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#### Preface

The eighth special volume of the 'Europa Orientalis' series contains reports and papers from the VIII. Annual Convention of the Centers for Austrian and Central European Studies, held in Minnesota (Minneapolis, USA) from 14 to 17 September 2014. These Centers were established to improve the cooperation between the host nations and Austria. They are also an opportunity for young researchers to connect with colleagues and to strengthen their international perspective during their respective scientific careers.



This special volume covers a wide range of topics compiled by current PhD students of the

eight Centers for Austrian and Central European Studies. The focus of the contributions is on cultural, political, and modern Central European history. The annual reports of the Center Directors provide a comprehensive overview of the various activities of these institutions during the Academic Year 2014/2015.

It is one of the most important aims of the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economy not only to supply young scholars with research grants and scholarships, but also to encourage them to establish themselves in the international scientific community. While senior scholars usually benefit from their global network with partners and associates, the younger generation often has trouble getting in touch with their colleagues abroad. For this reason we decided in 2007 to bring together the best and most promising PhD students conducting their research at the various Centers for Austrian and Central European Studies. The present volume proves how important it was to implement the idea of regular annual meetings and to support it financially. Especially, as international experience and exchange continue to be fundamental for the success of future scientists. Therefore, events such as the VIII. Annual Convention of the Centers for Austrian and Central European Studies are a significant contribution to reach these targets.

Dr. Reinhold Mitterlehner

Vice Chancellor of Austria and Federal Minister of Science, Research and Economy

Maybe it is something deeper in the spirit of Vienna. Many Viennese artists were disregarded, criticized, disapproved, and had the backs turned on them by the cultural elite during their lives and are now cherished throughout the streets of the city (and profit its thriving tourism nevertheless). It is possible that this internal logic reversed for Hundertwasser. He was a proud citizen of Vienna and was admired and supported by the Viennese elite throughout his life and only now can his artistic and philosophic legacy be destroyed.<sup>67</sup>

#### Colleen Bertsch

## Negotiating Identities and Cultural Representations: The Practice and Patronage of Roma-Transylvanian Folk Violinist Florin Codoba

University of Minnesota

#### Introduction

This paper is a case study of the musical and public life of Florin Codoba, a highly regarded, tradition-bearing violinist from multi-ethnic Transylvania. As early as his first Transylvanian fieldwork outing in 1904, composer, pianist, and comparative folklorist Béla Bartók attempted to draw distinct lines between Romanian and Hungarian melodic types by creating melodic categories based on sequences of disembodied notes.1 Although he was famously meticulous with his data, he nonetheless admitted the endless trail of 'crossing and recrossing' influences found in Transylvanian musical practices.<sup>2</sup> Transylvanian string band music continues to be the subject of intense debate among Romanian and Hungarian politicians, scholars, and promoters. As a result, many Transylvanian musicians must often embody multiple, shifting identities in order to find enough employment to financially make ends meet. Florin Codoba is no exception. Like his father, uncle, and grandfather before him, Florin variously represents himself as a Hungarian tradition bearer or Romanian tradition bearer, depending on the sponsor who hires him. It is also telling that although he comes from a Roma family, he rarely represents himself as a Roma tradition bearer.

Although folk music is often described in ethnic or national terms, social scientists have largely recognized that ethnic and national identities are choices that are constructed, maintained, and performed. The move away from a purely biological understanding of ethnicity began in the early 20th century when Fredrik Barth recognized that ethnicity is a form of social organization based on the drawing and maintenance of boundaries, and not a result of some pre-existing state.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>67</sup> The author is thankful for a research grant provided by the City of Vienna and the Center for Austrian Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem that made this project possible. An early version of this paper was presented in the Annual Meeting of the Austrian Centers in Minneapolis in September 2014. A visit to the Hundertwasserhaus was generously hosted by Ms. Regina Pamperl. The author is thankful for the helpful remarks and comments of Or Alecksandrowicz, Dan Avnon, Piki Ish Shalom, Liron Lavi and for the ongoing support and encouragement by Avner de Shalit. This project would not have been possible without the full cooperation and support of the Hundertwasser foundation: Joram Harel, Doris Truppe, and mostly Hundertwasser's chief Archivist Andrea C. Fürst, who spent hours and days discussing my arguments and helping access the beautiful world of Hundertwasser.

<sup>1</sup> Béla Bartók, Rumanian Folk Music, vol. I: Instrumental Melodies, The Hague 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Béla Bartók, Race Purity in Music, in: Benjamin Suchoff (Ed.), Béla Bartók Essays, Lincoln 1992,

<sup>3</sup> Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference, Waveland 1998, 9-38.

The genius of Barth's work was his focus on the social processes of creating ethnicity, which allowed for a discussion on human agency's role in ethnicity and group belonging. Telling stories about family and home is one such process. But stories about our own identity can also be framed by others. Because music is a human endeavor, and human identities are ascribed and mutable, ethnic and national labels of music are contingent and political acts.

Christian Karner expands Barth's take on ethnicity by defining three dimensions that help explain ethnicity's characterization as a process.<sup>4</sup> First, he says, ethnicity is a structure of action.<sup>5</sup> This view of ethnicity helps to reconcile social structure with individual agency and also allows ethnicity dialogue move toward a theory of power relations. Second, ethnicity is a way of seeing.<sup>6</sup> Third, ethnicity is a way of feeling, which allows for the emotional ties many members of ethnic groups feel about their experience identifying as a group member.<sup>7</sup> This last characteristic implies reflexivity on the part of group members, which for Karner is the single action that turns culture into ethnicity. When 'social actors begin to reflect on what they used to think and do in a largely taken-for-granted way prior to the onset of a crisis', ethnic identities take shape.<sup>8</sup> Reflexivity, in turn, requires explicit knowledge, a powerful tool that frames and defines the world.

Florin Codoba works within a constellation of institutions and organizations, situated in various countries that patronize Transylvanian folk musicians. The autor of this paper engages with Transylvanian music politics and patronage in Hungary, Romania, and the United States, in combination with interviews with Florin, the author attempts to produce a thoroughly contextualized ethnography that focuses on his processes of ethnic identity formation. The author looks at how state and social institutions have influenced the ethnic labels ascribed to Transylvanian folk music in general, and demonstrates how these social and political contexts influence how Florin performs, the words he uses about his music, and how he comes to understand his own music through foreign points of view. Institutions or individuals who have the funds to sponsor concerts, festivals, and recordings succeed in defining the ethnicities of Transylvanian folk music repertoires and thus frame the region's historical narrative. They are powerful community leaders in that the repertoires they support become common-goods that strengthen the common-identities of target ethnic or national communities.

The data on Transylvanian folk music patronage was collected with support from the Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota. The author

conducted online research to gather data on current institutions and organizations that patronize Transylvanian folk musicians, including where their headquarters and events are located, mission statements, how they are funded, a list of musician beneficiaries, and ways in which the organization frames Transylvanian music. This research helped to contextualize the various sites of culture production as they pertain to Transylvanian folk music. The stipend also supported the trip to Csipke Tábor, a Hungarian music and dance camp in Michigan, in order to study with and interview Florin who was a special guest teacher at the camp. The author's activities at the camp included participation in the group fiddle lessons. Lessons were typically two hours long, three or four times each day and were informal, which allowed ample time for questions and story telling.

The most important sources of information regarding Transylvanian musician identity processes for this project stemmed from Florin's responses to the questions regarding violin technique, the stories that he told regarding past and present Transylvanian musicians, and the stories that were negotiated between him and other musicians. Although the 'facts' of his answers to the questions and the content of his stories are important pieces of data, the author is more interested in looking at 'how' Florin shared this information because it demonstrates identity formation processes in action. Florin learned how to become a tradition-bearing music from Pălatca through apprenticeship with his father and uncle. His knowledge is deep and embodied, and also tacit and thus far indefinable. Leaning most heavily on the processual information that one observed at the camp, and interpreting it along with the data collected on patronage systems, the author explored the nature of Florin's social and political roles in various Hungarian and Romanian communities. By focusing on examples where his personal identity is alternately pliable and subsumed under the stories of past hereditary musicians in Transylvania, the author examines how Florin, camp and festival organizers, and non-Roma musicians frame and define Florin's ethnicity, musical authority, and musical contributions.

## Romanian-Hungarian Politics and Identity

While language is often considered a determining factor for ethnicity, this argument quickly looses clout in borderland regions. Transylvania was the eastern frontier of the Hungarian Kingdom and Austro-Hungary from roughly 1000 CE until 1918. During the majority of this time, the language of the land-owning ruling elite, and therefore the official national language, was Hungarian. Because of this, the Hungarian language was an important vehicle in the region for both Hungarians and non-Hungarians who lived there, regardless of biological heritage. Such was the case for the Kodoba family from the Transylvanian village Magyarpalatka (Pălatca). Florin Codoba's grandfather Ludovic (1907–1973), his father Már-

<sup>4</sup> Christian Karner, Ethnicity and Everyday Life, London/New York 2007.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 27f.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Note: Harris Berger's recently published book "Stance" demonstrates ways in which 'seeing' can be a rich source of information on how ethnicity works as a process rather than an a priori fact of human experience. See Harris M. Berger, Stance. Ideas about Emotion, Style, and Meaning for the Study of Expressive Culture, Middletown 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 26.

ton (1941–2003), and his uncle Béla (1944–1999) are all known by the surname Kodoba, the 'K' indexing their Hungarian background.9

Until 1989, Transylvania was governed by the Romanian communist regime. Devoted to the projection of the country's singular ethnic Romanian identity, various laws affecting a person's perceived or official identity were enforced throughout this time. 10 The most personalized tactic was a name change requirement on ID-cards and other official documents. A Hungarian recalls the practice in the mid-1960s and 1970s, when people of all ages living in Romania with given names of Hungarian origin, like István, were officially changed to the Romanianized version, Ștefan. II Another tactic was to isolate Hungarian-majority villages with the goal of veiling their existence. One way they accomplished this was by building Orthodox churches in villages that had no Orthodox community, therefore symbolizing a Romanian presence in a predominately Hungarian community. 12 These strategies were used by the Romanian government to assimilate minorities into a Romanian ideal-type population and create the facade of a mono-ethnic state. These goals, of course, were not limited to Romania's government. By the 20th century, nation-building projects based on 'one-people, one-state' had become the primary political ideology for many European countries. A critical mass of people with a singular ethnic identity was the legitamizing force for the existence of a country with distinct borders.

There were, however, some examples where the Ceauşescu regime allowed Hungarian identities to be maintained, albeit under strict direction from the government. While given names were required to be Romanianized, surnames were impossible to translate, and therefore minoritites were allowed keep them as they were. Hungarian schools were also available in the Transylvanian city of Cluj up until the late 1980s. At that point, however, a majority of those schools became Romanian schools (that is, taught in the Romanian language), and subjects like the history and geography of Romania were taught in Romanian at the remaining Hungarian schools as well.<sup>13</sup>

The Romanian government's attempts at differentiating between who was and was not an ideal Romanian citizen set the stage for underground minority activities. Surreptitious excursions to isolated Hungarian villages to record and study

folk traditions, speak Hungarian, and interview village natives were defiant acts of dissent against the oppressive system in which they lived.14 Although Transylvanians were now officially incorporated into the Romanian nation, these isolated groups of people were designated, officially via actions taken against them, to not be 'true' Romanian when they spoke Hungarian or had a Hungarian name. This Romanian versus Hungarian dichotomy poses different problems for the Roma. For them, identifying as either Romanian or Hungarian is not only a posiblility, but an unspoken requirement for social acceptance and upward mobility. A Roma's secondary identity is fragile and mutable so that it can fit the predominant culture in which they live and work.



Figure 1: Excerpt from Codoba's Facebook Account.

The stories about the physical attributes of parents and grandparents, their homeland, what languages they spoke, and what foods they ate, are all performances of ethnic belonging. Florin Codoba describes his grandfather Ludovic (referred to as Lajos Kodoba in Hungarian scholarship), his father Márton, and his uncle Béla as Pălatca violinists, as his teachers, as Hungarian and not Romanian, and finally as cigany-ungarești [Hungarian gypsy]. He attributed their Hungarian identity to two facts: that they were from Pălatca, and that they spoke Hungarian. Florin also considers himself Hungarian, but unlike the elder Kodoba family members, he does not speak Hungarian. Moreover, Florin spells his name with a 'C' instead of a 'K,' adopting the Romanian spelling. His recent Facebook posts further demonstrate the confusion over ethno-linguistic cues in regards to both the Kodoba/Codoba family name and Transylvanian folk music (see figure 1). 17

<sup>9</sup> Pávai István, Az erdélyi magyar népi tánczene [The Folk Dance Music of the Transylvanian Hungarians], Cluj-Napoca 2012, 238f.

For an in-depth and thorough study of Romanian Socialist identity politics and culture, see: Katherine Verdery, National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceauşescu's Romania, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1991.

<sup>11</sup> István Lengyel, personal interview, 29 March 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Csongor Könczei, De la Kodoba la Codoba. Despre schimbarea identității etnice secundare într-o familie de muzicanți romi dintr-un sat din Câmpia Transilvaniei [From Kodoba to Codoba. Concerning the Change of Secondary Ethnic Identity within a Family of Romani Musicians from Transylvania's Câmpia Region], in: Working Papers in Romanian Minority Studies 25, Cluj-Napoca 2009, 3–19.

<sup>13</sup> Lengyel, interview.

<sup>14</sup> Wayne B. Kraft, Transylvanian Dancing in the Final Hour, in: The Anthropology of East Europe Review 22/1, Washington 2004, 51–59, here 54.

<sup>15</sup> Florin Codoba, interview with the author, 3 July 2014.

<sup>16</sup> Csongor Könczei develops a theory for the change in spelling in his article De la Kodoba la Codoba, in which he compares Pălatca censuses from 1948 and 2002 to show how Roma families moved away from the Hungarian Reformed church to the Romanian Orthodox church. The Romanian Orthodox church, therefore, is considered a tool in the Romanian nation-building project. See Könczei, De la Kodoba la Codoba, 3–19.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Florin Codoba, http://facebook.com/martinflorin.codoba.?fref=ts.htm, 3 September 2014.

In this post, Florin shared a YouTube video of his late father playing Romanian dance music called *De-a lungul*. Because it is a Romanian-specific dance, he used the term *De-a lungul* throughout the post. The dance called *batuta*, however, is called *szökös* in Hungarian and so both words appear. Florin wrote his status update in Hungarian, even though he is only fluent in Romanian and Romanes. And even though his father and uncle used the Hungarian spelling of the family name as recently as the 1990s, today Florin uses the Romanian spelling. Florin's father Márton, his uncle Béla, and his grandfather Ludovic were Roma musicians who spoke fluent Hungarian, and the Hungarian *táncház* [dance house] community regarded them as masters of Hungarian folk music. After Márton and Béla passed away, Florin's participation as a Hungarian folk music ambassador increased substantially. Although his Hungarian is limited, and although he subscribes to the Romania spelling of his name, Hungarians in the *táncház* movement actively support him as a Hungarian tradition bearer by hiring him for Hungarian-specific events.

#### Transylvanian Folk Music Patronage

Transylvanian string musicians, like Florin Codoba, have been supported in a number of ways by individuals and organizations around the world. This section documents the broad spectrum of patronage that some Transylvanian string musicians have received over the past forty years. The point here is to develop an understanding of the global network and various angles of interest concerning Transylvanian string band music in one article, rather than delve deeply into any one patron or organization.<sup>19</sup>

The most active, and arguably the most influential, support for Transylvanian string musicians over the past forty years has been the Hungarian táncház movement. The movement, also known by its Hungarian name, táncházmozgalom, has been been chronicled and analyzed extensively by scholars, journalists, and the movement's leaders. In the late 1960s, a folk music and dance revival emerged in Hungary that began to replace the staged folk performances that were especially popular during the communist era. According to Colin Quigley, the táncház approach originated with one or two of these folk dance performance ensembles, most notably 'The Barók Ensemble'. The ensemble's director Sándor Timár and

musicians Béla Halmos and Ferenc Sebő were particularly interested in moving away from the Russian Moiseyev folkballet model of folkdance performance, and instead, began to develop a way of playing music for dance in a social-dance functional manner. Timár's legacy was his innovative approach to teaching folk dance in a way so that individuals could master the dance steps and techniques, and at the same time, master the art of improvisatory movement. This style of pedagogy became synonomous with the *táncház*, movement.<sup>22</sup>

A network of unassociated or loosely associated organizations began to provide various platforms for the táncház movement to flourish and it spread among the urban middle class in Hungary. Integral to the táncház movement's development was the Hungarian Academy of Science's Musicology Institute (MTA, Zenetudomány Intézet) in Budapest where they house Bartók's and Kodaly's folk music collections, as well as newer field recordings.23 These archives are open and available to the public. The music department at the Nyíregyháza Főskola (College of Nyíregyháza) and the more recently established folk music department at the Liszt Academy (Budapest), train musicians in folk performance and pedagogy in the social-dance functional manner. The state-funded Hungarian Heritage House (Hagyományok Háza) funds music transcription projects of Transylvanian music. Their well-organized series of books and recordings can be purchased by the public at their bookstore.24 However, these organizations have patronized Transylvanian folk musicians only sporodically during music collecting field trips or by producing and promoting new recordings of their music to a wider urban audience. The Hungarian Heritage House also sponsors the Hungarian State Ensemble, which has hired Transylvanian folk musicians for live concert performances and recordings. The fact that the Hungarian organizations credit Transylvanian musicians by name demonstates their dedication as patrons, rather than merely appropriators of Transylvanian folk music. This is only a small sample of Hungarian public organizations that fund projects that utalize Transylvanian musicians.

There are also Hungarian dance groups and individuals who support Transy-lvanian musicians by organizing summer music and dance training camps, for which the musicians are hired to teach or perform. Some of these camps are geared toward professional and semi-professional dance groups and experienced individuals who want to workshop dances from a specific village or region. For example, the 'Zala Dance Association organizes annual camps in the villages Vajdaszentivány, Nyárádselye, and Szászcsávás. The 'László Lajtha Foundation' & 'Háromszék Dance Ensemble' organizes the annual 'Kommandói Gypsy Folklore

<sup>18</sup> The táncház movement is a folk music revival that began in Budapest in the late 1960s. Hungarian-Transylvanian folk repertoire is especially favorited among its performers, teachers, and participants. See Colin Quigley, The Hungarian Dance House Movement and Revival of Transylvanian String Band Music, Oxford 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Colin Quigley, ethnomusicologist at the University of Limerick, has written a detailed historical account of the activities of the pioneering individuals and organizations who established the *tduchdz* movement and its extensive network. See Quigley, Dance House.

<sup>20</sup> Hagyományok Háza, Essays, http://www.heritagehouse.hu/page/22/, 12 January 2015. More essays and books in Hungarian are also available on this website.

<sup>21</sup> Quigley, Dance House, 5-8.

<sup>22</sup> *lbid*.

<sup>23</sup> Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zenetudomány Intézet, Bartók Archívum, http://www.zti.hu/zti\_uj/index\_hu.htm?07, 12 January 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Hagyományok Háza, Folklórdokumentációs Könyvtár, http://www.hagyomanyokhaza.hu/main/mediatar/.

<sup>25</sup> Zalai Táncegyüttes, http://www.zalaite.hu/index.php?ugras=statikus&statoldal=2915, 12 January 2015. For camp information see Vajdaszentiványi tábor, Selyei tábor, and Szászcsávási tábor.

Camp'.<sup>26</sup> And the 'Kalotaszeg Folkdance Ensemble' organizes the annual 'Kalotaszegi Vándor Folkdance Camp'.<sup>27</sup> In addition to these camps, others are more accessible to the general public and encourage amatures to participate in the folk revival. For example, The 'Kallós Zoltán Foundation' (Kallós Zoltán Alapitvány) organizes at least two yearly camps: the 'International Kalotaszeg Folk Music and Dance Camp' and the 'International Meszőség Dance Camp'.<sup>28</sup>

Many summer music and dance camps, however, are also frequently organized and run by Hungarian táncház bands. These musicians are considered experts in Transylvanian folk music themselves, therefore eliminating the need to hire musicians from Transylvania to teach or entertain camp participants. The fact that they are touted as táncház bands, and not necessarily a band from a specific village, gives them the freedom to teach music from a different village each year. This change in repertoire helps to keep the camp experience fresh and exciting for folk music and dance enthusiasts. Well-known bands from the Budapest area such as Téka, Méta, and Dűvő, among others, have run camps to great success.

Hungarian music and dance camps that teach Transylvanian repertoire in the United States began with the energy and vision of American and Hungarian-American folklore enthusiasts. The first Hungarian music and dance camp in the US, Barátság, ran for almost 20 summers, beginning in 1982 in Mendecino, California.<sup>29</sup> Ti Ti Tábor in Washington state began ten years after the first Barátság camp in 1992 (and is still going strong), and Aranykapu Tábor, also in California, ran from 2002 to 2006. These camps were dedicated to learning Transylvanian folk music and dance via the táncház movement model and, therefore, the organizers hired táncház teachers from Budapest rather than Transylvanian performers and teachers. However, the Michigan-based Csipke Tábor, organized and run by the Hungarian dance ensemble Csipke, has recently hired Transylvanian musicians as guest artist teachers and performers. Violinists István Varga from Méra, Florin Codoba from Pălatca and Cluj, and the Transylvanian táncház band Heveder have helped to draw large numbers of attendees to the camp.

In addition to the weeklong training camps, Hungarian influence on Tranylvanian music and musicians extends beyond its own political borders to the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan and Western European countries via year-round weekend workshops, lectures, concerts, and festivals. Transylvanian musicians often travel to these countries to participate in these events organized under the banner of the Hungarian nation.

The Romanian government is also active in supporting folk culture, but from a different angle than that of the Hungarian complex. While the Hungarian táncház movement strives to preserve village folk music, the Romanian cultural officials largely understand village folk music as the prototype of an ideal national folk art. Instead of understanding village musical performances as art or entertainment in its own right, Romanian folk projects are often focused on developing the music into a polished artistic expression, performed by institutionally trained musicians. With that said, there are preservationist activitities happening in Cluj, for example, by Mircea Câmpeanu, director of the Center for Popular Arts (Centrul Creatii Populare). Câmpeanu is instrumental in providing organizational support to Transylvanian village musicians, especially in Frata and Soporu.<sup>30</sup> The County Center for Preservation and Promotion of Traditional Culture (Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale) in Cluj, along with the city of Gherla, is also responsible for the promotion and encouragement of amature, semi-professional, and professional folk musicians across Transylvania through festivals like the annual Transylvanian Trio Festival in Gherla.31 A video of Florin Codoba performing at this festival in 2012, along with Pălatca natives Mihai Radac (three-stringed contra) and Mircea Covaci (bass), is posted on Câmpeanu's individual professional website, along with a number of other Transylvanian string ensembles.32

Patronage of Transylvanian musicians also comes in the form of professional audio recordings funded by various government or government-allied agencies. The record label Electrecord, established in 1932, was the only record lable in communist Romania. Electrecord sub-labels that focused on Romanian folk music included Trésors Folkloriques Roumains and The Romanian National Collection of Folklore.<sup>33</sup> Today the label's involvement in folk music tends to focus on re-releases of previous material. However, Romanian ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu directed and released the 2002 CD project called 'Romanian and Hungarian music from Central Transylvania' through Electrecord, which spotlights the music and musicians from and near the village Buza.<sup>34</sup> Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea in Cluj has recorded and released recordings of amateur, semi-professional, and professional musicians from Transylvania.<sup>35</sup> Recently Câmpaeanu has been instrumental in this endeavor as the project director for recent recordings of Transylvanian string musicians.

<sup>26</sup> Háromszék Táncegüttes Sepsiszentgyörgy, Roma (Gypsy) Folklore Camp from Kommandó, http://www.hte.ro/category/9-kommandoi-ciganyfolklor-tabor/, 12 January 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Facebook, Kalotaszegi Vándor Néptánctábor, https://www.facebook.com/kalotaszegitabor/timeline, 12 January 2015.

<sup>28</sup> Kallós Zoltán Alapitvány, http://www.kallos.org.ro/index.php/hu/home.html, 12 January 2015. For camp information see táborok.

<sup>29</sup> History of Barátság, http://www.baratsag.com/History\_of\_Baratsag.html, 17 August 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Mircea Cimpeanu, doctor in muzica, http://www.mirceacimpeanu.ro, 12 January 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea şi Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale [The County Center for Preservation and Promotion of Traditional Culture], http://www.traditiiclujene.ro/index.php, 12 January 2015. For the folk music calendar, musicians list, and archival audio see Folclor Muzical.

<sup>32</sup> Cimpeanu, Video: Grupa II.

<sup>33</sup> Discogs, Electrecord, http://www.discogs.com/label/11624-Electrecord, 12 January 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Romanian and Hungarian music from Central Transylvania, Fundația Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș, Electrecord, compact disc liner notes.

<sup>35</sup> Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea. See arhiva audio.

Hungarian institutions, however, have funded the majority of professional recordings of Transylvanian village musicians available to the general public. Most impressively, a number of Hungarian-sponsored recordings were conceptualized and produced as sets or series, organized by village, in separate volumes. One such collection is the popular Új Patria Series, a selection of recordings released for public sale that derived from a larger project called the Final Hour program. Of the 50 CDs released between 1997–2001, 23 are recordings of Transylvanian musicians while the remaining 27 CDs are recordings divided between musicians from Slovakia, various regions within present-day Hungary, and Voivodina. Other noteworthy folk music series that include Transylvanian musicians and funded by Hungarian organizations are the Dance House Association's Élő népzene [Live Folk Music] and Új élő népzene [New Live Folk Music] series, and the Kallós Archivum series. Archivum series. Of the seriorician are creating history. By deter-

These various organizations and their activities are creating history. By determining who to hire and not to hire as representatives, they are shaping Transylvanian folk music's narrative and amplifying their particular point of view of history. For example, in 2013, the Smithsonian Institute's Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C., was called 'Hungarian Heritage: Roots to Revival'. A number of important Transylvanian musicians participated, including Florin Codoba, who was invited to perform as a traditional artist. Each participant's biography was included on the Folklife Festival's official website. Florin's biography introduces him as the lead fiddler of the Magyarpalatka Folk Ensemble, but from there, it slips past him to focus on the Magyarpalatka musicians as a general group of tradition bearers:

'Florin Codoba ("Kodoba Florin") is the lead fiddler of the Magyarpalatka Folk Ensemble, one of the most popular and widely known bands in the Hungarian Dance House Movement, playing Hungarian, Romanian, and Roma music. The musicians, most of whom are related to each other, maintain the tradition of passing down musical knowledge from generation to generation.

The musicians of Magyarpalatka are among the last representatives of Transylvanian instrumental folk music. [...] The younger generations of Roma musicians in Palatka have preserved much of this musical treasure, which they play with their parents and uncles.<sup>239</sup>

The biography is not about the artist Florin Codoba. It is a story about a Transylvanian community that has been preserving music as if it were a delicate artifact. Instead of describing Florin as a musician who 'makes' Pălatca folk music happen in the immediate sense, the narrative makes Florin disappear. The image that emerges is a Hungarian village in Transylvania that owns treasure, an object of value that is shared, inherited, accounted for, catalogued, played with, and protected by Roma musicians.

In reality, every tradition-bearing musician has had to recreate what they hear within the mold of their individual bodies. By separating Florin from the music he makes, the Smithsonian biography implicitly perpetuates the story that Florin's success as a musician has nothing to do with his daily practice, exquisite attention to detail, problem solving skills, and leadership abilities. Instead their story is that his success rests entirely on his family's long connection to Pălatca, his adherance to his father and grandfather's performance practices, and the successful passing, from one generation to the next, a collection of objectified musical gestures and sounds – described as 'musical treasure' – that somehow took shape in the distant, unspecified past.

# Florin Codoba as a Tightrope Walker: Navigating Folk Music Practice and Patronage

Although Florin's ethnic background is Rom, his preferred identity is as a Hungarian musician. This story is often accepted by others, but at various other times it has been negotiated, ignored, or negated through competing stories. As a hereditary musician from Pălatca, Florin's identity is also bound up in emodied movement, gathered through years of intensive training with his father Márton and uncle Béla. Bourdieu refers to this as *habitus*, and it allows for an interplay between explicit stories and embodied, tacit knowledge in the development of human action and identity creation. 40

Florin began learning how to play the violin at the age of three. In an early video that was later posted on YouTube, a young Florin is playing next to his uncle Béla and periodically self-correcting his bow strokes to match his uncle's. <sup>41</sup> Béla's teaching method, as evidenced in the video, was the apprenticeship model. He taught the correct sequence of notes, the direction and duration of bow strokes, and other appropriate, nuanced violin-playing techniques such as melodic ornaments by example. He also taught how to lead a band of musicians and interact with the music collectors who recorded the video by way of example. As a student, Florin had a difficult job. For an extended duration, he had to be intensely focused

<sup>36</sup> Heritage of Our Future, XX–XI, http://utolsoora.hu/en/final-hour, 12 January 2015. For a list of

For information on the Élő népzene series, see the the Dance House Association's website: http://
tanchaztalalkozo.hu/hun/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=497&Itemid=930, 12
lanuary 2015.

Information on the Kallós Archivum series can be found on the Kallós Zoltán foundation's website: http://www.kallos.org.ro/index.php/hu/home/kiadvanyok.html?showall=1, 12 January 2015.

Sme: http://www.fastivals/2013/Hungarian\_Heritage/ Smithsonian, Hungarian Heritage, http://www.festival.si.edu/past-festivals/2013/Hungarian\_Heritage/ participants.aspx#martin\_florin\_kodoba, 15 September 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge 1977.

V. Hegedü-VII.Brácsa-I.Bögő Iskola: Magyarpalatkai szökős [V. Violin-VII.Viola-Bass School: szökős from Magyarpalatka], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9W8jFwigN\_4.htm, 16 February 2014.

on two bodies, his uncle's and his own, and intuit every motion and sound his uncle was about to make. While Florin was playing the violin, he was also playing with perception, complex time, and movement.

The first time the author met Florin Codoba was in Cluj, Romania, in the summer of 2008. Over the span of two weeks, they met three times so that she could video record him playing the violin. She paid him money, and he, staring into the camera, absorbed with what his limbs were doing, played melodies that he learned from his father and uncle. Dozens of these melodies would pour from his fingertips before he would stop to take a break. The author was drawn to record Florin because others interested in Transylvanian string band music – friends she had met at Hungarian folk music and dance camps in the United States – had already recorded him and had told that he was highly regarded as a source of special information. In the folk music world, growing up in a musical family in a village and taking part in an apprenticeship model of musical training is a sign that implies a deep bodily knowledge of musical style, as if, by mere saturation, Florin's limbs held the knowledge of his father and uncle's limbs.

The next meeting in person was the summer of 2014, at the Csipke Hungarian Music and Dance camp in Sauk Valley, Michigan. For seven consecutive days, six hours a day, Florin taught the music students, including the author, by playing the same set of songs over and over again. He modeled exquisite Pălatca violin technique as we stumbled along. Although the students played wrong notes, rhythms, and bow directions, Florin never stopped playing the violin in order to correct them. In fact, even though they had a translator, he never verbally instructed the class. Instead, Florin instructed by modeling and gesturing. If a student asked how to play a specific part of a melody, he would simply answer by playing on the violin.

Florin often pulls his fingers off the strings in a distinctive lateral motion while playing. This motion creates the melody, but it also creates ornamental 'ghost notes', a specific and uncommon type of 'melodic floricele', that evoke the playing styles of his late father and uncle and is widely identified with the music of Pălatca. He seamlessly combines this movement with other left hand motions such as the 'trills' and 'turns' that lace his melodies. The author wanted to know how Florin understands these extra-melodic 'ghost notes'. When he was interviewed, the author asked him to demonstrate Pălatca ornaments instead of using the Romanian term 'melodic floricele'. Therefore, he responded to the author's request by demonstrating a musical practice that was unrelated to the 'ghost notes' that the author had in mind. Instead, he played a short eight-bar melody that is not a complete song and is not meant to be played by itself. It is a musical stock-phrase, a thinking or resting melody that is inserted, like a bridge, in-between two songs. Its purpose is to allow the bandleader a few moments to think of a new song to play without stopping the music. Although the author had made a translation mistake, the resulting conversation revealed an interesting conundrum for Florin. After his demonstration, Florin offered a multi-lingual, tangled web of terms about the music that he plays:

"That was a csárdás – joc ţigănesc.
In Hungarian you say csárdás; in Romanian you say ţigăn [gypsy] dance.
That's the ornament. Dance which [...]
[pauses] [...] there is no normal [...] [pauses]
There is no way to say it in Romanian.
In Hungarian it's: koziatek.
In Romanian, you can't say it; I don't know the translation."

Because one dance set can last up to an hour without a pause in the music, these thinking melodies are important tools for the lead violinist. However, although the thinking melody has a very specific and important function, Florin did not offer a specific term for it. Instead he offered a collection of terms that he has heard other people use. First he used the word csárdás, a Hungarian word that refers to the Hungarian-specific dance and dance rhythm. The only Romanian correlate Florin knew of was joc tigănesc [gypsy dance]. This surprised the author since the terms, csárdás and joc țigănesc, links the melody to two distinctive groups: Hungarians and Roma, respectively. Florin more or less finally settled on the Hungarian word koziatek, which translates as 'in-between,' and is commonly used by Hungarian táncház musicians.

The conversation continued a little while later when Florin pulled the author aside to tell that sometimes Hungarians use the word cifra in place of koziatek. Cifra is an adjective that means 'gaudy' or 'flashy'. This surprised the author. When the author had asked Florin to demonstrate Pălatca-style ornaments, the author used the English word 'ornament', expecting that he would play examples of trills and the 'ghost note' technique that is specific to Pălatca folk music. Instead, Florin demonstrated a series of thinking melodies, or cifra-s. His knowledge of the Hungarian musical term cifra helped him to make sense of the author's English term ornament.

Florin's job is not to theorize and define his music, but to recreate Pălatca music as closely as possible to how his father and uncle had performed it. As a budding researcher, the author wanted an immediate verbal explanation for something that took Florin about 20 years of intensive apprenticeship training to learn. By inventing a way to try to understand the author and her question and then offering this multi-lingual collection of terms for something that did not have a name in the first place, Florin was performing his expertise as a master musician and teacher of Pălatca folk music in a way that was expected of him at a Hungarian táncház camp.

But although he sets the standard for how Pălatca music should be played, Florin's playing and teaching style elicited some critical feedback from at least one veteran *táncház* musician who is intimately familiar with Transylvanian folk music history and practice. Janos, a man about 20 years older than Florin, had lear-

<sup>42</sup> Florin Codoba, personal interview, 2 July 2014. Translation from the original Romanian into English by the author.

ned some Pălatca melodies from Kozak Csiga, a violinist who was influential in Transylvania in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>43</sup> Csiga was not from Pălatca, but had taken a wife from there, and over time had exchanged music with Florin's father and uncle.<sup>44</sup> After class one day, Janos recalled Csiga's version of a song that we were learning and realized that it was different from how Florin was teaching it. Janos reasoned that since he had learned this song before Florin was born, he must be recalling older melodic information, which for him meant more authentic, and thus correct.

Later, when the author spoke with him privately, Janos also expressed frustration about Florin's teaching style. For him, the non-verbal teaching method was a sign that Florin did not fully understand his own abilities or the art of teaching how to play the violin. Although he respected Florin's position as the son and nephew of great Pălatca violinists, Janos simply did not buy the story that Florin himself is a master Pălatca musician and expert violin teacher in his own right.<sup>45</sup>

The camp organizers also hired a professional Hungarian táncház band from Transylvania called 'Heveder'. Throughout the week, whenever the band played music from Pălatca, Florin would lead them. His instrument was louder than the other musicians: he used every inch of his bow and dug it deep into the string, breaking multiple strings throughout the week. But Florin only played music from Pălatca, unlike 'Heveder', who were required to play music from various villages and regions. A large Transylvanian repertoire is a basic requirement to be hired by táncház organizers anywhere in the world so that táncház dancers have the chance to dance a wide variety of styles throughout the week. Commonly played at most táncházok is music from the Hungarian regions of Transylvania including Kalotaszeg, Székélyföld, Gyimes, and Mezöség, where Magyarpalatka is located. The genre has become so specialized that different villages within these regions have their own cycle, or set of dances and music, that they are identified with. While there are some melodies and dances that appear in multiple villages, specifying differences between village practices is fetishized in the táncház community, as demonstrated at camp workshops, táncház events, and the large number of village-specific recordings produced by Hungarian organizations.

On one hand, the fetishization of music and dance differences between villages in Transylvania is good business for Florin. His highly specialized ability for playing music from Pălatca means that his presence at Csipke lends the camp relevancy in the world-wide tânchâz market. Florin teaching at Csipke also signals to the global tânchâz community that this is a serious camp with serious intentions of supporting Transylvanian musicians with Hungarian patronage. On the other hand, Florin did not participate in all of the week's revelries. There was a tânchâz very night after dinner that started at eight pm and lasted well into the morning

hours. There was a large, wooden dance floor, and in the back, was a *kocsma* [bar]. Depending on the mood of the party-goers, the dancing would shift from the dance floor to the *kocsma*, and sometimes back again. In all of these scenarios, the musicians were always at the center of the excitement. But Florin's role was very limited within this ebb and flow of improvised party making. Not only did Florin not know the vast musical repertoires that the *tdncház* band could play, he could not speak fluent Hungarian or English to always engage with non-musicians.

#### Conclusion

Florin's identity as a Pălatca folk musician is an ongoing process that he negotiates via stories about his family and musical upbringing, working within the Hungarian táncház movement, and being a Romanian citizen. Contradictions surrounding his ethnic identity abounds. Although he is a Romanian citizen who speaks fluent Romanian, he identifies most readily as a Hungarian musician. On the pretense of his tradition-bearing Roma status, Hungarians have allowed him to claim a secondary Hungarian ethnic identity, albeit one he must work at to maintain. And even though he has changed the spelling of his family name from the Hungarian 'K' to the Romanian 'C' spelling of Codoba, his insistence that he is Hungarian, and his regular participation in Hungarian sponsored events, aligns him with his family's history of involvement with Hungarian folk music patrons, as well as Pălatca's history as a multi-ethnic, Romanian-Hungarian-Roma, village.

The geo-political history of Transylvania and the activities of Transylvanian folk music patrons are mosaic pieces that contribute to Florin's identity as a Pălatca musician. Starting with Bartók's ethnographic work through the tânchâz movement, Hungarians have established the norms of ethnic or national identification of folk music in Transylvania. The sheer amount of funding devoted to village folk music, in terms of the numbers of recordings, concerts, festivals, and camps, lends great framing power to the Hungarian folk music network, and amplifies a Hungarian viewpoint of Transylvanian history. On the one hand, they sometimes hire Roma musicians from Transylvanian villages to teach their music under the banner of Hungarian folk music. On the other hand, some Hungarian sponsored events, such as Hungarian music and dance camps, forego hiring Transylvanian musicians altogether, and instead, hire Hungarian musicians from Budapest to teach music from Transylvanian villages. These alignments frame and define musical activity in terms of a national music evolution, regardless of the biological background of the individual performer producing that music.

The ethnographic sections in this paper that depict the author's own experience working with, observing, and interviewing Florin, are examples of his creative navigation of a western hegemonic musical system, within which he had to match the demands of the international Transylvanian folk music and dance market. There is a great difference between how Florin knows Pălatca music and how others know Pălatca music. The difference has to do with the difference between

<sup>43</sup> Janos is not his real name. Janos, personal interview, 2 July 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Florin Codoba and Janos, combined interview, 2 July 2014.

<sup>45</sup> Janos, interview 2 July 2014.

explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge: those who reflect on and define musical and cultural 'facts' versus Florin's embodied knowledge. In his employment, Florin must function in a system that champions explicit, definable knowledge. But what makes Florin highly sought after is his tacit, embodied knowledge of what it means to be a musician from Pălatca, which is thus far indefinable, and unrelated to strict ethnic labels.

### Lukáš Motyčka

## Die homoerotische Camouflage im literarischen Werk Josef Mühlbergers

Palacký Universität Olmütz

#### Josef Mühlberger und die Mühlberger-Forschung

Der, aus einer deutsch-tschechischen Familie stammende Josef Mühlberger (1903-1985) wurde im ostböhmischen Trutnov [Trautenau] geboren. Er machte als Mitherausgeber der Zeitschrift Witiko auf sich aufmerksam, betätigte sich in den 1930er Jahren als Vermittler zwischen (Sudeten-)Deutschen und Tschechen, setzte sich für die Werke jüdischer Autoren (etwa für Franz Kafka) ein. Die Publikation der Novelle "Die Knaben und der Fluß" (1934) im renommierten Insel-Verlag bedeutete für Mühlbegers Karriere einen Höhepunkt, der jedoch nie mehr übertroffen werden sollte. Er beteiligte sich – etwa mit dem historischen Roman "Huss im Konzil" (1931) - an der zugespitzten Diskussion in der politisch und national polarisierten Tschechoslowakei der Zwischenkriegszeit. Im politisch zunehmend extremen Mitteleuropa standen Mühlbergers Emporkommen zwei schier unüberwindbare Hindernisse im Weg, nämlich sein politisches Lavieren und seine Homosexualität. Nachdem Mühlberger Anfang der 1940er Jahre auf eine sexuelle Provokation hin verhört und inhaftiert wurde, meldete er sich freiwillig zur Wehrmacht. Den Krieg verbrachte er an mehreren Fronten. 1946 verließ er unter passablen Bedingungen die Tschechoslowakei und ließ sich - seinen eigenen Worten nach '[vertrieben] in ein Paradies' – in Schwaben nieder. Hier wirkte er als Journalist lokaler Zeitungen, Übersetzer und Propagator (nicht nur) tschechischer Literatur und Kultur. Er publizierte in mehr als zwanzig Verlagen Romane, Erzählungen, Gedichte sowie landeskundliche bzw. (literatur-)historische Essays. Diverse Preise, die meistens von den Institutionen der Vertriebenen (Sudetendeutschen) verliehen wurden, konnten dem Autor zu keiner breiteren Rezeption verhelfen. Mühlberger starb in beinahe völliger Vergessenheit in Eislingen bei Stuttgart.<sup>2</sup>

Josef Mühlberger, Leben an Grenzen, in: Josef Mühlberger, Türkische Novelle. Erzählung, Bad Wörishofen 1948, 71–79, hier 78.

Näher zu Mühlbergers Biographie siehe z.B. Michael Berger, Josef Mühlberger (1903–1985), Sein Leben und Prosaschaffen bis 1939. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschböhmischen Literatur in den 20er und 30er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts. Dissertation Berlin 1989; oder Susanne Lange-Greve, Leben an Grenzen. Josef Mühlberger (1903–1985). Eine Veröffentlichung zu seinem 100. Geburtstag, Schwäbisch Gmünd 2003.