

RECORDED AND ANNOTATED BY LÁSZLÓ KÜRTI



ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4015

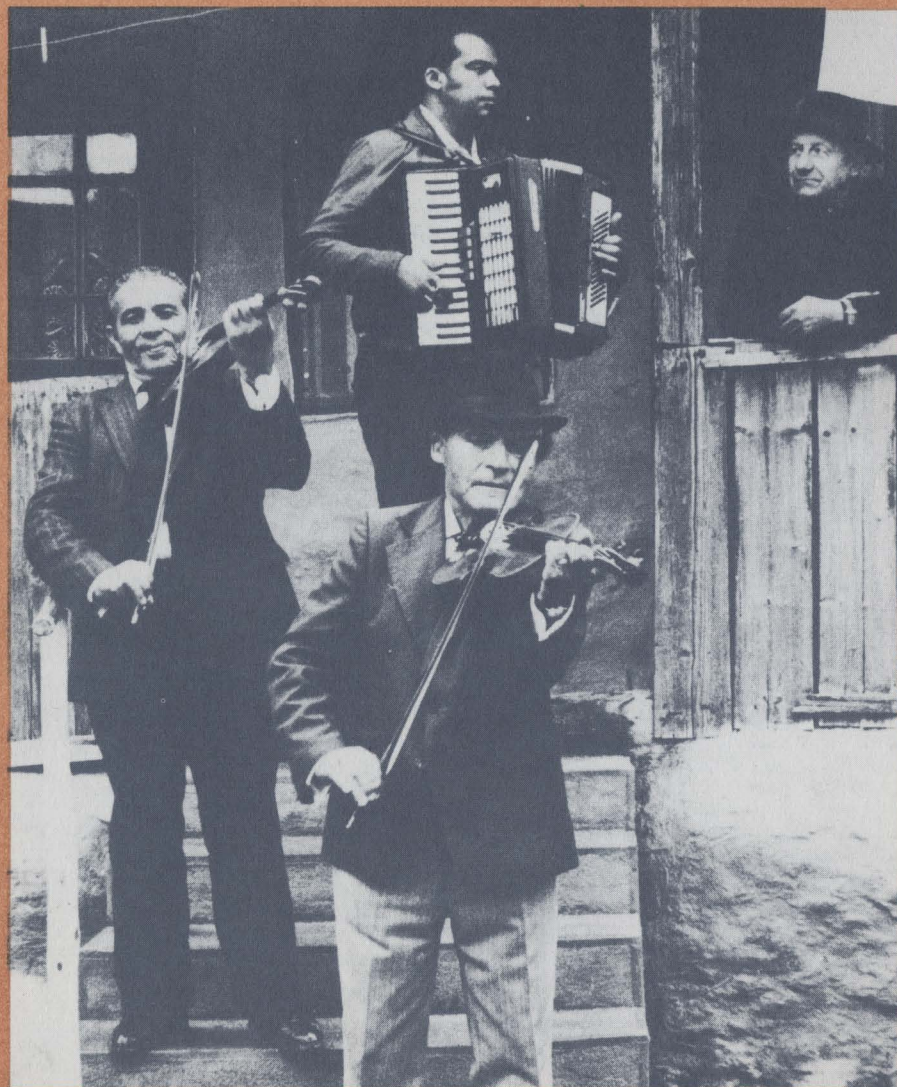
TRANSYLVANIAN WEDDING MUSIC



THE BRIDE'S FAREWELL



CLIMBING THE POLE



THE MUSICIANS: SAMU BOROSS, FERENC VARGA, BÉLA CILIKÁ

COVER DESIGN BY RONALD CLYNE

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4015

TRANSYLVANIAN WEDDING MUSIC

SIDE 1

Band 1: Church Music
Band 2: Figurás Dance
Band 3: Keserves, Csárdás and Szapora
Band 4: Felszeg Csárdás and Szapora
Band 5: Groom's Farewell Speech
Band 6: Singing and Wedding Calls
Band 7: Bride's Farewell Speech

SIDE 2

Band 8: Keserves Song and Szapora
Band 9: Csárdás and Szapora Tunes
Band 10: Legényes Dance Tunes
Band 11: Perinita—Romanian Dance
Band 12: Szapora Melodies



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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET

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Transylvanian Wedding Music

Recorded and Annotated

by László Kürti

"de azért csak járom
járom ezt a táncot
ba nem tudod jární, ballgass!
egy nóta van - lakodalmás."

---Sándor Kányádi

Introduction

Western musical interest always had a sort of ethnocentric look at musical systems of eastern Europe. Only with the appearance of such giants of east European music as Smetana, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky and of course, Bartók and Kodály, had this situation changed somewhat. However, this epistemological shift is yet to be made with regard to musical systems that clearly fall outside the classical and modern musical inquiry.

The publication of *The Gypsy in Music*, by Franz Liszt, had started a mystical gypsification of Hungarian music that still baunts whenever there is talk of Hungarian music. Against this, we Hungarians, have to fight to try to present a much more sound picture based on thorough research, complete field recordings, and data that can satisfy diverse needs of the scientific community. I hope that this collection of Hungarian wedding music from Transylvania may be the right step in this direction. This musical study also aims to fill the hiatus in the field of ethnomusicology. Little has yet been published in the west on the musical systems of Hungarians. In Hungary and in east Europe in general, there has been a dearth of publications. Some of the musical recordings even gained international European reputation: for example; the eight record sets of *Hungarian Folk Music* (ed. by B. Rajeczky, 1972) and the equally fine double album of *Gypsy Folk Songs from Hungary* (ed. by R. Vig 1976). However, the present collection was made with a different idea in mind. During my stay with the people of Kalotaszeg, I participated in their wedding rituals. Thinking as an anthropologist, I realized that there has been no publication made of a single ritual with a holistic approach. Thus, I aimed at recording the various musical systems and song styles, as well as performing practices that were present from the beginning until the end of the ceremony. The music and ritual texts included in this album were made on August 22, 1982, from 10AM Sunday until 4AM Monday. However, one has to realize that to give a complete picture of all the activities and music played in a forty minute record is impossible. For this reason, with chronology in mind, I have selected those features that were said to be of most importance by the people and which exemplify the music system they belong to. I hope that this collection may serve researchers who look for this kind of data.

THE MUSICAL SETTING

It would be impossible to document fully the diversity of musical styles of Kalotaszeg. For this I will elaborate only on those aspects that are connected to this recording. Despite the growing predilection for modern music, a considerable variety of traditional tunes can still be heard in Kalotaszeg (Mirza 1978). One good trend is that with the adoption of modern instruments, band formations and amplification, it seems that at least the now-practicing musician generation, still utilizes and favors songs and dance melodies of former times. New and western dance tunes have a certain waiting period before they can be included in the repertoire.

The richness and brilliance of today's instrumental music is worthy of in-depth analysis. Fortunately, there are several bands, leaders and first violinists

(primás), who are still available. Probably the two most well-known primáses are Samu Boross and Ferenc Varga, 'Csipa'. People are eager to hire them for dances and weddings, even if the fee may be considerably higher than that of a third-grade band. Boross and Varga were the band leaders at the wedding ritual I recorded in Inaktelke. Both musicians come from families with long histories in music. In Huedin there are several Varga family names and they are all musicians. It would be an impossible situation trying to make sense of the complex descent system based on gypsy oral information. One thing is sure however, that the elder Ferenc Varga, 'Csipa' (1896-1958) was a famous primás in Kalotaszeg. His son is Ferenc Varga, 'Csipa' who was born in 1921. Samu Boross, born in 1913 is an excellent fiddler who gained a reputation while still in his teens. The solo accordionist in the band is Béla Cilika. Cilika's father was a well-known bass player, the elder Gyurka Bertalan, 'Cilika' (1904-?). This band plays at various occasions, but according to the musicians, it is better to play at weddings, for the money is much better and they get free food and drink as well.

There are other famous musicians in nearby communities. For example, the Árus family in Mera has been known for their skilled musicians. Especially Ferenc Antal, 'Árus' (1906-1975) who was a fine violinist and whose name is still being mentioned in Mera and vicinity. In the village of Petrinzel (Kispetri) the Ötvös family is a good gypsy musician family. However none of them can excel in virtuosity and extensive knowledge of tunes and songs of Samu Boross and Ferenc Varga.

THE KALOTASZEG PEOPLE AND CULTURE

The region that is called Transylvania by western sources, but called Erdély by Magyars (Hungarians), and Ardeal by Romanians, is situated in the northern third of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The great mountain ranges of Romania - on the east and south of the Eastern and Southern Carpathians, on the west, the Bihar Massif - form the giant system defining the backbone of Transylvania. To the north, the mountain barrier links up with the borders of the Ukrainian SSR of the Soviet Union to enclose Transylvania. The focus of the present musical study is in the region known as Kalotaszeg by Hungarians and Calata by Romanians. Kalotaszeg is a region located between the cities, Huedin (Bánffybanyard) and Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár); some one-hundred scattered settlements along the number one highway connecting these two cities. Kalotaszeg is divided into three smaller areas known as Felszeg (around Huedin and south of the road), Alszeg (north of Huedin along the border of Salaj County) and the Nádasmente (the villages along the river Nádas going to Cluj). The last area is also known among the locals as Cifravidek or "Fancy Country," a term that refers to the extraordinarily rich and colorful designs.

Kalotaszeg has a population over 90,000 (Imreh 1978). This number is made up of Hungarians (app. 60%), Romanians (30%) and gypsies (10%). The largest settlement is Huedin (7,357) and the smallest is Radaia (Andrásháza) (139). The interesting fact about demography in Kalotaszeg is that since 1930 the population has not increased considerably: from 90,274 to 93,684 in 1975 (see Imreh 1978).

The general landscape of Kalotaszeg is a plateau, a billy countryside interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and valleys and rarely by mountain ridges. The land is fertile. It is covered with corn, wheat, sugarbeet and pasture. Sometimes little forests and running cold streams may ornament this surface. This land has been a great value to the people who have been agriculturists and pastoralists.

The people of Romania, regardless of their language, live in a historical consciousness quite different than that of Americans. Education, science and media are all nationalized to an extent that un-parallels its American counterparts (Seton-Watson, 1962). Many of the old customs, clothing and decorative art still can be observed today with small changes since their descriptions in earlier ethnohistorical sources (Malonyay 1907, Faragó 1977). Meanwhile, like other socialist countries, Romania focuses on modernization. This has become synonymous to a certain extent with westernization, industrialization, and technological developments. In the Kalotaszeg region this process started as early as 1870 when the first rail-road tracks were laid. Then around the turn of the century small manufacturers and shops were built (such as the wood-carvers' association). This was followed by large scale industrial planning after 1950, when factories, such as the one in Agbires, and in Cluj were built. After 1955 the collectivization of most of the farmland put an end to the traditional agricultural practices.

In this complex process, the indigenous culture is likely to be rejected by the younger generations: Not only the earlier methods of farming, animal husbandry and trade network, but also the former social institutions, age and sex divisions and art forms they supported. There are lots of problems with keeping the younger generation in the villages (Imreh 1978). Connected to this is the problem of transmitting ideas of cultural values from father to son. The younger generation does not value traditional forms of cultural expression in most places. They eagerly exchange their mothers' or fathers' old clothes for a new Japanese stereo cassette player. Yet there are clear indications that this is not the case in every community. Some keep their former life-styles and traditions: such places are Inucu, Vistae, Capușul Mare (Inaktelke, Vista, Nagykapus) and others. Still others like Agbiresu and Petrindu (Nagypetri) became modernized and prefer to dress in modern dress, listening to popular urban music and so on.

Every community in Kalotaszeg has a specialty that makes it recognizable by the people outside the community. For example, Izvoru Crisului (Körösfő) has been known for excellent stone-cutters and carvers. Huedin and Almașul have been famous for their knowledgeable potter dynasties. This was also the case with Petrindu until 1945 when the last member of the Barta family died without giving his trade secret to anyone. Huedin has been one of the most important market centers of Kalotaszeg. Even today, each Tuesday thousands come to the market of Huedin to trade their goods. Huedin was also known for the good hat-makers and tailors, especially the bujka makers (Faragó 1977). The Nádas area has been known for its prime vegetable products and crops. Horlacea (Jákótelke) was well known for its fine masters of straw hat making (Faragó 1977). Sárvár was famous for women skilled in the making of beaded head-dresses. This list could go on and on. What is really important here is to understand that the settlements of Kalotaszeg, thus, did not form an economically independent and isolated unit; but, rather an interrelated set of economically dependent systems. In this each community fed their commodities into this exchange system and received, in return, supplies needed.

THE DANCE SYSTEMS

The rapid dissemination of modern (rock and disco) music has rationalized the average person's action to such an extent that young people tend to disassociate themselves with patterns of traditional culture. Dancing the csárdás and its fast variation, the szapora, while still popular, is not in the central place at youth gatherings. The knowledge of the figurás (bachelor's dance) are now retained by a few select men. In a village like Bagara (Bogártelke) thirty years ago there would have been at least twenty men able to perform the bachelor's dance. Today, young men under social pressure are not willing to learn their father's skills and gain enough confidence to stand out in front of the community and perform this difficult dance form.

The Kalotaszeg dance tradition is quite simple when compared to other areas of Transylvania (Martin, 1970-1972). They have the csárdás, a turning couple dance of medium tempo and its faster relative, the szapora. Besides these there are the western European social dances; waltz, polka, tango, one-step and others. There are two forms of women's dances: one performed during the bachelor's dance; it is called the csoszogós (shuffle). The other dance is the kapuzás (the gate) and its variation gyűrűs (the ring), both of them simple walking dances accompanied by their own singing.

The dance form everybody is talking about in Transylvania is the figurás or legényes, the bachelor's dance. First mentioned by the ethnographer Marian Rétbei Prikkel (1924), and then later analysed by István Molnár (1947). The bachelor's dance is a competitive dance form performed by men. They express various masculine characteristics (i.e. strength, energy, skills, punctuality, and so on) that are embedded into this movement system. The legényes is not an easy dance to perform. The music is fast and the rules require the dancer to introduce new steps in every new musical phrase (Martin 1970-72:224). The dance has to begin with the same opening step and continue by other steps, completed with a final or closing step, all of which should offer new and spontaneous combinations. At the same time the dancer must keep up with the rhythm and the music must not slacken. Good dancers such as István Mátyás 'Mundruc', (1911-1979) in Vista, János Fekete, 'Poncsa' (1928-) in Bogártelke and János Varga (1935-) in Inaktelke, are known everywhere in Kalotaszeg. Since the dance takes many years to master, younger people who are willing to spend time may learn from older and established members of these communities.

Since the Kalotaszeg region is a multi-ethnic as well as multi-religious area I should mention that the Romanians and the Gypsies both have their dance and music systems. Naturally then, borrowing is unavoidable. Among the gypsy populations couple dances are unknown, or rather it is safer to say, that csárdás style dances are not to be found. Gypsy men do perform separate men's dances. Romanians have many dance forms, from them we get the Perinita which is included in the record. (Bucșan, 1971)

SELECTIONS

1. Church Music The church ceremony is basically the opening part of the wedding ritual. It should be clear however, that formerly the church played a much more fundamental role in sanctioning the union of the two people and families. In our village, Inaktelke, (Inucu), people tend to cling more to their church than I have been able to detect in other settlements. Thus it is safe to say, that in Inaktelke, the religious institutions are fostered similarly to earlier days. The union of the two youngsters has to start with the church ceremony. The two wedding parties arrive separately to the church; first the groom's party, then a little later, the bride's group comes. However, the groom and bride do not sit next to each other: she is still among her age group and so is he. They only step together when the priest orders the tying of the hands and the exchange of the rings. After the ceremony the two groups divide and return to their respective homesteads, only to be united later with a much more boisterous and profane ritual.

A church ceremony as this one, may last up to two hours. The most likely time however, is between seventy and ninety minutes. During this time there are many songs. All of them are church hymns. The tunes are introduced by the kántor (cantor) who plays the old outdated organa (organ). Some of the smaller chapels in Kalotaszeg possess only harmoniums. Once the kántor finishes the introductory lines people join in and the din of musica sacra fill the air. Many of these church hymns belong to a written musical tradition, and as such, can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2. The Figurás Dance The last notes of the organ are still lingering when the gypsies outside the church-yard begin to tune their instruments. Customarily, the first dance right after the church ceremony is the figurás or legényes, the bachelor's dance. In no time a sudden circle forms before the carved gateway of the church: the newly-weds, the masters of ceremony, and the parents stand on the stairs leading to the portal, and by doing so, they are able to position themselves higher for a better view. For the gypsies, this is the first time to unite, for before the church ceremony, they are split into two groups; one playing at the groom's house, the other at the bride's home. The gypsy band of Samu Boross and Ferenc Varga, 'Csipa', has many instruments: four violins two accordions, one double bass and one saxophone. The music is thick, loud strong and fast.

When the music starts the first volunteer walks in front of the gypsies and dances his figurás; he is followed by others after he is done. The musicians play incessantly and the various tunes may change at will. There are two different tunes in this recording: each of them with the basic pattern of a,a,b,b. There is not much talking during the dance; people are engrossed in the talent of the dancers.



3. *Keserves, Csárdás and Szapora* After the dancing is finished in front of the church, the bride's party and the groom's group separate and each group returns home. The musicians are also divided into two and go with the two parties. Back home there is a lot to do. Everybody from the kin and the neighbors are there and feverishly help out. Most of the invited guests (and even those who are not invited to the wedding party but are welcomed for a drink) gather in the barn. During this hour, the barn is cleared, tables and chairs are placed in it. Cake (kalács) and plum-brandy (szilvapálinka) are offered to anyone in the barn; people request certain songs and sing. Formerly there was dancing also. Most of the time is spent with picture taking, merry-making singing and drinking.

This musical selection was recorded at the groom's household. The barn was filled with people. Most of them young men who, obviously, belonged to the groom's age group and circle of friends. The gypsies, Samu Boross, Ferenc Varga and Béla Cilika play a traditional set composed of the keserves (woeful song), csárdás (medium tempo couple dance) and the szapora (a fast variation of the csárdás - literally translates as the speedy one). The two violins play the lead and the accordion supplies the basic melody and is responsible for the accompaniment and rhythm. This piece beautifully exemplifies the skills and techniques of the art of violin playing in the region of Kalotaszeg. The two primásés, while both play the same tune, are adding their own embellishments, individual style and personal qualities. In fact, it is quite difficult to tell where one starts and the other ends. The two violins sometimes are in exact harmony with each other. In the next moment they are not.

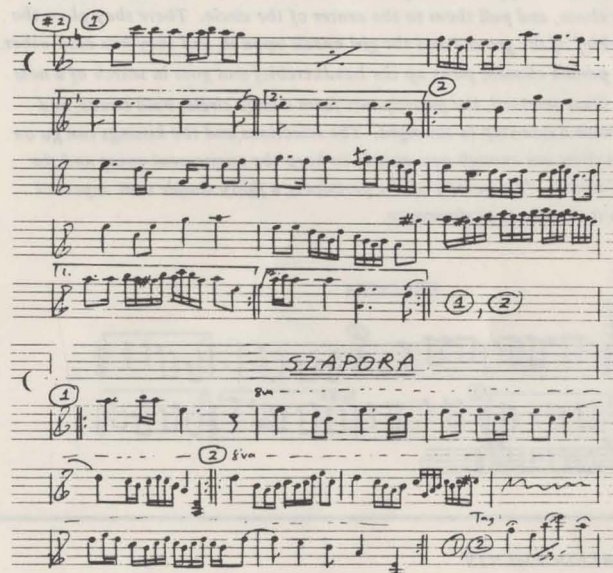
KESERVES



1



SZAPORA



4. *Felszeg Csárdás and Szapora* This recording was made two numbers after the previous selection. After about five minutes of intermission, during which the musicians had some cake and brandy, the gypsies struck up a new set. Here the traditional tripartite division (i.e. slow, medium and fast tempo of music) has been reduced to the medium and fast dance tunes. The medium tempo csardas at the beginning of the set, is called by the locals as the csárdás of Felszeg: meaning, the csardas of the Upper or Highland region. However this dance tune is popular throughout all of Kalotaszeg; and its usage is not restricted to the Felszeg (Upper) region.

It is worthwhile to notice that tunes can follow each other quite spontaneously and in the medium tempo there are three different melodies connected in one set. In the szapora there is only one melody repeated several times. There is no law governing the number of melodies that can be played or the length of repetition of each tune. It is generally up to the band leader. In our recording, however, it is clear that all three musicians can play the lead. It is also important to realize, that since there is no dancing, the dance tunes are being played a little faster than usual. At the end of this set the musicians introduce themselves and name their community.

5. Groom's Farewell Speech The next major step in the groom's household is the ceremonial farewell speech. At this point everybody gathers in front of the house's entrance. The groom's best man comes out to the porch, next to him is the groom, his parents and ushers, while opposite him is the other best man. Both of the best men hold the round decorated cakes on their arms, which is laced with colorful ribbons. Three musicians are among the audience standing in front of the porch. When everything quiets a bit, the best man is ready to make his speech. Interestingly, the farewell speech is not said by the groom himself but it is recited by his best man. Noteworthy is the fact, that one of the two best men is always a close relative of the groom. The speech is not long. However, it is put together in a way that most of the family will cry immediately as the speech begins. A speech like this one can be written (or made up according to the occasion) by a member of the family, the best man or by a reputable member of the community. According to my investigations, however, it seems that the very core of such ceremonial text is always the same. Furthermore, it is general and highly flexible to allow small variations if needed. But behind the generalities, poetic metaphors and seemingly obvious associations there are some deeper suggestions and ideas. The textual meaning of Transylvanian farewell speeches are often difficult to decipher. The following transcription is the farewell speech of the groom:

Best Man:

Legyenek figyelemmel hisz most jön egy szólás
Please listen to my important rendition

Mindenesetre mert nálunk ilyen a szokás
In any event, since this is our tradition

Mielőtt az ifjú legény innen kiindulna.
Before this young man goes away.

Gondos szüleihez egy pár szót szólna:
He'll address his caring parents the following way:

Kedves jó szülem, el nem indulhatok,
My dear parents, I cannot leave presently,

Jöjjetek közelebb, búcsúzni akarok.
Come here, this is my farewell story.

Mert nem tudom szerencsés vagy pedig nem leszén
'Cause I don't know if luck will follow or not

E szülői házból való kilépésem.
My leaving of this parental lot.

De Kérem Istent adjon szerencsét az én utamban,
I ask God to grant me luck along my journey

Hogy örömmel térhessek vissza e hajlékba.
That I can return to this house joyfully.

Találhassak én egy hű és jó feleséget,
Also that I may find a good loyal wife,

Kivel élhessek egy páros szép életet.
With whom I may live a beautiful married life.

Az én szülemnek jó szófogadó menyet,
A nice and dutiful daughter-in-law for my parents,

És igaz, mindenben engedelmes szívét.
A steadfast heart obedient in any event.

Szeretett ifjúság, legények, leányok,
Beloved youth, lads and girls,

Mielőtt el nem indulok hozzátok is szólok.
Before I go I address you with my words.

Köszönöm nektek, hogy szerettetek engem,
I thank you for having loved me,

Bocsássatok meg ha valaha vétettem.
If I've wronged you, please pardon me.

Kedves gyülekezet, köszönöm a csendet,
Dear gathering, thank you for the silence.

Mondtam e szavakat a vőlegény helyett.
I said these words in the groom's presence.

Úgy értsek mintha mindent ő mondott volna,
You should take this as if he'd spoken them,

Kivánok szerencsét az ő nagy útjában. Ámen.
I wish him lots of luck on his great journey. Amen.

and anybody. In the following, I will provide the translation of some of these calls. Although lack of space does not permit me to give the larger segment of this system of popular culture and show diversity of themes, one can derive a sense of implicit meanings and associations of various cultural systems.

Once the jubilant crowd arrives in close proximity of the bride's house, they begin to encounter difficulties. First of all, the gate-way is locked. The insiders are guarding the house and of course, the bride. Not only the outsiders, but now the insiders are also forming a maiden's ring and the wedding cries resound. The two opposing groups are in fierce, though symbolic, verbal competition with each other. Meanwhile there is a lot of push-and-shove at the gate by the men. One group asks for permission to enter and the other refuses. The two best men engage in a tongue-twisting duel with the bride's representatives. Many questions are asked and many answers have to be given. For example: Why did you come? Who are you? What do you want? and so on. After this verbal duelling the groom's best men promise that they do not want any harm and they will not cause any problem. Having done that the best men shake hands and finally, the gates are opened. Now inside, the enthusiasm and catbatic emotions grow to their apex. Music, singing and wedding calls are louder than ever.

This does not mean that there are no more obstacles for the groom's party to overcome: some of the trickiest (perhaps nastiest) are still to come.

"Nem megyünk mi sebesen,
Csak felfelé hegyesen.
Nem akad meg a szemem,
Csak az én kedvesemen.

A mennyasszony udvara,
Csupa pehely, pozdorja.

Inaktelki legények,
Mind ügyesek szegények,
Csak az a hiba bennük
Felre kacsint a szemük.

.....
Ügyes az én szeretőm,
Hogyha ügyes nem volna.
Szeretőm se lett volna.

Rózsaszín az én szoknyám,
Tegnap vette a babám,
Ha még egyet vett volna
Két szoknyám is lett volna.

Kék virágos az én kötőm,
Csak egy legény a szeretőm,
Ha piros virágos volna,
Két-három szeretőm volna.

Úgy szeretem a szőkét,
Mint a szőlő szemecskét,
De meg jobban a barnát,
Mint a borizú almát.

Ereszenek be bennünket,
Hagy baszduk meg a seggüket.
.....i, ha, ha,

Úgy szeretem a legényeket,
Mint az ökör a töreket.

"We are not in a hurry
To go up there in fancy.
I won't look at no one,
But my dear loved one.

The bride's yard all around
Feather and dirt just abound.

The Inaktelke bachelors,
Are all very smart boys,
But one thing is wrong with them,
They wink at other women.

.....
My lover is a fine one,
If he wouldn't be a fine one,
He wouldn't be my loved one.

I have a pink colored skirt,
My boyfriend bought it yesterday,
If he'd bought one more,
I would possess two now.

My apron has blue flowers,
I don't have but one lover,
If I would have red flowers,
I'd keep two - three lovers.

For blondes my love is great,
Just my love for grape,
But for brunettes I really pine,
Like for apple-tasting wine.

Let us come in immediately,
And we will take you anally.

I like men only as much
As the oxen like to eat straw.

6. Singing and Wedding Calls Right after the completion of the groom's farewell speech, the best man announces that the whole party will proceed to the bride's house in order to obtain her and bring her to the Culture Home of Inaktelke. After this, the groom will kiss his parents, relatives and friends as well as the neighbors. Before the fence on the street the whole party now forms a long line: first are the two best men, followed by the groom, his ushers and the gypsies. After them, there are parents, relatives, neighbors, friends and then the other invited guests. Taking up the whole road, the singing crowd proceeds to the bride's home. Showing signs of modernization, at this wedding there were two cars closing the line.

During the whole trip, which may last forty minutes, the musicians play constantly. All of the songs are the slow keserves kind of music. The two best men and the ushers have bottles in their hands and pockets, filled with plum brandy. They will offer it to anyone who happens to come by, or to on-lookers who stand in the gate-ways of their homes as the party passes. Maidens and recently married women (menyecske) walk alone in a long line forming their own clique. Older women are behind them; the whole party is closed by a loosely organized group of older men. Women are responsible to raise the level of revelry to its apex. This is achieved by the kurjantások; the wedding calls, or lakodalmi kiáltások; wedding cries. Often funny, yet many times obscene and nasty, these two or four line verses are aimed at anything

7. Bride's Farewell Speech The bride's house and yard is now packed. There are at least two-hundred people jammed in a rather small area. The bride's best men, ushers and bride's maids are offering plum brandy and cakes to the people just arrived. Although the reception is friendly and the two parties mingle with each other, there is a certain feeling of hostility and uneasiness in the air. This is more symbolic than real. The next obstacle in the way of the groom's party is a thirty-foot high pole, to the top of which is attached the bride's embroidered handkerchief, the keszkenő. One volunteer from the groom's group has to scale the pole and bring it down. This is not an easy task. The pole is narrower at the top and with the weight of the climber, it sways back and forth. Worse, the pole is wet from the rain. Formerly, there used to be a custom of greasing the pole to make it more difficult to climb.

The pole was erected several days before the marriage ceremony so young men could practice the climbing of the pole.

The climber gets much advice from the on-lookers who are obviously just as excited as the climber. To make the task easier, the climber takes along a little hatchet and backs the uppermost part of the pole, and by doing so, he is able to obtain the handkerchief without jeopardizing his mission. In former times, there were many other merry-making situations similar to the pole-climbing. For example, tying down the groom or dropping him in the well and only freeing him when the bride, after considerable stalling and delay, bailed him out with the offering of food, drink or some sort of colorful embroidery, or perhaps even a determined sum of money.

The next step in the ceremony is the farewell speech of the bride. The newly-weds, parents and the ceremony masters all gather in the doorway of the house and on the stairway leading to it. The bride's best man, who is also a close relative, asks for silence and announces that the bride is ready to say her farewell. She has a little hand-written booklet in her hands and reads her speech, the *menyasszony búcsúzó* (bride's farewell). This oral poetry is much longer than that of the groom. Moreover, her situation is not an easy one, for she has to recite it herself. The text is more elaborate than that of the groom. It is organized in couplets. The rhyme pattern is a.a.b.b. and so on. The form and content of this farewell speech, similarly to that of the groom's, are set and standardized. The bride has to say her ceremonial good-byes to every member of her family, including her closest kin, her neighbors and her friends. Every major situation and accident occurred within the family bears mention. Her speech is about twenty-five minutes, which is impossible to include in its entirety on this record. The first part of her speech is addressed to her deceased father and the second part is to her mother. This read as follows:

Bride:

Kedves édesanyám, hol vagy, jöjj közelebb, Where are you my dear mother, please come closer,	Fájlalom előtted az én életemet. Now I'm crying for all that's behind me.
Egyetlen leányod búcsúzik most tőled. She who takes her leave is your own daughter.	Hosszú éjjeleken ringattad bölcsőmet, You rocked my cradle through every night,
Tudom a szívedhez oda vagyok nőve, I know I'm attached to your heart completely.	Fáradtságot nem ismertél, neveltél engemet. You raised me up without tiredness and with your might.
Harapógófogól szakitnak onnan le. They need pincers from there to tear me.	A te kebeledből tápláltál engemet, From your breasts you nourished me,
Nekem csak te voltál és én voltam neked, I only had you and you, only me,	Még forró szellőtől is védteél ha lehetett. From the burning breeze you tried to protect me.
Mert jó édesapám itt hagyott bennünket Because my good father left us recently.	Sok szépeket varrtál, készítetél nekem, You did sew beautiful things, many
Nehez özvegységben nevelgette engem, You raised me as a widow and had a difficult time,	Hogy erre a szép napra mindenem meglegyen. For this day so I shall be ready
Mindig igyekeztem, hogy mindenem legyen. You always strove to give me everything I pine.	Szívbőlök köszönök mindent most neked, Heartily, I now thank you for all this.
Drága édesanyám fáj a szívem érted, Sweet mother my heart aches for you.	Az Isten ezerszer érte fizessen meg. May God repay you a thousand-fold for this.
Mert a mai napon meg kell válnak tőled. 'Cause this day I must part from you.	Most már elbúcsúzik itt hagyjak tégedet, Now I'm taking my leave, I'm leaving you
Drága édesanyám te szültél engemet, Dear mother you gave birth to me,	Ha vétettem neked bocsánatot kérek..... I ask your pardon if I ever wronged you.....

8. *Keserves Song and Szapora* When the bride has finished her speech, her best man asks the wedding party to proceed back to the groom's house. This is the first official visit of the bride to her new home. At this point the whole crowd, which has grown considerably, advances to the groom's house. During this trip the situation is similar as noted in Selection 5.

At her new home the bride kisses her new parents and the whole family is lined up for picture-taking. Previously, this time was reserved for bringing the furniture and her wardrobe to her new home including those presents that she received. This beautiful tradition, with ox-carts packed with her things is not in existence anymore in Inaktelke. The bride's belongings were brought over several days before the marriage.

While the family and the new couple is busy with arranging things, the people gather in the barn and more singing, eating and drinking ensues. The musicians are ready to play anything that the people want to hear and sing. Patriotic songs, traditional tunes and popular urban music are among the selections that people request. The set included in this recording is a *keserves* song with patriotic verses followed immediately by a faster tune in the tempo of the *szapora* dance. The latter is quite popular and can be heard many times at gatherings and dances not only in Inaktelke, but in nearby communities also. The musicians are the same as in Selections 3, 4 and 6.

9. *Csárdás and Szapora Tunes* From the groom's house, which will be the new couple's home (known as *patrilocal residence*), the people proceed to the *Kulturbáz*, the Culture Home. In Inaktelke, as in other settlements in Transylvania, after 1950, the social life of the community has been confined to these newly erected recreational centers. Balls, movie shows, theatrical performances village councils and weddings are to be held in the Culture Home. It should be noted that before this institution, all of the weddings were organized at the groom's house: either in the large barn and/or in a huge tent erected for the occasion.

At the *Kulturbáz* the people are seated for the banquet and dinner. From 5 to 7 p.m. there is no dancing. People sit on long benches at tables, drinking and socializing. At about seven o'clock the dinner starts and the first dish, generally chicken soup, is served. This is followed by cooked meat: poultry and pork. The main dish is either pork or veal stew with potato or noodles. If the wedding is smaller, the family may consider killing a pig and serving various pork dishes and sausage. At this wedding this would have been impossible for there were more than five-hundred people, almost the whole population of Inaktelke. The dinner is completed with dessert and coffee. During the dinner people are constantly offered plum brandy and grape wine. There are other wines popular in Kalotaszeg, such as the apple and red currant wines. However, these are produced in small quantities only for family consumption.

When everybody is finished eating, the tables are cleared from the middle of the hall for dancing. The floor is sprinkled with water to lessen the dust. The musicians have reserved an area in the corner, on an elevated platform. They have been playing during dinner but mostly slow instrumental pieces and slow songs for singing. It is around 10 p.m. when the gypsies strike up the first dance melodies.

Our selection includes a fragment of a rather long dance set: it is the *csárdás* and *szapora* combination. In both parts there are several melodies. The band is composed of the same instruments as in Selection 2. The gypsies are seated in two rows: the first row being the violinists and the accordion soloist, and in the back, the bass, sax, and the other accordion. Since there are many instruments and the music comes from above, the sound carries quite well in the large room.

There are several features worthy of notice. Sometimes one of the violinists plays the chords rather than the lead part. The four violinists share the responsibilities of leading: whomever leads may stand up and face the whole orchestra. The double-bass plays the accompanying beat for the *csárdás* with the bow in quarters: *jjjj* etc. When the music is the swift *szapora* dance, the bass player is not using the bow anymore, but utilizes a small flat wooden plate to pluck the strings. The rhythm now is in faster quarters.

10. *Legényes Dance Tunes* After several dance sets the musicians are free to take their well-deserved break. This is the time when they sit and dine and relax for a while. Intermissions are also used to water the floor, to get some fresh air and so on. This is also the time when announcements are made. It is around 10:30 - 11 p.m. when in an adjacent room of the great hall, the *szólás* (calling) and the *menyasszony tánc* (bride's dance), is held. This tradition is a very important and seriously organized facet of the Kalotaszeg weddings. The *szólás* refers to a verbal contribution, or rather contract between the parents of the newly-weds and people offering money for the young couple. Everybody's name and the amount of contribution is recorded in a book for future reference. People know that the family of Mr. X gave so much money. At the next possible occasion the same sum has to be given either to the same family or the family closely related to it. Thus, this economic exchange system provides the people with a fair and regulated circulation of monetary deposits. People do remember, even twenty of thirty years back, that so much was given to someone and that amount, (perhaps even more) should turn up sometime in the near future. Stinginess and unwillingness to contribute are abhorred by the people of Kalotaszeg. After the contribution is made, the person who offered may dance for a while with the bride.

Then, he or she receives a slice of *lakodalmi percc* (wedding cake) which is cut only at this occasion. Two, or maximum, three gypsies may be used at the bride's dance party. The dance is the regular *csárdás*.

The next dance to start is surely the bachelor's dance, the *legényes*, or the *figurás*. At the time the first *legényes* tune starts, people form a circle in front of the musicians and in no time there is a first volunteer. Now, not only the younger generation but the older generations as well will participate in this manly competition. Each man, sometimes even two or three men together, perform his own dance, which may last anywhere from thirty seconds to one minute. The musicians play various bachelor dance tunes until the last person is finished. Sometimes the whole dance set may last three-quarters of an hour. During the performance of the bachelor's dance women for their own circle, and dance their *csoszogós* (shuffling), or *tropotyáds* (doddering). This is a simple circle dance of two parts: in the first part, women just step in place with small

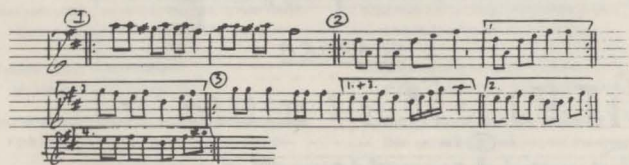
right and left, side movements, and in the second part they turn the circle in either direction. During this whole performance, women may shout various dance calls not unlike the ones cried in the wedding procession. Women may join or leave the circle at will. If there are too many women they make extra circles. People watching the men perform the *legényes* make judgements and critiques and they may even criticize the dancers out loud. If these comments are too harsh or negative, the dancer may stop and give his place to the next dancer.

In this selection, there are two new *legényes* melodies introduced. They are slightly slower than the ones in selection 2. Their formal pattern is a,a,b,b.

11. *Perinita* The *legényes*, *csárdás* and *szapora* are not the only dances performed at the Kalotaszeg wedding. Popular are the western European social dances such as tango, polka, waltz, one-step and their regional off-shoots. Indeed, at some weddings, mainly in the cities and ethnically mixed settlements, these dance forms may take a central place. Samu Boross and his band are well-known in the western part of Kalotaszeg for their extensive repertoire including not only the old style music, but for the other popular dance tunes also. This includes of course, the dance music of the Romanian population of the Kalotaszeg area. At the Inaktelke wedding banquet there were several Romanian families invited. As a special treat for the guests (this also includes tourists, foreigners and other non-community members), a special dance was requested: the *Perinita*, or as known by Hungarians, the *perina*.

The *perinita* is a playful dance. It starts out with a few people who are holding handkerchiefs in their hands, and walking around within a circle, they select those of the opposite sex, place the handkerchief about the neck of the one they chose, and pull them to the center of the circle. There they place the handkerchief of the ground and the girl kneels upon it, and they kiss each other. Now the person chosen, picks up the handkerchief and goes in search of a new partner. Once selected, the participants form a large circle, hold hands, and proceed with a side-step to the right. The selections and the kissings can go on as long as there are enough new people to keep the excitement going and the selection varied. The melody of the *perinita* is a fairly simple tune repeated throughout the whole performance.

PERINITA



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12. *Szapora Melodies* The dance may last until morning. Although people start to leave around 4 or 5 p.m. Until this, there are two actions occurring, both of them having to do with money. While the band plays, one, or maybe two of the musicians pass the hats around to collect money for the orchestra. Sometimes they give funny reasons: such as, "repairing the broken double-bass," "buying new strings for the violin," "travel expenses," and so on. Of course, people are willing to contribute to the band's income. Gypsies may also receive money for special requests and songs. The other communal contribution to the *kasapénz* is literally "money for mush." This time the large kitchen pan is passed around to collect some money for the cooks and kitchen helpers. This money is not a lot, not nearly as much as the sum collected by the gypsies. But it certainly helps the people who are spending much time with kitchen duties. Here too, the best man may announce the collection with jokes to make light of it, saying, "the cooks need to buy more fire-wood," "the gypsies stole the cooking kettle," "more meat has to be bought, for the cats finished the stew," and so on. Early in the morning, around 6-7 a.m. breakfast is served: hot stew cakes and coffee. By around 9 o'clock everybody leaves, the gypsies too, and go home and have some sleep. Around four or five in the afternoon, people start coming back and the whole thing resumes from the beginning, for a wedding like this one is for three days at least.

The last selection to be included in this recording is the *szapora*. This recording was made around 3 a.m. in the morning. The *szapora* is a couple dance. It is the swift variation of the *csárdás*. It is interesting to note that the concept behind the word *szapora* also can refer to 'reproduction' and 'regeneration'. In the native world view this makes sense, for the *szapora* is a reproduction of the medium tempo *csárdás*. This recording is only a short fragment of an almost half-hour of *szapora* dancing. This set is unique, for some of the dance calls, popular in this dance form, can be heard clearly,

Ha te kicsi, ha te nagy. Éppen hozzám való vagy.	Too tall, too short, no problem, He's for me anyway.
Járd ki Pisti, járd ki most, Nem parancsol senki most, Ha parancsol ha nem is, Járd ki Pisti azért is.	Dance Steve, do it good, Nobody will order you, If anybody still would do it, Steve do in just for the heck of it!

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