TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND DANCE IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE(S)

Jana Ambrózová
Bernard Garaj
(eds.)

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Foreword

The last decades of the 20th century were marked by intensified and diversified social processes that transformed traditional musical and dance practices, and their social representations and functions in many countries, not only European. These processes have been affected by diverse factors, both inside and outside the country, and often lead to varying results, especially regarding the connections of music and dance expressions within each social reality. Rural cultures cannot be perceived as culturally stable social systems today, but instead need to be seen as differentiated social environments, where, for example, music and dance phenomena are both sophisticated and flexible entities responding to various impulses.

On the other hand, new topics – and practices observed in local communities – require approaches to field research, analysis and scholarly interpretation to be revised. Cultural-anthropological, ethnomusicological, ethnoorganological or ethnochoreological perspectives view traditional music and dance (or their modified forms) in many different ways. Moreover, digital technologies have significantly affected the methods that ease field research and the analysis of audiovisual field recordings as well.

The main aim of the publication is to take part in the scholarly debate of experts from Central Europe, including experts from a larger international territory, and thus create a platform for the transmission of ideas, experience and research results in contemporary forms of traditional music and dance in their changing social context.

Several papers in the publication focus on traditional musical instruments. In this regard, the authors deal with current local music and dance practices and their development associated with specific types of musical instruments (B. Garaj, K. Bindu), or the role and development of musical instruments in European folk music revival and revitalization movements (U. Morgenstern). Other papers present theoretical-methodological and analytical approaches to studying the playing style of instrumental ensembles and the need for their revision (J. Ambrózová). Attention is also paid to the contemporary forms of Romani music, innovations in its production and forms of its presentation in real life and on the Internet (J. Belišová), as well as important collectors, editors and performers of traditional music (K. Císaríková).

The book contains also articles from the area of systematic musicology focused on the analysis of selected aspects of traditional vocal expressions using digital technologies (A. Mazurenko) or texts presenting in-depth structural analyses of rare dance types and related research projects (A. Krausová,

K. Babčáková). The development of local dance expressions and their connection with the folklore revival movement (S. Varga) and topical issues of ageism and social status of seniors in the environment of urban folklore dance groups (Z. Beňušková) complete a series of texts devoted to traditional dance.

The range of topics is completed with contributions devoted to the use and revitalization of traditional musical practices, cultural representations of community values and identities, and topical mechanisms of transmission and mediation of traditional songs. They do so either in light of primary school teaching (M. Jágerová) or in light of UNESCO's systematic work and the process of registering elements in the World Intangible Cultural Heritage List (H. S. Lee-Niinioja).

The Role and Development of Musical Instruments in European Folk Music Revival and Revitalization Movements. Some Common Trends

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1 Introduction: Revival and revitalization

The endeavor of what is generally considered as the *revival* of traditional music can be observed in Europe from the late 18th century onwards. Sociologists, folklorists and ethnomusicologists proposed theoretical explanations, considering the motivations, strategies and results of revival and *revitalization* movements. While musical instruments play a significant role in most European revivals, there have been only a few attempts to theorize on their uses and functions in a historical and comparative perspective. In the following I will discuss general issues of revival and theoretical organology and give an overview of some common trends in the role and development of musical instruments in European folk music revivals. Examples are taken from Austria, Germany, Russia, and other countries.

Most revival theorists, among them Owe Ronström, Tamara Livingston, Juniper Hill and Caroline Bithell, consider revival movements as an integral part of modernity. In one way or another, revivalists express concerns about the present state of their broader sociocultural environment. For our study, however, Ronström's insistence on the priority of art is of no minor importance, as "for many of the participants in revival movements, aesthetics is, what matters above all" (Ronström 1996: 6) or in other words: "Most musicians' prime motive is simply to make music" (Ronström 2014: 47).

While in ethnomusicology the terms *revival* and *revitalization* are often used as synonyms, there is good reason to distinguish between the two, as is done in linguistic writings on endangered languages:

> "In contexts of revitalization, the language survives, but precariously. Efforts on its behalf require the mobilization of remaining speakers, as well as the recruitment of new speakers [...]. In contexts of revival, the language is no longer spoken as a vernacular; it may have ceased to be spoken rather recently, or it may have been out of use as a vernacular for a long time" (Dorian 1994: 481).

The first use of the revival metaphor in a musical context dates back to 1791, when the announcement of the *Belfast Harpers Assembly* was intended "to revive and perpetuate the Ancient Music and Poetry of Ireland" (Lanier 1999: 7). In Dorian's sense it was not a revival but a revitalization, as the harpers were still active at that time. In general, the term *revival* seems to be more widespread in ethnomusicological theory; however, according to Ingrid Åkesson,

> "'revitalization' is usually used in Sweden; besides, its meaning is closer to 'give new life and energy to something' than to 'revive something nearly dead.' In practice, revitalization is often connected to and parallels a *vitalization* of living tradition; it is not merely a recontextualization of abandoned cultural elements" (Åkesson 2006: 7).

It seems that the preference for the term revitalization in Sweden is not a linguistic convention, but can be explained by the degree of continuity of instrumental traditions which revivalists were faced with (Åkesson 2006: 2).

All revival and revitalization movements are related to a certain reference culture, a set of musical and sometimes non-musical patterns of behavior taken as a positive model (Morgenstern 2017: 265f.). This reference culture corresponds with geographically or historically located social formations. It can be known through personal experience or, to a greater or lesser degree, reconstructed – depending on the available (or the prioritized) historical sources. Sometimes a reference culture is entirely fictional,[1] such as Ancient Celtic bagpiping – a highly productive positive model.

2 Revivals and theoretical organology

Revival theory and theoretical organology have been fairly separate fields of research until now. A possible reason is that for most organologists traditional, pre-revival and historical instruments have a higher status as primary sources than standardized instruments and revivalists' inventions. Revival research focuses more on social and political implications of instrumental practices and sometimes also on musical style (Goertzen 1984), but largely ignores organological approaches. Thus, the fundamental question at the interface of the two fields remains open: Why are musical instruments, as visually and acoustically perceivable objects, so important for revival and revitalization movements?

Since the times of Curt Sachs, theoretical organology has distinguished the musical functions of instruments (quantitative augmentation and amplification of the human voice, cf. Elschek 1970: 53) from their non-musical functions (Elschek 1970: 56). Bruno Nettl gives evidence for the symbolic use of musical instruments which were not intended to be played. Pianos in middle-class houses in Teheran serve "as an icon of modernity" (Nettl 2015: 382), while in university towns of the US Midwest, Chinese *chins*, African drums or

Peruvian panpipes "are iconic of the intercultural tolerance of the household, or they are trophies of the traveler" (Nettl 2015: 382).

Recently Eliot Bates, drawing from mythology as well as from fictional literature, came to the conclusion we can view musical instruments as "not only having some degree of agency, but even as protagonists of stories – as actors who facilitate, prevent or mediate social interaction among other characters" (Bates 2012: 364). He reports an instructive conversation with Turkic musicians: "It was agreed that simply by holding, playing, and interacting with a saz I would become more Turkish […] the saz itself contained an exclusive potentiality to impact change" (Bates 2012: 386). Bates' ideas are convincing and well-elaborated; however, they are not actually new in theoretical organology. According to Curt Sachs "the most powerful cult device is the musical instrument. It acts immediately, it responds to purposeful movements, and its response is the strongest, infallible miracle cure. The other cult devices have to be spiritualized; the musical instrument is spirit" (Sachs 1929: 2).[2] For this very reason, Sachs named his seminal book *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* [Spirit and Evolution of Musical Instruments]. Similarly, Ernst Emsheimer informs us that the Sami magic drum was "a tool capable of bringing about revelations concerning everyday problems, such as, for example, good grazing places for the reindeer herds" (Emsheimer 1977: 50). The explanatory value of Bates' as well as Nettl's observations mainly concerns the persistence of the belief in the quasi-magical power of the symbolic, nonmusical functions of musical instruments in the modern world.

The following theses indicate but a few meeting points of organology and revival research.

Thesis 1
The visibility of musical instruments not only promotes ethnopolitical representation but fulfills many different symbolic functions in revival and revitalization movements.

As visuality is "a central quality and a key to revival production" (Ronström 2014: 46), musical instruments are, through their sheer presence, crucial for the categorization and evaluation of a performer or an ensemble. In the late 1980s I received critical comments from Russian folklorists for having the contrabass *balalaika* in a German folk group. At that time this instrument was the ultimate negative symbol for Soviet-style fakelore. Conversely, a famous photo of the Dmitri Pokrovsky Ensemble[3] shows a beautiful psaltery (*gusli*) and a wooden shepherd's trumpet. These instruments were played very rarely

in the ensemble, and probably never together. Their emblematic function is to indicate the serious interest of the ensemble in older genres of Russian folk music. A more tricky icon is the *lute guitar* or *German* lute of the *Wandervogel*. It combines the body of a Baroque lute with the neck and the tuning of an acoustic guitar. Therefore it was possible for the player to show his romanticist affinity to pre-Modern times without bothering to master the historical lute.

Being processes of recontextualization, revivals can bring new meaning to musical instruments. Since the US folk revival of the interwar-period, the acoustic guitar, the ideal companion of singer-songwriters, has become an index of young, progressive environments – at the cost of other traditional instruments. According to Alan Jabbour,

> "[w]hen blues became part of folk revival scenes those blues singers who accompanied themselves on the guitar received considerably more recognition as folk artists than did those who accompanied themselves on piano. The guitar was thought a folk instrument; the piano was not" (Jabbour 1974: 189f.).

In Irish pubs, the ubiquitous American folk idiom in the mid-20th century largely replaced the piano as the most popular instrument for the accompaniment of the fiddle. As a consequence, in the 1970s the average Irish folk music enthusiast even didn't know about the "bourgeois" character of traditional instrumentation which was typical in the late 19th century.

Thesis 2
Musical instruments are very effective in creating and communicating a particular social frame of performance.

The physical presence of musical instruments can immediately inform outsiders and insiders of the (potential) performance situation and its rules. A button accordion hanging in an Austrian inn may be read (under favorable conditions) as an invitation for the guests to play it. The visible preparation for instrumental performance – taking an instrument, tuning it or handing it over to another person – is a nonverbal announcement of a performance section. This is of particular importance for spontaneous music making, so highly esteemed in many revival movements.

Very short genre-typical sound patterns, played on an instrument, can immediately frame a performance situation. Small acoustic instrumentation is a highly effective index of an intimate social space. For this reason, many

folk music revivalists, with their participatory values, and singer-songwriters prefer acoustic instruments (Morgenstern 2017: 274) – and the arrival of electric instruments could lead to real cultural wars (Sweers 2005).

Thesis 3
Musical instruments can be psychologically supportive for the performer.

Folk musicians and singers are familiar with many informal frames of performance (street music, spontaneous playing in pubs) where it is not easy to attract the attention of the audience. This can be a problem, notably for vocal performers, as psychological barriers for singing solo are generally higher than for playing a solo instrument. For many people it is easier to stand in front of an audience holding a microphone or a manuscript than with bare hands. In the same way musical instruments can be supportive for a singer. In a non-concert situation an instrumental prelude can prepare people close by to listen to a song from the very beginning. I remember an Irish folk singer called Ronny, in the mid-1980s in south German Freiburg, who was able to quiet all the visitors of the *Club Delirium*, including notoriously noisy conscripts of the French army. It took only two or three chords until he could intone *The Ellan Vannin Tragedy* and sing the whole ballad for an audience which was as silent as a mouse. Such informal music making is highly valued in many folk music revivals. Due to their inclusive ideals, the supportive and stimulating capacities of musical instruments are of particular significance.

3 Basic trends

Revival and revitalization movements of folk instrumental music in Europe are most diverse in their motivations, in the way they deal with the chosen reference culture, and in their social location. Nevertheless, some common trends can be observed in different countries and regions.

3.1 Politicization

Many European folk music revival and revitalization movements were initially motivated by political agendas. The late 18th century harp revival in Ireland was embedded in (and controlled by) the Irish national movement. The Swiss revival of playing the *Alphorn* and of yodeling was largely a nationalist

project too (Baumann 1976). In a similar way the *tamburica* in Croatia and the *balalaika* in Russia have been reframed as "national instruments" (regardless of the fact that the former and probably the latter were introduced by foreign invaders). The classical violin has a lesser capacity to serve as a national icon. Nevertheless, it played a crucial role in late-19th century folk music revivals in Scandinavia, greatly bolstered by nationalist sentiments (Goertzen 1984) and also by growing anti-modernist ideologies (Ronström 1996: 9). Between the late 19th and mid-20th century, powerful alliances between the (mainly non-academic) traditionalist folk music discourse and populist movements were forged. Key figures were the German-national Josef Pommer in Austria, the Fabian socialist Cecil Sharp and the orthodox Marxist Albert L. Lloyd in England. Other activists involved themselves in more radical agendas. Tobias Reiser (1907–1974) in Austria was an admirer and active supporter of Adolf Hitler; Ewan MacColl (1915–1989), a key figure in the British postwar revival, was a convinced Stalinist, and later Maoist.

In most socialist countries, folk music revivals were established as a liberal counter-model to the authoritarian folk music policy of the totalitarian state with its uniform aesthetics. Some revivalists were engaged in chauvinist (nativistic) counter-cultures. Less dramatic were the conflicts in Hungary, Slovakia and Poland, where the officials were more tolerant (or even supportive) toward the idea of fieldwork-based revival and revitalization (Quigley 2014: 190).

Even today, populist movements make use of folk music in one way or another. The right-wing Austrian FPÖ played songs by Hubert von Goisern at public meetings – until the singer protested. The far-right *Padania* movement in North Italy engages bagpipers to mark the "celticness" of the region. The leader of the Communist Party of Russia, Gennady Zyuganov, stood proudly before the cameras together with a neo-paganist vocal ensemble.[4] Given the huge number of active folk musicians, it is very easy for any political organization to adorn their agendas with a folk-like or traditionalist flavor. And of course, individual performers can use their popularity to make sociopolitical statements, as Austrian folk-rock singers Hubert von Goisern and Andreas Gabalier do (in most different ways).

3.2 Modernization and standardization, ensemble building (re-invention)

The adoption of folk instruments by national and nationalist movements in the 19th century entailed considerable practical difficulties. First, their actual pre-industrial design could not meet the nationalists' demands in their

visibility as national emblems. Second, their technical possibilities were not compatible with a modern repertoire. Third, they have traditionally been played solo or in very small heterogeneous ensembles – while the national movements required large ensembles and orchestras, visible and audible in public spaces.

One of the first national projects for a modernization of folk instruments was the revitalization and revival of the Swiss *Alphorn*. The idea of ensemble playing was born at the *Unspunnenfest* in 1808 and was realized some two decades later (Bachmann-Geiser 1999: 44, 47f.). The modernization of the *tamburica* in mid-19th century Croatia was a more organic process, based on the previous creation of instrument families. The modernization and standardization of the Russian *balalaika* by Vasilii Andreev in the late 19th century, however, was an entirely new project which had only a general idea of a triangular-body lute in common with the traditional practice.

The modernization and standardization of the *tamburica* and of the *balalaika* alike was the precondition for the creation of fundamentally new ensembles and orchestras with the typical tremolo sound which was new for both instruments, but soon became emblematic. The idea of "folk orchestras" able to play popular melodies, but also Western art music with a (largely invented) "national" flavor, was picked up by the Soviet Union and later by its satellite states. All these staged forms of "arranged folk music" became negative models for folk music movements of the 1970s and 1980s (section 3.4).

3.3 Popularization (education, mass culture, countercultures)

National representation through stage performances with modernized folk instruments typically went hand in hand with ambitious educational initiatives. The idea that large parts of modern society should be engaged in some special kind of music making came up in the German and Swiss singing movement of the early 19th century. The precondition for transferring this idea to instrumental music was the availability of comparatively cheap instruments. One of the first musical instruments successfully popularized via mass production was the above mentioned Croatian *tamburica*, followed by the cither in the Austrian workers' education movement, the Russian *balalaika*, the mandolin, and the guitar in late 19th/early 20th century German *Wandervogel* and *Jugendbewegung*. Most of these educational initiatives strived to promote national or local repertoires as a counterpoint to international popular music. Nowadays, of course, the ways are open for any cross-over project bringing together modernized folk musical instruments with rock and pop genres.

The growing popularity of folk music is not always the result of educational strategies. The "popularization of folk music during the 1970s and 1980s" (Ronström 2014: 48) went hand in hand with new countercultural movements. And these cultural initiatives not only refrained from zealous mass agitation; they even could take inspiration from resistance to organized pedagogical folk music politics.

3.4 Re-traditionalization – fieldwork-based urban revivals

While all the above-mentioned musical movements involved a high degree of stylization, the British postwar revival took a fundamentally different path. Living practices became the model for style and repertoire. What followed was the golden age of tradition-oriented, fieldwork-based revival of the 1970s and 1980s, driven basically by young enthusiasts with an urban middle class background. Fieldwork-based revivals emerged nearly everywhere in Europe with the exception of Germany, where historical written sources were adapted to the instrumentation and the idiom of Irish folk revival (Morgenstern 2017: 271f.).

Very often, over-arranged and staged forms of folk music became negative models for these new countercultural folk music movements (be they anti-capitalist, anti-totalitarian or politically indifferent). Tradition-oriented revivalists were not inspired by educational instructors or folk music collections, but by personal fieldwork experience. Not by chance, in all these revival movements (again, except Germany), professional ethnomusicologists played an active or even a leading role, and many of them were skilled instrumentalists or multi-instrumentalists.

In some regions, notably of the former Soviet Union, young folk music enthusiasts were interested in local genres which have nearly vanished and could be documented only in post-functional contexts (for instance shepherds' signals, *gusli* tunes and ritual songs). Other European countries offered more favorable conditions for the successful revitalization of instrumental folk music. The foundation of the *Cech slovenských gajdošov* [Guild of Slovak Bagpipers] in 1992 on the one hand resisted the general Central European trend towards the marginalization of bagpipers and devaluation of their music. On the other hand, young enthusiasts took the chance to learn from the older pipers and pipe makers who had been familiar with the bagpipe tradition from their early childhood.[5] The result is a much higher degree of continuity in the bagpipe tradition of Slovakia than in many other central European countries.

3.5 Re-professionalization of instrument making

A large number of regional or historical styles of instrumental music require musical instruments which are not available on the market. Consequently, specialists in making bagpipes, hurdy-gurdies and flutes have become renowned in the scene. Some of them may have started as idealistic part-time craftsmen and ambitious folk music educators, such as Tibor Ehlers (1917–2001) in Germany. Nowadays, however, there is a considerable number of full-time drone-instrument makers. We can call the drone music revivalists the elite of the European folk music revival, as making and playing the instruments requires many years of training. Nevertheless, there is one important discrepancy. Professional bagpipe and hurdy-gurdy makers (like most craftsmen) are generally less receptive to alternative countercultures – maybe because their instruments are less suitable for political genres, and perhaps also due to the fact that instrument makers as hardworking entrepreneurs could not share the anti-materialist sentiments of the average 1970s "folkies." Only a few of the latter knew that drone instruments (contrary to romantic imagination) were usually not produced by the musicians themselves, but by professional or semi-professional instrument makers (Gehler 2012: 172). In this historical context, the comeback of full-time or part-time bagpipe and hurdy-gurdy makers in many European countries, after a break of years, decades or even centuries, is less a matter of professionalization than of *re-professionalization*. The names of Kurt Reichmann (Germany), Alban Faust (Sweden), Juraj Dufek (Slovakia), Andor Végh (Hungary), Dzianis Sukhi (Belarus), and Alexander Khudolev (Russia), among many others, stand for this remarkable revival.

3.6 Multiple musical biographies

Most of the leading figures of the Golden Age of fieldwork-based revival had a background in European classical music. For many revivalists of Western and Northern Europe the passion for traditional music was a serious break in their musical biographies, stoked by resentment or open hostility towards Western art music (Ronström 1996: 9; Morgenstern 2011: 257f). In socialist countries folk music enthusiasts were less motivated to rail against "bourgeoisie culture." Similarly, in Austria the negative models of 1970s/1980s folk music revival were commercial "folk-like" genres, but not works of Classical and Romantic composers. The organic interrelation between "classical" and "folk" music in Austria is a fundamental precondition for *multiple musical biographies*. Nowadays it is absolutely normal if a student of a trumpet class in an Austrian music university plays at the opera

one evening and the next day at some urban pub session (*Musikantenstammtisch*) and at the weekend in the local brass band of his village.

Since the early 21th century the musical background of folk music revivalists has been more diverse. Young revival musicians in contemporary Russia and Belarus have a background in jazz and rock music, notably heavy metal, and frequently with parallel engagement in these musical styles. This largely corresponds with the situation in Sweden (Åkesson 2006: 3).

I was able to witness impressive evidence for parallel mastering of music styles during a bagpipe concert in Minsk in 2012. At first the bagpiper Viachka Krasulin played the *duda* in a folk music ensemble, dressed in typical late 19th century rural costume, while about 14 couples from the audience accurately performed different traditional dances. About one hour later the same musician showed up as the front man of the folk punk band *Kashlaty Voh*. Krasulin and his audience perfectly observed all requirements of the genre, including headbanging and moshing. It follows that multiple musical biographies are not necessarily about fusion but more about covering distinct musical styles and genres.

3.7 Re-functionalization

It's nearly a truism to say that music, and particularly traditional music, is very often poly-functional. As a rule in popular music, but also in folk music revivals, the aesthetic function and the social function for bringing people together prevail. For instance, in Irish pub sessions dance music, usually, is not played for dancing but for listening.

While the aesthetic function is present in traditional settings too, in my understanding, re-functionalization means the revival of complex non-musical functions. Nowadays, in many countries of Central Europe revival musicians play regularly for dancing, but not for a specialized dance ensemble, but for ordinary young people, in casual dress, who just attend the events to dance while others go to the disco (and the same youngsters probably do that another evening, too).

It follows that the revival process is not only a *decontextualization* (Ronström 2014: 44) but also a *recontextualization* of folk music (Hill – Bithell 2014: 4). This is precisely the going beyond the concert situation which the activists of the golden age always wanted but did not always achieve. Obviously this was possible earlier in Sweden than in many other countries:

> "Young revivalists were able to move folk music from urban salons and national manifestations to small clubs, dance halls,

> and large popular outdoor celebrations. As a result, in many of these countries, there were now more folk musicians than ever before" (Ronström 2014: 48).

An interesting process is going on here. Engagement in traditional music ceased to be a social movement, and has become a normal part of contemporary culture, even if it is a niche phenomenon. Hill and Bithell have aptly called this process *post-revival*:

> "A post-revival phase is characterized first and foremost by the recognition that a revived tradition has become firmly established in a new context where it can no longer be described as either moribund or threatened and is therefore no longer in need of rescue" (Hill – Bithell 2014: 29).

While the "burning souls" (Ronström 1996: 9) of the Golden age of folk music revival had a strong countercultural identity, their children and grandchildren are rather far away from these agendas. And here I come to my last point – the *depoliticization* of folk music revivals (and post-revivals).

3.8 Depoliticization

Contrary to Ronström, Hill and Bithell deny that aesthetics are a key motivation of revivalists' interest in music of the past: "While it is possible that this motive may be aesthetic, in the majority of cases there are clear (if sometimes unspoken) agendas linked to contemporary social, cultural, and/or political circumstances" (Hill – Bithell 2014: 10). The question however is: How broad is the impact? And how long does the sociopolitical motivation last? In their initial phase folk music revivals are indeed often underpinned by rather clear political positions, at least in terms of cultural politics. As a rule, these sentiments calm down in the next generation, while the musical idioms created by pioneer revivalists remain productive. Ronström describes this process, following Zygmunt Bauman, as a "drive for raised levels of aesthetics, not ethics, morals, or knowledge, become the leading principles for evaluation" (Ronström 2014: 50).

However, even at an early stage of a revival movement there is good reason

> "to distinguish between what I call declared orientation and realized orientation. By declared orientation I mean what leaders

> and ideologists of a revival movement express about ideals and intentions [...]. By realized orientation I mean where revivalists seem to be orientating themselves judged by the solutions and strategies they find and the priorities they make in their work" (Bakka 2012: 108).

A germ of a subtle depoliticization could be observed at the peak of the German folk music revival. In the early 1970s even the possibility of playing Irish folk (fairly unproductive in political terms) for many young progressive musicians was an opportunity to escape the ideological directives of the 1968 generation. A survey among 420 visitors to the *3. Tübinger Folk- und Liedermacherfestival* [Tübingen folk and singer-songwriter festival] in 1977 showed that 57% of the respondents were active in social and (mainly) leftist or alternative political groups, and 17% described (among others) political songs as their preferred genre (Geyer 1978: 74). Nevertheless, only 15% attended concerts with a particular political theme (Geyer 1978: 84). The members of the organizing *Club Voltaire* at that time were less known as folk music enthusiasts than as far-left activists using music merely as a vehicle. Regardless of the fact that "the political ambitions, evidently fixed by the organizer in the programme and on the poster, was hanging in the air as a 'superego'" (Geyer 1978: 84), this didn't play a great role for the audience. At the *6. Tübinger Festival* (1980), an incredibly boring rock band took up a disproportionally long period of the main program with "music with the hammer and sickle" while one of the strongest crowd-pullers, the Bolivian band *Narayana*, had to put up with critical backstage comments about their apolitical performance (personal communication by a local visitor). Irish folk was even "consciously avoided by the festival organizers" (Geyer 1978: 82). It follows that, regardless of the conspicuous leftist-alternative orientation of most festival visitors, the politicization of folk music was not always welcome even in the 1970s.

One fundamental precondition for the process of depoliticizing the former folk music revival is the fact that musicians as well as listeners were able to make a difference between a musical style, repertoire or opus and the identity of its creator. At least this is possible if we don't take into account pieces of music with a directly inflammatory purpose. One can love and even perform the music of Richard Wagner (as Daniel Barenboim does) without being an anti-Semite. One can play the compositions by the National Socialist Tobias Reiser (as the Fraunhofer Saitenmusik does, see Morgenstern 2017: 286) and at the same time be affiliated to the 1980s alternative folk music scene in Munich. One can admire the voice of the young (and the not so young) Pete Seeger or of Ewan

MacColl and sing songs from the latter's repertoire (as I do myself) without being a Stalinist or Maoist.

The process of the depoliticization of folk music revivals is not restricted to the radical agendas shown above. This is evident from the reception of Yiddish songs in the 1970s and somewhat later of Klezmer music in Germany. Singing songs of Jewish partisans was a sign of symbolic (or imagined) solidarity with the antifascist resistance of the past – which has been often criticized in Jewish communities as a cheap way of compensation. In the 1980s German klezmer revival, partisan (and also communist) battle songs, sung in the 1970s by groups such as *Zupfgeigenhansel*, *Espe*, and also by Yiddish native speaker Hai Frankl, were largely out of fashion – regardless of the countercultural orientation of nearly all German klezmer musicians of that time. Today, making klezmer music has ceased to be a political manifestation, and even the noble idea of setting a monument to a largely forgotten and destroyed culture is not the primary motive. The philosophy of big events like the *Yiddish Summer Weimar 2019* is first of all built around musical concepts and values.

Depoliticization doesn't mean that folk musicians are never involved in political agendas (section 3.1), but that that nowadays leading figures and large audiences of revival, revitalization and post-revival are not driven by political motivations. Depoliticization means that in urban or rural *Musikanntenstammtische* in Austria, political debates and manifestations are largely absent. This may be due to a focus on sharing precious time for socializing and musicking, or to the politically heterogeneous or indifferent participants. Depoliticization also means that in the 21th century, according to a Swiss journalist, "politics at the *Unspunnenfest* is equally frowned upon as at rock-throwing and yodel festivals" (Kugler 2017: §1). Depoliticization also means that in contemporary Georgia even such a "progressive" genre as *ethno fusion* is based on three main motivations (Lomsadze 2017), none of them linked to political manifestations. (The ideas of national identity and cultural roots Lomsadze highlights are so widespread in Georgia that they don't carry any specific political meaning.)

As for the reasons for the depoliticization of folk music revivals, we have to take into account political and musical factors. First, there is a strategic issue. Nowadays, at least in Western societies, angry young men and women have much more effective means to achieve political goals than singing and playing musical instruments. Countless NGOs offer visibility in the media, and after all jobs that are more attractive than the uncertain career of an average folk musician or a singer-songwriter. The second reason lies in the fact that it is very hard to maintain artistic practice and political activism with equal intensity for a long period. Dealing seriously with traditional music and serving political

agendas demands fundamentally different modes of cognitive and expressive activity. Those who were ready to spend years acquiring the skills to play new musical instruments, styles and repertoires would shy away from using their artistic accomplishments for manipulative ends – and the political use of music is always about manipulation, as music has a dangerous capacity to turn off the human intellect.

The history of revival and revitalization shows that European folk instrumental music until the age of Enlightenment lacked any notable political functions. Musicians could play for dancing, for other socially meaningful events, in work-related contexts, or for personal pleasure. The use of folk instruments for celebrating the nation, political leaders, or any other political agendas is a relatively recent phenomenon which has clearly had its day.

Endnotes

1. Eric Hobsbawm's nearly canonical idea of *invented traditions* is hardly of great help for ethnomusicologists. Firstly, its intellectually productive aspects were elaborated long before by folklorists (Bendix 1997: 211, 253). Secondly, Hobsbawm's trivial and negativistic reading of *tradition* ignores and damages the credibility of a powerful and dynamic concept in theoretical folkloristics (Morgenstern 2018: 19). Thirdly, his highly selective observations are of limited use for the study of vernacular expressive culture and human creativity in general.
2. Here and in the following sections, German sources are given in my own translation.
3. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dmitri_Pokrovsky_Ensemble (12.05.2019).
4. URL: https://www.kommersant.ru/gallery/2121674#id=829472 (12.05.2019).
5. See the overview by Bernard Garaj (2011), a founding member of the bagpipe guild, who acquired a considerable part of his bagpipe knowledge within a family tradition.

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Contemporary Types of Ritualistic South Indian Mizhavu Percussion Ensembles in Kerala

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The sacred and secular Mizhavu drum

Mizhavu, a single headed drum nowadays made of copper, is not a familiar instrument in the contemporary society. The reason behind that fact is the use of *Mizhavu* as a Deva Vadyam, pleasing Hindu Deities in ritualistic ancient Sanskrit Drama Art Forms in Kerala, such as *Koodiyattam*, *Chakyar* and *Nangyar Koothu*. All these Art Forms combine the performance of stories from the national epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* with the sound of the *Mizhavu* and other instruments such as cymbals, conch and *Edakka*, an hourglass shaped drum. In Tamil Nadu the term *Mizhavu* was the most widely used designation among other names like *Muzhavu, Muzhavam, Muzhai, Mizha, Kudamuzhai*. In the Natya Shastra of Bharatamuni, written around 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. as manual for all kinds of artists, membranophones (*Avanaddha Vadya*) form one of the four categories of instruments beside string instruments (*Tata*), metallophones (*Ghana*) and wind instruments (*Sushira*). Avanaddha Vadya are consisting of more than hundred variations of three types of drums: *Mrdanga, Panava* and *Dardura*. The last type, to which the *Mizhavu* belongs, has just one head and is placed in an upright position within a wooden frame (Gupta 2003: 484–485).

Kettle drums are also designated as *Bhanda Vadya*: "References to bhanda are said to occur in Vedic literature; Kautilya's Arthasastra mentions vadhya bhanda; Ramayana gives kumba (pot), and the Buddhist sacred book, Pali Tripitaka, refers to kumba toonak which some consider to be pot drums. Natyasastra, while talking of bhanda vadya, places them in a secondary position to the three main drums (mridanga, dardura and panava)" (Deva 2000: 65). P. K. N. Nambiar, *Mizhavu* Guru of the Nambiar Cast, refers to references about the *Mizhavu* in the books Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam and Bāṇayuddhapṛabhanda: "Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam also has a reference to this instrument in 'iṭiyākina milāvoliyālēvaṛkkum paritāpam kaḷavān' [to remove the sorrows of everyone by the thundering sound of the mizhāvu]. Bāṇa has drummed on the mizhāvu impressively in accompaniment to the cosmic dance (tāṇḍava) of Lord Siva and was rewarded with a thousand hands – this allusion to the mizhāvu occurs in the Bāṇayuddhapṛabhanda as 'ye vadyēna tavapṛasādamatulam nṛttai purā pūrayam.' From all these scattered references, it is evident that the mizhāvu had been in popular use in this country for centuries" (Nambiar 1994: 102–103).

The form of *Mizhavu* can be elongated, round or egg shaped, according to the form of the temple theatres (*Koothambalam*), in which *Mizhavus* had been played exclusively. Only seventy years ago they had been taken to secular stages as well, and the tradition, formerly inherited by certain caste members, had been

opened to students of all castes. According to the *Mizhavu* percussionist Sajith Vijayan, co-author of this article, the veteran *Mizhavu* players still resist using that instrument for other kinds of instrumental music (Vijayan 2019).

Certain Hindu rituals are performed by a ceremonial leader (*Tantri*) for a new built sacred *Mizhavu* drum, which is regarded as a holy being (*Brahmacari*) itself: "There are many *samskarakriyas* (rituals) for *Mizhavu*. These are called *shodashakriyas*. In the text Thantrasamuchayam, these *kriyas* (rituals) are detailed, especially in the chapter titled 'Mridangopanayanavidhi' (ritual consecrating *Mizhavu* for its functioning)" (Interview with P. K. N. Nambiar, see Bindu 2013: 112–113). Rajagopalan (2005: 30) also mentioned the book *Sri Krishna Cithamani* written by Sri K.P. Krishnan Bhattathiripad as source for the initiation of *Mizhavu*. After the introductory rituals and prayers *Nandikeshvara* is invoked, who is a servant of *Lord Shiva*, procreator, destroyer, cosmic dancer and rhythm keeper within the Hindu Pantheon. Except for *upanishkramanam* (Sanskrit term describing a ritual for the newborn baby's first leaving of the house) or *vathil purappadu* (Malayalam term) and marriage rituals the drum receives the same ceremonies as every Hindu. Secular *Mizhavu* drums do not receive any rituals.

The role of Mizhavu drums in Koodiyattam performances

The art of drumming is very common in Kerala and attached to a huge variety of performing art forms like Kathakali, Ottam Thullal, classical music, folk music and temple music. *Koodiyattam*, which is highly enriched with acting by postures, mudras, costumes, facial expressions and recited Sanskrit verses (*Slokas*), would be in a lifeless state without the sound of *Mizhavu*. It is said, without that instrument *Koodiyattam* is comparable to food without salt, spice and other flavours. The instrument is the life of the play. In Natya Shastra it is said "*natyasya shayahi vadhanthi vadhyam*," which means the instrument is the bed of the art. Beside space for sleep and relaxation, the role of bed is to amalgamate two persons in a lively way. If we think in that way, we can understand how the instrument amalgamates what all other subjects and aspects of this specific art form. It relates the act to music, music to rhythm, demonstration to experience and apart from that it is moreover indulging the viewer's heart with the art form (Vijayan 2019).

In *Koodiyattam* performances more than one actor is representing certain acts of a Sanskrit drama on the stage, accompanied by two *Mizhavu*

percussionists: the more experienced percussionist improvises in response to the movements and emotions of the actors, while the second player keeps the rhythm in unison with the female cymbal (*Kuzhitalam*) players. *Nangiar Koothu* and *Chakyar Koothu* performances are solo performances, which request only one *Mizhavu* percussionist and one *Kuzhitalam* player (Bindu 2013: 37). Venu (2002: 175–178) mentioned that various Sanskrit dramas written on palm books, as well as acting and production manuals (*Attaprakaram* and *Kramadipika*) are still strictly under custody of the *Chakyar* families.

During performances, *Mizhavu* percussionists sit on wooden stands in the back of the stage, so their efforts to follow and musically support the actor's expressions demand a lot of concentration and knowledge.

The duties of the percussionists include a variety of functions in preparation for the performance and within: "They should know the meaning of each *slokam*, the differences in the Charis, *kriyas, parikramanam* (literally circumambulation). They should have a thorough knowledge of the Aattaprakaram (acting manual) and Kramadeepika (stage manual). In short, the Nambiars should have a complete knowledge of *Koodiyattam*. The Chakyars need not know the playing of the *Mizhavu*. Nambiar should know this, too. Nambiar must be more knowledgeable than the Chakyars. From the beginning till the very end of the play, Nambiars have the responsibility of stage" (Interview with P. K. N. Nambiar 2006, see Bindu 2013: 115).

The movement of each character is living with the sound of *Mizhavu*: the blossoms of flowers, the flight of a honeybee, the running river, demolition of a mountain, and the rolling noise of a chariot – all these imaginary aspects of performance will appear in the viewer's mind because of the play of *Mizhavu* (Vijayan 2019). *Mizhavu* thus is painting the atmosphere. Apart from that aspect, the drum provides a continuous rhythmic flow by producing certain *Talas* (rhythmic circles) in unison with the cymbals. The meaning of the term "Tala," which arises from a complex philosophical time concept of the *Atharvaveda*, undergoes various interpretations (Rowell 1992: 180): Mylius (1987: 184) translated the Sanskrit term "Tala" with "clapping," "clock," "dance" and "musical instrument" as well as "flat surface." Rowell (1992: 190) also described the term in relation to a measuring unit like the length of the hand or the face. In that sense *Tala* means a span of space or time.

In Koodiyattam there are three kinds of percussion systems, which are implemented by *Mizhavu* Percussionists:

1. Percussion for *Kriya Nrittam*: Here the term "Kriya" is translated as "dance step," while "Nrittam" means a form of motion, which is based only on Talas in the form of specific rhythmic musical phrases without

specific facial expressions of the performers;
2. *Melam* (percussion performance) is based on the emotionally significant storyline in *Koodiyattam* in response to changing *Ragas* (melodies), *Rasas* (emotions received by the audience) and *Bhavas* (emotions created by the performers);
3. *Melam* during passages without characters on the stage, where *Mizhavu* percussionists are given the opportunity to show and develop their musical skills independently from the drama, thus entertaining the audience, when there are no characters on the stage (Interview with P.K. Nambiar 2006, see Bindu 2013: 114). This kind of *Melam* was transformed to *Mizhavil Thayambaka* by P.K.N. Nambiar as a major presentation on stage.

Mizhavil Thayambaka

After the first steps by P. K. N. Nambiar, the major experiments have been done by our Guru Sri Kalamandalam Eswaranunni. In those experiments he integrated rhythmical techniques from other percussion art forms, mainly from the *Chenta* (cylindrical drum) drumming in temples, into the *Mizhavu Melam*. In that way he created *Mizhavu Madhala Thayambaka* (combined with the *Madhala* drum), *Mizhavu Idakka Thayambaka* (combined with *Idakka* drum), *Mizhavu Chenda Thayambaka* (combined with *Chenda* drum), *Mizhavu Thimila Thayambaka* (combined with *Thimila* drum), *Mizhavil Panjarimelam, Mizhavil Panjavadhyam* (five instruments combined), *Mizhavu Melam, Mizhavil Keli* and others. The most famous art forms in between these are *Mizhavil Thayambaka, Mizhavu Melam* and *Mizhavil Panjarimelam*, which will be presented in this paper for the first time (Vijayan 2019).

Mizhavil Thayambaka as an individual art form was performed on the stage 50 years ago by Sri P. K. Narayanan Nambyar. He developed this art form by copying the original *Chenta Thayambaka*. The rhythmical structure remains the same, but the playing technique on *Mizhavu* drums requests hands instead of drumming sticks.

Thayambaka consists of eight beats (eight *aksharakaalam*), which are arranged in *Chembada Talam* (four beats). Four ways (*ennam*) should be played. According to the abilities of the artist, those ways can be renewed or played in any type of *ennam*. These are finished with a phrase called "kooru" (jammed relation, touched relation with *patikaalam*, the starting part). There are three *kooru* in *Chenta* drumming: *adantha, panjari* and *chemba*. According to the high

speed of the other *koorus*, which would request sticks, only *adantha kooru* can be played on the *Mizhavu*. Recently Sajith's colleague K. Ratheesh Bass invented a new *kooru* for the *Mizhavu* named *kundanachi kooru* (16 beats).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ti ti	ta	Ti ti	ta	Ti ti	ta	Ta ta	ta

Table 1 *Adantha kooru, 8 beats. Ti = played soft with three fingers on the edge of Mizhavu; Ta = played hard with full hand in the middle of Mizhavu (Vijayan 2019).*

In this new *kooru* there are 16 *aksharakaalam* (beats). Four basic *ennams* should be played. After that *kooru* phrase, three more phrases called *idakkalam* (Ta ti alternately), *idanila* (ta and pause), *irukida* (continuous Ta ta in a fast

Figure 1 *Mizhavu Panja Thyambaka at Palakkad Vadakkanthara Temple (2018). Photo: Sajith Vijayan.*

speed) are added. The *Mizhavu Thayambaka* group consisting of six persons will play the *Tala* with two *Ilathalams* (big cymbals), two *Chenta* drums and two *Mizhavus*, while one *Mizhavu* percussionist will play phrases in between the beats (on the offbeat). According to the artists' daily practice (*sadhakam*) and

experience (*swadheenam*), duration and speed can be varied in many ways.

The full structure can be played within 45 minutes up to two hours. *Mizhavu Thyambaka* ensembles are invited to temples as well as annual temple festivals all over Kerala. Sometimes invitations to festivals in other Indian states are possible, even from abroad. In 2017 a Kalamandalam group performed *Mizhavu Thyambaka* in Paris (Vijayan 2019).

Mizhavu Panjari Melam

The term "Melam" means joint or amalgamated. It means the intersection of different instruments like *Mizhavu, Chenta, Ilathalam, Kombu* (horn), and *Kurumkuzhal* (pipe).

Most of the percussion art forms in Kerala integrating *Chenta* drums are related with temple festivals. *Melams* like *Panjari, Pandi, Thripuda, Chembada, Druvam, Adantha* and others are the rhythmic styles used by *Chenta* drumming. *Chenta, Valam Thala Chenda* (bass *Chenta*) or *Veekkam Chenda, Ilathalam, Kombu, Kurumkuzhal* (big cymbals, horn and pipe) are the instruments used for a *Melam*. After having adapted the rules of *Panjari Melam* in *Chenta* in 2005–2006 by Sri Eshwaranunni in Kerala Kalamandalam, the first *Panjari Melam* in *Mizhavu* happened. After that first performance, several performances followed up to the present time. Five *kalams* as structure (Table 2) are common in *Panjari Melam*. *Pathikalam*, the first *kalam*, as well as the second *kalam* (*randam kalam*) are not used in *Mizhavu Melams*, because the time space between the beats will be too large and become boring. It is not possible to sustain the rhythm in low tempo with the *Mizhavu*. Usually three, four and five *kalams* are used in *Mizhavu Melams*. For each *kalam* repeated four to six times, the playing mode for percussion is *urulukol kalashangal* (rolls with drumsticks, but on *Mizhavu* played by hands in a high speed), *idakkalashangal* (middle phrase, next step) and *kuzhamari* (finishing *kalam*). Different *vakram* phrases are played to finish each *kalam*. To finish the full *Melam*, a phrase called *therukalasam* is played (Vijayan 2019).

1st kalam	96 beats (aksharakaalam)
2nd kalam	48 beats
3rd kalam	24 beats
4th kalam	12 beats
5th kalam	6 beats

Table 2 *Kalam structures (Vijayan 2019).*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ti	ti	ta		ti		ti		ta	ta	ta	

Table 3 *Example kriyas for the 4th kalam (Vijayan 2019).*

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ti	ti	ti	ti	tei	

Table 4 *Example kriyas for the 5th kalam (Vijayan 2019).*

Mizhavu Melam and Eka Choozhadi Melam

In the tradition of seven Talas (*Eka, Rupakam, Jhampa, Triputa, Madhyam, Dhruvam, Ata*) of *Mizhavu* drumming, any of those can be selected by the arranger and prepared as *Mizhavu Melam*. According to the interest of players different rhythms can be selected. There is no common style for these *Melams*. Normally a *Melam* starts with *Druva Talam* (14 beats), then shifts to *Triputa Talam* (7 beats) and *Murkiya Triputa* (3 and a half beats). After that the rhythm moves forward to *Vidhushakande Eka Talam* or a phrase called "thakkitta" (Table 5), travels to the fast beat counts and ends it according to the feeling of the percussionists. Nowadays *Mizhavu Melam* also adds some aspects of *Panjari Melam* and *Thayambaka* (Vijayan 2019).

In 2005 and 2006 I spent several months at the Kerala Kalamandalam as the only female pupil of K. Eswaranunni, who is the (already retired) *Guru* of nearly all contemporary *Mizhavu* players in Kerala. In his classroom I met K. Sajith Vijayan, his senior student at that time, who is working as contemporary *Mizhavu* teacher in the same department since his graduation in 2007. During the first days I had to practice on a wooden table instead of a small practicing drum (*Abhyasakutty*). The first *Tala* I got to know was *Panjari Talam* in four speeds which has just been mentioned as "TaKiTa" (Bindu 2013: 88).

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ti	Ki	Ta	Ti	Ki	Ta
Tika	Taka	Ta	Tika	Taka	Ta
Tikataka	Takataka	Takataka	Tikataka	Takataka	Takataka

Table 5 *Panjari Talam in three speeds. Chart by Karin Bindu.*

Eka Choozhadi Melam is the only recently created *Melam*, which consists of seven *Talas*: *Ekam* (2 beats), *Roopam* (3 beats – 2 beats and one pause), *Chembada* (4 beats – 3 beats and one pause), *Karika* (5 beats – 4 beats and one pause), *Panjari* (6 beats – 5 beats and one pause), *Marmmam* (x.xx.xxx.xxxx.) and *Kumbham*. *Kumbham* is a rhythmic pattern with fixed strokes that is not repeated in the sense of a *Tala* (rhythmic cycle). The mnemonic syllables (*Vaittari*) for *Kumbham* are: thi thi thi thi thithei# thei. thithei#thei thei thi thei# (16 beats).

Figure 2 *Eka Choozhadi Melam (Trichur, 2019). Photo: Sajith Vijayan.*

In the beginning of a performance *Kumbham* gets repeated three times. After that *Marmmam Tala* (14 beats) starts (tei# thithei# thithithei#thithithithei#). In this rhythm the *Melam* starts with *urulukol kalasham, idakkalasham, kuzhimarinja kalaasham (kuzhamari)* and *vakram* (to change the rhythm). After that phrases the composition changes to *Panjari Talam*. This whole *Panjari* part is the 5th *kalam* as described above.

When *Panjari Talam* ends, *Karika* rhythm starts. After that *Chembada* is played. Inside the *Chembada* the *Valiya Lakshmi Tala* is placed (thi thi thi thi thi thi they – thaka- thakata thakata thakata they – thaka-thithi they-thaka – thakathathey – thaka-dhithey- dhikathey-dhitheytha-dhikathakathey). After that *Roopam Talam* follows. The same phrase in *Kutiyattam* is called *Vidushakan Eka Tala*, in which one special *ennam* will be fixed.

In the following *Eka Talam* "thakkitta" is framed in a specific *ennam* (way), played by *Mizhavu* and Kombu in a call – response system, and ends with "theerukalasham" like *Panchari Melam* or any other Chenta Melam. This newest creation by Kalamandalam Mizhavu Percussionists got performed for the first time in March 2019 within the *Koodiyattam* Festival in Thrissur (Kerala). Kalamandalam Dhanarajan, Kalamandalam Rathish Bhas, Kalamandalam Sajith Vijayan, Kalamandalam Rahul presented the show which lasted for one and a half hours. The composition and direction were done by Mr. Rathish Bass (Vijayan 2019).

Conclusion

In Kerala's *Koodiyattam* and *Koothu* performances based on Sanskrit dramas about certain characters from the Indian national epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, *Mizhavu* percussionists usually sit behind the actors. In *Natya Shastra* three varieties of *Mrdangam* are mentioned. *Mizhavu*, a sacred drum (*Deva Vadyam*), is considered as "Oordhuwa mukha Mrdangam" describing the upright position of the drum covered with calf skin on top. There are no other *Oordhuwa mukha Mrdangams* in India. The performance of the colorful dressed and masked actors and actresses will attract the audience more than the music. The ways of acting, the acting manuals and the stories written on palm leaves by authors and kept by members of the *Chakyar, Nambiar* and *Nangiar* caste families have been a source of research topics followed by Indian as well as international scientists. Apart from the author's thesis and articles, research about the *Mizhavu* drum as a leading instrument within that new art forms has primarily been done by the great gurus like P. K. N. Nambiar and his pupil Sri K. Eswaranunni in their language Malayalam.

By creating new musical forms like *Mizhavu Thyambaka* and various forms of *Mizhavu Melams*, the percussionists place themselves into the center of the stage as well as attracting the audience. The compositions of the new created art forms follow complex metrical structures, that are influenced by other kinds of temple music like *Chenta Thayambaka* and *Chenta Melam* and can also be based on the tradition of seven *Talas* (metric cycles) used in Kootiyattam and Koothu performances. Talas are noted in certain mnemonic syllables (*Vaittari*), which not only help to memorize the rhythmical structure, but also contain all information about the drumming technique on the instrument.

A *Mizhavu* percussion group consists of a variable number of male players. Other instruments like *Chenta* drums, big cymbals, horn and pipe are integrated

into the ensemble depending on the performance style. Apart from written works in Malayalam language by P. K. N. Nambiar and K. Eswaranunni, there have not been any scientific studies and transcriptions of the variety of *Mizhavu Melams* and *Mizhavu Thyambaka*. These new art forms are at present flourishing all over Kerala. *Mizhavu* percussionists of ten different *Koodiyattam* centers are involved into the artistic process of *Mizhavu Melam* development.[1]

Endnotes

1. For further reading see also Eswaranunnni 2010; Gramaprakasan 2007; Nair 1994; Nambiar 2005; Pisharoty 1994; Rajagopalan 2005, or Venugopalan 2007.

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The Diatonic Button Accordion as a Phenomenon of Controversial Popularity in the Slovak Traditional Music

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Most theoretical concepts perceive traditional musical instruments as artifacts whose construction, materials, design and acoustic and intonation qualities reflect the environment and the culture to which they are connected. This symbiosis also determines what function a musical instrument performs in a particular type of culture, what repertoire, playing opportunities, and interpretative peculiarities are associated with it, and last but not least, who are the instrument makers, players, and listeners to its music. It can be assumed that the longer the musical instruments are played in the broadly understood ecological context, the more interactive paradigms can be identified, and the more instruments become a part of certain cultural formula. From there, it is only one step to becoming a symbol of local, regional, or national culture on the background of historical, social, and political development.

I would like to point out what it means when a musical instrument, as a product of different provenance and other culture, becomes a part of traditional music instrumentarium. If we were consistent, we would have to see almost the entire European instrumentarium in light of connections with non-European musical instruments. However, I am not going to employ such a broad context, believing the same principles and processes also apply to examples in a much smaller territorial and cultural framework. An example of *pars pro toto* is the diatonic accordion from the Austro-German environment that reflects the attributes of music of the Alpine cultural area. In 1829 it was patented under the name of *accordion* by Austrian instrument maker Cyrill Demian,[1] although the undeniable inspiration for him were the efforts of his predecessors in Germany, especially Johann Buschmann and his son Christian Buschmann.[2] Demian's *accordion* was a simple instrument with very limited interpretation possibilities, but at the same time with free reeds[3] that became not only the source of sound but also the basis for the further development of instruments.[4] The construction of free reeds is first documented in an old Chinese musical instrument *sheng*,[5] where a free reed produced a tone independently of the direction of the air flow that caused its vibration. In practice, this enabled that two different tones were heard by pressing the same button while compressing and expanding the accordion bellows. The same was true of the buttons on the right, melodic or discant side, as well as the left, bass side of the instrument. In addition, the bass side was gradually reconstructed so that a major accord sounded when some button were pressed.

The above-mentioned reflection of the Alpine music and dance tradition with the clear dominance of major keys was reflected in the fact that until the end of the 19th century the instrument only allowed the playing of major melodies. Despite the original intention of C. Demian to construct

an instrument on which it would be possible to play, e.g., favorite marches or arias, the playing practice quickly showed that it is particularly suitable for interpreting the accompanying melodies to two new fashion dances – waltz and polka.[6] This was undoubtedly the reason that the popularity of the diatonic accordion, which is today's standard designation for most of the newer improved *accordion* variants, grew rapidly and was perceived as the most characteristic musical instrument of Austrian folk music in the 1860s despite the protesting voices of professional musicians (Märzendörfer 2002: 43).

This was also the case in the southern, Alpine part of Germany, or in neighboring Bohemia, where the first diatonic accordion was already being constructed in 1846 by German makers in Kraslice. Czech producers followed up very quickly and in the last third of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century, the production of the diatonic accordions in the Czech Republic was experiencing a real boom. Here also appears a Czech variant of the instrument named as *heligónka* according to the deep-sounding, so-called heligon bass tones[7] with a slightly modified tone arrangement on both the discant and bass sides of the instrument. The production of the most famous *heligónka*s by Jozef and Antonin Hlaváček, Konštantín Stibitz, Rudolf Kalina and dozens of others was amazing, but the quality of their instruments was equally excellent. All of this occurred in the Czech Republic because the tonal character of Czech folk music with the dominance of major keys was not fundamentally different from tonal structures known, for example in Austria. In addition, the polka dance and the first dance songs associated with it as a product of the Czech cultural environment, along with the waltz became the basis of the repertoire of the diatonic accordion players in Austria, Germany and the Czech Republic. Finally, since the beginning of the 19th century, these three countries, or more precisely their musical cultures, have been marked by another common phenomenon, i.e., the strong influence of brass bands that played a significant role in the dissemination of polkas and waltzes as modern social dances and the associated dance melodies, as did the players on diatonic accordions. It can be stated that due to these intersections dating back to the beginning of the 20th century *heligónka* has been one of the most popular musical instruments in the environment of folk dance and consumer social music in Bohemia.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, a joint state unit of Czechs and Slovaks with a common labor market and labor migration of inhabitants from one corner of the newly formed republic to another, it was only a matter of time when the *heligónka* would reach Slovakia as well. Taking into consideration pure facts, it happened by the Czech intermediation in the interwar period.[8] At first it got established in a small-town environment, but

very quickly penetrated into villages and remote scattered settlements, and already in the interwar period it enjoyed the same popularity as in Bohemia or Austria. However, the presence of the *heligónka* as an inseparable part of Slovak instrumental music is also marked by certain specific circumstances arising from the nature of Slovak folk music. It fundamentally differs in the song repertoire, in which along with almost equally represented major and minor keys, a number of archaic preharmonic or modal (Lydian and Mixolydian) melodies occurs. Such a varied tonal structure is partly related to the rich shepherd instruments (bagpipes, *fujara*, overtone flutes, six-hole and double flutes) and at the same time it finds its reflection in the dance repertoire connected with a variety of older types of whirly dances. Obviously, different character of Slovak folk music compared to, e.g., Czech or Austrian folk music is the result of a number of factors. Particularly mentioned shall be a geographical location of Slovakia as an intersection of cultural influences from Western and Eastern Europe, many of which have survived and preserved to this day thanks to the predominantly mountainous relief of the country. In this context, the so-called Wallachian colonization played its important role, i.e., colonization and cultivation of mountain areas of central and northern Slovakia (most intensively in the 15th–17th centuries) by shepherds from present-day Romania, Ukraine and Poland coming with their sheep herds through the Carpathian Mountains, where many peculiar musical, dance and craft art artifacts were born.

It is therefore legitimate to assume that the acceptance of the *heligónka* in the Slovak folk music environment was not nearly as conflict-free as it was in Austria or in Bohemia. From a music theory point of view, at least three important problems arise. The first is the **diatonic character of the instrument** where its interpretation possibilities are limited by the number of buttons on the discant side, and by the fact that different tones are produced depending on the direction of moving the bellows. In practice, it means that *heligónka* players are forced to choose, play and create melodies according to these dispositions, although not every musician has what may be called the ability or sense to identify them. In traditional and especially in solo instrumental music the process of forming a specific instrumental repertoire lasts for hundreds of years. In regard to the *heligónka*, it seems to be different just because we are almost eyewitnesses of this process since, unlike other instruments, the *heligónka* has a much shorter history and has come to the hands of musicians as a final, finished product.

The necessity of adapting the repertoire to the interpretive possibilities of the musical instrument and the problems associated with this process have

been aptly described by L. Leng (1967: 203): "[Diatonic] accordions with their firmly stable tuning overtook the development of folk tonal feeling towards major tonality and forced musicians and singers, on the one hand, to choose the appropriate ones, that is, major or ionic songs and, on the other hand, to tonal deformation of the original tunes."

The *heligónka* is an instrument ideally designed for playing a **rhythmic accompaniment** characteristic of polka, waltz, and related dances. This is because it is most natural for the left hand to alternate the base bass button with the accord button. Such a technically unpretentious, quarter-note rhythmic accompaniment is characteristic of playing polkas (bass – accord) or waltzes (bass – accord – accord). It is no wonder that the accompanying songs especially for these dances are the universal basis of the repertoire of the *heligónka* players in Slovakia. However, most of the dance repertoire in Slovakia is formed by older whirly dances or the newer types of typologically different dances, for instance, *verbunk* and *čardáš*, rhythmic accompaniment of which was created in string bands, more precisely in playing of contra or bass players and it is characterised by joining two rhythmic units with one movement of the bow. This produces a distinctive sound effect that following the principles of onomatopoeia has been named *duvaj* (probably from the Hungarian *düvö*). The *heligónka* cannot play it in fact. Here it can be only more or less successfully imitated, requiring a special technique of manipulating the bellows. Therefore, many players simplify the *duvaj* pattern and turn it into a rhythmic accompaniment that is typical for polka. As a result, not only the character of music accompanying the dance is fundamentally deformed but, according to ethnochoreologists, character of the dance itself also changes.

As it has been mentioned, the diatonic accordions were designed primarily for the playing of the major key melodies. This results from the **harmonic dispositions** of the bass side of the instrument, which allow the playing of basic harmonic functions (tonic, dominant, subdominant). Taking into account the great major key song tradition of the Alpine countries, and the Czech song tradition as well, the diatonic accordions are almost ideal instruments for their interpretation. A different situation is in Slovakia, where a significant part of song repertoire consists of the minor key melodies. Although after 1900 the addition of buttons on the bass side of the instrument opened a way for playing minor tunes, this possibility remained very limited. From the music-theoretical aspect, the *heligónka* does not allow a full harmonic playing also because, e.g., the function of the minor subdominance on the two-row[9] and most popular instruments in Slovakia is absent.[10] For *heligónka* players, it means that the harmonic accompaniment is as if "constructed" respecting the technical limits of the instrument.

Despite these problems, which on one hand arise from the essence of Slovak folk music, on the other hand, they are related to the limited interpretational qualities of the instrument, the *heligónka* has become very successful in Slovakia. This is illustrated by examples, which on the one hand have a specific regional character, on the other hand, they have a wider supra-regional or nationwide validity. The first can be best characterized by two regions that are known as most distinctive folklore areas with a live musical tradition. The instrument has established here due to the fact that *heligónka* players managed to continue or merge with domestic folk instrumental music and respect its interpretative attributes and regional repertoire (see also Garaj 2009: 55–56). One such region is Terchová and its surroundings in the north west of Slovakia, where *heligónka* players acquired the repertoire and style of local string bands including interpretation of archaic Lydian dance songs, characteristic variations of melodies, a special way of harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment as well as alternation of slower vocal-instrumental parts with faster instrumental passages.[11] Undoubtedly, the fact that many *heligónka* players play the string instruments has contributed to the successful promotion of the *heligónka* in this specific and extraordinarily lively music folklore microregion.[12] The second region is Podpoľanie whose rich musical folklore is one of the jewels of Slovak traditional folk culture. In addition to the shepherd folk musical instruments, its representatives are string bands distinguished by rich ornaments in the playing of the first violin players, well-developed harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment, a wide and diverse dance and singing repertoire with a large representation of minor key songs. The way the local *heligónka* players grace their melodies or how they have mastered a technically challenging imitation of the *duvaj* rhythmic accompaniment is really impressive.[13] In particular, this region is an example that many of the limiting interpretative factors (in relation to Slovak folk music) as if coded in the instrument itself cease to be relevant in the hands of gifted musicians. In the Podpoľanie region, this is very clearly confirmed by the interpretation of the minor key songs, which in recent years has become a model and a criterion for the quality of young *heligónka* players.[14] They understand that these melodies best demonstrate their playing qualities. Thus, reality has reversed the assumption that the limited harmonic possibilities of the instrument will also be reflected in interpretative practice.

The key to the establishment of the *heligónka* in these regions was the continuation of the local and regional instrumental tradition, the respect for its interpretative peculiarities and the interpretation of the domestic song repertoire. And what is the situation in other regions of Slovakia, where

these attributes do not exist? There may be fewer *heligónka* players, but the instrument is generally popular everywhere. The long-lasting realization of the documentary project *Folk Dances of Slovak Regions* in the village dance groups environment[15] showed that neither the mentioned change of the *duvaj* rhythmic accompaniment on the es-tam one, which is typical for many *heligónka* players, has no great impact on the music, nor on the dance interpretation. In other words, *heligónka* players, many of them without elementary music education, unlike the musicians playing in bands, do not realize the need for an adequate rhythmic accompaniment. However, that applies also to dancers who are gradually losing their contact with the natural dance environment and for whom the elementary rhythmic pulse is much more important than its deeper structured realization. In addition, the nationwide popularity of the *heligónka* is based principally on the same universal qualities that have made the diatonic accordion popular in many European and non-European countries and these qualities consist of a complex of determinants. Undoubtedly, it is the enchantment by the very sound of the instrument whose soul is the already mentioned free reed. Although it is constructed the same way as in today's modern accordions, the sound of the *heligónka* is in the opinion of its supporters softer and at the same time more penetrating. It is obviously a phenomenon related to psychological-acoustic perception of music, but it also has a pragmatic background. This is based both on the quality of the reeds and on the fact that in multi voice instruments the principal tones sound together with high tremolo or lower/upper octave.[16] The quality of the reeds is directly related to the stable tuning, which means that the *heligónka*, unlike the bagpipes, has not to be tuned before each playing. Thanks to its construction, the *heligónka* represents a kind of "one-man orchestra" that allows to create a harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment to a melody, thus it replaces, e.g., even small string bands.[17] An important benefit of the instrument, which Cyrill Demian has already referred to, is the relatively simple way of playing, whose basics are quickly adopted even by beginners.[18] The *heligónka* can attract the attention also by its exterior design and is therefore an aesthetic artefact. As a result of high-quality individual craft production they are eye-catching instruments and many makers decorated them according to the wishes of their customers. The high-quality craftsmanship also results in durability and long life of the instrument.

In addition to these universal qualities of the *heligónka*, the repertoire associated with it became another reason for its popularity in Slovakia. As mentioned before, by the emergence of Czechoslovakia a lot of Czech or Moravian songs became popular in Slovakia in the interwar period, mostly

polkas and waltzes, including the so-called evergreens, i.e., a kind of composed, half-folk or folk fashion hits with catchy melodies, transparent musical forms and simple texts, which are successfully and especially targeted to the taste of listeners. The lack of ability to identify these cheap attributes along with the desire for simple entertainment makes them still popular at all live dance and music occasions. By the way, there are obvious parallels with the situation in Bohemia or Austria. Regardless of the fact that, especially in connection with the interpretation of the evergreens, diatonic accordion players are often criticized for spoiling musical taste and deform folk tunes (Michalovič 2015: 68–69), this repertoire, by its supra-regional character, represents a significant contrast to the older local or regional music and dance tradition. In other words, this is the reason why the *heligónka* from the very beginning in the Slovak environment was not perceived as a foreign element, but as a representative of fashionable musical trends and at the same time as opposition to the old, archaic world represented among others for example bagpipes and local or regional old-fashioned dances.

Czech hits represent still an essential part of the repertoire of *heligónka* players, even in spite of the fact that in 1993 both Czechs and Slovaks created their own national states. They find their supporters in the older generation of people in Slovakia in general, who feel – to a certain extent – nostalgic for their youth spent in Czechoslovakia, where a special group is represented by men who had served their military service on the territory of today´s Czech Republic. The Czech dance repertoire is also popular in such regions (Orava, Kysuce) domestic folklore of which belongs to the treasures of the Slovak musical tradition, but people living there still leave for work in the Czech Republic. Over the course of decades, the range of the Czech polkas and waltzes has also broadened by their Slovak pendants as a part of the nationwide entertainment repertoire without any regional ties. This dance song repertoire is nowadays a phenomenon that connects *heligónka* players and their supporters in Slovakia across generations and across regions.[19] With this repertoire not only many solo players are connected, but also *heligónka* bands that as a product of the new cheap and tasteless fashion wave are broadened by electro acoustic and percussion instruments, and thus they directly follow the popular bands of popular entertainment music playing in at weddings and dancing parties.[20] No wonder that this is precisely the "commodity," which – as confirmed by the current strategies of mass media communication and advertising – is best sold in today's media and on the Internet. Examples of media promotion of *heligónka* players are innumerable, with a particularly large space mainly in regional commercial televisions. A special phenomenon

of the last two years is the television show *Zem spieva* [Home Land Sings] as a product of the state television. Among the solo instrumentalists, *heligónka* players formed the majority, and ultimately the absolute winner of the second year of the competition was a *heligónka* player from Terchová.[21]

No less important proof of the *heligónka* popularity are, after all, hundreds of players, numerous local and regional events, associations and clubs, many CD recordings, efforts to implement the instrument in music schools curricula, the newly established instrument making, which until recently did not exist in Slovakia, and social network communication between *heligónka* makers, musicians, and their fans. Each of these activities is a special phenomenon, each one deserves special attention, and each one shows that my initial assumptions about the complicated implementation of *heligónka* in the Slovak instrumental tradition have not been confirmed in actual practice.

Endnotes

1. Cyrill Demian with his sons Carl and Guido were granted the patent on 6 May 1829 (Hermosa 2014: 21).
2. At the beginning of the 19th century in the workshops of German manufacturers, a variety of typologically and constructively diverse musical instruments appeared that used free reeds as the source of sound. Many of them remained a kind of prototypes, which were gradually further improved. These were the forerunners of the harmonium (*aeoline* and *aelodikon*), mouth organ (*mundäoline*) or diatonic accordion (*handäoline*). See: https://de.schott-music.com/hohner-verlag/instrument/geschichte#Aeolodikon.
3. See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Durchschlagende_Zunge#Geschichte_der_Stimmzunge.
4. The construction of the *accordion* became the basis of two related instrument models – the Vienna and the German ones, and each model has its own successors. The most widespread instrument of the Vienna model was the Styrian accordion. Styria was perceived in Vienna as a symbol of Alpine folk music, with which the interpretation possibilities of the new instrument corresponded perfectly. See: https://de.schott-music.com/hohner-verlag/instrument/geschichte#Aeolodikon.
5. The *sheng* is a Chinese musical instrument dating back to the period 3000–1100 BC and whose flutes used free reeds as the sound source. In European literature the free reed was first described by German authors S. Virdung in *Musica getutscht* (1611) and M. Preatorius in *Syntagma musicum* (1618) and also by French author M. Mersenn in *Harmonie universelle* (1636). Even though there were sporadic attempts by unique makers during the 18th century (e.g. in St. Petersburg), it was not until the beginning of the 19th century in Germany when the free reed became the basis of musical instruments (Hermosa 2014: 15–18).
6. Independently of each other, the both dances, i.e. the Austrian waltz and the Czech polka were first presented to the public as new social dances around 1840.
7. From available sources it is not clear who first started to produce deep-sounding basses or which accordion makers first started using it in their instruments. It is all the more interesting that it is a very important constructional and acoustic element that at the end of the 19th century made the diatonic accordions famous. Primacy seems to belong to Austrian or Slovenian makers. In Bohemia, the *heligónka* basses began to be installed around 1900 according to the Styrian accordions (see Grimm 2011: 27; Bicek 2005: 6).

8. The exception was Záhorie in southwestern Slovakia, a region on the border with Austria, where the *heligónka* probably came directly from nearby Vienna even before the establishment of Czechoslovakia (see Grimm 2011: 42; Michalovič 2015: 72).
9. The ambitus and harmonic possibilities of the *heligónka* are related to the number of buttons on the discant side of the instrument, more precisely in how many rows they are located. Regarding this criterion, one can distinguish: single-row, double-row, and three-row *heligónkas*. Recently four-row or five-row instruments, mainly of Austrian origin, have appeared in Slovakia.
10. See Ukropcová 1985: 59; Mauerhofer 1981: 73.
11. Miloš Bobáň is one of the best-known *heligónka* players in Terchová who started off hundreds of children playing the *heligónka*. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eUJw73h20Hk.
12. In Terchová musical tradition, the *heligónka* has a firm position also because it is not only a solo instrument, but also an increasingly accepted part of string bands. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RnUQsegC5zc.
13. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yNB2lUs-bfE.
14. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l_I1cejwR-4 or https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5943TKghijo.
15. It is a series of 10 DVDs created as a result of cooperation between the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the National Public Education Centre containing about 900 audiovisual recordings of dances from various regions of Slovakia.
16. These are important sound features that are very much appreciated by diatonic accordion players and the instruments in many countries are adjusted to players' own requirements (DeWitt 2003: 322–323). Today's modern chromatic accordions can modify their sound by so-called registers. See: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Register_(Akkordeon).
17. At the same time, it did not prevent the *heligónka* from becoming a part of string bands focused on interpretation of the regional traditional music repertoire. A special category was represented by bands where the *heligónka* was played along with trumpet, clarinet, saxophone, percussion instruments. In the interwar period and shortly after such bands were popular due to the overlap into modern popular dance music (see Michalovič 2015: 73).
18. Especially these properties of the diatonic accordion are perceived by many authors as basic or universal attributes. This explains its general popularity in European countries and outside of Europe (USA, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, and Madagascar) as early as in the 19th century (Hermosa 2014: 31, 34; Gmachl 1999).
19. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NY7FousWiFA.
20. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L9DWYDrT9d4; It should also be noted that a similar type of bands and with a similar production sometimes referred to as folk-pop is also popular outside Slovakia. This is demonstrated by a similarly oriented "accordion" scene in Austria or Slovenia. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VZIHJwi5QQY, resp. Kovačič 2011: 165–166.
21. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_vuuVgPYD8.

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From Rom-pop to SuperStar: Contemporary Forms of Presenting Roma Music in Slovakia

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The diversity of Roma music

Music has accompanied Roma since their departure from the Indian motherland. Their music has acquired diverse forms due to varied influences that happened in their nomadic way of life in different countries. Therefore, it is not easy to define what actually ranks within the concept of Roma music. Many experts tend to identify the Roma music as any music with Roma expressions (Pettan 2002: 231). Thus, is music that is played by Roma orchestral musicians Roma just because it is played by the Roma? Sometimes, even classical works form a part of the repertoire of "gypsy orchestras." Yet a little more complicated situation is with jazz or pop players because they may (or may not) bring the "Roma feeling" to their music. It is important to take into account the repertoire and the opinion of Roma musicians. For instance, according to Speranta Radulescu, the Roma music in Romania is first understood as an interpretive style that varies across regions and time periods, and second it is a matter of repertoire. Roma do not want to be identified with every music they play (Radulescu 2003: 15, 79).

In the past, the Roma musicianship was shaped in both the rural and urban layers. In the cities, Roma acquired the elements of *salon*, *coffee bar*, and popular music, and some of them were considered virtuoso musicians who, due to their talent, penetrated higher levels of society. Rural music was only an additional source of income. Roma infiltrated the elements of folk and semi-folk music and in some regions they even became major bearers of Slovak folk music. Roma musicians not only incorporated various influences into their music, but also participated in the creation of specific music styles (*flamenco* in Spain, *new Hungarian music*, traditional *cimbal* and string music in Slovakia, but also less distinctive regional styles). This makes Roma music in different countries and regions very distinctive. The traditional Roma music and songs have constantly been changing under the influence of the mainstream music. However, their contribution to the contemporary music scene is significant, similar to creating musical styles in the past.

Over time we have observed variations and changes in Roma music. We can observe changes taking place over the last sixty to seventy years in Slovakia; we lack written and audio recordings from earlier periods. There is a difference between the music that Roma present to the audience – it means music that the general public considers the "typical" Roma music – and music for themselves. There are also differences between music presented for Roma and non-Roma audiences. Several authors (Katalin Kovalcsik, Speranta Radulescu, Eva Davidová) incline to this distinction. For example in Hungary, the Roma

traditionally perform two kinds of music: the first musical performances are for non-Roma audiences – this music is called gypsy music – and the second is music played for the Roma community called folk music (Kovalcsik 2003: 21, 85). In Romania, on the occasion of Roma family or community celebrations, the Roma musicians play for themselves, but also for other ethnic groups. This requires that their music is either selected by those who hire them (Radulescu 2003: 17).

Similarly in Slovakia, the bands that won recognition by the major ethnic group plays music for the audiences. The efforts of the traditional musical families to raise the prestige of the Roma music genre and musicians themselves led to formation of some well-known bands, such as *Cigánski diabli* [1] or *Diabolské husle* [2]. However, the most spectacular is the 100-member *Budapest Gypsy Orchestra* in Hungary. Their music has merged the ideal of improvisation known from traditional gypsy[1] bands with the ideal of classical music harmony (Kovalcsik 2003: 29). The major ethnic group also gets acquainted with Roma music from entertaining bands that are invited to play on weddings or various celebrations. The most popular bands are, for example *Kmeťoband* or *Sendreiovci*.

On the opposite side stands the authentic Roma music for oneself, which is nowadays increasingly interesting also for the major ethnic group. Due to the increased interest, a paradoxical situation happens: the Roma frequently try to meet the demands of the audience and, for the major ethnic group, perform songs belonging to the old idea of "authentic Roma repertoire," while in their household they prefer to play and listen to the so-called *naive rom-pop*, which is perceived by the major ethic group and professional Roma musicians perceive with a certain contempt (Dočkal 2007: 22–24). If you want to hear music that the Roma play and sing for themselves, we must visit them in their homes. But even in this case we may encounter certain pitfalls, as the Roma, in order to meet our demands, play and sing what we expect. Even if we do not verbalize our wishes and let everything flow "naturally," the Roma sense what songs we are more satisfied with and adapt songs to our tastes and expectations. The following Roma proverb proves this fact: "*For Gorgio we play for money, for Roma into the ear*" (Hübschmannová 1991: 13).

Rom-pop

Currently, under the influence of popular music a diverse and variable layer of new songs *neve giľa* has emerged in Slovakia (Belišová 2010, 2012) that among professionals and musicians is known by the term *rom-pop*. In Roma communities, especially segregated ones, where music is an important unifying and self-determining element, an old layer of songs is replaced by a new one, i.e., rom-pop that nowadays is becoming the music for oneself, the one that the Roma sing or listen to in their households. The process of rapid exchange of the old for the new is partly determined by the fact that the Roma population has a progressive age structure, i.e., with a high ratio of children and young population (see *Zdravotná starostlivosť v sociálne vylúčených rómskych komunitách* 2007: 28). Mainly young people are those who prefer rom-pop and receive, modify and spread it further. Since the main performers of the Roma popular music are Roma bands, at the same time it belongs to the category of music for the audience. In this era of constant changes, the music and songs played for oneself play a great importance, especially in Roma settlements.[2]

Roma popular music in Slovakia has developed at three levels:

1. At local or regional level excusively in the Roma area;
2. At regional and national level, mainly in the Roma, occasionally in non-Roma environment;
3. At the national level with a large overlap with the non-Roma environment.

Its place is primarily in the performance of Roma bands operating at the local and regional level, however, there are also bands that go beyond the regional level, and its performance affects the smaller local bands. The methods of formation, interpretation and dissemination of these songs is similar to folklore; from pop music they transfer mainly musical elements, but regarding the lyrics they remain more traditional.

Most rom-pop bands are located in eastern Slovakia, where they emerged. In almost every village in eastern Slovakia there is a band that has been playing at weddings and dances. Many of them feature a visible influence of traditional Roma music and a link to the community life. A legendary rom-pop singer and musician is Milan Tancoš (1966–2010) who together with Juraj Adam established the band *Gipsy Koro* [3]. The boom of this band dates back to the 1990s. Blind Juraj Adam, nicknamed "Koro" (as in Roman language it means "blind"), it is also considered the creator of the first slow dance songs in new Roma music. These slow songs called *slaďáky* now assume the function of an emotional filter, which in the past had fulfilled the ancient songs *halgató*

(Belišová 2018: 51). The themes remain the same: death, disease, concern about children, poverty, and loneliness. They reflect the difficult experiences from the artists' lives, allowing them to identify with the experiences and also to release negative emotions. Many local and regional bands began to imitate their style of music and gradually received the label *pavlovský style*. The songs of *pavlovský style* are stringy, especially their chorus, but they have a fixed meter. Polyphony singing conducted in parallel third- and sixth-interval is common. Musical accompaniment is electronic: bowed string instruments and guitars allowing different sound effects, such as hall echo, prevail. In slower songs we quite often find melisma. Their performance can be affected by individual vocal expression of the artist.

The band became popular among the Roma in Slovakia and the Czechia, and many other bands adopted their style and songs. In Pavlovce nad Uhom, a small village in eastern Slovakia, where the band was formed, there are several Roma bands. One of the most popular is a relatively young band *Gypsy Mekenzie*. This part of Slovakia, the Zemplín region with its metropolis Trebišov, is a cradle and center of rom-pop. A number of Roma bands come from Trebišov. Some of them do not have a long life: they appear and disappear, their members move from one band to another, such as Roma ska *Gypsy Tomas, Kajkoš Midaj Trebišov*, family band *Gypsy Chačvar, Gypsy Ondrik, Gypsy Paťo* and others. The most popular band from Trebišov is *Gypsy Culy*. Even though *Gypsy Fest*, an international Roma festival, was founded in Trebišov, due to its success it is now organized in the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava.

The biggest *rom-pop* hitmaker of the last years is is *Kajkoš*, originally from Trebišov, who regularly gluts the internet with his videos. His work is varied; he started out as a singer at weddings, and his repertoire comprises not only old Roma songs, but also his own texts. *Kajkoš* was one of the first Roma musicians invited to perform in the Czech Republic and Germany at various Roma events and dances. There are other popular rom-pop bands from Eastern Slovakia: *Daxon* from Humenné, *Negativ Dáša* from Spišská Nová Ves, *Gipsy Band* from Košice, *Gypsy terňi čhajori* from the village of Soľ. Roma also leave Slovakia to work in Western Europe, especially in England and in Ireland. Among them are also members of some Roma bands, so now they live and play for Roma communities living abroad. *Gypsy Alex* and *Gypsy Cave* are young bands that operate in Bradford. Roma bands emerge also in western Slovakia. There are fewer, but they are usually successful in a wider region, such as *City Boys* from Trnava [4], *Kmeťoband* from Bratislava [4].

To characterize *rom-pop* from the musical point of view is quite difficult because the songs do not have unifying characteristic features, such as the

old level of songs *phurikane giľa* (see Davidová – Žižka 1991; Belišová 2002; Urbancová 2017). Into a new layer belong a large number of songs of various musical genres and styles. Similarly to pop music, the source of inspiration contains a lot of genres and styles. They differ from the old layer not only musically, but also regarding the content, lyrics and appearance of new cultural references. Although each song has its author, the authorship of only a few of them is well known, collectively recognized, and the community added these songs to their repertoire for their strength or other values. In case of rom-pop we are witnessing the process of folklorization, popularization of songs that despite having their authors are gradually forgotten or the authorship is claimed by several artists.

The unifying feature of all the above-mentioned songs is their short life in the active repertoire. Most of the songs, despite the mass popularity during their "boom," have only a short life. After a few years they are replaced by a collection of other Roma hits. When after years these songs are recalled, neither interpreters, nor authors remember them. The source of inspiration is Slovak and foreign major ethnic pop music, Roma popular music of Slovak origin, and eventually international Roma pop music. Melodies are varied, adapted rhythmically and melodically, or only a particular melodic or rhythmic motif is used and then modified by the musician. Some songs can clearly be identified with a particular popular song, among them we find songs inspired by the soundtracks of TV series and films. Others just take on melodic or rhythmic motifs that are further modified or varied. The source of motifs may or may not be identifiable; mostly we talk about unconscious imitation. Regarding the pace and rhythm, the songs of *neve giľa* and *phurikane giľa* [old-time songs] can be classified as dance songs (by Roma known as *disco*) and slow songs (in the Roma terminology called *sladťáky*). In Roma terminology we find songs labeled regarding the musical style that inspired the song, such as rock and roll, tango, rap, swing, jazz, funk, blues, and ska.

In song lyrics we can notice that in some the themes and motifs are taken from popular music, while in others we encounter traditional themes of the songs belonging to the layer. The novelty of these songs is manifested by contemporary cultural references of the period in which they were written. For example, in the songs of the 1970s and 1980s we find themes related to long hair, guitars, and opposition to compulsory military service, which was abolished in Slovakia in 2005. These topics are in line with the ideals of the hippie movement that resonated in Slovakia with a time delay. In the latest song lyrics from the 21st century we find references to migration and Euros on the grounds of which many Roma left homes and sought work and earnings

abroad. Some songs were inspired by significant, mainly tragic events. For example, an author of the song *Šviňate o paňi te madžal* [In Svinia water is rushing down] found an inspiration in a theme of torrential rain which in 1998 swept away a part of the shack settlement in Jarovnice taking fifty-eight lives, of whom many were children (Jesenský 2008). Sometimes Roma in these new songs reflect the current political situation, which resemble *chastushki*. Their perception, however, tends to be very subjective.

Instrumental music is also undergoing major changes. The traditional *cimbal* or string music comprising solo violin, viola, bass, *cimbal*, accordion, saxophone or clarinet was in the 1960s and 1970s gradually replaced by an acoustic guitar, occasionally joined by other acoustic instruments, such as the accordion, violin, wind and percussion instruments. In the 1990s electrical and electronic musical instruments, particularly synthesizers and electric guitars, began to gain popularity. Also these musical instruments are sometimes complementary joined by acoustic instruments, in this case, they often feature as solo instruments (violin, saxophone). Electronic musical instruments are now also used in interpreting traditional songs. There has been an increasing popularity of a kind of *karaoke* singing with the music player or mobile phone that have completely displaced the use of musical instruments. Despite the new trends, the old ones still rarely persist, and in many Roma communities we can find bands of different nature.

Interpretation and presentation

Roma music is nowadays interpreted by a majority of Roma bands. According to the importance and the scope, they can be divided into local, regional and supra-regional (known throughout Slovakia and possibly in neighboring countries). Roma bands that are well established in a wider region issue their music media with their own songs, participate in music festivals and are an inspiration for local bands that pick up their style and tend to be appreciated and listened to by the major ethnic group. Some of them receive invitations to perform in distant regions or neighboring countries, mainly in the Czechia. At a particular time, the repertoires in various locations tend to be similar because local bands often take up or get inspiration from popular Roma bands and their current songs. Not only music and songs, but also the way of interpretation and presentation are subject to changes. Roma interpreters and bands now have many opportunities to present their music. We can divide them into two major groups, live performances and virtual presentations.

Live presentation

The forms of live presentation include traditional significant life events such as weddings, baptisms, jubilees, dance parties and also concerts and festivals. Many Roma festivals have a local or regional character, short duration, or organizational irregularity, and most of them have a clearly defined genre. The performers are from traditional folk groups, rom-pop bands and music ensembles of mixed character. The best known nationwide festivals with international participation and a long tradition in which modern Roma music is played are *Balval Fest* in Kokava nad Rimavicou, *Ľudia z rodu Rómov* in Banská Bystrica, *Terňipen* in Snina, *Gypsy Fest* in Bratislava, *Cigánsky Bašavel* in Bratislava, *Jiloskero hangoro* in Lučenec. With the new wave of popularity of folk and world music, the Roma musicians are invited to also non-Roma concerts, musical and folklore festivals in Slovakia and abroad (*Pohoda, Grape, Sziget,* folklore festivals in Východná and Detva). The purpose of these musical events is mostly the presentation of music, dance and singing ensembles and fun, but sometimes they have other purposes. For example, the Sendreiovci, Ida Kelarová, Věra Bílá organized concerts directly in Roma settlements as a form of education. Such performances may bean incentive to the people who live there. They see that the Roma can be successful in life.

Roma music also appears in films, such as documentaries of Marek Šulík (*Cigarety a pesničky*, 2010; *Zvonky šťastia*, 2012; *Ťažká duša*, 2017), Jaro Vojtek (*Malá domov*, 2008; *Z kola von*, 2010 and *Cigáni idú do volieb*, 2012), Marek Škop (*Rómsky dom*, 2001; *Iné svety*, 2006), Ladislav Kaboš (*Všetky moje deti*, 2013; *Kapela* 2018) or in a graduation movie of Mišo Suchý (*Šiel som dlhou cestou – Džavas mange dlugone dromeha*, 1988) and in an actor's movie *Cigán* (2011) directed by Martin Šulík, or in *Cinka Panna* (2008) directed by Dušan Rapoš. The famous Hollywood composer Hans Zimmer chose the Sendreiovci, the Roma band, to record a soundtrack for the *Sherlock Holmes* movie.

Virtual presentation

New media and globalization processes at the beginning of the third millennium are opening up new areas for Roma music. Roma music is presented virtually through the Internet in different ways and contexts. Thanks to multimedia, complex information can be presented: audio, video, text and image information, artists along with critics, audience. The Internet is a new inhomogeneous medium. Roma music can be presented on social

networks (Facebook, Twitter), official websites (e-shop of albums, websites of non-profit organizations, record labels), personal websites (personal webpages and profiles of musicians, blogs), websites for downloading and sharing videos (YouTube), or interactive websites (Wikipedia) (Dimov 2004: 94).

Recently, many new websites, internet radio and TV stations, and music portals dedicated to Roma music emerged, for example: www.kolotoc.sk, www.gipsy.sk, www.gipsytv.eu, www.radiogipsy.com, www.lucka-j.piczo.com, www.romskahudba.cz, www.dezider.mylivepage.com, www.romamusic.7x.cz, www.bengoryradio.bravehost.com. Video pages can serve as a basis for a new ethnomusicological and anthropological research on Roma music and Roma musicians. Video recordings of concerts, weddings, family celebrations document the repertoire, stage performance, communication between the musicians, audience behavior, different situations during musical performances, dance. Many Roma bands have created their own web pages where they present their music. The level and quality of these contributions vary from amateur recordings of birthday parties in the living room to the studio recordings of professional musicians.

On social networks, for example, Facebook, Roma music and musicians look for new opportunities for presentation, mutual contacts and reach with the audience. They can create a personal profile, as well as official webpages that present either band, festivals, concerts, organizations dedicated to Roma music, projects aimed at Roma music or they may inform on specific musical events (for example websites *Phurikano Romano Hangos, Roma Hits, Gipsy Best Produktion, Romane gila, Redakcia R1*). The Facebook profiles and pages offer opportunities for presentation and self-presentation, publishing photos, videos, exchange of ideas, messages and friends.Facebook profiles and Facebook pages allow us to track individual musicians and bands, receive notifications of new events. Facebook also contributes to the spread of new music production and to the formation of musical taste and the image of Roma music. Facebook can be linked to other video sites, for example, YouTube.

The interactive encyclopedia Wikipedia sometimes presents distinguished Roma musicians. We find there general information about Roma music and musicians. The following entries are compiled: Roma music, Roma Primáš, František Balogh, Ján-Berky Mrenica, Aladár Bittó, Panna Cinka, Ernest Danko, František Horváth, Jožko Piťo, Musicians of Roma origin, Věra Bílá, Ján Gašpar Hrisko, Rhythmus (rapper), Violinists of Roma origin, Iva Bittová, Dalibor Karvay, Singers of Roma origin, Azis, Maroš Bango, Karol Csino, Gipsy, Ida Kelarová, Ľubo Virág, Cigánski diabli, information on Roma styles (flamenco, gypsy style, gypsy jazz, gypsy punk, lavutari).

YouTube is becoming a more popular platform for Roma videos. It is full of Roma music from Slovakia and around the world. This allows penetration of different musical influences and mutual interactions. YouTube can be considered an informative website that contributes to the knowledge of Roma music. Sporadically, we can find there recordings and photographs from the first half of the 20th century [6], audio and video recordings from the second half of the 20th century [7], but most videos are from the last decade and current posts (new albums, singles, stage performances, family parties and other meetings of musicians). The presentation on YouTube includes a video clip, or at least music accompanied by photographs. Roma quickly get their bearings in the new technical possibilities, and what they consider to be interesting they acquire easily. Many people are able to create a simple video with a smartphone, even edit a videoclip, and add different visual effects that are obtained from simple editing programs. Beginners, mostly very young musicians, simply shoot a video as they sing in their normal environment, on a meadow or at the house in the village [8]. This type of video clips have a lower sound quality. Well practiced and requested bands pay much more attention to the environment; the place for filming is chosen with regard to the taste and expectations of their traditional audience, for example near some water formation, on a boat, in a luxury car or house. The actual video is also very simple displaying a playing band and dancing girls [9]. Video clips are a platform where musicians can present social status, prosperity, wealth. This is symbolized by luxury cars, mobile phones, posh clothing - men wear shirts and gold chains around the neck. Although mostly men play and sing, the video features dancing girls in mini skirts and decolletage, which is in stark contrast to the traditional Roma clothes and dances. While the boys who record movies in their natural environment without stylization remain themselves, many other bands tend to present themselves in a better perspective than their normal everyday life. It is caused by the fact that the videos tend to be commented upon, and except for music, the subjects of rigorous criticism are clothes and the musicians' appearance, and also the environment in which they are recorded. If they are filmed in a Roma settlement, the aim of criticism is dirt and mess in the dwelling. The social status of the Roma is also demonstrated by the publication of videos from splendid weddings, baptisms or funerals. Many videos are not static, and there is a mini story, often with a funny plot. Since cars are a typical symbol of prosperity, they often start to sing in the car, then go somewhere, get out somewhere where other people – potential listeners – are waiting. Sometimes the singing and dancing is a form of communication. For example, a group of boys and girls provokes each other

to perform better. They mock each other and show how to sing and dance better. Such a rivalry in the video may gradually increase. The Roma are very proud of their talented children, and so they post video clips to highlight the virtuosity, nice voice and passion in singing or playing [10], [11]. From Slovakia you can find mainly songs and video clips of rom-pop bands on YouTube. If they play old songs, they play them on electric keyboard and sing with the use of hall and other sound effects.

Videos on the Internet are commented upon. The reactions reflect the listeners' musical preferences, and mostly they are also Roma. They often appreciate the high-pitched, clear voice, emotions ("*the youth has even better emotions than the old*"), virtuosity and technical skills in playing musical instruments. In the comments they compare how the same song is performed by different interpreters, and at the same time the musicians are reproached when they took someone else's song and are not original ("*ugh, you took their song*"). Mostly they do not like if the singers scream too much ("*very nice, yet too much screaming*") if they're too lamentable ("*don't cry so much*"). Roma from different regions have different styles and do not accept different variations of songs, blaming other singers for "not knowing the original words." Through music, some consolidate their ethnic (national) pride ("*we can afford it*"). Social status is assessed ("*what you see, for they are degenerates; they have debts, they are such disgrace*"). From the comments it is sometimes possible to sense some arrogance of Czech Roma towards the Slovak Roma, Vlachika Roma towards Romungros and vice versa. There are also conciliatory voices calling for the Roma to hold together and not to criticize ("*Gypsies used to like each other, they were all one family, and today they are just insulting who is better. We will always be the worst, so wake up, Romale.*").

Roma musicians in music of major ethnic group

A separate category are the Roma musicians and singers who found their way in the popular music of the major ethnic group. The traces of "Roma" in their musical performances are either hard to identify or not present at all. Some of them consider it important to claim allegiance to Roma and about others we know, but they go without saying it.

The band *Kontrafakt* is a Slovak hip-hop trio, which was founded by a Roma rapper Rytmus in 2001. The band is very popular among the major ethnic groups and Roma in Slovakia, even among the Czech Roma. However, *Kontrafakt* mostly sings in Slovak and besides the very rare use of generally

known Roma words,[3] the Roma element is not apparent. With its musical style, lyrics and image Kontrafakt approximates the American gangster rap, yet this stylization is not perceived as merely showing off; everyone believes that Rytmus with gold teeth and chains around the neck is really like that. Their song lyrics are a constant self-affirmation of their harsh style (Dočkal 2007: 52–53).

Sendreiovci & Kokavakere Lavutara band [12] in its beginnings specialized in traditional Roma folk music, and the audience was at the regional level. The first nationwide popularity brought them the performance of Mr and Mrs Sendrei in a television show, where they gained the hearts of their audience and attracted more musicians. This is how their cooperation with the Slovak group *Para a Moja reč* began, where punk, pop rock, rap and Roma music were joined. In 2005, singer Jana Sendrei performed in New York at Carnegie Hall and in 2011 the Hollywood music composer Hans Zimmer asked them to record music for *Sherlock Holmes : A Game of Shadows*. Later, they played with Zimmer at a joint concert (Ivaničová 2017).

Cigánski diabli [The Gypsy Devils], the most famous Slovak Roma orchestra, is currently considered one of the best orchestras in the category ethno and world music in the world. In their performances all around the world they combine folklore with jazz, flamenco and classical music. *Cigánski diabli* perform joint performances with the pop band *Desmod*, with Slovak chanson singers and other artists from abroad. *Diabolské husle* [The Devil's Violin] orchestra, which was founded and led by Ján Berky Mrenica Jr, son of the legendary Ján Berky Mrenica Sr, has a similar character.[4]

The violinist Barbora Botošová [13], who is considered to be the current "Cinka Panna," was born in a well-known musician family and is the granddaughter of Ján Berky Mrenica Sr and sister of Eugen Botoš. On the initiative of her grandfather, she founded the band *Bohémiens*, which combines colorful music genres with a basis in Roma music enriched with elements of world music, Latin, soft jazz, Balkan rhythms and classical music. Moreover, she performs in *The Women Rebels* quartet, bringing own arrangements of songs but also their own songs. She also collaborates with a Polish singer Agata Siemaszko, and in collaboration with a pianist Arpi Farkaš they founded the *EthnoJazz Project*, which features unconventional instrumentation, colors of sound, oriental elements, and a combination of world music and jazz. As artistic director, she supports talented Roma children from socially disadvantaged environments in the *Divé maky* project.

Many Roma musicians became successful in the field of jazz, as demonstrated by the festival *Gypsy Jazz Festival* founded in 2011 and artistically

led by a saxophonist Milo Suchomel. He belongs among the best Slovak jazz soloists and leads his own jazz ensemble *Milo Suchomel Quartet*, which works with top national and international artists. Suchomel combines jazz and song work.

A jazz-funk formation *Finally* comprises three outstanding musicians: a Roma composer, pianist and multi-instrumentalist Eugen Botoš, who founded the band, a Roma bass guitarist Robert Vizvári and a guitarist Martin Koleda. In 2016 they wanted to release their *Final Definition* [14] album in Slovakia, but no one was interested, so they released it in Japan, where it became the second best-selling album of the year. The album features famous jazz artists such as Brian McKnight, Dave Weckl, Earth Wind and Fire, Marcus Miller, Angela Johnson and others.

Artists such as Tomáš Botlo and Miroslav Rác, known under the artistic name *BG Gangster* boldly cross the borders, employ funk, electronic, jazz, hip-hop or rap elements and thus gain popularity, especially among the younger generation. These artists also cooperate with non-Roma bands, and sometimes we find them in the compositions of majority artists in the role of featuring performers or interesting guest singers.

Singer Adriana Dráfiová has been singing and composing her own songs since her childhood. She also sang as an opening act for Tina Turner, Claudia Schifer and other celebrities. In 2005, she took part in the Talentmania competition with Klaudia Farkašová as *Gitanas* duo. She collaborated with rapper *Kali* and Rom-pop band *Kmeťoband*, and in 2013 she started a solo career under the name *Gitana*. She is engaged in electro swing and gypsy swing.

Maroš Bango is a blind singer who is called the Slovak Bocelli. He sings opera arias, operettas, cantilenas, evergreens, songs from the repertoire of famous tenors, sacred music and folk dance songs of different nations. Despite the visual impairment, he has a perfect ear and plays four musical instruments, so he is able to accompany himself when singing.

Fusion of different styles does not ignore Roma music. Roma musicians are sought out and invited to various musical fusions for a number of reasons:

1. As a union of live and unique musical practice and cultural heritage of Roma musicians;
2. Music: because of their music style and skills;
3. Ideology: as a public expression of an ideological stance, whether openness and identification with or protest against certain beliefs and attitudes towards Roma;
4. Commercial: as exotic and commercial resources for a new type of cultural/music/virtual tourism (Dimov 2014: 99).

Roma music is often the subject of routine, commercially successful fusions, but the authors of the project *afterPhurikane*[5] decided to go off the beaten path. In a multiethnic dialogue, several talented amateur Roma singers were brought together with professional cellist Jozef Lupták, accordionist Boris Lenko and African percussionist Thierry Ebam. In terms of ideas, a related multicultural project *Phuterdo Ore*[6] brought together amateur, semi-amateur and professional Roma singers and musicians from Slovakia with Norwegian musicians from the band *Kitchen Orchestra*[7] and Czech singer and instrumentalist Iva Bittová.[8]

A special group represents young Roma who succeeded in various singing and talent competitions. For some this was the beginning of a career in pop music. The frequent appearance of successful Roma singers in talent competitions contributes to overcoming prejudices and barriers toward the Roma minority. Roma singers increasingly present themselves in television talent competitions, such as *Superstar*, *Talentmania*. It is interesting to observe the life stories of these successful young people after the competition. Often, if they come from a socially disadvantaged environment, their launched star career gradually declines until they are forgotten or end up being musicians at local or regional level. One of the first winners was Vierka Berkyová, a Roma singer [15], who in 2007 at the age of 16 won the *Pop Idol* competition in Slovakia. After the competition, the Czech Roma artist and teacher Ida Kelarová, who wanted to start her professional music career, took care of her. Vierka Berkyová, however, went to Ireland, where she got married and dedicates herself to Roma gospel music [16]. Gyöngy Bódišova [17] grew up in a children's home and as a fifteen-year-old appeared in a talent competition *Slovakia Got Talent* 2008. All of Slovakia was impressed by her singing, and she won the competition, but as no one supported her and developed her talent. Today only a video on Youtube, which was seen by more than four hundred thousand people, reminds us of Gyöngy. A girl trio *The Sabrosa* [18] was put together by František Gál, who accidentally heard them sing in front of his house and decided to boost their talents. Even though they did not win the talent competition *Czechia-Slovakia Got Talent* 2010, thanks to their tutor they performed at various events, concerts and released their own CD. An 11-year-old Vanesa Kokyová appeared in the *Talentmania* talent competition in 2011. She got to the finals of this contest, but since then she has had no success. Anička Oláhová [20], the winner of the 2011 *Roma Superstar*, captured attention of Ernest Šarközi, *The Cigánski Diabli cimbal* player, who was also the head of the jury in the first year. The winner of the competition was helped by several musicians, attended various singing workshops and educational experiences. She gave a birth to a child in 2016, so her singing career was interrupted. The *Superstar* 2015

finalist, Veronika Danišová [21], has been performing continuously. *Karol Csino*, who dances breakdance and electricboogie, and plays the piano, performed in several musicals. He won the *Talent of the Year* 2000 singing competition and in 2002 became a top skipper in the music poll *Zlatý slávik*. He currently performs in two groups in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, either as *Karol Csino and XXL Band* or as *XXL and Acoustic Band*.

In order to support talented children from poor Roma settlements, the Slovak singer and actress Dorota Nvotová began organizing *Roma Superstar* in a small village in eastern Slovakia in 2009.[9] Another example of how to take care of talents is the Czech Roma artist Ida Kelarová. She devotes herself to the beginning Roma singers, seeks talents from Slovakia and Czechia, organizes summer workshops, and founded a hundred-member children's ensemble *Čhavorenge*.[10]

Similar movements and changes can be observed in Roma music in other countries. Globalization, the fall of the Iron Curtain and the "wear-out" of Anglo-Saxon popular music opens up new opportunities for Roma musicians. In the past, the Roma would take over the music of non-Roma and improve it for centuries. Thanks to the new media and the Internet, there are a lot of influences and possibilities today; it is up to specific musicians to decide what to do with them. These changes infiltrate their community as they try to attract a wider audience, whether live or virtual.

Endnotes

1. Although it is politically correct to use the term Roma music, in some cases we use the term gypsy music. For example, when a title of the band contains the term *Gypsy* or when we refer to Roma music in Hungary, where the collocation *gypsy music* is very common as we have already mentioned above.
2. In Slovakia, there are 1,575 various settlements perceived as Roma by major ethic group. In 772 villages or towns these communities are integrated with the major population. 149 settlements can be considered segregated, it means that they are on the edge or outside of the village/town. See *Atlas rómskych komunít*. URL: https://www.minv.sk/?atlas_2013.
3. For example *čhavo* [boy], *raklo* [man], *more* [buddy], *love* [money], *čorovať* [steal], *chalovať* [eat].
4. Ján Berky Mrenica Sr (1939–2008) was a legendary Roma violinist who is famous for his unique interpretation of Slovak folk songs in 52 countries.
5. Facebook webpage *after Phurikane*: https://www.facebook.com/afterPhurikane-271480014760/.
6. Facebook webpage of the project *Phuterdo Øre*: https://www.facebook.com/phuterdoore/.
7. Website of *Kitchen Orchestra*: http://kitchenorchestra.no/.
8. Website of Iva Bittová: https://www.bittova.com/.
9. "*Rómska superstar*." See Korzar.sme.sk, 15th July 2009, https://korzar.sme.sk/c/4933408/romska-superstar.html.
10. Website of *Miret* (International Initiative for Development for Ethnic Art) – "*Project Čhavorenge*." See: http://www.miret.cz/cz/page.aspx?v=pageCollection-13.

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List of On-Line Audio / Video Files

[1]
Official website with various music videos
On-line file name: Cigánski diabli
Source: Cigánski diabli official website
URL: https://www.gypsydevils.com/sk (10.07.2019).

[2]
Official website with songs
On-line file name: Diabolské husle
Source: Diabolské husle official website
Duration: 1:39
URL: https://diabolskehusle.sk (10.07.2019).

[3]
Facebook web page of Gipsy Koro with various songs
URL: https://www.facebook.com/Gipsy-Koro-275561525794760/
Roma song Ke špitaľa džav
On-line file name: GIPSY KORO Č. 5 – Kešpitala džav
Recorded by: Song
Place: Unknown
Date: 2014
Source: CD GIPSY KORO, Rómske piesne 15
Track Number: 5
Duration: 5:15
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mK5uD_yfni8 (10.07.2019).

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URL: https://www.gipsy.sk/kapela/?kapela=1
Roma song Av manca, čhaje
On-line file name: City Boys Trnava 01 – Av manca chaje
Place: Unknown
Source: CD City Boys Trnava 01
Track Number: 3
Duration: 3:09
URL: https://www.gipsy.sk/radio.
php?songId=95%2F74%2F95741619b3dfadf0576aa16abd94736a.mp3
(10.07.2019).

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Website of Kmeťoband
URL: http://www.kmetoband.sk/
Kmeťoband – Dnes večer Vám zábavu hráme (Official Clip)
On-line file name: Dnes večer vám zábavu hráme
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Unknown
Date: 2012
Source: Igor Kmeťo – Kmeťoband
Duration: 3:46
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NoW03fdefs8 (10.07.2019).

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Russian Roma song Aj danu, danu, danaj
On-line file name: Cyganskaja pesňa – "Aj danu danu danaj"
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Unknown
Date: 2017
Source: Cain Canis
Duration: 3:50
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NIu5ZVDO3kQ (10.07.2019).

Roma song Palo svetos
On-line file name: Márinka Holubová – Palo svetos
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Markušovce

Date: Unknown
Source: gigowitch
Duration: 1:41
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbfycsL1ByM (10.07.2019).

[7]
Roma song Čhajori romaňi
On-line file name: Irena Sedlakova – Romano Halgato
Recorded by: Unknown
Duration: 2:52
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKPmAkitXEo (10.07.2019).

Mix of various songs by od Věra Bíla
On-line file name: Věra Bílá – O poštaris avel (1978) + Mamo, dado (1998)
Recorded by: Unknown
Date: 1978, 1998
Source: Music, Movie Clips & Funny Videos
Duration: 2:24
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s711VXltd1E (10.07.2019).

Giňovci
On-line file name: Ginovci – Spiva Anna Ginova a Gejza Conka. Rok 72
Recorded by: Unknown
Date: 1972
Source: Josef Giňa
Duration: 6:27
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pt-HTFYJGoE (10.07.2019).

[8]
Čičavatar čhave
On-line file name: Čičavatar cave
Recorded by: Čičavatar čhave
Place: Čičava
Date: Unknown
Source: sofia tomašova
Duration: 1:30
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1fUng6YdWE (10.07.2019).

[9]
Music video of a rom-pop band Kajkoš
On-line file name: kajkos new
Recorded by: Unknown
Date: Unknown
Duration: 4:39
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ckV97j7XqQ8 (10.07.2019).

[10]
Music video of Gipsy Emil
On-line file name: Gipsy Emil – Mamo (Official Clip)
Recorded by: Gipsy Perez records
Date: 2017
Source: Gipsy Perez records
Duration: 6:17
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeXG4gpK5Ho (10.07.2019).

[11]
Music video of Gipsy Lubko Ačhiľom me korkoro
On-line file name: Gipsy Lubko hrachoviste ačiľom
Recorded by: Baláž Recording
Place: Hrachovište
Date: 2013
Source: Baláž Recording
Duration: 4:03
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZ5_Lg7RLVM (10.07.2019).

[12]
Website of the band Sendreiovci a Kokavakere lavutára
URL: https://sites.google.com/site/kapelasendreiovci/
Mama tuke phenava
On-line file name: Sendreiovci International Gypsy Fest
Recorded by: Roma Production
Place: Trebišov
Date: 2009
Source: Gypsy Fest – World Roma Festival
Duration: 1:42
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=ZxGwozm3KiA
(10.07.2019).

[13]
Video recording of Barbora Botošová a Bohémiens
On-line file name: Bohémiens and Barbora Botošová – Concert for tolerance
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Košice, Koncert tolerancie
Date: 2012
Source: GypsyQueen
Duration: 2:44
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFFcmOENM1s (10.07.2019).

[14]
Eugen Botoš (Official video)
On-line file name: Eugen Botos Finally – Love For Real feat. Marcus Miller Jeff Lorber Sheldon Reynolds
Recorded by: P-Vine Records
Place: Japan
Date: 2016
Source: CD Eugen Botos Finally: Final Definition
Track Number: 1
Duration: 5:51
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=16&v=z2is-6Qkegg (10.07.2019).

[15]
Vierka Berkyová, video from the Superstar 3 final (2007)
On-line file name: Superstar 3 – Vierka Berkyová (Killing me Softly 2) - Finále
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Bratislava
Date: 2007
Source: anastacio89
Duration: 4:33
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQGzahNfDdM (10.07.2019).

[16]
Vierka Berkyová – Music video from a perferomance in a Christian ensamble Milosť
On-line file name: Vierka Berkyová worship
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Banská Bystrica, zbor Milosť

Date: 2016
Source: Jozef Janek
Duration: 9:55
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gzwZe-FJmsw (10.07.2019).

[17]
Gyöngyi Bodišová, video from Czechia Slovakia has got talent finale
On-line file name: Česko Slovensko má talent 2015 – finale - Gyöngyi Bodišová
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Bratislava
Date: 2015
Source: Česko Slovensko má talent
Duration: 6:37
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=09JP74Tt9Qc (10.07.2019).

[18]
Facebook web page of the band Sabrosa
URL: https://www.facebook.com/pg/sabrosa.raslavice/about/?ref=page_internal
Sabrosa: Devla miro
On-line file name: Sabrosa – Devla miro (2013 Andre dajakeri angaľi – V maminom náručí)
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Unknown
Date: 2013
Source: CD Andre dajakeri angaľi
Duration: 4:30
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtEjx41llIQ (10.07.2019).

[19]
Vanesa Kokyová: Sar me khere džava, video from Talentmánia 2010
On-line file name: Talentmania – Vanesa Kokyová video.mp4
Recorded by: Talentmánia
Place: Bratislava
Date: 2010
Source: Daniela R
Duration: 3:45
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hGB7vUj6ho (10.07.2019).

[20]
Anička Oláhová: Me tut užarav, video from Roma Superstar 2011
On-line file name: Me tut užarav, Anička Oláhová, Rómska superstar 2011
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Spišský Hrhov
Date: 2011
Source: Tereza Nvotová
Track Number:
Duration: 1: 39
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GiWlPCeSPnk (10.07.2019).

[21]
Veronika Danišová: Atlantída, video from Slovakia has got talent finale 2015
On-line file name: Veronika Danišová SuperStar 2015
Recorded by: Unknown
Place: Bratislava
Date: 2015
Source: Marci
Duration: 3:13
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDZ6J3lqvcE (10.07.2019).

The Analysis of Musical Performance by the Lead Violin Player in Traditional String Bands in Slovakia: Preliminary Thoughts

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Introduction

From the end of the 18th and throughout the 19th century, bowed string musical instruments – particularly those in the violin family – have gradually become the backbone of traditional ensemble music in the rural environment in Slovakia. String bands and their modifications, caused by their inclusion of other types of musical instruments (mostly *cimbal* and later accordion, drum, or various types of aerophones), still represent a vital part of the music culture of many village communities and are the most common type of instrumental ensemble in the social sphere of the urban folklore dance groups and folklore revival movement.

A large ethnographic survey realized in the 1970s by the questionnaire method,[1] combined with data from ethno-organological research from the 1960s has brought forth attention-worthy findings, which provide much clearer contours regarding the significance and frequency of the appearance of bowed string instruments in Slovakia's rural environment: from among approximately 200 localities, where over 800 active traditional bands were identified, string-only music groups have been noted in 111 villages, even 2 to 5 traditional string bands (mostly with *cimbal*) were identified in a total of 100 settlements, all of which were also active in their neighbouring geographic areas (Elschek 1990a: 99–100).

We unfortunately do not have any quantitative data on the development of traditional ensemble music and the presence of string musical instruments in rural Slovakia from the last third of the 20th century until now. Some nationally or regionally-oriented research (Garaj – Dúžek 2001; Ambrózová: research conducted in 2010–2018) points out that the quantitative development in the number of string and *cimbal* bands in many areas is in decline.[2] Moreover, in comparison with research materials and ethnomusicological knowledge from past decades, greater or smaller changes could also be observed in their own musical repertoires, in the size and character of the venues of their musical performance, and in the function and significance of their musical production in the social and cultural frameworks of individual rural localities (see for example Ambrózová 2012).

This is not necessarily the result of a decline in original instrumentalists, or the fact that what are known as *modern* bands (with synthesizers, electric guitars, saxophones, and/or drums), have been complementing or replacing them in certain villages since the end of the 20th century. It is rather the consequence of the general, increasingly significant cultural and social changes that have been consistently occurring in the rural environment during the last

decades of the previous century, most obviously since the 1990s.

It might seem that under such circumstances, the scope of ethnomusicological research aimed at this type of instrumental ensemble would be significantly restricted. Quite the opposite: the spectrum of emerging theoretical problems and issues being addressed has widened, and the variety of musical phenomena related to musical performance that can be subjected to in-depth analysis has significantly increased.

In this contribution I will focus on one of the core themes in ethno-organological research of traditional ensemble music in Slovakia – the playing style of string and *cimbal* bands.[3] The goal of this paper is to introduce possible contours of research on contemporary rural string bands by the means of reflection on theoretical-methodological and analytical approaches of the major figures in this research domain in Slovakia and Czechia. Due to the extraordinary complexity of this issue and the limited space permitted by this chapter, I will focus only on first violin players and more specifically on *primáš* [plural: *primáši*] – leader of the band.

Figure 1 *The Pokošovci band playing for their relatives on the day celebrating First Communion (Valkovňa, Slovakia, 2018). Author: Jana Ambrózová.*

String bands in Slovakia and ethnomusicological research in the second half of the 20th century

We can speak about a musical ensemble not only in terms of a number of musicians playing together. In the narrower sense, its next basic attribute is that its individual members perform different musical *functions* in collective performance (Elscheková – Elschek 1996: 190). This is also the case among string ensembles, the emergence of which was noted in this area in the 18th century. Gradually they have become the dominant type of instrumental ensemble in the countryside, providing primarily dance music and largely substituting bagpipe players, who performed this function for several centuries prior.

In every traditional string band, it is possible to distinguish one or more violin players whose function is to play the main melody. This function belongs primarily to the leader of the band – the first violin player or *primáš*. Local terms *sekund*, *tercoš* or the *second voice* refer to the violinist whose role is to play the second part (or second voice) to the main melody. Rhythmic-harmonic accompaniment is primarily the domain of the viola (or *bráč*) players, or the violin (the term used for such players is *kontráš*) and cello or contrabass players. Regarding the musical instruments used in this type of ensemble, there are several possible modifications. The stringed instruments that create the core of the ensemble – violin, viola, and cello/double bass – can be complemented by more violin or viola players, or by other instruments, most often by the large *cimbal* or the accordion, and in some localities by the bagpipe, trumpet, clarinet, saxophone or even a drum. Therefore, in real musical praxis, traditional bands vary according to the locality, region or the period of their activity, or even between different generations of musicians.

Systematic research into traditional musical instruments and instrumental music in Slovakia began in the 1950s (Elschek 1977: 130). While the initial research projects were mostly oriented towards the identification of particular instrumental types (and sub-types) and the process of their manufacture or the context of their existence, in the 1960s the research scope expanded to encompass traditional music ensembles as well. Issues related to instrumental ensembles, instrumental music, and dance music were reframed more significantly in Slovak academic and semi-academic literature in the late 1960s.

To date, academic works addressing traditional ensemble music differ greatly in their aims, geographic foci, and the object of research and analysis itself. Individual traditional string and *cimbal* bands in particular have been

the subject of only a few works (Ježík 2000; Leng 1971; Lukáčová 2010; Noga 2012; Sojaková 1995). Publications aimed at different aspects of the ensemble tradition (for example historical development, repertoire, style of musical interpretation, musicians' genealogies and the more general context of existence of traditional bands) are similar in character, and more of them focus on the wider region or larger cultural-geographical territories (Gašpar 2002; Karlíková 2006; Matúšková 1998; Michalovič 2015; Obuch 2006). To a greater extent, the problem of ensemble music has been explored in chapters and subsections of more comprehensive works dealing with traditional instrumental music or musical folklore (for example Elschek 1980, 1988, 2002; Elscheková – Elschek 1996; Leng – Móži 1973). Partial topics, i.e. the historical development of instrumental ensembles, playing style of violin players in string and *cimbal* bands, personal profiles of village musicians, or the regionalization of musical interpretation styles have found their advancement in scientific articles as well (Elschek 1979, 1981; Garaj 2000; Leng 1984; Michalovič 1996; Móži 1978).

Regarding the theoretical concept and definition of playing style[4] in connection with string bands, I would argue that the basic epistemological and theoretical-methodological frameworks for the analysis were established in our cultural space by Slovak ethnomusicologists Ladislav Leng and Oskár Elschek and Czech ethnomusicologists Karel Dvořák and Dušan Holý. In some cases this was accomplished through intensive dialogue between the researcher and the contemporary international scientific discourse.

In addition to other unquestionably important publications by the aforementioned authors, I consider the following to be important for the purposes of this text: *Ľudová hudba Zubajovcov* [The Zubajovci Folk Band] (Leng 1971), *Probleme der Entwicklung und des Stils der Volksmusik* [Problems of the Development of the Style of Folk Music] (Holý 1969) a *Združená nástrojová lidová hudba v Hrochoti pod Poľanou* [Composite Instrumental Folk Music in the Hrochoť Village under the Poľana Mountain] (Dvořák 1968), *Hudobná individualita slovenských predníkov* [Musical Individuality of Slovak First Violin Players] (Elschek 1984), *Ľudové hudobné nástroje a nástrojová hudba* [Folk Musical Instruments and Instrumental Music] (Elschek 1988: 173–256). Other Slovak authors who have worked on the issue of playing styles have done so mainly at the turn of the millennia and later, and (judging by their approaches to the topic) they have more or less drawn on the analytical approaches applied in the abovementioned ethnomusicological works.[5]

In the context of the contemporary situation in the field of traditional string bands, a few premises (even of an axiomatic nature) from which the previously mentioned authors derived an understanding of playing styles are

worthy of attention. These are illustrated by the following examples:

> "The folk artist creates, not even knowingly, under the direct influence of the traditional musical canon. This canon does not dictate the entire compositional schema, but offers also a series of traditionally accepted, more or less known variations on the mentioned schema. That same canon, apart from the form, also offers the author the artistic elements, a number of collectively accepted motifs and schemes necessary for the mutual interconnection of these motifs. [...] The artistic canon does not dictate just the larger and smaller frames to the folk artist, but also the specific ways of arranging the core of the central idea in the assigned frame, and gives him/her also all that these frames are to be filled with" (Holý 1969:122–123, paraphrasing K. Moszyński).

At the same time, he adds that only talented individuals are capable of escaping this schema, and that the diversification of musical expression can occur through incorporating elements from upper strata, or from other ethnic groups, but only within the process of acceptance and adjustment by the local society (Holý 1969: 123).

O. Elschek did not only consider the collectively shared and relatively strictly respected aesthetic-interpretational norms to be an important coefficient, but also attributed a similar role to the functionality of ensemble music (in fact, so did D. Holý as well, see Holý 1969: 62), which influenced the character of the playing expression of all musicians:

> "In the past, [...] music and dance formed an autonomous, living, indivisible unity, a unity of functional and stylistic nature. No component would exist without the other one. Compared with the functionality of dance music, the artistic form and the content of folk music were secondary. It was not even a slightly artistically autonomous form, but it was music with dance as its only purpose. It served dance, and the musicians served the dancers" (Elschek 1990b: 171).

In another of his texts, he adds that "the more the ties of primary functionality loosen in folklore music, [...] [the more the music] starts to gradually transform into an element [...] of individual artistic pleasure

[vyžitia]" (Elschek 1959: 25). For O. Elschek, functionality is the primary attribute of ensemble music (Elschek 1959: 22).

The listed theoretical premises are to a great extent justified through their relationship with the musical performance practice cultivated in the rural environment, which has been, in the given period (1950s and 1960s) for various generally understandable reasons, seen as a relatively stable, internally "perfectly" integrated and connected system, in which the ensembles and their music had a clear function and position. However, for contemporary researchers, these premises can serve as an important starting point for further extension and critical reflection. That is, because of the significant changes in the cultural and social contexts where traditional instrumental ensembles function nowadays, it is desirable to make an a priori assumption that the factors which influence the resulting sound of ensemble music are far more complex, and that their tracking requires a broadening of the analytical-theoretical toolkit beyond imagined disciplinary boundaries of musical anthropology, towards other subdisciplines of musicology (i.e. music psychology, systematic musicology). In this respect I can anticipate two interesting moments worthy of attention:

First, categories such as *change*, *development* and *diversity* have a specifically defined semantic content in Slovak ethnomusicology. The comparison of several playing styles is most commonly carried out in two different ways. The first focuses on a synthesis of the characteristics of ensemble music styles in a particular geographic area (in this case a comparison of playing styles in synchronously active ensembles is performed), the second focuses on obtaining a snapshot of the playing style of a particular band. Changes and possible developments of performance styles during a longer period of time have not received much attention. The reasons for this were pragmatic – research on ensemble music has primarily focused on the scientific processing of audio and video recordings obtained via extensive field research during the 1960s – 1980s. The main objective was to create a theoretical foundation and primary data set on the nature of traditional music ensembles in various regions of Slovakia. A reconstruction of the given categories (and corresponding categories of opposite meanings) from the point of view of their significance in itself represents a fairly large epistemological challenge in this context.

Second, the rural environment has, in different time periods and to different extents, seen a weakening of the links between traditional dance expression and dance music, while I have reasons to think that the musical expression in terms of the aesthetic qualities of musical interpretation is gaining importance. This reality is not the outcome of whether contemporary instrumentalists are

more or less talented or technically skilled in comparison with their musical predecessors. Rather, it is the result of numerous factors: changes in the dance culture of the rural environment, the strong impact of mass media on the musical imagination of players and their listeners, greater mobility, access to formal music education, new venues for musical performance, and the pressure of increased competition with other bands (especially if dependent on the income from musical production).[6] These are only some of the forces (compare Garaj 1995; Ambrózová 2012) that are producing a greater, or in contrast, smaller space for the choice of "one's own way" to cultivate individual musical expression and the overall character of the entire ensemble performance. The final sonic result of musical performance among observed players is therefore a "playground" of numerous factors and predispositions, where the identity of the player/players in the band plays a significant role.

This puts the researcher focusing on playing styles into a difficult position, in case his or her goal is not only to name the characteristic elements of style in the musical performance of individual string bands, but also to some extent to justify the identified attributes and qualitative/quantitative changes (i.e. "track down" their cultural/musical origins and broader significance in the context of the musical preferences of a given player or band).

Field research

The primary impulse for the realization of repeated recordings was the need to acquire a sufficient amount of documentation of the selected music bands in order to compare their playing styles with those of their generational predecessors,[7] and in that way to answer the following, generally conceived basic questions:

1. Are the playing styles of different generations of players in a particular village similar or different? If so, on what level of musical performance can differences be identified and what form do they acquire?;
2. Is there a change in the playing style of individual players throughout their lives, in different social contexts, or in the musical performance of different repertoires? If so, at what levels of musical performance could these particularities be identified and what form do they take?;
3. Why are these questions and potential answers important for ethnomusicologists in the first place? What are the underlying motivations and goals and how should we revise current field research

techniques and analytical methods in order to gain both relevant comparative material and results of analysis? Should the epistemology of local or regional playing styles in the rural environment and the corresponding ethnomusicological theory applied to research on performance styles be newly reworked?

From 2016–2018, I conducted day-long recording sessions with 21 traditional musical ensembles[8] in 16 different localities (2 towns, 14 villages) with the aim of recording their spontaneous musical interpretation in the broadest possible expression of their repertoire. These bands are characterized by a strong musical connection with the variety of local musical idioms maintained by a musical tradition spanning across a number of generations. The musicians are of different ages and ethnicities (Romani, Slovak, and Hungarian). Each interviewed band member – even if not of Slovak ethnic identity – speaks the Slovak language fluently. They are mostly men – just one woman (a second violin player) was identified in a *cimbal* band.

The players have acquired and developed their general musical skills differently. Most band members learned their playing styles primarily from older family members or local music predecessors, some have developed them by further listening to various music recordings, and some (not only the younger ones) have undergone official primary music education as well. Only a few of them have studied at the conservatory level.

Although some players did not formally study music, they had some knowledge of Western music theory – especially regarding the basics of harmonisation, music notation, and, in the case of players who often prepare their bands for recording special musical compositions and arrangements on CD, also of musical instrumentation. The knowledge of the principles of harmonisation was clearly demonstrated during the recording sessions, thus the hierarchically superior position of the *primáš* was in some bands reduced to varying degrees or shifted to other members of the band, mostly to accordion or *cimbal* players with the accompanying function.

Each session lasted 12–16 hours and resulted in approximately 3 hours of sound recordings per band (30–60 songs). Each dance tune or slow song was played by each band at least 2 or 3 times (solo performances were also recorded), and if appropriate, in a fast tempo as well. Songs were chosen both by the players themselves and by me: the aim being to record the repertoire presented in the archival recordings of the musicians' predecessors,[9] and to record dance tunes for each possible type of dance for which the band was able to play music.[10] In instrumental ensembles from neighbouring localities, or

from the same region, I asked the musicians for their interpretation of a control group of regionally widespread songs as well.[11]

Figure 2 *Ťažká muzika („Heavy Band") during the recording session in the village of Terchová (Kysuce region, Slovakia, 2016). Author: Jana Ambrózová.*

The recording process with folklore music bands, as well as interviews with their constituent musicians have revealed that some of them are able to play their diverse music repertoire in multiple playing styles. The musicians have literally asked – "*How should we perform this song?*" It became clear that some musicians, and not only the younger ones, distinguish between at least two separate sub-categories of playing styles:

1. A style based on the musical performance of their ancestors, or other previous bands from the same village. They often describe it by using various designations: "*stari štil*" [the old style], "*hrať po starom*" [to play the old style]. Some bands have named the respective style after the names of particular first violin players/bands. For example, "*hrať ako Kvočkovci*" [to play like the Kvočkovci band], "*hrať podľa Martina Berkyho Paľáča*" [to play like Martin Berky "Paľáč"];
2. They perceive the "other style" as new, or more accurately – their own, or "innovative," which was sometimes referred to as "modern" ("*moderni štil*"). In one case the Roma musicians referred to such an "innovative" playing style as "*ciganski štil*" ("Gypsy style").[12]

For this reason, I included songs in the recording session that the bands

performed – in their opinion – in different ways.[13]

The way in which the recording equipment is used during the recording sessions should carefully reflect the goals of the research. Of course, every recording session also proceeds from the particularities related to the character of the recording space, the technical and production conditions, and to the character of the musical realization of particular musical content. During the recording sessions, a great deal of emphasis was given to its coordination, so that the playing technique and musical creativity of each player would reveal itself in the most spontaneous manner. Also, much emphasis was placed not only on capturing the sonic results of the act of playing, but also on the overall movement and expressive aspects of the performance of a given musical repertoire, the musical interactions between players, and the forms of their mutual verbal and non-verbal communication.[14] That is why 4 – 5 digital cameras were used in order to capture the details of the players' left hands (in the case of violins and violas) and the movements of both hands by the accordion and *cimbal* player. A high-resolution 4K digital camera was used for the recording of the entire ensemble.

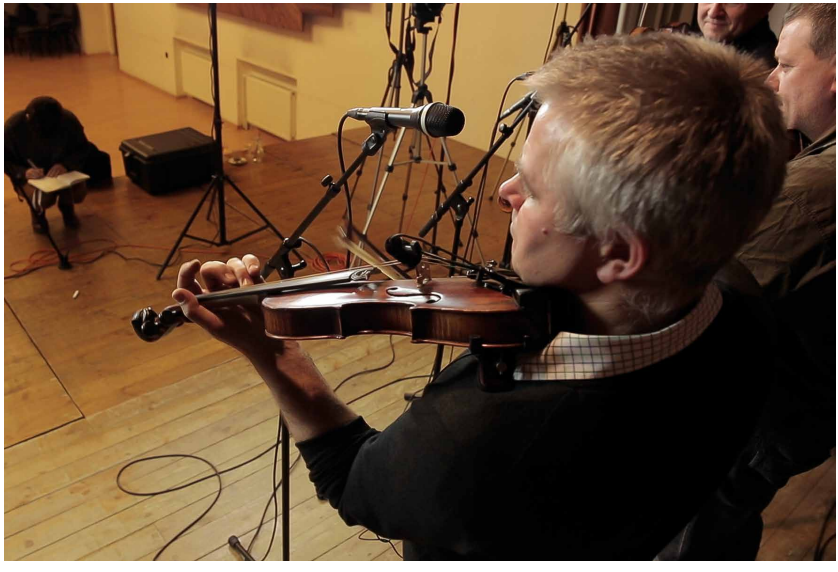

Figure 3 *An additional camera capturing the movement of the Viola player's left hand. Primáš Alojz Mucha (Terchová village, Slovakia, 2016). Author: Jana Ambrózová.*

Figure 4 *An additional camera capturing the movement of the Viola player's left hand. Kontráš Gejza Molnár from Nižná Káloša (Jesenské village, Slovakia, 2016). Author: Jana Ambrózová.*

I presume that in spite of the fact that this method of audiovisual recording is extremely demanding due to the storage space and backup requirements (one day-long recording session amounts to approx. 400 – 600 gigabytes on an external hard drive), the materials would be much better suited for processing in the phase of transcription, and it would be possible to realize an analysis of playing styles on levels that no transcription or other graphic representation of the audio recordings would allow one to fully follow. I am however keenly aware that this specific way of capturing ensemble music does carry its own limitations, which will be unavoidably reflected in the size of data obtainable through particular analytical procedures.[15]

Certainly, different perspectives on the perception of instrumental music do produce a large space for often distinct variations for grasping the methodology of recording musical expression, and in that way also possible trajectories of theoretical thinking about their character against their ideational setting. In the event that we consider musical interpretation also as the product of social interaction, the vehicle of symbolic meanings, means of communication, the result of its functional embeddedness within various cultural and social contexts, or the organic component of a more complex

musical landscape of a particular place, etc., the realization of the recording of the musical and musical-dance situations without the direct interference of the researcher must complement the comparative audio-visual material. The recording process of the aforementioned musical production in its 'natural' social context is an irreplaceable source of information for the understanding of the social significance of music, including some of the musical-interpretational characteristics in their relative entirety. The technological equipment is not an obstacle nowadays: presently, for its high-quality realization, highly sensitive microphones and cameras even of a small size are available.[16]

Style of musical performance by the primáš in traditional string bands

Just as it is possible to distinguish players of string ensembles on the basis of their playing functions, so it is possible to identify certain power dynamics and hierarchies in a given band, based on the tradition of internalized norms which are always slightly bent according to the personality traits of individual players, the recognized quality of their musical interpretation (I do not necessarily mean virtuosity) and other responsibilities that they take on. In any event, it is possible to note that the position of the *primáš* has, in the overwhelming majority of bands examined, maintained the following "traditional" attributes: the leadership of the ensemble, choice of repertoire and the overall expression of its interpretation, coordination of tempo, communication with dancers/vocalists/audience, and in many cases also production and financial matters implied in the preparation and realization of musical production.

The increased interest in analysis of the musical styles of *primáši* in Slovak ethnomusicological literature that began was, I presume, due primarily to the impressive diversity of their instrumental styles, musical plasticity, and expressive multifacetedness. On the other hand, the accompanying instruments are significantly more difficult to analyse, requiring other approaches in order to fully grasp the minute specifics of playing style: an individually-crafted method of multi-layered analysis, different identification criteria, or additional technical tools enabling precise visualization of audio recordings.

Only a few months have passed since the completion of my extensive field research, and the ethnographic interviews with individual players are still undergoing the process of realization and, given the scale and scope of

the audio-visual materials, in-depth analysis thereof is presently in its initial phase. For this reason, I present the following meditations as a theoretical starting point that will be updated in numerous respects. My goal is to "let the musical material speak for itself", or in other words, even though there are certain approaches that I intend to apply during the process of analysis, "there is still much more to be discovered". Similarly, a number of unexpected moments in the individual recording sessions pointed to some other particular practices and processes underlying the musical performances of various players that caught my attention and surprised me, the more specific theoretical understanding and characterisation of which will however require more time. On the other hand, every fieldwork is necessarily determined by goals, a particular theoretical approach to the topic and subject of research, and an assemblage of starting premises and hypotheses.

In his seminal study on the science of music, O. Elschek proposes a six-step procedure for analysis as a key ethnomusicological method. It can prove useful as a theoretical point of departure for research on playing style:

1. to "craft approaches for the atomization and segmentation of the musical organism;
2. to create the necessary terminological apparatus, a system of signs for the symbolization of musical elements and syntactic wholes;
3. to confront, compare and verify analytical approaches and determine the optimal analytical strategy for the associated type or parameter of analysed music;
4. to create an analysis and a set of approaches which enable one, as a result, to sum all the analytical results into one synthetic whole depiction of a music composition;
5. to form assumptions for the systematization and classification of individual elements and musical wholes;
6. to enable, during the application of musical-analytic methods, their connection with other musicological and historical methods and semantic analysis. Complementarity, the linking of different analytic viewpoints and approaches must be an important criterion of analytic labor" (Elschek 1984: 244).

The opposite of analysis as a basic method is synthesis, the purpose of which is "the integration of musical elements and parameters. Its goal is to conjoin, into a one structural and substantial whole that which the analysis has divided. The highest form of the musical-synthetical approach is the so-

called "style analysis". These elements form the characteristics of a given style, individual composition or musical culture" (Elschek 1984: 246).

My first brief analysis of the materials gathered through fieldwork revealed that it is still too soon to begin looking comparatively at *development* and *differences* in playing styles between my research participants and *primáši* recorded in the late 20th century. While the existing published works are in many ways inspiring and important with regards to their diverse analytical approaches to musical practice, it is necessary to work out a more unified analytical model that would convene with the present analytical goals. Moreover, if we look at previously unexplored layers of performance (revealed for example by the audio-visual recordings of the right and left hands), this model can be broadened significantly.

The term "style" is one of the musical categories that gains various meanings depending on the discourse in which it is used (compare for example Pascall 1994: 638). In connection with traditional instrumental music, it is used for the purpose of identification and synthesis of those parameters and structural elements of musical interpretation which take part in the perception of its particularity.

One definition of playing style, introduced by L. Leng, which was at the beginning of my research and has also served as an imaginary starting point for many past and present research projects in Slovakia, describes it as "the functional system of musical-structural and technical-interpretational elements, which result in individuality of musical expression" (compare Leng 1993: 4). We can find similar definitions in the work of ethnomusicologists focused on other violin music traditions in Europe. For example, L. McCullough suggests – drawing on research into Irish traditional music – that, "the term 'style,' as used by traditional Irish musicians, denotes the composite form of the distinctive features that identify an individual's musical performance" (McCullough 1977: 85).

The central categories of listed definitions of playing styles are *element*, *feature*, and something that could be described as *system* or *structure*, in which the given elements and features are juxtapositioned and hierarchized. A typical aspect of the playing of the *primáš* in the traditional music culture in Slovakia (among other countries) is the striking diversity of the expressive richness of his or her playing, which is conditioned by improvisation, musical actualisation, and creativity, as the important principles of the interpretational canon. If we take O. Elschek's detailed characteristic of the analytical process and the listed definitions as the referential model for the calibration of our own analytical approaches and if we are at the same time confronted with

musical expressions which in their essence tend towards musical-structural and expressive complexity, we must necessarily answer the question – What constitutes an *element* or *unit* in the first place? Or better put – which elements and aspects of musical performance are essential for its analysis in connection with a particular musical instrument?

As a point of departure we can make use of some of the already applied methods of segmentation of the musical interpretation of violin players in traditional music. For many authors who pay attention to the musical-technical parameters of violin playing styles, the basic analytical tool is the typology of ornamental structures and the series of bowing techniques identified in the Western music theory, which is very often adapted to specific features of the analysed violin musical performances. For example A. Lukáčová (2010, compare with Obuch 2006) focused on so-called *melismatic ornaments* (1. – 7.) and various techniques of playing or articulation (8. – 11.) applied by the *primáš* Samko Dudík:

1. *Melismatic ornaments* [ornaments]
   - *príraz* [acciaccatura]
   - *odraz* [acciaccatura placed after the main tone]
   - *prírazová skupinka* [acciaccatura as a group of tones]
   - *odrazová skupinka* [acciaccatura as a group of tones placed after the main tone]
   - upper mordent
   - lower mordent
   - trill
2. Rhythmic division in two
3. Rhythmic division in three
4. Turn
5. *Melodické behy* ["melodic runs"]
6. Oscillation
7. Octave transposition
8. *Široké vibrato* ["wide" vibrato]
9. Glissando
10. Spiccato
11. *Radové staccato* ["row" staccato] (Lukáčová 2010: 115).

The aural manifestations of playing style are examined through the prism of Western music theory – the *etic approach* is clearly dominant. The playing style of the *primáš* is seen mainly in his ability to disrupt the basic melody

through variations (in quavers and semiquavers) and melodic ornamentation. The results of the analysis were – as is the case for the majority of Slovak ethnomusicological works focused on styles of musical performance – presented through a series of short note examples or extracts from descriptive transcriptions of audio recordings, and further complemented by a detailed description of various length and theoretical content. Some authors also complemented this with quantitative evaluations primarily addressing the question of the frequency with which a particular melodic ornament is utilized by a given player or players of the same village or region (see for example Leng 1971, Elschek 1988, Obuch 2006 or Matúšková 2006).

In his thoughtful study of playing styles in Irish music, N. Keegan, focused on the following components: "1. Ornamentation; 2. Phrasing; 3. Articulation; 4. Variation; 5. Intonation; 6. Tone; 7. Dynamics; 8. Repertoire; 9. Duration; 10. Emphasis; 11. Speed; 12. Instrumentation; 13. Instrument specific techniques" (Keegan 2010: 66).[17] As he points out, the list above in itself is a categorical abstraction of groups of techniques used by instrumentalists playing Irish traditional dance music. It is obvious that in comparison with, for example framework of musical categories applied by A. Lukáčová, Keegan's analysis was carried out mostly by conveying the analytical focus on musical-analytical categories of higher structural levels. I find this approach very helpful, for it attempts to grasp the playing style in a much broader sense, and reflects many dimensions and aspects of observed musical behaviour that are not often (sufficiently and proportionally) reflected in the Slovak scientific context (as dynamics, duration, instrument specific techniques, and phrasing).

As a starting point for further discussion on analytical methods and musical performance epistemology, I refer to the writings of four major figures in the research of playing styles who introduced many more techniques and analytical procedures that have served as a significant inspiration for my work. L. Leng (1971), among other crucial and sophisticated analytical and synthetic approaches, regarding for example the keen reflection of the musical-structural characteristics of players' repertoire, or music transcription techniques, paid substantial attention to the identification and statistical enumeration of ornamental structures/units[18] used by the *primáš* and also analysed them through their relations to particular tones of the scale, further discussing their functional characteristics within the musical structure of the original tune. O. Elschek (1988) proposed a sophisticated analysis of melodic variation and ornamentation by comparing a number of versions of musical interpretation of the same melody (or tune) by various players of the region. He did so by vertically juxtaposing the individual note transcription in what is

called a *synoptic score*. K. Dvořák (1968) introduced a very interesting method for systematisation of a special type of melodic variation in semiquavers (called *cifry*), which represent the most common variation technique in the playing of 1st and 2nd violin players. Finally, in his outstanding book dedicated to style (also) in the musical practice of violin players from the Horňácko region (Czechia), D. Holý (1969) – among other things – laid the groundwork for rhythmic analysis by using a sophisticated method supported by a special machine (Brüel & Kjær), enabling him to visualize and measure minute nuances on the temporal level of players' music interpretation (individual tones, rhythmic units of *cifri*). Very inspiring is also his comparative analysis of vocal and instrumental versions of interpreted tunes.

I. Cross, who examines music and musical performance and their biological and cultural conditions, suggests that "music is a participatory art. Participation demands structure." Since music is essentially a social activity "– particularly when takes the form of the transmission or communication of skills, ideas, and values – [it] requires rules for its conduct, together with a means of ordering and systematising its constituents" (Cross 1985: 1). We can assume that there are systems of rules involved in its creation, performance, and perception, which are rooted in our cognitive and sensory-motor predispositions. On the other hand, we can talk about individually learned and creatively transformed, or collectively shared and transmitted, systems of ideas, norms, concepts and categories, which serve as means of shaping, organizing, perceiving, evaluating, and producing music by the members of a given musical community.

In this sense the analytical process finds itself at the theoretical-methodological intersection of a number of subdisciplinary research fields of systematic musicology, musical acoustics, music psychology and physiology, musical semiotics and musical graphics – and requires knowledge of diverse aspects of physical attributes and sound production, interpretation and perception of instrumental music. In this regard, it is necessary to take into account that musical instruments represent "concrete material representations as well as mediators of sound ideas and norms, or music systems and objectivizations" (Stockmann 2010: 4). Musical instruments are therefore not only a kind of "communication medium" created and adapted for the purpose of sound production, but they retroactively impose – with their sounding possibilities, the overall construction, and morphological structure – specific "boundaries of the possible," within which each player manoeuvres in order to create desired musical structures or sounds of a certain quality.

The physical interaction of the musicians with their instruments is

in my opinion one of the most important aspects determining the musical performance, yet at more levels of its complexity. In this regard, the theoretical works of J. Baily (see for example, Baily 1985; Baily – Driver 1992) were of crucial importance for me, first during the process of conceptualising the methodological and technical contours of the field research and recording sessions. More than that, I consider body movement and the characteristics of the player's manipulation of the musical instrument the fundamental basis that affects the interpretation of many substantial elements and aspects of the violinist's performance.

Figure 5 *Various ways of holding the bow. Primáš/sekund Ľudovít Pokoš "Makar" (on the left, Telgárt village) and sekund/primáš Ladislav Harvan (on the right, Telgárt village). Author: Jana Ambrózová (Telgárt village, Slovakia, 2008).*

Figure 6 *Various ways of holding the bow. Primáš Marcel Berky "Paľáč", Jr. (Hrochoť village). Author: Jana Ambrózová (Selce village, Slovakia, 2005).*

The elementary point of departure for J. Baily is that "human movement is the process through which musical patterns are produced: Music is a sonic product of action" (Baily 1985: 237). His fundamental hypothesis is that "musical patterns could be memorized and created not exclusively as auditory models, but as sequences of movement" (Baily – Driver 1992: 62). In this project, musical expression is treated as the result of a relatively complex process wherein the player sonically expresses a particular abstract, mental representation of an ideal interpretation of the musical material in a given social situation and with the aid of the musical instrument and his/her own body. The synthesis of the identified characteristic musical-structural and technical-interpretational

elements and parameters of the musical performance can be structured in the theoretical model of the *playing style*.

I consider the following elements and parameters of the musical performance (I. – III.) and other conditions and aspects of playing (IV.) of *primáši* to be relevant in order to prepare a profile of each examined musician in my forthcoming research:

I. Repertoire
- genre typology;
- origin;
- dance typology;
- musical structure;
- key.

II. Group 1
- body posture, body movement patterns, body language and facial expression, body position towards other band members;
- position of the violin in relation to the chest, neck, or chin;
- character of the neck grasp – hand position and its modification during playing;
- angle of the violin during playing and its modification during playing;
- playing positions and fingering, usage of each finger of the hand that holds the violin;
- way of holding the bow, trajectory and span of the bow movement during playing, handling of other string vibration drivers;
- bowing techniques;
- the way legato is applied;
- rhythm – rhythmic variation, phrasing, approach to the rest, microtiming (*SYVAR*, *participatory discrepancies*),[19] metro-rhythmic synchronisation with accompanying players/other violin players, tone articulation;
- speed.

III. Group 2
- tuning of the instrument itself;
- intonation;
- flageolets;
- pizzicato;
- vibrato technique;

- melodic variation;
- ornamentation – identification and classification of elementary unit(s): movement execution; frequency, hierarchy, function; relation to the tone, rhythmical unit or formal structure of the melody; stable unit successions, unit structures of a higher level; development throughout eventual repetitions of the musical piece;
- multipart (vertical) structures, arpeggio;
- presence of *mute tones* (tones that are consciously executed/anticipated with the movement of the fingers, but lack an audible presence in the musical flow).

IV. Violin/bowed musical instrument and accessories

- origin and type of the violin, origin and type of the bow;
- strings;
- shoulder rest;
- chin rest;
- bridge adjustments;
- capo or similar devices;
- other corpus/bow adjustments;
- instrument, bow defects;
- other string vibration drivers;
- colophony.

This list, obviously, concentrates in itself aspects and elements of significantly diverse nature. Many of them are of secondary importance at this stage in the analytical process, while others – although formally divided into separate sections – are either contributing factors in aspects of a single feature (for example, bowing technique influences the rhythmic structure and dynamic plan of the musical interpretation), or represent a sub-category of another separately listed component.

The most challenging part of this kind of research is following Elschek's precise enumeration of the crucial steps in the analytical procedure, namely: creating the necessary terminological apparatus and system of signs for the symbolization of musical elements and syntactic wholes; optimisation of analytical strategy for the associated type or parameter of analysed music; and creation of a set of approaches that enable the final evaluation of results and synthesis of stylistic elements and aspects into a more or less coherent abstract model of a "playing style" (Elschek 1984: 244).

The problem of the visualisation of various characteristics and structural

elements – in other words the transformation of 'the heard' and 'the seen' into static, schematic visual symbolic forms (including the features of hand positions and ways of holding the instrument) will be a substantial but inevitable challenge. Despite ongoing discussions regarding the appropriateness, subjectivity, and selectivity of music transcription by using the Western music notation that have accompanied the development of ethnomusicology from the first important postulates of O. Abraham and E. M. von Hornbostel, I am convinced that this mode of visualization is still integral to our research. Moreover, it could be "enhanced" in many ways.

On the other hand, since the 1980s, but mostly during the last two decades, a great deal of methodological advancements have been made by employing various computer software in quantifying or qualitatively assessing selected parameters of audio recordings.[20] Digital technologies assist in the improvement of research methods in everyday professional praxis, but also have the potential to influence the theoretical directions that the research can take. They open an imaginary door towards interdisciplinary approaches for a deep understanding of musical structure and will serve as another tool for visualising and evaluating particular parameters of musical interpretation not accessible via aural analysis and music transcription. On one hand, they serve the process of note transcription itself, or they open up a larger space for the explication of rather complex phenomena such as intonation or tuning, dynamics, tone colour, vibrato and others.

In order to conduct a thorough comparison of individual playing styles of examined musicians, and to be able to analyse potential relationships and conditionality of aforementioned parameters and elements of musical performance I find it important and necessary to make sure that the first stage of analysis will end up with comparable data set(s). That means – pure description of selected aspects of the violin music interpretation (or its note transcription) is not sufficient. The whole process of examination, measurement, and analysis must inevitably lead to obtaining such data sets, which are systematically comparable and analysable during further stages of examination. They should either be (if possible) of a quantitative nature, or should be represented in the form of precisely created schematic graphic representations placed in musical scores, or in complementary documents (for example in regard to the fingering, position of the violin or holding the bow).

Conclusion

It is clear that at this stage of research on style in musical performance, we still find ourselves in the realm of individual playing styles. Moreover, the previously introduced analytical scheme represents the *etic approach* in the very sense of the word. This leads to further questions and implications. On one hand, the hierarchy of what would be perceived the stylistic features of musical performance will certainly vary depending on the player. On the other hand, it raises questions of the players' own perspectives and perceptions on the stylistic features of playing styles. This adds another important dimension to the process of synthesis. And last but not least, the questions of local, generational, regional, and "national" violin playing styles and musical performance *dialects* in traditional music are still waiting to be fully examined and answered. In my opinion, this makes research on styles of musical interpretation one of the most important, challenging and especially complex research fields in contemporary ethnomusicology not only in the Central Europe.

Endnotes

1. The results of this survey have been processed and published in the form of *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* [Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia] (Filová et al. 1990).
2. The development in individual regions is however very different. While, for example, in eastern Slovakia we have seen a radical decline in traditional rural *cimbal* or string bands, in the Podpoľanie region (central Slovakia) their living tradition still persists. Thanks to the vital system of oral intergenerational music transmission, institutionalized music education, and ongoing demand for this type of instrumental music, new, young instrumental ensembles emerge, drawing on the original music tradition of the region.
3. In this case the ensemble is often referred to as a *cimbal band*.
4. The terms playing style, style of musical interpretation or style of musical performance will be broadly treated as synonyms in the following text. At the same time, I do realize that the semantic discrepancies between them could be a matter for a wider discussion.
5. See the aforementioned publications.
6. This is documented not only by ethnographic observation of the activities of folklore bands (including their activities and shared live videos on websites and private profiles on social networks), or interviews with musicians. This is confirmed also by the results of research into specific aspects of musical accompaniment in traditional string bands (compare Ambrózová 2011). The last decades are characterized by the following major changes: decrease and change in the nature of the former playing opportunities (weddings, village feasts, dance parties, etc.), increase in new playing opportunities (TV shows and competitions, receptions, CD recordings, folklore competitions etc.), decrease of 'original bearers' of stylistically distinctive traditional dance and music, and the weakening of the activities of the village folk dance ensembles.
7. All this with a full awareness that B. Garaj and S. Dúžek realized extensive research with similar goals in 1991 – 1992 (Dúžek – Garaj 2001: 8). This research was conducted in 41 localities, where apart from other types of instrumental ensembles, 27 string bands of various forms were documented (Dúžek – Garaj 2001: 10).

8. The composition of recorded bands has followed either of the following instrumental compositions: 1. violin, one or two violin-*kontra* players, cello; 2. violin, one or two violin-*kontra* players, cello, *heligónka* (small button accordion); 3. one or more violin players, one or two viola-*kontra* players, double bass; 4. one or more violin players, one or two viola-*kontra* players, double bass, accordion (in one case also clarinet); 5. one or more violin players, one or two viola-*kontra* players, double bass and *cimbal* (in two cases also saxophone). A few violin players accidentally showed up during the recording session. They wanted to see what was going on, so I invited them to play a few dance songs for comparative purposes.
9. This concerns mostly historical recordings on magnetic tapes (part of them already digitized), recorded by previous researchers during the 2nd half of the 20th century, and at disposal an the archive of the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava.
10. The core of their musical repertoire consists of local traditional songs. In most cases (I noticed one exception) it has been broadened to various degrees by folk songs from either other villages or ethnographic regions, or by songs and musical compositions from different musical genres.
11. What was impossible to conduct for various reasons was to realise recordings of dance music in the presence of local dancers or singers. This happened in just four cases: in the villages of Hrochoť, Telgárt, Pohorelá and Čierny Balog (Podpoľanie and Horehronie regions).
12. In this context it appears important to reflect the phenomenon first introduced by Mantle Hood in the 1960s as *bi-musicality*. According to John Baily this phenomenon "suggests an individual who, as a child, has become fluent as a performer in two distinct musics" (2008: 132). Baily went further to suggest what he deems a more suitable term – *intermusability* (see Baily 2008: 132). While Baily thought about musical ability in terms of the intentions of musical-genre variety, nowadays we identify the elements of this phenomenon in the playing of traditional ensembles, insofar as the two substantive styles of musical interpretation show not only different musical-structural parameters, requirements in terms of the manipulation of the musical instrument and body movement, but are most importantly represented also as different at the level of the musicians' imagination.
13. This is a matter for a carefully realized multi-level analysis: whether it would confirm that the playing styles used do indeed differ. Of course, modifications can also appear due to the simple fact that musicians are people with different personal traits, bodies, and interpretational capabilities.
14. The musicians were informed and agreed, that the entire recording session, including interviews, comments, and breaks, is recorded using the Tascam DR-40 digital recorder.
15. For example, highly specialized research on the periodic body motion of players and/or dancers using motion capture technology (see for example Bonini Baraldi – Bigant – Pozzo 2015, or Haugen 2016) would require specific equipment and a specialized recording methodology.
16. Such a recording of interpreters conceived in this way has not been systematically applied in Slovak ethnomusicology – researchers have always, following specific research goals, to a certain extent, coordinated the process of the recording session. This method has occupied a central position among numerous international experts, notably including the American anthropologist, ethnomusicologist and linguist S. Feld (see for example Feld 2012).
17. In the following text of his paper, Keegan devotes a separate section to each individual feature and element of musical performance.
18. These are represented in the score not in the form of additional graphic symbols placed above individual notes, but as notated rhythmic-melodic structures replacing or complementing the main tones.
19. See Bengtsson – Tove – Thorsén 1972 (SYVAR) and Keil 1995 (participatory discrepancies).
20. Of course, depending on the quality and amount of comparative audio recordings.

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Acoustical and Statistical Approaches in the Study of Folk Vocal: Attempts at Melodic Scale Measurement on the Example of the Ukrainian Calendar Tradition

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Main tendencies and problems in Ukrainian ethnomusicology

The state of ethnic music in Ukraine today reveals a tendency towards the disappearance of its archaic forms. Despite the fact that field work today is less successful than in previous decades, and black spots constitute a significant part of the map, the collected records in the archives are already sufficient for several years of analytical work. Field work is still important, but, at the same time, analytical approaches are becoming more complicated and interdisciplinary, as far as the collected records needs qualified systematization for further research. The appearance and development of electronic devices and, later, computers have amplified new methods and approaches in most of the humanity disciplines, including ethnomusicology. Acoustical measuring of pitch, rhythm and timbre, and the creation of databases and maps of ethnic areas represent the main approaches contributing to research development.

The main classification features of folk music are genre, rhythmic type and scale. Hence, the main methods of analysis in Ukrainian ethnomusicology today are rhythmic typology and melodic geography (including categorization of genres). These are the methods proposed by Ukrainian ethnomusicologist Klyment Kvitka in the early 20th century and further developed by Volodymyr Hoshovsky in the middle of the same century. Later in Ukrainian ethnomusicology studies were carried out by Yevhen Yefremov, Bohdan Lukanyuk, Iryna Klymenko, Olena Honcharenko, Hanna Koropnichenko, Oleksandr Tereschenko and others.

The results of such analysis have been classification, which is manifested in maps of melodic and rhythmic types, in variants of the scale in different macro- and micro-areas. The method of rhythmic typology – in comparison with methods of melody research – is now more developed. It is clear that study related to the collection, classification, systematization and statistical analysis of huge amounts of data requires particular methods of encoding and data processing. This question was raised even by Volodymyr Hoshovsky in his article *Melodic Paradigms of the Songs of the Slovak-Ukrainian Area* (Hoshovsky 2009). In this article he proposed the creation of statistical data processing by computer,[1] for which at that time there were not great opportunities. And in order to achieve it, it is necessary to translate the music text into computer language terms – algorithms. This means that musical categories such as the ambitus,[2] melodic line, rhythmic patterns, degrees and others need to be converted into formulae expressed in symbols and signs. Every sign or abbreviation has to have only one value and should not be changed during

the collecting of the data in the database. This circumstance complicates the research, because any new fact that ethnomusicologists bring from the field could change the picture of one phenomenon or another in the musical analytical system. For example, a researcher could find a rhythmic type in a genre that had not been discovered before. That means that the musical system is situated in the phase of development which comes into conflict with the conditions of statistical methods and database creation.[3]

Researchers at the Kyiv laboratory of ethnomusicology[4] are developing archival databases and published recordings (using Excel software) with their own coding and sorting system. For example, to mark genres in Ukrainian traditional vocal music ethnomusicologists use three-letter abbreviations: *Kolyadka* means carols – KLD, *Vesillya* means wedding song – VSL, etc. A similar scheme is used for regions. These factors allow us to use Excel's capabilities to sort any feature in the database, such as genre or rhythmic type, and trace its spread in traditional areas, so researchers can see the particular qualities of any ethnic region, based on a large amount of data.

However, over time, the system of entering information into databases has become more complicated and required more definitive methods of computer data processing. To date, limited technical, financial and human resources have not been up to the task. In addition, this statistical data system takes into account only transcribed text, which leads to general structures. This system does not take into account the features of the micro-interval pitch and rhythmic "deviations,"[5] which cannot be transmitted by means of musical transcription but are often indicators of regional styles. So, we have to refer to transcription and its particular qualities in traditional music analysis.

Transcription and its meaning for statistical work

In every musical analysis, including analysis of ethnic music, transcription needs visualization for our perception and comprehension. The origins of folk-music transcription method is based on the Western European notation. Thus, the modern musical notation system reflects the music of the Western European professional musical tradition. This means that such notation reflects separate tones, adjusted rhythm and tempered tunes. In turn, the use of five-line musical notation to display folk music requires adaptation. One of the first adaptations in this vein was made by Béla Bartók and afterwards was developed by different ethnomusicologists in each scientific school, taking into account the features of their national tradition. The development of the

patterns of musical notation can be compared with the development of written language: in one case as in the other, we are talking about the processes of fixing sounds, their awareness and separation in the human mind. As the Russian linguist Ihor Diakonov pointed out in his preface to the translation of Johannes Friedrich's book *History of Writing*: "When someone borrows a writing, a person most often does not take creative initiative: he/she begins to write the words of his/her language, following the rules of the borrowed writing, and only during a long time, through slow evolution, borrowed writing can more or less adapt to the needs of a new language. The process of such adaptation is usually also not creative, but mechanical, unconscious" (Friedrich 1979: 11). Such borrowing can be observed in the use of five-line notation for folk music transcription. Ethnic and academic traditions exist in a differently coordinated systems, with their own time and pitch perception, which include its own time and pitch type of perception.

Another point is the primary and secondary value of notation in the performance process in different traditions. For professional music of the written tradition, notation is the main source of musical text. It is created first, after which it is subjected to interpretation in performance. And the oral tradition exists without any notation: transcription is created as an additional tool for scientific analysis. In this case transcription constitutes the researcher's interpretation. This also leads to difficulties in using classical notation as applied to folk music.

Moreover, ethnic musical elements are often not linear, unlike academic elements. The pitch of tones is not clearly regulated, and rhythm may shrink or stretch depending on the performance. Based on this, we are faced with the problem of displaying unique phenomena that are characteristic for a particular ethnic tradition. Among them are micro-"deviations" in the pitch and rhythm of the performance process. In the *phonetic* type of transcription such "deviations" are displayed through diacritic signs. But *phonetic* transcription is used to reflect a unique performance which was recorded once. This obstacle goes against the nature of traditional music and variation as one of its significant features. Nevertheless, traditional music, as a solid system, is built according to certain laws, and deviations have their own patterns, not obvious and elusive to the ear. That is why most micro-"deviations" cannot be caught just by ear and fixed in transcription; it requires the use of additional instruments – acoustical tools.[6]

Acoustic analysis in ethnomusicology

In the entire history of ethnomusicology, we can observe two main reasons why researchers have turned to acoustic analysis: the creation of a more accurate and objective transcription of records, and the interpretation of the modes and scales of folk music. If the first reason (as mentioned in the previous section) is undeniable, the second one is not so obvious. The tradition of extracting tones and degrees and collecting them into a line is based on the Western European interpretation of Greek musical analysis, which was integrated into classical European musicology and became the only approach to describe melodies. As a result, 12-tone equal-tempered system is meant as main in the analytical proces. We have to take this circumstance into account during the work with folk melodies, which exist in another, non-12-tone equal-tempered system.[7]

More than 100 years ago, researchers made the first attempts to determine the patterns of exotic (non-European) songs scales, which are hard to recognize in details, and tried to create a more precise system of transcription. Karl Stumpf, Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, Curt Sachs, Otto Abraham were working on the records of the Berlin archive when they made the first experiments with acoustic analysis of ethnic music. Songs of non-European lands were hard to transcribe using only Western European notation; the lack of signs was a barrier to detailed transcription. Besides that, K. Stumpf was interested in the phenomenon of musical perception and tried to explain the processes of the researchers' interpretation of different sound organizations. E. M. von Hornbostel and O. Abraham suggested in their article (Abraham – Hornbostel 1909), which was devoted to the problems in the transcription of exotic melodies, tools and methods for acoustical elaboration of ethnic music notation. They pointed out the necessity of unification in methodology to make transcription more useful both for researchers and performers.[8] They wrote: "Vocal works, especially unaccompanied, which, of course, are characterized by variable intonation, only then can serve to determine the music system, when selective samples (measurements of 'the same' sound in different places) attest to sufficient stability" (Abraham – Hornbostel 2010: 15). For their experiments, researchers used several mechanical analogue devices, but the exact measurement procedure is not provided. We only know that the recordings which were the basis for the experiments were made on a phonograph. So, we can assume that the researchers had some difficulties in determining the exact pitch of sound on such recordings. However, E. M. von Hornbostel and O. Abraham already noticed that "variable intervals do not necessarily have to be based on completely

unclean intonation, they can be subject to certain musical patterns, which are not always understood by the singer" (Abraham – Hornbostel 2010: 15).

In the middle of the 20th century, Ukrainian researchers – musicologists Policarp Baranovsky and Yevhen Yutsevych (Baranovsky – Yutsevych 1947) – pondered a more precise definition of intervals in the scales of folk music. In order to do this, the researchers developed their own method of measuring pitch, and even created their own device – the poly-audiograph (Baranovsky 1959).

However, the technique for measuring and interpreting the results of these scientists' analysis is doubtful. For some reason, they did not use recordings from field and archives for acoustic analysis but measured the live-performance intonation of folk songs from composers and musicologists (this circumstance was due to the technical possibilities available at the time). Besides this, in the scale theoretical interpretation, the researchers used academic musicology analytical methods, and did not apply the methods of ethnomusicology, which at that time had already been developed to quite a high level (works of Stanislav Lyudkevych, Mykola Lysenko, Filaret Kolessa, Klyment Kvitka). As a result, although the experience of these researchers as a historical phenomenon is of interest today, we cannot speak of the accuracy and appropriateness of the conclusions of P. Baranovsky's and Y. Yutsevych's work.

The development of computer technology today opens up new opportunities for ethnomusicologists. The tools are easier to use for calculating acoustic data in comparison with the analogue tools of the beginning of the century. Yet so far, we cannot confirm the existence of a developed unified method of folk music acoustic analysis or even specialized software for such research. Modern acoustic analysis is a collection of borrowed and adapted methods and tools from ethnomusicology-related fields (linguistics, phonology, anthropology, musicology, etc.) and electronic music composing. Nevertheless, several attempts can be mentioned to highlight the different aspects of musical language in the form of precise data and statistics. Among them: pitch and the system of scales/modes; changes (deviations) of the rhythm and rhythmic groups; a characteristic of the spectrum – timbre; and patterns of organization of form.

The modern picture of acoustic analysis methods comprises the rather isolated works of separate scientists. Sometimes ethnomusicologists create their own software for acoustic analysis, designed to solve the very problem that relates to their research interests. For example, Anas Graab (Tunisia) is an author of the software *music22*, which functions online.[9] The program was created to find all variants of absolute pitch to every degree in the song.

However, an ethnomusicologist needs to know programing language to work with this software (commands are set in Python programming language).

One of the most developed and practical systems for analysis of ethnic music today is the system developed by Lithuanian ethnomusicologist Rytis Ambrazevičius (Ambrazevičius – Budrys – Vishnevska 2015: 89–101). The researcher examined all the categories of musical language through the prism of acoustic measuring. Also, he worked out the problem of acoustical perception in Lithuanian ethnic music. In his works he pays most attention to the patterns of scales created in the vocal and instrumental (wind and string instruments) folk music of Lithuania. The main theme of R. Ambrazevičius research is the precise determination of the scale's tone deviations (in relation to the tones of the 12-TET grid).

The method includes the measurement and calculation of every tone in the melody line via *Praat* software,[10] and the statistical results of any scale-degree pitch variant (deviated from the 12-TET tune). The process of measuring means comparison of every single tone with tone a^1 (440 Hz), so in the result we have for instance a^1 + 20 cents (which means a tone slightly higher than a^1) or b^1 + 50 cents (which means a quarter-cent higher than b^1) etc. In this way, applying an amount of calculation, we can observe patterns in degree deviation depending on the genres and regions of the Lithuanian traditional music. Today we can say that the method proposed by R. Ambrazevičius is the most developed and unified, tested throughout the Lithuanian traditional music, and based on a large number of examples. We can suggest that further testing of this method with examples of other traditions will give a result that allows us to build a more accurate pitch analysis.

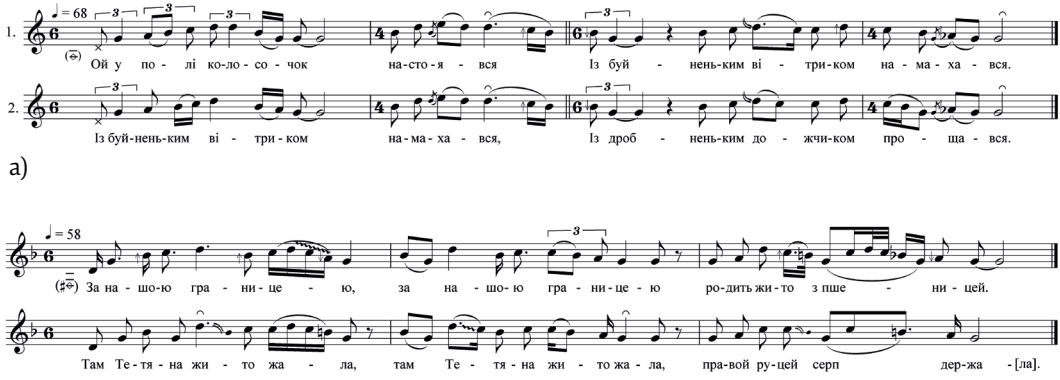
Method of ratios and attempts to disengage

In Ukrainian ethnomusicology, the development of scale analysis has still not lost its relevance. It is evident that more and more researchers are arriving at the need for acoustic analysis of pitch evaluation as an objective component of study. Due to the fact that a method of acoustic analysis of Ukrainian folk songs has not yet been developed, and the mentioned methods of P. Baranovsky and Y. Yutsevych have lost their relevance, today we need to develop such methods or use ready-made methods in examples of Ukrainian music.

So, obtaining the results of a precise determination of the scale requires several steps: 1) determination of the absolute pitch of each individual

tone of the song; 2) statistical determination of the average of each step; 3) determination of the micro-interval of the deviation of the degree compared with the tempered grid.

As an example, we took two harvest songs with a similar melodic line, but

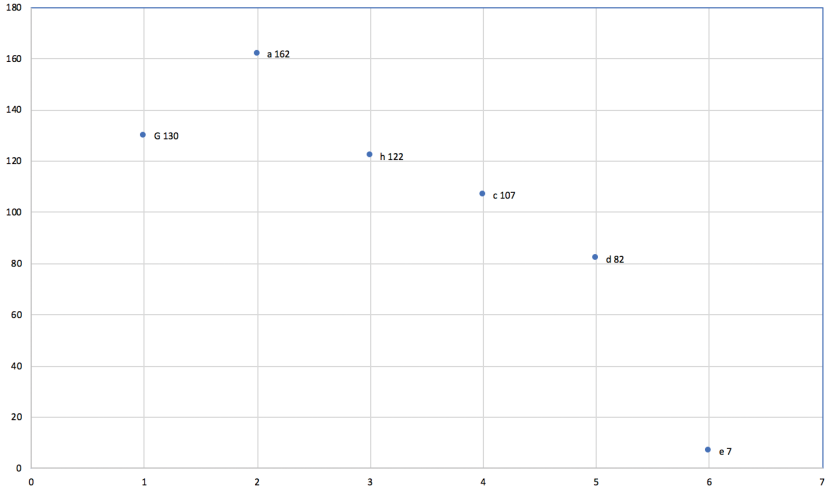


from different regions (see Figure 1).[11]

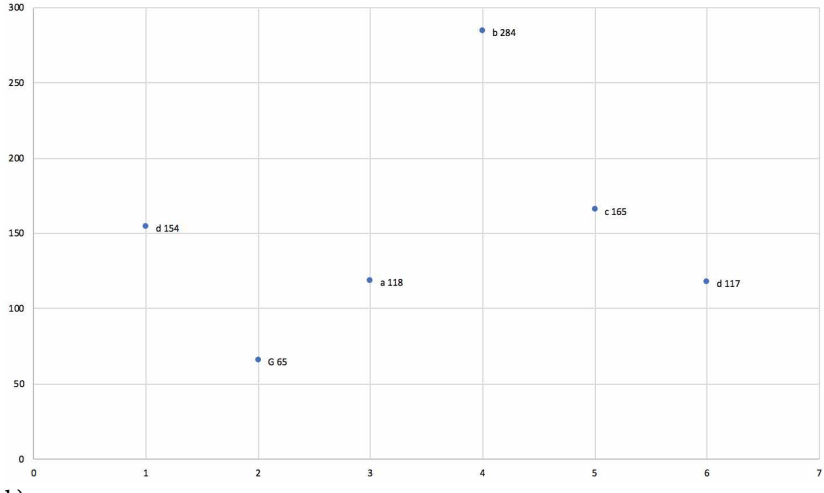
Figure 1 *a) Harvest song "A u poli kolosochok nastoiavsya" [The spikelet has already grown in the field] is from the village of Khmelivka, Olevsky district, Zhytomyr region. Recorded by I. Klymenko and S. Okhrimchuk in 1995. Transcription by A. Mazurenko; b) harvest song "Za nashoiu hranytseiu" [Beyond our borders] is from the village of Hruzke, Makarovsky district, Kyiv region. Recorded by H. Koropnichenko in 1994. Transcription by A. Mazurenko.*

We measured every tone in these solo performances and collected the value of every degree variant. After that we took extreme values of every degree, so we can see the interval of degree realization during the strophe (see Figure 2).

For a wider overview, we have to analyze the number of songs that are sufficient for statistics in different genres and in different regions, and thus get a picture of the scale with the micro-interval features in the genres of different historical phases (ritual genres, lyrics, epics) in different musical dialects of the tradition. Also, using this method in a more detailed form, we can talk about the patterns of a performer's individual style. However, in this method of analysis, we lose the opportunity to talk about the patterns of tone deviation in different parts of the strophes. Thus, we lose the definition of the tone function in the melodic line. A solution to this problem can be a method of ratios. For a unit of measurement, we take not a single tone, but each interval of the melody and



a)



b)

Figure 2 *The pitch range of every scale degree (extreme values during the strophe). Axis x – number of scale degrees, axis y – cent values: a) harvest song "A u poli kolosochok nastoiavsya", b) harvest song "Za nashoiu hranytseiu."*

compare it with the tempered value indicated in the notation. Due to this, we are not dependent on the absolute pitch of the tone, because we are talking only about the ratios (which can be implemented at any absolute pitch). We can see that the features of implementation of intervals in our harvest songs are different (see Figure 3).

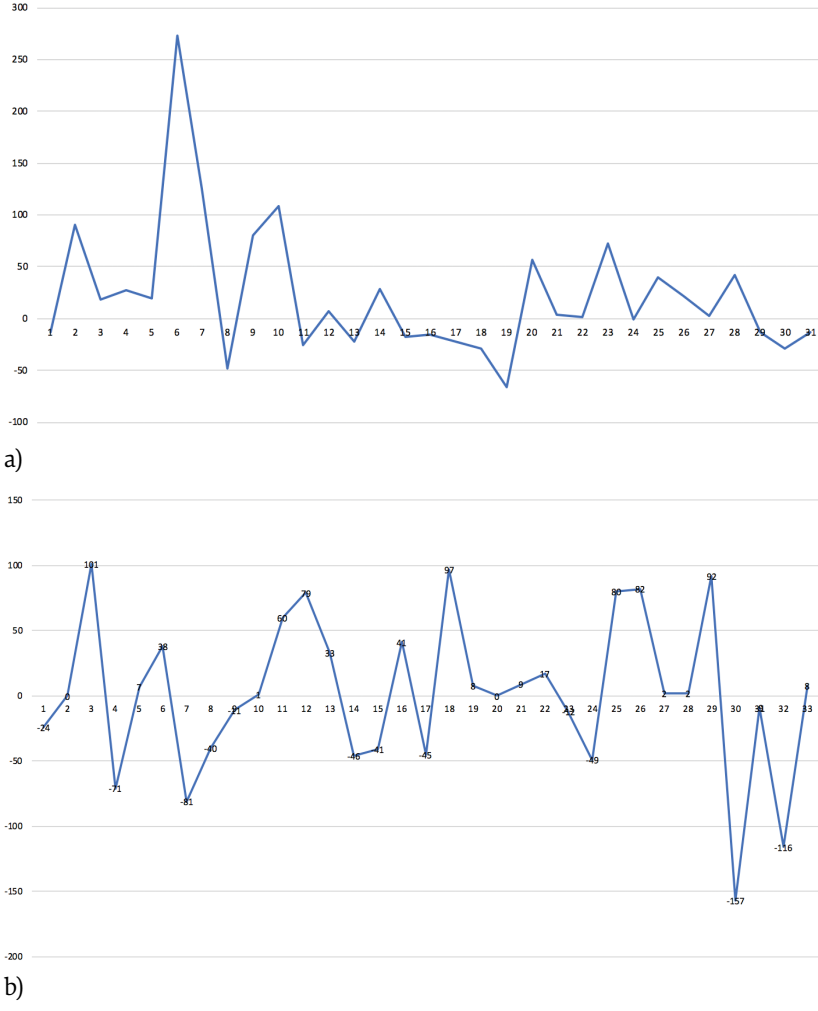


Figure 3 *Axis x is the number of intervals in the transcription during the strophe, axis y is the difference between every neighboring horizontal interval according to the transcription and real measured neighboring intervals. Cents value. Songs a) and b) according to mentioned definition.*

As melody cannot exist without rhythm, we measure it as well, to show the dependence of time-deviations and meaning of tones. For this work we also use the method of ratios: every rhythmic value is the proportion of calculating the tone duration (which we get from the tempo meaning) and real duration of every tone.

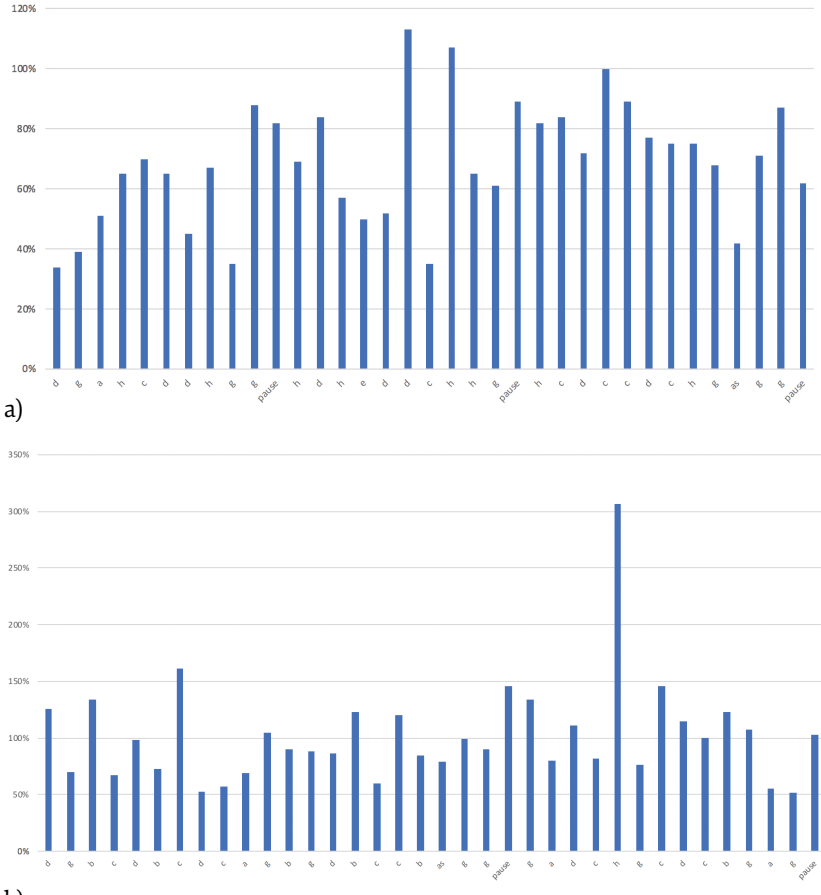


Illustration 4 *Axis x is the order of melody tones in the transcription during the strophe, axis y is the percentage value of the real tone duration in comparison with the tempo determined according to the transcription. Songs a) and b) according to mentioned order.*

Conclusion

The methods of acoustical analysis allows us to move away from absolute values and apply only correspondence meaning of tones, which play a major role in our perception of the melody. So, we can say that a singer leads their voice through zones of stability and mobility (he/she alternates more precise

singing, according to pitch and rhythm grid, and less precise – the zones[12] of greater freedom). We can suggest that this pattern is basic to the origin of the strophe form and to our music perception. For more detailed results we need to approve this method in experiments with a larger amount of data.

Consequently, digital technologies today offer us tremendous opportunities for systematically identifying those musical language parameters that were not available to us before. However, for research of this type we need to have special software, as well as create a coding system – a system of algorithms for statistical processing of data. These tasks are not simple, but possible for execution. As a result, we will have access to more objective data and we will be able to learn more about the processes of musical creation, musical perception and thinking.

Endnotes

1. By the term computer we mean a computing device. At the time of writing of V. Hoshovsky's article, such a device was the so-called "ECM" – *Electronic-computing machine*.
2. Ambitus – the volume of scale (a term widespread in Ukrainian ethnomusicology).
3. To make any database requires an exhaustive amount of information in a closed data system. This fact causes a significant problem for making database of musical tradition spread on specific territory, for creating a map of musical tradition – the main goal of contemporary Ukrainian ethnomusicology.
4. The Problematic Research Laboratory of Ethnomusicology in Kyiv. The head of Laboratory – Ph.D., docent Iryna Klymenko.
5. By *deviations*, we mean micro-differences of tones and rhythm within five-line notation system, but such phenomenon deviates only in comparison with our pitch-and-rhythm grid. Inside tradition every tone variant exists primary rather than secondary, because it has its own grid, different from ours. So, the term *deviation* is used conditionally.
6. The subjective nature of transcriptions was proved in author's experiment. Several researches made their own transcription of one non-tempered song, which have turned out be significantly different (Mazurenko, 2013).
7. The issue of acoustic analysis of ethnic music is the main direction of the author's interests. There're several articles, devoted to these topics: Mazurenko 2013, 2014, 2017, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c.
8. This refers to performers "outside the tradition" who study singing from music transcriptions.
9. The software is available via link https://gitlab.com/AnasGhrab/music22.
10. The software is available via link http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/.
11. The harvest song *A u poli kolosochok nastoiavsya* is from the village of Khmelivka, Olevsky district, Zhytomyr region, recorded by I. Klymenko and S. Okhrimchuk in 1995. Transcription by A. Mazurenko. The harvest song "Za nashoiu hranytseiu" is from the village of Hruzke, Makarovsky district, Kyiv region, recorded by H. Koropnichenko in 1994. Transcription by A. Mazurenko.
12. Musicologist Nikolai Harbuzov gave such phenomena the term *pitch zone* (Harbuzov 1951).

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The Transmission and Mediation of Local Traditional Folk Songs in the School Environment

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In the early 1990s, some elementary schools in Slovakia began to add to their curricula topics related to the region in which the schools operate (or their surroundings). The topics included information on local history, geographical and natural conditions, cultural events, and local folk culture, thus creating a new program: Regional Education and Traditional Folk Culture.[1] These changes to society (democratization, humanization, liberalization) closely related to the new political and social situation after 1989 and took place in different areas of life, including education. In the area of education, these processes were manifested in attempts to add innovation to the content and formal aspect of education, as well as overall changes in the school system, which enabled the implementation of alternative education programs and specializations of elementary schools, mainly in Central and Northern Slovakia.

Although *regional education* comprises a synthesis of knowledge from diverse areas (homeland studies, history, geography, natural sciences, linguistics, arts, etc.), it is defined as "a set of objectives to acquaint with the region and its qualitative indicators in order to learn how to coexist rationally with the natural and cultural environment" (Čellárová 2002: 12). During this period the content of regional education was strongly oriented towards local folk culture, including phenomena from the material and spiritual culture of the region or its surroundings, especially verbal, song, and dance expressions inspired from the local folk culture in which a particular school functions. Individual schools have been teaching this subject since the 1990s as part of standard subjects, and since 2008 the state education program has included an individual cross-cutting theme[2] – *Regional Education and Traditional Folk Culture*. The State Education Program defines it as an area that deals with the living and valuable tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the Slovak Republic. The methodological materials endorsed by the Ministry of Education[3] present a significant share of folk culture. Since schools have been given the opportunity to educate children in this area, they can be considered one of the key ways to communicate knowledge to children about their region, not covering only its history, geography or nature, etc., but also traditional folk culture, including local folk music, and songs.

In the presented paper I focus on the current state of the teaching of local (regional)[4] folk songs at selected primary schools. In my research I verify that the schools teach these songs, and explore the systematic, effective learning and singing of the traditional song repertoire by all pupils, not only by members of local children folk ensembles that are active in several elementary schools. I aim to map the possibilities of contact between children and the

local folk song (teaching, follow-up practice and singing in class) in the school environment (not only passively listening to music recordings or watching performances, etc.). I am interested not just in the information described in official curricula for individual subjects, but also in the actual situation in teaching these songs.

At present, we have no reliable information as to how many schools in Slovakia teach regional education, in what forms[5], and whether the teaching of this topic includes all elements of local folk culture as well as folk songs, because this cross-cutting theme comprises, as already mentioned, a wide range of information. I have taken these facts into account when selecting schools for my analyses, and therefore I have focused on those that were leaders in implementing regional education and folk culture into the educational process in the 1990s. These schools have achieved significant results over the past twenty years and have become inspirational examples for many others in Slovakia.

Following the facts mentioned above and the possibilities of regional education teaching, five schools were involved in my research. I am anonymizing their identities for ethical reasons and marking the schools with numbers 1 – 5. In all cases, they are located in regions with folklore groups and children folklore ensembles that have been active for decades. Some are well-known as places that preserve local folklore traditions (songs, dances, and instrumental music). As mentioned, at the initial phase of regional education in Slovakia, these schools became pioneers in many aspects. While all schools focus on regional education and traditional folk culture in terms of interior decorations, public school presentation, or overall characteristics, three of the selected schools define their specification on their websites (1, 3 and 5). Except for the elementary school (No. 1), the others are also active members of the Association of Teachers from Schools with Regional Education.[6] Members of the association meet regularly to organize various events (workshops, conferences, school presentations), to exchange experiences, and to promote and present schools with regional education teaching.

First, I need to point out that these schools (or school teachers) have been involved in regional education for a long time. They had already done ethnographic and folklore research in the 1990s to map a wide variety of local cultural traditions. Therefore, an adequate initial database of knowledge has been gathered up to now to encourage schools to teach folk culture, including song materials. As a result, I assume that implementing a cross-cutting theme – Regional Education and Traditional Folk Culture – in the state educational program after 2008 is an appropriate starting point and the opportunity to continue with the teaching of regional education.

Methods

The information presented is based on a qualitative field research conducted between May and October 2018. Altogether, five schools from mostly northern and central Slovakia and one school from southwest Slovakia with different numbers of pupils were involved in our research (the smallest school with 98 pupils, two with a comparable number – 181 and 188; the other two larger schools with 267 and 340 pupils).

The research consisted of the following procedures:

- Qualitative ethnological research based on interviews with school directors and teachers involved in teaching Regional Education and Musical Education or other subjects;
- Study and analysis of school curricula, thematic educational plans of the subject Regional Education and Music Education in selected schools, and materials recommended by the Ministry of Education related to the subject;
- Observation of teachers directly in the classroom, interior decoration of schools with traditional culture artifacts;
- Study of sources, materials, and information on the given locality and schools, their history, older materials on the regional education and folk culture teaching.

I observed the level of teaching local (regional) folk songs in all classes of the surveyed schools and present it from the perspective of school management and teachers, and so it does not reflect actual knowledge and skills of the schoolchildren. On the other hand, thanks to the chance to participate in lessons I had the opportunity to at least partially monitor and verify the knowledge of the mentioned songs by pupils. I attempted to quantitatively evaluate how many local songs are taught in lessons (I have also observed children's folklore – such as children's rhymes and children's plays) that the pupil actively encounters during the teaching process.

Problems of regional education and use of folk songs in teaching in literature and didactic materials

The problems of teaching and representation of local (regional) folk songs in primary schools' teaching and curricula or specific qualitative or quantitative data from this field have not been summarized in any scholarly publication in Slovakia. Alone, in this case, is a short informative article by M.

Mydliarová (2012) presenting regional education in a specific school, in which the author also partly pays attention to folk songs. We have more materials on the issue of regional education. First, there are older anthologies from seminars and conferences related to this topic,[7] presenting initial attempts, experiences of teachers and also actual results in the process of its implementation in the education system in Slovakia since the beginning of the 1990s. They contain many elaborations of some partial themes from this field, and there are also papers by a number of ethnologists, folklorists, ethnomusicologists and so on. During almost three decades of the development in this area, several interesting and stimulating didactic materials have been created and the aim of this section is to present them at least briefly.

First, it should be noted that teachers have a range of methodological materials available for regional education (Kaščáková 2014; Makišová 2013; Onušková 2014), but they mostly present a description of time-tested pedagogical experience with this issue on the example of specific schools. Song material is missing there, as well as the traditional culture issues of the locality where the school operates. The same applies to methodological materials on basic premises, themes and concepts of traditional folk culture (Verešová – Juráková 2014) that are a general handbook on the issue of regional education and traditional folk culture. This fact results from the broad focus and understating of this cross-sectional theme, defined in accordance with the methodological material of the National Institute for Education, in which traditional folk culture is stated as one of the three recommended domains suitable for this theme.[8]

Folk songs have long been a part of music education, and therefore textbooks on this subject, especially at the first stage of primary schools (See Maceková 2012: 24, or Schubertová 2016: 34–38), where they occupy approximately half of the offered song material. These are nationwide, trans-regional songs,[9] but also songs that mention only the region, and some are localized. These are songs from different regions and localities of Slovakia. The textbooks in several places contain tasks and questions that should motivate pupils to be interested in the folk songs of their own locality, region or nearest surroundings. Nevertheless, a number of final theses of graduates of teacher-training programs as well as other disciplines at universities in Slovakia correspond with the teachers' opinion that folk music and folk songs are not presented sufficiently, not only in music education textbooks, but also generally in teaching at primary schools. This statement concerns mainly local (regional) folk songs. The aforementioned final theses point to the uneven representation of individual regions of Slovakia in textbooks, and at the same

time they present proposals for the use of local (regional) song material in the context of teaching regional education or music education at specific schools. Just to name few authors: M. Švecová (2000) presents song material from the Požitavie region, J. Babuliaková from Orava (2008), V. Kotrádyová (2010) from Spiš, K. Macek (2012) from Turiec, S. Schubertová (2016, 2018) surroundings of Bánovce nad Bebravou and many others.[10] The authors also partially describe the state of teaching local songs in specific school conditions, but these works are mainly of an application nature – they provide practical instructions for working with a particular song material.

Unique are the publications of teachers themselves who feel the insufficiency of materials for teaching of regional education. M. Lokša (2013) prepared a monographic work, which besides summarizing ethnographical material related to the Christmas ordinary cycle of selected villages,[11] also monitors its practical use in teaching. The precisely elaborated ethnographical material also contains more folk songs related to this time of the year, but above all the methodical material for teachers – the use of selected themes for specific pedagogical activities. M. Konopásková (2012a and 2012b) published a methodical handbook for teachers and a regional education textbook for the pupils of the 5th grade of elementary school. It was based on ethnographic research in a particular village, and the work contains elaborated topics for teaching regional education throughout the year, including appropriate songs, even though it includes only 4 songs. Within the monitored area these works can be considered unique, comprehensive, locally focused didactic material.

Moravian authors A. Schaeurová and M. Maňáková (2015) elaborated detailed didactic material for schools focused on selected topics from the field of folk culture,[12] using the potential of literary, musical and ceremonial folklore. Through a variety of topics, they provide teachers with the opportunity to work with information about traditional Czech and Moravian culture in educational activities for children. The notations of several dozen Czech and Moravian folk songs are attached to individual themes as one of the important parts of folk culture, a medium mediating to children information useful in the conditions of life of contemporary society. Publication of this type does not have an adequate parallel in Slovak conditions and is in many ways inspiring for compilation of similar material on the example of selected microregions or localities in Slovakia.

In 2009, the National Cultural Centre in Bratislava published 9 regional songbooks put together as a supplementary teaching material for primary and secondary schools or for extra-curricular use.[13] A didactic DVD *Slovak Folk Musical Instruments* was published that same year. The Ministry of Education

included both outputs in the list of teaching aids for teaching Regional Education and Traditional Folk Culture. The DVD contains audio and video recordings, photographs of individual musical instruments, as well as text material. In an understanding way it describes the variability of musical instruments from the territory of Slovakia.

Several public educational centers issue publications that aim to convey folk songs to teachers, and then to the youngest generation. They are rarely presented in a wider cultural-social context as part of a complex system of traditional culture phenomena. With this goal in mind, the authors A. Jágerová and A. Kossárová (2007) designed a selection of folk songs and children's folklore, along with instructions for developing activities related to the opportunity to which the songs (folklore demonstrations) are related.

Methodical materials that can be used as a basic resource for teaching folk dances, including music and songs, have long been published by the Center of Traditional Culture in Myjava, containing material from the Myjavská pahorkatina area and the Považie region near Trenčín.[15] A workbook for kindergarten and primary school children focused on the traditional culture of selected municipalities of the Žilina administrative region was compiled by A. Čadecká (2015). It contains 13 songs, brief information on selected phenomena representing the given municipalities, as well as drawings of some folk musical instruments. A workbook designed for pupils of the 4th grade of elementary schools by M. Polohová Ivanová (2018) has a similar character. It introduces selected elements of the traditional culture of the Orava region, including the music culture of this region and the bagpiper tradition. However, the song material is absent.

Enci benci na kamenci (2018)[16] is a new publication that consists of traditional games for children from the Nitra county presented from ethnographical, psychological and didactic points of view; and it monitors the potential of their usage not only in present activities, but also in the pedagogical practice. It also contains numerous songs that are connected to the games.

Inspiring and interesting is also a series of workbooks for children – *Huncút in Slovak regions* published by the state institution ÚĽUV[17] in Bratislava. Selected phenomena of the traditional culture of each Slovak region are presented in a playful way. It also contains song materials from these regions.[18]

Zázrivský spevník is a unique project in the form of web page that provide traditional song material and folk music to the public. It contains not only musical notation and music records, but also brief characteristics of the songs.[19] A similar but wider database of records and song material is the portal *Terchovská muzika*. It also monitors the usage of online materials. On the other

hand, *Ľudo slovenský* is a project focused on digitalization of folk literature and songs from other multiple sources. Its purpose is to present songs to as many people interested as possible. The content is regularly added, and it currently contains more than 300 songs.[20]

Our research in schools has confirmed that the teachers are not familiar with the mentioned resources, so they do not use them. Regarding the summarized materials, it is necessary to state that in Slovakia there is a lack of practically oriented publications for teachers that would be focused on particular locations or microregions and would provide not only basic knowledge about the Slovak folk culture, but also local folk materials (not only songs) with complex information and suitable extract for development of particular activities that could be used in schools.

Regional Education (RE) and local folk songs in primary school teaching in monitored schools

Based on the results of research, it might be stated the selected schools have been continuously engaged in the use of regional education elements in teaching since the 1990s. Those are different forms of teaching, most often practised through a separate subject called regional education in some classes. Only one school does not have an individual subject, but it incorporates elements of regional education and folk culture into various subjects (School No. 4).

Overall, it is important to note that regional education in the monitored schools is focused on historical, geographic, natural, and other phenomena (e.g., regional history, important buildings, sites and places, natural conditions, geographic formations, and famous personalities from the region – found at every school). The only exception is the School No. 1, which in the first and second year of study offers regional education focused on local music, rhymes, and children's games, as well as introducing the overall context of how these phenomena function within the framework of the traditional cultural system. Two schools (No. 1 and No. 2) offer regional education at the second level. It is focused on craft-art, such as wickerwork, paper basketwork, cornhusk product making, bobbin lacework, wood-craft, cooking, or projects about famous local personalities (School No. 2).

The following table shows the content focus on regional education (RE) and explains the forms of teaching. In the last column, there is number of local (regional) folk songs that teachers presented in class:

School	Grade / No. of pupils	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	No. of taught local folk songs
1.	188	RE	RE	-	-	RE	RE	RE	RE	-	19
2.	267	-	-	-	-	RE	RE	RE	RE	-	9
3.	98	-	RE	RE	REG	RE	-	-	-	RE	3
4.	181	-	-	-	-	REH	-	-	-	-	17
5.	340	-	-	RE	RE	RE	-	-	-	-	4

TABLE 1 *RE – Regional Education focused on local folk songs, games, children's folklore; RE – Regional Education focused on topics in history, natural sciences and ethnography (mainly calendar customs and material culture phenomena – living, clothing, housing); RE – Regional Education focused on craft and art skills; REH/REG – Regional Education in history or geography.*

In the research I registered a diverse number of local and regional songs taught both in regional and music education. A systematic and effective education in the field of local music culture and partly in traditional children's folklore or traditional folk music is carried out only in one school (**School No. 1**) as a part of regional education in the 1st and 2nd year of study (I identified 19 local folk songs + rhymes and games). In the other years of study at this particular school, randomly chosen and taught songs in music education lessons are songs that children are familiar with from first two years of their study.

On the second level of study, the regional education focused on art techniques based on traditional crafts (wicker baskets, weaving, embroidery, making corn shuck objects, etc.) without teaching or presenting any other phenomena from traditional folk culture.

In **School No. 2** local folk songs appear randomly in music education class, and partly in homeland studies lessons at the first level. They are taught songs related to *shrovetide* and raising a *maypole* because these local customs in the village are still alive, carried out by young men (*recruits*). They used to put up a *maypole* – place one at school, another one in front of the kindergarten, and this activity is accompanied with children's singing. Children are actively engaged in singing local songs, using their knowledge gained in kindergarten, which is specialized in local folk culture, or by participating in various events in the village hometown. In this school, six thematic units are offered within regional education at the second level, including folk songs. However, the school subject during the research was unavailable due to the low interest

of children. In music education and regional education classes at the second level, children do not work with any local folk songs. However, they can come across them in classes of Slovak literature as illustrative material in teaching the typology of folk literature – it is not an active singing of children but a song presentation by the teacher.

In **School No. 3** they taught regional education as an independent subject in four classes focused primarily on historical and homeland knowledge about village and whole region, with partial use of material (construction, agriculture, home production) and spiritual culture (customs). They did not work with children's folklore and local folk songs on the first or second level of basic education. In this school, pupils of the first level of study are taught only one local and two regional songs. We can say that local folk songs are not taught at this school. The pupils of this school every year participate in burning or drowning *Morena*, but without any singing. In recent years the pupils of the 9th grade put up a Maypole in front of the school without singing. Due to the teacher's maternity leave, the activities of the local Children Folk Ensemble have been temporarily suspended during my research. In the school, pupils perform processions of Saint Lucy in individual classes, as well as a procession of Saint Nicholas with a devil and an angel, without using folklore material.

In **School No. 4** they do not have regional education as an independent subject. Information from the field of local traditional culture appear randomly and unsystematically in various subjects, especially on the first level (homeland studies, natural sciences). I identified 17 local folk songs taught in all years of music education. In these classes, children are acquainted with musical performances from their region, they learn about local musicians, folk music and instruments. Teachers play CDs during the lessons to introduce and present singers, musicians, or music from that region and its surroundings. However, the pupils were not introduced to any local literary material or children's folklore.

In **School No. 5** they offer regional education as an independent subject in three grades. Since this school is attended by children from several villages, the subject also includes knowledge about these localities (local history, natural history, geography, and partly ethnography). In several grades they worked with domestic folk literature (proverbs, sayings, legends) including dialect phenomena. Only three songs are taught in regional education and/or music education classes. Moreover, music education teaching is limited to the themes prescribed in the textbook. Pupils of this school are annually involved in burning or drowning of the effigy of *Morena*, and this activity is accompanied by singing of local traditional song.

All of the above-mentioned schools have declared that they employ only the prescribed teaching materials that are contained in the recommended textbooks of music education. Teachers' activities do not differ from one another, and they tend to follow the centrally prescribed learning and music materials.[22] The exception was School No. 4, where the teacher partially mentioned the issue of the musical traditions of the locality (musical instruments, bands, prominent performers, etc.) and occasionally used CDs of domestic performers (folk songs, folk music). In School No. 5 one of the teachers used CDs with various folk songs in the interpretation of a professional orchestra of folk instruments to teach some topics in regional education.[23]

In the monitored schools there was no information about traditional dance culture, nor did it appear in the school where one person, a former dancer and still active musician, worked as a teacher of physical education. Despite the declared focus of the school, he did not use his potential in teaching.

Regarding the learning topics, regional education contains a significant number of local customs (related to the calendar or human life cycle), which are usually presented to pupils without accompanying folk songs (in narrative form). The only exceptions are the already mentioned School No. 1 and partly also School No. 2, affecting only pupils at the first level of study. However, the information provided to children from this area was mostly focused on all of Slovakia, with the under-represented specifics of the customary culture of the locality itself, or the nearest region.

One of the main findings is that in some schools, folklore of adults is mainly given as an example (except for several children's games and rhymes in School No. 1). In one school, teachers claimed that children´s games and children´s folklore did not occur in their village and therefore are not represented in the classroom. When choosing the song material, a basic didactic principle, i.e., the order from simpler to more complex taking into account the development aspect – from the child, through the youth to the adult – is not respected. The paradox is that all schools reported that children were not interested in singing at the second level, let us say the fact that "children do not sing at all" or, if they sing occasionally, these are no domestic folk songs. Thus, at the age when songs used in the first stage fit much more to the mental, cognitive abilities of older pupils, they are not included in the second stage teaching.

In two schools (No. 1 and No. 2) at the second stage, regional education focused on craft and art skills. In addition to regular teaching of this issue within the independent subject of the school, they provide several activities as occasional creative workshops of invited producers directly in school, or they annually have so-called craft days (School No. 5). However, the question is – to

what extent art and craft techniques based on the local tradition are presented within these activities. This would require a more detailed analysis.

All the schools surveyed included educational walks, visits to various expositions around the school, getting to know the local sacral buildings, memorials and landmarks from the aspect of local history, and also natural and geographical peculiarities.

Our research shows an important opportunity for children to encounter with a folk song, frequently a local one, is a national competition in singing, *Slávik Slovenska*, which in 2018 celebrated its 28th anniversary.[24] It is a competition of pupils from elementary schools, eight-year grammar schools, and elementary art schools in interpreting Slovak folk songs. All monitored schools declare their participation in this competition, first by organizing class and then school rounds. Children tend to interpret mainly well-known songs from music education textbooks, or they find inspiration in contemporary "folk" bands, such as *Kollárovci* and *Kandráčovci*. Schools No. 1, 2, and 4 claim that children learn songs from their parents or grandparents, or they know them from kindergarten, and these are interpreted on some local occasions (especially Schools No. 2 and 4).

When asked how schools fulfill their "regional focus," the members of school management or teachers refer to activities of children folklore ensembles or participation of children in folk song competitions, performances (school academy, Mother's Day, International Day of Older People, Christmas events, etc.). All schools, except the smallest (School No. 3),[25] had long-running children's folklore ensembles, provided by a primary school. In the locality with the highest number of children there were two folklore ensembles – one set up a local elementary art school, the other a civic association operating in the village.

Although respondents consider the functioning of children's folklore ensembles to be one of the important elements declaring the school's focus on regional education and traditional folk culture, it is necessary to state two facts. I are talking only about some children from the total number of pupils[26] and secondly it is a stylized, scenic performance of songs (folklore material). Children thus encounter folk songs primarily in the form of scenic, school-based or competitive speech, not as a formerly common part of life in many work, festive, but also everyday occasions.

The same applies to scenic, festival events – the management of individual schools refers to them as one of the essential elements of the school's "regional orientation" (local summer folklore festivals – Schools No. 1, 2, 3, 4, one of the schools has been organizing a children's folklore festival with foreign participation for over two decades).

An important phenomenon presenting "regional orientation" of schools is also the overall equipment consisting of artifacts of material folk culture. Two schools had established permanent expositions of local traditional culture, even consisting of several equipped rooms used for teaching.[27] This specific focus was notable also at their entrance areas, where pupils' products focused on traditional handicraft techniques were exhibited. The other three schools displayed several material phenomena of folk culture in corridors, sometimes also in showcases, but rarely in classrooms. Although they refined the overall environment of the school and gave it a special atmosphere, they were not used as part of the teaching process, but they had rather aesthetic and representative function.

Conclusion

In comparison with the situation in the 1990s, the present regional education teaching or regional focus of the monitored schools, the focus on local folk culture and folklore manifestations make up much less of the content. Especially at the first level, the curricula mainly focus on historical-geographical-natural sciences and at the second level mainly on craft and art skills. Within the framework of folk culture, schools have declared the representation of customary culture, but they often convey it to children without any accompanying local folklore material.

In some schools, local folk songs appear only when working with local children's folklore groups, or as an important part of scenic programs and pupils' performances in various forums. Children thus encounter folklore expressions in the form of stage presentation, as a scenic and school representation phenomenon. In this case, these are stylized manifestations, often treated inappropriately. In this form, only some children from the total number of pupils of the given schools actively come into contact with folk songs, and this is done mainly in the framework of extracurricular activities and leisure activities of children.

Based on the acquired information, we can state that some schools, despite their focus on regional education and traditional folk culture, do not allocate adequate time and space in their curricula to local folk songs and music teaching. The validity of this statement can be generalized to the whole sphere of folklore expressions (not only music, but also dance and verbal – an exception is the school No. 5 in terms of verbal expressions). Apart from one school in which children marginally dedicate to folk music, in the other

schools surveyed children do not address folk dance or movement activities. The representation of traditional children's folklore is also insufficient, in some schools none (the exception is School No. 1).

In the case of some surveyed schools – in particular Schools No. 2, 3, 4 – it is more or less just a declaration of focus on regional education and traditional folk culture rather than its actual fulfillment. Only School No. 1 is partially on board, as it provides a certain degree of teaching and transmission of the local folk culture, but only in the first two years at the first level within the subject of regional education, where songs and folklore manifestations are presented in the overall socio-cultural context. However, there is no further development and continuation of this knowledge in higher grades. Also at School No. 4 I recorded a relatively higher number of songs (17), but in 8 years of music education, the children learn only about two new regional folk songs in one academic year. In this school, teachers do not pay attention to local expressions of folk culture and if they do it is mainly through the involvement of children in the folklore ensemble.

The problematic points of regional education I would define as following:

- Lack of teachers' training in regional education, but above all, in its essential component – folk culture (or verbal, musical, and dance folklore), not only in the preparation of teachers of music education specialization but the overall preparation of future teachers;[28]
- Insufficient knowledge of the traditional culture of the region in which schools operate, and also regional not only musical but generally folklore material;
- Lack of proper teaching materials, on the other hand ignorance of the available materials, which would facilitate the teaching of traditional music culture (not only from the immediate vicinity but also from other regions of Slovakia) or no use of materials provided by schools that were created during the initial period of implementing regional education and folk culture into the teaching process (except for school No. 1), rigorous following of the prescribed "textbook" material;
- Insufficient motivation of some teachers to change the current state, and no interest in this topic.

The factors contributing to the situation in an area include the direction and the school focus itself, but above all the personality of the teacher who creates and implements the educational content in such a cross-cutting theme. Although the textbooks of music education contain tasks and exercises that provide the space for the use of regional and local songs, research has confirmed that their implementation depends on the teacher himself, his decision and

interest (or lack of) in the particular issue.[29] This requires not only teachers' education in the topic, but especially an engagement in the local traditional culture and the locality in which the school operates. Of course, without creating suitable conditions and support of such education by school's management, any erudition and effort of teachers in the particular area would be irrelevant. The teacher is part of the educational school environment and the overall conditions that this institution provides for his work. These facts arise not only from the results of the presented research, but also from the long-term observation of this issue, which I have been dealing with the end of 1990s.

Folk art consists of three basic areas – music, singing and dancing. In particular, I believe that the teaching of singing is feasible in the current school conditions, for all children, either in standard subjects or through a separate subject of regional education. Schools currently have enough opportunities and space to provide the transmission of the analyzed material as part of educational activities, but the research presented has shown considerable reserves in this respect, even in schools declaring a focus on local folk culture. Important in this process are appropriately trained teachers with a positive attitude to this area who are able to build a positive relationship of children to this sphere or overall to local folk culture. Such knowledge should be made available to all children, not only to members of folklore bodies, in the context of leisure and leisure activities.

Endnotes

1. Since 1992 many elementary schools have prepared and evaluated the project on Regional Education and Traditional Folk Culture teaching under the auspices of back then the Ministry of Education.
2. The term cross-cutting theme means that the subject embraces more educational fields. As stated by the National Institute for Education, cross-cutting themes can be implemented in a number of forms – as an integrated part of the content of educational fields and appropriate subjects or as a separate extracurricular subject (in schools with specialized learning profile). The choice of method and time of implementation is the responsibility of each school. For more cross-cutting themes visit this link: http://www.statpedu.sk/sk/svp/statny-vzdelavaci-program/svp-druhy-stupen-zs/prierezove-temy/.
3. See the methodical material prepared by the National Institute for Education recommended for teaching of regional education. It contains three thematic units: *My Home Region, We Discover Slovakia, Traditional Folk Culture*. URL: http://www.statpedu.sk/files/articles/dokumenty/statny-vzdelavaci-program/regionalna_vychova.pdf.
4. By local songs I mean folk songs that were part of the traditional singing opportunities of the locality where the school operates. At the same time, I use the term regional songs in brackets, as the songs can (or were in the past) used in a wider area than one locality. Some primary schools serve several municipalities and within the framework of regional education they also use material from the surrounding municipalities or from the whole region (microregion).

5. I mean whether it is an individual subject, number of classrooms, frequency during the week, a compulsory, optional subject, or extra-curricular activity. Some schools have regional education that specifies on, for instance geography (subject of regional geography), history (regional history), or part of the educational field *Man and World of Work* (teaching subject of Technical Education).
6. It is a voluntary association of schools that in their curricula include teaching of regional education and elements of folk culture. The association aims to create a platform for contact, meeting, methodological assistance and exchange of experience among teachers of such schools, presentation, and school promotion to public and common approach in promoting set of goals. A similar association was established in 1997 (Association of Teachers from Schools with Enhanced Education of Regional Education and Folk Culture /seat in Liptovské Sliače/). From all 21 members 14 were from elementary schools and 7 from kindergartens (Jágerová 2015: 65–77). It came to its end in 2003, and it was re-established in 2012 with a new name, code of rules and its own model of accreditation and teacher education in this area. A significant number of its members are schools that have been involved in regional education since the 1990s. Similarly, to the original association, the membership base is centered mainly on central and northern Slovakia, for more visit http://www.regioskoly.sk/?p=97. It is necessary to point out that the number of schools implementing regional education do not know about this association (they are not members) and thus implement their own models of regional education.
7. For further information see M. Jágerová (2015) with the aforementioned publication outputs.
8. See footnote no. 3 or http://www.statpedu.sk/files/articles/dokumenty/statny-vzdelavaci-program/regionalna_vychova.pdf.
9. The authors of the individual textbooks define them as songs used all around Slovakia.
10. I present only the final theses defended at Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. Of course, there are many other theses with similar focus defended at other universities throughout Slovakia, mainly faculties with major in pedagogy.
11. The publication presents a traditional Christmas custom cycle of the called lace-making villages in the Upper Pohronie region (villages: Medzibrod, Svätý Ondrej, Ráztoka, Nemecká, Dubová, Zámostie, Predajná).
12. These topics present a variety of areas with material, spiritual, social culture, are linked to verbal, dance and music folklore, combined with the use of various art and craft techniques applicable in school environment.
13. The song collections were compiled by J. Ambrózová with several co-authors. Each collection has a unified structure – the introductory parts present the issue of collecting, publishing folk songs, brief characteristics of individual regions from ethnographic and folklore point of view (folk music, singing and dancing) followed by a selection of folk songs suitable for teaching in school environment. For the intention to compile and release this series of song material see Ambrózová's paper (2010).
14. The authors of DVD Slovak Folk Musical Instruments are V. Kyseľ, D. Luther, J. Hamar, B. Garaj. The material was published by the Coordination Center for Traditional Folk Culture in Bratislava in 2009.
15. See more about the publishing activity of this institution at http://www.ctkmyjava.sk/publishing-activity.html?page_id=300. There are also song collections and other materials that have the potential to be used in educational activities aimed at opening up the traditional culture of selected areas.
16. The broader team of authors who worked on this material presents the issue of playing and acting from various aspects (psychological, pedagogical, social-anthropological and ethnographic). The material provides a wide range of diverse children's games from the Nitra region, useful in current school and extracurricular activities. See Krausová et al. (2018).
17. Center of Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV) – state institution focused on care, support, documentation and presentation of traditional folk art production.

18. In the ÚĽUV for Children series, 17 regional workbooks have been published so far presenting the phenomena of the traditional culture of these regions. In addition, last year, two monothematic workbooks for children on traditional farming and food issues were published. For a full list of titles, see http://www.uluv.sk/sk/web/publikacie/edicia-uluv-detom/.
19. See more at http://zazrivskamuzika.sk/o-projekte/.
20. See more at https://ludoslovensky.sk/.
21. Within the research I noticed incipits mentioned by teachers of all local (regional) folk songs that are part of the teaching process in monitored schools. In this work I mention only the number of ascertained songs.
22. It is a musical project called Jano Pavelčák for children whose outcome are CDs as a teaching aid for elementary schools from the 1st to 9th grade. As he states, these carriers provide instrumentation of 920 songs from Music teaching textbooks. Up to 60% Slovak folk songs, the rest are either authorial songs or folk song of other nations. For more information see http://www.pavelcakovci.sk/content/view/18/36. A different situation presents S. Schubertová (2016: 41–42). She mentions the use of some collections of folk songs (nationwide, but also from nearby neighborhood) as well as the songbook of prescribed songs from the Slávik Slovenska [Slovak nightingale] competition which is published annually, with a partially renewed playlist from all over Slovakia.
23. These were CDs of the folk orchestra Slovak State Traditional Dance Company (Slovenský ľudový umelecký kolektív) from Bratislava. Some materials from this production can be found at http://www.sluk.sk/sk/sluzby/predaj/cd/. However, she was a teacher who was in a close family relationship with the compiler and editor of these CDs. She knew them intimately and had easy access to them. Otherwise, as mentioned in the text, although schools declared a focus on regional education and folk culture, they implemented music teaching just from official, centrally published textbooks. The teachers did not extend the didactic content with local (regional) material in any way.
24. The competition established in 1991 is organized annually by the civic association of *Slávik Slovenska*. It runs at different levels: class, school, district, county, and national level. The winners of the class rounds go to the school round, where participants are obliged to choose a song from an annually published songbook on this occasion.
25. It was a temporary condition – a teacher who was involved in these activities was on maternity leave at the time of the research and the children´s folklore ensemble did not function. This finding again confirms the statement mentioned in the introduction of the paper, and also in its conclusion that the condition of teaching such specific subjects as regional education and within the traditional folk culture as well as its content focus, is strongly conditioned by the personnel factor. The school is not always able to find an adequate substitute. The same applies to extracurricular activities in this field.
26. In school no. 1 38 out of 188 children attended the school folklore ensemble, school no. 2 – 10 out of 267 children, school no. 3 had no functional ensemble at the time of the research - the head and local teacher was on maternity leave, in school no. 4 53 out of 181 children took part in the ensemble, and in school no. 5 more than 200 out of 340 children performed in two folklore ensembles
27. In the case of two schools it was an exhibition of the traditional way of living, consisting of fully furnished rooms with furniture and various equipment. There were also objects from the field of traditional farming, many agricultural tools, as well as artifacts from the field of folk clothing, craft techniques and others.
28. Similar findings states Schubertová in her research (Schubertová 2018: 33).
29. Similar findings states Maceková in her research (Maceková 2012: 25).

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The 'Arirang' Folksong as the Emotional Unison Between the Past and the Future in the Korean Peninsular

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The word *Arirang* stands for a Korean folk song and collective contributions throughout generations. This simple song consists of the refrain *Arirang, arirang, arariyo* in 3,600 variations with 60 versions. South Korean *Arirang* (2012) and North Korean *Arirang* (2014) were added to the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The song declares its meaning as "respect for human creativity, freedom of expression and empathy," while it evokes the power to enhance communication and unity among Korean people. Although *Arirang* makes efforts for its widespread popularization and transmission in the arts and media, it also underlines local characteristics of the individual versions.[1]

The name "Arirang" was probably taken from a love story of a bachelor and a maiden in Jeongseon area of Kangwon Province in the northern part of South Korea. However, *Arirang* became a resistance anthem during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945), associated with the silent film *Arirang* (1926). In addition to TV and radio stations, it also was represented during the 2000 Summer Olympics and PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics. In a word, the song has offered a successful transmission of Korean emotions, ideas and experiences to changing social circumstances in cultural identity.

Questions arise about Koreans' emotions from different perspectives. Does *Arirang* represent a combined regret-longing after a farewell? Is the everlasting popularity due to its sorrowful melody or pathetic lyrics? What makes western people, even the Japanese colonizer, to be passionate about the song?

My paper discusses the relationship between *Arirang* and its emotions through the 600 years of history as an asset of intangible cultural heritage. It also suggests a medium for better dialogues between two Koreas due to the common emotions, recommending new ways of presenting *Arirang* with a view towards unification. In order to do so, a brief introduction of Korean intangible cultural heritage is worth mentioning.

Intangible cultural heritage

Cultural heritages (tangible/intangible/natural) are the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society, preserved in the present and standing for the profit of future generations. Intangible cultural heritage designates the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills, in addition to the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces that communities and individuals identify as components of their cultural heritage. It was transferred through generations and recreated according

to their environment and history, putting forward a sense of identity and continuity, as well as strengthening esteem for cultural diversity and human creativity.

UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage proposes five broad areas: (i) oral traditions and expressions, including language; (ii) performing arts; (iii) social practices, rituals and festive events; (iv) knowledge and practices of nature and the universe and; (v) traditional craftsmanship. However, intangible cultural heritages are not restricted to a single manifestation and can contain elements from multiple domains.

For example, a ritual demands music and dance, prayers and songs, clothing and sacred objects, and rite and knowledge of the natural world. Festivals are the inclusive expressions, thus the lists of domains are comprehensive for inclusion on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In the case of South Korea (Republic of Korea), several performing arts are inscribed: Royal ancestral ritual in the Jongmyo shrine and its music (2008), Pansori epic chant (2008), Ganggangsullae (2009), Gagok, lyric song cycles accompanied by an orchestra (2010), *Arirang* (2012), and Nongak, community band music, dance and rituals (2014). Each heritage expresses Korean emotions directly or indirectly.

Displaying Korean emotions on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

"Royal ancestral ritual in the Jongmyo shrine and its music" (see Figure 1) was inscribed in 2008 (3.COM). The shrine is situated in Seoul, the capital of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) and the place for a Confucian ritual devoted to the dynasty's ancestors. Composed of a song, dance and music, the ritual organized by the royal descendants takes place annually on the first Sunday in May. The tradition was motivated by classical Chinese texts about the ancestor cult and the notion of filial piety. Moreover, the ritual includes a prayer for the perpetual peace of the ancestors' spirits in a shrine, which is conceived as their spiritual resting place. Although the ceremony order was conceptualized in the 15th century, most of its components have been preserved. During the rite, the priests, clad in a ritual costume with a crown for the king and diadems for the others, make offerings of food and wine in ritual vessels. The *Jongmyo*

Jerye is music played to go along with the rituals by traditional instruments – gongs, bells, lutes, zithers and flutes. And 64 dance performers in 8 lines signify the balance and contrast in forces of Yin and Yang, based on the Confucian texts. Symbolizing the Yang force, the *Munmu* dance is accompanied by the Botaepyong music and characterized by a first step to the left. The *Mumu* dance with Jeongdaeeop music in a movement to the right represents the Yin force. Watching the ritual, spectators can sense the serenity and convergence in Korean Confucian culture, evoking the specific ephemeral emotions.

Figure 1 *Civil dance. Photo: Ju Byeong-Su. Copyright: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2008.*[2]

"Pansori epic chant" was inscribed in 2008 (3.COM). Pansori is narrative storytelling played by a vocalist and a drummer. It is created for both the elite and folk culture and is distinguished for expressive-playful-emotional singing, stylized speech, a repertory of narratives and gestured actions. During the eight-hour performance, a male or female singer accompanied by a barrel drummer makes improvisation on texts that blend rural and literary expressions. The word "pansori" is taken from the words "pan" (a gathering place) and "sori" (song). Its origin is believed to be the south-west part of Korea in the 17th century, where a new expression of the shaman narrative songs appeared in all probability.

Pansori kept an oral tradition for the commoners until the late 19th century, when it obtained the more sophisticated literary text with huge popularity among the urban elite. The settings, characters and situations in the composition of the Pansori universe are rooted in the Joseon dynasty. The singers had to exercise their voices through hard training not only to master the variety of distinct vocal timbres but also to memorize the complex repertories. Several virtuosos have developed their own personal interpretive styles and a particular manner of performing specific episodes. Hearing the Pansori music, various emotions of the audiences resonate with those of the singers.

"Ganggangsullae" was inscribed in 2009 (4.COM). The dance is a form of a seasonal harvest and fertility ritual in the south-west region of the country. Primarily, it is performed under a vivid full moon of the eighth lunar month on Korea's Thanksgiving Day, Chuseok. Dozens of young, unmarried village women pull together in a circle and join their hands, singing and dancing all over the night with the guidance of a lead singer (see Figure 2). During interludes, the women mime vignettes that reflect their everyday life on a farm or a fishing village, including treading on roof tiles, unrolling a mat, catching a mouse or tying herrings. It is a break from restrictive rules on the behavior of rural young women, who were not permitted to sing aloud or go out at night except the Thanksgiving celebration.

The dance borrows its name from the refrain *Ganggangsullae* repeated after each verse, although its exact meaning has not been still clear. As a hereditary communal practice, Ganggangsullae contributed to harmony, equality and friendship among participants. Interestingly, it played a special role in a war strategy during the Imjin War (1592–1598) between Joseon dynasty and Japan. Around the fire on a hill, the dancers, clad in white and black, gathered for the performance and deceived Japanese soldiers as a Joseon military barrack. Ganggangsullae is a fused emotion of the happiness-sorrow, arising from the hardship of ordinary life.

"Gagok, lyric song cycles accompanied by an orchestra," was inscribed in 2010 (5.COM). It is traditional vocal music to the accompaniment of a small orchestra. Although Gagok was begun for the higher classes in previous times, it has become popular throughout the country recently. The song set comprises 26 songs for men and 15 songs for women. *Namchang* sung by men are characterized by strong, deep and resonant voices, in contrast to women's *Yeochang* which is high-pitched with thin voices. All are accompanied by Korean traditional instruments. Gagok songs are praised for the lyrical patterns, balance, refined melodies and advanced musical composition, demanding dedication and control in performances. Consequently, emotions

Figure 2 *Moving in a circle in Ganggansulae. Photo: Ju Beung-soo. Copyright: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2009.*[3]

around the music can vary depending on what types of melody and lyrics are sung. However, it has been significant in the establishment of Korean identity.

"Nongak, community band music, dance and rituals" was added in 2014 (9.COM). Originated from communal rites and rustic entertainments, *Nongak* has evolved into a representative performing art with a combination of instruments, dancing, drama and acrobatic gestures. Clothed in colorful costumes, the performers enjoy their music and dance during various community events. The purposes of Nongak are (i) appeasing gods; (ii) chasing evil spirits; (iii) praying for a spring harvest; (iv) celebrating autumn festivals and (v) funding for community projects (see Figure 3).

Distinctive regional styles break into five cultural centers, and within each center, dissimilarities emerge from one village to another in the band compositions, performing styles, rhythms and costumes. Nongak consists of choreographic formations and streamer dances, while acrobatics with masks and odd outfits reflect the irony of the society, letting the spectators be familiar with its philosophy through observation and participation. Nowadays, it appears on uncountable occasions as a means for enhancing solidarity and cooperation in national and local communities. It also builds a sense of shared identity through cheerfulness in emotions, a characteristic of Korean cultural traditions.

Figure 3. *An elementary schoolers' Nongak club of Samcheonpo, Jinju – Elementary schoolers have learned and performed a Pangut ritual native to their region (2012). Author: Kim Hyeo-jeong, 2012.*[4]

Arirang, Korean lyrical folk song

Arirang was inscribed in 2012 (7.COM). It is a popular form of Korean folk song with contributions of Korean people throughout generations. Composed of the refrain *Arirang, arirang, arariyo* and two simple lines, the song is different from area to area to distinguish its regional character. In coping with diverse yet common themes, the musical and literary composition of *Arirang* invokes improvisation, imitation and singing in unison. It also encourages its reception by dissimilar musical genres.

The number of folk songs carrying the title "*Arirang*" is estimated at 3,600 variations belonging to about 60 versions. Everyone can create new lyrics, adding to the song's regional, historical and genre variations, and cultural diversity. *Arirang* has been enjoyed by the nation itself and local communities, private groups and individuals for its popularization and transmission in every field of life. Above all, its asset is respect for human creativity, freedom of expression, and empathy. The evocative, powerful hymn strengthens dialogues and unites Korean emotions due to its universal sentiment.

Arirang, arirang, arariyo; Over the Arirang hill you go. (Refrain)
Leaving me, my love, you'd go lame before three miles. (Lyrics)
(Another lyric version)
Arirang, arirang, arariyo,
You are going over Arirang hill,
My love, you are leaving me,
Your feet will be sore before you go ten li.
Just as there are many stars in the clear sky,
There are also many dreams in our heart.
There, over there, that mountain is Baekdu Mountain.
Where, even in the middle of winter days, flowers bloom.

The nomination form of the *Arirang* UNESCO inscription (2012) asks about "Identification and definition of the element": (iv) What social and cultural functions and meanings does the element have today for its community? The nomination text answers:

> "Arirang is one of Korea's 100 cultural symbols selected by the government in July 2006, based on public opinion polls. It was described as "the most widely sung song of Koreans in terms of time and space."
> Arirang in pre-modern times conveyed the joys and sorrows of commoners in traditional society. During the colonial period, it gave expression to personal and national sufferings of Koreans and fanned hopes for independence in their hearts. Those hopes and aspirations, carried on the wings of a people's song, ensured the transmission of Arirang from generation to generation as a living cultural legacy.
> Today, Arirang serves to unite the Korean people. The unified team of South and North Korea sang Arirang as they marched together in the opening ceremony of the 2000 Sydney Olympics. The "Red Devils," passionate supporters of the Korean national football team, sang it day after day during the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup. Arirang has thus been perceived as an evocative hymn with the power to unite the Korean people in moments of vital national significance.
> Ethnic Koreans residing abroad affirm their national identity each time they sing Arirang; their compatriots back home believe their local versions help promote their regional identity. Arirang

has been a popular subject and motif in diverse arts and media, including cinema, musicals, drama, dance, and literature. With surging interest in Korean popular music abroad, Arirang today has greater potential for global exposure as Korea's foremost cultural emblem and source of fresh musical inspiration" [5].

Disputed Origins of Arirang and Its History

Arirang underwent many changes through generations, and a large number of regional variations, such as the Jindo *Arirang*, Miryang *Arirang*, Gangwon Province *Arirang*, and Jeongseon *Arirang*, have been with Korean people. According to the National Folk Museum of Korea (2014), the name "*Arirang*" was taken from the story of a bachelor and a maiden who fell in love while picking camellia blossoms near the wharf at Auraji. From this, two versions emerged. In the first version, the bachelor could not cross over the Auraji to meet the maiden because the water was too high; instead, they sang a song to express their sorrow. In the second one, the bachelor made an effort to cross the Auraji but drowned, singing the sorrowful song while he was dying.

The *Arirang* scholar Keith Howard (2017) argues that the song was originated in the mountainous regions of Jeongseon, and its first account appeared in a 1756 manuscript. Moreover, an article (Yonhap 2012) mentions about 40 different theories on the origin of the song. Some claim that an ancient poem was written to praise the virtue of Alyeong, wife of Park Hyeokgeose, the Silla kingdom's founder (69 BC–4 AD) and was transformed into the lyrics of *Arirang*. Others say that the word "Arirang" came from the Jurchen tribal language "arin," meaning "hometown" or the similar-sounding name of an Indian god.

Above all, the leading theory dates back to the era of Heungseon Daewongun (1820–1898), father of the Joseon king Gojong and an acting regent due to the king's young age. *Arirang* was originally a song with the Chinese title "Airang," with a meaning of "I am leaving my lover." The song describes the sorrow of the commoners across the country at the fact that they were taken away from their beloved one and brought to the capital Seoul to rebuild the royal Gyeongbok Palace under the regent's rule.

Later, the loyalist Hwang Hyeon (1855–1910) in the manuscript *Maecheonyarok* (the history between 1864–1910) writes that "Emperor Gojong (1852–1919) and his queen enjoyed *Arirang* performances late into the night." Such record lacks the details of the performances, but it testifies

the popularity of *Arirang* among Korean people, regardless of their social status. Moreover, in 1896, American anthropologist Alice Fletcher recorded the *Arirang* performances by Ahn Jeong-sik and Lee Hui-cheol, national scholarship students studying in the U.S. This is another proof that the song was extensively sung in the late Joseon period.

Figure 4 *Poster for a movie title "Arirang." Jeongseon Arirang Research Institute, 2009.*[5]

Arirang became extremely popular throughout the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). The film director Na Yun-kyoo rearranged distinct features of an early form of the folk music, making the theme song for his 1926 movie, "Arirang" (see Figure 4). Accordingly, the majority of Korean people believe the origin of *Arirang* from this movie, as the success of the film led to the popularity of the song *Arirang*. A *Byeolgeongon* magazine article on December 1928 writes:

> "Nowadays, "Arirang Taryeong" is so popular that everyone is humming the tune, from mothers preparing food for the family to both male and female students to infants that have barely been weaned. The song is so popular one student started singing it absentmindedly instead of the song set for her school music test, for which she was sorely reprimanded… It is true that the song is widely sung in Seoul. Na Yun-kyoo's film Arirang enjoyed great popularity and it is natural that it has impacted life at homes and schools as well" ("*New Trend, Fad!*" in *Byeolgeongon*, cited in Zhang 2012: 42).

During this time, the song was used as a score for plays and dance performances, while it made into dance music and even introduced to Japan. One can ask for such popularity and longevity. The soft sound of A and R is said to linger gently on the tongue. The lyrics *Arirang, arirang, arariyo*; *arirang gogaero neommeoganda* [Over the *Arirang* hill you go] and the simple melody penetrate into listener's hearts and incite their sentimentality.

Besides a popular folk song, *Arirang* became a labor song and an anthem of resistance and accompanied Korean people in all walks of life. Its various versions continued as a collective folk song, accompanied by traditional stringed gayageum and wind instruments. By doing it, *Arirang* could preserve the tradition of representing the emotion of each region. In contrast to this direction, it also underwent diverse transformations in popular music, played by a variety of modern instruments. Although the various song versions with new arrangements kept its title more or less, it was popular versions of *Arirang*, which expressed the emotions of Korea and consoled Korean people.

Arirang passed through more changes after the liberation from Japan (1945). Overseas musicians showed great interest in the song and tried to understand Korean people through the song. Its tune was used for the 1986 Christian hymn, "Christ, You Are the Fullness" and brought the listeners into tears as the cheering song of the Korean national team during the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup (see Figure 5). It was the icon of collective enthusiasm and excitement. Moreover, the New York Philharmonic performed *Arirang* in North Korea (2008), and the Korean pop group travelled to Europe (2016) with the song. PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics, where the two Koreas joined, was not exceptional.

It wonders whether *Arirang* would have not been continuously favored if the song had lost its integrity and authenticity in transformation and accommodation. The song maintained its genuineness, creating harmony with

Figure 5 *Arirang, sung by Korean people at the 2002 World Cup. Photo: Video Archives (2002).*[6]

everything it accommodated. It was a song to resonate with basic universal emotions – happiness, longing, despair, sorrow, struggle, consolation, love and hope, regardless of who they are. The song provided healing power and touched human hearts. Its longevity lay in the song's power to hold a balance between all things.

At the 2009 International Symposium entitled *Arirang to the World*, Keith Howard (2017) offered one explanation for the song's firm hold on the Korean public:

> "Arirang is today a symbol, an icon of Korea, and an essential part of Korean identity but it is globally known and touches upon universal human emotions and sentiments. All versions of Arirang share similar sentiments: the loss of a loved one, loss of land and property, longing for a return to the land and a yearning for peace. It is a song that pulls at the heartstrings of not only Koreans but also people of the world. Its melody is also well suited for a variety of musical arrangements and variations and sampling by other music genres such as jazz and pop" (cited in Zhang 2012: 42).

Conceptualizing the notion of emotions

The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary relates that the notion of emotion came from the Latin word *exmovere*, meaning "to move out", "agitate", or "excite". Daniel Goleman (1995) argues of two types of intelligence in his *Emotional Intelligence*: (i) rational and (ii) emotional. They are supposed to operate independently and are not necessary to be consistent with one another. Emotion is a neural impulse due to its psycho-physiological state which moves an organism to action, characterized by affective phenomena such as moods and personality traits by temporal duration.

In the moral behavior of the Western thought, the role of emotions has been discussed since ancient Greek philosophers with three traditions. First, Plato (c. 428–348 BC) and Immanuel Kant (1785; 2005) took a position, considering emotions to be a hindering to good behavior. Plato compared the rational mind to a charioteer whose task was to keep his horses. For Kant, good actions were the only true moral without motivation by any emotion. Second, Aristotle (384–322 BC) and economist Adam Smith (1759) treated emotions as vital ingredients in generating moral conduct. Aristotelian ethics are rooted in the idea of virtue, which can be an optimal midpoint between emotional extremes. They argued that certain social emotions, like sympathy, lay at the heart of all ethical behaviors. Third, all moral judgments are an expression of the speaker's emotions. According to David Hume (1751), a certain action is said to be right or wrong, and the speaker has a feeling or sentiment of approval or disapproval of the action (cf. Price 2009).

In fact, a vast amount of different theories with dissimilar viewpoints discussed the effect of emotions on the whole of the human being. In the 1870s, Charles Darwin (1913) proposed the evolution of emotions. His evolutionary theory relates that emotions exist because they serve an adaptive role. They motivate humans to respond to stimuli in the environment, improving the opportunities for their success and survival. Moreover, recent evolutionary theories consider emotions to be innate responses to stimuli, and theorists are inclined to underestimate the influence of thought and learning on emotion. At any rate, all human cultures share numerous basic emotions including happiness, contempt, surprise, disgust, anger, fear, and sadness. Other emotions are the result of the mixture and different intensities of the basic emotions. For example, terror is a more intense form of the basic emotion of fear.

The four main theories of emotions appeared in contemporary times:

1. The James-Lange Theory: It is one of the best-known examples of a physiological theory of emotion. In the 1880s, the theory was proposed by psychologists William James and Carl Lange. The theory says that emotions occur as an outcome of physiological reactions to events. When people see an external stimulus, it leads to a physiological reaction. Their emotional reaction depends on how they interpret these physical reactions. People experience emotion because they perceive their bodies' physiological responses to external events.
2. The Cannon-Bard Theory: In the 1920s, physiologist Walter Cannon disagreed with the James-Lange Theory. His theory (1929) was expanded on by physiologist Philip Bard during the 1930s. For them, the physical and psychological experiences of emotion happen simultaneously, and one does not cause another. The brain gets a message that causes the experience of emotion while at the same time the autonomic nervous system gets a message that causes physiological arousal. People feel emotions, while they also experience physiological reactions.
3. Schachter and Singer Two-Factor Theory: As a cognitive theory of emotion in the 1960s, the theory drew the above-mentioned two theories together. When people perceive physiological symptoms of arousal, they search for an environmental explanation of this arousal and label it as an emotion. The label depends on what they discover in their environment.
4. Cognitive Appraisal Theory: Thinking should take place primarily before experiencing any emotion. Richard Lazarus claims that the sequence of events first involves a stimulus, followed by the thought, which then leads to the simultaneous experience of physiological response and the emotion. The experience of emotions of people depends on the way they appraise or evaluate the events around them.

Recently, the philosophy of emotions has addressed other questions. According to Paul Griffiths (1997), emotions are an assorted cluster of phenomena that cannot comprise a single natural kind. They are a key point of interest in personality theory because they offend the senses and supply feelings.[7]

Conclusion

UNESCO's 2003 Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, and expressions that the nation recognizes as its heritage. It has been sustained throughout the nation's history, reproduced by its surroundings, to provide a national identity. In this regard, the emotions arising from *Arirang* are an asset of Korean intangible cultural heritage, in my view. Why so?

The notion of emotion is a complex, subjective experience along with biological and behavioral changes. It involves feeling, thinking, activation of the nervous system, physiological changes, and behavioral changes. Its theories endeavor to explain how people become emotional and how the various components of emotion can interact. Common sense relates that people (i) encounter a stimulus, (ii) become emotional, and (iii) react based on the four theories in turn. Korean people have no exception. Accordingly, a particular question arises on the relation between Arirang as music and its emotions.

> "Music affects us in ways that are personal and require psychological explanation: music energizes, surprises, soothes, delights, and otherwise shapes our emotional states. Research in cognition and neuroscience supports the idea that pleasure and emotions are key motivations for listening to music. Not only does music activate "pleasure centers" in the brain" (Blood – Zatorre 2001; cited in Thompson and Quinto 2012).

> "It can communicate and induce a range of powerful emotions" (Juslin – Sloboda 2001; cited in Thompson and Quinto 2012).

Robert Plutchik (1991) developed theoretic viewpoints on emotions, underlining that they do not occur in isolation but are the responses to significant situations in the individual's life and often the motivation for actions. Experimented by Plutchik and Conte (1997), emotions are generally interpreted as aspects of interpersonal interactions. The language of emotion and that of personality traits are connected by a circular phenomenon, "circumplex."

Finally, this paper questions *Arirang* as a medium for bridging-uniting two Koreas through the basic, universal emotions from the past to the future. A summary of "Arirang folk song" (North Korea, the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea) inscribed in 2014 (9.COM) can answer to this:

> "Arirang is a popular lyrical singing genre transmitted and recreated orally. It exists in multiple traditional forms as well as symphonic and modern arrangements. Arirang typically contains a gentle and lyrical melody, accompanied by the refrain: "Arirang, arirang, arariyo, Over the Arirang hill you go". Arirang songs speak about leaving and reunion, sorrow, joy and happiness. The various categories differ according to the lyrics and melody used; the thirty-six known versions of Arirang have also undergone continuous development. Arirang is performed on various occasions among family, friends and communities, as well as on public occasions and at festivities... Arirang folk songs reinforce social relations, thus contributing to mutual respect and peaceful social development, and help people to express their feelings and overcome grief. They function as an important symbol of unity and occupy a place of pride in the performing arts, cinema, literature and other works of contemporary art" [6].

The UNESCO nomination texts from two Koreas indicate a similarity of explaining *Arirang*. The most crucial text is the refrain *Arirang, arirang, arariyo*, confirming a strong witness of Korean emotions which can lead to the unification of two Koreas. Regardless of current political situations, the popular reception of *Arirang* would have been impossible if the song was a fossilized relic from the past. *Arirang* is alive and continues to evolve from local to national, from folk to pop music, from sorrow to joyfulness, from separation to unity, etc. It will be with Korea as long as it never ceases to reinvent itself. It is a permanent yet mobile treasure in the Korean peninsula.

Makoto Ito's article of *Two Koreas make history during opening ceremony* (2000) can highlight my view further:

> "A "unification flag" bearing a blue map of the Korean Peninsula proudly waved over the 180 athletes and officials from North and South Korea as they marched together for the first time in an Olympic opening ceremony. [...] Behind the placard "Korea," representative [...] entered the stadium to the tune of Korean folk song Arirang. [...] President Juan Antonio Samaranch applauded warmly for the Koreans [...] about the unprecedented

> inter-Korean march. [...] The first time the two Koreas march as one will be here in the Sydney 2000 Games. When things like that happen, they are events which move and progress forward to which there is no turning back" (Makoto 2000).

Endnotes

1. For further reading see also: Kim Tae-joon – Kim Yun-kab – Kim Han-soon 2011; Cho 2011; Kang Deung-hag 2001; Lee Chung-myun, 2007; Lee Yong-shik (sine anno); Kim Yeon-gap 2012
2. See [1] in „Other Internet sources."
3. See [2] in „Other Internet sources."
4. See [3] in „Other Internet sources."
5. See [4] in „Other Internet sources."
6. See [5] in „Other Internet sources."
7. For further reading see also: Frijda 1986, Meyer 1956, Plutchik 1991, Plutchik – Conte 1997.

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Folklore, Active Seniors or Ageism in Slovakia?[1]

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In Slovakia, words often connected with folklore are "youth" and "beauty." When we put these words into an internet browser, at least three folklore dance groups pop up: a folklore ensemble in Banská Bystrica, a folklore ensemble in Dubnica nad Váhom and a village folklore group from Šenkvice. Not by chance the artistic ensemble Lúčnica titled its program on the 60th anniversary of its foundation *Youth and Beauty*. These attributes apply to energic folk dances that are a very successful Slovak export. Folk dance in folklore ensembles was exclusively the realm of the young people until the turn of the millennium. While in the developed world the oldest generation danced on the folklore stage, in Slovakia it became reality only in the last two decades and now it is associated with various problems.

Did this perception change in the meantime, when statistics clearly state that the population has grown older? Does the folk dance belong only to the young? Should seniors be only passive viewers of the development in the field of folklore movement? What does it look like in the cities and in the countryside? Can ageing be spotted also in this field?

A starting point of this reflection is the research into the cultural and social life in municipalities of three districts of Slovakia and in villages – winners of the competition *The Village of the Year* – and also observation of the senior folklore movement after the year 2000.

In this paper, two groups are designated as seniors:

1. People in retirement. This definition according to the age and social position is relative. We use it when speaking about rural areas;
2. Dancers in folklore dance ensembles that exist nearly exclusively in towns, age approximately 40 and older. This definition is close to sports definition of a senior category: for example, in tennis, this category starts at the age of 35, in golf it is 50 and in some types of sports everybody over 21 is called senior, as the opposite of junior. In the folklore movement in Slovakia the age is not checked; in general, seniors are members of non-youth folklore dance groups that were until recently an exclusive type of folklore ensemble in Slovakia. People aged 30 to 70 dance in these ensembles. Decisive for this study is the "senior" status of the folklore grouping.

Ageism as an initial theoretical concept

The general trend of the ageing of the population and prolongation of human life brings qualitative changes to the lives of the oldest generation;

new challenges are opened and society will resolve or will be obliged to resolve them in relation to the generation of senior citizens. This also concerns the ethical level, where barriers evoked by ageism need to be overcome. *Ageism* is understood as a highly dominant complex and often negative social construction of old age (Voľanská 2018a), however, this is also an attitude or prejudice against or for the benefit of some individuals due to their age. Ageism can be characterized also as an ideology based in widespread belief that there is quantitative inequality of specific phases of the human life cycle (Vidovičová 2008: 144). It becomes evident by means of systematic, symbolic and also real stereotyping and discrimination against individuals and groups according to their age and/or on the basis of their belonging to a certain cohort/generation. Age becomes a means of limitation and imposes stereotypic roles on individuals belonging to an age category. The notion of ageism is most often narrowly connected with the oldest generation, and it is perceived as a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people due to their old age. It expresses a widespread belief about the low value and incompetence of old people and is most often manifested in the workplace. "According to the Eurobarometer survey of 2015, exactly half of Slovakia's population think that the most widespread form of discrimination is discrimination based on age, concerning people older than 55 years. It is eight percent more than the average of all European Union countries, where 42 percent of citizens complain about such disadvantage" (*Discrimination in the EU* in 2015, cit. from Voľanská 2018: 183).

Ageism allows younger generations to perceive older generations as rigid in their thinking and manners, old-fashioned in morals and skills and, as result of this, they are underestimated. Significant prejudice shows up in Slovak proverbs as well: *Staroba – choroba* [Old age means sickness], *Čím viac krížov na chrbte, tým ťažšie nohám* [The more crosses on the back, the heavier legs], *Starému už len bochnička, sklenička a teplý kútik* [Old person needs only a loaf of bread, a drinking glass and a warm corner].[2]

It is significant that women are considered older earlier than men, and also the stereotypes linked to women are more negative than stereotypes linked to men. Youth and beauty are the presumptions of attractiveness of women that enhances their success in the partner market. Many women think earlier than men that they must stay young as long as possible or at least look like they were still young. Such a stereotype contributes to negative opinions of old people and of old age.

Contrary to this perception of old people, certain activities and events draw attention to contemporary active and vital seniors and emphasize their

place in social and cultural life of the local community and society as well. Many older people naturally fight back against discriminatory behavior and seek new means of self-realization.

Seniors in rural areas

My research of Slovak seniors' activities in rural areas conducted in 2015 – 2016 in municipalities over 500 inhabitants in the districts of Detva, Námestovo and Ružomberok confirms the above-mentioned development trends. In almost every village the organization *Jednota dôchodcov Slovenska* [Slovak United Pensioners, or SUP] exists. It turned out that in contrast to the past, when seniors expected help from the village and organized events for themselves, now they try to be useful for the village. In addition to various environmental and educational volunteer activities, seniors cooperate when organizing cultural events. Those were mainly entertainment events, such as the celebrations on the day when the name Katarína is in calendar and Carnival walks in the village, along with cooperation in preparing food for various events in the village. Seniors are also active in religious associations. Seniors are usually active members of folklore groups, and with their cultural performances they represent the village also and nearby areas.

This experience was confirmed during subsequent ethnological research in municipalities, including winners of the European competition *Village of the Year* and representatives of Slovakia in the competition European prize of Renovation of Village. Winning villages showed the most complex qualities reached by making use of their cultural and social capital. Also, seniors are in most cases part of it and with folklore activities they unite the village and function for the benefit of the community. The example from the village Vlachovo (Rožňava district) shows that numerous musical groups (not only folklore groups) united the most active and talented citizens, and they initiated the application process for the competition and also contributed to the victory. Cooperation and cohesion in spare-time associations also result in more intensive citizen participation in the local community. Active senior citizens are also in folklore groups in Soblahov, Liptovská Teplička, Hrušov, Oravská Lesná and Dobrá Niva. An exception to this rule is the village Malé Dvorníky, where SUP exists but its form is very similar to the past periods; once in a week pensioners get together and sit and wait for whatever program the mayor of the village can help them organize. The village is in process of development and aims its activities at the present and the future, and cultural heritage is upheld more by preserving the ethnic culture of the Hungarian

minority and architecture of public buildings. However, annually they also organize a festival of folklore music groups. For example, in village Hrušov the senior organization separated from the Union of Persons with Physical Handicaps. It is an example of how the perception of senior citizens changes; while in the past they had been identified with people with physical handicaps and formed a group with them, this barrier has begun to collapse.

Seniors in towns or "Dance, while you are alive!"

Unlike Western or Northern Europe, until recently only young people performed in folklore dance groups in Slovakia. The groups originated at schools, factories and cultural centers as a symbol of youth, temperament, and beauty. Musicians and singers continued to perform when middle-aged or seniors, however, nobody thought about the comeback of senior dancers since dancing requires physical condition similar to young active sportsmen. During the first decade of 21st century, the older generation of former members of folklore groups started to be active in Slovakia. The dancers who actively participated in folklore dance groups from the 1960s to 1980s had grown-up children, and years later they started to return to the dance stage. Senior dance groups emerged as by-products of already existing groups and also independently as newly founded groups. A decade later there are as many as 50 senior dance groups in Slovakia.

Former dancers started to be active in Trenčín, and in 1999 the first senior folklore group was founded. Its members were the former dancers of Družba folklore group in Trenčín. In 2003 near the town Trenčín in the village Krivosúd-Bodovka this group founded the Slovak festival of Senior Folklore Groups, which functions in spite of territorial transfers in the past. Slogan of the festival is: "While you are alive, dance; while you dance, you are alive!" A similar festival exists in the border village Petrov in Moravia in the Czech Republic, where Slovak groups perform on a regular basis. In 2008 the festival of senior folklore groups was founded in Bratislava. It takes place biannually under the name *Superstarí* [Super Old]. Numerous groups from Bratislava and guests were invited from all of Slovakia to take part.

In 2009 the prominent folklore festival in Východná included for the first time senior folklore groups in its program. With the emergence of a young generation of organizers, the concept of the international *Folklore Festival Východná* changed. There was no space for senior program any more, as senior dances allegedly did not meet the required quality of scenic folklore

dance, authencity and proving quality in front of a jury in Slovak national competition of folk ensembles. This status quo lasted on the prominent folklore festival in Východná until 2019, when a smaller program of senior dance groups took place, including several senior folklore ensembles. It was preceded by the discussion about the senior folklore movement with involved persons and prominent specialists on folklore and anthropology of aging of the population as well.[4] In the first phase of functioning, the seniors updated old choreographies from their youth ensembles. Seniors do not consider competing adequate. In senior age various medical problems appear. Many are happy their health enables them to dance and think it is not important who jumps nicer or higher. More important is their positive approach to the performance and that the joyous atmosphere from the stage is transferred to the audience. In 2011, seniors moved with an independent program to *Jánošík Days Folklore Festival* in Terchová, where they perform every year until today.

Integration of senior folklore groups into the existing structure of the folklore movement in Slovakia was not hard-and-fast. Ageism became evident not only among younger people but also among former active members of senior ensembles and among prominent personalities of the folklore movement as well. Dancing of older people on the stage was considered unattractive. This activity was considered by some as inappropriate, as seniors allegedly took chances of the young folklore enthusiasts away from them.[5] Discussions about the "parasitism" of the older generation on the younger generation are characteristic for ageism in the social and economic sphere, and when seniors emerged as potential grant beneficiaries, it drew attention at once.

Revival of senior folklore groups brought a new dimension to the Slovak folklore movement and at the same time the need to seek new methods for their coordination.

Repertoire

The basic question of senior folklore groups is their repertoire. In the beginning, these groups did not bring new dance material and approaches to their performances, but they often took dances from the repertoire of the groups they were attached to in the past. Memory of seniors is not as good as when they were younger, and they do not devote so much time to practice dancing, therefore it is an advantage that they already know the dances and they can relatively easily recall them. Seniors want to continue from where they once ended. On the other hand, the so-called muscle memory helps to

maintain movement habits, and with less physical effort the movements from the youth can be used in older age. Many dances of the young folklore ensembles are physically really demanding and so not appropriate for the older generation. Also, the ambitions of senior dancers change as they grow older.

It is true the audience does not always enjoy watching joyful seniors spin or jump, and sometimes the audience is happy the dancers survived the performance. For example, the program of senior folklore groups on the main stage in Východná Festival was playfully introduced by the President of the Slovak Republic Ivan Gašparovič like this: "*Thank you all, all seniors, who found the courage. I have here with me one good physician, so you can dance with ease*" (Beňušková 2009).

Only a small number of choreographies of youth groups is suitable for seniors. One possible response is to adapt dances of original ensembles and to limit demanding steps or swift passages. However, this has an impact on the original work of the choreographer. Creating new choreographies especially for senior groups is not common in Slovakia and is also a financial burden for members of the group, but despite this such choreographies were recently created. Also, for the choreographers the creation of dances for senior groups is a new experience in Slovakia.

The effort to establish lower movement standards was not met well by members of these groups. It was not enough for them, and they considered it an underestimation of their abilities.[6]

It is possible that in a senior dance group participants with 20 years of age difference can meet, so it is advisable to adjust choreographies to accommodate different skills of dancers in a way that is similar to choreographies for children, and also to make opportunities for older dancers to rest. The aim of senior dance groups is not to charm the viewers by following demanding dance routines or repertoires, but rather to attract them through the joy of movement, to entertain them and also to show that older people can spend their free time in a meaningful and interesting activity. Ensembles that have more dance couples often dance strophic dances of comic movements and by entertaining themselves they entertain the audience as well. If the group has good dancers, the advantage can be their elegance and mature performance or the persuasive use of characteristic elements of the given region while respecting their ages.

Another problem is that the content of dances does not always correspond to the interpretation of seniors. For example, several dances depicting ceremonial occasions were performed in the traditional surrounding by young unmarried persons (recruit dances and some wedding dances). These mistakes

also affect youth or children folklore ensembles. For example, ceremonial carrying of the dotal property of the bride from her home to the home of the bride-groom was always done by younger married women.

Dancing parents and jubilees

In addition to senior programs, there are several projects connecting performances of seniors and children. An example of it is the *Festival Generations* in Trenčianske Teplice spa. These transgenerational innovations bring new possibilities to the folklore movement. While until recently the parents would watch their children perform, now the children are in the audience watching their parents or grandparents dance. Another example was the anniversary of the children folklore ensemble Dolina from Bratislava, where co-performing of parents and their children was an original element in one dance, since children in folklore ensembles often have parents who used to dance when younger.

Integral parts of many folklore festivals are programs devoted to people with milestone birthdays – long-term ensemble leaders, choreographers, ethnomusicologists, to people who devote their lives to folklore movement. The *Východná Folklore Festival* was no exception to this rule, but the concept of introducing programs devoted to outstanding choreographers was disrupted in 2019 in this festival. It was perceived very sensitively by concerned persons.

Recently, persons aged 80 or even 90 can be seen on the stage, and they can still relate to the audience. The reason is that the renowned personalities of the folklore movement that has developed in Slovakia (mainly since 1948) reach advanced ages, and many of them live this long also due to their lifelong vitality fueled by dance. Presenting folklore personalities of old age on the stage, and the respect paid to their lifelong work, is one of the most emotive experiences of the audience during folklore festivals.

Question marks of authenticity of dance

Another form of admiration of old folklore interpretations by the younger generation is the trend of reviving authentic dance performances and their transfer to the stage. It is done mainly by learning dances from recordings made in the 1950s and 1960s, since in this period many valuable performances were recorded by the former Institute of Art and Science of the Slovak Academy of Science (Bratislava). One can find also recordings from other sources from

this period and from an older period as well. However, we can speak about true authenticity only in case of live dance performances; in the moment dance is transferred to the stage, it begins to fulfill different communication and esthetic functions. In spite of this, transfer of dance to the stage is perceived as a basic level of scenic stylization. It was a paradox that in the above-mentioned times, when dances were recorded, the presence of the camera during the dance event was a strange element, so we can speak instead about prepared stylized events. Filmmakers often searched for older dancers who danced as they were able. Some dance performances determined by age can be found in the dances of young enthusiasts of "authentic folklore" also on the stage, and currently it is presented as local interpretation of the given dance. These phenomena are objects of stormy intergeneration discussions between dance folklore specialists.

Senior folklore ensembles – an invisible category?

In the field of spare time activities of the population, a system of cultural and educational training is well worked out in Slovakia. The central institution governed by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic is the National Cultural Center (Národné osvetové centrum). Within the unit, focused folklore and folklorism competitive surveys of collectives and individuals take place. The most successful competitors are invited to the most prominent Slovak folklore festival, organized in cooperation with the municipality Východná by the National Cultural Center in Bratislava. Not all folklore ensembles – children, adult or youth ensembles – participate in these competitive surveys. They are often discouraged by lack of success, critical words of members of the jury (though meant well as a way to improve) or the fact they do not like competition in the sphere of scenic folklorism, etc. There exist no competitive surveys for seniors because there was no interest by members of senior groups, and the National Educational Training Center shows minimal interest in the senior folklore movement. Since in the last 20 years many such groups were founded and nobody keeps records about them, nobody knows how many groups exist – we can estimate there are 30 to 50.

Employees of the National Educational Training Center have reproached seniors from folklore ensembles because they do not want to participate in competitions and are not interested in participating in the training. However, the heads of senior ensembles are also heads of children of youth ensembles, and they consider this activity to be a by-product of that leadership. Heads

of ensembles who perceive their activity as a by-product have no interest in trainings in this area. On the other hand, heads of senior ensembles in their older ages know their second dance career will not last long, so they do not understand why they should take part in training.

Since seniors do not participate in competition surveys, they are not invited to the Východná Folklore Festival. According to organizers, the best of the best should perform there, and who are they should be clear from the competition surveys. Those who do not take part in them cannot belong to the best. Quality criteria are set by employees of the educational training, and they prefer the vision of the "right" development of scenic folklorism. At present, quality is understood as consisting of authentic material, optimally from the region where the ensemble functions. However, senior folklore ensembles function in towns, and in the city – like Bratislava – they cannot have specific regional connections. The situation is different, for example, in Trenčín and in Košice towns, where they stick to rich folklore material from their region. Expectation that members of senior folklore ensemble – physicians, lawyers, economists – will gather folklore material during terrain research is a fiction as well. Logic applied by employees of educational training, or culture centers means mutual lack of comprehension regarding senior folklore ensembles and occasionally results in conflicts.

Since seniors from folklore ensembles are an invisible group – as a result of the above mentioned system – universities specializing in educating future dance pedagogues and choreographers are not interested in them. Students are not prepared to work with senior folklore ensembles and, according to them, there is no future in this activity.

Seniors are also marginalized in division of donations from grants for spare-time activities. Limited financial resources are rather directed to the activity of perspective children and youth groups. Even for more numerous ensembles it is very demanding to obtain quality folklore costumes, to get music or musical recordings, tailor-made choreographies, to pay for the hall where they train or to pay dance pedagogues and travel costs when performing.

This is a whole complex of reasons why Slovak senior folklore ensembles are a neglected category. However, with regard to the aging of the population it is important to have in mind the building of spare-time institutions for seniors where there will be also the possibility to dance.

Future of senior folklore ensembles

The aging of the population is a significant phenomenon that will influence life in society for decades. It will be definitely accompanied by later retirement of productive persons of older ages. Prolonging of human life enables and also requires activities that make inspiring cultural patterns visible, that develop possibilities for filling spare time joyfully, how to creatively approach life in older ages besides the role of parents and grandparents. Preparation to this life stage starts at the age of fifty. Though the retirement age is delayed, it is important to protect not only the body but also interest in life from getting old. Local and regional bodies can play an important role in this field, and they can help also through grant programs to increase the general notion of the significance of active aging and thus support solidarity between generations.

Endnotes

1. The article is an outcome of the project APVV-16-0115 – „Socio-Cultural Capital of Successful Villages in Slovakia."
2. See *Ludo. Prísloviа a porekadlá* (https://www.ludoslovensky.sk/prislovia/kategoria.php?id=27).
3. The name is inspired by the song competition *We seek a Super Star* that was premiered in Slovakia in 2008.
4. Since I have hosted this discussion, in this paper I make use of some opinions that were pronounced there.
5. There emerged also a question: "Who wants to watch old women dance?"
6. This experience was introduced by the choreographer Vladimír Urban during the discussion about senior folklore groups on the Východná Folklore Festival in 2019.

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The Legacy of Zdeněk Kašpar in Musical and Dance Folklore in Wallachia

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The region of Wallachia

In order to avoid the confusion, it must be made clear that there is one place called Walachia (spelled with a single "l"), a historical region in the south of Romania, which is different from the ethnographic region concerned here, which has been called Moravian Wallachia, dating back to older scholarly literature. Moravian Wallachia is located in the mountainous region of the western-most protrusion of the Carpathians in the vicinity of the Czech and Slovak borders. The region is marked by the culture of mountain shepherds of the Carpathian range, which stretches from the Balkans in the South, crossing Romania, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, and Moravia. There are several shared features in shepherd culture: they include the ways of mountain farming, material culture (such as items of folk clothing, and architecture), as well as spiritual culture, oral folk traditions and folklore, music, song, and dance (Jeřábek 2004: 38–68; Plocek 2003). According to Jan Assman (2001), an image of a region with its subjective images is fixed in the collective memory (Assman 2001: 116–117). It is typically presented by means of the media, educational institutions, and organizations, as well as by active individuals. Folklore ensembles are among the main elements in the transition from the perception of belonging to a certain area to the actual identification with it (Drápala – Pavlicová 2014: 185–186).

Folklore ensembles as instruments of regional identity

The activity of associations that contributed to the formation of regional identity is historically rooted in the (Czech) national movement of the second half of the 19th century. The Czech-Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition, which took place from May to October 1895 in Prague, in its exhibition grounds in Regal Park, a vast area in Prague-Bubeneč, was a milestone in the history of ethnography (which is today understood as ethnology). It was accompanied by nationalistic ideas and tendencies towards aestheticism.[1] The activity of ethnographic groups and circles was oppressed during the two world wars. Certain activities, which took place in spite of restrictions, contributed both to the strengthening of national identity, and to achieving political aims. From the 1950s, the growth in the formation of folklore ensembles of the new era can be seen. At the same time, this period is also considered the beginning of a *folklore movement*.[2] Its main aim was the preservation, revival, and presentation of the cultural heritage (of a chosen region), which included a certain amount

of stylization, because they were stage performances (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2008: 28). The transformations that can be observed within dance and music, as well as oral folklore, can be perceived through *folklore's second existence*, that is, *folklorism*.[3] Folklore ensembles and collectives, which help maintain folklore material, also represent the traditional folk dress of a given region. This all strengthens the sense of regional identity. These features can be observed within the folklore movement both in the regions of Moravia, as well as in Slovakia and other countries.

Zdeněk Kašpar and the Jasénka ensemble

Since the 1950s, Wallachia has seen the establishment of many folklore ensembles. Some of them existed for only a few years, but some have been active without interruption to this day. In 2018, there were 66 (active) groups/collectives, of which thirty-four were children's ensembles. One of the oldest ensembles in the region is the Jasénka Folklore Ensemble from Vsetín.

Figure 1
Primáš (1st violin player) Zdeněk Kašpar of the Jasénka ensemble (Vsetín, Czechoslovakia, 1960s). Source: The Jasénka ensemble archives. Used with permission.

For almost sixty years, it was lead by Zdeněk Kašpar (29. 5. 1925 – 19. 11. 2002), who was born into a family that was active in music and culture in the community of Jasenka near Vsetín. His parents were part of an amateur theatre group. His father and brothers established a family sextet orchestra, which performed at popular outings.[4] This was how the young Kašpar was introduced to violin playing. It is obvious that he inherited his great vocal talent/range from his mother.[5]

In his professional life he was a teacher at various schools in the Vsetín area. He taught core subjects in primary school (1945–1966), and later specialized in teaching music (1966–2000). In order to extend his knowledge of music, he graduated from the People's Conservatory in Ostrava (1960–1963), where he specialized as choir master and in music composition. Alongside his teaching at a junior school in Vsetín, he also led its children's choir. He was involved in many other activities: he was an ardent though self-taught student of the traditional folk culture of Wallachia. In 1949, after World War II, he established in his native community, with the help of his friends, the Jasénka Ensemble of Wallachian songs and dances. The early days of the ensemble were linked to the earlier activity of a local youth circle, which was active until 1944, that is, before the end of the war. The Jasénka ensemble operated originally in its home region, but subsequently became known nationally, and then even performed internationally as well.

While collecting local folklore, Kašpar firmly believed in its aesthetic value. He collected traditional songs and dances in the area of Vsetín in order to extend the repertoire of the Jasénka ensemble. At the same time, his collections reflected the character of the instrumental back-up of the old musicians who had been active as far back as the turn of the 20th century. Ultimately, the collected and arranged material constituted a music base that the Jasénka ensemble has been using to this day. The legacy of Kašpar, which is maintained by his two daughters, includes almost 4,000 songs and music arrangements.

Field research methodology

In the 1950s, folk song collecting in Moravia developed in two main streams. The first one was research organized by scholarly institutions, such as the former Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics (today's Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences – CAS). The research was planned in designated areas, with teams of two or three scholars conducting

field research. One of them usually wrote down the music, while the others recorded the texts and transcribed the dance movements.[7] Such research was usually intended for the publishing of a monograph on local music and dance.[8] The other line of research was represented by non-professional scholars, who would collect songs for newly established folk ensembles, which was what Kašpar's role had been as well. They strived to find something unique, which others from the same ethnographic region did not have. Such rivalry among the ensembles was mostly initiated by competitions of the period,[9] which highlighted the originality of the production as related to a given region.

The initial motivation for Kašpar's field research was his interest in the folklore of the region and its bearers. The areas that he followed in his research reflected his own enthusiasm and his life stages. For instance, his first thematically focused collection of folk songs was aimed at a wedding song repertoire. This he used both in the ensemble work, and at his own Wallachian traditionally costumed wedding (on July 1, 1950). It was quite an event in the Vsetín of that period: there were about 120 people in folk costume, so the wedding resembled a small ethnographic festival.

Figure 2 *The wedding of Aloisie and Zdeněk Kašpar (July 1st, 1950, Vsetín, Czechoslovakia). Source: From the archives of Zdeněk Kašpar. Used with permission.*

During his field research, Kašpar relied on his knowledge of regional literature, including the song collections of František Sušil, František Bartoš, Eduard Peck, Hynek Bím, N. J. Polášek and Arnošt Kubeša. In following them, he would write down less well-known variants of Wallachian songs. Thanks to his music education, he was able to say whether a song would be useful – after arrangement – for his ensemble's repertoire. He was most likely familiar with the rules for song collecting as suggested by Leoš Janáček.[10] Nevertheless, Kašpar approached his field research more or less intuitively, following what seemed to provide the best solution at the moment. His field research most often had a repeated character. First, he listed various comments on the repertoire of a singer; then he returned to them and asked them to sing a specific song. If the singer could not recollect the melody, Kašpar would often help remind them of a specific tune.

At the beginning, Kašpar recorded his field notes in neat handwriting. In the 1950s, while collecting some dance songs, Kašpar collaborated with the Jasénka members. As a result, the final record was very complex: it was more detailed than when he solely recorded the melodies, lyrics, and dance figures. Irena Martinková (1937), Kašpar's younger sister and Jasénka dancer, choreographer and lead singer in 1950–1972, recollects: "*On several occasions, I went with my brother Zdeněk Kašpar to collect songs from elderly people during the school holidays; I was quite interested in it. I would write down the song texts; he did the melody, his violin with him. I could listen directly to the witnesses who remembered everything. It was nice and it captured the life of these people. I learned a bit of history at the same time*" (Císaříková 2017). The field work had an added value for the dancers of the ensemble: they learned the dance directly from witnesses, rather than from just a recorded version. Such shared experiences from the field work also increasingly motivated the folklore collective.

Kašpar's collecting activities

Among his many interests, Kašpar in his research explored the impact of the 19th century musician and clarinet player Jan Pelár (1844–1907), and his fellow-musicians and followers. Pelár's music band became famous due to their performances at the Czech-Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895. They played there at dances as well as just for listening at a pub called *Na posledním groši* [The Last Penny], which was located right in the centre of the Wallachian village on the exhibition grounds.

Figure 3 *The Pelár's band at The Last Penny (1895). Source: Procházková 2006: 272. Used with permission.*

Figure 4 *Collecting folk songs at Josef Valchář from Jasenka (Vsetín-Jasenka, Czechoslovakia, 1956). Source: The Jasénka ensemble archives. Used with permission.*

Kašpar was interested not only in Pelár's performance as a musician, but also in the humorous tales about him that were spread among the people in his surroundings. He collected these tales and consequently narrated them with storyteller Alois Cepek (1904–1979)[11] to enliven the performances of their Wallachian circle in 1944–1947. Kašpar, who himself was a lead violin player (*primáš*) was predominantly interested in the string-band style of Pelár's fiddle player Josef Trusina. This he managed to capture in his field research from Trusina's pupils, Josef Valchář from Jasenka-Vesník (1891–1962) and Karel Baran from Lužná (1882–1964). Interviewing them, Kašpar first wrote down his records on paper, and in 1955 and 1956, when he returned and continued in his research, he used audio tape-recording.

He was persuaded of the uniqueness of such a method of recording. In the opening comments of his 1956 recording, he says: "*I've been waiting impatiently for the coming of 'grampa*[12] *Josef Valchář, folk musician from Jasenecký Vesník. He was born on March 15, 1881. In fact, he is not so old* [he was 65 at the time of the recording], *but he is undoubtedly an outstanding musician. He is outstanding because he has really managed to master the style of the Wallachian-Vsacanian primáš-es and lead violin players, especially the style of Josef Trusina, the primáš of Pelar, with whom he used to play often. In the fall of 1953, I made several written records with 'grampa' Valchář, which opened my eyes. Surely it will do no harm to make a sound recording of his playing – the vivid sound of his violin, which he touches with his tough fingers – but he is able to decorate the tune in a rich and really surprising way. I suppose that such a recording will be a very precious document of such a little-known, unexplored and dubious issue, which is what the style of Pelár's music represents*."[13]

The material that Kašpar gained in this way he transformed for his ensemble: it was arranged with respect to the original performance of the folk musicians, but was presented with better technical skills, and clearly showed that the Jasénka ensemble followed in the footsteps of the original folk musicians.

Kašpar's life-long and recurrent theme was the song and dance of Velké Karlovice,[14] the destination of his repeated research. In 1945–1947, when he came there as a young teacher for his first proper job, he explored the region in detail for the first time. The school children provided him with contacts to the local male and female singers, quite often their relatives. In addition to the songs, Kašpar dealt with the original string band style, and in an edited but credible way he managed to revive the string band trio music (the violin, contra-violin, and double bass). He was especially attracted to one specific group of dance songs, and later on, he even wrote down the dance steps that he had obtained from witnesses. Perhaps this was a lucky coincidence, but

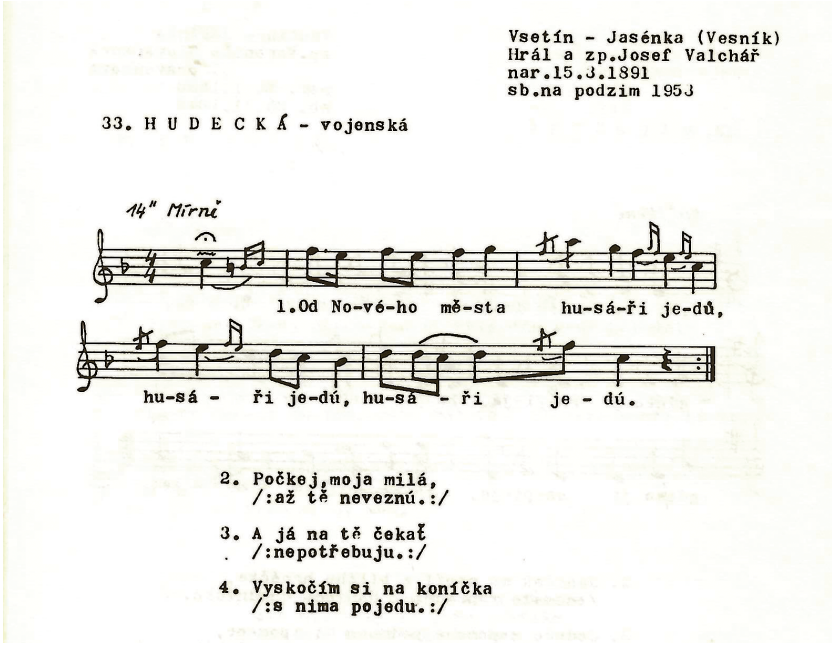

Figure 5 *Writing down the music of Josef Valchář (Vsetín, Czechoslovakia, 1982). Source: Kašpar 1982: [41]. Used with permission.*

in fact he managed to discover and reconstruct the *zvrtaný* dance, which is a whirle couple dance in lively tempo. Similar to other whirling dances, the *zvrtaný* consists of three basic figures (parts): 1. singing of the dance tune, accompanied by support movements (it is only the dancer who sings); 2. whirling: the dancing couple keeps doing a pivot turn but without travelling; and 3. individual performances of the dancers. The dance steps in part 2 include a twist of the heel while pivoting.[15] In his field research, Kašpar wrote down a group of dances with a shared 10-bar structure, which was originally a set of 12-syllable verse lines. The singing then used triplets and syncopation. Another typical feature of the *zvrtaný* included a specific melodic structure of songs, where the basic melody opens with stepping up from a basic tone to the fifth and sixth, and then ascends in third and fifth, all within the first verse line. Kašpar originally named this unique group of dances from his field research the *Javorník Notes*.[16] Exploring the ancient quality of their origin and function, Kašpar saw in these dances some clear connections to the ancient whirling dances of East Moravia. His suggestions were proved true from the testimony of the witnesses. In the early 1950s, Kašpar and the Jasénka dancers

created choreography that fulfilled the description of the witnesses; they made it fora dance show arranged by Kašpar.[17]

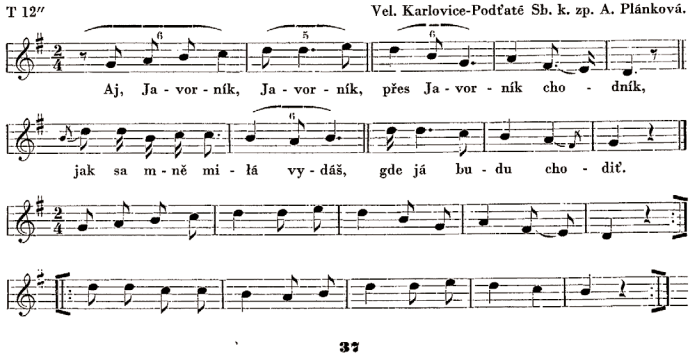

Figure 6 *The Javorník Notes according to Kašpar (Velké Karlovice, Czechoslovakia, 1950). Source: Kašpar 1950: 37. Used with permission.*

The *zvrtaný* dance came to life again in its stage performance by the Jasénka ensemble. For a long time, the Jasénka was the only Wallachian ensemble that included the *zvrtaný* dance in its repertoire. Kašpar managed to connect the individual songs for the dance into a complete music act. The way he did it was in an innovative but humble way, showing the respect he felt for the presentation of the original Wallachian music.

Conclusion

The legacy of Kašpar's arrangements is still strong. It can be perceived both by the ensemble members and the audience, who have consequently developed a strong bond to the region they live in or come from. During his active work in the Jasénka ensemble, Kašpar influenced and inspired numerous musicians, singers, and dancers who devoted their skills to the folklore of Wallachia. His influence can be perceived all across the region of Wallachia. In his arrangements, Kašpar managed to equip his ensemble with a unique repertoire and interpretations. Nevertheless, the song and dance repertoire of the Jasénka ensemble has become more or less preserved. The arrangements and programmes follow the same pattern that was conceived 16 or more years ago, when Kašpar lead the ensemble as its *primáš*.

Despite the fact that the ensemble has seen several generations of musicians, singers and dancers (including that of its children's ensemble), Kašpar failed to raise, cultivate, or find a successor for his position of *primáš*. The remaining issue to discuss is what will happen to the Jasénka Wallachian ensemble in future, when the last of Kašpar's fellow players are gone. They are the ones who have vehemently and rigorously respected Kašpar's work, which in fact has been the ensemble's life-giving force.[18]

Endnotes

1. The exhibition was the peak of nationalistic efforts, which from the 1880s were represented by regional exhibitions. These served as part of the promotion of the preparation committee of the Ethnographic Exhibition. Later on, the material that was gathered allowed the establishment of many regional museums. Scholarly ethnography is a term that was consequently applied to the period after 1895. The Czech-Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition contributed to another milestone as well: to folklorism. Folkways and ceremonies, which were taken from their natural environment, were selected and rehearsed in order to be presented in front of the public.
2. Within the Czech context, the folklore (ensemble) movement is understood as *folklorism* (that is, *the second existence of folklore*), existing within folklore ensembles. Within the international context, the term that is frequently used for the research of ensembles, festivals, and other traditional folk-oriented activities is *revival*. It reflects not only a positive approach towards folklore (even if it is crucial here), but it includes other levels as well, such as social bonds/links within a certain locale, or personal identity (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2008: 28, 33).
3. The term was introduced by the German scholar Walter Wiora. See Leščák – Sirovátka 1982: 252.
4. They were called *Five o'clock Tea* in the 1920s and 1930s. Whole families would set out for a Sunday outing; the destination was usually a restaurant (or a place with a view/ for socializing), where a music band would play for easy listening. The repertoire included mostly popular period hits and popular operetta selections.
5. His mother Anna (1899–1979) came from an ethnographic region of Haná. She knew a different type of repertoire than was typical in the surroundings of Vsetín. Upon recollecting Kašpar's family members, she is remembered as a 'fountain of songs'. Her son Zdeněk used to sing in a higher voice (A major – D major).
6. His older daughter Hana lives in Vsetín and keeps musical arrangements of songs of the Jasénka ensemble. She herself is an active Jasénka member and contributes to the music legacy of Kašpar. His younger daughter Zora lives in Pardubice and keeps Kašpar's original field records.
7. Apart from scholars who represented institutions, there were frequently students of ethnography and/or musicology, who at the same time learnt the way of fieldwork and gathered precious documentary materials.
8. Such as *Lidové písně a tance z Valašskokloboucka* [Folk Songs and Dances from the Region of Valašské Klobouky] (Vetterl: 1950, 1955).
9. Competitions of the *Soutěže tvořivosti mládeže* [Creativity of the Youth Competitions] (STM in Czech) predominantly addressed ensembles that were backed by factories and national enterprises (which equalled most of the ensembles in Czechoslovakia of the 1950s – 1970s).
10. Leoš Janáček (1854–1928), composer of world stature and director of the organ school in Brno, was also a pioneering figure of (Moravian) music folkloristics. As a professionally trained musician, he contributed to the 2nd edition of the collection of national folk songs of František Bartoš, and he wrote an extended study of Moravian folk song and music to its 3rd edition; it was a novelty in that period (1899–1901). From 1905, Janáček served as President of the Working Committee for

Czech National Folksong in Moravia and Silesia, which in 1919 was transformed into the State Institution for Folk Song (today's Institute of Ethnology of the CAS). He also self-published the brochure On Collecting Czech National Folk Song in Moravia and Silesia (1906), in which he encouraged the general public to record and write down songs.

11. Alois Cepek was a native of Jasenka near Vsetín, as was Kašpar, but unlike him, he was involved in the Vsacan, another folklore ensemble of Vsetín. Until 1947, Kašpar played the viola in the first music band of the Vsacan (then under the name the Josef Michálek's Cymbal Band). He could not cope with Michálek, the *cimbal* player, neither as a musician, nor as a man. It was the last impulse to establish his own music band, the Jasénka.
12. *Staříček* – "grandpa" in dialect in Czech means not only a family relative (meaning grandfather); it is also a familiar term of endearment for an older man.
13. Zdeněk Kašpar, Jasenka-Vesník [April 6, 1956]. Recording tapes were digitalized in 2002 and deposited at the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS in Brno.
14. The community of Velké Karlovice is located on the Moravian side of the Czech and Slovak state borders. With its area of 86 square km, it ranks among the most extended Moravian communities. It is located 17 km from Rožnov pod Radhoštěm and 25 km from Vsetín. The community is located at the end of an arm of the Vsetínská Bečva River. Due to its geographical location, numerous manifestations of traditional folk culture remained there untouched until the second half of the 20th century.
15. See Kašpar (2006: 43) for a detailed description of the dance and a selection of accompanying tunes [*zvrtaný* - the name of the dance refers in dialect to a twisting movement of the heel].
16. The Javorník Notes refers to the mountain range Javorník, which stretches along the Moravian-Slovakian frontier. A song would frequently open with an address to Javorník. See Kašpar 1950: 36–37.
17. Among whirling dances, a typical foot step with a twist is not unique. At about the same time as Kašpar recorded the remains of the dance in Velké Karlovice, ethnographer Věra Šejvlová recorded a similar 2/4 dance in the area of Staré Hamry and Ostravice, in the border area in the north of Moravia and Slovakia. As late as the 1980s, a folklore ensemble reconstructed the dance there. In northern Moravia, the dance is also known as the *zvrtek* (Peková 2014: 67–79).
18. This paper is related to my dissertation on the context of folk song collecting in Wallachia, focusing on the example of Zdeněk Kašpar. My research is based on relevant literature, such as archive materials and family documents, as Zdeněk Kašpar, who I will shortly introduce, was my grandfather. This paper was supported by the funds for a long-term conceptual development of the research organization RVO: 68378076.

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The Necessity of Contextual Economic, Social, and Political Analysis in Folk Dance Research: On the Lessons of Research Conducted in Hosszúhetény, Kapuvár and Végvár

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Introduction

Before the end of the 2000s, Hungarian dance folkloristics reflected mostly on the positions that various dance and music trends had in European cultural history, on their geographical-historical diffusion. The Hungarian folk dance research paid little attention to the analyses of the phenomena's cultural, social, economic, and political contexts at the local level. The functional, or perhaps contextual approach had rarely come up before the abovementioned period, and it became a determinant theory in none of the eras, nor was it adapted to the Hungarian material. The former dance monographs in this period (Martin 1955; Kaposi 1999) contained formal and structural analyses of movements, in which connections among researched material, dance personality or folk dance culture of the villages, and the economic, geographical, social, and cultural contexts described in separate chapters are left to the readers' imagination.[1] Therefore, in these cases, we cannot talk about the functionalist approach or contextuality, not about independent interpretative and methodological systems of concepts and instruments.

Other possible interpretations – which arose for example in Csilla Könczei's studies applying linguistic paradigms – have not evolved into a new scientific paradigm (Könczei 2009). László Kürti has already referred to the deficiency of searching for new interpretations and the departure from international research horizon in his several studies as early as 1995, thus pointing out the necessity of interpreting dance as a social phenomenon (Kürti 1995, 2014). No one has responded to his remarks. The interpretive approach that considers the local context finally appeared quite late, only in the 2000s in Hungary, and mainly in studies by young dance researchers.[2]

I consider socio-ethnographical and social anthropological research that can examine each dance culture at the micro level to be extremely important from the aspect of newer research and interpretation of dance folkloristics. As most of the studies written by Hungarian dance folklorists analyse historical, economic, and social dynamics at the macro level at best, they introduce a dance culture under examination in a static manner, focusing on archaisms, without revealing local ethnic features accurately.[3] My research experiences were carried out in Hosszúhetény (a village in South Hungary) and Kapuvár in the Rábaköz region (a town in Western Hungary), as well as Végvár (Tormac, Timiș County, Romania). However, they prove that in addition to macro-level analyses, analyses carried out at the micro level are important in order to understand transformations of the dance culture.

My research mentioned above can be classified as intending to find new courses in Hungarian dance research, in which each phenomenon of the Hungarian folk dance culture is analysed by paying particular attention to social, political, and economic contexts more intensively. At the same time, we also look for explanations of the formal and structural transformations of folk dances.

Research experiences from Hosszúhetény, Kapuvár, and Végvár

In one of my former studies (Fügedi – Varga 2014: 124–130), I attempted to introduce the transformation of peasants' folk-dance culture of Hosszúhetény in a broader socio-historical context. Beside folk dance, I involved other cultural phenomena (music, traditional costume) relating to socio-ethnography in my analysis. I made several statements on impulses and dynamics that generated transformations. For instance, I investigated and corrected a former statement in Hungarian folkloristics, namely that the appearance of dancing masters at the beginning of the 20th century did not cause turbulence in the contemporary folk-dance culture. The assimilation of early, bourgeois social dances truly enriched some peasant dance types, although our data indicate that this impact could have prevailed only for a short time, between the early 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. The existence of these peasant dances is much more a consequence of institutionalised preservation of traditions. Nevertheless, it has been proven in this village that the activity of dancing masters hastened the disappearance of earlier forms of dance-related behavior (Fügedi – Varga 2014: 125).

Similarly to the historical transformation of the folk art of peasants in the Alpine-Carpathian Region, three historical layers can be distinguished in the dance culture of Hosszúhetény. After the "old layer" representing the social elite's and the peasants' similar styles, the „new layer" of folk art appeared at the end of the 18th century, which already represented the peasants' desire to differ from other social strata (Hofer – Fél 1994: 31; Fügedi – Varga 2014: 126). The third, the "newest layer" of the characteristic peasant style was typically a mixture of alien elements. It is also true that some settlements were successful in an economic sense in the subsequent era, where and when a late and expressive blooming of peasant culture was experienced, similarly to those of the folk music and ornamental arts, resulting in the proliferation of

extroverted and overly ornamented stylistic elements (Hofer – Fél 1994: 33, 39). The Hungarian ethnographic literature cites mostly the Kalocsa and Sárköz regions (South Hungary, both regions famous for their expressive folk art) as examples where "elements of the newest style" are detectable ornaments, traditional dresses, and folk music and dance in both regions (Martin 1995: 75, 78). The "newest style" of the not too distant Sárköz and Kalocsa regions and the traditionalist movements of the first one-third of the 20th century could influence Hosszúhetény's folk dance culture (Fügedi – Varga 2014: 127). Besides the folk art movements and augmenting the already mentioned extroverted presentation styles, films representing folkish elements and newsreels between the two World Wars arose as material deserving analysis, since they could also have influenced the folk dance culture of Hosszúhetény, as well as that of Kapuvár, as it was revealed by later research (Fügedi – Varga 2014: 127).

The investigations in Hosszúhetény and Kapuvár have revealed that traditional social occasions were replaced by new social institutions (i.e., reading club, local amateur theater company, and so forth) after World War I. The framework and financial background of those were provided by a strict and rigorous system emerging between the World Wars, in which leaders of the local social, political, educational, and religious lives could influence the cultural life of a village.

Traditionalist dance groups had already a strong influence on local dance cultures between the two world wars and later on. Traditionalist activity in both Hosszúhetény and Kapuvár that was institutionalised between the World Wars – and has existed since then – was beneficial to the preservation of many dance forms that had been slowly but steadily vanishing in the first third of the 20th century. However, in certain cases it transformed these types formally to the future, with some of their elements having been highlighted, simplified, and retained. These phenomena were becoming continuous primarily in dance ensembles, although they impacted the villages' popular dance culture due to the pedagogical and social activity of the organisers of "tradition workshops" – the latter can be experienced in case of Hosszúhetény. It became apparent during our research that "folk traditions" had become part of choreographies and became very important elements of the identities of both Hosszúhetény and Kapuvár. Similar representations of their own cultures come up in almost every relevant conversation.

These processes can be interpreted as actions contributing to embourgeoisement. We have to consider the cultural phenomena received during the coexistence with the Germans to be similar to the case of Hosszúhetény, too.

Transformations of folk dance styles in Hosszúhetény and Kapuvár that can be traced to both dance types and motifs are therefore results of a complex process, to which economic changes, the operation of local cultural institutions subordinated to political development and that of the traditionalist associations, as well as the influence of coexisting national minorities, have all contributed.

Organisations dealing with the preservation of folk dance and music traditions provided an essential basis for the social and cultural life of Végvár in Timiș County (Romania), too. Végvár is a mixed population village with Hungarian and Romanian inhabitants. My research proved that the educational ideas they had approved and conveyed became important building stones of the local and ethnic identity of the people in Végvár. Local churches and Hungarian intellectuals of the village would determine their programs' content, and in many cases, their cultural, social, and political objectives, similarly to the situation in Kapuvár or Hosszúhetény. Those contents and goals were and are often characterized as opposed to the cultural influence of the Romanian state, reinforcing Hungarian self-awareness, but also isolation from the majority society.

The operation of folk-dance groups in Végvár is accompanied by ethnic overtones even today. The dance groups take part in political campaigns. Analyses revealed that Romanian parties at the county level and local Hungarian parties, and even the Hungarian cultural policy from the 2010s, make use of and give ethnic content to folklore.[4] Similarly to local dance groups, the Calvinist Church, which efficiently participates in preserving traditions and maintaining cultural heritage, looks at dance and music folklore from an ethnic perspective that plays, in this way, an important part in minority cultural policy.[5]

We had the opportunity to collect data in Végvár on various (international, national, national minority, cross-border microregional, local political) levels where "traditions" were used. It is interesting to experience folklorism appearing on the academic representation every day, in the same way artistic levels coming from the bottom meet those coming from the top (from the political sphere in many cases), and which one of them becomes dominant.

During the second half of the 19th century many cultural elements (*csárdás*, waltz, folk-style Hungarian art songs) were incorporated into the local popular culture, which became an extremely important part of the 20th century identity of Végvár due to the folklorisation process; thus this phenomenon derives from a kind of "bottom-up" need. This mindset was confronted by the *hard* traditionalism insisting on personalities that were close to the categories

of academic and artistic folklorism and which complied with the scholarly work of Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók (Varga 2018: 80).[6] This has been spread and institutionalised in Végvár as a result of top-down or outside expectations of the Hungarian dance house movement, and later that of the Hungarian minority policy.

It was felt during the research process that a serious disagreement emerged about the former "mild" and "hard" traditionalism, which divided the local community. One can understand today that it is increasingly difficult for the society of Végvár to withstand cultural influences being regarded as undesired by the local intellectuals and the older generation, or occasionally the political pressure coming from the majority of society. The reasons can be detected in the impact of the increasing prevalence of mass media, besides the weakening of internal social cohesion and the fragmentation of local society.[7]

Végvár was established in the 18th – 19th century by settlers coming from Hungarian language areas distant from one another. During the course of my research, I was looking for traces of what remains of dance folklore had survived and were still present in the settlement's dance culture. The research served to map the formation of the organisation of traditionalist folk dance life (dance groups, associations, and so forth) in the settlement, as well as its operating connection with the institution of Hungarian onstage dance and dance house movements. It was revealed during the investigation that impacts of the efforts focusing on creating national traditions, which appeared in the late 19th-century Hungarian state education and programs, reached Végvár very soon and had a unifying effect on the local dance culture. This is, for example, proved by the local denomination of dances being regarded as traditional. The oldest interviewee in Végvár also viewed *csárdás* (couple dance) and *legényes* (male dance) as dances of the folk scene, distinguishing them from ballroom dances. Our data indicate that the earlier dance style and motif of settlers had already adjusted to "Hungarian dances" by the end of the 1800s, right when those were trendy on operetta stages and local theatrical performances and were being taught by dancing masters. Suchlike homogenisation of the motif collection could possibly have finished around World War I because we did get information about the characteristic formal features of their homelands even from the oldest sources. This unification could perhaps provide common ground for an undisturbed collective dancing of those who settled there.

Different modes of constructing traditions

Investigations of the revival in Végvár, Kapuvár, and Hosszúhetény indicate that the expressions of "authentic folk dance" and "pure source" often articulated in connection with *hard* traditionalism – similarly to the *mild* stream – also derive from a kind of constructed tradition. By means of copying motifs and chains of motifs as accurately as possible from archive dance footages, dance instructors try to reconstruct a movement culture whose basic character was in continual change. The contradiction lies in that the application of the reconstruction principle (copying) expected by the canon, having prevailed in Hungarian dance folkloristics and dance house movement, has concluded the reinterpretation of freeze frames of static condition.

A further problem is that archival dance footages are not accurately documented. The lack of knowing the context misleads both the researcher and the dancer, who thus repeatedly creates a kind of one-sidedly positive and problem-free mythology of the peasants' past. Learnt cultural phenomena placed in new contexts (folk dance rehearsal, stage performance, dance house, and so forth) gain new functions and meaning, which is considered to be the original one by the revival dancers. The Hungarian revival dancers reinforce the extroverted, representative feature of dance; thus, we give it an aesthetic character that has not been evident before. In parallel with all these, we relocate peasants' dance from the level of the locality to that of the nationality, providing an opportunity to involve it in the toolbox of political propaganda.

We would get a biased picture if we examined these processes only in a critical manner. In terms of forms, we can thus consider differences in both quality and aesthetics, since "hard" preservation of traditions claims much more thorough and higher knowledge of folk music and dance than the „mild" approach. Difficult dance steps, more elaborate dance processes and forms of space use that can be more difficult to memorize necessitate a longer learning process, so they can better improve improvisation and body awareness. Besides, it is important to note that there is hardly any chance in the researched villages – apart from folk dance groups – to create communities being able to foster local cultural traditionsthat can successfully function for long. Local parents and instructors emphasize that folk dance groups play important roles in their children's lives. Domestic and foreign travel, summer folk dance camps, and successful performances prove to be attractive, but the real value of the groups lies in that they can rehearse forms of such self-expression and artistic activity in a community, which is also approved and

considered positive by the older generation. Consequently, tight emotional bonds develop, which reinforce local society, as was noted by local people on more occasions.

Looking for new courses

Organised traditionalism had already appeared in Hosszúhetény, Kapuvár, and Végvár by the beginning of the 20th century. Organisations focusing on the revival of dance and music that were in close connection provided a crucial establishment for the social and cultural life of the settlements. Educational ideals approved and conveyed by these organisations served as solid bases for local and ethnic identity. Local institutions of education and religion had and now have a great impact on their programs, cultural and social-political goals; their operation conveyed ideas, educational ideals, and political concepts towards the village. During the course of my research, I strove not to forget about the concept that peasantry cannot be regarded as an independent entity from the rest of the society, and that dance culture itself is likewise part of a comprehensive cultural system. Cultural transformations are always complex processes, which cannot be interpreted as a result of only one external impact or internal invention.

We can tell in connection with the abovementioned research that in addition to conducting an investigation into the history of traditionalist groups and their influence on the local cultural and social environment, launching a thorough examination beyond the traditional dance and music culture would be extremely important, too. Interpretation of the popular dance culture of individual settlements and communities, or a credible introduction of even one dance event without a comprehensive knowledge of the social, economic, and political environment, cannot be performed confidently.[8] Tracing the transformation of the dance motif collection within a continually changing dance culture can only be performed by applying academic methods that can provide the greatest possible objectivity (Fügedi 2018). Combining social study approaches and real ethnochoreological methods to meticulously recognise formal and structural characters of the dance and music have become a necessity. Its basis is the cooperation of professionals who approach dance from different aspects as a result of the extremely diversified body of knowledge. In my opinion, our discipline can gain social relevance this way, or it can reach real academic approval by using it.

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Endnotes

1. This was criticised by László Maácz, and named formal analysis to be followed, which György Martin was developed into a scholarly programme (Maácz 2006: 77, Martin 2006: 87).
2. Fügedi – Varga 2014; Kavecsánszki 2015; Pál-Kovács 2017; Székely 2015, 2016, 2017; Szőnyi 2014a, 2014b, 2016; Varga 2007, 2011, 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2017, 2018.
3. Máté Kavecsánszki writes that Martin took social historical background into consideration comprehensively during the analysis of Hungarian dance dialects (Kavecsánszki 2014: 77). Complementing his statement, I think that in his studies Martin examined Hungarian folk dance treasure at macro level in a European or Alpine-Carpathian Region's perspective, whereas analyses of local and communal dance cultures necessitate the examination of local political and economic context at micro level, too.
4. All these are based on the manipulation of folklore symbols that was once typical of other eras (e.g. fascism, communism), too. This phenomenon can also be interpreted as folkorism (Giurchescu 2001: 116–117).
5. Folklorism plays an important role not only in current cultural policy, but it also used to play a role in the educational policy of the socialist and post-socialist countries (Giurchescu 2001: 117; Kavecsánszki 2014: 81–84; Könczei 2007).
6. We encounter the mild and hard categories of preserving traditions in Hofer's paper (Hofer 1989: 71). Hofer differentiates two forms of traditionalism: mild (light, entertaining and revue-like transfer of folkloric heritage that is primarily applied on stage) and hard. The latter is the learning and interpretation of cultural traditions unchanged from how those had been collected by researchers. For example such is the principle of preserving folkloric heritage propagated by Bartók, Kodály, and subsequently Martin (Hofer 1989: 71).
7. Zoltán Bíró and József Gagyi cite the following reasoning from Jacques Coenen-Huther: „Social groups regarded as 'cognitive minority' from the majority's perspective can only become individually successful, if they can present (seemingly) fertile alternative for their own members. Their long-term existence is generated by an external pressure, as it contributes to the augmentation of solidarity. Once the environment becomes unconcerned, the given comminity can easily encounter conflict" (Bíró – Gagyi 1987: 179).
8. Gábor Gyáni calls our attention on weak points of the approach: contexts are such „interpreted situtions" that emerge as results of the researchers' selection and certain point of views. Selecting the proper context is dependent on what we would like to understand and interpret. Contextualisation is thus an abstract intellectual process, which can diverge from the „original sense" of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Gyáni 1997: 57). Carrying on: „considering that in the absence of any sort of context, reasonable explanation cannot be given on anything, the legislative recognition cannot exempt from the temporary constraints of contextualisation. […] since we are implicitely contextualists. The question is whether we are good contextualists, in other words, whether we select the appropriate context" (Gyáni 1997: 51).

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‘Čarľeston’ from Polomka and ‘Bugi’ from Závadka: On the Results of the Dance Repertoire Field Research and Digital Museum Project (2014–2015)

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Introduction

Folk dance is a syncretic phenomenon determined by historical-geographical, ethnic-confessional and socio-cultural factors and forms an integral part of our cultural heritage. Due to its central-eastern European position, Slovakia, inhabited by several ethnic minorities, is characterized by a variety of dance forms, from the oldest round and chain dances from the earliest stages of dance history to the most recent examples of folklorized social dances from the mid-20th century. The dance forms can be divided into the medieval and Renaissance dance culture of northern and central mountain regions influenced by the Wallachian colonization and a newer baroque dance culture, characteristic especially of the southwestern and southeast lowlands close to Budapest and Vienna (Martin 1985: 117–128). The Romantic and new folklore social dances were generally expanded in the middle of 20th century. The dance culture of Slovakia in general is divided into 23 dance regions.

The traditional forms of traditional culture in our territory ceased to exist sometime between the Wars due to modernization, industrialization and a change in social structure.[1] It can therefore be said that the last living bearers of these dance traditions are only people of the age of 80 or more. In spite of their physical limitations, they can convey knowledge not only about the form, but especially the function and context of dance types. At the same time, they are the only bearers of information about the historical record. Dance research has taken place over various time periods and ranges and at different levels of quality. However, given the number of municipalities involved, it does not even account for 10% of the total number of locations, and research has often been conducted in representative localities, leaving blank spaces on the dance research map.

Folk-dance research has almost 70 years of tradition in our country, although the first research activity took place at the end of the 19th century.[2] The aim of this contribution is to present the results and analysis of the recent field research on dance conducted under the aegis of the *Digital Museum* project (2014–2015).

Recent field research projects of traditional dance

Over the past 20 years, two large-scale ethnochorological documentations have been carried out. Between 2001 and 2009, it was a field documentation in 84 locations in 11 dance regions within the project *Traditional dances of Slovak*

regions, which was carried out by specialists at the National Cultural Center in cooperation with the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava and the Academy of Performing Arts in Bratislava. Ethnologists, ethnochorologists and ethnomusicologists[3] along with technical staff performed a selection of dance types, followed by audiovisual recordings. The aim of the project was to document the contemporary state of traditional dance in the interpretations of members of folklore groups (reconstruction), especially the last bearers of dance traditions.[4] The interpretation of different generational groups was recorded during three stages of research: exploration, preparation of interpretations, and final dance recordings.[5] Altogether, more than 900 local variants of different dance types were recorded in 84 sites from 11 ethnographic regions of Slovakia.[6]

The Digital Museum project

Between 2014 and 2015, preservation research and field documentation of traditional forms of traditional dance took place in 48 locations in 9 dance regions. Five hundred "dance elements" (over 600 variants of dance types) were recorded in the performance of some 1,500 dancers and musicians. Traditional forms of individual variants of dance types were recorded in the interpretation of bearers of dance tradition not organized in the folklore movement and partially also by members of folklore dance groups. A documentary project, which despite the disproportionately low time subsidy was preceded by a survey, was carried out within the project Digital Museum, and accomplished by the Museum of SNP [Slovak National Uprising] in Banská Bystrica.

The Digital Museum is a national project co-financed by European Union funds under the Operational Program Informatization of Society, Priority Axis 2.[7] The depositary of the outputs of digitized collections of museums, galleries and other memory and archive institutions, including records of dance documentation, will be available to the public at www.slovakiana.sk.

The research was carried out by teams of technical staff, the coordinator of the project – ethnologist M. Koreňová, and teams of the current generation of ethnochorologists (B. Morongová, K. Babčáková), dance pedagogues and choreographers (S. Ondejka, M. Palanová) and ethnomusicologists (A. Lukáčová, M. Noga).

Within the framework of audiovisual documentation – rescue research of traditional dance and musical expressions and forms – local variants of dance types from Abov, Liptov, Turiec, Trenčiansko, Kysuce, Podpoľanie, Hont,

Horehronie regions and Ruthenian areas of the Spiš region were recorded:

- Research regions of Western Slovakia:
  - » Trenčiansko;[8]
  - » Kysuce;[9]
  - » Turiec (includng German-minority inhabited localities);[10]
- Research regions of Central Slovakia:
  - » Podpoľanie (including Romani minority inhabited localities);[11]
  - » Liptov;[12]
  - » Hont;[13]
  - » Horehronie (including Ruthenian and Romani minority inhabited localities);[14]
- Research regions of eastern Slovakia:
  - » Abov (including Hungarian and Romani minority inhabited localities);[15]
  - » Spiš (including Ruthenian minority inhabited localities).[16]

Among the positive aspects of this research are:

- Multiple camera capture;
- Thorough documentation of recordings, subjects and shooting conditions;
- Ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological characteristics.

Benefits and focus of the project were:

- Recording traditional dance forms of the oldest generation of dancers with the exception of reconstruction (carrying out preservation research in next available period);
- Recording several variations of dance types in the interpretation of different age groups of artists (possibility of comparative analysis in diachronic context);
- Recording traditional principles of dance structure (possibility of comparative and structural analysis of the dance);
- Recording traditional dance types in connection with functionally bound musical accompaniment (possibility of contextual analysis in cooperation with ethnomusicologists);
- Recording dance in the context of the local community (possibility of to use for future generations, material for research dance anthropology);
- Documentation and verification of older records as part of the preparatory phase of other documentation (identification of records in the last possible time, comparative analysis).

The focus of the research was the documentation of the dance traditions of ethnic minorities (Romani, Carpathian Germans, Ruthenians), too. Part of the documentation was also the recording of ceremonial and customary sing-dance and dramatic manifestations, movement and dance games. We can identify 74 recordings of ritual dance occasions associated with dance performances including:

- wedding ceremonies: 40 occasions;
- Christmas rituals: 13 occasions;
- spring rituals (*Morena*): 11 occasions;
- carnival rituals: 4 occasions;
- Christenings: 2 occasions;
- finishing of forest work: 2 occasions;
- blessing of the fields : 1 occasion;
- St. Lucy's rituals: 1 occasion.

Altogether, the research includes 327 dance-type records in their multiple variants. Among the dance types (not their variants, but the types occurring in the mentioned localities) predominate:

- Old pair dances (torsional, rotating, jumping character): 56 variants (17.1 %);
- *Polka* and its variants (strophic, improvisational): 47 variants (14.4 %);
- Circles (plus other variants in different age categories): 37 variants (11.3 %);
- *Čardáš* (predominantly unified forms, frequent syncretism with old pair dances): 36 variants (11 %);
- *Waltz* (predominantly unified): 34 variants (10.4 %);
- Shepherd dances with tools (predominantly *odzemok*): 26 variants (8 %);
- *Chorovod* (ritual chain dance, including its reconstructions): 16 variants (4.9 %);
- *Tango*: 16 variants (4.9 %);
- *Verbunk*: 10 variants (3 %);
- *Mazurka, quadrille* and *charleston*: 5 variants (1.5 %);
- *Fox*: 4 variants (1.2 %);
- *Letkis* and *šimi*: 3 variants (0.9 %);
- Men's saltation dances and carnival dances with sticks: 2 variants (0.6 %);
- *Twist* and *marsh*: 1 variant (0.3 %).

Dance games:

- Round circle dances with partner selection: 8 variants;
- Animal dance games (*medviedka, zajačí*): 11 variants.

The research material provides a broad field for formal, functional, structural analysis and comparative analysis. The recording of dance types via multi-generational interpretation at the same site allows for both, examination of formal, functional and contextual changes, and identification of changes in motion culture and dance and motion skills over generations. At the same time, it helps to identify the role of the folklore movement in the dance tradition. Basic analytical themes thus include:

- Quantity and types of dances surviving in different areas;
- Folklore movement influences;
- Diachronic analysis of local dance tradition changes etc.

The first steps in analyzing the research material presented interesting results, for example the so-called *inverse dance paradox.* The high percentage of archaic dance types (circles, shepherd dances with tools and old pair dances) is a result not only of the survival of these dance types in the oldest generation of bearers (the regions of Horehronie, Spiš) but also by folklore movement activities. At present, thanks to the technical possibilities of the practice of the folklore movement, we are witnessing an *inverse dance paradox*. While the middle, older and also oldest generation has, in their live repertoire, mostly dance types from a newer layer of folklorized social dances (*polka*, *waltz*, *foxtrot*, but also *tango, boogie, charleston* and *letkiss*), even in the most isolated mountain communities, the younger generation does not have competencies in these dance types. On the other hand, in the institutionalized collectives in the practice of the folklore movement, the archaic forms of dance tradition are reconstructed in a variety of stylizations and understandings, acquiring the formal, structural, stylistic and ecological aspects of these relatively demanding improvised dance forms.

Examples of analysis of material

As an example of the diachronic analysis of local dance tradition changes, one can cite the type of circle dance *do kolečka* from the Ruthenian locality Torysky in the Levoča Hills in the central Spiš region (north-eastern Slovakia).[17] The recording filmed during the field research and documentation project Digital Museum in 2015 includes two variants of this dance, interpreted by:

Variant I – women from the oldest generation of the village (11 women of the age of 68–90 years, most of them of the age of 75, i.e. the interwar and the WWII generation).[18] A dance from a collection of chain dances of the old style

was part of the live dance repertoire of the oldest women.[19]

Variant II – reconstruction of the interpretation by young girls and women from the local folklore group Javorina, who learned the dance from older dance-tradition bearers. 12 girls and women aged 14–60 perform this dance, most of them around aged 20–25, the oldest of this generation was of dancing age in the 1970s and 1980s – the era of the loss of continuity of the dance tradition).

This dance, with the exception of the folklore movement, is not part of the live repertoire of the middle and younger generation.[20]

Analysis of dance interpretation focuses on four elementary aspects:

- dance form;
- structure of the dance;
- dance motifs;
- dance interpretation style.

Dance form

A dance with the local name of *do kolečka* in the Ruthenian locality Torysky is characterized by female group interpretation.[21] The circle dance is a dance from the group of round and chain dances, the oldest typological group of dances, accompanied by an a cappella female group singing. The basic spatial dance form is a circle.[22] Dancers hold each other's hands tightly behind their neighboring dancer's back.

The direction of the circle's rotation is clockwise. Exclusive use of this direction is a relic of the archaic conception of the "right" direction respecting the movement of the Sun and respectively, the harmony of the universe. The movement of the dancer in the circle is to the left, which means the rotation of the whole circle to the right is anatomically natural (reflects the neuro-synaptic system of the brain hemispheres). This direction is used even in many ritual practices.

Structure of the dance [23]

The circle dance in Torysky[24] exists in two variants:

- Variant I: monotempic circle (tempo /T/ = 96 BMP in parts A and B);
- Variant II: circle with 2 parts executed in different tempi (T = 80 BPM in part A, T = 120 BPM in parts B and C).

Do kolečka	
Country/region	Slovakia/Spiš (central Spiš)
Locality	Torysky
Type of dance	Round and chain dances /circle
Form	Circle
Holding of hands	dancers hold each other's hands behind their neighbor's back in a tight circle
Metre	2/4
Tempo	I. variant T = 96 BPM (part A, B) II. variant T = 80 BPM (part A), T = 120 BPM (parts B, C)
Musical accompaniment	Vocal

Table 1 *Elementary data – Do kolečka dance from the Torysky village.*

Variant I (Elderly women, "bearers" of dance tradition in the research locality without relation to the institutionally organized folklore movement)

In the prelude of the interpreted song, in the recording of 14 strophes in the same melody, the interpretation spontaneously varies the "solo – tutti" to "tutti – tutti" scheme. The singers/dancers use a characteristic multipart vocal accompaniment sang in the local variant of the Ruthenian dialect.

Parts of the dance:

Part A) dancers holding each other's hand behind their neighbor's back perform step motifs in the circle trajectory, in a clockwise direction, oriented towards the center of the circle, one step at a beat. Weight is always on one foot;

Part B) after several strophes, a decorative motif follows – a specific three-part motif structure in the static formation of the circle during the whole strophe of the song. Dancers hold tight, oriented towards the center of the circle, making constantly one type of three-part clump motif per two beats. One woman starts to clump, others are added to this motif gradually.

Scheme of Variant I:[25] A+B+A+B...

Two parts are repeated constantly. Characteristic traits of the traditional form of the circle are also solo voices starting the singing of another strophe or song, which does not have to follow immediately after the end of the previous

song – the interpreters meanwhile continue the one-step motifs, respecting the common tempo and inherent rhythm. Interpreters have internalized the structure and form of this dance and know the inner principles of this dance type.

Variant II (Young girls, members of a local folklore dance group. The dance is not a part of the live repertoire of the middle and younger generation, but it is performed by them on the stage as a dance choreography)

The interpreters use a characteristic polyphonic vocal accompaniment in the local variant of the Ruthenian dialect. The solo vocal interpretation of the first words of the first strophe is present only at the beginning of the dance and the *tutti* interpretation of all the following strophes signifies choreographical import. Interpretation does not naturally follow the "solo – tutti" to "tutti – tutti" scheme.

Parts of the dance:

Part A) dancers holding each other's hands behind their neighbor's back perform one-step motifs with stopping (weight is on both legs) in a circle trajectory, direction clockwise, oriented towards the center of the circle, one step at a beat;

Part B) after several strophes, decorative motifs follow, but the local characteristic three-part clump motif is not applied. Dancers hold tight, oriented towards the center of the circle, making constantly one type of two-part clump motif with strong vertical movement. One woman starts to clump, others are added to this motif gradually. In this part, due to the exchange of traditional three-part clump motif for two-part clump motif, dancers accelerate the tempo;

Part C) after several strophes of repeated A-part, dancers start to rotate the circle. They hold tight, oriented towards the center of the circle, but their feet are oriented towards the trajectory of the circle. They make constant circular steps (in quaver rhythmic structure) in accelerated tempo with vertical movement on the first period of the beat. The direction of turning is always clockwise.

Schema of Variant II: A+B+A+C

Variant	I	II
Pa	A, B	A, B, C
St	op: A+B monotempic	A, B, A, C (alternation of 2 tempi)

Table 2 *Differences between two aforementioned variants. Meanings of all abbreviations applied in the following text: Pa = part,*[26] *St = structure of the dance, Dir = direction of the movement, M = motif (following numbers specify variants of one motif: a1, a2 etc.), ← = direction of the movement of circle clockwise, ○ = circle is static.*

Motifs used in different dance parts

Dance motifs are divided into two basic movements: step and jump and their rhythmic, plastic and dynamic variants. In the locality of Torysky, in the circle dance, all the motifs are two- or three-part. We can identify different types of motifs:

- clump motifs (based on dynamical variants of step);
- one-step motif;
- step (walking).

Step[27]

a step (crotchet rhythmic value);
a^1 step (quaver rhythmic value);
a^2 one-step motif (weight finishes on both feet);
a^3 homogenic two-part clump motif (quaver rhythmic value);
a^4 three-part clump motif (interpreted on two beats).

Pa	A	B	C
Dir	←	○	←
M – I. variant	a	a^4	a^1
M – II. variant	a^2	a^3	

Table 3 *Motif structure of the dance.*

Local dance interpretation style

In terms of the dance interpretation of the circle dance *do kolečka*, dancers' bodies are fixed and oriented towards the middle of the circle, feet are under the center of gravity and the foot position is parallel (except for the rotation of the circle, when the right foot is oriented towards the center of the circle and the left foot is oriented towards the trajectory of the circle).

The vertical movement is due to the transfer of weight from one foot to the other. Therefore, in Part A, we can observe a different vertical movement in the interpretation of the two groups of dancers.

While the older women (Variant I) during part A transfer weight from one foot to the other (left-side constantly walking steps), the younger women and girls (Variant I) interpret the one-step motifs in the same direction, finishing every motif with the weight on both feet. The transfer of weight from one foot to the other in Part A has disappeared – the interpreters make a one-step motif and "stop" the movement. This discontinuity of the perpetual circle rotation movement is due to the absence of traditional group movement communication skills, internalized by the older generation. It reflects a deeply internalized skill of group communication (each movement can influence the change in the structure of the wheel) and cause a characteristic uniformity of movements caused by narrow holding. In variant II, there is no skill in group communication, causing an obvious lack of communication and close physical contact of dancers (there is no "movement in the circle," each dancer is dancing separately, merely included in a circular form).

In Part B – Variant I, interpreters make complicated three-part clump motifs with two rhythmic values. In variant B, a simpler two-part motif with a distinctive vertical accent is interpreted, as interpreters had not adopted the more rhythmically complicated traditional variant. Another reason is the problem with transferring weight in the younger generation, identified also in Part A.

Part C is present in Variant II, but also in the mentioned film documentation from 1966. However, weight transfer with a lightweight accent causing a continuous twist with a slight lift for the second time, present in the older generation in 1966, is absent in the interpretation of the younger generation in 2015. This traditional method is conditioned by a more demanding manner of vertical movement in the ankle joint that the younger generation has not adopted. It is replaced by cumbersome kneeling, causing a "hide" effect and the opposite twist of the wheel (without the accent in the second lap).

In the case of the younger generation, the alternation of the parts (the structure of dance) corresponds to the structure of the young women's dance in 1966 (*Zem spieva* project): A+B+A+C. It is also important that the movement is always clockwise, which is considered positive in our dance and ceremonial traditional culture. In the case of the older generation documented in 2015, part C (rotation of the circle in quaver rhythmic value steps) is absent; for physiological reasons it has been omitted. The structure of this variant is A+B...

There are significant differences in the content of the individual structural parts: its form ("types of motif" and style). While the older generation has acquired long-term group interpretations with automated movements serving as impulses for group communication, the use of ankle joint, weight transfer during part A, and a specific three-part clump motif with an vertical accent for the first beat, the current generation does not have these features. This introduces into the interpretation a choreographically defined part without logical implications (replacing group communication skills), and uses simpler modes of movement (stopping in lieu of weight-transfer, use of kneeling), and simpler motif variants (a two-part motif created by dynamic accentuation of walking on the spot, kneeling with no accent in the second tune), or a rhythmically demanding variant of the duplicate theme is omitted.

The interpretation of the older generation is characterized by minimal horizontal movement, no hand gestures, torso and pelvis remaining static and facial gestures are minimal, respecting traditional norms of behavior. This has been preserved also in the interpretation of the younger generation (the influence of the local traditional model). The internalized feelings of (in the past ritual) women circle dancers is different from the atmosphere of entertaining dances and especially couple dances (Ratkó 2007: 43). Singing and a perpetual cycle of energy predominate.

Possibilities of further examination of research material

Today, the material in question suggests many research topics. In addition to the diachronic analysis of the changes of the dance repertoire at one site, it can be a suitable source material, for example, to complement the imaginary map of dance dialects (areas of the expansion of dancing types from certain periods), their extinction in individual regions as well as research of minority dance traditions in the context of their historical (political) changes.

An interesting example in the source material of ethnic minorities recorded in the framework of this documentation is the case of municipalities with German settlements in Horná Nitra (Turček locality). Relics of ritual folklore expression have been preserved since the 13th century, a period of German colonization of those sites. In the folkloric customs (wedding, carnival), the dance tradition has been significantly influenced by historical development. At present, the folk group as a dance tradition translates to the classical dances, taught in the pre-war and inter-war period by German teachers from Bavaria. The names of the dances are incipient of accompanying

songs of a predominantly *polka* or *waltz* character (*Als ich einmal spazieren gink, Jegermarsch*).

Due to the fact that some sites have not yet been documented, the material allows identification of some "border zones" of the occurrence, respectively, of the preservation of certain dance and musical types, rituals etc.

Other relevant topics of analysis are the development of dance traditions in the context of new imports (especially different musical accompaniment). An interesting subject in this regard is the research of the Ruthenian material of northeastern Slovakia, in the outlying areas reflecting syncretic manifestations. With the arrival of new musical ensembles, the movement patterns of long-lasting dance tradition have been so internalized that dance types from different periods look almost identical in terms of formal, structural, and especially stylistic characteristics (*polka, dribna, valčík, dzupkana, čenč* etc.) This reflects a certain common movement and mental dance system as well as dance stock of the local community in the quoted part of all the dance types (the dance motif and structure vocabulary of the locality).

One of the most current topics in ethnochorology is the research on the role of men and women in dance in terms of dance anthropology (Kaeppler 2000: 116–125). Apparently, in conjunction with a general change in the paradigm of perception of gender roles, the traditional "patriarchy of the dance couple" has disappeared in general in dance. Significantly this was also recorded in the Digital Museum project, e.g. in pairs, this change is manifested in different ways. The first of them is dance pair communication. This is particularly the case in older pairs with an improvised character resulting from a long-term process of acquiring basic skills through children's games and long-term joint dancing. At present, there is a clear absence of these skills of the "dance speech" of the dance pair, i.e. the pulse system and their take-up, the actions and reactions of the dancer and his partner, leading to continuous dancing. The increasingly dominant role of women in the dance pair is evident in the part of digitalization. The gender stratification of dance motifs is related to anatomical and also anthropological principles, as well as lattices and aesthetics, manifesting in the range of movement and dynamics of women's dancing. It's also evident in etiquette (gesture, expression). Women's speech in the past is characterized by a certain restraint of expression.

In the environment of the folklore movement, from the 1950s, a sort of "expression stereotype" has evolved, especially in female dancers, significantly contrasting with the model of female behavior in the ancient world. Therefore, a particular topic is the exploitation of the field documentation material results in the practice of the folklore movement.

Endnotes

1. On the other hand, since the 1950s, with the support of the political system, a folklore movement has been growing and, in fact, there are around 1,000 dance groups in Slovakia including children's ensembles, folklore ensembles and folklore dance groups (we can talk about 40,000 active dancers). In the framework of the limited cross-sectional themes of traditional culture in educational institutions, folklore as a secondary facet of traditional art plays an important informational role in cultural heritage.
2. The first recordings of dances were part of several of K. Plicka's films of the 1920s and 1930s. Unique was the authentic interpretation of a live repertoire in the traditional environment, the authentic ecology of dance. Among the first documentarists was the musicologist F. Poloczek, who in 1951–1952, in cooperation with academic and television institutions, recorded dances from 17 localities in the series *Slovak Folk Dances*. This was an interpretation of living material. The ecology (original performers, traditional environment, and clothing), traditional form and structure were authentic. Staging affected the recording length only. The research of ethnochoreologists Š. Tóth, K. Ondrejka and S. Dúžek, which resulted in about 400 black and white dance and games recordings in the archives of the Institute of Musicology of the SAS. Between 1958 and 1960, research was carried out in Ruthenian villages of the Šariš region. The material is mute and fragmentary, without documentation.
   In the years 1965–1966 a 15-piece music-dance series was born, named *Zem spieva* [The Earth Sings]. This Czechoslovak television film series was inspired by the intention of presenting the beauty of the people's culture. The types of dance and the origin of the artists from different municipalities in the region are not identified. Interiors determined the dance form in time and space. This material records the transition of traditional forms from the original bearers to the environment of folklore. Workers of the Cultural Institute in the 1960s and 1970s recorded dance types from other regions. Experts from Csemadok and Hungarian ethnochoreologists from 1952 to 1979 conducted fieldwork in 91 villages in southern Slovakia. In the 1970s and 80s, the cartographic documentation of the *Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia* took place. One of the most extensive audiovisual documentations was the recording of almost 443 variants of dance types in the *Slovak Folk Dance Music Project*, which under the direction of S. Dúžek and B. Garaj (Dúžek – Garaj 2001) took place between 1991 and 1992 in 36 municipalities of Slovakia (Dúžek 1993: 95–103). The oldest records are currently being converted to digital form for preservation and analysis purposes. However, most of the records are unavailable.
3. The research team comprised ethnologist E. Klepáčová, ethnomusicologist B. Garaj and ethnochoreologist S. Dúžek, accompanied by students of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology as well as technical staff.
4. The staging context, selective choice and interruption of the dance tradition's continuity influenced the resulting form.
5. Documentation of information includes names and dates of birth of interpreters (dancers, musicians), locality, region, year and place of documentation, authors and local names of dances.
6. The selection of research materials were published in a form of 11 DVD-edition, each presenting the dance traditions of a particular region or broader ethnographic area (Zemplín, Dolný Trenčín, Púchov, Považská Bystrica a Kysuce, Záhorie and Myjava, Orava, Spiš, Šariš, south-west Slovakia, Gemer and Malohont, and surroundings of Nitra a upper riverside of Nitra). See Dúžek 2017: 42–47.
7. See www.opis.gov.sk.
8. Localities of Papradno, Hvozdnica and Štiavnik.
9. Locality of Terchová.
10. Localities of Podhradie, Dubové, Turček.

11. Localities of Zvolenská Slatina, Detva, Detvianska Huta, Dobrá Niva, Dúbravy, Hriňová, Hrochoť, Očová, Priechod, Strelníky.
12. Localities of Huty, Veľké Borové, Malé Borové, Liptovské Sliače, Važec, Východná.
13. Locality of Hrušov.
14. Localities of Heľpa, Pohorelá, Polomka, Šumiac, Telgárt, Vernár, Závadka nad Hronom, Bacúch.
15. Localities of Bidovce, Družstevná pri Hornáde, Hosťovce, Košická Nová Ves, Krásna, Moldava nad Bodvou, Myslava, Nižný Klátov.
16. Ruthenian localities of Poráč, Závadka, Torysky and Kyjov.
17. Recorded as part of the Digital Museum project in 2015 in the village of, Torysky, Spiš region, Slovak republic. Ethnochoreological section: K. Babčáková, ethnomusicological section: A. Lukáčová. The audiovisual footage is available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNCXG68yKhY. See the detailed information [1].
18. Three of these women were recorded during the dance documentation within the TV series *Zem spieva – Spiš* project in 1966.
19. In future, comparative analysis with source material from the TV series *Zem spieva – Spiš* is planned. Nowadays, the absence of documentation of the recording conditions influences the analysis. During the field research in Torysky, women recorded in this film mentioned external influences due to the TV studio conditions and choreographical impact.
20. Complex future diachronic analysis will include comparative analysis with the interpretation of the circle dance from Torysky in the documentary film *Zem spieva* (1966).
21. In a traditional environment, each age or status group (girl, woman) formed their own round (circle).
22. The circle is the simplest and most economic space dance form, which can be reformed into larger and smaller circles without impacting the close relation between dancers. All the dance participants in the circle have the same hierarchic position and common group interpretation predominates over individual solo presentation. Circle dances represent the earliest periods of dance history, including ritual dances based around fire, animals, sacred places or persons. The circle has numerous symbolic and ritual meanings such as the metaphoric image of the endless circle of life, preservation, the manifestation of a certain area, unity and the cycle of biological time periods and the universe.
23. Terminology used draws from the work *Motivika slovenských ľudových tancov* [The Motif Structure of Slovak Folk Dances] (Ondrejka 1977: 81).
24. In a traditional environment, each age or status group (girl, woman) formed their own round (circle). The oldest women also remembered concentric wheels (the youngest girls in the middle, the oldest girls at the age of about 20 years in the outer circle). In addition to ceremonial occasions, the rounds were also danced in the breaks of music during dance balls and dance houses.
25. The form is adapted to the physical capabilities of the interpreters – they miss out the third, C part of the fast twisting of the round in the traditional clockwise direction recorded in the documentary film *Zem Spieva* (1966), where three of them were present.
26. Abbreviations follow the system of A. Giurchescu and E. Kröschlová (Giurchescu – Kröschlová 2007: 25–31).
27. It is a two-part movement. After pushing up on one leg, the second leg takes the shortest way to move the center of gravity. The most characteristic sign is that the step finishes with weight on one foot (Lévai 2015: 34).
28. Dance reflects the socio-cultural situation of the era: "[...] collective memory is transmitting only those practices, which make sense to the community members" (Giurchescu 2012: 107).
29. In this case, an ideal cooperation of ethnochoreologist, dance teacher and choreographer can be assumed to present the true forms of our dance heritage and preserve the local identity of traditional art phenomena.

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List of on-line video files

[1]
Traditional circle dance *Do kolečka* [In the circle]
Online file name: Do kolečka, Torysky, Múzeum SNP v Banskej Bystrici
Recorded by: Múzeum SNP v Banskej Bystrici
Place: Torysky, Slovakia
Date: 2015
Source: Slovakiana – kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska
Duration: 13:58
URL: www.youtube.com/watch?vqNCXG68yKhY

Other Internet sources

www.slovakiana.sk (06.08.2019).

www.opis.gov.sk (06.08.2019).

Ethnochoreological Analysis of Changes in Dance Repertoire and Expression of Women from the Telgárt Village with Focus on Circle Dance

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Introduction

For centuries, traditional dance culture has evolved into one of the most complex and differentiated systems ever created. At the same time it is of the basic ways of preserving the identity of an individual and community. As a product of cultural and social contacts it has extended beyond the borders of ethnic groups and settled down in new environments in new variants or representations.

We notice this process also in the Slovak microregion of Horehronie,[1] where a remarkable modification of dance repertoire and interpretation style of the Roma ethnic group is taking place. The dance repertoire and interpretation style, together with music, were the focus of our research in the villages of Horehronie (Telgárt, Šumiac, Pohorelá, and Čierny Balog) that took place in 2016.[2] The effort was to undertake a research that would aim at a complex examination of the dancing repertoire of the Roma ethnic group in the research sites. The research analyzed the oldest layer of repertoire as well as the current forms of dance culture, which nowadays is determined by folklorization and acculturation processes that, in this case, are inseparable. This process happens as a result of the co-existence of two ethnic groups as well as mass media commercialization.

In the studied area, our research has confirmed the existence of the first dance group called *Roma dance* in solo male, female or pair forms (with considerable variety of motifs and interpretation styles) that at present constitutes a general dance repertoire. The second part of the repertoire contains dances adopted from the major ethnic group.[3] Based on the research and comparative analysis of the dance culture in major and minority communities, it is possible to assert that the local Roma community absorbed into its current repertoire *tango* that has been domesticated without formal, structural modifications, and changes in motifs. The dance locally called *Roma čardaš* is a sort of 'whirle' couple dance *do skoku* which in certain dance sequences contains adjusted motifs and interpretation style of *Roma dance*. In this case we cannot talk about an isolated phenomenon. Since the second half of 20th century, this process has been observed in Slovakia, for example in the Šariš region, the Abov region, the *Matúšova zem* region and in the territory of Hungary or Romania.

According to the study subjects, at present the third favorite group of dance repertoire is a Roma pair dance in which various forms and interpretations of modern ballroom dances of Afro- and Latino-American provenance merge (for example: salsa, lambada, merengue and so on).

The most interesting and significant changes took place in female dance repertoire. In addition to the solo form of Roma dance, in the second half of the 20th century Roma women also adopted the circle dance from the major population in the villages of Šumiac and Telgárt. It is a genuine phenomenon that (to my knowledge) has not been described and published. Therefore, the main objectives of this paper are:

- A retrospective look at the previous research of the circle dances in the given locality and completion of fragmental ethnochoreological findings about this dance in major population, as the specific characteristics, such as form, structure, and interpretation style, have not been defined.[4] For this reason, various photographs, written and audiovisual sources related to the circle dance in the major population from the given locality will be compared. The findings will serve as basic comparative material;
- Characteristics of the circle dance in major and minor (Romani) population;
- Description of its formal, structural, and interpretative metamorphosis.

In studying traditional dance, an anthropological approach[5] that focuses on the ecology of the dance has been dominant since the end of the 20th century. However, complex research of a dance requires more information obtained from the analysis and comparison of changes of the form, structure, and interpretation style.

During the reconstruction and analysis of a dance, which facilitates better understanding of the style-defining aspects, several sources are used. We can divide them into two groups: pictorial (photographic, audiovisual) and non-pictorial (verbal description of dances, graphical transcription via kinetogram) (Gremlicová 2007: 9):

- Verbal description that employs Tyrš's[6] and also individual terminology is frequently used in Slovakia. A reverse reconstruction using verbal description is complicated and inaccurate: a) a verbal description cannot precisely describe the motif, its rhythmic value, and function within the dance structure, b) a verbal description usually only describes the movement of legs without specifying the position of body, arms, and other parts;
- In this paper the photographic material taken during the observation is considered to be secondary;
- Researchers in Slovakia[7] do not use the Kinetography Laban notation system, and thus the circle dance from the Horehronie region has not

been recorded in the form of labanotation;[8]

- The audio-visual recording depicts the original form of dance expression and it constitutes the best reproducible material of basic movements for dance interpretation. But it is important to realize that without the support of previous sources and ethnochoreological knowledge, the audio-visual recording can also create a distorted image of the dance expression. The starting point also in our case is determined by broadly discussed unavailability of archival film footage capturing the circle dance of Horehronie.

Therefore, the dance reconstruction and analysis require a syncretic approach, working with all available sources. The process of observation and its most characteristic changes are identified within three factors: form, structure, and interpretation style.

Research of the circle dance in the Horehronie region

Audiovisual recordings

In 1950 the *Committee for the research of folk dance* was founded at the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts.[9] By means of a recording set and analyzing the films, its role was to determine the static overview of contemporary dance culture in Slovakia, not only a "genetic" clarification of the dance in general (Zajonc 2016: 33). The Horehronie region was one of the first locations where state-subsidized research took place; therefore, the archive of the Institute of Musicology of the SAS[10] in Bratislava contains audio-visual recordings of the circle dances from this area under the catalogue numbers: 062 *Dances of* Heľpa village (1958); 057 Telgárt village (1956); 081 Závadka village (1957); 082 Pohorelá village (1957); 266 Šumiac village (1958); 070 Polomka village (1959); 269 Telgárt village (1961); 270 Heľpa village (1961); 034 *Zem spieva* (documentary films), Horehronie region 1966; 108 Vernár village (1969).[11] Due to the Institute's non-standard approach to research, film recordings from the audio-visual archive are currently not available. This is a germane reason why in our paper we analyze only one circle dance from Šumiac village.

The outcome of the Slovak folk dance music project is a unique documentary titled *V hodine dvanástej*[12] that presents audio-visual recordings of almost four hundred dances filmed in thirty-six villages throughout Slovakia (Dúžek 2004: 94–95). However, none of these audio-visual recordings features the circle dance from the Horehronie region.

In 2014, The Museum of Slovak National Uprising[13] in Banská Bystrica within the project *Digital Museum* took sponsorship of field research[14] in the Horehronie region.[15] The digital film documentation captures circle dances, too. However, the recordings[16] of the folklore interpreters from Telgárt[17] are not appropriate for our analysis, as these recordings show indications of choreographical interventions.[18] Nevertheless, the recording from Šumiac is integrated into the analyzed audio-visual sources.

Academic literature

In 1953 the first comprehensive regional monograph *Pohronské tance* [Dances of the Pohronie Region] written by Cyril Zálešák, including a brief description of a traditional circle dance from villages of Heľpa and Šumiac,[19] was published. The monograph *Slovenské ľudové tance* [Slovak Folk Dances] written by J. Kovalčíková and F. Poloczek in 1955 contains a more scientific approach as it presents a research of the round dance in 26 Slovak villages, including those in the Horehronie region (e.g. Šumiac,[20] Polomka, Pohorelá, Heľpa etc.). The valuable photographic material serves as a source material in our paper. In 1964, C. Zálešák again summarizes his knowledge in the publication *Ľudové tance na Slovensku* [Folk Dances in Slovakia], yet the round dance of the Horehronie region is not the subject of interest. The ethnochoreological–ethnomusicological publication *Slovenské ľudové tance na sklonku 20. storočia* [Slovak Folk Dances at the End of the 20th Century] by S. Dúžek and B. Garaj published in 2001 is based on a field research and includes just one short description of the circle dance of Telgárt village. In Slovakia there is no syncretic monograph similar to *A magyar körtánc es európai rokonsága* [Hungarian Circle Dance in the European Context] by Gy. Martin in which the author describes the round dances in the European context, identifies dialects, compares their form, structure, and motivic structure.

Analysis of form, structure and interpretation of the circle dance based on description

Dance form[21]

We analyzed the structural components of the typical Slovak circle dances from Polomka, Pohorelá, Heľpa, Telgárt, and Šumiac. In the examined area the *koľeso, do koľesa, kolo*, or v *kolese*[22] dance (hereinafter as the circle) in the major ethnic group is performed by women.[23] As the dance name implies, the elementary choreographic form is a circle[24] – a universal symbol of integrity

– or two up to three concentric circles in which the participants usually stand next to each other. "Girls in Pohorelá perform the circle in one or if there are more girls, in two concentric circles facing the center" (Zálešák 1953: 275; Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 110). This form is universal and can be found in all circle dances in Slovakia.[25] However, what is remarkable in this area is the variability in holding hands.[26]

The way of forming a circle and holding hands

One option of holding hands can be observed in Heľpa and Polomka where the dancers in a circle hold hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer, while their right hand is over the left (or vice versa), or one dancer has both hands above (or under) the hands of the other dancer. Another option of holding hands is from Pohorelá where every other woman puts her hand on the next woman's shoulder or shoulder blade. In addition to the aforementioned hand-holding options that are common to all circle dances in Central Europe, in the circle dances of the Horehronie region, during certain dance sequences, performers have their arms loosely stretched out sideways – holding their hands.[27]

The circle from the Horehronie region differs from others in Slovakia by the fact that in specific sequences the performers dance without holding their hands.[28] In this case, the participants standing on the spot or slightly moving in the path of a circle clap in front of the body[29] and over the head.[30] Holding a hand on the shoulder of the dancer ahead is another enrichment of the dance that can be found also in other locations.[31] The last alternative (which is not captured in our photo documentation) is holding hands in a loose lower lateral raise (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955; Dúžek – Garaj 2001).

Circle movement

Most circle dances are characterized by the consistent use of certain directions in and outside the circle[32] (one-way slow or fast movement, pendulum movement, tightening and widening of the circle, movement of the circle in the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions), which determine their overall image and the "circle" structure (Martin 1979: 30). Therefore, another topic of our research is identification of the movement of the circle.

According to J. Kovalčíkova and F. Poloczek (1955: 106), in the examined area the performers change the position of hands with each stanza of the song. Partially, this determines the movement of the circle. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to all positions of hands:

- Dancers hold hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle[33] that rotates in the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions;
- Dancers face the center of the circle their arms loosely stretched out sideways – holding their hands while dancing in the circle;
- Dancers dance in the circle without holding each other's hands, the hand-free circle of dancers moves in the counter-clockwise direction;
- Dancers stand aside to the center of the center positioning their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead, and they move in the path of the circle clockwise and counter-clockwise;
- Dancers slightly tighten and widen the circle in the clockwise direction, making a pendulum movement in the circle.

According to the previous analysis, we can say that the circle:[34]

- Moves in the clockwise direction;
- Moves in the counter-clockwise direction;
- It does not move.

Reconstruction of the dance structure

Dance parts[35]

The circle dance of the Slovak ethnic group in the Horehronie region is composed of two parts with different tempo:

- Shorter and slower (hereinafter as 'Part I'), Tempo (hereinafter as 'T', in BPM) = 120, 138 (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955; Dúžek – Garaj 2001);
- Longer and faster (hereinafter as 'Part II'), T = 152, 176, 192, 200 (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955; Dúžek – Garaj 2001), while these parts can repeat cyclically.

Characteristic of the Part I: "The *heľpianske kolo* (a circle dance from Heľpa) is danced to more melodies: it starts slowly (M = 120), and the tempo gradually accelerates" (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 102). In the village of Šumiac the circle dance starts with an introduction to the song that sets the singing tune and tempo. The performer interprets the song in a stringy rhythm and the others join her in during the second stanza.[36] With the third stanza, dancers form a circle and the tempo of singing is doubled (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 93, 103). According to Dúžek, the circle dance from Telgárt is very similar and it also comprises two parts with different tempo (Dúžek – Garaj 2001: 284).

Part I is composed of the following sequences:

A. [37] Dancers slightly tighten and widen (pendulum motion) the circle

in the clockwise or counter-clockwise movement (with their arms loosely stretched out sideways holding each other's hands). They take one step with every beat;

B. Dancers dance on the spot holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle;

C. Dancers move evenly to both sides during eight beats in a tightly closed circle, holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 103, 107).

The scheme of the Part I[38] from 1955 based on the description in publication *Slovenské ľudové tance* [Slovak Folk Dances] is:

- Šumiac village: A+B;
- Heľpa village: B+C;
- Polomka village: A.

In the description of the circle dance from the village of Šumiac, Dúžek (Dúžek – Garaj 2001) characterized only Part II.

Characteristics of the Part II: In Part II, the analysis focuses on specification and description of individual series of motifs, which identify the dance structure, or on a more complex definition of the links between structural units of the dance.

In this case, circle dances from the examined area are beyond the average. Meanwhile, in the regions of Zemplín, Šariš, and Spiš, the circles have clearly identifiable series of motifs, including the introductory and closing motifs or formulas, in the examined area, each part can be determined with the change in holding hands. That is to say, on each stanza of a song there is a change in holding hands, and at the same time, in individual parts there is a dominance of long-term danced homogenous[39] motifs. All changes in the circle movement direction and lining-up are made upon the signal (double clap) of a leading dancer. Individual parts of the dance can be distinguished[40] by stepping over (shifting weight from one leg to another), or more precisely, by stamping on one place without singing during 4 – 8 beats. The circle ends with retardation of a dance and subsequently either dispersing of the performers or boys joining the circle (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1995: 93, 104, 106, 109–111).

Individual parts of the circle are:

D. Dancers face the center of the circle without holding their hands (they clap in variable rhythmical values) and move in the path of the circle counter-clockwise;

E. Dancers face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands, while their arms are loosely stretched out sideways, they dance on the spot in the circle;

F. Dancers stand aside of the center of the circle and place their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead. They move in the path of the circle clockwise and counter-clockwise;
G. Dancers move in the circle[41] both the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle;
H. Dancers face the center of the circle holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle and dance on the spot in a static circle.

The Part II schemes from 1955 based on the description from publication *Slovenské ľudové tance* [Slovak Folk Dances]: Šumiac village: H+F+H+G, Heľpa village: E, Polomka village: F+F+F, Pohorelá village: D+H.

While talking about the circle dance (*koleso*) from the Šumiac region, Dúžek (2001) in Volume II describes only resources of motifs, yet not its individual parts and sequences.

The schemes above are partial because the entire circle interpretation is neither described nor characterized in the cited publications. The authors present only 3 – 4 songs describing parts and the movement vocabulary. To identify the structure, however, a longer description is necessary, allowing us to characterize the system of repetition of individual sequences of the dance.

Motivic structure

A high percentage of stamping motifs (symmetrically and non-symmetrically repeated three stamps, four stamps with a significant accent in bounce at each beat) and skipping motifs characterize and distinguish the circle dance in the examined area from other circles, or round dances in Slovakia[42] (Dúžek – Garaj 2001: 284). There are also other motifs in the dance such as *jednokročka* [one step] and walking.[43] Although there are verbal descriptions of motifs in the publication by Kovalčíková and Poloczek, their retrospective reconstruction is complicated.

Local interpretation style

On the basis of a verbal description and photographic documentation, the local interpretation style cannot be characterized because it may result in an incorrect reconstruction of the movement of legs, gestures, and torso.

Analysis of audiovisual recording of the circle from Šumiac in 1951[44] [1][45]

The way of forming a circle and holding hands during the circle dance in Šumiac

In the analyzed footage, there are four women dancing in a small circle as follows:

- Dancers move the circle in both the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle;
- Dancers face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands, while their arms are loosely stretched out sideways – there are more options in this case:
  - » Dancers are dancing on the spot in the circle;
  - » All dancers at once tighten the circle;
  - » Some dancers remain in the circle and the others tighten and consequently widen the circle.

The following two spatial forms have not been verbally described in the cited literature, but they can be found in the audio-visual recording:

- Dancers are dancing without holding their hands in the circle – while either:
  - » They are moving counter-clockwise and clapping;
  - » Or every dancer is spinning around her axis in the clockwise or counter-clockwise motion. An example of this spinning can be found only in the audio-visual recording;
- Dancers stand aside of the center of the circle and place their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead. They move in the path of a circle clockwise and counter-clockwise.

Based on above mentioned analysis, we can conclude that the circle is moving:

- In the clockwise direction;
- In the counter-clockwise direction;
- The circle is not moving;
- The circle is tightened toward its center;
- Most of performers dance in the path of a circle, while some of them move toward its center (crumbling the circle).[46]

A unique phenomenon of the circle[47] is an independent spinning[48] of dancers in the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions, while the circle itself remains static.[49]

The structure of the dance

In the footage, the Part I is missing. The Part II (T = 152) opens with an introduction to the song (two beats) and immediately the other interpreters join in as the folk music accompanies the artists during dancing. In the footage[50] we can see that holding hands changes with each stanza, while in individual parts long-danced homogeneous motifs predominate. Unlike in the verbal description, the changes in movement and lining-up are not signaled by the leading dancer nor does the circle end with retardation of the dance and the subsequent dispersing of the artists, but dancers stop the dance when the musical accompaniment ends.

The individual sequences of the Part II are as follows:

A) Dancers in the clockwise or counter-clockwise direction (holding each other's hands with their arms loosely stretched out sideways) slightly tighten and widen the circle (pendulum movement), taking one step at each beat.

The individual sequences of the Part II are as follows:

D) Dancers face the center of the circle without holding their hands (they clap in variable rhythmic values) and move counter-clockwise in the path of a circle;

E) Dancers face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands with their arms loosely stretched out sideways, they dance on the spot in the circle;

F) Dancers stand aside of the center of the circle and place their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead. They move clockwise and counter-clockwise in the path of a circle;

G) Dancers in the circle move both directions holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle;

H) Dancers face the center of circle holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tightly closed circle and dance on the spot in a static circle;

I) Dancers stand in the circle and turn around their own axis in both the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions.

The dance scheme of the Part II of the circle from Šumiac (based on the footage from 1951) is as follows: D+F+E+I+G+E+H+G.

Motivic structure

The motivic structure of the circle dance comprises two basic movements: step and jump and their rhythmic, plastic, and dynamic variants. The motifs

that characterize the given movements are bi-partite and tri-partite. All motifs are danced[51] with a significant bouncing on the first beat.

- Step
  - a Step
  - a1 Step
  - a2 *trojdup*[53] (triple step)
  - a3 *hustý dupák*[54] (heavy stamping)
  - a4 circle step
- Jump[56]
  - b1 run[57] (at quarter-note)
  - b2 *poskok*[58] (hop)
  - b3 *valaský*
  - b4 circle run[59]
  - b5 jump from one leg to two

Analysis of audiovisual recording of the circle from Šumiac[60] in 2014 [2]

The way of forming a circle and holding hands during the circle dance in Šumiac

In the analyzed footage, there are eight women dancing in a small circle as follows:

- Dancers face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands with their arms loosely stretched out sideways; they move in the counter-clockwise direction;
- Dancers stand[61] in the circle without holding and clap their hands;
- Dancers stand aside of the center of the circle and place their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead. They move counter-clockwise in the path of a circle.

Based on the above mentioned analysis, we can conclude that the circle is moving:

- In the counter-clockwise direction;
- The circle is not moving.

The structure of the dance

In the footage, both parts are present. Unlike in the previous recording, holding hands does not change with each stanza, but after two stanzas. Unlike in the verbal description, the changes in holding hands or movement of the

circle are not signaled by the leading dancer. Nor does the circle end with the retardation of the dance and subsequent dispersing of the interpreters, but the dance stops when the vocal accompaniment ends.

Description of the Part I (slow part, T = 110–113): The dance opens with an introduction to a song of the leading singer without music accompaniment (two beats) and immediately the other interpreters join in (still without music). This sequence of the dance consists only of one part:

> A) Dancers in the clockwise or counter-clockwise direction (holding each other's hands with their arms loosely stretched out sideways) slightly tighten and widen the circle (pendulum movement), taking one step[62] or "*jednokročka*" at each half note.

The individual sequences of the Part II (fast part, T = 170) are as follows:

> G) Dancers stand aside of the center of the circle and place their hands on the shoulder of the dancer ahead. They move clockwise and counter-clockwise in the path of a circle;
>
> J) Dancers face the center of the circle without holding their hands (they clap in variable rhythmical values).

The scheme of the Part I: A+A.

The scheme of the Part II: J+J+G.

Motivic structure

Similarly, in this footage the motivic structures comprise basic types of movement: step and jump. "*Jednokročka*"[63] (one step) is labeled as c, since it is not neither a step nor a jump.

- Step
  a5 step at a half-note
- Jump
  b1 run at a quarter-note
- *Jednokročka*
  c *jednokročka* (one step)

Comparative analysis

The comparative analysis of the "circles" from the examined areas makes it possible to specify their style-forming characteristics.

Koľeso - Circle dance	
Slovak Republic	
Region	Horehronie
Village	Telgárt, Šumiac, Pohorelá, Heľpa, Polomka
Type of dance	Circle and chain dances/*koleso*
Form	Circle
Position and holding of hands	holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tight circle; holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer – one dancer has both hands above, while the other one below the neighboring dancer; every other dancer places her arm on the shoulder or shoulder blade of the next dancer; holding each other's hands with the arms loosely stretched out sideways; without holding (clapping or turning around own axis in the clockwise and counter-clockwise directions); holding the shoulder of the dancer ahead
Metre	2/4
Tempo	Part I T=120, 138 Part II T=152, 176, 192, 200
Music accompaniment	Vocal, instrumental

Table 1 *Basic information about the circle dance.*

Di	I		II	
Ča	A, B,C		D,E,F,G,H,I, J	
Št	op: A+B op: B+C op: A aud.: A+A	Šumiac Heľpa Polomka Šumiac	op: H+F+H+G op: E op: F+F+F op: D+H aud.: D+F+E+I+G+E+H+G aud.: J+J+G	Šumiac Heľpa Polomka Pohorelá Šumiac Šumiac

Table 2 *Circle structure from the examined areas.*

Ča	A	D	G	E	I	F	E	H	G	J
Sm	→	→	↔	○	↔↔	↔	○	◙	↔	○
M	a ÷ a_5 ÷ c ÷	a ÷ a_1 ≒ a_2 ÷ a_3 ÷ b_1 ≒	b_1 ≒ b_5 ÷	a_2 ÷ a_3 ÷ b_1 ≒ b_2 ÷ b_3 ≒	b_1 ≒ b_2 ≒ b_5 ÷ a_4 ÷	b_4 ÷ b_5 ÷	a_1 ≒ a_2 ≒ a_3 ÷ b_1 ≒ b_2 ≒ b_3 ≒	a_3 ÷ b_2 ≒	b_4 ÷ b_5 ÷ a ≒	

Table 3 *Analysis of individual circle parts (movement direction and motivic structure) from the examined areas.*

In the analysis we employed theoretical concepts by Gy. Martin (1961) and E. Kröschlová (2004).

Abbreviations and their meanings:

- Di — Part
- Ča — Sequence
- Št — Dance structure
- Sm — Movement direction
- M — motif (individual dance motifs that belong to a group of basic types of movements[64] and we continue in numbering. We start with basic motifs and continue toward their variants)
- a1 — first motif variation
- op — verbal description
- aud — audio-visual recording
- → — counter-clockwise movement of circle
- ↔ — circle moves in both directions
- ○ — circle does not move
- Empty cell — dancers stay still (pose)[65]
- ◙ — circle tightens
- ÷ — repetition – starting with the same leg[66]
- ≒ — symmetric repetition[67]
- DK — lower limbs
- PHK — upper right limb
- ĽHK — upper left limb
- PDK — lower right limb
- ĽDK — lower left limb

Interpretation style

The gained knowledge about the circle dance in the Horehronie region provided fundamental information about the form, structure, and motifs of the "circle". However, the research of interpretation style regarding body gesture during the dance is equally important. The movement of the whole body[68] during the dance is vertical with stronger bouncing[69] at the first beat, the torso[70] (which is slightly bent forward) is fixed and turned in the direction of the movement.

Lower limbs are situated under the body's center of gravity. The position of lower limbs (feet) is parallel,[71] with the heels slightly relaxed, or more precisely, turned in the second position. Lower limb's parallel position of the standing and the raised leg[72] is maintained during the basic types of movement: step and jump (the movement is carried out near the dancer's vertical axis), except for the circle run, when the foot of the lower right limb is pointing to the center of the circle, and the lower left limb moves on the imaginary path of a circle. The knee is slightly bent during the whole dance, and it is in a parallel position. During the jump, the raised leg does not exceed the angle of 45°.

In the case of arms stretched out sideways, the upper limbs[73] move vertically along with the body and without distinct shoulder movement. As a rhythmic support to dance expression, women clap intensively in front of the body, or more precisely, above the head (in front of the face). The shouts/whoops during dancing have a regional color.

Analysis of audiovisual recording of the circle performed by Roma women from Telgárt in 2016 [3]

The scope of this paper does not allow us to analyze all the circle dance recordings of that we obtained in our research, so we chose only two examples from the village of Telgárt performed by the same dancers more-or-less at the same time. Their motivic structures are unified and we examine them as an organic unit. We also analyze the movement of the circle, and thus we present it in a single table as opposed to the dance structure, which shows less differences that are described in separate tables. The analysis of other film recordings will be a part of a larger monograph.

A method of forming a ring

In the footage seven women dance in a circle who:

- Hold hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tight circle that rotates in the counterclockwise direction,
- Face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands, while their arms are loosely stretched out sideways and in this formation:
  - » Dancers dance on the spot on a trajectory circle;
  - » All dancers tighten the circle at once;
  - » Some dancers remain in the circle and the others tighten and consequently widen the circle.

Holding hands

- Dancers hold hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer, while their right hand is over the left or one dancer has both hands above, while the next one is under the hands of the neighboring dancer;
- They hold each other's hands;
- They hold each other's palm down.

Circle movement

- The circle moves in the counterclockwise direction;
- The circle does not move;
- The circle is tightened toward its center;
- Majority of the participants dance in the path of the circle, while some of them move towards its center (crumbling the circle).

The structure of the dance

The circle dance is composed of two reoccurring parts with different tempo (I+II+I+II):

- shorter and slower, T=120, 138;
- longer and faster, T = 152, 176, 192, 200.

Characteristics of Part I: The circle does not begin with the interpreters' introduction to the song, but with the instrumental accompaniment of the string ensemble and after a few beats, one starts to sing, who is then followed by other performers singing in Roma language. Interpreters during this slow sequence, which consists of a single melody with two stanzas with repetition:

K) form a circle holding each other's hands down with their arms loosely stretched out sideways and dance *jednokročka* on the spot, or during the repetition of the second stanza they dance *jednokročka* gently

moving counterclockwise. In the middle of the second stanza, hands are held loosely stretched out upward.

Dance creation scheme: K + K.

Characteristics of Part II: Part II directly follows the previous part. Folk music accompanying the entire circle plays the third and fourth stanzas of the previous melody at a fast pace. During these two stanzas the performers do not alter holding hands[74], nor do they sing. Upon playing a new melody (which begins with singing and consists of two[75] stanzas with repetition), they change the position of the hands with each stanza.[76] Then follows the last melody (begun by one woman gradually joined by others), during which the hands are held in the previous position. The circle ends with women leaving the circle.

Individual sequences of Part II are:

E) Dancers face the center of the circle and hold each other's hands up with their arms loosely stretched out sideways and dance on the spot (the circle is not moving);

F) Dancers holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a closely tight circle move in the counter-clockwise direction;

H) Dancers face the center of circle holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a closely tight circle and dance on the spot in a static circle;

L) Dancer stand aside the center of the circle, holding each other's hands up with their arms loosely stretched out sideways and move in the path of a circle in the clockwise direction;

M) Dancers hold each other's hands up with arms loosely stretched out sideways, moving their upper limbs forcefully in the direction of the center of the circle and vice versa. Dancers move in the path of a circle in the counter-clockwise direction;

N) Dancers hold each other's hands down with arms loosely stretched out sideways, moving their upper limbs forcefully in the direction of the center of the circle and vice versa. The circle is not moving.

Dance creation scheme of Part II: E (L) + E + F (H) + E + N.

Analysis of the audiovisual recording of circle dance performed by Roma women from Telgárt in 2016 [2]

The number of dancers, form and method of forming a circle, holding hands and the direction of movement of the circle is not stated because it is identical with the above mentioned characteristics. In this recording, the circle consists of two cyclically repeating parts.

Characteristics of Part I: In this part, the dancers stand freely without holding hands, and while singing they shift the body weight from one leg to another or dance *jednokročka* on the spot. After folk music foreplay all women begin to sing at once. After having sung two stanzas the musicians accelerate the pace. Dancers form a circle and Part II begins.

Characteristics of Part II: This part opens with four more stanzas of the previous song, already in a fast tempo. During the third and fifth stanzas the dancers do not sing, but a vocal supplement to the dance – whooping – appears instead. Sequences of this part are identical with those from the previous part, so they are not further described. The only exception is sequence F, when dancers hold hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a closely tight circle and move in the clockwise direction.

Dance scheme: M (L) + E (L) + F (H) + L (M + L).

After this cycle, the music slows down again and the dance starts from the beginning. Only during one stanza, dancers hold each other's hands with arms stretched out down, symmetrically and dance *jednokročka*.

Scheme of Part I: K.

Characteristics of Part II: After accelerating the pace, musicians finish the third and fourth stanzas of the previous song. In the previously analyzed recordings dancers sang only in their mother tongue. Here for the first time the song transferred from the major ethnic group is sung in Slovak until the end of the dance with the accompanying singing of one musician. Also in this case at the end of the dance the women disperse from the circle.

Dance scheme: E (L) + M (L) N-N + (E) + E.

Motivic structure

Motivic structure of the minor ethnic group comprise a step, jump, and jednokročka. All motifs are danced with bouncing (weight) at the first beat.

- Step
  - a step (at quarter-note rhythmic value)
  - a_3 so-called heavy *dupák*
  - a_4 so-called circle step

- Jump
  - b_1 run (at quarter-note rhythmic values)
  - b_2 so-called hop
  - b_4 so-called circle step
- *Jednokročka*
  - c *jednokročka*

To describe the dance (themes, movements) in the previous chapter we employed the terminology defined in Slovak ethnochoreological literature that among professionals and the public is generally well-known and stable. At this time, we are facing a primary challenge that Slovak ethnochoreology has not been able to cope with for many years. It is the lack of dance notation by means of the Laban kinetography. The human body is in fact able to perform a countless number of total and partial movements that verbally cannot be accurately characterized. For example, a step performed by Roma women has a number of variants performed in different directions in closed and open positions with rotating the feet[79] (feet turned in and out), during which the released leg moves in the form of gesture: a) in different directions, b) at different height levels, c) touching the ground with different parts of the foot[80] and different dynamics. A step by Roma women is accompanied with significant or gentle turning of the torso[81] and arm movement, creating thus an overall picture of the motif. Therefore, at this point without graphic recording it is not possible relevantly to mention all the plastic, rhythmic, and dynamic variations of basic motifs that are danced with symmetric and consistent repetition. However, it is possible to identify a significant result of the analysis: the basic motivic structure of the major and the minority groups are the same. The method of performing dance movement is different, though.

Circle dance	
Slovak Republic	
Region	Horehronie region
Village	Telgárt
Type of dance	Circle and chain dances / "circle" performed by Roma women
Form	Circle
Position and holding of hands	Loosely stretched out arms and holding hands up or down of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a closely tight circle
Meter	2/4
Tempo	I. Part T=120, 138 II. Part T = 152, 176, 192, 200
Music accompaniment	Vocal, Instrumental

Table 4 *Basic information about the circle dance performed by Roma women.*

Di	I	II	I	II
Ča	K	E, F, H, L, N	K	E, L, M, N
Št	K + K	E (L) + E + F (H) + E + N	K	E + M + N + M + M + M + M + N (E + L)

Table 5 *Structure of the circle on the basis of the footage no. [3].*

Di	I	II	I	II
Ča		E, F, H, L, N	K	E, L, M, N
Št		M (L) + E (L) + F (H) + L (M + L)	K	E (L) + M (L) N-N + (E) + E

Table 6 *Structure of the "circle" on the basis of the footage no. [2].*

Ča	J	E	F	H	L	M	N
Sm	○ →	○	↔ ◙	○	→	→	○

Table 7 *Direction of movement of the circle during each sequence.*

Conclusion

Unlike other regions in Slovakia, the Horehronie up to the present represents a dance area characterized by a strong and lively musical-vocal and dance tradition.

However, no one has ever paid particular attention to a viable and clearly changing dance culture of minority as a result of continuous contact of the two ethnic groups and the influence of the mass media. Significant changes are mainly in the form, structure of dances, and interpretation style. An important phenomenon resulting from this specific major-minority dance communication is an acquired circle dance, a fundamentally different type of dance typical for major women that, with its closed form and collective interpretation character, is so fundamentally different from traditional solo and pair dances of Roma women.

A comparative analysis of the research material allows us to identify existing multiple stimuli and influences that can be attributed to the information openness and seamless communication of the two ethnic groups. Therefore, our aim is to identify the transformation processes that took place during the interiorization of the form, structure, or interpretation style of the circle while being aware that other possible modifications at all three levels indicate a need for caution in formulating conclusions.

The circle dance in both ethnic groups is performed by women only. The basic shape is a circle or concentric circles if the dance space is limited. In the film recordings [3, 4] only seven women dance, so there was no reason to create concentric circles. Another possible research topic would be whether during family celebrations (when more women are involved in the dance), Roma women dance in concentric circles, and what is the principle of selecting dancers for the particular circle.

In the studied micro-region, the circle in both ethnic groups consists of two parts with different tempo, which are separated from each other significantly. Part I of the circle in the major ethnic group begins with an introductory singing of one woman, and after a few beats the other women join her. During the singing, the performers are distributed freely. The identical beginning we found also in the footage [4], where Roma women are on the spot facing the music ensemble and sing, or during the singing they form a circle in which they symmetrically dance the jednokročka in the parallel position. In this case, however, women begin singing after a few beats played by folk musicians. In both the recordings the Roma women sing in their native language (with one exception).

In Part II there are identifiable differences in forming a circle. While dancing in the circle, the Roma women preferred open holding with arms loosely stretched out up and down. In the recordings, holding hands of every second dancer behind the back of the neighboring dancer in a closely tight circle is captured only twice – one in each footage. Independent spinning clockwise and counter-clockwise and holding hand on the shoulder of the previous dancer Roma women do not use.

While in the major ethnic group a characteristic feature is constantly changing direction of the movement of the circle and related changes in holding hands, Roma women prefer the same hands position (loosely stretched out arms and holding hands up or down) for several stanzas of one song, while the circle a) is moving counter-clockwise or b) is not moving. As an example, we note the structure of the major group circle and the structure of the minor group circle as follows: a) D + E + F + G + I + E + H-G; b) E + M + N + M + M + M + M + N (E-L) or M (L) + E (L) + F (H) + L (M+L).

Movement direction of the circle is also identical in both ethnic groups, but Roma women prefer to move the circle counter-clockwise. The opposite direction of movement in our recordings occurred only once for a short period of time. The crumbling of the circle in the major ethnic group is intentional (running at eight rhythmic values), while with Roma women it is not significant. When the circle is static, a striking difference between both ethnic groups is identifiable. In the major ethnic group the circle path does not change; however, as the result of the interpretation style of Roma women the circle, although static, gently tightens or widens ("vibrates").

In the major ethnic group, in case of vocal accompaniment, the individual parts of the dance can be separated (4–8 beats) during which the performers do not sing but the dance continues. In case of a longer dance, this sequence without singing is necessary for vocal accompaniment. Despite the fact that the circle of Roma women, in addition to their own singing, is accompanied by folk music, after a certain time they dance a few stanzas of the song without vocal accompaniment. Whooping that in the majority ethnic group has a clear regional character, has been adopted by Roma women as well and during the dance they use it several times.

Motivic structure in both ethnic groups is the same. It includes: a) *jednokročka*, b) variations of steps and running at quarter- and eighth-note rhythmic values, and c) a range of stamping motifs in different rhythmic values that recur during the dance. It should be noted that during the entire dance Roma women prefer already characterized step with a significant body turning.

They dance the circle with bouncing down, while in the major ethnic group it is a significant vertical movement. Even though, in step the Roma women accentuate the first beat, the entire dance is performed with turning the body and bent knees. This feature changes only when they dance motifs without turning the body.

The range of dance motifs performance in Roma women is slightly wider with rotated feet in closed and open positions (horizontal motion), which is directly related to the aforementioned turning of the whole body or the movement of the hips. In contrast, in the major ethnic group we identify a narrower range of movements - the movement is made close to the vertical axis of the dancer in parallel positions of the feet.

The hand-clapping that women from Šumiac and Telgárt intensively employ and often use as a rhythmic dance support during the interpretation of certain motifs was not identified among Roma women.

It can be stated that the dance expression of *jednokročka* in Part I is identical in both ethnic groups with the exception of one Roma woman, where we identified a gentle movement of her hips as well.

In the dance expression of Roma women, a characteristic movement was present in the dance performance – turning torso (*fouetté*), resulting from a performed dance motif – a symmetrical step. Unlike the women's movement of the major ethnic group in which the body is pivoted in the direction of movement, among Roma women the body is rotated at a 45° angle to the right and left of the center of the circle. It results in dynamization of the movement of the upper limbs that seem uncoordinated, but actually they help balance the body. This movement changes during: a) whirling in the circle as the fixation of hands in the circle hands position – holding hands of every second dancer behind the back of the neighboring dancer, b) holding the hands down of the loosely stretched out arms, while the upper limbs are resolutely moving in the direction of the center circle and vice versa.

During a dance we identified a fine isolated movement of the hips, characterized in the Roma dance interpretation. With respect to the traditional dance etiquette of the major ethnic group this movement is excluded.

Regarding the research findings, we can say that Roma women took the form and a simplified structure of the dance. The most striking difference is the interpretation style of the circle, as the Roma women during the dance use hand and torso gestures and a subtle movement of the hips.

In the future a systematic research of the circle dance would require a number of recurring analyses during which, among other factors, it may be inspiring to observe: a) whether this dance remains a long-term part of the

dance repertoire of the Roma community, b) whether it is possible to track changes in the structure and style of performance for dance socialization of future generations, c) whether protentional for a gradual exit of the major ethnic group from the studied areas will affect the presence and form of this type of dance, which is now a part of manifest dance repertoire of Roma women.

Endnotes

1. The Horehronie microregion extends east to Brezno, in the upper river-basin of the Hron. It is located between the mountain ranges of the Low Tatras and the Slovak Ore Mountains (Burlasová 1987: 5). A relatively narrow basin did not allow for the development of a wider communication network; the main road leads through the Hron valley, where villages are located. In the past, the terms *Horehrončan* or *Hrončan* had a different meaning. They were used as a name for the inhabitants of the former Gemer County. The microregion of Horehronie includes: Polomka, Závadka including the settlement of Hámor, Heľpa, Pohorelá including the settlement of Pohorelská Maša, Šumiac including the settlement of Nová Maša, Švábolka, Vaľkovňa, Zlatno, Červená Skala, and Telgárt (Krofta 1965: 224, 233).
2. Project manager and research team member (ethnomusicologist) J. Ambrózová, second team member (ethnochoreologist) A. Krausová. The research was conducted as a project of NGO Tradana.
3. The traditional dance material of the major ethnic group in Horehronie consists of: chain and circle dances (chorovody – collective girls' dances, such as *kačerina, koľeso/do koľesa*), shepherd's dances (*odzemok/jánošíkový/hajduk*), skill dances (*zajačí/ponad slamky, ponad fľašu*), youth dances (*šórový, parobské kolo*), old pair dances (*do skoku/horehronský čardáš/sedliacky*) and folklorized ballroom dances (*špacírpolka, tango, letkis, valčík, štvorilka, mazúrka, boston*).
4. Since the research of "circle" dances was not the subject of systematic scientific interest in the Slovak Republic, information on 'circles' from various regions in Slovakia in literature is fragmentary.
5. At the ICTM symposium in 2000, The Ethnochoreological Study Group completed a discussion on the structural analysis of dances (Stavělová 2004: 6).
6. Tyrš's terminology (from 1865) was approved at a national conference of choreographers of folk dance in Bratislava on 16th–17th May 1953 (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 16).
7. In case of using Laban's kinetography, the circle analysis presented in this paper would be simpler, more transparent and clearer.
8. Except for the *šórový* dance from Pohorelá. Its kinetic notation can be found in an Appendix to the article by Š. Tóth: *A szlovák néptáncok alaptípusai* [Basic Types of Folk Dances in Slovakia] (Tóth *1965–1966*).
9. NÚ SAVU – Národopisný ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied a umení v Bratislave.
10. ÚHV SAV – Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied v Bratislave.
11. The author obtained the published information during her research in the above mentioned institute in February 2017. The research focused on mapping of scientific work of Š. Tóth whose main interest in the Academy was on a long-term salvage research in Horehronie (Telgárt, Pohorelá, Šumiac, Heľpa, Závadka, Bacúch), and other areas.
12. Folk dances of Gemer and Malohont, surroundings of Púchov, Považská Bystrica and Kysuce, regions of Šariš, Zemplín, southwestern Slovakia, Záhorie and Myjava, Orava, etc.
13. Múzeum SNP – Slovenského národného povstania.
14. See the article of K. Babčáková in this publication.

15. In addition to Horehronie region, also in Abov, Liptov, Podpoľanie, Hont, Turiec, and Spiš.
16. Recordings from these areas are available at: www.slovakiana.sk/kulturne-objekty?searchString=&categoryname=tanec&page=1 (10.03.2019).
17. *Žienski tanec* [Women dance], Telgárt. Available at: https://www.youtube.com watch?v=Ml3Khx8Bf4E (18.04.2018).
18. The dance has been included in the scenic repertoire.
19. "When the music pauses, the girls often keep dancing and singing their circle-dance songs without accompaniment" (Zálešák 1953: 317). The čardáš danced in pairs or in a circle form are described in this book, as well (Zálešák 1953: 303, 317).
20. An amateur description of the *do kolesa* dance from the publication *Šumiac, Šumiac, dedinôčka naša* [Šumiac, Šumiac, Our Little Village] (Rybár et al. 2008: 281) is not the subject of our reconstruction and analysis.
21. The form of dance, as one of its many style-forming features, is considered to be the most stable and characteristic feature of a dance. Any change in forming features of a dance can also cause a change in the type of the dance itself (*Martin* 1979: 30). In circle dances, the method of forming a circle and holding hands largely determines the employed motifs, their amplitude and degree of variability.
22. Local names for the circle dance (Mázorová – Ondrejka 1990: 82–83).
23. The circular form in Horehronie is also used in other types of dances, e.g. in the *parobský* dance in Polomka (the type of youth dance), in the *kolový* dance in Heľpa and in Polomka, where the pairs form a circle; in case of a large number of dancers they form concentric circles or two pairs form a small circle (Kovalčíkova – Poloczek: 1955: 120–123).
24. A circle is the simplest and most economical spatial shape that can be expanded and formed without any constraints, without disturbing the participants' close relationship, so that any of the participants would feel marginalized or ignored. The circle as a form demands the same requirements and possibilities from the performers, in which the performer's individualism disappears (Martin 1979: 10–11). Our long-term experience in teaching the "circle" in formal and informal education system confirms that the form requires a long-term process of learning through a joint dance of a group of women of the same community.
25. Except for areas in which at the beginning of institutionalized research of folk dance in 1950s the circle dances have not been recorded, for example in Žitný ostrov, Záhorie, and surroundings of Myjava and Trenčín in western Slovakia)
26. In our case, in photographic material we do not examine where and who dances, what they wear, etc. We are interested in the form of dance, the direction of movement of the circle, and holding of the hands of the dancers in the circle.
27. According to Poloczek it is a wide holding (Kovalčíková – Poloczek 1955: 49)
28. This way of dancing is also found in the Liptov region in the village of Važec with the local name *čuchom*, where the dancers after collective twisting while holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer release the hands and walk in the path of a circle (sideways to the center of the circle) in the clockwise or counter-clockwise direction.
29. At the height of abdomen.
30. A similar sequence of the dance is found in the "*circle*" from the village of Poniky (Podpoľanie region).
31. For example in the village of Bídovce (Abov region).
32. So-called "crumbling" or "destroying the circle".
33. Or a variant from the village of Pohorelá.
34. If concentric circles are formed, the individual circles move in the opposite direction (Zálešák 1953: 275).
35. Terminology is from the publication "Motivika slovenských ľudových tancov" [Motifs of Slovak Folk Dances] (Ondrejka 1977: 81).
36. In all of the examined areas the authors mention only vocal accompaniment.

37. The parts of the dance are marked in chronological order as reported in literature.
38. Part I in Pohorelá could not be identified because the authors in the description of the circle did not mention the change of tempo.
39. The same motif is danced during the series of motifs.
40. It is a short sequence of dance known as the relaxation part during which the performers do not sing. Similarly, this part can be found in the circles of Gemer, Above, Zemplín, Šariš, and Spiš.
41. The center of rotation is not within the human body, but outside. In this case, the center of rotation is the center of the circle.
42. E.g. regions of Tekov, Hont, Novohrad, Liptov, Podpoľanie, etc.
43. Part I
44. Organized research. The black and white film sequence captures a staged dance in the interior of a house where four women dance the "circle".
45. An on-line video files reference. See the list of on-line video files.
46. The last two ways of the circle movement have not been reported in the literature.
47. It has been captured as an audiovisual recording.
48. Rotation is a constant change of the movement direction around the vertical axis.
49. The way of rotating has not been described in literature; it is only found in the analyzed footage.
50. In the middle of the dance performance, when the circle moves clockwise and counter-clockwise, one man joins in with a "circle step" or jumping. His involvement does not change the structure, motifs or interpretation style of the dancers.
51. In our case, the decisive factor when determining the motif is repetition: a) we mean repeated movements within rhythmic values, b) the basic movement is repeated unchanged and is complemented by a gesture - movement of another body part, e.g. applause.
52. A step has two parts. The first part is the initial gesture – the leg that goes first has to be lifted up in the air. Next the shift of center of gravity follows – with the leg in the air in the shortest possible path we shift the center of gravity. Subsequently, it is loaded with the weight of the body (getting the foot down) and at the same time the second leg is lifted up in the air (the initial gesture of next step). The most important feature of the step is that it ends on one foot (Lévai 2015: 34).
53. Dancing on the spot or dancers move counter-clockwise. We identify it as a three-piece motif starting with the same leg that repeats during the dance.
54. Dancing on the spot or dancers moving counter-clockwise and tightening the circle. It's a two-piece motif.
55. The difference is in the width of the movement. While in a, and a_1 the width of the right and left leg is equal, in a circle step the movement of the inner leg that crosses the outer leg is longer. We identify it as a recurring motif that starts with the same leg.
56. A jump consists of three phases. The first phase is preparation (bending the knees), the second phase is the jump into the air, and the third is landing.
57. With parallel feet.
58. A hop on the same foot. We identify it as a symmetrically repeating motif.
59. Performing the movement, see "circle step." The circle run consists of two movements: step and jump, which create one recurring motif that starts the same leg.
60. Recorded on: 15.7.2014, Ethnochoreological documentation: Barbora Morongová, ethnomusicological documentation: Alžbeta Lukáčová.
61. When standing the knees are slightly bouncing at every quarter-note rhythmic value.
62. A step is performed with a slight bouncing.
63. If both feet are on the ground (the second phase of movement), it is not a step, but a pose. However, a pose is not a type of movement as the movement of the legs is not performed (Lévai 2015: 34).
64. Types of movement: step, jump, gesture, weight shifting, whirl, movement of a raised leg (Sz. Szentpál 1978: 12-15).

65. If both feet are on the ground (the second phase of movement), it is not a step, but a pose. A pose is not a type of movement as the movement of the legs is not performed (Lévai 2015: 34).
66. An analogue sign ~ (ad libitum - free repetition) is not used in this paper as the interpretation of motifs is characterized by the method rather than number of repetitions (see Fügedi 2011: 48). Nevertheless, it should be stressed that in the "circle" dance many dancers freely repeat the motifs.
67. The used analogue signs are taken from the Laban Kinetography (see Fügedi 2011: 48).
68. Although striking parts of the body create a unity, they still have some autonomy in occupying positions and performing movements (Ondrejka 1977: 41).
69. Vertical oscillation of standing legs.
70. The movements of torso, despite apparent limitations and uniformity, are quite diverse due to the fact that the torso may be: outstretched and bent forward, backward or sideways (Ondrejka 1977: 56–57).
71. Narrow second position.
72. We can only talk about them when they move independently from the rest of the body.
73. Upper extremities represent the most mobile part of the body, capable of multiple movements. Their positions are assessed in relation to the shoulders (Ondrejka 1977: 44).
74. Hands remain loosely stretched out upward.
75. The second stanza is without vocal accompaniment, and the performers begin to sing only to repeat the chorus.
76. At the beginning of stanza.
77. In parentheses we state a part of the dance if during one stanza of the song there is a change in holding hands and circle movement.
78. A similar method of initiating singing is found in karička dances in the Zemplín region, for example in villages of Parchovany, Pozdišovce, Lastomír, Strážske etc.
79. With a glide in the direction of the working leg.
80. Heel, low heel, the whole foot, low half-foot, high half-foot.
81. A quarter- and eighth-turn of the torso.

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Figures

Figure 1 *Open holding with arms loosely stretched out down. Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová (Telgárt, 2016). Photo: Jana Ambrózová.*

Figure 2 *Facing the center of the circle dancers hold their hands with arms loosely stretched out sideways. Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová (Telgárt, 2016). Photo: Jana Ambrózová.*

Figure 3 *Dancers holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tight circle that moves in the counter-clockwise direction. Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová (Telgárt, 2016). Photo: Jana Ambrózová.*

Figure 4 *Dancers holding hands of every second one behind the back of a neighboring dancer in a tight circle that moves in the clockwise direction. Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová (Telgárt, 2016). Photo: Jana Ambrózová.*

Figure 5 *Turing torso to the right in 45° angle from the center of the circle, the circle moves in the counter-clockwise direction. Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová (Telgárt, 2016). Photo: Jana Ambrózová.*

List of on-line video files

[1]
Koľeso Šumiac [Circle dance from Šumiac]
On-line file name: Koleso Šumiac
Recorded by: National Institute of Folk Culture, Czechoslovak Radio in Bratislava, Slovak Štátny ústav pre ľudovú kultúru, Československý rozhlas v Bratislave, Slovak Folk Art Collective. In cooperation with: František Poloczek
Place: Village Šumiac, Horehronie Region, Slovakia
Date: 1951
Source: Archive of the National Center for Culture and Education in Bratislava; Slovenské ľudové tance [Slovak folk dances], (16mm film/BW copy-204, film roll no. 01/3), short film Bratislava 1951, part III.
Duration: 1:73
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_xmVd3viHU (05.07.2019).

[2]
Koľeso Šumiac [Circle dance from Šumiac]
On-line file name: Koleso Šumiac
Performers: Mária Durayová (1954), Darina Lapinová (1943), Ružena

Lunterová (1942), Mária Margetová (1940), Božena Michalková (1950), Anna Petrová (1943), Mária Ševčáková (1943), Anna Zámečníková (1941)
Recorded by: Ethnochoreological documentation: Barbora Morongová, ethnomusicological documentation: Alžbeta Lukáčová
Place: Village Šumiac, Horehronie Region, Slovakia
Date: 15.7. 2014
Source: Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania v Banskej Bystrici, Slovakia [Museum of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica].
Duration: 1:59
URL: https://www.slovakiana.sk/kulturne-objekty/cair-ko1kny7?content=CAIR_DIV_VIDEO_1&contentDo=urn:nbn:sk:cair-do309if (05.07.2019).

[3]
Koľeso Tegárt [Circle dance from Telgárt]
Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová
Music: Folk music by the Pokošovci
Recorded by: Tradana, Ethnochoreological documentation: Agáta Krausová, ethnomusicological documentation: Jana Ambrózová
Place: Môlča records, Village Telgárt, Horehronie Region, Slovakia
Track Number: 7
Date: 10.11.2016
Source: Tradana, archive
Duration: 5.28
URL: www.tradana.sk/archiv.html (05.07.2019).

[4]
Koľeso Telgárt [Circle dance from Telgárt]
Performers: Janka Harvanová, Milada Pokošová, Iveta Bartošová, Marta Harvanová, Monika Pokošová, Antónia Štajerová
Music: Ľudová hudba Pokošovci
Recorded by: Tradana, Ethnochoreological documentation: Agáta Krausová, ethnomusicological documentation: Jana Ambrózová
Place: Môlča records, Village Telgárt, Horehronie Region, Slovakia
Track Number: 4
Date: 10.11.2016
Source: Tradana, archive
Duration: 5.25
URL: www.tradana.sk/archiv.html (05.07.2019).

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