THE CONTEMPORARY FOLK MUSIC SCENE IN BUDAPEST: EXPLORATIONS OF REVIVAL AND POST-REVIVAL.

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Declaration of Authorship

I …… hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ……

Date: ……

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Abstract

This thesis presents an ethnographic analysis of the contemporary folk music scene in Budapest, based primarily on fieldwork in the city between 2013-2015. It draws on concepts from ethnomusicology, cultural studies and popular music studies, while sustaining a particular focus on the frameworks of 'revival' and 'post-revival'. To begin, I examine one of the most problematic aspects of folk music in Hungary: its role in the construction of national identity and in the mediation of 'Hungarianness' (*magyarság*). Taking into account recent shifts in political ideology, I scrutinise certain governmental processes that seek to redefine folk music as national heritage. In so doing, I consider the emerging tension between a tendency towards nationalist preservation compared to prevalent globalising forces in the twenty-first century.

Turning to 'revival' and 'post-revival' frameworks more explicitly, I first acknowledge the new wave of popularity that has permeated Budapest's folk scene in recent years, and then identify ways in which the contemporary folk scene has changed since the first folk revival in the 1970s (the dance house movement). In my discussion, I investigate the professionalization of folk musicians bolstered by educational initiatives and an industry-based infrastructure, the transformation of the urban folk scene, and the diversification of musical styles relating to folk music to the point where some might be considered 'trendy'. I question the continued use of Livingston's (1999) revival model and explore more recent contributions to revival theory. In particular, I analyse key criteria of 'post-revival' as advocated by Bithell and Hill (2014) and consider their relevance to the Hungarian case. Enriching my discussion, I draw from similar studies of contemporary folk music scenes in England, Greece, America and Finland and probe alternative terms put forward by scholars, including, 'resurgence' and a 'second revival'.

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List of Hungarian Terms

Magyar népzene: 'Hungarian folk music'.
This is the name given to peasant folk music collected by Bartók and Kodály (among others) at the beginning of the twentieth century. It forms the musical basis of the táncházmozgalom.

Cigányzene: 'Gypsy music'.
This is a general term given to music played by Roma musicians, often with reference to nineteenth-century restaurant culture. This is different to 'magyar népzene' (Hungarian folk music).

Magyar nóta: 'Hungarian song'.
Magyar nóta is a type of folk-art song that was particularly popular in the nineteenth century among the middle classes. This is different to 'magyar népzene' (Hungarian folk music).

Táncház: 'dance house'.
In Hungarian usage, 'táncház' has two meanings: it either means the physical venue where the dancing takes place ('we danced at a táncház'), or it can mean the event itself ('there was a táncház last Friday').

Táncházmozgalom: 'dance house movement'.
The táncházmozgalom, or dance house movement, was a folk revival that began in the 1970s.

Liszt Ferenc Zenemuvészeti Egyetem (LFZE): 'Franz Liszt Music Academy'.
The principal music conservatoire in Budapest.

Hagyományok Háza: 'Hungarian Heritage House'.

One of the key institutions specialising in folk traditions, housing the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble, an archive, and an applied folk arts department.

Fölszállott a Páva: 'Fly peacock, Fly'.

'*Fölszállott a Páva*' is the title of a famous Hungarian folk tune that Kodály used as the theme of his 'Peacock Variations' (1939). In this thesis, it is used in reference to the name of a televised folk music and dance competition.

1. Introduction

Hungarians have described folk music to me as a language, as something in their blood, and as a manifestation of their soul.[1] Such is the prevalent nature of folk music in Hungarian culture that it was declared in exasperation, "children here are kept in a folk music ghetto!" (Interview with Kati, 2014). Equally revealing comments have disparagingly reduced folk music to the "wailing women from Transylvania" (Interview with Inke, 2014). These wildly different attitudes towards Hungarian folk music contribute to a rich contemporary Hungarian discourse of folk music that I both encountered during fieldwork and introduce here in this thesis.

One of the overarching aims of this thesis is to provide an ethnographic account of Hungarian folk music (*magyar népzene*) in Budapest at this particularly turbulent time in Europe's history. Through ethnography, I present some of the ways in which *magyar népzene* is understood by certain groups within Hungarian society. During the early stages of fieldwork, several trends emerged that helped to inform my research questions. For example, it became clear that there was an increasing engagement with specific forms of folk music, which in some cases led to its growing popularity among a younger demographic. Significant steps were being taken to increase the professionalization of folk musicians, signalling an emerging folk music industry. Most striking was the connection between folk music and right wing politics – not that practitioners necessarily endorsed this association – but, as a foreigner, the nationalist undercurrents in folk discourse were compelling.

The framework for this thesis, in its broadest sense, can be summed up in the following question: How might we view the contemporary folk music scene in Budapest in light of its recent surge in popularity? This in turn generates several other research questions:

- How has folk music been used in the construction of Hungarianness and how pervasive is this rhetoric today?
- In what ways does the urban metropolis of Budapest contribute to the transformation of the Hungarian folk tradition?
- In what ways do institutions and an emerging folk industry influence the transmission of Hungarian folk music?
- Can we still view the folk music scene as a 'revival', or would new frameworks such as 'post-revival' be more helpful?

Meeting these objectives requires an approach not previously taken in the study of Hungarian folk music, with the possible exception of Quigley (2014: 182-202). In Quigley's chapter 'The Hungarian Dance House Movement and Revival of Transylvanian String Band Music', he discusses the dance house movement of the 1970s-1980s, paying particular attention to its participatory aesthetic and close connection with dance. Quigley theorises the dance house movement as a revival and examines its development over a forty-year period, until UNESCO's inscription of the Táncház Method on its Register of Good Safeguarding Practices in 2011. However, this date is where Quigley's research stops. Although I draw from historical perspectives, particularly in Chapters 2 and 5, my research is primarily based on ethnography from the more recent period of 2013-2015. The focus of my research is also quite different: I examine spheres in which the dance house movement has transformed and evolved (professional, institutional, urban, political) to consider the limitations of a 'revival' framework and the possibilities of a 'post-revival' one instead.

Research on folk music in Hungary has typically followed historical or analytical pathways for which the most established subject material has been Bartók. The focus on Bartók has generated literature on his collection of folk songs, the use of folk motives in his art compositions, and the turn-of-the-century context in which these developments took place (see Frigyesi 1998; Brown 2007; Bayley 2001; Schneider 2006; Hooker 2013 for some of the best-known examples). Bartók is, of course, not

the only subject that has received attention; scholarship exists on Kodály, music during the Cold War, and on the dance house movement.[2]

Hungarian scholarship on folk music itself has, like in many other post-Soviet states, been largely empirical and positivistic in its approach. This is reflected in the extant Hungarian literature, the vast majority of which is focused on the folk tunes themselves under the broad umbrella of folklore studies; critical literature on folk music is scarce. It is therefore understandable that Hungarian scholarship on folk music has traditionally been linked to key archives and institutions such as the Budapest-based Institute of Musicology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA ZTI), which houses the Bartók Archive; the Kodály Memorial Museum and Archive in Budapest; and the Kodály Institute in Kecskemét (where work focuses more on Kodály's pedagogical material). Both former and current Heads of the Bartók Archive (László Somfai and László Vikárius respectively), as well as ethnomusicologist Bálint Sárosi (all of whom were particularly prominent in the twentieth century), have paved the way for current scholars such as István Pávai, Vera Lampert, and Pál Richter (also Head of the LFZE Folk Department), who continue in this vein.

However, historical and positivistic perspectives – though they certainly inform my research – are not the most helpful in assessing an evolving contemporary situation. Accordingly, I have also turned to other relevant writing, including journalism (both online and in print) to inform my work. In terms of the key theoretical concepts underpinning this thesis, I have found that paradigms from ethnomusicology, cultural studies, and popular music studies have enabled me to respond to my research questions; I engage with specific theories from these disciplines more deeply in each chapter.

Methodology

Before beginning, it is perhaps worthwhile first introducing how I came to this specific area of research, and then giving a brief overview of the musical styles that fit within the broad category of Hungarian folk music (*magyar népzene*).

My background as a classically trained violinist with a degree in Musicology informed my original idea to research violin performance practice in Hungary. This stemmed initially from a desire to bring to light the role of one particular violinist, Béla Katona, in the advancement of Hungarian violin pedagogy, since his reputation in Hungary was tarnished after fleeing for England following the 1956 Revolution. I began by studying genealogies of Hungarian violinists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, building a picture of Hungarian violin schools. As a prudent step, I took an evening class in the Hungarian language the year before my PhD began (2011-2012), and in the summer immediately before, I spent nearly three months living with a family in Budapest and having daily lessons, to expedite the learning process. I did not know at the time how vital, and indeed pivotal, this experience would be.

The more I engaged with the language and, by extension, the people, the more apparent it became that the study of other aspects of Hungarian culture was more pressing. The salient presence of traditional folk musicians at (seemingly) all national or government-sponsored events, and the corresponding absence of Roma musicians, struck me as significant, particularly in light of conversations I had had with new friends and acquaintances concerning recent shifts in the political landscape. A new right-wing government had come to power in 2010, amended the constitution in 2011, and was receiving increasingly negative press in the international sphere. My interest in these political shifts and their connection to traditional music grew and intensified, which led to a transition into Ethnomusicology during my first year of doctoral study. This gave rise to a decision to carry out extended fieldwork in Budapest, and a renewed, if not increased, need to continue learning the notoriously difficult

Hungarian language. Recurrent trips to Budapest both for research and personal interest have contributed to a deep affinity for the place and its people.

Since it is the contemporary folk music scene that lies at the heart of this thesis, I must outline here what I mean by 'Hungarian folk music' (*magyar népzene*), and consider the musical styles that fit within (and fall outside) that categorisation.

Magyar népzene translates literally as 'Hungarian folk music', and is the name given to peasant folk music collected by Bartók and Kodály (among others) from rural areas in Hungary and the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the twentieth century. Numerous original recordings and manuscripts made by Bartók and Kodály are available in archival holdings at the Institute for Musicology in Budapest; (material from the Bartók Archive and Kodály's Folk Music Research Group merged in 1984). Some of these resources have been digitized and can be freely accessed (see: http://db.zti.hu/nza/br_en.asp), although the digitizing process is ongoing. Some sound recordings can be found on YouTube, for example this one of Romanian folk dances collected by Bartók in different parts of Romania (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MhCoDIiWtzw).

As can be heard on these grainy recordings, the folk tunes are sung or played by village people, on their own or in groups. The subject of these folk tunes is often about daily life or local surroundings; examples of folk song titles include 'On this side of the Tisza [river]', 'The Horse-Thief', 'The snow is melting', and 'Women, women, listen, let me share your labour' – though there are also songs about love: 'My Sweetheart, you are beyond the Málnás woods'. There are several regional styles of *magyar népzene* from the Carpathian Basin, including former Hungarian territories where there are still sizeable pockets of ethnic Hungarians. The most popular areas for *magyar népzene* are Székelyföld and Csíkszereda, both of which are in Transylvania (Erdély), and Moldva (Eastern Romania).

This type of folk music formed the musical basis of the dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) and is fiercely championed as the 'authentic' type of Hungarian

folk music by practitioners and scholars. However, as we will see in Chapter 2, *magyar népzene* was not necessarily welcomed by the ruling classes in early twentieth-century Budapest, due to the fact that it dramatically challenged their conceptions of what authentic Hungarian music was. Hungarian music had previously been understood as the genres known as *magyar nóta* (Hungarian song or melody), *népies műzene* (folksy art music) or *magyaros műzene* (Hungarian art music). These styles were particularly prominent in the nineteenth century, falling broadly under the umbrella of Gypsy music (*cigányzene*) due to their performers, who were mainly Roma, and their popular, schmaltzy style. These genres are still used today in operetta, weddings, and at certain restaurants.

In Hungary today, *magyar népzene* is generally well understood in terms of the distinction made by Bartók and Kodály. Similarly, there is an understanding among many that the dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) developed the material they collected. However, there are still some who consider *népzene* to be an umbrella term that includes the material played by Roma musicians in the nineteenth century. For them, the term *magyar népzene* is crucial in order to clarify the exact genre being discussed.

Moving more specifically to questions of methodology, the assumption underpinning this research maintains that ethnographic fieldwork remains crucial to forming an understanding of music's roles in culture and society, while suggesting that it is important to interpret the term broadly by embracing other methodological approaches in order to enrich its potential. As Barz and Cooley affirm, "the power of music resides in its liminality, and this is best understood through engaging in the experimental method imperfectly called 'fieldwork'" (2008: 4). However, critique of fieldwork from both within ethnomusicology and in neighbouring disciplines has been well documented.[3] Barz and Cooley's volume (2008) problematized older models of ethnographic fieldwork – in some cases even questioning the term 'fieldwork' altogether (Kisliuk 2008: 183-205) – and in so doing, advanced scholarly discussion of new directions for fieldwork in ethnomusicology.

One of the most widespread objections to 'Old Fieldwork' has been the model of spending twelve months away at a remote, exotic locale. Criticism is habitually directed at the colonialist notion of Western scholars 'Othering' indigenous populations; this has been the case in several disciplines, namely ethnomusicology, cultural studies, and anthropology. Particularly problematic was the tendency to emphasise differences between 'them' (the primitive) and 'us' (the civilised), which strengthened themes of the 'other' and the 'exotic' (Gray 2003: 18). In the present era of post-colonial ethnomusicology, this is less and less evident.

Objections to 'Old Fieldwork' have been reflected in a gradual distancing from the traditional fieldwork model that was popularized in the latter half of the twentieth century, coupled with a significant rise in alternative fieldwork frameworks, such as fieldwork 'at home', in regional communities, in urban environments, and online. Cooley and Barz's suggestion that doctoral students who take on more traditional fieldwork models ask untraditional questions instead, challenging reified cultures and considering cultural discourses, rings true for my research. In my fieldwork, I considered cultural discourses of the folk scene and folk revival in Budapest. My thesis also takes on a historical dimension to reflect on forty years' development of a cultural phenomenon (the dance house movement) and to consider it within 'revival' and 'post-revival' frameworks, all within a highly polarised political context.

My research bears a resemblance to the traditional fieldwork model to the extent that I spent a little over ten months abroad carrying out my research (September 2013-July 2014). However, following this conventional starting point, my fieldwork branched out to embrace aspects of 'New Fieldwork'. The first point of departure is simply that Budapest is not the remote, exotic, undiscovered land of colonial ethnomusicology; rather, it is the vibrant capital city of an EU member state. Recent concepts from urban ethnomusicology thus became relevant. While urban ethnomusicology is well established as a discipline (Nettl 1978; Reyes-Schramm 1979; Shelemay 2006; Krims 2007), research on 'the city' has received more attention in recent years, as evidenced by the British Forum for Ethnomusicology conference in 2014 entitled 'Ethnomusicology and the City', and the growing body of literature on music and cities

(Cohen 2007; Holt and Wergin 2013; Jurková 2014). Research focused on folk music traditions in urban contexts (Bohlman 1988; Ramnarine 2003; Peters 2002; Kearney 2007; Tragaki 2007) has provided key reference points for my own project.

A second point of departure from the old model concerned new ideas of how 'the field' could and should be formulated (Cooley and Barz 2008). My initial conception of the 'field' was quite straightforward, as the capital city of Hungary offered tangible parameters within which to carry out research. My decision to focus on Budapest arose from the desire to explore the continuing transformation of Hungary's folk tradition in this urban context, forty years after it was brought to Budapest and formed the basis of the 'dance house movement'. I then took on board Rice's assertion that the 'field' is a metaphorical creation on the part of the researcher (2008: 90) so that the geographic location of Budapest became just a starting point for a more nuanced and metaphorical construction of the 'field' in which I was researching. Details of this emerge in the following examples.

A crucial challenge to the traditional one-year model was the number of additional research trips to Budapest, both before and after the ten-month stint. I had previously spent three months in Budapest in 2012 before the start of my PhD, living with a Hungarian family and having daily language tuition.[4] In February 2013 I carried out a 'feasibility trip' to Budapest to ensure that there would be sufficient resources available to support my decision to focus on Budapest. In addition, I made three short 'follow up trips' in 2015 (January, March, December), which enabled me to have repeated access to a developing situation. During these trips, I attended events that were crucial to my ethnography of the folk scene. One such event was the annual Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*), the largest meeting point of the táncház scene in Hungary; another was the live broadcast of *Fölszállott a Páva*, a televised folk competition, similar to *Pop Idol* or *The X Factor*. I used all three trips to reconnect and follow up with colleagues and interviewees, providing opportunities for reflection and ongoing debate. Without these additional trips, the quality of my research would have suffered.

Another instance of my expanded construction of the 'field' involved adopting a broader approach to ethnography, namely by embracing 'e-fieldwork'. This is known by a number of similar terms: 'Internet ethnography' (Taylor 1997), 'virtual fieldwork' (Cooley, Meizel and Syed 2008), 'e-fieldwork' (Wood 2008), 'virtual ethnography' (Hine 2000), 'netnography' (Kozinets 2009), and research in 'cyberspace' (Jacobson 1999; Blaustein 2014). Blank's *Folk Culture in the Digital Age* (2012) also includes a chapter on the ethics of fieldwork on Facebook (Miller 2012: 212-232). In Wood's chapter in *The New (Ethno)musicologies*, she notes the particular advantages of fieldwork on the Internet in urban contexts, arguing that it mirrors the kinds of diverse networks and communities typical of urban environments.

In line with Wood's assertion that the Internet is a valuable additional (not necessarily alternative) mode of fieldwork, I expanded my analysis of written texts, both academic and non-academic, to include online resources such as Internet blogs, online newspapers, online concert promotion, and so on. One case study in particular required a few different technologies: the televised folk competition, *Fölszállott a Páva*, required a television to watch it and the Internet to read reviews, articles, forums, and to re-watch clips as necessary. Email was also essential to my fieldwork, from enquiries and setting up meetings, to three interviews I conducted by email, as the interviewees were unable to meet in person.

A third point of departure from the older fieldwork model was to include reflexivity in my approach to fieldwork. This was informed by scholarship on 'reflexive ethnomusicology' (Barz and Cooley 2008; Kisliuk 2008; Tragaki 2007; Nettl 2015), which facilitated a better understanding of my subjectivities and position in the field. The most significant arena in which this was apparent was politics. The tense political climate in Hungary made me keenly aware of my own political sensitivities and the potential for them to come across during interviews (more on this below). I also became surprisingly aware of my own personal music tastes, when I found myself inadvertently agreeing or disagreeing with the musical judgements of interviewees. A logical strategy for writing this thesis therefore entailed combining descriptive and theoretical discussions, as well as instances of autoethnography at specific moments

to further illustrate a point. At certain junctures, I therefore include anecdotes or personal impressions, to highlight a Western viewpoint, illuminate political differences, or offer my own perspective.

I should briefly add that, while I was aware of the ethnographer's potential for wider impact, I did not actively seek to change the 'field', as can be the case in the realm of applied ethnography (see Harrison, MacKinlay and Pettan 2010). This is not to suggest that my activities in Budapest went unnoticed or that I had no effect or influence. There was indeed some collaboration with ethnomusicologists and folklorists, such as co-presenting a radio programme and assisting with the translation of a book on folk music. Less directly, I raised the profile of folk music scenes with outsiders who would not otherwise discuss it, through the course of my interviews. However, I did not view my role as one of "solving concrete problems" or facilitating social change (Harrison and Pettan 2010: 1). Finally, ethical considerations of my ethnography are peppered throughout the Methods section below.

Methods

This section aims to explain in more detail ways in which I worked as an ethnographer in the 'field'. My methods include the traditional techniques of interviews, observation, and participant observation, but also include aspects of virtual ethnography, such as extensive analysis of web-based materials.

Interviews

In addition to numerous informal interviews more akin to casual conversations, I conducted formal interviews, each lasting between one and three hours.[5] These were all recorded on a Dictaphone, which included the interviewee's verbal consent to use the recorded material in my thesis. Due to occasional logistical difficulties, three interviews were conducted via email. The interviews were semi-structured, ranging from a more rigid structure early on in my fieldwork, to a more relaxed conversational structure towards the end. I made occasional notes during the interviews, usually to

write down (and check) a Hungarian spelling of something mentioned, but for the most part my attention was on the interview itself. I later transcribed the interview recordings, which could be incredibly time consuming. The interviews were predominantly conducted in English, though if the interviewee struggled to express exactly what they wanted to in a second language, I encouraged them to continue explaining in Hungarian. Sometimes I could understand and respond in Hungarian until we could safely navigate back to English, but if this was not possible, I would indicate to continue in Hungarian until they had said everything they intended to, and we would move on to the next question. I would then take the recording to my Hungarian teacher and we would translate extracts together so I could fill in any gaps in my transcription. This was not a frequent occurrence, but it was a valuable technique to ensure I had the most comprehensive records possible.

I began by interviewing students at the LFZE (Franz Liszt Music University), so I drafted a set of questions based on my research questions (see Appendix A). After interviewing two students, I paused to reflect on how willing or unwilling they had been to answer certain questions. I drew two conclusions immediately: firstly, that questions concerning politics were highly sensitive and would have to be approached with care; secondly, that as young students, these two interviewees seemed cautious about speaking critically about their institution – one asked if I "really wanted the honest answer" (unnamed interviewee).

I took time to critique my approach and adapt my questions – principally by being less direct and asking more open-ended questions, in an effort to invite conversation rather than restrict dialogue by forcing direct answers. When I subsequently began interviewing non-musicians, I drafted a refined set of questions, which included questions that could better be posed to non-musicians (see Appendix B). This became a kind of 'crib sheet', from which I extrapolated the questions best suited to the interviewee (e.g. depending on whether they were a musician or a non-musician). As I became more familiar and more comfortable with the interview process, the interviews became more organic and less formalised. I knew most of the questions by heart, but would refer to my 'crib sheet' when required to ensure I had asked all the

questions I intended to. This was particularly helpful if the interview had taken a tangential turn – something I later came to realise was rarely a 'waste of time', as it could reveal a wealth of unexpected information. In these situations, I was happy to let the interviewee continue talking; I had no wish to curtail conversation in order to maintain a restrictive structure.

In certain cases, I drew the interview into the arena of dialogic ethnography, whereby I would put more academic questions to the interviewee. For example, in some later interviews, I posed the hypothesis that there was a tangible divide between more liberal Hungarians who were in favour of the EU and who rejected folk music, and more traditionalist Hungarians who were hostile towards the EU, were keen on overt displays of national identity, and who liked folk music. While this sometimes triggered emphatic statements of agreement or disagreement, it also helped to yield more nuanced discussion about different sectors of society, and thus deepened the ethnography.

In all cases of formal, personal interviews, I have restricted interviewee names to first names in order to assign a degree of anonymity. Whilst I did not receive requests for total anonymity and was granted permission to quote names, I believe that refraining from using full names is the most responsible strategy, especially in light of such a turbulent political time. However, I have included as an appendix a list of interviewee Christian names, the date the interview(s) took place, and a brief biographical description – mostly to illustrate the variety of backgrounds and occupations that informed their responses (see Appendix C). It must also be noted that occasionally during interviews the interviewee would ask for a certain section of the interview not to be used, which I have honoured. This almost exclusively pertained to personal opinions on Hungarian politics; when relevant, I have included these opinions, either in paraphrased form, or quoted fully and attributed to an unidentified interviewee. Finally, I began by using the term 'informant', but due to Cold War connotations relating to the Secret Police, I have chosen the more neutral term 'interviewee' instead.

Observation

I attended and observed a large number of performances while in the 'field', including those that were specifically musical and others that were cultural in a broader sense. Wherever possible I took photographs and video recordings, and I always made observational fieldnotes, both in notebooks and in Word documents, which were especially useful when visual records were not possible. I got into the habit of 'writing up' my reflections on the performance when I got home, in a manner similar (I imagine) to a critic writing a review.

Performances included concerts in concert halls and official 'pop' or 'rock' venues; gigs in bars and pubs; instrumental lessons at the LFZE (university); BA final recitals at the LFZE; public performances at festivals; social gatherings such as the táncház (dance house) at Fonó and Hagyományok Háza; children's activity days in parks and cultural centres; and official performances at political rallies and national celebration days.

Analysis of Written and Online Materials

I collected and analysed a large amount of written and online data from sources such as tourist brochures, posters, concert promotional material, political campaign slogans, news websites, Internet forums, university syllabuses, television shows (*Fölszállott a Páva*), and so on. My analysis began with personal impressions and interpretations and progressed to more formal processes that charted emerging themes, traced sources of funding, scrutinised targets as laid out in mission statements, and so on.

Participant Observation

I employed the method of participant observation at three institutions: the Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem, LFZE, (literally 'Franz Liszt Music University', or Franz Liszt Academy of Music), Hagyományok Háza, HH, (literally 'House of Traditions', or Hungarian Heritage House), and Fonó Budai Zeneház (Fonó Music Hall, found on the Buda side of the city).

Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem (LFZE): During one of my first weeks in Budapest, I contacted the Head of the Folk Music Department at the LFZE, Dr Pál Richter, by email, and we arranged a meeting soon after. I went to the Folk Department, met with him and explained the nature of my fieldwork research. He very kindly gave me some written materials such as class timetables, BA and MA syllabuses, and an article he had written about the Department, before asking me to follow him to meet a lecturer at the Department. This lecturer, Dr István G. Németh, was teaching a class, but this did not stop Dr Richter from interrupting and introducing me to Dr Németh and all his students. I was invited to observe the rest of the lecture and then to stay for the lecture after, which would be in English. I subsequently enrolled in what turned out to be the 'Introduction to Hungarian Folk Music' lecture series, which was in English and aimed principally at non-Hungarian students who were at the LFZE either for a complete degree or a one-year Erasmus programme.

I attended weekly classes for two semesters. I made lecture notes each week as if I were a 'real' student and took part in all that was required of me, including dictation and notation of folk tunes (which I found to be extremely difficult), having to sight-sing folk tunes (which was similarly difficult), and presenting a paper on English folk music (as we were all required to talk about our native folk music as part of the course).[6] I took my own ethnographic field notes from the classes as well. As I was English (i.e. non-Hungarian), the students in these classes assumed I was another Erasmus student for most of the lectures until I disclosed later on that I was actually a PhD student carrying out fieldwork.

I had a comical encounter with the lecturer, Dr Németh, when he revealed that he had marked my paper on English folk music, thereby completely forgetting I was not a 'real' student of his class! However, this was quickly rectified at the beginning of the second semester, when we met outside the university and I reiterated who I was and why I was in Budapest. This led to a marked change in our relationship: he began to see me as more of a colleague and asked me to collaborate on a book translation and a live radio discussion about Hungarian folk music.

I also attended some classes for the Hungarian students[7] to survey what they were studying (though I was only able to get the gist of the material due to language limitations), and to get to know some of the students. Some of the Hungarian students were particularly helpful, and invited me to their BA recitals and took me to táncház events on some Friday evenings.

Hagyományok Háza (HH): Through Dr Ildikó Sándor, whom I approached after one of her classes at the LFZE, I was able to spend some time at Hagyományok Háza. Two occasions were of particular value: the first was a three-hour evening class for primary school teachers who wanted (or were required) to learn how to teach folk music and folk dances to the children in their classes. With Ildikó's permission (and a subsequent check with class participants), I took substantial video footage of this particular evening as it provided great insight into the dissemination of teaching methods. I also took part in some of the exercises. The second occasion was a children's táncház on a Sunday morning, which, to a foreign observer, seemed rather like an event at which to learn nursery rhymes and simple children's songs. I took some photos and recordings, but I was cautious of taking photos of children without written consent from parents; had I wanted to reproduce the ones I did take within this thesis – rather than using them for archival study – I would have obtained consent. However, my instinct guided me to a conclusion that if I had sought official consent, it would have drawn too much attention to myself and I would not have been able to observe and participate as naturally. I therefore have some photos of the event for personal observation but have not reproduced any here in this thesis or elsewhere.

Fonó Budai Zeneház: I went to this music centre several times when dance house events were taking place, and observed live folk bands providing music for hundreds of people to dance to. The first time I went, at the invitation of LFZE student Veronika, it resembled something of a barn dance. There was a bar and a table-football table, which gave it a feeling of a social club, and in some ways a youth club. I asked Veronika if she thought anyone would mind me filming, and as she did not, I spent a significant amount of time standing on a chair in the corner of the room with my video camera. I was relieved to find that people did not object; instead they only smiled. I

think this is because Fonó Budai Zeneház is quite a high-profile dance house, so there are frequently people filming the bands or the dancers for publicity material found on YouTube or other websites. I was encouraged by some of the students from LFZE to participate in the dances, which I tried briefly, but I found that without being taught the steps at the basic level that I required, it was really quite difficult and my incompetence would interrupt the flow of the dance for everyone else.

Placing Budapest in Europe

Before moving on to an examination of the key concepts I use in this thesis, it is important to position Budapest and Hungary in Europe, first by elucidating my understanding of Central Europe, and then by highlighting certain crucial moments and prevailing currents in Europe's very recent past. Following on from this discussion, I survey recent literature on music in Europe to illustrate a renewed scholarly interest in the territory, specifically from an ethnomusicological perspective.

The Notion of Central Europe

I refer to Central Europe and Hungary's position within it several times in this thesis, for which I offer some context here. The notion of Central Europe is as much ideological as geographical, but has some of its roots in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where lands were distinguished from those of the German Empire and the Russian Empire. Since then, Central Europe has variously been understood as including parts of Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic (or Czechia), Slovakia, and Slovenia. However, this is an amorphous area with diverging regions within it. In his articles 'Does Central Europe Exist?' (1986) and 'The Puzzle of Central Europe' (1999), Timothy Garton-Ash describes how the term Central Europe re-emerged in the 1980s, after having fallen out of use (under the pan-German term *Mitteleuropa*) after the Second World War. In this context, the term was used by several intellectuals living under the Soviet regime to distinguish their own nations from the occupiers, and to build bridges amongst one another in resistance.

Today, we can see a strident Central European ideology clearly in the rise of the Visegrád Group: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary. This alliance of the Visegrád Four (V4) countries was established to further European integration after the fall of Communism, but it is better known today as a thorn in the EU's side thanks to its repeated acts of rebellion (see next subsection). This turbulent relationship was the subject of a recent article in *The Economist,* entitled 'Big, Bad Visegrad' (2016). It is primarily in this context, then, that I view Hungary as belonging to Central Europe, although the deeper historical and ideological threads surface from time to time.

Contemporary Political Climate

In recent years, the impact of a global economic recession (since the financial crisis of 2008), anxiety about immigration from the Middle East, and a growing frustration with EU bureaucracy have triggered new waves of political and social unrest across Europe. We can observe this most prominently in the rise of nationalism – in most cases in conjunction with increased popularity of far right parties and fascist sentiments. Most pertinent for my research is the evidence of this in the countries belonging to the Visegrád Group (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary), though the resurgence of Neo-Nazism in Austria, Greece, and Germany is also well documented.[8]

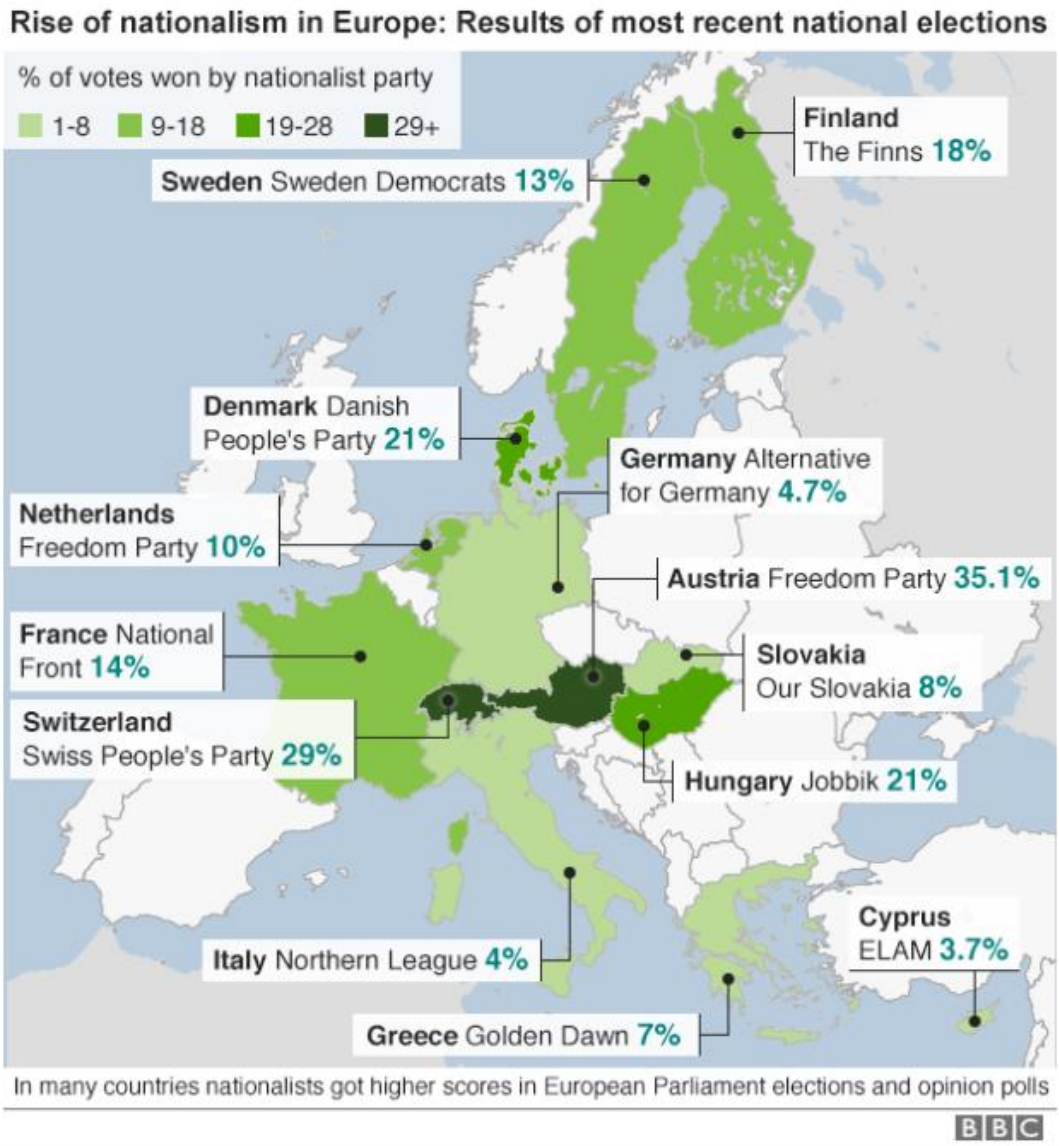

Figure 1: Map of Europe showing percentage of votes gained by nationalist parties, 2016

(See separate references for Figures on pp. 258-262)

During my main period of fieldwork (2013-14), the right-wing Fidesz party was seeking re-election with Viktor Orbán at the helm, and political tensions were unsurprisingly heightened. As I explain in more detail in Chapter 2, the Fidesz-KDNP government of 2010-2014 made several controversial decisions (including redrafting the national constitution) which were at odds with the policies of the European Union. Reasserting Hungarian national identity, centralising power in Parliament and displaying animosity towards the EU were all transparent themes while I was living in Budapest.

After fieldwork, the situation dramatically intensified. The summer of 2015 saw Hungary grappling with an unprecedented level of migration of mostly Syrian refugees, which catapulted Hungary into the headlines. Orbán's response, to erect razor-wire fences at the border with Serbia, and later with Croatia, was met with widespread international criticism and viewed as a violation of the Dublin Regulation.[9] By the summer of 2016, the influx of refugees and migrants to Hungary had lessened (aided by the fences), but relationships between EU countries became increasingly strained; this was exacerbated by the UK's vote to leave the EU following a referendum on 23rd June 2016, famously called 'Brexit'. Hungary scheduled its own referendum for 2nd October 2016, when it asked Hungarian citizens whether they accepted migrant quotas imposed by the EU decision-makers in Brussels. Orbán claimed victory thanks to a nearly 98% majority voting to reject migrant quotas, despite the fact that the referendum was legally invalid due to low turnout (40.4% instead of the required 50% threshold) (BBC 2016b). Orbán's vociferous rejection of EU quotas has won him support at home and in neighbouring countries (especially those belonging to the Visegrád Group), but has led to public disagreements with EU leaders and even a suggestion by Luxembourg's Foreign Minister that Hungary should be expelled from the EU (BBC 2016a).

Scholarship on Europe

In terms of the literature, there has been a scholarly turn back towards Europe in recent years. For example, a champion of ethnomusicological study in Europe has been the *Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities* series, edited by Bohlman and Stokes. Since its conception in 2003, the *Europea* series has challenged ethnomusicologists to return to Europe and "encounter its disciplinary past afresh" (Levine and Bohlman 2015: Series Foreword). Through monographs on such varied topics as Celtic traditions, Balkan folk song, diasporas in Europe, and the Eurovision Song Contest (among several others), the series engages with topical issues (identity, belonging, progress, and so on) that shape "European" musical experience in Europe, against the shifting backdrop of an evolving European Union.

More recently, Bohlman, in his second edition of *Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe* (2011), outlined his conception of the 'New Europe', which he dated back to 2007 when borders between 'New EU States' and 'Old EU States' were opened under the Schengen agreement. He reflected on the theme of unification that dominated his first edition (2004), when the introduction of the Euro symbolized a New Europe without borders, and contemplated the considerable changes that had taken place in the intervening seven years. Writing now in 2016, only five years later, Europe is very different from the one Bohlman conceptualized in 2011 (see above for contemporary European context).

Bohlman's concept of the 'New Europeanness' was one of connection, mobility, and cosmopolitanism across the 'New Europe'. It was also one of transition: Bohlman wrote in a lot of detail about changes in the post-socialist context and the expansion of the EU, both of which contributed to his 'New Europe'. In addition to examples such as the Eurovision Song Contest and the rise of the Synagogue Chorus, Bohlman cited folk music, or more accurately *new* folk music, as a key "icon" of 'New Europeanness' (2011: 229). By this he meant twenty-first century instances of transformation of the 'old' national folk music, citing 'newly composed folk music' in Yugoslavia, 'turbo folk' in Serbia, and new folk music (*uusikansnmusiikki*) in Finland.

However, the observations and interpretations Bohlman made in terms of the 'New Europe', 'New Europeanness', and European nationalism, whilst appropriate in the 2000s, do not hold true today – particularly in Hungary. The Europe of the 2010s has been dominated by waves of national renewal and resistance to EU cohesion, which I have outlined above.[10] Despite the fact that his book is not completely 'up-to-date' on European developments, Bohlman's contribution to scholarship on music in Central Europe is considerable, especially because there is so little available.[11] With notable exceptions, recent scholarship on non-Western Europe has traditionally focused on Eastern Europe (both during socialism and in post-socialist transition), the Balkan states (post-Yugoslavia), and the Mediterranean. Central Europe, in which Hungary plays a pivotal role, can often be overlooked, which is something my thesis hopes to address.

A final example of renewed attention to Europe appeared as recently as 2015, when a special themed issue of the journal *Ethnomusicology Forum* was dedicated to the contemporary European context and a new concept: the 'New Old Europe Sound'. In his article, Kaminsky outlines contexts and criteria for the 'New Old Europe Sound', which he suggests is an "East European bricolage [of] Balkan, Romani and klezmer music" (2015: 143). He notes, for example, that mixed genres have thus far been named by their constituent parts, for example 'Gypsy punk' or 'European neo-klezmer', and instead suggests that these instances form a general trend of blurred lines and cultural appropriation. However, he goes against the ethnomusicological pattern of focusing on the community whose culture has been appropriated, and instead examines the appropriators and the act of blurring lines. In so doing, Kaminsky breathes new life into discourse on world music and on 'Othering', particularly at a time when two of Europe's internal 'Others', the 'Gypsy' and the 'Jew', are highly politicised once again.

Key Concepts

In this section, I present and theorize in detail two central concepts that underpin this research. This is not to say that my research is limited to these two concepts – on the contrary, numerous additional concepts are used and critiqued within each chapter. Nevertheless, the concepts 'folk' and 'revival' (or 'post-revival') are the key analytical categories through which I evaluate the Hungarian folk music scene.

The more complex and fundamental of these is 'folk'. It seems crucial to reveal ways in which 'folk music' has been conceived in terms of different understandings of 'folk', so that I can ground current ideas about a national folk music in Hungary in historical discourses of purity, class, and nation-building. My exploration of the complexities surrounding classifications of 'folk-', 'art-' and 'popular-' music, as well as issues of terminology concerning 'folk' and 'traditional', informs my later discussion of the

blurred boundaries between different genres and interpretations of Hungarian folk music. Additionally, my assessment of definitions and understandings of the term 'folk music' in very recent scholarship helps me to refine my own terminology to ensure that I present my findings in the clearest and most suitable way possible. Furthermore, my research offers new perspectives on this long-standing and contested issue, by introducing and analysing contemporary Hungarian understandings of 'folk music'.

Folk

The complexities surrounding a definition of 'folk music' are well documented, most clearly illustrated by a tendency for authors to shy away from an overt definition, instead invoking Bohlman's perspective that "the dynamic nature of folk music belies the stasis of definition" (1988: xviii). One strategy for dealing with the difficulties is to abandon any attempt at a definition or even to make explicit cases for not defining the term.[12] A second strategy is to use the term 'folk music' in the same way as the people being studied (for example, musicians, audiences, practitioners). Allowing folk music to mean "whatever its users mean it to mean" is a prevalent scholarly solution (Kaminsky 2012; Ronström 1989). Similarly, Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013: 10) state that they use the term 'folk' as a label for "the specific genre of music or dance discussed, the artists that perform within it, and its culture of participation". A third strategy is to simply broaden out the term to allow for diverse and contradictory understandings, thus embracing the notion that the term has historically been fluid, and "that its meaning has changed and altered over time" (Mitchell 2007: 11).

While I acknowledge all three strategies, recent additional attempts to theorise the term 'folk music' (Kaminsky 2012; McKerrell 2014; Nooshin 2015) allow for discussion of contemporary debates on the terms 'folk' and 'traditional' and on the interplay between genres (namely 'art music', 'popular music', and 'world music'). I begin by charting the concept of 'folk', and surveying the historical relationship between 'folk' and 'art' music. After outlining the deconstruction of the term in the 1980s, I explore

ways in which the discourse has diversified and I examine several approaches to folk music, particularly from the last ten years.

Folk Music and the 'Folk'

The concept of the 'folk' in Europe has evolved since Johann Gottfried von Herder's coining of the terms *Volksgeist* (spirit of the folk) and *Volkslieder* (folk song) in the late eighteenth century. At that time, both Herder (1744-1803) and William John Thoms[13] (1803-1885) identified the 'folk' as the uneducated lower classes, though with differing value judgements. Thoms considered the 'folk' as an inferior category of people whose behaviour was retrogressive and linked to the primitive, whereas Herder regarded the 'folk' as preservers of peasant customs, which could "provide the vitality and spirit which make for a truly national culture" (Mitchell 2007: 8).

Attributing the term 'folk' to the peasant classes continued through the nineteenth century and in many cases into the twentieth century too. Tropes of purity and authenticity bolstered the nationalist cause that dominated much of nineteenth-century Europe, and peasants were held up as the pure 'folk' who preserved ancient cultural heritage that was essential to constructing a unique national identity. In Hungary, conceptions of 'a national music' changed dramatically from what is commonly referred to as 'Gypsy music' in the nineteenth century (actually a performance style by 'Roma' musicians comprising several musical genres), to 'folk' music (categorised by the genre of ancient peasant tunes collected from the countryside) in the twentieth. I discuss these and other understandings of Hungarian national music in detail in Chapter 2.

In the early twentieth century, several folk music researchers and collectors followed Herder's conceptualizations of the 'folk' and set off to rural areas in search of 'authentic' peasants and their music. Among them were Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály (Hungary), Constantin Brãiloiu (Romania), Cecil Sharp (England), Armas Otto Väisänen (Finland), and Francis James Child and John A. Lomax (USA).

In line with Herder and Thoms, Sharp sought out his 'authentic source' in the 'folk' "whose faculties had undergone no formal training, and who ha[d] never been brought into close enough contact with educated persons to be influenced by them" (1907: 4, quoted in Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 6). The 'purity' of the folk and folk songs was crucial to Sharp and Bartók, both of whom placed great emphasis on folk songs being free from 'contamination'.[14] Inherent in the mediation of 'purity' was the dichotomy between rural and urban; the former was regarded as the 'pure' source and guarantor of authenticity, while the latter was seen as a modern pollutant. For Bartók, folk music needed to be shielded from urban popular music, including 'Gypsy' music, because the melodies were "a combination of hackneyed city music and a certain exotic variation of their own folk music", which was "too vulgar to be of any essential value" (Suchoff 1976: 4). Only folk music possessed "absolute purity of style" (Suchoff 1976).

Another key factor in defining folk song at this time was oral transmission from generation to generation. Again, the notion that folk music has sustained a direct chain of transmission and therefore remained impervious to outside influences was central to claims of authenticity (something that persists today). The process of folk music transmission has and continues to be discussed extensively. Sharp (1907: 16, quoted in Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 6) identified three processes that he deemed essential to the development of any folk song. These were 'continuity' with the past, 'variation' over time by individual singers, and 'selection' (i.e. internalisation) by the folk community. Such was the significance of these processes that the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) used them as a basis for its working definition of folk music in 1954:

> Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives…

> The term can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community…
>
> The term does not cover composed popular music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creating of the music by the community that gives it its folk character. (IMFC 1955: 23)[15]

We can observe from the definition a persistent focus on a lack of education – "from rudimentary beginnings" - and an emphasis on purity – "uninfluenced by popular and art music" (see below for discussions of 'art music' and 'popular music'). The "re-fashioning and re-creating by the community" speaks of oral transmission, transformation, and Sharp's 'selection'. It was also a source of inspiration for Charles Seeger's coining of the term 'Folk Process': "the process by which cultural artifacts are changed, whether minutely or in significant amounts, to form new cultural products" (MacDonald 2005: 4).

'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'

A second key framework for viewing folk music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the relationship between folk and art music. One of the ways in which this relationship has been presented is as polar opposites of the spectrum (as 'high' versus 'low', and 'civilised' versus 'primitive'). As Gruning asserts, this bifurcation of 'folk' and 'serious', 'low' and 'high', was widely supported by academics and ideologues in the first decades of the twentieth century (2006: 13). The second has focused on the selection of folk material by art composers for the creation of 'national' music in the context of nineteenth-century nation building. Drawing on folk music to increase the exotic element of art compositions was a way of reacting against the German dominance of 'high art'.

While Bohlman concedes that the folk/art dialectic is most often associated with "implicitly negative value judgements" about high versus low culture, he also highlights three positive outcomes from the two genres' interaction. These are: first, that the composer turns to folk music because of its creative potential (i.e. it is not a frozen artefact); second, that the engagement of art musicians with folk music reveals the fallacy that folk and art music rarely influence each other in some way; and third, that the dialectical interrelation of folk and art music is multidimensional, revealing "complex processes of change that occur as much in folk music as they do in art music" (1988: 49).

Gelbart further tackles the complexities of the folk/art dialectic in his publication *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (2007). While he describes the task of defining 'folk' and 'art' music as a "large mess", he reminds us that both categories are "not timeless, objective truths, but very human constructions" (2007: 4) and he encourages, unlike Bohlman, the hard work needed to "pin down the terms".[16] One of Gelbart's most significant hypotheses is that 'folk music' and 'art music' have a specific historical interdependence as a binary, dialectical pairing, and have functioned in dialogue with each other (2007: 7). Through Gelbart's deconstruction of this binary opposition, he is (ironically) drawn into using several others (local/universal, oral/literate, music/words, function/origin), but he quite rightly acknowledges that they are not all of equal importance.

For example, he shows that notions of origin, creation, and creative process are key to both 'art' and 'folk music', but are handled in different ways. While it is essential to a definition of 'art music' to claim original creative sources, a definition of 'folk music' that uses the word 'origin' widens its meaning to focus on a gradual process of creation rather than a specific moment of origin (2007: 8). Nooshin also tackles the concept of creativity within folk music studies in her recent book on musical creativity in Iranian classical music (2015). She highlights similarities between the creative processes of folk music and art music, citing Lloyd (1967: 17) and Blacking's (1969: 64) claims that the only difference between them is one of social and cultural

construction. She argues that the discourses of the folk/art dualism are "saturated with the relationships of alterity" (2015: 15).

It is also worth introducing here the folk-art-popular music trichotomy, that Berger describes as "still alive in the popular imagination" and "serv[ing] as the centers of gravity for music disciplines in the academy" (2008: 62). Gelbart dates the establishment of this third category, popular music, to the mid-nineteenth century, and explains how it multiplied the possible combinations of binary and ternary oppositions through which both folk and art could define themselves by processes of exclusion (2007: 9-10). In nineteenth-century Hungary, this played out in a popular-art music binary, where the popular genres encompassed 'Gypsy' music (*verbunkos* and *magyar nóta*), and the art music involved composers such as Liszt, Brahms, and Erkel, who actually incorporated 'folky' and 'Gypsy' elements into their compositions. As explained in Chapter 2, nineteenth century 'Gypsy' music was thought to be 'folk' music until Bartók and Kodály collected peasant tunes at the turn of the century and presented them to the educated classes in Budapest as 'real' folk music.

Post-War Challenges

By the second half of the twentieth century, the earlier, romantic, national understanding of 'the folk' had started to broaden out and diversify. In England, during the 'Second Folk Revival' (1950-1970), there was a huge shift from viewing the 'folk' as rural peasants to viewing them as the industrial working classes. In the context of the socialist movement in post-war Britain, the folk revival aimed to provide a "communal space for the celebration of the industrial proletariat" (Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 7). Understandings of authenticity shifted too, from the 'pure' rural source to an egalitarian performance context (ibid.), which gave rise to the folk club.[17] Keil (1978) and Harker (1985) also put forward understandings of folk music as working class. In North America, too, the folk revival facilitated a new understanding of folk music. Stekert outlined four principal strands within the generic category of 'folk' as she saw it in 1966, which not only identified the rural tradition-bearers (her 'traditional singers') but also the 'utilizers' who popularised folk music and 'new aesthetic performers' who created their own blend of 'folk' and 'art' music.[18]

Ramnarine also notes, in relation to the Finnish case (where the revival movement of the late 1960s drew on British and American folk-rock models), that perceptions of folk music constructed during the nineteenth century began to fall away. However, while it is certainly true that constructions of folk music also changed in Hungary and in other Central and Eastern European countries, it was not a case of diversification. Rather, folk music became centralised and state-controlled, resulting in regimented state folk ensembles and performances (see Rice 1994; Slobin 1996; Buchanan 2006). In Hungary, Kodály's position that peasant folk song was the embodiment of the Hungarian 'musical mother-tongue', combined with his significant influence on the education system, meant that folk song teaching became institutionalised in schools.

In Western scholarship, the term 'folk' was subjected to vigorous critique and underwent significant deconstruction during the 1980s. Bohlman in his seminal work *A Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (1988) challenged the conservative (often purist) ideology that underpinned folk music discourse, and instead called for the abandoning of "inviolable conditions" such as "purely oral transmission", "anonymous authorship", and "restriction to hypothetical rural communities":

> Instead of looking at the past and idealizing it, instead of fussing about saving folk music before it discharges its last gasp, I call for the study of folk music in the modern world and in the incredibly diverse contexts that folk music now freely admits. (1988: xix)[19]

Harker (1985) and Boyes (1993) were also key contributors to the 'folk' critique. Despite later criticism laid at Harker's door for being inflexible and selective, Keegan-Phipps and Winter argue that Harker's deconstruction of 'folk song'[20] and 'the folk' as subject to invention, reinvention, and mediation has endured in most folk scholarship, and "it is now impossible to talk or write about folk song in absolute terms" (Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 7). Some writers even sought to replace the term 'folk' completely (Keil 1978; Pickering and Green 1987).

'Folk Music' Versus 'Traditional' Music?

The conceptual shift of the 1980s set approaches to 'folk music' off in several directions. One such direction was an institutional disillusionment with the term 'folk music', as made apparent by the decision to change the name of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) to the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) in 1981. This reflected a Western and Central European trend to purge terms like 'folklore', 'folk music', and 'folk song', and replace them with terms such as 'traditional' and 'vernacular' (Porter 2000: 20). The change hinges on an assumption that 'traditional' is a broader term than 'folk', but as Bohlman explains, the lack of official justification for the IFMC's name change led to disagreements about whether it made the parameters more specific or more vague (1988: xiii). He also asserts that the change was more a case of "losing faith in folk music" than of really believing in the term 'traditional music'.

The complexities of the relationship between 'folk music' and 'tradition' are well known and difficult to reconcile.[21] I discuss the role of tradition in revival movements in the 'Revival' section below, but the most pressing issue here is how we might negotiate the terms 'folk music' and 'traditional music'.[22] In 1981 the IFMC's adoption of the word 'traditional' in its new name (International Council for Traditional Music, ICTM) indicated the uncertainty behind the two terms.[23] Rice suggests that the move away from the term 'folk' towards terms like 'traditional' or 'rural' denotes a desire for neutrality, after political and ideological associations had tainted the term 'folk' (2000: 7). Numerous scholars acknowledge the ambiguity of the two terms (Bohlman 1988) – several of them refer to the terms as having been "interchangeable" (Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 9) or "synonymous" (Cohen 2005: xxiii) – but there is a lack of consensus.

It is widely recognised that the use of the terms depends on temporal and geographic context. Keegan-Phipps and Winter contrast the English and Irish contexts to illustrate this point. They argue that in Ireland, 'traditional music' is generally regarded as more 'traditional' (that is, ancient, authentic, valuable) than the separate genre of folk music, which is generally more closely associated with acoustic guitar-led, singer-

songwriting, whereas in England the boundaries between the terms are so ambiguous and inconsistent that they have mostly become synonymous (2013: 9). For the purposes of their research, they state their use of 'traditional' as an adjective to denote practices and repertories that are considered ancient, and 'folk' as a label for the specific genre of music or dance. Kallimopoulou (2009) faces the same terminological challenge and takes a similar approach in her study of *paradosiaká*, a 'traditional' Greek urban musical style that emerged in the '70s and '80s. Leaving aside the intricacies of the 'art' and 'urban' elements of *paradosiaká*, Kallimpoulou still uses 'folk' for older regional styles (*dimotikó*) and 'traditional'/'tradition' in its "contemporary usage as an umbrella term that may include *dimotikó*" (2009: 2) (i.e. older 'folk' styles). Hence, 'folk' is used for a specific genre but 'traditional' is used as an umbrella term to describe several styles.[24]

This is also the case in Hungary. '*Népzene*' literally means 'folk music' ('*nép*' means 'folk', and '*zene*' means 'music') and it is used today to describe many kinds of folk music. A preceding adjective denoting nationality provides more detail: for example, Greek folk music (Görög népzene), Serbian folk music (Szerb népzene). Jewish music and Gypsy 'folk' music do not follow this pattern: Gypsy music is known as '*cigányzene*' (literally 'Gypsy music' with no reference to 'folk'), and Jewish music is simply referred to as '*klezmer*'. All of these types of music would be described as traditional ('*hagyomány*'), using 'traditional' as a broad adjective, but there is no category of 'traditional music' in the ways Keegan-Phipps and Kallimopoulou have described in the English and Greek contexts.

Parallel to the scholarly debate concerning 'folk' and 'traditional' terminology there persists a tension between tradition and innovation in folk music performance. The 'traditional' versus 'innovative' dichotomy invokes larger debates concerning tradition and modernity, world music and commercialism, and a potential purist backlash against transformation (or even commodification) of folk music, all of which are discussed in this thesis. The 'purist' versus 'innovative' debate in particular has continued until the present day and is extremely prevalent in Hungary today – this is reflected in the scale of discussion on this topic in Chapter 3.

Another new direction for studies of folk music was a move away from a focus on rural cases to urban ones. In 1988, Bohlman asserted that many of the characteristic definitions of folk music which were once widely applicable to rural society were less relevant; therefore "any attempt at [folk music's] definition [would need] to take the urban context into consideration". In addition to urban discourses, Bohlman placed great importance on investigating folk music in all new settings, including cities, mass media, and popular genres (1988: xix). The significance of Budapest as my choice of fieldwork location is explained above in the 'Methodology' section, and a whole chapter (Chapter 5) is devoted to the transformations of folk music in urban contexts, drawing on the limitations of the rural/urban dialectic and presenting new urban spaces within which folk music is practised.

Recent Understandings of 'Folk Music'

> In the last twenty-five years [i.e. since 1982] ethnomusicological approaches to folk music have resulted in a more genuine turn toward examining how this music is *used* by groups of people. Still, to a large extent these newer approaches need to take on *a priori* definitions of "folk music," for such definitions are necessary to dictate what falls within or without the scope of study in the first place. (Gelbart 2007: 8)

I suggest that the literature from the past ten years has not necessarily addressed Gelbart's advice directly. But, more often than not, scholars have defined their parameters for 'folk music' in more nuanced ways. As I outline below, some scholars are intent on re-defining and updating the term, while others advocate a more open approach, often warning against restrictive definitions.

Keegan-Phipps and Winter, for example, follow Bohlman's premise that folk music "belies the stasis of definition", but proceed to agree with his anthropologically grounded assumption that "folk music is a cultural construct undergoing constant discursive renegotiation by the participants of that culture" and therefore base their

book on the understanding (or *definition*) that "folk is whatever those who identify most closely with it (folk musicians, dancers, audiences, etc.) proclaim it to be" (2013: 8).

Similarly, Kaminsky's goal is to explain folk music as it is understood by a community who claims to associate themselves with folk music. However, he recognises that there is rarely one unified meaning of folk music among a community, particularly when tackling notions of authenticity or genuine interpretation. Kaminsky uses as his starting point the idea that folk music is defined by its use ("whatever its users mean it to mean") and from there, he puts forward his "folk music concept". Kaminsky identifies four key aspects of the "folk music concept" (nation, tradition, folk, and nature), and charts the "tectonic shifts" among these aspects by conceptually plotting them against four axes (time, place, commonality, and quality). He posits that the "true complexity of the concept" is crystallised in the ways in which the axes intersect, overlap, and come into conflict with one another (2012: 10). His strategy of codifying a "folk music concept" (echoing Goehr's "work concept") by plotting axes suggests a heavy-handed attempt to classify a term that is, in my view, too complex to be forced into a kind of graphic representation. Kaminsky admits he had made earlier attempts to sketch out an actual map, but concedes that "there can be no static and definitive map of the concept" (2012: 10). Despite this failing, Kaminsky is clearly heeding Gelbart's call for an *a priori* definition.

Conversely, Cohen (2005) opens his book *Folk Music: A Regional Exploration* by stating the intended subject matter without ever mentioning the word 'folk':

> The subject of this book is the music and songs of the United States and, to some extent, Canada that flourishes outside of, but may not be completely separate from, the mainstreams of mass media (popular or 'pop') or high culture music (classical). (2005: xxi)

Cohen's approach is based on the idea of defining by exclusion – on defining by what it is *not*. There is also the underlying implication that 'folk music' is not part of 'the mainstream', something that I examine in Chapter 3. Later on,
Cohen defines folk music in terms of its relationship to commercial media: "[folk music is] the music that survives without complete dependence on commercial media" (2005: xxii). He rejects the purist argument that modern listeners who are only able to hear folk music thanks to commercial media "aren't really hearing folk music" and thereby challenges the persistent hallmark of folk music that it is transmitted orally (ibid.).

Gruning (2006) does not propose a 'new' definition, but (while fully accepting the ideological constructs of the 'folk'), warns against writing it off completely because "the term itself can and does have powerful and tangible consequences for a great many very real people" (2006: 12). He asks, "is somebody's identification with folk any less *real* than anyone else's identification with any tradition, genre or other cultural construct?" (2006: 13). Gruning's appeal for us to (re)consider Blacking's argument that "over concentration on the musical categories obscures the more necessary attention to processes of music making" (2006: 18) actively goes against Gelbart's call for an *a priori* definition. It may, however, have influenced Slobin's appeal for common sense when considering a definition: he suggested that "we know [folk music] when we hear it" (2011: 1). This is certainly a controversial suggestion, given that we all hear in different ways.

McKerrell (2014), on the other hand, argues for a continued effort to distinguish between and construct definitions of 'folk' music and 'traditional' music today. While he acknowledges that there will be numerous vernacular uses of the terms, he insists that scholarly definitions are needed, most keenly in the realms of education and public funding. He believes that if these categories are not made explicit, then this may leave public funding and educational provision of cultural heritage vulnerable. He also highlights the significance of highly-contested notions of authenticity, asserting that, as a social process, authenticity is crucial for communities in their perception of what is 'traditional'.[25]

How I Use the Term 'Folk Music'

In line with Keegan-Phipps and Winter's (2013) reasoning, I use the term 'Hungarian folk music' (*magyar népzene*) to describe the type of music that is the subject of my research, within the parameters used by practitioners (musicians, students, scholars, media, etc.) – in many cases these parameters were conveyed to me by interviewees. I use the term 'traditional' as an adjective to describe stylistic or aesthetic choices, usually based on a desire to adhere to 'authentic' practices and to reject 'modern' influences.

The twenty-first century presents new challenges in terminology thanks to the plethora of fusion groups. I attempt in this thesis to be as clear as possible when describing and categorising Hungarian folk groups by naming the constituent musical styles that form the band's sound – for example, folk-rock band or folk-world group. For explanations of Hungarian terms, see pp. 15-16 or the List of Hungarian Terms at the beginning of the thesis.

Revival and Post-Revival

My discussion of 'revival' and 'post-revival' theories here informs my analysis of the Hungarian folk music scene in several crucial ways. First, it allows me to review the Dance House Movement (1970s-1980s) and consider the ways in which we can view it as a revival, following the work of Frigyesi (1996), Hooker (2005, 2006), and Quigley (2001, 2014). Second, recent scholarship on revivals in broader geographical, social, and metaphorical contexts enriches the theoretical arsenal from which I can draw to analyse revival developments in Hungary. Third, the very recent opening up of revival theory to consider shifts in revival contexts, particularly in the form of a 'post-revival' turn (Bithell and Hill 2014), illuminates my analysis of Hungary's transforming folk music scene. My research, in turn, contributes to this emerging theoretical field.

Towards a Revival Model

Two major intellectual trends of the nineteenth century are regarded as having facilitated the revival phenomenon of the twentieth century. The first was the theory (or myth) of cultural evolution, which emphasised folklore as the survival of ancient practices among the peasants. The second was romantic nationalism, championed by Herder, and its conviction that folk poetry and customs reflect the soul of the nation (Bithell and Hill 2014: 6). These two trends prompted the collection of traditional cultural practices such as folk songs, as discussed above. Folklorists therefore played an important role in laying the groundwork for many folk revivals, despite their criticisms that revival cultures were inauthentic and unworthy of serious study. Dorson's (1950) contrasting terms, folklore and fakelore, demonstrate this devaluation of revivals, a distinction that has occasionally persisted during the twentieth century (for example, Harker's 'fakesong', 1985) to distinguish between the highly problematic terms: 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' folk music.

A significant increase in revival scholarship accompanied the wave of revival movements that took place in the second half of the twentieth century in Western Europe (England, Sweden, Finland), Eastern Europe (Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania), and North America during the 1960s and '70s. In the 1980s and '90s, a growing body of literature emerged in a bid to theorise and categorise these events. Rosenberg (1993) and Livingston (1999) produced seminal texts on their perceptions of revivals, which became core material for any scholarly investigation of revival movements. Livingston devised a specific model with key 'ingredients' for how we might define or categorise a 'revival'. In 2014, both authors revisited their work from two decades earlier (15 and 21 years respectively); Livingston, in particular, reflects on the continued relevance and suitability of her revival model. These reflections feature in the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, which I discuss in more detail below.

Synthesizing and building on existing literature on revivals[26] as well as her own work on the Brazilian *choro* scene, Livingston defined music revivals as "any social movement with the goal of restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past" (1999: 68). She

argued that there were two main purposes for revivals: first, "to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture"; and second, "to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by the revivalists" (ibid.). For her music revival model, Livingston listed six 'ingredients' for her 'basic recipe' while maintaining that the list was "descriptive rather than prescriptive", to allow for fluidity at the boundaries of definition. These 'ingredients' were as follows: (1) an individual or small group of "core revivalists"; (2) revival informants and/or original sources (e.g. historical sound recordings); (3) a revivalist ideology and discourse; (4) a group of followers forming the basis of a revivalist community; (5) revivalist activities (organizations, festivals, competitions); (6) nonprofit and/or commercial enterprises catering to the revivalist market (1999: 69).

Though Livingston's model has been the most widely used to define music revivals, theoretical and geographical gaps remained (and almost certainly still do). Bithell and Hill, editors and contributing authors of the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, claim to have noticed these gaps as early as 2005, only six years after Livingston's seminal publication. For them, the most prominent areas for further exploration included the theorising of authenticity, the documentation and explication of recontextualisation processes, the conceptualisation of post-revival, and the legacy or impact of revival movements (2014: 9). These themes thus formed several of the founding research questions for the *Handbook*.

During the years between Bithell and Hill's recognition of gaps in the literature in 2005 and their publication in 2014, scholars continued to use the term 'revival' within Livingston's framework, albeit to varying degrees. For example, Kallimpoulou (2009) chose to retain the term 'revival', whilst alternating it with 'revival movement' or simply 'movement' (2009: 5). From Livingston's list of 'ingredients', Kallimopoulou identified the ideological element in particular as being key to *paradosiaká*. Forming a specifically Greek version of *paradosiaká* by using Greek lyrics and Eastern instruments was important symbolically for the contemporary Greek youth as a cultural opposite to the West.

Akin to 'folk' discourse (as discussed above), adherence to 'tradition' and continuity with the past are two of the most common features of 'revival', and thus form part of 'revival' discourse – Livingston's third 'ingredient'. Echoing Hobsbawm's (1983) 'invented traditions', the selection of a particular segment of the past is an inherent characteristic of revival movements, commonly in the name of rescuing a past tradition that is thought to be in danger of dying out. This is not the only motivation, however, for turning to the past. Bithell (2006: 8) suggests five ways in which revivals rely on the past: (1) revivals resurrect earlier practices that have fallen out of fashion; (2) they act as a refuge from the complexities of modern life; (3) they anchor identities in their roots; (4) they act as a means of restoring community spirit in reaction to dislocation; (5) they work to shape a new present while re-establishing a community with a past of their own choosing and moving towards a future of their own making.

Revivalists who actively declare continuity with the past often do so in order to legitimize claims of authenticity. As Bithell and Hill observe, authenticity is claimed (and contested) "in nearly every instance of revival" (2014: 19). They identify three categories of criteria used in revivals to invoke authenticity: product-oriented criteria (manuscripts, songs, recordings); person-oriented criteria (source musicians); and process-oriented criteria (transmission, creation, reception). As person-oriented criteria encompass the traits of source musicians or communities, they are often perceived to be more authentic if they hail from remote regions that are less likely to have experienced cultural change at the hands of industrialisation, or political, economic, or religious revolutions. This is certainly the case in Hungary when folk musicians and scholars look to Transylvania (in Romania) for more 'authentic' examples of folk culture. More dangerously, person-orientated criteria can also include ethnicity and purity – see discussion above for notions of 'pure folk'. These three categories inform my discussion in several chapters of this thesis.[27]

Recent Engagement with Revival Theory

The publication of the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* in 2014 signifies a major landmark in revival theory. The culmination of work by thirty revival scholars reveals not only that 'revival' continues to be an active scholarly field, but also several ways in

which 'revival' is being utilized as a concept, cultural process, and medium of change. I summarise here most of the main themes tackled in the volume to illustrate some of the most recent contributions to revival discourse.[28]

Howard (2014: 135-159) and Norton (2014: 160-181) look at revivals in terms of Intangible Cultural Heritage ('ICH') and the debate between preservation and creativity. In the context of South Korea, Howard explores the state-sponsored preservation of traditional music genres and challenges the view that preservation creates sterile museum objects. Norton, on the other hand, argues that the nationalistic promotion of *ca trù* as Intangible Cultural Heritage in Vietnam makes it harder for an innovative musical culture to emerge. Adding another dimension to the relationship between revivals and Intangible Cultural Heritage is Bithell's study of the internationalization of Georgian polyphony in the post-Soviet period (2014: 573-597). Through her focus on foreign (non-Georgian) affinity groups and their engagement with the Georgian polyphony revival, she is able to look beyond national concerns towards hybridity and cultural exchange.

Several authors engage with national themes, such as national reawakening, post-colonialism, national identity, diaspora, and some discuss these issues in relation to understandings of globalisation. Nooshin (2014: 277-299) presents two revival movements in Iran that engage with nationalism in different ways: the first takes on the role of guardian of national heritage and identity, while the second understands nationhood and 'Iranian-ness' in terms of creativity. She questions whether these two strands might be reconciled in a post-revival context. Similarly, Merchant (2014: 252-276) examines two contrasting revival movements (one described as 'folk', the other as 'traditional'). She looks at how both play a part in the post-Soviet national project in Uzbekistan. By contrast, Hill (2014: 393-417) examines three instances of selecting folk material from the past, of which only one was for a national purpose: the other two are forms of cultural activism. For example, the *pelimanni* revival in 1970s Finland fostered social cohesion by engaging amateurs and rejuvenating neglected rural areas. More recently, the 'contemporary folk scene' at the Sibelius Academy takes traditional folk music from the past as only its point of departure: authenticity is instead

understood in terms of the creative process. I use Hill's studies of the creative culture at the Sibelius Academy (2009, 2014) as a stark contrast to the preservationist ethos at the Liszt Academy in Budapest (see my discussion of institutions in Chapter 4).

Levine, Williams, and Shay all focus on re-establishing a national and/or cultural identity through revival in a context where it has been overlooked or even repressed. Levine (2014: 300-322) investigates two Native American revival movements, which aimed to reclaim indigenous cultural identity whilst under pressure to assimilate. While the two movements came from different origins (grassroots versus government), they shared a similar approach in combining historical practice and contemporary experience to contribute to individual and community transformation. Williams (2014: 598-617) and Shay (2014: 618-643) both consider music revivals in diaspora: Williams with generations of Irish diaspora, especially in North America, and Shay with Iranians, also in America. For Williams, music revivals have served as vehicles for both remembering and imagining the Irish homeland. Shay considers three periods of revival of Iranian dance (while reminding us that they continue today) and demonstrates instances of identity construction, both at home (by the government) and abroad (in the diaspora).

Walker (2014: 205-227) frames the Indian *kathak* dance revival within the catalogue of postcolonial theories, and suggests that the resulting cultural hybridity allows us to embrace revival as a global phenomenon. Sweers (2014: 466-488) goes further by drawing heavily from an analytical framework on globalization put forward by a team of interdisciplinary scholars (Held et al. 2003) in order to demonstrate how globalizing perspectives have influenced discourses on revival. Building on Slobin's work on supercultures and subcultures in the "global cultural flow", her discussion of three meta-perspectives (sceptic, hyperglobal, and transformationalist) sheds new light on the impact of globalization on folk revivals. I draw on these three meta-perspectives in Chapter 3, particularly in terms of the world music industry, the countercultural ethos of the táncház scene, and the 'purist' scene, which continues to champion preservation and 'authenticity'.

Several authors look specifically at how revival movements have transformed and how they negotiate new levels of innovation. Milstein (2014: 418-441), for example, views revivals as a current that musicians from across the genre spectrum dip in and out of, producing a plethora of innovative Brazilian popular music. She examines the socio-political contexts behind some of these innovations, illustrating how they can lead to conflicts between and among musicians and audiences. Conlon (2014: 442-465), on the other hand, demonstrates the fluidity at the boundaries between purists and innovators in her examination of the Native flute revival in North America.

Finally, some chapters in the volume are dedicated to the relationship between revivals and music industries, in arenas such as festivals, marketing, and media. Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2014: 489-509) investigate the folk industry in England through the lens of festivals, arguing that the professionalised and commercialised industry coexists quite easily with the amateur, philanthropic ethos of the folk revival (which they term 'resurgence' – see below). Blaustein (2014: 551-569) reflects on his chapter in Rosenberg's volume (1993) to trace old-time fiddling grassroots communities and mark the influence of the Internet in enabling interest groups to share their passion for revivals around the world.

What Comes After 'Revival'?

As demonstrated by myriad contributions to the *Handbook*, revival scholars face a considerable issue today: what do we call that which comes after 'revival'? Such is the topical nature of this question, particularly during the past 3-5 years, that it is directly relevant to my research. 'New' terms for the next phase in a revival's trajectory have (to my knowledge) so far included 'post-revival', 'resurgence', 'neo-revival', 'meta-revival', and of course the option remains to refer to the next revival in numerical order, e.g. 'second' or 'third revival'.

A key factor in negotiating and shaping this uncertain phase is how we might view trajectories of revivals in a broader context. For example, one way of viewing revivals is as a never-ending cycle. Bithell and Hill reference the title of Scully's book, *The Never-Ending Revival* (2008), to highlight the possibility that a revival might ever be

said to be “never-ending”. By this logic, a “cycle [might] simply go on and on, until we reach a tenth, a fiftieth, or a hundredth revival” (Bithell and Hill 2014: 30). If we were to adopt this approach, then I might suggest viewing the contemporary scene in Budapest as a ‘second revival’.

The ‘never-ending cycle’ idea depends largely on how we view history. Jabbour, for example, conceives history cyclically and constructs revivals as a natural part of culture’s ebb and flow. He advocates that this kind of cultural oscillation may cause traditions to pass through troughs of inattention followed by peaks of renewed attention (2014: 116-132). Levine offers a related interpretation made by some Native American peoples, who consider history to be cyclical and view what we have defined as revival processes as “the periods of sleep and wakefulness that cultural expressions naturally undergo” (2014: 13).

Ronström puts forward a parallel theory made possible by his understanding of ‘revival’ as a series of ‘shifts’. His conception of revivals as “products of social processes by which the absent is represented in the present, for purposes in the future, by the use of culturally bounded expressive forms” (2014: 45) speaks of the reliance on selective history discussed above. Ronström argues that shifts are central to revival, at least in part because his understanding of ‘shifts’ covers such a wide range of changes: spatial and social shifts, including rural to urban, peasants to an educated middle class, from the local to the regional, national, or global, as well as more abstract shifts such as from the past to the present. Rosenberg, in a more reflective and panoramic approach, views ‘revival’ as one of a series of possible metaphors for processes of cultural politics in music cultures.

An opposing perspective supports the notion that a revival can either fail or succeed. Bithell and Hill assert that it no longer makes sense to classify something as a revival “if a once-neglected genre has been safely reinstated and is no longer at risk of extinction” (2014: 29). Indeed, some scholars have raised the issue of a breakdown of the original revival. Koskoff suggests that all revivals go through a period of boom and bust before they break down completely. Similarly, Livingston uses the term

'breakdown' to describe how the tension between preservation and innovation can "lead to a splintering of the revival community into fundamentalist and progressive factions" (2014: 28). Livingston's notion of fundamentalist and progressive groups is akin to Baumann's model, which distinguishes between "those who define music traditions within the concepts of purism and of syncretism" (1996: 80).

Meanwhile, Bithell and Hill suggest a theoretical middle ground (represented by gradations on a spectrum or sectors of a circle) between the two poles of 'breakdown' and 'never-ending revival', for which they adopt the concept of 'post-revival'.

'Post-Revival'?

One of the principal aims of the *Handbook* is to consider the potential of post-revival as a theoretical concept, proposing new paradigms for "analysing the transformative dimensions and contemporary ramifications of revival movements" (2014: 3). By assessing some of the ways in which revival movements have evolved since their conception, Bithell and Hill offer a set of possible criteria for the concept of 'post-revival' in an effort to distinguish it from and acknowledge the significance of the original revivals, and to identify a new musical or social culture as part of its legacy (2014: 29). While the Hungarian dance house movement of the 1970s is unanimously referred to as a 'revival',[29] examination of what we might call the situation today has, to my knowledge, thus far not taken place. An exploration of Bithell and Hill's 'post-revival' theory will allow me to ascertain whether 'post-revival' could be a helpful framework for the Hungarian case.

A fundamental feature of a post-revival is the development of the original revival "to a point where it has become something new", so that it now "enjoys an independent existence, free of its once symbiotic connection to a particular social, political, or aesthetic cause" (2014: 28). The original motivation behind the revival may have waned as core revivalists achieve their objectives or move on to other causes such as performing in the commercial entertainment world.

Removed from a specific cause, revivals might gradually 'settle' into the mainstream, which Bithell and Hill liken to Wallace's (1956) "new steady state".[30] They may "undergo a process of classicalization or gentrification", even becoming 'hip' amongst fans of 'retro' culture (ibid.). Alternatively, they may retain a niche identity, set apart from the mainstream, but "secure in the hands of a 'subculture' or affinity group" (ibid.). As the revival baton passes to a new generation of musicians, a number of artistic and aesthetic decisions need to be negotiated. For example, will new-generation groups seek to break free from purist restrictions of the revival proper? Will they become less concerned with demands for authenticity and legitimacy in an effort to modernise the tradition?

Bithell and Hill suggest that when late- or post-revival artists have asked the question "what next?" for their music, the answer has often been "to explore their individual creativity alongside experimenting with a more eclectic palette of musical idioms, including from beyond their own culture" (2014: 29). They describe this as "explicitly drawing a line under the revival proper" by "freeing themselves from the apron strings of 'tradition'". 'Post-revival' presents a new set of questions for musicians: how do they conceptualize their relationship with the revival proper? How do they reposition themselves in terms of genre or style? At the same time, revivals may leave behind a foundation of financial, institutional, social, or knowledge-based infrastructures, which can support the careers of post-revivalists. Post-revival musicians must also consider global frameworks, particularly with regard to conservation and heritage discourses, commercialism, and tourism.

In their classification of English folk music and its recent wave of renewed interest, Keegan-Phipps and Winter chose to shun the obvious choice of the term 'third revival'[31] in favour of 'resurgence'. They claim that their choice "reflects a need to distinguish the present developments from those of [the] preceding revival periods, as well as from the established concept of revival as outlined by Livingston" (2013: 10). They outline five reasons why Livingston's criteria do not fit the English situation: first, the English folk tradition is not in need of 'rescue'; second, it engages substantially with mainstream culture so does not set itself up as an alternative or counter culture;

third, the collection of traditional material plays "little discernible role in the resurgence"; fourth, there is no unified methodology for a reinvention of traditional material or performance; and, finally, there is no prevailing political ideology underlying the folk scene (though they contend that it is closely related to the rise of interest in national and cultural identity). For these reasons, Livingston's revival model was no longer useful to the English case, and Keegan-Phipps and Winter sought an alternative – not 'post-revival', but 'resurgence'.

However, Livingston herself believes in and argues for the continued use of her original model, but perhaps only as a preliminary framework. In her contribution to the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* she reflects on her original model of music revivals and introduces some additional concepts to expand its suitability to revivals in the twenty-first century and in a wider geographical sphere.[32] She draws extensively from Turino's work, particularly his understanding of participatory music as set out in his *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (2008). She asserts that the application of Turino's model to the study of music revivals provides a framework for "talking about broadly shared habits and beliefs without losing sight of the individual and his or her socially and individually constituted identity" (2014: 65). She urges the close examination of the nature and role of participatory aspects of revivals because, she argues, it has the potential to shed light on a number of interesting questions, including "the tension between fidelity to authoritative historical sources and musical innovation and creativity" (2014: 68). This tension, as I have discussed above, is a regular feature of music revivals.

The concept of 'revival', as it applies to today's traditional music scenes, is therefore a timely and contested topic. This thesis on recent developments in the folk revival in Budapest will contribute to this emerging debate.

Thesis Overview

I begin the thrust of my thesis with Chapter 2, which is concerned with political, social and cultural causes that have been associated with Hungarian folk music, particularly through the lens of Hungarianness (*magyarság*). To begin, I outline the current political space in Hungary, but I then trace historical understandings of the relationship between 'folk music', 'nation', and 'Hungarianness' during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, summarising Bartók's evolving narrative on Gypsies, peasants, and who best represented Hungarianness. I acknowledge the embedded nature of the folk music tradition in Hungarian culture more generally, and note its contribution to the education system since Kodály's efforts in the 1940s-1950s. I also consider the counter-cultural (anti-Soviet) ethos of the first major folk revival, the dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*), that swept through Budapest in the 1970s and '80s.

The rest of Chapter 2 reveals connections between folk music and the national rhetoric of the current government, prompting me to scrutinise the government's attempts to employ folk music as a tool in their national agenda, noting the complexities that arise when associating a particular musical style with a political position. I offer more historical context to examine the ongoing nostalgia for old Hungarian territories lost in the Treaty of Trianon (1920) and the impact of 'Transylvania-nostalgia' present in the Hungarian collective consciousness. I conclude the chapter by looking at Hungarianness on the world stage.

Chapter 3 directly engages with revival and post-revival theories to analyse the dance house movement itself, ways in which it has transformed over a forty-year period, and the contemporary folk music scene. I begin by reviewing the dance house movement as a revival, using Livingston's model (1999). I then introduce two support systems (institutional and commercial) that emerged in Hungary during the next forty years. I then turn my attention to the contemporary situation by investigating the transforming musical styles and aesthetics of five very different folk groups through a framework of four post-revival criteria. This reveals a spectrum from purist to

innovative interpretations, a series of mainstreams, and a recontextualisation of folk groups as 'trendy' artists. Finally, I consider the construction of folk music as national heritage, particularly through an engagement with UNESCO, and consider how this interacts with global flows that post-revival phases might sit within.

Chapter 4 turns to a specific aspect of post-revival theory, namely revival infrastructures, and considers their role in the professionalization of the folk music scene. The professionalization of folk music is an ongoing process that has been bolstered by institutional developments and the growing engagement with commercial processes in the folk music scene. In the first part of the chapter I examine components of the industry-based folk music infrastructure in Budapest, investigating how Hungarian folk musicians position themselves within today's market. In the second part, I consider ways in which the growing institutional infrastructure is shaping the new generation of folk musicians in their training for a professional career. In terms of educational institutionalisation, case studies on important institutions (LFZE, HH) inform this discussion.

Chapter 5 looks at ways in which folk music has been recontextualised and repositioned in new, urban spaces in the city in recent years. I start by tracing the rural-urban dichotomy that pervaded folk music discourse in Hungary throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and suggest new ways of understanding folk music in the city today. Recent developments in the fields of ethnomusicology, urban sociology and popular music studies have provided new concepts, frameworks, and definitions with which to analyse music and culture in urban environments. One of those is 'scene', which I use to illuminate different performance spaces and the different communities ('microcultures') and 'subcultures' that identify with them. I offer two case studies on new urban performance spaces (ruin pubs and a converted ship) and look at how this affects the transmission of the folk tradition. Finally, I investigate aspects of urban tourism using the concept of 'festivalization' to examine ways in which folk traditions are re-packaged and sold on the international scene through flashmobs, festivals, and carnivals.

Chapter 6 draws together the main themes discussed in this thesis as a basis for considering the merits and drawbacks of the post-revival concept. I begin by summarising the main components of the Hungarian folk music scene that I have been examining through the lenses of revival and post-revival. I then discuss whether we might consider the Hungarian case as a post-revival phase, keeping in mind alternatives. I also contemplate the need for a new term in revival scholarship more generally. Finally, I consider the limitations of this study and avenues for further research.

2. Placing Folk Music in Historical and Contemporary Budapest

The question 'What is Hungarian?' has preoccupied educated Hungarians since the rise of national consciousness in the early nineteenth century (Schneider 2006: 8). It has also been a theme within the academic sphere: in 1939, Gyula Szekfű's *Mi a magyar?* (What is Hungarian?) presented essays on Hungarianness from leading intellectuals across several disciplines, including Kodály's essay *Magyarság a zenében* (Hungarianness in music).[33] This question of *magyarság* (Hungarianness) persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and continues today.

Magyarság has never existed as fixed concept; rather, it has evolved according to political and cultural contexts. It has often been defined in opposition to dominant powers, such as the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the Soviet regime in the mid- to late twentieth century. It has also been used as a foundation for irredentist sentiments, particularly following the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, which resulted in the redistribution of two-thirds of Hungary's territory to neighbouring countries. During the past two hundred years, different musical styles have come to represent these shifting understandings of Hungarianness.

This long-standing fixation with Hungarianness (*magyarság*), and the particular role that folk music has played and continues to play within it, forms the basis of this chapter. To set the frame for my thinking, I start below with an account of the current political space in Hungary. I then turn to nineteenth- and twentieth-century ideas about music, in particular how they have been constructed and negotiated in relation to the concepts of nationhood and *magyarság*.[34] Engaging more deeply with these historical perspectives allows me to explain the contemporary fetishization of *magyar népzene* in a fuller context. The latter parts of the chapter map out current

constructions of 'national' folk music, particularly in terms of state endorsement, presenting prevalent strands of discourse about nationalism and folk music in Budapest today.

Contemporary Political Context

Since 2010 Hungary's government has been run by a Fidesz-KDNP coalition, whose right-wing ideology promotes 'traditional' values and a particular idea of the Hungarian nation. Fidesz is a right-wing party led by Viktor Orbán (Prime Minster) and the KDNP is the much smaller Christian Democratic People's Party – at the 2010 election, they gained 263 seats out of 386 (68%); following the 2014 election (after a new electoral law was passed in 2012) they currently hold 133 seats out of 199 (67%). I was fortunate enough to be living in Budapest for the eight months before (and three months after) Fidesz-KDNP's successful re-election in April 2014, and can bear witness to some of the tensions and controversies of the time. However, it is important to note that Budapest as the capital city is not representative of the whole country. Voting tendencies reveal that the considerable level of support enjoyed by Fidesz is bound up with a long-standing rural-urban dichotomy (as discussed in Chapter 5). Generally speaking, rural areas in Hungary are much more inclined to vote for the right or extreme right parties, whereas urban environments, particularly Budapest, host a broader spectrum of voting sympathies that include the left wing parties, independent parties, and even the fledgling Green Party (LMP).

The leader of Fidesz, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, frequently makes overtly nationalist statements. For example, at an unveiling ceremony of a statue of former Prime Minister István Tisza in June 2014, Orbán professed that this could be the "symbol of a new era of nation-building" (Daily News 2014c). Choosing to honour Tisza was significant because he had led an intense campaign of forced Magyarization (Hungarianization) in the late nineteenth century. A month after Fidesz's re-election, Orbán declared at a party rally, "Hungary has managed to fight off a mentality of defeatism and can finally lift up its head" (Daily News 2014a). However, Fidesz's

strong national rhetoric, heavy-handed reforms, and creation of a new constitution (2011) have been met with EU opposition; Hungary narrowly avoided being put under surveillance by the Council of Europe in June 2013. (See pp. 27-29 in the Introduction chapter for even more recent details of political tensions between Hungary and the EU).

Three particular moments can crystallise government actions and demonstrate how nostalgia and victimhood are actively shaped. They are each explicitly related to the losses of population and territory incurred by the Treaty of Trianon (1920), and are all in line with Boym's restorative nostalgia (outlined later in this chapter).

Since 2010, the year Fidesz came to power, Hungary has officially commemorated the day the Treaty of Trianon was signed, 4th June 1920; 4th June in Hungary is now known as National Cohesion Day or Day of National Unity. In an article published on the government's website, it is stated that National Cohesion Day remembers "the fact that every member and community of the Hungarian nation subjected to the jurisdiction of multiple states forms part of the single, unified Hungarian nation" (Hungarian Prime Minister's Office 2014) – that is to say that all Hungarians living 'beyond the borders' (*határontúli magyarok*) are still part of the Hungarian nation, despite geographical realities. In a speech given on 4th June 2014, the Deputy Prime Minister Zsolt Semjén declared that this day was one of mourning and remembrance. It was also a historical lesson, because Trianon was "the nation's greatest tragedy since 1541" (ibid.). He emphasised, "We should be proud of Hungarian heroes, who, living outside the borders of Hungary, have remained true Hungarians under all circumstances" (ibid.). The idea that such a thing as a 'true Hungarian' exists echoes Herder's notion of a 'pure folk'.

The goal of reaching out to diasporic Hungarians was made abundantly clear in January 2011 when the government passed a controversial law to enable fast-track applications for Hungarian dual-citizenship to ethnic Hungarians living outside Hungary. Hungarian ethnicity is 'verified' if applicants can prove Hungarian ancestry from birth certificates and can demonstrate a reasonable proficiency in the Hungarian

language. As of June 2014, 600,000 ethnic Hungarians had acquired this dual-citizenship, the majority of whom had lived in the neighbouring, pre-Trianon regions of 'present day' Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia, with Transylvania (Romania) having the highest number of dual-citizens.[35] Another initiative, the 'Without Borders' programme (*Határtalanul*), "allow[ed] 40,000 teachers and students from Hungary… to travel in 2014, building relations between the Hungarian communities around the world" (Hungarian Prime Minister's Office 2014). These initiatives clearly show that it has been a high priority for the Fidesz-KDNP government to reconnect with Hungarians living 'beyond the borders'.

Unsurprisingly, diplomatic and political relations between Hungary and Romania can become tense. One particularly contested region of Transylvania, Székelyföld, which has a high concentration of ethnic Hungarians, caused a diplomatic dispute in 2013 when Romanian authorities banned them from displaying the Székely flag on public buildings. Zsolt Németh, Hungary's then-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, described the ban as an act of symbolic aggression and called for local councils in Hungary to show solidarity by flying the Székely flag from town halls. The Hungarian government further enraged Bucharest by raising the Székely flag above Parliament (LeBor 2013). There are often calls for autonomy from Romania, for the Székely region especially, which are exhibited in occasional large-scale demonstrations such as the one I witnessed in October 2013, held concurrently in towns in Transylvania and in Budapest. These kinds of confrontation have occurred more frequently under the Orbán government, bolstered by the increasing popularity of the far-right party Jobbik. Hungarian parties in neighbouring countries have also become stronger thanks to additional backing from Budapest, through resources such as Hungarian-language publications, television channels, and educational support.

However, initiatives such as these are not limited to Hungarians abroad, but are targeted at Hungarians within the borders too; the 'Without Borders' (*Határtalanul*) project mentioned above is a case in point and was the subject of a recent dissertation at Central European University (CEU) by Szilard-István Pap (2013). In it, Pap describes how the project engages high school students in 'educational tourism' trips to regions

outside of Hungary populated by ethnic Hungarians. He claims that it represents "how policymakers envisage inculcating certain understandings of the Hungarian nation as an ethnocultural community transcending state boundaries" (2013: i). Pap states that the aim of this project is "explicitly nation-building" and that rather than fostering new forms of identification for citizens, it serves to "reinforce… existing ambiguous patterns of identification and differentiation between homeland Hungarians and their transborder co-ethnics" (2013: i). Anderson's oft-quoted concept of 'imagined communities' (1991) could be applied here, relevant to groups on both sides of the border.

Historical Perspectives

The Nineteenth Century

National discourses in nineteenth-century politics and society centred around Hungary's identity crisis, which was located in the tension between its pride in national distinctiveness and its desire to join the European mainstream. Conflict between old and new, and between East and West, were prominent subjects of cultural and societal debates from this time (Hooker 2013a: 6). These themes continued into the twentieth century, when the negotiation of Hungary's position between West and East was crucial to Kodály's conceptions of Hungarian music in the 1930s and '40s (see below). Despite these ideological conflicts, the overriding desire was for national sovereignty and independence from the Austrian Empire.

As part of Hungary's nation-building Reform Era (1825-1848), several changes were implemented to establish Hungary as distinct from Germany and Austria. One strategy was to set up new national cultural institutions, for example the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1825). Later in the nineteenth century, the then-called Royal National Hungarian Academy of Music (now known as the Liszt Academy or *Zeneakadémia*) was founded in 1875. Another strategy was to reform the language (*Nyelvújítás*), and to replace Latin with Hungarian as the official state language, notably in schools.[36] Language became a key site for marking national identity and a central element of

Hungarian cultural nationalism. Taylor refers to this as a Herderian "language-based production of Hungarianness", or "magyarization" through language (2008a: 10).

Against the backdrop of widespread resentment towards Austria and the continued struggle for independence during the nineteenth century,[37] different musical styles were purported to be 'truly Hungarian' and were thus held up as manifestations of *magyarság*. Indeed, Szabolcsi refers to the 1820s and '30s as a period of "conspicuous Magyarization" (1964: 64). The significance of music's role as a platform for Hungarian nation building is illustrated in the quote by Gábor Mátray (1979-1875) below. Mátray is credited with drawing up the first summary of Hungarian musical history in 1829-32, which he later published as a book, entitled *A Muzsikának közonséges története* ('The General History of Music'):

> The most effective means of expressing the characteristics of a nation is music. While appealing to the mind, at the same time it also raptures the heart. That is why it is the most perfect instrument to excite and affirm national feelings. The nation lives in its music.[38]

At this time, national unity was matched with romantic poetry and Gypsy music (Frigyesi 1998: 55).[39] Highlighting the 'Gypsy' in Hungarian music was another important method by which to create distance from Austria: "the potent image of the 'Oriental' Gypsy – passionate, virtuosic, earthy, and definitely not serious – contrasted starkly with the more elevated and modern German" (Hooker 2013a: 6).

In fact, Gypsy music (*cigányzene*) was believed by many to express the Hungarian soul (Frigyesi 1998: 55). The perception that Gypsy music embodied quintessential Hungarian music (ibid.: 57) was symbolised in the titles of numerous compositions by Brahms, Liszt, and Hubay, who used the terms 'Hungarian' and 'Gypsy' interchangeably (Piotrowska 2013: 397).[40] However, this connection was not looked upon favourably by key figures in the Hungarian music scene. Instead, they condemned Liszt's seminal book *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859)

in which he had claimed that Gypsy music was the real Hungarian music, and that Roma musicians were the genuine performers of it (Brown 2007).

'Gypsy music' was, however, not a specific musical genre, but rather a performance style enacted by groups of people generally referred to as 'Roma' in English today, which formed a significant part of nineteenth-century Hungarian musical culture.[41] Roma musicians were most often highly skilled, to the extent that the Hungarian word for 'gypsy' (*cigány*) became synonymous with 'professional musician' (Frigyesi 1996: 57). The two genres that most commonly fell under the label 'Gypsy music' were '*verbunkos*' and '*magyar nóta*'.[42] The '*verbunkos*', which several scholars have termed "the core of 19th century Hungarian national art music" (Pethő, quoted in Hooker 2013a: 37), was originally a recruitment dance for the Habsburg army. The term also included the *csárdás* and the *palotás* dances. *Verbunkos* elements were sampled and included in nationally-inspired art music compositions by Liszt and Brahms, though the term '*verbunkos*' was used with broader brushstrokes over time. '*Verbunkos*' permeated several layers of musical *magyarság* to the extent that it is used to describe the style of all Hungarian instrumental music of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that laid claim to being 'Hungarian in style'. Its meaning is therefore no more specific than the *style hongrois* or Hungarian style (Schneider 2006: 18).

The second genre favoured by Gypsy ensembles, *magyar nóta* (literally: Hungarian song), became increasingly important as a genre of national music during the second half of the nineteenth century. *Magyar nóta* had rural and folk-like themes, such as farming or shepherding, and were commonly understood as folk songs until Bartók and Kodály's revolutionary claims regarding the 'real folk songs' they had collected in the first decade of the twentieth century (see below). *Magyar nóta* were in fact newly-composed popular songs (disparagingly referred to by Kodály as "the products of domestic folksong factories" (Kodály 1906, cited in Hooker 2013a: 39)), which, despite being most readily associated with the nobility and gentry, were well-known to rural and urban society alike. This repertoire associated with Roma musicians provided the background against which a small revolution in musical thought could occur in the early twentieth century.

The Early Twentieth Century

This revolution brought about a crucial turn towards a type of folk music previously unknown in Budapest – it is this particular form of folk music that remains today cherished as *magyar népzene*.

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, significant debate concerning ideas of 'nation', 'race', and '*magyarság*' saw considerations of 'the Gypsy' shift unfavourably from music to race and ethnicity. Hooker, echoing Frigyesi (1996: 59), summarises the musical dilemma that arose from these debates with the following question: "if Hungarian national music was *not* to be based on the Hungarian-Gypsy style, what was going to distinguish it *sonically* from the German symphonic tradition?" (2013a: 94). In this context, Bartók and Kodály's 'discoveries' of 'real folk music' had a huge impact on what was considered to be 'true' Hungarian music and the best representation of '*magyarság*'. Their research made them key figures in Hungary's "long-term conceptual struggle over the construction of the nation's music" (Hooker 2013a: 111).

Bartók and Kodály's collection of folk songs from peasants in villages across (pre-Trianon) Hungarian territories, and their corresponding writings on the subject, triggered a period of intellectual debate that questioned nineteenth-century understandings of nationalism and *magyarság*.[43] Frigyesi (1994: 274) refers to Bartók and Kodály's 'discovery of peasant music' as "nothing less than high treason" within the context of turn-of-the-century Hungary, signalling the revolutionary nature of their work.[44] Peasant music, like the peasants themselves, had not featured positively in the Hungarian national consciousness until Bartók's claim that peasant songs could be traced back to before the conquest of Hungary (1000 AD). This called into question the accepted view that the conquest was the moment of the nation's birth, previously recognised as the origin of everything that was 'truly' Hungarian (Frigyesi 1996: 79).

By claiming that this newly-discovered peasant music ('real' folk music) was the "pure musical expression of his country" (Brown 2000: 123), Bartók was vehemently

challenging the accepted view that 'Gypsy music' (*verbunkos* and *magyar nóta*) was a representation of *magyarság*. This had two important consequences. The first was that Bartók's rejection of Gypsy music overflowed into a racially prejudiced view of Gypsies themselves. In his *On Hungarian Music* (1911), Bartók portrayed Gypsy music as potentially degenerate and contaminating, as inauthentic and illegitimate expressions of Hungary, and as a "slightly threatening Oriental 'Other'" (Brown 2000: 123).[45] The second was that it directly threatened the upper classes' claims of Hungarianness. The middle and upper classes unsurprisingly repudiated the claim that the peasant class (viewed as cultural aliens) could 'hold the key' to Hungary's national music, and the debate between Gypsy music and peasant music persisted for several decades. An integral component of the debate was between rural and urban contexts: the 'pure', rural peasant class versus the Budapest-based gentry who asserted their musical *magyarság* through urban popular song (*magyar nóta*).[46] This will be useful to bear in mind when I discuss contemporary rural-urban discourses in Chapter 5.

The Interwar Years: Treaty of Trianon

After the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War One, Hungary gained independence but lost two thirds of its territory to neighbouring countries (Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, Ukraine) under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon (1920). Consequently, the population of Hungary reduced by 64%, leaving more than three million ethnic Hungarians living outside of Hungary's new borders.[47] This is still widely viewed today as a national tragedy (see discussion above of the commemorative Day of National Unity), and is the source of ongoing controversy surrounding the origin of Hungarian folk songs.

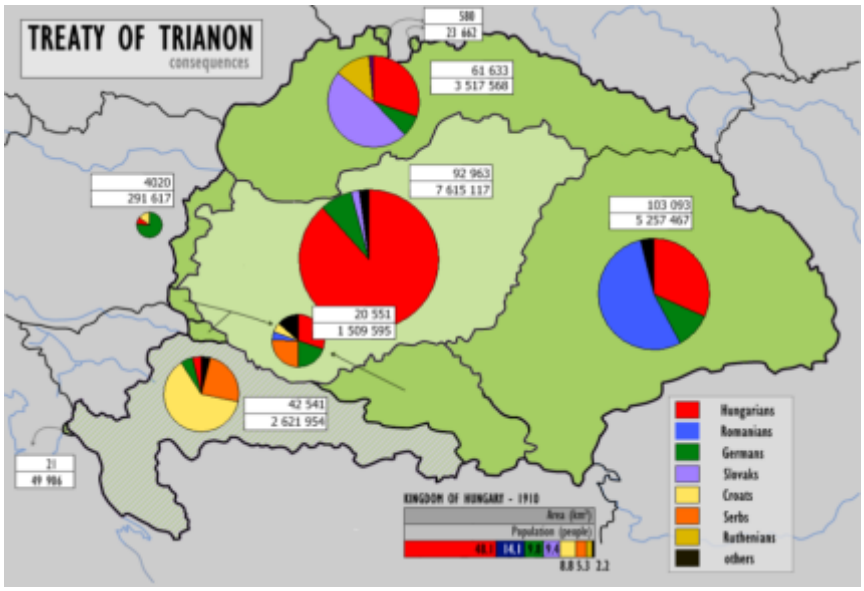

Figure 2: Map depicting territorial changes after 1920

While Hungary relinquished territories to a number of surrounding countries, it was (and continues to be) the loss of Transylvania (to Romania) that was felt the strongest, largely due to the wealth of cultural heritage that originated from the region. Transylvania (*Erdély*) was considered the "cradle" of Hungarian civilization, "the real eastern border of Hungarian culture", and the Transylvanian rural Hungarian populations "as the makers and carriers of 'real,' 'archaic,' and 'authentic' Hungarian culture" (Waterbury 2010: 33). Furthermore, Transylvania was perceived to have been the keeper and protector of Hungarian culture when it was annexed during the Ottoman occupation (1541-1699), so much so that the dialects spoken in Transylvanian villages today are often described as examples of a 'more authentic' and 'more correct' Hungarian language (Hooker 2006). Lampert's map of Bartók's sources (2008: 40-1) shows the number of Hungarian, Romanian, and Slovak folk tunes he collected from each county of Hungary in 1913, which reveals that he collected more Hungarian folk tunes from Transylvania (1,327 tunes) than from within Hungary's new borders (926).

Predictably, an irredentist desire to resurrect 'Greater Hungary' by reclaiming lost territory dominated nationalist discourse in interwar Hungary. In the interwar years, school children in Hungary repeated the following pledge every day, which serves to

illustrate the sense of loss felt across Hungary and the appetite for a restored 'Greater Hungary' (as cited in Schneider 2006: 120):

> I believe in one God.
> I believe in one homeland.
> I believe in one divine eternal truth.
> I believe in the resurrection of one Hungary.
> A mutilated Hungary is no country.
> A whole Hungary is heaven.[48]

These sentiments did not dissipate; in fact, the level of desperation to be reunited with old territories led the Hungarian government in 1938 to an alliance with Hitler.[49] Issues of territory and borders, as well as echoes of these irredentist sentiments, can be felt today, as I discuss in detail below.

Within this context, Bartók's approach to his nation's music in the 1920s was progressive and unusual.[50] He managed to synthesise aspects of European modernism with peasant music from neighbouring countries and thereby reject the romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century to define a new concept of Hungarianness (Schneider 2006: 79). In the 1930s, Bartók and Kodály's folk music research was broadly viewed as being liberal and progressive, and as the political antithesis of the Horthy government's ultranationalist policies (Schneider 2006: 199). However, many harboured considerable reluctance to replace previous notions of musical *magyarság* ('Gypsy bands', urban popular song, and operetta) with Bartók and Kodály's (Schneider 2006: 183). Under the cloud of Trianon, Bartók in particular suffered criticism in the press for focussing on music from Romanian villages, thus revealing a supposed lack of patriotism.[51]

Despite criticism and the prevailing conservative mainstream (as exemplified through Dohnányi's dominant influence within musical institutions[52]), there were instances in the 1930s of a shift away from 'Gypsy' music and towards 'folk' as the musical

embodiment of *magyarság* (Hirsch 1995). Bartók, for example, received new institutional support for ethnographic research into peasant music (partly through his appointment to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), which signalled an "official agreement that 'Hungarianness' could be found in peasant music" (Beckles Willson 2007: 18). Furthermore, middle class audiences began to respond more favourably to compositions that drew from folk music. Writing in the newspaper *Pesti Napló*, Aladár Tóth described the reaction of one particular audience in 1936 in Budapest thus:

> And lo! The first hearing of this masterwork [*Cantata profana*] immediately, deeply and completely captivated Hungarian ears and hearts that had been nurtured for so long only by Gypsy music, [*magyar*] *nóták*, and hit tunes from operetta. (Quoted in Schneider 2006: 248)

Alongside these developments in the art music sphere, some ethnographic activities specific to 'folk' culture gained momentum. One instance of this was the Bouquet of Pearls Movement (*Gyöngyös Bokréta*), which spanned the years 1931-1944.[53] Newspaper journalist Béla Paulini brought provincial folk dancers from all over pre-Trianon Hungary to perform on stage in Budapest each year on Saint Steven's day (Taylor 2004: 99). Another was a pamphlet entitled 'Folk Tradition and National Cultivation' (*A néphagyomány és a nemzeti művelődés*), published in 1939 by 'the father of Hungarian ethnography', István Györffy. In it, he suggested ways in which folk culture could be incorporated into the everyday life of all Hungarian citizens (Taylor 2008a: 9). In her article, Taylor showcases Györffy as a prominent interwar "populist" (*népi*) who was preoccupied with the folk in terms of Hungarianness. She outlines his belief that Hungarianness, and the Hungarian soul in particular, could be cultivated through specific folk practices (2008a: 11). She also reminds us that Györffy's beliefs have not been forgotten: in 1993, his pamphlet was republished, and in 1991 the then-Minister for Culture published a lecture on Györffy's current of thought.[54]

Post-World War Two

After the Second World War, the term *magyarság* fell in and out of use (mostly out), and nationalism was instead negotiated in the context of the Communist regime. Communist Party leaders discredited the irredentism and class hierarchy that had dominated the interwar period because it challenged the stability of the regime (Waterbury 2010). At this time, Kodály emerged as the sole musical figurehead in Budapest (Beckles Willson 2007: 25) thus rendering his views on national music particularly significant. He wielded considerable influence on the reorganisation of Hungary's education system and, as a consequence, folk song held an official place in Hungarian schools. As Hooker rightly points out, while Kodály's catchphrase at that time was 'Music belongs to everyone' ('*Legyen a zene mindenkié!*'), in reality he meant only 'good' music, which he identified as art (classical) music or folk music (2013b: 135). While folk music was important for pedagogical and aesthetic reasons, the most important reason to use Hungarian folk music in schools was to "foster children's 'musical mother-tongue'", which Kodály considered essential to creating a robust national identity (ibid.). He believed that peasant folk song was the embodiment of the Hungarian "musical mother-tongue" and, as such, should be taught exclusively. By definition, this led to the exclusion of any other 'musical language', such as popular or light music, which included Gypsy music, operetta, and *magyar nóta*. As we will see, similar points of exclusion have formed part of the government's recent cultural policy.

Kodály's emphasis on ancient peasant (folk) song as characteristically Hungarian and as the basis of a national, "musical mother-tongue" was problematic for the Communist regime, but he made sure to publicly identify his goals with those of Soviet Russia (Beckles Willson 2007: 31). His simultaneous argument that music should be for everyone was in line with the regime's own rhetoric, and his education model was considered by the state to be such a success that it rapidly expanded across Hungary in the 1950s and 1960s.[55] Conversely, Hungarian children at this time mostly abhorred the enforced learning of folk songs and dances, which stayed with them for the rest of their lives (Frigyesi 1996; Halmos 2000). During the course of the 1950s and '60s, folk music became subsumed by the state, reducing it to regimented state folk ensembles

(both music and dance). They grew into large orchestras and choruses, which only performed on stage in highly choreographed routines. Frigyesi describes this shift as "a modernized form of folk art [that] was ideologically the property of the state"; it was transformed to represent a symbol of national unity and greatness (1996: 59). As detailed below, this collaboration between state and *magyar népzene* remains potent.

The Dance House Movement: 1970s and Beyond

The dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) marked a profound shift in Hungarian engagement with 'national' folk music. I review the numerous ways in which we can view this movement as a 'revival' using Livingston's model (1999) in Chapter 3, but it would be helpful to address two related aspects of the 'revival' model here. Characteristic of revivals are their oppositional tendencies ("serving as cultural opposition", 1999: 68) and their political or social causes (the most common of which is nationalism, 1999: 81).

Broadly speaking, the Hungarian revival movement retained a counter-cultural ethos due in part to its independent and revolutionary nature. Frigyesi highlights that it was in fact the intelligentsia who determined the movement's aesthetics and not the peasant class or the state (1996: 55). The choice of venue type is a case in point: the use of dance clubs was a conscious rejection of the staged performances by state folk ensembles. Despite the movement's avant-garde character, leaders and participants of the movement consistently asserted its apolitical and non-ideological foundation (Taylor 2008a: 20). At the same time, dance house practitioners frequently refer to the oppositional quality of the movement under socialism,[56] which led them to be viewed with suspicion by the establishment, to the extent that Hungarian secret agents were sent to infiltrate the dance houses with the aim of ascertaining whether dance houses were hotbeds of anti-Communist sentiment.[57]

Despite claims of being non-ideological, the movement's connection to Transylvania made it difficult to ignore the possibility of national or irredentist motivations. For example, maps of pre-Trianon Hungary were often found at the dance houses. More

importantly, the use of new repertoire from villages in Transylvania, which were acquired by slightly precarious trips across the border, augmented the potential for irredentism. These trips have been described as "something of an adventure" and, according to a practitioner at the time, "much subterfuge, trickery, and misdirection were required to bring equipment into the villages and recordings back to Hungary" (Felföldi, quoted in Quigley 2014: 189). Indeed, when Transylvanian Hungarian musicians managed to travel to Hungary from Romania despite stringent visa restrictions, they were welcomed and "celebrated as heroes of Hungarian cultural history" (Kürti 2002: 85). This connection with Transylvania, which is often considered to be the "true heart of Hungary and home of the most Hungarian Hungarians" (Hooker 2002: 59), added to the movement's air of resistance against the Soviet regime.

However, it was not an actively nationalist enterprise.[58] Frigyesi states that, instead, there were many who hoped to exploit the movement for nationalist aims, misrepresenting its connection to Transylvania as a sign of a sweeping nationalist revival (1996: 56). Certain activities, such as a conference series addressing the preservation of the Hungarian language in Romania (1970), did not help to alleviate this tension (Beckles Willson 2007: 129)

'*Magyarság*' and Folk Music in Hungary Today

The rest of this chapter is dedicated to the very recent past, namely 2010-2015. Based primarily on time spent in the field in 2013-14 as well as several follow-up trips in 2014-15, I explore the concepts of nation and *magyarság* within Hungary's highly polarised political climate. Themes of nostalgia, victimhood, irredentism, and nation building are all crucial to understandings of *magyarság* in Hungary today.[59] Examination of this relationship between folk music and nationalism here allows us to build a broader background from which to analyse certain revival concepts in later chapters. For example, the use of folk music in the promotion of national heritage

(discussed in Chapter 3), and the desire to move away from political and social causes that typically underpin revivals (also discussed in Chapter 3) both link back to nationalist constructions of folk music considered here.

In Search of 'National' Folk Music

Thanks to recent theoretical developments, it is now accepted that folk song and folk culture are not natural manifestations of nationalism; rather, they have been used to help *create* the image of a nation. The use of folklore as a political tool is particularly common within nationalist agendas and identity-construction. Hobsbawm cites folk song in particular as having been modified, ritualized, and institutionalised to serve nationalistic purposes (1983: 6). This idea has been discussed above from historical perspectives but it is just as relevant, if not more so, to Hungarian society today. The Fidesz government has recognised the power of music to enhance the power of the nation (Bohlman 2011: 58) and has chosen folk music as its vehicle for certain ideals and values. The state openly endorses folk music and thereby assumes the role of cultural mediator, using folk music to promote its nationalistic agendas both at home and abroad.[60]

There are a number of ways in which the state acts to 'nationalise' folk music (*magyar népzene*) in Hungary. Firstly, folk music is assigned a significant role in constructing and projecting national identity using rural, 'wholesome', and 'natural' tropes to depict 'real' *magyarság* (Hungarianness). National identity in this case is bound up with notions of 'authenticity' (Stokes 1994; O'Flynn 2007). The 'authentic' Hungarian is putatively from the countryside, often from a region of 'Greater Hungary', who eats *gulyásleves* (goulash soup) in traditional dress embroidered with red, green, and white motifs, while playing and dancing to national folk music. I do not suggest that Hungarians, particularly in Budapest, accept this national image as representative of the average Hungarian, but I would argue that the image has achieved a kind of symbolic status for the majority of the population. More subtly, aspects of folk art such as embroidery have filtered down into popular fashion and jewellery so that folk

dress is no longer restricted to the stereotype of conservatively dressed female singers.

Secondly, folk music is employed to 'museumize' the nation state. Bohlman explains 'museumizing' as "preserving and presenting the very elements needed to realise nationalism through performance in the course of an ongoing history" (2011: 17). Folk music is held up by the state as a national symbol that has endured Hungary's chequered history of invasions and occupations. Preservation and heritage discourses are relevant here (White 1996; Scher 2002; Grant 2012; Cohen 2013; Norton 2014; Howard 2014) – see Chapter 3 for discussion of preservation, heritage, and UNESCO. László P., a tourism and management consultant, readily made the connection between folk music, heritage, and politics: "It's very much related to the right wing. So you must listen or must support or must praise or must appreciate or must learn it because it's heritage, and that's one of the identity creating factors, I suppose" (Interview with László P., 2014).

What is of particular interest is how the concept of preservation interacts with the construction of a historical, national narrative. Bohlman describes a visit (which I have also made) to the Institute of Musicology in Budapest to view an exhibition of musical instruments used in Hungary since prehistoric times, consisting largely of folk instruments. He suggests that, as the artefacts are displayed, "the visitor passes between myth and history" and that in one particular room called 'Bartók's workshop', the exhibit depicts "how he wrote the story of Hungary through music" (2011: 17). This remark about constructing a 'story of Hungary' is extremely pertinent considering recent trends in the government's national agenda.[61]

Thirdly, folk music has become increasingly institutionalised. Hill suggests that the founding of institutional folk music programmes specifically to serve political and ideological agendas is quite a common practice (2009: 220). She argues that there are several case studies of "institutions that have been required to support government policies and provide the state with musical tools for the dissemination of political ideologies and propaganda. Whether this ideology is more political, cultural, or artistic

in scope, the institution serves to concentrate and magnify the influence of the ideology of a few" (ibid).

While it is inaccurate to suggest that the institutionalisation of folk music has occurred only under the Fidesz government, it is true that institutions are largely reliant on state funding and, as such, the state has the power to promote or suppress various aspects of culture. I discuss the institutionalisation of folk music at length in Chapter 4, but offer a few examples here. Both the LFZE Folk Department and Hagyományok Háza (Hungarian Heritage House) are state-funded institutions for which the Ministry of Human Resources provides substantial financial support explicitly for the "protection of [Hungary's] cultural heritage" (Hungarian Heritage House, n.d.). The emphasis on national heritage is particularly clear at Hagyományok Háza, whose governing principle is to protect and preserve the "tremendous treasure" (folk music) that it "considers to be [Hungary's] heritage" (ibid.).

At the LFZE Folk Department, not only is teaching restricted to *Hungarian* folk music (i.e. there is no teaching of folk music from other countries), but there is a profound emphasis on folk music from pre-Trianon regions (Transylvania, Vojvodina, Felvidék). Students and teachers state openly that these regions have produced 'better' folk music and, consequently, music and dances from pre-Trianon regions are performed more regularly. Bithell and Hill (2014: 21) refer to this as person-oriented criteria of authenticity: when people from certain regions are idealized because their isolation from forms of cultural change have meant that they have retained a purportedly more authentic form of the tradition.

Criticism of this tendency to idealize Transylvania was conveyed to me several times during fieldwork. For example, Inke, a market research specialist with twelve years' experience in a folk dance group as a teenager, described how they were "always dancing the Transylvanian dances and not the Hungarian ones", which made her feel "like they were always looking back to the glory days of Transylvanian folk music" (Interview with Inke, 2014). László P., introduced earlier, voiced the same issue with regard to selecting from Transylvania: "it's just using the nice bits from Székely [area of

Transylvania] culture and heritage, including dance and music, which is beneficial to the Hungarian [government]." He continued, "Transylvania is [seen as] somewhere [where] you are really [a] proper Hungarian… Whatever comes from Transylvania is 'holy', which is really annoying. I've really had enough of it" (Interview with László P., 2014). Claims of Hungarian national heritage thus become problematic, when folk music and dance from regions that have not 'belonged' to Hungary for nearly a hundred years are being championed more than music and dance from within Hungarian borders. This issue of cultural ownership (tackled by Brown 2003) can lead to tensions and disputes between Hungarian and Romania (see p. 61 of this chapter, and Quigley 2014: 191-2).

A final institutional example must also be mentioned here. In 2015 the government created an entirely new institution called *Magyarság Háza* (House of Hungarianness) to celebrate and promote all aspects of Hungarianness (*magyarság*). The institution exhibits a cross-section of media, art, science, and culture to promote "what Hungarianness gave to the world; what it means to be Hungarian in the twenty-first century".[62] Folk music and dance play key roles in the selection of items promoted as *magyarság,* as is apparent from the regular performance and teaching events held and advertised there. This is a clear effort to raise the profile of *magyarság* (one aspect of which is folk music and dance) and to assert its relevance to the world today.

Folk Musicians and the State

The state's endorsement of folk music can also be illustrated through the persistent presence of certain folk musicians at Fidesz events, national holiday celebrations, and most other government-sponsored programmes. Inke, introduced earlier, lamented that it was impossible to take her child to a cultural programme featuring traditional music without seeing members of the Ministries there, and that it is "all PR" (Interview with Inke, 2014). Folk music is connected to politics to the extent that one band in particular, Csík Zenekar, is "the trademark; they are the face of Fidesz" (Interview with Kati, 2014). Early on in my fieldwork, I began to recognise the same faces at each event and realised that a small selection of musicians is called upon to play at these types of occasions. One such band, Szalonna és Bandája, which boasts two musicians

of the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble as members, even played at the wedding of the Prime Minister's daughter. Kati, a teacher-training specialist who maintained a critical viewpoint of most Fidesz activities, explained the government's choice of folk musicians with the following:

> Because they want to emphasise the Hungarianness, and folk music is the easy way. Because no matter how popular contemporary Hungarian bands or rock bands are, people won't identify with them, they won't resonate with them. But now their image resonates with everyone, so I think it was very smart. (Interview with Kati, 2014)

Gábor B., a professional musician, resented Fidesz for using folk music for political purposes, accusing the party of not appreciating the music itself: "Fidesz uses folk music every time, because they don't know anything about it, just a feeling" (Interview with Gábor B., 2013).

It is, of course, not remarkable that the government has chosen folk music as the vehicle through which to represent its national ideals.[63] As Ramnarine notes, "the nationalist enterprise often includes the search for evidence of unique cultural practices and traditions from the past that can be used to signify difference (from other nations) in the construction of present political realities" (2003: 18). The choice of folk music fulfils several criteria: it has a long historical tradition, it is unique to Hungary (especially given the role of the unique language), and it represents the antithesis of modern 'globalised' pop music. A similar example (albeit more extreme) can be found in Hudson's description of attempts made during the Milošević regime to unite Serbs and raise morale in a time of national crisis by using 'turbo folk' at political events, because the lyrics depicted a sense of "shared historical identity that reached back to the mythologized perceptions of a 'glorious' Serbian past" (Hudson 2007: 174). While there are significant differences between the two nations (including type of folk music, era, aggressive level of nationalism), it demonstrates similar attempts to use folk music to unite a nation.

By comparison, the leader of the largest and oldest left-wing party in Hungary, MSZP,[64] once donned white gloves and moonwalked like Michael Jackson to *Billie Jean* at a party rally in 2010. Attila Mesterházy, the then-leader of MSZP, had not pre-planned this action and he was not making an overt political statement by doing so. Rather, we can interpret his willingness to participate in such an internationally recognised style of performance as a sign of engagement with globalised, popular styles. This serves to distance the left-wing party from Fidesz and the traditional Hungarian image that Fidesz is working so hard to promote. Through an engagement with different styles and repertoire, then, we can appreciate how the polarization of left- and right-wing parties is enacted through music.

One of the consequences of playing at events for a right-wing party is that the public often assumes the musicians must have right-wing views too. Kati, introduced earlier, reminded me that it is not the music itself that is political, rather, it is "the fact that you [a folk musician] take a stance by standing together on the stage with Orbán Viktor" (Interview with Kati, 2014). She recalled an interview with a folk band in which the interviewer had presented this predicament of whether by sharing a stage with Orbán, you were thereby representing his views. The folk band had tried to justify its decision by claiming that the invitation to play for the Prime Minister was too high an honour to decline, despite the fact that they had played on stage with him years before he had become the Prime Minister. Kati believed this explanation was hypocritical and concluded that they *must* have supported Orbán, but were unwilling to admit it. If this was the case, then it raises questions: were the musicians simply trying to be diplomatic and to appear politically neutral, or were they reluctant to admit their support for Orbán? Could such a reluctance reveal a culture of embarrassment in folk circles for an association with Orbán and his frequently controversial decisions?

The affiliation between folk musicians and politics is so strong that it frequently extends to all folk musicians, not only to those who play at political events. One musician told me that people regularly accuse him of entertaining right-wing views: "you are a folk musician, you must be very right wing" (Interview with Áron, 2014).

With only a few exceptions, folk music 'insiders' (musicians, academics, practitioners) I interviewed either denied seeing a connection at all or conceded that 'maybe some people think there is' but were not willing to be drawn into a discussion and, instead, steered the conversation towards the music itself. Áron, one of the more liberal folk musicians I interviewed, was uncharacteristically willing to be drawn in, and, in the course of discussion, stated openly that plenty of people connect folk music to current political ideologies. He offered the following possible explanation for why most musicians could or would not be similarly forthcoming:

> I think that the musicians cannot see this because they cannot decide what to do with this question; maybe they're feeling the same that something is going on, some power keeps it together and maybe it seems very dangerous to say 'I want to see Hungarian folk music just as [much as] other folk musics of the world' [because] maybe it looks like you're not wanting or trying to keep your nationality. (Interview with Áron, 2014)

The idea that it might look as though you are shunning your native folk music simply because you enjoy several nations' folk music in equal measure to your own speaks of the powerful rhetoric on offer (and seemingly accepted) concerning how special Hungarian folk music is as a symbol of the Hungarian nation. See below for an example of this attitude in action when I was scolded at the University for not knowing my native folk music well enough. By contrast, those outside the folk scene were, generally speaking, much more inclined to point out the potentially 'dangerous' manipulation of folk music by political parties.

Finally, the government's connection to folk music prevails in the (largely state-owned) media. I offer the following mini case study on *Fölszállott a Páva* to illustrate this point and to introduce the importance of nostalgia in Hungarian nationalism.

Fölszállott a Páva *and Transylvania Nostalgia*

Fölszállott a Páva is the name given to a televised folk music and dance talent competition that is the reinvention of a successful show, *Repülj a Páva*, which aired

from 1969-1981 (see Szilvay 2012 for more historical background). The basic idea behind *Fölszállott a Páva* (hereafter FaP) is to search the country for talented folk musicians and dancers, and for them to compete against each other in different rounds until they reach the final and are crowned the winners. There are four categories: singers, instrumentalists, dancers (individual or couple), and dance groups, and applicants are aged from 16-35. Competitors are selected from eight Hungarian-speaking regions, half of which are outside the current borders, such as Moldavia (Romania), Vojvodina (Serbia), Transcarpathia (Ukraine), and Felvidék (Slovakia). Forty-eight entrants are selected from the regional rounds to compete in the television studio for the semi-finals. The jury consists of revered musicians and dancers, made famous by their roles in the '70s movement, such as Gergely Agócs, Márta Sebestyén, Ferenc Sebő, and Zoltán Zsuráfszky. Once the competition reaches the final, the opinions of the jury are not the deciding factor: it opens up to a public vote, much like the UK's *Britain's Got Talent* or *The X Factor*. In fact, the original idea for the name of this show was *Megasztár*, to be a folk equivalent to its pre-existing pop counterpart. The two presenters are well-known folk singers, Ágnes Herczku and Péter Novák.

Figure 3: Dancing contestants on FaP

Figure 4: FaP presenters

FaP provides a fascinating case study for a number reasons, three of which are outlined below. Several other angles, including the implications of a modern, *X-Factor* style competition on the transmission of what was originally a rural tradition, are discussed in later chapters, so here I will focus my attention on how FaP interacts with themes of nationalism and nostalgia.

Firstly, the geographical parameters are set so that they align with the borders of pre-1920 Hungary. The frequent referral to the map of pre-Trianon Hungary (often referred to as 'Greater Hungary') to illustrate where performers come from and to highlight the continuing Hungarian presence in these regions underlines the nostalgic portrait being painted. Veronika, a student of folk singing at the LFZE, reluctantly admitted that potential competitors applying from beyond the borders were often at an advantage because the selection process can be politically motivated. She explained:

> If someone wants to be in this show from there [beyond the borders], they have a better chance, it's easier for them… Because they [ministers and television executives] want to show that there are Hungarians abroad… They think that they are more authentic because they still live in villages. (Interview with Veronika, 2013)

Secondly, the level of involvement of the Ministry for Culture is indicative of its perception that folk music is a valuable tool to further the government's national agenda. The fact that the Ministry has resurrected this competition in the first place is important, but an interviewee who was heavily involved in the programme disclosed that the government postponed the 2014 finals of the show by several months to coincide with the national elections, and that suddenly many important ministers and representatives were present in the audience, to demonstrate their support and connect their faces to the show, all on live television.

Figure 5: Minister of Human Resources, Zoltán Balog, giving a speech at the 2014 final

Thirdly, the declared agenda of the host broadcaster reveals a state priority to connect with Hungarians living beyond the current borders. FaP has been broadcast on state-owned Duna TV and Duna World since 2012. Duna TV, whose slogan is 'Television of the [Hungarian] Nation' (*A nemzet televíziója*), was launched in December 1992 with the following mission statement:

> The Hungarian Republic bears a sense of responsibility for Hungarians living outside the border, and works to cultivate their relationship with Hungary.[65]

As a programme that promotes Hungarian culture from beyond the borders, being shown on a channel that not only broadcasts in those regions but also "works to cultivate their relationship with Hungary", FaP plays a heightened political role. It is profoundly telling that, according to this state-sponsored television channel, the Hungarian nation still encompasses historic territories.

These instances of political manoeuvring and nation building are rooted in nostalgia, myth, and the reconstruction of the nation's history. Building on Hobsbawm's concept of invented tradition, Boym suggests that the stronger the rhetoric of continuity with the historical past and emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is

presented (2001: 42). The tendency to select musicians from pre-Trianon territories contributes to the particular narrative of the past being presented. As we can see in the example of FaP, the loss of two thirds of Hungarian territory under the terms of the Treaty is something that some Hungarians have not accepted and few (if any) have forgotten. Soma, a young folk musician who has participated in FaP, shared his perspective on the impact of the Treaty, revealing the inherited nature of his nostalgia:

> [We are] a country who lost two thirds of its territory and most of the people also. We lost a lot of Hungarians, a lot of our brothers, that's our family. These borders at that time divorced and broke up families and for our country it's a really big tragedy and it's really very hard to get on with it. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

This "tragedy" is felt most keenly with respect to Transylvania and it is nostalgia for Transylvania in particular that informs the narrative of Greater Hungary. Hooker (2002) and Kürti (2001) refer to these notions of nostalgia as 'Transylvania in the Hungarian imagination'. The narrative presented on FaP and elsewhere, which is nostalgic for a mythologised Greater Hungary, is problematic. In reality, it only existed between 1867-1918 under the Dual Monarchy with Vienna, when the Kingdom of Hungary was not autonomous. Nevertheless, many Hungarians are still nostalgic for these 'glory days', known as Hungary's 'Golden Age'. Boym's notion that nostalgia is "a sentiment of loss and displacement, but also a romance with one's own fantasy" is pertinent here (Boym 2001: xiii).

Boym's distinction between reflective and restorative nostalgia is particularly useful. Whilst she describes reflective nostalgia as dwelling in "*algia*, in longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance", she characterises restorative nostalgia as "emphasis on *nostos*, proposing to rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps" (2001: xviii). In line with her concept of restorative nostalgia, then, FaP is a "total reconstruction of monuments of the past" (2001: 41). We can observe this in the following ways: firstly, the television show has been revived after three decades to show that images of 'traditional' Hungarian life are still relevant to today's society;

secondly, the show reconstructs territories of the past by using such a large number of musicians and dancers from pre-Trianon regions, to give the illusion that Greater Hungary still exists, despite no longer being a geographic reality. Soma, a participant on *FaP*, described the show as "a very good opportunity to get closer to the Hungarian people" (Interview with Soma, 2014). It is worth emphasising again that this idea of a cohesive, integrated, pre-Trianon Hungary is somewhat ironic. In much the same way that Boym suggests that nostalgia is a romance of fantasy, a unified Greater Hungary never really existed due to the intensity of the urban-rural dichotomy that I have already mentioned (and discuss further in Chapter 5).

A Popular Strand of Discourse about Nationalism

Having outlined several ways in which the state engages folk music to further its nationalist agenda, I now explore, first, how these actions are negotiated in public discourse, and then some of the possible outcomes of these initiatives.

In Budapest, public discourse on the relationship between folk music and nationalism tends to be oriented by particular comparative terms: 'conservative' and 'extreme', 'healthy' and 'unhealthy'; also between 'national' and 'nationalist'. Some even acknowledge concern about the ways in which *magyar népzene* is being used now and the direction in which it might be taken. One musician expressed his concern that "it's a big part of the Hungarian thinking so [politicians] can really use it. They use it and [put] much more money in and it's really bad… I think it's going in the wrong way... So it's very unhealthy for the culture" (Interview with Áron, 2014). Conversely, another musician believed that folk music provides "healthy nationalism" and "healthy patriotism" because it teaches people to respect each other through their music. In his view, the addition of repertoire from Transylvania, Slovakia, and so on shows "respect for our neighbouring people in the Carpathian Basin" (Interview with Soma, 2014). The crucial distinction in this argument is whether music from neighbouring countries is recognised and declared as such, or whether it is subsumed into the 'Hungarian' repertoire.

Kati, the teacher-training specialist introduced earlier, used the above distinctions with reference to the musicians themselves: “I think most of them are conservative in values but on the healthy side, so I would say centre-right rather than extreme” (Interview with Kati, 2014). Here then, ‘conservative’ and ‘healthy’ signifies centre-right political views, whereas ‘extreme’ and ‘unhealthy’ connote far-right political sensibilities. A final example refers to teachers at a primary school:

> [The] school very much encourages folk culture. Their principal is a fairly conservative-oriented lady, from the healthy side still. She’s still all right, still on the professional side, but very adamant on doing everything the Hungarian way. (Interview with Kati, 2014)

A closer examination of ‘the Hungarian way’ reveals the prioritisation of Hungarian culture above others, and the maintenance and protection of historical Hungarian practices. In the case of the school principal mentioned above, she views it as her responsibility to instil knowledge of Hungarian history and culture in the children, often to the detriment of non-Hungarian material. This notion of ‘doing everything in the Hungarian way’ is paramount in the current political agenda. The rhetoric used in speeches, on posters, and across the media is rife with references to making Hungary strong again (a sound bite recently harnessed by Donald Trump in relation to America in his successful presidential campaign) and choosing what is ‘best’ for Hungary regardless of international pressures. For example, at the Fidesz XXV Congress in 2014, Orbán’s speech contained the following provocation: did the Hungarian people want to be “the servants of Europe… the banks and the large corporations… or will [they] be their own masters?” (Hungarian Spectrum 2013). In the same speech, he also remarked that “we don’t allow anyone to dictate to us” (ibid.), clearly referring to Hungary’s turbulent twentieth-century history, but also to contemporary pressures, such as multi-national companies and the EU. This display exposes a desire to shun external influences in favour of ‘the Hungarian way’. This ethos has filtered into the education system, provoking Kati to comment about her child’s experience of school, “nowadays everything that’s very Hungarian is mandatory” (Interview with Kati, 2014).

Underlying this 'healthy' to 'unhealthy' spectrum is an innate sense of national pride and, for some, an acute awareness of the potential dangers this poses. Maintaining a 'healthy' level of national pride without 'tipping over' into nationalist sentiments is a key aspect of contemporary *magyarság*, which is frequently brought to bear in the folk music sphere. From childhood, Hungarians are taught that Bartók and Kodály's ethnographic endeavour of collecting thousands of folk songs was special, important, and unique to Hungary. An interviewee explained, "it's something we should be proud of; it's something very special, it makes us special… Bartók and Kodály, how they collected the folk [motifs] from the countryside" (Interview with Inke, 2014). Several interviewees articulated convictions that knowing about Hungarian folk music was their responsibility, "*as a Hungarian*". Indeed, such a responsibility is so clear to certain Hungarians, that they assume every nation is equally as knowledgeable about their own folk music. This caused me great embarrassment during my first encounter at the LFZE Folk Department, when, after describing to a lecturer the nature of my research, he asked me to give a presentation to his class about *English* folk music. When I confessed that English music was "not really my field" and that I did not know much about it, he looked aghast and scolded me with the judgement, "Shame on you!" He could not comprehend my interest in another country's folk music when I was so ignorant about my own. For him, knowing your native folk music should have priority, as it does in Hungary.

When a particular style of music is politicised by the state to bolster a national agenda, the public can find themselves facing a dilemma: if they like, play, or even earn a living from this style of music, are they then making a political statement by continuing to do so? I have described above the tendency to draw conclusions about the political sympathies of folk musicians. Of course, it is not fair to make assumptions about someone's political beliefs based on musical tastes, but could it become the reality that people avoid Hungarian folk music for fear of conveying political affiliations? It can be difficult for people who simply wish to enjoy their country's music, if they come to represent certain values unintentionally: "of course a nation should know about its

music, and try to develop and preserve it, but you don't have to wear it on your t-shirt or be political like they're doing now" (Interview with Áron, 2014).

Similar sentiments were expressed to me in terms of heritage: "I think it's healthy to cherish your cultural heritage, but in Hungary unfortunately this whole thing is vested [in] political reasons. I think it should be normal to be proud of your heritage, but here it is affiliated with, you know, the right wing, they play with the culture for their own ridiculousness!" (Interview with Kati, 2014). Another interviewee, a folklorist, stated that "national identity is important but if you use traditional culture to confirm or justify it, you *misuse* it for national identity purposes" (Interview with László F., 2014). Some believe that the way music is being treated is indicative of a larger problem: "it's difficult in Hungary to maintain a healthy balance of pride because it's easy to stray off in wrong directions. At the moment it's fashionable to be a right winger in order to have some national pride" (Interview with Marianna, 2014). Marianna, an assistant lecturer, believes that this stems from Hungary's "inferiority complex" to the extent that some Hungarians are "overcompensating" by being nationalistic. Finally, some perceive the situation as one in which it is "difficult to find the difference between nationalism and nationality" (Interview with Gábor B., 2013) and as Hungarians struggle to separate these two concepts, folk music is one of the mediums through which this confusion is easily manipulated.

The Hungarian government's decision to prioritise traditional folk music above other styles of music carries myriad implications and consequences. For example, if a nation's government identifies a specific type of music as one that will resonate with everyone to unite them and to encourage the aligning of values, it therefore follows that the homogenization of a society is a probable intention. However, it would be impossible to take this course without the corresponding exclusion of other sections of society and, in turn, certain genres of music. As Steven Brown states: "in terms of culture, if music is functioning to promote the solidarity of groups, it is very often doing so in order to fuel opposition to other groups, to create difference" (2006: 12). In the Hungarian case, then, we can view traditional folk music, *magyar népzene*, emerging as the 'Self', while other genres become the nation's 'Others'. This interplay

between Self and Others within the same musical space can create a situation of competition rather than awe (Bohlman 2000: 191).

As the Fidesz government increasingly endorses folk music, it shuns and even alienates other musical genres, thereby setting them in competition with each other. There are interesting parallels between the contemporary endorsement of traditional folk music and Bartók's assertion in 1911 that peasant folk music is the purest musical style with which to represent Hungarianness. In both cases, Gypsy music is rejected. Today, the music of Hungary's *internal* 'Others', namely the Gypsy and the Jew, are overlooked because they reputedly do not represent *magyarság*.[66] However, the belief that folk music is authentically Hungarian whereas Gypsy music is merely an exotic 'Other' is somewhat ironic. As I have detailed above, in the nineteenth century, it was Gypsy music that was deemed to be an authentic expression of Hungarianness. Music therefore continues to be manipulated as part of an evolving narrative, depending on the ideals of those in power.

In my view, the Hungarian government's use of traditional folk music to emphasise Hungarianness and to unify and strengthen a national cause represents a step away from today's (sometimes unsuccessful) attempts to promote cosmopolitanism and pluralism. The prioritisation of traditional, 'authentic' folk music betrays a refusal to interact with progressive concepts in music such as hybridity and fusion (see Chapter 3 for pertinent examples). This comes at the expense of other music traditions, which have experienced 'Othering' to varying degrees. Politically, members of both Fidesz and Jobbik have displayed attitudes of 'Othering' through comments that are deemed racially insensitive at best. The anti-Semitic and anti-Roma beliefs of Jobbik members have been repeatedly reported in Western and Jewish media,[67] and have recently been the subject of a Channel 4 documentary, entitled 'On the Streets with Hungary's Far Right' (O'Brien 2013).

Magyarság on the World Stage

> Tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.
> (MacCannell 1992: 1)

The last part of this chapter explores the place of *magyarság* in an international context: first, how *magyarság* is presented outwardly to foreign consumers such as tourists; and second, how we can locate *magyarság* between the two poles of nationalism and globalisation.

Inherent in tourism practices are notions of ethnicity, exoticism, and myth. Exoticism and foreignness tend to rely upon state-constructed ideas of ethnicity (Wood 1997), which we broadly accept as a fluid concept, open to manipulation, construction and reconstruction, particularly for national purposes (Hobsbawm 1983). Since Saïd's seminal text *Orientalism* (1978), the portrayal of 'Otherness' by exaggerating the exoticism of ethnicity has been widely discussed. In tourism, 'difference', exoticism, and foreignness are regarded as basic criteria, while in ethnic tourism, the marketing of peoples, cultures, and places as indigenous often boosts their monetary value (Hellier-Tinoco 2011). Notions of 'authenticity' and 'natives' can add to the fantasy of a 'real' experience, which is often overly romanticised.

We can also view ethnicity and nationalism as invariably connected with the activities of a modern centralising state (Brass 1991) of which the Fidesz government is a clear example. Under the Fidesz administration, an official list of Hungarian products and symbols known as '*Hungarikumok*' has been centralised and formalised.[68] The Hungarikumok initiative came directly from the government with the explicit objectives of safeguarding national values and raising national awareness, both in Hungary and internationally, as a tool for cultural tourism. According to the official tourist website, '*Hungarikumok*' are "those noteworthy assets from Hungary, which characterise the Hungarians by their uniqueness, specialty and quality, and represent

the peak performance of Hungary" (Hungarian Tourism Agency n.d.). The list of '*Hungarikumok'* includes food and drink (goulash/*gulyásleves,* Tokaj wines, paprika, Unicum, *pálinka*), UNESCO World Heritage sites (Budapest, Hortobágy National Park, *Búsó* Carnival at Mohács), and various objects and animals (the *vizsla* dog, falconry, Halasi lace making, Matyó folk art). Also featuring on this list are the *táncházak* (folk dance houses) and the dance house methods, thus folk dance and by extension folk music are now 'official symbols' of Hungary. Notably, most Hungarian ethnomusicologists show no interest in the Hungarikumok project because, in their view, it represents efforts to re-nationalize and Hungarianize heritage for the purpose of constructing a national identity, and this is not their priority (Interview with László F., 2014).

Folk music and dance, as well as other folk traditions, are drawn upon in tourist settings to present a particular image of Hungarian culture. It is worth noting that this is in a context in which Gypsy bands, which have long been a staple of Hungarian tourism, occupy a separate sphere and are mostly neglected in terms of government endorsement. It is instead folk traditions that are presented at the plethora of large-scale annual events and festivals staged by the government, including a wine festival, a *pálinka* and sausage festival, Christmas markets, the Danube carnival, and so on. I attended all of these aforementioned events during my extended research period, but will offer a little detail about the wine festival here to demonstrate the version of *magyarság* that was presented to tourists.

In September 2013 I attended the 22nd annual wine festival (*Budavári Borfesztivál*) in the castle district of Budapest. While it was advertised as an international wine festival, the majority of stalls sold wines from Hungary and the surrounding countries. Despite purporting to be a festival about wine, a Harvest Parade and a Folk Music and Dance Gala took centre stage on the final day. The parade comprised heritage preservation societies, members of wine appreciation societies, and folk dancers representing wine regions. Every dancer was dressed in traditional costume, which differed according to region, and each group displayed coloured banners and flags declaring the associated region. After all the groups had performed a sample of their

regional music and dances, they formed a parade, singing and playing as they walked into the castle grounds, the main site for the festival. I found myself following the crowd who had fallen in step behind the performers, unintentionally becoming part of the parade. At the Folk Music and Dance Gala, famous folk bands, singers, and dance groups performed on a stage better suited to a rock concert, and Ágnes Herczku, a famous folk singer and host of *Fölszállott a Páva*, introduced each item. The dance items proved more popular with patrons than the music alone, but plenty of people sat and listened before heading off again in search of a new wine.

On this occasion, folk music and dance served as a medium through which certain aspects of Hungarian nationality were performed. Familiar nostalgic traits were revealed through the musical repertoire, dances, and costumes from pre-Trianon regions. In my view, this was a clear example of alluding to a more extensive version of Hungary than is the case today. At the wine festival, nationality was also presented within the broader context of its connection to rural traditions - in this case, the harvest. The provincial costumes and traditional food and drink (aided by props such as bread baskets) contributed to a representation of 'natural', rural, domestic life. Costumes, flags, and banners symbolised community life from the different regions. The opulent surroundings of the castle grounds therefore provided a slightly ironic setting for such a performance.

As is common among performances designed for tourists, an idealised version of how the nation's ancestors lived, danced, and interacted was presented (Johnston 2006). Hellier-Tinoco's examination of the notion of gaze is useful here. While a tourist gaze involves a specific way of looking at a place, it is also dependent on the way in which tourists are directed to believe, through a careful reinforcement of particular images and ideas (2011: 45). Through processes of reproduction and networks of signs and images (in photographs, brochures, souvenirs, and so on), certain images are made to be the most representative and most typical, creating a 'collective gaze' and leading to an essentialised notion of an originally diverse tradition. In the case of the wine festival, it was the peasant customs of the countryside, which often give the nation its

distinctiveness and its collective identity (Goldstein 1998), that were being reinforced for the tourist gaze.

Two more examples further illustrate the commercial side of folk music tourism in Hungary. The first occurred in the autumn of 2013 as I walked past the Basilica and was accosted by a woman dressed in full folk costume carrying leaflets and a clipboard. I had unwittingly walked past a popular theatre, the Duna Palota, and she was trying to sell me tickets for the evening performance of either the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble or the Danube Folk Ensemble, established in 1951 and 1957 respectively. I had previously only had one similar encounter, in Vienna with a man dressed as Mozart. Somehow I was unperturbed in Vienna; perhaps thanks to the 'Mozart mania' which sweeps through the city, I half expected it. But to experience something similar in Budapest with what I had thought was a less globalised tradition, one which arguably demands a more acquired taste, was unexpected and I was (perhaps naively) surprised at how 'mainstream' it had become. I accepted a leaflet and read the introductory advertising material, which had been translated into five Western European languages. There were different packages on offer, some including dinner and a river cruise, all at differing prices depending on the combination chosen. DVDs were on sale after each performance, and after researching the folk ensembles online, I learned that the ensembles had earned a Certificate of Excellence in 2014 from tripadvisor.co.uk (TripAdvisor n.d.). This encounter was significant because it showed that there were state-funded institutions in Hungary that had chosen to transform a cherished historical tradition in order to represent the country on the world stage of tourism; Taylor refers to this as 'sell-outism' (1997: 23).

A second example is provided by a series of Hungarian folk nights that take place every Friday at the Continental Hotel in central Budapest. The event claims to provide "a unique atmosphere, blending Hungarian flavours with folk music and dance" (Continental Hotel Budapest 2014). The set menu includes the standardised list of traditional dishes and wines, and the live band offers popular "catchy tunes" from the regions of Szatmár (located in both Hungary and Romania), Kalotaszeg, Mezőség, and Székelyföld (all in Romania). The parallels with the Gypsy tradition (most popular

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, though still evident today) of musicians earning a living from playing in restaurants and cafes were not lost on me, even while the structures of commodification have changed.[69]

Nationalism Versus Globalisation?

In this final section, I briefly consider the much-discussed national-global dialectic, and how it relates to Hungarian folk music and *magyarság*. Nationalism and globalisation are mostly written about as opposing forces, often shining a spotlight on the negative effects of globalisation on a nation's culture and heritage. The relationship between these two concepts formed the subject of a recent book, *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary?* (Halikiopoulou and Vasilopoulou 2011). In it, the authors define nationalism as an ideology that stresses the autonomy, independence and sovereignty of the nation, and globalisation as a process that promotes international interconnectedness (2011: 1). Halikiopoulou and Vasilopoulou simultaneously question the impact of globalisation on nationalism and the effects the nation has on globalising forces. They assert that the relationship between the two concepts is "part confrontation, part mutual influence", but more importantly, that it "provides the tension and the dynamic for much of modern society, culture and politics" (2011: 2).

Hungary provides a compelling laboratory of the forces of nationalism and globalisation. National history forms a significant part of Hungarians' collective conscience and identity and, as I have discussed above, this has sometimes led to sentiments of nostalgia and victimhood. However, the effects of globalisation (that have only been possible during the past twenty-five years) have caused significant social and cultural change.[70]

Early on in my fieldwork, I realised that traditional folk music (*magyar népzene*) was often a polarising issue. Rather simplistically, I initially viewed Hungarians as belonging to two categories: 'insiders', those who liked folk music, participated regularly in folk music and dance events, were invested in it socially or professionally, and so on (i.e. stakeholders); and 'outsiders', those who didn't like it, would sometimes roll their eyes

or shrug their shoulders, trying to distance themselves from it, because 'that world' was 'nothing to do with them'. The 'outsiders'' objections to folk music ranged from the perception that it was old-fashioned and strange, to its political associations with the right wing. The view that folk music was old fashioned tied into further notions that folk music came from the villages and was therefore rural and 'backward'. László P., a tourism and management consultant, vociferously claimed that folk music had no place in the capital city, other than as a tourist attraction, which he also disliked (Interview with László P., 2014). (I engage with the urban-rural discourses in Chapter 5). Instead, 'outsiders' preferred genres such as rock, jazz, pop, rap, and world music, particularly from the Balkans.

This insider-outsider division led me to a hypothesis that I put to my remaining interviewees: could it be argued that there is a divide in Hungarian society between those who are more inclined to embrace globalisation by further integrating with the EU and the West who tend *not* to like folk music, and those who assign great worth to Hungarian pride and national values, who may be right wing, and who tend to *like* folk music? Of course, this was not a nuanced attempt to identify groups within Hungarian society, but it was successful in that it produced fruitful debate. Faced with this divisive and heavy-handed question, some interviewees declared immediately that such a tendency certainly existed in Hungary now – they did not believe it was too much of a generalisation. Some reluctantly conceded that there was truth in this distinction, but that it shouldn't be the case. Both of these types of responses were given by 'outsiders'.

Conversely, 'insiders' (participants and stakeholders in the folk music scene) generally refused to be drawn into a discussion of nationalism, globalisation, and the position of folk music between these two poles. They unanimously explained that the only reason for Hungarians' dislike of folk music is that "they don't know it yet" (several interviews, 2013-14). However, a third group emerged from the interviews and discussions, who, in my view, offered a more nuanced impression. These Hungarians were technically still 'outsiders', but while they did not particularly enjoy or participate in folk music, they viewed it as an important part of their cultural heritage, and they respected it on

its own merits despite the values that are often projected onto it. They did not perceive it to be an obstacle to globalisation or a more international future:

> As far as I can see, all nations within the EU are trying to grasp and hold on to their national identity via whatever means there are. For us there would be Hungarian folk music and I don't see anything wrong with keeping this tradition *and* being pro-EU… these issues shouldn't be connected. (Interview with Marianna, 2014)

The rhetoric of the Fidesz government, however, is one of national pride and protection against the perceived threat of external, international forces, be they Western or European. I have detailed above Orbán's mission not to be a "servant of Europe" and for Hungarians to "be their own masters" (Hungarian Spectrum 2013). I have already considered this theme in terms of Boym's concepts of restorative nostalgia. An alternative way of understanding this is by using what Halikiopolou refers to as a 'nationalist backlash' against the potential uncertainty and multifarious influence of globalisation. Similarly, O'Flynn asserts that "it is [precisely] in the context of globality that the homogenizing of national music takes place" (O'Flynn 2007: 22). The 'nationalist backlash' in this case is manifested in the homogenised version of 'folk music' that is promoted by the government. 'Canons' of both performers and repertoire have taken shape in recent years, and in fact only a relatively small spectrum of folk music is habitually on offer. There are numerous other folk genres in existence and available in Budapest, for example folk-pop, folk-rock, world music, folk-jazz fusions, and so on (discussed in detail in Chapter 3), but these do not have the same national connotations or associations as the traditional style (*magyar népzene*).

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that folk music in Hungary is intimately bound up with notions of national identity, traditionalism, and nostalgia. I have shown that while the connection between the right-wing values of the Fidesz-KDNP government

and a traditional, purist representation of folk music is particularly potent at present, the current situation forms part of a broader cultural narrative since folk music was first brought to Budapest a little over one hundred years ago in the form of *magyar népzene*. The long-standing preoccupation with the concept of 'authentic' Hungarianness (*magyarság*) and the concurrent mediation between 'folk' and 'Gypsy' (and indeed 'Jew') has been constantly re-negotiated throughout the twentieth century. Music has undoubtedly been a platform upon which these negotiations have been enacted. Traditional folk music, which provided a refuge of 'Hungarianness' under Soviet oppression during the 1970s and '80s dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*), is now being used (by some) as a vehicle for nationalist propaganda. We can observe a shift, then, in the social and political cause that underpinned the revival movement, compared to today.

However, positioning this wave of nationalism in a broader cultural narrative is not to downplay its intensity in the context of Europe today. Exacerbated by the refugee crisis of 2015 onwards and the ongoing threat of terrorism (as apparent from the threat level of 'severe' that is in force in several European countries today), we can observe a trend of each European nation turning inward to focus on national issues and questions of sovereignty. Hungary, under Orbán's leadership, has been leading this trend (alongside Britain and its decision to leave the EU), prompting me to consider whether Hungary's zeitgeist is returning to the nation-building ethos of the nineteenth century.

As we move on to consider more specific questions of revival, we see that there are several other frames with which we can understand the myriad instances of nationalist transformation that have occurred since the original revival in the 1970s.

3. Revival and Post-Revival as Frames for Hungarian Folk Music in the City

Having fleshed out in the broadest terms the historical and contemporary contexts for folk music in Hungary, I now turn to notions of revival and post-revival to frame my analysis.

I begin by using Livingston's revival model (1999) to review the dance house movement of the 1970s and '80s and consider its place as one of Europe's many revivals in that period. I also situate the movement in the context of the twentieth century and other instances of engagement with folk music during that time. Moving on, I consider ways in which the dance house movement can be historicised, drawing on a number of recent publications. In so doing, I examine two support systems (one institutional, the other commercial) that have helped to sustain the revival movement over a forty-year period.

The rest of the chapter looks at the contemporary situation. I question the continued relevance of Livingston's revival model, and draw on more recent models of revival to assess the contemporary folk scene. Most importantly, I consider the recent concept 'post-revival' (Bithell and Hill 2014) as a possible framework.

As Livingston signalled in 1999, revivals would likely experience tension between conservative and progressive factions, which could lead to a revival's breakdown. The question of what comes after revivals is not only evident in revival scholarship, but is particularly pressing for the Hungarian case. Through an investigation into five varied folk bands, I identify four key areas for exploration in terms of post-revival criteria. These include the relationship between a revival and its political or social cause, the relationship between a revival and the cultural mainstream, the negotiation of musical

style across a spectrum from purist preservation to individual creativity, and the potential for a revival to go through a process of gentrification.

My discussion of 'post-revival' also considers heritage discourses (Norton 2014; Howard 2014; Bithell 2014) and globalization perspectives (Ronström 2014; Sweers 2014). In doing so I pose, among others, the following questions: in what ways has the inscription of the Táncház Method on UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices affected attitudes towards preservation and heritage? What impact has the world music scene had on the continued success of the dance house movement? How do musicians from both within and outside the dance house movement negotiate 'authenticity' today?

The Dance House Movement (*Táncházmozgalom*)

The Hungarian dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) is widely recognised as a folk music and dance revival, which took place in Budapest in the 1970s. Its genesis is accepted as the date of the first táncház, 6th May, 1972. The táncház was a social dance gathering of members of Budapest's four best amateur folk dance ensembles (including Bihari Táncegyüttes, Bartók Táncegyüttes, Vasas Táncegyüttes, and Vadrózsák Táncegyüttes) and the first táncház orchestra, Sebő Együttes. It began as a members-only establishment, but within the first year it had opened its doors to the public. During the 1970s the movement grew rapidly in terms of size, popularity, repertoire, and professionalism. By 1974 there were two táncház events per week, increasing to the point where "new táncházak [were] springing up everywhere" by the late 1970s and through the 1980s (Halmos 2000: 38). The táncház events were usually held in Cultural Centres (*művelodési házak*), which were cultural clubs for each district of Budapest (and for each town across Hungary), created under the Soviet regime. New folk 'orchestras' were established (including Muzsikás, Jánosi, Téka, Méta, and Virágvölgyi) to keep up with demand. These musicians, in collaboration with the dance instructors detailed below, formed a network of what Livingston calls "core revivalists" (1999: 69-70).

The dance teaching was initially undertaken by György Martin, Sándor Timár, and members of the Bartók Dance Ensemble. Teaching folk dances from Transylvania to members of the public in urban Budapest was an entirely new experience, and as such, these dance instructors had to actively codify their teaching methods. They effectively had to "invent a method" to "construct it for the town [Budapest]" where, compared to rural Transylvania, there were different social customs and different understandings of community life (Interview with Ildikó, 2013). Dance teaching was further developed through a two-year training course organised by the Hungarian Institute for Culture. This caused an upsurge of táncház organisations in provincial towns across Hungary, which was supplemented by workshops and summer camps. Under Martin's instruction, folk music and dances from other regions in Transylvania (principally Szék) and Hungary were added to the táncház repertoire.

While there were several antecedents to the dance house movement of the 1970s (discussed below), it clearly marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of Hungarians' engagement with their musical heritage (Frigyesi 1996). The movement created a new category of music, transforming an intrinsically rural tradition by removing it from the peasantry and inserting it into the domain of the urban intelligentsia. In so doing, it invented a new tradition for this repertoire and created a new context for it – one that was relevant for modern urban life (Hooker 2005).[71] As Sweers observes, "any revival, no matter how carefully concerned with reconstruction, transfers traditional musics into a different sociocultural context" (Sweers 2014: 480). In this sense, we cannot understand this revival as a 'restoration' of a disappearing musical system, as Livingston suggests. A true restoration would have occurred in the rural context from which the folk tradition originated; the dance house movement transformed the tradition by displacing and reintroducing it to the city. To illustrate this point, I quote Jávorszky, whose recollection that core revivalists Sebő and Halmos habitually learned from György Martin in his Budapest flat, demonstrates the urban nature of transmission at the time:

> They got word that the only place where you could hear authentic Hungarian instrumental folk music in Budapest was at György Martin's flat. (Jávorszky 2015: 29)

The dance house movement was particularly appealing to the educated middle class thanks to the intellectual framework it inhabited, namely "an appeal to roots and authentic tradition" (Hooker 2005: 53). This is in keeping with Livingston's assertion that revival movements are "middle class phenomena" (1999: 66) – in this case, associated with students and young professionals in Budapest.

The movement was appealing to young people for a number of reasons. Firstly, it offered the chance to participate in and actively engage with the folk tradition for the first time. This participatory aesthetic is key to the movement's success both then and now (Quigley 2014). During the 1950s and '60s, Hungarians had experienced folk music predominantly in the form of highly-regulated, choreographed stage performances by state folk ensembles such as the Bartók Dance Ensemble. The chance to learn some of these folk dances for themselves signalled a fresh approach that many young people valued.

Secondly, the dance houses (*táncházak*) provided a significant arena for socialising. They afforded the opportunity for young people to meet and dance with members of the opposite sex. Quigley explains that the chance for participants to dance freely with one another, the close interaction of the turning figures, and the virtuosic solo dancing for the young men were all key factors in attracting young people to the dance houses: "for participants, this was and probably remains the most immediate source of motivation and satisfaction" (Quigley 2014: 187). Indeed, the same often holds true today: "for me, it's an opportunity to have fun with others and it's the best way to meet young people, in the táncház" (Interview with Veronika, 2013).

Thirdly, the addition of new repertoire from villages in Transylvania, acquired by slightly precarious trips across the border, made the movement even more attractive. Quigley describes these trips as "something of an adventure before 1990" and explains

that “much subterfuge, trickery, and misdirection were required to bring equipment into the villages and recordings back to Hungary” (Felföldi, quoted in Quigley 2014: 189). Indeed, when Transylvanian Hungarian musicians managed to negotiate the Romanian-Hungarian border, they were welcomed and “celebrated as heroes of Hungarian culture history” (Kürti 2002: 85). This connection with Transylvania,[72] the “true heart of Hungary and home of the most Hungarian Hungarians” (Hooker 2002: 59), gave the movement an air of resistance against the Soviet regime.[73] This movement therefore provided an opportunity to react against the social and political stresses of the time.

Livingston frames resistance in terms of opposition to the contemporary cultural mainstream (1999: 66). Within her model, revivalists align themselves with a particular historical lineage, and offer a cultural alternative in which “legitimacy is grounded in reference to authenticity and historical fidelity” (1999: 66). Authenticity and continuity with the past were not only two of the themes most central to the dance house movement, but they persist as key sites for debate in the folk scene today. In a broad sense, the expression ‘authentic’ should be understood as a deliberate contrast to the Soviet ensembles (Sweers 2014: 471).[74] More specifically, both authenticity and continuity with the past were believed to lie in the connection with village tradition bearers, to whom revivalists gained access through collecting trips. The importance of collecting trips cannot be overstated: they facilitated unprecedented access with a ‘living’ folk tradition that enabled a much deeper, first-hand understanding that went far beyond learning from sheet music or recordings.

However, even in the early years of the dance house movement, there were different approaches to the concept of continuity. A conflict emerged between those who sought authenticity through the maintenance and reproduction of folk traditions, and those who practised artistic freedom by reinterpreting and experimenting with traditions (Siklós 1977: 179-181). The latter argument ties in with the notion that traditions should be ‘living’ and should be expressed ‘naturally’. This position can be difficult to reconcile with those who interpret safeguarding efforts as a mandate for the museumization of traditions (see section on UNESCO below).

Deeper Roots for Revivals

A further angle on revival is offered by Jabbour, who considers cyclical cultural transmission in cases when a tradition skips a generation. He calls this 'Grandparent education' (2014: 119), clarifying that it not only represents literal grandparents, but also other elderly family members or neighbours; the crucial point is the exclusion of the parents' generation. 'Grandparent education' is pertinent to the Hungarian dance house movement. Musicians and dancers such as Béla Halmos, Ferenc Sebő, Sándor Timár, and György Martin went, as young adults, to Transylvania to collect folk songs and dances from elderly villagers. They bypassed their parents' generation, who had experienced folk music predominantly through the school curriculum and staged performances by professional dance ensembles throughout the 1930s-1960s (see below).

Thus, using Jabbour's terms, it is possible to view two periods of the twentieth century as 'peaks of renewed attention': the 1900s-1910s, when Bartók and Kodály embarked on the majority of their folk song collecting; and the 1970s, when the dance house movement took hold and flourished. Frigyesi supports this premise when she claims that "since the activities of Bartók and Kodály, the revival movement has had the greatest impact on the Hungarian population in terms of transmitting authentic peasant repertoire to a broader public" (1996: 73). Certainly, these are the two periods most highly cherished as milestones in the history of *magyar népzene*.

In between these two 'peaks', then, are a series of activities that engaged with folk music in different ways. However, they are generally not viewed favourably by folk musicians or scholars in Hungary today, mostly because they are judged as being 'inauthentic'. I briefly summarise them here.

The first of these was the Bouquet of Pearls Movement (*Gyöngyös Bokréta*), which spanned the years 1931-1944, and which enjoyed sponsorship from the Ministry of Culture and the Municipal Tourism Bureau. This movement was led by newspaper journalist Béla Paulini, who "brought provincial folk dancers from all over historic [pre-

Trianon] Hungary to the stage in Budapest each year on Saint Steven's day" (Taylor 2004: 99). Although Paulini intended to keep folk traditions pure and intact, he was instead engaged in the "reworking and embellishing [of] dance material and costumes" (ibid.). Despite the movement's revisionist tendencies, György Martin maintains that it did succeed in preserving interest in the folk tradition during those years. Indeed, Verebélyi claims that knowledge of folk dances and costumes was sustained more intensely after World War II (after the movement had waned) in those villages and towns that had participated, compared to those that had not (Taylor 2004: 27).

We can also identify a set of three initiatives advanced by the Communist state at various points during the late 1940s, '50s and '60s. First, in the late 1940s, Hungarians were required by the state to sing folk songs and dance folk dances. Halmos describes this as less of a movement and more of a 'terror tactic' (2000: 35). He argues that this culture of enforced learning led to several generations of Hungarians abhorring folk art for the rest of their lives. Frigyesi echoes these sentiments from her own experience at a public school and at the Music Academy (see Chapter 4 for reference to this continued practice at the Classical Department at the LFZE). Mandatory learning of folk songs endured throughout the twentieth century to the point where it has become normative. Every Hungarian I spoke to or interviewed formally, from across a considerable age range, described some kind of school-based folk music learning experience.

The second Communist initiative took hold in the late 1950s. This was the formation of amateur folk dance groups modelled on Soviet folk ensembles, which led to highly choreographed performances of folk dances on stage. The most famous example of this is the Bartók Dance Ensemble, established in 1958. The third initiative, the televised folk music and dance competition show *Röpülj Páva*, was aired in the late 1960s. Halmos believes that this television show was an immediate antecedent to the dance house movement because it broadcast "unmodified" folk music. There was a special focus on instrumental folk music that was appreciated on its own merits, with no need to "elevate it" to the realm of classical music, or to "elaborate [on its]

themes" (Halmos 2000: 36), perhaps referencing Gypsy performing styles. Frigyesi concurs: *Röpülj Páva* "had a positive effect in giving live performance of folk music a rank in cultural life" (1996: 72).

If we consider the 1970s dance house movement in line with Jabbour's cyclical view of history, we can view the revival movement as part of an ongoing historical development, which Frigyesi deems "the most recent stage in the intellectuals' approach toward folklore" (Frigyesi 1996: 73). In her view, the 1970s movement was the third (and largest) of three waves of development during the twentieth century. Rather than the Bouquet of Pearls Movement described above, she marks the 'village movement' of the 1920s and '30s as being the first wave.[75] The second wave, she argues, was the launch of folk song and dance ensembles by the Communist state in the 1950s. Halmos takes a similarly cyclical view, choosing to include all the antecedents mentioned above in his comprehensive article on the dance house movement. He refers to the táncház movement as "the newest wave of folk art movements [that] stirred up the country" (2000: 37), indicating that he too views the antecedents as a series of waves of interest. Finally, Taylor holds a similar viewpoint, referring to the dance house movement as "the latest wave of folk revival in Hungary" (2004: 96).

While there is no explicit consensus among scholars concerning the number and significance of various antecedents to the dance house movement, they are united in their perception of the antecedents as 'waves', which I too understand as waves in between the two main 'peaks of renewed interest'. There are some discernible attitudes of disapproval towards these 'waves': they have been judged by some 1970s revivalists to be 'inauthentic' (in the case of staged performances) and 'enforced' (when the Communist state imposed the learning of folk songs by rote in schools). For them, the 1970s dance house movement was an explicitly critical return and revival of origins. By contrast, other revivalists have acknowledged the beneficial role these 'waves' have played (however 'flawed' they may be), for keeping interest in the folk tradition alive.

40 Years of Táncház

> More than 40 years after its inception, the revival is now a wide-spread, complex and institutionalized movement. (Fülemile 2014: 45)

In 2011, the Táncház method was included in UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, heralding a significant historical marker of a thirty-nine-year development. One year later in 2012, numerous fortieth-anniversary celebrations were held, which for many represented forty years of strife to make Hungary's folk heritage part of everyday life. The annual Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*) played a significant role in the anniversary celebrations, hosting a conference which served as both a fond recollection of the movement's early days and a renewed call for the continued commitment to the core values of the movement, particularly in the face of mounting economic crisis (Quigley 2014: 184).

The fortieth anniversary celebrations mark a period of renewed historicising that raises a number of questions about perspective. Examining how key moments, achievements, and protagonists have been used to construct particular narratives reveals different ways in which this forty-year period has been presented.

A key source is a book published in 2013[76] (shortly after the fortieth anniversary), which presents the history of the táncház tradition, informed by perspectives from some of the leading folk music scholars, musicians, and activists in Hungary. It is written by one author, Béla Szilárd Jávorszky, but includes extended interview material from key figures in the dance house movement and folk music scene today. The title of the book, *A magyar FOLK története: népzene, táncház, világzene*, translates as 'The history [or 'story'] of Hungarian FOLK: folk music, dance house, world music'.[77] We can see from the titles of each chapter the varying degrees of importance that have been attributed to different events or time periods. For example, a whole chapter has been assigned to the first táncház, the date of which is immortalised in the chapter title: 'The Pivotal Moment: May 6, 1972'. By contrast, large chunks of history have

been given similar-sized sections, for example, one chapter is simply called 'The Eighties' (*Azok a nyolcvanas évek*), while another has been given the title 'Dance house around the globe' (*Táncház a glóbusz körül*).

I discern two main ways in which the forty-year period, from the first táncház in 1972 to the anniversary celebrations in 2012, has been sustained. The first I term 'institutional', the second 'commercial'.[78] The institutional network, which I present first, saw scholarly and institutional fields playing significant roles in both the continued establishment of the folk tradition in Hungarian culture, and in the advancement of folk music as a scholarly, scientific field of study.[79] The commercial one was different, not least because it drew explicitly on an international frame.

Institutional Support System

One of the key institutions is 'the táncház' itself, which has formed the network's core. A key component of the táncház is the way it has drawn people in and expanded activities as popularity increased. In the 1970s, the popularity of the táncház in Budapest grew immediately, as evidenced by the steady increase in number and frequency of táncház events: from twice a week in the mid-1970s to one or two each day in the 1980s (Halmos 2000). As the number of musicians, singers, and dancers grew, summer camps were also organised (from 1975 onwards) by various táncház bands, such as the Sebő group and the Téka Ensemble. The annual Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*) began in 1981, and by the mid-1990s it drew 25-30,000 people each year (Quigley 2014: 194).[80]

Another component of the institutional support system was provided by academic and/or national institutions during the movement's early stages. Researchers at The Hungarian Academy of Science's Institute of Musicology (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia-Zenetudományi Intézet, MTA ZTI) worked with early advocates of the revival movement, many of whom embarked on scholarly ventures such as carrying out fieldwork, learning from the musicians, recording them, and analysing the recorded material. The Institute of Musicology embarked on a huge project publishing

the complete, definitive collection of Hungarian folk song heritage, which is still ongoing today (Quigley 2014: 192).

Fluctuating financial support continues to burden the institutional network. The exchange between the "scientific and practical spheres of work" (Quigley 2014: 193) as outlined above, continues to be crucial in gaining respect, interest, and support from scholars and government institutions. During the movement's early years, when the government regarded the movement with some suspicion, financial support could be rather limited. Since the early táncház events took place almost solely in the state-run cultural centres (*művelodési házak*), they were reliant on state subsidies, which were not always provided. Frigyesi (1996) and Halmos (2000) both describe instances when participants had to fend for themselves with practical matters such as cleaning and ushers. Generally speaking, however, the state was mostly tolerant and supportive of the recreational dance houses during the 1970s and '80s, which Taylor (2008b) argues was due to the stake held by state cultural authorities in the work of state folk ensembles.

Significant to the development of the institutional network were the political, social and economic changes that occurred following the regime change in 1989, and their subsequent impact on the way folk music and dance was organised, promoted, and transmitted. Many activities previously coordinated by state cultural institutions had to be taken over by civilians.[81] One of the most important of these was the Dance House Guild, founded in 1990, with the aim of forming a nationwide organisation connecting all branches of táncház activity. The Guild's objectives include maintaining folk collections, organising educational projects, publishing educational material, and collaborating with other institutes and organisations. Ultimately the Guild wishes for "more and more people [to become] acquainted with and use the values of the táncház in their everyday lives" (Táncház Egyesület n.d.). The Guild is an active member of the Hungarian Council of Music and plays a crucial role in the promotion of táncház culture in Hungary: it publishes the *folkMAGazin* six times a year and is responsible for the annual Dance House Festival (*Tánctalálkozó*), now in its 35th year.

Despite the cultural upheaval that Hungarians endured in the 1990s, Taylor (2008b) warns against starkly opposing socialist and post-socialist periods, instead highlighting instances of continuity within Hungarian cultural management. For example, the building that has housed Hagyományok Háza since 2001 in fact housed a succession of cultural ministries throughout the twentieth century. Numerous institutionalised celebrations, competitions, festivals, and interpersonal networks have persisted through the 1990s and continue today; they have evolved according to changing ideologies.

Two major national institutions were created in the 2000s that for many represent the fruits of years of work and struggle during the 1990s to support and institutionalise Hungary's folk tradition. The first of these institutions was Hagyományok Háza, established in 2001. It was founded by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage with the purpose of "preserving and promoting the Hungarian folk tradition" (Hungarian Heritage House n.d.).[82] Despite being founded by the Culture Ministry, there was an important distinction between the priorities of the Culture Ministry and Hagyományok Háza: while the former follows a "philosophy of 'cultivation', the latter values 'heritage'" (Taylor 2008b: 167-170). The second institution was the Folk Department of the Liszt Music Academy (LFZE).[83] Founded in 2007, it was the result of a huge effort to establish a higher education institution beyond the limitations of the college in Nyíregyháza. The Department enabled musicians to gain BA and MA degrees in folk music for the first time, something that a number of the movement's leading figures pursued.

From this summary of institutional growth, we can see a developing infrastructure that has supported the táncház revival over the past forty years. As I have shown, there have been fluctuations in financial backing, but the overarching trajectory is one of linear progression from the 1970s to the 2000s, while experiencing some brief vacillations in the 1980s and '90s.

Commercial Support System

One component of the commercial support system is the movement's network of enthusiastic participants far beyond Hungary's borders. Táncház became popular not only with Hungarians in neighbouring countries, but also with non-Hungarians in countries as far-flung as Australia, New Zealand, South America, and Japan. This level of international interest was largely achieved in the following three ways: first, many folk music groups experimented with the world music scene; second, the record industry became increasingly invested in promoting Hungarian folk and world music bands; third, as a result of the previous two developments, the folk and world music scenes enjoyed commercial success.

The world music scene forms a key component of the commercial network. The transition into the world music scene proved to be a lucrative move for a number of Hungarian folk music bands, of which Muzsikás is a classic example: they started with performances and recordings of Hungarian folk music, but soon branched out to include music from other styles such as Jewish music[84] and the music of neighbouring countries, particularly the Balkans. Muzsikás feature on the 1994 album *The Rough Guide to World Music*, and following Márta Sebestyén's performance of Hungarian folk song 'Szerelem szerelem' on the soundtrack of Oscar-winning film *The English Patient* (1996), they truly enjoyed international status. Sebestyén even gave her album released in 2000 the title *World Star of World Music.*

The commercial network therefore relies heavily on the international record industry. Record labels such as Hungaroton and Ryko/Hannibal were integral to the growing reputation of Hungarian folk bands on the international stage, especially during the 1990s. There were several folk music recordings made and released in the 1970s and '80s, for example the Hungaroton series *Living Hungarian Folk Music*, and the *Magyarországi Táncháztalálkozó* series featuring musicians from the annual Táncháztalálkozó festival, but it was those recordings more orientated towards the genre of 'world music' in the 1990s that enjoyed more international, commercial success.

A final component of the commercial network is the exchange between the commercial recording industry and the institutional one. Hagyományok Háza has taken over from The Dance House Guild in releasing annual CDs for which dance house bands apply and compete; since the takeover in 2003, the series has been re-named *Táncház Népzene*. Hagyományok Háza is also responsible, in partnership with Fonó Music House, and supported by the EU and Norway Fund, for the *Új Pátria* 'Final Hour' (*Utolsó Óra*) series of CDs, which focuses on village musicians in Transylvania.

This summary also depicts a developing infrastructure. The commercial network weaves together more international strands than the institutional one, particularly in the case of the commercial recording industry and its involvement in the world music scene. However, there are also several areas of overlap and interweaving between the two support systems. For example, both networks release recordings of folk music, though the emphasis on genre is different. The institutional network is a patron of traditional folk music, while the commercial network supports mostly world music, with some traditional folk music as a secondary focus.

These two main areas of support are still present in the current situation, as we will see in the next chapter. However, to explore this further, I must now move on to considerations of post-revival theory.

Framing the Contemporary Folk Scene (2013-2015) in Post-Revival Concepts

Post-Revival: Key Criteria

As outlined in Chapter 1, 'post-revival' has been put forward by Bithell and Hill as a possible way of analysing the transformative dimensions and contemporary ramifications of revival movements (2014: 3). It aims to distinguish a new phase from original revivals, as a means of acknowledging the significance of the original revival, and of identifying a new musical or social culture as part of its legacy (2014: 29). 'Post-

revival' therefore occupies the theoretical space between the two poles of a revival's 'outcome': a breakdown of a revival or a never-ending revival.

An important characteristic of a post-revival phase is the recognition that the revived tradition has become firmly established to the point where it can no longer be described as threatened or in need of rescue.

A second feature of post-revival is the development of the original revival to a point where it has become something new, so that it now "enjoys an independent existence, free of its once symbiotic connection to a particular social, political, or aesthetic cause" (2014: 28). The original motivation behind the revival may have waned as core revivalists achieve their objectives or move on to other causes or identities, for example, "as independent performing artists in the commercial entertainment world" (ibid.).

This leads to a third feature of post-revival: an engagement with the cultural mainstream. Removed from a specific cause, revivals might gradually 'settle' into the mainstream, which Bithell and Hill liken to Wallace's (1956) "new steady state".[85] In line with post-revival theory, revivals may "undergo a process of classicalization or gentrification", even becoming "'hip' in the eyes of the younger generation for whom retro is progressive" (ibid.). Alternatively, revivals might maintain a niche identity, set apart from the mainstream, but "secure in the hands of a 'subculture' or affinity group" (2014: 28).

A fourth feature of 'post-revival' concerns the artistic and aesthetic choices of a new generation of musicians as the revival baton passes to them. At this point, new-generation groups may seek to break free from purist restrictions of the revival proper. In so doing, they may become less concerned with demands for authenticity and legitimacy, and instead explore their individual creativity. This may take the form of experimenting with "a more eclectic palette of musical idioms, including from beyond their own culture" (2014: 29). Bithell and Hill describe this as "explicitly

drawing a line under the revival proper" by "freeing themselves from the apron strings of 'tradition'" (ibid.).

Another aspect of a post-revival phase is a foundation of financial, institutional, social, or knowledge-based infrastructures, which can support the careers of post-revivalists. I have introduced institutional and commercial infrastructures above, also referring to them as support systems, and I interrogate them further in the next chapter, using the lens of professionalization.

Finally, post-revival musicians must also consider global frameworks, particularly with regard to conservation and heritage discourses, commercialism, and tourism. I have already introduced some aspects of globalization in relation to nationalism in Chapter 2, but I discuss them further later on in this chapter using Ronström's (2014) and Sweers's (2014) discussions of globalizing perspectives and their influence on revivals. I also consider heritage discourses (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Norton 2014; Howard 2014; Bithell 2014) and how they function in Hungarian contexts below. I turn to commercialism and the folk music industry in Chapter 4, and to tourism in urban contexts in Chapter 5.

Introducing the Bands

Kerekes Band, Misztrál Együttes, Góbé Zenekar, Berka Együttes, and Budapest Nufolk Revolution are all active music groups in Budapest today and I have attended a number of performances given by each of them. The order in which I have presented them above also represents the chronological order in which they were formed. In fact, they fall easily into two categories based on the time they were formed: Kerekes Band and Misztrál Együttes began in 1995 and 1997 respectively, whereas Góbé, Berka, and Budapest Nufolk Revolution were established much more recently, in 2007, 2008, and 2011 respectively. This immediately provides scope to compare how music groups have engaged with folk music in the 1990s versus the 2000s and beyond. The five groups are united by their declarations that their roots lie in *magyar népzene*, though the extent to which they are connected to these roots differs substantially. As

we will see, the four criteria of post-revivalism allow us to explore that from several positions.

1. Independence from Social, Political, Aesthetic causes

A key element in the theory of post-revival is the separation of activities from the social, political, and aesthetic causes that were the original points of departure, to the extent that folk musicians may now enjoy an independent existence. On one level, the Hungarian case suggests ongoing entanglement with certain causes because *magyar népzene* carries myriad connotations in Hungary, be they political, national, social, or aesthetic. All five folk groups mentioned above have declared a connection to *magyar népzene*, which was also integral to the original revival (the dance house movement). It is therefore impossible, in my view, for a Hungarian band that plays or states their involvement with Hungarian folk music to 'enjoy an independent existence' as they are inherently bound up with political, social, or aesthetic connotations of either *magyar népzene* itself or of the 1970s dance house movement.

Despite this interlinking at a fundamental level, we can distinguish between bands today whose own explicit aim is to be free of previously connected causes, and those who mean to continue the aesthetic legacy. More specifically, we can observe a spectrum of aesthetic ideals that lie between these poles. From this spectrum, we can also observe instances when a band's output does not align with its aesthetic agenda.

Kerekes Band provides a good example of a group that has embarked on a process of transformation in the way it engages with certain social and aesthetic aspects of Hungarian folk music. Formed as a duo in 1995 under the name 'Kerekes Ensemble', the two Fehér brothers began as a quintessential folk music group. They played traditional folk instruments (flute (*furulya*) and drum (*dob*)), and made ethnomusicological trips to Transylvania with their 'masters' to collect original folk songs, which culminated in an album entitled *Hungarian Folk Music from Gyimes and Moldva* (2001). This YouTube clip shows the two brothers playing folk music from these two regions (Gyimes and Moldva) with the Tímár family of folk musicians. In a

traditional táncház setting, the band accompanies the amateur dancers in their local dance house in Miskolc in 2001: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXcZs4SteGg.

Kerekes Band produced their second album in collaboration with their 'masters' Viktor and János Timár, releasing it in 2003 with the title *Futyal a masina* ('The engine is whistling'). Around this time, the first instances of transformation began to appear. They added a viola (*brácsa*) player and a lute (*koboz*) player to their ranks and describe this new line up as "now complete for a true world music band" (Kerekes Band n.d.). They attribute their claim to be a "true world music band" to their blend of "authentic acoustic instruments and electronic wizardry" (ibid.)

They embarked on an even more significant transformation in 2003. The band describes this period as one of new directions and an active step away from the traditional, "well-walked path" of Hungarian folk musicians, and it was signalled by the change of the band's name: from Kerekes 'Ensemble' to Kerekes 'Band'. 'Ensemble' (*együttes*) or 'orchestra' (*zenekar*) are terms often used by more traditional folk groups, while 'band' usually signifies to the audience or record label a rock or pop group. Kerekes Band was indeed making the transition into a folk-rock band, signalling "a definite shift" from "only traditional" to a "new, eclectic approach to their music" (ibid.). Kerekes Band declares that its aim is not to create music that is "very Hungarian"; rather, they wish to weave together genres that are not usually "on greeting terms" in order to create a unique sound. They combine folk music from Gyimes (Transylvania) and Moldva (historical region of Romania) with jazz, rock, psychedelic, and electronic musical genres, to form a new, unusual style they call 'Ethno Funk'. They also mention such varied influences as Jimi Hendrix, James Brown, Bob Marley, Jamiroquai, and Dreadzone. This YouTube clip of their song, aptly named *Ethno Funk*, demonstrates their eclectic style https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h6z3e9wvN0w.

Figure 6: Two of Kerekes Band's members playing traditional folk instruments

Moreover, they give their 2006 album the title *Pimasz: Magyar Funk*, meaning 'Sassy: Hungarian Funk'. Mark Espiner, in his album review for *Songlines* magazine, describes the album thus:

> Pimasz cuts a distinctive voice for the Kerekes Band: an irresistible groove of tumbling bass-lines, driving drums and wildly spiralling flute riffs. The cover dubs the music 'Ethno Funk' (they themselves call it 'Magyar Funk') and shows a cartoon picture of a man in a John Travolta Saturday Night Fever pose with flared trousers and Hungarian traditional dress. Need I say more?

> Well, the band was formed in 1995 and have paid their homage and their dues to their country's musical roots. From the opening track, "Csángó Boogie" they take their traditional instruments… on a fantastic musical voyage that skirts punk, funk and dance, with traditional Hungarian music and some fine drumming and production underpinning it. The band must absolutely rock live. (Espiner 2006)

Figure 7: Album cover of *Pimasz*

Espiner's contribution to *Songlines* magazine is certainly exuberant, but no less discerning for being so. As he comments, the band have indeed 'paid homage' to their musical roots (traditional folk music), and on this CD Kerekes draw from numerous other musical styles to create a new fusion genre. Bithell and Hill have described the decision made by bands to move away from traditional folk music as "freeing themselves from the apron strings of 'tradition'", which I discuss in more detail below. On the one hand, Kerekes Band's desire to create a unique sound (Ethno Funk) by moving away from the 'well-walked path of Hungarian folk musicians' signifies a step towards the post-revival criterion of 'enjoying an independent existence' from the original revival's aesthetic.

On the other, Kerekes Band's continued ties to traditional folk music settings and instrumentation seemingly negate the possibility of a completely independent existence. The band continues to use folk instruments, the frontman Zsombor Fehér

in particular displays great virtuosity on different folk flutes (*furulyák*), while the three-stringed folk viola (with flattened bridge so all three strings can be played simultaneously) provides the rhythmic pulse. The band also continues to play at dance houses in Eger (hometown of the two Fehér brothers), juxtaposing the band's modern sound with the traditional setting of the táncház. The band sees no aesthetic conflict with this situation; on the contrary, they claim that they have "proven beyond doubt that [their] music is perfectly suitable for dance, and that popular musical genres hand in hand with Hungarian folk music can neatly function as self-contained, high-quality world music" (Kerekes Band n.d.).

At the opposite end of the spectrum lies Berka Együttes (2008), who present themselves as a traditional Hungarian folk music group by using vocabulary such as '*együttes*' (ensemble) in their name rather than 'band'. The majority of Berka's performances take place in various táncház venues: they are a functioning táncház group, in much the same way as the original revival groups. By way of illustration, Berka had their own táncház in central Budapest (Ferenciek tere) in 2009-2010, which hosted 2-3,000 people each week. Now, Berka plays fortnightly at Fonó Music House (Fonó Budai Zeneház), which represents a significantly elevated status – Fonó is one of the most prestigious traditional táncház venues in Budapest (see Chapter 4).

Figure 8: Berka Együttes

Berka is the only group of the five to use exclusively traditional folk instruments such as lute (*koboz*), violin (*hegedű*), flutes (*furulya* and *kaval*), and simple drum (*dob*), which is largely responsible for their traditional, purist musical style. This YouTube clip shows Berka performing at Fonó Music House during a táncház event, whilst approximately fifty amateurs dance in concentric circles to the music https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NvLkowNiNXg. The folk tunes are from Moldva and the tempo builds from sprightly to positively frenetic by the end. This is enhanced by two virtuosic folk flutes and violin, a prominent struck drum, and intermittent singing from a solo female singer – all of which encourage energetic dancing.

While Berka shares a similar aesthetic cause to the original revivalists, the group sometimes deviates from explicitly traditional táncház models. For example, they acknowledge that their inclusion of two flutes instead of one is less usual and they justify their choice by asserting that it "add[s] variety to the instrumentation without breaking from the music's roots" (Berka Együttes n.d.). Berka also occasionally includes a cimbalom (mostly found in Gypsy music and 'world' music groups) and a cello (mostly a classical instrument) to their line up, revealing a slight inclination towards a 'world' music aesthetic.

Somewhere in between the aesthetic choices of Kerekes Band and Berka Együttes lies Misztrál Együttes. Formed in 1997 at a time when the Hungarian world music scene was booming, Misztrál was no exception. The "common root from which all their works stem" is traditional Hungarian folk music, but this is most often mixed with branches of contemporary world music (Misztrál Band n.d.). I would certainly categorise Misztrál as a world music band. This is primarily due to the variety of repertoire and instrumentation they include in the creation of their "Misztrál-sound". The band chooses Hungarian and European poetry and adapts it to Hungarian folk songs, often influenced by other musical genres including classical, pop, and world. This is reflected by the assortment of instruments they use: a mixture of folk instruments (lute (*koboz*), folk flute (*furulya*), voice) with instruments from other traditions (mandolin, jaw harp (or Jew's harp), guitar, cello).

Figure 9: Misztrál. Note the traditional folk motif on the singer's jacket, second from left

This world-music soundscape can be seen clearly in this YouTube clip of Misztrál performing a poem by Tibor Kárpáti called *Gyöngyöt az Embernek* (A Pearl for the man), set to music arranged by lead singer Miklós Heinczinger: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5RtPoMFq6s.

2. Mainstream

A second key element in Bithell and Hill's theory of post-revival relates to the idea of 'mainstream' culture.[86] Bithell and Hill propose two opposing outcomes for revivals: the first suggests that revivals might 'settle' into the mainstream; the second supposes that revivals may retain a niche identity.

We first need to establish how we understand the term 'mainstream'. Bithell and Hill's assertion that revivals might "settle into the mainstream" suggests that there is only one definitive mainstream. While referring in the first instance to a "cultural mainstream", Keegan-Phipps and Winter later distinguish between a vernacular understanding and an academic construct of 'mainstream'. In common usage among their informants, 'going mainstream' was understood as "achieving greater public visibility to and popularity with audiences beyond the pre-existing boundaries of folk culture" (2013: 42). This included engagement with the folk industry, institutions, processes of mediated popular culture, education, and competition. Within their understanding of 'mainstream' as an academic construct, 'mainstream culture' is

conceived as the opposing force to sub- or counter-culture. Using Pillai's theory that the model of 'mainstream/margin' is central to the idea of hegemonic culture (1996: 68), they argue that the construct of a mainstream plays a central role in the assertion of a music's sub- or counter-cultural identity, whether within academic writing or grassroots discourse (2013: 42).

I argue that the most helpful way of looking at the Hungarian case is through three parallel and overlapping mainstreams. The first two mainstreams operate *within* the folk music scene, and correspond in many ways to the two support systems or emerging infrastructures I discussed above ('institutional' and 'commercial'). The third mainstream addresses the broader cultural mainstream at work in Budapest.

The first of these is the official, 'approved' folk music mainstream. In this case, the 'approving' bodies include state-funded institutions such as Hagyományok Háza and the LFZE – this mainstream inextricably ties in with the account of an institutional infrastructure I provided above. Other organisations with varying levels of state funding also contribute to the promotion of an 'approved' folk music mainstream, the most prominent of which is the Dance House Guild (*Táncház Egyesület*). This mainstream promotes its 'approved' agenda through teaching (at the LFZE and HH), publications (such as the Dance House Guild's *folkMAGazin*), CD series (such as *Új Élő Népzene*, *Táncház Népzene*, and *Utolsó Óra*), festivals (the annual Dance House Festival, '*Táncháztalálkozó*', in particular), and daily táncház events. The 'approved' style of folk music upheld through these activities is discussed in terms of purist conceptions of 'authenticity' below.

The second mainstream is concerned with the commercial side of folk music, which extends through the folk industry and world music marketplace. In much the same way as the 'approved' mainstream relates to the institutional infrastructure outlined above, so too does the 'commercial' mainstream[87] here pertain to the commercial infrastructure summarised above. Many world music bands from the 1980s and '90s such as Muzsikás, Csík Zenekar, Kaláka, Bea Palya, Felix Lajkó, and Misztrál embraced commercial structures to garner international fame, success in the recording industry,

popularity in Hungary, and longevity to the extent that they are now established household names. The commercial successes of these well-established bands are clearly visible when we consider that a number of them regularly perform in large stadium arenas, such as the Papp László Sportarena in Budapest. Other signs of commercial success include huge posters advertising their concerts and CD releases, which adorn the walls and metro stations across the city. In recent years, the commercial side of folk music has expanded to include a new generation of folk-rock and folk-pop bands, as epitomised by Kerekes Band.

The third mainstream is the most subjective and perhaps the hardest to define. I would describe it as the 'fashionable', popular mainstream that is embraced by the majority – the widely accepted cultural mainstream. If we adopt my definition, then Livingston's assertion that one of the main purposes of revivals is to "serve as an alternative to mainstream society" (1999: 68) is pertinent. In this case, the folk music scene in Hungary is, on the whole, viewed by "mainstream society" (ibid.) as set aside from the cultural mainstream. It is seen as a cultural alternative, not 'fashionable' or 'cool', and frequently referred to as a 'subculture' (I discuss subcultures and communities in detail in Chapter 5).

In everyday English, we frequently use the terms 'mainstream' and 'niche' in opposition; Hungarians also use the English word 'mainstream', and instead of the term 'niche', they use '*réteg zene*' (literally: 'layer music') to describe the idea that only one layer of society, i.e. a minority, likes this music. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Hungarians experience Hungarian folk music in some form during their lifetime (most commonly at school or national celebrations), a number of interviewees who identify as 'the majority' or part of 'mainstream society' and who see themselves as completely *outside* the folk music world, often referred to those *inside* the folk music world as a 'subculture'. The term did not necessarily appear to be used in a derogatory sense, but it did function both to distance the interviewee from the folk scene, and to show that the folk scene was not part of the popular cultural mainstream – it was certainly possible to detect sentiments of 'us' and 'them'.

When we examine the five bands I have selected here, we find that they occupy a number of different positions in these three mainstreams. There is, unsurprisingly, significant overlap between the commercial mainstream and the 'fashionable' mainstream. Inevitably, bands that enjoy commercial success do so because they are popular, well-liked, fashionable, or even 'trendy'. Misztrál, for example, is a well-established world music band formed in 1997, whose near twenty-year career has enabled its status as a household name. Kerekes Band has only existed in earnest in its present 'Ethno Funk' form since 2003 (despite starting in 1995), and is a very popular band in folk-rock and world music circles.

Of the five bands I discuss here, Budapest Nufolk Revolution (BNR) is seen as the most 'trendy', identifying with the 'fashionable' mainstream most convincingly. BNR makes a far more direct appeal to the 'fashionable' mainstream, retaining only very tenuous ties with folk music, and mostly employing jazz, funk, and pop styles to produce a fusion style that will increase their popularity. Having only recently been formed (in 2011), they are starting to gain traction in the commercial mainstream, relying more heavily on the Internet and social media (YouTube, Facebook, and so on) to build up a fan base. See below for a YouTube link to a performance by BNR.

Góbé Zenekar is something of a style chameleon and, as such, is harder to categorise. The ensemble has two faces: the first is a modern world music band, which, through the inclusion of electric instrumentation (drum kit, guitars), choice of repertoire (contemporary songs), and the choice of 'trendy' venues (such as the ruin pub 'Szimpla Kert'), appeals to the 'fashionable' mainstream (see case studies on ruin pubs and other 'trendy' venues in Chapter 5). Though discussed in much more detail in Chapter 5, the reader may wish to view this clip of Góbé performing at Szimpla Kert for an initial impression: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMqKznUwkak.

Figure 10: Góbé's world music image, performing at Kobuci Kert (ruin pub)

Góbé's second face is that of a traditional folk band that has been judged as acceptable by the 'official, approved' mainstream[88] to play at traditional táncház events, concerts featuring *magyar népzene*, and on the folk television competition, *Fölszállott a Páva*. The reader may be interested to watch one of Góbé's performances on *Fölszállott a Páva* in 2014 here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WFMGz_ndreU.

Figure 11: Góbé's traditional image, as a more traditional folk group

As I outlined earlier, inherently linked to the 'official' mainstream is a particular 'approved' musical style. Advocates for this approved aesthetic position campaign for a return to purist, traditional, and, in their view, 'authentic' interpretations of folk music. Bolstered by institutional developments, particularly university level education

in *magyar népzene* at the LFZE (discussed in detail in the next chapter), a new generation of students and other young people now feel as though the responsibility to carry the folk music baton, to protect and preserve their Hungarian heritage, falls to them. Gréta, another interviewee from the LFZE, described the shared aspiration for authenticity among LFZE students:

> Now we try to revive this music… We use the melodies and we learn from these recordings because we like to be the most traditional as we can, the most authentic as we can. (Interview with Gréta, 2013)

'Authenticity', legitimacy, and historical fidelity remain high priorities, as they did for the original revivalists. The recordings mentioned by Gréta refer to those made by Bartók, Kodály, Lajtha, and Vikár, and they reify the source of authenticity for most (if not all) purists. With regard to the five bands I am discussing here, Berka Együttes is the one that most embodies this purist position. The ensemble performs in a traditional setting (at different táncház events 60-70 times per year), plays traditional repertoire (folk songs from Csangó in Moldavia and from Gyimes in Transylvania), with traditional instruments (lute, flute, simple drum, violin), and embarks on regular research trips to Moldavia and Gyimes to collect material in much the same way as the original revivalists did. A member of Berka Együttes divulged that in order to play 'authentic' folk music, he "always tries to think with the head [mind] of the old people from whom [he has] collected the music. [He is] always trying to think with the head of the masters, the experts, of the instruments" (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014). However, Berka has, to a small degree, ventured beyond the purist boundaries by "experimenting with putting the poetry of Csangó writers to music" (Berka Együttes n.d.).

A prevalent view shared by many who subscribe to the purist aesthetic is that modern bands pollute folk music by manipulating extracts of folk songs for their own purposes. Veronika, another student at the LFZE, expresses her opinion on the matter with the following:

> [Those] who play and want to revive traditional folk music and use the old melodies doesn't [*sic*] really like these new groups. And I am very critical of them because I don't feel like they use old and valuable melodies [responsibly]… For me folk music is our culture, it's our soul, it's important, and I don't like when they transform it to other styles. (Interview with Veronika, 2013)

Szabolcs, an interviewee from Berka Együttes, made a related claim that modern or world bands shirk responsibility by selecting aspects of folk music and mixing them with other styles. This was his viewpoint:

> A lot of world musicians say that folk music is a wall, and they want to break down the walls, and that's why they're playing world music, which means they don't have to play on authentic instruments. They can use the bass guitar or the electric guitar and they don't have to always play the right thing, or pay attention about where melodies come from. They can mix. They don't have to take responsibility for being professional. (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014)

In both cases, Szabolcs and Veronika find value in 'authenticity' and condemn creative engagement with folk music as inauthentic, disrespectful, and irresponsible.

In this sense, it could be viewed that the purist arm of the revival still believes the tradition is in need of rescue. However, I argue that the source of threat today is different from that which the original revivalists discerned. At the time of the dance house movement, and indeed in Bartók and Kodály's time, folk traditions such as singing and dancing were perceived as being under threat of dying out. Revivalists set out to learn from 'authentic' tradition bearers while they still had the chance. While it is still considered the case that the number of rural tradition bearers is in decline, the tradition itself is considered safe in the hands of first- and second-generation revivalists, who have safeguarded the tradition for more than forty years. This has been aided by official safeguarding efforts, such as the 'Hungarikum' project and UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, as will be described later in this

chapter. The threat now, as perceived by the next generation of purist folk practitioners, is of outside influences and the inherent pollution, corruption, and inauthenticity that they bring with them.

3. Transforming Musical Style

An alternative view suggests that transforming folk music to other styles is a deliberate decision made by musicians from the next generation who actively "seek to break free" from the purist arm of the revival, which is a third key element of Bithell and Hill's theory of post-revival. According to Bithell and Hill, one of the ways in which new generation bands free themselves is by exploring their individual creativity and experimenting with a wider selection of musical idioms, including those from foreign cultures (2014: 29).

This idea has been described in numerous ways in the revival literature. Keegan-Phipps and Winter use the term "cross-generic synthesis" to describe English folk artists who have engaged with genres that "look beyond folk's historic boundaries" (2013: 43). Similarly, Conlon refers to it as "cross fertilization" (2014: 442). Sweers, in her discussion of Latvian revival groups, describes how musicians fused traditional material with pop and rock elements to satisfy their search for "more creative ways of working with the [traditional folk] material" (2014: 471). She describes one band in particular, whose members perceived the move towards a fusion style as "an act of creative liberation – as freedom from having to play 'authentically'" (2014: 478).

For Kerekes Band, a decision was reached in 2003 to break free from purist restrictions, when they transformed their aesthetic approach to folk music and became an 'Ethno Funk' folk-rock band. In line with Bithell and Hill's post-revival criteria, Kerekes did this by experimenting with a range of foreign idioms and genres and eventually combining folk music from Gyimes (Transylvania) and Moldva with jazz, rock, psychedelic, and electronic musical genres, not excluding the influence of Jimi Hendrix, James Brown, Bob Marley, Jamiroquai, and Dreadzone. Kerekes Band's aesthetic choice firmly aligns them with the commercial and 'fashionable' mainstreams, rather than the 'official' and 'approved' mainstream discussed above.

Budapest Nufolk Revolution (BNR) has a similar approach to creating their musical style, as is suggested by the band's name. BNR explains the reasoning behind the choice of the term 'Nufolk' thus: "the meaning and essence of folk music change continuously" and the band "doesn't want to be left behind" in its transformation (Koncert n.d.). Instead, the band members want to be part of the transformation, hence the selection of the word 'Revolution' in their name. By creating a musical style that is furthest removed from traditional folk, we could view them as the most 'revolutionised' of the five bands, with the 'newest' interpretation of folk music (taking their name 'Nufolk' quite literally) – which could also simply be because they are the youngest band of the five. Indeed, it can sometimes be hard to detect *magyar népzene* in BNR's music, instead hearing popular songs, Hungarian poetry, jazz riffs, and funk motifs more prominently.

This is enhanced by their choice of instrumentation: the lead saxophonist immediately contributes a jazz sound, and the electric guitar and drum kit enable the synthesis of several different musical styles. Through examination of their musical style and choice of instrumentation, I might suggest that, aesthetically speaking, BNR bears a closer resemblance to an urban popular band of the 1920s or '30s whose repertoire featured genres more akin to *magyar nóta* than to *magyar népzene* (see Chapter 1 and List of Terms for definitions). Furthermore, in this performance at Fonó Music House that BNR clearly states is an acoustic version, the lilting beat, somewhat reminiscent of reggae or ska, is very unusual in a folk music context: (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HIn7qEbzQSY).

Figure 12: Budapest Nufolk Revolution performing at Kobuci Kert (ruin pub)

We can discern a clear spectrum between 'purist' and 'innovative' approaches to folk music when we look at the five bands presented here (and indeed the wider contemporary scene). There is some evidence of extreme polarisation, particularly at the purist end, which rings true to Max Peter Baumann's model of "those who define folk music traditions within the concept of purism (with a tendency towards stabilizing or even regressive preservation) and of syncretism (with a tendency towards reinventing the past by emancipatory creation to the point of breaking the local and regional frontiers)" (1996: 80).

In my consideration of the best way to describe this variation in folk music styles, I first agree with Bithell and Hill's assessment that 'continuum' is not a helpful term because it implies an evolutionary process leading from the past to the future. Like them, I instead use the term 'spectrum' to denote gradations between the two extreme positions. This, I hope, reflects the significant variation in musical style, aesthetic, and declared purpose among those involved in the folk music scene in Budapest today. My selection of five contrasting and overlapping bands serves to illustrate these instances

of variation, with the aim of offering a cross section of different directions currently being taken.

Post-revival theory, however, takes this one step further by going beyond the idea of a spectrum. Instead, Bithell and Hill suggest "sectors of a circle where the shared point of reference is the seed, or question, at the centre but where there is no attempt to establish a hierarchy in the diversity of responses" (2014: 16). This egalitarian, neutral, and pluralistic diagram does not hold in the Hungarian case. As we have seen in this chapter through the prevalence of purist aesthetics, and will see in my discussion of 'approved' interpretations pervading institutional infrastructures in Chapter 4, hierarchical structures are very much apparent in the contemporary Hungarian folk scene.

4. Gentrification

A fourth key element in Bithell and Hill's theory of post-revival involves the processes of classicalization or gentrification (2014: 28). They propose a situation where folk music might be accommodated by the dominant musical discourse, or become 'hip' in the eyes of the younger generation, particularly by fans of 'retro' culture. As I have already established in my discussion of different mainstreams, the folk scene has not been accommodated by dominant musical discourse. However, there are instances of classicalization and gentrification, as I outline below. A note on terminology: when I refer to gentrification here, I make no reference to the social stratum 'the gentry', who were significant in conceptions of Hungarian culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My conception of gentrification here speaks of present-day 'trendy' culture.

Góbé Zenekar (2007) provides a good example through which to consider these issues of class and gentrification in Budapest today. Góbé is a versatile folk and world music group consisting of young men in their twenties who met while at secondary school (Bartók Béla Zeneművészeti Szakiskola) or as students at the music academy (Liszt Ferenc Zeneakadémia). They are mostly classically trained musicians who have

become interested in folk music as an additional hobby, though they have quickly progressed from amateurs to successful professionals.[89]

My first example of the gentrification of *magyar népzene* in Budapest concerns the 'hip' element of Bithell and Hill's theory. Góbé's performance series at Szimpla Kert, one of the first and most successful ruin pubs (*romkocsmák*) in Budapest, reveals a new kind of performance space for folk music.[90] As of May 2016, Góbé has performed at Szimpla forty-two times in the past four years, playing to young Hungarians and passing tourists, mostly in their twenties and thirties, usually with a beer (or something stronger) in hand, in what is considered to be an extremely 'trendy' venue. In these circumstances, Góbé leans much more towards 'world' music, adding guitars and drum kit, also expanding their repertoire to include some popular internationally known songs. One of the band's members, Mátyás Egervári, acknowledges this as an intentional tactic to attract listeners: "it is difficult to engage today's people to like true folk music, therefore we dressed it up to make it more familiar: we are playing modern genres with authentic folk instruments" (Egervári 2014).

A second illustration concerns a different demographic of Budapest society: well-educated parents (usually mothers) of babies and small children. Góbé also runs a series at the Palace of Arts, known as Müpa, on Sunday mornings to introduce folk music to young children. One woman explained to me the appeal of taking her small children to hear Góbé perform:

> It's in the glass room… overlooking the Danube, there's lots of light... all the instruments, the children get really excited. I think live music has a real effect on children, it's not like anything else. So they both loved it. I took them both from 6 weeks old, I take them once a month… There are performances downstairs, and perhaps upstairs, the crafts are everyday about the folk culture, and at least one of the concerts is folk music, and for example, there is a band that I really like, called Góbé… I think it's too wild for the younger one, but the older one likes it. Anyway, so that's how she got to know folk music. (Interview with Kati, 2014)

Figure 13: Góbé performing at Müpa – mothers with their young children visible

Kati revealed to me that she did not like traditional Hungarian folk music, especially the way it is habitually taught and transmitted to children at school. However, she found Góbé to be the exception, with their freer, wilder, more dynamic style of performing folk music. In my view, Góbé have gone further to appear more 'hip' than some other folk and world music bands – in this case appealing to educated, gentrified middle class families of Budapest. This ties in with Keegan-Phipps and Winter's discussion of 'mainstream arts centres' and 'mainstream venues' as spaces for cultural engagement by educated, middle-class audiences (2013: 43). Their particular conception of mainstream here includes both popular culture and high culture (and their products, 'pop' and 'art' music), to which folk culture and folk music does not usually belong. However, as this example shows, Góbé Zenekar has harnessed the power of the prestigious venue The Palace of Arts (Müpa) to expose folk culture to middle class audiences of Budapest.

Táncház and Heritage

In Chapter 2, I introduced some of the ways in which folk traditions, particularly those from Transylvania, are promoted as national heritage, both within Hungary and internationally. I build on those considerations here by investigating processes through which folk traditions have been redefined as national heritage and world heritage, by analysing excerpts of the national constitution and UNESCO policy

respectively. In so doing, I explore the different motivations behind such redefining processes, their impact, and their potential implications for the future transmission of folk traditions. All this, as we will see, is inseparable from the question of revivalism.

The first thing to consider here is the diverging motivations behind the active preservation of folk traditions. In the first instance, folk practitioners and scholars in Hungary mostly act to preserve folk traditions for tradition's sake. Ethnographers and folklorists would despair at what they would consider wasting Bartók, Kodály, and Lajtha's efforts, as well as those by táncház pioneers Sebő, Halmos, and Martin. For them, their attempts to both preserve and promote folk traditions should be viewed as continuing a legacy that was developed at various stages of the twentieth century.

However, as I have already suggested in Chapter 2, the preservation of traditions (ancient or otherwise) can also become politicised. Norton, for example, describes a situation in Vietnam today whereby the promotion of *ca trù* as Intangible Cultural Heritage threatens to "define its contemporary social relevance in primarily nationalistic terms" (2014: 160). Cohen's definition of heritage helps to explain why:

> [Heritage is] a highly political and ideological term that is used and defined in many different ways but [is] commonly associated with a sense of ownership rather than just knowledge of the past. (2013: 581)

Titon (2009) also suggests that cultural heritage policy that stems from state-run organisations routinely raises questions of ownership, control, and stewardship of musical traditions. As demonstrated by the 'Hungarikum' project[91], the Hungarian government has in recent years aggressively pursued the preservation of what they perceive as being national traditions. This of course includes folk traditions.

If we refer back to Chapter 2, I mentioned that the Fidesz government amended the constitution in 2011. The following two extracts taken from the new constitution reveal the way in which national culture is conceived:

> We commit to promoting and safeguarding our heritage, our unique language, Hungarian culture… along with all man-made and natural assets of the Carpathian Basin. (Council of Europe 2011)

The reference to assets of the Carpathian Basin alludes to the territory of what is referred to as Greater Hungary, two thirds of which was lost as part of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are several recent examples of action taken by the government to reach out to and reconnect with Hungarians beyond the present-day borders (including National Cohesion Day; fast track dual citizenship; the 'Without Borders' project). This has striking implications when we consider the next extract from the constitution:

> All… cultural assets shall form part of the nation's common heritage, and the State and every person shall be obliged to protect, sustain and preserve them for future generations. (Ibid.)

The legitimacy of the nation's constitution is thus called into question in this context, given that the government conceives its role as one which controls or 'safeguards' heritage from regions that have been legally part of other nations for nearly a century. Hungarian folk music is a particularly pertinent field of enquiry, due to the provenance of the folk music repertoire: a substantial part of it originates from Transylvania, which has been part of Romania for nearly one hundred years. 'Safe-guarding' or 'promoting' the national heritage from such a region is a highly questionable enterprise.

Problematizing UNESCO

Moving away from explicitly constitutional objectives, I explore here the impact of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) on the preservation of folk traditions in Hungary. As I have stated above, the Táncház method has been inscribed on the UNESCO Register of Good Safeguarding Practices since 2011 (UNESCO n.d.). The purpose of this inscription was to recognize the Táncház method as a Best Safeguarding Practice so that it can serve as a model for the

transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter ICH). The process of applying for UNESCO status is lengthy and bureaucratic, and can be viewed in two stages. The two-stage process is important because in order to be nominated for inscription on the UNESCO List, a tradition (product, repertoire, practice) must first be selected for the Hungarian National List of ICH (not to be confused with the 'Hungarikum' project). The government (by way of the Ministry for Culture and its expert committees) is responsible for the selection of the National List of ICH and therefore wields tremendous influence on which practices are considered for recommendation to UNESCO. As a further illustration of this governmental influence, the year Fidesz-KDNP came to power (2010) saw the establishment of a new, government-funded Directorate of ICH to usurp and overrule the main non-governmental organisation (NGO) that had until that point been responsible for protecting folklore.[92]

At a basic level, I suggest that the endorsement from UNESCO has provided practitioners, scholars, and professionals of the táncház scene with an increased sense of legitimacy and authority. The UNESCO 'label' is a badge of honour that adorns promotional and educational materials; it raises prestige, status, and pride. On a deeper level, UNESCO's endorsement raises several issues concerning the future transmission of folk traditions in Hungary.

The first of these emphasises the idea that there are complex power structures behind such decisions as those made by the government and UNESCO. There is an intrinsic disparity between the grassroots communities who espouse these traditions and the top-down power structures that select which traditions to support. In Hungary, thanks to the autocratic manner in which the country is run, it is clearly the state that patronises culture and tradition (rather than media conglomerates, the other common financier). It is therefore hardly surprising that efforts are made to preserve a folk tradition by redefining it as national heritage so that it can be used as a resource for bolstering a national agenda.

The second issue concerns the selection and canonisation of certain aspects of folk traditions, or specific ways of performing folk music. As scholars and professionals

negotiate and agree on what constitutes 'real', 'authentic' heritage and what does not, a canon of 'approved' heritage elements can emerge. I detail the culture of approved hierarchies in the context of institutions such as the Liszt Academy and Hagyományok Háza in Chapter 4. The power of the UNESCO status affords institutions even more influence in this selection process.

The third issue relates to the consequences of officially glorifying certain elements of traditions as 'heritage', when other elements have not received the same status. The Gypsy music tradition, played by Roma musicians, is the most conspicuous example. It is clear that the well-known restaurant tradition of live Gypsy music (*vendéglői cigányzene*) is dying out in Budapest, but there are no visible signs of action to 'save' it. In tackling this issue of selectivism, Howard (2014: 141-142) argues that the criticism fired at ICH and UNESCO initiatives is limited in scope, and instead lays blame at the lack of funding or the impracticalities that would arise in attempts at representing all traditions. While I cannot comment on the situation in South Korea (Howard's area of expertise), the exclusion of or ambivalence towards some traditions in Hungary is clearly for political reasons. See Chapters 1 and 2 for discussion of how Gypsy music has been usurped by 'peasant' folk music, and discrimination against the Roma from both historical and contemporary perspectives.

The fourth issue concerns the ongoing debate in the Hungarian táncház scene (echoed in the wider context of ethnomusicology forums) between preservation and creativity. The point at issue is whether preservation freezes culture by making it into a museumized 'frozen artefact'. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes,

> Change is intrinsic to culture, and measures intended to preserve, conserve, safeguard, and sustain particular cultural practices are caught between freezing the practice and addressing the inherently processual nature of culture. (2004: 58-9)

The possibility is then raised that safeguarding efforts aimed at protecting ICH can actually inhibit its development by slowing it down or freezing it altogether. It is also

possible that the new climate of UNESCO-driven and state-led revivalism limits interpretation and imaginative ideas for revival projects, and overlooks other musical or ritual meanings (Norton 2014: 177). A counterargument indicates an alternative two-part outcome (Howard 2014: 140-1). First, the preservation of arts and crafts can lead to them becoming national icons; then, these icons can form the basis of a new creativity. Following this reasoning, preservation therefore does not hinder creativity; on the contrary, "they go side-by-side and validate each other" (Howard 2014: 153).

We can observe instances from both sides of the argument, rendering the situation in Hungary complex and contradictory. On the one hand, we have institutions such as Hagyományok Háza, which claims to make folk culture "living" (Interview with Ildikó, 2013), and the Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem, which claims to encourage students to "express their individuality through folk music" (Richter 2012: 4). And yet, they simultaneously set standards to preserve, canonise, and ensure 'quality control' in the performance and transmission of folk music – see Chapter 4 for in-depth case studies on both institutions. On the other hand, government ministries and international bodies (such as UNESCO) act to museumize and codify folk traditions by selecting them for the national list of ICH and the 'Hungarikum' list, as well as for the international UNESCO list. In this way, folk traditions have certainly become national icons, as Howard suggests, but the extent to which these icons have formed the basis of a new creativity is questionable. Instead, it seems clear that the folk traditions featured on the two lists have become sanctified as icons of national heritage – or museumized as frozen artefacts, to use Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's terminology.

'Heritagization' and Other Globalizing Perspectives

Ronström refers to this change (redefining traditions as national or international heritage) as a 'shift' from 'tradition' to 'heritage', exemplified by the term 'heritagization'. Through the process of 'heritagization', former 'local' understandings of traditional music (in this case in remote regions of Transylvania) are "boiled down to a few distinctive and highly typified stylistic traits that become possible to download and stage everywhere" (Ronström 2014: 54). When this process is enacted by global structures such as UNESCO, it changes understandings of what the music is and what it

represents. We can now observe folk culture reduced to a set of emblems, costumes, and songs. László P., a tourism and management consultant, described this to me as "ticking boxes on what's exportable" (Interview with László P., 2014). In this context, Ronström proposes heritage as a homogenizing counterforce to the diversifying and globalizing forces of post- or late modernity (2014: 56). I suggest that we can see this homogenizing counterforce in action in Hungary through the assertion of national heritage against diverse, foreign, globalized influences.

Sweers's category, the 'sceptic perspective', also helps us to understand the Hungarian revival as a means of preservation against the perceived threat of globalization, albeit with the opposing interpretation of homogenization. The 'sceptic perspective' is one of three meta-perspectives Sweers borrowed from Held et al. (2003) to assess the influence of globalizing perspectives on music revivals. The other two perspectives are the 'hyperglobal perspective', which understands globalization predominantly in economic terms, and the 'transformationalist perspective', which understands global networks as the basis for developing new musical structures (e.g. revival), requiring new and open approaches (see Sweers 2014: 474-476). I outline the main components of the 'sceptic perspective' (2014: 473) here.

Firstly, globalization is understood negatively due to its equation with homogenization; that is to say, globalization is perceived as a single, global culture, which threatens diverse and individual traditions. Thus, from this perspective, the disappearance of traditions due to this global homogenization process means that revivals are regarded as an important means of preservation. A musical focus on acoustic performance practice and 'authenticity' discourse is therefore emphasised, which can lead to criticism of creating a museum-like atmosphere (2014: 474). In addition, the revived music plays an important role in education processes as part of an attempt to maintain visibility within a broader global context. The modern equation of revived folk music as a symbol of national identity contains a tendency towards nationalism and boundaries that perceive globalization as a threat (ibid.).

There are clearly several aspects of the 'sceptic perspective' that apply to the Hungarian case. I have shown in the previous chapter how there has been a return to nationalism and a renewed reassertion of national identity in Hungary. This has in no small part been a reaction against a perceived loss of sovereignty and national identity at the hands of globalizing forces such as the EU. Under the current Fidesz-KDNP government, there has therefore been a revival of national identity through an emphasis on Hungarian tradition, language, historical figures, and so on. Using the terms of a 'sceptic perspective', the local táncház tradition has in many ways become a preserved, museum-like symbol of Hungary. Its appearance on national and international lists of ICH speaks to Sweers's "attempt to maintain visibility within a global context" (2014: 474).

However, a final (and contrasting) point emerges from another of Sweers's meta-positions: the transformationalist perspective. From this perspective, global networks are perceived as the basis for developing new structures (in this case through revival). It is an egalitarian position, open to transformation, hybrid structures, and modern technology. This transformationalist perspective can therefore help us to take account of the folk fusion groups I have discussed above (particularly Kerekes Band, Góbé Zenkar, and Budapest Nufolk Revolution). It can also help us to perceive folk-rock or folk-pop fusions as creative processes that are moving towards new musical forms, much like Bithell and Hill's post-revival element of breaking free from the purist arm of revivals.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have traced several ways in which the original revival (the dance house movement) has transformed since the 1970s. Livingston's original revival model (1999), which helped to view the dance house movement as one of many revivals in Europe at that time, is no longer sufficient to describe the situation in Hungary and, as such, we may need a new framework.

With that in mind, I have outlined above four elements of Bithell and Hill's post-revival theory as criteria through which to assess a selection of Hungarian folk groups. Through this analysis, I have demonstrated a diverse spectrum of interpretations for folk music, with a particularly vociferous purist faction at one end. I have also shown varying instances of musical and aesthetic transformation, revealing different overlapping mainstreams, and the potential for folk revivals to become gentrified and considered 'hip'. In light of these transformations, there is scope to suggest a post-revival turn.

Another shift I identify here (building on the discussion in Chapter 2) is the redefinition of folk traditions as national heritage. High value is attributed to national heritage, which means that attempts to preserve 'authentic' folk heritage receive considerable institutional and state support. We can thus observe the preservationist and purist end of the spectrum benefitting from the dominant heritage agenda promoted by the government. This is particularly apparent in the 'Hungarikumok' project and the selection by UNESCO for inscription on the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices in 2011. We can understand these processes of redefining traditions as heritage in terms of Ronström's 'heritagization' and Sweers's 'sceptic perspective', both of which help to explain the Hungarian perception of globalization as a threat to its national heritage.

A final observation can be made regarding an overall increase in popularity from across the folk music scene. The majority of my interviewees expressed some kind of recognition that the folk music scene was becoming more popular and fashionable in Budapest. One astutely summarised the situation: "I think it's becoming more and more popular and more and more fashionable among young people" (Interview with Marianna, 2014). One reason for this is an expanding folk infrastructure, which supports and enables the protection and promotion of Hungary's folk music heritage. Two such infrastructures (institutions and industry) are the focus of the next chapter.

4. Institutional and Industry-Based Infrastructures for Folk Music: a Closer Look at Professionalization

Having introduced and engaged with some of post-revival's key criteria in Chapter 3, I now turn to another area of post-revival that is particularly pertinent to the Hungarian case: revival infrastructures. Bithell and Hill assert that transformations in revivals are usually supported by new infrastructures that have emerged and expanded during the original revival and for years afterwards (2014: 45). They also suggest that these infrastructures (financial, institutional, social, and knowledge-based) support the careers of post-revival musicians. It follows that revival infrastructures should be key to understanding how the transmission of folk music is being transformed and ways in which folk music is becoming professionalized. However, this kind of study has been mostly overlooked (with notable exceptions by Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013, 2014, and Hill 2009, 2014).

Thus, in this chapter I focus on the development of industry-based and institutional infrastructures to assess their impact on the professionalization of folk music in Budapest. First, I briefly theorise how I understand the concept of 'professionalization' in this study. I then highlight four common routes into Hungarian folk music to illuminate the first steps into the careers of post-revival folk musicians. The remaining bulk of the chapter is then split into two parts.

The first part examines the emergence and development of the folk music industry in Hungary. Drawing from Keegan-Phipps and Winter's work on the English folk music industry (2013, 2014), I consider their suggestion that English folk music first "engaged with commercial markets" and then "became professionalized through such activities"

(2014: 493), indicating a two-step process. With this in mind, I provide some historical context of how the Hungarian folk music industry emerged in conjunction with the táncház movement, and set out the different ways in which folk musicians interacted within the developing folk and world music markets towards the end of the twentieth century. I then investigate how Hungarian folk musicians position themselves within today's market. I analyse various components of the industry's infrastructure such as festivals, televised competitions, music charts, the Internet, and the record industry, and scrutinise the different ways in which Hungarian folk artists engage with these elements. This fieldwork-based analysis allows me to explore how folk musicians might position themselves on the professional-amateur continuum, which exposes issues such as amateur participation (Quigley 2014; Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2014) and sell-outism (Taylor 1997).

The second part considers the institutional infrastructure and its impact on ways in which the new generation of folk musicians is undergoing training for a professional career. Integral to this process of 'educational institutionalisation' in Hungary is the recently established (2007) Folk Department of the Liszt Academy (LFZE), which is of paramount importance to the career paths of the new generation of folk musicians. Until 2007, a university-level education in folk music was not available; now it is the ambition of most aspiring young folk musicians. Two in-depth case studies on the LFZE Folk Department and Hagyományok Háza based on extensive fieldwork at both institutions thus forms a significant part of this section.

Theorising 'Professionalization'

In theorizing the term 'professionalization', I draw from existing discussion of the concepts 'professionalism' and 'professionalization' in the literature, in addition to different understandings of the term 'professional' in Hungarian, to elucidate my understanding of professionalization in Hungary.

Moving away from Buchanan's (1995) use of the term 'music professionalism', which she deems to signify the performance of music for economic gain in the context of a career, I build on Cottrell's (2004) assertion that the distinction between professional

and amateur based purely on payment is superficial. Agreeing with Baily (1979) and Sakata's (1983) idea that the term professionalism is "conceptually malleable", I acknowledge the notion that professionalism can be understood as a continuum, as posited by Merriam (1964), Finnegan (1989), and Cottrell (2004). A useful alternative or additional model could be sourced from Craig and Dobois (2010), who make a threefold distinction between unestablished artists, established artists, and well-established artists. Taylor's twofold view of professionalization as set out in *The Sounds of Capitalism* (2012) echoes the two arenas that I look at in this chapter. Taylor first maps out professionalization in terms of expertise (highly-qualified composers and expert advisers) – something that I consider through an institutional infrastructure – and secondly, in terms of economic investment (large salaries and money spent on creating highly specialised adverts) – which I explore through components of an industry-based infrastructure.

In the Hungarian language, several terms help to distinguish between two different understandings of the term 'professional'. The first understanding denotes that it is your profession, occupation, or trade, from which you would earn an income – this is conveyed by the terms '*hivatásos*' and '*szakmai*' in Hungarian. The second understanding of professional relates to the idea that you are a 'pro' at something, in that you possess a high level of skill and perhaps you have received specialised training – for this, Hungarians use the word '*profi*'. This distinction is crucial to an analysis of folk musicians in Hungary: firstly, because the vast majority of musicians do not earn their sole income from folk activity, and secondly because numerous musicians who perform 'professionally' in reasonably high-profile contexts consider folk music to be just a hobby.

However, as we will see in this chapter, the distinctions are even more complex. The boundaries between being a 'professional' and an 'amateur', or between playing 'professionally' and playing 'as a hobby' are extremely blurred. If we take one of my interviewees, Szabolcs, as an example, we can observe that he is a founding member of a popular and successful folk band that is regularly employed to play for táncház events at the prestigious Fonó Music Centre. And yet his official occupation is a

secondary school teacher of History and German. He himself declares, "I'm a folk musician. And not a professional – I do it as a hobby. It's not my profession. I'm a teacher of History and German language" (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014). He also describes the early stage of his career as a folk musician as one where he would play in exchange for beer or very small amounts of money as payment.

The situation is therefore not as clear-cut as having one salaried profession to support a career in folk music and, in any case, it is widely acknowledged that a full-time career as a folk musician is not lucrative. Nagy-Sándor notes that even the famous folk singer and television presenter Ági Szalóki does not have a profitable career: she is reportedly unable to purchase a house or car from her own income and has only once in five years taken a vacation (Nagy-Sándor 2015: 53 n24). Thus, determining a folk musician's status based on regular salary or overall income is not an appropriate way to assess 'professionalism' in Hungary. Evaluating by the standard of playing and formal training received is possibly more helpful, but not a complete answer. I suggest that there is no assured way of assigning a 'professional' label, as the situation is too fluid for such classifications. However, the term 'freelancer' could be useful for this shifting situation.

First Steps to Becoming a Post-Revival Folk Musician

It appears to me that there are four common routes into the realm of folk music in Hungary. These are (1) a family member who sings or plays a folk instrument and who introduces a younger family member to folk music; (2) teenagers or young adults who have originally trained in classical music who later make the transition to folk music; (3) dance houses (*táncházak*) and summer camps, which offer an attractive social component to teenagers; (4) school teachers who spot talented singers or instrumentalists and encourage them to attend specialist music schools in the hope of nurturing their talent.

The first route concerns young folk musicians today who originally discovered folk music from an older family member, customarily from their father or an uncle. One interviewee's first experience was extremely early:

> [I first heard folk music] when I was in the palm of my mother I think! So I was born into a folk musician orchestra family so it determines me from my childhood. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

Soma's comment that it determines him, or defines him from his childhood, has been manifested in his career path: he was a folk dancer as a teen, and is now a folk musician in Buda Folk Band and a student at the LFZE. This response to an upbringing in folk music is not universal: some children actively turn away from their folk-dominated childhood in favour of more Westernised lifestyle. Nevertheless, Máté's comment that "if [folk music is] in the family, it's easier!" seems frequently apparent in Hungary (Interview with Máté, 2014).

It is often this familial connection to folk music that enables teenagers and students who have trained in classical music to transition to folk music: the second route. For example, Máté describes himself thus: "I am [a] classical musician on paper, in training, but the folk music is very, very important in my family…" (ibid.) Thanks to the experiences of folk music during his childhood, he is now able to develop a burgeoning career as a folk and world musician in Góbé Zenekar.

Students at the LFZE Folk Department have described the transition from classical to folk music to me in different ways. A number of them relish the freedom offered by folk music compared to the strict rules and formalised playing styles of classical music performance. Soma (a member of Buda Folk Band), for example, described to me how much he hated classical music as a child and young teen, despite being talented enough to attend the esteemed Bartók Béla secondary school in Budapest. Instead, he was "always motivated by the folk music" because "that's what's around me since early childhood", and so he began to learn the folk flute (*furulya*), aged 13 (Interview with Soma, 2014).

Others who cross over to folk music lament the bad habits that it will induce at the expense of their perfectly honed classical technique. Máté, viola player in Góbé Zenekar, disclosed that he chose to learn the folk viola rather than folk violin because he was already trained as a classical violinist and it would be too difficult to play both folk violin and classical violin. For Máté, playing the folk violin would interfere with his long-perfected classical technique, but "the viola didn't disturb me because it's quite another instrument". He even described not practising the folk viola too much, partly to avoid corrupting his classical technique, but mainly because he felt he didn't need to – folk music was "in his ears" and "in his hands", thanks to his folk music experiences with his father and two uncles (Interview with Máté, 2014).

The third common route into folk music relates to the tradition's social dimension. While social activities such as dance houses and folk music camps[93] can supplement the first two paths mentioned above, they can also stand alone as the reason why children and teenagers are attracted to the folk music scene; as is often the case with hobbies, the social aspect can be the strongest factor to draw people in. Indeed, Hooker cites a study conducted at the Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*) in 2006, which suggests that "recreation may be an even more important motivator than the fact that this is a 'native language'" (2008b: 90). Veronika, a student at the LFZE Folk Department, described her experience thus:

> For me it started I think at the age of 13. Before that I didn't really like folk music because I didn't know it very well. After that I went to folk music camps, where teachers taught it… and I heard a lot of songs and real folk bands and it became a passion for me. And there are these táncház and they have a very special atmosphere; I think that táncházes were the main cause. (Interview with Veronika, 2013)

Veronika's opinion that the táncház is "an opportunity to have fun with others" and that "it's the best way to meet young people" resonates with many young Hungarians. A popular part of this socialising is the interaction between members of the opposite

sex, an idea already put forward by Hooker (2005) and Quigley (2014). Veronika herself is a case in point: she met her now-husband at a táncház event! Taking the social aspect one step further, a medical doctor I interviewed posits that there is an added health benefit to the táncház. She believes that the folk dancing in pairs and in circles commonly found at the táncház is beneficial because it forces people to touch each other (not sexually) – something she thinks is missing in contemporary society. Dr Ágnes believes that people "have forgotten how to be together nowadays", citing an increased dependence on media and technology for diminished social interaction skills (Interview with Ágnes, 2014).

The fourth route, discovering folk music at school, can provoke a strong reaction in children and teenagers, often inspiring either love or hate towards folk music. Regarding the second half of the twentieth century, both Halmos (2000) and Frigyesi (1996) describe several generations of Hungarians detesting folk music thanks to a culture of enforced learning of folk songs at school (referred to in Chapter 3). A similar situation exists today at the Classical Department of the Liszt Academy: students are required to learn sixty folk songs by heart, with little meaningful explanation of their provenance. Consequently, there is a widespread disdain among classical musicians at the Academy, something of which the Folk Department is acutely aware and which it seeks to rectify.

However, in recent years there have been a number of initiatives both to introduce more effective and enjoyable folk music teaching methods, and to ensure that folk music is part of the compulsory curriculum in state schools. The latter falls under the subject called '*Hon és népismeret*' (Homeland studies), which I discuss in more detail below. Folk dance has also undergone teaching reform: Jávorszky estimates that approximately 50,000 children are actively involved in folk dance for at least 4-6 hours a week (2015: 175). He claims that this strategy provides the "sorely needed next generation of dancers for amateur and professional ensembles" (ibid.). He later describes them as "recruits".

The recent focus on children as the next generation of folk musicians can be seen more profoundly in the decision to change the setup of televised competition *Fölszállott a Páva* in 2015, from an adult competition to one for children. The format of the television show changed from a weekly broadcast based entirely in the studio to one in which film crews scoured the country for talented children to spend several weeks in a folk music camp in order to nurture their talent. An employee working for this production told me privately that one of the aims when looking for these children was that they were 'modern', 'contemporary' children who, for example, ride bicycles and play computer games. The intention was to publicly send the message that playing and singing folk music is a completely 'normal', possibly even 'fashionable' hobby, and not "something strange from Mars", in an overarching effort to boost folk music's popularity among children.

Szabolcs, a secondary school History and German teacher who also plays in a folk band (I have introduced him earlier in this chapter), described another example of children's folk outreach to me. He takes a moderate and relaxed approach with his class of thirteen- and fourteen-year-old teenagers, acknowledging that "it's quite difficult to find the balance, to encourage but not push" (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014). On multiple occasions when his class spends a few consecutive days together on a school trip, he offers the services of himself and his folk band for an evening's entertainment. He asks the teenagers if they would like to make an impromptu táncház by a bonfire, where they can eat roasted bacon and learn some folk dances. In explaining this to me, he revealed that the boys showed a surprising level of interest based on the opportunity to dance with girls! However, he also admitted that he would not force the folk activity on them if they chose something else for their evening's entertainment. Szabolcs commented, "If I don't respect this and come with the band [anyway], and force it, they won't like it… I think it's the most important thing to bring this music to schools, to see the possibilities" (ibid.).

Industry-Based Infrastructure

Having outlined four of the most common routes into folk music practice, I now move on to look at the infrastructures that sustain this practice. The first one I examine here is the industry-based infrastructure (turning to the institutionalised infrastructure on p. 171). I begin this section by providing an account of the emerging folk and world music industries from the time of the original revival movement, and through the 1990s when the world music industry flourished in Hungary and elsewhere. I then set out the components of the current industry-based infrastructure (festivals, media, the Internet, record labels, world music charts, and Expo), and discuss its impact on the transmission and professionalization of folk music, particularly with regards to the idea of 'sell-outism'.

The Dance House Movement and the World Music Industry

Folk bands from the dance house movement engaged with the commercial recording industry in Hungary soon after the first dance house took place. This is presumably the shift that Quigley refers to when he remarks, "several of the dance house bands professionalized early on" (2014: 197). While he does not define specifically what he means by 'professionalized', we can interpret with confidence that he refers to the public profile garnered by dance house bands in the seventies through táncház appearances, public performances, and an engagement with the commercial recording industry.

The first commercially released recordings were those from the Hungaroton label: *Táncházi Muzsika* by Muzsikás was the first in 1974, and this paved the way for other dance house bands in the mid-late seventies (Téka, Jánosi, Méta, Sebő Együttes et al.). The Hungaroton series *Living Hungarian Folk Music* (1978) is another prominent example, as well as the *Magyarországi Táncháztalálkozó* series, which featured musicians from the annual Táncháztalálkozó festival (though not until the first festival in 1982).

Alongside the production of numerous folk music recordings made in the 1970s and '80s, several folk bands began to broaden their musical horizons and make their first forays into the world music scene as early as the 1980s. One instance of this is Vujicsics Együttes, which was (and continues to be) a Hungarian folk band that is best suited to the category of 'world music'. This is thanks to its choice of repertoire: Vujicsics focuses on folk music from Southern Slavic communities in Hungary, namely Serbs and Croats. Another example, Muzsikás, also expanded its repertoire by introducing music cultivated by Jewish communities[94] and from neighbouring countries, particularly the Balkans. By 1994, Muzsikás had featured on the album *The Rough Guide to World Music*. Several other folk groups followed suit, including Csík Zenekar, Ghymes Band, and Kaláka.

1990s and Beyond

The regime change in 1990 had a profound effect on the transmission and dissemination of folk music.[95] Armed with the influx of opportunities presented by capitalism and globalization, the world music genre held huge appeal for folk artists not wanting to be constrained by playing only Hungarian folk music. Consequently, the 'world music scene' in Hungary grew significantly, gradually starting to bear some of the hallmarks of a bona fide 'music industry'.

As we know from Taylor (1997) and Frith (2000), the Western consumption of world music was largely commercial, encouraged by the actions of record companies in the late eighties who created the sales category 'world music' to help customers distinguish themselves from the mainstream of 'rock' or 'international pop'. Both Taylor and Frith assert that supposed 'authenticity', 'novelty', and 'exoticism' heightened the appeal of world music to Western consumers. They discuss world music in terms of commodification and exploitation, both citing Paul Simon's *Graceland* (1986) as a pertinent example of constructed, hybridized, and romanticized transformations of native cultures.[96]

More recently, Keegan-Phipps and Winter observe the hybridizing of English folk music with popular music in the 'popular music marketplace', largely resulting in increased

commercial success and visibility in mainstream media. In much the same way, Quigley suggests that the process of producing for the world music consumer market gave Hungarian folk groups "the polish and precision demanded of this commodity" (2014: 198). Finally, Sweers observes the opportunities that the world music industry provided: not only did the world music scene offer some bands the chance to survive the difficult economic situation of the post-Soviet era, but it also opened up new spaces for alternative musical approaches (2014: 283).

In Hungary, the 1990s and 2000s were extremely fertile decades for new world music bands and artists, many of whom continue to command audiences and listeners today.[97] While there were a number of successful world music bands from this period whose musical style was based in Gypsy or Jewish idioms as well as from neighbouring countries, I will highlight some examples here that used Hungarian folk music as their point of departure.

Csík Zenekar (1988) has enjoyed a flourishing career for more than twenty years. Csík began with Hungarian folk music, able to play "almost all musical dialects from historical Hungary", i.e. from pre-Trianon regions of 'Greater Hungary'. In the 2000s, the band actively changed musical direction to incorporate rock into their musical style. On their website, they claim to have created a new genre, by virtue of the fact that they have incorporated rock into folk, rather than the other way around, which had been attempted before. The result, they claim, is that they have managed to "preserve the authentic values of traditional music" (Csík Zenekar n.d.). What is particularly interesting is that Csík clearly states its purpose in embarking on this new rock-folk style: it has done so "with an eye to the drifting power of pop and rock music, which appeal to so many people in our changing world" (ibid.). I interpret this as a direct acknowledgement of the changes and diversification that have taken place in the context of globalization since 1990, and of their desire to remain relevant and accessible to this new society.

Figure 14: Csík Zenekar members

Another example is provided by Bea Palya, a Hungarian folk singer who draws significantly from Eastern soundworlds (Indian and Persian), which, combined with her appearance, portray her as an 'exotic' asset to the world music scene. One further is Félix Lajkó, a Serbian-Hungarian virtuoso violinist (and zither player) who draws from such a variety of musical styles that he "cannot be categorised" (Lajkó n.d.). Such is his level of technical proficiency, he has been labelled the 'Paganini of Vojvodina', a region of pre-Trianon Hungary now in Serbia. And another is Kálmán Balogh, a highly talented and popular Gypsy cimbalom player and frequent collaborator with folk bands.

A final example is particularly significant because it highlights the emergence of celebrity culture as a potential consequence of engaging with commercial markets. Márta Sebestyén, a folk singer and guest artist with Muzsikás, is the most conspicuous example of a folk- and world-music celebrity in Hungary. In 1996, she earned an international reputation following her performance of Hungarian folk song 'Szerelem szerelem' on the soundtrack of Oscar-winning film *The English Patient*. Sebestyén also collaborated with Deep Forest (a world electronica band) on their album *Boheme*, which earned a Grammy award for Best World Music Album (1996). In 2000, she recognised her status as a world music superstar by giving her album the title *World Star of World Music*.

Figure 15: Márta Sebestyén on her album cover for *World Star of World Music*

Sebestyén is not only a talented and successful folk singer; she has achieved a level of fame in the folk and world music scenes, such that the latter affords her a platform in 'mainstream' culture. Her role on the judging panel of televised competition *Fölszállott a Páva* speaks of her celebrity status; a meaningful comparison could be made in the UK with Darcey Bussell and her role as a judge on *Strictly Come Dancing*. Bussell earned her reputation as a highly talented and successful ballet dancer (the world of ballet shares similarly niche qualities as the world of folk music), and her public profile has grown into something of a 'national treasure', particularly boosted by her role on *Strictly.* Sebestyén's ability to command respect from both the folk and world music scenes is rare; a judgemental culture among folk singers has emerged whereby a transition to world music can provoke a change in their status, from being a 'folk singer' to becoming a 'folk diva' (meant with a pejorative undertone) (Nagy-Sándor 2015: 51).

A final comment in this section must be made regarding two components of the emerging world music infrastructure and one component of the folk music infrastructure, all of which were created in the early nineties. The former components were the World Music Charts Europe, or WMCE (established 1991, see below), and the

World Music Expo, or WOMEX (established 1994), which both served to underpin the surge in world music groups. The latter component was the Dance House Guild.

WOMEX, the World Music Expo, which coincidentally was held in Budapest in 2015 (the first time WOMEX has been hosted by a former Eastern Bloc country), is an international networking platform for the world music industry. WOMEX runs an annual event at different locations across Europe, which has attracted nearly five thousand companies and more than ten thousand delegates since it began in 1994. Since then, there have been twenty-two WOMEX events, which the organisers argue have "affirmed the value of networking across borders, be they musical, political, cultural or commercial" (Womex n.d.). The annual five-day event comprises a bustling trade fair, showcase festival, conference, and film programme, as well as festive opening and award ceremonies.

These award ceremonies are revealing for two reasons: firstly, from the awards categories and judging criteria we can ascertain which qualities are emphasised; and secondly, from the award winners, we can trace trends from areas of the world that are 'fashionable' or popular in different years (see below for discussion on contemporary trends). The 17th WOMEX Award Ceremony, which took place at the Palace of Arts (Müpa) in Budapest in 2015, claims to have recognised "formidable artistry, professionalism and contribution to the arts sector and record label output in the following three categories: Artist Award, Professional Excellence Award, and Top Label Award" (ibid.). Clearly the commercial value integral to a "contribution to record label output" is important to WOMEX, and a foundational component of the whole world music scene.

A corresponding organisation that was set up a few years earlier retains a very different ethos. The Dance House Guild (*Táncház Egyesület*), which was formed in 1990, champions a participatory, non-commercial approach, boasting a large nationwide membership of both amateurs and professionals. The Guild's website claims that there are "professional artists, amateur performers, instructors, ethnographers, as well as those who 'only' like folk music and folk dance" among its

members (Táncház Egyesület n.d.). The Guild also has a democratically elected management. This organisation has acted as a counterbalance to the more commercially driven world music scene in two significant ways: firstly, the ethos is one of amateur participation rather than commercial success; secondly, the musical style is firmly rooted in 'traditional' folk music from the dance house movement, and was relatively impervious to the hybridization that was so prevalent in the world music scene. The Dance House Guild continues to thrive today.

Twenty-First Century Components of the Industry-Based Infrastructure

Looking back over the past ten years, we can observe a new generation of folk musicians embracing commercial markets in the context of the twenty-first century. Keegan-Phipps and Winter identify the advances in media, technology, and the Internet as three of the most important influences of twenty-first century capitalism, all of which contribute to the "increasingly commercialized and professionalized infrastructure of the folk industry" (2014: 490).

Using Keegan-Phipps and Winter's work as a springboard, I examine key components of the infrastructure of the Hungarian folk industry with the purpose of highlighting instances of increasing professionalization, particularly through an engagement with commercial markets. I build on Keegan-Phipps and Winter's emphasis on media, competitions, festivals, and folk music organisations as crucial elements of England's folk industry, aided by both Weissman's and Gruning's work on North America, to demonstrate my understanding of Hungary's folk industry and its infrastructure.[98]

Festival

The festival is a significant arena in which overt displays of commercialisation and marketing can be observed. Bithell and Hill note that once an event like a festival is publicised and tickets are sold, "the performance thus becomes a transaction", particularly when money changes hands. They also comment that the festival is a

platform for the politics of "representing, commercializing, and rebranding music-culture for new audiences and new generations of participants" (2014: 17).

Two types of folk music festival can be identified within the Budapest folk scene, which show different levels of marketing and commercialisation. The first type of festival is organised primarily by folk music activists *for* folk music practitioners, and the commercial element is secondary to the participation in and enjoyment of the music. Both the Budapest FolkFest, held at Fonó Music Centre, and the *Táncháztalálkozó* (Dance House Festival), which is organised by the Dance House Guild (*Táncház Egyesület*), are examples of this type. Although the latter is held in the main sports arena in Budapest, it is 'rented' to them free of charge by the Ministry for Culture for this specific occasion; it is not primarily a commercial venture (Interview with Ildikó, 2013). Even so, it is easy enough to find market stalls selling folk products at these festivals, but they take a strictly supplementary role to the music making, and the products (such as folk costumes, instruments, wooden crafts, and so on) are actually used by these festivalgoers, unlike the tourists who frequent the second type of festival.

The second type of festival is put together by a larger organisation (often a government ministry) whose main purpose is to showcase Hungarian cultural 'products' to tourists. At these festivals, folk music and dance groups are called upon to offer entertainment while tourists and consumers browse the hundreds of market stalls. The most obvious example of this type of festival is the Hungarian Festival of Folk Arts, which takes place during August in the historic grounds of Buda Castle. This is a prime location for tourists visiting Budapest during the summer. Market stalls dominate the vicinity selling all aspects of folk culture, such as folk art, wooden crafts, woven baskets, folk costumes, as well as traditional food and drink. Similar examples include the annual Wine Festival, Pálinka Festival,[99] and the Danube Carnival.[100]

Media

In recent years, there has been a noteworthy increase in coverage and references to folk culture and folk music in mainstream media such as in newspapers, magazines,

online journalism, and on television. In the first instance, Folkrádió and *folkMAGazin* are the leading media channels for the traditional folk scene; Bartók Rádió also has daily folk music programmes.

More recently, the television has played a renewed role in the promotion of folk musicians thanks to the re-booted folk music talent competition, *Fölszállott a Páva*, broadcast in its new form since 2012. The television show benefits from a primetime broadcasting slot, Saturday evening, which signals a move from 'specialised' to 'mainstream' programming. Contrary to the producers' intentions, the show's studio set up closely resembles UK televised talent competitions, namely *The X Factor* and *Britain's Got Talent* and the Hungarian equivalents, *Megasztár* and *Rising Star*. Folk music celebrity Marta Sebestyén (mentioned above) is on the panel of judges alongside four other folk music 'greats', Ferenc Sebő, Gergely Agócs, Zoltán Zsuráfsky, and László Diószegi – again, comparisons can be made with Darcey Bussell from *Strictly Come Dancing* and Cheryl Tweedy from *The X Factor*. The combination of a studio setting and glamorous presenters indicates that the presentation of folk music in this context undergoes a 'makeover' in order to be more suitable or even appealing for television viewers, who, at one level, are being seduced for votes, which they pay for by text message or phone call, thus boosting the commercial interest in the show.

Figure 16: Screenshot of an FaP contestant and his voting number

I was fortunate enough to be invited to the live broadcast of the 2015 final of *Fölszállott a Páva*. I made the journey slightly out of central Budapest to the television studios of Magyar Televízió (MTV), a nationwide public television broadcasting

organisation and the oldest in Hungary. Despite a chaotic security check, I made it to my seat in the studio just in time. The first thing that struck me was how small the studio was, in contrast to how it seemed in the programmes and clips I had watched at home. The second was the energetic employee running around among the audience signalling when to cheer and applaud loudly. Having never before witnessed a live studio performance, these surprised observations may be naïve, but they nevertheless reveal that the folk tradition in this context is not impervious to the customs of a live television studio. It was surprisingly exhilarating to be sitting so close to the judges, something that many audience members presumably shared, if I interpret the prolonged stares correctly. This suggested to me that the aura of 'celebrity' was apparent.

The show began with introductions of each judge in turn and summaries of their most prestigious accolades, before moving on to introduction of each member of the resident on-stage band: one of the most popular contemporary folk ensembles, Szalonna és Bandája. A special performance by three young boys (two dancers and a violinist) followed; one of the dancers, Balázs Herdon, who is a leukaemia survivor, was joined on stage by his brother (the second dancer) and a friend (the violinist).

After this, the proceedings began in earnest. Presenters Noémi Morvai and Péter Novák introduced all eleven items that were to feature in the evening's final by naming each finalist (or finalists, in cases where a group of performers formed one item) and indicating where in Hungary or neighbouring countries they originated. A large map appeared on the screen behind them and a photo of each soloist or group appeared in turn next to a red dot on the map, as well as a telephone number with each finalist's unique code to which viewers at home could refer when voting. After each introduction, the camera panned to the relevant finalist waiting excitedly backstage, who would gesture to pick up the phone to vote for them.

The eleven competitors fell into four categories: there were three items in the Group Dance category; three in the Singer or Group Singing category; three in the Solo or Pair Dance category, and two in the Solo Instrument or Ensemble category. The running

order was configured so that each finalist was from a different category, to give a sense of variation.

Up first was a mixed dance group called Alba Regia AMI Pulutyka Csoportja from Székesfehérvár, in central Hungary. They danced *Mezőföldi táncok* (Dances from Mezőföld) under the title *Egy kis hazai* (A little home), starting with just the boys, then the girls, and finishing with them dancing together in pairs in a fast and frenzied state. In their pre-recorded segment (known as VT, or Video Tape, by television professionals), the group was shown in their hometown playing ice hockey with other friends and neighbours from the town, before transforming into a presentable folk dance group in full costume.

Figure 17: Alba Regia AMI Pulutyka Csoportja

The second item was two nine-year-old identical twins called Haraszti Ikrek (Haraszt Twins) from Bátonyterenye in northern Hungary. They sang *Nógrádi karácsonyi dalok* (Christmas songs from Nógrád) – Nógrád being their local county. Their pre-recorded material (hereafter VT) featured their family home and each member of their large family, emphasising the twins' shared hobbies and outfits. In the live performance, they were dressed identically and sang in unaccompanied unison throughout; judge Márta Sebestyén described them as two angels! Unsurprisingly, they later won first prize in their category of Individual or Group Singing.

Figure 18: Haraszti Ikrek

The third item was a solo male dancer called Adorján Antal from Csíkmadaras in Transylvania (Romania), whose item was entitled *Útravaló a Sóvidékről* (From Sóvidék); Sóvidék means 'the salt region' and is an area of Székelyföld in Transylvania. His VT led the viewer around his village in rural Transylvania and showed him receiving messages of good luck from his classmates. His performance was virtuosic with noticeably difficult choreography, which later afforded him first prize in his category of Solo or Pair Dance.

Figure 19: Adorján Antal

The fourth contestant was Zalán Levente Horváth, a solo folk bagpipe player from Zselickisfalud, a village in southern Hungary. After his VT depicting rural scenery from his village coupled with his family's traditional cooking methods, he performed *Zselici dudanóták* (Bagpipe tunes from Zselic). Starting with a slow and melancholy melody, he transitioned into more upbeat and virtuosic dance tunes, resulting in judge Ferenc Sebő exclaiming that he could be the Paganini of the bagpipes!

Figure 20: Zalán Levente Horváth

The fifth item was a dance group called Dr. Martin György AMI deszki Borbolya Csoportja from Deszk, a village in southern Hungary near the Serbian border. The VT was interesting to me because it made a point of showing the boys playing video games and electronic games on an iPhone. This tied in with an interviewee's comment that one of the objectives of this series was to show 'normal' children using modern technology who were *also* committed to folk traditions. The performance consisted of *Dél-Alföldi Kérdezős* (Dances and Questions/Enquiries from the Southern Great Plain), which featured more dramatized and spoken elements than other ensembles.

Figure 21: Dr. Martin György AMI deszki Borbolya Csoportja

Up sixth was a solo female singer called Anita Vrencsán from Kostelek in Romania (Coșnea in Romanian), performing *Gyimesi Dalok* (Songs from Gyimes), her local region. Anita's VT showed her in Romanian school in the mornings and Hungarian schools in the afternoons, where she kept up with Hungarian traditions such as embroidery, singing, and of course the language. The judges were so impressed with Anita that, despite not winning her category (losing out to the Haraszti twins mentioned above), she received a special prize carrying the same monetary value.

Figure 22: Anita Vrencsán

The seventh item comprised a partnership between a young girl, Bori Busai, and a young boy, Tamás Mahovics, who lived in different towns in Hungary that are 150 kilometres apart. Bori comes from Jászberény, whilst Tamás comes from Békés; they do meet up to practise together, but a large part of their preparation took place on Skype! Like the boys from Deszk playing games on an iPhone, the image painted of these two children in the VT was one of modern technology (in this case, live Internet-based video communication) facilitating the learning and transmission of folk traditions. The pair performed a slower dance followed by a faster one (*Gömöri botoló és friss csárdás*) from Gömör, a region in southern Slovakia and northern Hungary.

Figure 23: Bori Busai and Tamás Mahovics

The eighth finalist was Sándor Ürmös Jr. from Budapest, a solo cimbalom player who performed songs from Vajdaszentivány, in Transylvania (*Vajdaszentiványi dallamok*). Sándor's highly accomplished virtuosic playing was met with almost excessive levels of applause, and earned him first prize in his category of Solo Instrument or Ensemble.

Figure 24: Sándor Ürmös Jr

The ninth finalist was a solo male dancer called Attila Hoksz from Dombrád in north-east Hungary, who performed *Rábaközi dús* (Riches from Rábaköz, a region of north-west Hungary). Attila engaged directly with the on-stage band, dancing in their direction and enticing them to play something for him to dance to, by giving them a bottle of Tokaji wine.

Figure 25: Attila Hoksz

The tenth and penultimate contestant was a solo male singer called Tibor Gál from Ráckeve in central Hungary. Tibor sang a series of folk songs from the Kalotaszeg region of Transylvania (*Kalotaszegi népdalok*) and received high praise from the judges. His VT showed him in costume in his school play, embracing rural customs and folk traditions with his classmates.

Figure 26: Tibor Gál

The eleventh and final item was the last of the dance groups: Bartina Gyermekcsoport from Szekszárd, a small city in southern Hungary. Their VT showed the children's dance group making a trip to their local bakery, icing gingerbread biscuits together. Their performance of dances from Bogyiszló (*Bogyiszlói táncok*) began with the girls on stage singing and acting out playing with water and washing linen. The boys then arrived, seemingly challenging them to a kind of folk-style dance-off, which ended with them dancing together in pairs. This performance earned them first prize in the Group Dance category.

Figure 27: Bartina Gyermekcsoport

A quick recap of all the night's performances followed for viewers at home before the professional folk ensemble, Csík Zenekar, took to the stage for a special performance, during which time viewers could cast their vote by telephone or text message. The awards ceremony took place shortly afterwards, with enlarged cheques for 1,000,000 HUF (approximately £2800) awarded by a representative from OTP bank, the main sponsor of Fölszállott a Páva. After the winners of each of the four categories were announced, something slightly bizarre transpired. Both the representative from OTP bank, and Zoltán Balog, the Minister for Human Resources who had taken to the stage to make a speech about the show's success, announced a series of surprise extra

awards such as Most Promising Talent, and Most Versatile Dance Group, among others, resulting in every contestant receiving 1,000,000 HUF! Unsurprisingly, the children were thrilled with this result and their excitement led to an extremely jubilant atmosphere. This intense monetization, combined with the studio setting and processes, seemed counterintuitive to me after extended research among key players of the táncház scene, who had continually emphasised the 'authentic' and traditional aspect of folk practices.[101]

The Internet

The Internet is the most useful tool for any music group seeking to promote themselves, usually with the aim of reaching a larger audience. Cottrell's grasp of the Internet's role is useful here. He describes it thus:

> As a space in which musicians, listeners, and businesses large and small engage in the creation of virtual networks that facilitate reciprocal acts of identity construction, alongside their more obvious activities in producing and consuming music, the Internet has allowed individuals and small companies to circumvent the control over mediated music traditionally exerted by larger record companies. (2004: 19)

Many Hungarian folk musicians have harnessed the power of the Internet to raise their public profiles. During fieldwork, there was not a single folk act I observed who did not appear on a simple Google search afterwards; every artist active today has a website or, failing that, a profile on social media. Most have a profile on Facebook and some use Twitter, though this is less common in Hungary than in the UK. This allows them to communicate with a younger audience, enabling them to expand their demographic. In so doing, 'traditional' bands in particular create for themselves a more 'modern' image, which is more accessible to fans. Fans can 'like' their Facebook page, view photos of the bands, social updates, and forthcoming performance dates, all of which contribute to a culture of intimacy between musicians and their fans, not unlike most pop stars and actors today.

Internet sharing websites such as YouTube and SoundCloud have facilitated convenient and widespread sharing and promoting of folk music, resulting in easily accessible and more widely circulated folk music. These sharing websites, in addition to social media, have given a public voice to artists from a more diverse range of folk-related genres. Splinter groups from folk fusion genres have emerged online with increasing frequency as the market for folk-pop, folk-rock, nu-folk, folk electronica, and so on, develops. We might understand these splinter groups in terms of Blaustein's "constellations" in cyberspace: "networks and communities that share a common interest but may not necessarily communicate with one another" (Blaustein 2014: 554). Equally, these websites have seen traditional folk artists resisting pressure to transform their musical style in order to cater to a mainstream market; rather they have an assured platform upon which to present their traditional interpretation of folk music.

One of the outcomes of these websites, then, is that they have allowed musicians from both ends of the spectrum (traditional and innovative) to filter into the mainstream in a way that would not be possible without the Internet. However, Keegan-Phipps and Winter suggest that this can act as an opposing force to the professionalization of folk music because it "increases the vernacularization of access to the distribution of promotional material, music files, and so on" (2014: 501). Their argument follows that with increased access, the distribution of material becomes less regulated and therefore 'less professionalised', or at least adheres less to rules of 'authenticity'. As we will see below, institutions such as the LFZE and Hagyományok Háza act as a counterbalance to this trajectory by prioritising 'authenticity' and creating hierarchies of 'approved' practice.

Nevertheless, some folk bands are taking advantage of even more progressive opportunities offered by the Internet, namely 'crowdfunding' (the practice of funding a project or venture by raising monetary contributions from a large number of people, typically via the Internet).[102] I discovered on popular crowdfunding website indiegogo.com a well-known folk group, Hungarian FolkEmbassy, seeking funds for their most recent project: a folk karaoke DVD. The band's wish is to produce a karaoke

DVD featuring 150 of the most well-known folk songs from nine regions across Hungary and Transylvania, which will be the first of its kind in Hungary. The project will add to the band's impressive online C.V., which already boasts a YouTube channel, a blog in which it shares photos and articles, and an online Free University through which they teach folk tunes to people from the comfort of their own homes. During fieldwork, this band's pioneering attitude towards the global and commercial prospects afforded by the Internet was one of the most progressive I came across.

Figure 28: Screenshot of Hungarian FolkEmbassy's crowdfunding page

Record Labels

Despite the Internet's role in the diversification of folk music's dissemination, the conventional practice of producing albums for record labels persists in Hungary. For example, there are a number of commercial recording labels such as Hungaroton, Periferic Records, Ryko, Hannibal Records, and so on, which produce world and folk music, alongside rock, pop, electronic genres, etc. However, there are also several institutions, both state and privately funded, which produce their own series of folk recordings, thus wielding significant influence in the marketplace. Commercial records and institutional recordings often represent contrasting interests in the market due to

different objectives and value sets. This can cause tensions between musicians because questions of commercialisation, commodification, and 'sell-outism' are raised, usually with notions of 'authenticity' as the root cause (see next subsection).

We can see certain values at work in the following examples of institutional recording practice. Hagyományok Háza (Hungarian Heritage House) and the Táncház Egyesület (Dance House Guild) are two of the leading institutions that record and promote traditional táncház folk music. The former produces the recording series *Táncház Népzene* (Dance House Folk Music), while the latter produces the series *Új Élő Népzene* (New Living Village Music). Both series employ a "jury of professionals" to evaluate recordings submitted by applicants (Quigley 2014: 197). Based on an interview with István Berán, the Director of the Dance House Guild, Quigley explains that, when the series began, it was difficult for bands to make their own releases, so the series afforded them the opportunity to record in a studio, getting used to the recording process, while also receiving critical feedback. The purpose of the series was therefore "to support the professional development of less experienced dance house ensembles" (ibid.). According to Berán, "Authenticity is the direction preferred; this is not particularly the place for arrangements and new paths, ideas, fusions" (ibid.). This aesthetic preference resonates with that of the LFZE, something that is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Sell-Outism?

The institutional disposition towards traditional and 'authentic' interpretations (see case studies on LFZE and HH below) sometimes leads to accusations of 'sell-outism' or 'commodification' aimed at those musicians who have embraced the world music marketplace and/or pursued fame and fortune. In Taylor's (1997) discussion of 'sell-outism', he comments, "if world musicians depart from their assumed origins they run the risk of being labelled as a sell-out" (1997: 23).

We can repeatedly observe instances of disapproval among some folk musicians towards their peers. One interviewee described the act of performing on stage,

particularly in arenas, as selling out, while another believes that it is through "becoming commercialised" that a band sells out:

> It [selling out] is unfortunately very [common] among the traditional bands, so for example, somebody starts a career in a traditional band and during few years they become commercialised, they bring electronic music into their music and they want to make bigger shows and more audience. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

In this case, 'commercialisation' is understood in terms of the commodification of traditional practice by adding modern, electronic instruments. There are also undertones of moral judgement: traditional practice is 'sacrificed' in order to increase ticket sales. Another interviewee identified commercialisation in the literal terms of 'selling'. He singled out one faction of the world music scene "who want to sell world music as folk music… they don't want to learn the rules, they want easy enjoyment. They only want to sell" (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014).

Nagy-Sándor reports a perceived (negative) correlation between self-promotion and the quality of the folk artist (2015: 52). She quotes a traditional folk singer declaring that "you are as big an artist as the size of your poster", meaning that financial backing or gains do not assure a good quality artist. In this case, 'good quality' referred to 'traditional' and 'authentic', so we can assume the singer quoted was sympathetic to the purist arm of the folk scene. Nagy-Sándor concludes her study with the suggestion that purist folk singers profess economic disinterestedness, while world music singers (sometimes termed 'folk divas') were often described as having 'sold themselves', being economically motivated, and dishonouring the integrity of the tradition (2015: 53).

One student in particular from the LFZE shared an example of what she personally perceived to be 'sell-outism'. She was dismayed to realise that a number of teachers at the institution, who were also professional folk musicians, performed because "they want to be successful" and "only because they want to make money", which

powerfully contrasted with her expectation that "people who play folk music *love* folk music and Hungarian folk culture", as she does (Interview with unnamed student). Although fame and fortune are pervasive desires for many musicians trying to 'make it', I would argue that this student's disappointment and disillusionment is heightened because of the conflicting and contradictory value systems held by a traditional folk culture and a globalised commercial culture. In her view, commercialisation has corrupted those traditional wholesome values that folk musicians should uphold.

Taylor's idea of 'sell-outism' sidelines this anti-commercial view. He asserts that world musicians do not become sell-outs by engaging with commercial markets; rather, "listeners can construct these musicians as sell-outs if their music seems to be too much like North American and U.K. popular musics: their betrayal is of music and place, not of anti-commercial values" (1997: 23). That is to say, if world musicians are making music that does not resemble the indigenous music of their place (usually because they are making more popular-sounding music), they are cast as sell-outs. While this music- and place-based understanding is *also* true in Hungary – accusations of 'sell-outism' are made if the music veers off course from a traditional, 'authentic' interpretation – it does not take stock of the anti-commercial stance, which *is* in fact evident in the Hungarian folk scene. Criticism is often directed at commercialism because it is deemed responsible for a musical transformation away from traditional interpretations.

Bithell and Hill (2014) take a more circumspect approach. They suggest that "all of this is part of a gradual process of professionalization, institutionalization, commercialization, and commodification". They remark that the more cosmopolitan their outlook, the more artists may be accused of moving away from their roots or of selling out to fame and fortune (2014: 17). They also suggest that performers are often aware of the tensions accompanying such a trajectory and struggle to find their own balance between "faithfulness to, respect for, or continuity with 'the tradition' and their right to pursue their own creative paths as autonomous artists" (ibid.). We have already seen evidence of this in Chapter 3.

The independent recording label at Fonó Music Centre (Fonó Budai Zeneház) is one arena in which artists can feel at ease to negotiate these parameters. The label is unique in its approach to simultaneously promoting traditional recordings of folk music alongside more progressive world, folk, and 'ethno' music records. Fonó Records has produced more than 250 albums over the course of eighteen years and is dedicated to "providing a home to artists who create persistent and ground-breaking works in their own areas and whose artistic activities represent a progressive direction in Hungarian cultural life" (Fonó Budai Zeneház 2013). For example, Csík Zenekar, a folk and folk-rock band boasting a hugely successful twenty-year career (mentioned above), has published all ten of its albums with Fonó Records. Fonó's nurturing approach to Hungarian artists has been the key to its success, as shown by its recent achievement earning twelfth place in the world music publishers chart, beaten only by Western European multi-national corporations. Fonó is a small, privately owned record company (and music centre), which barely makes a profit; yet it cultivates Hungarian artists who might otherwise be overlooked.

World Music Charts and World Expo Today

Despite objections from the purist camp, it seems currently a particularly exciting time for Hungarian folk music in the world music arena. The World Music Charts Europe (WMCE) and WOMEX remain substantial parts of the folk music industry, and Hungarian musicians have garnered significantly more success and recognition in these charts in recent years. Artists such as Felix Lajkó, Buda Folk Band, Söndörgő, and Tárkány Művek have all reached top 20 places in the charts, with Lajkó gaining the top spot with his record *Mező* ('Field') in 2013 – no Hungarian world music artist had acquired a place in the top 3 between 1996 and 2013. This new generation of Hungarian folk and world music bands hopes to herald a new wave of international recognition.

László Horváth, manager of Fonó Music Centre (Fonó Budai Zeneház), reportedly claims that:

> The world music market has started paying attention to Hungarian performers it seems, or at least the feedback on recordings appearing on WOMEX's top lists suggests that. Fifteen years ago the Balkans were the favourites and then, five to eight years ago African music made it to the top, but both are on the way down and something new has got to take their place. The Balkans have tried long and hard to stay up there but it's time for some new musical products with some value added, and Hungarian music is distinctive enough and unique enough to garner the attention it deserves. (László 2014)

Soma (member of Buda Folk Band, who gained second place in the WMCE in 2014 and whose manager visits WOMEX on its behalf every year) agrees; he is also aware of definite trends in world music:

> For years there were very interesting Balkan groups, like the brass bands, Romanian folk bands and apparently there is a big interest every time for African music because it's [rhythm]-based and a lot of drummers and… the audience can consume it very easily. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

Now, he hopes that Hungarian world music will build on its increasing international popularity to become part of the latest trend in world music.

International tours are an important element of the world music scene and are integral to boosting record sales, downloads, and overall recognition. Anikó Fehér, a world music programme editor at Hungarian Public Radio and professor at the LFZE, explains that young world music groups may not be able to sell hundreds of different albums, but they will receive high numbers of invitations to tour internationally, often at between thirty and fifty venues a year. She explains:

> Start-up ensembles of twenty-somethings like Góbé [Zenekar] and Buda Folk [Band] can't get a day off ever. I had a really tough time even taking them to the Euro-Radio Folk Festival. Last year, for instance, Söndörgő only managed

> one day at the Forde Festival in Norway because it had a concert in Belgium the very next day. (László 2014)

However, when considering audience reception, a marked contrast can be observed between the levels of success experienced by world music bands at home compared to on the international stage. While world music publications do quite well internationally, domestic audiences are reportedly far less enthusiastic, since "they have a different definition of world music" (ibid.). According to László Horváth, *Folklore Man*, a recording for which Kerekes Band received the Fonogram Award[103] (2014), is really a pop album. Horváth claims that the world music genre is burning out domestically, as shown by the decreasing popularity of the world music stage at Sziget Festival. He also comments, "I seriously wonder whether a producer would advertise a show as 'world music' since it just hasn't the drawing power it did ten years ago" (ibid.).

An interesting trend is emerging, then, that as Hungarian folk music increasingly thrives in the world music scene abroad, its success diminishes at home. This may be because the international stage is an "important space for artists to create and explore away from the scrutiny and authenticity criteria of the home community" (Bithell and Hill 2014: 24).

It is in this context, among others, that we should consider the support for putatively more 'traditional' Hungarian folk music growing within Hungary, a trend reinforced by a developing institutional infrastructure. I now turn my attention to this phenomenon.

Institutional Infrastructure Today

Institutions play a crucial role in the development of folk music's infrastructure and, as such, wield considerable influence on the professionalization of the field. I have already mentioned certain institutions' participation in the recording industry, but

their involvement is more far-reaching than this. I dedicate the rest of this chapter accordingly, examining the multifaceted roles played by institutions in the transmission and professionalization of folk music in Hungary. Through two case studies, I pay particular attention to the tertiary-level education institution, the Liszt Academy (LFZE), and the cultural institution, Hagyományok Háza.

Taylor warned in 1997 (in the context of a new music conservatory in South Africa) that the creation of institutions would "present new problems of the maintenance and dissemination of traditional musics" (1997: 198). It was not his interest to explore them at that point, but his observation offers a springboard from which to evaluate several Hungarian institutions. The 'educational institutionalisation' of folk music has been tackled to some degree by Keegan-Phipps (2007, 2008) and Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013) concerning England, Ramnarine (2003) and Hill (2009) concerning Finland, and Quigley (2014) regarding Hungary. However, as Bithell and Hill (2014) note, "institutionalized transmission has been relatively underplayed and understudied in ethnomusicological literature to date" (2014: 22). It is therefore my objective here to build on this small corpus, drawing on their findings as a basis for comparison.

Brief Overview of Key Institutions

Schools and academic centres dedicated to folk music teaching and research have existed since the latter part of the twentieth century: for example, the Óbudai Népzenei Iskola (Hungarian Folk Music School in Óbuda, Budapest) since 1991, and the Folk Music Archives at the Institute for Musicology, established in 1999.[104] Since the new millennium, however, the number of institutions focussing on folk music teaching, transmission, and preservation has increased. Hagyományok Háza (2001) plays a crucial role in folk music education and outreach, and the Liszt Academy (LFZE) opened a department for folk music in 2007, significantly elevating the standard of training available in Hungary. Other institutions, though smaller in scale, play vital roles: Fonó Budai Zeneház (Fonó Music Centre) and the Táncház Egyesület (Dance House Guild), both mentioned above, organise táncház events, make and promote recordings, and facilitate táncház networks. A final example must be given relating to the institutional

endorsement of UNESCO, through which the táncház method was accepted on the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices in 2011. All folk institutions, through education and preservation, play a part in the safeguarding of folk practices.

The following case study is based on extensive fieldwork I carried out at the LFZE's Folk Department. By analysing its mission statements and training strategies as well as interview material from students and teachers, I can begin to assess the impact of the Department on the professionalization of young folk musicians, its cardinal role in the development of an institutional infrastructure, and its wider influence on revival processes.

Case Study 1: LFZE Folk Department

The process of establishing the Folk Department was, as described by all those involved, a long and arduous task; founders András Jánosi and Tamás Kobzos-Kiss "ran circles between the Miniszterium [Ministry] and the Liszt Academy" (Interview with Máté, 2014), trying to break through layers of bureaucratic 'red tape'. Several doubts were cast about the possibility of a folk music department, both in theoretical and practical terms. In theoretical terms, issues such as whether folk music is considered an extinct or living culture, or how the Department should transmit folk music when it is so far removed from its original 'living conditions', or even whether it is possible to transfer 'genuine' performing methods into a foreign environment while keeping to the strict criteria of 'authenticity', were all at the forefront of the Department's agenda (Richter 2012).

In practical terms, the Department sought to challenge critics who thought that folk music could only be investigated through ethnomusicology rather than learned through musical practice. Hill (2009) highlights similar reservations when the Folk Department at the Sibelius Academy in Finland was opened in 1983. She quotes the former Head of Department Kristiina Ilmonen to illustrate how critics' opinions have changed:

> Everybody thought that folk music was only something you can research, you can study as a science. Because there is nothing to play in it. It is too easy and too naïve, too stupid. But after 20 years that opinion has passed. (2009: 214)

In Hungary, a similar viewpoint persists, but the LFZE Department has adopted a resolute approach to secure for folk music the same "value, level and quality known in traditional classical music education" (Richter 2012: 3). By striving to provide a comparable standard of training, the Folk Department continues to seek equality with the Classical Department, thus quelling any doubts about the former's viability. While recurrent derogatory remarks from some at the Classical Department towards those at the Folk Department are testament to the work yet to be done, there are tangible signs of change. One interviewee (a folk musician not affiliated to the Department) commented, "I think it [folk music education] is getting more and more professional, in a way that you can compare it to, for example, classical studies" (Interview with Áron, 2014).

Indeed, the Department's objective to elevate folk music to the same level of credibility commanded by classical music is gaining momentum. Students today are grateful for the opportunities afforded by the Folk Department because, in their view, it is a privilege that their parents' generation did not receive. Máté's comment epitomises this sentiment: "the teaching of folk music is getting better and better so I must be happy because my father [at] my age could know [much] less about folk music" (Interview with Máté, 2014).

Since its establishment in 2007, the Liszt Academy Folk Department has claimed (and continues to claim) to offer the highest level of folk music training available in Hungary. The overall aim stated by the Department is to "be the best in the area of complex folk music training" and to be "worthy of studying with" (Richter 2012: 4). The Department's objective to produce a new generation of professionals is clear in the following assertion made by Richter:

> Instead of considering themselves a phenomenon of peasant-culture they should be its professionals as teachers and musicians, performers able to orientate themselves in this field. (Richter 2012: 3)

This statement signals a departure from working only to preserve and maintain the folk tradition, but instead to cultivate a team of professionals to teach and perform an approved ('authentic', to use their term) version of folk music. The professional element, combined with an emphasis on career aspirations, is often what draws students to the LFZE:

> I chose the Liszt Academy because it's the only opportunity to study folk music at a university level. I want to be a teacher of folk music and this is the only place. (Interview with Veronika, 2013)

Since the Department is still in its relative infancy, it is almost impossible to assess its impact. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that an annual cohort of graduates who have received specific, highly specialised training, which carries an official, institutionalized seal, will affect the transmission of folk music in the twenty-first century. My examination here of the four fundamental principles underpinning the Department will shed some light on how the new generation of folk teachers and musicians have been educated.

"Quality Control"

The first key objective of the Folk Department is to become the arm of the educational system that provides "quality control" for those who teach and play folk music. According to Department head Pál Richter, "the right answer… is that only university level training can lead to the realisation of such quality controls that are already working in the field of classical music. Only education can secure extensive discernment" (2012: 3). The "quality controls" that Richter suggests increasingly take the form of newer and higher qualifications.

Until 2007, students seeking teaching qualifications in folk music went to a teacher-training college in Nyíregyháza (*Nyíregyháza Főiskola*). At the College of Nyíregyháza, students could earn a BA in folk music teaching, which enabled graduates to teach in primary schools only. The level of training offered at the LFZE has thus moved beyond the qualifications offered at the College of Nyíregyháza, to the extent that some previously qualified teachers find themselves having to retrain at the LFZE in order to remain employable.

Obtaining the correct qualifications is becoming increasingly important as the folk music scene becomes more professional. Richter explains that after the original táncház movement, there was a significant rise in the number of employed folk music and dance teachers who did not have a "proper professional qualification" (2012: 3). For a time, the College of Nyíregyháza rectified this situation. Indeed, táncház revivalist István Berán attended the College of Nyíregyháza in his forties "just to get the piece of paper" (Interview with Gábor B., 2013). The LFZE Folk Department has, since 2007, taken over this responsibility, elevating the standard and levels of qualification available. BA and MA courses are now offered, and I have been told that a PhD in folk music will soon be possible.

One consequence of the development of new qualifications is that several older folk musicians who one might already consider to be professional (from their extensive performing and teaching folk music experience) are enrolling at the LFZE as mature students in order to earn the approved teaching qualification. For example, a double bass teacher at the LFZE is also studying on the MA course. According to Máté, being professionally qualified was a particularly fluid concept during the first five years of the Folk Department's existence (approximately 2007-2012). During that time, almost everybody involved with the Department simultaneously studied with and taught each other; at this stage nobody yet had earned the 'official' qualification, so they found themselves in the bizarre situation whereby they were forced to award qualifications to each other.

This has led, on one hand, to a collaborative environment (it has been described to me as a "family") where teachers and students learn from each other depending on experience rather than age or seniority. On the other hand, it can encourage clusters of students to form around a specific teacher, or 'master', as teachers are commonly referred to by students. This mirrors the widespread 'maestro'-'disciple' relationship dynamic found in classical music departments, and the guru-apprentice relationships that characterise many traditional learning environments. One student believes this tendency is simply due to the fact that "there are not many students here and because of that, the relationship between the teacher and [student] can be more personal" (Interview with Rita, 2013).[105]

The boundary between students and professional folk musicians thus becomes rather fluid. Students not only frequently collaborate with their teachers by performing in public together, but many of them have prosperous careers in their own right – Buda Folk Band, Góbé Zenekar, and Tárkány Művek are pertinent examples. The most common arena for this burgeoning professionalism is the dance house (táncház), which on a quieter evening can be a relaxed and low-pressure environment to experiment with performing live for an appreciative 'audience' of dancers. As performance and participation are such key elements of the táncház and broader folk music culture, almost all of the students I spoke to perform in public in some capacity, as public performance is, in their view, an essential part of becoming a folk musician.

A second point to consider is potential displeasure from students about the Department's 'quality controls'. Criticism of strict scheduling at the expense of a natural learning process has been vocalised; similarly, a lack of freedom to make collecting trips to Transylvania and other regions has been criticised (Nagy-Sándor 2015: 63). The impact of strict regulation on performance styles is discussed in terms of homogenisation and canonisation below.

'Authenticity'

A second aim of the Folk Department is that "anyone who graduates there should know what authentic folk music is" (Richter 2012: 3). This is of course a highly

problematic statement, in which many complex issues reside. The three meanings of the label 'authentic' – genuine, authoritative, and deserving of our credence (Bithell and Hill 2014: 20) – are all pertinent to the Department's interpretation of the term. Wielding this label affords the Department considerable power in selecting, constructing, and enforcing certain ideas of what is 'authentic' (see discussion of 'folk police' below). This therefore forces us to assess what the Folk Department deems as 'authentic' folk music and the processes by which these judgements are enforced.

One of the ways in which the Department claims 'authenticity' is by highlighting the direct connection to village musicians, the original tradition bearers. However, the connection is in fact mostly indirect, since it is the revival musicians who facilitate it. Richter explains that thanks to many revival musicians learning to play 'the traditional way' (i.e. by spending time with village musicians in the 1970s and '80s), "the revival musicians are the crucial link for the younger generation to play folk music 'authentically'" (Richter 2012: 4). As such, revival musicians form a considerable part of the teaching faculty, in both permanent and guest positions.

Another method that, for LFZE students and teachers, ensures 'authenticity' is the use of original recordings to inform musical practice and performance style. In one student's words: "we use the melodies we learn from the recordings because we like to be the most traditional we can, the most authentic we can" (Interview with Veronika, 2013). Reliance on the recordings is not unique to the LFZE; all folk musicians draw from them to varying degrees. When probed on the issue of which recordings 'guaranteed authenticity', and how students went about learning from them, another student answered:

> To decide which recording is good, you have to have a lot of knowledge. In the Academy of Music, we learn how to decide which is good or not. (Interview with Gréta 2013)

It became clear to me during fieldwork that the LFZE wields tremendous power and influence over students' selection and interpretations of folk tunes. There is a

widespread culture of 'good' versus 'bad' interpretations, 'natural' versus 'unnatural', and 'healthy' versus 'unhealthy', originally set in motion by teachers but equally perpetuated by students (though this is perhaps unsurprising, given the fluid boundary between them, as mentioned above). It influences students' decision making, both in the recordings they select, and in the stylistic choices they make for their performances. While teachers permit and sometimes even encourage individuality in performance (discussed below), this culture of 'good' versus 'bad' leads to the emergence of a hierarchy of 'approved' interpretations and performances in accordance with those in power. The following anecdote, which was revealed to me by Máté (LFZE student and member of Góbé Zenekar), will serve to illustrate this point.

Máté was performing with Góbé Zenekar in Székelyföld (Romania) alongside several other folk groups, one of which was Tárkány Művek. In the audience were Pál Richter (Head of the Folk Department) and István Pávai (Associate Professor at LFZE). Their presence induced anxiety for members of Tárkány Művek, who began to dread their verdict of the performance. Máté, on the other hand, believed that "if they are two intelligent, good musicians, and if we play good music, they will like it" (Interview with Máté, 2014). And so, after the concert, both groups discussed their performances with Richter and Pávai, and their opinion was as follows: Richter and Pávai did not favour Tárkány Művek's transcriptions of the folk tunes because they were not 'authentic'. They felt they could no longer hear the folk tunes in it and believed Tárkány Művek's interpretations were too primitive. However, their opinion of Góbé's interpretations was more encouraging, believing that their music was "90% natural", which they liked very much (ibid.).

The emerging hierarchy of approved aesthetic and stylistic interpretations has been described using the analogy of a 'folk police' controlling the 'borders of authenticity' (Nagy-Sándor 2015: 75). Belonging to the 'folk police' are key figures from the dance house movement, famous and successful folk musicians in the current táncház scene, and prominent academics (both folklorists and ethnomusicologists). These figures form an elite circle who act as gatekeepers to endorse a certain style of folk music and whose opinions carry significant weight. Through critical review, this elite network can

open doors for a folk group whose interpretation is championed as being 'authentic'; equally they can hinder the progress of a musician whose interpretation does not fall within the approved 'authentic' boundaries.

Hooker (2008b) offers an additional angle on these 'approved' hierarchies. She describes a situation at dance house camps (mostly in North America with Hungarian immigrants, but also in Transylvania) whereby these strict 'approved' interpretations are overlooked during the camps' after parties, once the official events are over. She describes how repertoire from beyond the official boundaries of the dance house (including the much vilified *magyar nóta* and an array of Gypsy tunes – see discussion of nineteenth-century musical styles in Hungary) is introduced at these 'unofficial' events, becoming a "highlight of the carnival space of this after-party" (2008b: 94).

Herein lies one of the stark challenges facing the new generation of folk groups. When folk groups move in a more progressive direction by choosing not to merely recreate performances and interpretations heard on the original recordings, they open up a new arena for more diverse interpretations – something I address in the next section (and have examined in Chapter 3 in my discussion of five varied folk groups). While some view this as a positive development irrespective of how the folk music is interpreted, others, particularly those at the prestigious institution of the LFZE, often have strong opinions about which interpretations they prefer. It can become difficult to predict which styles of interpretation will receive the academic 'seal of approval', and by whom. Máté summarised the ambiguity of the situation thus: "I think the answer is that it's very hard to do folk tunes in the new way, but if you can do it, it's very good" (Interview with Máté, 2014).

A direct consequence of advocating 'authentic' interpretations is, in some cases, the emergence of a standardised, homogenised performance style. For example, Áron, a young professional folk musician who has not trained at the LFZE, divulged that he "[got] this sense that everyone coming out from the school is playing really nicely and correctly" (Interview with Áron, 2014). When I posed this issue to current student and folk musician Soma, he admitted that a lot of people from the táncház revival

movement raise similar concerns. This issue has been discussed by Hill (2009) and Keegan-Phipps (2007) with the latter observing that "there is a risk that young people partaking in this institutionalization process are engaging in the emulation of an unhealthily small number of musicians" (2007: 102). According to Hill, similar concerns were shared by the former head of the folk department in Stockholm, revealing the fear of the folk music community that "everybody might come out from this school to be similar… all playing the same tunes" (2009: 215). Hill points out that this fear of standardisation and canonisation actually demonstrates a valuing of individuality, which I discuss in the next section.[106]

'Individuality'

A third aim for students at the Folk Department is "to express their individuality through folk music" (Richter 2012: 4). Emphasis on individual expression seems at odds with the previous two aims, which promote a controlled environment through qualifications, exams, and approved performance styles. In spite of this, the Department states that students should not copy or imitate the recordings or revival musicians "in a simple way", but should "perform the music authentically" (discussed above), "with all their knowledge, music-related thinking, and according to their personality" (ibid.). Such an assertion demands from students an extremely sensitive and difficult balance: they must interpret freely and express their personality, but at the same time interpret *within* 'institutionally-approved' parameters. A folk musician described it to me within the metaphor of playing a game that had rules. He said:

> The most important thing in folk music… is to express yourself, within the rules of how to play. Monopoly has its rules, and folk music has its rules also. (Interview with Szabolcs, 2014)

Taking on board Kodály's assertion that Hungarian folk music was the embodiment of the "musical mother-tongue" (see Chapter 2), the Department advocates that folk singers and musicians should strive to learn the 'language' of folk music and become fluent in it. In so doing, musicians will be able to go far beyond simple imitation and instead be able to express themselves 'authentically'. Soma described to me how he

believed students should navigate this tightrope in order to mature into a professional folk musician:

> A folk musician can learn the [foundational] stuff in school [which is] very good, but to be a good folk musician you must learn from the masters, from the original masters, you must steal the melodies from them, you must have [a] routine, and eventually *you must build some kind of* [*your*] *own technical playing*… But it's [a] very dangerous field because we can make the mistake that I say 'that's my personal technique' and I play something that's not authentic [but] I must not do this, so it's a very dangerous field. But some kind of personal technique [is] required to be a good [folk] musician… Everybody can decide [what is authentic] if they know the base material well, if they listen to a lot of folk music. So everybody must know the original source, like a language. And after that, if you know everything quite well and you have courage and you want to make your own individual style into it, you can try. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

Possessing enough courage to build on your existing knowledge to *try* to forge your own performance style seems to be a prevalent view held by students. Under the scrutiny of the 'folk police' (mentioned above), it appears to me that it is something of a lottery for students to discover which styles will earn the institutional 'stamp' of approval. Conversely, it is certain that 'too much' creativity and personal expression will result in a judgement of 'inauthenticity'.

Negotiating the balance between individuality and 'authenticity' is something that the Sibelius Academy (SibA) has been pursuing for the past twenty years. Under Head of Department Heikki Laitinen, SibA has robustly emphasised creativity, improvisation, and compositional freedom over preservation and 'authenticity'. SibA supports a viewpoint that expects each musician and student to develop his or her own artistic expression and creative contribution (Hill 2009: 217). While this may echo the LFZE's aim (stated at the beginning of this section), the SibA pursues this objective far more

diligently than the LFZE. One reason for this may simply be that the SibA is fifteen years further along its trajectory than the LFZE.

However, it is crucial to consider their different ideologies. In Hungary, the prevailing priority in recent years has been to protect and preserve its national cultural heritage, which is enacted at the LFZE and Hagyományok Háza, Hungary's leading folk music institutions. An interviewee from the latter highlighted the comparison between Hungarian and Finnish attitudes by remarking:

> Táncház [revivalists] tried not to [stylize] folklore, but to transmit it in its authentic original way, and it is one of the most characteristic features of Hungarian folklorism, not to [stylize] it… *If you compare it with for example the Scandinavian way, they are very inventive.* The complete Scandinavian design based on their folk tradition… is a very modern, very vivid, aesthetically a very good invention. *We* [*Hungarians*] *somehow close ourselves into our tradition*. (NB: Yes, like something sacred…) Yes, not to touch it, not to transform it, you cannot allow it for yourself. So it is another attitude. (Interview with Ildikó, 2013)

Ildikó's assertion that the Hungarian approach to folk traditions denotes not transforming or interpreting it according to one's own personal taste contradicts the stated LFZE aim for students to 'express their individuality'. This serves to highlight a discrepancy between what the LFZE advocates in theory and in practice.

Underlying this issue is a much more onerous question that faces all folk musicians and academics in Hungary today: 'what is the best way to preserve our folk tradition?' One approach has been adopted by Hagyományok Háza, whose principal aim is purportedly to make Hungarian folk culture *living* (see case study below). Inherent in this reasoning is the threat that if a culture is to 'live freely' and to be enjoyed and consumed, one must surely accept that a culture can also 'die'. If it is found unacceptable that a tradition will die out, governments and institutions (such as UNESCO's Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage programme) will intervene to

preserve and ensure the continuation of the tradition (see Chapter 3 for detailed discussion of the roles of UNESCO and the Hungarian government in redefining the folk tradition as national and international heritage). However, once steps are taken to preserve and protect a tradition, as they are by the Hungarian government and several institutions, the risk of standardisation and canonisation grows exponentially. In this case, the LFZE simultaneously offers the putative advantage of protecting folk music education for future generations and the putative disadvantage of developing a standardised performance style at the cost of diversity, individuality, and creativity.

'Intercultural Understanding'

In light of Hungary's complex relationship with nationalism and folk music's role within it (as discussed in Chapter 2), it is pertinent to consider how another of LFZE's foundational objectives, the preservation of *Hungarian* folk music, corresponds to its teaching of folk music from other countries.

The LFZE has sought to contextualise the study of Hungarian folk music by aligning its ideology with one of the most well established undertakings of Hungarian ethnomusicology: the examination and analysis of folklore from neighbouring nations in the Carpathian Basin. Richter argues that this opportunity for comparison is "indispensable" to an investigation of the Hungarian folk tradition. The Department aims to "develop [students'] ability to compare traditions and folk music dialects, in order to demonstrate the differences in interpretations" (2012: 5). From the LFZE syllabus, we can observe the lecture series entitled 'Folk music of relative and neighbouring nations' – one of the significant arenas in which these comparisons take place. In addition, the Department has adopted a key method from the táncház era (and indeed from turn-of-the-century ethnomusicologists Bartók and Kodály) by continuing to encourage students to carry out field trips to regions rich in folklore, particularly those in the Carpathian Basin.

However, it appears that particular areas of 'Greater Hungary' are prioritised in an effort to showcase the scope of *Hungarian* folk music from different regions, rather than used within the stated purpose to compare traditions from different countries.

Regions of Transylvania, Romania, and Slovakia are given particular attention, implicitly drawing attention to land lost under the Treaty of Trianon (1920).[107] Countries as geographically close as Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, and so on, are neglected, not to mention those further afield. Áron lamented the lack of choice of wider cultures studied at the LFZE and the "strong connection made to historical and national ideas" (Interview with Áron, 2014), that is, notions of Greater Hungary. This ties in with the idea that objectives of national institutions, including conservatoires, can often be part of a broader official project to reconfigure national identity and history (Bithell and Hill 2014: 27) – something we have already seen in Chapter 2.

However, Soma was of an entirely opposite opinion:

> I must say that folk music provides healthy nationalism, healthy patriotism, in the good way. Also it teaches people to respect each other, for example [to] respect our neighbours, our neighbouring people because the dance house movement plays every music in the Carpathian Basin. And it's very valuable in Hungary, because for example Romanians and Slovakians after the Hungarian dance house movement, started to make something similar, but Romanians now still try to consider everything as Romanian and as their own. So I think the dance house movement can teach you patriotism, healthy patriotism but also the tolerance to listen to other peoples' music, other peoples' culture. So I think it's a very useful movement politically. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

Soma's reasoning may seem defensive, for while the dance house movement may indeed play "every music in the Carpathian Basin", the vast proportion of the Carpathian Basin is the same land that came under the Kingdom of Hungary (Greater Hungary), allowing the nationalist argument to persist.

Hill's (2009) study of the SibA offers a sharp contrast when we consider how the LFZE approaches an 'intercultural understanding' of folk music from other countries. SibA is an institution that actively rejects all nationalist sentiments and instead embraces a worldview that idealises a global folk community. This is enacted both from a

historical perspective, by accepting that folk music has never been 'pure Finnish', and in its contemporary setting. Furthermore, SibA emphasises its transnational history and the global connections within folk music. This has directly affected the curriculum: repertoire from around the world is frequently incorporated into lessons and musicians from other countries are often invited to give masterclasses in the department. Participation in the world music scene, experimentation with cross-cultural fusion, and collaboration with foreign musicians is encouraged. Hill describes several resulting changes in the contemporary music scene, including the incorporation of djembes and didgeridus into Finnish folk music! While such a culture of contemporary fusion does exist in Hungary (discussed extensively through analysis of five folk groups in Chapter 3), the striking difference is that it is not endorsed by the LFZE. On the contrary, the purist aesthetic championed by the LFZE means that fusion with other musical genres is actively discouraged, often condemned as 'polluting' pure, 'authentic' Hungarian folk music.

In this case study on the LFZE, we have seen some of the different ways in which the process of institutionalization has impacted the transmission of folk music in the twenty-first century. These have included increased professionalization, the intensification of 'authentic' value judgements, instances of standardization and homogenization, the creation of new 'approved' hierarchies, and the reaffirmation of a nationalist agenda. I now move on to an examination of another crucial institution, Hagyományok Háza.

Case Study 2: Hagyományok Háza

Founded in 2001, Hagyományok Háza (Hungarian Heritage House, or HH) declares its purpose to be the preservation and promotion of the Hungarian folk tradition. HH comprises three strands, each of which contributes to this aim. These are: the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble, the Folklore Documentation Centre, and the Applied Folk Arts Department (Hungarian Heritage House n.d.). I provide a brief account of the first two strands, before moving on to an ethnographic-based analysis of the third.

Although the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble has been promoting folk music since 1951, its first twenty years were dominated by the Soviet model of overtly choreographed routines, and thus would not be considered 'authentic' performance today. This changed a little over the next twenty years in conjunction with the dance house movement, but it was not until 2001, under the auspices of HH, that the Ensemble could promote a version of Hungarian folk music more in keeping with 'authentic' and traditional interpretations. The Ensemble enjoys a high profile both in Hungary and internationally, becoming something of a global ambassador for Hungarian folk traditions. In this way, the Ensemble embodies the promotional side of HH's mission statement.

The preservationist ethos is apparent in the Folklore Documents Archive, a comprehensive collection of audiovisual recordings of 'authentic folk customs' from the Carpathian Basin (Hooker 2008a: 215). The archive brings together several collections of audiovisual recordings and is in the ongoing process of digitization. This is not only in an effort to organize and catalogue data; but more importantly, the digitizing process increases accessibility to scholars, practitioners and the wider public. In this sense, it fulfils an educational and research purpose too.

The third strand of HH, the Applied Folk Arts Department, is responsible for education and outreach, and as such is of particular interest in terms of influence on folk music transmission. The Department organises courses, conferences and dance houses, publishes music and dance CDs, DVDs and books, and judges works of contemporary applied folk art (Hungarian Heritage House n.d.). The courses vary according to several factors: subject focus (dance, music, handicrafts, storytelling); level of previous experience; region of Hungary; and purpose of course (accredited course for teaching purposes, learning for pleasure).

In December 2013, I attended two evening classes at HH, the first of which formed part of the 'Playing and Dancing at School' course (*Játék és tánc az iskolában*); the second contributed to the 'Regions and Dances' course (*Tájegységek játék- és*

tánchszempontú ismerete). Some participants attended both classes, although most came for one or the other. The first class, 'Playing and Dancing at School', was for kindergarten and primary school teachers who required training on how to integrate Hungarian folk dance into their lesson plans. The course offered both theoretical and practical introductions to folk dance, and was officially compatible with the national curriculum issued by the Ministry for Education (Hungarian Heritage House n.d.).

For the duration of the ninety-minute class, approximately twenty-five participants, only two of whom were male, learned simple dances and basic folk songs akin to nursery rhymes from an energetic, middle-aged woman. The participants enacted children's games and rhymes (my closest reference points were 'Duck Duck Goose' and 'Ring-a-Ring-a-Roses' – for the benefit of UK readers) and received guidance on when and where to walk, change direction, stop, and so on. The teacher instructed participants on the best techniques to keep the children interested in the classroom and the playground. After observing and making several video recordings of the class, I could offer the following reflections. The participants (to my surprise) seemed to greatly enjoy the evening class, despite having already taught a full working day and then having to act as if they were children playing a game. Furthermore, the combination of games, singing, dancing, and clapping demanded a substantial amount of energy. It was not clear whether their attendance was compulsory or voluntary, but the display of enthusiasm was unquestionable.

More participants attended the second class, 'Regions and Dances', which turned out to be an extended group lesson for adults to learn folk dances. Participants stood in a large circle, attempting to imitate the teacher standing in the middle, who demonstrated individual dance steps to a CD accompaniment. At regular intervals, the teacher would declare a period of improvised freestyle, during which participants were supposed to combine their own sequence of steps based on the ones they had just learned, and dance them 'naturally' – this could be by themselves or in pairs. At the end of the lesson, a group discussion ensued regarding how participants might best prepare for their upcoming exams the following month; this included enquiries into which steps to choose, and how best to practise them. This type of learning signals a

departure from the traditional táncház method. Under the táncház method, one would learn from tradition bearers in villages, or from revival instructors in the dance houses. Paying a fee to attend a training course in an official institution, which will then carry out a practical examination, signifies a very different method of transmission.

As the educational arm of the institution, there are areas of mutual overlapping and influence with the Ministry for Education (contained within the Ministry for Human Resources). On the one hand, HH is not only chiefly sponsored by the Ministry, but it also has to regularly make applications to the Ministry for additional grants on a project-by-project basis. The Ministry therefore has a significant degree of influence on which projects it supports. On the other hand, experts from HH are often called upon for information and advice. For example, ethnomusicologists from HH (and elsewhere) were consulted in an advisory capacity to help establish the subject 'Homeland Studies' (*Hon és népismeret*) in the latest National Core Curriculum in 2012. The subject did exist prior to 2012, but the Ministry decided that the teaching method was in need of development. Thanks to the input of ethnomusicologists and folklorists at HH, the teaching of the subject has become formalised for all school children in Hungary up to Year 7, supported by textbooks tailored to each year group. Through this subject, children learn about their local heritage and elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage on Hungary's National and UNESCO Lists (see Chapter 3).

Finally, HH achieved an unprecedented level of outreach in 2015 when it contributed to the organisation and execution of the third series of *Fölszállott a Páva*. I have described above my experience of the live final, but it is important to note the scale of HH's involvement.

We can observe, then, that Hagyományok Háza plays a different, though related, role in folk music's institutional infrastructure. Compared to the LFZE Folk Department, which is focussed on training the next generation of students to be the very best cohort of professional teachers and musicians, Hagyományok Háza occupies a broader sphere for educating Hungarian children and adults about their national folk music.

We can also observe Hagyományok Háza's role in the recent shift in government policy to focus on children as the future ambassadors and bearers of the national folk tradition, particularly through the national curriculum subject 'Homeland Studies' and the 2015 series of *Fölszállott a Páva*.

Concluding Remarks

A number of themes have crystallised in this chapter, helping us to grasp ways in which revival infrastructures have grown into something better suited to a post-revival phase, and in so doing, have impacted the development of the folk music scene in Budapest.

First and foremost, we have seen how the emerging foundation of infrastructures at the time of the original revival has expanded and developed so significantly that these extensive support systems we see today now wield considerable power and influence in the transmission of folk music.

Second, we can observe through my examination of two crucial revival infrastructures that developments in the folk industry and folk institutions have both caused a surge in the professionalization of Hungary's folk music scene. There is a general consensus among both practitioners and non-practitioners that the folk music scene is becoming more 'professional', even though the notion of professional is understood variously. In one sense, professionalization pertains to an increased engagement with the folk industry and its developing infrastructure. In another, professionalization is viewed as attaining a high level of skill, validated by rigorous training at the country's leading institution, the LFZE. I suggest that the extent to which professionalization has influenced the careers of folk musicians means that we can understand such professionalization as another symptom of a post-revival phase.

Third, the combination of these two revival infrastructures and their impact on professionalization means that the preservation of folk music is understood to be in

increasingly capable hands. Therefore, the folk tradition can no longer be viewed as under threat or in need or rescue – one of Livingston's foundational criteria of her revival model (1999). By institutionalizing folk music and assigning greater importance to it in educational establishments, it is less likely to be overlooked or disregarded in the future, especially if it is accepted as a serious field of study. Furthermore, the expansion and proliferation of the folk music industry is allowing growing numbers of folk musicians to reach larger audiences, both at home and internationally. An important outcome of these developments has been an overall surge in popularity, as Soma articulates thus:

> It grows more and more popular and its audience grows bigger and bigger. 10 years ago, 15 years ago, it was the form of entertainment just for a very thin layer of society but since then, I think it starts to be a relatively huge movement. (Interview with Soma, 2014)

Broadly viewed, this chapter has presented two revival infrastructures as two frameworks for numerous recontextualizations of the táncház revival movement, leading us into a post-revival phase. In Chapter 5, I explore further instances of recontextualisation, sometimes referred to as 'shifts', to further understand the current folk scene as a post-revival phase.

5. New Contexts for Folk Music: Budapest as Urban Space

Moving now from educational and industry-based spheres to the ground of city spaces, I consider remaining questions surrounding folk music's position in the city of Budapest. The main theme common to both revival and post-revival phases is that of recontextualisation – specifically, the repositioning of folk music in new and varied urban contexts. I aim to show how folk music today is best understood as part of a post-revival phase.

I begin by reviewing the original recontextualisation of folk music during the dance house movement when it was drawn from rural villages to the urban capital city. I discuss this 'shift' (Ronström 2014) in the context of Hungary's long-standing rural-urban dichotomy and Budapest's role within it during the twentieth century. In so doing, I signal the limitations of this dichotomy when it comes to analysing current shifts in Budapest's revival sphere.

The first shift I consider is social: the recontextualisation of different affinity groups from the original revival to the present, and the emergence of different folk music communities using the concept of 'scene' (Bennett and Peterson 2004). While 'scene' has typically been used in terms of other musical genres (punk, goth, pop, rave culture), I argue that certain aspects of the scene concept are helpful to understanding the social recontextualisation of folk music in Budapest. I also draw from Slobin's (1993) framework of interacting cultural systems (superculture, microculture, interculture) in my discussion.

Moving on, I take a closer look at specific instances of recontextualisation by presenting case studies on new performance venues for folk music in Budapest. We

can trace a spatial shift from community centres and dance halls during the 1970s revival to 'trendy' ruin pubs and converted ships, which engages with the 'hip' and trendy elements of a post-revival phase. I draw on work by Cohen (2015) and Holt and Wergin (2013) to enhance my discussion of the relationship between folk music and urban regeneration, which reveals ways in which the process of recontextualisation is enabling a more diverse, modernised, and globalised platform for folk music.

Finally, I consider an outward turn towards international audiences by examining the shift from community participation to tourist consumption. Referring back to my discussion of 'heritagization' in Chapter 3, and festivals in Chapter 4, I consider here the recontextualisation of folk music in certain urban spaces, such as flashmobs, festivals, and carnivals in historic squares or castle grounds. Utilizing the concept 'festivalization' (Holt and Wergin 2013; Bennett, Woodward and Taylor 2014), I show how aspects of folk culture have transformed into sites for consumption, and as such, have transformed beyond the parameters of a 'revival'.

The Shift from Rural to Urban

While Hungary's long-standing rural-urban dualism still very much exists today, it is only one of several ways in which we can understand the position of folk music in Hungary's largest urban centre: the capital city, Budapest. Before approaching other frameworks, however, it is important to first briefly summarise scholarly angles on rural-urban debates, and then review in some detail the long-standing rural-urban dichotomy in Hungary and the positioning of folk music within it.

In Scholarship

In folk music scholarship, urban contexts have typically been neglected in favour of remote, rural regions, often harbouring an undercurrent of exoticism or orientalism (Tragaki 2007: 150). While studies of urban environments have increased significantly in the fields of ethnomusicology and popular music studies, urban ethnomusicology focused on folk music is still a growing field.

The 'urban' has long been set against the 'rural' as an opposing or antithetical category, and it is a comparison that still holds sway today. Common tropes that have historically dominated the two categories include: the urban as a source of progress, modernity, reason, and change, while the rural has been a source of stability, backwardness, tradition, and primitiveness. Tragaki notes in the Greek context that the rural has historically become a symbol of a primitive and pristine state of being, as opposed to the "cultured and corrupted" nature of urban existence (2007: 149). A similar perception has permeated Hungarian understandings of a rural-urban dichotomy, and I have already discussed in Chapter 2 (particularly in reference to Hungarianness) the historical belief that primitive, rural peasants were the 'authentic' source of Hungarian folk music.

In her critique of the two categories 'rural' and 'urban', Tragaki argues that instead of rigid boundaries between them, they are "in constant dialogue with each other" (2007: 152). She suggests that as the rural and the urban interact, a "communicational network of multiple realities" develops (ibid.). In this way, she calls for a more fluid understanding of rural and urban qualities based on the premise that neither urban nor rural cultures have homogenized identities operating in distinctive spatial contexts; instead, they are diverse and overlapping (2007: 153). While this assertion informs my approach to a more fluid conception of the two categories, I retain use of the terms 'rural' and 'urban' because they persist in the discourses I examine.

The Urbanization of Budapest Since the Nineteenth Century

Although geographically Hungary is divided into three parts by the Danube and Tisza rivers, economically, politically, industrially, socially, and culturally there exists a long-standing two-way divide between the urban and the rural. Moreover, there is a clear social, cultural, and political divide between Budapest and the rest of the country, i.e. Budapest versus non-Budapest, despite the existence of eight other medium-sized cities (of 100,000 people or more).[108]

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Budapest has emerged as an urban metropolis. Its

rapid modernization and urbanization during the late nineteenth century led to repeated comparisons with Chicago, even being nicknamed 'Csikagó' (Jones 2013: 2).[109] Following the unification of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda in 1873, Budapest was created as a "confident new urban centre" and a capital city to "embody the aspirations of Hungarian liberalism" (ibid.). At the time, the Interior Minister declared in Parliament that this newly created Budapest should "exert an irresistible intellectual and material attraction over all parts of the country… and function as a pleasing rallying point of orderliness, culturedness, and elevated social principles" (ibid.). This clearly demonstrates the European archetype at this time of the contrast between an educated, cultured urban centre, and a primitive, uneducated rural society.

Turn-of-the-century Budapest was cosmopolitan, and home to Jewish and German intelligentsia and a petty bourgeoisie. Such was the "unbridgeable gap" between the semi-feudal countryside and the capitalist city (Frigyesi 1998: 49) that the inhabitants of cities were, for the most part, ethnically different from the majority of the population (1998: 46). Frigyesi describes the difficulties faced by some intellectuals to emotionally identify with Budapest, despite their apparent love for it. She quotes Bartók in 1905, who claimed about Budapest: "Here are gathered all kinds of shoddy, good-for-nothing German and Jewish rabble, who make up the majority of Budapest's population" (1998: 83). And Kodály, who arrived in Budapest from the countryside at a similar time: "If it had not been for the fact that the programme notes were written in Hungarian, the music played at concerts would have made one think that one was in a small German town" (Frigyesi 1998: 83-84).

Until the First World War, Budapest was a focal point of Jewish assimilation (through taking Hungarian names and speaking the Hungarian language). Such was the presence of Jews at this time that Budapest was often called 'Judapest' or the 'Jewish Mecca' (Jones 2013: 9). The simultaneous assimilation of Jews and modern urbanization meant that Budapest was seen by some Hungarian conservatives as a breeding ground for decay and excessive liberalism. Linked to the idea that Budapest was considered by the conservative middle class to be corrupt, immoral, rootless, too Jewish and too cosmopolitan, was the accusation that Budapest and its bourgeoisie

lacked Hungarianness (Frigyesi 1998: 81). It was in this context, then, that profound rejection of Bartók and Kodály's peasant folk music arose (because it usurped the favoured music previously categorised as 'Hungarian'). However, it did present new notions of 'purity' and 'authenticity' against the vulgar modern centre that, for some, Budapest had become. Furthermore, Hooker notes the repeated use of the phrase "pure spring" (*tiszta forrás*) in Bartók's writings to describe the music of the isolated peasantry as a source for 'authentic' Hungarian music (2013: 153).[110]

Recontextualizations of Folk Music in Budapest During the Twentieth Century

Folk music discourse thus reflected, and continues to provide one of several ways of viewing the rural-urban dichotomy during the twentieth century. As discussed in Chapter 2, the introduction of village folk music to Budapest at the beginning of the twentieth century (by Bartók and Kodály, though not forgetting Vikár's collections of peasant music in the late nineteenth century) was made in terms of claims to Hungarianness. The ruling classes in Budapest at that time, the gentry and middle class, were understandably hostile to the suggestion that their favoured musical styles (Gypsy popular music, *magyar nóta*, salon music, etc.) were apparently not 'Hungarian' after all. Frigyesi affirms that Gypsy music was passionately defended by conservative circles because they wanted to "save the illusion of an all-encompassing, original national style" (1998: 81).

Hungarian cultural life continued to be characterised by a rural-urban dichotomy, and in the 1930s this manifested itself in disagreements between 'populist' (*népi*) and 'urbanist' (*urbánus*) culture. Broadly speaking, the debate centred around the 'populists' (*népiesek*), who culturally and politically advocated for the folk, and who promoted familiarity with folk practices, versus the 'urbanists' (*urbánusok*), who viewed the folk as uneducated and as espousing an impoverished sense of culture. The urbanists instead represented an urbanite worldview, looking to the West for models of elevating their version of modern Hungarian culture (Taylor 2008a: 26 n3). However, as both sides of this disagreement were represented by urban intellectuals, the boundaries between them were more fluid than it might first appear.

Nevertheless, Budapest itself was a key site for tensions between 'populist' and 'urbanist' groups, particularly on matters of corruption, cosmopolitanism, and excessive liberalism.

During both the interwar and post-war (Soviet) periods, the rural-urban dichotomy was enacted in terms of bringing folk music to the city and presenting it on stage. First, during the Bouquet of Pearls Movement (*Gyöngyös Bokréta*) from 1931 to 1944, when folk musicians were brought from villages each year to perform on stage as part of Saint Stephen's Day celebrations; and later, the Soviet-style folk dance ensembles, which performed highly choreographed, sanitized routines, also on stage (see Chapter 3 for more detail).

The rural-urban dichotomy is particularly crucial when we look at the establishment of the dance house movement (1970s-1980s). This pivotal shift from the rural to the urban environment was one of the defining features of the revival movement. Táncház evenings were routinely held in cultural centres known as *művelődési ház* or *művelődési központ*. These centres were established in each district of Budapest (and counties across Hungary) during the Soviet regime and following the Soviet model, with the aim of providing a localised hub for cultural performances, exhibitions, and activities. This helped to strengthen regional and district-based communities, and to ensure that various cultural forms reached as many people as possible, not limited to only those who lived in the very centre of Budapest with access to the most prominent venues and concert halls.

In the 1970s revival, and in line with Livingston's revival model (1999), it was the middle classes, Budapest's student and young professional class ('urbanites'), who participated in and championed the new dance house movement. This represented another component of the shift from rural (peasant classes) to urban (middle classes). The focus on Transylvanian folk music (bound up with issues of illicit access to Ceausescu's Romania) gave the movement an additional rebellious and even radical nature, which Broughton likens to a sold-out rock concert: he describes people clambering through toilet windows for their first taste of traditional Hungarian folk

music (Broughton 2015: 82). This urban picture is enhanced by the fact that the attendees were all dressed in jeans rather than folk costumes.

The dance house movement further defined itself as an urban practice by creating a new teaching method for attendees in Budapest who had never before witnessed or tried to learn village peasant dances. Displaced from its original rural setting, musicians and instructors such as György Martin and Ferenc Sebő had to construct their own methods and rules for how the dances in particular should be taught and transmitted in the modern city. In this way, folk music and dance underwent a conscious process of urbanization inherently linked to the establishment of a core revival ideology – another of Livingston's revival criteria.

Today we can trace instances of both continuity and change in urban spaces that the táncház inhabits. Several cultural centres (*művelődési házak*) continue to host táncház evenings for adults, táncház mornings for children, and folk performances. However, the number of cultural centres has declined overall, notably since the regime change when the state system was restructured, triggering a substantial drop in state funding for cultural programmes. Paradoxically, this has meant that the remaining cultural centres have become very well known, perhaps even famous, as pillars of the folk music network in Budapest (for example, Marczibányi Téri Művelődési Központ, and Fővárosi Művelődési Háza).

Another outcome has been an increase in commercially-driven venues; during the 1990s in particular this went hand in hand with the blossoming of the world music industry. In 1995, Fonó Budai Zeneház ('Fonó' to everyone who knows it) opened its doors, as a privately funded quasi-cultural centre. The owners describe Fonó as a communal space where people of various cultures and creative groups have found each other and worked together throughout the years. In its infancy, Fonó concentrated on fostering and presenting Central European folk music, predominantly Hungarian, but over time its outlook broadened to introduce Hungarian jazz and ethno-jazz artists, and prominent performers of the European world music scene. Nevertheless, Fonó is a renowned and thriving patron of the folk music network, not

only thanks to the regular táncház evenings, but also its Final Hour CD project (*Útolsó Óra*) – see Chapter 3 for more detail.

An example of continuity with a specific urban space is the Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*): a meeting of táncház communities from all over Hungary and the Carpathian Basin that has met annually in March since 1982, and continues to do so. The 'meeting' takes place in the Budapest Sports Arena and is better described as a festival. It can be viewed as a festival in the sense that it is a "recurrent short-term event in which members of a community [in this case, the folk or táncház community] participate in order to affirm and celebrate various… shared values", including social, ethnic, national, and historical (Bennett, Taylor and Woodward 2014: 1). In the case of the nationwide táncház community, there are shared social and historical values, which form a shared lifestyle aesthetic. This is reinforced by collective images, objects, and texts, such as costumes, instruments, handicrafts, lyrics, tunes, and so on.

In much the same way as the original táncház movement provided an urban space to teach and learn rural Hungarian folk music and dance, now a new generation of folk musicians and dancers is emerging to continue the teaching process. These musicians and dancers learn almost entirely from the revival musicians rather than from the rural source (or 'tradition bearers') because the living tradition found in the countryside is reportedly dying out (though trips to Transylvania and the Csangó region of Moldavia do still occur). Instead, "[folk musicians] learn it from the revival people who know it very well. But it's already not the original" (Interview with Máté, 2014). Young musicians now acquire these skills from a well established network who themselves constructed an urbanized teaching method back in the 1970s. The following urban locations facilitate this process: the dance houses (*táncházak*), the cultural centres (*művelődési házak*), the Dance House Festival (*Táncháztalálkozó*), and the Liszt Academy or LFZE. In this way, I view the current teaching practice in urban spaces (venues and institutions) as a significant component of a second-generation urbanised folk music tradition.[111]

Alongside this clear lineage of second-generation táncház musicians, we can observe a proliferated, diversified folk scene that encompasses several musical styles and genres (as discussed in Chapter 3). Linked to this pluralism, and in many ways enabling it, is a new array of performance spaces, including ruin pubs, multipurpose music venues, concert halls, public parks, and historical squares. These new spaces challenge the binary between rural and urban, because 'the urban' now encompasses so many different contexts. In the rest of the chapter, I explore some of these new performance spaces in more detail. They are inextricable from the communities that use them, so it is to them that I turn first.

Urban Identities Across Budapest's Folk Music Scene

There are several distinct and overlapping groups of people who engage and identify with different genres of Hungarian folk music. Folk music plays a role in building communities and constructing collective identities, but also reflects certain values of the community. Here, however, I also look at some of the people who do not identify with folk music and explore their oft-given statement that folk music participants form or belong to a 'subculture'. This tension between communities and 'subcultures' leads me to consider the concept of music scenes (Bennett and Peterson 2004), and the threefold distinction between supercultures, microcultures, and intercultures (Slobin 1993), to explore how they compete, interact, and coexist. My discussion therefore provides several ways of understanding these social recontextualisations in the urban environment.

Defining the Original Revivalists as a Community: the 1970s

In order to mark the considerable social shift that took place in the 1970s, I highlight here several aspects of the táncház revival that are characteristic of a 'community'. Firstly, the movement was an independent, grassroots phenomenon that engaged young urban professionals and students in folk music for the first time. The participatory aesthetic underpinning the táncház experience and the amateur level of participants were uniting forces for a group of people who quickly evolved into a

táncház community. Secondly, the exclusive use of one musical genre, folk music (before musical styles diversified in the '90s), also reinforced the community's singular nature. The dance houses and cultural clubs were therefore the main urban spaces in which this community grew. Budapest also acted as a platform for 'local' identity (despite being a large city), since the rural tradition was equally new and foreign to all urban participants.

Thirdly, the movement had a countercultural ethos against the Soviet regime: it allowed people in Budapest to get in touch with their (supposed) Hungarian roots while they were occupied by a foreign power, and it brought the Transylvania question to the fore, when the issue of the Hungarian minority in Romania was a cause célèbre (which it still is). This was illustrated when Transylvanian Hungarian musicians appeared at the táncház and were celebrated as heroes. The celebration of Hungarian folk music from Transylvania, which was a defining characteristic of the movement both then and now, united the táncház community in a "symbolic anchoring of a shared past" (Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2005: 4). Territories lost after Trianon (1920) to Romania and Slovakia (and others) resonated in the collective cultural memory of táncház participants, and in many cases led to a collective imagined homeland. This is a persistent characteristic of the táncház community, and its connection to nostalgia and nationalism has been explored in detail in Chapter 2.

The dance house movement, then, was simultaneously an amateur community that was united by musical genre and a desire to participate and learn dances from rural areas of their own country (and former regions thereof) in a particular type of urban space in Budapest, *and* a kind of counterculture[112] (discussed in more detail below), that despite declaring no political ideology, stood apart from the Soviet agenda by forgoing the state's employment of folk music through stage ensembles and, instead, engaging with it directly.

Today, the situation is even more pluralistic, layered and complex.

Emerging Táncház Scene Across Hungary

Thanks to the development of robust institutional and industry-based infrastructures, which are facilitating the emergence of a new generation of folk professionals (as we have seen in Chapter 4), the dance house movement has grown into what we might call a táncház 'scene'. Bennett and Peterson, building on Straw's original definition (1991), define a 'music scene' as "a context in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others" (Bennett and Peterson 2004: 1). This lens of 'scene' allows us to understand the táncház community in a richer context.

In terms of the above definition, the táncház scene today embodies Bennett and Peterson's criteria in the following ways. First, the táncház scene shares a 'common musical taste' in traditional Hungarian folk music, and furthermore creates its own code of authenticity to separate itself from other interpretations of folk music (often accusing them of being 'inauthentic'). The táncház scene has a strong social component, and, in addition to the amateur, participatory aesthetic of the original táncház, has expanded and developed to establish a network of táncház communities nationwide under the auspices of the Dance House Guild (*Táncház Egyesület*, set up in 1990). The táncház scene has forged links to the existing music industry, as discussed in the previous chapter, as well as setting up its own system of music production, as evidenced by Fonó's 'Final Hour' CD series.

Probing more deeply into the concept of 'scene', Bennett and Peterson identify three different types of scene: local, translocal, and virtual. While their categorisation is useful, the táncház scene does not fit into only one category; it exhibits aspects of all three. If we take the first type of scene, the 'local', we can indeed observe a local scene in Budapest. It is where the original revival took place, and this specific geographic focus persists today, providing a hub of prominent institutions and festivals, such as Hagyományok Háza, the LFZE Folk Department, Fonó Budai Zeneház, and the Táncház Napja Festival. This hub of activity in the capital city is unsurprisingly appealing to famous táncház musicians and dancers, who are frequently featured as guest artists or even celebrities in their own right.

However, the táncház also has a role in people's everyday lives, providing a 'shelter' from the chaos of the modern city, in a similar way to Finnegan's 'hidden musicians' in Milton Keynes (1989). The táncház scene provides a space where a traditional lifestyle (or at least a lifestyle aesthetic) can be embraced rather than shunned by the modern world: "for them it's a really easy lifestyle thing, an identity thing, they really like it" (Interview with László P., 2014). Bennett and Peterson highlight the frequently made equation of 'local scene' with 'community' to denote "locally situated pockets of grassroots musical creativity distinct from global mainstream musical styles" (2004: 8). This is a difficult distinction to make in Budapest, because on the one hand, it is (or at least it was) a local grassroots community albeit in a large space, which is, in its purist form, set apart from the global mainstream. However, thanks to fusions with other musical styles, some folk bands are now considered 'mainstream' within the world music industry (see Chapter 3). The táncház scene is also no longer limited to Budapest, which brings us to the category of a 'translocal scene'.

The táncház scene could reasonably be described as a 'translocal scene' for the following reasons: it comprises a network of several local scenes with participants across the country (and pre-Trianon Hungary); face-to-face interaction is one aspect of the scene-building process (in dance houses, festivals, or summer camps), but the táncház infrastructure is well organised and extensive enough that participants can become members of the translocal scene without having to be permanently situated in Budapest. Some might argue that the summer camps in Transylvania play an even bigger and more important role in the development of a táncház scene than the Budapest network. Therefore, the category of 'local scene' is insufficient because the scene surpasses a need to convene only in Budapest and, instead, includes people from all over Hungary and neighbouring countries.

Finally, while the táncház scene is certainly not an underground scene that only exists on the Internet in chat rooms and fanzines, it does draw on certain aspects of technology and the Internet to demonstrate traits from the 'virtual scene'. Whereas the local and translocal scenes require face-to-face interaction between fans, the

virtual scene allows for Internet-based communication between them. This is increasingly the case as táncház fans across pre-Trianon Hungary discuss performances on *Fölszállott a Páva* (the televised folk competition), comment on videos of folk performances on YouTube, or share their excitement on social media about the impending visit of a famous táncház band at their local dance house.

While the táncház scene embodies characteristics from Bennett and Peterson's three categories, it does not fit easily into just one of them. The táncház scene reaches across Hungary and to Hungarians beyond the border, as a network of several local scenes. This network is enhanced by virtual technology to enrich nationwide communication. We can therefore view it as a kind of national scene, using local scenes as building blocks. Its potential to reach Hungarians within and beyond the borders is something that the Fidesz government realises and exploits to further its nationalist agenda.

Wider Folk Music Scene in Budapest

I have thus far established that there is a local táncház scene in Budapest (and a nationwide táncház scene comprised of numerous other local táncház scenes), but this is in fact just one part of the whole 'folk music scene' that exists in the city. I use the term 'folk music scene' more loosely to encompass all aspects of folk music performance and engagement across a spectrum of musical styles (from purist to innovative). Diverse examples of this spectrum of folk music styles can be found in Chapter 3 through analysis of five contrasting bands. In the following sections, I describe the significance of the different urban spaces in which these bands perform.

In the first instance, we might consider the nature of different constituent parts of the folk music scene: these parts could be described as 'microcultures' (Slobin 1993; Sweers 2014), 'microscenes' (Grazian 2013), 'cells' (Rosenberg 2014), 'mini-scenes', or clusters. It is also important to consider the relationships between these parts, as well as how those 'outside' the folk music scene might view these different groups.

Grazian makes the case for 'microscenes' as distinct from 'scenes' (2013: 15). He suggests that 'scenes' attach themselves to record labels, venues, and infrastructure (more mainstream) whereas 'microscenes' are mostly decentralised, use repurposed venues in gentrifying neighbourhoods, and rely on digital DIY media (more peripheral). His distinction is therefore based on how established and institutionalised the 'scene' is; one can readily interpret his distinction as one of 'mainstream' ('scene') versus 'periphery' ('microscene'). While there are certainly instances of comparison between the 'mainstream' and the 'periphery' in terms of folk bands, venues, and degrees of popularity, it is not the main focus here. The term 'microscene' in Grazian's sense is therefore not directly helpful. Instead of trying to construct a mainstream-peripheral binary, I am seeking to describe several different segments or fragments of the overall folk music scene and how they interact with each other. In this way, it is helpful to think of each fragment as a 'mini-scene' or a 'microculture' (Slobin 1993) that each plays a part in the whole folk music scene in Budapest. Each 'mini-scene' may have its own value system or taste culture, but they may also overlap with each other – for example, several musicians belong to both the 'táncház scene' and the 'world music scene'.

We are already aware from discussion in Chapter 3 of tensions between purists and innovators, but this tension produces a spectrum of interpretation rather than a strict dichotomy. This spectrum denotes gradations between the two extreme positions – in this way, we can view the gradations as a series of Slobin's microcultures. At one end of the spectrum, purists tend to view fusion bands as polluters of a pure, glorified part of Hungary's heritage, and at the other end, innovative bands tend to choose the paths of world music or fusion styles. This is for several reasons, but a crucial one here is the aspiration that by diversifying the tradition, they can engage a wider audience. In so doing, they precipitate more instances of social recontextualisation.

Diversifying musical style has certainly been a successful strategy to increase visibility and popularity; as one of my interviewees remarked, "it can be sold better if you combine the traditional music with the foreign music. You can get more famous with that" (Interview with Beatrix, 2014). One pertinent example (of many) of this strategy

can be demonstrated by tracing the aesthetic choices made by Csík Zenekar. Csík Zenekar was initially very traditional in its outlook but broadened out into the world music scene by producing covers of songs by other bands, including a very successful Hungarian rock band called Quimby. Several interviewees believed that this is one of the ways through which people who are uninterested in folk music (what I call 'outsiders' – see next paragraph) get to know folk music. One interviewee was adamant that "at least half of the audience [in arena performances] come because of this" (Interview with Kati, 2014). Some outsiders believe that the new wave of folk music today is "basically modern pop music with Hungarian motifs" (Interview with Inke, 2014), meaning that one of the ways to popularise folk music is to remove it from its original form. Another strategy, which I discuss in the next section, has been to perform in trendy urban venues, such as ruin pubs and the A38 ship.

This notion of 'outsiders' that I have just alluded to refers to anyone who identifies as being outside or set apart from the whole folk music scene. 'Outsiders' can keenly tell the difference between traditional (purist) folk music and the modern folk-fusion genres. There is a widely recognised divide between Hungarians who embrace traditional folk music ('insiders') and those who reject it ('outsiders'). There is also a reasonably sized group in the middle (who would still identify as 'outsiders') who quietly tolerate it as part of their heritage but who also maintain their distance from it.

Those outsiders who reject it are often simultaneously hostile and indifferent to the táncház scene, most commonly because they are haunted by memories of enforced folk song learning at school. They are also keenly aware of the political connotations associated with traditional folk music today. The result can often be an expression of hostility through the term 'subculture', sometimes meant in a derogatory sense.[113] The following comment made by an outsider illustrates this point:

> I've heard rumours that there is an active táncház movement still. I think it's like a subculture. The people know each other very well. (Interview with Inke, 2014)

This notion of 'subculture' connotes a closed community that champions a traditional, backward, old-fashioned lifestyle, which jars with certain ideals of a modern, twenty-first century Budapest. The idea of the táncház community being a subculture can sometimes extend to a belief that everyone involved in it entertains nationalist sympathies and nostalgic sentiments for 'Greater Hungary'. These 'backward' characteristics are seen to clash with those 'modern' characteristics that advocate Hungary's place within today's globalised milieu.

In this case, we can draw on Slobin (1993) to suggest a possible framework that links to my discussion of mainstream (Chapter 3). If the táncház scene is viewed by outsiders as a 'subculture', we can use Slobin's 'microculture' (or indeed his non-pejorative 'subculture') to describe the táncház scene. Similarly, Sweers, in her discussion of Latvian folk groups, refers to "folk microcultures" (2014: 478). It could therefore follow that the 'outsiders', as the dominant majority, represent the 'superculture'. Slobin describes 'supercultures' as the dominant mainstream in society that is internalized in the consciousness of governments, industry, subcultures, and individuals as ideology – something he calls hegemony (1993: 27). This idea ties in with the dominant, cultural mainstream I presented in Chapter 3. Within that framework, I presented the táncház scene as a niche layer (in Hungarian, *réteg zene* translates as 'layer music'), very much set apart from the dominant mainstream. Similarly, the táncház scene here, as a 'microculture', does not form the hegemonic 'superculture', rather it is an "embedded unit" (Slobin 1993: 12).

Finally, Slobin's third category, the 'interculture', is also useful – particularly if we bypass his first two categories of intercultures (industrial and diasporic), and instead focus on the third, 'affinity intercultures'. His affinity intercultures speak of overlapping, "cross-cutting systems" whereby bands learn from each other (via records and festivals) and service a transnational performer-audience interest group (1993: 68). Affinity intercultures, therefore, could meaningfully describe the more progressive segments of the folk music scene, as well as the world music scene, upon the exclusion of the very specific dimensions of the táncház scene. The affinity

interculture allows for fluidity and interaction, allowing anyone anywhere to be attracted to musics of their choice (ibid.).

In setting out several ways of viewing social dynamics at work in Budapest's folk music scene, we can better understand the varied ways in which different groups of people identify with or set themselves apart from folk music practice today. We can now explore some of the physical spaces that folk music occupies in the city.

New Urban Spaces for Folk Music Performance

Scholarship on music's relationship to place and space has grown and expanded since the 1990s, to the extent that it is now a core theme in the fields of ethnomusicology and popular music studies. It is widely accepted that musical performance involves a continuous production of space, that it can create place-based intimacy in a variety of spaces such as pubs, clubs, and community centres, and that it can transform images of the neighbourhood and the city (Holt and Wergin 2013: 12). Cohen's suggestion (2015: 231-244) that the association of urban areas with culture and creativity leads to urban regeneration is particularly pertinent here in my consideration of the ruin pubs. In this section, I offer two mini case studies on new urban performance spaces in Budapest that engage with and present folk music performance in new and different ways. I enrich my discussion of these two case studies by making comparisons with similar research by Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013) and Cohen (2011). My investigation of these new spaces for folk music provide further examples of the 'hip' and trendy element of Bithell and Hill's post-revival theory, as introduced in Chapter 3. We can then see how these further spatial recontextualisations of folk music in the city are becoming more diverse, modernised, and globalised.

Ruin Pubs – 'Romkocsmák'

Budapest is home to approximately 20 ruin pubs, so-called because they are established in run-down or abandoned buildings such as factories and apartment blocks. They first emerged at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and have

grown significantly, both in number and popularity, during the past fifteen years. Most tourist guides today recommend a visit to a ruin pub in order to sample a 'trendy' taste of Budapest but, in fact, ruin pubs are frequented by locals just as much, if not more, than tourists. Ruin pubs are inherently linked to the idea of Budapest as an urban metropolis, having invariably been described as "urban jungles", part of the "urban underground vibe", home of "urban art", and where the "urban youth" hang out.[114]

Each ruin pub has its own unique style, but collectively they have several characteristics in common. First, the interior décor is usually simple and rustic; more often than not, the furniture is second-hand and collected from multiple sources, which produces an eclectic aesthetic that to me seems to resemble an English charity shop or car-boot sale. Second, ruin pubs often house contemporary urban art, sculptures and exhibitions, and promote a supportive ethos towards contemporary arts and culture. Third, most ruin pubs have an outdoor area, namely a courtyard or beer garden, which provides a space for socialising, dancing, and even farmers' markets during the day. Fourth, ruin pubs are unusual in terms of their opening hours: they can be open during the day for a cultural activity, market or leisurely afternoon beer, but they also often stay open until between 3am and 6am, which, combined with countless bars serving alcohol, makes a significant contribution to Budapest's thriving nightlife. Finally, and of the most interest to us here, some ruin pubs offer platforms for live music.

While it is most common to find rocks bands, jazz or Gypsy artists, or acoustic sets (for example, singer-songwriter artists) in the ruin pubs, it has recently become possible to find Hungarian folk musicians performing in them too. As I mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, Góbé Zenekar (a folk and world music ensemble) has performed more than forty times at Szimpla Kert, one of the oldest and most successful ruin-pubs in Budapest.

Case Study 1: Szimpla Kert

Commonly referred to as just 'Szimpla', this venue exhibits all five of the characteristics of ruin pubs I have outlined above. Lonely Planet's review of Szimpla summarises this neatly: "It's a huge building with nooks filled with bric-a-brac, graffiti, art and all manner of unexpected items. Sit in an old Trabant, watch open-air cinema, down shots or join in an acoustic jam session" (Lonely Planet n.d.).

On its own website, Szimpla describes its emergence and development in terms of neighbourhood regeneration:

> Fifteen years ago, Budapest's now-pulsating seventh district – also known as Erzsébetváros – was a derelict neighbourhood filled with abandoned buildings. Then, a sprawling old factory was converted into Szimpla Kert, a 'ruin pub' with rooms sporting thrift-store furniture and a massive outdoor patio. The new pub helped transform the city's Jewish Quarter into a mecca of cool, underground culture.[115] (Szimpla n.d.)

This narrative is widely circulated on travel blogs and travel sections of newspaper websites, thus appealing to the international 'hipster' scene: a CNN article from 2013 has the title 'Budapest's best "ruin bars": How derelict industrial spaces became hip Hungarian watering holes' (Novakovich 2013); and an article from the *Guardian* newspaper (2015) describes them as "paragons of cool" occupying "formerly dilapidated buildings and courtyards [that] are now a firmly established fixture on the Pest party scene" (Longley 2015).

Live music is highly valued at Szimpla Kert and great effort goes in to promoting Hungarian talent. In its mission statement, Szimpla declares that its priority is to showcase diverse musical talent from Hungary (citing jazz, folk, rock, and electronic music as examples), of a high standard, and free of charge. Szimpla puts on themed musical nights four nights out of seven: Concert Tuesday, Crested Wednesday, Bass clef Thursday, and Szimpla Open Stage on Fridays. It also houses a basic recording

studio and produces a CD each year featuring a selection of musicians who have performed there during the previous year.

It is in this context, then, that folk music is not only given a platform but also contributes to the narrativization of place – both at Szimpla specifically and in the neighbourhood more broadly. Since music plays an important role in the narrativization of place, both as a creative practice and as a form of consumption (Whiteley 2005: 2), performances of folk music in this trendy environment are simultaneously *influencing* Szimpla's trajectory in its evolving conceptions of 'cool', and *being influenced by* the 'underground' culture in which the performances are taking place. Holt (2013: 1) talks about music cultures being deeply affected by urban social change, and this is a good example. The influence of urbanisation on the folk tradition has triggered a transformation in how people interact with and perceive folk music. This ties in with the 'hip' element of Bithell and Hill's post-revival theory, especially in terms of recent understandings of gentrification.

Góbé's performance series at Szimpla exemplifies a new kind of performance context for folk music. As of May 2016, Góbé has performed at Szimpla forty-two times in the past four years, meaning that approximately once a month the group has an opportunity to engage a wider (and often completely different) audience than it habitually has at the dance houses (*táncházak*). However, it is important to note that when performing at Szimpla, Góbé performs a much broader repertoire: they include folk music alongside other genres, to the point where it more accurately resembles a world music band using folk instruments. Góbé's chameleon-like musical style is apparent in the promotional material for their performance at another ruin pub called 'Kobuci Kert':

> Equally at home in the clubs in the city centre, in dance houses and at festivals, their music is 'not authentic enough' to be folk music, 'too folky' for pop music, and due to the influence of classical music, it is 'totally unclassifiable'. Their aim is to bring fashion to folk music, in a new and enjoyable way for everyone.[116]

Again, by appealing to the tastes of 'everyone' when Góbé performs at Szimpla, Góbé moves away from its position in the táncház scene towards its role in the world music scene and, in so doing, elevates its musical aesthetic to the international arena. The steps taken to increase accessibility to folk music therefore include adapting the musical style so that it is more moderate and not 'too much' of any one style, and performing in new 'underground' spaces, where folk music is not usually found. In addition to reaching a wider audience, another outcome of folk music performance in this context is that a number of different audiences interact with each other in a social space, when they may not otherwise encounter one other.

In the interests of giving the reader a clearer idea of a folk music performance in a ruin pub, I describe here one of Góbé's performances at Szimpla in a bit more detail. Upon arriving at Szimpla Kert one evening in February 2014, I had to push my way through the crowded, sprawling complex to reach a relatively small room towards the back of the building. Revellers, both locals and tourists, seemed to be enjoying their drinks and the noisy, lively atmosphere.

Figure 29: Crowded scenes at Szimpla Kert

Figure 30: Szimpla advertising Góbé

Góbé had just started their set and the room, though small, was full of people listening. Despite the late hour and prevalence of alcohol at the ruin pub, there were one or two families with young children sitting at the front, but this was the exception. In keeping with the relaxed and trendy vibe of the performance space, the band

members were also dressed casually (though with the almost iconic folk trilby hats!) and mostly performed songs with a gentler, slower tempo. A selection of instruments was crammed into the designated stage area, as members of Góbé frequently switched instruments depending on the musical style of each song. For example, for more traditional folk songs, Máté made use of the three-stringed viola and violin; for songs with Gypsy-style aesthetic, Mátyás used the cimbalom (hammered dulcimer); for a jazz feel, the double bass was emphasised (by Márton); and for contemporary songs or interpretations, the drum kit (Áron) and acoustic guitar (Máté) were more prominent.

Figure 31: Góbé performing at Szimpla Kert

The reader can find one particular song performed that evening on YouTube (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JlGYGv1S4n8), which illustrates the kinds of musical styles that were on offer. In this clip, the reader can observe a more modern, 'world-music' style interpretation of a traditional folk song. The song Góbé performs here, *Szivárvány havasán* (roughly translated as 'Rainbow on snow-capped mountains'), is a Csángó-style folk song from the region of Moldavia in Romania (a region that was annexed in the 18th century and maintains an ethnically Hungarian population). However, Góbé's interpretation is far from traditional. The drum kit's cymbals softly provide the song's rhythmic pulse to which the acoustic guitar and violin (plucked and held on its side like a banjo) adds the tune and texture. A wooden folk flute offers a nod to the song's folk roots, but the addition of another violin (played traditionally with a bow) playing catchy riffs between verses, and a double

bass contributing a syncopated bass line, halts any further development of a traditional folk aesthetic. Altogether, the soundscape is one of jazz, country, and folk fusion, and quite far removed from its origins. The following year (2015), this very song (now only called *Svivárvány* – Rainbow) was recorded as a track on Góbé's album, *Ez van!* (This is it!).

As an illuminating point of comparison, I also include here a reference to one of Góbé's performances on *Fölszállott a Páva* (televised competition) in March 2014, only a month after the evening at Szimpla. As can be seen here (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LF0lr4W53gY), their style of performance greatly contrasts the one at Szimpla: the set is acoustic, only traditional instruments are used, and there is clearly a much more direct attempt to adhere to 'authentic' folk styles of playing.

If we take two recent examples from the United Kingdom – a pub in London (Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 36-38) and a jazz club in Liverpool (Cohen 2011: 235-250) – as points for comparison, we can observe some interesting points of overlap as well as divergence.

Keegan-Phipps and Winter's study of the Magpie's Nest in Islington, London offers a pertinent resource with which to compare Szimpla Kert. Like Góbé's designated performance area within Szimpla, the Magpie's Nest folk club occupied the top floor of a pub – in both cases, they operated once a month. The Magpie's Nest was the name given to the monthly club night – the folk club was not a physical venue in and of itself. In both respective ventures, the objective was to reignite interest in folk music and to reinvigorate a "new generation of folkies" (Keegan-Phipps and Winter 2013: 36). In London, the older style of folk club was popular with an ageing, older generation, which was off-putting to younger people. In Budapest, there is certainly a similar focus on attracting younger audiences to folk music by using a trendy ruin pub as a venue, but the corresponding concern with the older generation is not the same. Indeed, there are many young people at the traditional dance houses; they are not only frequented by the older generation. Instead, Góbé's objective at Szimpla is to

attract a new segment of the younger generation, for whom the dance houses are too extreme.

Keegan-Phipps and Winter's discussion of the Magpie's Nest is more commercial and consumer-driven than my study of Szimpla, but it still provides a useful point of contrast. The first example of disparity is in the type of music making that takes place in each venue. At Szimpla, Góbé is there to perform to an audience, whereas at the Magpie's Nest there is an extensive 'open mic' session, which blurs the boundary between performer and audience, and encourages participation. Keegan-Phipps and Winter mention a spontaneous ceilidh that occurred at the end of a Magpie's Nest evening; while I have not experienced a fully-fledged táncház at the end of Góbé's performances, people do occasionally get up to dance or sing along to a folk tune.

The second point of contrast concerns the commercial venture that has overtaken the Magpie's Nest from its original conception. Now, the Magpie's Nest has officially become team of folk promoters or folk consultants, with approximately ten employees. They have expanded to form two organisations, which has ushered in a "new phase of professionalisation" (2013: 37). While the specific nature of Góbé's commercial relationship with Szimpla did not form part of my research, Góbé's project there did not appear to be particularly commercialised. There was no entrance fee, nor pressure to purchase drinks at the bar (though most people did); there were, however, CDs available for purchase at the end.

While the scope of Cohen's study of the Cavern Club in Liverpool is somewhat more high profile, thanks to a focus on the infamous band the Beatles, there are parallels to be drawn in the interactions between the two bands and the respective spaces. The most prominent of these is the significance of the venue in the transformation of the bands' musical styles. Cohen states that the Beatles' residency at the club is commonly regarded as having enabled them to refine their musical skills and to further transform their musical style (2011: 236). While it is too early in Góbé's career to assess the full extent of their style transformation, we can already observe their creation of a hybrid folk-pop style for their performances at Szimpla Kert. Góbé's

monthly performances over the course of four years have evolved as they have been influenced by social encounters and audience tastes.

As Stokes (2004) points out, choices and variations in musical sounds and instruments mark important political, social and aesthetic distinctions; serve different interests; and help to forge alliances across social and cultural borders (Cohen 2011: 244). I suggest that, particularly in view of their desire to "bring fashion to folk music and make it enjoyable for everyone", this is exactly what Góbé is trying to do – forge alliances across social and cultural borders. As Waterman wrote, musicians can "forge new styles and communities of taste, negotiating cultural differences through the musical manipulation of symbolic associations" (1990: 9).

We can therefore observe how Góbé's residency at Szimpla is contributing to a shifting landscape of music that characterises the seventh district of Budapest. The seventh district was formerly known as the Jewish Quarter, and while Jewish culture still thrives, the neighbourhood has diversified and become gentrified (as explained above with quotes such as "the paragon of cool"). Folk music's inclusion in this context is thus contributing to an evolving musical landscape whereby folk music can be understood as 'cool' and 'trendy'.

Finally, Cohen suggests that her study provides an alternative to celebratory media accounts by exploring the hidden complexities of the situation. While the contexts are very different, there is a point to be made concerning the folk music that is typically celebrated by Hungarian media compared to Góbé's stylistic choices at Szimpla. As we know from Chapter 2, the media channels in Hungary are mostly state-owned, and as such, the form of folk music most readily on offer is traditional – often through platforms such as televised national celebrations or *Fölszállott a Páva* (the televised competition). Góbé's interpretation of folk music in its world music or folk-pop styles, in a 'trendy' urban ruin pub, thus contrasts dramatically with the version that is dominant in the media.

Case study 2: A38 Hajó

A similarly trendy melting pot of live musical performance can be found at the A38 Hajó: a converted Ukrainian ship permanently moored on the Danube, at the forefront of live music since 2003. The A38 Hajó (commonly referred to as just 'the A38') clearly engages with the international scene, and the following description from an article on live music in Budapest provides an enlightening depiction of this dynamic music venue:

> Night by night, people from the most different subcultures gather in the belly of the old Ukrainian stone-carrier ship to have the time of their life – and while this sentence might sound strange at first, after a look at the programmes taking place here, you'll surely understand everything. From gut-rippingly brutal deathcore bands to easy-going, soulful downtempo DJs, A38 welcomes all kind of acts. The sound system is legendary in all the three halls: the main hall, the exhibition space (for acoustic/jazz performances) and the sunny rooftop terrace (open during summertime). (We Love Budapest 2015)

For the A38's owners, the symbols of 'the ship' and 'the Danube' are significant. They understand 'the ship' as "the utmost poetic symbol of freedom, life, travel, adventure and discovery"; and 'the Danube' as "one of the strongest symbols of Central European history and culture" (A38 2013). While the A38 team takes these two symbols to serve as inspiration and a compass for their whole project, the symbols seem to me to be contradictory in nature. Their idea of the ship as a gateway to freedom and travel contrasts sharply with their conception of the stalwart presence of the Danube, which has underpinned thousands of years of history in the region. However, the ship's hybrid identity makes sense in the context of Budapest, itself a hybrid city since the unification of Buda, Pest, and Óbuda in 1873. The owners argue that by harbouring the ship on the Danube, the A38 not only takes the initiative in bringing living culture to the bank of the Danube in Budapest, but has also become "Budapest's new industrial, trendy venue", with memories of old and flashes of new, contemporary history (ibid.).

Interpreting the two symbols in terms of the artistic, musical, and cultural choices made by the owners is also illuminating. As the ship is now permanently moored, it cannot facilitate the freedom, travel, and adventure in the traditional way it once could, but instead it now brings the freedom and adventure to the banks of the Danube by way of a plethora of international artists and musicians. As the description above accurately claimed, the variety of programmes on offer at the A38 is enormous. The venue provides a physical space for such wide-reaching cultural opportunities that "any good, financially feasible project finds a home on the ship" (ibid.).

In this sense, the A38 has a very different objective to the ruin pub, Szimpla. While Szimpla aims to foster almost exclusively Hungarian musical talent, the A38 facilitates cultural exchange by introducing Hungarian audiences to the gamut of international music. I do not mean to say that the A38 excludes Hungarian artists and musicians – far from it – rather that its outlook is focused more internationally. This is reflected in the relatively small proportion of folk music performances. In addition, when searching for performances of folk music on the A38's online events schedule, one will find that 'folk' has been combined with 'world' to create a 'world/folk' category. Upon browsing this category, it is clear that Balkan and Hispanic world musics are given a greater platform than Hungarian folk, which aligns with its international vision. One reason for this might be that the main hall (in the underbelly of the ship) has a large capacity that it must fill in order to remain financially viable, and 'traditional' Hungarian folk music is not likely to draw in sufficient crowds. This is not a new obstacle: attracting large crowds and wider audiences has been a common theme in the negotiation of folk/world music since world music prevailed in the Hungarian music industry in the 1990s. That being said, during fieldwork I attended several well-attended performances of fusion bands combining Hungarian folk with jazz, funk, or rock – including Kerekes Band, Budapest Nufolk Revolution, and Góbé, all of which I have discussed as case studies in Chapter 3.

I would like to provide more context on this unusual performance space by describing in more detail one particular evening I spent there. In March 2014, I attended a concert (or more accurately, a 'gig') at the A38 where two of the five bands I discuss in

Chapter 3 were performing: Kerekes Band was the headline act, supported by Budapest Nufolk Revolution (BNR) beforehand. The concert had the tagline 'Back to Folk', signalling the theme of the evening; Kerekes Band subsequently produced an album with the same title in September 2016.

To get to the A38, I took a tram to the south-west part of central Budapest, on the Buda side, and descended to the riverbank in order to board the permanently-moored ship. Upon arrival, I bought a ticket (for 1500 HUF, approximately £4.50) and proceeded downstairs into the underbelly of the ship, which is home to a large, dimly-lit concert space with a stage at one end and a bar stretching down one side. The age of the audience ranged from approximately twenty to forty years old, and the number of attendees increased as the evening wore on. I stayed at the front of the standing crowd so that I could take photographs and recordings, and by the end of the concert I struggled to push through the heaving masses to leave.

The support band, Budapest Nufolk Revolution (that I introduce in Chapter 3), performed a variety of songs, including their most famous ones: *Indul az élet* (Life begins) and *Ülni, állni, ölni, halni* (To sit, to stand, to kill, to die), using the text of a famous Hungarian poem of the same name by Attila József (1926) as its basis.

Figure 32: Budapest Nufolk Revolution

Figure 33: BNR

As can be seen from my regrettably low-quality photographs, if it were not for one or two folk instruments (such as the folk viola played on its side in Figure 32, and long

folk recorder, *furulya*, in Figure 33), it might appear as though BNR were a quintessential rock band in everyday clothes, with electric guitar and drumkit, performing on a dark stage with flashing lights. Indeed, as I have suggested in Chapter 3, other elements such as poetry, jazz riffs, and funk motifs can often be detected more immediately, particularly when the saxophone is played. However, in this concert BNR made efforts to acknowledge the 'Back to Folk' theme by devoting a higher proportion of songs to the folk recorder instead of the saxophone, and by performing more acoustic versions of songs, allowing for more traditional interpretations.

By the time Kerekes Band, the headline act, took to the stage, the room was packed and there was a lively, buzzing atmosphere. Kerekes Band's set comprised a mix of songs from several of their previous albums including 'Mr Hungary' from their 2011 album 'What the Folk?' (see clip here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ScRap9uBAQg) and old favourite 'Csangó Boogie' from their 2006 album 'Pimasz', whose review in Songlines Magazine is cited in Chapter 3. As can be seen from this live performance of Csangó Boogie (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssAoAJCcD5k), the folk viola, as depicted in Figure 34 below, set the pace and energy for the whole song. As soon as he started playing, whoops and jeers from the crowd could be heard, revealing the song's enduring popularity. The koboz (cobza), drums and bass guitar soon joined in, before frontman Zsombor Fehér began his signature virtuosic flute riffs over the top – all the while dressed in a traditionally-embroidered folk-style jacket (see Figure 35).

Figure 34: Ákos Csarnó playing his 3-stringed viola

Later, a guest singer called Julcsi Paár was ushered on stage to take part in a series of folk songs with a pared down set: only Zsombor Fehér (on the folk recorder, *furulya*), Viktor Fehér (on the struck cello, *gardon*), and Julcsi Paár (voice) were on the stage at this point. Despite the shift towards more traditional folk songs, Julcsi did not show

any sign of traditional costume: she was instead dressed in a modern outfit with large hooped earrings. One song that was particularly well-received by the audience was called *Déltől estig nyílik a piros rózsa* (From noon until evening the red rose blooms). This is a traditional folk song from Gyimes in Székely (a historical part of Transylvania) – a love song containing rural imagery. A recording of the performance can be found here (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ygqYKC9dlA), which shows how the musicians followed a traditional pattern in folk singing (and dancing) of coupling a slow song (lassú) with a faster one (friss).

Figure 35: Zsombor Fehér (recorder) and Julcsi Paár (voice)

More detail about the concert can be found on A38's website here (in Hungarian): https://www.a38.hu/hu/program/kerekes-band-hu-budapest-nufolk-revolution.

In this section, I have explored some crucial new contexts for folk music in Budapest. I have shown how the recontextualisation of folk music in these urban spaces has transformed the tradition into something purported to be 'cool', 'underground', and 'trendy'. This twenty-first century attitude to folk music has never before been articulated; the revival attitude in the 1970s, while countercultural, was specifically directed against the occupying Soviet forces and expressed through a desire to rediscover Hungarian roots. This twenty-first century understanding of certain types of folk music as 'cool' or 'trendy' clearly signals a step away from past ideas of the táncház revival towards a post-revival phase.

Urban Tourism and the 'Festivalization' of Folk Music

This last section of the chapter assesses another change in the transmission of folk music. Here I focus on an outward shift to the international arena by looking at urban spaces as sites for folk music consumption and consumerism, particularly within the realm of the tourist industry. The following examples of folk music consumption reveal further ways in which the contemporary situation has moved beyond its revival parameters.

The transformation of urban spaces into spaces of cultural consumption has been a well-known theme in scholarship since Zukin's work in the '80s and '90s and her metaphor of the city as a 'landscape of power' (Zukin 1993). Here I investigate different examples of the appropriation of urban spaces for a variety of folk-themed tourist activities. I consider the term 'festivalization' (Holt and Wergin 2013; Bennett, Woodward and Taylor 2014) as a possible way of categorizing this kind of cultural consumption. Underpinning my investigation of different festivals is a widely accepted view that festivals are often a site or space for the articulation, performance, and rediscovery of identity (Aitchison and Pritchard 2007; Bennett and Woodward 2014).

The Tourist Landscape

At almost any kind of national tourist event in Budapest, it is now a normative experience to come across performances of folk music and dance, as well as stalls selling folk handicrafts and CDs. These events need not concern folk culture, or even the arts in general – folk traditions will be present at any event purporting to be 'Hungarian', ranging from wine festivals to the Hungarian Grand Prix. This is partly due to the folk tradition's place on the list of *Hungarikumok*, a list of tangible and intangible assets that require safeguarding for the purposes of heritage and tourism. The inclusion of folk music performance in these kinds of cultural events, that often have little or nothing to do with the folk tradition, implies that folk music is there to be consumed, much like other forms of consumption such as food and merchandise (see Holt and Wergin 2013: 8).

When a tradition such as folk music that is valued highly as national heritage is put into an urban space for mass consumption, it can become what Holt and Wergin refer to as 'arena entertainment'. We can observe a literal instance of this in the annual *Táncháztalálkozó* (Dance House Festival). It takes place in the city's sport arena, which, at its peak in the mid-1990s drew crowds of up to 30,000 (Quigley 2014: 194); today that figure is reduced to about 8,000. Much like at tourist events such as Wine and Pálinka Festivals, folk merchandise (handicrafts, jewellery, CDs, costumes, and so on) is available for purchase. See Chapter 3 for discussion of this festival in the context of a folk industry-based infrastructure.

Flashmobs

In a less literal interpretation of Holt and Wergin's 'arena entertainment', the outdoor space more generally can be defined as an 'arena' for flashmobs. Flashmobs have been defined as "a form of performance art in which a group of people arrange to meet at a central location and put on some kind of unified performance, usually to the bewilderment of other bystanders" (McNeill 2012: 86-87). Flashmobs can vary from large-scale, formal ones, usually with corporate backing, to smaller, informal ones, organised by community groups. Holt and Wergin put forward a critical view of large-scale flashmobs (one that I turn to later in this chapter), arguing that this kind of festive entertainment "undermines the deeper artistic and social values of musical performance" (2013: 18). Flashmobs are also interesting in terms of their hybrid existence in both real and virtual space: they are usually organised in virtual space (on the Internet), enacted in real space (town squares), and then promoted again in a virtual space such as YouTube (McNeill 2012: 87).

In the case of folk flashmobs in Budapest, I have witnessed one in person and scrutinised several videos of them online.[117] The flashmob that I encountered during fieldwork took place in May 2014 as part of the Táncház Napja celebration (Dance House Day – discussed below) in Deák Ferenc Tér: a busy area where shopping streets, a park, and a square intersect above ground, and where three out of four metro lines intersect below ground. It is therefore a very centralised location and an understandably popular meeting place for people of all ages. It was in this context

that a group of musicians, dressed in 'normal' everyday clothes and of about university student age, took their instruments out and started to play folk music. My first impression was that they were buskers, which I am familiar with from years of travelling around London.[118] However, after about thirty seconds, two pairs of dancers, also dressed casually, began to dance and most people stopped to take a closer look, many of them taking photographs. Being personally aware that the whole point of flashmobs is that more and more people close to the action join in, I instinctively fell back to create some distance so that I could simultaneously see properly and ensure that I did not accidentally get swept up in the dancing. As I expected, more couples joined in the dancing, more musicians joined the band, and as the spectacle grew, more people stopped to watch. Unlike flashmobs set to a pop song (by Michael Jackson or Beyoncé, for example), which are intensely choreographed, this flashmob began with couples joining in and improvising from their learned set of dance steps, in the manner appropriate to the dance houses.

The second phase of the flashmob deviated from the traditional model of group dancing, and instead showcased a succession of individual men who performed their best dance moves, featuring lots of traditional high kicks and leg slaps. At one point an intoxicated homeless man joined in, hijacking the sequence of men, showing off some surprisingly virtuosic dance moves – combining traditional folk steps with some freestyle ones! He had a huge smile on his face and was cheered and applauded when he finished and let the next person take centre stage. The flashmob concluded with more group dancing in couples until a final chord, some applause, and the crowd's dispersal.

It was clear to me then, and continues to be after extensive Internet research, that it is members of the táncház scene, i.e. practitioners, who have organised these flashmobs. They have thus far not been initiated or funded by corporations or government ministries, as most of the festivals have. The purpose, according to the táncház practitioners, is one of outreach: they perform in popular urban spaces, namely large squares, to members of the public (both tourists and Hungarian citizens), in order to increase interest and encourage participation. As I have demonstrated elsewhere,

members of the táncház scene attribute great value to the authenticity of the tradition, so while they perform traditional music and dancing, their aim is to reach a wider community in central Budapest by using a modern, popular mode of engagement that more commonly uses pop songs. As I witnessed in 2014, it is also quite common to further break down social barriers by performing the flashmob in normal clothes instead of traditional costume – though not always, as Figure 36 below shows.

Figure 36: Flashmob taking place outside the Parliament Building, which shows the juxtaposition between táncház scene practitioners in costume and members of the public in 'normal' everyday clothes

As I alluded to above, Holt and Wergin suggest that larger flashmobs with corporate backing serve to undermine the artistic and social value of musical performance. While value systems are inherently biased and problematic, Holt and Wergin's suggestion is useful if we consider the notion of 'undermining artistic value' in terms of commodification. 'Commodification', 'commercialisation', and 'pollution' are all terms that were conveyed to me during fieldwork, and as such are highly pertinent to folk music discourse. If we understand the 'undermining of social value' in this sense, then it is relevant to my discussion of flashmobs.

We can observe, then, several instances when a recontextualisation of folk music clearly shifts the focus from community to commodity. One of the most bemusing examples I came across was on a tour guide website called 'Budapest Underguide'.

This company takes the tourism aspect one step further by using folk dance performance and folk flashmobs as opportunities for team building among tourist groups, presumably though not explicitly aiming to attract Western corporations for team building activities on their 'away days'. From €29 per person, guests can take part in an outdoor táncház-style event (for example at Heroes Square: see Figure 37 below) in groups from 50-200 people, for anything between 1-5 hours. Optional extras include 'traditional attire rental', 'live music to accompany dancers', and a folk show by professionals. The tourism company organises the dance teachers and the permission to occupy the space for the allotted time, and the whole performance is filmed,"resulting in a cool movie where all of your team dances will be submitted to you a day later, after some post-editing technical work. A souvenir for life!" (Budapest Underguide 2015). It is hard not to see the commercialisation, commodification, and "undermining of artistic value" of folk traditions in this context.

Figure 37: Team-building folk dance flashmob in Heroes Square, as offered by tour guide company Budapest Underguide

Festivalization

For Holt and Wergin, the term 'festivalization' has historically been understood in terms of the "growing communication potentials of cultural events", and now refers to both an increasing number of cultural events, and a variety of cultural and spatial transformations (2013: 7). These transformations include: (1) the increasing use of urban public spaces for cultural events; (2) the use of cultural events for promoting social and economic agendas; (3) the popularization of culture from arts scenes to reach broader non-specialist audiences and media; (4) the growing power of public presence in a media-intense culture at the cost of attention to substance and long-term values; (5) and the carnivalization of cultural performances in the form of spectacular show effects, choreography, and installations (2013: 7). Using their criteria, we can observe several instances of 'festivalization' in terms of folk music in Budapest.

A very simple observation can be made in terms of their first criterion – there has been a growing number and diversification of cultural events since the regime change in 1990.[119] Several festivals that continue to grow in popularity were established in the early 1990s: the Wine Festival in 1992, the Danube Carnival in 1996, and the Festival of Museums in 1996 are all pertinent examples. More recently, new festivals have emerged during the past five years: Táncház Napja (Dance House Day) began in 2012 on the 40th anniversary of the first táncház, and the Székely Gastro-Cultural Festival began in 2015. While several long-standing festivals (of 25 years or so) such as the Wine Festival, Beer Festival, Pálinka Festival, and Festival of Folk Arts take place in the Castle Grounds, some of the more recently established festivals appropriate more diverse and putatively less impressive urban spaces for their activities.

For example, the celebration of Táncház Napja (Dance House Day), which began in 2012 to mark the 40th anniversary of the first dance house in Budapest, started as a one-day event in one place, Liszt Ferenc Tér (Franz Liszt Square). As the name suggests, this square is of musical significance, thanks to the Liszt Academy that sits at one end of the square. However, for the táncház scene, the square is better known as the site of the first dance house, which took place in a book club (Könyvklub) on the

square. This square thus occupies a prominent position in the cultural memory of táncház scene members, and was therefore a logical choice of public space for the 40th anniversary. Since then, Táncház Napja (Dance House Day) has expanded to take over several urban spaces in Budapest, as well as across Hungary and even abroad.

I have already described the flashmob that took place in Deák Ferenc Tér as part of the 2014 Táncház Napja, but the festivities were also spread further afield. I visited Liszt Ferenc Tér (Franz Liszt Square), the main focus of activities, and observed a rolling cycle of performances on a small stage, book stalls, a children's play area, places to make and purchase handicrafts, and finally a memorial stand set up to honour Béla Halmos (a pioneer of the dance house movement) who had died the previous year. The square had a lively, buzzing atmosphere; my impression was that the vast majority of people there were members of the táncház scene rather than tourists – thus people who mostly knew each other and were there to celebrate their hobby, lifestyle aesthetic, and the tradition itself. For the 2016 Táncház Napja, which had evolved to include three consecutive days, flashmobs and performances were held in prominent locations in Budapest such as Szent István Bazilika Square, Blaha Lujza Square, and Bikás Park, but also in Prague, Toronto, New York, Seattle, London, as well as several towns in Hungary and Transylvania such as Pécs, Fogaras, Tatabánya, Dunaújváros, and many others. The use of public parks and squares is therefore crucial to the community-building approach of the táncház scene.

A further example of increased use of public space and additional new contexts for folk music is the Székely Fesztivál, which, since is its genesis in 2015, is a very recent addition to the annual festival calendar. This was therefore after my fieldwork proper, but analysis of Internet sources (videos, photographs, mission statements, user comments) has enabled me to make the following observations. The festival, which is sponsored by the Ministry for National Economy, celebrates food and culture from the Székely region of Transylvania (Romania). This includes a significant emphasis on folk music, as Transylvanian folk music is seen to be a very rich source of Hungarian heritage (for the political implications of this, see Chapter 2). The Székely region has a large Hungarian population of approximately 60%. Interestingly, the official aim of the

festival is to introduce gastro-cultural products from Székely to those in the "motherland" (literally: '*anyaország*') – we can therefore observe yet another clear instance of government-sponsored nation building to Hungarian communities beyond the borders (see Chapter 2). For the purposes of this chapter, however, the focus is the urban space in which this festival takes place: the Milennáris Park, on the Buda side. Milennáris Park is a former industrial site that has been renovated into a cultural complex with exhibition halls, a large park, and custom-built playgrounds. Millennáris Park offers numerous children's programmes throughout the year, and as such, it holds a strong appeal for families with young children. In terms of Holt and Wergin's third criterion of engaging non-specialist audiences, we can see how this type of urban space serves to draw in families from a variety of political and socio-economic backgrounds, and through the festival, engage them with Transylvanian heritage.

A good example of Holt and Wergin's "carnivalization of cultural performances" (their fifth criterion) can be found in the Danube Carnival. Despite its provenance in the mid-1990s, its location is an exception to the space usually taken over by older, well-established festivals: the Castle grounds. Instead, it occupies the most central square on the Pest side, Vörösmarty Tér, and the adjoining street, Váci ut, well known to be the prime souvenir-shopping street for tourists. The principal ambitions of the festival are "to provide the audience with [a] long-lasting artistic experience" and to "populariz[e] our cultural heritage Europe- and world-wide to foster intercultural dialogue" (Danube Carnival 2013). The popularisation for a non-specialist audience fits with Holt and Wergin's third criterion and also serves as a site for cultural exchange between performers of folk traditions and tourists. Even more pronounced is their fifth criterion of carnivalization, as evidenced by the Carnival Parade of folk musicians and dancers in full costume.[120] This is supported by folk fairs, exhibitions, concerts, and flashmobs, which all contribute to a carnivalesque atmosphere with choreographed routines and a hint of the spectacular.

Figure 38: Dancers outside a souvenir shop

Figure 39: Tourists standing to the side and taking photos

Political Implications

As Holt and Wergin observe, the use of culture as an instrument of power in urban environments has complicated the dynamics of arts scenes. Taking their second criterion of festivalization (the use of cultural events for social and economic agendas) one step further, they suggest that cultural events are "organized outside cultural scenes in strategic public locations to enhance their role as vehicles for economic and political agendas" (2013: 6).[121] In Hungary, certain aspects of the folk music scene are taken out of their "cultural scene" (in this case, the táncház scene as outlined above) and used for the current government's nationalist agenda. Most commonly, it is musicians from the traditional táncház scene, rather than from the folk fusion scene, who appear at cultural events and national celebrations,[122] all in prominent urban landmarks such as Heroes Square, Parliament Square, or the Castle District. As explained in Chapter 2, government organisations frequently choose folk music because it represents their focus on traditional, wholesome, and national values, and promotes continuity with a mythologised past.

Referring back to Holt and Wergin's fourth criterion for 'festivalization', what they term "the growing power of public presence in a media-intense culture at the cost of attention to substance" is felt most acutely at these large-scale national events, attended by thousands of Hungarians. Particular folk songs or extracts are selected for their political and/or national resonance, rather than to be appreciated as a folk

activity or performance in its own right. The presence of the Prime Minister Viktor Orbán ensures a large media presence at these events, and sets a frame for their interpretation.

This appropriation of traditional folk music at cultural events in the city for a political cause can alienate whole communities of people when they associate this type of music with government sponsorship. In the first instance, numerous families and citizens are dissuaded from attending cultural events because they feel like folk culture is "being forced onto people", which many object to, particularly when their children are concerned (Interview with László P., 2014). Parents' objections are mostly aimed at the political connotations, but also at the lack of authenticity, when a tradition is appropriated for reasons that are "all PR" (Interview with Inke, 2014). Secondly, folk musicians themselves find themselves misrepresented if they are not the ones performing in this politicised context. It is a commonly held assumption that folk musicians are right wing and support the government's national values (see Chapter 2).

In this section, I have framed the increased and proliferated use of public spaces for folk music transmission as instances of the revival's recontextualisation in the city. Using the concept 'festivalization', we have seen how folk music has been recontextualised as flashmobs, team building activities, festivals, and carnivals. Through these events, we can observe a shift towards the consumption of folk music, mostly by tourists, which signals a significant outward turn towards the international arena.

Concluding Remarks

Through the analyses and discussion that have formed this chapter, I have demonstrated that the framework of a rural-urban dichotomy is no longer the most relevant to the contemporary folk scene in Budapest. Instead, we find that elements of Bithell and Hill's post-revival theory, in addition to concepts from the related fields

of popular music studies and urban ethnomusicology, help us understand the transitions and transformations taking place in Budapest's folk music scene.

First, Bithell and Hill's suggestion that the original revival (the dance house movement) may be safe in the hands of a 'subculture' or affinity group can be applied to the táncház scene today. Through my discussion of communities, scenes and 'subcultures', I have provided different frameworks for viewing the distinct and overlapping groups of people who engage with different genres of folk music. It is possible to simultaneously understand (a) the táncház scene as a 'microculture' of Hungary's dominant cultural mainstream or 'superculture'; (b) the táncház community as a 'mini-scene' of the broader 'folk music scene'; and (c) the táncház scene as a 'subculture' of old-fashioned backwardness in a negative sense. I have attempted to elucidate how different groups of people, including those with an active interest ('insiders') or disinterest ('outsiders') in folk music, interact and coexist.

A second element of their post-revival theory addressed in this chapter is that a revival tradition may become 'hip' again and undergo a process of gentrification. Through case studies on the ruin pub, Szimpla Kert, and the music venue, A38, I argue that certain parts of the revival tradition have indeed become 'hip', 'trendy' or 'cool' again. This is of course not only due to the performance spaces; the musical style is of paramount importance. However, the role of new urban spaces enabling such transformation of musical style should not be understated. We should also remember that this relationship is reciprocal: as in the case of Szimpla Kert, folk music is also contributing to a new narrative of place and the transformation of a district into a 'cool', 'underground' neighbourhood.

A third aspect of post-revival is a new focus on international and globalised arenas for revivals. I have addressed this outward turn to international audiences through discussion of urban tourism and the festivalization of folk music. By investigating the role of folk music performance and participation in public spaces, particularly for an audience of tourists, I have been able to demonstrate ways in which folk music can be

understood as a commodity and something to be consumed. This globalised context for folk music exposes the need for new theories of revival.

However, a final note must be made regarding the recurring nationalist theme. In conjunction with Chapter 2, I have also shown in this chapter how certain cultural events provide platforms for political agendas, particularly when state funding and government ministries are involved. This tension, as I see it, between global flows – as seen here in the proliferation and festivalization of folk music styles – and nationalist ideology – as seen here through the dominant involvement of the government – is addressed in depth in the upcoming Conclusion chapter.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has examined a range of components of the contemporary folk music scene in Budapest in an attempt to understand its relationship to the first revival, the dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*). Interviews (formal and informal), recordings, participation, and Internet ethnography have provided insights into ways in which folk music is perceived, interpreted, and constructed today. As an initial line of enquiry, I explored the ongoing activities of the dance house movement – what I refer to as today's táncház scene – particularly in light of its fortieth anniversary in 2012. More importantly, I identified and investigated recent instances of transformation in folk music practice in Budapest through revival and post-revival lenses. I summarise the four main sites for transformation here.

Diversification and Proliferation of Musical Styles

The first area of transformation I have identified in this thesis is the diversification and proliferation of folk music styles and interpretations. Addressed predominantly in Chapter 3, I have shown examples of folk music groups moving away from more traditional and (perceived-to-be) restrictive parameters of folk music interpretation – something that Bithell and Hill call "freeing themselves from the apron strings of tradition" (2014: 29). In some cases, this is linked to the world music trend that took hold in the 1990s, but in others it signals a trend for new and fresh interpretations from among a new generation of musicians. These new approaches to folk music have given rise to new folk fusion genres (including folk-pop, folk-rock, folk-jazz, electric folk), the most popular and successful of which has arguably been Kerekes Band's unique genre of 'Ethno Funk'.

I have also revealed some of the tensions between these creative interpretations and the enduring purist arm of the revival. I have shown how criticism of these activities centres around claims of 'authenticity' and a need to protect folk traditions from external polluting influences. These contrasting motivations, and the many gradations

in between, can best be understood in terms of a spectrum – I maintain that 'continuum' connotes a misleading evolutionary trajectory, and that a 'seed' from which all diverse interpretations are equal is too radical for the Hungarian case. I have also suggested two additional frameworks in which these varied folk music styles can be understood. The first is discussed in Chapter 3 in terms of three parallel, overlapping mainstreams: an official, 'approved' mainstream, a commercial mainstream, and a 'fashionable', cultural mainstream. Alternatively, as discussed in Chapter 5, I have suggested that different factions of the folk music scene can be viewed as 'microcultures', making sure to take account of contemporary usage of the term 'subculture'.

Recontextualisation of Folk Music Performance in New Urban Spaces

The second area of transformation concerns the urban spaces that play host to folk music performance today and their roles in changing how folk music is consumed.

Firstly, I have shown how certain spaces and settings can help to transform folk music into a 'trendy' pastime. From case studies on ruin pubs and a converted ship, I have demonstrated new opportunities for more creative folk groups to engage with a wider, younger, trendier demographic of Hungarians. Inherently linked to the innovative end of the musical spectrum, the recontextualisation of some folk fusion groups in 'cool' urban spaces transforms this revival tradition into something 'hip' and 'gentrified' – another post-revival characteristic (Bithell and Hill 2014: 28).

Secondly, I have examined the role of urban spaces in the folk scene's outward turn to tourists and international consumers. By investigating several instances of folk music performance, participation, and festivalization in public spaces (such as flashmobs, team-building activities, festivals, carnivals), aimed at an audience of tourists, I have been able to demonstrate ways in which folk music can be understood as something to be consumed. This globalised context for folk music helps to expose the need for new theories of revival.

Professionalization of Folk Music Practice Through Robust Infrastructures

The third area of transformation marks the growth and expansion of powerful revival infrastructures and their role in the professionalization of folk music practice. Following Bithell and Hill's assertion that transformations in revivals are usually supported by new infrastructures that have emerged and expanded during and since the original revival, as well as their suggestion that these infrastructures support the careers of post-revival musicians, I have focussed specifically on Budapest's industry-based and institutional infrastructures.

Through analysis of key components of the folk music industry (including festivals, media, the Internet, record labels, world music charts), I have been able to demonstrate how an increased engagement with these elements is contributing to a progressively prolific and professional folk industry. I have also tackled the issue of sell-outism, accusations of which unsurprisingly stem from the purist end of the spectrum. Case studies on two leading folk music institutions have formed the bulk of my discussion of Budapest's institutional infrastructure. In my analysis, I have revealed the impact of certain institutionalised objectives on the future transmission of folk music, through the training of folk music's future teachers and musicians. I have shown how these objectives of instilling 'quality control' and 'authentic interpretations' have led to 'approved' hierarchies demarcated by an elite circle of gatekeepers.

Through a combination of these two infrastructures and their impact on the professionalization of the folk music scene, the preservation of folk traditions is regarded by many to be in increasingly capable hands, and thus folk traditions can be viewed as no longer being in need of rescue.

Folk Music Redefined as National Heritage

The fourth area of transformation is the zealous redefinition of folk music as national heritage. I have shown how the selection of folk traditions for national lists of Hungarian heritage is in keeping with the plethora of nation building initiatives taken by the current right-wing government. The decision to champion folk traditions (large

parts of which originate from former Hungarian territories) on lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage (including UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices) is symptomatic of the government's preoccupation with Hungarianness and its actions to harness national heritage as a weapon with which to fight the perceived threat of globalisation.

Revisiting Revival/Post-Revival Discourse

These four areas of transformation in particular have illustrated the extent to which the folk music scene has changed since the original revival in the 1970s (the dance house movement). Alongside these new contexts for folk music, there are examples of continuity and longevity regarding revival activities, ideology, and key figures. This creates a complex and contradictory tapestry within which to debate theories of revival and post-revival.

Before delving into a specific critique of post-revival, I must first consider whether other outcomes for revival are applicable to the Hungarian case. For example, one suggestion is that a revival will break down completely (Koskoff 2005: 69) – I have shown clearly that this is not the case with the dance house movement through the enduring presence and vibrancy of the táncház scene. Alternatively, tension between preservation and innovation may lead to a revival's 'breakdown' by the splintering of the revival community into conservative and progressive wings (Livingston 1999: 80). While I have offered some evidence of this tension among today's folk musicians, it is not the case that the revival community of the 1970s and '80s splintered off into a disintegrated state. Several folk groups did engage in the world music scene, but this was often in tandem with the folk scene, which did not create the same level of tension as there is today. Incidentally, Livingston's recently expanded theory for revivals (2014), which in the first instance advocates a continued use of her revival model as a preliminary framework from which to trace a movement's continued support or departing from the original usage, has been one of the analytical strategies I have used in my assessment of the Hungarian case.[123]

An alternative outcome of revivals is that another revival wave will later manifest itself, as part of culture's ebb and flow. In line with this cyclical view (as supported by Scully 2008; Jabbour 2014; Levine 2014), the Hungarian case could be viewed as a 'second revival'. Certainly there has been a renewed selection and employment of the past for purposes of the present; there has also been a renewed appropriation of heritage (from former territories) – two themes common to revivals. There is also a general consensus in Hungary that Hungarian folk music is becoming more popular again. In these ways, there is scope to suggest a 'second revival'. However, I argue that not only is the extent and nature of transformations more in keeping with post-revival theory, but more importantly that the situation we have today relates to the outgrowths of the dance house movement itself and *not* a new engagement with the original source (i.e. rural tradition bearers). In my view, a 'second revival' would denote a new and different way of engaging directly with folk tradition bearers living in the countryside; instead, we have a transformed, diversified, multifaceted folk music scene, with the dance house movement (*táncházmozgalom*) as its roots.

Moreover, the possibility of a 'second revival' is further thrown into doubt by the myriad ways in which the current situation cannot be described using revival criteria, or Livingston's 'ingredients'. Most crucially among them, the dance house movement has firmly established the táncház folk tradition so that it is no longer in need of rescue. Therefore, as Bithell and Hill suggest, "it no longer makes sense to frame it in terms of revival" (2014: 29). There are a handful of very recent suggestions for concepts that can occupy the theoretical middle ground between the two poles of a revival's breakdown and a never-ending revival cycle. One of these is of course post-revival, which I evaluate in detail below, but I must first highlight a similar, parallel term beforehand.

Keegan-Phipps and Winter's term 'resurgence' refers to "the most recent wave of interest" in the English folk music scene (2013: 10). They suggest 'resurgence' as opposed to a 'third revival' for two reasons: first, the need to distinguish present developments from those of preceding revival periods; and second, to distinguish

them from the established revival concept as outlined by Livingston (1999). These two reasons resonate strongly with my thinking. In their distinction from Livingston's model, they offer several elements that coincide with Bithell and Hill's post-revival turn. In reference to the English folk scene, these include: no clear discourse of a tradition in need of rescue; a new engagement with mainstream culture; a considerable diversification of stylistic approaches; and a lack of explicitly expressed political motivation (though they do contend that the current resurgence is "closely related" to a rise of interest in national identity) (2013: 10-11). They also mention a discontinuation of collecting traditional material – one of Livingston's 'basic ingredients' – something that is not explicitly outlined by Bithell and Hill.

In their 2014 chapter of the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, Keegan-Phipps and Winter offer a deeper angle on their term 'resurgence', which, given its political nature, provides a helpful comparison for my research. They suggest that the English resurgence is "inherently organic" rather than something "manufactured" by a political agenda (2014: 507). They clarify: "the 'other' to which the current resurgence is offering an alternative is the explicitly directed, heavily politicised revivalism of previous revivals" (ibid.). In this sense, the Hungarian case is the reverse of the English one described here. The first revival, the dance house movement, was countercultural and a form of social resistance against the Soviet regime, but it was not overtly political. The current situation, however, is now heavily politicised and serves an overtly nationalist agenda. I return to this theme again in my discussion of post-revival below.

A Post-Revival Turn?

I can now take the opportunity to focus on post-revival as outlined by Bithell and Hill (2014). There are several transformations in the Hungarian case that elegantly fit with post-revival criteria.

First, as I have already established, the folk tradition has been reinstated in the form of the táncház (dance house) and is regarded by many to be safe in the hands of several affinity groups. Second, the táncház tradition has settled into the cultural mainstream,

though it is not widely viewed as being 'fashionable'. Third, the original revival (the dance house movement) has served as a catalyst for spin-off genres and practices, and we have seen folk groups embracing their individuality and foreign idioms to create new and unique fusion styles. For many, this has meant drawing a line under the revival proper. Fourth, in some cases these new styles have transformed folk culture into something 'trendy' and 'hip'; in other cases it has become gentrified by the next generation of Budapest's middle class. Fifth, new institutional and industry-based infrastructures have developed, serving as platforms for the next generation of folk musicians and facilitating the rapid professionalization of folk musicians and teachers.

However, not all aspects of post-revivalism have emerged in my study. Most obviously, Bithell and Hill's suggestion that post-revival represents a shift from an inward- to outward-facing stance that looks to global frames of reference and sits within broader global trends and processes is difficult to resolve with the Hungarian case. Despite the clear examples I have given of folk music's engagement with certain global processes (tourism, international heritage, fusion styles), they only represent one part of picture. The other part is one of preservation, protection from the threat of globalisation, and a return to a proud and powerful sense of nationalism. This manifests itself in the state-led preservation of folk music through funding and public platforms for performance, as well as through the redefinition of folk traditions as national heritage. This national force is therefore at odds with the global flows embraced by post-revival (I have investigated this using Sweers's grasp of global meta-perspectives in Chapter 3). In this way, it cannot resonate with other 'post-' prefixes, (post-colonial, post-national, and so on), as Bithell and Hill suggest (2014: 29) – see further discussion of 'post-' prefixes below.

Bithell and Hill do account for these contradictions and ambiguities by suggesting a number of possible trajectories. First, they remind us that the transition to a post-revival state is gradual; second, that there is no clear boundary between revival and post-revival; and third, of most relevance to the Hungarian case, that some trends may be identified as having a post-revival quality while others remain in a revivalist gestalt (ibid.).

An important distinction must be made, however, between the two main factors that are holding back a transition into post-revival: namely, those who remain in a revivalist gestalt, and the contemporary actions of the government to appropriate folk heritage as part of a nationalist agenda. In terms of the former, I have shown through my discussion of the 'táncház scene', its 40th anniversary, and the second generation of táncház musicians, that there is a vibrant section of the overall folk scene (a 'microculture' or 'subculture') that maintains the ideology of the dance house movement. This táncház scene repudiates attempts to diversify, perceiving their responsibility as preserving the 'authenticity' of the folk tradition. The latter factor precludes a transition into post-revival because the government's nationalist agenda acts as a counterforce to post-revival's position in global processes, as I have explained above.

Is Post-Revival the Answer?

This leads us to a broader consideration of the term post-revival itself. Bithell and Hill posit that the ultimate drawback of the 'post' option is the continued tie to what has gone before, which denies the present its own identity, dynamic, and validity in the process (2014: 30). While Slobin advocates "moving on" from the term 'revival' after its "long years of service", he does not rush to apply the 'post-' prefix (2014: 670). Instead, he suggests looking to other disciplines for the next step, as a way of fostering interdisciplinary understandings of revival shifts.

While a reluctance to leap to a 'post-' prefix is prudent, I suggest that there is merit in the idea of a post-revival phase. It signals not only a shift or a change, but, more importantly, it takes account of the myriad ways in which the revival phase grows outwards, akin to a plant's offshoots. Diagnosing 'another' revival, or indeed a resurgence, does not account for these outgrowths in the same way. Post-revival, as Bithell and Hill suggest, simultaneously allows us to acknowledge the significance of the original revival, and identify new musical or social cultures as part of its legacy (2014: 29). While I cannot claim that the current scene *only* has new musical or social cultures, or that it is *only* in a 'post-' stage, I can suggest that post-revival is a useful

frame for understanding recent developments in the Hungarian folk music scene. I return to this conceptual question shortly.

Contributions Made by this Research

In the first instance, this research forms a timely contribution to the burgeoning corpus of work concerned with the stage after revivals. The very recent publication of the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* (2014) illustrates not only the topical nature of revival theory, but also the scale of interest in the subject (as evidenced by some thirty contributors). This thesis engages with several of the theoretical arguments put forward in the *Handbook*, as well as with specific theories from other fields, such as professionalism, scene, festivalization, and urban regeneration, to offer a complex, multifaceted case study on the Hungarian folk music scene. It therefore synthesises the very latest concepts from revival theory with interdisciplinary concepts (from popular music studies and urban ethnomusicology, for example) and applies them to a much-understudied country, and indeed region – see below for discussion of scholarship on Central Europe.

Secondly, this thesis contributes to scholarship on Hungary, particularly Western scholarship, which has so far been centred on Bartók and Liszt. This thesis therefore begins to redress that imbalance, not only by offering a renewed focus on the latter part of the twentieth century (in the form of the dance house movement and years afterwards), but more significantly, by shining a spotlight onto contemporary music making in Hungary. This thesis builds on a very small corpus: studies of the Hungarian dance house movement itself or the situation since have been limited almost exclusively to the work of Quigley and Hooker – see bibliography for specific references. While their work engages with several varied aspects of the revival movement, there is no such account or analysis of the contemporary situation and very recent past. This thesis goes some way to filling that gap.

Thirdly, this research contributes to the broader field of scholarship on Central Europe, which is a much-neglected region in the literature. Considerations of recent non-Western European culture predominantly focus on Eastern Europe and post-Soviet states, Balkan and post-Yugoslav states, and the Mediterranean. Central European states such as Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic (or Czechia as it is now known), Slovenia, and to some extent Poland (though it can often fall within the parameters defining Eastern Europe) have been overlooked in Ethnomusicology. Again, I hope that this thesis contributes, albeit in a small way, to addressing this shortcoming.

In a broader sense, this research holds a wider cultural relevance, beyond solely scholarly parameters. The critical evaluation of this cultural phenomenon against the backdrop of an extremely turbulent political time in Hungary (and across Europe and North America) means that this thesis contributes to a wider cultural and political discourse. As such, I suggest that it has been a crucial time to conduct this research, both in view of the tempestuous political climate, and at such a stimulating period of revival scholarship.

Limitations of this Research and Avenues for Future Scholarship

While it is clear that I believe in the merits of this research, there are certainly limitations to it, some of which I address here.

The first point to consider is my personal role in the fieldwork process. I made significant efforts to learn the Hungarian language, before and during my research, but the lack of fluency was almost always a limitation. Such was my command of the language that I was able to approach people to ask them questions, whether they were willing to be interviewed, and to supplement the interviews themselves with subject-specific translations. However, a fluent Hungarian speaker would have been able to probe more deeply or widely.

As a second, even more personal point, I feel compelled to articulate the nerve-wracking nature of approaching potential research participants at dance houses, music academies, pubs, and festivals, especially in a foreign language. This experience was akin to (what I can only imagine) the activities of journalists and reporters – something that, as a diligent student of Western classical music, I was not used to. It did not help that I was frequently mistaken for an undergraduate student! The point I am making here is that with increased self-confidence and fluency in the language, I might have reached even more people to talk to and formally interview.

Formal interviews were also difficult to procure during the first few months of my fieldwork in Budapest. This was due mainly to my status as a stranger with no pre-existing Hungarian networks or obvious institutional affiliation, which meant I was treated with a degree of suspicion, particularly at the beginning. Hungary is an incredibly bureaucratic country, and without a purportedly 'correct' piece of paper to prove my identity and motivation, I was habitually given the brush off. This attitude was similarly the case when I contacted people by email – a response was very rare. Eventually I took to seeking people out in person, sometimes approaching them between meetings or classes. This produced a markedly different response: seeing my attempts to explain my project in person and in Hungarian seemed to endear myself to them in a much more effective way. If I had the chance to repeat this project, I would both try to set up institutional contacts before I left, and I would seek people out in person at an earlier stage.

Finally, I am aware that writing about such recent, if not current, ethnographic research does not allow time for much reflection and retrospection. I hope, however, that the contemporary nature of the research outweighs this issue.

Further Research

My decision to focus this study on Budapest was a deliberate one, the reasons for which are outlined in the Introduction. To briefly summarise them here, these included expanding and contributing to the field of urban ethnomusicology, investigating the next stage of an urban revival movement, and the tense political

climate most visible in the city. However, there is patently scope to suggest that the study might have been enriched by a comparison of folk activities in other Hungarian cities; there are eight other medium-sized cities (of 100,000 people or more). One comparison could be made with the larger university towns (Szeged, Debrecen, Pécs) while another could be made with the smallest city of Kecskemét, which is home to the Kodály Institute (incorporated into the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in 2005). A comparative analysis of folk education and transmission at these different branches of the Liszt Academy might facilitate inter-institutional contrasts or correlations. Another potential angle on this research could be provided by an additional focus on folk music transmission in Transylvania itself, built more directly on Quigley's work (2014).

A new idea for a project, which is certainly related to this one but which opens up a fresh set of discourses, would be a study of 'Gypsy' music traditions in the city. From a starting point based on my observations (mentioned in this study) that the 'Gypsy' tradition of playing in restaurants (*vendéglői cigányzene*) is in decline, several research questions arise. Firstly, is this an accurate observation, and do Roma communities perceive this to be the case? If so, then what relationship does this purported decline have with the rise of folk musicians in restaurants? To what extent are 'Gypsy' music (and other) traditions being protected (or overlooked) as Hungarian heritage? Does the purported decline of 'Gypsy' music transmission reflect the harsh treatment towards Roma communities by the current government (and extreme right party, Jobbik)? Hooker's very recent article, 'From Café to stage to museum: The transformation of the Gypsy music industry in 20th-century Hungary' (2015), which details the twentieth-century transformations of 'Gypsy' music traditions, would be a stimulating springboard from which to launch a twenty-first century study of urban Roma communities and their traditions in Budapest.

A Final Comment

Finally, returning once again to broader conceptual questions, even while I have made a case for 'post-revival' as a frame, it seems important to use it with care. While

Bithell and Hill have allowed for fluidity between the boundaries of revival and post-revival, the idea of a post-revival phase carries an evolutionary implication, as if all revivals will eventually transition into a post-revival state (if they have not broken down). It suggests that post-revival is a separate, subsequent stage after a revival, which might imply that the revival is over, that revival phases are obsolete, now traditions are preserved and a new generation has taken over. Patently, such a move would risk a neglect of the ethical or political impulses that gave rise to the revival in the past, and indeed the political context of the tradition in the present. The act of periodizing is even more problematic when we consider other uses of 'post-' terms, such as 'post-colonial', in which a scholarly approach merged with a temporal frame, coming to imply that colonial practices were over. Post-revival offers a historically grounded perspective through which to pose questions about a group of phenomena. As in any other case, the significance of the perspective will need consideration, as the Oxford Dictionaries' selection of 'post-truth' as its International Word of the Year 2016, reveals. This denotes "circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief", a potentially normative diagnosis of an era (Oxford Dictionaries 2016).

[1] Herder's concept of 'Volk' and the nineteenth-century idea of folk songs being the 'soul of the nation' are discussed in the 'Folk' section of this chapter. See Taylor (2008a: 23) for discussion of folk practices and 'Hungarian soul'.
[2] For Cold War literature, see Beckles Willson 2007; for work on the dance house movement, see Frigyesi 1996; Halmos 2000; Hooker 2005, 2006; Quigley 2014.
[3] See Cooley and Barz, *Shadows in the Field* (2008); Koskoff's 'Is Fieldwork still necessary?' (2010: 101-112); Nettl's 'You call that fieldwork? Redefining the field' (2015: 199-210).
[4] I continued learning Hungarian in London, having weekly or fortnightly lessons at UCL SSEES from September 2012-June 2013, and weekly throughout fieldwork in Budapest with a private tutor from September 2013-July 2014.
[5] See Appendix C for a list of interviewees with accompanying descriptions of each person.
[6] See Chapter 2, p. 86 for a revealing anecdote about English and Hungarian perspectives on our respective native traditions.
[7] Such as 'The Relationship between Folk Music and Art Music' and 'Folk music from Hungary and the neighbouring countries'.
[8] See Adler's BBC article 'Is Europe lurching to the far right?' for a recent summary. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-36150807 (accessed 13/09/16); see also Foster's article for the *Telegraph* newspaper, 'The Rise of the Far-Right in Europe is not a False Alarm', http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/19/the-rise-of-the-far-right-in-europe-is-not-a-false-alarm/ (accessed 13/09/16).
[9] The Dublin Regulation is an EU law that stipulates that the first EU member state entered by an asylum seeker is responsible for them unless other arrangements are made. As the furthest East member state of the Schengen Agreement (which allows for free movement between countries), Hungary refused to accept the vast numbers of asylum seekers at its borders.
[10] Bohlman does allude to this in his Epilogue, recognizing the fragmentary direction in which Europe was, and is heading – "the slide into dystopia" (2011: 249-250).
[11] Rice's chapter 'The Music of Europe: Unity and Diversity' in the Garland Encyclopaedia Vol. 8 (2000) and Bohlman's chapter 'The Musical Culture of Europe' in *Excursions in World Music* (2001) provide useful introductory material to the European context.
[12] See Kaminsky (2012: 5), who cites Swedish sources by Romström, Lundberg and Ternhag, Eriksson, as well as Bohlman.
[13] Thoms is credited with coining the term 'folklore' in 1846 as an English counterpart to the German *volk*.
[14] In the USA, Child similarly drew from Herder's notions of folk purity to determine which songs were 'real' folk songs (see Mitchell 2007).
[15] This extract has been reproduced in a number of volumes, including Ramnarine (2003: 4); Gruning (2006: 10); Gelbart (2007: 2); Keegan-Phipps and Winter (2013: 6).
[16] Gelbart asserts that Bohlman "deliberately and explicitly avoids defining 'folk music' and leaves it up to his readers' historical sense of the term to determine what he means by the word in different contexts" (p. 5, n10). See above for my inclusion of Bohlman's statement that "folk music belies the stasis of definition".
[17] For discussion of folk clubs and performance contexts in Budapest, see Chapter 5.
[18] Stekert identified: firstly, the 'traditional singers', those who could be said to belong clearly to, and musically represent, a particular regional and ethnic tradition; secondly, the 'imitators' who desired to dedicate their lives to replicating the sounds, the lifestyle, and the appearance of the traditional singers; thirdly, the 'utilizers' who were the popularisers, those who had adapted 'folk' styles to make them palatable to an urban audience; and finally, the 'new aesthetic' performers, those who built on the foundations of traditional folk music to create their own, unique, eclectic style, partly 'art music' and partly 'folk music' (Mitchell 2007: 11). (See Rosenberg (1993: 84-107) for Stekert's chapter.)
[19] The reference to "saving folk music" is a key criterion of a revival movement, which is discussed in detail in the 'revival' section below.
[20] Harker in *Fakesong* shows how most of the material presented under the label "folk song" since the eighteenth century has been manipulated and bowdlerized by bourgeois intellectuals to conform to their ideas of "the folk", and to serve their own ends. (Gelbart 2007: 5)

[21] See Gelbart's (2007) Chapter 5 in which he considers the role of "tradition" in conceiving folk music since its inception.
[22] Rosenberg suggests that a widely-used alternative to 'folk' is 'roots'. "Today the word 'folk' is used sparingly in revival circles, while 'roots' is frequently encountered in its place. 'World music' is fashionable." (1993: 21). See Aubert (2007: 16-17) for a discussion of the terms 'musical tradition' versus 'traditional music'.
[23] Rosenberg mentions a similar shift in 1964 when one of the largest ethnomusicological archives, the Indiana University Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, changed its name to the Archives of Traditional Music (1993: 24 n39)
[24] Conversely, Cohen suggests that the opposite has been evident in the American context. He suggests that the adjective 'traditional' has been used by writers to describe "relatively simple music generally passed from generation to generation or person to person by word of mouth and performed non-professionally in small groups or communities", whereas 'folk' (or 'folk-derived' or 'folk-like') is a broader term which includes the "more recent commercial styles that deliberately emulate the characteristics of that music [described as 'traditional']" (2005: xl).
[25] I examine the role of different conceptions of 'authenticity' in my discussion of communities and subcultures in Chapter 5.
[26] e.g. Rosenberg (1993) and Slobin (1983, 1984, 1993), who "were among the first to theorize the phenomenon of folk music revivals", as well as Titon (1993), Narváez (1993), Haskell (1988), Boyes (1993), Ronström (1998), Bohlman (1988), Baumann (1996)– see Livingston (1999: 68).
[27] See in particular Chapter 3 for investigation of the 'preservation-creativity' spectrum of folk groups in Hungary, and Chapter 4 for an examination of the professionalization of folk musicians.
[28] In this summary, I omit references to authors whose work does not directly impact themes dealt with in my thesis. This is particularly the case in Section V (chapters 15, 16 and 17), which considers revivals in the context of recovery from war, disaster, and cultural devastation.
[29] See Chapter 3 for a detailed history of the Hungarian folk revival (particularly the 'dance house movement').
[30] Wallace's (1956) seminal theory of revitalization movements meant that he considered revival movements as "the means for a cultural system responding to stress to bring about necessary changes (which may be inspired by the past and/or borrowed from other cultures or invented anew) in order to reach a 'new steady state'".
[31] The first revival (1880s-1920s) and second revival (1950-1970) are widely accepted.
[32] Livingston had previously focused her study on revivals on North America and Western Europe.
[33] See Schneider (2006: 8), Hooker (2013: 18), Frigyesi (1998: 59-60).
[34] My discussion of nineteenth- and twentieth-century narratives draws from the leading scholars on this topic (Hooker 2013; Schneider 2006; Brown 2007; Frigyesi 1998; Beckles Willson 2007).
[35] Critics of this initiative claimed that it was an attempt to gain more votes in the 2014 election, i.e. those Hungarians who received fast-track citizenship while living beyond the borders were more likely to vote for Fidesz in the next election.
[36] There was widespread fear among educated Hungarians during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the Hungarian language would die out. This fear was augmented by Herder's prediction that the Hungarian language would disappear into the "sea of Slavs, Germans, Vlachs, and others" that surrounded it. See Hooker's (2013a: 21) discussion of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784: 688).
[37] A failed revolution in 1848 and the Compromise of 1867, which created the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, are the most important examples.
[38] "*A szép mesterségeknek leghathatósabbika, 's a' nemzeti Tulajdonságoknak kijelentésére legalkalmatosabb Mesterség, a' Muzsika. Ez, midőn az elme megfoghatóságával játszik, a' szív érdeklését olly erővel gyakorolja, hogy ellene állhatatlanul elragadtatik. Ugyan azért valamint a' Nemzeti érzéseknek gerjesztésére nintsen hathatósabb eszköz; úgy azoknak megerősítésére sintsen kedvesebb és foganatosabb… A' nemzet a' Muzsikájában él*", translated by Lajosi (2008: 116).
[39] The case of poetry is bound up with the wider issue of the Hungarian language: see Frigyesi's discussion (1998: 55-56).
[40] Hooker (2013a: 43) makes a similar point, although she claims that the indiscriminate use of the two terms occurred only among non-Hungarians, "to the increasing consternation of many in the Hungarian music world".

[41] In 1893, there were around 17,000 registered Gypsy musicians in Hungary: see 'Gypsies/Roma in Hungary' (Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2004).
[42] Gypsy ensembles did not only play these two genres (*verbunkos* and *magyar nóta*): "elite bands like Bihari's played all manner of European ballroom dances in addition to the Hungarian repertoire for which they were most renowned" (Schneider 2006: 26).
[43] Hooker demonstrates the scope of this debate in her extensive table of publications that raise the 'problem' or 'question' of Hungarianness in music 1844-1914 (2013a: 100-108).
[44] Schneider also suggests that Bartók's belief in the "oppressed peasantry as the true guardian of national ethos was radical, even revolutionary" (2006: 4).
[45] In his later writings (for example *Gypsy Music or Hungarian Music?* (1931)), Bartók moved away from a racially pure-impure dichotomy towards a rural-urban one manifested in "natural beauty versus commercial vulgarity" (Brown 2007: 130). He focussed his critique of Gypsies in terms of their economic, commercial success, rather than issues of race. During the 1930s and '40s, his writings softened significantly, embracing a more pluralistic view of Gypsy music, peasant music, art music and so on, accepting crossover, mixed influences and, as Brown discusses extensively, hybridity. By the early 1940s, when race issues concerning Gypsies and Jews were at their disastrous peak, he even conceded that "racial impurity… is definitely beneficial" (BBE ed. Suchoff 1976: 31).
[46] See 'Folk' section in Chapter 1 for discussion of 'folk music and 'purity'.
[47] As Beckles Willson points out, the exact figures for Hungarian population loss are contested, and vary according to whether territorial space, ethnicity or language is used as a basis for categorization (2007: 14).
[48] See Schneider (p. 266 n2) for Hungarian original.
[49] As Hungary's irredentist politics intensified, an alliance with the Axis powers of Italy and Germany logically followed. As a result of this alliance, Hungary was reunited with lost territories of Czechoslovakia and Romania under the first and second Vienna awards. See Waterbury (2010: 36-37).
[50] It is important to note that here I am talking about Bartók's attitude to national *music* and not to the nation as a whole. Bartók's opinions of the Hungarian nation changed dramatically over the course of his life. See Brown (2000: 123-132) in particular for a review of Bartók's evolving view of Gypsies and race – broadly speaking, his position changed from one viewing Gypsies as a degenerate racial Other (in 1911), to a defence of Gypsies and racial impurity and pluralism (in the early 1940s).
[51] Hungarians in Transylvania (Romania) were perceived as being under attack, in part due to the enforcement of the Romanian language. See Beckles Willson (2007: 22).
[52] See Beckles Willson (2007: 18) for discussion of Dohnányi's position and influence in Budapest at this time.
[53] I discuss this movement in more detail in Chapter 3.
[54] For a detailed history of István Györffy, see (Györffy 2000) *Hungarian Heritage* 1(1-2) pp. 19-28.
[55] This model only became known as 'the Kodály Method' once it spread internationally in the 1960s and 1970s: see Hooker (2013b: 135-136).
[56] See Szemere (1991) *'I get frightened of my voice': On Avant-garde rock in Hungary* for discussion of rock and new wave in Hungary during the 1970s and '80s, particularly their role in social criticism, social tensions, and subcultures. See also the chapter about Lakodalmos rock by Lange in Slobin (1996: 76-91)
[57] This theme recently formed the basis of Pál Richter's paper at a conference entitled 'Nationalism in the Totalitarian State: 1945-1989' given in Budapest in January 2015. In his paper, Richter presented extracts of reports made by Hungarian secret agents who had 'infiltrated' dance houses (*táncházak*).
[58] Both Frigyesi and Halmos insist on the non-nationalist ethos of the dance house movement. The former states that the new category of music created by the dance house movement cannot be regarded as a form of national music (1996: 55), while the latter highlights the movement's treatment of folk cultures from Hungary's non-Magyar ethnic groups and other nations, as "treasures of coequal value" (2000: 29).
[59] See Berend and Clark (2014: 19) for a recent article on the Hungarian government's "attempts to rewrite the country's past".
[60] Biddle and Knights (2007) have used the concept of 'cultural mediation' to construct the national as the connection between the local and the global, i.e. how nation-states might operate as 'mediators' between local and global musical practices. Hungarian folk music, which originally belonged to a local paradigm, has been transformed and manipulated by the state, while acting as a cultural mediator, for a global audience. Hungary is not alone in this case: parallels can be drawn with other nations such as

Greece, Finland, Sweden, and Mexico (see Kallimopoulou 2009; Ramnarine 2003; Hellier-Tinoco 2011; Hill 2014).

[61] Parallels can be drawn with Greece: see *Paradosiaká*: *Music, Meaning and Identity in Modern Greece* (Kallimopoulou 2009)

[62] "*Mit adott a világnak a magyarság, mit jelent magyarnak lenni a 21. században*", my translation. See Mi Magyarok (n.d.).

[63] Using folk music as a political tool or for nation-building purposes has been widely tackled in literature in ethnomusicology and folklore. See Bohlman 1988; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Karp 2008; Buchanan 1995; Gelbart 2007; Kaminsky 2012.

[64] A brief summary of the main Hungarian political parties is as follows: Fidesz-KDNP has formed the ruling coalition since 2010 (re-elected in 2014). Fidesz is a right-wing party led by Viktor Orbán (Prime Minster) and the KDNP is the much smaller Christian Democratic People's Party. At the extreme right, there is Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary), led by Gábor Vona. Jobbik is a radical nationalist party, and currently the third largest party in the National Assembly. MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party) is the largest and oldest centre-left party. After the heavy defeat of 2010, segments of the party formed several splinter groups. For the 2014 election, these splinter groups reunited with MSZP under the name Unity (*Összefogás*) in a failed attempt to oust Fidesz-KDNP. Finally, a small but persistent Green Party (LMP) currently has 5 seats in the National Assembly. To put this into context: as of the 2014 elections, Fidesz-KDNP has 133 seats; MSZP has 29; Jobbik has 23; Independent parties have 9; LMP has 5.

[65] My translation. Original: "*A Magyar Köztársaság felelősséget érez a határon kívül élő magyarság sorsáért, és előmozdítja a Magyarországgal való kapcsolatok ápolását*", (A magyar televíziózás műfajai n.d.).

[66] Like the Gypsies, Jews have also historically been perceived both positively and negatively as 'Others' and "'Orientals' at home" (McClary 1992: 34). In Liszt's positive account of Gypsy music from 1859, he offers a negative critique of the other racial 'Other', Jews, seemingly echoing some of Wagner's objections (see *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, 1850). Conversely, Jews often joined Gypsy musicians, thus combining the two internal 'Others' and creating the strange situation of Hungarian music being performed by non-Hungarians (see Frigyesi 1998: 308). Brown's exploration of Bartók's evolving rhetoric reveals how the rise of fascism in the 1930s and 1940s led Bartók to become more critical of 'Othering' towards Jews (and Gypsies). This is supported in Schneider (2006: 218-227).

[67] See for example: *The Independent* (2011) 'Hungary in Crisis: Tensions with its Gypsy Population Threaten to Rip the Eastern European Country'; BBC (2013) 'Hungary's Rawest Nerve: Learning to Love the Roma'; *Hungarian Spectrum* (2016) 'Orbán's Veritas Institute Looks at Anti-Semitism in the Horthy Era'; Foster, P. (2016) 'The Rise of the Far-Right in Europe is not a False Alarm'.

[68] In January 2014, rural development minister and President of Hungarikum Committee Sándor Fazekas noted that the government had allocated 144 million forints (EUR 466,000) for projects aimed at preserving and promoting Hungary's cultural values, Hungarikums (*Daily News* 2014b).

[69] Much has been written about Gypsy culture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hungary, and about the demise of the gypsy musician in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries. A future study could consider the notion that folk musicians are taking over the role in restaurants that Gypsy musicians used to occupy, or even the possibility of a hybrid performance practice of 'Gypsy folk'. See Conclusion chapter for my suggestions for future scholarship.

[70] See *Magyars and political discourses in the new millennium: changing meanings in Hungary at the start of the twenty-first century* (Kovács 2015) for general discussion of life after the regime change and into the twenty-first century. See also Szemere (2001) for discussion of rock music culture in post-socialist Hungary.

[71] See Chapter 5 for more detail about the urbanization of folk traditions.

[72] See Chapter 2 for more detailed discussion of Transylvania and its relationship to Hungary.

[73] Frigyesi claimed in 1996 that "[folk] musicians were suspect in the eyes of the establishment". See n70 for recent work on Hungarian secret agents who 'infiltrated' dance houses events (*táncházak*) with the purpose of ascertaining whether they were hotbeds of anti-Communist sentiment.

[74] Sweers observes a parallel case in Latvia with the revival of Latvian traditional music. See Sweers (2014: 466-483).

[75] She describes the village movement as an "attempt to more objectively describe the social life of the village in literature and sociological studies" (1996: 73).

[76] The Hungarian version of the book was published in 2013 and the English translation in 2015. I reference both in this thesis.
[77] My translation. It is interesting that even in the Hungarian title, the editors have chosen the international word 'folk' rather than the Hungarian word 'nép'.
[78] These two narratives foreshadow the main themes of Chapter 4, which traces the professionalization of folk musicians through the frameworks of institutions and the music industry.
[79] See Chapter 4 for a detailed analysis of the institutionalization of folk music in Hungary.
[80] I attended the Dance House Festival on 28-29th March 2015, and the official figures show attendance as being between 6-8,000.
[81] Quigley cites the Muharay Confederation for village-based tradition-preserving groups, the Martin Foundation for amateur adult folk dance ensembles, the confederation of children's folk dance groups, and the Dance House Guild as the most important examples (2013: 195).
[82] A detailed examination of the functions and activities of Hagyományok Háza can be found in Chapter 4.
[83] See Chapter 4 for an in-depth case study on the LFZE.
[84] See the *Szól A Kakas Már: Magyar Zsidó Népzene* ('Hungarian Jewish Folk Music') album, 1992.
[85] Wallace's (1956) seminal theory of revitalization movements meant that he considered revival movements as "the means for a cultural system responding to stress to bring about necessary changes (which may be inspired by the past and/or borrowed from other cultures or invented anew) in order to reach a 'new steady state'" (Bithell and Hill 2014: 6-7).
[86] In Chapter 5 I look at notions of 'mainstream' and 'periphery' in the context of 'scenes' and 'microscenes'.
[87] See Sweers (2014: 479-480) for her conception of the commercial mainstream.
[88] See Chapter 4, p. 179 for detail on the institutionalised backing of Góbé Zenekar.
[89] See Chapter 4, pp. 141-3 for multiple understandings of the concept 'professional' in Hungary today.
[90] Case studies on ruin pubs feature in Chapter 5, within the broader context of the urbanization of folk music in Budapest.
[91] The Hungarikumok initiative came directly from the government with the explicit objectives of safeguarding national values and raising national awareness, both in Hungary and internationally, as a tool for cultural tourism. According to the official tourist website, '*Hungarikumok*' are "those noteworthy assets from Hungary, which characterise the Hungarians by their uniqueness, specialty and quality, and represent the peak performance of Hungary" (Hungarian Tourism Agency n.d.).
[92] It was divulged to me in confidence that several leading figures from the NGO were unhappy at colleagues who made the transition to the government-funded Directorate, viewing it as a kind of betrayal.
[93] It is interesting that there is a preference among children and teenagers for camps in Transylvania (Romania) rather than Hungary, because it is more exotic and exciting (Interview with Ildikó, 2014).
[94] See the *Szól A Kakas Már: Magyar Zsidó Népzene* ('Hungarian Jewish Folk Music') album, 1992.
[95] See *Retuning Culture* ed. Mark Slobin (1996) for examples of musical changes in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1990s.
[96] For in depth and very recent scholarship on world music, see the *Cambridge Companion to World Music* (2013) edited by Bohlman.
[97] This is well documented, as apparent from Hagyományok Háza's website, which comments: "the interest in the folklore of the Carpathian Basin considerably increased all over the world, especially after 1990" (Hungarian Heritage House n.d.).
[98] See Weissman's chapter on 'The Folk Music Business' (2005) and Gruning's chapter on 'The Business: Microindustry and Folk Hierarchy' (2006).
[99] Pálinka is a traditional fruit brandy in Hungary.
[100] I consider this type of festival in more detail in Chapter 5, in terms of Bennett, Woodward and Taylor's concept, the 'festivalization of culture' (2014).
[101] Youtube video of the whole live Final can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1x5b1rF6pdM.
[102] See UK Crowdfunding (n.d.) for more information.
[103] Awarded by the Hungarian Association of Record Producers.
[104] The predecessor of the Institute for Musicology was established in 1951 and known as the Folk Music Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[105] There were 75 students (including both BA and MA) studying in the 2012-13 academic year. In 2012, more than 30 students had earned their BA degrees, and 23 had earned their MA degrees. (Richter).
[106] This dilemma concerning standardized performance styles speaks to the 'frozen heritage' versus 'living tradition' debate that is discussed in Chapter 3, especially pp. 135-138.
[107] See Chapter 2 for in-depth analysis of nationalism and folk music in Hungary.
[108] In his study of voting behaviour in the 1990s, Meusberger declared a strong rural/urban dichotomy but also suggested a possible trichotomy between Budapest/country towns/villages (2001: 258).
[109] See Cartledge's *The Will to Survive: A History of Hungary* (2011: 281-284) for detailed description of urbanization, industrialization, and modernization that took place in the nineteenth century, including the founding of key institutions and infrastructure.
[110] See literature review of the 'folk' concept in the Introduction chapter for an in-depth discussion of a 'pure folk' in line with Herder, among others.
[111] This idea was recently supported in an interview with Ferenc Sebő when he commented, "This is a fully urbanised movement which carries the hopes of the well-to-do city classes" (Rácz 2015: 103). In original Hungarian: "*Ez egy ízig-vérig urbánus mozgalom, a reménybeli polgárosodás halvány kísérő jelensége*".
[112] Broughton declares that "it had the energy of an underground counterculture" (2008: 47).
[113] For detailed discussion of subcultures and countercultures in popular music studies and sociology, see Whiteley and Sklower, *Countercultures and Popular music* (2014), particularly Bennett's chapter 'Reappraising Counterculture'. The term 'subculture' has been more highly theorized than 'counterculture', though it is often criticized for its fixation with class and social structure. 'Counterculture' is used to denote a point of departure from dominant or mainstream values, that through varied media forms, gives a collective voice to a 'significant' minority (Bennett: 17). See also (Bennett and Peterson 2004: 3); (Bennett, Shank and Toynbee 2006: 106-113). Michelsen investigates subcultures in relation to taste cultures in the *Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music* (2015: 211-219).
[114] References found in an article on the best ruin pubs in Budapest (see We Love Budapest 2014).
[115] For historical background on this Jewish district, see Szívós (2015) 'Turbulent history, troublesome heritage: Political change, social transformation, and the possibilities of revival in the "Old Jewish Quarter" of Budapest", *Hungarian Studies,* 29(1-2), pp. 73-91.
[116] My translation. Original: "*Egyaránt otthonosan mozognak a belvárosi klubokban, táncházakban és a fesztiválokon. Produkciójuk népzenének nem elég autentikus, könnyűzenének túl folkos, s a komolyzenei hatások miatt pedig végképp besorolhatatlan. Céljuk, hogy divatba hozzák a népzenét, új és mindenki számára élvezhető formában*." See Kobuci Kert (2016).
[117] The word 'flashmob' in Hungarian is 'villámcsődület', though the English term 'flashmob' is most commonly used.
[118] For a brief description of street musicians in Central Europe, see Bohlman (2011: 151-152).
[119] Paradoxically, the Dance House Meeting (Táncháztalálkozó) and the Festival of Folk Arts (Műsorfüzet) were established before the regime change, in 1982 and 1987 respectively.
[120] Though Bakhtin's (1984) conceptualization of the carnival was in terms of medieval culture, his suggestion that one of the attractions of the carnival as a public gathering was as a space for the articulation of alternative forms of identity holds true today. Similarly, the carnival as a space of celebration and escape from the mundane can also be observed.
[121] Bennett and Woodward make a similar point about music festivals and gatherings lending themselves to the exploration of political sensibilities (2014: 13).
[122] There are several national celebration days. The most important are 15th March, to commemorate the 1848 Revolution; 20th August, St. Stephen's Day and commemoration of the Foundation of the Hungarian nation; 23rd October, commemorating the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.
[123] Later in her chapter, Livingston advocates embracing Turino's *Music as Social Life* (2008) to examine the nature and role of participatory aspects of revivals. Livingston argues for a renewed understanding of revivals as agents of cultural change and a powerful means for social reintegration. The socially progressive, cosmopolitan angle she suggests does not sit well with the Hungarian case – hence, I do not use Livingston's expanded theory (2014) in much detail in this thesis.

Appendices

Appendix A: Questions for Students at LFZE

1) What brought you to the Liszt Academy to study folk music?
2) Why did you choose to study at the folk department rather than at the classical department?
3) Do you know if students at the classical faculty get to study folk music as well?
4) Did you consider studying jazz music or classical music?
5) What expectations did you have? Have they been met?
6) (If not first year) – have you enjoyed your previous years at the university? Do you feel as if you have learnt a lot about folk music?
7) Can you define folk music as best you can? What does '*magyar népzene*' mean to you?
8) Can you summarise the most important things you know about Hungarian folk music?
9) What are the different modules that you study? Which do you like the most/least? Why? Which parts of the course are the most interesting to you? Why?
10) Are you interested in folk music from other countries? Do you study this on your course?
11) Do you sing or play folk music as well as study it in class? Do you enjoy using folk music in a more practical way/in other contexts?
12) Do you attend folk music concerts?
13) Can you describe the current folk music scene?
14) In your opinion, is there a discernible difference between traditional folk music and modernised contemporary folk music? If so, what?
15) Do you know of folk music concerts that feature collaborations with other styles of music? If so, have you been to any and what did you think of them?
16) Is it important to you that students continue to study folk music? How do you view it in terms of Hungarian culture (and politics)?
17) In Bartók and Kodály's time, folk music had a particular political significance – how do you see that now?
18) Can you tell me about the folk music scene where you're from?
19) Did you learn folk music before you came to the Liszt Academy? For example, at school, or at a specialised music school?

Appendix B: Revised Interview Questions

General Introduction Questions

- (*for musicians*) How would you define/describe yourself as a musician? For example, as a classical musician? A folk musician? A world musician?
- (*for non-musicians*) Can you tell me about your work/occupation?
- (*for all*) Which types of music do you listen to regularly, for example on the radio or in the car?

Motives and Beginnings

- (*for musicians*) Was your ambition always to become a [ ] e.g. classical violinist?
- (*for musicians*) Were there other types of playing that interested you?
- (*for musicians*) When did you start playing folk music? Why did you start to learn folk music?

Education

- (*for all*) Can you tell me about the education you've received? (e.g. general vs specialist music school, university vs Zeneakadémia etc)
- (*for musicians*) Can you tell me about your experience at the Zeneakadémia (LFZE)?
- (*for musicians*) What types of traditional music did you learn? (Did you ever learn about folk music? How?)
- (*for musicians*) Do you have any involvement with the Zeneakadémia (LFZE) now?

Personal Opinions on Folk Music

- (*for all*) How do you understand the term '*magyar népzene*'? What does it mean to you? What kind of role does it play in your life? (How would you define the term 'folk music'?)
- (*for all*) What are your opinions of folk music?
- (*for musicians*) Can you describe the general impression of folk music held by your fellow classical musicians?
- (*for all*) How popular do you believe folk music to be – to society in general?

Status of Folk Music Today

- (*for all*) Can you describe the current folk scene? Is it an exciting time for folk music?
- (*for all*) Do you believe that Hungarian folk music is experiencing a(nother) revival?
- (*for all*) What do you think is the future for Hungarian folk music?

Diversification, 'Others' in Folk Music

- (*for all*) What do you think about Hungarian folk music being used in contemporary music, e.g. pop or jazz?
- (*for all*) Does the classical world of violin performance ever overlap with the folk world? Are there collaborations? Who initiates these collaborations? How do you think they are received? Are they popular? Who is interested in them/who's the intended audience?

Authenticity

- (*for all*) What do you think about the idea of authenticity?
- (*for all*) How can/do performances of folk music (try to) be authentic?

Nation and National Identity

- (*for all*) When you hear Hungarian folk music, does it give you a sense or feeling of being Hungarian?
- (*for all*) Do you believe that folk music is ever used politically? (for a political purpose)

Appendix C – Interviewee Biographies

Interviewee and date	Brief Description
Ágnes (2014)	Ágnes is a medical doctor. During fieldwork, she was completing a course in folk dance at Hagyományok Háza just for fun. She believes that folk dance can help improve your mental health and wellbeing much more than any medication.
András (2014)	András is a student of electrical engineering at university who practices folk dancing as a hobby. As a descendent of Swabians (German minority in West Hungary), he has learned both Swabian and Hungarian folk dances.
Áron (2014)	Áron is a professional folk musician, but is also a professional musician of other genres such as rock and jazz. He frequently performs folk music with his father, who is a member of a world-famous folk band.
Beatrix (2014)	Beatrix is a customer support specialist at a multinational firm, having previously worked at an embassy in Budapest. She learned folk songs at primary school and joined a zither folk group as a teenager. She also frequently volunteers at cultural events. Her daughter is learning folk music at primary school.
Csilla (2014)	Csilla is the executive director of an international NGO. She learned folk songs at school but preferred to sing classical styles as a teenager.
Eszter (2014)	Eszter is an HR specialist at multinational corporations who also owns an eco-farm in Hungary that is popular with tourists. At the farm in the countryside, she champions rural and folk traditions as an antidote to city life. Her daughter is learning folk dance at primary school.
Erika (2013)	Erika works for a telecommunications company. She learnt folk music at primary school but has no interest in it as an adult. She views folk culture as unfashionable.
Edina (2013)	Edina is a student of psychology at university. She also learnt some folk songs at primary school but has little interest in it as an adult. However, she is proud of it as part of Hungary's history and heritage.
Gábor B. (2013)	Gábor B. is a professional classical violinist who also performs folk music in more informal contexts. His father was a famous folk musician so he has grown up with folk traditions around him.
Gábor H. (2014)	Gábor H. works for a computer hardware company. He went to folk dance classes as a child in the early 1990s because his parents thought it would help him learn to improve his balance! They also believed it was an important part of his heritage.
Gréta (2013)	Gréta is a student on the BA folk singing course at the LFZE Folk Department. She is training to be a folk singing teacher.

Ildikó (2013, 2014)	Ildikó is one of the department heads at Hagyományok Háza and a teacher at the LFZE Folk Department. She was also the talent manager on the 2015 series of *Fölszállott a Páva*.
Inke (2014)	Inke works in market research. She spent many years as a teenager learning folk dance and was taught to be proud of Hungary's folk heritage. She views the current táncház scene as a 'subculture'.
István (2013, 2014)	István is a teacher of folk music history (and its relationship to art music) at the LFZE Folk Department and the Béla Bartók Music High School (Bartók Béla Zeneművészeti Szakközépiskola).
Kati (2014)	Kati is a teacher-training specialist, having previously worked at an embassy in public affairs. She is wary of folk music's right-wing connotations but she believes it is an important part of Hungary's heritage.
László F. (2014)	László F. is a senior folklorist and ethnomusicologist. He has been a key figure in the táncház scene and continues to have prominent roles in folk organisations and institutions.
László P. (2014)	László P. is a tourism and management consultant, who therefore offers interesting opinions on folk music from a tourism perspective. He also has a personal dislike of folk traditions.
Marianna (2014)	Marianna is an assistant lecturer at a university in Budapest, where she teaches English linguistics. She is wary of the right-wing associations of folk music and follows a more cosmopolitan path when it comes to music. She particularly likes Balkan music.
Máté (2014)	Máté is a professional folk musician in Góbé Zenekar and classically trained violinist. He learnt folk music from his father and uncle, who were prominent folk musicians. He is also a student on the MA course at the LFZE Folk Department.
Melanie (2014)	Melanie is a lecturer and researcher in tourism, catering, and management at a university in Budapest. She prefers world music and more modern, contemporary interpretations of folk music compared to traditional ones.
Rita (2013)	Rita is a student on the BA folk singing course at the LFZE Folk Department. She is training to be a folk singing teacher.
Soma (2014)	Soma is an MA student at the LFZE Folk Department and a successful folk and world musician in the Buda Folk Band.
Szabolcs (2014)	Szabolcs is simultaneously a professional folk musician in Berka Együttes and a history teacher at a secondary school.
Veronika (2013)	Veronika is a student on the BA folk singing course at the LFZE Folk Department. She is training to be a folk singing teacher.
Virág (2013)	Virág is a student on the BA folk singing course at the LFZE Folk Department. She is training to be a folk singing teacher.

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