

Ulrich Morgenstern, Thomas Nußbaumer (Eds.)

Pathways in Early European Ethnomusicology

Pioneers and Discourses





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Ulrich Morgenstern, Thomas Nußbaumer (eds.)

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Contents

Ulrich Morgenstern, on behalf of the editors

Introduction. 7

I. Author-Centred Studies

Bożena Muszkalska

The Work of Oskar Kolberg from the Perspective of
Music Anthropology 15

Anders Hammarlund

Cantor Abraham Baer (1834–1894), the Jewish Reform Movement,
and the Prehistory of Swedish Ethnomusicology 43

Marcello Sorce Keller

Reading Tiersot (1857–1936)
Musings about the Early Days of Ethnomusicology 61

László Felföldi

Réthei Prikkel Marián (1871–1925),
Pioneer of Hungarian Folk Dance Research 83

Michael Lukin

Method and Myth
M. Beregovski's Contribution to the Study of the
Traditional Yiddish Folk Song 107

II. National and Regional Studies

Olga Pashina

Evgenii Gippius' View of the Collection and Study of
Russian Folk Music in the Late 18th and Early 20th Century 143

Ulrich Morgenstern

Scholarship, Activism and the State
Folk Song Discourses in Austria between 1818 and 1914 169

Tamila Dzhanizade

The Scholarly Discourse on Central Asian Music
in the Ethno-Cultural Context of pre-Soviet Times 195

Iryna Dovhaliuk and Larysa Lukashenko

Galician Ethnomusicology of the
Beginning of the 20th Century
Establishment and the First Achievements 217

Dániel Lipták

Monographic Research and Anthropological
Perspective in Hungarian Ethnomusicology, 1935–1944 241

Notes on contributors and editors 267

Name register 270

Introduction

1. Early ethnomusicology in focus

The study of local traditions of music and dance based on fieldwork and with a particular focus both on style and social and other functions of expressive behaviour has a long tradition in European academic scholarship. And it has many names: *folk music research* traditionally tends to focus more on genre (understood as the interface between style and function), often combined with a historical perspective, while *folkloristics* concentrates more on the circulation of texts in and between small-scale social settings. Both fields are interrelated with *music* and *dance anthropology*, focusing on creative individuals and communities and the primary functions of music and dance, deeply rooted in human culture.

According to Allan Merriam (1964), *ethnomusicology* is the study of music in culture and as culture. Bruno Nettl (1983, 9) emphasized among other aspects of theory and method the significance of fieldwork and re-established the comparative approach. Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert (2014) made a strong case for a historical turn in the field (see also Timothy Rice 1987). The very term “ethno-musicology” (in French and Ukrainian) emerged only in the inter-war period (Lukaniuk 2010), as Klyment Kvitka’s equivalent to the study of “the music itself” (Merriam 1964). For the complementary anthropological concept of “music in culture”, Kvitka used the older term “musical ethnography” and the neologism “ethno-musicography” (ibid., 137, 138).

A closer look at systematic studies of traditional expressive culture indicates that key issues and concepts of ethnomusicology are older than both the discipline established by Jaap Kunst (1950) and Kvitka’s term. Late 18th-century polymaths and philologists not only called for the collection and documentation of vernacular repertoires—as romanticists did later from their perspective. Enlightenment thinkers such as the Germans Jacob von Stählin (1709–1785) and Friedrich David Gräter (1768–1830) or the Russian Nikolai Lvov (1753^{greg}–1803^{jul}/1804^{greg}) developed historical perspectives, rudimentary approaches to comparative research, contextualism and functional analysis, and partly also value-free anthropological observations. Main trends in the 19th century are national romanticist amateurism and ethnographic realism (Porter 1991, Morgenstern 2018, 12, 13)—and much in between. Lacking a disciplinary status in academia, and depending on history, philology, and later also musicology, early European ethnomusicology took shape in large-scale national research projects and fieldwork manuals as well as in

the establishment of academic associations and journals developing national and international perspectives. A milestone in the European cooperation of folk music research and comparative musicology was marked by the section *Exotische Musik und Folklore* at the third Congress of the International Musical Society in Vienna, 1909. However, nationalist politics, culminating in the First World War, and even more in 20th-century totalitarianism, promoted ethnocentric ideologies and led to the isolation of national and regional schools of ethnomusicology. To a certain degree, language barriers have remained virulent until nowadays. One consequence is the limited knowledge of the intellectual history of our discipline.

2. The symposium in Vienna 2019

As an attempt to fill these gaps in some way and to refresh a debate on theory and method in early ethnomusicology from different European perspectives, the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, in cooperation with the Mozarteum University Salzburg, launched the symposium *Folk Music Research, Folkloristics, and Anthropology of Music in Europe. Pathways in the Intellectual History of Ethnomusicology* which took place from 17–19 October 2019. The call for proposals offered three interrelated topics with a temporal scope limited to the period before the mid-20th century:

1. The history of ideas and the study of traditional expressive cultures
2. Research motivations, theories and methods from a comparative perspective
3. Scholarship and non-academic discourses: alliances and conflicts

The symposium started with a keynote speech by Owe Ronström (Sweden) *Folk music collections as mindscapes*. In the following three days, 27 speakers from 14 countries together with listeners from Austria and abroad discussed new perspectives on the history of ethnomusicology in a most welcoming and vivid atmosphere. The symposium included a presentation of the DVD *Jashar and Idajet Sejdiu. Our songs are indulged* (European Voices: Audiovisuals 2) chaired by the editor Ardian Ahmedaja. In the final discussion, the need for a publication of the symposium papers was clearly articulated.

3. The content of the book

The present double-blind peer reviewed volume is largely based on papers presented at the symposium in Vienna. It is divided into two parts which are necessarily interrelated. The first and longest is oriented to that which László Felföldi calls in his article *the author-centred approach*. This term is clearly borrowed from *narrator-centred* and *performer-centred* research (Felföldi

2005, 24), a paradigm which developed prominently, yet not exclusively, in Hungarian folkloristics and ethnochoreology (Morgenstern 2018, 17, 18). The call for the Viennese symposium did not highlight this approach directly; however, a considerable part of the papers and the vast majority of the contributions to this book are devoted to prominent and less prominent figures in the field of early ethnomusicology. The second part presents the scope, theory and methods in national schools and discourses of folk music research and ethnomusicology as well as activities of European scholars outside the continent. Both parts are arranged in chronological order according to the biographical dates of the individual scholars or the research period in focus. The temporal scope of the articles in this book ranges roughly from the 19th to the first half of the 20th century¹.

I. Author-centred studies. Bożena Muszkalska highlights the significance of Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) not only as an extremely prolific collector of Polish and Central European folk music, but also as a pioneer in 19th-century music anthropology who anticipated much of Allan P. Merriam's approaches. Anders Hammarlund presents cantor Abraham Baer (1834–1894), as a key figure for Swedish ethnomusicology in the Jewish intellectual environment between Berlin and Gothenburg. Marcello Sorce Keller shows how historical musicologist Julien Tiersot (1857–1936) became a committed fieldworker with a keen interest in typological analysis and no less in actual performance of both of French and non-Western musics. László Felföldi focuses on Marián Réthei Prikkel (1871–1925), a Benedictine priest and the founder of ethnochoreology in Hungary in a European research context and also in the field of tension between scholarly ethos and national sentiments. Michael Lukin analyses Moisey (Moyshe) Beregovski's (1892–1961) innovative role in the study of Yiddish folk songs before the Holocaust. He puts particular emphasis on how the scholar dealt with personal risk, ideological pressure and imposed methodologies under Soviet rule. Olga Pashina once again brings the legacy of Evgenii Gippius to the attention of the Western audience, now with a particular focus on his views on Russian folk music research through the lense of collections of the long 19th century.

The author-centred approach appears to be fruitful not only in this book but also as a concept to be further developed in our discipline. The most diverse intellectual background of our predecessors is a field of research demanding a broad knowledge of the history of ideas and also of the political framework and ideological directives that scholars were forced (or sometimes willing) to work with. The will and ability of ethnomusicologists to keep their possible national and other political sentiments under control when doing academic scholarship was developed very differently in the past, and not only in the past. A particularly inspiring and, to our knowledge, new topic is the role of religious dignitaries engaged in ethnomusicological research. Be-

¹ Early (not earliest) ethnomusicology is a relative notion. The temporal limitation of this book does not imply that fundamental concepts of ethnomusicology such as anthropology, fieldwork, contextualism, comparative research and others were not present in intellectuals' involvement with the musics of the world prior to the 19th century (Morgenstern 2018).

side the key figures shown in Hammarlund's and Felföldi's contribution to this book, Komitas Vardapet comes to mind. The topic of religious ethnomusicologists is even more intriguing, as these scholars by no means limited their studies to sacred music, but conducted in-depth fieldwork on secular expressive practices which, to put it mildly, were not met with great empathy by clerics and other religious authorities before the 19th century.

II. National and Regional Studies. Ulrich Morgenstern analyses the history of folk song research in Austria between academic scholarship and cultural political activism with a particular focus on the founder of folkloristics in Austria, Friedrich S. Krauss (1859–1938). Tamila Dzhani-zade presents the early ethnomusicology of Central Asia before and under Soviet rule in the complex ethno-cultural context of the former Turkistan. She particularly highlights the role of August Eichhorn (1844–ca. 1911) and other European pioneers.

Iryna Dovhaliuk and Larysa Lukashenko outline early ethnomusicology in Galicia with its pioneering role in the Eastern European context which includes fieldwork methodology, archiving, transcription and anthropology. Dániel Lipták shows how long-term stationary, “monographic” fieldwork developed in mid-20th-century Hungary. He offers a systematic comparison of Hungarian music anthropology with Merriam's theory and method. Alongside many other contributors to this book, he clearly confirms the general observation that the essential concepts of Anglophone ethnomusicology could be developed independently in different time periods and in different regions of Europe—even under the most unfavourable conditions of forced isolation and ideological pressure.

4. Acknowledgments

Many colleagues and institutions made this book and the preceding symposium possible. We want to thank all of them for their professional work and commitment. First of all, we would like to thank the authors for their readiness to share their observations and ideas within this project, and also for their cooperation and their patience in the rather long editorial process. We also wish to thank all the speakers, chairpersons and listeners of the symposium for contributing to the productive exchange and pleasant atmosphere of this event. We wish to express our particular gratitude to Ursula Hemetek, the former director of the IVE and the editor of the series *Musik Traditionen / Music Traditions*, for her continuous support of the symposium and this book as the fourth volume of the series, and to Marko Kölbl, the present director of the IVE. We also thank the rectorate of the MDW for supporting both projects and the Mozarteum University Salzburg for enabling a cooperation for the symposium as well as the Institut für Volkskultur und Kulturentwicklung (Innsbruck) for its support of the publication.

Our thanks also go to the Programme Committee of the symposium which included, alongside the editors of this book, Jana Ambrózová, Colin Quigley and Speranța Rădulescu, who is no longer with us. We also wish to thank Ardian Ahmedaja and Sara Gregorič for their smooth

cooperation in the Organizational Team. We thank all the musicians from Vienna and Lower Austria who took part in the cultural programme or joined in spontaneously. For many of us the memorable final evening in the *Salzstadl* in Krems an der Donau was the last encounter with the unforgettable Rudolf Pietsch (1951–2020), and for some symposium participants it was also the last opportunity to play alongside him.

As the editors, we wish to thank the anonymous referees of the articles. With their expertise, scrupulousness and their not always easy decisions they contributed significantly to the quality of this book. We also wish to thank Mike Delaney for his critical and helpful proofreading. We particularly wish to express our admiration to our two Ukrainian co-authors who calmly clarified the last editorial details literally while their hometown Lviv was under Russian rocket attack in July 2023.

We express our greatest thanks to our publishers Böhlau Verlag for the acceptance of our book proposal and for their supportive and smooth cooperation.

In conclusion, we would like to thank again all those who contributed to the symposium and to this publication. We hope that it will offer numerous fresh ideas and stimuli for a fruitful exchange and for new cooperation in the future.

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I. Author-Centred Studies

The Work of Oskar Kolberg from the Perspective of Music Anthropology

Abstract

Oskar Kolberg, who lived in the years 1814–1890, is known primarily as one of the most prominent folklorists of the 19th century. The publication of 33 volumes of the work *Lud; jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce* [The people. Their customs, way of life, language, folk tales, proverbs, rites, witchcraft, games, songs, music and dances], complemented by volumes of *Obrazy etnograficzne* [Ethnographic pictures] is seen as his greatest achievement due to the extensive documentation of spiritual and material culture from pre-partition Poland and the huge collection of musical transcriptions it contains. These materials undoubtedly have great historical value and are an important source of repertoire for contemporary performers.

However, Kolberg can also be considered as a precursor of many disciplines, including the anthropology of music. He also showed remarkable erudition and multifaceted research interests, which included broadly conceived historical, geographical, aesthetic, genre- and performance-related aspects of music. His approach to the subject of research, the methodology of work, as well as the collection of music itself has been inspiring for the next generations of Polish (and not only Polish) ethnomusicologists. It should be noted, however, that Kolberg did not seek to place his views within a strict theoretical framework. He expressed them in letters, musical writings and articles, or only “between the lines” of the descriptions posted in *Lud*. The author of this article tries to bring them to light and to demonstrate the novelty of Kolberg’s thought, especially pointing out that it contains the seeds of the future concept of musical anthropology put forward by Alan Merriam.

Introduction

Oskar Kolberg is known primarily as one of the most prominent folklorists of the 19th century. His greatest achievement was the publication of the work *Lud; jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce* [The people. Their customs,



Fig. 1: *Dziela wszystkie Oskara Kolberga* [The collected works of Oskar Kolberg], vol. 15, *Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie* [The Grand Duchy of Poznań], VII (<https://nikidw.edu.pl/2021/02/19/lud-jego-zwyczaje-dzielo-oskara-kolberga/>).

way of life, language, folk tales, proverbs, rites, witchcraft, games, songs, music and dances], complemented by volumes of *Obrazy etnograficzne* [Ethnographic pictures], in which the spiritual and material culture of pre-partition Poland was documented. Meanwhile, Kolberg can also be considered a precursor of many disciplines, including the anthropology of music. Unfulfilled as a composer, he turned out to be a great and erudite researcher, an excellent organiser, a man of many talents and inexhaustible energy. In the times in which he lived, he was distinguished by his outstanding knowledge and scientific intuition. His multifaceted research interests included broadly conceived historical (especially Polish music) and geographical (music of Western and Southern Slavs, China, India, Oceania, music of Native Americans) aspects of music, aesthetic and genre problems, as well as theoretical issues. In terms of research techniques, Kolberg's work has been an important point of reference for 20th-century and contemporary ethnomusicology. Although today we have the possibility of making audio-visual recordings, which Kolberg was deprived of, the problems of the transcription, analysis and typology of collected materials still re-

main. These are the problems which Kolberg was confronted with and to which he offered solutions that were far ahead of the methods used by his contemporaries.

Kolberg did not seek to put his views into a strict theoretical framework, but expressed them in letters, musical writings and articles, or only "between the lines" of the descriptions included in *Lud*. I will try to bring them to light and demonstrate the novelty of Kolberg's thought with particular emphasis on its similarities with Merriam's concept of musical anthropology.

Contexts: family, education, the political situation

Today, Kolberg is well-known and yet remains unknown at the same time. If some researchers point out the shortcomings of his methods, it is usually due to an incomplete knowledge of the realities in which he lived and of the goals that he set for himself. Therefore, before discussing the output of Kolberg, it is worth taking a closer look at the circumstances that influenced his research approach and its evolution.

The choice of career of Henryk Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890), for that was his full name, was influenced by the atmosphere of his family home. He came from a German-French Evangelical family that had settled in Mazovia. His father, Juliusz Kolberg, came from Mecklenburg, and his mother, Karolina de Mercoeur, came from a Polonised family of French emigrants. His father was a respected cartographer, geodesist and meteorologist who worked at the University of Warsaw. He learned Polish as an adult and mastered it so well that he translated Polish poems into German. His mother had felt Polish since her childhood and raised her sons in a deeply patriotic spirit. At home, they only spoke Polish. Of Oskar's four brothers, it is worth mentioning the youngest, Antoni, who was a painter, and many of the illustrations in *Lud* are his work. Oskar devoted separate articles to him and his father in Orgelbrand's *Encyclopaedia Powszechna* [Universal encyclopaedia] (1859–1868).¹ The Kolbergs' home in Warsaw had close links with the academic and artistic world of the capital and was regularly visited by eminent representatives of this milieu.

Oskar began his musical education by taking private piano lessons in Warsaw with such composers as Józef Elsner (a teacher of Fryderyk Chopin) and Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński. He continued his studies in Berlin under renowned musicians and teachers, such as Carl Friedrich Gierschner and Carl Rungenhagen. Not without significance for Oskar's professional career was his close acquaintance with Fryderyk Chopin. Their families lived next door to each other in Warsaw and were friends. Chopin's unfavourable opinion of Kolberg's compositions combined with his appreciation of the future researcher's efforts to document Polish folklore undoubtedly contributed to Oskar giving up a career as a composer and devoting himself to collecting music.

When Kolberg had returned to Warsaw from his studies in Berlin, he found a thriving folklore movement which was Romantic in its spirit. The fall of the November Uprising² intensified progressive social, political and scholarly thought and made artists turn towards the lower classes in order to find support and draw strength to cultivate national elements of culture. Thus, in their works, the artists referred to native folk art which they learnt during their joint excursions to the villages located near Warsaw. Kolberg joined this movement at the end of the

¹ Kolberg 1971, 433–439 and 440–442.

² This was a Polish national uprising against the Russian Empire which broke out on the night of November 29–30, 1830, and ended October 21, 1831. It covered the areas under Russian rule: the Kingdom of Poland and part of the lands directly incorporated into the Russian Empire.

1830s and participated in such excursions. His companions were writers and artists, some of whom belonged to the so-called Warsaw Bohemians. In the preface to the volume *Mazowsze* [Mazovia], Kolberg mentioned *inter alia* the poets and writers Ludwik Norwid (the brother of Cyprian Kamil), Teofil Lenartowicz and Walenty Zakrzewski, the painter Karol Marconi, and his brother Antoni Kolberg, as well as Józef Konopka, the author of a newly published collection of songs from Krakow. By composing pieces based on folk music gathered during those excursions, he implemented the programme of the above-mentioned movement. Unfortunately, he remained an unsuccessful, mediocre composer, as assessed by critics and by Fryderyk Chopin. However, one cannot underestimate the fact that through his works for amateurs who played music in family houses and salons, he contributed to the dissemination and cultivation of native musical culture in middle-class and aristocratic circles.

After 1846, the situation in the Polish lands changed. The slaughter of many aristocratic families by the peasants, and later the Spring of Nations brought about a change in the attitude of the Polish intelligentsia to folk art. Many of those who had earlier acted as apologists for folklore now decided that the Romantic theory about its inspiring role was false. An extreme position in this matter was taken by Ryszard Wincenty Berwiński, a poet and folklorist as well as a national activist, who in his *Studia o literaturze ludowej ze stanowiska historycznej i naukowej krytyki* [Studies on folk literature from the standpoint of historical and scientific criticism] stated: “The lower classes do not even have independent creativity of the spirit, and if they have it, it is only *mutatis mutandis* like a child’s. The strength of their spirit, or rather their imagination, is only reproductive”³ (Berwiński 1854, 216).

Kolberg valued Berwiński as the author of the undoubtedly first scientific work on folklore, but he firmly rejected the opinion quoted above. He had already been in direct contact with folk performers for many years at the moment he read it and still appraised the creative potential of folk singers and musicians highly (Kolberg 1962a, xix–xxv; cf. also Skrukwa 2014, 37–38).

The January Uprising⁴ and its defeat caused a further re-evaluation of many social and literary programmes, and the concern about the future fate of the nation prompted a deep reflection on the role of the peasants in society to date and on the possibility of increasing their participation in political and national life. The anti-Polish policy of the partitioners towards scholarly circles in the territories under Russian and Prussian rule hindered any development of science in Polish lands (cf. Skrukwa 2014, 60). Kolberg experienced it himself as his publications had to be censored.

3 “Lud nie ma nawet samodzielnej twórczości ducha, a jeśli ją ma, to w takiej tylko mierze *mutatis mutandis* jak dziecko. Siła jego ducha, a raczej wyobraźni, jest tylko reproduktywna”.

4 The January Uprising against the Russian Empire broke out on January 22, 1863 in the Kingdom of Poland and on February 1, 1863 in Lithuania. It lasted until the fall of 1864 and covered the territories annexed by Russia.

Kolberg as a folklorist and his first publications in this field

Kolberg's motivation to document folklore and his approach to this job was undoubtedly influenced by the activities of ethnographers and collectors of folklore in different European countries. He had a surprisingly extensive knowledge of their achievements. This is evidenced by his notes in manuscripts, references in volumes of *Lud*, articles in academic journals and entries in encyclopaedias, discussions he undertook in his theoretical studies, as well as his correspondence. He used the literature on the subject mainly for comparative purposes and to expand his knowledge of methodology. It is impossible to list the names of all the researchers to which he referred here, so let me mention only some of them.

Handwritten materials in particular show Kolberg's excellent knowledge of Slavic literature on Czech, Slovak, Slovenian and Croatian folklore. There are references to the publications of Vuk Karadžić, František Ladislav Čelakovsky, Ján Kolár, Jan Arnost Smolerj, Pavel

Josef Šafařík and Karel Jaromír Erben. In particular, Kolberg appreciated the works of German academics. Among others, he used the collections of Lithuanian songs of Georg Nesselmann, August Schleicher, Friedrich Kurschat and Ludwig Rhesa (Armon 1966, v–vi). When creating the monograph of Prussian Masuria, he based it on the works of Max Toeppen, Wilhelm Tettau and Jodocus Donatus Hubertus Temme, treating them alongside the manuscripts and publications of Wojciech Kętrzyński and the manuscripts of Gizewius as the basic sources (Ogrodziński 1966, xxi, xxvii–xxxvii). When describing the belief in a Greater Poland, he used *Croquis von Posen* of O. Bergenroth⁵ from 1845 (Kolberg 1962b). When exploring the problem of the genesis and development of music, he referred to the theory of Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (Kolberg 1981, 537–539).

Influenced by the philosophy of the nation that was flourishing in Germany and the idea of “saving” cultural heritage (so-called “antiquity”), Kolberg undertook actions aimed at



Fig. 2: Kolberg's manuscript (Skruwa 2014, 157).

⁵ The full name of this author is unknown.

preserving Polish traditions, believing that in this way he was contributing to Poland regaining its independence, although the country was only his adopted homeland. He was convinced that there was a close relationship between singing and a sense of national identity; he used to say that nations last as long as they sing, as singing transmits subconscious impulses that “glue” a community together (cf. Dahlig 2014, 13). Kolberg made it his mission to write down the past for the future, as he thought the culture of the people, in its external manifestations, was a slowly vanishing world. Initially, probably influenced by the views of Johann Gottfried Herder, he planned to demonstrate the character of Slavic music through his research. Later, he gradually abandoned this perspective in favour of a musical ethnography of individual regions. Regardless of his patriotic sentiments, in his work, Kolberg aspired to collect materials that could be used for further scholarly research. He readily drew on ethnographic studies published in his time in Europe and tried to adapt the ideas of foreign scholars to Polish and Slavic conditions. Although the Polish character of the songs collected by Kolberg was camouflaged by the term “Slavic”, it was clear that the censors would not permit their publication in Warsaw. However, a Poznań-based publisher, Jan Konstanty Żupański, expressed an interest in this material, and towards the end of 1842 the first volume of a series entitled *Pieśni ludu polskiego* [Songs of the Polish people] was published (the last volume, the fifth one, came out three years later). Unlike Kolberg’s later works, this one was more of a composer’s work than a folklorist’s work. Its aim was to popularise folklore through amateur home music-making and to provide materials for the composers of the time. Kolberg added a piano accompaniment to the melodies and supplemented them with instrumental introductions and endings based on motifs of a given song. It is necessary to remember that for many of Kolberg’s contemporary musicians, performing folk songs with instrumental accompaniment was the only right and accessible way of making themselves acquainted with folk art.

In the lyrics, Kolberg smoothed out the dialect pronunciation and removed the vulgarisms that could offend the listeners. However, he preserved the vocabulary and grammatical forms which were characteristic for the original performances. It was only in later years that he started taking care to ensure the accuracy of his records and rarely interfered with the texts, even if they were bawdy or addressed controversial topics. In a letter of May 5, 1857 to Teofil Lenartowicz, who suggested that Kolberg retouch the lyrics of the songs, he wrote:

[...] but I do not collect songs merely for the poetry they contain. They are and will be an interesting treasury for grammarians, linguists and historians, for the people whose task is to depict not only the spirituality of the nation, not only its entire moral and immoral disposition, its customs, but also its external shell, all the peculiarities of words and sounds that it has passed through, and these people are looking for the truth which, like ugliness next to beauty, lies in the songs of every nation. Such as they are, the collector has to present them; he must not add or take anything from them if he wishes to be faithful to his task and gain trust.

[...] ależ ja nie zbieram pieśni li tylko dla poezji w nich zawartej. Są i będą one skarbnicą ciekawą dla gramatyków, lingwistów, historyków, dla ludzi kreślić mających nie tylko duchowość narodu, nie tylko całe jego moralne i niemoralne usposobienie, jego obyczajowość, ale i zewnętrzną skorupę, wszystkie przypadłości słowa i dźwięku, przez jaki przechodził, a ci szukają prawdy, która jak brzydkie obok pięknego w pieśniach każdego narodu leży. Takimi, jakie są, zbieracz ma je przedstawić, nie wolno mi nic z nich dodać ani ująć, jeżeli chce być wiernym swojemu zadaniu i zyskać zaufanie (Kolberg 1965, 70–71).

Although Kolberg was not a pioneer in the field of collecting folk song texts with melodies, he was the first to emphasise the equal status of verbal text, which he called “the body” (“ciało”), and musical notation—“the soul” (“dusza”) (1986, 1). He spoke critically of earlier song collections that contained texts but no notated music:

And so, their collections, almost without music, turned out to be an incomplete, halfway measure, as verbal content and melody complement and enrich each other, constituting a whole, and the melody—this less defined and less material element—often determines the beauty of the song.

A tak, prawie bez muzyki, rzecz można że zbiory ich objawiły się tylko w pół-życiu, w połowie swej istoty, bo treść i melodia uzupełniają się, podnoszą wzajemnie, jedną wspólną stanowiąc całość, a często melodia, ta część mniej określona, mniej materialna, stanowi całą piękność pieśni (Kolberg 1961, vi).

The publishers of folklore who were contemporaries of Kolberg were aware of the shortcomings of collections of songs without melodies, but they themselves were usually unable to note down music. Hence, there were very few songs in their publications that apart from the text also included melodies. Wacław Michał Zaleski's collection *Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego* [Polish and Ruthenian songs of the Galician people] (1833) contained over 1,000 texts with 160 melodies noted by the famous violin virtuoso Karol Lipiński. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki's collection *Pieśni ludu Białochrobatów, Mazurów i Rusi znad Bugu* [Songs of the White Chrobats, Masurians and Ruthenia from the Bug River] (1936) included several hundred texts, but only 32 melodies, noted and arranged by the composer Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński. Józef Konopka, in his collection *Pieśni ludu krakowskiego* [Songs of the people of Cracow] (1841), included 16 melodies noted by an unknown musician, while Józef Jan Lipiński, in his *Piosnki ludu wielkopolskiego* [Songs of the people of Greater Poland] (1842) that consisted of 120 recorded songs, published only 20 melodies, also of unknown authorship. All the melodies in these collections were complemented by piano accompaniment.

Although the collection *Pieśni ludu polskiego* [Songs of the Polish people] with accompaniment, published by Kolberg in a series of issues, has been criticised, it is worth mentioning

because it heralded a volume which appeared in print in Warsaw in 1857 and bore the same title as the publication printed in Poznań. It is an abundant and representative collection of ballads and dance tunes which is still one of the most important sources for research into ballads. In this volume, Kolberg compiled variants of folk texts and melodies from different regions of the country. This time, his aim was to capture the regional characteristics of the musical folklore of pre-partition Poland. Thus, new content was hidden under the stereotypical title of the time. Kolberg envisaged the publication of several volumes containing songs selected according to the subject matter of the text or their function, in which each thematic category was to be documented by song variants originating from various regions of Poland. Kolberg decided to publish the melodies in their original form, without piano accompaniment. In the introduction to the volume he wrote:

I render a note in its unadulterated simplicity (unless the contamination is the fault of the singers), just as it came out of the mouth of the people, without any harmonic decoration, because I am convinced that it is boldest in its spontaneous, unadulterated purity, as nature inspired it.

Oddaję nutę w nieskażonej prostocie (t.j. o ile skażenie nie pochodzi z winy śpiewających) tak jak wybiegła z ust ludu, bez żadnego przystroju harmonijnego, bo mam przekonanie, że najdzielniejszą jest w samorodnej, niczem nie zmąconej czystości, jak ją natura natchnęła (Kolberg 1961 v–vi).

The concept of regional monographs

After 1857, Kolberg changed his concept, and instead of homogenous collections containing variants of melodies and texts representing selected themes or genres from all over Poland, he decided to work on volumes presenting songs and music recorded in an individual region, with the whole diversity of their forms and genres and in connection with rites and customs. In this way, he emphasised not only the interdependence of text and music, but also their connection with the cultural context. In Kolberg's opinion, by posting a song with its melody in the description of a rite that it accompanied, he was better able to show its function and meaning, which was not always clearly reflected in the text. For music should be understood not as an abstract field of art, but as art related to other social and cultural phenomena. So Kolberg wrote in the introduction to *Mazowsze*:

Soon we noticed the close connection of these works with the rites, customs and the whole being of the people. Due to this consideration, when writing down songs and their melodies, we had also to note their accessories (according to our notions of that time), i.e. highlight the whole situation that gave birth to them or called them to action.

Wkrótce dostrzeżliśmy ścisłą tych utworów z obrzędami, zwyczajami i całym bytem ludu łączność. Wzgląd ten nakazywał nam przy spisywaniu pieśni i ich melodii notować także i ich akcesoria (wedle ówczesnych naszych pojęć), tj. uwydatnić całą sytuację, która je zrodziła lub do działania powoływała (Kolberg 1963, X).

This is very close to an approach that would be promoted decades later by American scholars who—concluded Alan Merriam (1964, 3)—were

influenced in considerable part by American anthropology, which tended to assume an aura of intense reaction against the evolutionary and diffusionist schools and began to study music in its ethnologic context. Here the emphasis was placed not so much upon the structural components of music sound as upon the part music plays in culture and its functions in the wider social and cultural organization of man.

The idea of publishing regional monographs had been realized by Kolberg in his monumental work *Lud*⁶. Kolberg's way of thinking is illustrated by a letter of October 10, 1867 addressed to the Cracow Scientific Society, in which he presents his conception. As he writes:

For thirty years, I devoted my free moments to a detailed study of our people. At first, I paid attention to their songs, of which I collected and published a considerable number. Seeing that these are often connected with rites, without a description of which they would become incomprehensible, I decided to broaden the scope of my work by including descriptions, and also by quoting variants and versions from various parts of the region in order to compare them with one another. Since the descriptions are in many ways also morally connected with the tales, fables and proverbs of the people, the latter also had to be traced and included in my collection and rendered in a simple and unadulterated manner (for the use of philologists), both in terms of images, speech and modes of expression. As all these aspects, although of a spiritual nature, are closely related to the physical, I have also described the people's appearance, dress, occupation, dwellings, etc. Due to the abundance of the materials that transpired and have already been collected, I have decided to divide them into parts, each of which would form a coherent whole, easy to review and examine in detail. Each series thus describes the characteristics of a certain area. The more such series come to be viewed by the public, the more complete the general image of the nation will be.

6 During his life, Kolberg, as already mentioned, published 33 volumes of *Lud*, leaving the same number again in the so-called Kolberg casebooks. After his death, the materials collected by him were published in subsequent volumes by Izydor Kopernicki, and at the beginning of the 20th century by Józef Tretiak and Seweryn Udziela. Since 1961, this legacy has been edited and published by the Oskar Kolberg Institute in Poznań.

Przez lat 30 chwile od obowiązków powołania mego wolne poświęcałem szczegółowemu badaniu ludu naszego. Z początku zwróciłem uwagę na jego śpiewy, których znaczną zebrałem i ogłosiłem ilość. Widząc, że takowe wiążą się częstokroć z obrzędami, bez opisania których stałyby się niezrozumiałymi, postanowiłem rozszerzyć ramy prac moich, wciągając do nich opisy, a nadto cytując warianty i wersje z różnych stron pozyskane dla porównania ich między sobą. Gdy i opisy niejedną moralną nicią łączą się z baśniami, gadkami i przysłowiami ludu, więc i te ostatnie śledzić i wciągać należało do moich zbiorów i oddać je w prostocie i nieskażoności (dla użytku filologów), tak pod względem obrazów, jak i mowy, i sposobów wystąpienia się. Gdy wszystkie owe objawy, lubo duchowej natury, mają ścisły i z fizycznością związek, więc opisałem ludu postać, szatę, zajęcia gospodarcze, mieszkanie itp. Ogrom nasuwających się i już zgromadzonych materiałów nakazał mi podzielić takowe na części, z których każda pewną zaokrągloną stanowiłaby całość, łatwą do przejścia i zbadania szczegółowego. Każda tedy seria opisuje właściwości pewnej okolicy. Im więcej seryj takich wyjdzie na widok publiczny, tym zupełnie narysuje się wizerunek ogólny narodu (Kolberg 1965, 155–156).

The evolution of Oskar Kolberg's work towards systematic ethnographic and musical research, determined by geography and historical divisions, was probably influenced by the achievements of his father, who—as has already been mentioned—was an outstanding cartographer. The musical-ethnographic atlas of the Polish lands including territories up to the borders of the Republic of Poland from 1772, supplemented with a cultural-historical commentary, is in fact a clear reference to Juliusz Kolberg's ideas. Kolberg ordered the songs not only according to their texts, but also based on musical criteria—something that can be compared to ethnomusicological systematisation.

Lud became one of the first models of an ethnographic monograph in Europe, although even Kolberg himself was aware of the fact that it only laid the groundwork for future developments in ethnography. He modestly described his own work as consisting of collecting materials, organising and systematising them. In a letter to a writer friend, Józef Bliziński, from 1865, he wrote:

Ethnography is a new science, still inexperienced, undeveloped, although aware of its purpose; it needs the same development of materials as history, so my work will be almost nothing else but a meticulous accumulation of them. Above all, I have decided to organise and systematise those I have gathered before I can proceed to their elaboration and further conclusions.

Etnografia jest nauką nową, niewytrawną jeszcze, niewyrobioną, lubo celu swego świadomą; potrzeba do niej rozwinięcia materiałów jak do historii, więc i moja praca niczym prawie jeszcze innym nie będzie, jak skrzętnym ich nagromadzeniem. Przede wszystkim postanowiłem sobie takowe nabytki uporządkować i usystematyzować, nim się do ich opracowania i dalszych wniosków przejść będzie mogło (Kolberg 1965, 116).

If we look at the content of the 33 volumes published during Kolberg's lifetime, we can notice that it reflects the areas of folk culture listed in the main title according to a specific structure. The monographs open with country- and culture-related texts describing socio-psychological characteristics of the region's inhabitants, of their material culture and the related working methods. Then, customs (annual and occupational) and rituals related to birth, marriage and death are discussed. These are followed by a repertoire of songs associated with the cycle of a year, family and common songs, and finally a collection of instrumental melodies, organised according to the type of a duple or triple bar they represent. Then, the sphere of beliefs is described. A separate section is devoted to oral literature, which is also divided into genres (stories, legends, fairy tales, folk tales, anecdotes and proverbs). The last two sections include children's games and linguistic features of the language of the region's inhabitants. The programme of ethnographic research announced by Kolberg in *Biblioteka Warszawska* [Warsaw library] in February 1865 was a harbinger of such an arrangement of content. There, he listed the areas of research he was interested in, of which he characterised the following in detail: the village and the cottage; work, household and farming activities of the villagers; their food; the clothing of men, women and children; speech, that is provincial dialect; proverbs, sentences, fairy tales, fables, stories, legends, etc.; superstitions, witchcraft (incantations), folk beliefs [...], anecdotes, songs, with or without notes, but rendered in the local language, dances, rituals, customs and songs associated with various occupations (1965, 102–105).⁷ Thus, the monographs present a very selective but typical ethnographic dissection of culture into its parts: material, social and spiritual.

Kolberg speaks to the reader not only with words and musical notation, but also with images. He takes great care to carefully edit his publications in terms of their visual aspect (he himself had artistic talent). This is how he explains his attitude in a letter of December 30, 1867 to the painter Bogumił Hoff:

Of course, the more illustrations and music examples such a work includes, the more authentic and enticing the view of all the elements that make up the internal and, to some extent, the external features that characterise the people, especially those elements that cannot be described by words.

Oczywiście, że dzieło takie, im więcej będzie ilustrowane rycinami i nutami muzycznymi, tym prawdziwszy i ponętniejszy da obraz wszystkiego, co stanowi cechę zewnętrzną i poniekąd wewnętrzną ludu, zwłaszcza tego, co w słowach samych nader słabo dałoby się określić (Kolberg 1965, 231).

⁷ Do redakcji 'Biblioteki Warszawskiej'. List otwart [To the editor of 'Warsaw Library'. An open letter], *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1865, vol. 2, p. 306, reprinted in Kolberg 1965, 102–105.



Fig. 3: A violonist (Kolberg 1963, 16).

And so illustrations made up an important element of his regional monographs, as long as he was not forced to give them up due to financial reasons. In accordance with Kolberg's intention, these illustrations were to "complement the description of our villagers" (*dopełniać charakterystykę naszych wieśniaków*), presenting the so-called "folk types" (*typy ludowe*), i.e. figures of women, men and children in regional costumes. Thus, they were and still are treated as reliable ethnographic documentation. Among the producers of illustrations were the aforementioned brother of Oskar, Antoni, and some recognised artists, such as Wojciech Gerson.

As far as the type of narration used by Kolberg in his descriptions of country people is concerned, it can be discussed on two levels. The first is made up of those accounts which outline everyday life in the countryside, and although they are not completely free of the subjective point of view of the observer, they show the ac-

tual reality of the Polish countryside. The second level concerns the image of the countryside and the peasant which was shaped by the perceptions of representatives of the Polish intelligentsia. These perceptions significantly influenced the descriptions provided by Kolberg or quoted by him from other authors. This is apparent, for example, in the model of femininity and masculinity which is presented from the perspective of the 19th-century society. In particular, various modes of women's functioning have been subject to a value judgement: positive if their behaviour follows an accepted and established pattern, and negative if it deviates from it. A comparison of Kolberg's accounts from various regions of Poland—concerning everyday life, but also the roles assigned to women and men in rituals, their participation in singing and playing instrumental music—allows one to notice a wide range of social norms embraced by the population described from the critical perspective of a 19th-century observer. These accounts now offer new interpretative possibilities and constitute an important source for the study of intergender relations in Kolberg's time (cf. Drożdż 2015, 289).

The 19th century was a period of significant social and civilisational changes in Europe, including Poland. The peasants' living conditions were changing gradually, as a result of which

their rituals (e.g. weddings) were shortened, the number of stanzas in songs reduced, and the improvisational potential of musicians decreased. Kolberg created his ethnographic series in precisely this changing cultural context. He associated the emergence of variants, the tracking of which also remained an important task for him in subsequent volumes of *Lud*, with such changes. It is worth noting that the notation of variants was a new idea in Kolberg's times, as earlier publishers were rather looking for unknown texts and were reluctant to print songs which showed similarities. Kolberg noticed various factors that brought about changes in music, and by doing so he anticipated, as it were, the views on socially and culturally determined musical transformations held by scholars representing the holistic position initiated by functionalists, with Bronisław Malinowski in a leading role. Here is what Kolberg wrote about it:

Song is, for the most part, traditional; thus it is constantly influenced by time, interpersonal relations, changes in lifestyle, fashion that comes from the manor house and enters the peasant cottage, and finally by the singer's personality (his musical disposition) and a number of other circumstances in their infinite shades. There is constant movement here, as everywhere in life; hence, next to the finest imaginative flair or the most delicate tissue of feeling, you find crudeness and ordinariness: the worm of corruption soon creeps into the exuberant chalice of feeling and consumes it. The detailed investigation of the development of melodies, its causes and consequences, belongs to the history and philosophy of music, and can take place only after the melodies of not only one people, but of all other peoples as well have been accurately collected. Before this happens, an examination of what has already been obtained can lead us to extremely interesting conclusions, expanding our knowledge and musical aesthetics.

Pieśń jest po większej części tradycyjną; więc czas, stosunki ludzi obopólne, zmiana trybu życia, moda, która wraca z dworca szlacheckiego zaczyna już do chaty wieśniaczej zaglądać, wreszcie osobistość śpiewaka (jego muzyczne usposobienie) i mnóstwo innych okoliczności wciąż na nią wpływają, w nieskończonych odcieniach. Ruch tu jak wszędzie gdzie życie, nieustanny; stąd też obok najszczytniejszego polotu wyobraźni lub najdelikatniejszej tkanki uczuć, znachodzisz gminność i płaskość: do bujnie rozkwitającego kielicha uczuć, zakrada się wnet i toczy je robak zepsucia. Śledzenie szczegółowe rozwoju melodyj, jej przyczyn i następstw, należy do historii i filozofii muzycznej i może mieć miejsce dopiero po jak najdokładniejszym zebraniu melodyj nie już jednego ludu, ale wszystkich innych ludów. Nim to nastąpi, rozpatrzenie się w tem co się pozyskało, do nader ciekawych doprowadzić nas może wniosków, rozszerzających wiedzę i estetykę muzyczną (Kolberg 1961, vi).

It is worth noting that Kolberg was aware of the inevitability of changes occurring in music. At the same time, however, he expressed the conviction that these changes had a destructive influence on folk creativity. This view was not unfamiliar to 20th-century researchers, and it is Merriam who argues with it in the first chapter of the above-quoted book, where he states that "the

fears for the destruction of the music of the 'folk' often tend to be overemphasized, and there is implied a failure to consider the inevitability of change (Merriam 1964, 9).

Today, Kolberg's *Lud* still makes intriguing reading, bringing the world of the "pre-phonographic" era closer to us, for the first recordings of Native American folklore were made in the USA in 1890, the year of Kolberg's death. The analytical and positivist attitude of the researcher towards culture, which was typical of his time, translated into an impressive abundance of details from various spheres of life, which can be found in his monographs.

Field research and writing down texts and melodies

At first, Kolberg gathered materials for his collection mainly during his trips to the areas surrounding Warsaw. However, these excursions were frowned upon by the police state which the Kingdom of Poland was at the time. The peasants, most of whom were illiterate, were distrustful of strangers, and the authorities fostered this attitude by paying them for bringing any strangers that appeared in villages to the police and by imposing fines if they did not comply. Therefore, Kolberg had to adapt his fieldwork methods to these conditions. It is safe to say that over time he perfectly mastered the logistics of field work.

When choosing the places where he was going to conduct his research, Kolberg was not guided by purely scientific considerations. Due to the complicated political situation, he went mainly to places where he could count on the support of acquaintances, friends and sponsors. To conduct interviews, he went to peasants in the countryside, but he also questioned them at manor houses. He supplemented his field notes, which included records of music, conversations that he held, and his own observations, with information obtained by correspondence with landowners and other local people enthusiastic about everything related to folk culture.⁸ In a biographical sketch that has survived to our times, he wrote:

My journeys were devised and planned in advance; they took me to friends and acquaintances living in various parts of the country (or others, following their letters of recommendation). Having arrived there, I first examined and tried to win over the people serving at the manor house, who, emboldened in their service, were eager to chat and sing, and having understood what my purpose was, brought others from the village and persuaded them to come to the manor house for drink and pay, or to allow me to come to their cottages. Since I was received with great hospitality everywhere, and there were always horses at hand ready for further excursions, the cost of such journeys (covered by the money saved on my activities or work) was not very great and sometimes limited only to some contributions to the peasants for the materials obtained.

8 Such long-term contacts can be traced in Kolberg's correspondence related to his research in Kuiavia, the Lublin and Chełm regions, Pokuttya and Sanock.

Więc podróże moje były obmyślane i uplanowane z góry, do przyjaciół i znajomych obywateli kraju w różnych mieszkających okolicach (lub innych, za tychże listem rekomendacyjnym). Przybywszy tam, badałem najprzód i kaptowałem sobie ludzi dworskich, którzy ośmieleni w służbie dworskiej, byli skorsi do pogawędki i śpiewu, a zrozumiawszy, o co rzecz chodzi, namawiali i sprowadzali innych ze wsi, iż za napitek i wynagrodzenie udawali się w tym celu do dworu lub pozwalali do swojej przychodzić chaty. Ponieważ wszędzie nader gościnnie byłem przyjmowany i konie do dalszej wycieczki miałem prawie zawsze na pogotowiu, przeto koszt takich podróży (ponoszone z oszczędzonych na zajęciach lub pracach moich pieniędzy) nie były zbyt wielkie, a czasami ograniczały się jedynie na datkach włościanom za pozyskane materiały.⁹

Thanks to a surviving fragment of an unpublished version of the introduction to *Pieśni ludu polskiego* [Songs of the Polish people] (Kolberg [1857] 1961), probably written around 1849, we know what the interviews looked like at the initial stage of Kolberg's work:

After they had sung the melodies, I did not neglect to ask the singer about the origins of the song, its beginning, its age and how popular it was in the area. Often there were female singers from distant places in service at the manor house who knew many of the songs from their native surroundings and their past, and had also learned new, local ones in the new place, which they did not fail to mention when asked.

Po wyśpiewaniu melodyj nie zaniedbałem ze śpiewaka wybadać pochodzenie pieśni, jej początek, dawność i rozgałęzienie w okolicy. Często po dworach znajdowały się w służbie śpiewaczki z oddalonych stron będące, które tym samym wiele z okolic rodzinnych i lat dawnych umiały śpiewów, lubo i w nowym siedlisku miejscowych pouczywszy się, którą to okoliczność zapytane przy wykonaniu wyraźnie wymieniały (Kolberg 2003, 4).

The fact that Kolberg noted the names of the places where he recorded the songs distinguished him from his contemporaries and many later folklorists. The researcher considered this to be a necessary element of his studies on the diversity of variants and the way they spread across territories.

In the years 1859–1869, Kolberg kept a notebook with his current expenses in which one can find notes showing that he rewarded musicians with money for playing (2014, ix). To facilitate cooperation, he won his informants over with drink and financial support, thanks to which they encouraged other people from the village to visit the scholar or to invite him to their cottages. Had it not been for the hospitality of many families, he would not have been able to afford field research and would not have visited some of the regions where he collected a considerable amount of material.

9 Manuscript from the collection of the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, call no. 2183, k. 37–38 (after Skrukwa 2014, 36–37).

We know that people who offered Kolberg hospitality during his field explorations not only participated in the research, but also collected materials themselves. In the letters of Pelagia Blizińska, the wife of Józef Bliziński, to Kolberg, we can read:

I try to satisfy your wishes and describe in the greatest detail what I can hear, and you can discard or keep what you consider necessary. I vouch for the authenticity of everything I write down, as I do not content myself with what I hear from one person, but make sure that this is what the whole community adheres to.

Staram się wprowadzić zadowolić życzenia Pana i najszczegółowiej opisuję, co słyszę, a Pan wyrzuci lub zatrzyma, co uzna za potrzebne. Za autentyczność wszystkiego, co spisuję, ręczę, gdyż nie zadawalniam się tym, co słyszę od jednej osoby, lecz sprawdzam, czy ogół tak utrzymuje.¹⁰

I enclose some material for the ethnography, I was not able to gather more, as the shoemaker, although I sent for him several times, would not come, apparently spoiled by your generous donations, even when I tempted him with a good payment, the sincerity of which I suppose he did not trust.

Załączam Panu troszkę materiałów do etnografii, więcej zebrać nie mogłam, gdyż szewc, pomimo że kilka razy do niego posyłałam, nie chciał przyjść, popsuty widąc szczodrymi Pana datkami, chociaż tentowałam go dobrą ze swej strony zapłatą, w którą, przypuszczam, nie ufał.¹¹

While quoting excerpts from Kolberg's rich correspondence, it is worth noting that for him writing letters was not only a way of maintaining established contacts with landowners. It also allowed him to show that he remembered his informants, which was an expression of politeness and gratitude as well as a form of compensation for the interviews they participated in.

Although the peasants' environment was foreign to the researcher, he tried to learn about their life from the inside, visiting inns, participating in weddings or observing various other rituals. This allowed him to describe, for example, details of instrument playing or "body language". One might be tempted to say that he used a research technique that would later be called "participant observation". This seems to be confirmed by the anthropologist Izydor Kopernicki, who was an eyewitness to Kolberg's work and the publisher of subsequent volumes of *Lud* after Kolberg's death:

Wandering across the country, enthusiastically searching for and noting down folk songs and their melodies, he often had to participate in the people's rituals, celebrations and plays, during

¹⁰ P. Blizińska, a letter to O. Kolberg of 6 March 1884 (Kolberg 1969, 125).

¹¹ P. Blizińska, a letter to O. Kolberg of 11 May 1885 (Kolberg 1969, 250).

which he could hear those songs. Being among the people, he listened to a lot of spontaneous speech, stories, legends, etc., and observed every detail of their lives and customs. Living in an environment which provided his researcher's mind with new images, objects and details of the people's life at every turn, Kolberg could not remain indifferent to them and content himself with just taking delight in folk music. In fact, he became more and more interested in and enamoured with all those elements, studied them closely, noted them down meticulously, and soon he became convinced that even the main object of his research, that is folk music with all its local features, was easier to describe and understand if it was presented together with all the other aspects of the life that it was part of.

W wędrowkach swoich po kraju szukając z zapalem i spisując pieśni ludowe oraz ich melodie, musiał on dla nich już samych często brać udział w obrzędach, uroczystościach i zabawach ludu, przy których pieśni mógł usłyszeć. Obcując z ludem, nasłuchiwał się on jego żywej mowy, opowieści, podań i t.p. i przypatrzył się wszystkim szczegółom bytu i zwyczajów ludowych. Żyjąc zaś w takim otoczeniu, które badawczemu z natury umysłowi jego nastrecało na każdym miejscu coraz to nowe obrazy, przedmioty i szczegóły z życia ludu Kolberg nie mógł pozostać obojętnym na to wszystko i poprzestać na samem tylko napawaniu się muzyką ludową. Owszem, mimowolnie rozciekawiał się on i rozmiłowywał w tem wszystkim coraz mocniej, badał to uważnie, spisywał skrzętnie i tym sposobem rychło przeświadczył się o tem, że nawet ta muzyka ludowa, której badaniu oddawał się głównie, daleko łatwiej da się ująć i jaśniej zrozumieć każdemu ze wszystkimi swemi właściwościami miejscowymi, jeżeli się ją przedstawi nieodłącznie od wszelkich innych objawów tegoż życia ludowego, którego ona jest tylko cząstkowym wyrazem (Kolberg 1964b, xii–xiii).

Kolberg described situations in which music was performed which was often known to him from previous personal experience. The presentation of songs and instrumental melodies was sometimes preceded by an introduction including his own observations on the performance of folk musicians. He paid attention to the timbre of the voices and the sound of instruments. This kind of information can be found in many volumes of *Lud*, as well as in the article "Sposoby śpiewania i grania. Ozdoby" [Singing and playing techniques. Ornaments] devoted to musical articulation (Kolberg 1975, 377–387), and in the entry "Koloryt, instrumentacja, partycja" [Colour, instrumentation, score] written for Orgelbrand's encyclopaedia (Kolberg 1975, 160–164). Kolberg can thus be considered a precursor of the ethnography of musical performance, which has been at the heart of anthropology of music and later of performance studies.

Kolberg claimed that "the whole picture of national music is made up of all kinds of songs: folk ones and those of the nobility, original as well as imitative ones"¹² (1976, 174). Thus, a characteristic feature of his collection is the coexistence of songs of purely folk origin and pieces

¹² "[...] do ogólnego obrazu muzyki narodowej, należą wszystkie pieśni czy to ludowe, czy szlacheckie, czy oryginalne, czy naśladowane".

originating from other environments, the nobility, the bourgeoisie, the court, or adopted from operettas and vaudeville. The researcher knew that these were not songs of country people, but he recorded them out of a documentary duty, being aware that they constituted an element of Polish culture. He noticed the interrelationship between the folklore of different environments and the filtering-in of motifs of non-folk provenance into folk culture that had been going on for centuries. In the introduction to the second part of the *Krakowskie* [The Cracow lands] volume, he explained:

After all, in this collection the reader will encounter (particularly in the section under the title “Towns and Manors”) alongside the more exquisite songs also some that are of little or no poetic value. We did not, however, consider it advisable to omit them, either because of their sometimes superior melody and panache, or because of their historical and psychological significance; for they faithfully reflect the times, reveal the relationships between people, the civilisation, notions (especially of the gentry) and all the circumstances in which they were born and grew.

Wszakże w zbiorze niniejszym spotka czytelnik (osobliwie w dziale pod tytułem Miasta i dwory) obok wytworniejszych pieśni i takie, które nader małą a niekiedy i żadnej poetycznej nie mają wartości. Pominąć ich jednakże nie uważaliśmy za stosowne, już to dla wyższego niekiedy ich melody i polotu, już to ze względu na historyczne i psychologiczne ich znaczenie; gdyż wiernie odbijają one czasy, odślawiają stosunki ludzi zabopólne, stopień cywilizacji, pojęcia (osobliwie drobnej szlachty) i wszelkie okoliczności, pod wpływem których zrodziły się i wykotysały (Kolberg 1977, iv).

Kolberg had a separate folder in which he put historical and patriotic songs, as well as those that ridiculed or insulted the partitioners (e.g. songs about the battles against the Russians in the times of Stefan Batory or those referring to the Polish army). While preparing his individual monographs, the scholar did not include such songs, aware of the serious censorship-related consequences that their publication might bring.

The collections gathered during field research were supplemented by Kolberg with materials obtained from available works in ethnic studies, as well as from various non-typical sources. These included old and current Warsaw and provincial newspapers, calendars, rare Old Polish prints and manuscripts, travel and fiction literature. The lyrics and melodies as well as all the information taken from printed or manuscript collections of other people or from publications of other authors were conscientiously provided with appropriate references. It is only today that we are able to assess the value of these materials properly and see Kolberg's great erudition and extensive knowledge.

Kolberg noted the songs he heard during his field research, paying attention—as far as possible—to the accuracy of the notation. His practical and musical experience allowed him to make efficient use of pen-and-paper musical notation; one could even say he was a master of

musical stenography. The transcription intended for print was often a unified and standardised version of a song, the performances of which obviously differed in details, especially in terms of metre and rhythm. The same applied to instrumental melodies performed by folk musicians who seemed to simply avoid any schematic repetitions. Kolberg made an effort to note down the modifications introduced by the performers, putting them on a single stave, striving to preserve the original shape of the melody at the same time. He was aware of the imperfections of his notation. This is what we can read in the second volume of the *Lud* series, *Sandomierskie* [The Sandomierz region]:

Due to the lack of music notation signs that could be used to mark such quarter tones, they had to be, where they happened accidentally, lowered or raised, depending on the circumstances, by another quarter tone, and thus equalled with the nearest semitone.

Dla braku znaków pisarskich w dzisiejszej naszej muzyce, służących na oznaczenie takich ćwierćtonów, należało je, gdzie się przypadkiem zdarzyły, obniżyć lub podwyższyć wedle okoliczności o drugie jeszcze ćwierćtonu, sprowadzając do najbliższego półtonu (Kolberg 1976, 106).

Similar comments concern the irregular use of rhythmic accents and tempo rubato. They appeared nearly half a century before the publication of the article “Vorschläge für die Transkription exotischer Melodien” [Suggestions for transcription of exotic melodies], in which Otto Abraham and Erich M. von Hornbostel proposed the first system of musical orthography for transcription including specific symbols (Abraham and Hornbostel 1909/10).

Adolf Chybiński considered Kolberg’s transcriptions of songs to be “sketches of acoustic reality”, and the natural shortcomings of the pen-to-paper notation based on listening were for him grounds for undertaking the phonographic work “from scratch”. The Central Phonographic Archive in Warsaw (1934–1944) headed by Julian Pulikowski planned to match the transcriptions with field recordings made on Edison cylinders or Decelith discs (Skrukwa 2014, 348).

Marian Sobieski, who—together with Jadwiga Sobieska—initiated the “Action of Collecting Musical Folklore” in the 1950s, assessed Kolberg’s records as fully-fledged historical sources. Sobieski also compared them with other anthologies of European folklore, emphasising special qualities of Kolberg’s work such as the fact that he paid careful attention to ornamentation, noted variants and included both vocal and instrumental melodies (Sobieski 1973). Although one has to agree with the opinion that none of Kolberg’s contemporaries penetrated so deeply into the details of folk music, including instrumental music, Kolberg’s records of texts and melodies are not a biological seismograph or a “melodiometer”, as Piotr Dahlig put it. They constitute a conscientious attempt to interpret a well-known repertoire according to the principles of 19th-century professional musical education (Dahlig 2014, 9). In Poland, one had to wait for precision in musical notation until the times of Łucjan Kamieński (1936), who tried to capture all the details of performance in a transcription based on a phonographic document.

Even if Kolberg does not use the term “music ethnography” in any of his texts (although he speaks about ethnography many times, for example in the article “Obecne stanowisko etnografii” [The present position of ethnography] (1971, 3–25), one may confidently claim this was the discipline he engaged in, and that he did it many decades before Łucjan Kamieński defined, in the 1930s, the principles of “new musicology” or “ethnomusicology”—the terms which he used interchangeably alongside “music ethnology” and “comparative musicology”.¹³ Ahead of his time, Kolberg implemented the postulates of ethnomusicologists who claimed that the above-mentioned field of study should involve not only comparing phenomena in order to explain their diversity, but also collecting songs and folk music. By working out methods of collecting sources and describing culture, involving its entire natural and social cross-section, Kolberg developed ethnography as a discipline and advanced it towards cultural anthropology.

Kolberg conducted his research by applying the comparative method on a large scale, which became the main method used in *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*. He studied documents related to local and foreign cultures looking for links and common features as well as differences. Fascinated by the possibilities offered by the comparative approach, he examined the music of the educated class in terms of its folk sources and native music—in terms of its genetic connections with the musical universe.

Kolberg's findings resulting from the use of the comparative method were sometimes quite bold and far-reaching: in the tunes from the Sandomierz region, he discovered traces of ancient Greek scales and church modes (1976, 11), and he also discerned “ancient Chinese and Indian tonality” as the melodic basis for the historical song *Bogurodzica* [Mother of God] (1981, 541).¹⁴ He did not give up this view even when his scholar's integrity made him back out from other bold hypotheses. In the last volume of *Lud* published during his lifetime, he confessed:

In the analysis of the musical arrangement in the above-mentioned and similar songs, we could have applied what has already been said on the subject in the second volume of *Lud* [...] (*Sandomierskie*), if it had not been for the last 28 years, during which we have acquired new material from everywhere and which has taught us that some of our views, assertions and conclusions

¹³ The term “ethnomusicology” was probably adopted by Kamieński from Ukrainian researchers. It appeared in Klyment Kvitka's article as early as in 1928 (after: Lukaniuk 2010, 135–137), i.e. long before it became popular worldwide thanks to Jaap Kunst in the 1950s. For a discussion of terminology in the area of consideration, see also Morgenstern 2015.

¹⁴ Kolberg considers this problem in the article “Rzut oka na pierwotne muzyki dzieje z powodu pieśni ‘Bogurodzica’” [A glance at the original music history on account of the song ‘Mother of God’] (1981, 536–544).

given therein must be considered too bold and rarely in accord with nature. After all, we have already expressed doubts on this point in the book (mentioned on page 8). The matter is different, however, with regard to the original tonality of songs of the Slavic peoples, including ours. Here, it seems certain that this tonality was no different from the tonality of the entire Aryan race.

Przy rozbiórce układu muzycznego we wspomnianych i podobnych im pieśniach, moglibyśmy do nich zastosować to, co już w ogóle o tem przedmiocie powiedziano w Seryi II Ludu (Sandomierskie), gdyby przez nas nabyte w ciągu ubiegłych dotąd lat 28, a które nam nowy dawało zewsząd materiał, nie nauczyło nas, że niektóre z podanych tam naszych poglądów, twierdzeń i wywodów za zbyt wybujałe i rzadko z naturą zgodne nie nakazało nam uważać hipotezy. Wszakże już w książce (pomienionej na str. 8) wyraziliśmy wątpliwość co do tego punktu. Inaczej jednakże rzecz ma się z poglądem na pierwotną pieśń tonalność u ludów słowiańskich, a zatem i naszego. Tu zdaje się być rzeczą pewną, że tonalność ta nie odróżniała się od tonalności całej aryjskiej rasy (Kolberg 1964a, iv–v).

It should be noted that this statement clearly includes an element of self-criticism predating by many decades the self-reflection of (ethno)musicologists reviewing their own research.

In Kolberg's rich collection of writings, one can also find other comments and reflections on the issues that would later be discussed in *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* and in ethnomusicology. These remarks are scattered throughout the volumes of *Lud*, but they can also be found in the articles written for Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedia powszechna* [Universal encyclopaedia]¹⁵ and for periodicals—these were collected and published in the two volumes of *Pisma muzyczne* [Musical writings], in *Studia, rozprawy i artykuły* [Studies, essays and articles], and in *Korespondencja* [Correspondence] I–III. They reflect the researcher's broad horizons and help to identify the sources and origins of his attitude.¹⁶ Kolberg followed the theoretical discussions held among his contemporaries. He referred to the available scientific knowledge, showing a critical attitude towards some views, which proves that his research methods had solid theoretical foundations.

It seems worth attempting to reconstruct Kolberg's standpoint on the problem of the origin, nature and development of music. Recent years seem to have witnessed a renaissance of interest in these issues. In his texts on the links between the music of the ancient East and the Polish knight's song *Bogurodzica*,¹⁷ Kolberg presents an idea of the development of music that refers to

¹⁵ The encyclopaedia was published from 1859 to 1868, and throughout this time Kolberg remained closely associated with this monumental editorial undertaking.

¹⁶ Even during Kolberg's lifetime, Zygmunt Gloger called for his various texts to be published in a single volume, believing that "this would be a very important and very interesting study" (Gloger 1880, 124).

¹⁷ *O początkach rozwoju muzyki* [On the beginnings of the development of music] (Kolberg 1981, 5–7);

the views of the above-mentioned German scholar Gottfried Fink. This is connected with the belief in the migratory distribution of music as the reason for its universality and for the observed similarities between various musical languages. In the entry for “Music” in Orgelbrand’s *Encyklopedia powszechna* [Universal encyclopaedia], Kolberg writes with reference to the history of music:

Music in the broader sense is one of the oldest of the arts, mainly because its means of expression, tone and voice, like speech, are innate to man, and every living emotion or feeling has always tried to manifest itself in tone, both in civilised peoples and in those who live in a state of complete savagery.

Muzyka w rozleglejszym znaczeniu jest jedną z najstarszych sztuk, z tego głównie względu, że środek jej przedstawienia, ton i głos, równie jak mowa, jest człowiekowi wrodzonym, a każde żywsze uczucie lub wzruszenie zawsze tonem objawiać się usiłowało, zarówno u ludów ucywilizowanych, jak i u tych, które w stanie zupełnej żyją dzikości (Kolberg 1975, 4).

Kolberg thus puts man’s capabilities in terms of sound expression on a par with his speech abilities and emphasises the connection between this kind of expression and the need to express emotions. For him, this assertion becomes the basis for drawing deductive conclusions about the age of music. He claims that “music and speech have a common origin” (“muzyka i mowa mają wspólne pochodzenie”), but he does not go as far as to claim that there was a kind of proto-speech with musical characteristics, as contemporary researchers do (cf. Brown 2000).

Kolberg is convinced that abilities in the field of speech and the expression of sound are innate and that socially established laws of musical organisation have been in operation, thanks to which speech could develop into singing. This brings to mind Curt Sachs’ logogenic concept of the origins of music. Kolberg understands the development of music as art in terms of the dichotomy between nature and culture, and he expresses his conviction about the progressive character of the cultural development of man and the art he creates. Therefore, he distinguishes music in its inherent, natural form from music understood as art, which consists of the ability “to move the human soul by means of tones that conform to the established principles of beauty” (1975a, 1). Music which consists of “the first raw sounds of nature” requires, in his opinion, scientific taming in order to become musical art. He writes:

Between the first primitive manifestations of music and the proper art of music as we know it today, there are the intermediary elements, first of all the study of acoustics, then harmony, rhythm and melody. The first focuses on the production and proper quality of a tone, the latter

“Rzut oka na pierwotne muzyki dzieje z powodu pieśni ‘Bogurodzica’” [A glance at the original music history on account of the song ‘Mother of God’] (Kolberg 1981, 536–544).

teach us how to adjust and artistically combine these properly executed tones. Acoustics is thus the main discipline that mediates between the primary raw sounds of nature and the art of tones in its full form; it is like a bridge that connects a number of subsequent, increasingly superb elements.

Pomiędzy pierwszymi objawami gędziebnymi a sztuką muzyki, jak ją dziś pojmujemy, stoją jako pośredniczące im członki najprzód nauka akustyki, dalej harmonii, rytmu i melodii”, stwierdza Kolberg. „Tamtej przedmiotem jest wydobyć i prawidłowe wyrobienie tonu, te ostatnie zaś uczą tony w ten sposób zyskane nagiąć i artystycznie z sobą łączyć. Akustyka więc jest główną nauką, pośredniczącą między pierwszymi surowymi natury odgłosami a sztuką tonów w całej jej pełni się rozciągającą; jest ona jakby mostem łączącym cały szereg następstw coraz znakomitszych (Kolberg 1975, 3).

According to Kolberg, it is thanks to the development of science that progress from nature to art is possible. It was also thanks to science that it became possible to make claims “about the essence of the material that determines art and to outline the laws governing the use of the human hearing system for musical purposes” (1975, 2).¹⁸ This statement, as well as the researcher’s claim about the aim of making music, which is “to move the human soul by means of tones [*wzruszenie duszy ludzkiej za pomocą tonów*]” (1975, 1), brings to mind Adler’s later understanding of the art of sound (*Tonkunst*). He believed that art begins when sounds are accompanied by reflection on them and used consciously for aesthetic purposes (Adler 1885, 5).

Kolberg’s views presented above fit, on the one hand, into the nineteenth-century way of thinking about the genesis and development of music. On the other hand, his claims about the nature of musicality, which emphasise the cultural-specific character of the laws governing musical organisation, anticipate a turn of thought that would not take place until the end of the 19th century.

As mentioned earlier, the development of Kolberg’s research concept was clearly heading towards cultural anthropology, as evidenced by the presence of different threads in work by Polish researchers which are also present in Alan Merriam’s *The Anthropology of Music*. The very title of Kolberg’s series of regional monographs *The People. Their Customs, Way of Life, Language, Folk tales, Proverbs, Rites, Witchcraft, Games, Songs, Music and Dances* brings to mind Merriam’s statements that “Music is interrelated with the rest of culture; it can and does shape, strengthen, and channel social, political, economic, linguistic, religious, and other kinds of behavior”, and

ethnomusicology [or anthropology of music] is made up both of the musicological and the ethnological, and music sound is the result of human behavioral processes that are shaped by

¹⁸ On the connections between Kolberg’s thought and the concepts concerning the issues discussed here, see Podlipniak 2015.

the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture (Merriam 1964, 6).

Although Kolberg modestly saw himself as a collector of folk music, he wanted to create a documentation of the materials he gathered that could be used for further ethnographic and philological research, as well as studies in the field of the philosophy and aesthetics of music.

A key role in Kolberg's research work was played by field research, still underestimated for a long time by so-called armchair ethnomusicologists. Again, there is a correspondence between the concept of such research by Kolberg and the model of ethnomusicological research on three analytical levels—conceptualization about music, behaviour in relation to music, and musical sound itself—proposed by Merriam. "It is through behavior, then, that musical sound is produced; without it, there can be no sound"—writes the researcher (*ibid.*, 33). Kolberg also seems to adhere to this view, giving a special place in his research to musical performance, with the performer's "musical disposition", the sound characteristics of the performed music and other performance details. The emergence of variants which Kolberg follows nationwide (in the first volume of *Lud*) and in individual regions (in regional monographs) were associated by him with the natural tendency of folk musicians to improvise. It is one of those elements which would indicate, in Merriam's terms, how "behavior in relation to music" is related to "the musical sound itself".

Another problem that absorbed Kolberg, and to which Merriam devoted particular attention, is the problem of changes taking place in music. On the one hand, Kolberg links this phenomenon with the natural formation of variants in folk music, and on the other with external factors, such as a change in lifestyle, changing social relations, or the penetration of the repertoire of other environments into folk music. These statements suggest associations with Merriam's formulations concerning the variability of human behaviour as one of the main sources of change in music (1964, 308–309) or the permeation of one culture's content into another (1964, 313–316). Last but not least, attention should be paid to Kolberg's attempts to break through Eurocentrism, so commonly observed in nineteenth-century writings on music, but also present in later musicological works. Merriam strongly opposes this attitude, making the request that "ethnocentrism must be attacked wherever it is found" (1964, 8).

Kolberg, unlike Merriam, tried to understand the music he studied in a cultural context, but from a diachronic perspective. Nevertheless, taking into account the demonstrated similarities in the concepts of both researchers, one could consider Kolberg not only a precursor of musical ethnography, but also of the anthropology of music.

Conclusions

During the half-century of field research that had been conducted since 1839 and involved the whole territory of pre-partition Poland, Kolberg built up, with the help of his field co-workers,

a giant archive documenting various aspects of broadly conceived traditional culture, including notated music—something that could rarely be found in other collections of the time. It could be asserted that in Europe at that time there was no comparable collection that included such an abundance of notated music. It should also be noted that, thanks to Kolberg, the Poland of that time acquired a body of terminologically adapted and systematised knowledge of music exceeding anything that had hitherto been written on the subject in the Polish language. The analysis of Kolberg's approach to research also provides further arguments in favour of Ulrich Morgenstern's statement that "except certain postmodernist ideas (and doctrines) there is not a single influential concept in the theory and method of modern ethnomusicology that has not been developed much earlier in European [...] folk music research and academic folkloristics, or in early comparative musicology" (2018, 23–24).

However, due to such factors as the language barrier and the situation of Poland, which at the time of Kolberg's work was under the rule of the partitioners, the researcher did not receive his due place in European culture, which, for example, the Brothers Grimm have. The year 2014 marked the 200th anniversary of Kolberg's birth. That jubilee year abounding with conferences and publications devoted to the researcher has shown how little we know about Kolberg and how much there still is to learn.

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Translated by Ewa Skotnicka

Cantor Abraham Baer (1834–1894), the Jewish Reform Movement, and the Prehistory of Swedish Ethnomusicology

Abstract

Cantor Abraham Baer's *Baal t'fillah oder der practische Vorbeter* (1877) is generally considered as the 19th century's most comprehensive collection of traditional European synagogue music. Outwardly, Baer's magnum opus has the look of a handbook for Jewish cantors, but it clearly has scholarly aims as well. Its creation is closely linked to a cultural setting that had some importance for the first tentative steps of Swedish ethnomusicology—the Jewish community of the city of Gothenburg and its synagogue, which was Baer's workplace for almost four decades. A characteristic trait of Jewish Gothenburg was its strong links to the ground-breaking intellectual climate of the Jewish reform circles in Berlin. This contribution argues that Baer's work must be understood against this specific background.

The formation of modern social sciences around 1900 created the necessary conditions for the emergence of ethnomusicology as a distinct scholarly field. Here, Berlin played a pivotal role. The city's university, which had been founded in 1810 as a part of the Prussian educational reforms, encouraged innovative research. Secularization and liberalization facilitated an integration between scholarly cultures that traditionally had been strictly separated. In 1872, the famous *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* [Institute for the scientific study of Judaism] was founded by a circle of devoted German-Jewish scholars to provide a kind of interface between the Jewish traditions of Talmudic text analysis and German *Geisteswissenschaft*. The initiator of this institution was the philosopher and pioneer of social psychology Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903), who together with the linguist Chajim Steinthal also founded the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (Journal of Folk Psychology/Social Psychology and Linguistics). Here, the sociologist Georg Simmel, a student of Lazarus, made his academic debut with a dissertation on the origin of music, a work that points in the direction of future ethnomusicology. It is an interesting fact that the scholarly profile of the actual pioneer of academic Swedish folk music research, the composer and musicologist Karl Valentin (1853–1918), was clearly moulded by the Berlin-oriented cultural milieu of Jewish Gothenburg, where Abraham Baer held a central position.

In the summer of 1876 Mr. Abraham Baer of Gothenburg, Sweden, made a journey to Germany, where he spent a couple of weeks in Leipzig. He brought along a voluminous musical manuscript, which he handed over to the printers of the famous music publishing house Breitkopf & Härtel. In the following year the results of this effort materialized as the Jewish liturgy handbook *Baal t'fillah oder der practische Vorbeter* (Baal t'fillah or the practical prayer leader).

In 1857, Baer had been appointed cantor at the newly erected synagogue in Gothenburg, but besides his daily chores in the synagogue he had found much time to devote to the notation and compilation of 1,500 traditional Jewish liturgical melodies. His publication is the most comprehensive documentation of this oral tradition that was undertaken in 19th-century Europe. It is therefore a milestone in Jewish music history and is still highly valued by cantors and scholars all over the world. However, it can also be seen as a pioneering work in Sweden in a genre that became central to 20th-century ethnomusicology—the professional and scholarly collection, notation and publication of orally transmitted music. Hardly any other 19th-century publication of traditional music in Sweden can match the professional, scholarly standard of Baer's work and its typographic perfection.¹

During the years 2009–2013 I was busy with a research project on cantor Baer and his cultural setting in 19th-century Gothenburg. Concluding the work with my book *A Prayer for Modernity. Politics and Culture in the World of Abraham Baer* (2013), I realized, somewhat surprisingly maybe, that for me as a scholar it was not the biographical or historical elucidations that were the main outcome of my effort. Rather, I had profited *theoretically* from my reading of the pioneers of modern Jewish studies, and of early social sciences in Germany. It also became clear that these thinkers heavily influenced the creators of my own research orientation—the study of musical phenomena with methods and theories taken from cultural anthropology, ethnology and sociology, namely ethnomusicology. Baer's cultural environment in Gothenburg, with its strong ties to the vivid cultural and academic scene of contemporary Berlin, was in fact one of the focal points of an emerging Swedish scholarly field that was eventually to be labelled *musiketnologi*.

In order to understand the intellectual and historical background of all this we have to pay a visit to the small town of Filehne, Baer's birthplace in 1834. Filehne (Polish Wieleń) is located in what is now north-western Poland, but during the 19th century it belonged to Prussia, and eventually to the united German empire. The district had been annexed by Prussia in the late 18th century when the Polish kingdom was liquidated by the surrounding great powers. Like many other towns in *Provinz Posen*, as the Germans relabeled the area, Filehne had a vivid Jewish cul-

1 Most of the 19th-century Swedish collections of folk songs and instrumental folk music were made by dilettanti and enthusiasts, and some of them were in fact only published during the following century. It was only with the formation of the *Folkmusikkommissionen* in 1908 that a systematic collection and publication of Swedish folk music was organized, which ultimately resulted in the publication of *Svenska låtar* (1922–1940). See Ronström 2008.

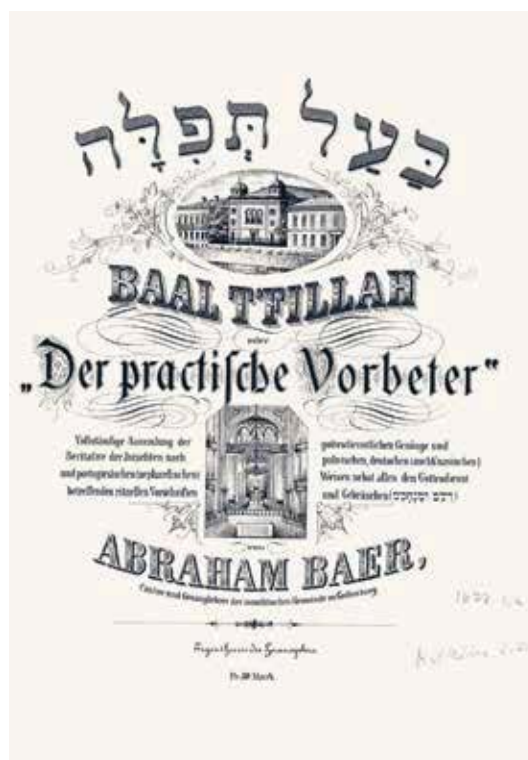


Fig. 1: The title page of Abraham Baer: *Baal t'fillah*.

franca. The Jewish system of learning had its own network of small houses of study and *yeshivot* (Talmudic schools) and had preserved an intense tradition of text interpretation and text processing, with Hebrew and Aramaic the languages of learning, despite the often far-reaching restrictions to which the institutions of the Jewish Diaspora were subjected in the Christian states.

In traditional Jewish society, social status was linked to study and learning. These were studies pursued for their own sake which had an inherent value as a *mitzvah*, an ethical-religious obligation. It is the story of this specific tradition of intellectualism and its social resonance that Moritz Lazarus tells in his memoirs of his youth. He is very characteristic of the generation of Jewish intellectuals born into the old world of Jewish learning, but who could, as a result of social change, be “reborn” into the modern academy.

Lazarus’ father Aaron was the *dayan*, chairman of the town’s *bet din*, the rabbinical court, and a prominent talmudist. As was customary, he brought his son into the tradition of learning when the boy was only six years old. After the boy’s *bar mitzvah* his studies were pursued in the

ture with a fully-fledged set of Jewish institutions, among others a *besmedresh* (house of study), a rich library and numerous study associations.

Baer may be famous among Jewish cantors and music historians, but the most spectacular personality to emerge from the *besmedresh* of Filehne was without doubt Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903). Lazarus must be regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern social sciences in Germany, and his career eloquently illustrates the wide-opened cultural window of opportunity that emerged in 19th-century Berlin.

In premodern Europe, two confessionally defined traditions of learning had existed side-by-side since the Middle Ages, each with its specific institutions and forms of expression. The university system had evolved under the protection of the Church, and non-Christian believers were thus denied access to its lecture halls and libraries, where Latin was the *lingua*

besmedresh in Filehne, where Lazarus got to know many *bokherim*, wandering beggar students. I quote his memoirs:

My occupation was as follows: every morning, except for Fridays and Saturdays, studies of the latter rabbinic texts and codices and their commentators between five and seven o'clock (six and eight in the winter), together with my father and my uncle. Thereafter, until dinnertime, study of the Talmud, which was usually general once a week, otherwise strict. To be meaningful, these studies demanded all of these hours of attention. They had to be pursued with the utmost precision. Every aspect of the Talmud had to be traced through all the centuries up to the most recent commentators. The strict study consisted of Talmudic law. Preparations for this began as afternoon or evening studies during my early years of study, under the guidance of another student of the Talmud. On Thursday evenings, we repeated the week's lesson in the absence of the teacher; this was how it was usually done at all higher yeshivas. These Thursday evenings were often rather pleasant assemblies. During the breaks, we ate simple meals, or on occasion some delicacy, which were spiced with lively and entertaining conversation until the walls of the school echoed with laughter [...] (Lazarus 1913, 41).

To anyone not familiar with this tradition, a page of the Talmud may look quite exotic. However, it is important to realize that the characteristic layout and typography of the printed Talmud is a very European phenomenon, in fact a by-product of Italian renaissance culture. It was mainly created in 16th-century Venice by the non-Jewish Flemish printer Daniel Bomberg, who set a standard in order to facilitate the intertextual references that are essential to the Talmudic discipline.

In 1833, the Prussian government instituted compulsory German-speaking elementary schools for the Jewish population in the province of Posen. The primary task of this new school system (beyond imprinting the High German language) was to spread the educational canon of German idealism: Kant, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, etc. This centralized push towards cultural homogenization was not directed solely at the Jews. The goal was essentially the same as that which applied in the Lutheran (German) and Catholic (Polish) elementary schools also found in Filehne: *Hochdeutsch und Bildung*. One can interject that schooling in High German was certainly just as important for Lutheran children as for Jewish children, as the German vernacular of the town was a very specific form of Low German, and perhaps just as far removed from the standard High German language as the Yiddish spoken by the Jews of Filehne.

In his memoirs, Lazarus implies that his youthful observations of the interplay among the three ethnic, linguistic, and religious affiliations practiced in Filehne became a source of inspiration for his later work as a scholar (Lazarus 1913, 32). What was it that created and maintained boundaries between different social collectives? What is a nation, actually? Or a religion?

At the age of sixteen, after ten years of study, young Lazarus had mastered the foundations of the Talmudic tradition. A career as a rabbi seemed foreordained, but as a consequence of

the gradual secularization and emancipation process it had become possible for non-Christian believers to enter German universities, and Lazarus' goal was now admission to the University of Berlin, which had through its liberal research profile—outlined by educational reformer Wilhelm von Humboldt—become an engine of intellectual life in Germany and a role model for many European universities. The times were characterized by feverish development in the field of human sciences. A variety of special disciplines were spun off from philosophy and history, such as psychology, art history, ethnology, and musicology. Lazarus, along with another Jewish Berlin academic, linguist Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899), became the founder of a new discipline, the subject of which was not any particular form of art or category of object, but rather human interaction itself.

The point of departure was a quite simple but very ambitious question: how is society possible? They called their new research orientation *Völkerpsychologie*. In 1860, Lazarus was offered a professorship in his new discipline at the University of Berne, Switzerland, and from this seat of learning and through the journal *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (Journal of Folk Psychology/Social Psychology and Linguistics), which he co-founded with Steinthal in 1859, he engaged in a discussion about cultural identity that strongly contributed to the emergence of sociology and modern cultural studies in German-speaking Europe.

The name Lazarus and Steinthal chose for their discipline caused some misunderstandings and misinterpretations in the 20th century, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world. The German word *Volk* sounds rather worrisomely Teutonic to some ears, but to Lazarus it stood only for the collective aspect of cultural identity and was not tinged with the obscure metaphysical notions associated with ideas of the *Volksseele* ("soul of the people"). If one could speak of individual psychology, one should also be able to talk about the manifestations of psychological phenomena on the collective level, according to Lazarus and Steinthal. But it has been difficult to find apt translations of the term *Völkerpsychologie*. It has been rendered as folk psychology, national psychology, anthropological psychology, and ethnic psychology. *Social psychology* is, however, probably the most fitting English equivalent (see Klautke 2010, 1–19).

Alongside the background of general intellectual history to Lazarus' and Steinthal's endeavors, there was also a political impetus. In the atmosphere of increasingly acute nationalist agitation that characterized the decades after 1848 in Central Europe, there was a need to objectively respond to the zealots of so-called racial purity who spoke of biologically determined common destinies (*Schicksalsgemeinschaften*). In a lecture entitled *Über das Verhältniß des Einzelnen zur Gesamtheit* (On the relationship of the individual to the whole), which Lazarus held in Berne in 1861, he develops his views on what we would today call the nature of ethnic affiliation (quoted after Lazarus 2003, 88–89):

Spiritual or mental closeness or difference is independent of genetic kinship. The concept of a people is based on the interplay of spiritual and historical circumstances on the one hand, and nature-given conditions on the other, the intervention of culture in nature. That which

first and foremost constitutes a people is not certain objective characteristics, such as origins, language, etc., but rather the subjective beliefs among the individual members of the people, the individuals who together constitute a people. The concept of a people rests upon the subjective understandings of individual members about themselves, about their similarity, and affiliation. When we study plants and animals, it is the natural scientist who classifies and systematizes on the basis of objective, distinctive traits—in the case of people, on the other hand, we ask who they are, and to which people they count themselves. [Menschen aber fragen wir, zu welchem Volke sie sich zählen.]

[...] One should not be surprised by the subjective nature to which we ascribe the concept of a people. A people is entirely a mental entity: it has no corporeal existence, even if it is not independent of material conditions. A people is a mental creation of the individuals who belong to it. They are not a people—they continuously *create* the people.

We see that Lazarus comes very close here to a fashionable concept within social sciences regarded by many as innovative and groundbreaking when introduced in 1983—the imagined community. No shadow may fall on Benedict Anderson, who was a prolific cultural analyst, but views on cultural identity and affiliation that are almost identical with his concept were in fact very distinctly and eloquently formulated by Moritz Lazarus in the 1860s! Lazarus' insight into the *continuously creative* nature of affiliation led him to an interest in the media and forms of this creative activity and thus to a radically new understanding of the social relevance of aesthetic phenomena:

Besides the objective conditions of politics—the so-called logic of facts—ethical ideas like law, justice and cultural progress are usually seen as the driving forces of history. However, the importance of aesthetic motivations has not yet been fully considered. There has been much talk about the influence of politics and history on the flowering or decay of art, but not much has been said of the influence of aesthetics on other aspects of general culture, especially on politics. This causal connection has not been thought over with the same naturalness as the opposite relationship.

Here, I am not referring to the aesthetic sphere in the conventional sense, i.e. the creation and reception of works of art. On the contrary, I think that purely aesthetic motivations can be discerned in areas and in connection with actions that are usually not included in the aesthetic realm and that are seemingly untouched by aspects of aesthetic beauty (Lazarus 2003, 100–101).

And somewhat further down in this text he continues: “In the shaping [*Gestaltung*] of individual as well as of social life, in the political events in war and peace, aesthetic ideas will be discerned as forceful and dominating principles” (ibid.).

One of the most interesting architectural monuments in Berlin is the *Neue Synagoge* on Oranienburger Straße, consecrated in 1866. The *Neue Synagoge* is the architectonic expression of the Jewish reform movement in Berlin. The architects Eduard Knoblauch and August Stüler allude to the epoch in cultural history that the reform activists perceived as the Golden Age of Jewish culture in Europe—medieval Al-Andalus (cf. Harold Hammer-Schenk 1995). The “rediscovery” and appreciation of pluralistic Muslim rule in Spain is largely the result of research by Jewish philologists in the 19th century. When Jewish intellectuals were at last allowed into the halls of academia, the “Oriental” languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic—often became their field of research. They had the Hebrew and Aramaic from their Talmudic studies, while they acquired Arabic so that they could study and translate medieval Jewish philosophy (mainly Maimonides), much of which was written in that language.

Scholar and rabbi Abraham Geiger (1810–1874) became a dominant figure in the field and also came to play a central role in the Jewish reform movement.² Geiger was installed as the rabbi of the *Neue Synagoge* in Berlin in 1869. Here he came to interact with Moritz Lazarus, who had returned to Berlin as professor of philosophy at the *Militärhochschule*, where he instilled the classical German ideals of *Bildung* in the minds of future Prussian officers. Lazarus initiated the legendary institute *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (College for the Science of Judaism), founded in 1872; Geiger wrote the curriculum.³ *Wissenschaft des Judentums* may be regarded as the academic, cultural studies aspect of the Jewish reform movement. The concept embraced every conceivable aspect of Jewish culture, but it had no specific theoretical or methodological delimitation (see also, for example, Lazarus 1900). The Hochschule was conceived as a liberal, non-confessional institution with the aim of offering all comers (including non-Jews) advanced study in Jewish history, religion, linguistics, and philosophy. Many people were indeed interested and the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* became an important address in the intellectual landscape of Berlin, and it functioned as a kind of interface between the Jewish intellectual tradition and German university culture. Geiger, Lazarus, and Steinthal all taught at the institute, as did neo-kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen and rabbi and theologian Leo Baeck. The philologist and historian Ismar Elbogen (1874–1943) was the director of the institute during the first decades of the 20th century.

Geiger and Lazarus considered the creation of a unified German state on a liberal basis to be a progressive project. In this sense, they were dedicated German nationalists. Lazarus’ professorship at the Prussian Military Academy is an eloquent example of this dedication. For these

² For Geiger’s biography, see Ludwig Geiger 1910.

³ In 1883, the Hochschule was formally downgraded to a *Lehranstalt* (school) by the German academic authorities, a decision partly informed by antisemitic prejudices. However, in the Weimar Republic, its university status was confirmed (1920). The Hochschule was housed at several different locations in Berlin until 1907, when it moved to its own venue at 9 Tucholskystrasse. In 1941, the Nazi authorities confiscated the building, and in 1942 the institution was liquidated.

liberals, there was thus no conflict between the intense cultivation of the Jewish tradition of learning and a dedicated participation in German culture. They were shaped by the ideas of the liberal revolution of 1848, but the German unification of 1871 was, as is well-known, mainly accomplished with *Blut und Eisen*, and not so much with *Kultur und Bildung*. The establishment of a Jewish institution incorporated into the German academic system was thus seen as an important marker.

As professors and lecturers at the University of Berlin, Lazarus and Steinthal also taught several prominent students who would later make significant contributions to the social sciences and humanities. Perhaps the most important among them was Georg Simmel (1858–1918), who is considered one of the founders of German sociology. Through Simmel, the ideas of Lazarus and Steinthal were spread to other important thinkers, including Max Weber, Leopold von Wiese, Alfred Vierkandt, and Karl Mannheim. In his legendary lectures and essays, Simmel takes up and elaborates on many of the central arguments of *Völkerpsychologie*. In Simmel's thinking, Lazarus' concept of *objektiver Geist*, which referred to the legacy of symbols and beliefs inherited from previous generations with which every new member of society is inevitably socialized in the creation of his individual identity (*subjektiver Geist*), developed into *Kultur*, that is, the broad, anthropological concept of culture.

For Simmel, media and aesthetics became keys to understanding the social. In the process of gathering material for his doctoral thesis, Simmel was already engaged in a kind of proto-ethnomusicological fieldwork in 1879, most likely inspired by Lazarus. The object of his empirical studies is somewhat surprising and is likely to have been urged by his experiences of the emerging popular music and entertainment scene in the German metropolis, where he would have been exposed to a peculiar phenomenon called *Natursänger und Jodler* (rural singers and yodelers). During the 19th century, rural performers of *Volkslieder* (folk songs) and *Volktänze* (folk dances) from Bavaria, Austria and Switzerland used to tour the big cities of Central Europe during the summers, appearing at improvised stages in parks and Biergartens. Apparently, young Simmel became fascinated by these seemingly unpolished and archaic forms of expression. In the *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* (Yearbook of the Swiss Alpine Club) he published a questionnaire, consisting of fifteen detailed questions covering the sociology, emotional context, gender aspects, acoustics and linguistic characteristics of the yodel phenomenon (Simmel 2000, 452). He submitted the result of his efforts, the dissertation *Psychologische und ethnographische Studien über die Anfänge der Musik* (Psychological and ethnographic studies of the beginnings of music) (1872), to the Berlin university. The professors found the work quite interesting; however, they became a bit uneasy and rejected the dissertation, since it seemed impossible to range the study under any existing academic discipline! In order to get his doctorate, Simmel had to compose another dissertation on a quite different subject, philosopher Immanuel Kant's ideas on the nature of matter. However, his pioneering ethnomusicological experiment was published in 1882 by Lazarus and Steinthal in their *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (Journal of Folk Psychology/Social Psychology and Linguistics).

Lazarus/Steinthal, and later Simmel became well-known outside the German language area early on and their thinking influenced scholars like French sociologist Celestin Bouglé (1870–1940), who had studied in Berlin, and the American William Isaac Thomas (1863–1947) of the Chicago School. But the scholar who was informed most strongly by Lazarus' social psychology was the founder of American cultural anthropology, Franz Boas (1858–1942), who grew up in a liberal Jewish milieu in Germany. In his paper, "The History of Anthropology", published in *Science* in 1904, Boas refers to "folk psychology" as his most important source of inspiration for the linguistic-anthropological study, a field of research that must include language as well as myths, religion, and aesthetics. Among Boas's students who went on to become prominent scholars, Alfred Kroeber, Edward Sapir, and Ruth Benedict can be mentioned (Klautke 2010, 10–11).

After the Nazi disaster and the Holocaust, German-Jewish relations were a moot and politically extremely sensitive sphere, and the scientific contribution of Lazarus and his circle fell into oblivion. In the international context, the term *Völkerpsychologie* was problematic. In Germany and Austria, for many years scholars avoided any discussion on the theme "Jewish influence" out of fear of being misunderstood and misused. It was only with Klaus Christian Köhnke's important republication in 2003 of some of Lazarus' groundbreaking texts that the field was reopened and the general theoretical significance of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* could be rediscovered and assessed.

Now, how can we understand the relationship between these intellectual trends in Berlin and the work of cantor Abraham Baer? First, I have to say a few words about the Jewish community of Gothenburg. Jewish immigration to Sweden had been outlawed by the orthodox Lutheran state church in the 17th century, and it was only during the 1770s that Jews were allowed to settle in the country. In Gothenburg, a congregation started to form in the 1780s, and a first synagogue was erected in 1808. The early Jewish settlers mainly came from the northern German area (like Posen, Breslau, Berlin and Hamburg) and Denmark, and right from the beginning they were in touch with the *Haskalah* (Jewish enlightenment) and the reform trends on the continent. Radical modifications of synagogue ritual and the prayer book were introduced during the 1840s and 1850s, and these modernization efforts were crowned by the consecration of the new, reformed synagogue (which was to be Baer's workplace) in 1855. The small Gothenburg community had close contacts with the leading personalities of the emerging *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. When the congregation started to look for its first rabbi in 1835, a young Abraham Geiger sent a letter to the board, presenting himself as a possible candidate. However, nothing materialized from this effort; at the time, Geiger was only 25 and had just started his rabbinic career. Nevertheless, in this way a connection was established that facilitated the influx of Geiger's ideas into the intellectual climate of Gothenburg.

A close reading of the prefaces to the first two editions of the *Baal t'fillah* (1877 and 1883) demonstrates Baer's closeness to the empiricistic ideals of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. This clearly applies both to the academic form of these introductory texts, filled with many footnotes, and also to their content. Baer refers to earlier research in the field of Jewish liturgical music,

which he criticizes for its narrow-minded historicism. In their naïve effort to trace the historical origin of synagogue music back to temple times, scholars have focused on biblical poetry and the ekphonic cantillation signs used in Torah manuscripts. He remarks, somewhat ironically, that some interesting findings may have been made, but generally, little light has been thrown on this obscure field. As an alternative to this fruitless philological approach, he advocates a study of the living, oral tradition—“the vivid songs, which are performed daily in all synagogues.” This is nothing less than an ethnomusicological appeal. The music of the synagogue is here and now. Its true identity is not to be found in ancient signs and symbols, but in living practice.

Until the 19th century, the musical dimensions of synagogal worship were very rarely put on paper, since there was simply no need for it. A Jewish religious service consists of a sequence of prayers, benedictions, supplications, hymns and psalms, framing the central act, the ceremonial reading from the Torah. Since medieval times, the texts have been collected in prayer books (*siddur* for the yearly cycle of weekdays and sabbath worship, *mahzor* for the major holidays of the year). A *Baal t'fillah* or *hazan* (Yiddish *vorbeter* or *khazn*: in reformed congregations called the *cantor*) leads the service, using sophisticated musical means for his performative interpretation of the message of the texts. The prayer melodies and motifs were transmitted orally from the *vorbeters* to their *meshoyrers* (apprentices). Due to the profound changes in Jewish society in Western and Central Europe in the wake of the emancipation period in the early 19th century, these traditional forms of transmission were challenged, which created a need for formalized cantorial education based on notated music. Simultaneously, aesthetic ideals from contemporary art music started to impact the Jewish congregations, and new musical forms were introduced, like organ music and multipart choral singing. The printed music for synagogue usage that now started to be published, like Salomon Sulzer's *Schir Zion*, and Samuel Naumbourg's *Semiroth Israël*, was not mainly intended as documentation, but rather represented a novel form of composed liturgies, i.e. artistic works created by musical personalities.⁴

Baer's work differs here and can be interpreted as a reaction against the untraditional aestheticization of synagogue music. He certainly welcomes and embraces innovations, but he also urges Jewish cantors to respect and value the *nusah*, their specific, traditional form of expression and worship. To make this possible, the heritage must be presented objectively, with respect and understanding for its pluralistic and fluent nature. To be able to create something lasting for the future, we must know what we have.

4 The gradual formalization of the education of Jewish cantors in the period leading up to 1850 created a new type of music scholarship and expertise that has some relevance for early ethnomusicology. These academically experienced cantors possessed a unique combination of competences. On the one hand, they were familiar with an oral tradition that put a high value on extemporization and improvisation; on the other hand, they were musically literate and theoretically trained. Not a bad mixture for an ethnomusicologist. This is an interesting theme for further research into the early history of the discipline, especially in Eastern Europe.

שחרית לחול
Morgen-Gesänge.

№ 1.
Portugiesische Melodie.
Moderato. (♩ = 4)

שחר אבקשך

Scha - char twalkesch' cho zu - ri u - mis - gal - bi e t roch l'fo -
ne - cho schach - ri w' gam ar - bi schach - ri w' gam ar - bi. Ebenso die an - dern Strophen.

№ 2.

*) 1. den 2. lo hin chaj w' jisch - tab - bach nim - zo w' en es el m' ai - u - so e -
es na 2. soh w'chef - zo kol 2. saj melech sch' mo nik - fo. Rhema die an - dern Strophen.
ched w' en jo - chid k' ji - chu do ne - lom w' gam en sof l' ach - du - so.
Ela Jigdal bei einer Stelle siehe № 227.

ברכות השחר

№ 3.
Solo. Chor. Solo.
Bo - ruch at -toh 2 do -noj ho - ruch hu - wo - ruch sch' mo flo - he - nu me - lech ho o - lom

№ 4.
Solo. Chor. Solo. Chor.
2. scher kid d' scho - nu b' miwosow w'ziw - wo - nu jal n' ti las jo - do - jim. o - men.
(la 2 sok b'diw're so - roh.)

№ 5.
Solo. Chor. Solo. Chor.
Boruch attoh 2 dosoj boruch hu uworuch sch' mo ro - fe chul bosor unaf'. li la 2 sos o - men.

№ 6.
Solo. Chor. Solo. Chor.
W' ha 2 rew no 2 do -noj 2 lo - he - nu es diw're so - ro - s' cho b' fi - nu u - w' fi am m' cho bes jis - ro -
el w'nikh 2 na ch'nu w'ze 2 zo - e - nu w'ze 2 zo - e am m' cho bes jis - ro - el kul - lo - nu jo d' e sch' -
me - cho w' lom' de so - ro se - cho (fischmoh) ham m' laummed to - roh l'am - mo jis - ro - el o - men.

Fig. 2: Abraham Baer, *Baal t'fillah*, p. 1.

*) In manchen deutschen Gemeinden betet der Cantor bis **ברכות** auf seinem Platze. Er legt **טלית** erst vor **שחר** an.

) In manchen Gemeinden wird an „Chanuckah“ das „2 den Olam“ nach der Melodie: **ענין gesungen.

***) Andere Lesart: **2. nur**. *) Bedeutet überall im Werke: bis Incl.

****) In den meisten deutschen Gemeinden folgen gleich nach „Umaffi la 2 sos“ № 9-1) 20, dann № 3, 4 (m. d. 2. Texte), 6, 7 u. 8.

Druck und Druck von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.

For much of the 19th-century, early musicological attempts to describe and characterize synagogal singing tried to present it as a modal system, in analogy with the traditional church modes. This approach, amply represented by the writings of Viennese cantor Joseph Singer (1841–1911), may have been motivated by a more or less conscious aim to raise the status of Jewish oral tradition in a society dominated by an academic *Bildungsästhetik*. Baer, however, was sceptical towards these systematization efforts, and his stance in these matters demonstrates his awareness of the syncretic, collage nature of the *Vorbeter* tradition. After publishing the first edition of *Baal t'fillah* he was criticized by some reviewers for not having differentiated clearly between “traditional” melodies and his own contributions or compositions. In the foreword to the second edition, he comments on this:

I did not find it necessary to indicate with my name those pieces that I myself composed in the old style and which consequently do not belong under the heading “traditional Chasonus”, which some dear friends have asked me to do. Anybody who has some knowledge of our sacred music would be aware that we do not have fixed melodies to all our prayers, and that the longest prayers are entrusted to the free outpourings from the Chasan’s heart. And it is also exactly here that the Chasan can display his talent and sentiment, his erudition in the field of Jewish song; in short, gives voice to his full individuality. In spite of the incongruence between different Chasanim, all these recitatives (like Malchios, Sichronos, Shofros etc.) have an old Jewish character. However, they are and will be individual creations. Every clever *Vorbeter* cultivates his own “Steiger” (style and way of singing) and strives to disseminate it through his pupils (Baer 1883, xi–xii).

Certainly, Baer was a scholar and something of an ethnomusicologist, but he himself was also a bearer of tradition. Therefore, he declares, his book of liturgy must partly be seen as the result of a conscious process of introspection. In a way, he could be his own informant, and this in no way diminishes the quality of his work. He realizes that in this culture of “free outpourings”, there was simply no standardized canon. Rather, it is characterized by a continuity of change. The essence of this tradition was its individualism and variability, and its willingness to adopt and assimilate almost any musical vehicle that fits into the *Vorbeter’s* expressive toolbox.

It is difficult to exactly pinpoint Baer’s exposure to the theoretical literature of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. His collection of “books and music” had the highest value (250 Kronor) of all the items listed in the estate inventory drawn up after his death in 1894, but unfortunately the books were not catalogued, and it is unclear what happened to them after his funeral. He of course had access to the rich library of his congregation as well. Rabbi Moritz Wolff was an internationally respected Maimonides scholar and must have been an important interlocutor in all Jewish and scholarly matters. Abraham Geiger’s writings were held in great esteem in Jewish Gothenburg, and the ideas of the Berlin reform permeated the small community of about 400 members. In an intellectual circle around the non-Jewish journalist, publicist and politician Sven Adolf Hedlund, the editor-in-chief of Gothenburg’s leading liberal newspaper (*Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*), these innovative ways of thinking diffused into the Swedish cultural environment. Among the members of this circle were rabbi Wolff and several of the city’s prominent Jewish intellectuals. Hedlund, who during his years at Uppsala university had studied philology and comparative linguistics, actually became Baer’s most ardent supporter and sponsor. He actively facilitated the production of the *Baal t’fillah* by advertising in his paper and by subscribing to a considerable number of copies, which he then distributed to Jewish and non-Jewish friends and colleagues at home and abroad.

In 1873, when Baer was in the final stage of the work on his liturgy publication, the congregation sent him to Berlin on a month's study visit.⁵ There, he was received by a circle of people centered around the newly created *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Abraham Geiger and Joseph Aub (at that time they were both rabbis in the Neue Synagoge in Oranienburger Strasse), old cantor Lichtenstein, and Ludwig Philippson, the publisher of the weekly *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (General Newspaper of Judaism).

I have already suggested that Baer's *Baal t'fillah* should not only be seen as a milestone in the history of Jewish music, but that it in fact belongs to the early steps on a proto-ethnomusicological pathway in Sweden as well. Unlike most of his Swedish contemporaries in folklore collection and ethnology, who were driven by patriotic or nationalist feelings, Baer rejects all too far-reaching conclusions about the ethnic symbolism of aesthetic expressions. His primary intent is not to parade the ancient, unique, and ethnically specific. Instead, he strives to demonstrate the existing practice and to suggest some very moderate innovations.⁶ His interest is thus directed at the medium, at the communication itself and its mutable forms, in the spirit of Lazarus and Steinthal. It may be argued that Baer's *Baal t'fillah* is presented as a handbook for practical, performative use in the synagogue. But it was by linking his scholarly effort to this practical aim that Baer could find a much broader audience for his undertaking than would have been the case with a strictly academic publication. Baer's preface (and the many detailed comments throughout the work) make it clear that this is also intended as a piece of *Wissenschaft* (humanities). In fact, Baer thought of his book as the first part of a grandiose scholarly project, an encyclopedic work on the history of Jewish liturgy comprising both the textual, musical and ritual aspects (Baer 1883, viii, footnote). Unfortunately, Baer (who died in 1894, aged 60) was not able to fulfil this vision. It was only Ismar Elbogen who would create something comparable regarding the textual aspects of Jewish liturgy with his *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Jewish worship in its historical development) (1913). However, the scholarly qualities of Baer's magnum opus made it almost indispensable for 20th-century research on the history of Jewish liturgical music. Standard works of the field, like Werner 1976 and Kalib 2002–2005, rely heavily on his notations and commentaries. In his preface, Kalib even declares that it was his ambition to create a Baer for the 21st century.

Did Baer acquire any Swedish followers on his newly trodden path? If we look at the handbooks of Swedish music history and intellectual history, it seems that his footsteps were soon forgotten and overgrown. Here, *Baal t'fillah* is not even mentioned. However, this deplorable

5 Baer 1883, xxiv. The formal aim of the study trip to Berlin was Baer's recent appointment as the *mohel* (circumciser) of the Gothenburg congregation.

6 An interesting example of this undogmatic attitude of Baer's is his commentary on item 753 in *Baal t'fillah*, 2nd ed. (1883), where he states that "this melody is conspicuously similar to a Swedish folk melody". Apparently, he is referring to a traditional melody from the province of Värmland, which was equipped with the text "Jänta å ja" by the writer and playwright Fredrik August Dahlgren (1816–1895).

ignorance is not necessarily a consequence of actively anti-Jewish patterns of thinking. Rather, I think it demonstrates the continuing, almost subconscious presence of a religious, “Christian” factor for the definition of what may be regarded as inside and outside in Swedish culture—in this seemingly very secularized society.

But in the early decades of the 20th century there was still a clearly discernable resonance of the vivid discussions in Gothenburg’s intellectual circles in the 1860s and 1870s. In an article published in 2003, musicologist Dan Olsson paid attention to what he described as “pionjärbetet som glömdes bort”, “the pioneering but forgotten work” of Swedish academic folk music research: Karl Valentin’s dissertation *Studien über die schwedischen Volksmelodien* (Studies on the Swedish folk melodies), presented at the university of Leipzig in 1885. Composer, musicologist and educator Karl Valentin (1853–1918) (not to be confused with the German cabaret artist of the same name) was the son of Isaac Philip Valentin, an important cultural patron in 19th-century Gothenburg and for many years an influential member of the board of the Jewish congregation (and in fact one of the persons who appointed Baer in 1857). During Karl Valentin’s culturally formative years in the Jewish Gothenburg of the 1860s, Baer had his heyday as a cantor and teacher in the synagogue.

Valentin’s dissertation is marked by an almost positivist matter-of-factness. He is not interested in folk tunes as carriers of some metaphysical *Volksgeist*; he does not emphasize the extra-musical, mainly nationalist, symbolic values that were the focus of most contemporary Swedish transcribers and collectors. He is interested in the musical medium itself as a form of communication, in the same vein as Moritz Lazarus and Abraham Baer.

As a composer, conductor, and educator, Valentin became an important figure in Swedish musical life around 1900. From 1901 until his death, he was the secretary of the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, one of the most important and prestigious positions in Swedish musical life. As one of the initiators in 1910 of an association for musicology (reconstituted in 1919 as *Svenska samfundet för musikforskning*, the Swedish Society for Music Research), Valentin belongs to the founders of Swedish academic musicology.

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Reading Tiersot (1857–1936)

Musings about the Early Days of Ethnomusicology¹

Abstract

The article discusses the contributions of Julien Tiersot, a historian, critic, composer, and library director at the Paris Conservatoire, to the field of ethnomusicology during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Tiersot, although not always accurate in his ideas, played a significant role in understanding the history of ideas during the *Belle Époque*. Unlike many conservatory-trained musicians of his time, Tiersot took an interest in studying and exploring non-Western music.

Tiersot's work included studying French traditional music, conducting fieldwork, and attending the Paris Exposition of 1889, where he experienced music from various cultures. He wrote extensively about Javanese and African music, challenging Western prejudices and highlighting the complexity and richness of these musical traditions. Tiersot also discussed the concept of harmony in non-Western music and questioned the assumption that Western music was superior. Although Tiersot's transcriptions of non-Western music may have some inaccuracies, they provide valuable historical insights into his perceptions and interpretations. He believed that the study of "musical ethnography" was essential for a comprehensive understanding of Western music history. The article acknowledges that Tiersot's ideas may be outdated or flawed in some aspects, but it recognizes his efforts to broaden the musical horizons of his time and appreciate the diversity of musical traditions worldwide. It concludes by emphasizing the importance of integrating musical ethnography into the study of Western music history.

¹ I wrote this essay while constantly thinking of my professor Bruno Nettl, who passed away on January 15th 2020. No one, except my parents, ever influenced my life as much and as positively as he did. It was Bruno who taught me that our scholarly work needs to be constantly guided by an awareness of what was done in the past. The following pages elaborate a lecture given at the University of Melbourne, School of Music, in July 2004. I am grateful to Professor Kerry Murphy, for her invitation and suggestion to examine the beginnings of ethnomusicology in 19th century France. I am grateful to the reviewers who made pertinent comments about this text and made suggestions to make it better. I am equally grateful to the editors of this volume for helping me in a number of ways.

Music being the object of a sense common to all mankind, if genius alone could invent and bring it to perfection, why is China, which has been so long civilized, still without great composers and performers? And why are the inhabitants of three fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with no better than noise and jargon?
(Burney 1798, 703)

Thales of Miletus to begin with ...

Bertrand Russel once observed how philosophy textbooks usually begin with Thales of Miletus, who said everything is ultimately made of water. Students are immediately disappointed by that, and hope things will become more interesting further ahead (Russell 1946). Big mistake. When brilliant people get it wrong, there is often something to learn from their misapprehensions. Thales in fact, for the first time in recorded history, was trying to understand reality without postulating supernatural agencies; and the idea that underneath the diversity of things, a unifying principle might exist was quite new, and in later centuries became the subject of further inquiry. Hooray for Thales!

How students react to Thales is nonetheless understandable. In the course of history, we have developed a keen interest in people who were way “ahead of their time”; something we can trace back to the Romantic concept of “genius”, and its offshoot, the “great man theory of history”, for which Carlyle was the propaganda minister (Carlyle 1841).

This essay is not about a man ahead of his time—or, at least, not all the time. Tiersot, in fact, like Thales also produced brilliant ideas, although not always right on target and often intertwined with the prejudices of his own age. Precisely for that reason he represented that age, *la belle époque*, perfectly well, contradictions included. It is people like him that considerably help us understand the history of ideas.²

2 A recent publication critically overviews that history in ethnomusicology (Morgenstern 2018).

There are known knowns. There are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns. That is to say, we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns, the ones we don't know we don't know.
(Donald Rumsfeld, President George Bush's Secretary of Defence).

Tiersot: The Known Unknown

Julien Tiersot is not unknown to music historians, because he was one of them.³ As an historian, critic, composer and library Director at the Paris Conservatoire (1909–1921), he was quite visible in the intellectual scene of the city.⁴ We would call him today an “opinion maker”. In fact, he contributed to the so-called Berlioz Revival; a short-lived wave of popularity the composer's music enjoyed in Paris, right after his death in 1869 and up until roughly 1884.⁵

As such, he deservedly became the object of biographical studies (De La Laurencie 1932; Engel 1937). His biographers, however, paid scant attention to his second trade: the *ethnographie musicale*. This is a term Tiersot used in a series of articles which appeared in *Le Ménestrel* in 1900, and later in book form.⁶ In this field of intellectual endeavor, which later developed an identity, characteristic problems and approaches, and eventually became “ethnomusicology”, his contributions are remarkable. It was unusual at the time for conservatory-trained musicians to take an interest in musics other than the one they practiced. Back then, conservatory subculture was self-referential, and to a large extent it still remains so. Nonetheless, Tiersot devoted much of his energy to the exploration of other territories at a time when it was mostly folklorists or non-musicians who were exploring alien musics.⁷ For this reason and for the insights he produced, Tiersot deserves an honorable place in the history of ethnomusicology-in-the-making; just as much as the Berlin school of Hornbostel and the other scholarly traditions developing

3 He authored studies on Bach, the Couperins, Smetana, Rouget de Lisle, the musical work of J. J. Rousseau, and the Romantic era in general.

4 Librarian-scholars make quite a noble lineage, represented, to mention a few, by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798–1874), Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin (1821–1910), who preceded Tiersot in the position of librarian at the Paris Conservatoire and in 1852 initiated collecting French folk songs, Francesco Florimo (1800–1888), Karl Geiringer (1899–1989) and Nino Pirrotta (1908–1998).

5 See “Paris and Berlioz: the revival. Performances of his music, 1869–1884.” *The Hector Berlioz Website*. URL: <http://www.hberlioz.com/pubs/berlioz6984e.htm> [15.7.2023].

6 The term was in the air at the time. Two years previously, Amintore Galli had published a book with the same title: *Etnografia musicale* (Galli 1898). The diction did not stick, although it certainly sounds less pompous and unmusical than “ethnomusicology”.

7 German scholars who identified themselves with the *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* (comparative musicology) such as Carl Stumpf (1848–1936), Erich Moritz von Hornbostel (1877–1935) and Otto Abraham (1872–1926), all came to music scholarship from psychology.

in other countries and parts of the world.⁸ Among all of them it only was the Berlin school that manifested a universalist outlook.⁹ Tiersot was the only one who was independent of the Berlin school who could not bridle his curiosity and tenaciously sought to understand the entire world of music (Montagnier 1990).¹⁰

There are universal values, and they happen to be mine.
(Stanley Hoffman, 1993)

Worldview

This story I am telling brings us back to the time of the second industrial revolution. Incredible advances in science and technology were coming by the day: the telephone (1876), the light bulb (1879), the automobile (1885), and the airplane (1903). More than ever, Westerners felt that their civilization was far ahead of all others. Tiersot was no exception, with only one difference: whenever he heard “primitive” music (something many of his contemporaries would not have called “music”), he did listen.

His writings show a more empathetic approach than the analytical and comparative outlook of the Berliner *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*. Hornbostel, Stumpf, Herzog and Lachmann were in no position to deal with social context (they were armchair scholars working on recordings provided by others) and also seemed to feel that aesthetic considerations were not applicable to the repertoires under scrutiny.¹¹ Tiersot, on the contrary, was interested in context, met

8 Roberto Leydi called attention to Tiersot, albeit very briefly, lamenting his absence in the main narratives of ethnomusicology (Leydi 1991).

9 Other scholarly traditions came about shortly after: the American anthropological school (Franz Boas and George Herzog); the German “Historical school” (Curt Sachs and Marius Schneider); the native American school (Alice Fletcher, Frances Densmore and Helen Roberts); the Viennese school (Robert Lach, Walter Graf); the Hungarian school (Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály and László Vikár); the British-American Folk Music School (Cecil J. Sharp, Samuel P. Bayard and Bertrand H. Bronson); and the Jaap Kunst school at UCLA.

10 A sense of how ethnocentric European musicians were back then can be read in an interview with Anton Rubinstein, where not the faintest suspicion is expressed that music might exist anywhere else than in Europe (Rubinstein 1891).

11 “Primitive music” was perceived to exist in an out-of-time dimension where aesthetics could not yet come into play. It must be conceded that even historical musicology often shies away from aesthetic discourse. Students of my generation were nonplussed in realizing how the two ponderous volumes Gustave Reese devoted to Medieval and Renaissance music never suggest there is anything to like or dislike in those ancient repertoires (Reese 1940; 1954).

musicians coming from far away countries whenever possible, and activated his musician's ear, searching for meaning and quality. Even when off the mark, his will to understand is apparent and praiseworthy (Sorce Keller 2001).

Tiersot, like anybody else in Europe at the time, used the word “race” without embarrassment; taking it for granted that “races” were not equal.¹² Cultural relativism was still far away, although there were here and there a few free thinkers going in that direction. Among them was Leo Frobenius who maintained that African culture was as valuable as the European (Frobenius 1928).¹³ In ethnomusicology, cultural relativism only came to be accepted as an essential heuristic tool in the late 1950s. Up until then it was common to speak of “primitive cultures” and “primitive music”, terms resting on the supposition that music must have evolved from simple to complex, and on the inability to imagine that a melody made up of only three or four tones may carry subtle dimensions of complexity: attack, timbre, tone bending, etc.¹⁴ On the basis of this assumption, each single tradition was seen as occupying a specific place on a continuum with, at its lower end, primitive musics (few scale tones, no explicit theory, no professionalism), and at the opposite end the art-music of the West. In 1956 Bruno Nettl still felt comfortable publishing a book entitled “Music in primitive culture”; but he dropped this diction immediately afterwards, as a new *épistème* was rapidly gaining ground (Nettl 1956).¹⁵

Tiersot did believe that Western music was superior to that of other “races”.¹⁶ But unusually

12 That was common up until World War II, before Nazism gave the word “race” such an extremely horrific connotation that today almost no-one dares to use it; with the exception of some postmodernist/neo-Marxist academics who push an ambivalent intersectional identity politics agenda that embraces “racial” essentialism in the name of “anti-racism”. Robert H. Lowie, for example, in his *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, on the one hand relies on the concept of “race” and its application to the arts. On the other he contradictorily states that: “From very early times human groups have intermarried [...] As a result, absolutely pure races no longer exist; and this by itself makes it extremely hard to distinguish existing groups on a racial basis” (Lowie 1934, 4).

13 Cultural relativism had its origins in the early unheeded voices of Montaigne, Descartes, Pascal, Locke and Montesquieu. It only became an issue before World War II, with anthropologist Franz Boas and his students Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead.

14 The idea that evolution in music meant progressively more sophisticated tonal materials was accepted wisdom for quite some time (Yasser 1932). How tricky it is to evaluate the supposed superiority (or development) of one tradition in relation to others was discussed by Judith Becker (Becker 1986). The assumption that change should necessarily go from simple to complex is also tricky. The linguist Otto Jespersen, for instance, maintained that the evolution of languages is governed by a process of streamlining, where functionality actually leads to simplification (Jespersen 1894).

15 A signal of change were the *Archives of Primitive Music* founded by George Herzog in 1936 at Columbia University. When Herzog moved with the Archives to Indiana University in 1964, they took on the new name of *Archives of Traditional Music*.

16 Today we speak instead of different, “cultures”. Edward B. Tylor formulated the concept of “culture” well

for his time, he felt that music history was unable to explain how Western music came to be what it is without a complementary understanding of folk and non-Western musics.¹⁷

*Whoever honestly engages in research for a time, will at some point have to change his methods.*¹⁸
(J. W. von Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*; Goethe, *Hamburger Ausgabe* 2005, no. 1215)

Research Attitudes

Tiersot did not solely rely on written sources as others were doing, as, for instance, Kiesewetter had done with Arab music (Kiesewetter 1842). On the contrary, he did go out in the field before writing about French folk song (Tiersot 1889a; 1894), and when he spent several months in North America he sought direct contact with Native Americans and Afro-Americans.

At the turn of the 20th century, fieldwork was practiced by many anthropologists (among others: Franz Boas, William Halse Rivers, Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, etc.) and musicians (among others: Oskar Kolberg, Béla Bartók, Percy Grainger, Evgeniia Lineva, Ralph Vaughan Williams), but by no means was it considered a must (Morgenstern 2018). Intriguing is the extreme case of James George Frazer (1854–1941) who never did any fieldwork at all and trusted written sources more than his very own observations.¹⁹

Most importantly, fieldwork had not yet become the object of theoretical discussion, as in later years, when not only fieldwork, but an enhanced form of it, “participant observation”, gradually developed.²⁰ It appears that Tiersot clearly would have liked to become a participant ob-

before Tiersot published his major works, but it did not enter general use for many years (Tylor 1871). In his *Keywords*, Raymond Williams tells of his surprise when, back from military service at the end of World War II, he realized how the term “culture” had entered common speech (Williams 1976).

¹⁷ Decades afterwards the idea still seemed to need support, which is what Stephen Blum did by writing: “A musicology that excludes ‘non-Western music’ and ‘non-art music’ cannot describe the attributes of ‘Western music’ and ‘art-music’” (Blum 1986, 3).

¹⁸ “Jeder, der eine Zeitlang auf dem redlichen Forschen verharret, muss seine Methode irgend einmal umändern.”

¹⁹ Bruno Nettl and Mantle Hood devoted chapters to the question of fieldwork in some of their influential publications (Nettl 1964; Hood 1971). In-depth monographs specifically concerned with fieldwork became a recurrent feature of scholarly discourse from the 1980s onward (Herndon and McLeod 1983; Jackson 1987; Barz and Cooley 2008).

²⁰ When speaking of participant observation, anthropologists think of Bronisław Malinowski, Franz Boas and his students first of all. Sociologists tend to think rather of the Chicago school of sociology and William Foote Whyte, a pioneer in the study of urban environments (Whyte 1943). Ethnomusicology also effectively adopted participant observation. The most fascinating case I know is that of Allan

server if the circumstances had made it possible. In his *Promenades* he interviewed musicians, arranged private performances with them, and, in order to test his comprehension, he would himself try to sing their songs and elicit a response.²¹ So he became aware of how difficult and delicate the process of eliciting information from people who do not share our mental categories really is (Sorce Keller 1988; 1992; 2001).²² Tiersot was not, on the contrary, aware of how perception may be misguided when sonic productions are experienced by people who do not share the same mental categories. In other words, when people listen to the same music, they never exactly listen to the “same” music: habits of perception, expectations, and cultural background influence how they mentally categorize sound. Indeed, the question of how alien music is heard, and how listening to it can even be psychologically destabilizing, was dealt with later; although it is arguably still waiting to receive the attention it deserves (Blum 2002; Schüller 2010; Marett 2010). That may be because in Western society the accepted fallacy, inherited from the Enlightenment, is still that the import of music lies entirely in the music itself. In other words, music rooted in the natural physics of sound can be understood by anybody not affected by auditory or mental disturbances. That is what makes it the “the universal language of mankind” and, no surprise there, the music which passes this “universality test” is for us none other than ... Western music.²³

Marett, who became intimate with a group of Wannga people in Arnhem Land (Australia) and, was asked by them to sing the funeral lament for a tribe member, a friend of his, who had passed away (Marett 2010).

- 21 In music scholarship there have been early examples of fieldwork (although no participant observation), such as Guillaume Villoteau who accompanied Napoleon during his tenure in Egypt from 1798 to 1801, and produced the first serious description of Arab music based on direct contact (Villoteau 1823).
- 22 Some of the first significant considerations about fieldwork were expressed by Béla Bartók, who initiated his research activities in 1906 (Bartók 1936).
- 23 “One hears too often that music is a universal language, but without specifying what music one is referring to, it becomes obvious that the comment is about one’s own” (Aubert 2007, 7). The Voyager probe sent into outer space in 1977, clearly relying on the “universal language” fallacy, carried recorded samples of Mozart, Blind Willie Johnson, Chuck Berry, and others. The hope was that alien intelligence, however ignorant of our world, would discern the “intrinsic” significance of those samples.

Those tunes which share consistent similarities of contour when found among variants of a single story verse or with widely divergent texts are called a tune family.
(Robert D. Abrahams and George Foss 1968, 164)

Traditional Music in France

Tiersot was not a pioneer in studying French traditional music.²⁴ But his merit was to promote a nationwide project, sponsored by the Ministry of Education, allowing him periods of fieldwork. This resulted in his *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Tiersot 1889a): not a collection, but rather an attempt to interpret a large body of folk song in historical and analytical terms. *Les types mélodiques dans la chanson populaire française* followed (Tiersot 1894). With contributions of this kind, folk song scholarship ceases to be solely the domain of literature historians, philologists and folklorists who are only interested in song texts. With Tiersot, attention to melodies and melodic types came to the fore. The ground-breaking work of Béla Bartók and Cecil Sharp came a few years later (Bartók 1906/07, 1915; Sharp and Campbell 1917).²⁵

It is not surprising that Tiersot used to take down melodic profiles while paying little attention to performance style (vocal production, for example). What an important cultural trait that is was only realized much later; and in this connection Alan Lomax comes to mind first of all (Lomax 1968). To be sure, Tiersot also made mistakes that will remain unexplained, such as when he stated that polyphony is nowhere to be found in the Alpine area. Everyone in the Alpine territories knows that the opposite is true. The present writer even published a book on Alpine polyphony (Sorce Keller 1991). When using the term polyphony, and this is only a guess, Tiersot may have meant “contrapuntal polyphony”, with independent parts, rather than what in the German-speaking part of the Alps is called *sekundieren* or *überschlagen* (homophonic singing “over” or “under” the melody, usually by parallel thirds or sixths).

The *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* contains over 200 short musical examples, discussed in terms of form and tonal characteristics (Tiersot 1889a). Comments are provided about the occasion-function of songs, and an effort is made to search all possible historical connections for each one of them. The erudite information provided is impressive, especially so for songs traceable to the literate tradition. Interestingly, the author does not find it problematic at all when folk songs originate in the literate environment. They remain folk songs for him, which is

24 Substantial work in the area had been produced by several researchers during the 19th century: Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, Sylvain Trébuchq, Jérôme Bujeaud, Damase Arbaud, Achille Montel, Louis Lambert, Jean Poueigh, Georges Doncieux, Patrice Coirault, etc. (Revuluri 2016).

25 Bartók devised two classification systems based on melodic types: “lexicographic” (i.e. by melodic profile), somewhat derived from Ilmari Krohn and adapted to Hungarian material, and “grammatical” (cataloging songs by structure).

what we would say today as well when they are reshaped by the oral process. The contrary opinion was developing at the same time in the German-speaking environment, where Franz Magnus Böhme (1827–1898) spoke of *volkstümliche Lieder* (folk-like songs); and John Meier, Hans Naumann, and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, supporters of *Rezeptionstheorie*, came to the wrong conclusion that all folk music is *gesunkenes Kulturgut* (come-down cultural heritage). In the process a degree of distortion was thought to occur, indicated by the word *Zersingen*, to some extent adopted by a few British folklorists who spoke of a “wearing-down” process (Dessauer 1928). Today we tend to side with Tiersot because the reception process is no longer considered passive or disruptive.²⁶ On the contrary, oral transmission creatively reshapes cultural products coming from outside, so that they eventually fit the new context.²⁷ Just as Walter Wiora maintained that folk music gains a new lease of life through the mass-media (*Zweites Dasein*), that is exactly what happens to literate melodies when they enter oral circulation (Wiora 1959).

As far as melodies are concerned, they are described in terms of modal scales and/or modern functional harmony. Some of them could probably be better explained by having in mind the so-called gapped scale: one where the heptatonic scale is seen as “defective” when one tone is missing (hexatonic), or two tones are missing (pentatonic). Filler tones may appear in variants of the same melody, sometimes unaccented, or as embellishments, and then accented when they become veritable members of the heptatonic scale. The advantage is to measure how close a melody is to the major-minor tonal system.

Les types mélodiques dans la chanson populaire française is notable for suggesting the need for classification (Tiersot 1894). Up until then classification had been based either on literary content (epic, ballad, lyric song, etc.) or function (work song, lullaby, lament, etc.). Toward the end of the 19th century, as collections were becoming substantial, the need to index their content became widely felt (Sorce Keller 1984). In fact, the question of how to handle thematic indexing was raised at the very dawn of the new century by Oswald Koller and Ilmari Krohn (Koller 1902; Krohn 1903).²⁸ Later, related concepts such as that of a “tune family” or of *Variationstrieb* (variation drive) became commonplace and suggested a different approach to indexing (Adams 1976).

26 Here the assumption is that literate = high-brow, so that adapting literate products to oral circulation can only corrupt their pristine nature.

27 Later scholars who understood the workings of oral traditions in different terms from the *Rezeptionstheorie* were, among others, Hans Mersmann, Phillips Barry, Maud Karpeles, Petr Bogatyrev, Roman Jakobson and Arnold Hauser.

28 A few years after its foundation, in 1947, the IMFC published recommendations on transcription methods (International Folk Music Council 1952).

Donc, tout l'univers musical a défilé devant nous. Le peuple des deux mondes sont venus nous jouer du violon, de la guitare et du tambour. [...] Nous avons contemplé leurs danses; nous avons écouté leur chants: naturellement nous avons été ébahis.²⁹
(Tiersot 1889b, 115)

The Eventful "Promenade"

The Paris Exposition of 1889 was a spectacular event meant to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. According to several sources it attracted more than 30 million people. For this occasion, the architect Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923) planned the famous eponymous tower. What was truly phenomenal about the Expo is that for six months (May 6th to October 31st) at the Champ de Mars, at the Esplanade des Invalides, and at the Trocadero, one could access the customs of many far-away peoples, albeit, as Tiersot perceptively observed, "at least in their exterior manifestations".³⁰ His book (ill-advisedly titled *Musiques pittoresques*),³¹ reveals in the subtitle what it is truly about: *Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889*, a turning point in the life of Tiersot (Tiersot 1889b).³²

The Expo presented a remarkable number of pavilions devoted to music, all kinds of music; notable among them were the many performances portraying traditions coming from the four corners of the world (Fauser 2005). Claude Debussy, Camille Saint-Saëns, Maurice Ravel and Percy Grainger were all there and, yes, Julien Tiersot was there as well. The Expo was in a way comparable to the multicultural festivals held nowadays in countries where immigrant communities wish to perform their identity (Duffy 2005). The difference was that here the idea was to celebrate French identity, and the extent of its cultural and colonial reach; in other words: *la grandeur de la France* (Fauser 2005).

Several descriptions of the event exist. They either pay superficial attention to the musical pavilions (Rousselet 1890) or do not describe them with scholarly intention (Gautier 1900). What is definitely more interesting is the handful of articles by Saint-Saëns, who was chiefly interested in concerts of Western music but also wrote a few sensitive pages on the "exotic" events (Saint-Saëns 1889, 1–2; Soret 2012, 405). Tiersot focused his attention entirely on non-Western music.

Every chapter of the book is devoted to (what we would call today) a culture area: Viet-

29 "So the whole musical universe paraded before us. People from both worlds came to play the violin, the guitar and the drum [...]. We contemplated their dances; we listened to their songs: naturally we were amazed."

30 "[...] au moins dans leur manifestations extérieures" (Tiersot 1889b, 1).

31 Another writer of the time called them "musiques bizarres" (Gautier 1900).

32 The book (Tiersot 1889b) collects thirteen articles Tiersot published in *Le Ménestrel*, between June and October 1889.

namese theater, Javanese dancing, Finnish, Norwegian and Belgian folk music, Native American songs, music from sub-Saharan Africa, Hungarian Gypsies, Rumanian lautars, Spanish and Arab musicians. I will limit myself here to touching upon his reactions to Javanese and African music. In both cases Tiersot had no points of reference helping him to frame the experience, which explains his excitement to some extent:³³

Thanks to the exposition we could study firsthand the music of people coming from the Far East, that of African Negroes, the islands of Oceania, etc. They help us document the general history of music in a not at all negligible manner. I do not think I am exaggerating the importance of this work by saying that it has revealed much more than we had before.
(Tiersot 1989b, 115–116).³⁴

Confronting the Gamelan

The Gamelan is something very special; usually considered the most impressive example of a large ensemble to be found outside of the West. Although not the only large ensemble to be found across Africa and Asia, its over forty instruments are coordinated with a logic that we in the West consider to be “orchestral”. Westerners tend to take things more seriously when they exhibit forms of complexity which they can recognize as such: in the case of Gamelan they could hardly speak of “primitive music”. In fact, music history books often mention what Debussy wrote: “Javanese music is based on a type of counterpoint by comparison with which that of Palestrina is child’s play. And if we listen without European prejudice to the charm of their percussion we must confess that our percussion is like primitive noises at a country fair” (Debussy 1987, 229). Saint-Saëns had made pretty much the same observation about percussion sounds (Saint-Saëns 1889, 1–2). Intriguingly, despite such an encomiastic review the Gamelan has not gained large audiences in the West, and even today it hardly plays a role in the multifaceted

33 General music histories then available were of little help, although they all included a chapter or two devoted to the music of other continents (Allen 1962). Such publications (by Père Jean Joseph-Marie Amyot, Guillaume A. Villoteau, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and August Wilhelm Ambros) are interesting to read today for the picture they yield of how Europeans (relying on very little solid information) pictured the rest of the world.

34 “Grâce à l’Exposition nous avons pu étudier sur nature, en quelque sorte, la musique des peuples de l’extrême Orient, des nègres d’Afrique, des insulaires de l’Océanie, etc. Ce sont des documents pour l’histoire générale de la musique nullement négligeables, et qui nous étaient inconnus: je ne pense pas exagérer l’importance de ce travail en disant qu’à lui seul il a mis en circulation plus d’élément de cette nature qu’on n’en avait possédé en tout jusqu’à ce jour.”

genre we call World Music. Conservatory students may read what Debussy said about it, and yet few of their professors will go any further and tell them what the Gamelan really is.

When Javanese musicians appeared at the Expo, it was the very first time their music was heard in Europe. Surprise was justified. Tiersot was the only one who went beyond surprise. He made transcriptions and discussed the music at length with its performers. His reaction was very much in line with that of Saint-Saëns and Debussy (Tiersot 1889b, 31). Historians often reported how Tiersot found a Gamelan chord reminiscent of Wagner (a major third complemented by a minor 7th and a 9th) (Tiersot 1889b, 35).³⁵ More significant than such incidental remarks are, of course, his transcriptions, telling us something precise about what one could hear, or better, of what Tiersot actually heard (more about that later).

One intriguing observation our man made is that while in Europe harmony is a relatively recent development (historically speaking), in the Orient it seems to be ancient, and may possibly have changed minimally over time—although he was under the impression that some chordal events may have been the result of chance (Tiersot 1889b, 37–38).³⁶ What apparently escaped his attention is that the polyphonic texture of the Gamelan consists of parallel variations of a fundamental theme (the *balungan*, the “core melody” or “skeletal melodic outline”). This is what, following Guido Adler, we call today “heterophony” (Adler 1908; Schumacher 2016).³⁷

35 Today, such chords are very basic material in the hands of jazz musicians.

36 Such an assessment has been the object of discussion among Gamelan scholars (Sutton 1998).

37 Heterophony only occasionally occurs in Western music, like when the bassoon or double bass approximately mimic what other instruments do. It is rare even in European traditional music. One such exception is the case of the *Trallallero* in the Italian region of Liguria (Neill 1984; Balma 1984).

One of the conceptual obstacles in studying and describing African cultures and their forms of expression is the illusion they can be translated [...] In particular the vocabulary of European music theory has no chance of grasping African music cultures, on the contrary it has been up until now the main instrument leading to their misunderstanding.
(Kubik 1988, 52)³⁸

*Sub-Saharan Africa*³⁹

Sub-Saharan African music was probably more of a challenge to Tiersot than that of Java. One reason why is expressed by Gerhard Kubik in the quote above. Another reason is that while there were no specific prejudices around about Indonesia, there were plenty about Africa. In the West, Black Africa was the very epitome of what is “primitive” throughout the 19th century, and its music was imagined to be made up of nothing but bombastic percussive instruments.⁴⁰ In other words, not true music at all. Tiersot, in fact, at the outset of his chapter “Les Nègres”, anticipates his readers’ amazement as he tells them that in Africa there is actually such a thing as “music” (Tiersot 1889b, 99). Much the same skepticism was encountered by Bruno Nettl when, as a young man, he would mention his interest in the music of Native Americans, and people were surprised to learn they had any music at all (Nettl 2005, 16).

Tiersot was not always in his more broad-minded or perceptive mode. He almost contradicted himself by saying that rhythm is paramount and real melodies are lacking in the music of Senegal, but he still called it “music”. In reality, Senegal is where the *kora*, a melodic instrument *par excellence*, is the centerpiece of the local tradition; and as far as melodies go, African melodies no doubt very often, although not always, have a short trajectory, but get repeated many times

38 “Eines der konzeptuellen und methodologischen Hindernisse beim Studium und Beschreibung afrikanischer Kulturen und ihrer verschiedenen Ausdrucksbereiche besteht in der Illusion ihrer Übersetzbarkeit. [...] Besonders das Vokabular der europäischen Musiktheorie hat kaum eine Chance, die Vorstellungen afrikanischer Musikkulturen zu erfassen, sondern erwies sich im Gegenteil bisher als das wichtigste Werkzeug zu ihrer Fehlinterpretation.”

39 Tiersot, in following the usage of his time, speaks of “afrique noire” and “musique nègre”.

40 The aforementioned Amintore Galli, music historian at the Milan Conservatory, spoke of African music (he probably never heard) in the following terms: “African savages have their own concerts! Numerous ebony philharmonics imitate on their horns, flutes, drums and conch-shells the screaming of forest animals, the thunder of volcanoes, meteorological events like rain or hurricanes. Terrifying music, but not any different from the terrifying barbarity of those people” (“I selvaggi dell’Africa hanno anch’essi i loro concerti! Numerosi flarmonici, dal color d’ebano, imitano sui corni, flauti, tamburi e sulle conchiglie sonore le grida degli animali della foresta, i rombi vulcanici, i fenomeni metereologici, quali la pioggia, gli uragani. Musica spaventevole, invero, ma non diversa dalla spaventevole barbarie di quei popoli”) (Galli 1900, 25).

with subtle alterations that Western ears do not easily discern or appreciate (Arom 1991).⁴¹ Tiersot did, however, notice how metrically precise African performers were. The ability to maintain a perfectly steady beat is in fact a characteristic of several African cultures; not a minor detail, because it allows them to superimpose metrically contrasting patterns, something which otherwise would hardly be possible. After Richard A. Waterman we now call it “metronome sense” (Waterman 1948, 211–212).

For Tiersot, an element of surprise was that African music always seems to fulfill practical purposes. Not a surprise for us though, knowing that he lived the cultural season of *l'art pour l'art* eloquently proposed by Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier, fast becoming the accepted wisdom of the age—something hardly to be found in other cultures. He was also intrigued, once again, to find harmony in African music, albeit in simple form. So his conclusions about the Gamelan were reinforced: in Europe harmony is a recent achievement, while elsewhere it seems to have been around for a long time, presumably unchanged;⁴² so it may after all come as natural to human beings as melody itself.

[...] consciously or not, the quest for the other in its difference is always also a quest for oneself by way of the other.
(Aubert 2007, xi)

The Quest for a Global Picture

If the *Promenades* tells us what it was like to access for the first time musics coming from the four corners of the world, the two collections of articles published under the title of *Notes d'ethnographie musicale* I and II are something different. They offer a broader and more thoughtful picture. Tiersot's most valuable insights and his philosophy are more explicitly formulated here (Tiersot 1905; 1910/11). The two books are rich in musical examples. The first one, just like J. J. Rousseau had done with his *Dictionnaire de musique* of 1767, contains a few expandable tables appended at the end, with nothing but transcriptions.

A couple of other points may suggest what makes these books worthwhile reading. One is reminded of the famous passage where Renaissance theorist Tinctoris states that: “Although it seems beyond belief, there does not exist a single piece of music, not composed within the last

41 By the same token, Indian musicians active in their classical raga system, marvel at the short trajectory of European melodies.

42 A widespread opinion, accepted by anthropology up until at least Lévi-Strauss, was that tribal cultures were frozen in time, in a way “cold”, and lacking the historical dimension. Western cultures, on the contrary, like a steam engine, incessantly generate movement and societal change (Lévi-Strauss 1961).

forty years, that is regarded by the learned as worth hearing” (Strunk 1965, 9). Just as Tinctoris had little tolerance for music written before Josquin, similarly Tiersot felt that the greatness of Western music was only recently achieved, and all that was composed before Bach contained discordant sounds, no less unpleasant to hear than those of some Asian musics (Tiersot 1905, 1–2). Another is his difficulty in making sense of tonal characteristics that did not match 19th century practice, a problem he shared with his contemporaries. One example: we find it disturbing today that when Alessandro Longo made Domenico Scarlatti’s harpsichord sonatas available for the first time, he went as far as touching up the harmony to make it palatable for “modern taste” (cf. Longo 1906–1913). In his heart, Tiersot really was a man of his own time, but his brain could often be ahead of it; such as when he observed that in order to really comprehend alien music one must totally forget one’s Western upbringing (Tiersot 1905, 2).

[...] un concert Égyptien, au sujet duquel j’ai lu dans un journal qu’il est absolument impossible de noter la musique qu’on joue: sur quoi je me suis dit que le mot impossible n’est pas français, et que mes lecteurs le verraient bien.
(Tiersot 1889b, 2)⁴³

Musical transcription, for a long time the starting point of analysis and later revealed to be very problematic, has been shown to be a useful tool for raising questions, but not for providing answers, about musical traditions. When combined with other techniques, transcription can contribute to analysis but should not be confused with it.
(Seeger 1987, 139)

Approach to Transcription

Tiersot produced a fair amount of transcriptions, although mostly short incipits. He relied on standard staff notation, without even diacritics, and without asking himself whether all musics could really be accommodated on the staff (Tiersot 1889b, 33). This is difficult to understand because many observations he made reveal a fine musician’s ear. Moreover, having organized private performances for his own benefit, followed by discussions with the musicians, one would think he had plenty of opportunities to examine intonation (Tiersot 1889b, 35). Perhaps, like other early scholars, he may have thought that in oral repertoires one has to make allowance for approximation. It is also intriguing how he would put down key signatures every time he felt a

43 “[...] an Egyptian concert, about which I read in a newspaper that it is absolutely impossible to note the music being played: whereupon I said to myself that the word impossible is not French, and that my readers would see it as well.”

tonal center was implied, even if the altered note was absent. It is also hard to guess what reference pitch he had in mind when transcribing.⁴⁴ He often indicated metrical shifts, usually alternation between double and triple meter. As far as the tempo, he added indications that betray a perceived aesthetic quality: *andante*, *andantino*, *andantino pastorale*, etc.

Clearly his transcriptions served analytical purposes in the sense that he put on paper what he was capable of hearing (or discerning) and then decided what appeared relevant to him, and what was accessory, fortuitous, or erroneous. Here there is of course ample possibility to be derailed by listening habits and false expectations.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, transcriptions made in the past by Western musicians, often unprepared when facing alien music, remain interesting precisely because they tell us what their conservatory-trained ears were perceiving. The result is sometimes puzzling as in this case, and here we go back to the question of pitch, and of Tiersot who did not realize how the scales of the Gamelan (the pentatonic *sléndro* and the heptatonic *pélog*) do not match our tempered scale. The five-line staff does not do justice to them. Then, by listening to just one single ensemble, he could not possibly discover that each Gamelan ensemble in Java likes to give its own peculiar slant to the chosen scale. In other words, each single Gamelan wishes to be “out of tune” in its own idiosyncratic manner (Hood 1966).

Ethnomusicology has since then dealt with problems inherent in transcribing in a variety of ways: Western staff with diacritics,⁴⁶ native notations, new notation systems tailor-made for specific repertoires, and, of course, the electronic reproduction of sound spectrums. Electronic devices, usually digital, give us images of sound that are, intriguingly, more analogical to human perception than staff notation—which is of course quite another story (Cogan 1984). The most fascinating thing is that sonic spectrums hardly allow us to tell the difference between the piece and the performance, and therefore highlight the question of what a “piece” or a “performance” really is.

The ultimate query is, of course, whether Tiersot’s pioneering transcriptions have any value at all today. They do, for the reason hinted at above: they tell us what he was able to hear, and what appeared meaningful to him.⁴⁷ In other words, transcriptions are “historical documents” and need to be approached as such (Barwick 1988).

44 The first effort to institutionalize A = 440 Hz took place at a much later time, during a conference organized by the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels in 1939.

45 It is the well-known problem of distinguishing between the “etic” from the “emic” (*The World of Music* 1993).

46 As noble a repertoire as the Persian Radif is transcribed in this way (Nettl 1987).

47 So much can be said about transcriptions in general, even about the meticulously detailed ones by Béla Bartók; so detailed that they actually make it difficult to get the overall breadth of a tune, unless compared with the recorded documents.

Music history has made considerable progress at the end of the 19th century.
It will not achieve completion as long as its area of investigation
does not include the study of non-European music.
(Tiersot 1905, 1)⁴⁸

Conclusion

Few scholars have ever been perfectly amphibious, equally active in both Western music history and ethnomusicology. Exceptions are just exceptions: Harold S. Powers (1928–2007), one of them, maintained a lifetime interest in Renaissance music, Italian opera, and ... Indian art music.⁴⁹ Julien Tiersot was one of those very few. It is all too easy today to find problems with some of his interpretations. And yet, although several of them are outdated, we should appreciate his obstinacy in widening his musical horizon as much as possible, and be grateful for giving us a first overall assessment of how the world of music appeared to a sophisticated Parisian musician at the end of the 19th century. The picture he drew is vivid, empathetic and filtered through the mental categories of a man who knew practically all there was to know about Western music at the time.

As if that were not enough, I beg forgiveness for restating a point very dear to my heart. Tiersot forcefully maintained that “musical ethnography” was a necessary complement to the study of Western music history. Regrettably, historical musicologists who heed that recommendation are quite rare indeed.

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48 “L’histoire de la musique, à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, a fait de notables progrès. Elle ne sera point achevée avant que, étendant son champ d’action, elle ait compris dans son domaine l’étude des musiques extra-européennes” (Tiersot 1905, 1).

49 His wide-angle interests are well represented by the entry “mode” he wrote for the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Powers 1980).

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Réthei Prikkel Marián (1871–1925), Pioneer of Hungarian Folk Dance Research

Non omnis moriar
(Not everything dies)
Horatius

Abstract

This paper gives a kind of author-centred analysis of Réthei Prikkel Marián's oeuvre and tries to define his significance in the establishment of Hungarian folk dance research. A comparison of his life's work with those of some other European dance researchers (Zibrt, Hjalmar, Böhme, Verkhovynets' etc.) may illuminate the genesis of European folk dance research. As a monk of a Benedictine order, a teacher of Hungarian and Latin in the secondary schools of the Order, and an advanced linguist and literary historian, Réthei began to be interested in Hungarian dance research at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries. His book *A magyarság táncai* [Dances of the Hungarians] and his smaller works published in the next 20 years on dance became fundamental for Hungarian choreology. Not only because of their primacy, but because of their well-designed methodology and the wide scope of topics and plurality of approaches he used in his research. This was due to his personal qualities, his versatile preparedness for dance research and his wide range of connections with representatives of other disciplines.

Author-centred research

Researchers on history of science usually deal with the improvement of methodological issues, the process of theory formation, research achievements, the progress of institutionalization, and the socio-cultural environment of research. But there are also examples where the focus of the

research is on the informant, or the work, or the researcher himself.¹ By focusing on Réthei Prikkel Marián, we would like to present an example where the development of a research area is carried out through the examination of the carrier, the oeuvre and the relationship system of the founding researcher. This is not simply a portrait of the researcher, in which we follow every “vibration” of his life from his childhood to his death. It is rather a presentation of a period in the history of science through the life of a researcher: his preparation for his profession, efforts to find his place in research, how he manages to take advantage of opportunities and possibilities, and how he resolves the conflicts if his life caused by the ethos of his different activities.

Marián Réthei Prikkel's short biography²



Fig. 1: Portrait of Réthei Prikkel Mairán at the end of 1910s. Published in *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Ethnographical Lexikon] 4 (Budapest, 1981, 344). Photographer unknown.

Most of his bibliographers introduced him as priest and teacher of the Benedictine Order, linguist, ethnographer and author of the book *Dances of the Hungarians*. And these were the activities which really determined his life. He was born in 1871 in Csém near the village of Mocs in Komárom county. It was the estate of the Archbishop living in Esztergom, the center of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church. His father and his grandfather worked there as rangers (*csősz, mezőőr* in Hungarian). Theirs was an impoverished noble family, which is why he used the forename “Réthei”.³ According to his birth certificate, his name was originally Lajos Prikkel. Marián was his name chosen later in the Order.

He graduated from the Roman Catholic Elementary School in Nitra in 1882, and he went on to the Catholic High Schools in Nitra, Esztergom and Győr, each belonging to the Benedictine Order. He entered the Order in 1890. After the novitiate he began to attend the Institute of Theology and Peda-

1 Example of performer-centred dance research, see Felföldi 2005; 2015, 133; Haller 2005.

2 Latest publications on his biography and achievements: Felföldi 1999, 2010; Müller 2010; Soós 2013.

3 In his legacy there is a detailed family tree going back to the 1300s with the names of his noble ancestors.

gogy in Pannonhalma.⁴ In 1896, after his graduation, he was ordained a priest. Then he took an additional exam in Budapest at the Hungarian Royal Scientific University on the subjects of Hungarian language and literature and Latin in order to obtain an official state diploma in pedagogy. From this time onwards he taught Hungarian and Latin at the secondary schools belonging to the Benedictine Order in Sopron, Pápa, Kőszeg, Esztergom and Győr until his death in 1925.

His intellectual pathway as a researcher

His first papers date back to 1890s, when he was still a student. After that he published more than 200 works on linguistic, literary and ethnographic topics until his death. Every year he wrote four to five shorter or longer papers for academic periodicals like: *Magyar Nyelvőr* [Hungarian Language Guard], *Nyelvtudományi Közl emények* [Linguistics Publications], *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language], *Magyar Philológiai Közlöny* [Hungarian Philological Gazette], *Ethnographia*, *Magyar Szemle* [Hungarian Review] and *Keleti Szemle* [Eastern Review]. The majority of his papers are etymological proposals by which he tries to decode the origin of Hungarian words by depicting their historical background. Several of his proposals were accepted even by the next generations of Hungarian linguists. His most significant work in the field of linguistics and literary history deals with the medieval Pray Codex and the *Halotti Beszéd* (Funeral Speech) in it, with 190 Hungarian words from the 12th century. He tried to prove the connection between the *Halotti Beszéd* and the Benedictine environment. His proposal became a good basis for later interpretations of this early literary source in the 20th century.

His interest turned to dance research by chance in 1903⁵ when during his stay in the town of Pápa he was asked to give a lecture.⁶ It took place as part of the program of the carnival ball of the local *Katolikus Kör* [Catholic Circle], so he chose the history of Hungarian dances as a theme. While preparing for the lecture, he was shocked by the shortage of scientific literature about dance. Later, when he recalled that event he wrote:

Accepting the invitation, I decided to speak about Hungarian dance. First of all, because at an earlier dance event of the same association, I had the opportunity to regret how coarsely and without originality they had danced the Hungarian. My reading was a great success in terms of the applause, but did not have any noticeable benefit, because the Hungarian dance that I saw immediately after my presentation was a poor extract of the real dance. It annoyed me and made me take a deeper interest in my chosen topic. I began to deal with the literature of Hun-

4 Educational center of the Benedictine Order in Hungary.

5 This is the year when he obtained his doctorate in Humanities in Budapest.

6 He was the secretary of the Catholic Circle in Pápa at that time.

garian dance. And I had to sadly realize that there is very little which Hungarian science has done so far to properly observe and process our national characteristics, including our dances in particular (Müller 2010, 346).⁷

This recognition led him to the path of dance research. At the time, dance was not an accepted research topic because of its negative relationship with religious life, its “questionable” role in everyday life, and its “frivolous” nature. Réthei did not confess how he was able to reconcile his two vocations—dance research and his religious office. However, we can list at least two arguments that presumably resolved this contradiction: 1. there were several ecclesiastical men (such as Gergely Czuczor, a Benedictine, and Sándor Takács, a Piarist monk) who published articles on dance, and who were examples for him. 2. Réthei, having been armed with the national ideology of the 19th century, considered dance, together with music and poetry, to be the most unique means of expression of Hungarianness. In doing so, he elevated folk dance research to the level of a “national science,” which he judged to be a worthy task.⁸

The first step on the way to beginning dance research was building relationships with those from whom he hoped for new information about Hungarian folk dances. In the first round he wrote letters to Bertalan Fabó (Fränkel), a music historian in Budapest, János Kovács, a local historian in Szeged, Sándor Pintér, a historian in Szécsény, Sándor Takács, another historian (Réthei’s teacher in Nitra), Pál Róka, a dance master in Budapest, and János Seprődi, a music historian in Kolozsvár whose earlier publications had aroused his interest. In a second round he initiated correspondence with his former friends in the schools of the Benedictine Order, priests and teachers of small settlements who could potentially help him in his research.⁹ According to the testimony of the letters preserved in the library of Pannohalma Abbey, the correspondence with János Seprődi and Bertalan Fabó was the most inspiring for Réthei.¹⁰ From the correspondence with Seprődi from the autumn of 1903 until the spring of 1904, we can witness how they discussed the fundamental theoretical and methodological questions of the new research field initiated by Réthei. It turns out from the letters that the draft of the comprehensive summary had already been prepared by Réthei. The other “correspondents” (circa fifty persons) had also been able to provide useful information.

7 The translation of the quotations was done by László Felföldi.

8 As a result, it became obvious to the editors of *Ethnography of the Hungarians* (the four-volume summary of the traditional knowledge of Hungarians) in 1933–1937 that they would include dance traditions as a separate chapter in volume 4 (Lajtha and Gönyey 1937). The designer of the series was Károly Viski, with editorial assistance by Elemér Czákó.

9 At that time, building a network of informants was a widely-used practice in linguistics and ethnology.

10 Felföldi 2010, 321–343.

During the following decade Réthei published several papers as “building blocks” for his planned summary “Dances of the Hungarians”,¹¹ for instance, the studies about the origin of the hajdúch dance, funeral dances in Hungary, the vocabulary of Hungarian dances and dancing, and a short history of the Hungarian folk dances.¹² Meanwhile, Réthei took part in the *Hajdútánc* discussion in the columns of *Ethnographia*, which was the first public debate among professionals interested in dance (ethnographers, linguists, historians and musicians).¹³ The lessons of the discussion were later summarized by Réthei in his book, putting forward his own opinion. After this preparatory work, the book was presumably almost ready by the beginning of World War I. Unfortunately, there were no financial resources for the printing, and thus it was only published in 1924. It was highly popular and received mostly positive reviews. A German publisher planned to translate it into German, but there was not enough time for it, and due to the death of the author, the plan was not realized. Just after the publication of *Dances of the Hungarians*, Réthei was nominated as a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but it initially failed. Next year he died without having been awarded the title.

Réthei's main work: the book Dances of the Hungarians

The three-hundred-page book was compiled as a summary of the previously discovered knowledge about Hungarian dances, mainly for scientific purposes, as the first volume in the series of the “Library of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society”. As László Madarassy, vice-chairman of the society and editor of the book claimed: “The book is intended to eliminate the recent ignorance in the practice of Hungarian dances, to prevent degeneration in this field, and to promote scientific research and familiarity with Hungarian dances in general” (Réthei 1924b). In the introduction Réthei also confirmed the idea that in addition to achieving a scientific goal, he also assigned socio-cultural tasks to his book. The focus of the study is on the dances of the Hungarians, and within that topic he deals mostly with Hungarian folk dance. The content and relationship of these concepts are explained by Réthei as follows:

¹¹ His paper about the origin of the dance called *verbunk* remained in the manuscript, and was published posthumously in 1978 (Réthei 1978).

¹² Réthei 1905, 1906abc, 1911, 1915.

¹³ The *Hajdútánc* discussion took place from 1903 to 1906. The participants were recruited from a variety of scientific disciplines, e.g. the linguist Marián Réthei Prikkel, the historian János Szendrei, the musicologist Bertalan Fabó, and the ethnographer Béla Ernyey. Jozef Škulný, the Slovakian literary scholar, also contributed to the discussion, which focused mainly on the ethnic relatedness of hajdúch dance.

I conceived the dances of the Hungarians as a tree, the trunk of which is folk dance, i.e. the original way of dancing of the Hungarian race, and its branches are partly the Hungarian dances that grew out of this trunk over time, and partly dances inherited from abroad and more or less Hungarianized. Of course, there are also dances which neither grew from this trunk nor demonstrably were implanted into it; they only took root beside it. But I could not leave out a description of them, because according to certain historical data they became fashionable among the Hungarians, although their assimilation into the Hungarian dances is doubtful (Réthei 1924a, 2–3).

As can be seen from this quotation and the rest of the book, Réthei's basic concepts were not sharply defined yet. The content of the terms used by him is not equivocal: *Hungarian dance*, *national dance*, *dance of the peasant people*, *folk dance*. If we understand it correctly, they indicate only the "trunk of the tree". But as we can see, for Réthei the "trunk" comprises not only the dances of the peasantry, but the (traditional) dances of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. This idea may reflect the "folk" concept or "race" concept¹⁴ of the early 19th century (Burke 2009, Kósa 1989; Martin 1985).¹⁵ Sometimes "Hungarian dance" seems to denote the whole tree with all kinds of newly-grown branches (innovations). And that which doesn't fit into either of the two classes—because it did not grow from the "trunk"—must be defined as foreign dances (not Hungarian).

This theme is closely related to the connection of dances to different social strata, in connection with which Réthei and Seprődi are also proponents of a clear distinction. Nevertheless, Réthei did not yet have sufficient resources and theoretical skills to draw the appropriate professional conclusions.

The cornerstone of his methodology was the joint study of dance in connection with music and language. As he writes:

Hungarians, as a unified nation in the European environment, have three completely independent intellectual works—one might say forms of poetry: its language, its music and its dance. These three racial possessions are most closely intertwined, because the special pulsation of Hungarian music has its basis in the original accentuation and pitches of the Hungarian language, while the special way of movement of Hungarian dance is governed by the rhythm of Hungarian music. There can be no doubt that the thorough study of these three Hungarianisms can provide the strongest clarity for comprehending our racial character (Réthei 1924a, 1).

¹⁴ "Race" was used since the 18th century in publications on philosophy and social sciences to indicate the population belonging to a political, economic, social or cultural entity—the German race, Hungarian race, etc. Later, it was used in parallel with "people" until the beginning of the 20th century, when "race" was discredited by political misuse. Until the 19th century, "nation" only meant the nobility, and later, in 1845, when the nobility lost their privileges, it expanded to cover the whole population (Martin 1985).

¹⁵ The situation was similar for folk poetry and folk music research in the second half of the 19th century.

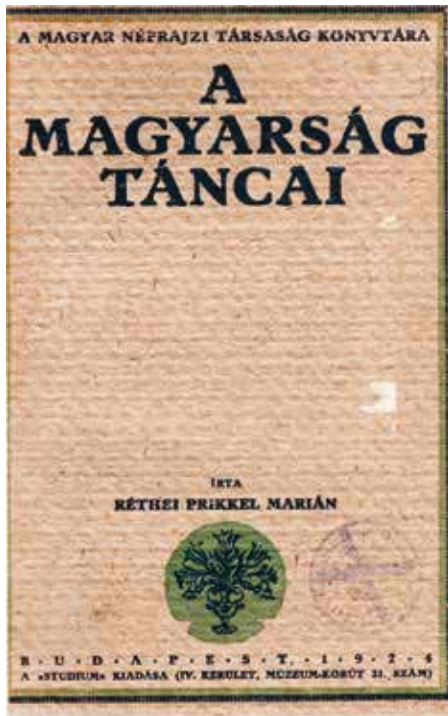


Fig. 2: Réthei's book on Hungarian dances from 1924.

Réthei meant the parallel examination of dance, music and text within the framework of the Hungarian national culture with the help of unified principles and methods. For Réthei, the uniform principles were defined by the objectives arising from the national characteristic approach—the definition of the national character, the exploration of the glorious past, and the change to the bleak present with its signs of deterioration.

In his book, Réthei used more than 300 single examples from different kinds of “dance sources”, 75 percent of which are historical ones from the 11th century until the middle of the 19th century. 20 percent of the sources are from 19th century journalistic and literary works (poems, novels), and reminiscences of his informants. For 19th-century research, these count as recent sources, along with the 5 percent of field documentation he and his students produced. This group includes descriptions made by informants and sent to him by letter.

Sources can be classified into different types according to their appearance:

- ✦ Most of them are written sources (ca. 250): diaries, letters, articles from periodicals, poems, fragments from novels, etc.);
- ✦ A total of 21 iconographic items: historical etchings, paintings, a series of drawings with details of the dances and recent photos made by Réthei and other ethnographers;
- ✦ Musical sources (all together 31 pages of musical notes of dance music).

Réthei makes his relationship and approach to the sources he has collected and interpreted clear:

There was no a priori assumption in determining the character of the dances, but I always made my judgments from positive data, a *historical, analytical and comparative method*. I strove for *strict objectivity*; and in my meticulous work, I have been warmed by love of my race on the one hand, and on the other, my sense of justice has prevented me from writing anything more for the benefit of my race than I am rightfully entitled to in any matter of dispute (Réthei 1924a, 3).

On the same page he presents the criteria of evaluation and interpretation used in the book:

First and foremost, I dealt with Hungarian folk dance. Not only did I want to shed some light on its nature, but I also set the goal for myself of clarifying all issues related to it. Its past, present and future have been of interest to me [...]. I tried to present its origin, history, character, music, aesthetics, etc [...]. I speak separately about the popularity of Hungarian dance, its rules, its dancing practice, the attitude to dance, its relationship to foreign dances, and I also speak in detail about the Hungarian “language of dance” (Réthei 1924a, 3).



Fig. 3: Moments of *csárdás* (char-dash). Drawings from Réthei's book *A magyarság táncai* [Dances of the Hungarians], Budapest, 1924, 76–78.

This list of aspects, striving for “holism”, does not lack the formal aspects of dance either, which shows Réthei’s sensitivity to dance creation and the components of dance. In the dance, which is structured according to a definable scheme, Réthei tries to define the so-called “*őz mozzanatok*” (main moments)—sections or items in today’s terminology, and within them “figures” as specific movements and the “ornaments” associated with them. (This scheme is similar to the method of analyzing classical linguistic morphology, in which a linguist breaks a text into “sentences”, “words”, and “affixes”.) This is the way Réthei tries to define the “choreotype” of dances. The “aesthetic rules” of dance can then be established, which mainly concern behavior in the dance, posture and ways of movement, pointing out the differences between the dance of men and women and the differences in the dance of the peoples of Europe (Réthei 1924a, 224). By means of the methodology described above, Réthei gave a comprehensive, choreographic description of the general way of dancing Hungarian dance and, consequently, of the national character of the Hungarians:

Hungarian folk dance also strikingly reflects the character traits of the Hungarians. The two complementary parts beautifully show the liveliness of the Hungarian race coupled with gravity. Our dance, with its light, straight posture and tight jumping reflects an equestrian people living on a plain, just as our nation has indeed been in the past. In addition to the general characteristic, the masculine, dignified seriousness; challenging, the defiant pride, militancy, openness and courage of our dance are noticeably manifested in the slowness of our dance. Well, and through both parts—you can add his inspired love of freedom, which is visible not only in his face, but also in the fact that the dancer expresses himself in good cheer [...], in figures laid out according to his own ideas (Réthei 1924a, 31).

In his picturesque description, Réthei attaches great importance to the freedom (improvisational character) of Hungarian dances as one of their main characteristic features:

Freedom is also a strong feature of Hungarian dance, because the dancers are not bound by predetermined movements like in foreign dances (there are only general schemes), but leave the figures (their order and manner of use) to individual dexterity [...]. Hungarian dance is more of a poetry: not like most of the foreign folk dances that are the same from the beginning; a Hungarian dancer creates most of his/her own dance figures according to his/her individual ideas and abilities. But even with variety and freedom, there is finally unity and harmony in Hungarian folk dance because the steps, slopes, escapes, turns and rotations, and applause, flapping arms and legs, popping, knocking, pounding and beating are always in good order: it happens rhythmically [...] (Réthei 1924a, 33).

The debate between Réthei and Seprődi emphasized the issue of temporality: that is, whether the researcher should move from the past to the present or approach the past from the present. Seprődi claims:

I am convinced that this thing can only be definitively decided, even for the past, if we know the present absolutely and accurately [...] On an issue that is still alive and that has not yet been petrified, like most of the phenomena of antiquity—only in this way can one absolutely achieve a certain result.¹⁶

Réthei understood Seprődi's position; he himself had a dancing experience among the shepherds of the surroundings where he was born. He also collected dances with his students in Northern Transdanubia. However, this was negligible compared to the large amount of historical source material he was about to publish systematically. He felt the new contemporary approach of folk music researchers—Vikár, Seprődi, Bartók, Kodály and Lajtha—to be incompatible with his own linguistic-folk-historical (ethnographic) approach, which focused on the phenomena of the past. He resolutely writes:

Naturally, my business has many shortcomings and I will even make mistakes—as anybody does with any business, especially if it is on an unbroken path. But I am not frightened by this circumstance, for I am aware that no one can be perfect without virtually every countable beginning. Which may not work for me and it may then for someone else. I can lay the groundwork, too.¹⁷

The publication of the book was of great interest not only to professionals, but to the general public as well. This is reflected in the approximately twenty book reviews, of which the criticism of the music historian Kálmán Isóz, the art historian Zoltán Szilády and the music historian Ervin Major are the most significant.¹⁸ Isóz missed the presence of a European perspective, Szilády criticized the accuracy and comprehensibility of the description of the dance movements, and Major criticized the musical unfoundedness. However, they all agreed that a genuine scientific work had been created. Szilády writes:

Our science and culture are celebrating a historical event. The first serious and relevant monography on the dances of the Hungarians has been published. Without it, dance research could still be a field of irregular experiments. Now we can start to build on ready-made foundations (Szilády 1924, 114).

Between the two world wars, the popularity of *Hungarian Dances* continued to grow. It might have contributed to the creation of measures by the Ministry of Inner Affairs to teach Hun-

16 Seprődi's letter to Réthei on 30 March 1904; Felföldi 2010, 325–326.

17 Seprődi's letter to Réthei on 5 April 1904; Felföldi 2010, 327.

18 János Seprődi and Bertalan Fabó, his colleagues from the initial era of folklore research, who could have criticized the work with the greatest competence, had already passed away.

garian dances in schools, and was the fermenter of the movements that aimed at the transmission and revival of traditional dances, for example: *Gyöngyösbokréta* [Pearl Bouquet], *Katolikus Agrárifjúsági Legényegyletek Országos Testülete* [National Board of Catholic Agrarian Youth Associations], *Regős Cserkészlet* [Scouting]. Réthei's book also aroused interest in reconstructing historical ballroom dances and reviving local dance traditions across the country.¹⁹

Scientific interest in dance in Hungary in the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries

In order to shed light on the scientific environment in which Réthei's work originated, we will try to provide an overview of Réthei's network of scientific connections at home in Hungary.

Table 1: Researchers connected to folk dance research in Hungary 1840–1940

Zajzoni Rab, István poet, journalist (1832–1862)	Káldy, Gyula musicologist (1838–1901)	Czuczor, Gergely poet, linguist (1800–1866)	Pekár, Károly philosopher (1869–1911)
Kiss, Lajos ethnographer (1881–1965)	← Madarassy, László ethnographer, editor (1880–1843)	Takács, Sándor cultural historian (1860–1932)	↕ Vikár, Béla folklorist (1859–1949)
Róka, Pál dance master (1877–1924)	← Fabó, Bertalan music historian (1868–1921)	RÉTHEI PRIKKEL MARIÁN (1871–1925) & his informants	↗ Seprődi, János musicologist (1874–1923)
Bartók, Béla musicologist, com- poser (1881–1945)	↔ Kodály, Zoltán musicologist, composer (1882–1867)	↔ Lajtha, László musicologist, composer (1892–1963)	↗ Major, Ervin musicologist (1901–1967)
Viski, Károly ethnologist (1883–1945)	← Györffy, István ethnographer, ethnologist (1884–1939)	↕ Gönyey, Sándor eth- nographer, photogra- pher, film maker (1886–1963)	↗ Seemayer, Vilmos ethnographer (1879–1940)
Laban, Rudolf dance theorist (1879–1958)	← Szentpál, Olga dance theorist (1895–1968)	Dienes, Valéria dance theorist (1879–1978)	↗ Molnár, István dancer, choreogra- pher (1908–1987)

19 On the tradition-reviving activities of the Árpád Association in Szeged see Felföldi 1991.

In the second and third rows of cells, researchers indicated with a double arrow were in close personal connection and had some sort of collaboration with Réthei. Takács Sándor was his teacher in Nitra, Madarassy and Vikár were his mentors in the Ethnographic Society, co-workers of the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest. Madarassy was the editor of *Dances of the Hungarians* and Vikár, a well-known folk music collector and academic of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was the facilitator of his academic progress. Kiss, director of the museum in Nyiregyháza, was the organizer of the filming of dances in Nagykálló, but Réthei could not participate in it in 1922.

The persons in the first row of cells, Czuczor the linguist, Káldy the musicologist and Zajzoni the poet and journalist were much older than Réthei and died before he could have created research connections with them, but Réthei thoroughly examined their writings on dance and used them in his book. He followed the example of Czuczor, who was also a member of the Benedictine Order. Réthei appreciated his systematic summary entitled *A magyar táncról* [About Hungarian dance], published in 1843. Károly Pekár as a philosopher/psychologist and Réthei did not know each other personally, but the chapter in Pekár's book entitled *A magyar faji ritmikáról* influenced Réthei's way of thinking about the common background behind Hungarian music, dance, and poetry. In addition, Gyula Pekár's film series about dances in Hungary in 1901 was unprecedented for the general public, including Réthei (cf. Pekár 1901).

The rest of the persons in the third row of cells, indicated with single arrow, never met Réthei, but their correspondence contributed much to the formation of the theoretical and methodological background of Réthei's book. Especially his written discussions with Seprődi (ethnomusicologist and music historian) were most fruitful and thought-provoking for both of them. Réthei accepted Seprődi's ideas in 1904, but later in the book he neglected them in order to avoid conflict between his own and Seprődi's ideas. The only person who was an expert on dance, Pál Róka, could not find common ground with Réthei. Róka's practical dancing ability was not coupled with enough theoretical knowledge.

The musicologists inserted in the cells of the fourth row (Bartók, Kodály and Lajtha), were internationally well-known ethnomusicologists dealing mainly with music, but partly with dance and dance music as well. In 1905 Seprődi encouraged Réthei to follow the methodology of ethnomusicologists by focusing on living music traditions, but Réthei had already decided to characterize Hungarian dances mainly on the basis of historical sources, which he knew best. They must have known each other, since Bartók, Kodály and Lajtha held lectures in the Ethnographic Society where Réthei was an old member and a presenter of lectures as well. However, Réthei presumably did not try to establish a connection with them. The fourth person in this row is Major, the music historian, who wrote and published a critical review of Réthei's book.

In the fifth row we can find ethnographers from approximately the same generation as the ethnomusicologists, but each of them was much younger than Réthei. They all wrote about folk dance in ethnographic (or ethnographically oriented) periodicals, but from among them it was Gönyey who did most for the advancement of folk dance research. On his field trips

he used photo and film equipment for documentation. From the 1920s until the 1940s, when he retired from the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum, he made several thousand photos and around a thousand meters of film about dances and dance events. He was co-author of the dance chapter in the fourth volume of the *Ethnography of Hungarians* series. It was based entirely on recent sources (films, photos, drawings and written descriptions) collected in the decade from 1925–1935. His companion in writing the new summary was Lajtha, the enthusiastic collector of dance music and dances in Hungary. It is too bad that due to his early death, Réthei could not participate in the new wave of folk dance research, in which folk dance and folk music researchers worked together.

We could not exclude the persons listed in the sixth row from the table either. They were the pioneers of the modern dance in Europe. Although Laban's work developed outside Hungary, and Valéria Dienes also prepared for her practical dance and theoretical work in Paris during Réthei's time, their results greatly facilitated folk dance research and the preservation of dance traditions in Hungary in the decades following Réthei's death. On the other hand, Olga Szentpál's and István Molnár's theoretical work greatly contributed to the rapid development of folk dance research after World War II.

In terms of their age, all of them may have met Réthei, but due to the fragmentation of dance culture and dance research at that time, they probably did not know each other. This does not mean that they were not influenced by Réthei's work later on, Molnár in particular, who wrote about Hungarian dance traditions with a similar infatuation in the preface to his book (*Hungarian Dance Traditions*) in 1947. His book was banned by the authorities after 1949 for this reason (Molnár 1947).

The table above only includes researchers who were in some way connected to dance research and were directly or indirectly involved in Réthei's dance research activities. However, during his studies as a renowned linguist and literary historian, Réthei also came into contact with researchers and university professors who had a great influence on him, but were far from engaged in dance. They included the linguists József Szinnyei (1857–1943), Gábor Szavas (1832–1895), Zsigmond Somonyi (1853–1919) and Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937), the turkologist Ignác Kunos (1860–1945), the historian László Erdélyi (1868–1947), and the literary historians Rezső Gálos (1885–1954) and Aladár Bán (1871–1960). Réthei's interest in the dance traditions of finno-ugric people was supported by József Szinnyei, Gábor Szarvas and Bernát Munkácsi. He was able to obtain information about the way of life of the Turkic people from Ignác Kunos, and his search for literary sources on dance and dancing activity of Hungarians was facilitated by the literary historians mentioned above.

On the above, we may conclude that during his diverse professional work, Réthei came into contact with experts in several other fields of science—linguists, historians, ethnographers, folklorists etc., with whom he had friendly relationship (about 20–25 people). He was a member of a number of scientific societies and associations in whose work he took an active part by holding lectures at their meetings and publishing articles in their periodicals. For instance, in *Ethno-*

graphia, the periodical of the Ethnographical Society; *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* [Linguistics Publications], *Nyelvőr* [Language Guard], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* [Universal Philological Bulletin], the periodicals of the Society of Hungarian Linguistics, etc.

Taking into consideration the large number of acquaintances and friendships he made during his dance research (about 50 people), we can say that Réthei lived in a “sparkling” and inspiring spiritual atmosphere, despite the fact that he lived all his life as a “provincial” priest and teacher.

Selected works on dance history and folk dance at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe

In this chapter I will try to evaluate Réthei’s place and significance on the palette of international dance research. For this purpose, we present a selected list of European dance literature in these initial periods—before, with and immediately after him, and try to find the possible connections between Réthei and the authors.

Réthei emphasizes in his book that: “I did not follow foreign patterns willingly. I go my own way, not because of originality, but only to make my work really Hungarian in each of its details.” We have to believe his statement even though we must be aware that his work was not created in a vacuum as the table below witnesses. It is true that he never referred to any of the works listed below in his writings. By presenting the table, I would like to provide a list of the foreign literature which was possibly available to him at home or in any European libraries if he would have had access to them, or would have had enough interest in them.

Table 2: Selected chronological survey of dance literature between 1840 and 1930

Dance history							
1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
1860 Blasis: <i>Notes upon Dancing</i>							
1879 Czerwinski: <i>Brevier der Tanzkunst</i>							
1886 Böhme: <i>Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland</i>							
1895 Zibrt: <i>Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo</i>							
1904 Róka: <i>Három a tánc. A magyar tánc</i>							
1905 Bie: <i>Der Tanz als Kunstwerk</i>							
1913–1918 Khudekov: <i>Istorija tantsev</i>							
1924 Sharp and Oppé: <i>The Dance</i>							
Folk dance							
1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
1857–1891 Kolberg: <i>Lud</i>							
1894 Ungarelli: <i>Le vecchie Italiane</i>							
1901 Thuren: <i>Dans Og Kvaddigtning Paa Faeroerne</i>							
1907–1910 Collan: <i>Suomalainen</i>							
1907 Sharp and MacIlwaine: <i>The Morris Book</i>							
1911 Norlind: <i>Zur Geschichte der polnischen ...</i>							
1920 Verkhovynets': <i>Teoria ukrainskoho ...</i>							
1924 Réthei: <i>A magyarság táncai</i>							
1927 Zelenin: <i>Russische Volkskunde</i>							
1930 Norlind: <i>Svensk folkmusik</i>							

In the table, the eighteen works on dance represent the most significant pieces of European dance literature. Of these, fifteen might have been available to Réthei. The others were published after his death. We arranged the works in two groups in chronological order according to their main approaches: dance history and folk dance research. The grouping is not absolute, because in several cases historical and ethnographical approaches are used simultaneously. With this distinction we wanted to indicate that the two groups differ where epistemological roots and ideological backgrounds are concerned.

Three of the writers of the history of dance represent followers of the dance masters' tradition: Carlo Blasis (1797–1878), Italian dancer and choreographer, Albert Czerwinski (?–?), German dance master, and Pál Róka (1877–1924), member of a dance master dynasty in Hungary. They consciously (or unintentionally) follow the model of dance master books developed in the 18th century in which readers can learn about the history of the dance of “mankind” from prehistory to the present in a voluminous historical introduction. The historical surveys were

followed by descriptions of dances for learning purposes. The creator of this model was the French dancer and dance theorist Louis de Cahusac (1706–1759), who was an active participant in the famous French *Encyclopédie*. For more than a century in Europe, his book, *La Danse ancien et modern, ou Traité historique de la danse* (1754), served as an example for many dance history works which are not mentioned here. The other three authors are not dance masters, but art historians, aesthetes and music historians interested in dance. The books of international scope by the Russian Sergei Khudekov (1837–1928), the German Oscar Bie (1864–1938) and the Englishman Cecil Sharp (1859–1924) with Adolphe Paul Oppé (1878–1957) were already based on regular source research. In contrast, the German Max von Böhm (1823–1898) and the Czech Čeněk Zibrt (1864–1932) focus specifically on the dance and musical tradition of their own people with some international “outlook” and with attention to the history of stage dance. Réthei’s method is similar to that of these two authors. He also dedicates a few pages to the ancient nature of dance, and to ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine sources of dance history (this might have been left out of the book without problems; LF). He tries to depict the characteristic way of dancing of the Hungarians, the “commitment of the Hungarian race to dance,” and aims to save it for the future in the spirit of national characterology with a psychological “hue.” He did not deal with stage dances especially, but as a linguist he devoted a separate chapter to the dance names used in Hungarian, and to the terminology, sayings and proverbs related to dance.

The majority of the folk dance researchers in Table 2, considered to be forerunners of today’s dance folklore, have chosen to approach their own dance traditions with the most accepted research methods of their age. From among them, Norlind’s writing on the historical comparative study of Polish dance, Cecil Sharp’s collection of Morris dances, and Réthei’s book exhibit a difference with their peculiar ambiguity. The others—Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890), the Polish ethnographer and musicologist; Hjalmar Thuren (1873–1912), the Danish folklorist; Anni Sofia Collan, the Finnish teacher of gymnastics; Dmitrii Konstantinovich Zelenin (1878–1954), the Russian linguist and ethnographer; the Italian Gaspare Ungarelli, folklorist and librarian—mostly presented the traditional dances of their own country or region as collected by themselves. Dance masters, as professionals closest to dance, such as Blasis, Czerwinsky, or Róka, sought to provide interesting information about the history of dance to an audience learning to dance from their books.

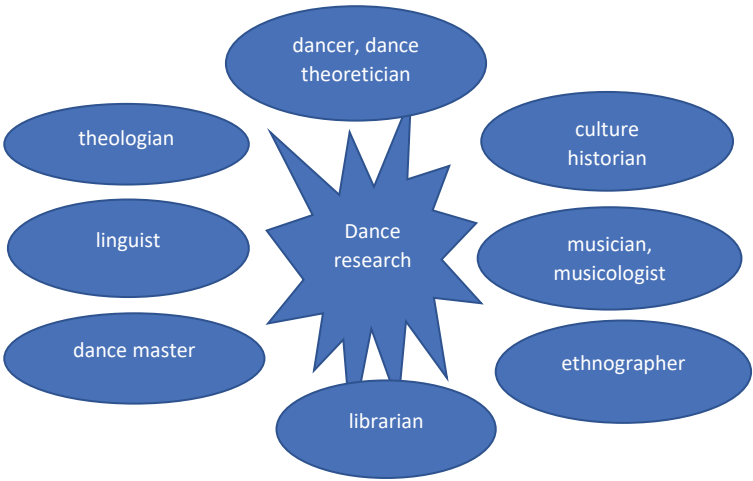
Cultural historians, linguists, musicologists, folklorists, and ethnographers saw in dance a hitherto little-studied field of national culture which they sought to develop according to the best methods of their own field of research. See the works of Kolberg, Ungarelli, Thuren, Norlind, Réthei and Zelenin. Vasyl’ Verkhovynets’ (1880–1938), the Ukrainian folklorist and choreographer, also belonged to this group, but he was already a distinct music and dance folklorist. His writings on research methodology, his book published in 1919 and his stage folk dance choreographies testify that he was an outstanding individual among dance researchers. Anni Sofia Collan, a follower of the feminist movements from America and European aspi-

rations in relation to educational reform, collected and published Finnish folk dance material, mostly for educational purposes.

As we see in Table 3 below, the researchers approached dance research from a variety of disciplines and occupations, and for different purposes. And consequently, they had different theoretical and methodological backgrounds. The majority of the pioneers came from musicology and ethnography, and later these were the two disciplines that competed for the integration of the future “independent” discipline into their circle—folk dance research. But that is another story.

In connection with Réthei, we should mention the other theologians dealing with folk dance at that time. As mentioned above, he was not the only one in Hungary, see Gergely Czuczor, but this was less common in other European countries. Of the authors in Table 2, the Lutheran Hjalmar Thuren is the only theologian, who achieved great results in folk music and folk dance research.

Table 3: Representatives of the different fields of research contributing to the establishment of (folk) dance research in Europe in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries.



If we want to reveal the influential theories and trends behind the scientific research (choreology included) in the 19th century, we may highlight historicism associated with the approach of national characterology and national typology. The main method followed was positivism, with a growing interest in psychology. Spiritual history, which tried to change the dominant position of positivism, appears in the last third of the 19th century. Many other comprehensive theories and approaches have had an impact on the various fields of scientific research, from Herbert Spencer's sociological approach, evolutionism, Darwinism, James Frazer's comparative religion studies, the neo-grammatical trend of linguistics, to the *Kulturkreis* theory of Austrian and German ethnologists, etc. After the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Freud's psychoanalysis, Jung's "collective unconscious theories", the principles of the Viennese school of ethnology, the method of the Finnish school of geography and history, and comparative musicology were the most effective ideas, crowned by Saussure's structuralism. Reviewing the dance publications in the table, we assume that dance research was not yet an integrated research area that could have responded to the new international research trends. Dance researchers, including those who were interested in traditional dances, first met only in 1928²⁰ in Prague²¹ and on the occasion of the first international folklore festivals in London in the 1930s. It was only the Folk Dance Research Group of the International Folk Music Council under the auspices of UNESCO that was the first to create an international program for cooperation in 1960 (cf. Giurchescu 2005). Unfortunately, Réthei's early death prevented him from being present in the next stage of the development of the discipline. He shared the fate of Moses.

Conclusion

Dances of the Hungarians is one of the belated documents of the 19th century European folk dance research, given that it was published at the beginning of the 20th century. In the Hungarian milieu, it represents the continuation and culmination of the passionate commitment to Hungarian ethnography that began in the middle of the 19th century in the fields of Hungarian traditional culture (folk poetry, folk music, folk belief). At the same time, it became one of the most popular examples of the overall presentations of cultural history dedicated to the millennium of the country. But in spite of all its uniqueness at home, Réthei's work fits into the international literature in terms of its purpose and function.

20 Publication of the documents: Art populaire. Travaux artistiques et scientifiques du Ier congrès International des arts populaire. Prague 1928. Paris: Editions Duchartre, 1931, vol. 1–2. Institut international de coopération intellectuelle.

21 Three years after Réthei's death.

His writings on folk dance and his book *Dances of Hungarians* occupy a transitional position in the formation of folk dance research. Its author manages to straddle both the 19th century and the 20th. As a dance historian he came late—in 1924—with an idealistic, fixed (motionless) picture of the “Hungarian way of dancing” projected back to the middle ages. What is exemplary is the philological rigor with which he treats historical sources (he was an acknowledged linguist). As a dance folklorist he came early, because he was not prepared either theoretically or methodologically to make the “turn” in Hungarian dance research, as had already been done in folk music research or some other branches of folklore research. Moreover, modern technology—film and suitable graphic systems for notation—was at his fingertips, but it was only adopted for scientific documentation by the next generation. His early death prevented him from continuing to follow this path (he was 54 when he died). From this point of view, folk music researchers were in an easier situation with the application of the phonograph from the 1890s. Réthei collected a large amount of source material (both historical and recent), which was really a great achievement, also from today’s perspective. It is true that his interpretations and conclusions are viewed as largely incorrect today, but he provided an example for the complex historical-ethnographical approach to dance movement together with the accompanying music and poetry. He made efforts to amalgamate the ideas and methods of that time in philosophy, aesthetics, psychology, linguistics, art history and ethnography. Unfortunately, he was not attentive enough to what Bartók, Kodály and Lajtha did in the field of musicology (especially in folk music research; see Bartók 1924, 1934; Kodály 1906, 1937). We can easily see this by comparing Réthei’s work with Bartók’s book *The Hungarian Folk Song*, which was published in the same year, 1924. We may wonder what the book would have been like if World War I had not prevented Réthei from continuing his “in situ” observations. Surely the extensive fieldwork carried out under peaceful conditions would have changed the proportion of historical and recent sources in his book. The elementary task of recording, transcribing, and publishing a larger amount of recent material could have guided him onto a new pathway.

We must mention one more circumstance which determined the nature of his work. This is the post-war political situation in Hungary. Although Réthei’s book does not mention the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, when two thirds of the territory of Hungary was ceded because of its participation in WW I, *Dances of Hungarians* awakened patriotic feelings and the claim for revisionism in Hungary.

Réthei’s farewell “blessing” to the next generations

I know, and I openly admit that my work has several errors and deficiencies [...] The main thing is that my work is a beginning from which Hungarian ethnography can move on, correcting the mistakes and defects more easily. It will be my greatest pleasure to see that those, following my example, have done a better job than I (Réthei 1924a, 4).

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Method and Myth

M. Beregovski's Contribution to the Study of the Traditional Yiddish Folk Song*

Abstract

Moisei Beregovski (1892–1961) was the only musicologist to systematically study Jewish folk music in Ukraine between the two world wars. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, it became clear that he was also the last to carry out investigations in the natural habitat of this folklore, among the large Yiddish-speaking population of Eastern Europe. This vantage point, which sets Beregovski apart from other researchers of Jewish music, is crucial to understanding his role as a folk song scholar. While the cantorial art, Chassidic *nigunim*, and some other musical genres of the Eastern Yiddish speakers endured after the Holocaust in oral tradition outside Eastern Europe, the traditional folk song disappeared with the destruction of its native environment. However, analyzing Beregovski's writings poses notable difficulties. How should we construe his resolute and, in all probability, sincere criticism of "bourgeois" scholars, and how can we reconcile this criticism with his actual agreement with their conclusions, and moreover, with his astute observations, used to accuse him of "undermining the principles of Soviet science"?

Based on a survey of previous studies and the documentation of Beregovski's trial, a twofold attempt has been made: (1) to deduce his ideas via a comparative analysis of his statements in both published and unpublished sources; and (2) to glean insights from non-verbal clues, such as the ways he organized materials in preparation for publication. The sincere desire to gain full partnership in the Soviet discourse often contradicted Beregovski's research integrity and his understanding of the inner features of traditional Yiddish folk singing and the insights of non-Soviet scholars. As a result, while a considerable part of his writings contributed to the formation of the Soviet myth, the materials he published or prepared for publication undermined it by focusing on the traditional music of the Jewish petit bourgeois and emphasizing its beauty.

Moisey (Moyshe) Beregovski (1892–1961) was the only scholar to systematically study the folk music of Yiddish speakers in the Ukraine between the two world wars.¹ From 1927, while holding several official positions, and until his arrest in 1950 and deportation to the Gulag in 1951, Beregovski examined thousands of recordings and notations of Yiddish folk songs, paraliturgical chants, klezmer instrumental music, and folk theater tunes.² Part of this extensive corpus consisted of field recordings collected during the ethnographic expeditions that Beregovski organized, while the other part comprised the Archives for Jewish Folk Music which he founded and which held unique collections gathered since the beginning of the 20th century. This unprecedented work was carried out in an endeavor to outline the key genres of East Ashkenazi (i.e. Eastern European Jewish) music, and to situate it as a whole within the network of surrounding traditions.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust, it became clear that Beregovski was the last musicologist to carry out investigations in the natural habitat of this soundscape among the large Yiddish-speaking population of Eastern Europe. This vantage point, which sets him apart from other researchers of East Ashkenazi music, is crucial for the understanding of his role, particularly as a folk song scholar: while the cantorial art, paraliturgical chants, and some other genres continued to be practiced after the Holocaust in oral tradition outside Eastern Europe, traditional Yiddish folk song dwindled dramatically with the destruction of the environment within which it had evolved and which was indispensable for its existence (Slobin 1983, 10–11). Although Beregovski's work was the last stronghold in the academic investigation of this music as a living tradition, many of his conclusions have not yet been given the attention they deserve, and a collection he prepared for publication in 1934 and revised in 1938—comprising over 200 songs accompanied by an extensive introduction and commentaries—has not yet been published in an academic volume.³ My main concern in this article is Beregovski's understanding

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1 On Yiddish in Eastern Europe—the language of the descendants of Jews who migrated from the Germanic lands in the 15th–16th centuries, see Beider 2018. For an annotated bibliography of M. Beregovski's scholarship, as well as of Jewish folk music in Eastern Europe, see Feldman and Lukin 2017; Khazdan 2023. Another prominent musicologist, Sofia Magid, traveled to Volyn in 1928 and recorded Jewish music there. Of about 200 audio recordings that she made there, some 30 survived and have been published, accompanied by musical transcriptions, see Grözingner and Hudak-Lazić 2008. For the scarcest extant information on her expeditions and their outcomes, see also Frenkel (2015, 176–177, 190).

2 For Beregovski's biography, see Beregovski [1946] 1999, 7–15; Khazdan 2009; 2023. On Jewish Kiev musical collections and on the institutions in which Beregovski worked, see Sholokhova 2001; Melamed 2012.

3 A facsimile of the musical notation accompanied by transliterated texts, their Russian translations,

of precisely this branch of Yiddish folk creativity—the folk song. I focus on Beregovski's decisions in selecting songs for publication in this collection, intended as the second of a five-volume anthology (henceforth Volume 2), and on the ways he organized the materials in it.⁴ This strategy is chosen in the light of methodological difficulties in evaluating Beregovski's scholarly contribution based on his writings: multiple self-contradictions, concessions to ideological and methodological challenges, and the pressures of the political environment in which he worked problematize their critical reading.

The ideological challenge

The ideological challenge faced by a scholar of Jewish folk music in the Soviet Union of the 1930s lay in the social context of this body of work, as well as in the social and political contexts of the scholarship preceding that period or outside the Soviet Union. Yiddish-language folklore was suspect for its distance from the folklore of peasants and laborers, and its affinity to the petit bourgeoisie, residents of the shtetls—shopkeepers and small-scale merchants, independent craftsmen and servants. Yiddish song, unlike that of the Slavic traditions, did not develop collective performance modes, and there were few songs about work and rebellion in Yiddish. The character of Jewish society and of the music itself made it difficult to adopt the definitions of folk music customary in Slavic scholarship. Jewish musical creation was in fact notable for being on the continuum between the soundscapes of the elite and of the lower layers of the population. At the artistic-professional end of this spectrum, Jewish musicians—cantors and klezmer instrumentalists—could rarely read music, and their art was primarily learned by heart,

and the author's comments in Russian, but not his introduction, was published as a digital file: Beregovski [1934–2001] 2013, CD2. The introduction's Yiddish text was published separately, without commentaries: Beregovski ([1938] 2003). For the date of the completion of this collection, 1934, see Beregovski [1934–2001] 2013, CD 2, notations file, 4; [1946] 2001, 641. Two unidentical copies of the page proofs held at the Russian Institute for the History of the Arts (Beregovski 1938b) bear the note in Yiddish “Kiev, December 1934–1936” at the end of the introduction (F.45, op.1/4, page 28 according to the typed pagination) and on the title page: “Farlag Muzgiz, Moskve 1938” (ibid.). The page proofs held at the YIVO archives (Beregovski 1938a) contain the same dates.

- 4 Another important aspect of the scholarship of Beregovski's folk songs—his analysis of performance styles—is not discussed here, see Slobin 1982, 7–8; 1986, 257–258; Beregovski [1948] 2007. Considering the large volume of Beregovski's studies in the field of Jewish folk music (see Zemtsovsky 2001, 4: “I insist on this description: Beregovski is a classic of Jewish ethnomusicology”), general issues, such as his attitudes towards notation or “Judaization,” are not discussed here either. For an evaluation of his method beyond the specific context of the scholarship on folk songs, see Slobin's Introduction 1982, 1–9; Koskoff 1984; Slobin 1986; Braun 1988; Zemtsovsky 2001; Khazdan 2006; Irzabekova 2013; Feldman 2016, 48–51, 126–136, 235–238. See also Kiel 1991, 541–543, 580; Veidlinger 2000; Krutikov 2016.

from the beginnings of Eastern Yiddish-speaking society in the early modern period to the late 19th century (Idelsohn 1929, 214–231; Feldman 2016, 59–98). Hence the work of these musicians had a semi-professional character: requiring professional training, sophistication, and individual talent, it was intended for personal-artistic expression but at the same time anchored in traditional norms, avoiding total professionalization, and most importantly, avoiding the separation between the artist and his audience which was customary in European art music. At the other end of the same spectrum, one finds the songs of servants and craftsmen, as well as the melodies of traditional folk theater, which, unlike their Slavic counterparts, reveal an affinity to religious music. Finally, although religious music itself, both liturgical and paraliturgical, was under the control of the elite, members of all levels of society were exposed to it and exerted an influence on its design (Frigyesi 2008; Feldman 2016, 39–42).

Like the performers of Yiddish folk song, the few researchers who preceded Beregovski belonged to social and political sectors that were viewed as hostile to the Soviet regime. Although interest in Yiddish folk song arose among the Jewish intelligentsia as early as the 1860s, the first academic study on the subject was published only in 1898 (Lukin 2020, 87–89); that is, the research was born in a period of Jewish participation in political and social movements and their emigration to the U.S. Ethnographers, folklorists, and musicians who wrote about Yiddish folk song—among them Sh. Semion An-ski (Shloyme Zaynvl Rapoport, 1863–1920), Yehude-Leyb Cahan (1881–1937), Noah Prylucki (1882–1944), Joel Engel (1868–1927), and Abraham Zevi Idelsohn (1882–1938)—expressed solidarity with political movements considered inimical to the regime, and this fact made it difficult to express support for their work.

To sum up the ideological challenge: Beregovski took upon himself an exceptional task in the Soviet sphere—to focus on the traditional creation of the *petit bourgeoisie* and to deal with the individualist character of this work and its affinity to the melodies of the synagogue and the sounds of paraliturgical ceremonies. In carrying out this task, he was not allowed to openly refer to the ideas of outstanding Jewish humanists who had in fact laid the groundwork for research in this field; moreover, he was expected to identify with the Soviet myth of the new Yiddish culture. Beregovski's two published essays facing this challenge (1932; [1934] 1982, 19–42), both edited by Meir Wiener (1893–1941), reflect considerable influence by their editor: their writing style strongly recalls Wiener's own style (Wiener 1932), as well as that of Zalmen Skuditski (1906–1996), whose collection of texts of Yiddish folk songs (1933) was also edited by Wiener.⁵ Thus it is not easy to identify the boundary between Beregovski's own opinions and the massive editing that his articles underwent in an attempt to legitimize the new Soviet Yiddish studies.

5 On Wiener's writings on Jewish ethnography and folkloristics, see Krutikov 2016.

The methodological challenge

Another challenge that Yiddish folk song scholarship faced in the 1930s was a methodological one: the lack of a research paradigm and a lack of adequate musical documentation. Could the song of the shtetl be compared—in its societal function, poetics, and music—to the folk songs being studied by Beregovski's Ukrainian and Russian colleagues? Slobin (1986, 254) thought not:

Folk music study in general, in Beregovski's time, rested firmly on the assumption of a monolithic, inert peasantry whose lore formed the wisdom and distinctiveness of ethnic groups. Yet for the Jews, these assumptions were groundless, not least because they were not peasants.

The work of Beregovski's contemporaneous colleagues was relevant for him on the macro level but only slightly on the micro level. On the macro level he was inspired by the historical perspective in folk song research proposed by the scholars whom he cites ([1934] 1982, 30; 1938a, 15)—Filaret Kolessa, Béla Bartók, and Klyment Kvitka—and based on analyzing the rhythmic patterns and melodies of the songs collected in fieldwork.⁶ Bartók's distinction between old and new styles in the folk repertoire; interpreting the musical form by taking into consideration an integration of textual and musical factors, as proposed by Kolessa and Kvitka; the special importance of cadential patterns in understanding musical form, as indicated by Krohn and Bartók—these ideas were relevant for studying Yiddish song as well. In particular, the multitude of strophic structures with four musical phrases in Krohn's and Bartók's collections (1904 and 1925, respectively) encouraged the adaptation of these scholars' methods.

Trying to join the Ukrainian scholarly discourse, Beregovski devoted much research to clarifying the interactions between Jewish and Ukrainian music (e.g., Beregovski [1935] 1982; [1946] 1982). His decision to devote special research ([1946] 1982) to the less common mode in Jewish music, Dorian-Ukrainian (a Dorian scale with a raised fourth degree and raised or natural sub-tonic), stems in fact from his desire to assert an interface between the two traditions: he points out that the scale is particularly common in Ukrainian Duma songs. By contrast, the altered Phrygian scale, with the third degree raised, which is much more common in Jewish music, did not merit an in-depth discussion in his writings.⁷ A correspondence with Kvitka's ideas can be

6 In a critical article on the publication of the first of five planned volumes (Beregovski 1934b), Sofia Magid argued that one of the anthology's shortcomings was the lack of a historical perspective (Magid 1936, 397). It appears that in the first, representative volume, Beregovski preferred not to spotlight the religious-shtetl past in which Yiddish song took shape, hence the lack of historical perspective in this volume. By contrast, he takes a clear historical-ethnomusicological approach in his dissertation on the Purim-shpil and his thesis on klezmer music (Beregovski [1946] 2001; [1944] 2001).

7 Except for the description of the scale in the introduction to Volume 3 devoted to klezmer music (Beregovski [1944] 2001, 15–19).

discerned in Beregovski's investigation of the semantic meaning of the augmented second and his observation on the lack of this interval in Yiddish children's songs.⁸

Despite these noticeable efforts to focus on the Jewish-Ukrainian musical dialogue, essential differences between Jewish songs and those of their Slavic neighbors hampered a significant micro-level relationship with the research on Slavic folk music. These differences include forms of performance and its contexts, as well as characteristics of the Yiddish language which influenced the character of songs. A significant portion of the theories of the above non-Jewish researchers resulted from the research of poetic-musical rhythms anchored in syllabic meters. In this aspect, Yiddish song differed radically from its Slavic counterparts due to its tonic prosody. The paradigms of research on Russian traditional folk song, which is also tonic, were in all probability found to be irrelevant to Yiddish song—either because of the total lack of polyphony in Yiddish song or because of the paucity of four-line strophes in traditional Russian songs, or because of the geographical and cultural distance between the Jewish shtetl and the Russian village. Yiddish song's total lack of affinity with the annual agricultural cycle also hindered correspondence with Slavic song research. The integration of tonic rhythm and strophic patterns in Yiddish folk song reveals its Western European roots, and Beregovski dedicated his doctoral dissertation on the Purim-shpil to their scrutiny.⁹ Yet, it was clear that Yiddish folk song could not be viewed as an extension to German folk song as it was documented in the late modern period: the modality of Yiddish songs bore a definite Eastern European character, and many of its poetic images took shape in the Slavic space.

An additional methodological perspective apparently available to him was Idelsohn's theory of Hebrew music.¹⁰ Beregovski's later writings and many discussions in his doctoral dissertation, which was never intended for publication, reveal sympathy for some of Idelsohn's ideas as well as a thorough familiarity with his work; I will say more about that below. However, their approaches were diametrically opposed. Idelsohn focused on religious music and saw it as the core repertoire of the various Diaspora Jewish communities, while explicitly minimizing the value of secular music and of song in vernacular languages. Beregovski's main interest, in contrast, was particularly in the non-liturgical repertoires: secular songs in Yiddish, folk theater, and instrumental music. This was decreed not only by Soviet ideology, but also by his choice of discipline—Yiddish studies and its sub-specialty, Yiddish-language folklore. Beregovski called his five-volume anthology *Yidisher muzikalisher folklor* [Jewish (or: Yiddish) musical folklore], a title that appointed Yiddish folkloristics—*inter alia*, Yitskhok Leybush Peretz, Sh. An-ski, Joel Engel, and Yehude-Leyb Cahan as his precursors. In the context of this focus, unparalleled

8 Beregovski ([1962] 1982, 491; 1938a, 13); Kvitka (1971–1973, vol. 1, 233–236, 312–348; vol. 2, 21–24, 202–205). On other affinities to Kvitka's work, see Slobin 1982, 5–8, Zemtsovsky 2001, Feldman 2016, 130–131.

9 Beregovski [1946] 2001; see also Zemtsovsky 2001, xiii–xiv.

10 On this concept in Idelsohn's work see Loeffler 2010.

within Jewish ethnomusicology, it was precisely the musical repertoires of European Yiddish speakers that were significant, whereas the Hebrew traditions studied by Idelsohn were less relevant.¹¹

Another important researcher of the songs of the shtetl in the pre-Holocaust decades was Sofia Magid (1893–1954). As a staff member at the Sound Archives of the Institute for the History of Literature in Leningrad, she also, in parallel to Beregovski, carried out field work which involved documenting all types of Jewish music, including Yiddish folk song, primarily in Belarus.¹² Unlike Beregovski, however, Magid focused her scholarly work on one single genre—the folk ballad in Yiddish—which led her to emphasize text research at the expense of a thorough study of the tunes (Lukin 2022). For unknown reasons, it appears that no cooperation developed between these two distinguished researchers. Magid published two articles in leading Soviet journals critiquing Beregovski’s research—praising its virtues but emphasizing its glaring defects (Magid 1936; Krutikov 2016, 112–113). The striking difference between Magid’s calm writing style and the tempestuous wording of Beregovski, who followed the rules of truculent Soviet rhetoric, demonstrates the gap between the two scholars’ points of departure. Magid found her place as a junior researcher at a respected academic institute in Leningrad which strove to document a wide range of ethnic traditions and which, accordingly, dedicated some resources to documenting Jewish ones (Petrova 2013). In those same years, Beregovski was fighting in Kiev for the survival of the small research institution that he headed—The Folk Music Section of the Office for the Study of Jewish Culture at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences—the only one in the Soviet Union, and in fact in the entire world, whose sole purpose was to investigate Jewish music (Sholokhova 2001, 20–23; Melamed 2012, 104). Most likely this gap, as well as the geographical distance between the two, prevented scholarly cooperation. It is instructive to note, however, that both their doctoral dissertations, Magid’s on the Yiddish folk ballad (1938) and Beregovski’s on the Purim-shpil (1946), emphasized Yiddish musical folklore’s explicit affinity to the German tradition (Lukin 2022, 117).

To sum up the methodological challenge: while ethnomusicological interest in songs in Ukrainian, Belarussian, and Russian started as early as the 19th century, and later Soviet-era scholars came of age within a lively dialogue with their predecessors, Beregovski was faced with enormous lacunae in a number of areas. He had to organize a collection operation that would meet the requirements of folk music research, consider methodology that would be appropriate both for the material he had collected and the Soviet context, and figure out how much he could rely on and apply his colleague’s conclusions. Beregovski met this challenge: “It is only with his arrival on the scene that Jewish musical folkloristics became a science. Before him everything in this area had been done in isolation and unsystematically” (Zemtsovsky 2001, ix).

However, Beregovski’s struggle with the ideological and methodological obstacles led to tur-

11 On Beregovski’s criticism of Idelsohn see Kiel 1991, 461–475.

12 See footnote 1 and Petrova 2013.

bulent writing (1932, 1934b, 1938a) which presents evidence for such a wide range of claims that it seems that almost any opinion could be found which was both confirmed and refuted by him. This historiographic puzzle was outlined by Mark Slobin (1986, 259): “Unfortunately, we are not able to critique Beregovski’s work in light of his own theoretical and methodological stance”. While accepting Slobin’s conclusion, I would like to add the following: we can put aside Beregovski’s verbal statements in published studies and read his words in the context of his considerations regarding the selection and presentation of songs’ tunes and texts.

Classification as discourse

In the preface to Volume 2, and likewise in the preface to the 1962 anthology, Beregovski discusses the song “Tsu dayn mamen hob ikh gornit” [I have nothing against your mother], emphasizing the bitter words of this song, adapted to a happy tune of the *sher*, a wedding dance ([1962] 1982, 294, translated by Mark Slobin):

In some songs of this type, one is struck by the contradiction between the happy melody and the meaning of the text. Thus, for example, in “Tsu dayn mamen hob ikh gornit” (no. 25) the girl curses the mother, father, brother, and sister of her beloved, who have caused a separation. It is most striking that these mournful words are sung to the lively, merry melody of the *sher*, which shapes the musical form of the song. [...] the happy tune of the *sher* underlines the dramatic situation.

The scholar explains that the incongruence between words and melody expresses bitterness and highlights a cynical tone. This is an instructive example of intertextuality in Yiddish songs: in many, the melody exists as a sort of independent text to which the literal text refers. This typological characteristic became possible in a society which granted text a central role in its culture where literacy was considered the highest value, and where the practice of contrafact—adapting a new song text to a familiar tune—was a central foundation in spreading the printed songs already in the early modern period.¹³

A gap between the meanings of text and tune also characterizes Beregovski’s own contribution to the scholarly discourse: while the words he wrote were subject to varied and contradictory interpretations, the songs that he chose to publish and his means of presentation clearly illustrate his research assumptions. A careful study of these songs reveals two guiding lines. First, Beregovski held that the interesting layer in the Yiddish folk repertoire, the layer worthy of study, was the traditional one: songs in which the design of tunes and lyrics rests on stable principles that the performing community sees as correct and appropriate, having been passed down

¹³ Feldman 2016, 47.

orally from generation to generation and having stood the test of time. His second guideline in selecting songs for publication was to present the traditional corpus as a dynamic, developing entity, a sort of snapshot of a living body, in which traditional songs of different types existed in relation to each other. Therefore, Beregovski avoided choosing a single criterion for classification, and instead pointed to groups of songs bearing several common poetic and/or musical features.

This intuitive approach no doubt reflected rich fieldwork experience, caution regarding theoretical-archival research, and affinity with the ideas of his research supervisor, Klyment Kvitka (1880–1953), who also rejected adherence to one single parameter (Pravdiuk 1983). This approach broke new ground. On the one hand, editors of anthologies without musical notation ignored musical features, and classified songs by subject or textual genre. On the other hand, Idelsohn, who compiled the first scholarly anthology of Yiddish folk song tunes (1932), classified all the songs according to modality and ignored other musical characteristics as well as characteristics of the lyrics, apparently due to a lack of interest in distinguishing different strata in the song repertoire.¹⁴ Beregovski aimed to outline a set of resemblances between different songs, building continuums on the basis of various axes, both musical and textual. Yet, lacking a detailed theoretical explanation, deciphering Beregovski's intentions in the grouping of songs is left to the reader.

Fifty years later, a similar approach was proposed by Judith Etzion and Susana Weich-Shahak (1993) in an ethnomusicological study on folk songs of Sephardic Jews. The researchers adopted Ludwig Wittgenstein's observation regarding family resemblances, and presented it via Renford Bambrough's explanation (Etzion and Weich-Shahak 1993, 170):

We may classify a set of objects by reference to the presence or absence of the features AB-CDE. It may well happen that five objects *edcba* are such that each of them has four of these properties and lacks the fifth, and that the missing feature is different in each of the five cases. A simple diagram will illustrate this situation:

e	d	c	b	a
ABCD	ABCE	ABDE	ACDE	BCDE

Here we can already see how natural and how proper it might be to apply the same word to a number of objects between which there is no one consistent common feature. And if we confine our attention to any arbitrarily selected four of these objects, say *edca*, then although they all happen to have B in common, it is clear that it is not in virtue of the presence of B that they are all rightly called by the same name.

¹⁴ As noted earlier, Idelsohn focused his major studies on other genres, and, by dint of working outside of Eastern Europe, based himself primarily on published materials, supplementing them with songs that he transcribed from his acquaintances, who themselves learned them in part from the same printed collections.

Etzion and Weich-Shahak emphasized that the mutual affinities between the songs match this explanation precisely: even in the absence of a characteristic common to all the songs, one can point to the existence of “families of songs”. In the field of Yiddish songs, such characteristics include musical form, mode, motives, rhythm, genre attribution, and thematic subject. Classification by a single feature is likely to miss similarities in these multiple directions. It seems that as early as the 1930s, Beregovski had noticed the existence of family resemblances, both between groups of songs and between individual songs within a group, even though he did not have a theoretical basis for this distinction. We can assume that his refusal to adopt an inflexible classification—by textual or musical characteristics—stemmed primarily from his vision of the traditional corpus as a continuum rather than a concise catalog.

What is more, a striking reason for this choice was the condition of the Yiddish song tradition itself in the first decades of the 20th century. As early as 1909, Sh. An-ski noted that the old song repertoire was being rapidly replaced, and that the songs he had heard in his childhood had been forgotten by the turn of the century (1909, 56–59). With the dissolution of the traditional way of life in the wake of urbanization, linguistic assimilation, emigration, and the destruction of the Jewish communities in the wave of pogroms that came with World War I, traditional Yiddish song was fading away even before it received a mortal blow during the Holocaust. Therefore, unlike other European repertoires, where one could observe fixed poetic-musical patterns and well-defined genres, the Yiddish repertoire included more than a few songs that preserved only a hint of such patterns, and a straightforward distinction could not always be made between its various components. As such, the selection of songs and their presentation illustrate both Beregovski’s research approach and the condition of the tradition itself.

Half the collection consists of two groups of songs around the theme “relations between the sexes”, lyric and narrative love songs and family songs with no fixed social function. It seems that the first section, “Love Songs”, which is divided into two parts (A: nos. 1–51; B: nos. 52–117), with no explicit explanation of the criterion used for the division, opens with older songs and assembles later songs in its second part. The topic of disappointed love also dominates the second section “Family Songs”, though here an attempt was made to arrange the songs not along a historical axis but as scenes of a woman’s life, beginning with courting and the torments of love and ending with the difficulties of adjusting to life in the in-laws’ home. This section ends with a group of songs belonging unquestionably to the ballad genre, although this distinction is never formulated anywhere. Later on, clear definitions are provided for four small groups of songs selected on the basis of social function (songs of recruits, street songs, children’s songs, and lullabies) and three groups selected by textual topics (humorous songs, songs about death, and songs about difficult tasks). The traditional repertoire is presented by Beregovski as a totality centered around lyric songs of disappointed love, mostly in triple meter and bearing a well-developed

melodic contour; this repertoire is joined by songs of a wide variety of types, primarily in duple meters, of which many are reminiscent of simple klezmer tunes.¹⁵

Mutual affinities between all the tunes in the collection are highlighted graphically: by their transposition to the tonic *g*, and their attribution to five traditional scales, emphasized via standard key signatures:

1. Natural minor: *bb-eb*;
2. Altered Phrygian: *b $\flat$ -eb-ab*;
3. Altered Dorian: *bb-c $\sharp$* ;
4. Major: *f $\sharp$* ;
5. Mixolydian: no accidentals.

Likewise, the division into musical phrases is graphically highlighted by each phrase being written in an independent staff.

These non-verbal devices illustrate the need to read between the lines in Beregovski's writings. In his preface, he criticizes and rejects Ilmari Krohn's classification system and its later developments by Béla Bartók and Filaret Kolessa; likewise, he categorically rejects Idelsohn's method (Beregovski 1938a, 15). However, viewing the collections from the perspective of a century after their publication, it is clear that Beregovski borrowed many principles from these scholars, and his references indicate that he did in fact engage with their ideas. Was this a tactic meant to introduce unwelcome scholarship under the umbrella of criticism? Or an expression of the honest quest of a middle-aged scholar, faithfully Soviet, in a newborn discipline? Apparently, both interpretations are correct; at any rate, the facts remain evident: Beregovski recognized the importance of modality, thus agreeing with Idelsohn; likewise, he recognized the importance of formal characteristics, thus basing himself on the studies of the scholars he criticized. The graphical devices he used aided him in asserting affinities among songs of the traditional corpus and presenting it as a totality with an idiosyncratic character.

Early modern roots and the traditional aesthetics

That the songs in Volume 2 belong to the traditional corpus can be seen from their poetics, music, and tone-word relationships: Beregovski shows that many of the aesthetic norms of poetics and music were stable—appearing repeatedly in different songs—during the period documented and that they echo old German heritage. In a note to song no. 71, he refers to a collection

¹⁵ Beregovski commented on this affinity in the preface (1938a, 5), and it is a typological characteristic appropriate for a separate study. As a rule, instrumental music in Eastern Ashkenazi society was not accompanied by song, nor was traditional song generally accompanied instrumentally (Slobin 1982, 293).

of proverbs in old Yiddish *Tsukht-shpigl*, 1610. In a manuscript essay, “Means of Musical Expression in the Yiddish Folk Song”, he gives three examples of German songs from the 15th–16th centuries (1948, 55–83). He explains that even though the Yiddish repertoire of the early 20th century does not represent whole versions of these specific German tunes, many motives, and even whole phrases, from late medieval and early modern German songs can still be found in it (ibid., 74–75):



Example 1. “Frau von
Luxemburg”, 1540.
Erk-Böhme (1893, 1,
368) as represented
by Beregovski (1948,
74).



Example 2. “Der
Herr von
Braunschweig und
das kleine Kind”, 15th
century. Erk-Böhme
(1893, 224) as
represented by Ber-
egovski (1948, 75).



Example 3. “Zwei gespielen”, 1540. Erk-Böhme (1893, 248) as represented by Beregovski (1948, 75).

These examples are taken from the first volume of Erk-Böhme (1893) and are transposed to G, as are all the tunes in Volume 2. While Erk-Böhme wrote the tunes in two staves, indicating two parts, Beregovski’s musical notation emphasizes the division into four, characteristic of Yiddish songs. Presentation of the songs in a different order than that of Erk-Böhme was apparently intentional. The tune appearing first is the one mentioned by Idelsohn in a footnote in the preface to his Yiddish song anthology (Idelsohn 1932, volume 9, xxv, footnote 1). Its resemblance to two Ashkenazi liturgical Hebrew chants, “Eli Tzion” and “Maoz Tzur”, is discussed, with a reference to Idelsohn, in a study from 1934 (Quellmalz 1934, 75, 90–91, 99). Whether Beregovski was familiar with this study (and did not refer to it for political reasons) or not, the search for old German roots of Hebrew and Yiddish songs reveals a silent dialogue with Idelsohn.

Volume 2 presents a wide variety of modal, formal, and rhythmic patterns by which the old tunes were known, and in this manner it mediates for the reader the traditional musical language and the poetic principles manifested in these songs. At the same time, Beregovski shows that the traditional corpus was undergoing a significant process of change in the 1930s: alongside the notable emphasis on traditional songs, the anthology includes several songs of literary origin from the second half of the 19th century,¹⁶ and a few popular Ukrainian tunes.¹⁷ Their inclusion enabled the delineation of the borders of the traditional corpus and illustrated that a few musical features and poetic motifs are found in both the traditional and the new folk songs. However,

¹⁶ Folklorizations of the songs of Sh. Bernstein (no. 28, no. 205) and Mikhl Gordon (no. 124, no. 125, nos. 145, 146) and of the Yiddish classic author Sholem Aleichem (no. 208); and also a few songs in the modern so-called urban style (nos. 18, 77–81, 146, 188).

¹⁷ Nos. 144, 149.

in an in-depth discussion of songs whose words are anchored in new contexts but whose tunes are old, Beregovski demonstrates that the tunes comprising the core repertoire showed a slower rate of change than the texts (1938a, 6–8).

Beregovski's approach to modality corresponds with his unnamed colleagues, i.e. with Engel's and Idelsohn's writings. Engel discusses modes of Jewish music in a special article that he incorporated in his Russian translation of the famous Riemann dictionary (Riemann 1904, 1512–1513).¹⁸ Idelsohn brought a list of typical motives found in the Yiddish song corpus and explained that on the one hand each individual motive on the list exists in other traditions, but on the other hand, incorporating the motives as a whole entity is idiosyncratic to Yiddish song. The specific ways they are used are also unique, especially at cadential and semi-cadential positions (Idelsohn 1932, volume 9, xxvi). The songs in Beregovski's collection illustrate his agreement with Idelsohn on this matter, for indeed the motives from Idelsohn's list appear frequently in the songs of Volume 2, and they function in a similar manner in different songs. The following examples illustrate the modal nature of the traditional song in Yiddish.

$\text{♩} = 100$

VEN IKH ZOL HO - BN FLI - GE - LEKH,
OY, VOLT IKH DOKH TSU DIR GE - FLOY - GN.
UN VEN IKH ZOL HO - BN KEY - TE - LEKH,
VOLT IKH ZIKH TSU DIR GE - TSOY - GN.

Example 4:
Beregovski
1938b, #1.

$\text{♩} = 120$

GEY IKH MIR TSUM BRU- NEN VA-SER ON-TSU - NE-MEN, SHTEYT DORT A SHEYN MEY-DE-LE, IKH KON TSUN IR NIT KU-MEN.

Example 5: Beregovski 1938b, 197

¹⁸ Zemtsovsky (2012, 30), based on Gnesin, ascribes the authorship of this unsigned article to Engel.



Example 6: Beregovski 1938b, #49

In addition to modality, a hallmark of the traditional songs is their asymmetrical rhythm, which differs from the isochrony characteristic of Yiddish popular-style songs. The tendency towards rhythmic variation primarily characterizes the traditional lyric song, but it is sometimes also observed in ballads, as in examples 5 and 6: both of them show an acceleration in the second half-strophe (the last four bars of each), with fewer long tones than in the first one. The following is an example of typical rhythmic variation in a traditional lyric song—each phrase differs in rhythm from the others, despite the fact that all four open with an anacrusis and end with two quarter notes:

Example 7:
Beregovski
1938b, #71

Finally, the traditional song is unique in its musical forms that allow rhythmic and motivic variations between musical phrases. The most notable of them is a four-phrase form, in which each musical phrase has its own role,¹⁹ the first phrase sets the modality, the second expands the range, often deviating from the initial tonic and introducing a new rhythmic element and modal change; the third presages a return to the initial tonic while at the same time often constituting an emotional apex, and the fourth reverts to the initial octave and reinforces the tonic. Beregovski refers briefly to the idiosyncrasy of this form in the same unpublished essay mentioned above (Beregovski 1948, 40):

¹⁹ On the songs' tunes in this form and on the history of their research, see Lukin 2020.

Both these songs [i.e., discussed previously] are in a musical form of four phrases, and both have identical cadences (the first, the third and the fourth phrases—on the basic tone, the second phrase on the fifth degree).²⁰

Beyond its idiosyncratic musical features, the traditional repertoire also presents poetic characteristics which set it apart from songwriters' songs, songs of social movements, and popular urban songs of the turn of the century: the lack of a refrain, stemming from the preference for singing solo rather than in a group; tonic versification; unique imagery; extensive use of diminutives; and a tendency to describe actions rather than nature and objects. This poetics is fully represented by Beregovski's choice of songs.

The flexible, somewhat intuitive system of classification enabled Beregovski to present—or, perhaps, to hide in the middle of the collection—traditional songs that he viewed as interesting and deserving publication despite their contents, which were considered quite suspicious in the Soviet context. A similar method was adopted in publishing his first collection in 1934, which opened with a section called “Laborers’ Songs” containing five ideologically appropriate parts, with titles perfectly suited to Soviet scholarship: “Work, Exploitation and Poverty”, “Strike”, “Struggles and Victims”, “Revolutionary Hymns and Songs”, “Melodies to Songs of ‘Poets of Protest’”.²¹

An additional appropriate section, “Artisans”, then followed, but between this and the closing section, also “kosher”—“Recruits and War”—came a section primarily made up of traditional songs under the title “Daily Life and Family Songs.” Beregovski explained his inclusion of this section of traditional songs thus: “in order to illustrate more clearly what was newly introduced by the revolutionary song into Jewish folk music” ([1934] 1982, 37). The apologetic tone of this explanation, and the awareness of the dissonance between this section's contents and the Soviet vision of folklore are self-evident: indeed, among others, here there are songs about choosing a husband by his profession, evil in-laws, and the struggle with the Angel of Death. All of the songs belong to the balladic repertoire analogous to the Western European ballad tradition—as asserted in 1924 by Alfred Landau and by Sofia Magid in her dissertation (1938); their versions appeared in Cahan's collections and in two collections without musical notation, by Noah Pryłucki and by Shloyme Bastomsky (Lukin 2022).

²⁰ Beregovski's identification of the distribution of this form in Yiddish songs, and the set of musical characteristics accompanying it, was apparently made without connection to the parallel identification by Sofia Magid in her unpublished dissertation (Magid 1938, 25–27). Slobin (1983) also identifies this musical form as a salient typological characteristic of the Yiddish traditional folk song.

²¹ These categories, already approved in the first Soviet Yiddish folk song texts publication (Skuditski 1933), became “obligatory” labels, and they were also replicated, word for word, in Beregovski and Fefer 1938 and Dobrushin and Yuditski 1940.

Likewise, in Volume 2, the two interior sections contain less “correct” songs—additional songs about the struggle with the Angel of Death and about impossible tasks, which also confirm a clear affinity to the German heritage. One of these early songs in Volume 2 is assigned the number 135, that is, it is placed at the beginning of the last third of the collection—a song including Hebrew words hinting at its religious context (*tane-godl*—the great sage, *meylekh*—king) and a note that reveals recognition of the older songs’ value: “The performer learned the song in the Bober shtetl (Belarus) around the year 1875 from his grandmother who was then 60 years old; the performer remembered only this strophe.” The collection ends with two quite neutral sections—lullabies and children’s songs.

Representation as a hermeneutic device

To illustrate the non-verbal expression of the scholar’s approach, we will examine the three songs that open Volume 2. Their choice reflects Beregovski’s tacit dialogues with Yehude-Leyb Cahan, Soviet Yiddish scholarship, and Abraham Z. Idelsohn, as well as Beregovski’s attitude towards the documentation and representation of the traditional Yiddish folk song. All three songs share the subject of disappointed love and the expression “If I had wings, I would fly to you”;²²

Song no. 1, strophes 1–2²³

*Ven ikh zol hobn fligelekh,
oy volt ikh dokh tsu dir gefloygn.
Un ven ikh zol hobn keytelekh,
volt ikh zikh tsu dir getsoygn.*

Song no. 2, strophe 1²⁴

*Ven ikh zol hobn fligelekh,
volt ikh dokh tsu dir gefloygn.
Ikh volt zikh lebn dir anider-
gezetst,
mit mayne farveynte oygn.*

Song no. 3, the entire text²⁵

*Oyfn barg, untern barg,
shteyt Ester di grine.
Ester shteyt, Avrom geyt,
Avrohom ovinu.*

²² Songs 1 and 3 in Slobin’s translation (1982, 407).

²³ For the tune see Example 4.

²⁴ For the tune see Example 9.

²⁵ For the tune see Example 8.

*Oy, af yener zayt taykh, af yener
zayt breg,
oy, zaynen di tsvaygn geboygn.
Dortn, dortn shteyt mayn zis-lebn
Mit farveynte oygn.*

*Volt ikh gehat a fingerl,
volt ikh mit dem vinken.
Volt ikh gehat a bekherl vayn,
volt ikh fun dem trinken.*

*Volt ikh gehat shtrikelekh,
volt ikh mit zey tsien.
Volt ikh gehat fligelekh,
volt ikh mit zey flien.*

If I had wings / I would fly to
you / And if I had chains / I
would pull you to me. // Oh, on
that side of the river, on that side
of the bank / The boughs are
bent / There, there stands my
sweetheart / with tearful eyes.

If I had wings / I would fly to
you / I would sit down next
to you / With my tear-stained
eyes.

On the mountain, below the
mountain / Stands Esther
the green / Esther stands /
Abraham comes / Abraham
the patriarch. // If I had a
ring / I would wink at you
/ If I had a goblet / I would
drink from it. // If I had
strings / I would pull with
them / If I had wings / I
would fly with them.

The decision to open the collection with love songs shows Beregovski's unstated dialogue with Yehude-Leyb Cahan, who suggested that love songs had been sung in early modern times, mostly by servant girls and apprentices (Cahan 1927, 65–77). Cahan argued that these songs make up the central, representative repertoire of folk song in Yiddish; the opening section of the first volume of his pioneering 1912 collection—the first large publication containing full texts and musical notation—is “Love Songs.” Apparently not by chance, the first tune in Beregovski's collection is a version of one of the first tunes in that of Cahan (1912, 48). There is no doubt that Beregovski was aware of Cahan's comment on the wording of this song (Cahan 1927, 106, #39), acknowledging its German source (“Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär' / Und auch zwei Flüglein hätt', / Flög' ich zu dir!") [If I were a little bird, / And also had two little wings, / I would fly to you!], published by Herder in 1778 as well as in subsequent classical collections of German folk songs. In light of the aforementioned identification of the early modern roots of his corpus, Beregovski surely valued Cahan's mentioning another German parallel from 1547. This subtext which is so important to Beregovski is represented to the reader without dialogue via a mere reference to Cahan's variant of the song. Taking into consideration Beregovski's criticism of Cahan in his preface, and keeping in mind Cahan's background, marked as “bourgeois” in the Soviet

context,²⁶ this unstated agreement is instructive. In 1955 Beregovski returned from Gulag camps, exonerated of the charges against him. Having understood that he would not see his collection published, with his remaining strength he assembled another anthology—on a small scale but summing up his life’s work ([1962] 1982). The anthology, edited by Sergei Aksiuk and published a year after Beregovski’s death, includes folk songs, paraliturgical songs without lyrics, and klezmer tunes. Given the anthology’s small size, each item in it was selected with great care. This publication, intended to present Yiddish musical folklore to Russian-speaking readers—a much wider audience than the Yiddish speakers for whom Volume 2 was intended—again opens with the same songs, nos. 1 and 3, thus reflecting to what extent Beregovski considered the traditional love song repertoire to represent Yiddish-speakers’ music.

Apart from the silent dialogue with Cahan, the decision to open with songs whose central images were a bird and wings also echoes the Goldberg-Oyslender controversy (Kiel 1991, 516–529). The philologist Yosef Goldberg (active in Minsk in the 1920s and 1930s, biographical details are lacking) claimed that, compared to Slavic folklore, the poetic language of Yiddish folk song was meager, in part because of minimal descriptions of nature and fixed descriptive formulas, and in part because of its closeness to daily speech. The litterateur Nokhum Oyslender (1893–1962) responded that this language was not meager but rather different from that of Slavic songs; among its notable characteristics, Oyslender mentioned the frequent use of diminutives. The first song chosen by Beregovski contains such diminutives (*fligelekh*—little wings; *keytelekh*—little chains), as well as metaphorical descriptions of nature; extensive use of parallelism; interplay between direct and third-person speech; and prosodic features including tonic rhythms and partial rhyming. This correspondence with Goldberg and Oyslender—who both focused on formal aspects of traditional songs and not on the contents of the new Soviet folklore—expresses an aspiration to join a general discourse by Yiddish-studies scholars on the heritage of the past.

The selection of song no. 3 and its placement on the first pages of Volume 2 also express an interest in old songs anchored in traditional norms. Saul Ginzburg and Pesah Marek, editors of the first large collection of texts (1901), comment on the version of this song in their publication, stating that it is one of the oldest love songs (Ginzburg and Marek 1901, #134, footnote). Their evidence, from before the destruction of the communities in World War I and changes brought about by the October Revolution, most likely influenced the choice of this song as a representative example of the Yiddish tradition. Yet, while noting that the song is old, Beregovski refrained from mentioning its religious contexts, despite his undisputed awareness of them.²⁷ He surely knew that the source of the motif “Esther the greenish” is in the Talmud and Jewish homiletic literature (Megillah BT, 13a); that the figure of Abraham the Patriarch appears solely in Yiddish

26 Cahan worked in Poland, emigrated to New York and published his materials there, being one of the prominent figures of the Lithuanian YIVO Institute.

27 On Beregovski’s self-censorship in religion-related aspects, see Irzabekova 2013.

religious songs; and finally, that the lyrics are similar to a paraliturgical chant ascribed to Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Vitebsk (1730–1788).²⁸

The formulaic tune of song no. 3 (example 7) is evidence of its paraliturgical source, most likely as an early Chassidic song or as a song of a *maggid* (preacher), and very likely created in the 18th century, a period in which the parallel between the longing for God and lovers' longings became widespread once again.²⁹



Example 8: Beregovski 1938b, #3.

It is highly likely that the preservation of the poetic formula in both a love song and a religious song was interpreted by Beregovski as evidence of the preservation of ancient traditions in the love songs that he chose to publish.

If so, the first three songs in Volume 2 have a mission: to be a window on the world of traditional Yiddish song. The set of motives in natural minor scale was seen by Beregovski as a sort of “calling card” of the music he studied: the three volumes devoted to traditional music, out of the five that Beregovski prepared for publication—in addition to Volume 2 discussed here, a volume of klezmer tunes ([1944] 2001) and a volume of songs without lyrics ([1946] 1999)—all open with tunes in this scale. On its early roots in Ashkenazi-Jewish musical culture, he declared:

It should be remembered that in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries Jewish folk art was influenced by German folk music, in which the natural minor occupied an important place. It is also one of the predominant scales among the eastern Slavs, among whom Jews have been living for several centuries ([1962] 1982, 294).

Alongside the natural minor, in Volume 2 as well as Volume 3, the second tune is anchored in the altered Phrygian scale; placing these two scales together at the opening of the publication serves as an introduction to the world of East Ashkenazi modality.

28 Zalmanoff (1948, #25): “If I had wings of gold, I would fly to You. / And if I had wheels of gold, I would travel to You. / If I had a horse and carriage, I would ride to You. / If I had ink and pen, I would write to You. / If I had a ring of gold, I would put it on Your Finger.”

29 Biale (1997, 144): “The love song between God and Israel had now become a poem of sexual relations between the Hasid and the divine.”

This particular choice of first songs also reveals a tacit dialogue with Idelsohn: bringing together two versions of the same song, no. 1 in natural minor and no. 2 in altered Phrygian, apparently illustrates the problematic nature of Idelsohn's classification method focusing solely on mode. Here, Beregovski shows us, despite the differences in mode, that the two songs have very similar lyrics, and they are also close in their melodic contour: in both tunes, the first phrase ends on the subtonic *f*, the second phrase expands the range to *d'*, the third phrase reaches *eb'* and ends on the subtonic, and the last phrase includes the sequence *c'-b(b/4)-a(b/4)-g*. Example 9 demonstrates this comparison graphically for the purpose of the present discussion.

Example 9: Beregovski 1938b, #1 (upper staff) and #2 (lower staff).

Example 9: Beregovski 1938b, #1 (upper staff) and #2 (lower staff).

Finally, bringing the two tunes together illustrates the state of the tradition in the period when Beregovski was active. As he noted (1938a, 19–21), the approximately two hundred songs in the collection were chosen from several hundred and, accordingly, each song was selected for a rea-

son. Without the second tune, the first could have been interpreted as a modern urban romance, minimally adapted to the Jewish soundscape: its form recalls a Western, symmetrical, double period, emphasizing the tones d' and d and the fifth degree in the scale of natural minor, close to chordal thinking; the rhythm as well, despite a few variations, seems to be completely symmetrical. Examining the first tune in the context of the second one, however, reveals that it reflects the opposite process—the adaptation of a traditional tune to a new urban fashion.

Beregovski's special interest in the early layers of the traditional songs stemmed from an awareness that in the 1930s this music was gradually fading away.³⁰ Pointing out this process contradicted the optimism of supposedly flourishing Soviet society. Wiener, who apparently penned the short preface to the first volume, objected to this opinion of Beregovski (Beregovski 1934b, [3]) in an attempt to be proactive. Wiener's critical awareness of possible mistakes of his colleague probably aimed to advocate for a dynamic way of thinking within the young Soviet scholarship, and thus legitimized the possibility of a few minor flaws. Yet the emissaries of the regime nevertheless honed in on this ideological error, and the claim that Yiddish musical folklore was dying out became one of the accusations in the charge of nationalism against Beregovski.³¹

The old songs in the new era

The focus on the traditional repertoire in Volume 2 is particularly striking, given the publication of two other collections of Yiddish folk songs: a magnificent anthology of songs and klezmer tunes for the general public, which Beregovski edited in parallel with the research collection, and which was published in Kiev (Beregovski and Fefer 1938),³² and the Dobrushin-Yuditski

³⁰ On a similar process of radical changes in Russian and Ukrainian folk songs' repertoires due to the decline of the traditional way of life, and on scholarly attitudes towards the phenomenon, see, e.g., Rothstein 1994; Noll 2000. Many criticized this search for the old layers of folk creativity as romantic and nationalist, as ignoring new forms of expression, and as unconsciously glorifying the past from a stereotyped point of view, identified by Pertti J. Anttonen as "The Paradigm of Loss" (2005, 48–51. See also Morgenstern 2018, 17). However, in the field of Yiddish song, from the perspective of the past hundred years, it is difficult to deny that Sh. An-ski, Yehude-Leyb Cahan, M. Beregovski, and a long line of scholars recognized an irreversible process whose results were well expressed by Mark Slobin (1995, 19): "I spent some months pondering the issue of whether it was possible to write a serious study on the Yiddish-language folksong [...]. Basically, I felt the answer must be negative, since all we have to go on are crumbs from the banquet: mere memoirs of a handful of surviving folk singers who live outside their original communities [...]. Without the hope of a verifiable core sample or back-checking with a live community, it seemed a Herculean, if not hopeless, task to do such a study. Nevertheless, on grounds of representing a vanished tradition, I thought I should proceed anyway."

³¹ See p. 130–131.

³² In a private letter, Beregovski complained that after he had completed the preparatory work for the

anthology (1940), also for the general public, which was published in Moscow. The two anthologies had much in common: a large number of songs, organized by subject (over 500 texts with no musical notation in the Dobrushin-Yuditski anthology, and over 250 texts accompanied by melodies in Beregovski-Fefer's anthology); the absence of scholarly commentary; a large number of songs with a generally optimistic tone; the inclusion of Soviet songs; and a nod to Soviet propaganda (the Dobrushin-Yuditski anthology opens with a short preface headed by a story about Lenin,³³ while the Beregovski-Fefer anthology opens with the "Internationale"). The most outstanding feature of the two collections, however, is that, apart from the Soviet materials, the two anthologies are based on smuggling in controversial songs—a massive copying of songs from sources considered invalid according to Soviet ideology, without indicating the source. The goal was apparent, if unspoken: to present the Soviet reader with otherwise inaccessible treasures of song folklore. It seems that the inclusion of the old songs was only possible by making them an appendix to the clear emphasis on Soviet folklore.

In the main, the Beregovski-Fefer anthology included songs from the collections of Yehude-Leyb Cahan, Menachem Kipnis, and Joel Engel, and incorporated only a few of the songs that Beregovski had prepared for publication in Volume 2.³⁴ The Dobrushin-Yuditski anthology was primarily based on Ginzburg and Marek 1901 (which also included texts without musical notation) and on Cahan (1912). Surprisingly, many of the texts from Beregovski's Volume 2 also appear in the Dobrushin-Yuditski anthology. It is unclear whether their inclusion led to the authorities' refusal to publish Beregovski's own collection, or whether the opposite occurred: that Beregovski, after realizing that publication had been halted, asked Dobrushin and Yuditski to include the valuable materials that he had prepared. At any rate, they definitely belong to the category of smuggled-in songs, and differ fundamentally from the "appropriate" ones. Dobrushin's and Yuditski's explanation for omitting information on the sources of the old songs, including the songs from Beregovski's collection (Dobrushin and Yuditski 1940, 8–9) is instructive: the scholarly data on these songs, odd and useless, they say, would make it hard going for the reader and was therefore deemed superfluous.³⁵ In contrast, Soviet folklore songs are accompanied by the informant's name and the place of documentation. Beregovski's stance in editing Volume 2 was the opposite: his main interest was in fact the same songs that Dobrushin-Yuditski presented as a sort of afterthought to the happy Soviet songs, and it may be that this insistence is what led to publication being cancelled at the last moment.

collection, collaboration with Fefer was forced on him. The collection was indeed published with them as joint editors (Krutikov 2016, 115).

33 The story (Dobrushin and Yuditski 1940, 3) was copied, word for word, from a larger excerpt in Skuditski (1933, 9) without referring to the source: according to Krutikov (2016, 114), Zalmen Skuditski was arrested in 1937.

34 For annotated bibliographical information on these sources, see Feldman and Lukin 2017.

35 This attitude to the old folklore had already been formulated by Wiener 1932.

This historical context highlights the uniqueness of Volume 2. Its purpose was to publish materials of academic value, and to Beregovski this value was anchored in field work and in the nature of the songs, while Soviet pseudo-folklore, as well as the songs of protest poets, were outside this realm.³⁶ He was not willing to incorporate these valuable materials in an anthology intended to serve as a gift book for the general public, given its non-scientific character. Dobrushin's and Yuditski's decision to whitewash the fact that two thirds of their collection were copied from "bourgeois" sources demonstrates their awareness of the ideological danger involved in such reproduction, and Beregovski was surely aware of this danger as well. Apparently, scientific considerations and a belief in the essential task of publishing traditional folklore and presenting it to the Yiddish-speaking public outweighed considerations of caution and political loyalty. The bitter irony was that the agents of the regime were explicitly instructed to find flaws even in the quite conformist Beregovski-Fefer publication.³⁷ Succeeding in their task, they pointed to the many old songs, the frequent motifs of turning to God, the themes of complaint and sorrow, and the fact that the majority of songs belonged to sectors of society who were not of the working class—thus revealing to us, *a posteriori*, Beregovski's scholarly integrity (Beregovski 1950).

Close reading of Beregovski's verbal texts

The documentation of Beregovski's trial reveals that despite unbearable conditions, which included torture, a long series of sleepless nights, and heart attacks, he did not sign a single testimony against his colleagues and endeavored to prove his innocence throughout the entire process (Beregovski 1950). The scholar strove for the truth even in such completely inhuman circumstances, and it turned out to be impossible to break him and convince him to compromise. His judges disclosed four aspects in which Beregovski's scholarship did not follow the Soviet ideological line:

1. Acknowledgement of the national specificity of Yiddish speakers' music;
2. Recognition of the importance of the religious element in this musical tradition;

36 As shown by his decision to devote a separate section to songs by Yiddish poets of protest in the first volume (Beregovski [1934] 1982, 126–134) and not to mix them with the folk songs in the other sections, thus pointing to the stylistic differences between these songs and others, without the need for a verbal explanation.

37 Beregovski and Fefer 1939: "To the vice-Director of the Government Security Administration UGB NKVD USSR [...] Comrade Pavlychev, attached is the summary of the agent 'Borisov' on the collection 'Jewish Folk Songs' published in the years 1938–1939 by the publisher Gosukrncacmenizdat. To identify those involved in editing the collection and inform which incriminating materials you have in your possession. It is recommended to remove the collection from distribution [...]."

3. Approval of scholarship conducted outside the Soviet Union;
4. Stating that folklore creativity is dying out and ceasing to exist in the Soviet era.

Considering Beregovski's attempts to defend himself against these charges, a question of both ethical and scholarly character arises: it appears that his infamous interrogators might be right. Did Beregovski—a prominent scholar and a man of the highest degree of integrity—fully believe his own words when he supported Soviet myth in his printed articles? This question can be answered in three ways. The first is the literal interpretation: if he criticized Bartók, Engel, Idelsohn, and others—apparently he did in fact disagree with them. In this case, it is legitimate to evaluate his claims critically as they stand. They are inarguably anchored in the *Zeitgeist*, but this does not change their meaning, nor does it cast doubt on the scholar's integrity (Mlotek 1977; Krutikov 2016, 111–115). Beregovski's statement to his wife—"I did not sin!"³⁸—reinforces the assumption that he did not see a contradiction between his opinions and the lines of research encouraged by the establishment, and did not set out to smuggle in heretical ideas with deliberate deceit. Moreover, Beregovski's explanations of his criticism of non-Soviet scholars are convincing, and anticipate post-modern research trends that emphasize the importance of social context, shaking off the romantic idealization of the heritage of the past, adopting a broad view which examines all revelations of the culture, and resisting a selective focus based on the scholar's aesthetic outlook. These support the image of a scholar ahead of his time, who managed to free himself of the shackles of romantic, ethnocentric perceptions; of essentialism; of nostalgia dictating salvage ethnography; and of the focus on the aesthetics of traditional folklore (Slotnick 1976). At first glance, the image of Beregovski as a forerunner of the post-modern acknowledgment of romantic naivety finds support in his words:³⁹

[...] The musical activity of Jewish composers took two directions in connection with Jewish folk music: the petit bourgeois liberal-populist trend (Engel, Kiselhof, et al.) and the bourgeois clerical-Zionist trend (Saminsky, Idelsohn, et al.). [...] The "democracy" of the liberal-populist trend expressed itself in the fact that its representatives (especially Engel and Kiselhof) conceded the "national" and artistic value of secular folklore (i.e., daily life, domestic, love songs, lullabies, and other songs in Yiddish) and not just of religious songs in Hebrew. [...] Engel and Kiselhof agreed with Saminsky that Jewish religious music was actually higher in national and

38 Beregovski's daughter Eda recalls: "Once at night I by chance overheard a conversation between my parents, and it was branded in my mind forever: 'Moisei, well, it's impossible just to sit and wait in this way, it's necessary to undertake something!'—'And what can I do? If I were doing something criminal or reprehensible, I would stop doing this, but as it is—what can I do?'" (Beregovskaia 2008, 302).

39 Besides the fact that his own teachers and most of his contemporaries were neither ethnocentric nor romanticist (Morgenstern 2018, 22–23), and therefore, in all probability, would be more interested in his musicological conclusions than in his revisions of epistemologies, ontologies and ideologies.

artistic terms than secular folklore. In order to raise the value of the latter, they tried to demonstrate that secular folklore is permeated with religious elements. Both, according to them, are worthy of being the basis of Jewish national music (Beregovski [1934] 1982, 21–22).

And *ibid.*, 28:

[This] characterization of “new” creation, this deeply reactionary, aesthetic-narrow-minded scorn of the social democrat An-ski toward the “limp and untalented doggerel” of the workers and the proletariat does not demand any particular explanation. [...] The Yiddishist bourgeois folklorist Y.-L. Cahan expressed himself more extensively on the topic of Jewish workers’ and revolutionary folklore. [...] According to him, these are *zersungene* (deteriorated) social songs of known and anonymous authors [...]. In refusing to call these songs “folk,” Cahan means to say that they have no artistic value since they have been created for the purpose of agitation.

And *ibid.*, 30:

Folklorists of this type seek naiveté, modesty, and other virtues of “crystal-pure folk soul” in folklore. Mass gatherings, strikes, freedom, prison, arrest, exile, police, exploiters—all these new words and new concepts that infiltrate the working revolutionary creativity grate on the ears of these honorable folklorists. [...] Having established the fact of the disappearance of traditional “ethnographicity” and folklore, and seeing the inevitability of this disappearance, the reactionary folklorists could not relate calmly to this phenomenon. They agitate and aim toward artificially holding back the process of the inevitable dying-out and vanishing of traditional “ethnographicity” and “folklore-ness”.

But the sincerity of these claims becomes suspect on a closer look at the texts and musical notation that he prepared for publication, his extensive discussions of the differences in aesthetic value between the various versions of a folk song, and his courageous declaration of the essential difference between traditional songs and new ones: “Revolutionary folklore is not the same as the older, ‘traditional’ folklore; furthermore, its development must go beyond the bounds of folklore” ([1934] 1982, 29).

Accordingly, the second alternative is to look for a subtext. Under the conditions of the Stalinist regime, opinions of non-Soviet scholars could only be presented as being subject to criticism and condemnation. Thus when deciphering the theoretical discourse in which Beregovski’s research is anchored, one must pay close attention to the names to which he refers, for under the cover of the criticism a reference to the founders of this discourse is hidden. In his study of the Purim-shpil, Beregovski ([1946] 2001, III–II5) compares notations—borrowed from Idelsohn’s book—of Catholic, Syrian-Jacobite, and Hebrew (Ashkenazi, Yemenite, Persian, and Babylonian) recitation formulas, and adopts Idelsohn’s assumption of their antiquity.

This acknowledgment strikingly contradicts Beregovski's trenchant critique, in Volume 2, of Idelsohn's focus on Hebrew antiquities. Self-censorship and an attempt to circumvent the regime's restrictions can explain a similar contradiction between Beregovski's vocal criticism of Yehude-Leyb Cahan and his unstated agreement with him regarding the antiquity and prestige of love songs; as well as his criticism of Kipnis, Engel, and others, while at the same time assembling an anthology primarily based on songs that they had published. He had no choice but to critique and inculcate, admitting that within the Yiddish-speaking realm, secular folklore is indeed permeated with religious elements; that social songs of both known and anonymous authors do not have any artistic value, since they have been created and distributed for the purpose of agitation; and that having established the fact of the disappearance of traditional folklore, and seeing the inevitability of this disappearance, a scholar should not react calmly to this phenomenon. Thus, the evidence that Beregovski's judges uncovered was well-founded: he indeed cherished the national uniqueness of Yiddish song folklore; he positively appraised the work of his colleagues in the West; and he sensed the disappearance of traditional folklore in the Soviet era.

The two apparently opposing interpretations I have proposed can in fact be reconciled, and this third alternative seems to be the most fitting. Beregovski's words present honest doubts, yet doubts could not be integrated into a full identification with the Soviet myth. Beregovski sought his own way, not giving up on his non-Soviet colleagues' achievements but at the same time desiring to immerse himself in this myth, despite the ideological and methodical challenges. A complex identity, combined with a desire to take part in both the non-Jewish Eastern European scholarly discourse and in the emerging Yiddish studies, find their expression in the spelling of Beregovski's name. In Yiddish his first name should be pronounced, of course, "Moyshe", and this is how his daughter Eda calls him in the title of her article (2008). This form of the name was common among many cultural figures and Yiddish writers who worked in Ukraine and Belarus at the time, such as Moyshe Kulbak (1896–1937), who used this spelling when signing his name. Thus, the different habit adopted by Beregovski stands out. While in his private letters in Russian⁴⁰ as well as in Russian and Ukrainian publications he spelled his name in the manner customary in these languages (Moisey and Musiy, respectively), in Yiddish publications he consistently refrained from choosing between the Jewish form (Moyshe) and the Russian form (Moisey), instead limiting himself to "M.", the first letter of the name only.⁴¹ This is also how his

40 Beregovskaia 2008, 304.

41 *Di royte velt* [The Red World, journal], September 1932, 208–220; *Visnshaft un revolutsye* [Science and Revolution, journal], June 1935, 10–79; *Farmest* [Challenge, journal], November 1937, 94–104; *Sovetish* [Soviet, almanac], 12 (1941), 412–450; *Eynikayt* [Unity, newspaper]: 3.4.1945, 4; 4.9.1947, 3. Although the use of initials became extremely widespread in all Soviet publications of that period, many Yiddish authors—among others, Itsik Fefer, Perets Markish, Yekhesl Dobrushin—did not follow this policy consistently.

contemporaries called him in the Soviet Yiddish press.⁴² Instructive therefore is the only exception to this rule: the article by Avrom Cahan (1901–1965) in the newspaper *Eynikayt* [Unity] (Cahan 1946). Here Beregovski's name is written in its Russian form (Moisey Yakovlevitsh), which is spelled in Yiddish letters, and only when mentioning the scholar's childhood is he called Moyshe. This is a rare testimony to the reception of Beregovski's figure among his colleagues as a Jewish-Russian musicologist. No less instructive is the spelling of his name in the Government Security file—Aron-Moysha Yankelevitsh—which undoubtedly emphasizes his Jewish, “foreign” identity, as if he aimed to hide it. However, Beregovski's choice to avoid selecting a spelling form reflects rather his awareness of belonging to multiple circles.

He clearly admired Idelsohn and, while rejecting some of his arguments, he agreed with many others, especially with Idelsohn's evaluation of the weight of religious music in the East Ashkenazi soundscape. Labeling Kiselhof “bourgeois” was surely done in error and a moment of harshness, for Beregovski admired his work and his contribution to musical folklore research (Beregovski 1938a, 24). Beregovski identified with the research directions proposed by Wiener and after him by Skuditski, Rozentsvayg, and Dobrushin—focusing on the creators of folklore, distinguishing between the creativity of various social groups, and focusing on the contents of songs as a “Marxist” alternative to bourgeois formalism.⁴³ In line with this politically correct direction, he tried to explain the multiplicity of songs of unrequited love by pointing to the social background, e.g., many separations caused by economic hardship (1938a, 3). As Slobin has observed (1982, 5–8, 1986, 256–257), Beregovski was also convinced of the scholarly value of the method of Kvitka and other ethnomusicologists—focusing on formal characteristics, such as musical form, individual motives, and poetic language. It seems that Beregovski considered this approach to be effective, seeing songs as an aesthetic phenomenon rather than a sociological testimony: although he was careful to document the informants' socioeconomic background, he did not expand on the insights that this background might provide.

I would like to illustrate this third channel of interpretation with an example (Beregovski 1938a, 20–21):

In his time, the late American folklorist Y.-L. Cahan proposed an unfounded and reactionary theory according to which workers' songs and revolutionary songs in Yiddish do not belong to the folkloric creation. Idelsohn does not even discuss such songs' classification as folklore. Under his broad clerical-nationalist wings, he collected Jewish revolutionary songs. What is more, even in the first section [of Idelsohn's collection] (which is called, as we have already noted, “Tunes constructed according to Biblical and prayer formulas”), we encounter a revolutionary song (ibid., no. 31). For Idelsohn, such a song is no exception. He does not discount such

⁴² *Eynikayt*: 10.2.1944, 4; 25.3.1947, 3; 22.4.1948, 3.

⁴³ On this discourse see: Mlotek 1977; Kiel 1991; Krutikov 2016.

songs, giving them the “best place”: he locates them among tunes of Sabbath songs (nos. 29, 29a, 30, and 31a, and tunes to the [paraliturgical song] “Kol Mekadesh”). As we see, the revolutionary song even shares the same number as “Kol Mekadesh,” which follows it. And why?—Only Idelsohn himself knows. Placing workers’ and revolutionary songs among the reactionary religious repertoire is not a one-time occurrence in Idelsohn’s collection. After the revolutionary song “The Wheels Turn Quickly” (no. 314) comes “Eliyahu Hanavi” (no. 315). [Beregovski provides five more examples – M. L.] [...] According to Idelsohn, the Sabbath song, out of the same intention and the same understanding, used “biblical-style” tunes, etc., for both Sabbath songs and revolutionary songs. “Whoever we become, we will stay Jews. Whatever we do, we will do as Jews.” [Quotation from the lyrics of the paraliturgical song in Yiddish – M.L.]

The surface meaning of these words seems transparent: reservations about both Yehude-Leyb Cahan’s assertion and Abraham Z. Idelsohn’s theory. That is, in opposition to Cahan’s opinion, the revolutionary songs do belong to folk creation, and contrary to Idelsohn’s declaration, common characteristics between these songs and paraliturgical chants cannot be identified. A closer reading, however, reveals a more complex picture. First, the intended barb in comparing Cahan and Idelsohn’s words is not entirely clear, since Beregovski tried to believe that both of them were in error, and since neither of them refutes the other’s words. Second, it turns out that Beregovski supported Cahan’s position that not all songs which are widespread among the people are folklore—an opinion that other experts like Joel Engel and Sh. An-ski had already expressed, not to mention many non-Jewish folklorists and ethnomusicologists. This opinion was discovered by the National Security agents and made into one of the charges at Beregovski’s trial. Moreover, it was clear that Beregovski had thoroughly studied the 758 songs from Idelsohn’s collection in order to select these citations. This thoroughness did not spring from a need to criticize, but from scholarly interest, since Idelsohn had used a pioneering method which he had adapted to the Yiddish song corpus and which had yielded fresh results requiring critical evaluation. In a letter to Idelsohn, Beregovski expresses his great respect for Idelsohn’s work and introduces to him the Kiev collections (1934a). Finally, Beregovski’s seemingly rhetorical question does have an answer: Idelsohn places religious songs alongside secular ones in order to illustrate evident musical connections between them. Such pairs of songs show striking motivic similarity, proving that in the Yiddish tradition, words and tunes are only loosely connected.

The seemingly ridiculing citation from the folk song “We are Jews” actually expresses Beregovski’s honest scholarly quest—to characterize the unique national character of the corpus that he studied from an historical perspective, that is, against an ever-changing background. The aspiration to reveal commonalities among the various pieces of Yiddish music despite the changing contexts can be seen in his emphasizing the common modes in instrumental, paraliturgical and song repertoires. Stripping the irony from Beregovski’s words enables us to discern the honesty of his hidden intention—indeed, “Whoever we become, we will remain Jews.” Documenting and researching folk music of various ethnic groups, he was certainly far from Jewish ethnocen-

tricity; this attempt to reveal a national idiosyncrasy of Yiddish speakers' music was a scholarly attempt and not an ideological one.

Irzabekova (2013) showed that Beregovksi was aware of the ideological risks and understood that not everything could be said in every forum. It was clear to him that his doctorate on the connections between Yiddish speakers' folk theater and German heritage—at the height of the war against Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and the Soviet struggle against “the rotting Western culture”—would never be published. Yet, it seems that his writings express faith in two opposite worldviews: both the Soviet myth and his own scholarly conclusions, independent of ideological considerations.

Conclusion

The myth—of a new and just world, the redemption of shtetl Jewry, and unprecedented scholarship—enabled governmental funding of the unparalleled, institutionally-organized activities of the collection, cataloguing and study of Jewish music. Beregovski tried to immerse himself in this myth, and the combination of mythological and critical thinking has resulted in writing that looks rather perplexing to an outsider. The sincere desire to gain full partnership in the Soviet discourse in folkloristics, Yiddish studies, and scholarship of folk music often contradicted Beregovski's research integrity and understanding of facts—the inner features of traditional Yiddish folk singing and the insights of non-Soviet scholars. This contradiction led to a cognitive dissonance: while a considerable part of Beregovski's writings contributed to the formation of the mythology, the materials he published or prepared for publication undermined it.

These materials illustrate that for Beregovski it is the traditional repertoire that raises many questions and is deserving of study. It corresponds with other genres of Eastern European Jewish music in modal aspects and its tendency to variety—formal, rhythmic, and modal. Beregovski illustrates this correspondence graphically—five standard variations of the key signatures are found in the folk song collection, a collection of klezmer tunes, and a collection of Chassidic tunes. In prosody, musical forms, and poetic aspects, the traditional corpus corresponds with both German heritage and the Slavic surroundings. The idiosyncrasy of traditional Yiddish song is also embodied in its location at a crossroads between rural and urban soundscapes, for even though Jews lived in both villages and cities, the traditional songs took shape in the cultural space of the shtetl. The very concept of a “traditional song of the shtetl” may be seen as an oxymoron in the European landscape where the traditional music of most societies developed in close connection with the agricultural year, in living conditions that did not permit rapid changes nor any significant influence of passing fashions. Beregovski's collection illustrates that in the context of Jewish society, this outlook does not hold: traditional folk music did exist in a locus which was remote from the village way of life and in which most of the songs did not have a fixed social function. The Yiddish-speaking population in Eastern Europe, which numbered

about ten million on the eve of the Holocaust, developed a tradition that crossed political and geographical borders. Its spread is confirmed in the parallels to which Beregovski refers based on song collections printed in Poland, Lithuania, Russia, and Belarus. The means of representation enable the identification of stable musical patterns in forms, motives, and rhythms of the song tunes, and the tracking of traditional patterns such as metaphors, parallelism, diminutives, direct speech, dialogue, and anaphora in their lyrics.

The repertoire that Beregovski documented between the two world wars reflects, alongside the trend towards conservation, processes of disintegration of the conservative way of life. First and foremost, the poetic language of many songs in the collection shows the influence of changes brought about by modernization, urbanization, industrialization, and emigration. In a few songs, the tunes as well as the lyrics show a rapprochement to chordal thinking and the popular music of the time. Awareness of the dynamics of change of the traditional repertoire as well as of Soviet ideological demands led Beregovski to prefer an intuitive classification—according to several melodic and poetic features—over rigid criteria. The songs' order illustrates that in his eyes the main group in the traditional repertoire constituted songs about disappointed love sung to modal tunes bearing a developed melodic contour, mostly in triple meters. Other songs represent a rich variety of different traditional poetical-musical patterns. Despite the winds of change, the traditional foundations in this repertoire were still solid during Beregovski's time, and, looking back, one may state that he succeeded in documenting types of songs that disappeared completely after the Holocaust. Among these are traditional lyric songs, ballads, songs of life in the in-laws' home, cantonists' songs, songs about death and the struggle with the Angel of Death, traditional lullabies, and play songs.

To the best of my knowledge, Beregovski's few published works on Yiddish folk song have yet to be discussed by Slavic ethnomusicologists in a broad regional context. Beyond linguistic and physical inaccessibility, the cause for this seems to be rooted in the significant differences between the Jewish musical tradition and that of the neighboring peoples. Nor have scholars of the history of Eastern European Jews taken Beregovski's conclusions into account, apparently due to the difficulty in determining their meaning. The knowledge revolution of our digital age enables a reinvestigation of Beregovski's contribution to research in the realm of Yiddish culture and folk music in Europe. It is appropriate that this renewed inquiry addresses first and foremost the original sources he selected and edited, and only after that the words that he wrote.

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Evgenii Gippius' View of the Collection and Study of Russian Folk Music in the Late 18th and Early 20th Century

Abstract

Evgenii Gippius (1903–1985) was an outstanding Russian ethnomusicologist, founder of a phonarchive of folk music at the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences (now at the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg) (1926). Gippius' passion for folk music developed under the influence of his professor at the Leningrad Conservatoire, the leading Russian musicologist Boris Asaf'ev, who defined musical folklore as the music of the oral tradition. Gippius considered it important to study not only folk music *per se*, but also the history of folk music study as a branch of scholarship, for this throws a light on the reasons why musical folklore aroused interest in the decisive periods of history as well as influencing the development of scholars' attitude towards it. Gippius divided the history of Russian folk music studies into three periods. Late 18th / early 19th century: staff notations of Russian folk songs performed by educated townsfolk and adaptations of tunes to the European harmonic idiom. Collections of songs were compiled for everyday music making and reflected the perception of folk music by the Russian nobility. From the 1830s: an outburst of interest in peasant song under the influence of Slavophilism and, beginning with the 1860s, the so-called *narodniki* (Russian populists). Earliest notations made in villages. Emergence of various types of song collections, differing as regards their purpose and the character of the music notation. From the 1880s onwards: institutionalization of collecting practices; establishment of the Folk Song Commission at the Russian Geographical Society (1884) with the purpose of organizing the systematic investigation of rural folk song culture; establishment of the Musical-Ethnographic Commission in Moscow (1901). First phonograph records (since 1897).

According to Gippius, folk music is a part of the history of music which can be investigated only in the context of social history and the evolution of human thinking. In his opinion, the purpose of ethnomusicological studies was to enrich the history of the musics of the world with new factual material and to define the place of this material among other cultural phenomena.

Evgenii Vladimirovich Gippius (1903–1985) was an outstanding Russian ethnomusicologist (Pashina 2020). He graduated from Petrograd Conservatoire as a composer, conductor and musicologist, as well as from the State Institute for Art History, Petrograd/Leningrad (Department of music history). Besides this, he attended a full course at the Department of Ethnology and Linguistics of Petrograd University. The beginning of his interest in Russian traditional culture dates from the time of his studies at Tenishev College, where his father taught Russian literature (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 7). The college's founder, Prince Tenishev, was also a founding member of the Ethnographic Bureau, which from 1897 to 1901 was actively involved in gathering information on the everyday life and culture of Russian peasants (Pomerantseva 1972; Baranov 2006).

Gippius' passion for folk music (not only Russian) also developed under the influence of the leading Russian musicologist Boris Asaf'ev, with whom he studied at the Conservatoire and later at the post-graduate courses of the Institute for Art History (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 7). From 1925 until the German invasion of the Soviet Union he carried out extensive work on collecting folk music in the Leningrad Region (among German colonists), in the northern provinces of Russia, in Georgia, Armenia and Uzbekistan; he recorded folk songs of Siberia and the foothills of the Ural from students of the Institute of the Peoples of the North and the Institute of the Peoples of the East in Leningrad (*ibid.*, 8–9). The sound recordings of songs and instrumental music of the peoples of the USSR made in the 1920s by Gippius and other specialists were used as the basis for the phonoarchive which he created within the structure of the Institute for Art History in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) (*ibid.*, 9).¹

Throughout his scholarly career, Gippius worked on a wide range of topics, including the theory of folk music genres, the problem of cataloguing folk tunes, the typology of collectives performing folk music, the classification of polyphonic textures in folk music, etc. He introduced the structural-typological approach to the analysis of folk melodies and laid the foundations for area studies with the purpose of establishing the geographical distribution of folk music forms

1 In Russia, the first Phonographic Archive was founded in the early 20th century on the initiative of academician Aleksei A. Shakhmatov at the Slavic Department of the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The core of the archive consisted of the field materials obtained by academicians Shakhmatov and Nikolai S. Derzhavin recorded on wax cylinders, supplemented with the recordings made by the archive's first custodian, Magister in Philology Édouard A. Vol'ter. In 1926, all the phonograph recordings (including those of folk music) available in the USSR were brought together due to Gippius' efforts. Initially the Phonographic Archive was attached to the Institute of Art History, which in 1931 was relocated to the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and in 1938 to the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House). Gippius was the archive's chief custodian from 1926 to 1944 (Korguzalov and Troitskaya 1993).



Fig. 1: Evgenii Vladimirovich Gippius. 1920s. Russian National Museum of Music. Collection E. V. Gippius.

and, hence, the borders of folk music dialects (Pashina 2020).

Due to Asaf'ev's influence, Gippius came to consider the folk music of various ethnic groups as a particularly important constituent part of music history. He said: "I have always considered myself a music historian rather than a folklore scholar, for if folklore is isolated from music history, it ceases to be an object for study" (Gippius 1975). Gippius used to point out that the main purpose of folk music research is not only to introduce new facts into the history of world music culture but also to determine their place in it. At the same time, he believed that the study of music history acquires its meaning and importance only in the context of social history and the history of human thought. In his words, "we are dealing with systems that are still absolutely unexplored in terms of music history. First of all you have to be a historian. And you cannot be only a historian of music, you have to be a social historian" (Gippius 1976).

This is why he considered it important to study not only folk music as such, but also the history of folk music studies as a branch of scholarship, especially the history of folk song notation and publication. Studying of this kind helps scholars to comprehend the motivations underlying the upsurge of interest in folk music in some historical periods and gives an idea of how the attitudes towards folk music and its theoretical understanding have evolved over time.

The results of Gippius' studies were summarized in the cycle of his lectures delivered in the 1940s at the Moscow Conservatoire. Their shorthand reports are preserved in the Conservatoire's archive (published: Gippius 2003, 59–109). Gippius' achievements in this domain are unique, because unlike other scientists who covered only certain subjects from the history of the study of folk music, he created a conceptual line of its development from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. He gave a comprehensive analysis of all the collections of Russian folk songs published between the late 18th and early 20th centuries, bringing to light the notions of folklore reflected in them. At the same time Gippius believed that studying old publications and manuscript sources only makes sense if one has a rich experience of working with the folklore tradition in its present-day state, since an adequate evaluation of the materi-



Fig. 2: Vasilii Trutovskii. *Collection of Russian Simple Songs with Music* Vol. 3. 1779. Title page.

als notated and published earlier can only be made in relation to what can be heard today.

Being well aware of the works of his predecessors, Gippius exhibited a critical and at the same time creative attitude towards their heritage. In an imaginary scholarly dialogue with them, he developed his own methodological approaches to folk music studies. Gippius divided the history of Russian folklore studies into several periods.

The first period

The first period lasted from the late 18th to the mid-19th century (Gippius 2003, 63–90). At that time Russian folk songs were notated in towns rather than in villages, by educated connoisseurs and amateurs. In Gippius' opinion, these collections reflected not so much the state of the folk tradition as the perception of folk music by the Russian nobility and intelligentsia. For instance, Vasilii Trutovskii, the compiler of the earliest *Collection of Russian Simple Songs with Music* (*Sobranie russkikh prostykh pesen's notami*), published in four volumes in 1776–1795 in St. Petersburg, included in it the songs that he had performed himself as a singer and *gusli* player at the court of Catherine the Great (Trutovskii 1953). During the same years, the first Russian ballad operas were composed. All these operas were largely based on Russian folk tunes.

The compiler of the second collection (published in 1790), the outstanding architect, graphic artist and poet Nikolay L'vov (Bochkarëva 2001) began notating Russian folk songs from his relatives and acquaintances while working on the libretto of the opera *Iamshchiki na podstave* [The Coachmen at the Relay Station] with music by Evstignei Fomin. In L'vov's collection, the harmonization of tunes was provided by the musician Ivan Prach (Jan Bohumír Práč). The collection was re-issued more than once and for a long time served as a source of folk songs for Russian composers.

Other collections of the first half of the 19th century, for instance those by Ivan Rupin (1831–1833) and Daniil Kashin (1833–1834), consisted of songs learnt by the compilers by ear and performed by themselves.



Fig. 3: A collection of folk Russian songs with their voices put to music by Ivan Prach (1790).



Fig. 4: The song "Uzh kak po mostumostochku" from the Lvov-Prach collection (edition 1806).

The notations of song tunes were adjusted to the European homophonic-harmonic style, since the collections were intended for use in the townsfolk's everyday music making—solo singing with the piano, gusli, guitar, or three-part choral singing *a cappella* in the traditional Russian genre of *kant*, which had become popular since the times of Peter the Great. The practice of adapting folk tunes to European major and minor modes remained in use until the 1860s.

The collections of folk songs from the first half of the 19th century prompted Gippius to direct his attention to the study of urban folk song. The latter interested him in several aspects, including the origins of the new singing style, its manifestations in the early publications of Russian folk songs and its interactions with more traditional strata of Russian folklore. He explained the historical significance of Prach's collection as follows: "I consider it important that you assess Prach's anthology as the earliest collection containing germs of the folk song tradition which would dominate the urban song culture of the 19th and 20th centuries" (Gippius 1945).

Beginning with the 1830s, the interest in peasant song increased under the influence of



Fig. 5: Participants in ethnographic expeditions of the late 1850s and early 1860s. Caricature of *Iskra* magazine (1864, No. 9). In the foreground: Pavel I. Iakushkin, Pavel N. Rybnikov, Vasilii A. Sleptsov, I. I. Iuzhakov, Sergei V. Maksimov. In the background: I. L. Otto and Aleksandr I. Levitov. In order to write down songs from folk singers, they dressed in peasant clothes and walked through the villages posing as peasants.

Slavophilism and later on that of the so-called *narodniki*—an ideological trend that enjoyed considerable popularity among the Russian intelligentsia during the 1860s and 1900s.

The *narodniki* had a high opinion of the peasants' ethical ideals and used to "go to the people" in search of their own cultural roots. That is why, as Gippius believed, already in the 1850s, the attitude towards folk song changed: collectors began to notate Russian peasant songs in villages rather than in towns.

Collections of tunes originating from particular regions reflected the peculiarities of local folk traditions (Gippius 2003, 81–84). A characteristic example (of a regional song anthology) is the collection compiled by Mikhail Stakhovich, a landowner from Orël region, who was known

as a poet and guitarist and notated songs in the environment of Orël and in neighbouring provinces. His anthology, published between 1851 and 1854, was entitled *Collection of Russian Folk Songs; lyrics and tunes which were collected and the music arranged for piano and seven-string guitar by Mikhail Stakhovich*. Naturally, his arrangements, made in the style of fashionable urban song romance, did not match well with the style of old peasant songs.

The second period

According to Gippius, the beginning of the second period in the history of collecting Russian folk songs coincided with the late 1850s and early 1860s (Gippius 2003, 90–101). From the 1860s onwards, three types of song collections appeared, differing in terms of their compilers' motivations, their target readers, and the character of the music notation.

The first type was represented by collections of a scholarly nature, in which songs were published in their primary form, as unaccompanied monodies. Gippius associated the appearance of such collections with the pioneering theoretical articles on Russian folk music and medieval church chant published in the early 1860s by Prince Vladimir Odoevskii (1863, 1871, 1871a).

Odoevskii was the first to insist that the melodic content and the modes of Russian folk songs do not follow the norms of Western European music of the 18th and 19th centuries, being closer to the so-called *Znamennyi* chant (Russian Orthodox liturgical singing) and medieval Russian Orthodox modes. He thus sharply criticized the compilers of the first period, who used to "amend" folk tunes in order to adapt them to the standards of the homophonic-harmonic style. It was Odoevskii who compiled the first collection of songs without introducing additional arrangements. His collection, however, was published only after his death in the 1870s (Kashperov 1876).

Around the same time, collectors from the provinces came into view. For instance, in 1877 Fëdor Lagovskii, a teacher from Cherepovets (then in Novgorod province), published on his own account the collection entitled *Folk Songs of the provinces of Kostroma, Vologda, Novgorod, Nizhnii Novgorod and Iaroslavl'*. The songs were notated by Lagovskii himself, and the tunes were reproduced without accompaniment (Lagovskii 1877).

In the collections of the second type, peasant songs notated in villages were supplied with a piano accompaniment. The principle of the harmonization of songs, first used by the composer Miliĭ Balakirev in his collection *Forty Russian Folk Songs* was largely new (Balakirev 1866). The songs were notated by him during his journeys along the Volga river. While in the collections of the first half of the 19th century the melodic content of songs was subordinated to European harmony, here the harmony was shaped by the peculiarities of Russian folk music modes. Balakirev's lead in harmonizing peasant songs was followed by Nikolai Rimskii-Korsakov in his *Collection of Russian Folk Songs* [*Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen*] (1876–1877), Anatolii Liadov (1898) and a number of other Russian composers. The songs for these collections were selected largely



Fig. 6: Prince Vladimir Fëdorovich Odoevskii (1804–1869). *Galerie de portraits de célébrités Russes publiée par A. Munster : [In 2 volumes] / A. E. Munster. St. Petersburg: printing house and lithography by A. Munster, 1864–1869. T. I. Illustration 67.*

on the basis of their artistic qualities. It was not by chance that almost all of the songs from Balakirev's collection were used in Russian classical music.

Among Russian musicians, a heated discussion about whether folk songs should be published with piano harmonization started in the 1860s. Odoevskii's criticism of the early collections, whose compilers used to adapt Russian folk songs to the rules of Western music, was echoed by a number of other musicians. In an article of 1870, the composer Aleksandr Serov (1820–1871) wrote that

[...] according to the standard requirements of European cadence, i. e. the concluding part of a musical phrase, the harmonizer used to *change* (!) some of the notes in a given folk tune without realizing that when he raised or lowered a single interval by a semitone, he *distorted the primordial character*² of Russian song and flattened its most precious features (Serov 1936 [1870/1871], 34).

Pëtr Sokal'skii was of similar opinion: "Attaching a harmony (chords) to it [to a folk song], one introduces into the folk music something completely extraneous to it, borrowed from a different style and different historical epoch" (Sokal'skii 1888, 2). And further:

And what will happen if to a wordless tune, performed in tempered intervals, one adds a harmony [in the form of] chords in tempered intervals? One will move farther away from the folk song's meaning, and such a harmonic accompaniment will result in the folk singer's failure to recognize his own song. [...] We will see that other attributes of our system, based on the interval of octave and on dividing music into bars, tend to perturb folk music and to reinforce the change of its character, so that a folk song packed in our notes and bars ceases to be itself and should henceforth be referred to as a translation into new contemporary musical language, with the comments of the translator who has more or less successfully highlighted the qualities of the original for a contemporary musician (Sokal'skii 1888, 33–34).

² *Emphasis in original.*

At the same time Serov, as a composer, allowed for the possibility to harmonize folk songs with due attention to their inherent structure. Appreciating Balakirev's collection of 1866, he wrote:

The principle of strictest diatonicism was put forward and implemented here for the first time with regard to the notation of Russian folk tunes. [...] The principle of the immutability of mode (in a single tune) and the principle of frequent use of the so-called secondary triads (*Nebendreiklänge*) in harmony has imparted to the notation and development of songs a specific, somewhat severe colour which is required by their very nature (Serov 1936 [1870/1871], 39).

Giving its due to Balakirev's innovatory approach to the harmonization of folk songs, which has been reflected in the works of other Russian composers, Gippius fully shared Sokal'skii's view.

The collections of the third type reflected the growing awareness of the polyphonic nature of Russian folk music. In Gippius' words, the polyphonic texture of songs is based on melodic content that can be conceived in isolation from harmony:

The existence of a direct connection between the theoretical conceptualization of Russian polyphonic texture with subordinate voices *podgoloski* [podgolosochnaia polifoniia] and the theoretical evaluation of the modal peculiarities of Old Russian Orthodox singing that *can be conceived in isolation from harmony*³, reflects the common nature of their modal and melodic content, which is conceivable in isolation from harmony (Gippius 1948, 93).

The collectors attempted to present songs as polyphonic pieces: instead of a single version of a song, they would notate several versions, performed simultaneously and forming a choral score. The earliest such collection was *Russian Songs, Notated Directly from People's Voices, with Explanations*. Published by Iu[lii] N. Mel'gunov (Moscow, issue 1, 1879; issue 2, 1885). In his preface Mel'gunov addressed the cardinal question of the polyphonic nature of Russian folk song. Thereafter followed the collections by Nikolai Pal'chikov (*Peasant Songs Notated at Nikolaevka Village, Menzelin District, Ufa Province*, 1888) and by Nikolai Lopatin and Vasilii Prokunin (*Collection of Lyrical Russian Folk Songs*, 1889).

The most notable scholarly collections appeared in the 1890s due to an event of prime importance for the history of Russian folklore studies. In 1884, the well-known connoisseur, collector and performer of Russian songs Tertii Ivanovich Filippov submitted to the Russian Geographical Society a memorandum, in which he suggested the establishment of a Song Commission under its auspices; the latter's objective was conceived to be a systematic notation of Russian folk songs in villages (Gippius 2003, 95). The commission was created in the same year in Saint Petersburg. In 1886 the first expedition was sent to the northern regions of Russia, namely to the

3 *Emphasis in original.*



Fig. 7: *Russian Folk Songs, Notated Directly from People's Voices, with Explanations*. Published by Iu[l'ii] N. Mel'gunov (Moscow, issue 1, 1879).

Olonets and Arkhangel'sk provinces; its members included the composer Georgii Diutsh (Georg Dütsch) and the philologist Fëdor Istomin. As a result of the expedition, the collection *Songs of Russian People* was issued in 1894, in which the song tunes were reproduced without instrumental accompaniment.

Every year, beginning with 1893, the Song Commission organized expeditions to central Russian provinces—Riazan', Tula, etc. In 1901, following the lead of the Saint Petersburg Song Commission, a Music-Ethnographic

56. НЕ БѢЛЫЕ-ТО СНѢЖОЧКИ.

Пѣсня. Умѣренно. ♩ = 69. Запѣвъ.

Fig. 8: Polyphonic Song from the collection of Iulii Mel'gunov.



Fig. 9: Composer Georgii Diutsh, philologist Fëdor Istomin: *Songs of the Russian People* (1894).

Commission was founded in Moscow, attached to the Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography (*Obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i étnografii*, Smirnov 2000). In contrast to the Song Commission of the Geographical Society, which issued the materials of each expedition separately, the Musical-Ethnographic Commission published scholarly collections containing not only specimens of Russian folk music, but also those of other folk traditions of the Russian Empire (Ukrainian, Georgian, Yakut). Following the members of the Music-Ethnographic Commission, Gippius

believed that a comparative research of the folk music of different ethnic groups would strongly contribute to the understanding of the mentality of folk performers. For that reason he, together with Khristofor S. Kushnarev and Zinaida V. Ėval'd, conducted field research of folk music not only among Russians, but also in Georgia, Armenia (1927) and Uzbekistan (1928) (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 8).

The third period

Since the late 1890s, Moscow had become one of the major centres of Russian folk music scholarship due to the establishment of the Musical-Ethnographic Commission (*Muzykal'no-étnograficheskaia kommissiia*, CME). Its members included, in particular, the ethnomusicologists Evgeniia Linëva, Alexander Listopadov and Alexander Maslov, the folk song collector and performer Mitrofan Piatnitskii, the philologists Nikolai Ianchuk and Alexei Markov, the composers Michail Ippolitov-Ivanov, Nikolai Klenovskii, Sergei Taneev and Alexander Grechaninov, the music scholars and critics Stepan Smolenskii, Nikolai Kashkin, Georgii Konus and Boleslav Iavorskii, and the choral conductors Vasilii Orlov and Alexander Nikol'skii. A versatile academic institution, CME, directed a "demonstration" choir giving model performances of folk songs as

well as publishing a periodical of its own, CME Proceedings (*Trudy muzykal'no-étnograficheskoi kommissii*); four volumes were released (between 1906 and 1911).

The Commission maintained scholarly and artistic contacts with Russian and foreign colleagues and was the first Russian institution to develop systematic scholarly work in music ethnography (*muzykal'naia étnografiia*)⁴. CME held regular meetings to discuss field research reports and scholarly papers on various topics, including theoretical ones—such as the methods of collecting and notating folk songs, the investigation of folk song tuning with the help of acoustic measurements, etc. For the first time CME aimed to embrace folk music culture in its entirety, including sacred folk chant (materials from Dimitrii Arakchiev [Arakishvili] from Georgia), traditional instrumental performance and patterns of expressive culture in everyday urban life (notations of vendors' shouts were published).

In its approach to folk song, CME relied on the ideas and concepts developed by Russian music scholarship since the middle of the 19th century, especially on the theoretical views of Vladimir Odoevskii, Alexander Serov, Pëtr Sokal'skii, Iulii Mel'gunov and specialists in medieval Russian chant Dmitrii Razumovskii and Stepan Smolenskii.

The 1890s saw a real revolution in sound recording technique: Edison's phonograph became available to ethnomusicologists. "The invention of the phonograph [...] gave a new tool to ethnographers and linguists: it became possible to record folk singing, sounds and speech in different languages, folk songs, epics, legends, church services, invocations, shamanic rites and so on with photographic exactness" (Anuchin 1911, 271).

In Russia, the Muscovites also pioneered the use of the phonograph for scholarly purposes. For instance, as early as 1894 the member of the Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography Iulii Blok (owner of a mimeograph, hectograph and phonograph shop in Kuznetskii Most) made a phonograph recording of Russian epic songs (*bilinas*) performed by the well-known narrator Ivan Riabinin, and in 1896 he recorded a performance of the folk lamenter (*vopel'nitsa*, lit.: weeper) Irina Fedosova. These documents became available to scholars several decades later, having miraculously survived World War II.

In field research, the phonograph was first employed by the outstanding scholar Evgeniia Eduardovna Linëva (1853–1919). Having learnt how to use it from Edison himself during her stay in America, Linëva began to record Russian polyphonic songs in 1897, giving up the method of recording "by ear" (Gippius 1979). The undeniable advantages of working with the phonograph were attested by two issues of her collection *Great Russian Songs in Folk Harmonization* (1904, 1909; English editions: Lineff 1905, 1912).

The phonograph was also used by Alexei Markov and Alexander Maslov during their White Sea expedition of 1901, by Alexander Grigor'iev, who recorded North Russian *bilinas* in the same year (1904), and Alexander Listopadov, who initiated the systematic recording of the songs of Don Cossacks (1949–1954). The phonograph ensured a reasonably precise recording of folk

4 The term "musical ethnography" was introduced by Pëtr Sokal'skii (Morgenstern 2015).



Fig. 10: Evgeniia Linëva (1853–1919). URL: https://dzen.ru/a/YoOoH_u3D3Sn-Jsq.

songs; moreover, it enabled the reproduction of the recorded samples more than once, thus bringing about fundamental changes in the process of notation. Now the notator's task was not to write folk melodies down in a generalized form (as is the case in notation by ear), but to find a precise written equivalent of the recorded version of the song. Therefore, in Gippius' opinion, the notation of a recorded tune requires not only an experienced ear, but also some knowledge of music theory, ensuring that the notation will correspond to the song as it is.

Gippius' imaginary dialogue with his predecessors

The second half of the 19th century saw the publication of the earliest theoretical studies on Russian folk music, especially on folk songs. One such study, "Russian folk song as an object of science" (published in three instalments in the newspaper *Music Season* of 19 March 1870, 27 November 1870 and 21 January 1871), was authored by the composer and music critic Aleksandr Serov (1820–1871, February). Some of his ideas strongly influenced Russian folk music scholarship of the early 20th century. In particular, he wrote:

The science of "folk music creativity" does not yet exist, but even now it is clear that as a part of the grand domain of "human studies" (anthropology in the most general sense), the science of folk music creativity, i.e. of folk song—a future "musical embryology"—will be closely related to:

1. The physiology (the birth of sound in the larynx, the respiratory system in the process of singing and speaking, etc.);
2. ethnography (in the broadest terms), i.e. the science of peoples, of ethnic groups in their affinities and differences, with regard to types and classification;
3. the history of cultures (again in the broadest terms), including the religious development of peoples—their beliefs, legends, etc.;

4. philology, including the most detailed studies of the language and lore of each particular people, predominantly on the basis of unwritten traditional documents—for the musical embryos in each nation appear much earlier than the written culture. It is also clear that because of the scarcity of data in all of the mentioned sciences because of the inadequate level of their development, the science of folk song is, unfortunately, still rather inconceivable (Serov 1936 [1870/1871], 22–23).

Obviously, at the turn of the 20th century Russian ethnomusicology (or music ethnography, as it was referred to at that time) was formed as an interdisciplinary science. Thus, the field studies organized at the end of the 19th century by the Folk Song Commission were carried out by ethnographers, philologists and professional musicians. In the 1920s, notations of folk songs were also made in the course of multidisciplinary expeditions organized by the Department for Peasant Art Studies of the Institute for Art History (Petrograd); their members included philologists specializing in folklore, linguists, musicologists, ethnographers, figurative and decorative art scholars, theatre historians and architects. Gippius began his collector's career as a member of these expeditions. His particular interest in history and philology was related to his awareness of the cross-disciplinary nature of folk music studies.

Another important idea suggested by Serov, first in his public lectures on music in the 1860s and then in his article “Music, science of music, musical education” (1864), was related to the concept of music as language:

Music is a *language*. Each language has its own “alphabet”, its own system of writing, and its own grammar (the set of laws or rules of this language and its alphabet). The cognition of this language is what we call the “science of music” in the narrower sense. In a broader sense, the science of music must also include the “history” of the development of this language and its literature, as well as the philosophy of this language, which is a branch of aesthetics, i.e. the science of the beautiful (in the same sense there must be also “the science of poetry”, “the science of painting”, “the science of architecture”, etc.) (Serov 1990, 182).

Following Serov, Gippius believed that the principal aim of folk music study is to bring to light the system of musical grammar in any ethnic culture,⁵ since scholars have to work with phenomena that are still largely unexplored (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 27).

Mention must also be made of another outstanding scholar, Pëtr Sokal'skii, and of his life's work, *Russian Folk Music, that of Great Russia and Little Russia, in Terms of Its Melodic and Rhythmic Structure and Its Differences from the Harmonic Music of Today* (1888). After a careful study of a number of treatises on music theory from antiquity up to his time (they are reviewed

5 Gippius believed that the study of folk music is part of the history of music, therefore he always called himself a music historian.

in the book's first part), Sokal'skii concluded that "Russian folk music uses natural intervals rather than tempered ones; when we notate them, we are forced to employ tempered intervals, and this leads to serious consequences" (Sokal'skii 1888, 8). This prompted Gippius to focus his attention on the peculiarities of folk singers' vocal intonation. He said:

We commit an error when we always use the word 'mode' [*lad*] in a broader sense. Apart from the category of 'mode' there is the category of tuning or 'scale' [*stroï*]. And the nature of *stroï* can be based on some perfect logic. A broad zone [of the intonation of modal degrees] can emerge in accordance with the direction of the voices' movement, in relation to the movement of voices (quoted after Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 22).

This is why in his publication of the songs notated in the villages on the banks of the Pinega Gippius used special signs to mark deviations of pitch by intervals smaller than a semitone—otherwise the peculiarities of the vocal *stroï* could not be reflected in the notation (Gippius and Èval'd 1937).

The figure displays musical notation for a song, illustrating pitch variations. At the top, a scale is shown with notes labeled I through VIII. Above the notes are signs indicating pitch deviations: -(1), -(2), +, and -. Below the scale, three staves of music are shown, each with Russian lyrics. The first staff has a tempo marking of ♩ = 84. The lyrics are: Ох ме-жу ре-ци-ни-ко-ю, ох ме-жу. The second staff has lyrics: бы-стро ю-(у), ох да на-(а) ой, накру-то-й го-ры. The third staff has lyrics: да (ы) ой на фсе кра со-ты, ой. The notation includes various signs above the notes, such as -(1), -(2), +, and -, which correspond to the scale's pitch variations.

Fig. 11: A scale with pitch variation of degrees is placed before the notes of each song (Gippius and Èval'd 1937, 171).

In the second part of his book, Sokal'skii examines the rhythmic aspect of music in its historical development. According to him, on earlier stages the musical rhythm depended on the "living word (speech)"; hence, the mathematically measured musical rhythm did not exist at that time and appeared much later (Sokal'skii 1888, 228–229). Sokal'skii considered Russian folk song to be a product of an early epoch and believed it was inappropriate to use bar lines in folk song notations: "Packing a folk song in our bar system with lines imparts fictional metric accents to it which quite often disturb the proper accents of folk singing, and this is not always amended by change of measure" (ibid., 199). Besides, he proposed his own definition of rhythm: "[...] rhythm is first of all a certain order of the 'movement of parts' in time, or of the arrangement of parts in space. The former rhythm is musical; the latter is architectonical" (ibid., 216). These theses encouraged Gippius to elaborate a method of analytical graphic notation of folk songs and to reconsider the meaning of bar lines:

Due to such a method of notation, the relations between musico-rhythmic phrases within melo-stanzas are strictly ordered, and the bar lines are not employed in the usual manner, as indicators of downbeats, but rather as conditional dividing signs, marking the boundaries of musico-rhythmic phrases—components of a syllabic musico-rhythmic form. This form of notation provides a graphic spatial presentation of the temporal periodic musico-rhythmic structure of melo-stanzas (Gippius 1979, 7).

Beginning with the 1840s, when Mikhail Glinka and Vladimir Odoevskii asserted that the melodic content and the modes of Russian folk songs do not conform to the standards of Western European music and are more akin to the *Znamennyi* chant and medieval church modes, attempts were made to describe the peculiarities of Russian folk song in terms of music theory. Glinka's and Odoevskii's ideas prompted Gippius to reflect upon the interaction between folk and church traditions. This problem also interested him in the 1940s, when such subject matters were banned in Soviet Russia.

In Gippius' opinion, extended melodic turns, corresponding to single syllables in slow folk songs, are comparable to the so-called *fitas* (melismatic turns) in the *Znamennyi* chant. The folk singers' custom of varying song tunes in the course of a performance was also regarded by Gippius as a parallel to the similar practice in church singing.

To substantiate his opinion, he quoted a chorister of the times of Ivan the Terrible (16th century), who boasted of his ability to perform each *popevka* (church chant tune) in 17 variants. Gippius concluded that "the same practice is also observed in the culture of Russian lyrical peasant song" (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 50–51).

Furthermore, when analyzing old collections by L'vov-Prach and Balakirev, Gippius discovered some errors in the texts written beneath the music. This concerned slow lyrical songs in particular. Their drawn-out verse, with repeats of words and breaks within words, semantically "empty" insertions, etc., was perceived at that time as a "folkish" distortion of regular syllabic or



Fig. 12: Melismatic turns in Russian lyrical song.

tonic verse. Therefore, while bringing words and music together in the notation, the verse of lyrical songs was artificially reduced to a “normal” size, that is, was arrayed evenly along the tune.

In Gippius' opinion, this method was based on the practice of notating songs from retelling rather than from singing. From his rich experience of field studies he knew that folk singers, while retelling their songs, would omit the repeats of words and the inserted syllables:

The verse that singers sing:

Из-за ле... эх, из-за лесу ты ле... из-за лесу тёмного

Из-за са... эх, из-за садику, зе... из-за садику зелёного

(Out of fo... eh, out of the forest you fo... out of the dark forest
Out of the ga... eh, out of the garden, ze... out of the green garden)

The verse that singers retell:

Из-за лесу, лесу тёмного,

Из-за садику зелёного

(Out of the forest, the dark forest,
Out of the green garden)

Naturally, the words registered that way could not be placed correctly beneath the music.

The distortions found in early publications, affecting first of all the correlation between verse and tune in slow lyrical songs, led Gippius to the idea of restoring them in their primary form.

16

Fig. 13: Gippius' analytical notation of the song "Ne bela zaria zani-malasia" (Vlasov and Dorokhova 2014, 234).

To realize this idea, he carried out a textual-critical analysis of songs from Balakirev's collection, comparing them with notations made from phonograph recordings (Gippius 1957).

To reveal the complex structure of slow songs, Gippius developed a method of analytical graphic notation allowing the creation of a spatial counterpart to the periodical rhythmic structure of stanzas (or "melo-stanzas", as Gippius himself put it).

He believed that folk music fundamentally differs from European professional music of the last 500 years, whose norms gave rise to the staff notation system. Therefore the musicologists who notate folk music that does not correspond to these norms quite often unwittingly "amend" it. As regards the method of analytical graphic notation, it was devised to establish the songs' structure and subsequently to develop a typology of structures (Dorokhova and Pashina 2003, 27).

Having brought to light the recorded songs' structure with the help of his analytical graphic method, Gippius restored the songs that Balakirev had notated from folk singers, and gave a detailed description of the methodological principles of his restoration (Gippius 1957, 230–255). For this pioneering work, published in 1957 as a part of the book *M. Balakirev. Russian Folk Songs*, he received the degree of Doctor of Arts.

Conclusions

As a scholar in the area of folk music, both Russian and non-Russian, Evgenii Gippius came a long way. His scholarly attitudes changed depending on the new knowledge that he had acquired due to his field research and his acquaintance with the writings of Russian and foreign specialists. Gippius' keen understanding of the nature of folk music was largely influenced by his work with the collections of Russian folk songs gathered and published in previous historical periods, as well as by his study of the theoretical works by his predecessors. Gippius used to test their ideas and hypotheses during his own field research and to develop them further in his own creative manner. There is no doubt that Gippius can be described as an ethnomusicologist not only because he continued his research activities after the emergence of this discipline in the post-war years, but also because his conceptual approaches to folk music and his methodology of folk music research are very much in line with the basic principles of contemporary ethnomusicology.

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II. National and Regional Studies

Scholarship, Activism and the State

Folk Song Discourses in Austria between 1818 and 1914

Abstract

The public involvement with folk song in 19th- and early-20th-century Austria was shaped by highly diverse motivations and intellectual and/or ideological preconditions. Academic professionalism and romantic amateurism (Marin Marian-Bălașa) went hand in hand or caused continuous tensions. Unbiased researchers in the tradition of Friedrich David Gräter (1768–1830) were more interested in a value-free study of folk songs as a key to the history of mentalities. Others were more interested in the construction of ethno-national distinctiveness. Activists in the field of cultural politics promoted the idea of popularizing selected traditional repertoires in the modern world. They were increasingly driven by ideologies of cultural purism, anti-modernism, anti-urbanism and also anti-Semitism.

The state took part in the folk song movement in different ways. Large-scale top-down ethnographies often expressed the hope for interethnic reconciliation in a critical state of the late Habsburg monarchy. Later projects at the state level also gave room to cultural activists promoting ethno-national and populist agendas, such as Josef Pommer (1845–1918).

In the present article, I am going to present intellectual sources and key figures in the folk song discourses in Austria until World War I with their very diverse intellectual backgrounds and motivations. A main focus will be on the German-Jewish scholar Friedrich S. Krauss (1859–1938), a pioneer in academic folkloristics who is still not too well-known in Anglophone ethnomusicology. When discussing some contradictory and even tragic aspects of his intellectual life it will be necessary to briefly consider his changing political views in the context of Jewish history in the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Do not believe in anyone's authority,
but examine everyone's smallest and largest [notion] from the beginning to the end.

Friedrich S. Krauss

*Glaube an niemandes Autorität, sondern prüfe jedem das kleinste,
wie das grösste vom Anfang bis zum Ende nach* (Krauss and Scherman 1899, 134).

1. Introduction

Discourses on folk song in the Austrian part of the late 19th and early 20th century Habsburg monarchy can be very roughly divided into *academic professionalism* and *romantic amateurism*—to use a distinction by Marin Marian-Bălașa (2007). In German-speaking countries, according to Julian von Pulikowski, a pioneer in the intellectual history of our field “the scholarly involvement with folk song probably begins with Gräter” (1933, 513);¹ i.e. with Friedrich David Gräter (1794). In Austria, academic folk music researchers entered the field slightly later—nearly simultaneously with half-official top-down collecting projects involving amateur contributors. Beginning with the mid-19th century, revival movements gained momentum, largely, yet not exclusively, inspired and directed by non-academics. It goes without saying that Marian-Bălașa’s distinction cannot be taken as absolute. On the one hand, until the second half of the 20th century high-level scholars had been initially motivated, and sometimes even led, by romantic sentiments and convictions. On the other hand, researchers without an academic education have been able to significantly contribute to folk music research until today.

In this article, I am going to outline how folk music in Austria developed as a public² affair. I will briefly present the main trends in academic scholarship and cultural activism related to folk music, considering both leading and marginalized figures and their relationship to political agendas and to the state. I understand *academic scholarship* as a systematic and discursive intellectual engagement with folk music, striving for an unbiased perspective. *Cultural activism* has to be distinguished from *performative ethnomusicology*, as a research tool or a second profession (Baily 2008). Performing ethnomusicologists perform and explain musical styles and repertoires according to their personal choice. Cultural activists in folk music more often prefer to decide what other people should sing and play or listen to.

1 „Die wissenschaftliche Teilnahme für das Volkslied beginnt wohl mit Gräter.“ On Friedrich David Gräter (1768–1830) as the founder of German folk music scholarship, see Morgenstern 2015.

2 I understand the term “public” here in a narrower sense, restricted to the reach of printed media in bourgeois and aristocratic circles.

2. Social and intellectual sources of systematic folk music engagement in the 19th century

Enthusiasm for what was coined the *Volkslied* since Johann Gottfried Herder is only one source and motivation for the documentation and study of this aspect of traditional expressive culture. In early 19th-century Austria, a considerable part of musical ethnography was embedded in statistical surveys, notably the Styrian questionnaire initiated by Archduke John of Austria (Suppan 1976, 118; Mauerhofer 1999, 169; Haid 2013 [2011], 76, 77), who was both a folk song enthusiast and an agent of modernization. The first large-scale folk music project was launched in 1819 by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna) by initiative of its Secretary Joseph Sonnleithner (1766–1835). Sonnleithner is well-known as a librettist and the Secretary of court theaters in Vienna, but he was also an influential member of the court chancellery of enlightened absolutist Emperor Joseph II (reg. 1780–1790). His semi-official folk music survey was initially intended as “an enterprise which is beneficial for art and science” [dieser die Kunst und Wissenschaft förderlichen Unternehmung] (cited from Jarosch 1938, 196, grammar in the original), as the Minister of the Interior Count Joseph Franz Saurau claimed. The questionnaire covered a large range of genres and performance situations. Raimund Zoder, who rediscovered the Sonnleithner Collection after more than a hundred years of oblivion, emphasized its quality as a mirror of the taste of that time due to the absence of literary considerations (1929, 50) and predefined criteria for “real folk songs” (ibid., 51). Similarly, the leading folklorist Leopold Schmidt acknowledged the “unprejudiced” (1969, 12) collection process. Wolfgang Suppan makes a crucial difference between Sonnleithner’s and the Archduke’s realistic approach to folk music and the earlier Herderian concept of “‘morally and ethically valuable’ songs” (1976, 119) and the upcoming “all-German ‘belletrist folk song study’” (ibid., see also Mauerhofer 1999, 70–72).³

It seems that not only the initiators but also the correspondents of the early-19th century surveys were generally more obliged to carry out impartial observation than the folk music lovers of the romantic period, which gained momentum in the following decades. Pulikowski devoted a separate paragraph to the views and agendas of the romanticists related to the folk song (1933, 459–468). Unlike the Enlighteners, they view folk music as the witness of a better past:

3 We can draw an interesting parallel to Russian Enlightenmenters and the polymaths Jacob von Staehlin (1709–1785) and Nikolai Lvov (1753–1803^{jul}/1804^{greg}), both progressive figures serving in the highest position in the state—and pioneers in folk music scholarship at the same time.

Characteristic is the painfully felt contrast between one's own present and the allegedly reached heights of the past, expressed in one's attitude to life and view of art. One dreams oneself back from the unpleasant present into the good old pious times [...], indulges in the inexhaustibly rich portrayals of German nationhood⁴ and German nature [...].

Kennzeichnend ist der schmerzlich empfundene Gegensatz zwischen eigener Gegenwart und der angeblich erreichten Höhe früherer Zeiten, der sich im Lebensgefühl wie in der Kunstanschauung ausdrückt. Man träumt sich aus der Gegenwart in die gute, alte, fromme Zeit zurück [...], ergeht sich in der unerschöpflich reichen Schilderung deutschen Volkstums, deutscher Natur [...] (Pulikowski 1933, 459).

The German philosopher Rüdiger Safranski describes the romantic world view in a slightly less skeptical way:

Among many other things, romanticism is also the continuation of religion with aesthetic means. [...] Romanticism triumphs over the reality principle. Good for poetry, bad for politics, if romanticism goes astray into politics.

Romantik ist neben vielem, was sie sonst noch ist, auch eine Fortsetzung der Religion mit ästhetischen Mitteln. [...] Die Romantik triumphiert über das Realitätsprinzip. Gut für die Poesie, schlecht für die Politik, falls sich die Romantik ins Politische verirrt. (Safranski 2007, 13)

And we can add—bad for scholarship too. A milestone in Austrian folk music research was the first targeted fieldwork project, in Lower Austria, launched by the historian Franz Ziska (Žiška, Tschischka) and the philologist Julius Max Schottky. The preface to their *Austrian folk songs with their melodies* (1819) reveals a strongly pronounced romanticist invocation of nature and German history (cf. Suppan 1976, 119). However, the authors speak to an emerging academic community when rejecting editorial intrusions into texts and melodies (Ziska and Schottky 1819, vi), introducing diacritical signs for dialect phonetics into folk song research, critically discussing Gräter's historical explanation of the dance verses (ibid., vi, vii), and trying to show “the people's inner world, opened-up and truly presented to the researcher for spiritual contemplation”⁵ with the songs (ibid., x). This is not only in line with romanticist idealization of the past but also with Gräter's understanding of folk song texts as a source of history of mentalities (Morgenstern 2015).

While Ziska and Schottky position themselves at the interface of romanticism and scholarship, Anton Ritter von Spaun (1790–1849), an exponent of oppositional national liberalism and the brother of Schubert's friend Joseph von Spaun, opened two radically new paradigms at

4 There is no English equivalent to the German term *Volkstum*. It can be translated with *folklore* (in a broader sense), *folk tradition*, *folk culture*, *folk customs* or in the given political context with *nationhood*.

5 “[...] auch in ihnen ist des Volkes innere Welt aufgethan und dem Forscher zur geistigen Anschauung wahr vorgelegt.”

the same time: (1) folk music at the service of a particular political movement and (2) folk music with the aim of its adaptation and popularization in modern society, i.e. revitalization and revival. His dedication “To the German people” is more than an expression of romantic longing. It points towards the future:

Austria [...] has gems of original folk customs and peculiarities which deserve to become common goods of all Germans. [...] If real folk music, as the true expression of the most intimate state of the soul and the mind, always deserves great attention, it will awake much more vivid involvement if we recognize in it, like in a magic mirror, states of the soul the loss of which we painfully feel [...]. This is the case with our folk melodies, as I believe, the only ones in all German lands which have been preserved unweakened and unmixed. [...]

I thought that by conveying them [the melodies] some German tribes could be reminded of what has prematurely been lost; others whose pre-history does not know such a fresh and joyful past can be reminded deep in their souls of their common origin and feel obliged to us for our friendly information: —I even couldn't help the feeling that all Germans should like us more after they get to know our folk melodies, as indeed all German tribes would only need to get to know each other better to become more closely befriended; and thus I dedicate a selection of what I have collected since my youth—to all Germans. [...] But there is also no German tribe to which Austria didn't provide effective succour for the preservation of their independence. In that which has been our salvation until now we also have to seek our fortune in the future.

Österreich [...] hat [...] Kleinode der ursprünglichen Volkssitten und Eigenthümlichkeiten, welche Gemeingut aller Deutschen zu werden verdienten. [...] Wenn ächte Volksmusik als der wahre Ausdruck der innersten Seelen- oder Gemüthsstimmung stets in hohem Grade Beachtung verdient, so wird sie in noch weit höheren Grade die lebhafteste Theilnahme erwecken, wenn wir in ihr, wie in einem Zauberspiegel Seelenzustände schauen, deren Verlust wir schmerzlich empfinden [...]. Dies ist bei unseren Volksweisen der Fall, den einzigen, wie ich glaube in allen deutschen Ländern, die sich ungeschwächt und unvermischt erhalten haben. [...]

Ich dachte: manche deutsche Stämme würden durch Mittheilung derselben [der Melodien] an früh Verlorenes und Vergessenes erinnert, andere, deren Urgeschichte keine so frische, freudige Vergangenheit kennt, im tiefsten Innern ihrer Seele an die gemeinschaftliche Abstammung gemahnt werden, und sich uns für die freundliche Mittheilung verpflichtet fühlen:—ja ich konnte mich des Gefühles nicht erwehren, daß alle Deutsche uns lieber gewinnen müßten, wenn sie unsere Volksweisen kennen gelernt haben, wie denn überhaupt alle deutschen Stämme sich nur näher kennen zu lernen brauchen, um sich inniger zu befreunden; und so widme ich denn eine Auswahl des seit meinen Jugendjahren Gesammelten—**allen Deutschen**. [...] Es gibt aber auch keinen deutschen Stamm, dem nicht Österreich zur Erhaltung seiner Selbstständigkeit wirksamen Beistand geleistet hätte. In dem, was bisher unsere Rettung war, haben wir auch in der Zukunft unser Heil zu suchen (Spaun 1845, vii, viii).

On the one hand, Spaun was interested in the dissemination of Austrian folk melodies and “their thriving in other German soil” [ihr Gedeihen in anderer deutscher Erde] (1845, ix). Therefore, the preface (ibidi., ix–xvi) is full of detailed and subtle recommendations for practical performances with regard to voice leading, instrumentation and proper pronunciation of the Austrian dialect. On the other hand, his emphasis on German national cohesion and on the cultural superiority of the German-Austrians is clearly an outcome of his political engagement for the “Greater German solution”—the idea of a German nation state under Austrian domination, which was rejected at the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848.

Both the German nationalist and the revivalist movements gained momentum in the following years. However, in an atmosphere of increasing ethno-national conflicts in the Habsburg monarchy, a competing paradigm in (music) ethnography evolved. The liberal Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria (1858–1889) initiated the multicultural encyclopedia *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Kronprinzenwerk)* [The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures (The Crown Prince’s Work)], so while Spaun’s manifesto was aimed towards mutual understanding and ethno-national solidarity within the German-speaking world, the 24 volumes of the *Kronprinzenwerk* were intended to promote intercultural reconciliation within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: “to arouse through self-assurance the pride of the monarchy’s nationalities in themselves and of what was common to them. Mutual respect and appreciation should replace hatred and greed”⁶ (Stagl 2008, 34). A similar centralized top-down multicultural project with a main focus on the folk song of the Crown lands was initiated in 1904 by the Minister of Culture and Education Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel as the project *Das Volkslied in Österreich* [Folk Song in Austria]. The project considerably increased field research—however, it could not be finalised after World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Earlier on it had already suffered from fundamental divergences between intercultural idealism and ethno-national chauvinism (Hois 2000, 2005).

3. German-Austrian Folk music mainstream at the turn of the 20th century

The leading figures of the *Volkslied* project were high-level philologists, historians and educated musicians. The German section, however, was dominated by the politician and revival activist Josef Pommer (1845–1918). As Iris Mochar-Kircher has shown in her critical biography (2004, 47–112), Pommer, at the beginning of his folk song activities in the early 1880s, already looked back on a long career as a political activist in various German national organizations, including the anti-Semitic *Deutsche Volkspartei*. His worldview was determined by a racist German na-

6 “[...] um durch die Selbstvergewisserung auch den Stolz der Volksstämme der Monarchie auf sich selbst und das ihnen Gemeinsame zu wecken. An die Stelle von Hass und Neid sollte gegenseitige Achtung und Wertschätzung treten.”

tionalism, anti-modernism, technophobia, and anti-Semitism (ibid., briefly also: Morgenstern 2015; 2020, 401–406, on Pommer's anti-modernism see Mayer-Hirzberger and Glanz 1999). In other words, Pommer was a key figure in turning Archduke John's aesthetic ruralism into reactionary anti-urbanism, and Spaun's liberal nationalism into aggressive chauvinism—a course of events that later also affected academic *Volkskunde* in various ways.

In his early forties Pommer became an extremely prolific fieldworker, who not only wrote down by ear hundreds of yodels, but also gave valuable insights into folk terminology and emic concepts of singing (Morgenstern 2015). Even Pulikowski acknowledged his ethnographic experience as opposed to the philologist's armchair perspective of German folklorists (1933, 223, cf. Morgenstern 2015). Problematic aspects of Pommer's folk music concept include his selective approach to the “true” folk song as a creation of the people and his ideologically narrow concept of the *Volk* itself (Mochar-Kircher 2004).

The Austrian folk music scholar Emil Karl Blümml (1881–1925) was one of the first who openly questioned the scholarly qualifications of the secondary-school teacher Josef Pommer (as did Pulikowski, Suppan and Waltraud Linder-Beroud after him, see: Morgenstern 2015) who clearly prioritized cultural activism (revival) over academic research (Morgenstern 2000, 401). Blümml, together with folk music researchers Franz Friedrich Kohl and Josef Reiter, started a desperate initiative to remove Pommer from the *Volkslied* project, but they failed due to Pommer's strong political connections (Mochar-Kircher 2004, 357–359). Pommer's insufficient academic qualities might have been an additional reason for Guido Adler to distance himself from the project from the very beginning (ibid., 356). In this context I also have to mention the role of the Germanist Curt Rotter (1881–1945)⁷, who decisively advocated the primacy of academic research over revivalist activism in the *Volkslied* project (Deutsch 1995, 27–30)—and who was also too weak in the face of Pommer's network.

Pommer largely ignored research outside the German-speaking area. However; the third Congress of the International Musical Society in Vienna, 25–29 May 1909 allowed him, for a very short moment, to enter the international scene as a member of the Congress Committee and a speaker of Section II “Exotische Musik und Folklore” (IMG 1909, 224–306). The section included most distinguished European comparative musicologists and folk music researchers of their time: Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, Evgeniia Linëva, Filaret Kolessa, Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, Otakar Hostinský, Ilmari Krohn, Armas Launis and Otto Anderson.

In the first session on 27 May, Hans Wolfgang Pollak from the Viennese Phonogram Archive explained the advantages of the phonograph. Pommer was highly skeptical towards the new technology, arguing that recordings of multipart yodeling demanded “laborious and time-consuming preparation” [umständliche, zeitraubende Vorkehrungen] (ibid., 225) and that it would confuse the performers. Furthermore “the machine is not able to replace human beings, and the

7 In 1940 Rotter joined the NSDAP. Gerlinde Haid admits that regardless of this fact, Rotter was not known for ideological activities (2013 [2011], 87).

metal plate cannot replace the living psyche” [die Maschine ist nicht imstande den Menschen, die Metallplatte nicht die lebendige Psyche zu ersetzen] (ibid.)—as if anyone had claimed anything like that.

When, the next day, Evgeniia Linëva (Eugenie Lineff) presented her ground-breaking recordings of Russian multipart singing and explained her innovative fieldwork methods, Pommer was either absent or silent. He gave a second and last comment during the three-days session only one day later (29 May) to dispute a resolution by Basil Koganoff (Tbilisi) who called for an accurate documentation of folk music without additional harmonic arrangement or other manipulation (ibid). Pommer argued that “this can only be related to monophonic music” [dies könne sich nur auf einstimmige Musik beziehen] (ibid., 297) and successfully insisted on the inclusion of his arbitrary and invalid restriction in the final resolution:

Koganoff’s proposal:

Exact notation of the melodies, with the most detailed comments, yet without the slightest attempt at harmonization or any kind of changes or additions to the *Urtext*.

Genaue Aufzeichnung der Melodien, mit bis ins kleinste gehenden Kommentaren, jedoch ohne den geringsten Versuch einer Harmonisierung oder irgendwelcher Änderungen oder Ergänzungen des Urtextes (IGM 1909, 297).

Final congress resolution:

The notation and publication of monophonic melodies has to be carried out with analyses and comments, yet without the slightest attempt at harmonization when the latter is not common among the people themselves, and generally without any kind of changes or additions to the *Urtext*.

Die Aufzeichnung und Publikation einstimmiger Melodien soll erfolgen mit Analysen und Kommentaren, jedoch ohne den geringsten Versuch einer Harmonisierung, wo diese nicht im Volke selbst üblich ist, überhaupt ohne irgendwelche Änderungen oder Ergänzungen des Urtextes. (IGM 1909, 76).

It follows that academic researchers can publish a monophonic melody (preferably notated by ear) within a harmonic arrangement, if “the people” sing or play (whatever) in harmonies—but this has to be done “without any kind of changes or additions”. We do not know what the reactions were of the who is who of European comparative musicology and folk music research (without Hungary) to their encounter with Josef Pommer. But certainly these were not good days for the academic reputation of folk music research in Austria.

4. Friedrich S. Krauss



Fig. 1. Friedrich S. Krauss at the age of 27 (Burt and Puchner 2002, ii).

In fin de siècle Vienna, Friedrich Salomo⁸ Krauss (1859–1938), “one of the founders of modern Austrian folkloristics” (Bohlman 2012, 84) developed a radical counter-model to romantic involvement with the folk song. However, as Christoph Daxelmüller puts it: “hardly another folklorist leaves so much uncertainty when localizing his legacy in the history of scholarship and intellectual history”⁹ (1994, 463). A milestone in his multifaceted biography is Raymond L. Burt’s monograph in German (1990). The Anglophone reader may benefit from a short overview by Mirjam Morad (1989), Bohlman’s biographical sketch (2012), and from Lawrence Shapiro’s in-depth study of Krauss’ intellectual location in late 19th-century Vienna. At that time “*Volkskunde* and *Ethnographie* represented liberal social science, serving the public sphere and civic nationalism, as distinct from the ethnic national-

ism of right-wing versions of *Volkskunde* [...] after World War I” (Shapiro 2015, 3).

Krauss was born in the village of Požega in Slavonia in 1859 in a German-Jewish family, shaped by “the enormous difference in the thinking of my mother [the illiterate, Croatian-speaking “baba Eva”], as opposed to my broadly educated German father” (Krauss 1883, xxii). In 1877 he moved to Vienna where he studied Classical Philology and History. Krauss’ main research was focused on South Slavic epics, sung to the *gusle*, and on erotic folklore, both Slavic and German. His recognition as a scholar becomes evident from the support he received from Crown Prince Rudolf, from his (temporary) membership of the Viennese Anthropological Society, his honorary membership of the Anthropological Society of Washington, his role as the founder of two leading journals, *Urquell* and the *Anthropophyteia. Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral* [Yearbooks for folkloristic study and the research of the history of the development of sexual morals], his recognition by Sigmund Freud, his friendship with Franz Boas and the translation of his ethnographic ques-

8 In most of his publications, Krauss preferred to use his second name in abbreviation.

9 “Wohl kaum ein anderer Volkskundler hinterläßt bei dem Versuch, ihn und sein Werk wissenschafts- und geistesgeschichtlich einzuordnen, so viele Unsicherheiten [...]”

tionnaire into English by the Anthropological Society of London. This brilliant and innovative thinker never obtained an academic position in Austria (Burt 2002, 12) which, again, is indicative of the power structures that largely determined Austrian academic life.

Friedrich S. Krauss, the humanist. Krauss was certainly not an easy person. But he often had good reasons for his conflicting positions. First of all, he was a man of strong principles—a great humanist who is often said to have radically criticized any form of religious and ethnic resentment and discrimination. His harsh attacks against Croatian ethno-nationalism, anti-Semitism and anti-Ziganism seem to confirm this—however, we will see that his political profile is more complicated.

Many of Krauss' writings are full of passionate statements against group-based hatred: "I am a Jew, someone who doesn't go with the haters and who despises or persecutes no one for his faith"¹⁰ (Krauss 1937, 343; cf. Burt 1990, 40). He was highly sensitive to violence and envisioned folkloristics as contributing "to tearing down the still preserved institutions and barriers of primitive society, through which mankind appears divided into pugnacious hordes, always ready to war"¹¹ (Krauss 1904, 318–319). Krauss was interested in discovering the origin of violence and of the state, as he puts it frankly: "of our public disorder" [unserer öffentlichen Unordnung] based on the "violation of the weak, notably children and women" [Vergewaltigung der Schwachen, namentlich der Kinder und der Frauen] (cit. after Burt 1990, 89). Being a quasi-feminist (Burt 1990, 106–110; Bohlman 2007, 95), Krauss' severely criticized patriarchal thinking both in folklore and in modern life. He envisioned women's role in the progress of humanity "under more favorable living conditions to those which the present societal order of violence permits them"¹² (1927, cited after Burt 1990, 107). He also identified common ideological and psychological sources of misogyny and anti-Semitism (Burt 1990, 106). His humanism was related to politics in different ways.

Friedrich S. Krauss: a political figure and apolitical scholar? Krauss is often depicted as an anti-nationalist, and indeed his humanist stance made him fundamentally hostile to populist¹³ ethno-nationalism, and, of course, to anti-Semitism. In the spirit of late-Habsburg ethnography, he was particularly devoted to a reconciliation between the German- and Slavic-speaking populations:

10 "Ich bin Jude, einer, der nicht mit den Hassern geht und niemanden wegen seines Glaubens wegen verachtet und verfolgt [...]."

11 "[...] die noch erhaltenen Einrichtungen und Schranken einer urzeitlichen Gesellschaft niederzureissen, durch welche die Menschheit in ständig kriegsbereite, rauflustige Horden eingeteilt scheint."

12 "[...] unter günstigeren Lebensumständen als jene sind, welche ihnen die gegenwärtige gesellschaftliche Gewaltordnung erlaubt [...]."

13 In the context of this article, I understand populism as the invocation, inflammation and instrumentalization of collective emotions for political ends.

Germans and Slavs are natural brothers, children of an Indo-German mother. These brothers should and have to understand, value and love each other; once an honest brotherly understanding has been achieved, and it will be, the numerous parasites bred and fattened by fraternal strife will shrink to nothing.

Deutsche und Slaven sind leibliche Brüder, Kinder einer indogermanischen Mutter. Die Brüder sollen und müssen sich verstehen, schätzen und lieben lernen; wird einmal eine aufrichtige brüderliche Verständigung erzielt, und sie wird es, dann muß jenes zahlreiche Schmarotzergezücht, das sich vom Bruderzwiste mästet, zu Nichts zusammenschrumpfen (Krauss 1884, xxv, xxvi).

But Krauss directly turns from this unusually romantic rhetoric to his fundamental scholarly ethos. In the subsequent paragraph he continues:

It is self-evident that I don't aim to put this national tendency in the foreground at the expense of science.

Es ist selbstverständlich, daß ich diese nationale Tendenz nicht auf Unkosten der Wissenschaft in den Vordergrund zu stellen beabsichtige (ibid., xxvi).

For Krauss it could be “an invaluable advantage, arising out of scholarly research, when in the future fake patriots will be stopped” [ein unschätzbarer Vorteil, der aus wissenschaftlicher Forschung entspringt, wenn für die Zukunft den Talmipatrioten das Handwerk gelegt wird] (ibid.). Nevertheless, he rejects direct political and other external agendas and motivations, even his own philanthropic motifs, as guidelines for scholarship: “in the effort to seek the truth” a folklorist should never be irritated “neither by national or political motivations, nor by confessional or aesthetic considerations”¹⁴ (Krauss and Scherman 1899, 133). This Weberian ideal of impartial scholarship is in line with Pulikowski's praise of Friedrich David Gräter's realistic approach:¹⁵ “No educational, philanthropic or other intentions blur his view of the actual song as it lives among the people”¹⁶ (1933, 33).

From Krauss' empiricist thinking and his reluctance to engage in aesthetics, the question arises: how value-free was his approach to folklore? Very often we can feel his love and devotion to Slavic folklore inherited from his mother. Krauss praised the “marvelous” alto voice of his main research partner and scout, the *gusle* singer Milovan Ilija Crlić Martinović from Gornji Hrgovi (Burt 1990, 27). Nevertheless, he refers to the average epic singer in a most derogatory way: The *guslar* is “by profession only a vagabond” [von Beruf Guslar ist nur ein Landstreicher]

14 “[...] lass Dich daher im Bemühen, die Wahrheit zu ergründen, weder durch nationale, noch politische Beweggründe, weder durch konfessionelle noch ästhetische Rücksichten [...] beirren [...]”

15 On Gräter's anticipation of post-romanticist realist turn in mid-19th century folk music studies, s. Morgenstern 2018, 13.

16 “Keine erzieherischen, menschenfreundlichen und sonstigen Absichten trübten seinen Blick für das tatsächliche Lied, wie es im Volk lebt.”

(1908, 180), his playing a “whimpering” [Gewinsel] (ibid., 181) and his singing a “squealing” [Vorquieken]” (ibid.). Both require “neither a significant musical nor poetic talent” [weder eine nennenswerte musikalische noch eine dichterische Begabung] (ibid.), and “the aesthetic pleasure you take from them [the *gusle* songs] is often questionable” [dass der ästhetische Genuss, den sie einem gewähren, oft fragwürdig sein mag] (ibid.). It seems that such expressions of cultural arrogance (too often ignored) can be explained by Krauss’ radical anti-romanticism.

Friedrich S. Krauss and cultural hybridity. In the enthusiastic reception of Krauss that followed Burt’s monograph, he is frequently described as an advocate of hybridity, often with regard to his pioneering fieldwork on Muslim-Slavic epics (Haid 2001). According to Bohlman, Krauss’ Balkan studies helped him to “shift the emphasis from authenticity in the past to hybridity in the present” (2012, 85). However, his approach to hybridity was twofold. On the one hand he supports the views of folklorists who reject concepts of “biological” and cultural uniqueness (Warneken 2001, 136, 137). Anticipating Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann’s concept of *Interethnik*, Krauss emphasizes that “the intimate contact between so differently constituted ethnicities such as the Turks and the Slavs must have caused a merging process”¹⁷ (1908, 2). His *Slavische Volksforschungen* is full of references claiming positive cultural innovations under Turkish rule (ibid., 3, 9, 12). He sarcastically refutes competing claims for the ethnic identification of the epic hero and Ottoman vassal Prince Marko by Bulgarians and “of Croats and Serbs biased by national madness” [nationalwahnbeängelter Chrowoten und Serben] (ibid., 306). Nevertheless, Krauss’ enthusiasm for hybridity was not without limits:

17 “Der innige Kontakt zwischen so verschieden gearteten Völkerschaften, wie die Türken und Slaven, musste einen Verschmelzungsprozess hervorrufen.”

Who can immediately estimate what is real South Slavic, what is borrowed, inherited, or imposed? In Styria, Carinthia and Krain, and to a large extent in Istria and in the coastal region of Dalmatia, German and Italian folklore corrosively influenced the Slavs; in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Serbia the Islam did away with the Slavs for centuries. Bulgarians infested Thracia and Macedonia, and then the Turk and the Arab came again. [...] Those who want to search for the real South Slavic essence on this basis have to be able to feel with delicate rose fingers, to observe with sharp eyes and to observe repeatedly and tirelessly. Only in this way they will succeed in finding an archetype.

Wer kann gleich ermessen, was echt südslavisch, was erborgt, ererbt, aufgedrungen ist? In Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain, und zum grossen Theile in Istrien und im Küstenland Dalmatiens, hat deutsches und italienisches Volksthum auf die Slaven zersetzend eingewirkt, in Bosnien, der Hercegovina und Serbien räumte durch Jahrhunderte der Islam mit den Slaven auf, in Thracien und Macedonien nisteten sich Bulgaren ein, dann kam wieder der Türke und der Araber. [...] Wer auf solchem Boden nach echt südslavischem Wesen fahnden will, muss mit zarten Rosenfingern tasten können, muss mit scharfen Augen beobachten und wiederholt und unermüdlich beobachten. Nur auf diese Weise wird es ihm gelingen, einen Urtypus herauszufinden (Krauss 1885, xxvi).

For Krauss, hybridity did not necessarily “provide the source, the *Urquell*” (Bohlman 2012, 93) but often appeared as an obstacle for a reliable historical interpretation of folklore. It is evident that Krauss’ main focus is not on processes of hybridization but on the search for what he considers to be *ursprünglich*, i.e., “initial” or “primitive”, in a value-free sense of that time. In his “General methodology of folkloristics” (Krauss and Scherman 1899, 39) he clearly distinguishes “the initial” from “loan material” (*Lehngut*) borrowed orally or through literary sources from a neighboring culture, and “international travelling material” (*internationales Wandergut*), circulating “from people to people” (*ibid.*).

A contemporary observer might qualify this as essentialist or even purist. However, the universalist Krauss recommended that the term *ursprünglich* should not be used too often (*ibid.*), and since “the human race appears as a unity” [sich das Menschengeschlecht als eine Einheit darstellt] (*ibid.*, 40), “the actual ‘initial’ is only folklore, which belongs evenly to all peoples” [ist das eigentliche “Ursprüngliche” nur das allen Völkern gleichmäßig zukommende Folklore-Gut] (*ibid.*). What is more important: unlike purists, Krauss generally identified cultural distinctiveness from a descriptive and value-free perspective, not misusing his observations for cultural-political imperatives.

The ambivalent stance Krauss took with regard to hybridity significantly informs his approach to the folklore of the European Jews. “In my own monthly publication, ‘*Am Ur-Quell*,’ I have done my best to promote the study of Jewish folk-lore” (1894, 72). However, according to Bernd Jürgen Warneken, while welcoming such studies, Krauss himself published “hardly

anything" (2001, 158) about Jewish folklore¹⁸. Identifying himself as a Jew by religion, he denied the existence of a Jewish people (Burt 1990, 78), and therefore of a specific Jewish *Volkstum*, as Warneken (2001, 157–158) has shown in detail. Krauss also opposed the idea of specific Jewish folkloristics and viewed Max Grunwald's *Zeitschrift für Jüdische Volkskunde* as superfluous (Burt 1990, 78; Daxelmüller 1994, 466; Warneken 2001, 157). When Bohlman speaks of Grunwald and Krauss as folklorists "discovering Jewishness in their collections" (Bohlman 2007, 95), this seems to be the case only for the former, and even more so as Krauss was convinced that from a folkloristic and ethnographic perspective, most Jews belong to German *Volkstum*: "Over a thousand years, the German Jew [...] in spite of the most cruel enslavement, has faithfully guarded German character and life" (Krauss 1894, 73; see also Warneken 2001, 157). Thus, "shifting Jewish culture from the periphery to the center of the European public sphere" (Bohlman 2007, 96) was hardly of great interest for Krauss.

Friedrich S. Krauss the historian. Krauss was an unusually passionate and tireless fieldworker, but his primary interest in folklore was essentially about the past—in this regard he followed the living-antiquities approach of English folkloristics. About his host Cubela from the village of Počelje, near Mostar, he said: "Through this inconspicuous man the living antiquity, a piece of the history of mankind, speaks to you" [Aus diesem unscheinbaren Manne spricht das lebende Altertum, ein Stück Menschheitsgeschichte zu dir] (Burt 1990, 39). His basic motivation for collecting epic verses was their value in terms of historical insight:

The remarkable fact remains, that one-and-a-half days of railroad travel from Vienna, a Slavic tribe¹⁹ closely related to the German lives, by [sic] which illiterate individuals among the people can recite long-standing epics. In this stage of culture, I mean simply in terms of a folk epic, the Greeks found themselves approximately in the seventh century before Christ, the Germans to some extent still in the time of the first Carolingians (Shapiro 2015, 87).

Die merkwürdige Thatsache steht fest, dass anderthalb Eisenbahn-Tagereisen von Wien ein den Deutschen nahe verwandter slavischer Volksstamm lebt, bei welchem illiterate Leute im Volke langmächtige Epen recitiren können. Auf dieser Culturstufe befanden sich die Griechen beiläufig im VII. Jahrhundert v. Chr., die Germanen zum Theil noch zur Zeit der Karolinger (Krauss 1885, xxvi).

For Krauss, guslar songs may not refer to historical events before the 13th and 14th centuries, (1908, 164). "However, the manners, customs, customary laws and religious concepts, referred to in them which are often inherited from a time long before the formation of Slavic statehood

18 Out of 252 publications in Burt's bibliography (1990, 125–143) only two small articles are devoted to Jewish folklore: proverbs on Gypsies (Nr. 215) and erotic proverbs (Nr. 222).

19 English translation by Shapiro. Untranslated passages in italics are my translations.

are of value”²⁰ (ibid.). As Bohlman puts it, “[h]is comparative studies deemphasized the nation” (2012, 94). This is true, but mostly in the context of Krauss’ historical focus on the pre-national period of the Balkans.

The historical perspective is also crucial for Krauss’ studies on erotic folklore, as is evident from the subtitle of his *Anthropophyteia* (see above). Krauss’ down-to-earth approach allows him to even declare the notorious *Volksseele* as an object of his study (1885, 23, 534). In his fieldwork, he was “in constant touch with the [Croatian] people, the study of whose soul I consider my life’s work” [mit dem Volke, dessen Seele zu erforschen ich als meine Lebensaufgabe betrachte] (1889, 131). This wording from a self-declared anti-romanticist might be surprising. Yet Krauss does not present an idealized image of the *Volksseele* but appears as its psychoanalyst. Franz Boas, in a dedication to the first volume of the *Anthropophyteia*, praised Krauss’ rare ability “to penetrate into the understanding of the people’s soul” [in das Verständnis der Volksseele einzudringen] (Boas 1905, v). Krauss’ counter position to the traditionalist idealization of folklore as the incorporation of moral dignity and health is particularly clear when we remember his involvement with the dark sides of human (and notably more male than female) sexuality. From his early years he was aware of a “connection between cruelty and lust” [einen Zusammenhang zwischen Grausamkeit und Lust] (cited after Burt 1990, 13, see also 14). Consequently, in South Slavic love songs he distinguishes “the stormy glow of healthy sensuality [stürmische Glut gesunder Sinnlichkeit]” (1908, 12) from “the imprint of unbridled sensuality” [das Gepräge schrankenloser Sinnlichkeit] (ibid.). Krauss historically explains the presence of the former in South Slavic folklore with the impact of Ottoman poetry.

Philip Bohlman, in a section headed “The Modernity of Traditional *Guslarenlieder*” (2012), speaks of Krauss’ “penchant for interpreting tradition as modern” (2012, 92): “Friedrich Salomo Krauss, listening beyond nationalism, presciently realized that, in the hands of the guslar, the epic transformed the timeless into the modern” (ibid., 95). As the six pages Bohlman devotes to Krauss unfortunately do not contain a single quotation from the latter we have to address Krauss’ writings directly. So, how are epics related to modernity—or at least to the period of Krauss’ fieldwork? Here is how he describes the personal repertoires preferred by individual guslars:

20 “Wert haben jedoch die darin besprochenen Sitten, Bräuche, Gewohnheitsrechte und religiösen Vorstellungen, die sich oft aus einer weit hinter jeder slavischen Staatenbildung liegenden Zeit von Geschlecht auf Geschlecht vererbten [...]”

I also noticed that nearly every guslar has his special genre; one takes care of Prince Marko and his contemporaries, another the deeds of Mujo and Alile, a third feels at home on Hungarian soil, a fourth predominantly praises the haiduks, the fifth estimates most of all the legends of saints and miraculous occurrences, and a sixth loves the heroes of the Modern age of Serbianhood, and so on.

Ich machte auch die Wahrnehmung, dass fast jeder Guslar sein spezielles Genre hat, der eine pflegt den Prinzen Marko und dessen Zeitgenossen, der andere Mujos und Aliles Taten, der dritte fühlt sich auf ungarischem Boden heimisch, der vierte verherrlicht vorwiegend Hajduken, der fünfte schätzt über alles Heiligenlegenden und Wunderbegebenheiten, ein sechster liebt die Helden der Neuzeit des Serbentums usw. (Krauss 1908, 185).

It follows that in the late 19th century, Serbian epics can sometimes present figures and events from the recent past. In a disturbing context Krauss indicates parallels between modes of behavior present both in epic texts and in the present. Discussing ritual cannibalism in his *Slavische Volksforschungen* (1908, 153–163), Krauss describes a rebellion of Croatian peasants in the village Sjeniča (1897) who killed local officials, mutilating the bodies with their teeth (ibid., 162). He also supposes cases of ritual blood drinking “as this, according to evidence of guslar songs and entirely recent events, commonly occurs at such occasions” [wie dies nach dem Zeugnis von Guslarenliedern und ganz junger Ereignisse bei solchen Gelegenheiten zu geschehen pflegt] (ibid.).

Unfortunately, paralleling folklore with real atrocities of the modern day remained topical a century later. In a rather polemical article on Serbian heroic poetry, the German Slavist Reinard Lauer (1995) attempts to analyse the myths of the wolf, the haiduks, Prince Marko and Kosovo as mobilizing violent ethno-national aggression. Even a very short glance at the existing literature shows that Lauer’s view can be and has been extended both with regard to method (history, ethnography) and to the ethnic groups in question. Not being a specialist in South Slavic folklore and history, I can only briefly mention Ivo Žanić’s discussion of the Marko myth as a source for legitimization in diverse political and ethnopolitical agendas. Judging by Jakša Primorac’s and Joško Čaletić’s critical account of gusle practice, “Žanić has shown a direct correlation between contemporary gusle players reflecting the the ‘hajduk [bandit] cult,’ and the Balkan wars in the 1990s” (2012, 171). Recent comparative research on the political use of the gusle (Čolović 2002; Blažeković 2021) indicate that the instrument could be found not only in the hands of Serbian soldiers, including the notorious war criminal Radovan Karadžić, but also served as a populist icon in the clerical fascist period of Croatian history. Ante Pavelić, the leader of the Ustaše regime, is notably said to have been inspired by epic performances of Croatian gusle singers (Čolović 2002, 67).

Friedrich S. Krauss, a Jewish German Nationalist. Without any doubt, a cornerstone in Krauss’ liberal political thinking is emancipation. First of all, this is the emancipation of the oppressed and of women, and at least since 1906 also of homosexuals (Burt 1990, 82, 85). But it is also the emancipation of scholarly thinking from alleged authorities and from political claims—and notably from ethno-nationalist movements questioning the existence of the Habsburg monarchy:

May my compatriots take it from me: it is not their politics and not bragging, but work and education which free the people, but the first condition is: loyalty to the king and to the empire!²¹

Mögen es sich meine Landsleute gesagt sein lassen: nicht ihre Politik und nicht Großrednerei, Arbeit und Bildung machen das Volk frei, doch allererste Bedingung ist: Treue zu König und Reich! (Krauss 1889, 131).

For Krauss, as for many Austrian Jews, there was no contradiction between liberal, even progressive ideals and the monarchy. As Shapiro puts it:

The liberalism of successful, entrepreneurial, ennobled Jewish families encouraged their adherence to the principles of free-market capitalism and the freedoms of protected civil rights, but maintained the cultural elitism of German rather than Slavic identification despite the origins of Jews from Russia, Romania, Galicia and Bucovina. These Jews remained committed to their allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy, and their opposition to de-centralizing power to the provincial diets (Shapiro 2015, xxii).

Like Krauss himself, the majority of Jews in the Hereditary Lands (*Erblände*), the Habsburg heartland, spoke German and identified themselves as Germans (Harrington-Müller 1972, 62). And Krauss' ideal of education and scholarship was inseparable from his Germanness. In the conservative *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* (August 14, 1915) he referred to himself "as a German researcher who seeks the truth for its own sake" [als einem Deutschen Forscher, der die Wahrheit um ihrer selbst Willen zu ergründen trachtet] (cit. after Burt 1990, 104; the adjective "Deutsch" is capitalized in the original).

One less discussed aspect of Krauss' political biography is his membership in the *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei* [German Progress Party] (ibid., 156), which existed from 1896 to 1910 (Harrington-Müller 1972). This was a moderate German national party, unlike some radical German nationalists loyal to the monarchy, and unlike most of them Jewish-friendly. The *Fortschrittspartei* campaigned for German cultural dominance in the Austrian (Cisleithanian) half of the monarchy and, during the so-called Badeni Crisis of 1897, against the raised status of the Czech language in Bohemia. Nevertheless, many party members later sought a balance of interests with the Czechs (ibid., 127–123). Krauss' own German national sentiments dramatically increased with the outbreak of World War I. Then, in an "Appeal to dignity" [Appell an die Würde], he took sides in "the struggle imposed on us for the position in the world and the culture of the Germans" [der uns aufgezwungene Kampf um die Weltstellung und Kultur der Deutschen] (cit. after Burt 1990, 103). He even went so far as to justify the sack of Louvain and the burning of the centuries-old University Library as a necessity in "the holy struggle of German arms against the attack of the united Russians, English, French, and Japanese" [der

²¹ Emphasis in the original.

heilige Kampf der deutschen Waffen gegen den Überfall der verbündeten Russen, Engländer, Franzosen und Japanesen] (ibid.). Now his full hatred turned against the Serbs he accused of long-lasting persecution against him (not too convincingly, see Burt 1990, 99). In an article on Serbian folklore ordered by the editor of the conservative *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* (14.08.1915), Krauss even declared his previous studies as a kind of “enemy research”,

simply out of patriotism, because for us Germans there was nothing more important than going deeply into Serbian folklore and recognizing in time the dangers that threatened and still threaten us and our descendants from the Serbian people. The Papua, the Botocudo, the Wedda and many another splinter peoples are considered to be the most primitive. Compared with Serbian *Volkstum*, that of those peoples is highly advanced in its culture. The erotic folk traditions, the description of customs and mores of the Serbs provided in the ten volumes of my *Anthropophytia* [...] give evidence for this.

einfach aus Patriotismus, weil es für uns Deutsche nichts Wichtigeres gab, als uns ins serbische Volkstum zu vertiefen und die Gefahren beizeiten zu erkennen, die uns und unsere[n] Nachkommen vom serbischen Volke aus bedrohten und noch bedrohen. Die Papuas, die Botokuden, die Weddas und so manchen anderen Völkerspitter zählt man zu den primitivsten. Im Vergleich zum serbischen Volkstum ist jedoch das jener Völker hoch in der Kultur vorgeschritten. Die Beweise dafür erbringen die in den zehn Bänden meiner Anthropophytia [...] aufgespeicherten erotischen Volksüberlieferungen, Sitten- und Bräucheschilderungen der Serben (Krauss 1915, cited after Burt 1990, 131).

What had happened to Friedrich S. Krauss that he, overtly denying the goal of his previous studies, so radically broke with his scholarly ethos? This concerns first of all, his ideal of politically impartial research, particularly with regard to nationalism, secondly his skepticism towards hierarchical discourses in ethnology (Warneken 2001, 155–156), and thirdly his previously positive attitudes towards the Serbs (Burt 2002, 19). Here it is noteworthy to mention Krauss' pro-Serbian position in language politics. He saw potential for development in the “dialect of the Slavic muslims” [die Mundart der slavischen Moslimen] (Krauss 1908, 16), but for political reasons he found an advancement of the Bosnian language, comparable with the Yiddish [Jüdisch-Deutsch], undesirable. According to Krauss, the South Slavs would not benefit from “such a superfluous [...] competitor” [eine so überflüssige Konkurrenz] (ibid.) to Serbian literature. As for the Croatian language, Krauss nearly denied its existence as the Croatian dialect (“chrowotische Mundart”) had almost immersed itself in the “more vigorous and resonant Serbian one” [in der lebenskräftigeren, volltönenden serbischen] (1908, 6).

Burt, who is probably the only author to take note of Krauss' unbridled anti-Serbian hatred, tends to explain it with previous conflicts with Serbian nationalist researchers. He also suggests that Krauss tried in this way to strengthen his position in the Berlin “pornography” trial against him as the editor of *Anthropophyteia*, transforming the conflict into a German-Serbian

one (1990, 99). From my necessarily limited perspective, I dare to argue that Krauss was hardly guided by any strategic considerations in his previous judgements. He had severe conflicts with entire academic disciplines (slavistics, classical philology, large parts of ethnology) and no less than with Serbian with Croatian scholars and activists. Not without reason, Slovenian folklorist Matthias Murko was annoyed by the fact that Krauss continuously used the dialectal and at least in written language always derogatory adjective *chrowotisch* instead of the regular *kroatisch* and blamed him for “anachronistic pan-Serbism” (Murko 1909, 54). Leaving a detailed discussion of Krauss’ radical German national turn to historians and to Krauss biographers, I would suggest a possible explanation less related to the Serbs but to other parts of the Slavic-speaking world.

Krauss’ patriotic outrage must be understood in the context of the traditional loyalty of Jewish intellectuals to the Habsburg as well as to the German empire (notwithstanding continuous discrimination) and of the tremendous Jewish engagement in World War I, be it as donors, writers (just to mention philosopher Martin Buber and musicologist Guido Adler, see Hilscher 1998), or as volunteers. Like the Russian Jews, Krauss had every reason for hostility towards the empire of Nicholas II., even if he does not seem to have written too much about Russia and the Russians, neither as a Slavist nor as a public intellectual. From 1891 to 1901 Krauss worked as the Secretary of the *Israelitische Allianz* in Vienna, a relief organization for persecuted Jews from Eastern Europe (Burt 1990, 75), and in this function also visited the Russian empire (*ibid.*, 78) to directly support the victims of the pogroms. We can safely assume that reports on those excesses of violent tribalism and religious fanaticism, incited from above and from below, could not remain without impact on his political thinking. In all probability Krauss perceived the pogroms in Russia in the context of a history in which too often anti-Semitism had raged in times of social unrest, such as (with differing intensity) during the German peasant war (1525), the anti-Polish Khmel’nytskyi uprising in the Ukraine (1648) and even the German revolution of 1848/1849. Since Jews at that time had no means of defending their lives and property by themselves and their security always depended on the volatile benevolence of the ruling power, the state of emancipation achieved in the Habsburg monarchy and the German Empire gave them reason to value stability and gradual political progress. This could have been the deeper reason for Krauss’ distrust of 19th century ethno-nationalism.

In this political context, I would like to briefly return to the friendship between Friedrich S. Krauss and Emil Karl Blümml, the academic opponent of Josef Pommer’s folk music activism (Morgenstern 2015). He shared with Krauss an in-depth interest in erotic folklore, extensive fieldwork in the Central Austrian Salzkammergut (Blümml and Krauss 1906)—and a marginal position in the academy, despite his comprehensive university education in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. At some time (Morgenstern 2017, 33), I was struck to learn about Blümml’s possible political engagement for the electoral campaigns of Wilhelm Pollauf (1876–1916) with his anti-Slavic paranoia and Leopold Waber (1875–1945), who in 1921 was a deputy of the far-right *Großdeutsche Volkspartei* [Greater German People’s Party] and in 1938 joined the NSDAP

(as had most of the leading figures of the *Volkspartei* years before). From 1911–1918 he was also a deputy of the *Deutscher Nationalverband* [German National Association] in which various German national parties joined together including the anti-Semitic *Deutsche Volkspartei* and *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*. In this last parliamentary turn of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Waber worked in the same group with six deputies who were leading members of the former *Fortschrittspartei* (Harrington-Müller 1972, 172–184), including the Jewish deputy Josef Redlich (1869–1936). To make the confusion complete I may point to the fact that the *Deutscher Nationalverband* united former fellow party members of both Josef Pommer (*Deutsche Volkspartei*) and of Friedrich S. Krauss who (to my knowledge) never mentioned one another in their writings.

5. Conclusion

Returning to the competing and sometimes interwoven perspectives on Austrian folk music indicated in the title, it is worth considering the critical debates in the modern academia of the West:

While scholars can, of course, be activists and activists can be scholars, combining these two roles is liable to create problems [...]. Activism and education exist in a fundamental tension—activism presumes to know the truth with enough certainty to act upon it, while education is conscious that it does not know for certain what is true and therefore seeks to learn more (Pluckrose and Lindsay 2020, 64).

When it comes to folk music, this tension, under favourable conditions, can happen to be productive. Leading figures in the folk song discourses in Austria handled it in very different ways. Academic scholars, beginning with Ziska and Schottky and not ending with Rotter and Blümml, were able to separate in some way their romantic sentiments or their political positions from their studies. Others such as Krauss sacrificed their former scholarly ethos in the troubles of their time. Some folk music enthusiasts with high (von Spaun) or low (Pommer) academic qualifications pursued an exclusively or predominantly political folk song agenda from the very beginning. Non-academic folk music collectors could always focus either more on research of different quality or on cultural politics or both.

The role of the state in folk song discourse in Austria is highly ambivalent. Paradoxically, beginning with the absolutist period, leading authorities such as Joseph Sonnleithner, Archduke John, and later Crown Prince Rudolf significantly contributed to large-scale ethnographic projects and unbiased research. It was only in the liberal pre-war period that power relations and political connections played a fatal role in promoting late-romanticist amateurs (Pommer) and marginalizing academic professionals (Krauss, Blümml). Needless to say, things got much worse with Hitler's takeover of Austria, so well-prepared by previous National Socialist subversion be-

fore 1938. For precisely this illegal engagement, Tobi Reiser (1907–1974) received his reward, being appointed to a high position in the flourishing folklore bureaucracy, while Jewish-born Anna Mautner (1879–1961), the widow and follower of the great folk song connoisseur and prolific fieldworker Konrad Mautner (1880–1924), was forced to escape the country. Catholic-conservative (and other) dissidents such as the exceptionally erudite philologist and folk educationalist Hans Commenda (1889–1971) or the Germanist and folklorist Leopold Schmidt (1912–1981) continued to research under new and rather unfavorable conditions. Interestingly both, together with Blümmel, belong to the pioneers of urban folklore studies in Austria.

It would be too simplistic to make a clear-cut distinction between Pommer's and Krauss' approach to the folk song. Strangely enough, there are common elements among Pommer, Krauss, and even Commenda, who at the same time did his best to correct some long-lasting purist and value-based dogmas of Pommer (Pulikowski 1933, 284; Morgenstern 2019, 102–103). This concerns the idea of *Volkstum* as having some initial essence (for Commenda involved in dynamic processes of modernity) and of the *Volk* as the uneducated part of a modern society. This *Volk* has been romantically idealized (Pommer), ambivalently perceived (Krauss), and nostalgically longed for (Commenda).

It is often said that studying history is an exercise in empathy. Of course, this does not mean that any historical figure deserves our empathy. Both are true for intellectual history, including the history of folk music research. Is there anything we can learn from this fast-forward through a history of Enlightenment curiosity, romanticist imagination, ambitious cultural engineering, desperate political appeals, cultural wars pervaded by collective emotions and individual narcissism and fueled both top-down and bottom-up? My greatest empathy is with those who understand academic scholarship as both a collaborative and a competitive process of seeking preliminary rational insights into not always rational human life. And with those who had and who have to defend this scholarly ethos against external pressure and sometimes against their own sentiments. Probably the most important lesson is about the perilous impact of unquestioned belief in authorities, of political and other pre-defined hegemonial dogmas.

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The Scholarly Discourse on Central Asian Music in the Ethno-Cultural Context of pre-Soviet Times

Abstract

This article illustrates the scholarly discourse on Central Asian music and ethnography in the pre-Soviet and early Soviet era. It focuses on the concept of August Friedrich Eichhorn (1844 Lößnitz, Saxony – 1910/1911, St. Petersburg), who collected rich musical-ethnographic material in the final third of the 19th century. For Eichhorn's understanding of the musical cultures it was of highest importance of whether people were nomadic or settled. Like his contemporaries he relied on the autochthonous ethno-cultural identification of the indigenous (with the settled Turk-speaking Muslim residents Sarts). It didn't coincide with the Soviet national concept, when the Sart population disappeared and new nations were created. The pre-Soviet ethno-cultural context of scholar discourse (with the peculiarity of Soviet ideology) actualizes the problem of historical knowledge for ethnomusicologists: to create a new scholar discourse on the region taking into account the Sarts, who played a prominent role in the creation of the Uzbek-Tajik regional "Turkistanian" classical music style.

The highlighting of the article's topic is timely, but not easy, because it implies a philosophical understanding of the significance of the particular collective (inter-subjective) activity of researchers who have the ability to form a system of modern knowledge about music. On the one hand, it is obvious that without the information and results obtained by previous scholars, without taking into account the methods of their scientific work, further research cannot be carried out, and a picture of the development of scholarly thinking, the history of scientific schools and trends cannot be formed. On the other hand, we emphasize the need to identify the features of communication (dialogue) that the scholar establishes both within his or her professional community and with society as a whole, with the socio-cultural environment. In this way we focus increasingly on the discourse.

Hence there is a need to identify the connection between scientific texts and an ideological context that expresses "the spirit of the time". The personal motivation of the scholar, his attitude and understanding of scientific research as a source of knowledge is also an important aspect in the disclosure of the meaning of the discourse. So the purpose of my article is to reveal the mu-

tual relationship between the scholarly discourse and historical change using the example of the most significant ethnological works on Central Asian music and culture by some well-known authors in pre-Soviet and early Soviet times.

I will consider the scholarly discourse on urban music traditions and the Islamic classical repertoire at the moment of its transition from the imperial period of Central Asian history to the Soviet one.¹ It will be important to determine the main pathway of academic knowledge about music in Russian Turkistan as well as to answer the question of whether this knowledge can deepen our understanding of the peculiarities of musical phenomena today.

Central (Middle) Asia attracts our attention with its musical originality and diversity of traditions. However, most researchers today consider these musical traditions only in reliance on the modern map. There are five main states in this territory today (the former Soviet republics): Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. But in fact, at the time of the Russian conquest (in 1865 Tashkent was conquered) there was a different geopolitical structure.

Russian scholars, ethnographers, travelers and artists reported on what the conquered lands were like in the 19th century. There was a territory inhabited by a large number of nomads. The nomadic tribes were surrounded by small settled areas (called *beklig*, *viloyati*). And there were three large states: Bukhara emirate, Khiva (Khorezm) and Kokand khanates. This traditional geo-political structure did not change significantly when it was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Before the Soviet era, the changes were only of an administrative-territorial nature (and the new territorial names appeared too)². But the imperial period of Central Asian history gave way to a new period of the Soviet history whose main features began to emerge in the second decade of the 20th century. Based on documentary material we can see the difference between these two periods of Central Asian history. And the new change is found both in the administrative-political and the social sphere, and in the area of culture and ethnogenesis.

It was only during the Soviet Union's existence that significant geo-political changes took place when five new national republics emerged. This process was called "national-state delimitation" (*natsional'no-gosudarstvennoe razmezhevanie*). In Central Asia this was a difficult and long process—from 1924 to 1936. Then not only the borders between the Soviet nations in the region were drawn, but also some nations were formed which did not stand out as independent communities during the imperial period. These borders became the basis for the consolidation of the national identities allocated to people within these borders at the beginning of the last

1 Similar issues about Central Asian music have also been discussed by well-known authors: Theodore Levin 1993, Alexander Djumaev 2005, Jean During 2005, and Mark Slobin 1980.

2 Bukhara and Chiva states have thus existed for a long time as subordinates to the Russian Empire, and Kokand khanate was completely liquidated in 1876 and became a part of the Turkistanian General Governorship with Tashkent city (in the north of Kokand khanate), which was a center of the Russian military district.

century and for the modern formation of independent Central Asian states at the end of the 20th century. At the same time, the fact that borders were drawn seems less important than organic ethno-cultural transformation, which was quite unique in this region before the Soviet era. A Central Asia specialist, the historian Sergei Abashin (2009, 302), concluded that it was precisely the Russians who had a significant influence on the formation of modern national identity among the peoples of Central Asia. Certainly, the major changes in the lifestyle of indigenous peoples and even their ethnic self-perception occurred as a result of their intensive contacts with the Russians, who initiated cultural westernization (modernization) in this region. This was continued in Soviet times, but differently than before, because the new identities were constructed not on the basis of the bourgeois nations, but the Soviet nations.

August Eichhorn—the first musical ethnographer in Turkistan

The basic principle of the scientific discourse on indigenous music in the pre-Soviet era is demonstrated by the ethnographic material collected by August Eichhorn in the last third of the 19th century. His collection has the greatest value: it was the first extensive gathering of Central Asian music. Eichhorn carried out significant work by collecting the instruments and music of a native population which had just been conquered by Russia. It was the territory named Russian Turkistan. The musician did not travel to the lands of Turkmenistan and Khiva, nor the Bukhara emirate, although he had a description of their music traditions, too. The collected material included the authentic music of modern Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Tajik people: instruments, photos, many manuscripts with notated music examples and literary descriptions. Among them is also Eichhorn's diary (1870–1872).³

After Eichhorn's death his manuscripts were initially acquired by the Russian music historian and editor Nikolai Findeizen (1868–1928), who in 1928 handed Eichhorn's diary over to Victor Beliaev (1888–1968) and helped him to buy the rest of Eichhorn's manuscripts. The Russian-Soviet musicologist Beliaev saved these manuscripts for a long time and only in the final years of his life did he prepare their translation from German into Russian with the help of professional translators, because these draft papers were written in old-style German script. In 1963 Beliaev published the book titled *Musical folkloristics in Uzbekistan. August Eichhorn. The musical-ethnographic study* (1963) in Tashkent. But it was not a publication of the entire collection of Eichhorn, because the musician had sold his collection of musical instruments together with the photos to the Moscow Conservatoire, presumably in 1889. All of these disparate

3 This diary is a valuable historical document of the Russian colonization era. It contains a fascinating description of Eichhorn's trip from Moscow to Tashkent and the first years of his life there surrounded by the European military elite, his own love story and also Eichhorn's first major impression of a public holiday with traditional music and dances in memory of the local saint Zangi-Ata.

parts of Eichhorn's collection gradually came together in the State Glinka Museum of Music Culture in Moscow (now named the Russian National Museum of Music) and are now preserved in this museum. Based on Eichhorn's collection and other historical documents, my book (Dzhani-zade 2013)⁴ was published in 2013.

August Friedrich (Friedrich-August) Eichhorn, a citizen of Saxony of Lutheran faith, was born in the town of Lößnitz⁵ on April 2, 1844. He was a professional violinist and played in orchestras in Riga, St. Petersburg and at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. On 31 May 1870 the young musician traveled from Moscow to Central Asia to "get rich", as he wrote, and evidently to avoid participation in the French-Prussian war, which soon began. He stayed in Tashkent as a conductor of the military orchestra of Syr-Daria district until 1883. After returning to Russia, Eichhorn lived in St. Petersburg and played the violin in the orchestra of the Mariinsky Theatre. Between 1877 and 1887 he took Russian citizenship. Eichhorn died between 1910 and 1911. His grave could not be found, and maybe he had left Russia.

Eichhorn's stay in Central Asia took place in a historical epoch when the region was being conquered by the Russian army and assimilated into the Russian Empire. The musician lived in the headquarters of the new Russian military. Many Germans were involved in that military campaign and in the Russian state administration in Turkistan. There were a lot of them in Tashkent. According to Eichhorn's diary we understand that he felt comfortably surrounded by Russian and German elites. Thus Eichhorn composed a march in the honor of the General-Governor and Commander of the Turkistan military district troops, Konstantin P. von Kaufman, who was also of German origin. The musician took part in the Kaufmans' family holidays and taught music to the governor's children. In addition to the military orchestra, Eichhorn organized and conducted ballroom orchestras, played the violin, cello, and piano, composed pieces of music (some of them were published), organized concerts and set up pianos (including for the ambassador from Kokand). During his service in Tashkent, Eichhorn was awarded high honors, including the Imperial Order of St. Anne of the Third Degree (in 1877 as a Saxonian citizen).

4 This book supplements Beliaev's publication with Eichhorn's diary, photos and a re-issued catalogue entitled *The whole collection of the Central Asian Peoples Musical Instruments* (1885 in German and Russian) and also with a newly-created catalogue of Eichhorn's collection with 36 representative instruments, many other photos, pictures and texts by Eichhorn's contemporaries. The book contains a description of Eichhorn's biography in connection with new documentary data which does not coincide with the data available in the book by Viktor Beliaev (1963, 16–28).

5 In a diary Eichhorn describes his "memorable dream" and mentions his parents' fisherman's house in Lößnitz/Lasnitz (he transcribes it as "Leußnitz" in my reading of Eichhorn's autograph). In addition he often mentions Germany as his homeland in the diary and his countrywomen from the cities of Aue and Annaberg. According to the documents I found, the biographical data on Eichhorn does not coincide with the data provided by Beliaev (Dzhani-zade 2013, 16–28).

Eichhorn's ethnographical work began in 1871 when the Turkistan committee entrusted him with collecting songs and musical instruments of the local population. Eichhorn's first small collection (only fifteen instruments with some written remarks) was exhibited in the Polytechnic Museum in Moscow in 1872, and then it was sent to the Universal Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. But this collection did not come back to Russia. And we do not know where it is. Eichhorn wrote about it himself. The photos of the first Instrument Collection were presented in the Imperial "Turkistanian album", which contains rarest photographs from the early 70s of the 19th century (Kun 1871, 1872).⁶ Then Eichhorn started collecting new musical material, as he wrote: "with my own money and on my own initiative" (Dzhani-zade 2013, 36). This second Eichhorn collection was much larger than the first one. This is what we are studying today.

Eichhorn was a very good professional musician and a talented writer. That is clear from his exactly notated transcriptions of indigenous music, his comments and delightful essays. In his enthusiastic review of the indigenous music he heard near Samarkand during the Zangi-Ata holiday, Eichhorn demonstrated a genuine interest in local music traditions before the beginning of his ethnographic work and thus revealed his own potential for future scientific activities. Everything points to the conclusion that Eichhorn was seriously interested in ethnographic work, which he continued on his own, finding support from his friends and assistants, who included famous people.

On one photo from Eichhorn's collection⁷ we can see the well-known ethnographer, orientalist, translator and theologian Nikolai Ostroumov (1846–1930, seated in the center), a member of the Imperial Archaeological Commission in St. Petersburg and Moscow. His activities in Central Asia were very visible. Ostroumov began to study the local customs of the indigenous, and described them in his book called *Sarts* ([1884], 1908). He taught Oriental languages at the officers' school in Tashkent, organized a "Turkistan circle of archaeology enthusiasts" and the publication of a *Turkistan native newspaper*. In the photo (Figure 1) one can also see the secretary of American Embassy Eugen Schuyler, a member of the American Geographical Society and the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (standing). He wrote the well-known two-volume book *Turkistan* (1876–1877) and described in the book the same musical events as Eichhorn (Schuyler, vol 1 1876, 105–138).

Ostroumov and Schuyler are pictured on the photo together with local lord Prince Jura Bek (he sits on the right), who collaborated with the Russians. And there is one more person on the photo (he is sitting on the left) who was initially identified as Sergei Fedorovich Petrovskii. However, the contemporary historian Mikhail Bashanov has recently suggested that it was not Sergei Petrovskii, but his older brother Nikolai Fedorovich Petrovskii, who was also in Turkistan. Nikolai Petrovskii was a Russian diplomat, archaeologist, historian and Central Asian researcher. And he is known as a consul of the Russian Empire in Kashgar (in 1882–1903).

6 These three photos of Eichhorn's first instrument collection were republished by the author. See Dzhani-zade 2010, 291; 2013, 33–34.

7 This photo was at first published in Dzhani-zade 2010, 303.



Fig. 1: Jura-beck, N. Ostroumov, N. Petrovskii, E. Skayler on the photo from A. Eichhorn's collection (Russian National Music Museum, 754 b).

This photo confirms that Eichhorn was not only a professional conductor. He communicated with intellectuals and highly educated people in Turkistan. It was not by accident that Eichhorn made an important inscription on this photo: "These are the persons in Asiatic costume who assisted me in collecting." It is not surprising that Eichhorn understood his mission as a music ethnographer very well and thus the value of such people for a scientist's work. He often suggests the idea that he collected music "driven only by a love of the subject" and "for our common future", and that he intended to eventually publish all this ma-

terial "in the interest of our history of music" (Dzhani-zade 2013, 36). In his reflections Eichhorn reveals an understanding of the great scientific and cognitive value of ethnographic activities, which turned out to be dear to him. And Beliaev correctly notes that Eichhorn "realized his youthful romantic dream", which was expressed in his diary as the goal to "follow your ideal" and "to rise into the 'broad light' above the prose of life' into the realm of 'poetry'" (Beliaev 1963, 8).

Ethnography and culture in Eichhorn's scholarly discourse

Started by Russians, socio-cultural modernization did not initially affect the autochthonous Central Asian structure of indigenous self-perception. Eichhorn's ethnographic classification and description of musical phenomena fully corresponded with the general paradigm which was represented in the works of other Russian and European scholars in the 19th century. In one of Eichhorn's manuscripts and in his published Catalogue of Musical Instruments (1885) there is a

list of “Different tribes of Middle Asia”⁸ Eichhorn enumerated 26 names of native populations.

It is clear from this register that the identification of a population did not coincide with that which is common today as the result of the Soviet formation of modern national identities in Central Asia. Therefore, the register was not published by Beliaev and never commented by him. We can see that this page of Eichhorn’s was crossed out by the editor (see Figure 2).⁹

However, this page seems very important for understanding the pre-Soviet concept of identities on which Eichhorn relied and which formed the basis of his attempted systematization of musical ethnographic collection. There is another concept of group-belonging in the register. In general it presents two socio-cultural categories of population: nomads and settled, urban people. And the same principle of dividing people into nomads and settled inhabitants also forms the structure of Eichhorn’s catalogue *The complete collection of Central Asian People’s Musical Instruments* (1885).

Eichhorn did not invent these names of indigenous peoples. In his descriptions of music he used exactly those names of tribes and peoples that were normally used in his time. Their

names are almost identical to those reflected in military statistics and other works of Eichhorn’s contemporaries. As for the perception of the music collected by Eichhorn, it turns out that it is important to understand this authentic ethno-cultural systematization, because it is completely different and not in accordance with the modern national identities.

The attention of the Russians to the population’s composition and its names was heightened because the autochthonous system of native



Fig. 2: Page of one of A. Eichhorn’s manuscripts (Russian National Music Museum, fund 340 N 144).

⁸ Eichhorn used both names, as was customary at the time: Central Asia and Middle Asia.

⁹ For a detailed comment on this register of populations see Dzhani-zade 2010, 300–302; 2013, 46–48.

self-identification was diverse and complex. Official data on the number and composition of the Central Asian population started to be published in 1897, when the first General Census of the Russian Empire took place.¹⁰ And the data of the first census does not coincide exactly with Eichhorn's register, but in general it differed little from that which was reflected by musicians and many authors of his time. This can be judged by referring, for example, to the data published in the encyclopedia edited by Fridrikh Brokgauz and Ilia Efron (Sarty 1900, Turkestan 1902). It consists of information which is not very different from that presented earlier by Eichhorn.

It is obvious that the Russians differentiated between nomads and settled inhabitants, denoting most of the nomadic tribes by the common name "Kyrgyz". At the same time, different names of nomads used by the population could also be present, dividing them by types of roaming and by authentic self-given names. For example: Kaisak-Kyrgyzes (Steppe-Kyrgyzes) denoted Kazakhs, while Kara-Kyrgyzes (Black Kyrgyzes) or Bai djigit-Kyrgyzes (Rider Kyrgyzes) were the Kyrgyz proper. There were also other nomads: Kara-kalpahi, Turkmens, Kalmyks, Manjurs and others. The total number of nomads in the Turkistanian district remained large by the beginning of the 20th century: nomads, designated only as Kyrgyz, accounted for 39 % of the total population and 29 % of them were Kaisak-Kyrgyz, i.e. Kazakhs (Turkestan 1902, 185).

If everything was clear in relation to the nomads, because they called themselves most often by the names of ancestral-tribal unions, then with the settled population it was not so clear. A register of settled populations, typical for the time of Eichhorn, included many names, among which there are also ethnonymic and toponymic designations: Jews, Tatars, Persians, Afghans, Arabs, Bukharans, Kashgars, Khivans, Badakhshans and others.

There are also Tajiks and Uzbeks mentioned in these registers, but they clearly were not identical with the large Tajik and Uzbek nationalities who received these popular names in the Soviet era. This fact must be taken into account for the perception of the musical phenomena which Eichhorn described—without modern distortion, but in a way which corresponds to the historical-cultural and ethnographical context. And there is the big problem today when we are reading Eichhorn's musical manuscripts: because he didn't use the names of the largest modern nations in the region; there were no Uzbeks or (very seldom) Tajiks in his texts.

In the early 20th century only 19 % of the mostly settled population identified themselves with the term "Uzbek" (together with the Kypchaks) (Turkestan 1902, 186). The Russians reported that the term "Uzbek" was encountered only in some places and rather denoted the local military aristocracy, a political union of different tribes and ruling dynasties. It was used among the inhabitants in Samarkand and in some areas of Fergana and Syr-Darya (Uzbeki 1902, 608). And it belonged mainly to the descendants of Genghis Khan's nomadic dynasties who appeared in the region in the 14th century. After the 16th century, as a result of the new conquests of Khan Sheibani, who led the Dashti-Kipchak tribes, they settled intensively in the oases of Maveranna-

¹⁰ The dissertation of Sergei Abashin presents an analysis of all censuses and statistical reports conducted prior to 1926 (2009, Appendix).

khṛ, separating from their relatives—Kazakh (or Cossack means “maverick”, “homeless”, “wanderer” in Turkic), who went to the North steppe, and were still nomads.

Surprisingly, the ancestors of today’s Tajiks did not distinguish themselves as an independent single population with this ethnonym. At the same time, the Russians typically referred to them as Tajiks. And this was easy to do because the Tajiks speak a language close to Persian, which distinguished them from the majority of the population who speak Turkic dialects. Tajiks were the oldest settled population of Central Asia and Afghanistan, descendants of the Indo-Aryan tribes who settled here from the end of the 2nd millennium to the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. But they mostly preferred to name themselves in accordance with places. And only 9.5 % of the settled inhabitants in Fergana and Syr-Darya’s region identified themselves as Tajiks (Turkestan 1902, 186).

In addition to all of the settled populations, mainly in the cities, there was another “people” with the name Sart. In Turkistan this was the second-largest group of indigenous people after nomads—24 % of the total population, and the largest number among the settled residents—44 % (Sarty 1900, 449). The origin and characteristics of the Sarts attracted special attention from Russian and local authors.

Sarts as representatives of urban culture

Most authors consented that anthropologically Sarts were “the product of the mixing of Aryans with the Turko-Mongols, with the predominance of the former. Their physical appearance and their spiritual qualities resemble Iranians [...]. They are mobile, dexterous, prone to trade” and were “the most enlightened part of Middle Asian society” (Sarty 1900, 450–451). Also, Sarts, like the Tajiks, were bearers of urban forms of culture and Muslim customs. In the places where nomads lived, Sarts were merchants, clergy, teachers and judges. They were “undoubtedly Aryans who received a lot of Turkic blood [...]. The Sarts, like *mullahs* and *ishans*—spiritual enlighteners and teachers of nomads—dispersed far away from their places of settled residence” (Fëdorov 1912, 42). And the creator of the famous series of paintings called “Turkistan”, the Russian painter Vasilii Vereshchagin (1842–1904), who was in Turkistan (1867–1870) before the arrival of Eichhorn, noted in his comments on the portrait sketches of Turkistan ethnic types that Sarts represented “a mix of Tajik and Mongol origin” and were the local “intellectual elite” (1876, 24).

According to many researchers the word “Sart” had no ethnic significance and indicated a historically new socio-cultural class or layer of the settled Turkic-speaking Muslim inhabitants. In their self-identification Sarts pointed primarily to their belonging to the settled way of life—to any city or village—and called themselves according to their place of residence: “Tashkent” (*tashkentlyk*), “Kokan” (*kokanlyk*) and so on. The antipode of their self-determination were those Turkic peoples who remained nomads and continued to lead a non-urban way of life. Therefore, the opposition of “Sart” and “Kazakh” was most often encountered. This idea was expressed by

many scholars. For example, Nikolai Ostroumov stressed: “Whenever a native is asked who he is—Kyrgyz (in the sense—a nomad) or Sart? The Sart replies that he is a Sart, not a Cossack [the same as Kazakh]; in this case a Kyrgyz also says that he is not a Sart, but a Cossack” (Ostroumov 1908, 4). The researchers also explained that the nomads did not know the etymology of the word “Sart”, but used it as a swear word that meant a “dog” (*sary-it*—“yellow dog”, *sysyk sart*—“rotten sart”, “coward”, “baba”). And apparently, this epithet meant “their contempt for the image of a settled life” or “loss of nomadic freedom and liberty”, “finding affection for one place”, “dependency on home” (ibid., 4). The same idea was expressed by the Russian-Soviet historian and orientalist academic Vasilii Bartold (1869–1930). He wrote: “Sart is not an ethnonym in the strict sense of the word”, but the definition of a “community of settled inhabitants in the fields of trade, crafts and agriculture of both Turkic and Iranian-speaking populations” (cit. after Arifkhanova 2011a, 51).

The scholar insisted that not only “Aryan Uzbeks”, but also Turkic-speaking Tajiks were considered to form part of the Sart population. There were areas where the use of the word Sart was different from that of the field of nomads in the Turkistan region. Thus, according to Bartold, in Bukhara Sarts differed from Tajiks not in their language but in their way of life. There, Tajiks were called villagers. In Khorezm, where also many Turkmens lived, Sarts were “the urban population which spoke Turkish as well as Uzbeks, but differed from the latter [Uzbeks] not in their language but in terms of their way of life, because Uzbeks here not only maintained their tribal and ancestral structure of life, but were farmers and residents not of cities, but of villages” (Bartold 2002b, 186).¹¹

Bartold also pointed out that the Sarts were new Turkic-speaking urban bearers of Islamic tradition in Central Asia along with Persian-speaking settled Tajiks who had become Muslim a lot earlier. The history of the origin of the term Sart is described by Bartold in his book *History of the cultural life of Turkestan*, which was published in 1927.¹² Being an excellent philologist and connoisseur of Turkish culture and history, Bartold reported that the term *Sart* began to be used by Turkic-speaking peoples in literature from the 11th century in the meaning of “merchant” because the word “sartbau” was found in Buddhist-Turkish literature, from the distorted Sanskrit word *sarthavaha* or *sarthabaha* (“the leader of the caravans”)—which had been linguistically transformed into *sartbashi* (“the head of the sarts”) (1927, 24). He wrote:

In the 13th century, Mongols used the single-root words “sartak” and “sartaul” in the sense of “Tajik” and “Muslim”, and not only Iranians, but also Muslim Turks were called Sartaks. The Turkicized descendants of the Mongols in Turkestan in the late 15th century used the word

¹¹ The famous traveler Arminii Vamberi noted the difference not only between the Sarts and Uzbeks, but also between the Uzbeks themselves, who lived in the three Middle Asian Khanates (Vamberi 1874, 171–172; 181–182).

¹² This book by Bartold was published after the bordering had started and after one next census of population (1926), when the word “Sart” was removed from use.



Fig. 3: “Tashkent. Sarts, bacha. Admirers of male beauty” (Photo-Album “Caucasus and Middle Asia”. Photo F. Orden. Vol. 1, N 51. [St. Petersburg, 1870–1880]; Imperial Library).

“Sart” in the sense of “Tajik”, opposing the language and literature of the Sarts [Tajikian] to the language and literature of the Turks.

The steppe-Uzbeks [Kazakhs] who conquered Turkestan in the early 16th century began to call all settled residents “Sarts”, as opposed to the Uzbeks—both Iranians and Turkish speaking ones; subsequently, when the language of the majority settled population became Turkish, the word “Sart” began to be used in literature (for example by Kokand historians), and partly in everyday life, in the sense of “citizen” or a villager who speaks Turkish as opposed to a Tajik who had preserved his Iranian language. According to the features of everyday life, Sarts, as typical citizens and farmers, now are not opposed to the Uzbeks, because most of them have moved to a settled way of life, but to the “Cossacks” [the Kazakhs] (Bartold 1927, 24–25).

Bartold stressed that the appearance of the term Sart was caused not by problems of an ethnic, but rather a cultural nature, and that the processes of ethnogenesis and culturegenesis were

closely intertwined in this region. Moreover, it must be assumed that the process of class separation among the Sarts is indicative to the originality of the processes of cultural development of nomads who had adopted a settled way of life and urban traditions, but had also assimilated traditions of the Islamic civilization.¹³

Bartold points our attention to the transfer mechanism of what he called “level of civilization of a culture” to nomadic Turkic-Mongolian tribes from the Persian-speaking Muslim settled population. The nomads were previously pagans and had assimilated the values of Muslim urban culture first from the ancient Tajiks living there, and then also from the new urban inhabitants called Sarts. Therefore Sarts, like the majority of urban dwellers distinguished by “fanatical devotion to Islam” (Sarty 1900, 450–451), were agents of transfer of Muslim culture to the Turkic-Mongolian inhabitants. And at first the Uzbeks, as a collective image of new Turkic citizens and military aristocrats, then accepted and assimilated Muslim customs not only from the Tajiks with whom they mixed, but also from the Sarts, which became a kind of “socio-cultural association of the different local ethnic populations” (Arifkhanova 2011b, 55).

The common language between Sarts and the nomadic peoples was of great importance for the selection of the Sarts group. That group spoke a peculiar language that did not resemble Turkic nomadic dialects, but was given its own name “Sart language” (*Sart-tili*) (Ostroumov 1908, 45). This language was markedly different from other Turkic languages (Kyrgyz, Tatar and Turkmen) and was closest to the Uzbek language. The new Turkic language helped to distinguish “the Sart community of settled inhabitants” (Bartold, see p. 206) from the other settled populations, and to separate them from the Muslim Tajiks. In this way the Sarts, along with the Tajiks, became the distributors of high Muslim traditions among the new Turkic-Mongolian population that replenished the city of Turkistan. The religious affiliation of Sarts was important in terms of their identification. Bartold pointed out that a Sart, as a settled resident “feels himself primarily as a Muslim, and then as a resident of a certain city or locality; the idea of belonging to a certain people does not matter to him” (1964, 528).

The Turkic language of the Sarts contributed to the broad dissemination of Islam among the nomads and the settled population. At the same time, I think it should be taken into account that civilizational forms of culture are supra-ethnic; they are not defined by their colloquial language, which in this case was the Sarts’ language. The Islamic kind of language was based on new written artistic patterns that were able to unite different ethnic groups and nations. Therefore, it is important to recognize that in the formation of Islamic traditions, “written literature”¹⁴ (book

13 Bartold concluded also that in Turkistan by the 19th century “the word ‘Sart’ had therefore undergone the same evolution as the word ‘Tajik’: first some Arabs, then Arabs and Iranians, as Muslims, finally—some Iranians, as most Muslims, were called Tajiks; Sarts—first some Iranians, then Iranians and Turks, as settled inhabitants, then—some settled Turks, as the majority of the settled population” (1927, 25).

14 In the works of the Russian culturologist Miron Kharlap these paradoxical terms “written literature” and “oral literature” arise not by chance, but in his historical concept about a special stage of oral and

literature) which spread initially in the cities of pre-Mongol Turkistan existed in the Tajik-Persian forms of culture close to that of Arabic-Iranian.¹⁵

According to Bartold and also to contemporary researchers, in early 20th century, ethno-cultural heterogeneity of Central Asian society began to change “under the influence of European culture (through the Russians)” (cit. after Arifkhanova 2011b, 53). But with the establishment of Soviet power and its “desire for unification and a simplified standardization of the native population’s mixture of Middle Asian society” (ibid., 54), a political solution was found and the construction of the “Soviet nations” started. It was based not only on the formation of new administrative and national borders, but also on the construction of a new Uzbek nation.

In addition, the former meaning of the ethnonym “Uzbek” was greatly expanded in comparison with the ideas about Uzbeks in the 19th century. According to the definition of the Soviet ethnologist Balkis Karmysheva, three “sub-ethnoses” or “substrates” played a role in the formation of Uzbek identity: 1) the Deshti-Kipchak nomadic tribes that came to Central Asia as part of Genghis Khan’s troops; 2) the few semi-nomadic tribes of the pre-Mongolian Turks; 3) Sarts—a numerically dominant settled urban population (1998, 563).¹⁶

In this process of new nation-building, Sarts were not needed. And this kind of nation-building was close to the Soviet “Turkistanian” political project¹⁷ and also to the opinion of many representatives of the *Jadid*¹⁸ reformist movement among the Turkic aristocracy—they preferred the term “Uzbek” instead of “Sart”. Therefore, the self-perception of the settled inhabitants began to change. According to the last censuses of the population it was clear that “inhabitants

syncretic literature (poetry), which syncretism is different from one of folk stage, since it is based on ready-made metric (and modal) music models. Composed (author) verses are inserted into the same musical models (frames). It made the existence of “oral literature” in the form of real-sounding works possible. Such musical and poetic unity in “oral literature” was characteristic of ancient Greece (poems by Homer), medieval songs of troubadours, trouvères, minnesingers and Arabic classical lyrics (Kharlap 1972).

15 As for music, the features of Islamic professionalism were expressed for a very long time (in the vocal repertoire and in musical treatises) in the Tajik-Persian language. Perhaps only in the 20th century, when the struggle for the classical musical heritage between the formed nations of Uzbeks and Tajiks intensified, a new Uzbek repertoire of Shashmakom was formed and its different national versions appeared in several notated editions. But that’s a further topic.

16 The same idea is expressed by modern ethnologists: three “substrates” were important for the formation of the Uzbek nation: two—ethnic, based on tribal factors (Dashti-Kipchak tribes and various separate Uzbek and Turkic clans) and one—quasi-ethnic—, which consisted of the Sarts (Arifkhanova 2011a, 53–64). On Uzbek-nation creation and Sarts also see Baldauf 1991.

17 Details of the first Soviet political projects, which were defined as “Turkistanian”, “Uzbekian” and “Tajikian” and related to the ethnic issues are revealed in the dissertation of Sergei N. Abashin (2009).

18 The *Jadid* movement was based on the ideas of the movement called “Young Turks” (Jöntürkler). On *jadids* and discussions around Sarts in the pre-Soviet era see Khalid 1999, Chapter 6 “Sart and Tajik”.

who previously belonged to the Sarts began to register themselves as Uzbeks on the territory of Uzbekistan, and as Tajiks on the territory of Tajikistan" (Arifkhanova 2011b, 55).

According to Abashin, as early as the 1917 census there were fewer Sarts than Uzbeks, and in the 1926 census there were no Sarts at all (2009, 223). Since that time, the word "Sart" has been replaced everywhere by the term "Uzbek" and the term Sart has finally disappeared from Soviet documents and literature. For the Soviet system, this process was quite natural, because the Sart population, being closely associated with the Islamic religion (as a sign of a civilizational culture), simply "did not fit in" with Soviet cultural ideology—it relied on atheist and proletarian (ethnic, folk) values. Assessing the results of Soviet nation-building, Bartold continued to warn that in Central Asia "there were names in use which had nothing to do with nationality; for example the word Sart. This word is now out of use and the word Uzbek is used in a broader sense than before; those who used to call themselves Sarts are now called Uzbeks" (Bartold [1968] 2002a, 594).

These significant changes in the ideological context in Soviet times certainly led to changes in the interpretation and perception of the ethnographic collection of August Eichhorn.¹⁹ In order to publish Eichhorn's manuscripts, Beliaev had to stop using the term Sart in his book. In accordance with the concept of "Soviet nations", he mechanically replaced the term Sart, wherever it was used by Eichhorn, with the term Uzbek. However, being a scholar, Beliaev wrote about this in the preface of his book. He briefly explained that Eichhorn used the common pre-Soviet ethnography term of Sart to refer to "residents of Central Asian cities who are descendants of the ancient Iranian tribes of Central Asia", and in the prepared edition the term 'Sart' was replaced everywhere by the editor with the designation 'Uzbek'" (Beliaev 1963, 12).

The Sarts' musical style

Bartold, who perhaps more than anyone else understood the paramount importance of the cultural factor for the study of Central Asian society, came to conclusions that could not go unnoticed today. In many works he argued that despite the fact that Tajiks and Uzbeks were eventually separated by boundaries and names, their cultural heritage, especially in the urban traditions (literary and musical phenomena), turned out to be very close. In the Soviet editions, where there were no Sarts, the commonality of the cultures of Tajiks and Uzbeks was noted as a *fait accompli* of cultural exchange between the different peoples living in the neighborhood: "the cultural treasures of the Tajik people became the property of the Uzbek people, while the achievements of Uzbek culture were widely assimilated by Tajiks" ("Tadzhiki" 1976, 169).

There is no doubt that Sarts contributed to the rapprochement between Tajiks and Uzbeks,

19 Several transcriptions of Sarts' and Kyrgyz songs were also made by Robert A. Pfennig, who replaced Eichhorn as military band conductor in Tashkent (Pfennig 1889).

especially in urban culture. In my opinion, Sarts were not the creators of the classical Islamic music repertoire, which is best expressed today in the musical cycle called *Shashmakom*,²⁰ but they influenced it and gave Uzbek and Tajik music its unique regional Turkic-Mongolian (“Turkistanian”) coloring.

In Eichhorn’s manuscripts there is a large number of musical phenomena (songs, dances, instrumental pieces) notated by him, both from nomadic peoples and from different individuals—and not only from Sarts, but also from Kashgar, Kokand, Badakhshan, Afghans, Persians and Jews. He paid attention to the music that could be heard during the city holidays (*bazm*, *tamasha*) with songs and dancing boys (*bacha*). However, there is very little information about *makoms*. Eichhorn only mentions these classical Islamic modal pieces as information he received during his ethnographic work in Kokand and Fergana Valley from the musician Ahmedkhan Karimbai. Eichhorn reports that Karimbai was a favorite musician of the Kokand ruler Khan Khudoiar. This musician was a virtuoso performer on plucked string instruments, and Eichhorn made several transcriptions of his performance and also bought his magnificently decorated instrument, a *sitar* which Khan Khudoiar supposedly liked to play himself (Eichhorn 1885, 7; Dzhanizade 2013, 116). According to Karimbai, Eichhorn lists the names of the “ancient twelve songs” that belonged to the modal repertoire of modern pieces called *makom* which are performed today in both in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan: *Ushshok*, *Rost*, *Navo*, *Buzruk*, *Nasrulloi*, *Rahavi*, *Ajam*, *Nouruz chora* (Beliaev 1963, 140–141).

The presence of such scarce information about *makom* in Eichhorn’s work can be explained by the fact that in the north of the Kokand Khanate (in Tashkent) the classical Islamic repertoire was not yet known at that time. We have to understand that the oral-professional art of music was not widespread in all cities of Turkistan, but was associated with court music-making in the cultural centers (Bukhara, Khiva, Kokan) and with the presence of great music masters. The Soviet Uzbek ethnomusicologist Faizulla Karomatov writes that the forms of music associated with the *Shashmakom* cycle were not too widespread in the Fergana-Tashkent region in the 19th century (Karomatov 1969, 40).

²⁰ *Shashmakom* (lit. Persian-Arabian—“six maqams”) is a well-known name of the traditional-classical music cycle of Tajiks and Uzbeks. It consists in the 20th century of six modal suites with a large number of vocal and instrumental pieces based on the reflections of different musical modes. For many Muslim people, the common Arabic term “maqam” (Arab. — “place”, “parking”, “station”) is used today for the common designation of musical modal genres. Their names and structures represent the civilizational features of both the *Shashmakom* and of other phenomena in the Islamic musical traditions of Iranians, Azerbaijanis, Turks and Arabs. *Shashmakom* pieces reflect a long history of close cultural interaction between the settled Tajik and Turkic population and Arabs, Iranians in the Middle Ages after the advent of Islam.



Fig. 4: Photo from A. Eichhorn's collection with his inscription: "Indigenous woman (Sardianka). Singer and musician and poetess" (Russian National Music Museum, N 771a).

Eichhorn described a peculiar manner in the music performance of Sarts very well. Sarts sang with high compressed voices with a strong vibration of each tone in melody. This created different micro-intervals, which is not typical of the native singing repertoire—it is based on hearing intonations quite familiar to European music and usually uses wide intervals. With its artificiality, this manner differs from the style of folk performance. It is different just as "Wagner's artistic music is different from folk singing", Eichhorn wrote (Beliaev 1963, 98).

In this flattering comparison of Sarts' music with Wagner's music, Eichhorn is not exaggerating. This becomes clear when we listen today to solo singing and playing on the instruments of Uzbek and Tajik musicians while performing solo pieces of *Shashmakom* (*nasr*, *talkin*, *peshrev*). And we hear this clearly artistic manner of intonation in the modal repertoire of *Shashmakom*. Eichhorn even saw an analogy between the Sarts' singing and nomadic "throat singing": it has "continued snappy sounds [...] with sliding up and down" (Beliaev 1963, 98).²¹ Also the musicians can reproduce this vocal vibration on the instruments. In this case, in addition "to whole tone and semitone, intervals in $3/4$, $1/8$ and $1/16$ tones appear". And on string instruments this is "achieved by sliding the fingers back and forth along the string near the main tone" (*ibid.*, 99).

This kind of sound with swinging and blurring the exact pitch can even be regarded as a manifestation of the musical artistic "ideal" of the Turkic-Mongolian people. And Eichhorn's

²¹ This sound of Sarts' music is clearly audible on the CD to my book: track 14—"Makom Segoh" performed on the *tanbur*; track 19—"The Peshraw-i Dugoh" performed on the *qoshnai* with *doira*; track 24—"Talkincha Bayeti-Shiros" to the text of M. Fizuli with the singing of M. Iulchieva with an ensemble of folk instruments (Dzhani-zade 2013, Appendix).

observation of Sarts' manner of performance helps us to understand a very important idea: although the ethnic factor is not of primary significance for the creation of Islamic forms of music, it affects the style of their performance. The Sarts' manner of performance is musically different from the nomadic and semi-nomadic traditions of other Turkic-speaking peoples (of Turkmens, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzes and Kalmyks), and to the settled Muslim Turkic-speaking traditions (of Uighurs, Azerbaijanis and Turks), and also to Iranian-Persian classical music.

In the performance of the classical urban repertoire, the Sarts' manner of singing and playing instruments is still cultivated. It has become almost a special kind of regional music decoration in the melody which reflects the intonation of an ethnically mixed layer of culture. Beliaev, who published the book *Uzbek musical instruments* in 1933, wrote about these features of Sarts' performance, but of course without the term Sart. This book is very interesting because it reflects the Soviet context of culture which changed the scholarly discourse. In the first chapters of his book, Beliaev leads the narrative as a researcher and considers the musical instruments and their features. But his language in the book's final section changes dramatically, and the author uses vocabulary typical for those Soviet years and vulgar-Marxist rhetoric. For example, the last chapter, no. 7, is entitled "On the use of instruments in the construction of the socialist musical culture in Uzbekistan" (Beliaev 1933, 120). Here Beliaev writes about the unusual sound of Uzbek wind instruments—a flute (*nai*) and small double-clarinet *koshnai*. He notes the Turkic-Mongolian musical component which Uzbek performers have and which Eichhorn previously noted. Beliaev writes: "Uzbek *naichi*-performers cultivate a kind of sound vibration on their instrument which is obtained by constantly shaking their head, almost imperceptibly to the eye [...]. Where does this manner come from? [...] Quite possibly from the remnants of shamanism", but

the cultivation of its plaintive, moaning sound [...] may be associated with the musical expression of all sorts of "crying" about the "futility of human life", the expression of the clerical ideology of "humility towards destiny and towards Allah", which forbids protesting against the facts of social injustice. Can Uzbek proletarian music [...] save this old, although (in a bourgeois sense) 'national' manner of performance on these instruments? — Of course it cannot (1933, 121–122).

It is important that Beliaev emphasizes the main idea, which is very important for us: that the concept of "Soviet nations" and "bourgeois nations" is not in agreement on whether the process of the formation of "Soviet nations" and "Soviet national cultures" was carried out on other political and ideological grounds than those before the Proletarian revolution. The Soviet concept of nations was not identical to that of bourgeois ones because the culture of the bourgeoisie (along with their religion) was completely excluded from the cognitive field of Soviet ideology.

I think Beliaev understood the new Soviet ideological doctrine well. After all, he was born and raised not in a family of proletarians, but in a family of Russian clergy. His grandfather

Fedor Kotliarevskii was a priest. And even before entering music school and then the St. Petersburg Conservatory (graduated in 1914), Beliaev studied in a spiritual seminary in Orenburg (Beliaev 1990, 426). And when he began his work as a journalist in musical magazines in the 1920s, he felt the need to submit to the dominant class-proletarian views. Evidence of this is found in the open letter I discovered by Beliaev in the magazine *Proletarian Musician*. Beliaev was forced to publish this letter in 1929 and publicly promise that he would now align his musicological studies with the officially accepted Soviet ideological doctrine: "I completely agree with the ideological platform of the All-Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians [abbreviated VAPM or RAPM]" (Beliaev 1929, 40–41).

Conclusion

On the one hand, the Soviet ethno-cultural concept coincided with the common vector for many peoples of the East of creating national identities and cultures, but on the other hand it had specific Soviet features which need to be remembered. They expressed themselves most vividly in the combination of westernization processes with the re-evaluation and rejection of authentic national-bourgeois and Islamic religious phenomena of the traditional culture. For many years, the pathway of scholarly discourse reflected the dominance of the Soviet ethno-cultural concept which did not coincide with the one that of pre-Soviet time. And until now, the demand for Eichhorn's musical ethnographic materials has remained limited.

Many artifacts and notated examples from his unique collection were used in a very peculiar way in Soviet times. Thus, I think that the publication of Eichhorn's manuscripts by Beliaev, with both the book's title and the text using the term Uzbek, stopped Tajik musicologists from using these musical and historical documents which in fact described the music of the Sarts and also revealed the history of Tajik music. And the same musical instruments from the Eichhorn collection were described differently and inaccurately by Soviet authors, because with the help of Eichhorn's examples the musicologists demonstrated the music traditions in the context of the separate cultures of Soviet nations (of each Soviet republic and autonomy) without understanding the description by the collector and researcher himself. Therefore, the same specimen of the *tanbur* from Eichhorn's collection could appear in a book about the instruments of Uzbeks and in another book as an instrument of the Tajiks; and similarly, the same *kobyz* could be considered in different publications to be an instrument of the Kazakh people or also of Kyrgyz and Uzbeks.²²

The scholarly discourse on Central Asian music presented in this article on the ethnographic work of A. Eichhorn requires further study of the trajectories of scholarly knowledge about

22 For more information on the publication and interpretation of Eichhorn's musical documents by Soviet authors see Dzhani-zade 2010: 294–295; 2013: 12–16.

traditional music in pre-Soviet and Soviet times. The ethno-cultural context of history will contribute to a more adequate perception of the musical documents of the 19th century and a better understanding of the purpose, intentions and concepts that shaped the scientist's horizons and his research methods. Our historical reconstruction of the scholarly discourse on music during the imperial period of Central Asian history and its change caused by the transformation of the ethno-cultural context from the beginning of the Soviet period will hopefully help researchers to create national musical histories of the modern nation states in this region not on the basis of mythology or politics, but on the basis of scholarly knowledge.

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Galician Ethnomusicology of the Beginning of the 20th Century

Establishment and the First Achievements

Abstract

The early 20th century was a time of the birth, growth and intense development of Galician ethnomusicology, and it rapidly reached the frontier of European ethnomusicological scholarship. This achievement was mostly due to large-scale projects implemented at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and in particular its Ethnographic Commission.

The main goal of this article is the study of various research methods used by Galician ethnomusicologists, their achievements, as well as further research developments in later years. Many members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society contributed to the development of research in various directions such as field work, transcription, systematization etc., among them the music ethnographer Osyp Rozdolskyi, the composer and folklorist Filaret Kolessa and the founder of the Galician composer's school, the ethnomusicologist Stanislav Liudkevych.

One of the most significant preconditions for the development of ethnomusicology in Galicia was the recently invented phonograph, which became the main systematic documentation tool from the early 1900s. Financial support from the Austrian Government ensured the broad scale of expeditions across Galicia and further abroad. In 1908 the first steps towards the establishment of a phonogram archive of folk music were taken.

Of equal importance was the compilation of the *Galician-Ruthenical folk tunes* collection in 1906–1908, which pioneered this type of research publication in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. The publication was based on Rozdolskyi's recordings as well as on Liudkevych's method of tune systematization by musical features. Other innovative publications were Kolessa's *Folk дума* collection (1910–1913), regional collections by Kolessa and Rozdolskyi (1909) as well as by Iakiv Senchyk and Liudvig Plosaikevych (1916) and the multi-volume corpus of Ukrainian folklore, the Ukrainian volumes of the *Folk Song in Austria* project, coordinated by the Austrian Government.

The widely recognised achievements of Galician ethnomusicologists of the early 20th century provided a solid base for their followers, and, in this context, the heritage of Galician scientists became the main basis for modern Ukrainian ethnomusicology, which has made powerful new progress in recent decades.

Introduction

The beginning of the 20th century was a significant period in the history of Ukrainian folkloristics. It was a period of the birth, growth and intense development of professional folk music studies in Galicia¹. Taking into consideration the latest achievements in world and European folk music studies in a relatively short time, from the beginning of the century to the outbreak of World War I, the ethnomusicology of the region not only took its first professional steps, but also managed to declare these achievements in Europe and rapidly reached the frontier of European ethnomusicological scholarship. Different factors such as the previous activity of Galician researchers, the realisation of the urgency of further studies of folk music, the support of the Austrian government, and finally the establishment of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv all facilitated this process.

Despite the importance of this period for the development of Ukrainian ethnomusicology, it was not at the forefront of Ukrainian and foreign scholars' specific focus. Of course, the eventful and at the same time controversial history of the development of ethnomusicology in Galicia, which will be discussed in detail next, has repeatedly become the subject of interest for many researchers. Some aspects of the foundation and development of Ukrainian ethnomusicology have been discussed in a number of Ukrainian monographs, in particular those by Sofia Hrytsa (2007), Iryna Dovhaliuk (2016b), Maria Zahaikivych (1960), Anatolii Ivanytskyi (1997) and Oleksandr Pravdiuk (1978). Various items of information concerning the achievements of folkloristics led to essential progress in the study of musical folklore, which was realised by outstanding researchers of musical folklore such as Ostap Nyzhankivskyi (Kolodii n.d.; Lukaniuk 2007), Filaret Kolessa (Hrytsa 1962; Shust 1955), Stanislav Liudkevych (also spelled

1 Galicia is a historical region in Western Ukraine spread over the lands of the ancient Galician Kingdom of the 13th century. The name Galicia (Halychyna) comes from the city of Halych, the capital of Halych principality (the capital was later moved to Lviv). In the period discussed in the article Galicia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (today the territory of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions without its northern outskirts). For several centuries the rest of the Ukrainian lands were mainly under the rule of the Russian Empire. At the beginning of the 20th century two Ukrainian ethnomusicological centers were formed: the first in sub-Austrian Lviv, the second in sub-Russian Kyiv. The situation has not changed since then. Today, Kyiv and Lviv are considered as the unofficial Ukrainian ethnomusicological centers that actively cooperate.

as Stanisław Ludkiewicz; Hrytsa 2000, 192–205; Shtunder 2005; 2009) and Osyp Rozdolskyi (Dovhaliuk 2000). Others can be found in studies dedicated to their biographies and ethnomusicological activity.

However, despite these publications being available, the authors of such studies did not concentrate on the problem of the formation and development of Galician ethnomusicology, which was a unique phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe and therefore the subject was not especially studied. As a result, the relevance of the study presented here is seen in the disclosure of trends defining the emergence of national ethnomusicological schools including the one in Ukraine. This study will provide a broader view of the formation and development of ethnomusicology in Europe in the early 20th century, and will complement the history of music and folklore research on the continent. The research is also important to understand the studies and experiences of our predecessors and how they have been implemented by our contemporaries.

The purpose of this study is therefore to analyze the formation and establishment of ethnomusicology in Galicia. The objectives are to analyze the specific activities of Galician researchers, to evaluate their contribution towards the development of Ukrainian ethnomusicology, and to assess the role of their achievements in a European context as well as the application and development of their studies today.

Not only printed literature has been taken as a source in the article; a lot of information has also been found in the archives. Important data about this period and relevant activities of scholars has been gathered from numerous manuscripts in the archives of Kyiv (FOR), Lviv (FSA; MMCP; MMPS) and Vienna (MCEL; PSELa; PSELb). Some information was obtained through the study of phonographic cylinders recorded by Filaret Kolessa and Osyp Rozdolskyi which are preserved in archives in Lviv.²

Prerequisites for the formation of ethnomusicology in Galicia

The highly professional level of folk music studies in Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century was not accidental—it was a result of previous engagement with folk music. At that time in Galicia there was an interest in folklore in general. However, a specific interest in folk music began to grow as it did in other European countries. The main reason for this was the spread of romanticism and more particularly the realisation of the need to create individual national cultures. National folklore was therefore a highly important factor in this development. Being a part of the Austro-Hungarian academic community, Galician scholars were well informed about

2 The collection of Filaret Kolessa's phonographic cylinders is preserved in the Private Archive of Academician Filaret Kolessa in Lviv. The collection of Osyp Rozdolskyi's phonographic cylinders is preserved in the Archive of the Art Research Institute Library Resources of the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

the achievements in Austrian and European ethnomusicology. The interest in musical folklore was promoted by the initiatives and achievements of the pioneers of national research, not only in Ukraine, but also by those who moved to Galicia from other countries and who actively worked during the 19th century and left a noticeable trace in the study of Ukrainian folk music. As a result, many amateur musical folklorists recorded folk music, composed song collections and composed arrangements of folk songs. All this activity provided a solid foundation for the formation and establishment of ethnomusicology.

Among significant figures who contributed to the early beginning of Galician musical folkloristics was a graduate from the University of Vienna, an Austrian lawyer and Head of the Department of Statistics of the Austrian Monarchy at Lviv University—Karl von Hüttner (Karl Joseph von Hüttner, 1793–1822). Besides his professional activities, this scholar was particularly interested in the history and culture of Galicia. In 1822 he initiated the publication of the calendar/almanac *Der Pilger von Lemberg* [The pilgrim from Lviv] in Lviv. In the first issue of this yearbook Hüttner published an article entitled “Volkslieder” [Folk songs] in which, for the first time in Galicia, he raised the issue of the need to study not only the lyrics of songs, but also their melodies. He was the first in this region to publish the tunes of folk songs: two Polish (the *krakow’yak* “*Ile piasku w morzu*” [How much sand is in the sea], and the *mazur* “*Gdy w czystym polu*” [When in a clear field]) and two Ukrainian (the *dumka* “*Ne khody Hrytsiu na vechornytsi*” [Hryts, don’t go to the evening parties] and the *kozak* “*Kozak konia napuvav*” [The Cossack watered the horse]) (Dovhaliuk 1913, 93–101; Hüttner 1822, 86–96). The Polish writer Wacław Zaleski and the musician Karol Lipinski also contributed to the growth of interest in Galician folk music. In 1833 seventy-five Ukrainian folk melodies were included in the second part of the collection *Piesni polski i ruski ludu galicyjskiego* [Polish and Ruthenian songs of the Galician people] (Zaleski 1833). The Ukrainian composers Mykhailo Verbytskyi, Viktor Matiuk, Porfyrrii Bazhanskyi and many others also made written notations of folk tunes and compiled manuscript collections for use in their compositions.

A good basis for the formation of Galician ethnomusicology was created by the activity of ethnographic societies which were active in the 19th century in Lviv. Among the most important of these was the *Halyts’ko-rus’ka matytsia* [Galicia-Ruthenian idea] founded in 1848. Its members took the initiative to collect and publish folk songs (Dovhaliuk 2000, 47–48). The Polish society *Lud* [The people], which was initiated in 1895 in Lviv, is also worth mentioning. Although the society did not conduct folk music research activities, it had a great influence on the general interest in Galician folklore. Moreover, among the members of the organization there were outstanding Ukrainian folklore researchers such as Volodymyr Hnatiuk, Osyp Rozdolskyi, Ivan Franko and others. The editors of the Lviv newspaper *Zoria* [The star] also contributed to the development of ethnographic studies by announcing a collection campaign for the continued publication of folk songs with tunes (Ruthenian folk songs 1880). The appeal by the newspaper’s editors encouraged Galicians to record folk songs. It should be noted that at that time folk tunes were very often published in various arrangements: for vocals accompanied by a musical instru-

ment, vocal arrangements for choirs and ensembles, and instrumental arrangements. An important and fundamental element of ethnomusicological studies in Galicia at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries was the activity of two researchers: the doctor, ethnographer and folklorist Ivan Kolessa (1864–1898) and the social activist, ethnographer, teacher and publicist Volodymyr Shukhevych (1849–1915). To some extent they followed the Polish folklorist, ethnographer and composer Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890). Ukrainian researchers following their Polish predecessor concentrated on the comprehensive study of the folk culture of Galicia. Ivan Kolessa studied his native village Khodovychi in the Lviv region, while Volodymyr Shukhevych studied the entire Hutsul ethnographic region. Their monographic publications, like those by Kolberg, consisted not only of studies on folk architecture, ethnography, geography, etc., but also included folk music as an important component of culture. However, in their studies they did not aim to discuss ethnomusicological issues, but rather to gather and publish ethnographic findings. Nevertheless, the folk music studies of Ivan Kolessa and Volodymyr Shukhevych differ significantly from the works of their contemporary composers in that they published folk tunes without any arrangement.

The predestination of the scientific activity of these two researchers differs distinctively. Due to his tragic death Ivan Kolessa did not complete the whole project and only collected material on the musical tradition of the village of Khodovychi. Thanks to the editorial support of his brothers, Oleksandr and Filaret, his collection *Halyts'ko-rus'ki narodni pisni z melodiiamy* [Galician-Ruthenian folk songs with tunes] was published in 1902 in the 11th volume of the Ethnographic collection of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (Kolessa 1902).

Another already mentioned researcher, Shukhevych, published a five-volume monograph entitled *Hutsul'shchyna* [The Hutsul region] (Shukhevych 1899, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1908) and, as a result, became one of the most famous Ukrainian ethnographers in Europe at that time. In the volumes of *Hutsul'shchyna* Shukhevych published instrumental melodies, examples of the Hutsul-specific genre *Kolomyika* as well as winter ritual songs. He was also one of the first researchers who, in 1902, used a phonograph to collect folk songs and thus surpassed his predecessor Kolberg who merely transcribed folk music directly sung by folk performers.

A significant influence on the continuing successful development of Galician ethnomusicological studies was exerted by the Committee for the Recording and Publication of Ukrainian Folk Tunes, especially organized in late 1894 in Lviv on the initiative of Ostap Nyzhankivskyi (1863–1919). Among the members of the “Committee” were the composers Denys Sichynskyi and Filaret Kolessa, the writers Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, and the philologists Osyp Rozdolskyi, Bohdan Lepkyi and others. A special appeal calling for the recording of folk songs and the transmission of material to the Committee was published in the press. Several hundred folk songs with their tunes were collected and prepared for the publication of the first issue of the collection. Unfortunately, a number of obstacles made it impossible to publish the collection (Lukaniuk 2007, 9–52).

The Shevchenko Scientific Society: its significance and role in the formation of Galician ethnomusicology

Although all the aforementioned initiatives in Galicia were undoubtedly important and provided some ethnographical experience, they were still rare and often not completed due to financial problems. Sometimes the initiators and those executing the projects lacked the experience and patience to bring their ideas to a successful conclusion. Therefore, the most important factor that initiated a new stage in the formation and development of ethnomusicological studies in Galicia was the foundation of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1892 in Lviv. The society was a multidisciplinary academic association with a focus on Ukrainian studies. After all, one of the basic conditions for the effective implementation of various initiatives was the support of the individual researchers by official institutions. Starting right from the initial years of the society's activity, attention was paid to the study of traditional culture, and particularly that of ethnography and folklore.

Due to the growing need for specialized ethnographic research, in 1898 a special Ethnographic Commission was established at the Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS). Ivan Franko (1856–1916) the poet, novelist, playwright, literary critic, publicist, interpreter, scholar, politician and social activist became the first chairman of the Ethnographic Commission (hereafter EC). In order to publish ethnographical studies at SSS, a series of editions were launched, such as the *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* [Memoirs on the Shevchenko Scientific Society], published since 1892, *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* [Ethnographic collection], published since 1895, and *Materiialy do ukraïns'ko-rus'koï etnolohii* [Materials on Ukrainian-Ruthenian ethnology], published since 1895.

The activity of the EC contributed to the development of ethnographic studies in general as well as musical folklore studies in particular. In fact, the new department immediately became a centre that united ethnographers, folklorists and researchers of folk music in their quest. The establishment of the EC facilitated the organization and the conducting of ethnographic and folk music studies due to the possibility for researchers to receive organizational and financial support from the institution.

The beginning of ethnomusicological studies even within the SSS was not easy. One of the problems that initially hampered its development was the lack of specialists with the appropriate music education. Of course, the older generation of musicians-composers, in particular the above-mentioned Denys Sichynskyi, Viktor Matiuk, Ostap Nyzhankivskyi, Porfyrïi Bazhanskyi and others, were actively interested in musical folklore, and had made their own collections as well as actively encouraging their contemporaries to collect folk music. However, they treated folk music as if it existed within a narrow context of their own work and simply as material for their own compositions. The maestros were not able and did not want to accept this new approach to folk music as self-sufficient material for scientific study. This is probably the reason why they did not cooperate with the EC.

Despite all these facts on the “new kind” of researchers (Franko 1955, 241) who were represented by a handful of committed young people, an interest in folk music finally appeared in Galicia. Uniting around the EC of SSS, and falling back on the experience of their predecessors and encouraged by the achievements of their European counterparts, they began the professional research and study of Ukrainian musical folklore. Their active and innovative work contributed to the emergence and rapid development of Galician ethnomusicology since the beginning of the 20th century. The new generation of Galician folk music researchers was represented by:

- Osyp Rozdolskyi (1872–1945), classical philologist, teacher, interpreter, musical ethnographer;
- Filaret Kolessa (1871–1947), composer, teacher, philologist, ethnomusicologist;
- Stanislav Liudkevych (1879–1979), founder of the Galician composers’ school, ethnomusicologist, teacher.

Each of them made their own priceless contribution to the development of ethnomusicology in various major directions such as field work, transcription, theoretical research (scientific) and archival work.

Galician ethnomusicology of the early 20th century had one important characteristic that should be emphasized. This discipline had been evolving through the implementation of various folk music projects that were supported and funded by the SSS, the Austrian Government and other donors. In addition, the vast majority of projects which were announced in those years were mainly related to certain publishing plans. Therefore, in order to implement them successfully, the SSS fellows had to work in different directions such as field work, transcription, systematization, etc., which were so interconnected with Galician research studies that it is quite problematic to identify the separate areas specifically.

Field work activity and publishing projects

In the beginning, the representatives of the new generation of Galician folk music researchers focused their efforts on quite a difficult task, and that was the implementation of ideas and projects that their predecessors had failed to put into practice during the 19th century.

The first major folk music project undertaken by the EC, which by now was firmly established, was the realization of a long-lasting idea to prepare and publish a large collection of folk songs from all regions of Galicia. This idea was actively promoted during the 19th century, but was never implemented. Until the end of the 19th century the largest collection of folk songs was still the collection of Zaleski and Lipinski *Piesni polski i ruski ludu Galicyjskiego* [Polish and Ruthenian songs of the Galician people] (Zaleski 1833).



Osyp Rozdolskyi

Fig. 1: Osyp Rozdolskyi, 1940s. Unknown photographer. Private archive of Iryna Dovhaliuk.

Europe at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries established new strict requirements for the study of folk music including the necessity to chronicle music of higher quality. This was promoted by the research of Guido Adler (Adler 1885) and Alexander John Ellis (Ellis 1884; 1885). In addition, an important stimulus and example of the study of folk music with the use of the phonograph was the foundation of the Vienna Phonogram Archive in 1899. This led to Osyp Rozdolskyi becoming the first in Galicia to use the recently invented phonograph in his field work. He had already had some experience of hand-written folklore collecting and had collected oral prose such as fairy tales, short stories etc., but being an educational philologist with little knowledge of hand-written collections of folk tunes, in April 1900 he used a phonograph to record folk music for the first time in Galicia. He visited two villages, Kotsuriv and Hryniv near Lviv, where the performer's sessions had been prepared in advance as is evidenced by the professional quality of the recordings, and so the first Rozdolskyi expedition using a phonograph was a success.

During this first phonographic expedition, Rozdolskyi was able to record more than 50 folk songs over the course of two days (cf. FOR). The result of his work was so impressive that the EC members suggested that Rozdolskyi continues his work and research other locations. So, immediately after his first trial, he began his systematic phonograph recordings of folk music from Galicia and, from 1900–1902, he covered virtually all of the ethnographic regions of Galicia. In less than in three years Rozdolskyi successfully recorded approximately 2,000 folk songs (Dovhaliuk 1997, 21–39).

Many of the records from Rozdolskyi's expeditions of 1900–1902 were lost in the early 20th century. At that time phonograph's cylinders were quite expensive and therefore they were often reused several times. Once the records had been notated, the top layer of wax was removed and new records were made on the same cylinder. Only fifty of the phonographic cylinders from those early years have survived and they are now preserved in the Archive of the Art Research Institute Library Resources at the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library. The records have been digitized and 55 songs from 16 cylinders were published on CDs (Kriuchyn, Kosiak and others 2015; 2016; Petrov, Kosiak and others 2011).

In fact, almost immediately after his first expeditionary phonographic experience Rozdolskyi began the systematic sound documentation of folk music. He was therefore the first person, not only in Ukraine and Europe, but also in the world, to use the phonograph for special large-



Fig. 2: Phonograph of Ośyp Rozdolskyi. Photo by Taras Tetiuk. Private archive of Iryna Dovhaliuk.

scale, methodical field work studies over a large part of Galicia.³ He accomplished this two years before Alexander Listopadov, 1902 (Ivanova 2009, 227); six years before Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók, 1906 (Ese 1980, 35; Kodály 1982, 133) and seven years before Frances Densmore, 1907 (Dahlig 1997, 57–70). Of course, there were earlier records of American, European or Ukrainian researchers; in particular the Ukrainian ethnographer and traveler Mykola Myklukho-Maklai recorded the language dialects of the tribes of the Pacific archipelagos in 1882 (Tevosian 1981, 861), and the American researcher Jesse Walter Fewkes recorded Native American songs in 1890 (see also *Fonograf i etnologja* 1890) etc., however, it was Rozdolskyi who started a special project on the consistent and systematic study of folk music over the whole territory of Galicia. That is, he did not make separate records for the study of certain genres or phenomena (for example,

the famous Russian researcher Eugenia Liniova conducted phonographic research mainly to study polyphonic singing), but he studied the entire Galician folk music tradition and the studies were conducted consistently, systematically, and according to a certain methodology, thereby capturing all available musical genres in the area. In this way, Ośyp Rozdolskyi was the first in the world to begin this method of research.

Rozdolskyi did not have a professional musical education and therefore a 21-year-old student of Lviv University, Stanislav Liudkevych, was invited to transcribe the songs recorded by Rozdolskyi. While transcribing the material, the young Liudkevych faced a challenge, and that was how to systematically arrange such a large number of tunes. After close investigation of the material, Liudkevych, for the first time in Europe, developed and put into practice a typological system based primarily not on verbal (as was usual) but on musical features (Lukashenko 2020, 303). In the proposed system he also took into account the origin of songs, the circumstances of

3 During his 40 years of field work activity at the EC of SSS Rozdolskyi recorded about 7,000 vocal and instrumental Ukrainian folk melodies in more than 180 villages of all ethnographic regions of Galicia—that is equivalent to about 1,000 wax cylinders.



Fig. 3: Stanislav Liudkevych, 1901. Unknown photographer. Private archive of Iryna Dovhaliuk.

the performance, structure of the verse, a generalized musical-rhythmic scheme and, if necessary, scale. This classification concept based on all these typological criteria was called the “song type” (ibid., 303–305). He substantiated his concept in the prefaces of both parts of the song collection *Halyts’ko-rus’ki narodni melodii* [Galician-Ruthenian folk tunes] which were published in 1906 and 1908 (Rozdolskyi and Liudkevych 1906; 1908).

The song monograph *Halyts’ko-rus’ki narodni melodii* represented all song genres from different ethnographic regions of Galicia. The collection consisted of 1,549 folk songs and, due to the latest systematization of folk tunes by musical characteristics, became the first edition of such a kind, not only in Ukraine but also in Central and Eastern Europe. The cooperation between the philologist Rozdolskyi and the musician Liudkevych was innovative because it initiated the separation of two different specializations in Ukrainian ethnomusicology: field

work and transcription.⁴ The publication was also a momentous landmark and it marked the establishment of the Lviv (Galician) ethnomusicological school.

Liudkevych did not write many theoretical ethnomusicological articles; however, he created a solid foundation for further ethnomusicological studies in Ukraine. Liudkevych’s classification was applied to the editing of folklore tunes recorded by Liudvig Plosaikevych and Iakiv Senchyk in the Podlasie and Chelm ethnographic regions (Lukashenko 2014a; 2014b) and published in the series *Materials on Ukrainian ethnology* of the SSS as the collection *Melodii ukrains’kykh narodnykh pisen’ z Podillia i Kholmshchyny* [The tunes of Ukrainian folk songs from the Podillia and Chelm regions] in 1916 (Plosaikevych and Senchyk 1916).

Another famous Ukrainian ethnomusicologist, Filaret Kolessa, also carried out some rather interesting and diverse projects. At the end of the 19th and the early 20th century he was one of the leading Galician composers—he composed popular mono cycles of folk songs for a choir and a vocal quartet such as *Na shchedryi vechir* [On a generous evening], *Habilky* [Spring], *Obzhynty* [Harvest], *Vulytsia* [The street] and *Nasha дума* [Our duma] (Kolessa 1972). However, from approximately 1902 the composer’s interest in folklore turned into a particular scientific approach.

4 Subsequently the use of the methodology was continued in the cooperation of Rozdolskyi and Filaret Kolessa (Kolessa and Rozdolskyi [1909]).



Fig. 4: Filaret Kolessa, 1930s.
Unknown photographer. Private
archive of academician Filaret
Kolessa in Lviv.

Besides the realisation of the SSS projects, Kolessa's research, and particularly his field work, was inspired by his own scientific interests. While Rozdolskyi attempted to cover the whole territory of Galicia in his expeditions, aiming to collect the folk music repertoire of the whole region, Kolessa was interested primarily in researching the border territories of Galicia such as the Lemky, Boiky, Hutsuly and Polisia regions. On a later expedition, he was accompanied by the Polish researcher Kazimir Moszynski. He primarily used the collected materials as a source for his comparative studies as well as for publication. The folk songs recorded by Kolessa were partially published and are represented in the following collections: *Narodni pisni z halyts'koï Lemkivshchyny* [Folk songs from the Galician Lemko region] (Kolessa 1929); and *Narodni pisni z pivdennoho Pidkarpattia* [Folk songs from the southern Subcarpathia] (Kolessa 1923). Although these collections were published later, the material contained within them was collected solely in that period.

Another special interest of Kolessa was the unique Ukrainian epic genre *duma*⁵. For the *duma* phonographic recording in the summer of 1908 at the special invitation of Klyment Kvitka and Lesia Ukraïнка, he undertook an expedition to the Poltava region which, at that time, was under occupation by the Russian Empire. During the expedition he recorded the repertoires of five performers. In addition to his own recordings, he also had recordings of the *duma* phonographed by the artist and ethnographer Opanas Slastion (1855–1933), the engineer Oleksandr Borodai (1844–1914? 1919?) as well as Lesia Ukraïнка (1871–1913) and Klyment Kvitka (1880–1953). Later, after returning to Lviv, he transcribed all these samples and combined them into a two-volume collection which was published in 1910 and 1913 (Kolessa 1910 [1969]; 1913b [1969]). This edition is still unsurpassed. Kolessa's transcription skills were held in high esteem by Béla Bartók, who had the opportunity to compare the transcriptions with the live sound. Samples recorded by Kolessa are still unique, not only for Ukrainian but also for world culture. The sound collection is almost completely preserved, digitized and accessible to the public (cf. Kolessa 2013a, b; Kolessa's Collection ...).

Galician folklorists participated in other large-scale publishing projects, in particular the third part of the collection of *Galician-Ruthenian folk tunes*, in the preparation of the book

5 The *duma* is a Ukrainian epic folk genre of rhapsodic improvised composition with a tirade structure. Usually it is performed by professional folk singers who accompany their singing by playing a string instrument (usually the *kobza*, *bandura* or *hurdy-gurdy*).

“Corpus of Ukrainian folklore” initiated in 1908. It was to be a fundamental, multi-volume edition, each volume of which had to represent different folk genres such as carols, spring songs, wedding songs, dumas, funeral lamentations, etc. The volumes were to have consisted of the oldest and contemporary folklore materials specially collected from all over Ukraine. All the EC’s ethnographers, folklorists and researchers of folk music, including Rozdolskyi, Liudkevych, Kolessa and others, were involved in the work. Unfortunately, this initiative was never realised even though it would have been exemplary.

It should be noted that the good results obtained by Galician folklorists contributed to the continued financial support of the EC and its projects by the Austrian Government. Thanks to this, musical and ethnographical expeditions were held regularly in Galicia and also other ethnographic regions before World War I. The material gathered during these expeditions formed a serious source of material for conducting profound ethnomusicological studies of Western Ukrainian folk music.

The Folk Song in Austria project

Beyond the programs of the SSS, Galician ethnomusicologists were also active participants in other projects. First of all, we should mention their participation in the grand project of the Austrian Government entitled *Das Volkslied in Österreich* [Folk Song in Austria] (1904–1918). It was going to be a multi-volume edition, the separate volumes of which had to represent the folklore of the ethnicities that inhabited the monarchy. Local commissions were set up to organize the work in the regions. One of them, the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Commission headed by Volodymyr Shukhevych, was founded in Lviv.

Well-known cultural and artistic figures, public activists—in particular the linguist and teacher, literary critic, politician and economist Stepan Smal-Stotskyi, court adviser Vasyl Barvinskyi, consistory adviser Artemon Monastyrskyi, the composers Viktor Matiuk, Ostap Nyzhankivskyi and others were invited to participate in the project. However, their participation was more representative than real.

The real executors of the project were Ivan Franko, who developed the program of the project but soon retired from active participation due to an illness, Kolessa, Rozdolskyi, Liudkevych and the composer and conductor Anatol Vakhnianyn. The literary critic, poet and interpreter Vasyl Shchurat helped to edit the material. The function of the head of the editorial board was entrusted to Kolessa. Thanks to the participants, the material was collected in two volumes: one had to represent the folk music of Galicia in general and the other included only folklore from the region of Lemko.

In June 1913 the first volume of Ukrainian songs was recommended for publication at a meeting of the Central Committee in Vienna. In 1914 it should have been published as the first Ukrainian, and also at the same time a Slavic volume (Shukhevych 1913, 7), but it was not



Fig. 5: Pages of the Ukrainian manuscript collection of the project *Das Volkslied in Österreich*. Photo by Iryna Dovhaliuk. Private archive of academician Filaret Kolessa.

published because of the outbreak of the World War I. The collection included 1,000 folk songs systematized according to the functional-thematic principle. Additionally, when the collection was complete, a separate section with transcriptions of instrumental music was attached on the recommendation of the Central Committee. Most of the songs were recorded by using a phonograph, which in those years was impossible for many other national commissions of the project (Dovhaliuk 2004/2005, 134–151).

The first volume of the manuscript contained a large preface about Ukrainian folk music and the history of its study and was illustrated by numerous photographs. Today the unpublished manuscript of the Ukrainian collection of *Das Volkslied in Österreich* is kept in the Private archive of academician Filaret Kolessa in Lviv (FSA).

The method of field work research

Taking into consideration the active field work carried out by Galician folklorists, a separate subject that deserves special consideration is the method of field research. The methodology ensures the effectiveness of further publications and studies. Rozdolskyi was the creator and

founder of the method of phonographic field recordings of folk music in Galicia. He was the first person to initiate and also put into practice numerous innovations in field work.

In particular, Rozdolskyi, having determined that the task was to investigate such a vast territory as Galicia, had devised and applied the method of “bush-nest research” (*kushchovo-hnizdovyi metod doslidzhennia*) to study the selected area. The method is based on dividing a large territory into smaller parts called “bushes” (meaning a number of villages connected in some way). Rozdolskyi chose a village where he stayed and which was his base. Having studied the folk repertoire of the village in which he was based as much as possible, he would then observe the neighboring (one or two) villages located mainly in a triangle. In the neighboring villages Rozdolskyi made reference recordings for comparing with what had been recorded in the main village. In his base villages he usually recorded a much larger number of songs than in the neighboring ones. Then the folklorist moved a distance of about 20–25 kilometers to another village so that, as he noted, a different song repertoire might be recorded and there he continued to work in the same way. Sometimes the researcher did not carry out the reference sessions if he did not see the need for it. This expeditionary method contributed to the fullest possible coverage of the surveyed area (Dovahaliuk 2000, 73–76).

The investigation of Galicia with the bush-nest method allowed Rozdolskyi to paint a general picture of the peculiarities of the Galician folk music repertoire. Thus, for the first time in Central and Eastern Europe, he not only raised, but also solved the problem of the geographical planning of expeditions. This research method was emulated by his contemporaries, in particular Kolessa, Bartók and later by successors such as Volodymyr Hoshovskyi, Iuriy Slyvynskyi and Bohdan Lukaniuk.

Rozdolskyi also worked out the basic principles of recording a performance session with the use of a phonograph. In order to save wax cylinders he mainly recorded the first stanzas of songs, and at the same time wrote down the full lyrics in a field notebook (the only exception was instrumental music). Later he added to the records the metadata of the performance sessions. An important innovation of Rozdolskyi was, at the beginning of a phonogram, to record the sound of a tuning fork. This enabled him to determine the absolute pitch of the recorded sound and also the speed of the recording. In 1908 Carl Stumpf also wrote about the use of a tuning fork during a recording session to avoid mistakes while playing back and transcribing the recorded music (Stumpf 1908, 225–246).

The methodical approach of Rozdolskyi was followed up by Kolessa. In his field work he mainly conducted reconnaissance expeditions that confirmed the specifics of the geographical planning and the method of exploring the territory, as well as the organization of the collection sessions. Like Rozdolskyi, he carried with him a field notebook in which he wrote the full lyrics, metadata, explanations of unknown words, mentioned the characteristics of the performers, etc. Moreover, Kolessa, having received a musical education, not only recorded songs on the phonograph but also combined audio recording with the direct transcription of tunes during the session. He rightly believed that direct transcriptions help to avoid accidental inaccuracies.

He wrote:

It should be noted that writing folk tunes directly from the voice sometimes has an advantage like a drawing has over photography, because the transcriber can more easily distinguish accidental from constant, prolongations and abbreviations in the rhythm, agitating and moderating of the constant beat; in the melody there are sudden false and incorrect intonations in the constant movement of the scale, etc. (Kolessa 1929, lvi).

The same method of double recordings was also used by Robert Lach (Kolessa and Moshynskyi 1995, 27).

Scientific activity

Another important direction of Galician ethnomusicology was scientific activity. On the one hand it was linked closely to the musical and ethnographic work of Galician folklorists, who provided reliable field materials, and on the other hand it was sustained by the achievements of European ethnomusicology. Liudkevych and Kolessa were the scholars who mainly represented this direction.

As an ethnomusicologist, Liudkevych presented himself in various fields, but mostly as a theoretician-methodologist, a researcher of systematics and comparative studies and as a folk music transcriber. He was the theoretical founder of a specific direction in Ukrainian ethnomusicology called the typological school. His scientific work is presented mainly in theoretical works such as “Pro osnovu i znachennia spivnosti v poezii Tarasa Shevchenka” [On the basis and significance of harmony in the poetry of Taras Shevchenko] (Liudkevych 1999 [1901], 218–237), “Natsionalizm v muzytsi” [Nationalism in music] (Liudkevych 1999 [1905], 35–52), “Kil’ka zamitok pro t. zv. drobny v nashykh narodnykh pisniakh” [A few notes on the so-called fractions in our folk songs] (Liudkevych 1999 [1907], 200–202).

In 1908 in Vienna Liudkevych defended his doctoral thesis: *Zwei Beiträge zur Entwicklung der Tonmalerei* [Two contributions to the development of tone-painting], written under the supervision of Guido Adler. In the second chapter on dramatic program music he discussed the reconstruction of ancient Greek music forms and content in comparison to the folk music of Carpathian shepherds, thereby proving to be almost the only representative of classical comparative musicology in Eastern Europe. After defending his thesis, for a long time he did not engage in active folk music studies, but later on he continued his ethnomusicological activities, although in a less productive manner.

In general, Liudkevych did not write many theoretical ethnomusicological articles. Nevertheless, he created a solid foundation for the future of ethnomusicological studies in Ukraine. The prominent followers of Liudkevych were Ukrainian ethnomusicologist Klyment Kvitka from

Kyiv and later, in the second half of the 20th century, Volodymyr Hoshovskyi from Lviv. Due to his concept, Liudkevych became the founder of the entire ethnomusicological school today, which is represented by the outstanding Lviv ethnomusicologist Bohdan Lukaniuk and a number of other researchers⁶.

The most productive person in the scientific field seems to have been Kolessa. His theoretical interests were very varied. Besides his scientific potential, most of which was developed in the 1920s and 1930s, he also did much besides during the outlined period. In particular, it is worth mentioning his fundamental studies of the rhythm of Ukrainian folk song ("Rytmika ukrains'kykh narodnykh pisen'" [Rhythmics of Ukrainian folk songs]; Kolessa 1970 [1906], 25–236), recitative forms ("Varianty melodii ukrains'kykh narodnykh dum" [Variants of tunes of the Ukrainian folk duma]; Kolessa 1913a), ritual genres ("Pro melodii haivok" [About the tunes of the Haivka]; Kolessa 1909), Ukrainian musical style ("Do pytannia pro ukrains'kyi muzychnyi styl" [On the question of Ukrainian music style]; Kolessa 1970 [1907]; "Kil'ka sliv pro zbyranie i harmonizovanie ukrains'kykh narodnykh pisen' z dodaniem lystiv Mykoly Lysenka" [A few words about the collection and harmonization of Ukrainian folk songs with the addition of letters from Mykola Lysenko]; Kolessa 1905a), etc.

He was the first to provide a general encyclopedic review of Ukrainian folk music in the study *Obliad ukrains'ko-rus'koï narodnoï poezii* [Review of Ukrainian-Ruthenian folk poetry] (Kolessa 1905b). Subsequently this article was supplemented and published, first as an extended encyclopedic article and later as a textbook *Ukrains'ka usna slovesnist'* [Ukrainian oral literature] (Kolessa 1938) which still remains an important introduction for novice folklorists.

Kolessa was a highly respected representative of Ukrainian ethnomusicology in relation to international audiences participating in numerous conferences. One of the first where Kolessa presented his works to the European scientific community was the Third International Music Congress, which took place in 1909 in Vienna. Kolessa's research was highly estimated by the Polish ethnomusicologist Adolf Chybiński, who called Kolessa's presentation on Ukrainian duma illustrated with sound phonograms excellent and suggested it could act as an example for other speakers (Chybiński 1910, 160–178).

The beginning of phonogram archives in Lviv

Galician ethnomusicologists not only contributed to the development of sound documentation and therefore the publication of folklore, but also were among the first in Central and Eastern Europe to found a phonogram archive of folk music in the summer of 1908. The phonogram archives of Vienna and Berlin were taken as a model. Conversely, the European folk music archives

6 Such as Iryna Klymenko, Vasyl Koval, Larysa Lukashenko, Anna Pelina, Iurii Rybak, Marharyta Skazhenyk, Halyna Pshenichkina and others.

were probably already aware of the phonographic work of Galician researchers. In particular, it is known that at the end of 1907 the Berlin Phonogram Archive became interested in the phonographic collections of the SSS and began negotiations about cooperation (Stumpf 1908, 232).

The first Galician Phonogram Archive was founded at the Cultural and Historical Museum of the SSS. It was going to be based on phonographic cylinders from the collections of Rozdolskyi and Kolessa. Kolessa was invited to head the newly created archive. In the summer of 1909, in order to organize the archival work and the proper storage of phonographic cylinders, he studied the background of archiving work in the Vienna Phonogram Archive (MMPS, 80).

In this way the phonographic cylinders from the collection of Rozdolskyi⁷ and Kolessa⁸ began to be deposited in the archive. However, this initiative was interrupted by World War I. During the war the Russian army used the building where the documents and materials of the SSS archive were stored as its barracks. A great deal of material was irretrievably lost: some items were taken to Russia, others were destroyed (Sapeliak 2000, 102). The archive resumed its work after the war.⁹

There was a further attempt to establish a phonogram archive in Lviv which was initiated by the rector of Lviv University, Kazimierz Twardowski. The archive was planned to be opened at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University as a branch of the Vienna Phonogram Archive. In those years Vienna had a special program to establish such branches throughout Europe. Thus, in the spring of 1916 the first steps towards cooperation were made. Correspondence took place between the rector of the University and the director of the Vienna archive, Sigmund Exner (MCEL; PSEL_a; PSEL_b), and the Council of Professors of the Faculty of Philosophy of Lviv University. The Academic Council of the University supported the initiative of the Rector (MMCP, 23). Unfortunately, World War I and the subsequent collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire put a halt to that initiative.

As a result, the phonogram archives in Lviv were never utilized to full capacity. Today the cylinders recorded by Galician folklorists are scattered in various archival collections in Lviv (Dovhaliuk 2016a, 181–198). Most of them are now digitized.

7 Rozdolskyi's phonographic collection (that consists of 755 wax cylinders) has been preserved and described (Dovhaliuk 1999, 165–170) and was also digitized and is available for listening (Kriuchyn, Kosiak, and others 2015; 2016; Petrov, Kosiak, and others, 2011).

8 A part of Kolessa's collection of cylinders in particular, with records of the dumas, is preserved in the Private archive of acad. F. Kolessa in Lviv. The cylinders have been digitized (Kolessa 2013; F. Kolessa's Collection...).

9 Cylinders from the Phonogram Archive of the SSS are preserved in the Archive of the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Lviv.

Conclusion

During the 19th century, Galician studies of musical folklore, as in other parts of Europe, were typically carried out either by amateurs or by composers. Many folklore enthusiasts collected folk music, composed songs collections and made arrangements of folk melodies. All this activity provided a good grounding for the further development of fundamental ethnomusicology.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Galician ethnomusicology made significant progress in the study of folk music. This was largely due to the establishment of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv and the Ethnographic Commission in particular. As the Polish ethnomusicologist Anna Czekanowska later noted, “actually, due to large-scale research conducted mainly by the Shevchenko [Scientific] Society in Lviv, Ukrainian folk music was among the best researched in Eastern Europe” [at that time] (Czekanowska 1968, 1062–1063).

Members of the Ethnographic Commission, primarily Osyp Rozdolskyi, Stanislav Liudkevych and Filaret Kolessa, who worked in various ethnomusicological directions (specializations) such as field work, transcription, study, publishing folk music collections, archival activity based on the achievements of predecessors, as well as taking into account the latest European approaches, created strong foundations for the further development of ethnomusicology in Galicia. Among the important initiatives thanks to which Galician ethnomusicology quickly took a leading position at the beginning of the 20th century, the large-scale study of folk music with sound recording over a large territory should be noted. The collection *Halyts'ko-rus'ki narodni melodiï* published in 1906 and 1908 was systematized with an innovative approach according to musical features proposed by Stanislav Liudkevych. The publication of the monographic collection of Galician folk tunes, using the latest recording invention, the phonograph, gave rise to a scientific school known today as typological or Lviv. No less significant were the theoretical studies of Galician folklorists, which were worthily represented in Europe by Filaret Kolessa. The foundation of one of the very first phonographic archives in Central and Eastern Europe in 1908 should also be considered as an achievement of Galician ethnomusicology.

The achievements of Galician ethnomusicologists of the early 20th century provided a good basis for their successors. In the many difficult historical and political times for Ukrainians, ethnomusicological studies were not always systematic. They were often separate, isolated studies by individual researchers of folk music, enthusiasts whose studies were often conducted not only without state support, but rather against the official authorities. Only in modern times, with the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, has fundamental ethnomusicological research become possible. And in this context, the scientific heritage of Galician scientists became the main basis for modern Ukrainian ethnomusicology, which has made powerful new progress in recent decades.

Abbreviations / Archival sources

FOR	Фонд Осипа Роздольського [Fond of Osyp Rozdolkyi] в <i>Архівні наукові фонди рукописів та фонозаписів ІМФЕ</i> [Archival Scientific Collections of Manuscripts and Phonographs of The Rylsky Institute of Art Studies, Folkloristics and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine]: Ф. 40–1. Од. зб. 16.
FSA	Збірник “Народна пісня в Австрії” [Collection “Folk Song in Austria”] в <i>Приватний архів акад. Філарета Колесси у Львові</i> [Private archive of acad. Filaret Kolessa in Lviv]: Папка 67.
MCEL	An das k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht. Brief. 29.04.1916 [To the Ministry of Culture and Education. Letter. 29.04.1916] in <i>Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Forschungseinrichtungs-Akten, Phonogrammarchiv</i> [Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Research Facility Files, Phonogram Archive]: B. 1. Allgemeine Akten, Zl. ad 4489/1916.
MMCP	Протоколи засідань ради професорів професорсько-викладацького складу і доцентів за 1914/15 навчальний рік. Філософський факультет [Minutes of Meetings of the Council of Professors and Associate Professors for the 1914/15 Academic Year. Faculty of Philosophy] in <i>Державний архів Львівської області</i> [State Archive of Lviv Oblast]: Ф. 26. Оп. 7. Спр. 706. Арк. 23.
MMPS	Протоколи засідань секції філільологічної НТШ від року 1893 [Minutes of Meetings of the Philological Section of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1893] в <i>Відділ рукописів ЛННБ ім. В. Стефаника</i> [Department of Manuscripts of the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine]: Од. зб. 42/а. Арк. 80.
PSELa	An Seine Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Prof. Dr. Siegmund Exner. Brief. 02.05.1916 [To His Honor Prof. Dr. Siegmund Exner. Letter. 02.05.1916] in <i>Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Forschungseinrichtungs-Akten, Phonogrammarchiv</i> [Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Research Facility Files, Phonogram Archive]: B. 1. Allgemeine Akten, Zl. 4489/1916.
PSELb	An Seine Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Prof. Dr. Siegmund Exner. Brief. 27.03.1916 [To His Honor Prof. Dr. Siegmund Exner. Letter. 27.03.1916] in <i>Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Forschungseinrichtungs-Akten, Phonogrammarchiv</i> [Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Research Facility Files, Phonogram Archive]: B. 1. Allgemeine Akten, Zl. 4437/1916.

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Monographic Research and Anthropological Perspective in Hungarian Ethnomusicology, 1935–1944

Abstract

The Hungarian school of ethnomusicology was founded in the early 20th century on the discovery of an entirely unknown musical idiom in the oral tradition of Hungarian peasants. Consequently, the initiators Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók conceived of the new discipline primarily in terms of musical analysis and systematization, as well as cultural history. However, from the mid-1930s onwards, they proceeded to an increasing interest in social aspects of folk music. In 1937, Kodály published a comprehensive study of Hungarian folk music as seen from a primarily historical perspective. Yet, in the preface, he called attention to issues of what is now called musical anthropology as tasks for further research. His propositions included the monographic study of particular villages to map their complete musical life. This task was undertaken by two of his students: Lajos Vargyas (1914–2007) published a monograph on the village of Áj (now in Slovakia) in 1941, while Pál Járdányi (1920–1966) researched the village of Kide in Transylvania (1943). A third researcher of this generation, Oszkár Dincser (1911–1977), conducted monographic research in another sense, studying a segment of musical life, namely the use of two particular instruments in a region of several villages in Transylvania (1943). A comparison with Alan P. Merriam's work *The Anthropology of Music* (1964) reveals that these studies anticipated most topics and approaches that were to constitute the backbone of the American school of musical anthropology twenty years later, while they may retain or neglect fields of interest of early Hungarian research. Although the anthropological trend was marginalized in Hungarian ethnomusicology after World War II, these works remain links to reconnect the fields that have come to be too rigidly divided: anthropological and musicological approaches to traditional music.

The Hungarian school of ethnomusicology has had a great impact on Hungarian culture, but also difficulties in communicating its results abroad. This is due not only to unfavourable historical circumstances, but also to inherent characteristics and traditions that have recurrently been presented in contrast to the mainstream of international ethnomusicology with a primarily anthropological orientation (Porter 1992, 218, 222–223; Laki 2006; Rice 2014, 14–26), or even

as biased by national ideology.¹ It is much less known that Hungarian ethnomusicology clearly turned towards an anthropological approach in the years before and during World War II, fitting into those European trends which anticipated the birth of musical anthropology proper in the United States (Morgenstern 2018).

The Hungarian school was founded in the first decade of the 20th century, on the basis of a sudden discovery—and a rather late one by comparison with other European countries. Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály recognised a previously unknown musical idiom in the oral tradition of Hungarian peasants and herdsmen. It appeared strikingly different from anything that literate people had known as Hungarian music until then, which made it obvious that 19th-century collectors and propagators of “folk songs” had essentially been on the wrong track. The two young composers immediately fell in love with the newly found “peasant music”, as Bartók preferred to call it, including the music of other ethnic groups in the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy, mainly Slovaks and Romanians.

Eager to explore the full range and the origins of those musics, they started to study them primarily in terms of musical analysis and systematisation, as well as culture history. After a few decades’ work, they were able to show that the same characteristic musical idiom was known in the rural population wherever the Hungarian language was spoken, but it appeared only sporadically in the neighbouring ethnic groups (Bartók 1934). They recognised that many of its distinctive features went back to the early Middle Ages and beyond, when the ancestors of the Magyars lived further east in the steppe regions of what is now the Ukraine and Russia (Kodály 1937, 11–26). They established a historical stratification of the material, identifying the melodic models, or strata, that must have been taken to Hungary from those eastern regions, and investigating how western influences, fusing with the eastern heritage, resulted in new melodic styles (Bartók 1924; Kodály 1937; cf. Paksa [1999] 2021). A founder of comparative folk music research, Bartók carried out a parallel survey of Hungarian folk music with that of the neighbouring ethnicities to account for the similarities and the dissimilarities (1934). The idea of a comprehensive

1 “[The] Hungarian construction of history out of folk-song style has clear nationalistic implications [...]. Transposition by fifths was important to Bartók because it was quite rare in Western and Central European music, but more common in Central and East Asian traditions. A style of music that utilized transposition by fifths, therefore, proved that the integrity of the Hungarian people had been maintained to some measure, at least since they left Asia to settle in Europe. The close relation of the old style to speech (*parlando*) also reveals an attempt to link music to the uniqueness of Hungarian culture, for the Hungarian language is not a member of the Indo-European family. Clearly, identifying songs in the old style provided a strong argument for Hungarian nationalism. Recognizing that songs in the new style had been influenced from the outside—that their rhythms were regularized and loosened from their connection to language—made an equally strong nationalistic appeal. This interweaving of musical style, national history, and cultural ideology is such that we find it difficult to determine which characteristic of a song was determined for musical reasons, which for ideological reasons, and which for both” (Bohlman 1997, 199–200).

edition of all Hungarian folk music, later embodied in the *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae* series, also goes back to these early years (Bartók and Kodály 1913).

But as soon as Kodály and Bartók had achieved these results by the mid-1930s, they proceeded to an increasing interest in the social aspects of folk music. Bartók, in his paper “Why and How Do We Collect Folk Music?” (1935), warned that “the collection of melodies as if they were isolated items [...] is not an adequate approach;” instead, “a folk music collector [should] investigate in detail the conditions surrounding the real life of the melodies” (1976, 20). Two years later, Kodály published his comprehensive study of Hungarian folk music as seen from a primarily historical perspective (1937). But in the foreword he suggested, as tasks for further research, issues like “the life and physiology of the tune” — “music in the life of the community” — “the people’s instruments and their ways with instruments” — “musical life of village Roms [professional musicians] ignorant of notation” — all issues of musical sociology, as it was called at that time, or musical anthropology, as it was called later (as the foreword is not included in the English editions, I quote Kodály 1937, 2–3 in my own translation).

To these suggestions concerning the fields of interest, Kodály added another regarding the methodology: “it would be most informative to prepare a complete map of the tunes of a particular village along with a description of its musical life with the utmost detail, that is to say, its musical monograph” (ibid., 3). The argument for intensive folklore research in a single place may be traced back in Hungarian research to János Seprődi, a native of a Transylvanian village. As he writes in a book review of 1906,

Folklore material is to be found in one layer on top of another, resembling the layers of the earth. Old things are superseded by new fashions. Consequently, those in search of precious gems will need a spade instead of a rake. Their task is not a whimsical ramble around the world, but a thorough exploration of some narrow spot to the very depths (Seprődi 1974, 59, transl. by D. L.).

This suggestion is motivated solely by a historical interest in folklore, although Seprődi was also among the first to write about how the function of dance accompaniment determines traditional instrumental music, in his study on the dances of his native village (Seprődi 1909).

Kodály’s vision of future ethnomusicology, combining an anthropological approach with monographic methodology, powerfully influenced a whole generation of researchers and beyond. At the same time, this vision was still closely linked to analytic, historical, and comparative investigations of the musical material itself. For Kodály, the “most informative” research is obviously research that shows how social and musical *practices* relate to musical *repertoires*.

Kodály and Bartók had been interested in the social aspects and the cultural context of their musical findings from their earliest field trips, as especially Kodály’s field notes testify (Kodály 1983). But they doubtless took further inspiration from the discipline of sociology, which in the 1930s enjoyed a sudden increase of popularity throughout Europe, including Hungary. The

“village research movement”, a highly complex intellectual trend involving student associations, writers, sociologists, ethnographers, politicians as well as scouts, and comprising leftist and conservative ideas alike, permeated Hungarian society as a whole (Kósa [1989] 2001, 93–97). While many of its proponents were inspired by Kodály and Bartók’s de-romanticised, modernist perspective of village culture (Borbándi 1976, 92–94), the movement and its sociological approach influenced, on the other hand, the older disciplines of ethnography and ethnomusicology. Some of Kodály’s students participated in interdisciplinary village research teams. György Kerényi contributed the first Hungarian study on the musical culture of a particular settlement to a volume on the Southwest Hungarian village Kemse (Kerényi 1936). Similarly, Sándor Veress joined the international fieldwork in the Middle Transdanubian village of Dudar, organised jointly by the Institute of Sociology of London and the College of Arts of the Szeged Youth (Lencsés 2015; 2019). A member of that student association, Gyula Ortutay, later founder of a significant school of ethnography, incorporated the experience of that sociological trend into his discipline with such works as a personal monograph in the field of folk tale research (Ortutay 1940).

The most important external inspiration for Hungarian ethnomusicology came from Romania, where sociological village research had emerged as one state-funded professional institution rather than several bottom-up initiatives, namely Dimitrie Gusti’s Bucharest School of Sociology. From 1925, they conducted annual village campaigns of monographic sociological research, with interdisciplinary teams counting up to a hundred members (Rostás 2000). The school had considerable influence on Hungarians, both in Transylvania and Hungary; indeed, the strongest cultural links between the two hostile countries in the interwar years were those in the field of sociology (Rostás 2015). The teams of the field campaigns included several Hungarian students, such as ethnographer and ethnomusicologist Gábor Lükő (1909–2001), who then published a first-hand account of the project in Hungary (1935).

From 1928 onwards, ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu (1893–1958) participated in the monographic campaigns of the Gusti school. Brăiloiu published his “Outline of a Method for Musical Folklore” in 1931, in Romanian as well as in French (Brăiloiu 1931a; 1931b). His carefully conceived methodology is modelled on Gustian sociology, aimed at collecting objective and statistically relevant data. In his view, such vast archival work is a prerequisite for any musical system to be outlined in the future; thus, preconceptions about systematization should not interfere in the collection of data. In the cited study, Bartók refers to him as a good example of careful data collection, having visited his Bucharest Archive of the Society of Romanian Composers in 1934 (Bartók 1935). Although most of Brăiloiu’s fieldwork was carried out as monographic research in particular villages, it was only posthumously that a village monograph was published under his name (Brăiloiu 1960).

Besides this intellectual trend, there were also historical events that gave new energy to Hungarian folk music research. With the Vienna Awards in 1938 and 1940, Hungary regained, in accordance with the interests of the rising Axis Powers, some of the territories ceded after World War I, including Southern Slovakia and Northern Transylvania. These peripheral regions of the Hungar-

ian language area, with their relatively conservative musical culture and interethnic features, were of key interest for ethnomusicology. In addition, as cultural politics became more attentive to ethnography, there was a possibility to raise funds for research in the otherwise impoverished country. The greatest ethnomusicological achievement of the time was a major program of gramophone recordings of Hungarian folk music, jointly produced by Hungarian Radio and the Museum of Ethnography (Sebő 2010a; 2010b). This also meant that Hungarian Radio subsidised fieldwork with the phonograph by the researchers of the Museum to assemble material for the studio recordings. The re-acquired territories were, of course, included with special emphasis.

Accordingly, the young researchers who planned to follow Kodály's blueprint for a new type of research targeted those regions. Firstly, *Lajos Vargyas* researched the village of Áj (now in Slovakia as Háj, okres Košice-okolie) in 1940; secondly, *Pál Járdányi* conducted fieldwork in Kide (now in Romania as Chidea, comuna Vultureni, județul Cluj) in 1941–42; thirdly, *Oszkár Dincser* worked in several villages of Csík County (now in Romania's județul Harghita and județul Bacău) in 1942.

Three Hungarian monographs, 1940–1943

Published in 1941, *The musical life of the village of Áj* by Lajos Vargyas (1914–2007) is possibly the first musical village monograph ever written (Vargyas 1941, cf. Klusen 1941). The village was chosen to continue Kodály's extensive fieldwork along the northern edge of the Hungarian language area, but it was also well suited to the proposed monographic survey. As Vargyas introduces the village, together with the methodology

Its greatest asset [...] is its small size which allows for the thorough, nearly exhaustive data collection that is needed to solve the tasks set by music folklore for such investigations.

These questions arose when folk music research had fulfilled some of its crucial tasks. Data collection had been carried out, subsequent collecting work only providing variants in most cases. The stylistic layers of the stock had been outlined, and questions such as each layer's origin, contact with other nations and with art music had been established on firm grounds. In short, all that was statistically possible to reveal about the material had been achieved: it had been found *what* happened to folk music in the course of time. Now, the question to be asked is: *how* did all this happen? [Instead of drawing a static cross-section, t]he project is now to have an insight into the process itself and acquires answers to certain questions in this way; to take a look at the forces in action, because so far only their outcome had been studied in the collected stock. For example, working with the collected set, one may compile the groups of variations of a song, define differences too, but one cannot know or may at most guess how these differences arise, how the process of variation takes place. [...]

Modern ethnography holds that each element loses some of its meanings if it is ripped from its organic context. Everything must be shown in its complex entirety so that it can assume its real image and meaning. That explains why Hungarian ethnography has increasingly taken up the idea of describing life as a whole (Vargyas 2000, 80, with words supplied on the basis of the Hungarian original by D. L.).

The author presents the new approach as essentially the outcome of an inner development of Hungarian ethnomusicology, while referring to similar trends in the older discipline of ethnography. The process of variation, already cited as an example in the first pages, appears as a central issue of the research. By contrast, it is only here, in the introduction, that the author gives a very brief account of the composition of the local tune stock of archaic folk songs, new-style folk songs, and urban songs, which is henceforth taken for granted (Vargyas 2000, 82–83). Similarly, in an account of his results published in French, he writes that the traditional method of folklore research, meaning the collection of a fixed set of data in the field and its analysis at home, is not enough to answer certain questions:

The formation of variants, the transmission of traditions, the genesis of the folk song, the much-discussed problem of the anonymous author of these songs—these are all questions that cannot be resolved simply by drawing conclusions from dead material. All of this can only be definitively clarified by meticulous observation on the spot. We must plunge our gaze into everyday life to gain a better understanding of how forces work and of the process of change.

La formation des variantes, la transmission des traditions, la genèse de la chanson populaire, le problème tant discuté de l'auteur anonyme de ces chansons, sont autant de questions qu'on ne peut se contenter de résoudre en tirant des conséquences de la matière morte. Tout cela ne peut s'éclairer définitivement que par l'observation minutieuse faite sur place même. Nous devons plonger notre regard dans la vie courante pour mieux connaître le fonctionnement des forces et le processus des changements (Vargyas 1943a, 43).

Further important fields of interest are expressed by the titles of the chapters:

1. Learning songs
2. The life of a song
3. Variation
4. The manner of singing
5. "Higher" music
6. Minorities
7. The [local] society.

In Vargyas' conception, the first step in an investigation of the musical culture was to collect every melody known in the village if possible, regardless of its origin or value, i.e. not just "folk" tunes. He made some phonograph records in the initial phase of his research, and a few gramophone discs were also recorded based on this fieldwork, but he obviously had to fall back on manual collection to obtain the huge amount of data he needed. He faced an astonishing wealth of known songs, about 1,200, and a flourishing culture of singing centred on unmarried young people. The first edition includes a selection of 80 musical examples.

Vargyas kept publishing and using the results of this research throughout his long career (1960, 1961, 1963), but he later put the emphasis on interethnic folk ballad research and other historical issues. A comprehensive edition with an English translation and the complete musical collection came out in the year 2000 (Vargyas 2000).

The second study of this kind was written by a 22 year-old student, Pál Járdányi (1920–1966). His *Secular music of the Hungarians of Kide* was published in 1943 as a book with a 90-page study and 98 musical examples (Járdányi 1943). The fieldwork was subsidised by the newly founded Transylvanian Scientific Institute as part of an interdisciplinary research project in the Borsa Valley of Northern Transylvania, which meant that the place had already been defined.

Járdányi's explanation of his approach is similar to Vargyas' introduction. However, an important difference is that Járdányi refers to the impact of sociology by calling his approach "sociographic":

Hungarian ethnomusicology has so far focussed on the musical material itself, aiming chiefly to explore the musical taste and tradition characterising the whole Hungarian folk. A new approach to folk music, which has been at work in the last couple of years, is the sociographic approach. It is no accident that the importance of the new perspective was declared by none other than the best researchers of the former one [Bartók and Kodály]. It is a matter of course that we will investigate the details once we have found out about the essentials of the whole. Instead of the Hungarian people in general, we will now choose smaller units as objects of scrutiny, to gain a deeper insight into the relationship between the music and the human beings, between the music and society. The stress will thus be on the human beings rather than the musical material; still, once again: the ultimate aim remains the same, only the path is different (Járdányi 1943, 5, transl. by D. L.).

He set out the same sociology-centred perspective in his review of Vargyas' book, published in the preceding year:

Lajos Vargyas' book is a novelty in Hungarian ethnomusicology. Previous literature has been concerned with the musical material and its systematisation. [...] In parallel with that, another kind of work has been initiated recently. We could most appropriately call it musical sociography, for it is not only interested in the musical material, but also in how the music exists in rural society (Járdányi 1942, 125, transl. by D. L.).

In the village of Kide, Járdányi found a “disintegrating” musical culture in which the value of singing was waning in public opinion (Járdányi 1943, 7, 87). He had no phonograph or camera at hand, so he carried out the whole research by means of manual recording alone. He gives a valuable early account of instrumental practice and dance music, but only noted down vocal tunes. He put special emphasis on quantitative data, perhaps following Brăiloiu, and on the systematization of melodies, following Bartók. In a lengthy analysis of the local repertoire, he creates 13 categories of tunes, proceeding from “folksong-like” to “un-folksong-like” styles, or rather, from what he saw as the deepest stratum of musical tradition towards presumably more recent formations or acquisitions. The chapters of his book are as follows:

1. External forms of musical culture (meaning the occasions of music making)
2. The stock of melodies
3. Sources of songs
4. Variation
5. Personal investigations.

The most important difference from Vargyas’ book, besides the analysis of the repertoire, is the last chapter, a series of short personal monographs on selected informants. The closing sentences reveal the author’s inclination towards social activism, as well as his displeasure with the result and with the village assigned to him for his research, while implying that researching such a village provides an especially realistic image of current cultural and social processes:

“Good”, that is, balanced, classical, pure art can only belong to a balanced, healthy, and stable society. Until the social crisis of our peasantry is solved, there will not be much hope and success in the fight for “good art,” even if it is not completely in vain (Járdányi 1943, 88, transl. by D. L.).

A composer, teacher of music, and ethnomusicologist, Járdányi excelled in the field of systematization after World War II, developing the system of folk song types used in the series *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae*. His premature death in 1966 deprived the field of Hungarian music research of a potential leading figure. The full musical material of the Kide research is still unpublished.

The third researcher of that generation, Oszkár Dincser (1911–1977) conducted monographic research in another sense, studying, for the first time, a traditional set of instruments in an area of several villages. Dincser worked for the Museum of Ethnography, where he ran the folk music archives under the leadership of László Lajtha; therefore, he had more experience in fieldwork with the phonograph, and with studio gramophone recordings, than his younger colleagues.

Previous research of Hungarian instrumental music had focussed on homemade instruments, such as the bagpipe (Bartók 1911–1912). Relatively little fiddle music had been recorded with the phonograph, usually without accompaniment. As regards instrumental music, Bartók



Fig. 1: A fiddler with his wife accompanying him on the *gardon*. Kostelek (Coșnea), July 1942. Photo by Oszkár Dincser. Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Photograph Collection, F 154216.

preferred to collect Romanian material, as it appeared more archaic. László Lajtha's phonograph and gramophone recordings from the Northern Transylvanian village of Szék (Sic, județul Cluj) in 1941 signified the first major breakthrough in the research of Hungarian string band music (Lajtha 1954; Sebő 2010b).

Although Dincser's Csík records of 47 phonograph cylinders (Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, MH 4140–4187) make up the largest monographic collection of Hungarian instrumental music at that time, the researcher published practically nothing of the musical material. Instead, he embarked on a complete description of the local musical culture, centred on those two instruments (Dincser 1943a). Transcriptions or issues of musical analysis are almost entirely missing, which seems to reverse the priorities of early Hungarian research. The chapters of his study are as follows:

1. Village instrumental music
2. Learning the music
3. Terminology, making, and maintenance of the instruments
4. The technique of playing
5. The musicians in local society
6. Historical problems of the two instruments.

The text includes a large amount of interview excerpts and a wealth of photographs, which makes his methodology more modern than that of his colleagues.

Unfortunately, Dincser's career ended soon after the publication of his book. As Budapest became the battlefield of the German and the Soviet armies in late 1944, he left Hungary and eventually settled in Switzerland. He soon lost contact with his native country and with academic life, which meant the loss of another significant researcher for Hungarian ethnomusicology. His scholarly achievements, surviving in mere scattered fragments, remained little known (Berlász 2002).

The three monographs and musical anthropology

All three Hungarian researchers saw their work as the organic continuation of Bartók and Kodály's approach, while adopting a view of folk music as human behaviour in a specific cultural context, rather than just a set of tunes.

Twenty years later in the United States, Alan P. Merriam published *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), which is still widely accepted as a key event in the anthropological turn of ethnomusicology worldwide. Merriam presents musicological and anthropological approaches to ethnomusicology—or the study of “music sound and structure” versus “the study of music as human behavior” (ibid., viii)—as rival forces, although their ultimate aim is the same. He sees this division as a given fact, and the synthesis of the two as a distant objective rather than a real option (ibid., 17–18). He advocates the anthropological approach because he finds that it has been relatively neglected, whereas understanding cultural processes is for him a prerequisite for understanding their musical products (ibid., 7). With this train of thought, he seems to exclude the possibility that anthropological issues may be embraced by musicology-based research.

To define a canon for what had been taking shape at several American universities as a new discipline, Merriam devotes a chapter to each suggested topic or approach, and reviews the literature deemed relevant. These chapters are entitled (1) “Concepts”; (2) “Synesthesia and inter-sense modalities”; (3) “Physical and verbal behavior”; (4) “Social behavior: the musician”; (5) “Learning music”; (6) “The process of composition”; (7) “The study of song texts”; (8) “Uses and functions of music”; (9) “Music as symbolic behavior”; (10) “Aesthetics and the interrelationship of the arts”; (11) “Music and culture history”; (12) “Music and cultural dynamics”. While the list does not contain a chapter on musical analysis, it overlaps with early Hungarian research on two points: “The study of song texts”, and “Music and culture history”.

In what follows, I will attempt to present the parallel fields of interest in the three Hungarian monographs and Merriam's concept of musical anthropology. Although the Hungarian works are rather short studies with a limited theoretical dimension, an extensive thematic equivalence may well show their affinity with anthropological approaches, notwithstanding the fact that they are products of a primarily musicological enterprise.

Concepts

Merriam's first chapter is concerned with issues connected to what a community thinks of their own music: what they accept as music and what they do not; the meaning of musical talent; the importance of music to the community; or the origins of music.²

None of the Hungarian studies include a systematic investigation of concepts. Dincser's introductory chapter on village instrumental music, a topic hardly researched previously, comes closest to that. His research also includes the terminology of the instruments, e.g. the designations of their parts in the local vernacular. In general, the Hungarians researched cultures which they saw, on a national level, as their own. Hence, their aim was not to map the very basics of an alien culture, but to describe those features that differed from their previous knowledge of Hungarian traditional culture. The concepts they used were largely taken from that previous knowledge. However, they usually note peculiar terms and wordings of their informants in connection with each described phenomenon; Vargyas uses most of his short interview excerpts in such an illustrative function. The longer quotations of informants in Dincser's text obviously also contain information about concepts, but because of their length they are less effective in identifying them. A thorough investigation of musical terminology was first adopted in Hungary by folk dance research (Martin 1977).

Synesthesia

This topic, inspired by psychology and German comparative musicology (Merriam 1964, 85), has left no trace in the literature of Hungarian ethnomusicology. Merriam's examples (*ibid.*, 91–101) suggest that this approach may be productive in the study of art music or non-European musical cultures, rather than European folk music.

Physical and verbal behaviour

In this chapter, Merriam includes instrumental technique and singing technique, physical postures in music-making, physical and psychological responses to music, verbal statements and judgements about music, as well as cueing and signalling while playing.

This is clearly a central topic in all the Hungarian studies. Vargyas describes "The manner of singing" in a separate chapter. Járdányi characterises general behaviour in his opening chapter, where he also includes valuable early observations about instrumental technique in local dance music. He writes about individual singing technique and opinions in the "Personal investiga-

2 I omit page references when citing whole chapters.

tions” of informants. Dincsér assigns almost a fourth of his study to instrumental technique, supporting his statements with interview excerpts, and illustrating them with photos and drawings. His descriptions show the highest level of richness and accuracy that can be achieved without film records. All three studies abound in informants’ statements about good or poor music.

Social behaviour: the musician

Questions about Romani musicians’ social and cultural role have been present in the broad Hungarian discourse since the early 19th century (Liszt 1859; Bartók 1931). Nevertheless, their role in village music was relatively neglected in early Hungarian folk music research, and in 1937 Kodály urged his colleagues to make up for that deficiency. However, Vargyas and Járdányi’s studies are mainly concerned with singing, and discuss instrumental music relatively briefly, on a secondary level, as it were. One reason for this is that neither Áj nor Kide had local professional musicians of full value. In Áj, none of the local Roms played music. Some Hungarian lads made a band and played at dances and weddings, but as they remained non-professionals, they quit after they got married. In Kide, the usual band came from a nearby village, led by a Hungarian fiddler. Compared to him, Járdányi found the local Romani fiddler to be less talented and less worthy of investigation. At the same time, both Vargyas and Járdányi write about the social role of certain good singers as such, and about their physical and verbal behaviour.

Dincsér’s study, on the other hand, focusses on the musicians as agents of musical culture and as informants. In the introductory chapter, he presents the traditional question of how Romani musicians relate to the Hungarian folk tradition in a new, micro-social context, summarising his own field experience in Csík and elsewhere (Dincsér 1943a, 3–4). Then he lists and evaluates his informants under the title “The Csík musicians”, and elaborates on their social relationships in a twelve-page chapter, “The musicians in society”. He provides details about such issues as the bearing of Romani or Hungarian ethnicity on music-making, the social relationship between fiddler and accompanist, or the interaction between musicians and clients, such as giving orders or paying (ibid. 1943a, 8–9, 48–49, 58–66).

Learning music

This is one of the leading topics, discussed in separate chapters in two of the monographs; Vargyas is concerned with learning songs, and Dincsér with learning to play an instrument. Járdányi, referring to Vargyas, states that to describe the ways of learning songs in Kide would amount to an exact repetition of the data from Áj (Járdányi 1943, 32). Instead, he gives an account of the sources that the informants took their songs from, e.g. local tradition, school, musicians, townsfolk, etc.

The process of composition

Here Merriam considers, from an emic point of view, cases of individual creation, by which he means primarily “how new songs are brought into being” (1964, 165). While this approach may be appropriate for oral cultures without a dichotomy of art music and folk music, it cannot be applied uncritically to European folk music. Although Vargyas was indeed interested in “the genesis of folk songs and the much-discussed problem of their anonymous author”, as is apparent from the French summary cited above (1943a, 43), he observes in *Áj*, when they wish to “make something up”, the result is only a minor variation: “one cannot expect greater autonomy, ‘composing’ work in folk music” (2000, 117). Indeed, no Hungarian researcher deviated from the view that tunes are not *composed* as folk music—they may *become* folk music, whenever several generations of an appropriate community accept them as their own (Dobszay and Szendrei [1988] 1992, 8, 12). In this train of thought, real composition has no bearing on folk music culture proper.

However, if we include variation, an aspect of individual creation that gets little attention in Merriam’s chapter, we are faced with another central topic of the Hungarian studies, which Vargyas and Járdányi discuss in separate chapters. As Dincsér omits the musical material altogether from his investigation, he does not deal with variation either. In fact, speaking of highly variable instrumental music, he did not even have a chance of such an analysis based on mere phonograph records.

The study of song texts

In Hungary and many other European countries, interest in folk music was preceded and inspired by a cult of “folk poetry” in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The textual aspect survived in Hungarian research, especially in Kodály’s work, and counted as a traditional field of interest in the interwar years. Vargyas adheres to that tradition, including observations about text use in several chapters, e.g. “Learning songs” or “Variation”. Writing briefly about the stylistic strata of the musical repertoire in the introduction, he finds that in some cases, archaic texts are combined with new melodies (Vargyas 2000, 82).

The topic is less prominent in the other two studies. As Járdányi writes in his chapter on variation, the most important means of variation concerns the relationship between tune and text (1943, 45–47). Archaic tunes in general, and the genre of slow dance music *hajnali* in particular, display a looser connection (*ibid.*, 12, 19). In the musical examples section, Járdányi never gives multiple stanzas for a tune, as Vargyas usually does.

Dincsér’s study contains even less information on texts, precisely because he concentrates on instrumental practice and the musicians, who, as he observes, do not usually know the song texts (1943a, 69). However, his recordings include vocal tunes, mostly sung by fiddler informants or

their wives; one is recorded with both a Hungarian and a Romani language version of the same text (MH 4174b). Dincsér is also interested in the relationship between the instrumental and vocal repertoires. In classifying instrumental genres, he starts out by distinguishing tunes that can be sung to a text and those that cannot (Dincsér 1943a, 68–69).

Uses and functions of music

With “uses” of music, Merriam means superficial, practical, conscious aims, such as dance, courtship, or prayer. “Functions”, on the other hand, refers to more general, unconscious aims, such as aesthetic pleasure, communication, or social cohesion (1964, 209–212).

The uses of music are described at length in each Hungarian study. Vargyas registers the occasions of singing, and their central role in the social life of the unmarried youth, in the second half of his chapter “The manner of singing”, and keeps referring to them throughout. Járdányi’s first chapter discusses the “external forms” of musical culture, meaning the occasions of singing, music-making, and dancing. Dincsér, in a major coherent section, also sets out the events accompanied with music, such as weddings, christenings, barn dances, or funerals. Yet not even Dincsér tells us much about the single most important use of instrumental music, namely dance accompaniment. The main reason is that Hungarian folk dance research had gone no further than the first steps by that time. It is more striking that Merriam similarly ignores the perspective of dance twenty years later.

Music as symbolic behaviour

This chapter of Merriam’s discusses cases where music conveys some extra-musical, symbolic meaning for the community. This aspect is hardly ever touched upon in the Hungarian studies. Dincsér, however, had a sound intuition about an important symbolic meaning of traditional music as a representation of individual or common identity, as distinguished from those of others (1943a, 67–68). Another special case he presents is the genre of “the shepherd seeking his flock”, a form of program music with an entertainment function, in which distinct parts of the musical sequence denote lamentation, horn signals, and joy, in that order (ibid., 43–44, 70).

Aesthetics and the interrelationship of the arts

The first part of this heading refers to the relationship of the studied cultures to the aesthetic concepts of the Western art music culture. Merriam’s examples suggest that this relationship is mostly contradictory: they provide a negative aesthetics, as it were, for non-Western music. The basic rea-

son for this is that traditional cultures do not conceive of music as a separate object, one that can be analysed in aesthetic terms, but rather as a means to an end, inseparable from a specific context.

Vargyas explores the community's aesthetic ideals in their choice of tunes ("The life of a song"), performance ("The manner of singing"), as well as visual culture and social contact ("The society"), and also the deviation of practice from those ideals, e.g. the scarce use of intricate urban popular songs known as *hallgató*, as opposed to their great prestige in principle. In Járdányi's book, the aesthetic aspect is addressed mainly in the introduction and the first chapter on "External forms of musical culture", as well as in the last chapter "Personal investigations". His statistical method of summarising the amount and style of songs in each individual repertoire, resulting in a "musical mean" for each person expressed in a single number, is an attempt to include taste in a quantitative analysis. As Dincsér observes, his informants seem to be aware of two kinds of music and two aesthetic standards, conceding that the norms of their community in terms of tunes, performing style, or instruments differ from those in the higher social strata (Dincsér 1943a, 16, 40–41). However, unconscious practice may display still greater deviation from art music aesthetics (*ibid.*, 43).

The second phrase in Merriam's chapter title, "the interrelationship of the arts", would most obviously mean, in each case, the relationship between music and dance, but, as has been mentioned, awareness of dance is at a rather low level in all four studies.

Music and culture history

Merriam notes that this topic had been seen as outmoded by the young American school until they recognised that the history of many African peoples with very few written sources cannot be reconstructed without recourse to folk tradition (1964, 277).

This consciousness has been central to Hungarian folklore research since its very beginnings. Therefore, Vargyas sees his task to be wholly beyond establishing the historical provenance of the tunes. He devotes no more than a short overview in the introduction to their classification as archaic folk tunes, new-style folk tunes, and composed popular tunes (Vargyas 2000, 82–83). Járdányi conceives of the issue in greater detail, establishing 13 layers in his musical repertoire which are more or less connected with history. In this respect, Dincsér's study seems unique, for his diachronic interest appears in the field of instrument history, another new topic in Hungarian research, which he sets out in his last chapter of 14 pages.

Music and cultural dynamics

Merriam's last chapter investigates changes in culture which may occur within the framework of a particular culture, i.e. by innovation, or by a process of cross-cultural influence, or accultura-

tion. Acculturation usually leads to cultural syncretism, a melding of elements from different cultures. Another possible outcome is what he calls compartmentalisation: elements of different cultures continue to be used separately in the same culture, without melding.

Change of culture is a basic experience of Járdányi in Kide. More precisely, he perceives it as a loss of culture, due, on the one hand, to the influence of urban popular music, and on the other hand to a spreading indifference toward music in general. He characterises the village as a declining musical culture, and the farther back the memories of his informants go in time, the more they tell about its thriving period. Vargyas also finds that urban popular culture exerts a massive influence on the Áj community, but their appetite for music and singing is still immense. Truly unique are his insights into what we could call short-term cultural dynamics, as certain songs go out of fashion in one generation and are discovered again by the next one in their urge to constantly renew their repertoire (Vargyas 2000, 102–105).

Dincsér, researching instrumentalists, finds not only syncretic phenomena, but also examples of compartmentalisation, or musical multi-lingualism, an integral part of the village fiddler's trade (Dincsér 1943a, 16). As his scope includes several villages in several micro-regions, he understands that regional cultural differences derive mainly from differences in processes of cultural dynamics (ibid., 16, 51, 67, etc.).

Based on the previous comparison, the table below shows an overview of the coverage of Merriam's topics in the three Hungarian studies, marked according to prevalence (if somewhat subjectively) with two points, one point, or none.

Merriam 1964	Vargyas 1941	Járdányi 1943	Dincsér 1943a
Concepts	+	+	+
Synesthesia			
Physical and verbal behaviour	++	++	++
Social behaviour: the musician	+	++	++
Learning music	++	++	++
Composition / variation	++	++	
Song texts	++	+	+
Uses and functions	++	++	++
Music as symbolic behaviour			+
Aesthetics and the interrelationship of the arts	++	++	+
Music and culture history	+	+	++
Music and cultural dynamics	++	++	++

The key topics of all three studies are “Physical and verbal behaviour”; “Learning music”; “Uses and functions”; “Music and cultural dynamics.” Almost as prominent are “Social behaviour: the musician;” and “Aesthetics and the interrelationship of the arts.” Although the Hungarians do not share Merriam’s interest in composition in the narrow sense, they are certainly concerned with variation (Dincsér is an exception because of the difficulties inherent in his instrumental material). As for “Song texts” and “Music and culture history”, not all of them considered these topics to be important parts of their task, precisely because they were so traditional. The least covered topics are “Concepts”, “Music as symbolic behaviour”, and “Synesthesia”.

Theoretical considerations as reflected in book reviews

In addition to the forewords of the monographs, which were brief in explaining and contextualising their approaches, the reviews that the authors wrote about each other’s books are also important sources of their concomitant ideas. Vargyas, reviewing Dincsér’s book, describes it as a pioneering work, albeit in perfect harmony with the previous research in the field. He also calls attention to its ethnographic significance in quite traditional language:

Such detailed research is especially welcome in the field of instrumental music, where hardly any detailed observations are available. Hence, Dincsér’s study moved a rather neglected field a remarkable step forward.

At the same time, it satisfies the general requirement of ethnographic collection to discover a rarity, an archaic phenomenon on the verge of extinction, and rescue it for science (Vargyas 1943b, 214).

In turn, Dincsér wrote a review on Járdányi’s book, showing that the three monographers, while working on common aims, did not share a common ideology. Appreciating Járdányi’s research in general, Dincsér criticises his approach exemplified by the closing remarks I quoted earlier. In so doing, he reveals his own conservative-idealist stance, and his sceptical attitude to sociology bent on political activism:

Járdányi’s interest is musical, his approach sociographic, his method statistical. This combination determines the researcher’s scholarly attitude to folk culture [...] which implies not just research, but evaluation; not just analysis, but classification; not just a summary, but engagement. [...] Because of this scholarly attitude motivated by social politics, the author overlooks the contradiction inherent in the conclusion of his study. If balanced, classical, and pure art forms, or rather, such a culture, may only belong to a balanced, healthy, and stable society, as

the author states, [...] how is it possible that the culture of peasants was much more unified and characteristic in the past, notwithstanding their suppressed social state?

Let us reverse Járdányi's principle: a balanced, healthy, and stable society can only exist where the culture of that society is classical and pure. Until the *cultural* crisis of the Hungarian peasantry is solved, there is no hope for a solution to the social problems of peasant existence (Dincsér 1943b, 125, transl. by D. L., italics in the original).

Another review of Járdányi's book, by Vargyas, published in 1944, seems to be a recapitulation of that short-lived but progressive research trend I have been surveying, and of the underlying system of ideas:

Today's Hungarian folk music research arrived at two forms of collecting work: gramophone recording and detailed village research. The former has perfected musical data collection in the old sense, while the latter satisfies those further demands that have been raised by the increasing depth of the collecting work. These include, on the one hand, the fullest possible examination of the relationship between tune and community, the observation of the spreading, the changes, and the complete existence of a song. On the other hand, they imply the ambition of indiscriminate comprehensiveness in collecting the whole song stock of a village—moreover, the ambition to determine for each song, how many people, and exactly who, use them, and for each person, how many songs, and exactly what, they use. (Of course, “each” will be substituted by “most” in practice.) (Vargyas 1944, 100, transl. by D. L.).

Here again, Vargyas implies a methodological continuity of Hungarian research, as the new aims and methods are “raised by the increasing depth of the collecting work”. On the other hand, he distinguishes clearly between anthropological interest in general and monographic interest as the best way to satisfy the former. A monographic outlook means not merely the delimitation of the research to one community, but the attempt at “comprehensive” data collection within those limits, the methodological awareness that it requires, and the evaluation of each piece of information in relation to the whole. Obviously, a complete set of data must include the musical data as well as other kinds of data; hence the complexity of the collector's task:

Thus, in such research, everything depends on the data collection. As the perfect comprehensiveness demanded by those ambitions can never be achieved [...], its approximation already presupposes a keen awareness of methodology and objectives, enabling the collector to compromise comprehensiveness in the material and still achieve comprehensiveness in results and implications. [...] This field of research gives the researcher a double task. On the one hand, to collect the tune stock itself thoroughly, namely the stock of the community, as well as the stocks of individuals. On the other hand, to “collect” utterances and forms of behaviour, to ob-

serve live phenomena, or possibly elicit them with due tactfulness. Both kinds of data may lead to specific results (ibid., transl. by D. L.).

This text confirms that the ideal of the young Vargyas and Járdányi was a broader perspective than musical anthropology in Merriam's sense; they aimed at an organic and mutually informative unity of musical and non-musical data collection.

Dincsér's work was different in this respect, too. Most of the characteristic instrumental repertoire he recorded was not easy to fit into categories devised by Kodály or Bartók for vocal music, and would have taken years to transcribe and analyse. This case revealed that Kodály's advice to include the topic of instrumental music in anthropological research might have implied more difficulties at the technical level of the time than anyone had thought. Thus, Dincsér abandoned musical analysis altogether, and decided to publish, instead of a "complete map of tunes", a monograph of musical anthropology in the narrow sense, where the guiding thread, and the object of historical interest, was not the musical material but the instruments and their use.

In this respect, Dincsér's study stands in contrast to Járdányi's. The next passage of Vargyas' review helps us to understand the nature and the reason of that contrast:

For the latter type of research [the anthropological type], Kide—a locality chosen for research by the Transylvanian Scientific Institute—was hardly appropriate. From the phenomena of its monotonous, typically decadent musical culture, little could be inferred about the problems of folk music. Thus, the author was right to focus his work on the first approach: to gain the deepest possible insight into the stratification of the tune stock, its distribution by individuals and age groups, the song repertoire of certain types of people, etc. [...] To process the collection means to convey an image of the musical material as a whole, of the information *inherent in it*. That is why this work naturally adopted a quantitative-factual character instead of a subjective-evocative method (ibid., transl. by D. L., italics in the original).

As for Dincsér, choosing a "subjective-evocative method" and setting aside the musical material follows on from the novelty and idiosyncrasy of the instrumental ensemble and the pertaining musical culture that he discovered.

Conclusion

The comparison with Merriam's program of musical anthropology shows that the three Hungarian studies were part of those trends in European folk music research which anticipated many central topics and approaches of that American school established twenty years later (cf. Morgenstern 2018). Besides the fields of interest, affinities with musical anthropology may also be perceived in terms of methods. The studies share a holistic approach to musical culture, in-

cluding other fields of culture, local society, or economics. They are all based on relatively extended fieldwork, using opportunities for participant observation. The texts are clearly based on an interpretive approach to behaviour, with excerpts of informant interviews, and passages we could call thick description. In addition, Dincser makes extensive use of photography.

At the same time, they retain some traditional musicological procedures in the framework of a monographic methodology, namely the systematic collection and processing of musical data in Vargyas and Járdányi's studies. It is Járdányi, the future father of the system of folk song types in the *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae* series, who goes the furthest in systematization. Hence, the Hungarian studies show even more similarity to other works of early American ethnomusicology completed before the prevalence of musical anthropology, and including both anthropological and musicological issues (cf. McAllester 1954).

Hungarian ethnomusicology was not unique in adopting a social perspective in the late 1930s. But it was certainly unique in the efficiency of the research projects that resulted in completed and published musical monographs in just a few years. This fact is to be thanked, I believe, to the sound musicological insight of the young researchers, owing to Bartók and Kodály's analytic methodology and results. Contrary to Brăiloiu's ideal of unprejudiced data collection, Vargyas and Járdányi were quick to form a notion of the musical repertoires they faced, classifying them, perhaps even at first hearing, in terms of historical-stylistic strata and provenance. That gave them a basic narrative about the cultural dynamics, a flexibility to find the place of each new tune in that scheme, and a self-confidence in examining extra-musical factors without letting the music itself out of sight.

Epilogue

In 1957, as leader of the Folk Music Department at the Museum of Ethnography, Vargyas published a summary of his Áj research in a journal of the German Democratic Republic (Vargyas 1957), the second (and somewhat belated) foreign-language publication on the anthropological turn in Hungarian ethnomusicology. He presents the monograph as an example of the "synchronic" branch of Hungarian folk music research, which surveys all the musical phenomena at a given point in time and space, running alongside the "diachronic" research, which investigates general historical and comparative trends, drawing on selected musical examples from the entire Hungarian language area (ibid., 447). Besides Járdányi's study, he reports ongoing monographic collecting work in Hungary by Attila Péczely and István Halmos, as well as among the Hungarians of Romania by the Cluj Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, led by János Jagamas (ibid., 448–449; cf. Pávai and Zakariás 2014). Of the above-mentioned projects, only that of Halmos was published later (1959).

However, the initial impetus of the monographic approach was clearly lost by that time. The end of World War II meant the beginning of a new era in Hungarian ethnomusicology. A new

institution, the Folk Music Research Group, gradually took shape within the framework of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under Kodály's leadership (Szalay [2004] 2020, 289–333). The central task of the group was editing the *Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae* series, to fulfil another of Kodály's and Bartók's plans which they had envisioned even earlier than the plans for anthropological research. Kodály managed to persuade the new Communist regime to support ethnomusicology through this project, while they bluntly opposed sociology as bourgeois pseudo-science. While the thematic material published in the first few volumes, such as *Children's games* or *Calendar feasts* (CMPH I, CMPH II), seemed to comply with Soviet expectations, Járdányi worked on the system for the publication of the folk songs proper. The peak of this period, marking the significant international reputation of Hungarian ethnomusicology at the time, was the Budapest conference of the International Folk Music Council in 1964, with systematisation and historical studies as central topics. However, neither Járdányi nor Kodály lived to see the first volume of *Types of Folksongs* published in 1973 (CMPH VI).

Independently of the Folk Music Research Group, Lajtha remained closer to his interwar research by launching the series "Monographs of folk music." In the first volumes, he published the material he had recorded in Transylvania, including highly detailed scores of string band music (Lajtha 1954). Important as they are, these volumes do not come up to the title of the series, containing a collection of samples rather than a full survey of each village. As Lajtha himself admits, "These slightly more than one hundred tunes are not enough to make the present publication of my Szék collection a monograph. The only aim of this volume is to publish [musical] material with full scholarly reliability" (Lajtha 1954, 4).

Anthropological and monographic approaches were clearly marginalised, if never completely forgotten in Hungarian ethnomusicology (Barsi 1947, 1984; Halmos 1959). However, the folk dance research emerging in post-war Hungary was inclined to such a perspective from the beginnings (Kaposi 1947, 1999; Belényesy 1958; Martin 2004), and increasingly influenced ethnomusicology as it merged with the Folk Music Research Group in 1965. As communities with a traditional culture became ever harder to find, the idea of village monographs gave way to personal monographs (Barsi 1984; Martin 2004). The rediscovery of the still traditional music and dance culture of Szék in the 1960s and 1970s, and the ensuing folk revival (Quigley 2014) resuscitated the idea of a village monograph, but the planned synthesis of that huge amount of instrumental recordings and other data only yielded some partial results (Halmos 1986; Halmos and Virágvolgyi 1995).

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Name register

A

Abashin, Sergei N. 197, 202, 207, 213
 Abraham, Otto 33, 39, 63
 Abrahams, Robert D. 68, 77
 Ádám, István 263
 Adams, Charles 69, 77
 Adler, Guido 37, 39, 72, 77, 175, 187, 191, 224, 231, 236
 Ahmedaja, Ardian 8, 10
 Aksiuk, Sergei 125
 Alile (Siv sokol Alile) 184
 Alimova, Dilorom 213
 Allen, Warren Dwight 71, 77
 Alpert, Michael 138, 142
 Ambros, August Wilhelm 71
 Ambrózová, Jana 10
 Amyot, Jean Joseph-Marie 71
 An-ski, Sh. (Semion; Semen) 110, 112, 116, 128, 132, 135, 137
 Anderson, Benedict 48, 56
 Anderson, Otto 175
 Anttonen, Pertti J. 128, 137
 Antyborzec, Ewa 40
 Anuchin, Dmitrii 154, 161
 Arbaud, Damase 68
 Arakchiev (Arakishvili), Dimitrii 154
 Arifkhanova, Zoia 204, 206–208, 213,
 Armon, Witold 19, 39
 Arom, Simha 74, 78
 Asaf'ev, Boris 143–145
 Aub, Joseph 55
 Aubert, Laurent 67, 74, 78

B

Bach, Johann Sebastian 63, 75
 Baeck, Leo 49, 57
 Baer, Abraham 9, 43–45, 51–57

Baily, John S. 170, 189
 Balakirev, Mili Alekseevich 149–151, 158, 160, 162, 164
 Baldauf, Ingeborg 207, 213
 Balma, Mauro 72, 78
 Bambrough, Renford 115
 Bán, Aladár 95
 Banin, Aleksandr 141
 Baranov, Dmitrii 144, 161
 Barry, Phillips 69
 Barsi, Ernő 261
 Bartók, Béla 64, 66–68, 76, 78, 92–94, 101, 102, 111, 117, 131, 138, 225, 227, 230, 237, 241–244, 247, 248, 250, 252, 259–262, 264
 Bartold, Vasilii 204–208, 213
 Barvinskyi, Vasyl 228
 Barwick, Linda 76, 78
 Barz, Gregory 66, 78
 Bashanov, Mikhail 199
 Bastomsky, Shloyne 122
 Bazhanskyi, Porfyrii 220
 Becker, Judith 65, 78
 Beider, Alexander 108, 138
 Belényesy, Márta 261, 262
 Beliaev, Victor M. 165, 197, 198, 200, 201, 208–212, 214
 Benedict, Ruth 51, 65
 Benedictus, Louis 79
 Benkő, András 265
 Bereczky, János 265
 Beregovskaia, Eda 131, 133, 138
 Beregovski, Moisey (Moisei; Moyshe; Moshe; Musiy) 9, 107–142
 Bergenroth, O. 19
 Berlász, Melinda 250, 262, 263
 Berlioz, Hector 63
 Berry, Chuck 67

Berwiński, Ryszard Wincenty 18, 39
 Biale, David 126, 139
 Bibra Wharton, Anne von 11, 102, 103
 Bie, Oscar 97, 98, 102
 Bielawski, Ludwik 42
 Bithell, Caroline 264
 Blasis, Carlo 97, 98, 102
 Blažeković, Zdravko 184, 189
 Blizińska, Pelagia 30
 Bliziński, Józef 24, 30
 Blok, Iulii 154
 Blum, Stephen 66, 67, 78
 Blümmel, Emil Karl 175, 187–189
 Boas, Franz 51, 64–66, 177, 183, 190
 Boberg, Jochen 57
 Bochkareva, Irina 146, 161
 Bockhorn, Olaf 190
 Bodor, Antal 264
 Bogatyrev, Petr 69
 Bohlman, Philip V. 11, 177, 178, 180–183, 190, 193, 242, 262
 Böhme, Franz Magnus 69, 83, 97, 102, 118, 119, 139
 Bomberg, Daniel 46
 Bonaparte, Napoléon 67
 Borbándi, Gyula 244, 262
 Borneman, Eva 193
 Borodai, Oleksandr 227
 Boström, Mathias 58
 Bouglé, Celestin 51
 Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis-Albert 68
 Brăiloiu, Constantin 244, 248, 260, 262
 Braun, Joachim 109, 139
 Brenner, Helmut 192
 Brockhaus (Brokgauz), Friedrich (Fridrikh) 202, 215
 Brown, Steven 36, 39
 Buber, Martin 187
 Bujaud, Jérôme 68
 Bunin-Benor, Sarah 138
 Burke, Peter 88, 102
 Burney, Charles 62, 78
 Burt, Raymond L. 177–180, 182–187, 190
 Bush, George jun. 63

C

Cahan, Yehude-Leyb 110, 112, 122–125, 128, 129, 132–135, 139
 Čaleta, Joško 184, 193
 Campbell, Olive Dame 68, 81
 Carlyle, Thomas 62, 78
 Carpitella, Diego 78
 Cassaro, James P. 190
 Čelakovsky, František Ladislav 19
 Chopin, Fryderyk 17, 18
 Churakova, Rimma A. 162
 Chybiński, Adolf 33, 232, 236
 Cogan, Robert 76, 78
 Cohen, Hermann 49
 Coirault, Patrice 68
 Collan, Anni Sofia 97, 98, 102
 Čolović, Ivan 184, 190
 Commenda, Hans 189
 Cooley, Timothy J. 66, 78
 Coral, Lenore 190
 Couperin, François 63
 Črljić Martinović, Milovan Ilija 79
 Cubela (first name unknown) 182
 Czakó, Elemér 86, 103
 Czapek, Joseph 57
 Czekanowska, Anna 234, 236
 Czerwinski, Albert 97, 102
 Czuczor, Gergely 86, 93, 94, 99, 105

D

Dahlig, Piotr 20, 33, 39, 225, 236
 Danielson, Virginia 78
 Darwin, Charles 100
 Daxelmüller, Christoph 177, 182, 190
 De La Laurencie, Lucien 63, 78
 Debussy, Claude 70, 71, 72, 78, 80
 Dei, Oleksii 237, 238
 Delaney, Mike 11
 Densmore, Frances 64, 225
 Descartes, René 65
 Desprez, Josquin 75
 Dessauer, Renata 78

- Deutsch, Walter 175, 190, 193
Dienes, Valéria 93, 95, 102
Dincsér, Oszkár 241, 245, 248–260, 262, 263, 265
Diutsh, Georgii (Georg Dütsch) 152, 153, 164
Djumaev, Alexander 196, 214
Dobrovol'skii, Boris M. 162
Dobrushin, Yekhezkl (Yekheskl) 122, 128–130, 133, 134, 139
Dobrzyński, Ignacy Feliks 17, 21
Dobszay, László 253, 263
Doncieux, Georges 68
Dorokhova, Ekaterina 144, 153, 156–158, 160–162, 165
Dovhaliuk, Iryna 10, 217–220, 224–226, 229, 230, 233, 236, 267
Dreier-Andres, Wolfgang 193
Drożdż, Anna 26, 39
Duffy, Michelle 70, 78
Dunin, Elsie 11, 102, 103
During, Jean 196, 214
Dzhani-zade, Tamila 10, 195, 198–201, 209, 210, 212, 214, 267
Dzvinka, Roman 238
- E
- Eberhart, Helmut 190
Edison, Thomas Alva 33, 154
Efron, Ilia (Ilya) 202, 215
Eichhorn, August Friedrich 10, 195, 197–203, 208–212, 214
Eiffel, Alexandre-Gustave 70
Elbogen, Ismar 49, 55, 57
Ellis, Alexander John 224, 236
Elsner, Józef 17
Engel, Carl 63, 78
Engel, Joel (Iulii) 110, 112, 120, 129, 131, 133, 135, 141
Epstein, Isidore 141
Erben, Karel Jaromir 19
Erdélyi, László 265
Erk, Ludwig Christian 118, 119, 139
Ernyey, Béla 87
Ese, Laslo 225, 236
- Estraikh, Gennady 108
Etzion, Judith 115, 116, 139
Éval'd, Zinaida V. 153, 157, 162, 164
Exner, Sigmund 233, 235
- F
- Fabó (Fränkel), Bertalan 86, 87, 92, 93, 102
Farkas, Márta Sz. 262, 263
Fauser, Annegret 70, 78
Fëdorov, Dmitrii 199, 203, 214
Fedosova, Irina 154
Fefer, Itzik 122, 128–130, 133, 139
Feldman, Walter Zev 139
Felföldi, László 8, 9, 11, 83, 84, 86, 92, 93, 102, 103, 267
Fewkes, Jesse Walter 225
Fikfak, Jurij 193
Filippov, Tertii Ivanovich 151
Finberg, Leonid 138
Findeizen, Nikolai 197
Fink, Gottfried Wilhelm 19, 36
Fizuli (Füsuly), Muḥammad (Muhammed, Mehmed) ibn Suleyman 210
Florimo, Francesco 63
Fomin, Evstignei 146
Foss, George 68, 77
Frank, Stephen P. 141
Franko, Ivan 220–223, 228, 236, 267
Frazer, James George 66, 100
Frenkel, Alexander 108, 139
Freud, Sigmund 100, 177
Frigyasi, Judit 110, 139
Frobenius, Leo 65, 78
- G
- Gajek, Józef 40
Galli, Amintore 63, 73, 79
Gálos, Rezső 95
Gautier, Judith 70, 79
Gautier, Théophile 74
Geiger, Abraham 49, 51, 54, 55, 57
Geiger, Ludwig 49, 57

- Geiringer, Karl 63
 Genghis Khan 202, 207
 Gerson, Wojciech 26
 Gierschner, Carl Friedrich 17
 Ginzburg, Saul 125, 129, 139
 Gippius, Evgenii Vladimirovich 9, 143–149, 151, 153–164
 Giurchescu, Anca 100, 103
 Gizewius, Gustaw 19
 Glanz, Christian 175, 192
 Glinka, Mikhail 158, 198
 Gloger, Zygmunt 35, 40
 Gnesin (Gnessin), Michail F. 120, 142, 267
 Goebbels, Joseph 76
 Goertzen, Chris 141
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 46, 66, 79
 Goldberg, Yosef 125
 Gönyey, Sándor 86, 93, 94, 103
 Grainger, Percy Aldridge 66, 70
 Gräter, Friedrich David 7, 169, 170, 172, 179, 190
 Grechaninov, Alexander 153
 Gregorič, Sara 10
 Grigor'iev, Alexander D. 154, 164
 Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm 39
 Grozdew-Kołacińska, Weronika 40
 Grözingen, Elvira 108, 139
 Grunwald, Max 182
 Gusti, Dimitrie 244
 Györfy, István 93
- H
- Haggh, Barbara 81
 Haid, Gerlinde 171, 175, 180, 190, 191, 193
 Haller, Dieter 84, 103
 Halmos, Béla 261, 263
 Halmos, István 260, 261, 263
 Hammarlund, Anders 9, 10, 43, 57, 267
 Hammer-Schenk, Harold 49, 57
 Harrington-Müller, Diethild 185, 188, 191
 Hartel, Wilhelm Ritter von 174
 Hartl, Christian 192
 Hary, Benjamin 138
- Hauser, Arnold 69
 Hebert, David G. 7, 11
 Hedlund, Sven Adolf 54
 Hemetek, Ursula 10, 191
 Herder, Johann Gottfried 20, 46, 124, 171
 Herndon, Marcia 66, 79
 Herzberg, Arno 57
 Herzog, George 64, 65
 Hill, Juniper 264
 Hilscher, Elisabeth Theresia 187, 191
 Hitler, Adolf 188
 Hjalmar, Thuren 83, 98, 99, 105
 Hnatiuk, Volodymyr 220
 Hofer, Gerlinde see Haid, Gerlinde
 Hofer, Tamás 102
 Hoffman, Stanley 64, 79
 Hoffmann-Krayer, Eduard 69
 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich 63
 Hois, Eva Maria 174, 191
 Homer 207
 Hood, Mantle 66, 76, 79
 Horatius (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 83
 Hordichuk, Mykola 237, 238
 Hornbostel, Erich Moritz von 33, 39, 63, 64, 175
 Hoshovskiy, Volodymyr 230, 232
 Hrytsa, Sofia 218, 219, 237
 Hudak-Lazić, Susi 108, 139
 Hugo, Victor 74
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von 47
 Hunder, Gershon D. 139
 Hüttner, Karl Joseph von 220, 237
- I
- Iakushkin, Pavel I. 148
 Ianchuk, Nikolai 153
 Iavorskii, Boleslav 153
 Idelsohn, Abraham Zvi (Zevi; Zebi) 57, 110, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120, 123, 127, 131–135, 137, 140
 Ippolitov-Ivanov, Michail 153
 Irzabekova, Elena 109, 125, 136, 140
 Isóz, Kálmán 92
 Istomin, Fëdor 152, 153, 164

Iulchieva, Munajat 210
Iuzhakov, I. I. 148
Ivan the Terrible 158
Ivanova, Tatiana 225, 237
Ivanytskyi, Anatolii 218, 237

J

Jackson, Bruce 66, 79
Jacobeit, Wolfgang 190
Jagamas, János 260
Jakobson, Roman 69
Járdányi, Pál 241, 245, 247, 248, 251–261, 263, 265
Jarosch, Günther 171, 191
Jeggle, Utz 194
Jespersen, Otto 65, 79
Johler, Reinhard 193
John of Austria (Archduke) 171
Johnson, Blind Willie 67
Jolly, Cynthia 263
Joseph II. (Emperor) 171
Jung, Carl Gustav 100
Jura Bek (Jura-beck) (Prince) 199

K

Kalib, Sholom 55, 57
Káldy, Gyula 93, 94, 103
Kamieński, Łucjan 33, 34, 40
Kamil, Cyprian 18
Kant, Immanuel 46, 50, 58
Kaposi, Edit 261, 263
Karadžić, Radovan 184
Karadžić, Vuk 19
Karimbai, Ahmedkhan 209
Karmysheva, Balkis 207, 214
Karomatov, Faizulla 209, 214
Karpeles, Maud 69
Kashin, Daniil 146, 164
Kashkin, Nikolai 153
Kashperov, Vladimir 149, 162
Kaufman, Konstantin P. von 198, 215
Keldysh, Iurii 239
Kellman, Herbert 81

Kerényi, György 244, 262, 263
Kętrzyński, Wojciech 19
Khalid, Adeeb 207, 215
Kharlap, Miron 206, 207, 215
Khazdan, Evgeniia 108, 109, 138, 140
Khudekov, Sergei N. 97, 98, 103
Khudoiar (Khan) 209
Kiel, Mark W. 109, 113, 125, 134, 140
Kiesewetter, Raphael Georg 66, 71, 79
Kipnis, Menachem 129, 133
Kiselhof, Zinoviy 131, 134
Kiss, Lajos 93, 94
Klautke, Egbert 47, 51, 57
Klenovskii, Nikolai 153
Klusen, Ernst 245, 263
Klyashtorny, Sergei 213, 214
Klymenko, Iryna 232
Knoblauch, Eduard 49
Kodály, Zoltán 64, 92–94, 101, 103, 225, 237, 241–245, 247, 250, 252, 253, 259, 260–263, 265
Koganoff, Basil 176
Kohl, Franz Friedrich 175
Köhnke, Klaus Christian 51, 57, 58
Kolár, Ján 19
Kolberg, Antoni 17, 18, 26
Kolberg, (Henryk) Oskar 9, 15–42, 66, 97, 98, 103, 221
Kolberg, Juliusz 17, 24
Kölbl, Marko 10
Kolessa, Filaret III, 117, 175, 217–219, 221, 223, 226–240
Kolessa, Ivan 221, 238
Kolessa, Oleksandr 221
Koller, Oswald 69, 79
Kolodii, Iaroslava 218, 238
Komavec, Maša (Maša Marty) 190
Konopka, Józef 18, 21
Konus, Georgii 153
Kopernicki, Izidor 23, 30
Kopytova, Galina 139
Korguzalov, Vsevolod V. 144, 162
Kósa, László 88, 103, 244, 263, 264

- Kosiak, Ihor 224, 233, 240
 Koskoff, Ellen 109, 140
 Kotliarevskii, Fedor 212
 Kovács, János 86
 Koval, Vasyl 232
 Krauss, Friedrich Salomo 10, 169, 170, 177–194
 Kreinin, Yulia 108
 Kriuchyn, Andri 224, 233, 240
 Kroeber, Alfred 51
 Krohn, Ilmari 68, 69, 79, III, II7, 140, 175
 Krutikov, Mikhail 108–110, II3, 129, 131, 134, 140
 Krzyżaniak-Miller (Millerowa), Elżbieta 40, 41
 Krzyżanowski, Julian 40, 41
 Kubik, Gerhard 73, 79
 Kuckerts, Josef 215
 Kulbak, Moyshe 133
 Kun, Aleksandr 199, 215
 Kunos, Ignác 95
 Kunst, Jaap 7, II, 34, 64, 79,
 Kurschat, Friedrich 19
 Kushnarev, Khristofor S. 153
 Kvitka, Klyment 7, 34, III, II2, II5, 134, 140, 141, 161,
 227, 231

 L
 L'vov, Nikolay (Nikolai) 7, 146, 147, 158, 161, 162,
 165, 171
 Laban, Rudolf von 93, 95, 103
 Labuda, Gerard 41
 Lach, Robert 64, 231
 Lachmann, Robert 64
 Lagovskii, Fëdor 149, 164
 Lajtha, László 86, 92–95, 101, 103, 248, 249, 261,
 264
 Laki, Péter 241, 264
 Lambert, Louis 68
 Landau, Alfred 122
 Lapin, Viktor 162
 Lässig, Simone 58
 Lauer, Reinhard 184, 192
 Launis, Armas 175
 Lazarus, Moritz 43, 45–51, 55–57
 Lazarus, Nahida 57
 Lehfeldt, Werner 192
 Leibutin, G. S. 236
 Lenartowicz, Teofil 18, 20
 Lencsés, Gyula 244, 264
 Lenin, Wladimir Iljitsch 129
 Lepkyi, Bohdan 221
 Lesure, François 78
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude 74, 79
 Levin, Theodore (Ted) 196, 215
 Levitov, Otto and Aleksandr I. 148
 Leydi, Roberto 64, 79
 Liadov, Anatolii 149, 164
 Lichtenstein, Abraham Jacob 55
 Linder-Beroud, Waltraud 175
 Lindsay, James 188, 193
 Linëva (Liniova; Lineff), Evgeniia E. (Eugenie;
 Eugenia) 66, 153–155, 162, 164, 175, 176, 225
 Lipiński, Józef Jan 21
 Lipiński (Lipinski), Karol 21, 220, 223
 Lipták, Dániel 10, 241, 268
 Listopadov, Alexander 153, 154, 164, 225
 Liszt, Franz 252, 264, 267, 268
 Liudkevych (Ludkiewicz), Stanislav (Stanisław)
 217–219, 223, 225, 226, 228, 231, 232, 234, 237–239
 Lixfeld, Hannjost 190
 Locke, John 65
 Loeffler, James 112, 140
 Lomax, Alan 68, 80
 Longo, Alessandro 80
 Lopatin, Nikolai M. 151, 164, 165
 Lowie, Robert H. 65, 80
 Lugossy, Emma 103
 Lukaniuk, Bohdan 7, II, 34, 41, 218, 221, 230, 232, 238
 Lukashenko, Larysa 10, 217, 225, 226, 232, 238, 268
 Lukin, Michael 9, 107, 108, 110, 113, 121, 122, 129, 139,
 140, 268
 Lükő, Gábor 244, 264
 Lundberg, Dan 58
 Lütteken, Laurenz 81
 Lysenko, Mykola 232, 237, 267, 268

M

MacIlwaine, Herbert C. 97, 104
 Madarassy, László 87, 93, 94
 Magid, Sofia (Sof'ja) D. 108, 111, 113, 122, 139–141
 Major, Ervin 92–94, 103
 Maksimov, Sergei V. 148
 Malinowski, Bronisław 27, 66
 Mannheim, Karl 50
 Marconi, Karol 18
 Marcus, Scott 78
 Marek, Pesah 125, 129, 139
 Marett, Allan 67, 80
 Marian-Bălaşa, Marin 169, 170, 192
 Markish, Perets 133
 Marko Mrnjavčević (Prince) 180, 184
 Markov, Alexei 153, 154
 Martin, György 88, 103, 251, 261
 Martynov, Ivan 237
 Maslov, Alexander 153, 154
 Matis, Benjamin 140
 Matiuk, Viktor 220, 222, 228
 Mátyás, István 264
 Mauerhofer, Alois 171, 192
 Mautner, Anna 189
 Mautner, Konrad 189
 Mayer-Hirzberger, Anita 192
 McAllester, David P. 260, 264
 McCollum, Jonathan 7
 McLean, Brian 263
 McLeod, Norma 66, 79
 Mead, Margaret 65
 Meier, John 69
 Mel'gunov, Iulii N. 151, 152, 154, 165
 Melamed, Efim 108, 113, 141
 Meletinsky, Eleazar 215
 Mendel, Menachem, Rabbi of Vitebsk 126
 Mercœur, Karolina de 17
 Merker, Björn 39
 Merriam, Allen P. 7, 9–11, 15, 16, 23, 27, 28, 37, 38, 41, 241, 250, 251, 253–257, 259, 264
 Mersmann, Hans 69
 Meyer, Michael A. 58

Miller, Elżbieta s. Krzyżaniak-Miller (Millerowa)
 Mlotek, Chane 131, 134, 141
 Mochar-Kircher, Iris 174, 175, 192
 Molnár, István 93, 95, 103
 Monastyrskiy, Artemon 228
 Montagnier, Jean-Paul 64, 80
 Montaigne, Michel de 65
 Montel, Achille 68
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de 65
 Morad, Mirjam 177, 192
 Morgenstern, Ulrich 7, 9–11, 34, 39, 41, 62, 66, 80, 108, 128, 131, 141, 154, 162, 169, 170, 172, 175, 179, 187, 189, 191, 192, 242, 259, 264, 268
 Moshynskiy (Moszynski), Kazimierz (Kazimir) 227, 231, 238
 Moskovich, Wolf 138
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus 67
 Mueller, Richard 80
 Mujo (Mujo Hrnjica) 184
 Müller, Anita 84, 86, 102, 103
 Munkácsi, Bernát 95
 Murko, Matthias 187, 193
 Murphy, Kerry 61
 Muszkalska, Bözena 9, 15, 268
 Myers, Helen 264
 Myklukho-Maklai, Mykola 225

N

Naumann, Hans 69
 Naumbourg, Samuel 52
 Neill, Edward 72, 80
 Nemtsov, Jascha 140
 Nesselmann, Georg 19
 Nettl, Bruno 7, 11, 61, 65, 66, 73, 76, 80, 81, 262, 269
 Nicholas II. (Zar) 187
 Niedermüller, Péter 102
 Nikol'skii, Alexander 153
 Noll, William 128, 141
 Norlind, Tobias J. H. 97, 98, 104
 Norwid, Ludwik 18
 Nußbaumer, Thomas 269
 Nyzhankivskiy, Ostap 218, 221, 222, 228, 238

O

Odoevskii, Vladimir Fëdorovich (Prince) 149, 150, 154, 158, 162, 163
 Ogrodziński, Władysław 19, 41
 Öhrström, Eva 58
 Olsson, Dan 58
 Olsvai, Imre 263
 Oppé, Adolph Paul 97, 98, 105
 Orden (Orde), F. 205
 Orgelbrand, Samuel 17, 31, 35, 36
 Orlov, Vasilii 153
 Ortutay, Gyula 244, 264
 Ostroumov, Nikolai 199, 200, 204, 206, 215
 Oyslender, Nokhum 125

P

Paksa, Katalin 242, 264
 Pál, Teleki (Gróf) 263
 Pal'chikov, Nikolai 151, 165
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 71
 Pascal, Blaise 65
 Pashina, Olga 9, 143, 144, 145, 153, 156–158, 160–163, 269
 Pávai, István 260, 264
 Pavelić, Ante 184
 Pavlyk, Mykhailo 221
 Pawlak, Danuta 41
 Péczely, Attila 260
 Pekár, Gyula 94, 104
 Pekár, Károly 93, 94, 104
 Pelina, Anna 232
 Peretz, Yitskhok Leybush 112
 Pesovár, Ernő 102–104
 Peter, Dorothea Jo. 190
 Peter the Great, Zar 147
 Petkovič, Nada 190, 193
 Petrov, Viacheslav 224, 233, 240
 Petrova, Liudmila 113, 141
 Petrovskii, Sergei Fedorovich 199, 200
 Pettan, Svanibor 190
 Petuchowski, Jakob J. 58
 Pfennig, Robert A. 208, 215

Philippson, Ludwig 55

Piatnitskii, Mitrofan 153, 162
 Picken, Laurence 263
 Pietsch, Rudolf 11
 Pintér, Sándor 86
 Pirrotta, Nino 63
 Plosaikévych (Płosajkiewicz), Liudvih (Ludwik Teodor) 217, 226, 238
 Pluckrose, Helen 188, 193
 Podlipniak, Piotr 37, 41
 Pokoly, Judit 264, 265
 Pollak, Hans Wolfgang 175
 Pollauf, Wilhelm 187
 Polonsky, Antony 140, 268
 Pomerantseva, Erna 144, 163
 Pommer, Josef 169, 174–176, 187–189, 192
 Porter, James 7, 11, 141, 241, 264
 Poueigh, Jean 68
 Powers, Harold S. 77, 80
 Prach (Práč), Ivan (Jan Bohumír) 146, 147, 158, 162, 165
 Pravdiuk, Oleksandr (Aleksandr) 115, 141, 218, 239
 Primas, Monika 192
 Primorac, Jakša 184, 193
 Prochaska, Maciej 41
 Prokhorov, Alexander 215
 Prokunin, Vasilii P. 151, 164, 165
 Protopopov, Vladimir V. 163
 Pryłucki, Noah 110, 122
 Pshenichkina, Halyna 232
 Puchner, Walter 177, 190
 Pulikowski, Julian 33, 170–172, 175, 179, 189, 193

Q

Quellmalz, Alfred 119, 141
 Quigley, Colin 10, 261, 264

R

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. 66
 Rădulescu, Speranța 10
 Rammstedt, Otthein 58

Ramsten, Märta 58
 Raphel, Freddy Raphael
 Rapoport, Shloyme Zaynvl see. An-ski, Sh.
 Ravel, Maurice 70
 Razumovskii, Dmitrii 154
 Redlich, Josef 188
 Reese, Gustave 64, 80
 Reimer, Georg 57
 Reiser, Tobi 189
 Reiter, Josef 175
 Resic, Sanimir 190
 Réthei Prikkel, Marián 9, 83, 84, 86–105
 Revuluri, Sindhuma 68, 80
 Reyes, Adelaide 190
 Reynolds, Dwight 78
 Rhesa, Ludwig 19
 Riabinin, Ivan 154
 Ribeiro, Carla 78
 Rice, Timothy 7, 11, 141, 241, 264
 Riegl, Alois 193
 Riemann, Hugo 120, 141
 Rimskii-Korsakov, Nikolai 149, 165
 Rivers, William Halse Rivers 66
 Róka, Pál 86, 93, 94, 97, 98, 104
 Ronck, Zuzana 192
 Ronström, Owe 8, 44, 58
 Rostás, Zoltán 244, 265
 Rothstein, Robert A. 128, 138, 141, 142
 Rotter, Curt 175, 188
 Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph 63
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 63, 74
 Rousselet, Louis 70, 80
 Rozdolskyi, Osep (Iosyf) 217, 219–221, 223–230, 233, 234, 236, 238–240, 267
 Rozentsvayg, Ayzik 134
 Rubinstein, Anton 64, 80
 Rudolf of Austria (Crown Prince) 174, 177, 188
 Rumsfeld, Donald 63
 Rungenhagen, Carl 17
 Rupin (Rupini), Ivan 146, 165
 Russell, Bertrand 62, 80
 Russell, Melinda 81

Rybak, Iurii 232, 238
 Rybnikov, Pavel N. 148

S

Sachs, Curt 36, 64, 104
 Sadie, Stanley 80
 Šafařík, Pavel Josef 19
 Safranski, Rüdiger 172, 193
 Saint-Saëns, Camille 70–72, 80, 81
 Saminsky, Lazare 131
 Sapeliak, Oksana 233, 239
 Sapir, Edward 51
 Saurau, Joseph Franz 171
 Saussure, Ferdinand de 100
 Scarlatti, Domenico 75, 80
 Scherman, Lucian 170, 179, 181, 192
 Schiller, J. C. Friedrich von 46
 Schleicher, August 19
 Schmidt, Leopold 171, 189, 193
 Schmidt, Wilhelm (Pater) 175
 Schottky, Julius Max 172, 188, 194
 Schubert, Franz 172
 Schüler, Nico 67, 80
 Schumacher, Rüdiger 72, 81
 Schuyler (Skayler), Eugen 199, 200, 215
 Sebő, Ferenc 245, 249, 265
 Seeger, Anthony 75, 78, 81
 Seemayer, Vilmos 93
 Seidman, Naomi 139
 Seiffert, Max 39
 Sejdiu, Idajet and Jashar 8
 Senchyk, Iakiv 217, 226, 238
 Seprődi, János 86, 88, 91–94, 102, 104, 243, 265
 Seroussi, Edwin 108
 Serov, Aleksandr 150, 151, 154–156, 163
 Shapiro, Lawrence 177, 182, 185, 193
 Sharp, Alan 104
 Sharp, Cecil J. 64, 68, 81, 97, 98, 104, 105
 Shchurat, Vasyl 228
 Sheibani, Khan 202
 Shevchenko, Taras 217, 218, 221, 222, 231, 234, 235, 238, 239

- Sholokhova, Liudmila 108, 113, 141
 Shtunder, Zenoviia 219, 238, 239
 Shukhevych, Volodymyr 221, 228, 239
 Shust, Iaroslav 218, 239
 Sichynskyi, Denys 221, 222
 Singer, Joseph 53, 58
 Simmel, Georg 43, 50, 51, 58
 Simon, Hermann 57
 Skayler, Eugen see Schuyler, Eugen
 Skazhenyk, Marharyta 232
 Skotnicka, Ewa 42
 Skrukwa, Agata 42
 Skuditski, Zalmen 110, 122, 129, 134, 141
 Škultéty, Jozef 87
 Slastion, Opanas 227
 Śledziński, Stefan 236
 Sleptsov, Vasilii A. 148
 Slobin, Mark 58, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114, 117, 122, 123,
 128, 134, 138–142, 196, 215
 Slotnick, Susan 131, 141
 Slyvynskyi, Iuriy 230
 Smal-Stotskyi, Stepan 228
 Smetana, Bedřich 63
 Smirnov, Dmitrii 153, 163
 Smolenskii, Stepan 153, 154
 Smolerj, Jan Arnost 19
 Smoliak, Oleh 237
 Sobieska, Jadwiga 33
 Sobieski, Marian 33, 40, 42
 Sokal'skii, Pëtr 150, 151, 154, 156–158, 163
 Somonyi, Zsigmond 95
 Sonnleithner, Joseph 171, 188, 193
 Soós, Julianna 84, 105
 Sorce Keller, Marcello 9, 61, 65, 67–69, 81, 269
 Soret, Marie-Gabrielle 70, 81
 Spaun, Anton Ritter von 172–175, 188, 193
 Spaun, Joseph Ritter von 172
 Spencer, Herbert 100
 Stagl, Justin 174, 193
 Stählin (Staehlin), Jacob von 7, 171
 Stakhovich, Mikhail 148, 149, 165
 Stalin, Joseph 132, 139, 140
 Stefanyk, Vasyl 219, 224, 235
 Steinberg, Mark D. 141
 Steinthal, Chajim Heymann 43, 47, 49–51, 55
 Stepanskaia, Nina 140
 Stobart, Henry 189
 Strunk, Oliver 75, 81
 Stüler, August 49
 Stumpf, Carl 63, 64, 230, 233, 239
 Suchoff, Benjamin 262
 Sulzer, Salomon 52
 Suppan, Wolfgang 171, 172, 175, 193
 Sutton, Anderson R. 72, 81
 Szalay, Olga 261, 265
 Szavás, Gábor 95
 Szendrei, Janka 253, 263
 Szendrei, János 87
 Szentpál, Olga 93, 95
 Szilády, Zoltán 92, 105
 Szilágy see Czuczor, Gergely
 Szinnyei, József 95
- T
 Takács, Sándor 86, 93, 94, 105
 Taneev, Sergei 153
 Tarko, Medard 39
 Temme, Jodocus Donatus Hubertus 19
 Tempest, Ronald 263
 Tenishev, Viacheslav (Prince) 144, 161
 Tetiuk, Taras 225
 Tettau, Wilhelm 19
 Tevosian, Aleksandr 225, 239
 Thales of Miletus 62
 Thomas, William Isaac 51
 Thuren, Hjalmar 97–99, 105
 Tiersot, Julien 9, 61–78, 80, 81
 Tinctoris, Johannes 81
 Tishkov, Valery 214
 Toeppen, Max 19
 Toker, Leona 108
 Törnquist-Plewa, Barbara 190
 Travina, Irina 214
 Trébucq, Sylvain 68

Tretiak, Józef 23
Troitskaia, Alëna D. 162
Trunz, Erich 79
Trutovskii, Vasilii 146, 165
Twardowski, Kazimierz 233
Tylor, Edward Burnett 65, 66, 81

U

Udziela, Seweryn 23
Ukraïinka, Lesia 227
Umlauf, Friedrich 191
Ungarelli, Gaspare 97, 98, 105
Uvarov, Alexei S. 163

V

Vakhnianyn, Anatol 228
Valentin, Isaac Philip 56
Valentin, Karl 43, 56, 58, 59
Vamberi, Arminii 204, 215
Vardapet, Komitas 10
Vargyas, Gábor 103
Vargyas, Lajos 102, 103, 241, 245–248, 251–260, 263, 265
Vaughan Williams, Ralph 66
Veidlinger, Jeffrey 109, 140, 141
Verbytskyi, Mykhailo 220
Vereshchagin, Vasilii 203, 216
Veress, Sándor 244
Verkhovynets, Vasyl' 83, 97, 98, 105
Vierkandt, Alfred 50
Vikár, Béla 64, 92–94
Villoteau, Guillaume André 67, 71, 81
Vinogradov, Viktor 215
Virágvolgyi, Márta 261, 263
Viski, Károly 86, 93
Vlasov, Andrei 160, 165

W

Waber, Leopold 187, 188
Wagner, Richard 72, 210
Wallin, Nils Lennart 39

Warneken, Bernd Jürgen 180–182, 186, 194
Waterman, Richard A. 74, 82
Weber, Max 50, 179
Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg 180
Weckerlin, Jean-Baptiste 63
Weich-Shahak, Susana 115, 116, 139
Werner, Eric 55, 59
Whyte, William Foote 66, 82
Wiener, Meir 110, 128, 129, 134, 138, 141
Wiese, Leopold von 50
Williams, Raymond 66, 82
Wimmer, Florian 192
Wiora, Walter 69, 82
Wittgenstein, Ludwig 115
Wójcicki, Kazimierz Władysław 21
Wolff, Moritz 54

Y

Yasser, Joseph 65, 82
Yuditski, Avrom 122, 128–130, 139

Z

Zahaikevych, Maria 218, 239
Zajzoni Rab, István 93, 94
Zakariás, Erzsébet 260, 264
Zakrzewski, Walenty 18
Zaleski, Waclaw Michał 21, 220, 223, 239
Zalmanoff, Shmuel 126, 142
Žanić, Ivo 184
Zdravkova Djeparoska, Sonja 238
Zelenin, Dmitrii Konstantinovich 97, 98, 105
Zemtsovsky, Izaly 109, 112, 113, 120, 138, 142
Zibrt, Čeněk 83, 97, 98, 105
Ziegler, Susanne 214
Ziska (Žiska; Tschischka), Franz 172, 188, 194
Zoder, Raimund 194