (p. 337, ex. 108); others may combine lines of two, three, or four bars (p. 273, ex. 75, p. 287, ex. 84; p. 304, ex. 89). In still other cases, two periods, each consisting of two four-bar lines, will constitute no more than a section of the entire tune.<sup>796</sup> Two-bar and four-bar lines in the Sapphic form of example 86 (p. 295) also show goliardic rhythm. The rhythm of the Moldavian *kezes* dance (of the *hora* type) known as *Édes Gergelyem* is also akin with goliardic rhythm (p. 199, ex. 39).

In instrumental performance, tunes of goliardic rhythm may partly or wholly progress in ♩ notes. In couple dances of the *foratós* type, pairs of ♩ notes are often played asymmetrically, in terms of triplets or quintuplets.<sup>797</sup> For men’s dances of the *legényes* type, the musicians tend to play with more of a staccato character, thus inspiring the dancers: “A *legényes* tune must be played sharply, that’s what is needed for sharp dancing... This [fiddler] does play it really sharp, you can’t sit still on the bench. You simply have to dance, unless you’re dead.”<sup>798</sup>

In Hungarian folk culture, this form of melodic rhythm is associated with most chain and round dances of Gyimes and Moldavia; the dances of the *ugrós* and *legényes* types; archaic couple dances; occasionally recent tunes of the fast *csárdás*, or

794 BRZL I. 64; II. 263, 323; Szabolcsi, B. 1972. 51–66; Vargyas, L. 2005. 88.

795 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 22–79.

796 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 64, 78.

797 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 41–42, 45–50, 52–54, 55, 58–59, 63–66, 68–69.

798 Martin, Gy. 1977. 368.

the music of some urban social dances; as well as interludes played with some of the listed tunes.<sup>799</sup>

Ex. 75. *Korcsos. Mezősámsond (Marosszék part of Mezőség).*<sup>800</sup>

### 7.2.3 Bagpipe rhythm

Although goliardic rhythm may fill the given metrical frames in diverse forms, there are cases with completely identical rhythm in each line.<sup>801</sup> However, in another form of melodic rhythm, sameness of rhythm in all lines is not occasional, but belongs to the essence. A peculiar group of pertaining examples comprises tunes of the bagpipe rhythm. The name does not faithfully reflect the rhythmic features of the group, since

<sup>799</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 23–50, 51–70, 71–76, 77–78.

<sup>800</sup> Fiddle: András Bódi, Hungarian Rom, aged 54. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 02.II.1981. *Mezősámsond (Marosszék part of Mezőség)*. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 68. Type No.: 18.479.0/0. Variants: Herța, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 43. Jagamas, J.–Farágó, J. (eds.) 1974. No. 300. CMPH vol. III/A. 380–382; Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 153–154; Rajeczky, B.–Gönyey, S. 1958. No. 38.

<sup>801</sup> Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 23, 26, 31–32, 37, 40, 51.

some tunes belonging here have no variants played on the bagpipe. On the other side, not all tunes performed on the bagpipe display bagpipe rhythm.

In this category, the tune frequently moves in even ♩ notes, which appears in identically rigid form in each line. This is also true in the case of dotted patterns, which means that dotting here is not due to adjustment to the prosody of the text. (See the subchapter *Dotted rhythm*, p. 276.)

Tunes in bagpipe rhythm may have four-bar (ex. 76, and its version played on the flute ex. 77) or three-bar lines. Ex. 83 (p. 284), with three-bar lines, illustrates the rhythmic and melodic modifications performed in an advanced fiddle style, in staves (a) and (c), as compared to the simple sung variant of bagpipe rhythm in stave (b).

Ex. 76. Szóktetős. Pálpataka (Sóvidék).<sup>802</sup>

Fe-nyő-kú-ton ki-kelt a ken-der, Be-i-hat-nék az ő-reg-em-ber. Er-

-re gye-re, er-re nin-csen sár, Az aj-tó-mon nin-csen sem-mi zár.

Ex. 77. Szóktetős. Bogárfalva (Upper Nyikó valley).<sup>803</sup>

Fe-nyő-kú-ton ki-kelt a ken-der, Be-i-hat-nék az ő-reg-em-ber. Er-

-re gye-re, er-re nin-csen sár, Az aj-tó-mon nin-csen sem-mi zár.

<sup>802</sup> Voice: Ferenc Imre, aged 24. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 23.06.1975. Pálpataka (Sóvidék). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 9. Type No.: 19.003.o/o. Variants: Almási, I. 1979. No. 17. Bura, L.–Fejér, K.–Petkes, J. 1979. No. 22. Halmos, I. 1974. No. 7. Halmos, I.–Lányi, Á.–Pesovár, E. 1988. No. 20AB. Jagamas, J. 1984a. No. 44. Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (eds.) 1974. No. 238. Járdányi, P. 1961. No. 62. Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1989. No. 152. Lajtha, L. 1954b. No. 42. Kodály Zoltán 1937/1981. 22. Seprődi, J. 1974. No. 60. Vargyas, L. 2005. No. 021.

<sup>803</sup> Soprano recorder: Zoltán Bálint, Hungarian, aged 18, Bogárfalva (Upper Nyikó valley). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 20.06.1975. Korond (Sóvidék). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 8. Type No.: 19.003.o/o. Variants: see previous footnote.

### 7.2.4 Syncopated rhythm

Arranging the tunes of syncopated rhythm in a separate group is rooted in the dance-centric approach. Even among tunes in goliardic rhythm, one may come across syncopated formulae.<sup>804</sup> However, syncopated rhythm proper stands for cases when the syncopation is not occasional, as merely one possibility to fill the frames of goliardic rhythm, or as a peculiarity of the instrumental style. In this category, syncopation appears at the same place of all four lines, or at least of both sections, of the tune, in any performance (ex. 78; see also p. 195, ex. 38, p. 339, ex. 109).<sup>805</sup>

Ex. 78. *Sebes csárdás. Csíkrákos (Középcsik)*.<sup>806</sup>



This type of melodic rhythm is frequent, besides folk tunes, among popular urban songs associated with the fast *csárdás*. Ernő Pesovár attributes its presence to Polish influence, and it is indeed characteristic of the dance originating from around Cracow known by the names *krakowiak*, *flisak*, *włoczek*, *kopeniak*, or *suwany*, which can be retraced to the 16–17<sup>th</sup> century as *chorea polonica* and *volta polonica*.<sup>807</sup> The dance rhythm of the Hungarian fast *csárdás* is not conspicuously syncopated. The *kettős* of the Gyimes region, by contrast,

804 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 27–28, 33, 35, 36, 40–43, 48, 50, 52, 56, 58–59, 67–69, 72–75, 77.

805 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 12–21.

806 Fiddle: Mihály Sinka, Roman Catholic Hungarian Rom, b. 1920. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 24.10.1980. Csíkrákos (Középcsik). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 20.

807 BRZL II. 354; Dąbrowska, G. 1979. 193, 206, 215; Pesovár, E. 1980b.

is syncopated in both dance motifs and rhythmic accompaniment, while the melodic rhythm is not, although the fiddler's accents may also support the syncopation.<sup>808</sup>

The Romanian dances of the Carpathian dialect *de doi, ungureasca, ca la Breaza*, identical in type with the *kettős* of Gyimes, also feature syncopated melodic rhythm. Moreover, the first ♩ value is often replaced by a rest, lending more emphasis to the shifted accent.<sup>809</sup> Such contratempo-like rhythm (accenting the off-beat by replacing the beat with a rest), which characterizes several dance types of the Balkans, must have been borrowed from the Romanian folk music of Moldavia, for the majority of *silladri* tunes are not syncopated, or at least not consistently.<sup>810</sup>

### 7.2.5 Dotted rhythm

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, dotted rhythm rose to preponderance in the Hungarian folk music of Transylvania, as well as the entire language area. The melodic rhythm of most dance tunes belong here, or may be derived from this scheme,<sup>811</sup> similarly to most Hungarian folk songs of the “new style,” and urban *csárdás* tunes. Bartók presumed that *verbunkos* music evolved with the augmentation of certain tunes in goliardic rhythm from ♩ to ♩ motion, and the replacement of pairs of ♩ notes with dotted patterns, which in turn inspired the dotted rhythm of new-style songs.<sup>812</sup> The early pieces of *verbunkos* music indeed follow the rhythm of the *ungaresca* and *hajduk* dances of previous centuries, while the later pieces, in a decelerated tempo, display a broader rhythm of basic ♩ pulsation.<sup>813</sup>

In many cases, the dotted rhythm consistently fills (almost) the entire tune:<sup>814</sup>

Ex. 79. Slow *csárdás*. *Gagy* (Keresztúr region).<sup>815</sup>

= 103  
 Úgy bú - su-lok, majd megha-lok,  
 Búm- ba meg is bo - lon-du-lok, Ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja.

808 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 52–53.; Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. dance exs. 4–5.

809 Bucșan, A. 1971. 63, 82.

810 CMPH vol. III/B. 153–158; Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 23–24; Zsók, B. (ed.) 1995. Nos. III–III.6.

811 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 80–180.

812 Bartók, B. 1934. 222.

813 Szabolcsi, B. 1979. ex. X2b–f.

814 Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 127, 130–132, 142, 157, 163, 179.

815 Voice: Mrs Dénes Péter b. Zsuzsánna Gábor, aged 72. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 17.07.1977. *Gagy* (Keresztúr region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 132. Variant: *ibid.* No. 133. Type No.: 18.200.0/0.

Fáj a szívem, de nem ér - ted, Tit-kon más is van mel - let-ted,  
 Ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja.


However, in most cases, this rhythm type does not only consist of the alternation of  $\text{♩}$  and  $\text{♪}$  notes. The  $\text{♩}$  values may divide into  $\text{♪}$  notes, owing to syllable insertion, or amalgamation with goliardic rhythm, or perhaps due to the instrumental manner of performance, and therefore, the  $\text{♩}$  motion with dotted patterns may only be retained in a few bars.<sup>816</sup>


Ex. 80. *Túlavízi, or csárdás of the Maros valley. Székelykocsárd (Aranyosszék).*<sup>817</sup>

$\text{♩} = 131$



<sup>816</sup> See also Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 80, 121, 171.





<sup>817</sup> Fiddle: Márton Kurucz, Hungarian Rom, aged 48. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 13.II.1975. Székelykocsárd (Aranyosszék). Kontra and bass: steady slow *dűvő*. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 155. Type No.: 18.171.o/o. Variants: Almási, I. 1971. 51; Bartók, B. 1934. 265. No. 71c; Béres, K. 1971; Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. No. 1A37c–e; Fejér, K.–Sipos, L. 1972; Herçea, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 41; Jagamas, J. 1984a: No. 107; Lajtha, L. 1954a. No. 94; Pávai, I. 1993. 161.

Specificities of fiddle technique, or the peculiar manner of performance of some dance tunes, may conceal the original dotted rhythm, weaving figurations of  passages around the main notes of the melody (p. 34, ex. 3).

Another deviation may be the appearance of asymmetry, often in vocal variants, rendering patterns of  in triple or quintuple proportion. Such transformations are typical of regions where the tempo of the slow *csárdás* is below the average (Mezőség, Maros–Küküllő region). Rarely, this practice may become general, and in merely vocal performance, a tune may progress in triplets throughout, giving the impression of 6/8 time.<sup>818</sup> A comparison with the kontra accompaniment and the rhythm of the dance motifs, however, reveals this as illusory. Such cases are therefore not considered as examples of *proportio* (to be discussed below, from page 279).

On the other hand, a kontra rhythm of asymmetrical pulsation may be coupled with the fiddle and singing remaining in steady 4/4 time; however, the rhythm of the accompaniment and the dance motifs will also infect the melody in most cases.<sup>819</sup> Since asymmetric kontra rhythm is presumably older than *verbunk* and *csárdás* rhythm in 4/4 time, multiple changes of rhythm in the same tune type are evident, owing to a shift of the tune from one dance genre to the other. (See the subchapter *Proportio*, p. 279 ff.) Another possible transformation is the rubato vocal performance of regular asymmetric rhythm, when singing is independent of dance or its instrumental accompaniment (see ex. 1 on p. 26, and the preceding comment). A further reason for such a transformation may be the disappearance of the dances of such rhythm from traditional culture, and the shift of their tunes into some other function determined by singing (reveling song, plaintive song, soldiers' farewell song, etc.), whereby the melody becomes metrically less consistent.<sup>820</sup>

Dotted rhythm is sometimes applied to  motion, but this is a merely occasional, rather than regular, phenomenon. This occurs mainly if a tune in dotted rhythm is applied to a dance with  pulsation. Only in this context may the tune be transcribed in 2/4 time (p. 295, ex. 86).

By contrast, the tunes of the slow Scottish dance *strathspey* are characterized by  motion as , called *Scotch snap*, or *Scotch catch*. The same pattern can be found in Slovak, Polish, or Belarusian folk music, while in European art music, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was called Lombardic rhythm and used as a performing device. Its reversed form (  ) occurs in the tunes of the Basque *zortziko* in an asymmetrical rhythmic frame, in the form .

As a final remark, Romanian researcher Virgil Medan (Cluj) is of the opinion that the tunes with dotted rhythm in Romanian folklore originate in ancient Thracian culture.

<sup>818</sup> Martin, Gy. 1970–1972. Nos. 118–120.

<sup>819</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a: 1, 3, 10, 17, 23; Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 101–103, 105, 113–115, 118.

<sup>820</sup> See also Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 106–112, 120.

<sup>821</sup> BRZL II. 446; III. 405.

He also notes that “it is hard to overlook the oriental character of these tunes, or their similarity with the Persian idiom.” As for the dotted rhythm itself, he states that while in Hungarian, Slovak, Ukrainian, and South Slavic folklore it is indeed a new development, in Romanian folk music “it is rooted in prehistoric times.” This is proven, in his view, by the large number of Romanian tunes in dotted rhythm.<sup>822</sup> He ignores, however, the fact that the occurrence of such Romanian tunes in significant number is limited to regions with a Hungarian presence. In Hungarian folk music, on the other hand, dotted rhythm is prevalent in the entire language area. Obviously, in Romanian folk music it is present in several tunes that are missing from the Hungarian tradition; they may have evolved according to the principle of *proportio* (to be discussed below) from antecedents of diverse rhythm. Other recent Romanian tunes of different origin may also have adapted to dotted rhythm when in a given region or period it came into fashion.

### 7.3 PROPORTIO

The rhythmic phenomenon known by the Latin term *proportio*, or *Proporz* in German, characterized Western European dance music of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It denoted the relationship within a pair of dances, a slow one in quadruple time, and a faster one in triple time, whereby the tune of the first was retained in the second, with a rhythmic conversion. Already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, western dance tune collections contain such Hungarian tunes notated in two forms, although the practice was not yet widespread in Eastern Europe. In his *Türkischer Eulenspiegel* published in 1683, Daniel Speer presents Romanian, Russian, Polish, Greek, and Hungarian dance tunes in the dual form of *proportio*. At this time, *proportio* was already known in the Carpathian Basin, as is evidenced by local collections, such as the Victoris tablature book, or the Apponyi manuscript.<sup>823</sup>

A tune in quadruple time may be converted to triple meter in one of two ways. In the Western and earlier Eastern European practice, two bars of triple meter were formed of a single bar of quadruple meter; later, the first part of each 4/4 bar was diminished to produce triple time. This often resulted in the so-called mazurka rhythm. Tunes of the *polonaise*, the *waltz*, and the *mazurka* evolved from such after-dances becoming independent.

György Martin found the earlier form of *proportio* in the vocal *botoló* (‘stick dance’) tunes of the Roms in Hungary’s Upper Tisza region, sung mostly with Hungarian words.<sup>824</sup> As a recent development, this dance features slow tunes in triple meter and

<sup>822</sup> Medan, V. 1982. 64–65.

<sup>823</sup> Domokos, p. 1978. 163–183; Falvy, Z. 1969; Ferenczi, I.–Hulková, M. 1986.

<sup>824</sup> Martin, Gy. 1980b.

fast ones in duple meter; there are also metrically different variants of the same tune, used independently of each other.

That is how the *rejdivák* of 3/4 time and the *rejdivačka* of 2/4 time, once constituting a pair of dances, forked off in Czech folk music, adopting regional, western and eastern, characteristics.<sup>825</sup> The practice of proportio can also be traced in the music of other European peoples. The triple to duple form is found in Polish music, the original quadruple to triple form in Sweden.<sup>826</sup>

In Transylvania, Romanian, Hungarian, and Romani folk music preserves a stage when the members of a former pair of dances are independent; versions of the same tune type in duple, triple, or quadruple time may appear separately in different regions, dance types, or ethnicities. The slow, originally triple-time tunes often appear in an asymmetric form approximating 5/8 time; in Martin's view, they form an antecedent to dotted rhythm.

The next example presents a Romanian *de-a lungu* in 3/4, and a magyar of Szék in 4/4, as metrically different variants of the same tune type (ex. 81).

Ex. 81. (a) *De-a lungu. Maroskövesd (Upper Maros valley)*; (b) *Magyar. Szék (Northern Mezőség)*.<sup>827</sup>

The image displays two musical examples, (a) and (b), each consisting of a system of three staves. Example (a) is for the Romanian dance 'De-a lungu' in 3/4 time, featuring a melody on the top staff (treble clef, key of D major) and two accompaniment parts on the bottom staves (treble and bass clefs). Example (b) is for the Hungarian dance 'Magyar. Szék' in 4/4 time, also featuring a melody on the top staff and two accompaniment parts on the bottom staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and repeat signs.

<sup>825</sup> BRZL III. 211; SzTZL 1965. I. 429.

<sup>826</sup> Dąbrowska, G. 1979. 111; SzTZL 1965. III. 427.

<sup>827</sup> (a) Fiddle: Radu Victor, Romanian Rom, b. 1900, Monosfalú. Collected by Pavel Tornea, 1941, Bucharest. Source: Tornea, P. 1978. No. 35. (b) Fiddle: Károly Dobos, Hungarian Rom, b. 1912, Szék. Collected by István Pávai, 1982.



As another remnant of the tradition of *proportio*, the same tune is sometimes reinterpreted in metrical, rhythmic, and tempo frames for two consecutive dances, without a change to or from triple meter. István Bartalus also notes this in a study of 1882: “Romani musicians in our parts constantly follow this practice, though not in a literal sense; i.e. they will not turn a four-pulse slow tune into a three-pulse fast one; still, at a dance, they usually end up the slow tunes by playing them fast.”<sup>828</sup> This practice may be illustrated with the links of slow *cigánytánc* and slow *csárdás* in the Inner Mezőség region, of *forduló* and *korcsos* in the Upper Maros region, and, more frequently, of reveling songs and slow *csárdás*, or of slow *csárdás* and fast *csárdás*, even in urban Romani style music.

In a study on Székely dances written in 1909, János Seprődi recognized that this phenomenon is related to the earlier Western European practice of *proportio*.<sup>829</sup> He had found in Kibéd that the cycle comprising three couple dances, *jártatós*, *forгатós*, and *csárdás*, was sometimes danced to the same tune throughout, of course, adjusted in tempo and rhythmic specificities to each dance.

As a further legacy of *proportio*, different forms of a tune type in terms of tempo, figuration, and performing style are not necessarily due to dance function, but may also develop in the relation of dance tunes and other vocal genres. Such complex interrelation between instrumental and vocal performance, which does not only derive from the differing technical possibilities of instruments and the singing voice, but is also determined by genre and function, may bring about highly interesting differences between variants of the same tune by genre and region. In what follows, I will provide a few selected examples to illumine this issue, by presenting groups of parallel tunes in which vocal and instrumental variants have been quite far removed in genre or region, or in both. Of course, syllabic vocal variants and figural instrumental versions cannot be compared note for note; the parallels concern, much rather, the melodic skeletons

<sup>828</sup> Bartalus, I. 1882. 32.

<sup>829</sup> Seprődi, J. 1974. 148.

of the tunes, and the presence of the pivotal notes even in the most ornate instrumental figuration.<sup>830</sup>

It is a well-nigh prevalent practice among musicians of the Upper Maros region and the Eastern Mezőség that they deliberately make a dance tune out of a tune of different function. This may be motivated by the musicians' penchant for joking, as in the case of a funeral song, played with massive rhythmic changes as a *sebes forduló*. In other cases, the revelling company would require such jokes from the musicians. For instance, a certain new-style tune in the Upper Maros region, which is usually sung in dance intervals with instrumental accompaniment as a reveling song, in a slow tempo and slightly rubato rhythm, is afterwards converted by the musicians into the *szapora* (local name for *sebes forduló*), the opening dance of the regional cycle, of basically ♩-note melodic rhythm.

The tune variants of ex. 82 belong to the type marked II/32 in the Catalogue of Hungarian Folksong Types, defined as "a slow dance tune sung with diverse lyric texts; a part of the data are instrumental."<sup>831</sup> In volume X of CMPH, the type is numbered CVIII, with the following remark: "it is a popular czardash tune whose tempo and progression in crotchets is determined by the new dance type. Sometimes it also joins older dances with a rhythm in quavers."<sup>832</sup> Ex. 82 contains three musical items of similar melodic contour, but different genres, and partly different regions; they also differ in meter, rhythm, and tempo. Therefore, these variants can never be played or sung parallel with each other in their original context, being spatially and temporally independent derivatives of the same melodic model. The variant in stave (a) is used in the regions featuring archaic couple dances of the *forgató*s type (*forgató*s, *marosszéki*, *korcsos*), namely Udvarhelyszék, Marosszék, and the Upper Maros region. Variant (b), with the widest geographic range, is known from Kalotaszeg to Udvarhelyszék as a slow *csárdás* tune that may be sung during dancing. Variant (c), a soldiers' farewell song, has only been found in Kalotaszeg so far; slower than the *csárdás*, and with an asymmetrical swing, it is similar in character to the reveling songs of the region sung in the dance intervals.

<sup>830</sup> Some parts of this chapter was read at the symposium *Folk music of Transylvania and Moldavia in the light of recent research*, Institute for Musicology, Budapest, 3 March 1997. For audio examples, I transposed the vocal variants an octave lower, and played them simultaneously with the instrumental versions, synthesized on the computer. Several researchers in the audience remarked that this method threw the similarity into deeper relief than the study of the notated tunes.

<sup>831</sup> Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1992. 279.

<sup>832</sup> Paksa, K. (ed.) 1997. 51.

Ex. 82. (a) Marosszéki [fórgató]. Felsősfálva (Udvarhelyszék); (b) Lassú csárdás. Csávás (Upper Vizmellék); (c) Soldiers' farewell song. Méra (Kalotaszeg).<sup>833</sup>

(a) [hegedűn]

(b) Aj Is - te-nem, de víg vó-tam ez-e - lőtt,

(c) Vág-ják az er-dőnn az u-tat, vi-szik a ma-gyar fi - u - kat, e-haj - ja.

(b) Míg a ne-ven nem járt az u - rak e - lőtt,

(c) Mind el-visz-ik sze-gé-nye-ket, sze-gény ma-gyar le-gé-nye-ket, e-haj - ja.

(b) De már im - má' víg sem le-szek so-ha - sem,

(c) Mind el-visz-ik sze - gé - nye-ket, sze-gé - nye-ket,

<sup>833</sup> (a) Fiddle: Mihály Paradica "Nyicu" (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); bass: Béla Rácz (b. 1955); musicians of Felsősfálva. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki. Recorded on 28.08.1982 in Alsósfálva, on the occasion of dance filming. Detailed score: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 58. (b) Voice: Albert Szitás, aged 73. Collected by István Pávai, 18.05.1979. First publication. (c) Voice: János Magyarosi, aged 70, Méra (Kalotaszeg). Collected by Zoltán Kallós, transcribed by Mária Domokos. Published: Paksa, K. (ed.) 1997. No. 386.

a

b

c

Mer' el - ha - gyott kít i - ga - zán sze - ret - tem.

Sze - gény ma - gyar le - gé - nye - ket, sze - gény ma - gyar le - gé - nye - ket, e - haj - ja.

In regions with advanced instrumental tradition, an instrumental performance usually wraps the tune in rich figurations, although the outline of the sung versions may be well recognized. This is shown in variants (b) and (c) of ex. 83, known as a wedding song in Gyimes, and as a “bagpipe tune” in the entire northern strip of the Hungarian language area.<sup>834</sup>

Ex. 83. Diverse variants of a tune adjusted to rhythmically different genres in Gyimes.  
(a) *Csoszogtató. Tarkó.* (b) *Wedding tune. Gyimesközélpok.* (c) *Wedding tune. Tarkó.*<sup>835</sup>

a

b

c

[hegedűn]

Ed - dig ven - dég jól mu - - - lat - tál,

[hegedűn]

<sup>834</sup> Its classification among the “bagpipe tunes” or in the “lament style” is disputed (Vargyas, L. 2005. 310, cf. Dobszay, L.–Szendrei, J. 1988. II14).

<sup>835</sup> (a) and (c) Fiddle: János Zerkula, aged 52; *gardon*: Régina Fikó, aged 56. Collected by István Pávai. Recorded on 10.08.1979. First published in detailed score: Pávai, I. 1993. pt 3–4. Published variant: *ibid.* No. 3n. (b) Voice: Gyula Tankó (b. 1939). Transcribed by Gábor Holló. Source: audio cassette supplement K 702 to the manuscript EA 77/1996 in the Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest.

a

b

c

Ha tet - sze - nék, in - - - dul - hat - nál,

a

b

c

E - redj gaz - da, kap - jál bot - ra,

a

b

c

S a ven - dé - get in - - - dítsd út - ra.

Interestingly, if a tune passes into the repertoire of a dance (or other genre) which customarily excludes singing, the degree of instrumental transformation increases; consequently, its relation to the original tune is more difficult to discern. This must be the reason why, in an earlier phase of the systematization of Hungarian folk songs, the tune of the *csoszogató* ('shuffling') dance in Gyimes, in ex. 83, variant (a), was not ranged with the "bagpipe tune" type represented in the example by the wedding tunes (b) and (c).<sup>836</sup>

<sup>836</sup> See the variants ranged into type 18.219.o/o in the System of Folk Song Types.

In the Gyimes region, *csoszogtató* is the closing dance of a cycle of western/urban origin called *aprók* ('small ones'), which, however, does not exclude tunes originating in periods prior to the introduction of the dances. As Martin wrote about their musical accompaniment, "the four-line strophic tunes of 2/4 time have in most cases four bars in each line, with AABB structure. The only tune of six-bar lines is that of *Csoszogtatós*." In the detailed description of the dance, he notes, "Its tune consisting of six-bar lines is a rarity among the Gyimes dance tunes."<sup>837</sup>

What led Martin to interpret the tune as consisting of six-bar lines is probably the fact that both sections of the tune are traditionally repeated by fiddlers. This must have given the impression of the AABB form and the seemingly six-bar lines. However, if we ignore these repetitions without structural role,<sup>838</sup> we may realize that the *csoszogtató* is another tune with three-bar lines and ABCB structure (with traces of fifth parallelism between lines A and C), similarly to the wedding tune.

It is even more interesting that the informant, as a professional village musician, was aware of the typological connection between the two items of different genres. He played the two consecutively during the field recording cited, with the following comment between the two: "Well, now, don't be mistaken, what we just played, *Elment a tyúk vándorolni* ('The hen's gone a-wandering'), used to be played when we went to fetch the hen [as a custom at the wedding]. Now, we will repeat that piece, only in a different pattern, with different figuration, as it comes at the end of the *aprók*, as a *lassú magyaros* is also ended up: the *csoszogtató*.<sup>839</sup> This is in another form... it goes to the same tune, but in different rhythm."

Tune (a) in ex. 84 on p. 287 is a typical specimen of the instrumental idiom, a variant from the Udvarhelyszék region of the marosszéki forгатós dance, known in the whole of *Marosszék* and in the Upper Maros region.<sup>840</sup> In these regions, no vocal variant has been collected, which might seem natural, considering that the majority of forгатós tunes cannot be sung along. Still, there are a few tunes that evolved through the "instrumentalization" of vocal tunes, the best known being *A malomnak nincsen köve*; the tune presented in ex. 86 is among the less known examples. It applies to both tunes that the vocal and instrumental variants occur in the same region, and the vocal version can be sung along with the instrumental variant. As for ex. 84, however, the forгатós tune only lives in instrumental form in this region, while it is widely known in distant Moldavia, in another genre as *guzsalyas* ('spinning-room') song, performed vocally in a different

<sup>837</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 226, 228.

<sup>838</sup> See Gárdonyi, Z. 1953. 410–411.

<sup>839</sup> He means that the dance cycle *aprók* must be ended up with the *csoszogtató* just like *lassú magyaros* with *sebes magyaros*. Cf. the explanation of the term *összerázás* on p. 267.

<sup>840</sup> The earliest published instrumental version: Lajtha, L. 1955. No. 5, also see the note.

metrical-rhythmic structure.<sup>841</sup> The broader context of the tune includes a type found in 19<sup>th</sup> century collections, or in popular stage plays, e.g. with the incipit *Már minálunk így köszönnek*.<sup>842</sup> Its folk variants are known in the entire language area.<sup>843</sup> The vocal version from Moldavia and the instrumental variants from Székelyföld seem to constitute a kind of regional subtype. Despite the differences in genre and function, the consistent VII caesura of the first line, and the regular 2+3+2+3 bar division of the lines link them together, as against the variants from the western part of the language area, with closer affinity to the forms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century sources.

Ex. 84. (a) *Marosszéki. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék)*. (b) *Guzsalyas ('spinning-room') song. Külsőrekecsin (Moldavia)*. (c) *Popular urban song (19<sup>th</sup> c.)*<sup>844</sup>

The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves labeled (a), (b), and (c).  
 System 1:  
 (a) Fiddle part, starting with a treble clef, key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. It includes a bracketed annotation "[hegedűn]".  
 (b) Vocal part, starting with a treble clef, key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "É - rik, é - rik a cse - res - nye,".  
 (c) Vocal part, starting with a treble clef, key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "Már mi - ná - lunk így kö - szön - nek, ha - ja - ha,".  
 System 2:  
 (a) Fiddle part, continuing the melody.  
 (b) Vocal part, continuing the melody. The lyrics are: "Pi - ro - so - dik a le - ve - le, há - je, háj,".  
 (c) Vocal part, continuing the melody. The lyrics are: "Ad - jon Is - ten en - gém kend - nek, ha - ja - ha."

<sup>841</sup> The Moldavian vocal variant already crops up in Sándor Veress' collection of 1930 (phonograph cylinder MH 2488 in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest; published: Veress, S. 1989. No. 90.)

<sup>842</sup> Kerényi, Gy. 1961. 200. For published variants, see the note on p. 226.

<sup>843</sup> See the variants ranged in type 11.138.o/o of the System of Folk Song Types.

<sup>844</sup> (a) Fiddle: Mihály Paradica "Nyicu" (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); bass: Béla Rácz (b. 1955); musicians of Felsősfalva. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki. Recorded on 28.08.1982. Alsósfalva, on the occasion of dance filming. (b) Voice: Mrs János Borzos b. Magdó Dobos, aged 39. Collected by István Pávai. Recorded on 03.06.1979, Csíkszereda. (c) Source: Kerényi, Gy. 1961. 200.

a

b

Men - nél in - kább pi - ro - so - dik,  
Én pe - dig ezt így fo - ga - dom,

a

b

An - nál in - kább szo - mo - ro - dik, há - je, háj.  
Ad - jon Is - ten, szép ga - lam - bom, ha - ja - ha.

Finally, ex. 85 contains a group of examples from the Maros–Küküllő region. The instrumental variants in staves (a) and (b) belong to the tune stock of the fast men’s dance type characteristic of this region. It has several local names: *pontozó*, *fiatalos pontozó* in Kutasföld, *magyaros* in the middle part of Vízmellék (Kis-Küküllő valley), or *sűrű verbunk* in its upper part. The “cursing song” of Magyarózd in stave (c) illumines the melodic core of the instrumental variants, as if it were a melodic skeleton abstracted from them.

The tune was also found Magyarlapád in the 1950s,<sup>845</sup> and Lajos Vargyas compared it with two analogous Mari tunes.<sup>846</sup> From Magyarózd, we know an instrumental version, played by the musicians for the slow *csárdás*, but rhythmically adjusted to the vocal cursing song variant.

<sup>845</sup> Szenik, I.–Almási, I.–Zsizsman, I. 1957. No. 4.

<sup>846</sup> Vargyas, L. 2005. 312, ex. 242.

Ex. 85. (a) *Pontozó. Magyarsüllye (Kutasföld)*. (b) *Magyaros. Ádámos (Middle Vízmellék)*. (c) "Cursing song."  
*Magyarózd (Kutasföld)*.<sup>847</sup>

a [hegedűn]

b [hegedűn]

c Nem kí - vá - nok e - gyéb át - kat,

a

b 8va - - -

c Csak egy sze - re - tet - len tár - sat.

a

b

c Gyer - me - ked is any - nyi le - gyen,

<sup>847</sup> (a) Fiddle: Ferenc Barabás "Peci" (b. 1927). Collected by István Pávai. Recorded on 25.11.1981. (b) Fiddle: József Kozák, aged 41, Károl Jónás, aged 54; three-stringed *kontra*: Isvány Jónás, aged 38; bass: Pista Didi, aged 53. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, 05.1976. Source: Mg 5847b at the Folk Music Archives, Institute for Musicology, Budapest. (c) Voice: Mrs György Ballai b. Erzsébet Bíró, aged 46. Collected by István Horváth, 09.1968. Source: AP 8142h, Institute for Musicology, Budapest.

a

b

c

8<sup>va</sup> - - ,

egy szűk he - lyen el ne fér - jen.

## 8 MELODIC ASPECTS OF DANCE ACCOMPANIMENT

### 8.1 THE INSTRUMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE DANCE TUNES

In East Central Europe, the first phase of scholarly interest in folk culture was determined by the vantage point of high culture, and by the study of phenomena within the separate frameworks of each discipline or sub-discipline. Accordingly, vocally and instrumentally performed folk music were sharply differentiated from the beginning, and since relatively few scholars were involved in researching instrumental music,<sup>848</sup> it is not surprising that they tried to apply methods developed principally for the study of vocal music. Even the definition of instrumental music was problematic, as it was regarded as a distinct entity, separated from, or even opposed to, vocal music.<sup>849</sup> As Bartók writes in 1911, “we did not meet with any absolute (that is, without text) or otherwise special instrumental music among the Hungarians. The music performed on instruments is an ornamented performance of more or less well-known folk songs with text. Undoubtedly there are cases in which bagpipers sometimes actually sound a lengthened rhapsody out of some folk tune, which might almost be considered an independent musical composition. We can term specially-instrumental music as being only that textless, non-vocal music for the most part used in folk dances (as, for instance, in the Norwegian *slatter* or the Rumanian *joc*).”<sup>850</sup>

Later research has found that Romanian dance tunes, although basically instrumental, include several that may also be sung. They are simply called “dance songs” by some Romanian researchers, as “the majority evolved from an ingenious fusion of old or new versified texts, and instrumental tunes.”<sup>851</sup> Romanian scholar Virgil Medan quotes one of his informants to illumine the process: “there are some tunes to which you may add words and thereby turn them into songs.”<sup>852</sup> While filming slow Romanian processional couple dances of Transylvania, I also experienced that the dancers occasionally sang along with the tune of apparent instrumental character,

<sup>848</sup> For the technical reasons, see the chapter *Technical issues of documentation*, p. 41 ff., and Pávai, I. 1997a.

<sup>849</sup> The issue is summarized by Sárosi, B. 2017. 5–11.

<sup>850</sup> Bartók, B. 1911–1912/1976. 240–241.

<sup>851</sup> “Le denumim simplu *cântece de joc* pentru că, în marea lor majoritate, sunt rezultatul ingenioaselor fuziuni dintre felurite versuri, mai vechi sau mai noi, cu melodii instrumentale de joc” (Medan, V. 1989. 5).

<sup>852</sup> “Este câte-o zăcală la care dacă îi pui vorbe faci din ea cântare” (Medan, V. 1972. 9).

with text, fragmentary lines, or humming syllables. As I inquired whether they usually sang these tunes on other occasions, it turned out that they never did, for they did not even regard such inserts as “singing” (*cântare*), or the intoned vocal fragments as “songs” (*cântec*). Consequently, the term *cântec de joc* (‘dance song’), missing from the emic folk terminology, is a merely artificial concept. Irrespective of the designation, sung music of instrumental origin certainly exists, not only in Romanian, but also, naturally, in Hungarian folk music.

Bartók thought to have found Hungarian instrumental music, as distinctly separable from vocal music, in bagpipe interludes, consisting of repeated two-bar motifs (*aprája*): “Possibly ‘*aprája*’ [...] is a remnant of some independent, absolute (textless) instrumental dance music.”<sup>853</sup> Elsewhere, he states, “It is worth dealing with these interludes more amply, because they may somewhat clarify the initial fall of absolute (that is, without text) Hungarian dance music into gipsy hands, and its complete disappearance later on.” He also observes that bagpipe interludes may also be applied words, which is also confirmed by Kodály; Vargyas attributes this to the custom of vocal bagpipe imitation.<sup>854</sup>

László Lajtha and Sándor Veress worded similar thoughts in 1939: “A separate field of Hungarian folk music contains the tunes performed on folk instruments (fiddle, flute, clarinet, swineherd’s horn, Jew’s harp, zither, hurdy-gurdy). Among them, we differentiate *specific instrumental melodies* (e.g. bagpipe tunes), and *vocal tunes transferred to instruments*.”<sup>855</sup>

In Kodály’s view, the majority of the music performed on instruments has vocal origin: “What peasants play on their instruments – For the most part, songs are dressed up in instrumental guise. The repertory includes pieces performed without text, but with a construction and style most likely to have originated from songs.”<sup>856</sup> In the preface to the score of his *Dances of Marosszék*, he writes about the “marosszéki” tunes, “Although they are of instrumental character, all must have been songs originally; some of them have been found in versions with text. Until the war, they could be heard played on the fiddle or the flute in any village; variants with text, mainly from the elderly.”<sup>857</sup> Similarly, he writes at another place, “in every piece of instrumental music, an unknown, forgotten song may lie concealed, if the four-line structure of our songs is discernible.”<sup>858</sup>

Kodály used the relationship between vocal and instrumental music as an argument to establish the ethnic affinities of tunes. Arguing against the presumed Romanian

<sup>853</sup> Bartók, B. 1911–1912/1976. 262.

<sup>854</sup> Bartók, B. 1911–1912/1976. 252; Kodály, Z. 1971. 140; Vargyas, L. 2005. 181.

<sup>855</sup> Lajtha, L.–Veress, S. 1936/1992. 87. (My italics, I.P.)

<sup>856</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 135.

<sup>857</sup> Kodály, Z. 1930/1982. 485.

<sup>858</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 140.

origin of his main theme in the *Dances of Marosszék*, he writes, “Of greater importance is the language of the text. In another study I have compared the tune in question [...] with a Hungarian song never sung by Rumanians.”<sup>859</sup> It turned out later that several vocal variants sung with Romanian words had also been collected.<sup>860</sup> That, of course, is no proof of the Romanian origin of the tune, either; all it indicates is its presence in Romanian tradition. Ilona Szenik has adduced several examples of the parallel occurrence of Hungarian and Romanian, as well as vocal and instrumental, variants.<sup>861</sup> As Kodály himself nuances his opinion later in his study, “Even text is not always reliable evidence of origin. The best-known tune to the *csúrdöngölő* (barn-stamper, a Transylvanian dance) exists with a [Hungarian] text, yet its foreign origin is unquestionable. [...] It is possible that it is based on a genuine Styrian folksong, as indicated by the yodel-type motif with its descending sixth.”<sup>862</sup> In this case, it is most likely that the words were subsequently added to the original instrumental tune, as dance rhymes.<sup>863</sup>

Outlining the research field of instrumental music, Bálint Sárosi explained with a few typical examples that this issue cannot be decided simply along the line whether a tune is sung or played on an instrument. There are many cases of interpenetration and overlapping between the two means: “A folk song performed by an amateur zither player, with a song-like articulation, certainly cannot be taken for instrumental music. By contrast, a tune whistled, hummed, or played according to some specific instrumental style – e.g. imitations of the bagpipe by singing, folk song tunes played by a musician of Gyimes for the *lassú magyaros*, or by a musician of Szék for the *lassú*, or an urban Hungarian song played as *csárdás*, belong to instrumental music. In short, instrumental tunes are the ones performed in instrumental style and instrumental function. *Bagpipe tunes, swineherds’ songs, “jaj”-songs* are the connecting links between instrumental and vocal music, precisely because of their frequent, or even primary, instrumental function.”<sup>864</sup>

With reference to the works of Zoltán Kodály, György Martin and Bálint Sárosi, István Halmos concludes, “According to the general experience of Hungarian folk music researchers, instrumental music in today’s Hungarian folk tradition consists essentially of vocal music,” and proceeds to list the phases of difference between vocal and instrument tunes.<sup>865</sup> Katalin Paksa uses variants of a single tune type to illustrate “how folk dance transforms its related music” – that is, the fact that belonging

859 Kodály, Z. 1971. 137.

860 Pávaí, I. 1984.

861 Szenik, I. 1982. 170–173.

862 Kodály, Z. 1971. 139.

863 In more detail see on p. 89 f.

864 Sárosi, B. 2017. 13.

865 Halmos, I. 1977. 64–66.

to diverse dance types may influence the character of instrumental variants.<sup>866</sup> Related questions are also raised by Zoltán Szalay in his work on the instrumental dance music of the Felcsík region.<sup>867</sup>

This brief review of scholarly ideas about the relationship between sung and instrumental music already shows the complexity of the issue. This is partly due to the difficulties in the accurate definition of concepts, but also, even more importantly, to the rich interrelationship of instrumental and vocal performance in traditional culture. In this context, both singing and the use of instruments were organic parts of life, rather than autonomous “artistic” activities. As several Hungarian and Romanian shepherds have told me, playing the flute during grazing increases productivity, as it assures the animals that the shepherd is around and awake, so they are safe. Without the sound of the flute, they may be more anxious about external threats, and their tendency to push into the center of the flock from the edges will increase. Restless animals graze less, grow slower, and yield less milk. Similarly, occasions of singing never existed for their own sake, but were tied to collective or individual work, or various social and matchmaking rites. At any of these occasions, local norms may permit, or demand, the use of instruments, e.g. for most dance events. Consequently, an opposition of instrumental music to vocal music cannot be justified on the basis of traditional culture; they should much rather be regarded as organically coexisting, complementary ways of music-making.

Preceding all the opinions quoted so far, János Seprődi writes in 1902, “folk songs as known to date may be divided into two groups. One contains those that are merely sung, or played on an instrument; the other, those that may be danced to. The latter group overlaps dance tunes without words.”<sup>868</sup> As is evident, Seprődi saw no point in a primary division of folk tunes into vocal and instrumental groups; instead, he started from their function in marking off the groups with or without connection to dancing. Within these groups, any item may be performed vocally, instrumentally, or both ways at the same time.

Variant (a) in ex. 86 was played by musicians of Felsősfalva as a tune of the *forgató*s type dance *marosszéki*. In itself, the tune might appear as genuine instrumental music. Nor is the vocal version commonly known, although it has been recorded at several distant points of Székelyföld, in relatively few variants. Even fewer have been published, and the volumes containing them are not widely used. The earliest variant was collected by János Seprődi in Kibéd, 1908; he subsumed it in the group of “descriptive songs and genre scenes” with the note that “its manner of performance is the so-called

<sup>866</sup> Paksa, K. 1994.

<sup>867</sup> Szalay, Z. 1996. 33–38.

<sup>868</sup> Seprődi, J. 1902. 194.

moderate rubato, indicated by the fermatas on the bar-lines.<sup>869</sup> The text shows stylistic traits of the song poetry of 18<sup>th</sup>-century college students. The rhythm of the song is go-liardic, fitted into a kind of Sapphic stanza with a short closing line, but owing to the free manner of performance, it does not give an impression of dance music. The same applies to most vocal variants collected later, represented in stave (b).

Ex. 86. (a) A tune of the marosszéki dance; (b) Love song with 18<sup>th</sup>-century text. *Felsősfalva (Sóvidék)*.<sup>870</sup>

♩ = 89

[hegedűn]  
Poco rubato ♩ = 75

a

b

Kis - Kü - köl - lö mel - lőtt egy szép, drá - ga ma - dár la - kik,  
Ki - nek pár - ja e vi - lá - gon rit - kán ta - lál - ta - tik.

a

b

An - gya - li ter - me - tű, szé - gyön te - kin - te - tű,

a

b

Szép pá - va já - rá - sú, ge - li - cse szó - lá - sú,

<sup>869</sup> See the variants of type 13.017.0/0 in the System of Folk Song Types, from Maros-Torda, Csík, and Udvarhely Counties. In the mid-1970s, I recorded several vocal variants with different texts in Korond, where it apparently survived longest. Published variants: Bandi, D. 1970; Hergea, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 137; Seprődi J. 1974. 376–377.

<sup>870</sup> (a) Fiddle: Mihály Paradica “Nyicu” (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); bőgő: Béla Rácz (b. 1955); musicians of Felsősfalva. Recorded by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki, 28.08.1982, Alsósfalva, during dance filming. Detailed score: p. 226, ex. 40. (b) Voice: Albert Sztás, aged 73. Recorded by István Pávai, 18.05.1979. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 60.

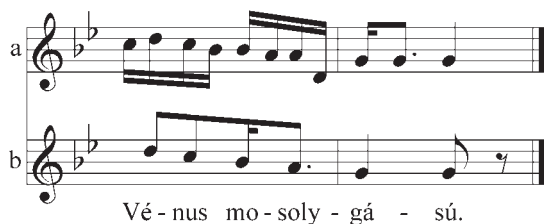


Fig. 79. Fiddle-cimbalom-bass band. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék).<sup>871</sup>

In this case, the vocal form was possibly earlier, spreading as a *virágének* ('flower song'), i.e. a love song with the imagery of medieval and renaissance love poetry. Later, musicians applied the melody to the dance of related rhythm in the local repertoire, the *marosszéki forгатós*, even though its tempo is clearly giusto, and faster than that of the song. Interestingly, apart from three regions of Székelyföld, the tune has only cropped up in a Slovak variant in Nyitra County, recorded by Bartók in 1909 (p. 297, facs. 6 and p. 297, facs. 7).

<sup>871</sup> For their particulars, see fn. 870.

Facs. 6. Slovak variant of the tune of ex. 86 on the base-sheet in the Museum of Ethnography

F.: 4/4) 7+7 h  
M.F. 7+9 d) utolsó

A felvétel helye: Darócs Nyitra m., 1909. I. Gy.: Bartók

Előadta: — Mari, lány éves,

Elterjedtség:

Tarlando: 1=72



Vím ja je-dno po-kas vti-ča pri by-stron-po-to-ce, ke-by som ho do-šau, tri no-ci  
Te-kne spie-va, ti-cho krá-ča se-di vo-ke-nie-ku.



som ne-spa-u, Dr-žal by ho v klie-tke ce-lu noc by ne-spa-u.  
pri-mo-pri po-čel-ku,

"To sa spievala — Mari v Darócs"

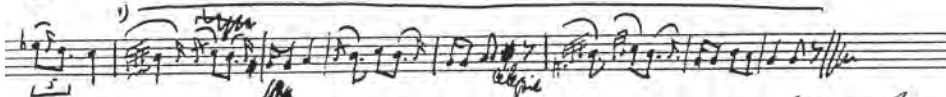
Facs. 7. Slovak variant of the tune of ex. 86 in Bartók's revised transcription.

\* n. kemény (j. réllal!)

F. 4/4) utolsó  
M.F. 7+9 d)

83A

Darócs (Nyitra  
lány (Mari Biež)



Vím ja je-dno po-kas vti-ča pri by-stron-po-to-ce,

Te-kne spie-va ty-cho krá-ča, se-di v ok-čie-ku

Ke-by som ho do-šau, tri no-ci by ne-spa-u,

Dr-žal by ho v klie-tke pri no-žy po-čel-ku

Ce-lu noc by ne-spa-u.

1) fon. eg. st. magaralban

n. kemény!

Biež Mari

It is a matter of course that the technical possibilities and limitations of instruments may influence instrumental versions of a vocal tune. As Bartók writes concerning such a case, “the piper changes the sung melody where [...] it drops below the fundamental tone of the instrument. The missing tone is replaced by a figura (that is, melodic pattern).”<sup>872</sup> Kodály remarks in connection with the bagpipe version of the six-lined fifth shifting song known with the words *Zörög a kocsi*: “the  $a^2$  of the tune has been lost, because the bagpipe only has an octave range.” About the instrument of the bagpiper who played the tune of the choir *Meghalt a cselszövő* from Erkel’s opera *Hunyadi László*, he notes: “His scale lacked the sixth, and he tried to compensate for this as best he could by slightly lowering the seventh.” He also found it informative to compare variants of a tune performed vocally and on the long flute with five fingerholes: “The tune is modified because the pipe [flute] has no seventh. In its place the first, and sometimes the fourth, is used. This is a typical folk-music procedure, if the tune goes beyond the range of the instrument. For the most part, essentials are cleverly preserved.”<sup>873</sup> Similar phenomena may be observed in the case of other instruments; moreover, the modifications of an instrumental version may in turn influence further vocal variants.

Ex. 87. (a) Sung “bagpipe tune” (Nyitra region);  
(b) *Lassú csárdás* (Upper Vizmellék); (c) *Lassú* (Kutasföld).<sup>874</sup>

The musical notation consists of three staves labeled a, b, and c. Staff (a) is a vocal line with the lyrics "Ba - bot vit - tem az ma - lom - ba,". Staff (b) is a fiddle line with the lyrics "[hegedűn]". Staff (c) is a voice line with the lyrics "Fel - sü - tött a nap a cse - rén,". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and fingerings.

<sup>872</sup> Bartók, B. 1911–1912/1976. 257.

<sup>873</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 136, 141.

<sup>874</sup> (a) Voice: widowed Mrs Máté Fülöp b. Ilona Gál (b. 1875). Recorded by János Manga, 1938. Menyhe (Nyitra). Gramophone disc Gr 42/b. Source: Kodály–Vargyas Collection, No. 260. (b) Fiddle: István Jámbor “Dumnyező” (b. 1951); three-stringed *kontra*: Ferenc Mezei “Csángáló” (b. 1951); bass: Mátyás Csányi “Mutis.” Recorded by István Pávai, 02.01.1986. Detailed score: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 142. (c) Voice: János Ballai, aged 26. Recorded by János Jagamas, February 1954. Source: Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (eds.) 1974. No. 207.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a bagpipe tune, each featuring three staves: (a) vocal melody, (b) fiddle accompaniment, and (c) cello accompaniment. The lyrics are in Hungarian.

**System 1:**

- (a) Vocal:** Azt hit - tem, hogy ku - ko - ri - ca,
- (b) Fiddle:** Features a triplet of eighth notes in the second measure.
- (c) Cello:** Fel - sü - tött a nap a cse - rén,

**System 2:**

- (a) Vocal:** Ku - ko - ri - ca jé - des má - lé,
- (b) Fiddle:** Features a triplet of eighth notes in the second measure.
- (c) Cello:** Bú - sul a cser - ná - di le - gény,

**System 3:**

- (a) Vocal:** Majd meny - - - asz - szony le - szek már én.
- (b) Fiddle:** Features a triplet of eighth notes in the second measure.
- (c) Cello:** Bú - sul a cser - ná - di le - gény.

Tune (a) of ex. 87 is the vocal version of a rather singular bagpipe tune from the northern part of the Hungarian language area, sung during bagpipe balls according to the collector's note. It moves within the frame of a minor pentachord, just like the majority of bagpipe tunes, not sinking below the tonic. In Transylvanian versions played on the fiddle from the Maros–Küküllő region, the note below the tonic also appears, as the instrument's range allows for it (b), and this feature recurs in the Transylvanian

vocal variant (c). The latter two include another “new” note, the sixth degree; its presence is due to the fact that fiddlers seldom sound the open  $e^2$  string on its own, normally adorning it with a trill of the returning note  $f^2$ . This note, in turn, will often rise in importance and even take the role of the main note, rendering the  $e^2$  as the trill note. Since the process mainly concerns tunes that can be sung along while dancing, vocal variants will retain this modification. To profile the transformation owing to the peculiarities of instrumental performance, I chose the original closing note  $a^1$  of the instrumental version for the common closing note instead of  $g^1$ . I had a chance to record this tune with a group of singers accompanied by a band, when I encountered the reversal of that process. While the band played without singing, the  $f^2$  was frequent, but the group sang  $e$  at each corresponding point, which made the fiddlers abandon  $f^2$  and play  $e^2$  instead as the main note. Similarly to ex. 86 on p. 295, (see the commentary before it), the tune variants of ex. 87 can be found in two distant areas only, which proves the one-time cultural contact between now isolated ethnographic regions far from each other.<sup>875</sup>

## 8.2 THE NUMBER AND SEQUENCE OF TUNES CONNECTED TO A DANCE

As György Martin observes, the number of tunes connected to a dance type in a region may be *one*, *several*, or *many*.<sup>876</sup> In Hungarian dance culture, couple dances of both old and new style are danced to *many* tunes, while men’s dances of the *legényes* type, urban social dances, and a few chain dances of the Balkanic dance culture, to *several* tunes. However, most dances of the latter two groups are attached to a single tune each. Deviations from this general pattern are usually due to the newcomer status of the dance, or, more precisely, to its still incomplete integration. For example, in Csík and Gyergyó, the musicians know only a few tunes for the *marosszéki*, while its tune stock is far richer in Udvarhelyszék; as the name suggests, the dance has been spreading eastward from Marosszék. This is verified by the relatively high number

<sup>875</sup> On the impact of peripheral situation on the conservation of archaisms, see Vargyas, L. 2005. 375, as well as Richter, P. 1999a. It is to be noted that in the System of Folk Song Types, variant (a) is to be found in the miscellanea of items that cannot be ranged into a type, marked 08.012.0/4, while its direct variants from Transylvania (b) and (c) are included in type 18.172.0/0, together with further Transylvanian variants of extended strophic form. I have observed during fieldwork that in some villages, only the four-line form was known, in others, only the extended form, and in still others, both. In the latter case, the informants, unaware of the typological kinship, regard them as two separate items; instrumentalists consistently perform them in different keys (the Csávás musicians play the four-line version in A, while the extended form in E).

<sup>876</sup> Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1970. 233.

of *marosszéki* tunes in the northwestern part of Udvarhelyszék (Sóvidék) adjacent to Marosszék.

It may occur within a dance cycle that a dance with *several* tunes will use up all of them, or nearly so. Even if a dance has *many* tunes in its repertoire (in some cases more than a hundred), never more than ten-odd pieces are played on one occasion, as the dancers will want to change to the next dance, which they will let the musician know should he spend too much time on one dance type. In the cases of rivalry between dancer and musician, i.e. “outdancing” or “outplaying” (see p. 94), the number of tunes played may rise well above the customary.

The primary sequence of tunes is determined by the dance cycle, locally often called *pár* (‘pair, couple’), which may take more or less constant regional forms for shorter or longer periods.<sup>877</sup> The cycle as the largest formal unit divides into movements, practically meaning the different dances linked one after the other; within a movement, *one* or *several* tunes may be repeated, depending on the dance type (as discussed above). Sequences of *several* or *many* tunes within a dance process are regulated by factors of traditional culture. Some tunes are suitable to start a dance, while others always come later: “There are *lassú* tunes that we play as the first, or the second tune, but never later than the third.”<sup>878</sup> Researchers took notice of this issue relatively late, so it is not known for every tune whether it can be a starter or not. The succession of tunes must also have tonal determinants, but this is another under-researched topic; new insights may be gained through processing the great amount of untranscribed recordings which document entire processes of dance music. As Hungarian fiddler István Szabó of Szék said, “You have to link one tune to the other without embarrassing the *kontrás* or the band, so that they enjoy accompanying you, and the dancers are thrilled, too.” Besides the instinctiveness and the improvisatory character in a band’s performance, conscious and purposeful thinking from the part of a *primás* can also be observed. To quote Szabó again, “a ball lasts all night, and on till the next afternoon – you can’t do it all in the same way... I always have something new in store for each *pár* [cycle from interval to interval], which I deliberately keep back so as to surprise the dancers, and cheer them up.”<sup>879</sup>

Another factor influencing the sequence of tunes is the dancer just in front of the musician, whose favorite tune is to be played, if he has one, and requires it.<sup>880</sup>

877 For more detail, see Martin, Gy. 1970; 1978.

878 Virágvolgyi, M. 1982. 231.

879 Virágvolgyi, M. 1982. 232.

880 In more detail, see the chapter *The “ownership” of a dance tune*, p. 93 ff..



*Fig. 80. Hungarian fiddler with his Romani accompanists. Szék (Northern Mezőség).<sup>881</sup>*



*Fig. 81. Hungarian fiddler. Zselyk (Sajó region).<sup>882</sup>*

<sup>881</sup> Band of István Szabó “Kávés.” Photo: Béla Kása, Szék, 1976.

<sup>882</sup> Márton Magyarósi, b. 1909, Zselyk (Sajó region). Photo taken by István Pávai at his later place of living, Gernyeszeg, on 13.03.1984.

As mentioned earlier, for most men's dances of the *legényes* type, several tunes are played *attacca* until the end of the movement. However, there are rare cases of Transylvanian men's dances consisting of several parts, each with their separate tune. Such are, for instance, the two kinds of *verbunk* sequences known in Zselyk: the *zselyki verbunk* (ex. 88, 89, 90) of three separate tunes and the corresponding dance figures, and the pair of *huszárverbunk* and *marosmenti verbunk* (ex. 91, 92). Another example is the *borica* of the Hétfalu region, with three parts, and three corresponding tunes (ex. 93, 94, 95). As for the latter, their sequence in the example (*egyes borica*, *négyes borica*, and *török borica*) was customary in Tatrang in the 1970–80s. In other villages or periods, different orders, or even partly different tunes, were also known.<sup>883</sup>

Ex. 88. *Zselyki verbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).*<sup>884</sup>



883 See Könczei, Cs. 2009. 267–290, as well as variants in fn. 890.

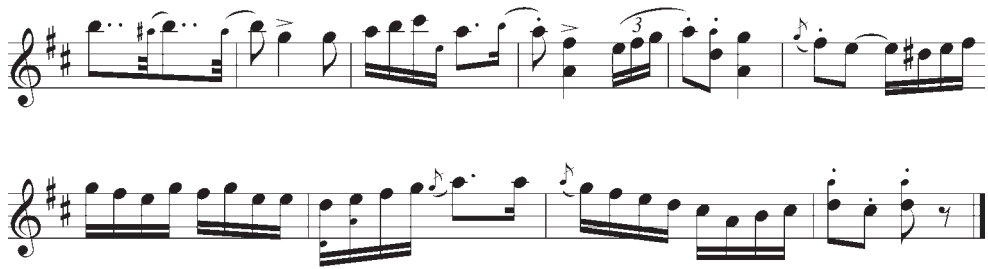
884 Fiddle: Márton Magyarósi, Hungarian, b. 1909, Zselyk (Sajó region). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 13.02.1984. Gernyeszeg. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 96. Variants of periods 4 and 5: Virágvölgyi, M. 1989. II: 42.

Ex. 89. Zselyki verbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).<sup>885</sup>

Ex. 89. Zselyki verbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).<sup>885</sup>

♩ = 89

885 For data, see fn. 885. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 35.



Ex. 90. Zselyki verbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).<sup>886</sup>

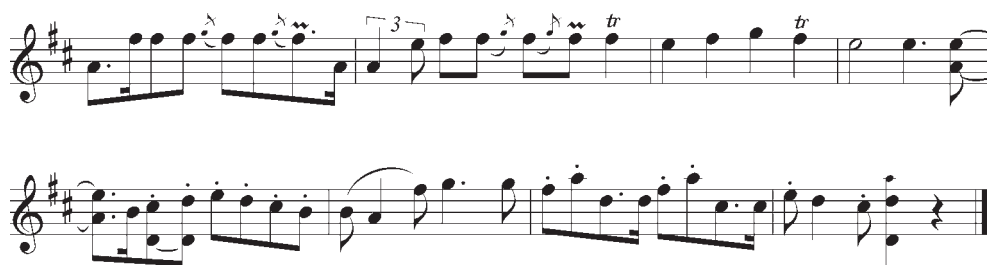


Ex. 91. Huszárverbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).<sup>887</sup>



<sup>886</sup> For data, see fn. 885. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 36.

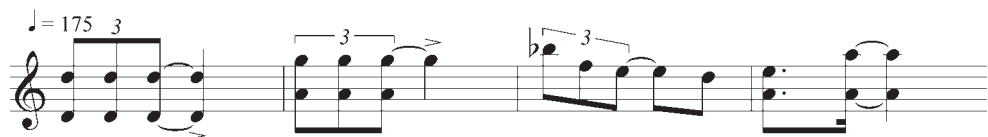
<sup>887</sup> For data, see fn. 885. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 97. Variant: Juhász, Z. 1989. 24.



Ex. 92. *Marosmenti verbunk. Zselyk (Sajó region).*<sup>888</sup>



Ex. 93. *Egyes borica. Tatrang (Hétfalu region).*<sup>889</sup>

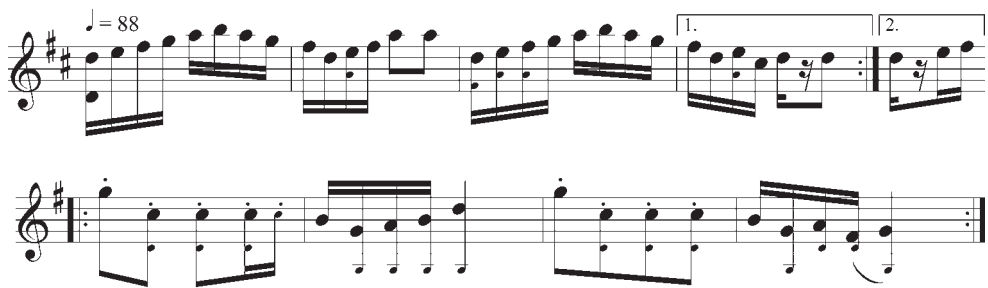


<sup>888</sup> For data, see fn. 885.

<sup>889</sup> Fiddle: János Jovica, Romanian Rom, b. 1928. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 30.08.1986. Tatrang (Barcaság). Earlier he played with his uncle who played the koboz, and died sometime in the 1960–70s. He did not repeat the first 8 bars, but the *borica* dancers of Tatrang claim they must be repeated. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 37. Variants: Domokos, p. 1958–1959. 13. (*kettős borica*), 19. (*hármás borica*). This is not the *egyes borica* in Réthei Prikkel, M. 1924. 198, either.



Ex. 94. *Négyes borica. Tatrang (Hétfalu region).*<sup>890</sup>



<sup>890</sup> For data, see fn. 890. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 38. Variant: Réthei Prikkel, M. 1924. 199. (*török borica*).

*Ex. 95. Török borica. Tatrang (Hétfalu region).<sup>891</sup>**Fig. 82. Romani fiddler. Tatrang (Hétfalu region).<sup>892</sup>*

<sup>891</sup> For data, see fn. 890. First publ.: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 39.

<sup>892</sup> For data, see fn. 890.

### 8.3 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DANCE AND TUNE SECTIONS

Sections of period length in dance tunes may also have significance for the dance. In men's dances of the *legényes* type, each dance section with a distinct closure is of the same length as the tune sections. In Kalotaszeg, folk terminology calls them *fordítás* ('turn, change'), or *pont* ('point'). As Martin's informant explains, "a starting motif must be danced when a new *fordítás* comes in the tune... By the time that part of the tune is over, I am also done with a [*fordítás*]; now comes another... What [the dancer] does must be fitted to end together with the tune, and then he starts another *pont*."<sup>893</sup>

Parisian musical theorist Johannes de Grocheio, who lived around 1300, writes in the section on secular music of his treatise *De musica*, "The elements of the *ductia* and *stan-tipes* are commonly called *puncta*. A *punctus* is a structured connection of agreements producing euphony as they rise and fall, having two parts, similar at the beginning, different at the end, which are commonly called 'open' and 'closed'."<sup>894</sup> This made Martin presume that the Hungarian folk term *pont* for a closed dance section is a vestige of the medieval concept *punctus*. Similar regularities in the structure of 16<sup>th</sup>-century *moresca* tunes are established by Adolf Sandberger.<sup>895</sup>

László Lajtha observed the choreographic role of *fordítás* in Szék: "The old Hungarian [*magyar*] dance is danced by two couples in Szék, i.e. two men and two women, which is why it is also called 'négyes.' They join hands, the two women on the men's shoulders, the two men at the women's waists. The room is full of such groups of four. To the first half of the tune they turn in one direction, and when the second half starts, they 'turn over,' and the small circle moves round in the opposite direction. That is why one half of a tune with sixteen syllables to a line is called *fordítás*."

The use of the texts in dance tunes is also connected to the *fordítás*: "If they start singing the tune right as the fiddler starts playing it, they will quit singing at the *fordítás* ['turning point']. Conversely, if the dancers keep silent at the start, or, more frequently, sing la-la-la or other humming syllables, then they will start singing a text at the *fordítás*. This is always the case with the *négyes*, they never sing through an entire tune while dancing. In this way, a long tune of sixteen-syllable lines divides into two parts from the perspective of singing and dancing. The fiddler never plays such half-tunes on his own. When someone sings like that and requires to be accompanied by the band, he will comply for his money. But when it is up to him, he will stick to the sixteen-syllable form with the self-assurance of a professional."<sup>896</sup>

<sup>893</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 366; 1979. 212.

<sup>894</sup> Page, C. 1993. 33.

<sup>895</sup> Domokos, P. P. 1958–1959. 259.

<sup>896</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 6.

*Fordítás* as a term of folk dance music first appeared in János Seprődi's study on Székely dances, published in 1909. Seprődi probably heard the word in his native village Kibéd: "That is how the old *jártatós* dance begins to be muddled up. It is rightly feared that the prolific and popular slow *csárdás* tunes will sooner or later oust those slow dance tunes so aptly called *keserves* ['complaint'], or *zöld keserves* ['green complaint'], whose eight or sixteen-bar *fordítás*' (a popular name for periods) display the most original melodic progressions, and the most intriguing harmonic peculiarities in their cadences."<sup>897</sup>

## 8.4 INTERLUDES

To dance tunes, musicians often attach further sections of eight or six bars, as interludes. Most of them may go with several, or nearly all, melodies of the same key. Some of the interludes played to different dance types are variants of one another; in other words, their relationship resembles that of *proportio*. They are part of the most actively used surface stock of the musicians' repertoire, easily retrieved any time; while playing them, they can figure out what to play next.

In the practice of urban Romani musicians, such interludes are called *levágás* ('cutting-off'); Romanian village musicians of Transylvania widely call them *flori* ('flowers').<sup>898</sup> In Szék, they are known as *cifra*, in Kalotaszeg, *cifraság* ('decoration'), *megpótlás*, *utánpótlás* ('addition'). As a dancer of Magyarvista said, "Feri Csipás [a fiddler] would always put in some *cifraság*, some addition [into the music of the *legényes*], though I keep scolding him not to do so. Such additions are better suited to slow *csárdás*."<sup>899</sup>

The types of interludes are relatively few, as they are grouped around some stereotypical chord progressions and their derivatives. In major keys, the type suggesting a V–I alternation, with varied repetitions, is frequent.

Ex. 96. Dominant–tonic interlude in major key. Székelyverbunk.  
Magyaró (Northern Upper Maros valley).<sup>900</sup>



<sup>897</sup> Seprődi, J. 1974. 147. For an interpretation of *zöld keserves*, see p. 31.

<sup>898</sup> Sárosi, B. 1971. 88; István Pávai priv. coll.

<sup>899</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 374.

<sup>900</sup> Fiddle: István Moldován, Calvinist Hungarian Rom, aged 67. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Rec.: 04.05.1979. Magyaró (north of Upper Maros region). bass: steady slow *dűvő*. First published (detailed score): Pávai, I. 1993. No. 99, bars 29–40.



Interludes of the dominant–tonic (V–I) type are also frequent in written sources of Hungarian *verbunkos* music from the 18–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the names *coda*, *trio*, *prelude*, *figura*; they sometimes occur as the closing section of a tune, which may be a sign of their origin.<sup>901</sup> Interludes also lived on in the music of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Hungarian aristocracy, the *palotás*. As Gábor Mátray explains, “The *palotás magyar* used to be a slow dance [...] It was commonly followed by a fast tune called *friss*, which had two parts of eight bars, mostly performed three times on end. This is the source of the saying *három a tánc!* [‘a dance requires three parts,’ in fact urging the fiddler to proceed to the next part]. Thereupon came ornaments of quick motion, played in a fast tempo as coda, which served as a termination of the whole, being repeated several times to protract the music.”<sup>902</sup>

Interludes in major keys with dominant–tonic alternation may also be attached to tunes of minor character, thus changing into the parallel key. Less frequently, a dominant–tonic interlude may be played in the dominant key of the tune (e.g. after C-major or C-minor, with an alternation of D major and G-major). Naturally, dominant–tonic interludes often occur in minor keys as well.

901 Domokos, P. P. 1978. *coda*: Nos. 27, 29, 43; *prelude*: No. 51; *figura*: Nos. 119, 185; *trio*: Nos. 132–133, 140, 146–147, 155, 165, 170; without label Nos. 83–86, 124; as second half of tune: Nos. 97, 99, 149.

902 Mátray, G. 1854/1984. 309.

Ex. 97. Dominant–tonic interlude in minor key. *Kolozsvári verbunk*.  
*Magyaró (Northern Upper Maros valley)*.<sup>903</sup>



In a major key, an interlude with the chord progression IV–I–V–I, starting with the subdominant chord, may also occur in rare cases. In a minor key, the most frequent progression is VII–III (or a variant thereof) repeated three times, and then ended with V–i. A frequent form of variation is replacing VII–III with III–VII–III. The progression VII–III is in fact a dominant–tonic relationship in the mediant key of the closing key. Thus, for simplicity's sake, I refer to such sections as mediant interludes. (See ex. 98–101, and the last 8 bars of ex. 42 starting on p. 238).

Ex. 98. Mediant interlude. *Korcsos. Mezösámsond (Marosszéki Mezőség region)*.<sup>904</sup>

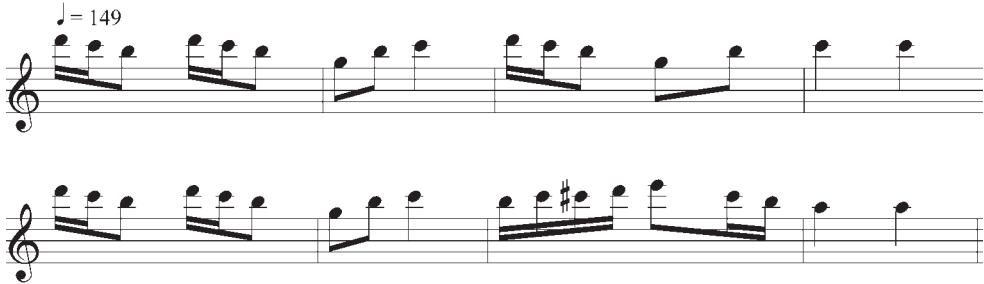


<sup>903</sup> Fiddle: István Moldován, Calvinist Hungarian Rom, aged 67. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 04.05.1979. Magyaró (Northern Upper Maros region). Bass: steady slow *dúvő*. First published (detailed score): Pávai, I. 1993. No. 98, last period.

<sup>904</sup> Fiddle: András Bódi, Hungarian Rom, aged 54. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 02.11.1981. Mezösámsond (Marosszéki Mezőség region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 68, last period.



Ex. 99. Mediant interlude. *Hategana*. Bonyha (Upper Vizsmellék).<sup>905</sup>



Ex. 100. Mediant interlude. *Lassú*. Póka (Upper Maros region).<sup>906</sup>



Since the melody of such interludes frequently features an alternation of the degrees 4 and b3 as pivotal notes, the archaic melody-governed harmonic style (see p. 334) will tend to use IV–III progressions of major chords instead of VII–III, in keeping with the principle of modal mixture.

<sup>905</sup> Fiddle: Béla Vaski, b. 1941. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 16.08.1985. Bonyha (Upper Vizsmellék). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 73, last 8 bars.

<sup>906</sup> Humming and *kontra*: János Moldován “Pirki”, Hungarian Rom, b. 1911, Póka (Upper Maros region). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 24.05.1985. Marosvásárhely. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 138, last 8 bars.

In the next example (ex. 101), the second section (period), which is not used as an interlude here, realizes the former harmonic scheme alternating VII and III, also reinforced by the *kontra* chords. By contrast, the third period of the example, which functions as an interlude, applies the latter harmonic solution; instead of the G-C-G-C-G-C-E-A, it has a sequence of D-C-D-C-D-C-E-A major chords to follow the skeletal melodic notes more closely.

Ex. 101. *Ritka magyar with mediant interlude. Vice (Northern Mezőség).*<sup>907</sup>

The musical score for Ex. 101 is presented in three systems. The first system begins with a tempo marking of quarter note = 77. The melody in the treble clef features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a trill (tr) at the end. The bass line in the bass clef consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and bass line, with a 'simile' marking indicating a continuation of the previous pattern. The third system includes a 'utótag' (afterthought) section, marked with a 'V' and a 'simile' marking. The melody in the treble clef features a triplet of eighth notes and a trill (tr). The bass line in the bass clef continues the eighth-note accompaniment.

<sup>907</sup> Fiddle: Márton Lécfalvi “Viski”, Hungarian, aged 66. *Kontra*: Lajos Andacs, Hungarian, aged 58. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 25–26.03.1978. Vice (Northern Mezőség). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 49.

The musical score is written for a fiddle (treble clef) and a 3-stringed kontra (bass clef). The first system shows a fiddle melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and a kontra accompaniment of eighth-note chords. The second system is marked 'közjáték' (interlude) and 'simile', indicating the fiddle part is repeated. The third system continues the fiddle melody with various ornaments and triplets. The bass part continues with a steady accompaniment pattern.



Fig. 83. Hungarian fiddler and kontra player. Vice (Northern Mezőség).<sup>908</sup>

<sup>908</sup> Fiddle: Márton Lécfalvi “Viski”, aged 66; 3-stringed *kontra*: Lajos Andacs, Hungarian, aged 58. Recorded and transcribed by István Pávai. Vice (Northern Mezőség), 25–26.03.1978.

To this example, many more could be added to demonstrate that this kind of interlude developed from the detached closing section of certain four-line tunes. Particularly the form based on the alternation of the 4 and  $b_3$  as pivotal melodic notes, and closing on the tonic, resembles descending fifth-shifting pentatonic tunes, where the degrees 8 and 7 alternate similarly in the opening section, which then sinks to a caesura on 5. Referring to the keynote transposed to  $g^1$ , this corresponds to the caesura scheme 7 5  $b_3$  1, widely spread in Hungarian folk music. Moreover, the chord sequence G-C-G-C-G-C-E-A may be applied not only to the melodic contour VII- $b_3$ -VII- $b_3$ -VII- $b_3$ -5-1, as seen in the example above, but also to tunes in which VII is replaced by its upper octave, 7, in which case the melodic scheme is 7- $b_3$ -7- $b_3$ -7- $b_3$ -5-1. This form can be found in several vocal and instrumental tunes, such as swineherds' dances, with diverse opening sections;<sup>909</sup> no wonder that their "common" closing section separated as an independent interlude in the instrumental dance music practice. The swapping of such emancipated closing sections may get fixed in tradition after a time, and in this way, new forms may evolve from the elements of the old ones. In the following example, the counterpart of the opening section a fifth lower appears in the third period as an interlude, while the second period takes the role of closing section.

*Ex. 102. A tune of the ungurește rar with mediant interlude. Tekeújfalu (Upper Maros region).<sup>910</sup>*



<sup>909</sup> See the closing sections of the following tune transcriptions: Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 23, 30–31, 33–34, 40–45, 49–51, 56, 70, 72–74, 124, 126, 140, 171.

<sup>910</sup> Fiddle: Holircă Emanoil, Romanian, aged 69. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 03.11.1981. Tekeújfalu (Sajó region). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No.47.

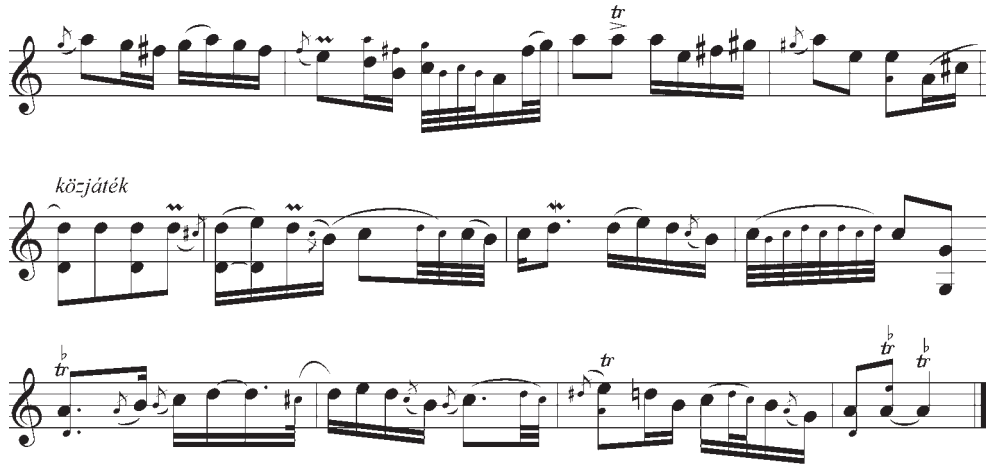


Fig. 84. Left-handed Romani fiddler. Mezőkölpény (Maroszéki Mezőség region).<sup>911</sup>

In relatively rare cases, an interlude of peculiar rhythm may be permanently attached to a certain tune, to the extent that even without instruments or dancing, it will be hummed to complement the tune in vocal performance. The following fast couple dance tune was thus sang with its interlude by several singers of Mezőkölpény, documented in different

<sup>911</sup> Viktor Szabó, Calvinist Hungarian Rom, b. 1939, Mezőkölpény. Photo by an unknown person during a village wedding feast held at a restaurant in Marosvásárhely, late 1980s.

recordings, although I had made no mention of it during the fieldwork (ex. 103). It is therefore natural for the fiddler, a native of the village, to play it in the same way (ex. 104).

Ex. 103. A cigánycsárdás tune with its own interlude. Mezőkölpény (Marosszéki Mezőség region).<sup>912</sup>

♩ = 160

Za - bot vit - tem a ma-lom - ba, Azt hit - tem, hogy ku-ko-ri - ca,

Ku - ko - ri - ca, é-des má - lé, Szép é - let a nagy-lé - já - nyé.

[lallázva]

Ex. 104. A cigánycsárdás tune with its own interlude. Mezőkölpény (Marosszéki Mezőség region).<sup>913</sup>

♩ = 173

közjáték

1. 2.

tr.

1. 2.

<sup>912</sup> Voice: Béla Bodó, Hungarian, aged 34. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 08.11.1974. Mezőkölpény (Marosszéki Mezőség region). Erroneous start of the first line corrected according to the second rendering. Type No.: 18.022.0/1. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 11. Variants: Almási, I. 1971. 61. Dobszay, L. 1984. No. 177. Hertea, I.–Almási, I. 1970. No. 199. Jagamas, J.–Faragó, J. (eds.) 1974. Nos. 222, 234. Járdányi, P. 1961. I. 78. Juhász, Z. 1990. No. 4. Kallós, Z.–Martin, Gy. 1989. Nos. 129–130. Seprődi, J. 1974. No. 99. Seres, A.–Szabó, Cs. 1991. No. 134. Vargyas, L. 2005. Nos. 018, 023. Virágvolgyi, M. 1989. No. 22.

<sup>913</sup> Fiddle: Viktor Szabó, Calvinist Hungarian Rom, aged 46, b. Mezőkölpény (Marosszéki Mezőség region). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 09.04.1985. Marosvásárhely. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 10. Variant of the tune, and further data, in ex. 103.

Sporadically, I also met with such interludes as compulsory addition to a single tune in other regions.

Ex. 105. A fast csárdás tune with its own interlude. Vice (Northern Mezőség).<sup>914</sup>



Since it is also common in the practice of Hungarian bagpipe players to play, between or after strophic tunes, interludes based on motivic repetition of indefinite length, known as *aprája*,<sup>915</sup> some scholars have raised the question whether the interludes of string bands originate from here.<sup>916</sup> Although the regular eight-bar interludes played on the fiddle sometimes display rudimentary forms of motivic repetition, this is obviously the outcome of a secondary development in most cases.<sup>917</sup> Therefore, in my opinion, the connecting link between the bagpipe *aprája* sections and the fiddle interludes is their common function in dance music, rather than a genetic relationship in terms of the history of melody.

As has been shown earlier, the advanced instrumental interludes in the Hungarian, Romanian, and Romani folk music of Transylvania have frequently come about as emancipated closing sections of certain tunes. Those of major character clearly follow western melodic ideas, and probably have common roots with certain types of codas in classical European art music. This holds true despite József Patay's concern in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century about the omission of the "codas" or "quick figures" in the play

<sup>914</sup> Fiddle: Márton Lécfalvi "Viski", Hungarian, aged 66. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 25–26.03.1978. Vice (Northern Mezőség). Three-stringed *kontra* and bass: *estam*. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 179.

<sup>915</sup> Bartók, B. 1911–1912/1976. 252.

<sup>916</sup> Sárosi, B. 1970. 190; Halmos, B. 1981.

<sup>917</sup> See the interludes of Pávai, I. 1993. Nos. 37 and 39 as compared to the interludes of No. 179, where the periodic structure is more powerfully manifest in spite of the undoubtedly present motivic character.

of Pest musicians. He attributed this to the influence of German musicians,<sup>918</sup> as in this respect, Hungarian musicians of the time still followed a tradition that had already vanished in the West.

After all, the dance tune type reiterating a dominant–tonic sequence can also be found to the west of Hungary, e.g. in W. A. Mozart's ballet *Les petits riens* (K. 299b), the Vorspiel of a *Gavotte* written after a Bohemian folksong (1778), or in A. E. M. Grétry's *Gavotte-Musette* labelled "rural dance" (1782).<sup>919</sup> Their beginning in the dominant deviates from the majority of actual dance tunes of the age, where the starting melodic gesture establishes the tonic function. The most important reasons for the demise of interludes in the West were the standardization of dances, which did not allow the musician to extemporize, and the rise of literate musical culture, which preferred regular dance tunes of closed forms to period-length interludes or free motivic repetition.

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<sup>918</sup> Patay, J. 1854. 329.

<sup>919</sup> Taubert, K. 1968, music examples 10–11.

## 9 ASPECTS FOR THE RESEARCH OF FOLK POLYPHONY

At present, the overwhelming majority of folk music recordings relevant for the investigation of folk harmony are shelved in archives without being transcribed or processed. Consequently, I have to adjust the depth of my review to the current state of data processing as I attempt to enumerate the specific aspects for the study of folk harmony, based on the partial results achieved so far.

A mechanical application of the theoretical concepts and analytic methods that emerged with the history of European art music does not guarantee an adequate approach to folk music phenomena; on the contrary, they may even lead research astray. This issue has been raised regarding the interpretation of tonal systems and rhythmic types in both Romanian and Hungarian folk music research,<sup>920</sup> but not in connection with folk polyphony, which has been very scarcely examined in East Central Europe. For the initial steps in the study of Hungarian and Romanian folk polyphony – I mean the studies of Béla Avasi, Tiberiu Alexandru, Pascal Bentoîu, and Speranța Rădulescu<sup>921</sup> – the theoretical model to interpret the scores transcribed from folk music recordings was the conceptual frame of classical harmony. Among these studies, that of Rădulescu is the most voluminous, with 193 scores appended to the theoretical exposition. This number is, however, too small to encompass the folk harmony of not just Transylvania, but the whole of today's Romania, especially in the light of Bartók's conclusion that Romanian folk music "is not homogeneous, but often completely different, almost opposite in character, by smaller or greater regions,"<sup>922</sup> which is largely true of instrumental music and the use of instruments as well. Therefore, eight of the fifteen theses in which Rădulescu sets out her findings<sup>923</sup> seem to me insufficiently founded, as they rely on a relatively *small sample*, and *ignore the specific aspects* to be discussed in this chapter. I cite this vast study as an example because it relies on many conclusions, both correct and erroneous, in the other studies I mentioned.

920 Brăiloiu, C. 1953/1967; 1954/1967; Mârza, T. 1966; Ciobanu, Gh. 1979; Pávai, I. 1993. 88.

921 Avasi, B. 1955; Bentoîu, P. 1965; Alexandru, T. 1959/1980; Rădulescu, S. 1984.

922 Bartók, B. 1934/1999. 224.

923 Rădulescu, S. 1984. 77–78. a–o.

If we take into account the special aspects discussed below, the focus of research shifts upon factors that otherwise fall outside the field of harmonic analysis in the narrow sense. Still, the phenomena modelled with their help influence the realization of the polyphonic musical text; therefore, ignoring them entails the risk of misinterpretation of harmonic phenomena. These aspects may be grouped in the following six points:

1. the authenticity of the musical material to be studied;
2. the principles of harmonization applied at different points of the musical process;
3. the technical limitations and possibilities of the instruments responsible for harmony;
4. the nonverbal communication between *primás* and accompanists (the adjustment of the accompanying instrumentalists to the intention of the melody-playing musician to repeat or change tunes);
5. the influence of the formulae of rhythmic accompaniment traditionally used for the given genre (dance type), and of the pertinent tempo frame, on harmony;
6. the style, character, and typological specificities of the tune.

Before elaborating on these factors, it is to be noted that I have examined the discussed phenomena in the whole of Transylvanian instrumental folk music, irrespective of the ethnicity that the musical material pertains to. The phenomena I describe usually apply to the whole of the material, or a layer of it displaying an earlier or more recent harmonic style, rather than certain regions only. For this reason, I do not give the source for such examples that, comprising merely a few bars, could have been cited from any other region.

### 9.1 AUTHENTICITY OF THE MUSICAL MATERIAL

Here I examine the issue of authenticity only in relation to the ideal forms of harmonic practice in the mind of the informants, never fully realized in practice. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to that as *musical authenticity*, as against *ethnographic authenticity*, which includes a wider range of possibilities, e.g. regular errors, the use of poor instruments, the presence of mediocre instrumentalists for extra-musical reasons (e.g. finances, other engagements of good musicians, etc.). In traditional culture, a wedding or other communal festivity must take place with music and dance, whether fully adequate musicians are available or not.

I regard a material musically authentic if upon replaying, an experienced and talented village musician, who acquired his instrumental knowledge in traditional ways,

deems its harmonic solutions correct, and its variations allowable. On the other hand, he will identify the chords deviating from traditional harmonic practice as mistaken, remarking that “for them” (for the dancers or participants at the event) they are just as good, justifying, as it were, the ethnographic authenticity of the musically mistaken solutions.

The authenticity of a musical material is also important as an aspect of art music, especially with the emergence of historically informed performance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since, however, folk music is orally transmitted, and allows for a higher degree of improvisation, the question of authenticity is to be interpreted in a more complex way in this case.<sup>924</sup> Analogy with art music is feasible mainly in the case of early music, particularly early dance music, which partly shares the function of Transylvanian instrumental folklore. Problems similar to those of authenticity in folk music are encountered in the case of compositions with sketchy, approximate, or missing notation, such as works of early European art music, or oriental musical cultures. In the European Renaissance and Baroque periods, the manner of performance was usually a matter of practice.<sup>925</sup> By contrast, in folk music, all knowledge, including the entire repertoire, is transmitted and performed with no other aid than memory. Similarly to the tunes, practices of harmonization also exist in variants, and are to be registered as such. None of the variants can be taken for an archetype or ideal model, which can only be inferred – experimentally – from the multitude of variants. As a parallel phenomenon, consider the two approaches that evolved in the transcription of tunes, as explained in the preface to the Kodály–Vargyas compilation: “In presenting the tunes, two kinds of procedures were adopted. In some cases, we give a detailed transcription of a phonograph or gramophone recording, fixing with a microscopic accuracy all peculiarities of the performance in terms of rhythm or singing technique. In other cases, the notation is more schematic, presenting only what is permanent beyond the constant changes of performance: *the image of the tune in the mind*. Even with detailed gramophone transcriptions at hand, we present schematic notations especially of dance tunes, wherever the former would conceal this image of the tune, or at least render it hard to decipher for the less experienced. However, such schematic transcriptions are not only meant for the wider public, but also important for specialists, as *they represent a medial form inferred from multiple performances*, while each phonograph or gramophone transcription perpetuates a unique, singular, and perhaps never ever repeated form.”<sup>926</sup>

924 Katalin Paksa uses the terms “musical credit” and “ethnographic credit” in a somewhat different sense, for different phenomena: “The mechanical recording of folksongs solved the question of musical credit at one stroke, for the phonograph accurately perpetuates what can be heard [...] Béla Vikár as folklorist [...] was aware of the issues of ethnographic credit. During his fieldwork, he kept selecting [...] there are relatively few urban songs in his material.” Paksa, K. 1988. 70–71.

925 See, e.g. Brown, H. 1980.; Donington, R. 1973.

926 Kodály, Z. 1937/1981. 108. (My italics, I.P.)

A similar principle was adopted for a later publication by the team of János Jagamas. Their justification reads, “The aim of the transcribers was not to provide scores ‘in which all rhythmic and voice technical peculiarities of the performance is captured in microscopic detail,’ but to *perpetuate the permanent peculiarities of the constantly changing performance, deducing them from several renderings.*”<sup>927</sup>

### 9.1.1 Factors of data communication influencing authenticity

The authenticity of the musical material is influenced by two personal factors. One is the *informant*, the other is the *collector*. The interpersonal relations of collector and informant were discussed in general in an earlier chapter (p. 97). However, concerning ensemble performance and harmonization, a few other aspects are to be deliberated.

#### 9.1.1.1 Authenticity of the informant

From the viewpoint of harmony, an informant may be regarded as an authentic source of local tradition if he (a) was born, or has lived from early childhood, in the given cultural environment; (b) has acquired his knowledge of the tunes and the instrument through oral transmission; (c) has been a member of an instrumental ensemble for a time long enough to perfectly integrate; (d) has a keen ear to tune his instrument; and (e) is able to improvise chordal accompaniment, according to the requirements of local tradition, to the known repertoire, as well as any newly appearing tune. During fieldwork in Transylvania, I met several *kontra* and bass players whose musical ear was insufficient to perform the harmonization deemed right by local professional musicians, yet regularly played in local dances and weddings, as they could still perform their primary task, to provide rhythmic accompaniment. Bálint Sárosi cites a case from Csíkrákos: when Dénes Márkus “Román” played for members of a higher social group, and wished to enhance the rank of the music accordingly, he took, besides his wife playing the *gardon*, his young son to play the *kontra*, which meant nothing more than rhythmic accompaniment, with random stops on the fingerboard.<sup>928</sup>

Beyond, and often in connection with, the mastery of the instrument, the ethnic background of the informant has been raised as a factor influencing authenticity. Public opinion has been maintaining the stereotype that Romani musicians have a keener musical ear than those of other ethnicity, and are thus better suited for tasks of harmonization. This view has already been confuted by Kodály: “Among Roms, just as among

<sup>927</sup> Faragó, J.–Jagamas, J. (eds.) 1954. 329.

<sup>928</sup> Sárosi, B. 2017. 153.

other ethnics, there are good and bad musicians.”<sup>929</sup> My first-hand experience agrees with this statement; both among Romani and non-Romani musicians of Transylvania, there are individuals with a good ear and a good sense for harmony, and others who are tone-deaf. Due to social reasons, the majority of professional village musicians are Roms, from which it follows that the majority of those with a good ear are also Roms. It may thus be misleading to compare professional Romani musicians with self-taught amateur peasant musicians, who often sought out the chords on the *kontra* by trial and error. Professional village *kontra* players, be they Romani, Hungarian, or Romanian, are always better trained in the local musical tradition, including the harmonic style.

The mastery of the instrument and the development of harmonic hearing may range over a broad scale, from musicians who move their fingers over the strings at random, through those who feel they should change chords but rarely find the right ones, to those who harmonize adequately in traditional terms.<sup>930</sup> I have found that rural musicians generally feel the need for “right” harmonization. Its importance is shown by the fact that, with few exceptions, fiddlers can also play *kontra*,<sup>931</sup> and tend to teach their children *kontra* playing before they teach them tunes. As Oszkár Dincsér observed in the Gyimes region in the early 1940s, *kontra* playing was almost exclusively used in the initial phase of learning,<sup>932</sup> which is confirmed by my later experience.

### 9.1.1.2 Unity of the band

Ideal traditional forms of the musical material at issue can only be performed by musicians well accustomed to each other, having played together for a lengthier period. It is in vain to select outstanding instrumentalists at random; if they have never played together, their concerted playing, with too many improvisatory elements, will fall below the traditional ideal. This phenomenon may be aptly documented with sound recordings of ad hoc ensembles taken from Transylvania to Budapest for diverse events of the dance house movement.<sup>933</sup>

Another example might shed even sharper light to the quality of scientific findings concluded from such recordings. After World War I, when Transylvania was ceded to Romania, and again during World War II, when Northern Transylvania was reattached to Hungary, thousands of Romanians of these regions moved to Bucharest to seek

<sup>929</sup> Kodály, Z. 1961/1989. 96.

<sup>930</sup> Sárosi, B. 2017. 152–154.

<sup>931</sup> “Every *prímás* must be able to play *kontra*.” Lajtha, L. 1955. 4.

<sup>932</sup> Dincsér, O. 1943. 12–13.

<sup>933</sup> Such ensembles of ad hoc composition may as well be formed spontaneously in the home environment of the informants, e.g. for shortage of musicians.

employment. A number of Romani musicians were thus interested in supplying music for the Bucharest colony of Transylvanian Romanians, which Wallachian musicians, with a completely different style and repertoire, were unable to do. Tiberiu Alexandru conducted gramophone recordings of such a band resettled from Transylvania to Bucharest, in 1941. Later, he published a few transcriptions, and released some of the recordings on an LP record. Based on the scores of five tunes among these publications, Pascal Bentoïu attempted to define the rules of this style of harmonization in 15 points.

Apart from the fact that such a small number of tunes, each recorded a single time, is insufficient for the inference of valid conclusions, there is another reason to doubt the scientific value of the analysis. The three musicians namely came from three different settlements, even different counties: Szászlekenye (Beszterce region), Melegföldvár (Inner Mezőség region), and Bonyha (Kis-Küküllő valley), the latter at a great distance from the former two. The three musicians arrived in Bucharest at different dates, namely twelve years, seven years, and one year before the recording, respectively. The youngest of them was only sixteen. At the time of the recording, they occasionally played in restaurants on Piața Unirii in Bucharest. All three could play the fiddle, the *kontra*, as well as the bass, so they alternately played the repertoire of their own region for the collector, mutually accompanying one another.<sup>934</sup>

Obviously, the most authentic part of the recordings is the fiddle playing, the accompaniment being exceptional both in rhythm and in harmony. Bentoïu's remark on the harmonization is therefore not surprising: "certain intentions can be discerned that may not have been realized exactly as the musician had wished."<sup>935</sup> This may occur mainly in the accompaniment of tunes that were not known, or were known very differently, in the accompanists' home region. Later research in these three regions has also confirmed that a dance type, sometimes with the same melody, may be played with different shades of tempo and rhythm in each region. These seemingly minute, yet still important, differences cannot be rendered by a band of occasional composition.

### 9.1.1.3 Relative independence of the accompanying instruments

Unlike in European art music, where the harmony of a piece is the creation of a single person, the composer, in the archaic practice of folk harmony, the contributors to a harmonic impression are at least two, the *kontrás* and the bassist, who never intend to produce full triads or tetrads by complementing each other's parts. It would therefore be mistaken to view the bass and *kontra* parts as one harmonic unit, like in classical harmony.

<sup>934</sup> Alexandru, T. 1956. 323–324.

<sup>935</sup> "Se pot distinge anumite intenții, nu realizate așa cum ar fi dorit poate instrumentistul." Bentoïu, p. 1965. 155.

In ex. 106, the harmonization of the last ♮ in bar 9 cannot be taken for an F-sharp major seventh chord in the third inversion, despite all appearances. In this case, the *kontra* anticipated the ♯ in the next bar of the fiddle part with an F♯ major chord, while the bass retained the note corresponding to the E of the melody in the first half of bar 9.

Ex. 106. *Lassú csárdás. Abásfalva (Homoród valley)*.<sup>936</sup>

<sup>936</sup> Fiddle: Gábor Majlát Jr. (b. 1949); three-stringed *kontra*: Lajos Húsza (b. 1961); bass: József Káló (b. 1958), Hungarian Romani musicians of Abásfalva (Homoród valley). Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 31.08.1989, Homoródszentpál (Homoród valley). First published: Pávai, I. 2000a. ex. 3. For the spread of the tune and its interpretation as a tune of extended strophic form, see the preceding explanation *ibid.*

Even among village musicians who use functional harmony upon the influence of urban Romani musicians, it is only approximately agreed that the joint *kontra* playing of two fiddles, or a fiddle and a four-stringed viola, should be realized with “close stops” by one of them, and “open stops” by the other, meaning predominantly third and fourth intervals in one case, and fifths and sixths in the other.<sup>937</sup>

### **9.1.2 Factors of data collection influencing authenticity**

The other group of factors which affect the authenticity of music are rooted in the interpersonal relations between collector and informant, and other circumstances of fieldwork.

#### **9.1.2.1 Problems of communication between collector and informant**

A collector usually comes from a social milieu wholly different from that of the informant, which may cause partial divergence of semantics in their interpersonal discourse. If, therefore, the audio, or preferably video, recording includes their dialogue, it is worth analyzing subsequently for a correct interpretation of the musical records.

Misunderstanding between collector and informant is particularly frequent if the former is a young, less experienced person involved in folk revival, having gathered some information about the field from friends, but without the scholarly knowledge of researchers. Such collectors will not necessarily know which of their modern urban concepts are familiar to elderly people in a more archaic culture, what they can understand and what they might misunderstand. For instance, the Hungarians of Moldavia, speaking an archaic dialect of Hungarian, are not familiar with the words that spread with the language reform movement in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary, and may use ways of expression widely different from standard Hungarian. The problem is aggravated among professional musicians, mostly of Romani ethnicity; in ethnically mixed areas, they will seldom speak any Hungarian. A young collector from Hungary may try to communicate with them in Hungarian, and they will politely answer his questions in the affirmative, even if they do not actually understand them. Romani musicians take it as a general rule never to give a negative answer to a “client,” i.e. the person who hired them to play. In many cases, they do not clearly understand what the collector is about, or why he is making the recording; they simply look on him as a “client” who pays, and is to be played to, whatever he accepts. That also applies to verbal information.

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<sup>937</sup> Florea, I. T. 1975. 26.

Utterances in the Romani language may also be easily misunderstood. *Čingerďi*, for example, means a certain type of Romani dance at many places of Transylvania. By contrast, the word derived from it in the Hungarian language, *csingerálás*, refers to the manner of dancing face to face without the couple touching each other, and not to a dance type.

I heard a collector ask a musician whether he could play *féloláhos* ('half Romanian') meaning the dance of a relatively distant region. Although the musician knew no such local dance, he found his feet at once and started to play a song with macaronic text, alternating lines in Hungarian and Romanian. Among the recordings submitted to the Folk Music Archives of the Institute for Musicology by members of the dance house movement, I have found a large number of false data owing to similar misunderstandings.

The gravest problem is the influence exerted by the collector upon the informant. I know of several informants who have "learnt" that certain dances, instruments, or other folklore-related concepts should be called some other name than what they and their predecessors had previously used, complying with the vocabulary of collectors, Budapest audiences, or announcement speeches of staged folklore programs. That is how the Moldavian *tilinka* became *tilinkó*, and the dance *románca* became *rókatánc* ('fox dance,' according to Leó Weiner's *Divertimento* No. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> movement), etc.

### 9.1.2.2 Mutual influence between collector and informant

To understand the motivation of a harmonic solution at a certain point of a tune, we must take into account that informants may modify their normal manner of playing because of the presence of the collector. Regularly hired Romani musicians, held in high esteem in their environment, regard themselves as professionals, but they may also regard the collector as a sort of specialist who may want to steal the tricks of their trade. This may make informants, including accompanists, deliberately play differently from the way they normally do. Another reason for playing under the mark may be underpayment, or compulsion to play gratis upon the order of the authorities. I often met with the latter situation in the years of communist Romania, and it is most informative to compare tunes recorded on such occasions with the material of paid collections, and of functional recordings made during weddings. A fiddler from Mezőceked (Southern Mezőség) once showed me how he had played the same tune to the request of the village doctor, whom he owed his life as a cardiac patient, and how to the bullying order of the local party secretary.

Informants may also misunderstand the role of the collector with a positive overtone. They may see him as a friend or "colleague," and wish to show him as much of their knowledge as possible within the available short time. They may change chords more frequently, improvise unusual harmonic sequences, overuse rhythmic

peculiarities in bowing which they otherwise seldom apply, as these devices only acquire their functional meaning together with the dance (e.g. supporting the sound effects of boot hits). The informant is aware that he is a *rural*, while the collector is an *urban* “musician,” which for him implies a hierarchy. Therefore, he may try to use complex harmonies taken from urban Romani style or popular music, indicating that he has some knowledge of that musical realm to which the collector presumably belongs.

This phenomenon is rather difficult to document, for its channels are usually non-verbal. While playing such chords, the informant’s facial expression may change. The collector may decode his peculiar smile as “see what I can do,” and if he replies with a smile meaning “I appreciate it,” the informant will produce even more harmonic or rhythmic elements which he never, or hardly ever, uses for his traditional local audiences. I often found this during fieldwork, especially among younger musicians, but such nonverbal communication could only be revealed to subsequent research, had a video recording also captured the collector’s facial expression, which was obviously beyond the technical possibilities a few decades ago. A researcher, replaying a video recording of a musician made by someone else, will not be able to decode the musician’s facial expression, particularly if the collector was not standing next to the camera, and the informant’s eyes are thus not directed at the viewer.

The above example illustrates how a *kontra* player, who harmonizes with traditional simplicity in his home environment, may overcomplicate his use of chords in the presence of the collector. However, I also experienced the opposite, meeting a *kontrás* of Nagysármás (Eastern Mezőség), for whom it was natural to use a complex style of harmonization with major, minor, and diminished triads, as well as implied seventh chords. At the beginning of the collection, he consistently applied complicated functional progressions, changing chords to each beat. Realizing, however, that I was inquiring about the ways of music-making in the preceding generation, he showed me how two of his predecessors from the region harmonized the entire repertoire with five major chords. He spoke about this forgotten style with a contemptuous smile, but it did not put him to trouble to use it, so he accompanied a long dance cycle, with several tunes to a dance, in this manner, without switching over into his routine style of functional harmonization. Obviously, in his youth, he had also applied archaic melody-governed accompaniment with major chords.

The question may arise here, which of the two kinds of harmonization, used by the same *kontrás*, is authentic. Naturally both, but each in different periods of the traditional culture. It is precisely through the knowledge of such informants, who equally preserve the old and the new in their minds, that research may explore changes in traditional culture. The son of this informant also plays the *kontra*, but he no longer has an idea of the state of tradition two generations earlier. Tradition is not always modified

from generation to generation, so it is important to interrogate the informants on the turning point of stylistic change, for these processes and structures can only be explored fully by jointly using diachronic and synchronic approaches.

### 9.1.2.3 Circumstances of collection

The authenticity of the material may also be influenced by the circumstances of collection. Professional documentation requires *functional* recordings with up-to-date audio-visual technology, combined with taking notes of on-the-spot observations. A functional recording is made during a traditional dance event (wedding, ball, christening, etc.). In this case, the collector exerts less influence on the informants, as they are hired by the locals, and have to meet their expectations, rather than those of the collector. In such cases, the local community (e.g. the organizing *kezes* team, or the dancers) will warn or even threaten them, should they deviate from the traditional manner of playing, be it due to the presence of outsiders (e.g. collectors), excessive drinking, or any other reason. My experience with this kind of data collection confirms Kodály's earlier observation about the interaction between musicians and audience: "Where instrumental music is concerned, however, everyone is a listener; performance is the task of a few. Whether the musician is a gipsy or a peasant, he stands alone, or with a few companions, face to face with the listening masses. These are not entirely passive: they dance to the music and are quick to feel if it is not played to their liking. They are critical and discriminating and can distinguish what is good. In 1910, a young village gipsy in Transylvania said it was hardest of all to play to the old Székely—a young gipsy could never really do it as they wanted."<sup>938</sup>

Compared to audio-visual functional recordings with multifaceted documentation, and on-the-spot notes of observations, the material recorded outside a natural setting is clearly of less value regarding authenticity. Nevertheless, such recordings may also be used efficiently with due circumspection, and with the clear definition of the extent of authenticity. As László Lajtha observed, during the studio recordings of Szék musicians, the tempo was sometimes twice as fast as in village dances. That, of course, does not mean that these recordings are not authentic in any respect. Through comparison with functional recordings, one may establish the possible extent of the authenticity of recordings made in a studio, or under other unusual conditions. As Lajtha writes about his collections in the studio of the Hungarian Radio, "I know many are against recording folk music in studio, insisting on the original venue. In the Hungarian context, they are wrong. With notations or phonograph (or, more recently, magnetic tape) recordings made on the spot, we can check whether they sing

<sup>938</sup> Kodály, Z. 1971. 126–127.

or play differently in the studio. We have found that this setting does not cause any essential alteration. Sometimes singers accelerate the tempo, which may be a sign of nervousness. It depends on the singer; some of them sustain the tempo to the end. A *prímás*, moreover, played even better, and more authentically, in front of the microphone than for my recording of his solo play with the phonograph. A band always plays for an audience, so they are used to playing in public, and a *prímás* is only reliable when leading a band. For the phonograph recording, when he played solo, he made several mistakes.”<sup>939</sup>

## 9.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF IDENTIFYING THE PRINCIPLES OF HARMONIZATION

As the first step, we must establish whether a seemingly polyphonic recording does indeed contain elements of intended harmonization, or whether it is an example of uncoordinated polyphony. For the latter case, many examples may be cited from folk music all over the world, as well as traditional high cultures of Asia. Such is, for example, the New Year greeting custom of the Hungarians of Moldavia, *hejgetés*. The group of participants, going from house to house, usually have a single melody-playing instrument, a *sültü* (flute), *sip* (bagpipe), or *cinige* (fiddle), as well as a drum (p. 116, fig. 23), a friction drum known as *bika*,<sup>940</sup> some bells, and a whip. The person who recites the text in a declamatory manner, the *hejgető*, narrates the birth of the bread, starting with ploughing and sowing. During the declamation, the flute, the drum, and the friction drum are played continuously, without melodic or rhythmic coordination. The frame of their playing is provided by the routine of the custom, and the commands of the *hejgető*. In cases of such non-coordinated multipart playing, no concerting of the parts is intended.

Apart from such cases, it is important to recognize, in addition to the aspects of authenticity listed so far, the actual styles of intended harmonization may be mingled within a single piece. In the practice of Transylvanian folk dance music, apart from a simple drone, there are basically two kinds of harmonization: one is aimed at following the melody with chords, while the other applies the functional principles known from classical art music.<sup>941</sup>

<sup>939</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 4.

<sup>940</sup> In more detail, see Sárosi, B. 1998. 29.

<sup>941</sup> Briefly summarized in Pávai, I. 1979–1980.



*Fig. 85. Bika, a friction drum used in the custom of hejgetés (Moldavia).  
Csángó Museum, Zabola*

### 9.2.1 Drone accompaniment

In the discussion of instruments and types of accompaniment, it has been shown that several instruments capable of complex accompaniment (bagpipe, zither, hurdy-gurdy) have technical endowments to provide a drone. In the case of other instruments (Jew's harp, flute blown with a guttural sound) the drone to the melody is created by the manner of playing. The widely used fiddle technique of sounding a neighboring open string beside the melody string also belongs here. In folk dance music, the drone is not necessarily a sustained note; it may be a repetition of the same note according to some rhythmic formula, producing an ostinato effect. Its significance from the perspective of more advanced forms of polyphony lies in the fact that the principles of accompaniment discussed below will only produce these advanced forms together with the basic principle of drone accompaniment.

## 9.2.2 Melody-governed polyphony

### 9.2.2.1 Heterophony of melody-playing instruments

The roots of melody-governed harmony must be sought in heterophony. The simplest forms of heterophony are two or more people singing together (p. 71, ex. 7), two or more melodic instruments playing together, or voice and melodic instrument(s) performing the same tune. When diverse variants of a tune are performed simultaneously, the tiny, insignificant differences create a pseudo-polyphony, for, similarly to non-coordinated polyphony, the melodic deviations are not harmonically planned. When two fiddlers play together, their intention is to perform the tune in the same way, which does not mean the identity of the actual variants, but that of the abstract mental image of the tune, which may be realized in many ways.<sup>942</sup> In the following example, staff (b) shows such an abstract melodic skeleton, which the two fiddlers, accustomed to playing together regularly, realized in staves (a) and (c), respectively. Their comparison shows that the significance of individual notes within the melodic skeleton may be different; the final notes of each line, filling two bars, are of distinguished importance. That explains why in bars 5–8, the second fiddle leaps to the octave of the final note already at the beginning of the line, and plays figurations around it, while the first fiddle adheres more closely to the melodic skeleton.

Ex. 107. Gyorscsárdás. Szilágynagyfalu (Szilágyság).<sup>943</sup>

<sup>942</sup> For a model of the phenomenon with the concepts of competence and performance, see p. 374.

<sup>943</sup> Fiddle: László Csengettyűs, Hungarian Rom, b. 1926; János Csorba, Hungarian Rom, b. 1933. Collected and transcribed by István Pávai. Recorded on 18.07.1983. Szilágynagyfalu (Szilágyság region). *Kontra* and bass: estam. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 180. Variant: *ibid.* No. 172.

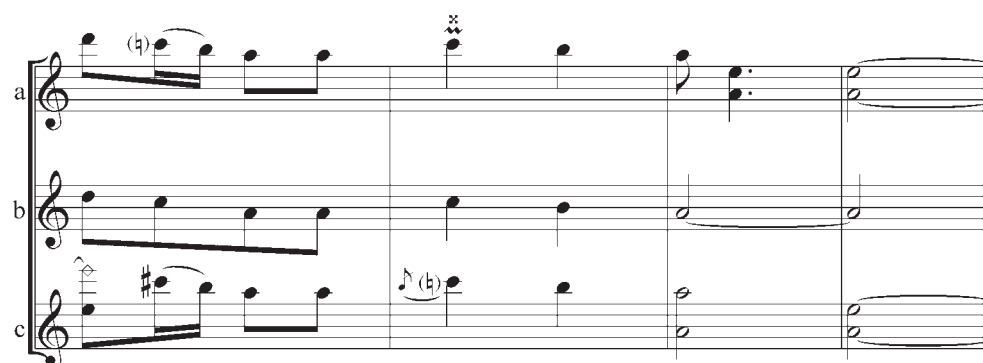
First system of a three-part musical score. The staves are labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. Staff 'a' (treble clef) contains a melody with a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure. Staff 'b' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. Staff 'c' (treble clef) contains a melody with a triplet of eighth notes in the third measure.

Second system of the three-part musical score. The staves are labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. Staff 'a' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. Staff 'b' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. Staff 'c' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. The text *előtagisméltés* is written below staff 'a' in the first measure.

Third system of the three-part musical score. The staves are labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. Staff 'a' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. Staff 'b' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure. Staff 'c' (treble clef) contains a melody with a long note in the third measure.



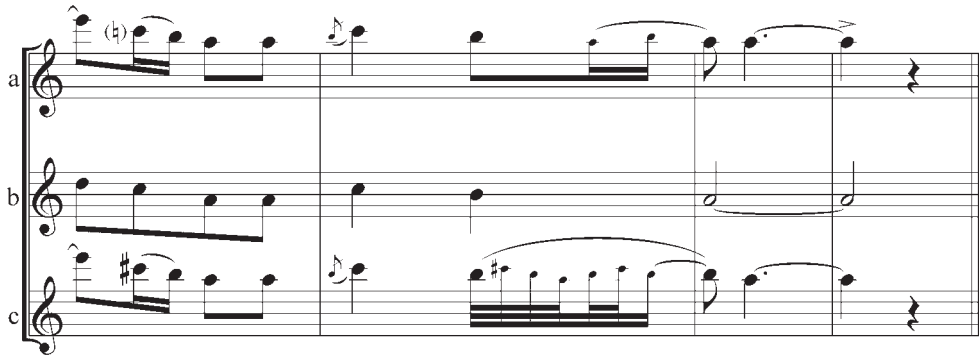
First system of musical notation, labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. The notation is in treble clef. The first staff (a) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The second staff (b) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The third staff (c) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The word *utótag* is written below the second staff.



Second system of musical notation, labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. The notation is in treble clef. The first staff (a) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The second staff (b) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The third staff (c) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x).



Third system of musical notation, labeled 'a', 'b', and 'c' on the left. The notation is in treble clef. The first staff (a) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The second staff (b) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The third staff (c) contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) and a double sharp sign (x). The word *utótagismétlés* is written below the second staff.



A greater degree of heterophony evolves between the fiddle and the cimbalom. The latter, as has been discussed, is mostly used to play the tune in Transylvania, sometimes with additional notes to provide a more or less consonant sound. Rhythmically, however, it plays peculiar variants of the melodic rhythm following from the technique of the instrument, which enhances the heterophonic effect (see ex. 108, as well as p. 226 ex. 40, p. 255 ex. 53).

Ex. 108. Marosszéki. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék).<sup>944</sup>



<sup>944</sup> Fiddle: Mihály Paradica “Nyicu” (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); musicians of Felsősfalva. Bass: fast *dűvő*. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki. Recorded on 28.08.1982, Alsósfalva, during dance filming. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 58. Type No.: 11.043.0/1. For more information on the tune, see p. 305, ex. 86, and the preceding commentary.



*Fig. 86. Lajos Lőrincz with his small cimbalom, which he used in his youth playing the tune.  
Korond (Sóvidék), 20th century*

### 9.2.2.2 Heterophony of melody-playing instrument and accompanying instrument

Heterophony in the relation of two melody-playing instruments must be differentiated from heterophony of a melody-playing instrument and an accompanying instrument. In the example above, both fiddles adapt to the melodic rhythm, varying it within the frames allowed by tradition. In terms of harmony, the heterophony of a melody-playing and an accompanying instrument is more relevant, for the accompanist partly or wholly deviates from the melodic rhythm, as he must ensure the adequate accompanying rhythm in the service of the dance function. In this case, deviation between the two parts is far greater. If there is no *kontra* in the band (e.g. in a fiddle–cimbalom–bass band), this kind of heterophony evolves through the dance-adjusted rhythm of the bass, as compared to the rhythm provided by the melody-playing instruments (ex. 109).

Ex. 109. Szöktetős. Felsősfalva (Sóvidék).<sup>945</sup>

<sup>945</sup> Fiddle: Mihály Paradica “Nyicu” (b. 1925); cimbalom: János Paradica (b. 1928); bass: Béla Rácz (b. 1955); Felsősfalva. Collected by Zoltán Kallós, István Pávai, and Zoltán Zsuráfszki. Recorded during dance filming on 28.08.1982, Alsósfalva. First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 21. Variant: ibid. No. 21; Lajtha, L. 1954a. No. 22.



On the two-stringed *kontra*, the accompanying rhythm may obviously be ensured without a melodic element, e.g. by repeating a single double stop (usually the tonal keynote and its fifth) in the kontra rhythm of the dance, producing a drone-like effect (p. 47, facs. 1). However, the two-stringed *kontra* is capable of another form of accompaniment, whereby it tends to follow the melody, even the melodic rhythm to some extent, while regularly emphasizing the beats according to the actual kontra rhythm.

Ex. 110. *Ardeleană* (excerpt). Kovászi (Arad County).<sup>946</sup>



Evidently, the *kontrás* uses not only the two lowest strings but also the middle pair of strings to follow the tune more closely. In Transylvania, it is rare to find cases of such detailed adherence of the accompaniment to the melody; I have met with similar examples mainly in Gyimes.

The more prevalent form, as used in Udvarhelyszék, keeps the *kontra* normally on the g and d<sup>1</sup> strings, and restricts the imitation of the melody to the time units defined by the kontra rhythm; thus, a much more simplified version of the melodic skeleton may be made out of the accompaniment. In staff (b) of ex. 111, the empty note-heads in the double stops of the *kontra* indicate the corresponding skeletal notes of the melody, appearing alternately in the top part or the bottom part, and in different octave

<sup>946</sup> Fiddle: Ioan Muntean "Manole", aged 40; *kontra*: Gheorghe Lingurar, aged 31. Collected and transcribed by Ioan T. Florea, 12.1951. Covăsinț (Kováshi, Arad County). Source: Florea, I. 1975. 489.

sections.<sup>947</sup> The simplified form of the tune as played by the fiddle is given in staff (a). For easier comparison, I also write out the skeletal notes as played by the *kontra* in staff (c), with the octave shifts restored.

Ex. 111. Detail of a *lassú csárdás* tune in simplified notation. *Gagy* (Keresztúr region)

The image displays three staves of musical notation, labeled a, b, and c. Staff (a) is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes. Staff (b) is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature and contains a series of chords, mostly dyads and triads, corresponding to the notes in staff (a). Staff (c) is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and contains a simplified version of the melody from staff (a), with some notes shifted an octave down for comparison. The notation is simplified, focusing on pitch and rhythm without complex articulation.

### 9.2.2.3 Accompaniment with major chord mixtures

Melody-governed harmony in ensembles of the fiddle–three-stringed kontra–bass type is brought about when the bass, playing the rhythmic scheme of the given dance, attempts to follow the skeletal notes of the tune, while the *kontra* plays a series of major chords whose roots correspond to the same skeletal notes. The result may be theoretically described as a sequence of parallel chords, so we may call this style, as a special form of heterophony, harmonization with major chord mixtures. The best model examples are funeral songs accompanied by a band, where the chorale-like character of the performing style allows the application of this technique throughout the melody. The slow dance tune in the example below also aptly illustrates harmonization with parallel major chord mixtures.

<sup>947</sup> Cf. melodic playing on the koboz, with a similar string changing technique (ex. 25).

Ex. 112. *Lassú cigánytánc (simplified notation). Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség).*<sup>948</sup>

Of course, the skeletal notes outlined in the accompaniment are not always identical even in the case of the same musician, or may also diverge in the *kontra* and bass parts. One reason is that in many cases, various notes of the tune may be interpreted as skeletal notes; another is the difference in the technical possibilities of the two instruments. Further modifying factors include the rhythmic scheme, the tempo, and several non-musical factors, which I will explain in the following subchapters. Sometimes the accompanists simply make a mistake, and instead of the right note or chord, they play something else. Sometimes they arrive at a skeletal note with a delay, or conversely, in-tone it earlier than the fiddler does.<sup>949</sup>

Interestingly enough, when a major triad is altered, the change is never for a minor chord, but usually for the implied dominant seventh chord; thus, we could as well call this style minor-free harmonization. The minor-free harmonization of tunes with a minor third does not usually mean a dissonant concurrence of the minor third in the tune with the tonic major chord in the accompaniment. That is rare to happen, usually only when the minor third is a passing note in the tune (see p. 346, ex. 117, bar 2; p. 355, ex. 124, bar 1). Wherever the minor third of the scale plays an important role the melody, it

<sup>948</sup> Fiddle–three-stringed kontra–bass ensemble, Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség). Collected by Zoltán Kallós. Source: Institute for Musicology, Budapest, AP 6241a, 6242g.

<sup>949</sup> Sárosi, B. 2017. 155–156.

will be harmonized with the major chord based on it. (For cases of this kind of harmonization applied to interludes, see pp. 312–315.)

In the present phase of research, I do not wish to examine the historical roots of this style of harmonization, but only mention that the exclusive use of the major chords also in pieces of minor character is reminiscent of the application of the Picardy third in European music from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The difference is that here, major chords are not only found at the end of the cadences, but are heard throughout the piece. On the other hand, examples of the Picardy third can be found in the practice of regions without *kontra* in the traditional ensembles, where fiddlers always play broken major chords in the cadential figurations of tunes with minor thirds.

The vocal folk polyphony which survives sporadically in Transylvania, and originates from the choral practice of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Protestant colleges, has no direct relationship with the technique of instrumental major chord mixtures. This kind of vocal polyphony does not necessarily build major chords on each melody note of the tenor, but uses major and minor chords according to the tonality.<sup>950</sup> In one refuge of vocal polyphony in Transylvania, Csávás (Upper Vizsnyó region), I had the chance to make a recording of the “singers in parts” accompanied by a local band, in which the two methods of harmonization were used simultaneously, disturbing neither the singers nor the instrumentalists. Vocal polyphony is an integral part of local traditional culture in Csávás; they often use it even at dance events, and I have even witnessed the instrumental interludes of dance tunes being “sung in parts” with la-la syllables. The question is worthy of further research.

### 9.2.3 Functional harmonization

Among village musicians, variants of so-called functional harmonization, borrowed primarily from urban Romani style, have spread mainly in the Szilágyság and Kalotaszeg regions, and in some villages of the Kis-Szamos valley, the Upper Maros valley, and the Sajó valley. Just as in the case of melody-governed harmonization, the musicians do not learn accompaniments for tunes beforehand, but improvise them on the spot. Functional harmonization has also evolved practices that may be applied under such conditions.

Evidently, functional harmonization comes from classical music, namely from its popular genres (operetta, promenade concerts of brass bands, etc.), through conscious education or self-education of Romani musicians. The essence of this method is that

<sup>950</sup> Szabó, Cs. 1977; 1980.



in a major key frequently deviate to the subdominant key, which means another VI–V connection seen from the angle of the new key (D minor in the below example).

*Ex. 115. Parallel chords in a functional harmonic sequence*



In this style of harmonization, each beat is usually assigned a new chord, or at least its variant with the seventh, whether justified or not by the melody. In addition to the harmonic schemes illustrated by the three examples above, several others are also used, even if they are not quite consonant with the melody notes, and thus appear as rather arbitrary (p. 186, ex. 37). This is most conspicuous in the harmonization of folk songs of pentatonic or modal character, both in the old and the new style, which include no leading notes. The accompaniment will apply the leading notes all the same, as its functional harmonization evolved in the practice of urban Romani musicians with the rise of the popular urban Hungarian song in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from whence it permeated rural instrumental music.

### 9.2.4 Mixing of harmonic principles

The principles of harmonization described above do not only occur separately, but may also blend in different proportions by locality, informant, genre, or even in the accompaniment of a single tune. To prevent erroneous interpretations, it must be weighed for each pair of neighboring chords, which harmonic principle underlies their sequence. As has been shown through the case of the Nagysármás *kontrás* in the subchapter *Mutual influence between collector and informant* (p. 329), an informant sometimes knows both harmonic styles, and their respective use in a given context may not only depend on subjective decision, but also on external circumstances.<sup>951</sup>

Apart from the regions, and the generations of musicians, in which functional harmony is already prevalent, and used on a par with urban Romani musicians, or nearly so, Transylvanian traditional instrumental ensembles normally adopt the principle of melody-governed harmony. In addition, the principle of functional attraction may also be manifest, but to a smaller degree than is customary with urban Romani musicians. In

<sup>951</sup> See p. 359, ex. 130, and the preceding explanation.

most rural bands, functional attraction usually means simple dominant–tonic relations, most often to buttress the cadences, while consistent insertion of dominant chords for each degree is out of the question. Frequently, the tune also runs down to the basic note from the fifth, which is to be harmonized identically by both principles, with a V–I step. In such cases, the root of both chords is a melody note (ex. 116; see also p. 327, ex. 106, bars 4, 6, 8).

Ex. 116. *Lassú cigánytánc (excerpt). Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség)*

The next example shows the mixing of the harmonic principles to varying degrees, by presenting the closing line of the same melody harmonized in three different ways. The melody notes (a) are followed throughout by the first version (b); the second deviates from the melody for the sake of the E–A (V–I) closure (c); while the third presents an arbitrary harmonic sequence with the insertion of the B major chord as secondary dominant (d).

Ex. 117. (a) *Excerpt of a lassú cigánytánc tune (Inner Mezőség);*  
(b) *harmonization in Magyarszovát; (c)–(d) harmonization in Magyarpalatka*

Simpler cases of the mixing of harmonic principles are the ones in which the fiddle (usually in closing bars) sounds a neighboring open string to the melody note, which does not fit into the accompanying chord. Another example is the fiddle–kontra–gardon ensemble when the *gardon* is tuned accurately (usually to d). The ostinato-like rhythmic drone accompaniment of the *gardon* is often in discord with the *kontra*, and may even deviate from the basic key.

### 9.3 TECHNICAL LIMITATIONS OF THE INSTRUMENTS AND THE MANNER OF PLAYING

The examination of folk harmony must also take into consideration the technical limitations and possibilities of the instruments and the manner of playing. As for the bass, we have to know how many active strings are used according to the local tradition; why, for instance, there are only two, whether this is traditional, or just a temporary state of the instrument after a string break. In some cases, a bass may have only two strings, and only one, the tauter one, is actually used, the other being needed only to fasten the bridge to the body. Three-stringed basses are the most frequent, four-stringed instruments are rarer, and in even rarer cases is the E string of the four-stringed bass played on. Consequently, this string is sometimes loosened, lifted off the bridge, and led by its side and along the fingerboard. In folk dance music, the accentuation of the rhythmic accompaniment requires powerful pressure on the string with the bow. In standard basses, the arch of the bridge is shallower, and if the inner strings are played so forcefully, the bow may occasionally touch the neighboring strings. Therefore, a bass with three gut strings over a bridge with a steeper arch, sometimes homemade, is more practicable.

The fewer the strings, or, more precisely, the active strings, the more suitable the instrument for rhythmic accompaniment of steady intensity, but at the same time, its melodic possibilities, and hence its adjustment to harmony, decrease. In the case of a single active string, if a pitch required by the current principle of harmonization is beyond the lower limit of the instrument's tonal range, its transposition an octave higher will be used. Bassists, however, usually omit large interval leaps, as they are hard to perform. Instead, they may keep the preceding note, or intone any other easily produced note at random, even if it does not fit the chord of the *kontra*. This practice may be misleading if the note thus produced is included in the chord, or can be interpreted somehow by harmonic theory. In such cases, several performances of the same tune might help to find the right interpretation.

In bass playing, there is a rule of thumb we might call, by analogy with classical harmony, the principle of the smallest movement, or *lex minima*, obviously taken

in a broader sense. Sometimes the open string of the bass has less intensity than the stopped notes, so its use is avoided. A second step down to the open string should therefore be replaced by an upward leap by a seventh, breaking the principle of the smallest movement.

A large leap on the bass in folk music is all the more cumbersome as the players frequently use three or four fingers to stop a note, laying them flat on the string. This is aggravated by another technical circumstance: bassists usually play standing, while the right hand exerts a powerful pressure on the string with the bow, so the left hand, actually holding the instrument, cannot move easily over larger distances.

In extreme cases, particularly when the bass part is played by a cello, whose volume is smaller, and sometimes varied by notes, the bassist may seek out two pitches of relatively powerful sound, and alternate them with more or less regularity, independently of the *kontra* chords, since the rhythm, the rhythmically pulsing sound, is more important. In doing so, he practically abandons “harmonization,” and occasional consonance with the *kontra* chords are merely accidental.



Fig. 87. Holding of the bass bow

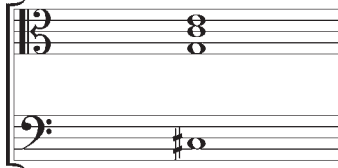
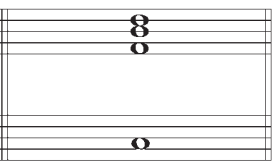


Fig. 88. Grip of the left hand on the bass

Technical limitations may also be influenced by the tuning. While tuning a bass, the aim may not be to synchronize the open string of the bass with one or another string of the violin and the *kontra*, but to tighten it so that the notes played on it are as powerful as possible. As a result, the open string may not fit the tonal system at all, e.g. if it is higher by a quarter or half tone than it “should be.” This higher pitch may be played in place of a neighboring note actually intoned by the *kontra*. In the example below, the tetrad that the two instruments jointly produce is an implied  $\beta$  chord ( $c^\sharp$ , g, c,  $e^1$ )

by physical sound.<sup>952</sup> However, in the system of folk harmony, it is to be interpreted as a simple C major chord, as the bassist implied a C, but had no technical possibility to actually sound it. Hence, the note in the bass, although acoustically speaking a C $\sharp$ , is by its intended meaning a C.

Ex. 118. Chord interpretation by physical sound and by intention

Implied $\beta$ chord	C major chord
	

Ex. 119. *Lassú csárdás. Csávás (Upper Vízmellék).*<sup>953</sup>



<sup>952</sup> Ernő Lendvai, in his works analyzing the style of Bartók, named the chords structured as C $\sharp$ –E–G–B $\flat$ –C  $\beta$  chords (see Lendvai, E. 1999. 19.). In the case above, B $\flat$  is missing from this five-note structure, wherefore it may be considered an implied  $\beta$  chord.

<sup>953</sup> Three-stringed *kontra*: Ferenc Mezei “Csángáló,” Calvinist Hungarian Rom, b. 1951. Recorded in Csávás (Upper Vízmellék). First published: Pávai, I. 1993. No. 143. Variant: *ibid.*, No. 105n. Type No.: 11.040.0/1. For functional implications of the tune, see also p. 91 f.

The image displays two musical examples, each consisting of three staves labeled a), b), and c). The notation is in 3/8 time and uses a key signature of one sharp (F#).  
 Example 1 (top):  
 - Staff a) features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets and quintuplets.  
 - Staff b) provides harmonic accompaniment with chords and some melodic fragments, also featuring triplets and quintuplets.  
 - Staff c) plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment.  
 Example 2 (bottom):  
 - Staff a) continues the melody from the first example.  
 - Staff b) continues the harmonic accompaniment with chords and melodic fragments.  
 - Staff c) continues the eighth-note accompaniment.

The tuning of the *kontra* is far less variable than that of the bass, never arbitrary, and never influenced by the instrument's acoustics. Non-standard tuning may only occur in synchrony with the fiddle. In the Mezőség region, it is very frequent that the whole band tunes a half tone higher than the standard pitch; in the Transylvanian Hegyalja region, the difference may even be a whole tone or a minor third, to achieve a sharper, more sonorous, and more powerful sound, which is important for the rhythmic support of dance.

Naturally, the *kontra* also has diverse ways of tuning, but they are usually constant for a region or a band,<sup>954</sup> while a bassist may change tuning from event to event.

There is a single technical factor of tuning and using the *kontra* which may influence harmonization: the difference between two-stringed and three-stringed *kontra* playing.<sup>955</sup> In melody-governed harmonization,<sup>956</sup> the technical possibilities of the three-stringed *kontra* are more limited than those of the two-stringed *kontra*, which consequently achieves greater heterophonic effect in relation to the fiddle.

Some village musicians are indeed endowed with extraordinary skills. The tune in ex. 119 was usually required by the Csávás people to be performed on a single three-stringed *kontra* at the end of a wedding feast in such a way that the melody could be made out

<sup>954</sup> See pp. 152–154.

<sup>955</sup> For the description of the two kinds of *kontra* playing, see p. 150.

<sup>956</sup> See Pávai, I. 1979–1980.

amidst the notes of the chords. (For a detailed presentation of the custom, see p. 91 f.) The empty note-heads in the notation of the *kontra* performance indicates the melody notes in the middle (b) staff. In the top staff, I notate a local sung version of the tune (a), while in the bottom staff, I present, with the adequate octave transpositions, the melody which the *kontrás* realized in imitation of the vocal version (c). If, however, the tune was played by the entire band, the *kontrás* harmonized it more simply, changing chords each half bar.

In the rhythm section of bass and three-stringed *kontra*, the former is more mobile. In a more archaic harmonic style, the 3-stringed *kontra* exclusively plays major triads according to the skeletal notes of the fiddle melody. The bass, by contrast, may occasionally attempt to follow the melody more accurately. To achieve that, the bassist sometimes switches from accompanying rhythm to melodic rhythm. Thus, the two accompanists apply the same principle of melody-governed harmony in slightly different ways.

Ex. 120. *Csárdás* (excerpt). *Szék* (Northern *Mezőség*).<sup>957</sup>

The greater mobility of the bass may be manifest in functional harmonization as well. In the next example, the bass often plays the third of the chord after its root, doubling the leading note directed at the root of the forthcoming chord (p. 352, ex. 121).

<sup>957</sup> Lajtha, L. 1954a. 22. bars 42–49 (simplified notation).

Ex. 121. *Sűrű tempó (excerpt). Szék (Northern Mezőség)*

#### 9.4 NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PRÍMÁS AND ACCOMPANISTS

It is a traditional norm that the fiddler in the role of *prímás* is responsible for the repertoire; it is always him who determines the actual sequence of tunes from the stock of a dance or other genre, without discussing it with the rest of the band beforehand.<sup>958</sup> That explains why the *prímás* always begins a tune alone, whereupon the others join in after a few beats or bars. They do not know or care how many times a tune is repeated, or when they will switch to the next one. When a tune section or tune is repeated, or a new tune started, they either hold the previous chord in the bars of transition, or sound another one at random. Their primary role is to produce the rhythmic scheme of the dance securely, providing the firm basis for the dancers.<sup>959</sup>

Compared to that, the harmonic role, or the adjustment of the chords to the melody by any system, is of secondary importance. The *kontra* and bass players assert the primacy of the rhythm very firmly, thus, melody-alien notes and chords are sounded with the same assurance, even if the musician is aware that the actual chord is out of place, and admits to that in subsequent verbal communication. This assured intonation may mislead the researcher into thinking that such a series of chords might be the outcome of deliberate harmonization.

Such chords may be even more misleading if they can be interpreted by some principle of classical harmony. In ex. 122, bar 2, for the  $a^2$  of the melody, the *kontra* plays a G-major chord. The two together sound like a ninth chord to an ear trained in European art music. But this is, in fact, not the case. The first note of the tune is  $a^2$ , the last one  $g^1$ . The logic

<sup>958</sup> In more detail, see Virágvölgyi, M. 1982. 232–233.

<sup>959</sup> Martin, Gy. 1977. 367.

of local harmonization would have A major to the first, and G major to the last note. After the closing G major, the fiddle starts the tune anew, but the *kontra* responds with a slight delay. The pseudo-ninth chord is sounded during that delay, through the simultaneity of the sustained G major chord and the  $a^2$  of the fiddle. It would also be mistaken to presume that this anadiplosis-like chord repetition is deliberate, and meant to exert some aesthetic effect, like in art music. The interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the bassist is also late to respond to the restart of the melody, and finds the right (a–e) double stop at some delay even compared to the *kontra* player.

Ex. 122. *Csárdás* (excerpt). *Szék* (Northern Mezőség)



In order to clarify such and similar cases, it is indispensable to study all renderings of the same tune in the given process, as well as all variants recorded on other occasions. Based on this corpus, as well as verbal communication by the informants, a model of the ideal harmonization of a tune may be reconstructed, that is, the series of chords that exist in the informant's mind, but cannot always be perfectly realized because of the factors mentioned.

It is also frequent that fiddlers already prepare the opening note of the new melodic section with short passages at the end of the previous bar. They are also meant as hints for the accompanists, and if they get the message, they will play the "right" chord (according to the local harmonic principle) right at the beginning of a new section, and avoid deviations from the harmonic ideal (ex. 123, end of bar 2, beginning of bar 3).<sup>960</sup> That, of course, also depends on the harmonic sense of fiddlers, but it certainly indicates that they expect the ideal harmony by their own system at the right place.

<sup>960</sup> Another example of this case is cited by Seps, D. 1980–1981. 5, 26.

Ex. 123. *Sűrű tempó (excerpt). Szék (Northern Mezőség)*

## 9.5 THE INFLUENCE OF THE RHYTHMIC ACCOMPANIMENT AND THE TEMPO ON HARMONY

In folk music, the primary function of the accompanying instruments is to provide the basic pulsation of the dance, while harmonization is a secondary issue. The harmonic principles the informants know and empirically use,<sup>961</sup> the solutions they deem ideal, may only be applied to the extent allowed by the rhythmic schemes that the accompanist must continuously produce as the rhythmic background of the given dance type.<sup>962</sup> Accompanying rhythm and tempo jointly influence harmonization. Regional variants of certain dance types often have different tempo frames; therefore, the pertaining rhythmic schemes of the accompaniment may also be realized differently. At a faster tempo, the series of chords that are customary at a slower tempo cannot be performed under the given limitations of the rhythmic accompaniment. The relative *lex minima* concerning the bass part also depends on the tempo: wider interval leaps may occur at a slower pace, but rarely at a fast tempo.

These two factors, rhythmic accompaniment and tempo, exert their effect more strongly in the heterophonic harmonic style with chord mixtures. At a very slow pace, as ex. 112 on p. 342 demonstrates, this way of harmonization may be realized perfectly, which is also facilitated by the fact that the *kontra* bows each alternating (short–long) metrical unit separately.<sup>963</sup>

For dances accompanied with two beats bowed at one stroke (*dűvő*), the possibilities of chord change are restricted, for the instrumentalists normally play one chord

<sup>961</sup> See references in fn 942.

<sup>962</sup> On the accompanying formulae of dance music, called for simplicity's sake *kontra rhythm*, see: Martin, Gy. 1967. 147–153; Pávai, I. 1993. 87–97; and the chapter *Kontra rhythm* in this book, from p. 246.

<sup>963</sup> Szalay, Z. 1992. 164–165; Pávai, I. 1993. 87; see the subchapter *Limping slow dűvő* from p. 247.

to these two beats on the same bow stroke. During this time, the fiddle may play two main melodic notes, out of which the accompaniment selects one, and plays the corresponding chord. Staves 4 and 5 of ex. 124 show the melodic outline interpreted in two ways, entailing different variants of harmonic accompaniment at the first and second renderings of the tune, as shown in staves 2 and 3, respectively. As is evident, in the last group of notes F–F–E–D, the *kontrás* felt the main note to be F at first, and E in the second rendering.

Ex. 124. *Ritka csárdás (excerpt). Northern Mezőség*

It may also occur simultaneously that the essential melody note is chosen in two different ways by two *kontra* players in the same band.

Ex. 125. *Lassú cigánytánc. Magyarpalatka (Inner Mezőség)*

As has been shown, the joint impact of the rhythmic accompaniment and the tempo may lead to aleatoric improvisation. The phenomenon may be even more evident in tunes that are played to slow as well as fast dances, by analogy to the renaissance practice of *proportio*. As noted in the chapter *Proportio*, Martin included in the semantic field of the term rhythmically different versions of a tune due to different genres, even if they are not played successively, or not included in the tradition of the same region. (In detail, see from p. 279.)

For a study of harmonic alternatives, sequences of slow and fast versions of the same tune played by the same band are more eloquent. Ex. 126 illustrates this case, where the third staff outside the bracket shows the virtual melodic skeleton which the *kontra* players considered for their choice of chords. If the *kontra* rhythm is slower ( $\text{♩} = 54$ ), and each beat bowed separately (a), this melodic outline is far closer to the actual tune as played on the fiddle than in the case of the faster dance ( $\text{♩} = 80$ ), when two  $\text{♩}$  beats are sounded at one stroke (b).

Ex. 126. (a) *Lassú cigánytánc*; (b) *Ritka csárdás*. Inner Mezőség (excerpt)

The image displays two musical examples, (a) and (b), each consisting of three staves. Example (a) is for 'Lassú cigánytánc' with a tempo marking of  $\text{♩} = 54$ . The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat, E-flat). The middle staff is in 13/8 time and contains a series of chords, with a bracketed 'V' indicating a virtual melodic skeleton. The bottom staff is also in treble clef with a key signature of two flats. Example (b) is for 'Ritka csárdás' with a tempo marking of  $\text{♩} = 80$ . It follows the same three-staff structure, with the top staff showing a more active melody due to the faster tempo. The middle staff again shows the harmonic accompaniment with a bracketed 'V'.

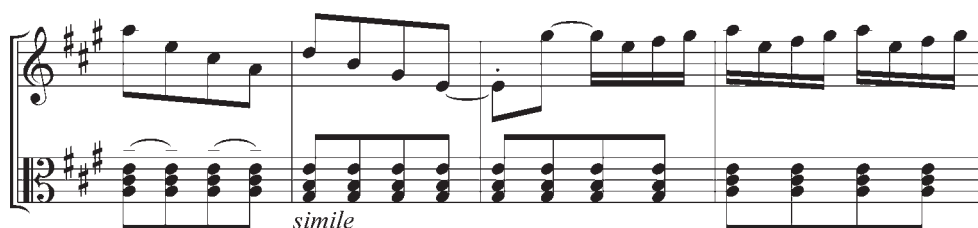
Ex. 126 demonstrates the harmonic differences of the accompaniment of a very slow asymmetric dance, and a moderately slow dance, performed by the same band. If the tempo is even faster ( $\text{♩} = 112$ ), and the accompanying rhythm is *estam*, i.e. the *kontra* only sounds every second  $\text{♩}$  per bar (ex. 127), the harmonization of the melody notes with major chord mixtures is even less explicit.

Ex. 127. *Csárdás* (excerpt). *Szék* (Northern Mezőség)

The musical score for Ex. 127 is presented in two systems. Each system consists of three staves: a Treble staff for the melody, a Bass staff for the accompaniment, and a Kontra staff for the harmonic accompaniment. The melody in the Treble staff is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and consists of eighth and quarter notes. The Bass staff accompaniment uses a mix of eighth and quarter notes. The Kontra staff accompaniment features a series of chords, primarily triads, that harmonize the melody. The overall style is characteristic of a Csárdás, a traditional Hungarian dance.

## 9.6 HARMONIC CONSEQUENCES OF MELODIC CHARACTER

The style, character, or type of a tune may also influence harmonization. Village musicians obviously have no knowledge of tune typology, so the harmonic differences they display are not theoretically founded. The true reason is that tunes of different melodic structure may suggest different ways of harmonization. For example, in instrumental tunes built on chordal figuration, *kontra* players usually identify the fiddle's broken chords, and intone the corresponding triads (p. 358, ex. 128).

Ex. 128. *Sűrű tempó (excerpt). Szék (Northern Mezőség)*

Similar is the case of tunes strongly suggestive of tonality, though not expressly through broken chords. This particularly applies to certain tunes of major character. In ex. 129, a descending major tetrachord is accompanied with functional harmonization, whereas in ex. 112 (p. 342), the descending Dorian scale in bars 3–4 is accompanied by heterophonic chord mixture. Both were played by the same band of Magyarpalatka, at the same tempo, as tunes for the same dance, therefore, the character, or style, of the tunes is the only factor that could have motivated different ways of harmonization.

Ex. 129. *Lassú cigánytánc (excerpt). Inner Mezőség*

Pentatonic tunes also require melody-governed harmonization in bands who use that accompaniment style, even if mixed with functional harmonization. In ex. 130, each note of the pentatonic melodic skeleton has an appropriate major chord built on it, except the second note of bar 2, where the *kontra* uses a D major triad for the note a to prepare a G major, which is to say, he switches to functional harmonization, while the bass keeps adjusting to the melody.

*Ex. 130. Lassú cigánytánc (excerpt). Inner Mezőség*

The pentatonic character of a melody may often become blurred by the figurations of the fiddle, but the accompanists may still throw it into deep relief, the bass playing the melody in close adherence to sung variants, and the three-stringed *kontra* building a series of major chords on those melody notes. The third staff of ex. 131 shows the series of skeletal notes of the melody as reconstructed from the roots of the *kontra* chords. Of course, bands that only apply functional harmonization will use that for pentatonic or modal tunes as well.

*Ex. 131. Ritka magyar (excerpt). Vice (Northern Mezőség).<sup>964</sup>*

<sup>964</sup> For a detailed transcription, and data, see p. 314, ex. 101.

\*

It follows from the oral and improvised nature of folk music that at certain points of the musical process, the continuation cannot be anticipated. However, *aleatoric improvisation*, meaning a choice from among several possible “right” solutions, must be differentiated from *stochastic improvisation*, which also implies accidental errors. This dual interpretation of improvisation confirms the dichotomy of the musical and the ethnographic aspect of the issue. The phenomenon may similarly be described with Noam Chomsky’s concepts *competence* and *performance*, which gradually gained general acceptance in cognitive disciplines from the mid-1960s onwards.<sup>965</sup>

*Competence* refers to a code of rules present in the informant’s mind, not necessarily consciously, which includes the knowledge needed for playing traditional music. “Not necessarily consciously” means that the informant may not be able to conceptualize or verbalize each of its elements even upon external inquiry, while still having representations that help their application. *Performance* means the actual use that turns competence, or, more precisely, a part of it, into an utterance through a set of mental rules.

Applying this model to folk music, we may, for example, differentiate variants of a tune that are part of the set of possibilities included in competence, from those that come about as “translations” of competence into performance, and are thus atypical. That does not only mean obvious mistakes, or intonation out of tune, easily perceived by outsiders, but may also refer to e.g. melodic turns in a tune perfectly fitting its pentatonic system, but remaining singular compared to other variants, even to those performed by the same singer. This phenomenon is more emphatic in the field of folk harmony, where the control exerted by the collective to moderate performance is weaker.

The afore-said explains why it makes no sense, for instance, to weigh the ratio of authentic and plagal chordal sequences in scores written down from sound recordings,<sup>966</sup> for the nature of these connections may not be rooted in music, but in extra-musical causes independent of the harmonizing intention. To point out once again, musically inadequate sound due to such causes may be perfectly authentic in the ethnographic aspect, corresponding to situations of music-making determined by tradition. However, such data must be eliminated for a correct harmonic interpretation of the musical material, and for a comprehension of the real principles of folk harmonization. As Carl Stumpf states in the study *Phonographierte Indianermelodien* published in 1892, individual mistakes and occasional deviations from a musical norm should not belong to the relevant sample of research.<sup>967</sup> The “sample” within the frames of the present issue is none other than the ideal form of harmonization in the informant’s mind, as

965 Chomsky, N. 1964. Cited by Stachó, L. 2002. 348. See also: Pléh, Cs. 1998a. 16.; 1998b. 15–16.

966 See Avasi, B. 1955.

967 Stumpf, C. 1892. 129.

controlled by tradition, which normally includes several correct solutions, by the nature of folklore.

The case of the discussed chords with a single physical image of sound but different musical interpretations is similar to the relation between a *phoneme* and its *allophones* in linguistics. This analogy was pointed out by the linguist Jac. van Ginneken at a conference in Amsterdam in 1931; later, Gustav Becking supported it with folk music examples. The most eloquent of them for the present issue is the case of an African musician who played the same tune on two flutes of different tonal systems, which the European musicologists mistakenly identified as two different tunes. This example led Roman Jakobson to conclude, "In music, it is not the naturalistic features, not the actually produced tones that count, but what we mean by them."<sup>968</sup> Or, we may add, what an authentic informant would like to perform in the ideal case. Hungarian bagpipe or flute players may perform a vocal tune of minor character in a major key on their instruments, owing to their technical possibilities.<sup>969</sup> As Kodály notes, a "folk singer" may also try "unwittingly to squeeze into his/her voice range tunes that exceed it."<sup>970</sup>

Within narrower limits, the phenomenon may also apply to art music. To quote Kodály again, "the intonation of musicians trained in stringed or wind instruments, or singing, may also waver. If we measured it with a physical gauge, we would surely find many tones out of tune. Luckily, such tiny deviations are accepted by the ear as in tune. As regards rhythm, there is a bon mot by the Viennese piano teacher Leschetitzky: a good performance is actually a continuous series of rhythmic errors. By that he understands tiny deviations from the rigid accuracy of note values."<sup>971</sup> The same happens in folk music, but the frames of diversion are far wider, and the extent of deviation usually greater. That applies especially to the instrumentalists in charge of harmonization. Collective control concerns the performance of the melody and the rhythm, but the quality of the realization of harmony is the responsibility of the accompanists alone. That is probably one reason why the harmonic aspect of instrumental folk music appears to be more chaotic, or, as Lajtha writes, "out of tune," at first hearing.<sup>972</sup> If, however, the specific aspects studied in this chapter are taken into account, we may have a better chance to explore definite systems of folk harmonization, which exist cognitively, but are not always realized in practice.

<sup>968</sup> Jakobson, R. 1972. 435–436.

<sup>969</sup> Vargyas, L. 2005. 178–178; Sárosi, B. 1998. 86.

<sup>970</sup> Kodály, Z. 1941/1982. 265.

<sup>971</sup> Kodály, Z. 1941/1982. 265.

<sup>972</sup> Lajtha, L. 1953. 169–173.



## 10 CONCLUSIONS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE HUNGARIAN FOLK DANCE MUSIC OF TRANSYLVANIA

In its initial phase, Hungarian folk music research concentrated on the vocal repertoire, while issues of instrumental music and functional approaches received less attention. The first major results of research on instrumental music and dance provided the conditions for an examination of folk music from the point of view of dancing.

The disintegration of traditional peasant society took place in highly diverse ways and at different pace by regions, and within this process, dancing and dance music had better chances of survival than many other genres. That is why the intense fieldwork indispensable for the study of folk dance music was still possible in Transylvania in the recent decades. For a complex insight into both synchronic phenomena and diachronic processes, the research included a survey of the recent state of folk dance music, as well as a retrospective enquiry into its earlier stages based on folk memory.

Transylvania proved to be a particularly suitable region for this investigation, owing to its geographic compactness, historical legacy, regional diversity, and interethnic relations. The importance of the region is attested by the unanimous opinion of Hungarian folk music and folk dance researchers that it is still under-researched for its richness. This area is easier to demarcate as a major ethnographic unit than the other main dialects of Hungarian folk music, owing to its geographic, historical, and ethnic relations. It is relatively easy to mark off the northwestern areas which historically did not always belong to Transylvania, and ethnographically count as transitional. The same applies to settlement clusters near mountain passes that have contacts with areas over the Carpathians.

It did not seem feasible to set a predefined temporal interval for research, since the upper limit depends on the survival of tradition, and hence on the possibilities of research, which are highly differentiated from one region to another. Nor is it practicable to define a lower limit, because indirect sources (i.e. literary and iconographic data) on folk dance music may go back to several centuries. Of course, as their information content may be incomplete or unreliable, they do not allow for a fully valid reconstruction of different stages of folk dance music over the centuries. Still, indirect sources may lead to (almost) satisfactory conclusions in such details as the appearance of instruments, the emergence of typical instrumental ensembles, proxemic issues in the interaction of musicians and dancers, etc.

While vocal folk music can be researched quite well even without technical tools, folk dance music, being mostly instrumental, and often polyphonic, cannot be examined adequately without a technical apparatus. The accelerating development of the technical possibilities of documentation, from the phonograph to modern digital multimedia tools, permits more and more reliable documentation in the earlier aspects of research. In addition, new aspects may be introduced which were out of the question earlier for lack of appropriate tools, or could only be addressed in terms of approximate information from indirect sources (e.g. playing technique, polyphony). Mastery of data recording tools may contribute to the development of an ethnomusicological source criticism, on which the study of folk dance music, and instrumental polyphonic folk music in general, could rely.

Investigating performers and consumers of folk dance music with a socio-ethnographic approach, the groups in the focus of research are such that can be interpreted as relatively closed and self-defined communities, at least in the aspect of dancing. The bulk of their repertoire is inherited from the preceding generation through traditional mechanisms. They have a homogeneous set of values and a convergent system of norms. At diverse levels of communal life, distinct statuses evolve, such as musician, non-musician, dance organizer, dancer, band leader, accompanist, etc. Individuals may occupy one or more of these statuses, depending on the occasion or situation. Practicing the rights and duties inherent in a status, the incumbent performs the adequate role; in other words, a status, which is essentially static, becomes dynamic through the role.

Compared to others who play instruments, professional musicians have a special role in the dance life of a community. Due to their financial interest, their activity is dual. On the one hand, they are interested in sustaining the old repertoire as is required by the community, and in transmitting it to their successors. On the other hand, they have to satisfy individual or special generational requirements, for example, they have to know fashionable tunes in demand among the youth, and in this way, they play a role in changes and adaptations of the repertoire. They regard urban Romani musicians as higher in rank and try to acquire their knowledge (musical literacy, popular art music, urban dance music, harmonization, etc.) to come abreast of them.

Research shows, however, that the performers of rural folk dance music surpass their urban colleagues in terms of repertoire, expertise in the customs of several areas, adaptation to dancing, and improvisation. Urban musicians acquire their repertoire not only from tradition, but also from sheet music, or more recently from audio recordings; hence, they will stick to fixed forms. Many Romani musicians from the small towns of Transylvania are regularly hired to play in villages, and as they are expert in both urban and rural repertoires, the contrast between the two models is more nuanced and blurred in their case.

In the service of the dancers, village musicians are in close connection with their audience. Usually good dancers themselves, they can adapt maximally to the person dancing just in front of the band, switching to his favorite tune (often bought for money, and later perhaps named after the owner), adjusting to his tempo, or stressing certain dance elements rhythmically. When dance rhymes are exclaimed, or a vocal version of the tune is sung during dancing, they will also adjust in rhythm or tempo, and refrain from complicated instrumental variations or changes of tunes. At the same time, they dislike, and often play tricks on, poor dancers, or even play special tunes reserved for secretly mocking a dancer's poor performance.

The musicians' disposition to joking is well known. Sometimes they will mix in church hymns or the national anthem of another ethnicity into dance music. On the other hand, the community's flair for pranks may also put the musicians to peculiar tests (having them play on a cart, lowered in a well, up in a tree, requesting peculiar modes of playing, using them to expel someone from the dance, etc.).

Since most field recordings of folk music were not made in a traditional context, but upon the collector's request, it is important to examine the impact of collectors and the circumstances of collecting on a professional village musician invested with the status of informant. Several factors will influence his playing in such a situation, which therefore may partly deviate from his performance in a traditional setting. Recording dance music when dancers are not present may in itself be problematic (the tempo, or the number of tunes played to a dance may change, etc.). Other factors include the musician's remuneration, the collector's wish to manifest his expertise, or show off his instrumental mastery, while he might as well display his incompetence, etc. On such occasions the collector may also fall victim to pranks by the musicians, such as improvising a *csárdás* from a waltz tune.

The majority of professional village musicians playing regularly, or at least occasionally for money or other allotments, are mostly of Romani origin, but there are also Hungarian and Romanian fiddlers who can play on a par with them, or nearly so. Earlier, musicians and bands of Jewish origin were also common in Transylvania. Irrespective of nationality, the musicians usually supply music to different ethnic groups, thus playing a transmitting role. Interethnic relations were fostered by joint dance occasions in ethnically mixed settlements, where ethnically mixed local dance cycles could evolve, as locally institutionalized, regulated forms of interethnic contacts, e.g. the dance cycle of Vajdaszentivány.

All this, however, is insufficient to explain the cultural correspondences between the Transylvanian ethnicities, particularly salient in dances and dance music. The large number of dance names referring to ethnicities is proof of the interethnic mobility of the repertoire (e.g. in Hungarian: *féloláhos*, *szászka*, *cigánytánc*; in Romanian: *ungurește*, *țigănește*, *ștraiere*, etc.). Mobility of population in the course of history, changes of the ethnicity

of complete villages or groups of villages, or the coexistence of several ethnicities within a joint traditional frame brought about such an integrated cultural mixture where antecedents or contexts of certain elements in the culture of one ethnicity are to be found in the tradition of another. For example, a part of the earlier Hungarian tune and dance repertoire may be adopted by Romanians or Roms. In this case, the Romanian or Romani tradition cannot be explored fully without an equally meticulous study of the Hungarian tradition, nor can the Hungarian repertoire be interpreted in itself. On the other hand, there are Romanian folklore elements borrowed and preserved by the Hungarians, not the Romanians, in a certain region. Thus, the examination of the Hungarian folk dance music may provide data for the Romanian research as well.

In Transylvania, folk dance music is almost exclusively provided by means of instruments or instrumental ensembles. The presence of instruments capable of dance accompaniment can be documented by relatively rich archival sources, starting with the 15–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the data must be handled with due caution, for, on the one hand, the meaning of instrument names often changed, and on the other, it is not obvious whether they can actually be connected to peasant culture. All in all, a relatively rich assortment of instruments have been in use in Transylvania over the centuries, some of which have now disappeared from the use of the Hungarians, such as the bagpipe, or the *töröksíp*.

Certain instrumental ensembles played a role in musical self-subsistence, accompanying dances at occasional merry-making, while others – usually in consolidated combinations that might differ by regions – were hired for major events involving dancing. For the latter, certain instruments were specialized for melody playing, others for accompaniment, and still others for both. This specialization, and the diverse modes of rhythmic support for dances, make it difficult to subsume the instruments in the classic organological categories of Hornbostel and Sachs, particularly in the subclasses. Consider the bass, a string instrument that may be played by bowing or hitting, or the *gardon*, a cello-like instrument used as percussion, or the flute played with a guttural sound, etc. Another result of specialization on dance accompaniment is the use of a fiddle or viola as *kontra*, with regionally diverse tuning patterns and ways of playing. It is of particular importance that the use of the three-stringed *kontra*, suitable for playing harmonic triads owing to its flat bridge, can be documented over a far wider area than thought earlier.

Hungarian ethnochoreology differentiates three forms of musical accompaniment to dances: independent rhythmic accompaniment, merely melodic accompaniment, and complex accompaniment combining the former two. With the help of literary, iconographic, and recent folklore data, the presence of each form can be traced in Europe, in the Carpathian Basin and in more detail in Transylvania. These data reveal that the forms applied are influenced by several factors: local customs, size and significance of

the dance occasion, the social rank of the community or family, the current state of modernization in the local culture, or the available musical potential.

Within this framework, each community has developed forms of musical accompaniment that locally count as ideal, and preferable in optimal cases. Such instrumental ensembles can be ranged into several types, and though related to one another, each can be documented for a relatively lengthy period of several generations as more or less stable in their respective areas. The idea of the wind–percussion duo, spread all over the world and documented for centuries in retrospect, survived as the flute–*gardon* and fiddle–*gardon* duos among the eastern Székelys, the Gyimes Csángós and the Romanians living nearby around Békás and Maroshévíz. Ensembles with a plucked instrument only survived, speaking of the Hungarians of Transylvania, in the Barcaság region; they are much more frequent in the regions to the east and south of Transylvania.

The fiddle–cimbalom–bass ensemble used in the western Székely regions, which might seem merely a fragment of urban Romani bands, is much rather a survival of some earlier tradition, as both the cimbalom and the bass essentially played the melody. The fiddle–two-stringed *kontra*–bass ensemble is closer to the composition of urban Romani bands, however, in Székelyföld and among the Romanians of Arad and Bihar regions, the role of the *kontra* was to double the melody, in addition to playing the accompanying rhythm, rather than perform harmonic accompaniment in the sense of art music.

Of course, there were rural ensembles in Transylvania that corresponded to urban Romani bands even in their style of playing, or the use of a clarinet; still, most of them, as in the Upper and Middle Maros regions, contained a three-stringed *kontra* rather than a normal viola. Though in harmonization they may be very close to an urban functional style, the sound of such bands was still somewhat different from that of the urban bands, owing to the compact sound of the three-stringed *kontra*, the dance-centered rhythmical playing of the cimbalom, and the special bowing technique of the fiddle. In the greater part of Transylvania, including the Homoród valley in Székelyföld, the prevalent ensemble type was fiddle–three-stringed *kontra*–bass, without a cimbalom, at places with doubled fiddle and/or *kontra*.

Replacing the *kontra* with the accordion, or the clarinet with the saxophone are relatively new phenomena. These instruments have not had sufficient time to integrate into local tradition, being soon displaced at rural weddings by bands with guitars, synthesizers, or jazz drums. Such bands sometimes take a fiddler with them who knows the local customs and repertoire, and can perform the traditional part of the wedding – of course, accompanied by the electric instruments. Documenting these new, non-traditional forms is also important with respect to the transformation of folklore, but at present, they are still outside the interest of traditional folk music research.

The rhythmic formulae executed by ensembles specialized for dance accompaniment provide the musical support of the dances, and at the same time play an important

role in defining the dance types. The three main types of rhythmic accompaniment, called simply *kontra rhythm* in dance research, are the following: *slow düvő*, moving in ♩ notes; *fast düvő*, progressing in ♪ notes; and *estam*, produced by alternating ♩ notes. Attached to different dance types in different areas of Transylvania, these simple rhythmic schemes assume a great regional diversity of forms and nuanced differences. So much so that the basic type may be hard to make out in some cases, only to be inferred from a comparison of several accompanying forms.

The rhythmic scheme we call *limping slow düvő* accompanies slow asymmetrical couple dances. Meticulous examination of such music permits the assumption that its asymmetry evolves as a periodic alternation of two parallel temporal levels. When the *kontra* rhythm and the basic rhythm of the dance diverge, e.g. when a dance of the *legényes* type, progressing in ♪ notes, is danced to *verbunk* music moving in ♩ notes, the discrepancy suggests that a newly fashionable piece of music was applied to a previously known dance of different rhythm. Identifying these types of accompanying rhythmic patterns in dances of other ethnicities may lend help in exploring the interethnic relations of dance types.

In the identity of a dance type, melodic rhythm plays a smaller role than *kontra* rhythm. The most rudimentary pattern of melodic rhythm used for dance accompaniment comprises *motivic repetition*. It mainly occurs with archaic dance forms, such as chain dances of the Balkans, hence also in the dance music repertoire of the Hungarians of Gyimes and Moldavia. In the same areas, another part of dances are accompanied by tunes in what has been described as the *goliardic rhythm*. This pattern has great significance in Transylvania in the dance types of archaic men's dances, archaic couple dances, as well as new-style *friss csárdás*, and some urban social dances. In Székelyföld and along the river Sajó, some dances in goliardic rhythm are unconventionally called *verbunk*.

Another pattern of melodic rhythm is called, for the sake of simplicity, *bagpipe rhythm*. Such tunes comprise four or two, rigidly isorhythmic lines, often displaying kinship with real bagpipe tunes. They go with relatively few dance types, some of them of the fast *csárdás* type. Consistently *syncopated rhythm* is also mainly accommodated by the latter dance type.

Finally, the *dotted rhythm* in a ♩ metric frame characterizes slow *csárdás* tunes and their conversions into fast *csárdás*, as well as some slow men's dances and the related circle dances of the Mezőség region. In some regional variants, the dotting may sound milder than the usual proportion 3:1 or 1:3, better represented with triplets or quintuplets. When recorded solely in vocal performance, such tunes have sometimes been misinterpreted as being in 5/8 or 6/8 meter. Such cases confirm that a correct rhythmical interpretation of a tune involves joint consideration of melody, dance, and *kontra* rhythm. In this particular case, the *kontra* rhythm sustains the basic pulse of ♩ values, revealing the meter as 4/4.

A part of folk dance tunes are characterized by a rhythmic polymorphism related to the practice of *proportio*, known all over Europe from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In an ethnomusicological sense, the term does not only refer to alternation of quadruple and triple meter, but also to a connection of any two dance types differing in rhythm and tempo by reinterpreting a tune of the first type in the specific rhythm of the second (or even third) type. Being skilled in such conversions, musicians sometimes come up with tricks like transforming a church hymn or national anthem into a dance tune. This tendency is also the reason why certain tune types may appear in diverse genres, even outside the realm of dance music.

Vocal and instrumental music is regularly intertwined in entertainments with dancing, which does not only result in instrumental settings of vocal tunes, but also in the secondary vocalization of certain instrumental tunes. From the point of view of tune typology, it is inadequate to differentiate instrumental and vocal types. In fact, a system categorizes melodic skeletons, which are obtained when the specific figurations of the instrumental performance are shed, whereby instrumental tunes are artificially turned into vocal tunes, as it were.

Instrumental and vocal music are not so sharply differentiated by informants as by researchers. Even the difference between tune and dance is blurred: *csárdás* means a dance and an accompanying tune as well. For people in a traditional culture, dance, instrumental music, singing, dance rhymes, and the ritual context fuse into a tight syncretic unity.

It depends on the genre whether a basic tune is preserved by tradition as only vocal, as only instrumental, or as both. An overwhelming majority of tunes belong to the latter category. A high degree of instrumental figuration usually goes with genres which do not involve singing, due to their inherent specificities, or other laws of the tradition.

In genres that allow of singing along with instrumental music, the melodic instrument usually alternates between cantabile and a highly figured manner of playing, singing with the singers, as it were. That does not mean, of course, that without parallel singing it automatically switches over to figurations. The two playing modes are usually alternated with a good sense of proportion, and it is rare to hear a whole stanza performed entirely in the figured manner. Figured playing is tightly connected to dancing, e.g. supporting the rhythm of the louder sound effects of dancing, but this tendency never becomes a mechanically applied rule. The ways in which dancing determines the instrumental rendering of tunes require further research.

For the relative number of tunes attached to a dance type, Hungarian ethnochoreology has introduced the categories *one*, *several*, and *many*. In each regional unit, the number of tunes is relatively fixed in the case of dances with a long-standing tradition. When a dance with *many* tunes appears in a neighboring area, at first it will have but a few tunes there. It is therefore easy to conclude that such a dance is a newcomer in the second area.

The placement of tunes within a dance process is also regulated by tradition. Some tunes may be used to start a dance, others may not. Apart from that, the order of the majority of tunes can be freely chosen; nevertheless, tunes of the same tonality tend to succeed one another. This principle may be overridden by the custom of playing the favourite tune of the dancer just arriving in front of the fiddler. A broader frame of the sequence of tunes is provided by the dance cycle. Apart from the common sequence of slow and fast men's dances, each with several tunes, in Central Transylvania, there are also men's dances of several movements known in other regions, with one tune per movement, such as the *verbunk* of Zselyk, or the *borica* of Hétfalu.

Period-length constituents of dance tunes may in themselves correspond to dancing. Folk terminology calls such sections *fordítás* ('turning') or *pont* ('point'). Instrumental interludes, played freely after several tunes, and developing simple harmonic schemes, probably go back to repeated closing sections of certain tunes. Functionally, they are related to the repetitive interludes in Hungarian bagpipe music called *aprāja*.

Research into Transylvanian folk polyphony, a field closely connected to the practice of dance music, is still in the initial stage. It is therefore important to define the aspects that such investigations should take into account. The primacy of the dance-accompanying function requires that the musicians keep accurate rhythm and customary tempo. In terms of harmonization, however, traditional audiences had no compulsory expectations, even if they could differentiate a good *kontrás* from a poor one. Thus, the performance of a *kontrás* or bassist stopping the strings at random may count as ethnographically authentic, if his bowing technique is satisfactory. Musically, however, it will not be authentic, for professional traditional musicians will be able to differentiate between right and wrong solutions within their own harmonic system, and if possible, they will call in a *kontrás* who is able to play according to this system.

The authenticity of a band's performance can be doubted when the members are not accustomed to playing together, or the band is invited to a distant area where they are not (yet) familiar with the local customs. Recordings of such performances may fail to provide reliable information for the study of the traditional forms of folk dance music. In the study of folk harmony, it must also be kept in mind that village bass and *kontra* players never strive to create harmonies together; on the contrary, they work in relative independence of each other.

The impact of collectors and recording situations on informants is an important factor in the study of folk harmony as well. When the collectors themselves are urban musicians, a village informant's harmonization may differ from what he produces in a normal situation. He may not want his cherished knowledge to be "stolen," or conversely, he may show off his knowledge to the "colleague," overcomplicating his chord sequences. Recordings in natural settings (e.g. weddings) are therefore better suited for the study of the normal forms of folk harmonization.

In Transylvanian folk music, several principles of harmonization have been transmitted through generations, namely drone accompaniment, melody-governed harmony, and functional harmony. Each may appear alone or in various combinations. A simpler form of melody-governed harmony, on the two-stringed *kontra*, evolved from the fusing of heterophony and the drone principle, that is, sounding the open string next to the melody-playing string, as well as from the modelling role of the *kontra* rhythm. In the case of a three-stringed *kontra*, melody-governed harmony is realized by playing the major chords corresponding to the skeletal notes of the melody, in other words, through a heterophony with major chord mixtures. The bass obviously also sounds the same main notes.

Functional harmonization evolved in urban Romani music upon the influence of Western art music of the Classical and Romantic periods. Its impact on rural musical practice shows great differences by region and generation. It is based on the principle that each chord should be reached via a previous dominant chord. Since this principle is applied independently by each accompanist, doubled leading notes, parallel fifths, or parallel chords may occur.

Melody-governed and functional harmonization may be continuously mixed within a single piece; consequently, an appropriate analysis must constantly strive to identify the harmonic principles at work. The choice between the modes of harmonization may be influenced by the technical possibilities of the accompanying instruments, the nonverbal communication between the band leader and the accompanists, the tempo, the rhythmic patterns of accompaniment, as well as the character of a tune.

Considering all the above factors determining harmonization will help to differentiate between real variations according to a certain style (aleatoric improvisation) and random solutions or simple mistakes (stochastic improvisation). Therefore, the relationship of ethnographic and musical authenticity may also be modelled with the dichotomy of competence and performance, as used in cognitive disciplines.

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Several further aspects of Transylvanian folk dance music need thorough examination, but since at the current level of the processing of sources this has not been possible, they are not included in this volume. One of the most urgent tasks of the near future is the assessment and interpretation of the complete tune stock of Transylvanian folk dance music. Since this far exceeds the purview of this book, I did not find it topical to include the partial results already achieved. I still hope that this summary of my results contributes to a better understanding of folk dance music, a phenomenon at the intersection of the research fields of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology.



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## DIALECTAL DIVISION OF THE HUNGARIAN FOLK DANCE MUSIC OF TRANSYLVANIA

The hierarchical list below contains those Transylvanian regions where data on Hungarian folk dance music have been collected. For an explanation of this geographic division, which is not included in the present book, see Pávai, I. 2012b; 2018. The aim of this index is, much rather, to clarify the hierarchical relationship of the regions referred to.

### SZÉKELYFÖLD

#### **Csíkszék**

Gyergyó  
Felcsík  
Középcsík  
Alcsík  
Kászon

#### **Háromszék**

Lower Háromszék  
Upper Háromszék  
Erdővidék

#### **Udvarhelyszék**

Homoród valley  
Udvarhely region  
Keresztúr region  
Sóvidék

#### **Marosszék**

Marostere  
Marosszéki Mezőség  
Nyárad valley  
Upper Kis-Küküllő valley

#### **Regions with ethnic groups separated from the Székely block**

Gyimes  
Székelys of Bukovina resettled in the Hunyad region

## NON-SZÉKELY REGIONS

### Upper Szamos region

Kis-Szamos valley  
Nagy-Szamos valley

### Kalotaszeg

Kalota valley (Felszeg)  
Almás valley (Alszeg)  
Nádas valley  
Kapus valley  
Fenes valley

### The environs of Kolozsvár

Communities of former noble rank  
Erdőalja

### Mezőség

Northern Mezőség  
Szék  
Inner Mezőség  
Tóvidék  
Eastern Mezőség  
Southern Mezőség

### Sajó

Sajó valley  
Zselyk  
Dipse valley

### Upper Maros region

Northern Upper Maros valley  
Southern Upper Maros valley  
Görgény valley

### Aranyosvidék

Aranyosszék  
Lower Aranyos valley  
Torockó

### Maros–Küküllő region

Hegyalja  
Kutasföld  
Vízmellék  
Middle Maros region

### Hungarian diaspora of Southern Transylvania

Barcaság  
Hétfalu  
Oltvidék  
Hunyad

## INDEX OF GEOGRAPHIC NAMES

Geographic names are given in the alphabetical order of the forms used in this book. If the official name in the language of the current country is different, it is also included in the entry, together with the ISO 3166-1 country code.

Abásfalva – Aldea (RO)  
 Ajnád – Nădejdea (RO)  
 Ákosfalva – Acățari (RO)  
 Alcsík – Ciucul de Jos (RO)  
 Almásmálom – Malin (RO)  
 Alpestes – Peștișu Mare (RO)  
 Alsóboldogfalva – Bodogaia (RO)  
 Alsósófalva – Ocna de Jos (RO)  
 Alsószovát – Suatu de Jos (RO)  
 Amiens – (FR)  
 Arad – Arad (RO)  
 Aranyosrákos – Vălenii de Arieș (RO)  
 Aranyosszék – Scaunul Arieșului (RO)  
 Árvátfalva – Arvăteni (RO)  
 Avas – Oaş (RO)  
 Bácsi – Băcia (RO)  
 Bacsoj – Băcioi (RO)  
 Bajna – (HU)  
 Balassagyarmat – (HU)  
 Balavásár – Bălăușeri (RO)  
 Bálványospataka – Bolovăniș (RO)  
 Bálványosvár – Cetatea Bálványos (RO)  
 Bánffyhunad – Huedin (RO, RS)  
 Banat – Bánság (HU), Banat (RO), Банат (RS)  
 Bánvölgy – (HU)  
 Bányavidék – Zona Baia Mare (RO)  
 Barcaság – Țara Bârsei (RO)

Barcsa – Bârcea Mare (RO)  
Batiz – Botiz (RO)  
Békás – Bicz (RO)  
Békés – (HU)  
Bélafalva – Bârcea Mare (RO)  
Bereck – Breţcu (RO)  
Berettyó-Felvidék – Barcăul de Sus (RO)  
Berlin – (DE)  
Beszterce – Bistriţa (RO)  
Besztercebánya – Banská Bystrica (SK)  
Betfalva – Beteşti (RO)  
Bethlen – Beclean (RO)  
Betlenszentmiklós – Sânmiclăuş (RO)  
Bihar – Bihor (RO)  
Biharkeresztes – (HU)  
Bikafalva – Tăureni (RO)  
Bogárfalva – Bulgăreni (RO)  
Bogártelke – Băgara (RO)  
Bogdánfalva – Valea Seacă (RO)  
Bohemia – (CZ)  
Bonchida – Bonţida (RO)  
Bonyha – Bahnea (RO)  
Borospataka – Valea Boroş (RO)  
Borsa – Borşa (RO)  
Borsod – (HU)  
Bögöz – Mugeni (RO)  
Bözöd – Bezid (RO)  
Brassó – Braşov (RO)  
Bucharest – Bucureşti (RO)  
Buda → Budapest – (HU)  
Budapest – (HU)  
Budatelke – Budeşti (RO)  
Bukovina – Bukovina (RO), БУКОВИНА (UA)  
Bukuresd – Bucureşti (RO)  
Buza – Buza (RO)  
Bükkalja – Codru (RO)  
Bükkhavaspataka – Poiana Fagului (RO)  
Chalons-sur-Marne – (FR)  
Csallóköz region – Žitný ostrov (SK)  
Csávás – Ceuaş (RO)

Csedreg – Cidreag (RO)  
Csehétfalva – Cehețel (RO)  
Csekefalva – Cechești (RO)  
Cserbel – Cerbăl (RO)  
Csernakeresztúr – Cristur (RO)  
Csernátfalva – Cernatu (RO)  
Csernáton – Cernat (RO)  
Csík – Ciuc (RO)  
Csík – Ciucani (RO)  
Csíkborzsova – Bârzava (RO)  
Csíkcsonmótán – Șoimeni (RO)  
Csíkjenőfalva – Ineu (RO)  
Csíkkozmás – Cozmeni (RO)  
Csíkmadaras – Mădăraș (RO)  
Csíkmenaság – Armășeni (RO)  
Csíkpálfalva – Păuleni-Ciuc (RO)  
Csíkrákos – Racu (RO)  
Csíksomlyó – Șumuleu (RO)  
Csíkszentdomokos – Sândominic (RO)  
Csíkszentimre – Sântimbru (RO)  
Csíkszentmihály – Mihăileni (RO)  
Csíkszenttamás – Tomești (RO)  
Csíktaploca – Toplița-Ciuc (RO)  
Csincsetanya – Csincse (HU)  
Csombord – Ciumbrud (RO)  
Dabolc – Dobolț (RO)  
Dálcs – Dalci (RO)  
Dálnok – Dalnic (RO)  
Dányán – Daia (RO)  
Debrecen – (HU)  
Dés – Dej (RO)  
Déva – Deva (RO)  
Dicsőszentmárton – Târnăveni (RO)  
Ditró – Ditrău (RO)  
Dobra – Dobra (RO)  
Dobruja – Dobrogea (RO)  
Egri – Agriș (RO)  
Ehed – Ihod (RO)  
Elek – (HU)  
Erdőalja – Zona Cojocna (RO)

Erdőd – Ardud (RO)  
Erdőhátság – Ținutul Pădurenilor (RO)  
Erdőszentgyörgy – Sângeorgiu de Pădure (RO)  
Erdővidék – Zona Baraolt (RO)  
Eszmény – Stoiana (RO)  
Etéd – Atid (RO)  
Faragó – Fărăgău (RO)  
Fejérd – Feiurdeni (RO)  
Feketelak – Lacu (RO)  
Felcsík – Ciucul de Sus (RO)  
Felenyed – Aiudul de Sus (RO)  
Felsőboldád – Stâna (RO)  
Felsőboldogfalva – Feliceni (RO)  
Felsőrákos – Racoșul de Sus (RO)  
Felsősófalva – Ocna de Sus (RO)  
Felsőszentmihály – Sânmihaiu de Sus (RO)  
Felsőtök – Tiocu de Sus (RO)  
Fenyőkút – Fântâna Brazilor (RO)  
Freyburg – (DE)  
Gagy – Goagiu (RO)  
Galac – Galați (RO)  
Galambod – Porumbeni (RO)  
Geges – Ghinești (RO)  
Gerendkeresztúr – Grindeni (RO)  
Gernyeszeg – Gornești (RO)  
Geszt – (HU)  
Gógánváralja – Gogan Varolea (RO)  
Gömör – Gemer (SK)  
Görgényoroszfalu – Solovăstru (RO)  
Great Hungarian Plain – Alföld (HU)  
Güdüc – Ghiduț (RO)  
Gyalu – Gilău (RO)  
Gyergyókilyénfalva – Chileni (RO)  
Gyergyó – Giurgeu (RO)  
Gyergyó Basin – Depresiunea Giurgeului (RO)  
Gyergyóalfalu – Joseni (RO)  
Gyergyócsomafalva – Ciumani (RO)  
Gyergyóditró – Ditrău (RO)  
Gyergyókilyénfalva – Chileni (RO)  
Gyergyóremete – Remetea (RO)

Gyergyószárhegy – Lăzarea (RO)  
Gyergyószentmiklós – Gheorgheni (RO)  
Gyergyóújfalu – Suseni (RO)  
Gyerővásárhely – Dumbrava (RO)  
Gyimes – Ghimeș (RO)  
Gyimesbükk – Făget (RO)  
Gyimesfelsőlok – Lunca de Sus (RO)  
Gyimesközéplak – Lunca de Jos (RO)  
Gyöngyös – (HU)  
Győr – (HU)  
Gyulafehérvár – Alba Iulia (RO)  
Hadikfalva – Dornești (RO)  
Halmágy – Hălmeag (RO)  
Hari – Heria (RO)  
Háromszék – Trei Scaune (RO)  
Hátszeg – Hațeg (RO)  
Havad – Neaua (RO)  
Hédel – Hiadel' (SK)  
Héderfája – Idrifaia (RO)  
Hegyalja region – Zona Aiud (RO)  
Hétfalu – Zona Săcele (RO)  
Hidegségpataka – Valea Rece (RO)  
Hirip – Hrip (RO)  
Homoród – Homorod (RO)  
Homoródalmás – Merești (RO)  
Homoródszentpál – Sânpaul (RO)  
Homoródújfalu – Satu Nou (RO)  
Hosdát – Hășdat (RO)  
Hosszúfalu – Satu Lung (RO)  
Hunyad – Hunedoara (RO)  
Idecspatak – Idicel (RO)  
Inaktelke – Inucu (RO)  
Ipolyság – Šahy (SK)  
Istensegíts – Țibeni (RO)  
Józsefháza – Iojib (RO)  
Kalota – Călata (RO)  
Kalotaszeg – Zona Călata-Almaș-Nadeș (RO)  
Kalotaszentkirály – Sâncraiu (RO)  
Kamchatka – (RU)  
Kápolnásfalu – Căpâlnița (RO)

Kapronca – Koprivnica (HR)  
Karánsebes – Caransebeș (RO)  
Kassa – Košice (SK)  
Kászon – Cașin (RO)  
Kászonaltíz – Plăieșii de Jos (RO)  
Kászonfeltíz – Plăieșii de Sus (RO)  
Kászonimpér – Imper (RO)  
Kászonújfalú – Casinu Nou (RO)  
Kecsetkisfalud – Păltiniș (RO)  
Kecskemét – (HU)  
Kelence – Chelița (RO)  
Kelgyest – Pildești (RO)  
Kendilóna – Luna de Jos (RO)  
Kerelőszentpál – Sânpaul (RO)  
Keresd – Criș (RO)  
Keresztúr – Cristuru Secuiesc (RO)  
Keszthely – (HU)  
Ketesd – Tetișu (RO)  
Kézdialbis – Albiș (RO)  
Kézdimartonos – Mărtănuș (RO)  
Kibéd – Chibed (RO)  
Kide – Chidea (RO)  
Kilyénfalva – Chileni (RO)  
Kisdoba – Doba Mică (RO)  
Kis-Küküllő – Târnava Mică (RO)  
Kispetri – Petrinzel (RO)  
Kis-Szamos – Someșul Mic (RO)  
Klézse – Cleja (RO)  
Kolozs – Cojocna (RO)  
Kolozsagyida – Viile Tecii (RO)  
Kolozsvár – Cluj-Napoca (RO)  
Koltó – Coltău (RO)  
Korbászka – Corbasca (RO)  
Korond – Corund (RO)  
Kovácsi – Covăsinț (RO)  
Kökényesd – Porumbesti (RO)  
Kőrispatak – Crișeni (RO)  
Körösfő – Izvoru Crișului (RO)  
Körösjánosfalva – Ioaniș (RO)  
Köröstárkány – Târcaia (RO)

Kőszeg – (HU)  
Kővár – Chioar (RO)  
Középföld – Fildu de Mijloc (RO)  
Krassó-Szörény – Caraş-Severin (RO)  
Kraszna – Crasna (RO)  
Krasznabéltek – Beltiug (RO)  
Krasznaköz – Zona Crasna-Someş (RO)  
Kutasföld – Podişul Târnavei Mici (RO)  
Küküllő – Târnava (RO)  
Küküllőkirályfalva – Crăieşti (RO)  
Külsőrekecsin – Fundu Răcăciuni (RO)  
Küsmöd – Cuşmed (RO)  
Lápos – Lăpuş (RO)  
Lele – Lelei (RO)  
Lészped – Lespezi (RO)  
Lóvész – Livezi (RO)  
Lozsád – Jeledinţi (RO)  
Lőrincréve – Leorinţ (RO)  
Lövete – Lueta (RO)  
Lujzikalagor – Luizi-Călugăra (RO)  
Madarász – Mădăraş (RO)  
Magyarbece – Beţa (RO)  
Magyarborosbocsárd – Bucerdea Vinoasă (RO)  
Magyarbólkény – Beica de Jos (RO)  
Magyarlapád – Lopadea Nouă (RO)  
Magyarlóna – Luna de Sus (RO)  
Magyaró – Aluniş (RO)  
Magyarózd – Ozd (RO)  
Magyarpalatka – Pălatca (RO)  
Magyarpéterlaka – Petrilaca de Mureş (RO)  
Magyarszovát – Suatu (RO)  
Magyarvista – Viştea (RO)  
Makfalva – Ghindari (RO)  
Máramaros – Maramureş (RO)  
Maros – Mureş (RO)  
Marosfalu – Suseni (RO)  
Marosgombás – Gâmbaş (RO)  
Maroshévíz – Topliţa (RO)  
Marosjára – Iara de Mureş (RO)  
Maroskövesd – Pietriş (RO)

Maroslekence – Lechința (RO)  
Marosoroszfalu – Rușii Munți (RO)  
Marossárpatak – Glodeni (RO)  
Maros-Torda – Mureș-Turda (RO)  
Marosvásárhely – Târgu Mureș (RO)  
Marosvécs – Brâncovenești (RO)  
Marosszék – Scaunul Mureș (RO)  
Marosszentkirály – Sâncraiu de Mureș (RO)  
Marótlaka – Morlaca (RO)  
Medesér – Medișoru Mare (RO)  
Melegföldvár – Feldioara (RO)  
Menyhe – Mechenice (SK)  
Méra – Mera (RO)  
Mezőbánd – Band (RO)  
Mezőceked – Valea Largă (RO)  
Mezőcsávás – Ceuașu de Câmpie (RO)  
Mezőfele – Câmpenița (RO)  
Mezőkeszű – Chesău (RO)  
Mezőkölpény – Culpui (RO)  
Mezőmadaras – Mădăraș (RO)  
Mezőpanit – Pănet (RO)  
Mezősámsond – Șincai (RO)  
Mezőség – Câmpia Transilvaniei (RO)  
Mezőszabad – Voiniceni (RO)  
Mezőszopor – Sopor de Câmpie (RO)  
Mezővelkér – Răzoare (RO)  
Mezőzáh – Zau de Câmpie (RO)  
Mikháza – Călugăreni (RO)  
Mikola – Micula (RO)  
Miriszló – Mirăslău (RO)  
Mócvidék – Țara Moșilor (RO)  
Mocs – Mociu (RO)  
Mohács – (HU)  
Monosfalu – Morăreni (RO)  
Munkács – Мукачево (UA)  
Nagyajta – Aita Mare (RO)  
Nagydoba – Doba (RO)  
Nagyenyed – Aiud (RO)  
Nagy-Küküllő – Târnava Mare  
Nagymedvés – Medveș (RO)

Nagypatak – Valea Mare (RO)  
Nagysármás – Sărmaşu (RO)  
Nagy-Sárrét – (HU)  
Nagyszalonta – Salonta (RO)  
Nagyszeben – Sibiu (RO)  
Nagyvárad – Oradea (RO)  
Naszód – Năsăud (RO)  
Náznánfalva – Nazna (RO)  
Nemeszsuk – Jucu de Mijloc (RO)  
Nettancourt – (FR)  
Nógrád – (HU)  
Nösnerland – Zona Bistriţa-Năsăud (RO)  
Nyárád – Niraj (RO)  
Nyárádköszvényes – Mătrici (RO)  
Nyárádremete – Eremitu (RO)  
Nyárádselye – Şilea Nirajului (RO)  
Nyárádtő – Ungheni (RO)  
Nyikó – Feernic (RO)  
Nyitra – Nitra (SK)  
Oklánd – Ocland (RO)  
Oláhcsesztve – Cistei (RO)  
Oltenia – (RO)  
Oltszakadát – Săcădate (RO)  
Ombod – Ambud (RO)  
Ónfalva – Oneşti (RO)  
Ormánság – (HU)  
Orotva – Jolotca (RO)  
Ostrov – (RO)  
Ótelek – Otelec (RO)  
Óvári – Oar (RO)  
Ozsdola – Ojdula (RO)  
Ördöngösfüzes – Fizeşu Gherlii (RO)  
Padkóc – Podkonice (SK)  
Pálpataka – Valea lui Pavel (RO)  
Pápa – (HU)  
Pécs – (HU)  
Pest → Budapest – (HU)  
Póka – Păingenii (RO)  
Pöstyén – Piešťany (SK)  
Pusztadaróc – Dorolţ (RO)

Pusztaföldvár – (HU)  
Püspökradvány puszta – Rădvani (RO)  
Radnót – Iernut (RO)  
Rákosd – Răcăștia (RO)  
Redojé – Rădoia (RO)  
Reims – (FR)  
Retteg – Reteag (RO)  
Rohonc – Rechnitz (AT)  
Románvásár – Roman (RO)  
Rome – (IT)  
Rugonfalva – Rugănești (RO)  
Sajó – Șieu (RO)  
Santiago de Compostela – (ES)  
Sarmaság – Șarmășag (RO)  
Sáros County – Šarišská župa (SK)  
Sárpatak → Marossárpatak – Glodeni (RO)  
Sellye – (HU)  
Selymesilosva – Ilișua (RO)  
Sepsiszek – Scaunul Sfântu Gheorghe (RO)  
Seville – Sevilla (ES)  
Siklód – Șiclod (RO)  
Siménfalva – Șimonești (RO)  
Solymosbucsa – Buceava-Șoimuș (RO)  
Somogy – (HU)  
Somoska – Somușca (RO)  
Sopron – (HU)  
Sóvidék – Zona Ocnelor (RO)  
Szabófalva – Săbăoani (RO)  
Szalonta → Nagyszalonta – Salonta (RO)  
Szamos – Someș (RO)  
Szamosköz – Zona Someș-Tur (RO)  
Szamoskrassó – Cărașeu (RO)  
Szamosújvár – Gherla (RO)  
Szaniszló – Sanislău (RO)  
Szárazajta – Aita Seacă (RO)  
Szárazvám – Vama Seacă (RO)  
Szászfenes – Florești (RO)  
Szászlekence – Lechința (RO)  
Szászrégen – Reghin (RO)  
Szásztancs → Tancs – Tonciu (RO)

Szatmár – (HU), Sătmăr (RO)  
Szék – Sic (RO)  
Székelybetlenfalva – Beclean (RO)  
Székelyföld – Ținutul Secuiesc (RO)  
Székelyhodos – Hodoșa (RO)  
Székelykeresztúr – Cristuru Secuiesc (RO)  
Székelykocsárd – Lunca Mureșului (RO)  
Székelyszenterzsébet – Eliseni (RO)  
Székelyszentmihály – Mihăileni (RO)  
Székelyudvarhely – Odorheiu Secuiesc (RO)  
Székelyvarság – Vârșag (RO)  
Szentegyházsfalu – Vlăhița (RO)  
Szentgerice – Gălățeni (RO)  
Szépkényerűszentmárton – Sânmărtin (RO)  
Szeret – Siret (RO)  
Szilágycseh – Cehu Silvaniei (RO)  
Szilágynagyfalu – Nușfalău (RO)  
Szilágypanit – Panic (RO)  
Szilágyperecsén – Pericei (RO)  
Szilágyság – Sălaj (RO)  
Szilágysámson – Șamșud (RO)  
Szőkefalva – Seuca (RO)  
Sztána – Stana (RO)  
Szucság – Suceagu (RO)  
Szútor – Sútor (SK)  
Tamásfalva – Tămășeni (RO)  
Tancs – Tonciu (RO)  
Tápé – (HU)  
Tarkó – Tarcău (RO)  
Táttra – Tatry (SK)  
Tatrang – Târlungeni (RO)  
Tatros – Trotuș (RO)  
Teke – Teaca (RO)  
Tekerőpatak – Valea Strâmbă (RO)  
Tekeújfalva – Lunca (RO)  
Temes – Timiș (RO)  
Tisza – (HU)  
Tiszaát – (HU)  
Toledo – (ES)  
Torboszló – Torba (RO)

Tordos – Turdaş (RO)  
Transdanubia – Dunántúl (HU)  
Tresztia – Trestia (RO)  
Trunk – Galbeni (RO)  
Tuson – Tuşinu (RO)  
Türe – Turea (RO)  
Udvarhely – Odorhei (RO)  
Udvarhelyszék – Scaunul Odorhei (RO)  
Vajdakamarás – Vaida-Cărnăaş (RO)  
Vajdaszentivány – Voivodeni (RO)  
Vajola – Uila (RO)  
Vámosgálfalva – Găneşti (RO)  
Vargyas – Vârghiş (RO)  
Varsolc – Vârşolţ (RO)  
Vedea – (RO)  
Verona – (IT)  
Vetés – Vetiş (RO)  
Vice – Viţa (RO)  
Vienna – Wien (AT)  
Visa – Vişea (RO)  
Vízmellék – Zona Târnava Mică (RO)  
Wallachia – Muntenia (RO)  
Zabola – Zăbala (RO)  
Zágon – Zagon (RO)  
Zetelaka – Zetea (RO)  
Zirc – (HU)  
Zoborvidék – Podzoborie (SK)  
Zselyk – Jeica (RO)



**István Pávai**, PhD in musicology, is professor at the Liszt Academy of Music, and leader of the Department for Folk Music and Folk Dance Research at the Institute for Musicology RCH, Budapest. A native of Transylvania, he graduated at the Gheorghe Dima Music Academy, Cluj-Napoca, having studied both Hungarian and Romanian folk music in depth. His main field of research is the folk dance music of Transylvania and its interethnic implications; he has also published on the history of ethnomusicology, dialectal characteristics of folk music, phenomena of

folklorism, and musical aspects of ethnic identity. A founder of the Folklore Documentation Center of the Hungarian Heritage House, he has made significant contributions to the field of digital archiving and online database processing of folklore documents.

During nearly fifty years of fieldwork, he has researched c. 350 settlements of Transylvania and Moldavia, comprising all the major ethnographic regions of these provinces, attentive to Hungarian, Romanian, German, Jewish, and Romani culture. He also visited communities of various ethnicity in Dobruja, Kosovo, Hungary, Croatia, and Slovakia. The result is a collection of over 700 hours of audio and video recordings, of which he has published a number of LPs and CDs.

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