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The Ungaresca and Heyduck Music and Dance Tradition of Renaissance Europe

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Szupra aggnő, szökj fel kabla,
Hazajött firjed, tombj Kató
A te szép palástodban,
Gyöngyös sarudban
Haja, haja virágom.
(Jump spinster, get up hackney,
Your husband arrived, dance Kate
In your beautiful gown,
In your beaded slipper,
Hey, hey my flower.

Dance song from Körmöcbánya, 1506)

INTRODUCTION: RENNAISSANCE DANCE AND HUNGARIAN DANCE

Studies in renaissance dance are today, properly, still in the stage where the manuscripts must be constantly consulted, their contents thoroughly analyzed, and their factual data and values elucidated. The volume of scholarship on western European renaissance dance literature is substantial, but works of literary criticism are few, recently-added fractions of its total. Moreover, with few and notable exceptions, they are clustered around the works and names of such giants of Italian, French, and English dance as Domenico da Piacenza, Guglielmo Ebreo, Fabritio Caroso, Cesare Negri, Michel Toulouze, Thoinot Arbeau, Balthasar de Beaujoyleux, Robert Coplande, and John Playford.[1] As a consequence, our

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[1]Out of the corpus of renaissance dance the following are of major relevance: on the Italian masters and their works see Otto Kinkeldey, "A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance," in *A. S. Friedus Memorial Volume. Studies in Jewish Biography* (New York,

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understanding of other European, especially eastern European, dance traditions of the renaissance is both limited and uneven. This situation by no means has only a negative effect in the efforts of reconstructing a sort of chronological framework of European dance history, but, and this is more relevant for the broader pursuit of knowledge, it asks for revision of the thoroughness and the general tendency of historical scholarship.[2] The goal of the present essay is to improve our knowledge of an almost unknown topic: the dance and related musical aspects of Hungarian cultural life in the renaissance. More specifically, I will attempt to demonstrate from foreign and Hungarian sources that the so-called ungaresca and heyduck dance and music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, besides being a part of our renaissance heritage, had a widespread influence outside of Hungary and served as a predecessor for many presently existing dance forms in several eastern European dance traditions.

1929), pp. 355-357f; Julia Sutton, "Fabritio Caroso, Rules and Directions for Dancing the 'Passo e Mezo' from *Il Ballerino* (Venice, 1581)," in *Dance as a Theatre Art*, ed. S. J. Cohen (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974), pp. 10-18; Ingrid Brainard, "Bassedanse, Bassadanza and Ballo in the 15th Century," *CORD Conference Proceedings 1969* (1978), pp. 64-79 and "The Role of the Dancing Master in 15th Century Courtly Society," *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 2 (1979), 21-44. For a critical revision of Arbeau's treatise the reader should consult the *Orchesography*, (New York: Dover, 1967), translated by M. S. Evans, notes and introduction by Julia Sutton; and the article translated by Mary-Jean Cowell, "Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx: Ballet Comique de la Reine," in *Dance as a Theatre Art*, pp. 19-31. On English renaissance dance see John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (New York: Dance Horizons, n.d.) reprint of the 1933 London edition; and the recent discussion on Robert Coplande's contribution to English renaissance dance, John M. Ward, "The maner of dauncying," *Early Music*, 4 (1976), 127-142. The two basic books by Mabel Dolmetsch, *Dances of England and France* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949) and *Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400-1600* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), are still very instructive references of renaissance dance but should be discussed in light of more recent conclusions.

[2]The vast amount of literature on renaissance dance by no means assesses the state and scope of dance historical scholarship in general, especially since these works do not address epistemological and methodological issues, without which no discipline or scholarship can, or should, exist. Most of the works, I feel, are bound to failure mainly because of the disciplinary compartmentalization, parochial attitudes of theories, and the lack of thorough interdisciplinary approach. This is clearly evident in the trisected division of renaissance dance study, i.e., historical, music-historical, and dance-historical. Art historical interpretation of dance material as represented in renaissance art forms (painting, sculpture, fresco, etching, wood engraving, etc.) is yet to be developed perhaps along the lines of K. Clark, M. Meiss, M. Baxandall, and M. Barasch. Most of the strictly historical works only deal with dance superficially and, which is outrageous, dance is always treated as an organic part of the arts. For example, see the dance sections in *Shakespeare's England*, ed. S. Lee et al. (Oxford: University Press, 1916); Robert Wangermee, *Flemish Music and Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (New York: Praeger, 1968); H. Rosenfeld and H. Rosenfeld, *Deutsche Kultur im Spätmittelalter 1250-1500*, (Wiesbaden: Athenaion, 1978). Musical studies, though much broader in nature and somewhat closer to the subject of dance, just simply cannot encompass wholly and systematically renaissance dance. For example, see the studies of Joel Newman, *Sixteenth Century Italian Dances*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Music Series No. 12, 1966); and Frederick Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse*, (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1968). However medieval and renaissance dance has received, in few instances, the most extensive coverage by music historians. Some of the more significant studies are Daniel Heartz, "The Basse Dance: Its Evolution circa 1450-1550," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, (1940), pp. 88-95.

The starting point, which is also a working premise of this analysis, is that the Hungarian kingdom of the fifteenth century, being the most influential political and cultural center east of the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, was not merely a superficial cultural terra incognita for the western world. Though she may have looked very different and curious to her neighbors, Hungary was never hermetically closed to international politics, trade, cultural hedonism, and even gossipy western court intrigues.[3] This was surely facilitated by the common practice of court exogamy. In the fifteenth century and earlier kings took wives from foreign courts, and queens looked for grooms outside of the country. The well-known second marriage of Matthias Corvinus with Beatrice of Aragon, in 1476, the peak of the renaissance in Hungary, is probably the best example. At this point the Italian humanist culture shifted to Hungary in all possible forms; more will be said about this later.

However, it would be unwise to credit this marriage as the only means by which Hungary was able to absorb and acculturate elements of foreign origin. After the collapse of the Arpád dynasty in 1301, foreign rulers controlled Hungarian land. C. A. Macartney, the prominent historian of Hungary, rightly states:

> To have a foreign king was by no means always an unmixed disadvantage for Hungary. Fresh ideas and institutions were sometimes brought which fructified and enriched the political, social, cultural and economic life of the country, and without which it might well have failed to keep pace with the general advance of the contemporary Europe towards a higher level of civilization.[4]

Communication between eastern and western Europe during the renaissance, however, was not in equilibrium, a situation not so different from that of the present. While Hungary seriously engaged in European commerce, adopted western scholasticism and theological rhetoric, and followed European religious, political and cultural paradigms, the renaissance west not only disregarded the similar institutions of the east but took a largely ethnocentric position.[5] Indeed, in the west a romantic, fre-

[3]Hungarian courtly connections in the Middle Ages are well documented by László Zolnay in *Kincses Magyarország: Középkori Művelödésünk Történetéből* (Budapest: Magvető, 1977). A more specific study dealing with the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom and her international politics is that of György Györffy, *István Király és Műve* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977). Among the many earlier works dealing with Hungarian humanism and its cross-cultural characteristics, some of the most useful are Tibor Kardos, *A Magyarországi Humanizmus Kora*, (Budapest, 1955); the collection of essays in Imre Lukinich, ed., *Mohácsi Emlékkönyv 1526*, (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1926); Dr. Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch, *Ungarns Untergang und Maria von Oesterreich* (Leipzig, 1826); and J. Ch. von Engel, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*. (Halle, 1797).

[4]*Hungary: A Short History*, (Chicago: Aldine, 1962), p. 39.

[5]On Hungarian commerce, technology, and economy in the period 1300-1600, see Gustav Wenzel, *Magyarország Mezögazdaságának Története* (Budapest, 1887), p. 388; and Zsigmond Pach, *Nyugat-Europeai és Magyarországi Agrárfejlödes a XV-XVII. Században* (Budapest:

quently blurred, and idealized picture described the eastern European cultures in question. Most of the cultural elements borrowed from eastern Europe, or copied after eastern European patterns, had been incorporated strictly into the leisure activities and value standards of the west.[6] Hungarian music and dance exemplify this unbalanced relationship that has existed between east and west. With this in mind let us pay attention to the central topic of our investigation and see how dance, as an expressive cultural system of Hungarian society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was an organic facet and served as a meaningful avenue of international communication.

HUNGARIAN CULTURE ABROAD AND IN HUNGARY

The idea that Hungarian dance and music were popular in foreign lands in the renaissance may sound unbelievable for some. But there is nothing extraordinary about this. Already in the fifteenth century, possibly in the fourteenth and earlier, the cultural triangle of Burgundy, the Empire, and Italy had produced such internationally recognized dance forms as the carole, ballo, Langdanz, Hoftanz, bassa danza, passamezzo and many other national offshoots of a similar nature.[7] Into this mosaic Hungarian dance—or as it appears in the first ethocentric sources, some of the dances of the Hungarians—will fit perfectly. This cultural form of expression was not only highly acclaimed at balls and mummeries held at prominent courts of renaissance cultural centers, but reflects a unique aspect of a world, interwoven and juxtaposed, never emphasized enough in previous historical studies.

As early sources inform us, Hungarians, being a "nation fond of dancing," presented their talent at foreign courts as skilled and exceptional dancers.[8] Two court connections from the fifteenth century suggest

Kossuth, 1963), pp. 147-151. For a discussion on the development of western European scholasticism in Hungary and its ramifications, see István Mészáros, *A Szalkai-Kódex és a XV. Század Végi Sárospataki Iskola* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972). A recent thorough study on Hungarian religious stratification and doctrines in the Middle Ages is Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi Társadalom a Középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971).

[6]This idyllic picture of Hungary was definitely exaggerated in the nineteenth century. See, for example, the works that center around the *"pustha," "tsikósh,"* and *"tsigán,"* Franz Liszt, *Des Bohemiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, (Paris, 1859); Miss Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1830-40*, (London: Virtue, 1840); Emily Gerard, *Land Beyond the Forest*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1888); and E. R. Pennel, *To Gipsyland*, (London: Unwin, 1892). The similar idea is still perceptible in the twentieth century: "paprika," "gulash," "Tokayer" and "czardash," and, of course, the eternal "gipsy music" are what Hungary is best known of in the west and America. Russian vodka, Polish kielbasa and polka, Romanian embroidery and Ukrainian painted eggs, imply that, in fact, the other eastern European traditions are also conceived with the same ethnocentric bias.

[7]See, Gombosi, *Hoftanz*, p. 59. Cf. also Heartz, *Hoftanz and Basse Dance*, p. 28.

[8]A good historical reader on Hungarian dance is the recently compiled volume by Ernő Pesovár, *A Magyar Tánctörténet Évszázadai*, (Budapest: Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1972). Among earlier ones the outstanding work by Márian Prikkel Réthei, *A Magyarság Táncai*, (Budapest: Studium, 1924), and the valuable English translation of Károly Viski, *Hungarian Dances* (London: Simpkin Marshall Ltd., 1937), deserve special attention.

themselves here. When Sigismund (1387-1437), already Holy Roman emperor, entered Rome in 1433, the Hungarian mission did everything possible to leave the host city with good impressions.[9] According to the famous *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, written by Antonius de Bonfini (died in 1503), the humanist Italian biographer of King Matthias,[10] the young János Hunyadi with his stalwart stature,luxurious clothes, and excellent dancing, won the affection of the hearts of the ladies assembled for the reception; even the emperor became somewhat jealous of his prodigious success.[11] History repeated itself thirty-seven years later. Hunyadi's son, the strong and eminent King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) performed a Hungarian soldier dance at the Viennese court of Frederick the Third in 1470.[12] It is a paradox of our historical investigaton that until we possess the name of a particular dance there is no description of it at all. Bonfini is silent as to what kind of a dance was performed by the king or earlier by his father.

Hungarian musicians, dancers, and even costumes were noted in France and England also. Ladislas V (1452-1457) sent a convoy to Tours in 1457 with the purpose of arranging marriage between him and the daughter of Louis XI.[13] The marriage proposal did not work because Ladislas died before the agreement was made. The cultural mission, however, made history of its own. Its members participated in lavish feasts and balls; and on their way back, in the town of Nancy, the chronicler noted that with horns and drums the army strolled up and down the streets of the city and gave quite a surprise for the French as their trained horses danced to the drum beats.[14].

Hungarian garments used at court balls and masques were inventoried in 1560 in England.[15] In a letter dated December 15, 1511, the Venetian merchant Lorenzo Pasqualigo, lamented to his brother that the king ordered his court to dress ". . . themselves in long grey cloth gowns in the Hungarian

[9]On the 1433 mission to Rome, see M. Wertner, "Zsigmond Király Kisérete Rómában, 1433," *Századok* 37 (1903), 909.

[10]The famous biography by Antonius de Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, hereafter *Decades*, is probably the most quoted source material regarding the renaissance in Hungary. The several volumes were re-edited by I. Fogel, B. Iványi et L. Juhász, *A. de Bonfinis Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, Red. L. Juhász, XV, (Leipzig/Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1941); the pagination and volumes refer to this edition.

[11]Zolnay, *Kincses Magyarország*, pp. 514f. Cf. *Decades*, III, 9, and László Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika Régi Századaiból*, (Budapest: Magvető, 1977), pp. 339-340.

[12]Zolnay, *Kincses Magyarország*, p. 514.

[13]Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika*, p. 250.

[14]The Hungarian presence at the festivities in Tours is recorded in the valuable chronicle by Andrew Favine, *The Theatre of Honour and Knight-Hood or a Compendious Chronicle and Historie of the whole Christian World* . . . (London: Jaggard, 1623), p. 345. Cf. also Emil Haraszti, "Zene és Ünnep Mátyás és Beatrix idejében," in *Mátyás Király Emlékkönyv* II, (Budapest, 1940), 316, 328.

[15]Albert Feuilleret, *Documents relating to the office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1908), p. 19: "All the blewe and purple clothe of gold of this Maske translated into vj hungarians garmentes with longe sleves." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 25: "4. In to garnisshinge of vj hungariens garmentes."

fashion."[16] Hall's *Chronicle* records that after the Parliament session, in 1515, Henry VIII and his court at Eltham engaged in sumptuous Christmas festivities:

> After the Parliament was ended . . . the king . . . then issued out knightes and ladies out of the castel, whiche ladyes were ryche and straungely disguysed, for all their apparell was in braydes of Gold, fret with moving spangels, sylver and gilt, set on Crymosyn satyn lose and not fastened: the mens apparell of the same suyte made like Julis of Hungary, and the ladyes hedes and bodies were after the fassion of Amsterdam, and when the daunsyng was done, the banquet was served in of ii. C. dyshes, with great plenty to every body.[17]

The connections of the Hungarian court not only had reached Rome, Vienna, and London but Milan and Innsbruck as well. As A. Pirro, the French music historian, informs us:

> In Milan, in 1490, there were the following *balli*: Spanish, Polish, Hungarian, Turkish, French and Neapolitan. At her marriage, Bianca Maria Sforza distinguished herself by introducing French, Italian and German dance steps: but the manner of execution of the German dance step is fairly easy, for it goes similarly to the *ungaresco* in a slow walking style.[18]

[16]See, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. by Raudon Brown, (London: Longmans, Green, Reoder and Dyer, 1867), II, 54. The original Italian says: "tutti vanno vestiti di panni veste longe Ongarescha beretine." Brown notes that "In Venetian *Beretin* signifies ash-coloured, greyish." The adoption of Hungarian style dress, as opposed to the colorful Italian products, fits very nicely with what Jane Schneider, in her article "Peacocks and Penquins: The political Economy of European Cloth and Colors," *American Ethnologist* 5 (1978), 413-447, says about the new sumptuary laws and altered international relations in the renaissance.

[17]*The Lives of the Kings. Henry VIII. By Edward Hall*, Charles Whibley ed. (London: Jack, 1904), I, 149. Known as Hall's *Chronicle*, this monumental and highly controversial work was only published after Hall's death in 1548 under the full title "The Union of the two noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, Beeyng Long in Continual Discension for the Crowne of this noble Realme, with all the actes done in Bothe the Tymes of the Princes, Bothe of the one Linage and of the other, Beginnyng of the Time of Kynge Henry the Fouerth, the First Auchter of this Devision, and so successfuely Proceadyng to the Reigne of the High and Prudest Prince King Henry the Eight, the Undubilate Flower and very Heine of Both the sayd Linages."

[18]*Histoire de la Musique de lá fin du XIV siécle á la fin du XVI* (Paris, 1940), pp. 148-149: "il y eut á Milan des *balli* á l'espagnole, á la polonaise, á la hongroise, á la turque, á la française, á la napolitaine en 1490. . . A son mariage en 1494, Bianca Maria Sforza distingua fort bein entre les pas français, italiens, allemands: mais la maniére d'Allemagne est facile, étant constamment *un medesimo andare*, semblable á l'ungaresco."

It is obvious from these examples that the Hungarian nobility was not ashamed to perform their "national" dances for foreigners; moreover, it seems that Hungarian dances, or perhaps only Hungarian-style dances, were highly esteemed by the courts outside of Hungary because they appear regularly.

Vienna and the court of Maximilian I (1493-1519) are especially important in our chronology. After Matthias Corvinus' death in 1490, the cultural relationships with the Empire did not cease but even were strengthened. Hungarian dancers and musicians were all welcomed and played leading parts in the balls and mummeries held at Vienna.[19] In the *Weisskunig* and the *Freydal Codex* Hungarian dancers appear in a rather unique form: dressed in long gown, with the typical slightly curved sabre, ostrich feathered cappuccio, and disguised with strange bird masks.[20] The *Weisskung* shows the dancers as they are being received by the emperor, numbering more than ten; in the *Freydal Codex* four men are dancing, in a circle holding hands, one man is the torch bearer and one palace page plays a characteristic Hungarian instrument, the *tárogató*, sometimes called the "Turkish pipe," a fascinating scene that surely flabbergasted Maximilian and his court gathered for the "mummerey."[21]

The history and presence of Hungarian entertainers at Vienna is a subject of controversy and confusion among historians. Given the superficial attention to this subject, this is hardly surprising. The pictorial evidence, as can be seen both in the *Freydal Codex* and the *Weisskunig*, is very convincing, but it nevertheless begs many questions. Among them, I feel, the most pressing are the questions centering around dress style and masks used and the problem of the kind of dance performed. As to the first question, it cannot be doubted that both the *Freydal* and *Weisskunig* dancers wear the same costume and mask. Although I cannot ascertain the fact, it seems that the masks do not represent roosters, as Mary Newton in her study suggests, but rather the griffin or more probably raven. The griffin masks may have been

[19]Zolnay, *A Magyar*, pp. 212-215. See also the useful articles by A. Kubinyi, "Musikleben am Budaer Königshof, Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Geschulte Musicker und Spielleute," *Studia Musicologica*, 15 (1973), 91; and L. Zolnay, "Feldtrompeter und Kriegmusiker im ungarischen Mittelalter," *Studia Musicologica*, 16 (1974), 170.

[20]Lincoln Kirstein, in his superficial dance history, *Dance: A Short History of Classic theatrical Dancing*, (New York: Dance Horizons, 1969), p. 367, interprets the woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, "Der Weisskunig beim Mummenschanz," as "They are dressed as Saracens, masked like birds." While discussing the content of the Freydal woodcuts, M. S. Newton, in her study, *Renaissance Theatre Costume and the Sense of the Historic Past*, (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1975), says "The first masquers are dressed in what would be thought of today as 'Hungarian' uniform, the second as Turkish Janissaries but all have the faces of birds: masks modelled naturalistically as roosters" (p. 178). And later, "'Hungarian' is a loose term to use in this context; the exact difference between some types of Hungarian and some types of Polish dress has been a matter of dispute" (p. 316).

[21]Newton puts this similarly, p. 178, "Since the only *moresca* represented in the book of Maximilian's life as the *Weisskunig* shows mummers dressed in somewhat similar uniforms and also masked as birds, they must have appeared sensational enough at the time to have been repeated in this later [i.e. the *Freydal*]collection of pictures of the Emperor's day-to-day pursuits." Accordingly, she is convinced that the dance in question was definitely the *moresca*.

Artist unknown (Burgkmair, Dürer, Altdorfer, Huber, Trummer ?). Hungarian dancers at the court of Maximilian I. From the *Freydal Codex*, reproduced with the kind permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Austria.

used since there was a strong sense of historical consciousness in Matthias's time aiming at reviving some pre-christian mythological patterns. One of these was the *turul*, a bird representation (maybe an eagle?) of a griffin-like mythological beast.[22] However, it seems more plausible that the masks used by the dancers are that of the raven. This latter view is supported by the facts that the raven was the royal emblem of King Matthias and, in fact, the Hunyadi family from which Matthias came; Matthias's Latin title was Matthias Corvinus — from the Latin *corvus*, raven; his royal arms, shields, and

[22]There are several good studies on the mythological *turul* and its artistic representations: for example, István Dienes, *A Honfoglaló Magyarok*, (Budapest: Corvina, 1972), pp. 54-55, and László Gyula and Istvan Rácz, *A Nagyszentmiklósi Kincs*, (Budapest: Corvina, 1977), 67, 73, 180-181. For an exciting linguistic analysis of the turul see Dezső Pais, *A Magyar Osvallás Nyelvi Emlékeiből* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), pp. 300-327.

clothes bear the picture of the raven; and, furthermore, books commissioned by him, known as the *Corvinas*, also have initials representing the raven.[23]

The appearance of the mummers points, no doubt, to the fashion of the new elite of the later fifteenth century.[24] In fact, the root of the changing textile industry and the influx of polychrome clothes lies at the heart of the altered structure of political economy of Hungarian society at the time of Matthias. This grandeur, of course, draws attention to the substantial shifts in social formation and changing ideology based on the emergence of socially stratified populations. Matthias' loyal aristocracy, most of them newcomers to power, representing the middle and upper class cultural values of the southern provinces, faithfully adhered to the new renaissance kingdom, its politics, economy and socio-cultural value standards, a fundamental social change that cannot be covered in this essay.[25] It will suffice to say that the dress of the dancers represents the new ruling class, elevated by Matthias, and coincides with the time and cultural climate of the late fifteenth century.[26]

[23]Naturally, the special position of the raven cannot be understood without having a full grasp on renaissance Hungarian hearaldry, animal symbolism, and, in general, the relationship between man and animals at that time. Márta Belényesi wrote a nice little article on various animals in the later Middle Ages, "Az állattartás a XIV. Században Magyarországon," *Néprajzi Értesitő* 38 (1956), 23-59. Heraldry, hunting, falconry, animal symbolism, renaissance game preserves and hunters are discussed by László Zolnay, *Vadászatok a Régi Magyarországon* (Budapest: Natura, 1971). As a curiosity I might mention that there seems to be a strange bat symbolism in the later fifteenth century. Hans Seybold mentioned that Matthias had a beautiful gown with a bat (Fledermauss) embroidered with pearls at the center. Recently Zolnay calls attention to a metal bat, excavated in 1948-1952 at the castle of Buda; see *Kincses Magyarország*, pp. 283-284f. I hope that with this information I am not encouraging anybody to see a further reinforcement for the idea that seems to connect Hungarians to the bat/vampire legend.

[24]This idea is richly documented by László Zolnay, *Unnep és Hétköznap a Középkori Budán* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1975); he discusses fifteenth century fashions in detail in his monumental work, *Kincses Magyarország* pp. 277-298; also see, among the earlier studies, Mária Undi, *Hungarian Fancy Needlework and Weaving* (Budapest: Kohl, n.d.), pp. 26-29; and the exhaustive collection on renaissance household and family by Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar Családélet és Háztartás a XVI. és XVII. Században* (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1896).

[25]See Győző Bruckner, "Magyarország belső állapota a mohácsi ütközet előtt," in Lukinish, *Mohácsi Emlekkönyv*, pp. 11-40; and Erik Fügedi, *Uram Királyom* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1974), pp. 179-206.

[26]It is very difficult to draw a conclusion about Hungarian renaissance fashion based on pictorial evidence, basically because it is scarce and somewhat contradictory. The two studies by Alice Gáborjan on historic footwear help to clarify some of the most common misconceptions: "Két magyar hosszúszárú lábbelitipus viselettörténeti elemzése," *Néprajzi Értesitő*, XL (1958), 37-82, and "A néprajzi Múzeum lábbeligyüjteménye. I. Csizmák," *Néprajzi Értesitő*, XLI (1959), 205-282. Among the most useful pictures I recommend the following: the family coat-of arms representing a Hungarian and Turkish duel in *Mohácsi Emlékkönyv*, p. 95; the Hungarian scabbard in the Vienna Hofmuseum depicting a horseman, *ibid*, p. 171; Hungarian nobles after Bonfini's *Decades*, in Undi, *Hungarian Fancy Needlework*, p. 27; the pictures of Hungarian, Polish, Ruthenian, and Wallachian men in Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium poeme quantium imagines* (Cologne, 1577), and *Omnium peve Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium trabitus* (Antwerp, 1581); several of de Bruyn woodcuts reappeared in Peter Berlelisus (or Bertelius), *Diversarum nationum habitus* (Passau, 1589); and, of course, the

As to the question of the type of dance performed, the answer is more problematical. It is unknown to us what dance was performed by the Hungarians at the "mummerey." It may be a specific Hungarian version of the fashionable *moresca* equipped with all the wit and accessories of the mummery craze of the renaissance west. It is also plausible that these mummers represent a version of the *ungaresca* readapted to fit the scenario of these courtly theatrical performances. Unfortunately, Hungarian sources are silent about any such dance form. One thing is sure in this hypothetical pursuit, namely, that the *tárogató*, the Hungarian uniform, the raven masks, and the entertainments of Maximilian show, without doubt, a considerable mixture of eastern and western European cultural elements.[27]

At this point a matter of serious importance should be brought into our analysis. Until this section of this essay, as the reader might have noticed, I have dealt with sources in which Hungarian dance was performed, noted, and preserved by the courtly society. This was done for good reason, for there are references to Hungarian entertainers and dances in foreign lands where not only the upper classes but the lower social strata are also involved. The Hungarian pilgrimages played an important part in transmitting ideas and cultural artifacts, a fact that is clearly evident in the fine studies of Elizabeth Thoemmes, Louis Backman, and Walter Salmen.[28] Since the thirteenth century we can follow the route of Hungarian pilgrims to Halle, Wartburg, Cologne, Aachen, and Rome, and even as far as Santiago de Compostella, the Holy Land, and Ireland. The most famous of all was the seven-years cycle of pilgrimages to Aachen to visit the Hungarian chapel in Marienkirche and to pay homage to the relics of Hungarian kings

beautiful woodcuts in the *Weisskunig, Theuerdank, Triumphzug,* and *Freydal* codices. Renaissance fashion on the whole (symbolism, political economy, concept of beauty and the human body, seasonality, class and nationality, etc.), however, is still poorly understood.

[27]This is further supported by the fact that parts of the Hungarian attire of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reappear later in western Europe. For example, the Hungarian *mente* (overcloak) appears in France in the early seventeenth century, named *hongreline*, as a general piece but also as a protective military coat; this is beautifully illustrated by Francois Boucher in her *20,000 Years of Fashion. The History of Costume and Personal Adornment*, (New York: Abrams, n.d.), pp. 254-255, 286. This was also the period in which three other Hungarian military terms were borrowed: *csákó, Huszár,* and *dolmány*. The *csákó* (Eng. shako, Fr. shako, Ger. Tschako) denotes a particular style male hat originally used by the heyducks, hence the origin of the word which refers to the big and curvy horns of cattle; see Lóránd Benkő, ed., *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára*, 3 Vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), I, 470. The other term is the well-known *huszár* (Eng. hussar, Fr. hussard, Ger. Husar), a lightly equipped cavalryman used very effectively for faster maneuvers and surprise attacks; see Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History from 3500 B.C. to the Present* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 458. The *dolmány* (Eng. dolman, Fr. dolman, Ger. Dolman), although of Turkish origin, appears very early in the fifteenth century in Hungary and spreads with the other hussar attires to Europe. In the nineteenth century the English dolmanettes were very fashionable among upper class women, see Doris Langley Moore, *The Woman in Fashion* (London: Batsford, 1949), p. 110. The very long and abundant ostrich feathers on military style hats, very popular in early seventeenth-century France, were probably taken from Hungarian patterns.

[28]Elizabeth Thoemmes, *Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn an den Rhein*, Veröffentlichungen der Bischofl. Diozesenarch. Aachen, 4., (Aachen, 1937); Louis E. Backman, *Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952); and

and saints, István, Imre, and László.[29] This particular pilgrimage, to which Louis Backman devoted a thorough analysis, emphasizing the Hungarian contribution to the medieval *danse macabre*, was very popular. No less than three or four thousand people participated; among these were nobles, craftsmen, soldiers, merchants, students, musicians, animal trainers, peasants and other representatives of different layers of renaissance Hungarian social structure. The pilgrimage social institution, unlike its medieval counterpart, symbolized the paradoxical nature of renaissance society. On the one hand, the sacred and pious underlying structure kept thousands of people in an ordered system to fulfill the life-goal of any devoted Christian and receive the *sola gratia*, the divine grace. On the other hand, the profane folk beliefs and cultural traditions prospered, fused, and were transmitted in order to provide means to spend time joyously and fill the long journey with entertainments.[30] Trade, mystery plays, music, storytelling, education and dance, no doubt, were essential parts of this institution. Nothing proves this better than the Hungarian pilgrimage to Aachen. The English counterpart of this pilgrimage was picturesquely depicted in *Canterbury Tales*.

Hungarian dancers and musicians gained respect and love from the people of Cologne and Aachen every time a new pilgrimage group arrived: the streets became filled with music and dancers; not only Hungarian but German dances were performed.[31] Louis Backman beautifully summarizes this:

> Generally speaking music and dancing were inseparable from the Hungarian pilgrimages and in these thank-offering dances, as in Aachen, it often happened that persons of standing were seen among the spectators. *Das Buch Weinberg* relates how in 1524 the Hungarians brought with them enormous wax candles, which they placed in houses and in the streets and then danced to the music of pipes and drums.[32]

As Elizabeth Thoemmes informs us, one honorable member of the Cologne magistrate recalled the Hungarian pilgrimage in 1524, with the following words:

W. Salmen, "A középkori magyar vándorzenészek külföldi útjai," in *Zenetudományi Tanulmányok Kodály Zoltán 75. Születésnapjára*, (Budapest: Adadémiai Kiadó, 1957), and *Der Fahrende Musiker in europaischen Mittelalter*, (Kassel: Hinnenthal, 1960).

[29]Backman, p. 221. Cf. also Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika*, p. 337. A recent survey of some of the early medieval Hungarian pilgrimages is that of Györffy, *István Király*, especially Chapter 21, pp. 293-308.

[30]For a recent anthropological treatment on pilgrimages as "social processes" and "liminoid phenomena," see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978). A more coherent and thorough study, however, is that of Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage, An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975).

[31]Salmen, *A Középkori*, pp. 150-159.

[32]*Religious Dances*, p. 218.

> The Hungarians often lined up in opposite rows and danced according to their play. Altogether one must know that playing and dancing are inseparable from the Hungarian pilgrimages. In honor of these pilgrims a dinner feast was arranged where they danced for an audience, including many important people.[33]

To the city of Halle, at the 1519 pilgrimage, some Hungarians "brought their two bears with them. . . and to the music of trumpets they used them in the courtly procession."[34]

In chronological order the next mention of Hungarian dance is from the papal city, Rome. Interaction between Hungary and Rome deserves more consideration than historians have devoted to the subject. As we saw earlier, János Hunyadi danced for Roman nobles in 1433, an event that points to a serious relationship between the two states. As in most matters of religious and political administration the popes were pacesetters. Royal marriages and disputed marriage contracts asked for papal consents, and most royal decisions and laws passed were referred to the pontiff or his official supervisor to Hungary. This situation also indicates the fundamental connection between religion and political economy in Hungary at that time. Hungarian missions to Rome were of two kinds: pilgrimages and those of national concerns, both, of course, manipulated by the high clergy. Thousands of people participated in pilgrimages, especially in Jubiliee years, starting with the initial 1300 Jubilee. One can still hear the Magyar proverb connected to Rome: *Hosszú mint a római út* — "long as the road to Rome"—referring not only to the actual wayfaring life-style but to the hardships and difficulties of completing a serious task or job.

For the Jubilee pilgrimage of 1475 Miklós Ujlaki, Matthias' powerful and trustworthy baron, and Bishop Albert Vetési led thousands to Rome.[35] From Rome a special envoy proceeded to Venice to fetch Beatrice, Matthias' bride, back to Hungary. In 1512 Cardinal Tamás Bakócz appeared in Rome for the Roman Carnival with a magnificient retinue that amazed even the upper class citizens of the city.[36] Cardinal Bakócz, probably the most hated but in any case an important figure in the first decades of the sixteenth century, had more in mind than simply participating in the festivities of the Carnival. His colorful courtiers, coaches, well-trained bodyguards, and skilled entertainers were means to impress Rome, for the cardinal strived for the papal throne. For two years he neglected Hungary and spent both his money and energy in Rome, efforts that did not help in the end, for Leo X

[33]*Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn*, p. 94. "Die Ungarn . . . uft der gassen sich uffrichten und danzten nach dem spiel . . . Ueberhaupt gehören Spiel und Tanz untrennbar zu den Wallfahrt der Ungarn. Die Pilger nach dem Ihnen zu ehren weranstalteten Mahlzeiten tanzten and viele vornehme Leute zich als Zuschauer einfanden."

[34]Salmen, *A Középkori*, p. 159. "etlich Ungern Behain mit zweyen beeren die hat man in der Procession iren trumeten zu hofieren gebraucht."

[35]See Fügedi, *Uram Királyom*, pp. 124-125. cf. also Pio Paschini, *Roma Nel Rinascimento*, (Bologna: Licino Capelli, 1940), p. 248.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 397.

was elected and not Bakócz. However, the splendor and luxury of these elite missions have been preserved in the memory of the Roman citizens.

The Jubilee of 1525 deserves special attention, for Hungarian dance is connected with this particular pilgrimage. Its preservation is due to the witty and malicious writings of Pietro Aretino. Aretino (1492-1556) in his *Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia*, published in Venice in 1534, through a conversation between a nun and a prostitute paints a moral and judgmental fresco of lifestyles and ideas of early sixteenth century Rome.[37] Antonia, the pious nun, is trying to convince Nanna, the worldly and lewd lady, of the meaningless lifestyle of her profession. One of her criticisms sounds like this:

> You speak the truth that it is an ugly life for me but not for you who enjoy even the milk of the hen, and in squares and in inns and everywhere nothing is heard but Nanna here and Nanna there, and your house is always full like an egg and all Rome dances around you that moresca that one sees the Hungarians perform at the Jubilee.[38]

The revelation that Nanna's house is filled like an egg and that all Rome is dancing there, in the Hungarian manner, is not only a piece of excellent ethnohistorical evidence but in a way a curious one too. Why did Aretino make a point in using such an exotic and strange metaphor? The answer is because the dance in question must have been exotic as well as fascinating not only for him, but also for the entire city participating in the festivities of the Jubilee. The question now to clarify is what was this dance form? To this the answer is superficial and fragmentary, a difficulty similar to the *Freydal* mummery. The Hungarian "ballo" performed in Milan in 1490, or the "ungaresco" of the Sforza wedding feast from 1494, are possibilities. However, the masked, vivid, and capricious Hungarian version of the moresca or mummerey, depicted in the *Freydal Codex*, is a more probable candidate.

Culture and Dance in Hungary

In the previous section, I only indicated the existence of Hungarian dance as it is reflected in foreign sources. The picture is then, obviously, very frail and biased. Somewhat different is the picture that appears in Hungarian material. As I already mentioned, the Hungarian kingdom was not outside the flux of western renaissance cultural values. Hungary, of

[37]The original title of the first part of Aretino's *Dialoghi* is "Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia, fatto in Roma sotto una ficaia, composto dal divino Aretino per suo Capricio a correttione de i tre stati delle donne. Egli si e datto alle stampe di queste mese di aprile MDXXXIIII nella inclyta citta di Parigi [Venezia]." The contemporary edition used in this essay is that of Massimo Bontempelli, *Le Piu Belle Pagine Di Pietro Aretino* (Milan: Treves, 1923).

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 3. "Tu di'il vero ch'egli e un mondaccio p;er me, ma non per te, che godi fino del latte de la gallina, e per le piazze e per l'osterie e per tutto non si ode altro che Nanna qua e Nanna la, e sempre la casa tua e piena come l'uovo e tutta Roma ti fa intorno quella moresca, che si suole veder far dagli Ongari al Giubileo."

Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), in his second satire, felicitously caricatured the extremes for which Hungary was known: the dreaded cold climate and the overspiced cuisine. According to Robert de la Sizeronne, when Bianca d'Este was getting ready her dowry for her marriage with Count Hunyad, a natural but bastard son of Matthias, "Preparations were going forward to clothe all this party in 'long garments' because the Hungarian folk loathed 'the sort clothes that are worn here,' says a contemporary."[39] Naturally, Hungarians had a similar ethnocentric outlook about the rest of Europe. A late fifteenth century codex, preserved in the library of the Hungarian National Museum, lists several "characteristics" of different nationalities: the Germans are gluttonous, Romans jealous, Saracens lecherous, Franks wild, Swedes arrogant, Slavs are lazy, Jews pagans, Spanish are pompous, Italians are known to be stingy, Poles are drunkards, the people of Bavaria are fussy, Greeks are bland, and, of course, Hungarians are known as courageous people.[40] Despite all this, a well established trade with Venice, Hamburg, Nürnberg, and other major cities, courtly connections through politics and marriages, pilgrimages and wandering students, and, of course, foreign wars, which Hungary hardly needed, supplied opportunities for connections between Hungary and the rest of Europe.

The most influential cultural and political event in the history of late fifteenth-century Hungary was, definitely, the marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Naples, in 1474. At this point the country belatedly joined the splendor of the rest of renaissance Europe. This event, recorded by Bonfini, in his *Decades*, marked the peak of a fusion of cultural values from Hungary and humanist Europe, especially France and Italy, mainly through the courtly networks to Naples, Ferrara, and Venice. When Beatrice came to the castle of Buda, speaking not a word of the "strange language," she planted a whole miniature model of the courts of Naples and Ferrara right in the heart of Hungary. Cooks to doctors, pages to tailors, musicians to poets, all followed their signora to Buda.[41] One could even talk about a sort of cultural Italianization in these years. Naturally this situation was not unique to Matthias's court. Most of the earlier marriages, as well as the later ones, followed this pattern.

[39]*Beatrice D'Este and her Court*, (London: Brentano, 1924), p, 201.

[40]Quoted in József Deér, *Pogány Magyarság Keresztény Magyarság* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), p. 247. And, adding a nice touch of poignancy, one should compare this description with a painting from Steiermark, Austria, dating from the early eighteenth century and named "Beschreibung und Konterfei der Europäischen Nationen," Here ten nations are described according to seventeen criteria such as manners, intellect, skills, physical features, faults, costume, likes, worship, personality and such. That Habsburg-ruled Austria had quite an ethnocentric view of the Hungarians is easy to see, for the Hungarians are described as disloyal, inhuman, treacherous, causing a disturbance, like pirates, lazy, comparable to the wolf, and their life ends by a sword; see Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 153-155.

[41]Zolnay, *Ünnep és Hétköznap*, pp. 99, 122, 145, 217, 238; and *Kincses Magyarorszag*, pp. 294, 331-334, 438, and 513.

Before this great historic marriage Sigismund, whose epithet was that of the "traveling king," developed a truly renaissance court at Buda.[42] Craving the pompous life of western courts, he visited France and England several times and was on friendly terms with Henry IV, Henry V, and especially with Henry VI. He said that when in England he had felt like "being in paradise."[43] He brought the first musicians and artists to his court. The music of Burgundy left its traces in the history of Hungarian secular music.[44]

Later Bonfini informs us of the courtly happenings at Buda. The crowning of Matthias, in 1458, was celebrated with lavish feasts; the people "joyously danced and sang in the streets."[45] According to Bonfini the music was supplied by "drums and horns."[46] He also notes that when no instruments were present the dancers accompanied themselves by singing and rhythmical clapping of their hands.[47] In the hundred years between 1437 and 1537 there were several kings inaugurated in Hungary. At such occasions celebrations followed for many days. Not only the solemn tune of the *Te Deum* was heard but the various melodies of the *musica aula*, *musica bellica*, and *musica profana*.[48]

At the wedding of Matthias and Beatrice the triad of European dance traditions influencing the Hungarian court (the Empire, Italy, and Burgundy) were represented by the slow *bassa danza*, the swift *ballo*, the German *Zäuner*, and the well-known *moresca*.[49] Moreover, the Hungarian palace pages, as a special number, performed the "Hungarian solo," which, according to this linguistic classification, was a distinctly Hungarian piece; its similarities and differences, of course, are unknown.[50]

Hans Seybold, a noble from Bavaria, was also present at this international occasion. He recorded in his diary that "When the dinner was over, trumpet, drum, and horn players arrived who are particular to this court, and the dancing began."[51] Seybold was quite an eager observer, and maybe an intellectually oriented spy for the Empire. He noted that the newly inaugurated couple staged a reception for the nobles and the high clergy: "At

[42]On Sigismund's long and successful reign and his travels, see H. Horváth, *Zsigmond Király és Kora* (Budapest, 1937); and A. Aldásy, *Zsigmond és Spanyolország*, (Budapest, 1927). The later work illustrates beautifully the existing relationships between Sigismund and Spain. The connections between Sigismund and the kings of England is elaborated by Alexander Fest, "Political and cultural connections between Hungary and England in the Middle Ages," *Danubian review*, 5 (1938), 18-28. Cf. also A. Varannai, *Angliai Visszhang* (Budapest: Magvető, 1974).

[43]Fest, p. 22.

[44]Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika*, pp. 185-194.

[45]*Decades*, IV, 9. "Saltationibus cantuque passim exultare."

[46]*Decades*, IV, 9. "Tibis, tympanis ac fistulis . . . exultare."

[47]*Decades*, IV 6.

[48] See, Eric Fügedi, "Coronation in Medieval Hungary," in J. A. S. Evans, ed., *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*. III, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1980), pp. 162, 187.

[49]Zolnay, *Kincses Magyarország*, p. 514.

[50]*Ibid.*

[51]See Béla Borsa, "Reneszánsz kori ünnepségek Budán (Hans Seybold Naplója)," *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából*, 10 (1943), 34-35.

the day of St. Thomas nobles, clergymen, etc. were invited to the palace. . . here trumpets played music and then they danced."[52]

The royal court was not short of balls and masques either. A common festive accompaniment all around Europe, the disguised court mummery, became a special celebration at Buda; later we hear similar occasions from other noble courts also.[53] For this not only Beatrice and her sister, Eleanor of Aragon, who supplied many of the great costumes and ideas, were responsible, but, at the same time, Beatrice's cousin the young Ippolito d'Este.[54] The child cardinal of Esztergom and Eger, prince of Ferrara, received from his mother fifty-six different masks for the carnivals to be held at Buda in 1478.[55] These costumes, besides many others, were inventoried after the cardinal's death in 1521 in Ferrara. I might add to this that the raven masks of the *Freydal* and *Weisskunig* were not among them.

The years which followed 1490 were among the most dismal in Hungarian history. Ater Matthias's death cultural life deteriorated into a highly hedonistic and financially fatal lifestyle. The Zápolyais, Báthorys, Perényis, and other successful members of the middle class joined the aristocracy, and the aristocrats, both old and new, managed to dominate society and participate in the diffusion and promotion of the dominant culture and ideology inherited from Matthias. The political hegemony achieved by Matthias, however, was left in the distant past. It is clear from the records that the court of the Jagellons at its height, like that of the Habsburgs who succeeded them, provided ample scope for festive occasions, and there had obviously been no diminution in royal support for dance and musical culture. It is not out of place to mention here that when the Hungarian army was fleeing from the bloody battlefield at Mohács, King Louis II was accused by György Szerémi, "You king, you damned dancing king, you have ruined Hungary."[56] Others, knowing the sumptuous

[52]*Ibid.*

[53]Bonfini, *Decades*, III, 8, IV, 3-9.

[54]The Hungarian connections with Italy, especially with the d'Este family, is a fascinating one throughout the Middle Ages. Andrew II (1205-1235) had married the young Beatrice d'Este, princess of Ferrara, and for the first time Hungary established a long lasting tie with some of the leading families in Italy. Although Beatrice of Aragon (1457-1505), the wife of Matthias, herself was not from the d'Este dynasty, her sister Leonora (died in 1493) had married Ercole I (1431-1505), a prominent member of the d'Este house. Their son, Ippolito d'Este (1479-1520), as an eight year old boy, came to Hungary in 1487 to become the bishop of Esztergom and the cardinal of Eger. For a good survey of the d'Este family, see Julia Cartwright, *Isabelle D'Este: A Study of her Renaissance Court* (New York: Dutton, 1907), 2 vols. Zolnay, *Kincses Magyarország*, summarizes many facts about Cardinal Ippolito's life in Hungary, see especially pp. 516-519, 520.

[55]Among the many masks received from Lenora for the mummeries held at Buda, the following are recorded: "Mascare 5 contrafate, Mascare 4 cole barbote rosse, Fascare 2 con barba negra, Mascare 2 sarascine, Mascare 4 da omenj de tempo, Mascare 3 con tuto ill collo raxo dapello, Mascare 4 con le barbe de pello con tuto ill collo, Mascare 16 da damexele et damixeli, Mascare 10 da barbate raxa de anni 25, Mascare 6 con la barba raxa alle Spagnulle." See in *Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek Mátyás Király Korából*, Monumenta Hungariae Historiae, I-IV (Budapest, 1878), IV, 8-9. Cf. also Radvánszky, p. 414.

[56]Viski, *Hungarian Dances*, p. 14. Cf. Réthei, *A Magyarság Táncai*, p. 9. "Tu rex, bestye tanchos kiral, perdidisti regnum Hungariae."

banquets and endless mummeries held at the court, had expressed dismay at such extravagances. Francesco Massaro, the Venetian ambassador to Hungary, notes that the Hungarian court and Louis II, in 1525, when the Turks were already approaching the borders of the kingdom, were dancing all night, "ballar tutta la notte."[57]

After 1526 the constituents of Hungarian court culture were dispersed to other centers of Europe: first, to the princely estates of Transylvania, who imitated and in cases even surpassed the once so flashy court of Buda;[58] second, to Poland mainly through Sigismund I, who was raised at Buda between 1501-1505, and who helped to develop a serious working relationship between Hungary and Poland, resulting in similarities between the two countries.[59] This is obvious in the case of music and dance, for the heyduck music and dance flourished in both places; but more is to be said about this later. The third factor contributing to the spread of Hungarian cultural elements was the travels of Mary of Hungary, the widow of Louis II, who took the sad memory of her once so voluptuous court to the palaces of western Europe. Her role, as an organizer and adviser, at the festivities, balls, and masques, especially the famous celebrations at Binche which preserved her name, is well known in renaissance cultural history.[60]

From historical sources we are informed that there were several indigenous dance forms popular in the sixteenth century. In Buda at the carnivals in 1500, among the dances entertaining the young Jagellon Sigismund, there was a *kardtánc*, sword-dance.[61] We also know of the so-called *tobortánc*, a special recruiting dance form for men; the *vitézi tánc*, a sort of solo dance form for military personnel; and the *botos tánc*, stick dances, of which we know of dances performed with one and two sticks. There were several extreme forms also. The sixteenth century reformer Péter Bornemisza, in his *Ördögi Kisértetekről (Temptations of the Devil*, printed in Sempte in 1578), frowned upon his contemporaries' dances:

> They have a thousand silly things: some perform the hermits' dance, others do the touching-dance, in which they

[57]*Ibid.*, p. 10. Massaro, no doubt, viewed Hungary as a true Venetian; he also noted that the king ate six to seven times a day, drank constantly, while music and dancing were incessant. Coming from a city of merchants, bankers, and manufacturers, he simply could not accept the idea that work and leisure were inseparable for the Hungarian elite at that time.

[58]For example, see the useful study by Margit Kardoss, *Bethlen Gábor Udvara 1613-1629* (Budapest: Heisler-Kózól, 1918), on the renaissance court of Prince Gábor Bethlen of Transylvania. Radvánszky's *Magyar Családélet* is invaluable on this subject.

[59]On the happy life of the young Polish Duke Sigismund at the castle of Buda, see A. Divéky, *Zsigmond Lengyel Herceg Budai Számadásai (1500-1502-1505)*, Magyar Történelmi Tár, XXVI, (Budapest, 1914).

[60]See Mária T. Ortvay, *Mária II. Lajos Magyar Király Neje* (Budapest, 1914), pp. 12-15, 212. Cf. also Daniel Heartz, "Un Divertissement de Palais pour Charles Quint a Binche," in Jean Jacquat et al eds., *Fétes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint* (Paris: Editions du centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), pp. 329-342, especially p. 337.

[61]Divéky, p. 91. "Item dominico carnisprivii die, istis qui dimicabant ante dominum principem post prandium et choreas per gladios ducebant ad mandata domini principis dedi III flor."

> stir up the devil by touching their partner's ear, nose, mouth, breasts, and foot and engaging in other disgusting things. Then they have hedge-dance and the one in which they put their hands between their legs. Others find devilish entertainments in a dance form that includes the hitting of hands together. In this they wear special rings, with sharp spikes, and so equipped they hit their partner's hands so she will end up bleeding.[62]

The Heyduck Complexes

With the above sketchy outline of the importance of some of the Hungarian renaissance dances this study might well come to an end if the great wheel of our history had not produced a phenomenon of exceptional marvel: that of the heyduck dance.

Examples of heyduck music and dance, under various names, appear in the cultural landscape of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a fact that needs further discussion and elaboration; and by doing so, our chronology of renaissance dance in Europe will be extended and effectively substantiated. In order to understand the emergence and dissemination of the heyduck dance it is essential to follow up the changes which occurred in Hungarian social structure and cultural values.

The heyduck, Hungarian *hajdú* or as it appears in the first sources *hajtó* ("driver of cattle"), was not a phenomenon first appearing in the early sixteenth century.[63] Already in the tenth century a steppe herding economy contributed much to Hungarian stock-breeding, marketing, and consuming.[64] Later, medieval commerce saw the development of international trade, of which the Hungarian herds were not a negligible aspect: Venice and Nürnberg were the two major cities to which cattle were herded.[65] The

[62]See, *Peter Bornemisza: Ordögi Kisértetekről avagy Röttenetes Utálatosságáról ez Megfertéztetett Világnak. Semptén, Pinkösd Tájba, 1578*, edited by István Nemeskürthy, (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1977), p. 113. Bornemisza was not alone, however. Several other protestant ministers of the sixteenth century raised their voices against "devilish temptations" such as dance, music, and sex: for example, István Szegedi Kis, Gáspár Decsi, Ferencz Apáti, and Pelbárt Temesvári. Temesvári goes even so far to describe female mummers during Carnival, where they dress up as men, and argues that an invisible demon took the dancers away, a common theme in European tales; see Tekla Dömötör, "Farsangi asszony-mulatság a XV. Században," *Néprajzi Közlemények*, III (1958), 45. Réthei, in *A Magyarság Táncai*, points out, and rightfully so, that religious attitudes toward dancing reflect separate interests between the Catholic and Reformed churches; see pp. 9-16, especially p. 14.

[63]The word *hajdú*, earlier *hajtó*, first appears in written Hungarian sources in 1364 as a family name *Kerékhaytów*. According to etymological research the root of *hajdú* is from the verb *hajt* and is derived from a common Finno-Ugric lexeme describing actions of "herding" and "driving" of animals; see in Benkő, *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára*, II, 29. In English *Hajdú* has been translated variously as hayduck, heyduc, and haiduck, and even haiduk. For the sake of simplicity I have retained the more commonly used "heyduck."

[64]Antal Bartha, *A IX-X. Századi Magyar Társadalom*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), pp. 84-88.

[65]On the participation of Hungarian trade in the medieval commerce see Erik Fügedi, *Uram Királyom*, pp. 14-16; and Pach, pp. 147-179.

flowering of the cattle-driving industry, however, only appears from the fifteenth century on. Connected to this is the emergence of the *Tőzsér*, literally "animal-trader," and with it the profession of large scale cattle marketing that is, in fact, of fifteenth century origin.[66] The development of a substantial heyduck social stratum was not only provided by the general population increase in the later fifteenth century, but also by the thousands of free hands when the Black Army (the famous mercenary army initiated by Matthias in 1467) was disbanded in 1493.[67] It is a historical truism that the heyduck name and profession, while obviously predating the sixteenth century, reached its apex after the battle of Mohács in 1526. By the first decades of the sixteenth century the number of cattle exported rose to astronomical heights.[68] While the divided country suffered from the Turkish policy of *divide et impera*, the *Pax Turcica* was, in fact, of assistance to the heyduck economy.[69]

Nonetheless, sixteenth-century Hungarian society was, by no means, comparable to that of the fifteenth. While the shrunken Hungarian kingdom and the independent Transylvanian principality prospered culturally under their own elected rulers, Turkish occupied Hungary was the scene of continual strife among the ruling classes — including Turkish *beys*, Habsburg mercenaries, heyducks (Magyars), and the South Slavic raiders.[70]

Cities of the Great Plain, like those of Cegléd, Nagykőros, Kecskemét, and Debreczen, fought petty wars to retain and extend their grazing grounds and rights for their rising cattle industry. Owners and traders competed for privileges and controls over trade routes and important market centers. This social-economic perplexity worked in favor of this entrepreneurial, small capitalistic spirit, so much that, by the first decades of the sixteenth century, the heyduck economy enjoyed supremacy over the gold, silver, and zinc output of central European mines.[71] Immanuel

[66]Benkő, *A Magyar Nyelv*, III, 978; and Belényesi, *Az Állattartás a XV. Században Magyarországon*, pp. 56-57.

[67]For an analysis of demographic changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see István Szabó, "La repartition de la population de Hongrie entre les bourgades et les villages dans les annees 1449-1526," *Etudes Historiques*, I (1960), 359-386.

[68]Pach in his Marxist analysis of Hungarian and western European agricultural developments gives an illustrative statistical survey of the immense amount of cattle herds exported from Hungary, see pp. 176-177.

[69]About the situation of the semi-nomadic economy and animal trade during Turkish occupied Hungary Klára Hegyi, *Egy Világbirodalom Végvidékén*, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1976), pp. 138-142, provides a useful summary. This subject is also the central theme in János Poor's study, *A Hajdúvárosok Gazdasági és Társadalmi Helyzete (1607-1720)* (Debrecen: Déri Múzeum, 1967), especially pp. 122-170.

[70]See Hegyi, pp. 274-277. The Transylvanian situation between 1526-1604 is discussed in a recent work by Gábor Barta, *Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség Születése* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1979), pp. 122-170.

[71]See John W. Nef, "Silver production in Central Europe 1450-1618," *The Journal of Political Economy*, 49 (1941), 575-591. Nef argues that the annual silver output of Central European mines between 1450-1530 increased fivefold, a peak that was not surpassed again until the 1800s. However, by 1530 Hungary's national industry was based on the export of beef cattle and hide and, to a lesser degree, on grains and wine. The development of leather working

Wallerstein's position may be well taken regarding the heyduck industry. He puts the matter clearly in his opening paragraph of his recent study, *The Modern World System*:

> In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, there came into existence what we may call a European world-economy. It was not an empire. . . it was a kind of social system the world has not really known before and which is the distinctive feature of the modern *world-economy* because the basic linkage between the parts of the system is economic.[72]

The relationship between various layers of the upper and middle classes had undergone drastic changes. Demographic shifts, both across the kingdom and hierarchically, caused imbalance in the altered social structure of the society. Constant military threats and the trembling political economy required a new system of interdependence that was both strong and reliable. People were not only given lands as presents and enjoyed flexible interest and rent rates but, in return, they entered into a contract of military servitude.[73] Population had increased considerably; the idea of patriotism became a nationwide concern; and this gave Hungary the physical and ideological strength needed for social-economic and political expansion. Among the forces that helped to mold Hungarian society was the development of new religious doctrines and sentiments, for Hungary was often referred to as the "last bastion of Christian Europe"—*defensor Christianitatis*.[74] Thus, the second half of the sixteenth century was a period peculiarly suitable for the emergence of a new national and cultural consciousness. With this in the background, Hungary had not only resisted the danger of subordination, first to the Turks and later the Habsburgs, but it had moved to the offensive. Into this picture the sixteenth century heroic heyduck figure fits perfectly. It is significant, indeed, that the Hungarian heyduck was, at the same time, a national hero, a herdsman, merchant, mercenary, free-booter, and often a brigand; for his trade required the knowledge of all.[75]

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[72]See *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 15.

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[74]Deér, *Pogany Magyarság*, p. 261.

[75]For more on the heyduck social and economic situation, see Imre Dankó, *A Sajó-Hernádmelléki Hajdútelepek*, (Sárospatak: A Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum Füzetei, 1955), pp. 5-13; and the monumental historical edition of heyduck Letters of Independence and Bill of Rights by István Szendrey, *Hajdúszabadságlevelek* (Debrecen: Hajdúböszörmény Városi Tanácsa, 1971). Cf. also for a nice account on sixteenth century life-styles Sándor Takáts, *Bajvivó Magyarok (Az igazi szegény-legények)* (Budapest, 1963).

It was during the Turkish predominance in Hungary, from 1526 until the end of the seventeenth century, that a series of sources record the appearance of the heyduck dance form. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the popular culture of the lower classes was a threat to the established order. In fact, the first mention is connected with the peasant revolt in 1514, a horrifying occasion that preserves the performance of the historical heyduck dance. The shocking event was described by an eyewitness, Antal Verancsics:

> They took György Dózsa's clothes off up to the waist and tied him to a red-hot iron chair. Then they forced his soldiers to dance the heyduck dance around his throne. After the completion of every round they had to take a bite out of his flesh.[76]

Two pictorial representations are known of this cruel performance of the heyduck dance.[77] From this it is easy to see that the heyduck dance form appears at first strictly as a product of the lower classes and even somewhat in a derogatory context.

Related martial dance forms are known from this period. For example, Pál Kinizsi, leader of the triumphant battle of Kenyérmező against the Turks in 1479, and his soldiers perform a so-called *"vitézi tánc"*—literally a sort of "warrior dance" — in which, according to the chronicler, Kinizsi danced with a Turkish corpse by holding it between his teeth.[78] Duke György Brandenburgi describes one of the royal festivities at Buda in 1519 as follows:

> There was a great crowd and all women in the city were there, too. When the dancing came, I led eighteen mummers in short coats and in pointed red shoes, similar to those of earlier days. An old man holding two sticks in his hands and wearing strange wooden clogs, performed two curious dances. Later the king and other noblemen danced the tobortánc.[79]

The contemporary German traveler, Gabelmann, has given a vivid and engaging account of heyduck dance at the battle of Esztergom on May 19, 1594:

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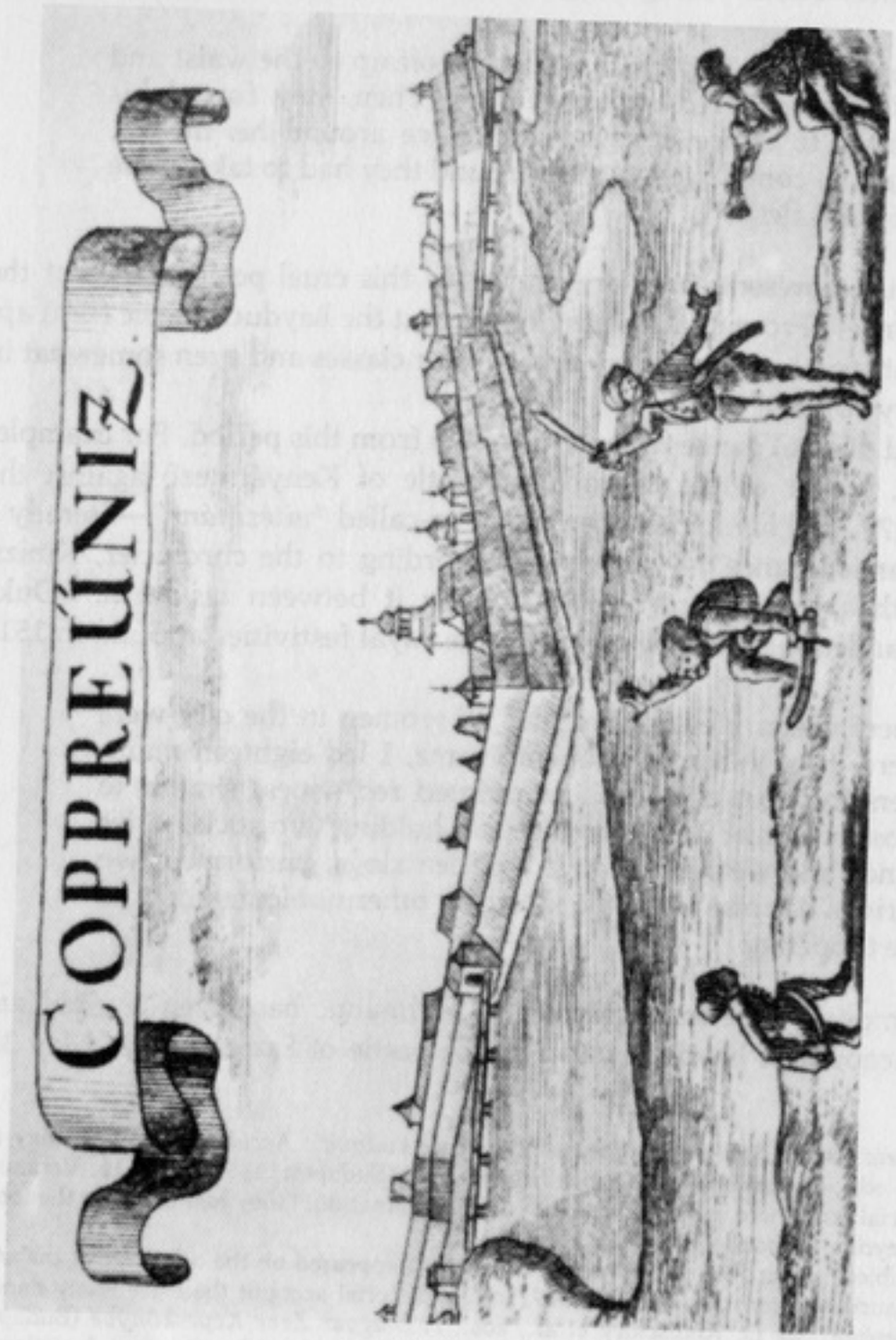
[79]Radvánszky, p. 416

One heyduck and two Hungarian flag bearers jumped into the moat and without any care for the heavy Turkish firing they performed the heyduck dance. One could think that this is a wedding feast rather than a battlefield.[80]



Justus van der Nypoort. Dancing heyducks in front of the fort Kaproncavár, from Birckenstein, *Ertz-Herzogliche Handgriffe* (Vienna: 1686). Reproduced fromRéthei, *A Magyarsag Táncai*, (Budapest: 1924).

[80]See Pesovár, *A Magyar Tánctörténet Évszázadai*, p. 34.

However, our Hungarians should have paid more attention to the battle than the heyduck dance, for this form of ridicule, obviously meant to make total fools out of the Turks, did not help. Esztergom and several nearby forts were sacked by the Turks in no time

A close relative of the heyduck dance, the shepherd dance, also appears in historical sources. Its performance is connected to the name of Bálint Balassi (1554-1594), the patriotic knight-troubadour whose death was caused by bullet wounds received at Esztergom. Balassi, at the royal meeting held in Pozsony (today Bratislava) in 1572, according to the eyewitness Miklós Isthvánffy excelled with his dancing. His dance

> was the type which belongs to our shepherds, but which for outsiders simply is a common Hungarian dance. The emperor and the king, as well as the other nobles, seated on an elevated platform, found their pleasure watching him, while he imitated Pan and Satyr, by crouching to the floor, spreading his legs and then coming to standing position continued to jump about.[81]

Perhaps most revealing in this context is the heyduck dance performed for the citizens of Wittenberg in 1615. Imre Thurzó, whose father György Thurzó was a graduate of the University of Wittenberg, was elected honorary *Rector Magnificus* by the university council. For this occasion a kind of pretentious mission was sent to the city of Wittenberg: hundreds of people, mounted on horseback, with colorful uniforms and shining weapons, accompanied by dozens of coaches packed with food and gifts, while the sound of army marches, the musica bellica, filled the air. Naturally, then, the first impression of this boisterous army frightened the people of Wittenberg. This carnival milieu produced chaos and disorder for the city folks who lived a quiet and pious life of the established order of the German Reformation. According to sources, the gates of the city were shut in the face of the jubilant crowd. Dissolving this conflict, later at the welcome party, the Hungarian character was expressed through a more symbolic, but just as noisy if not frightening, form of the medium, the heyduck dance performance. This event left the Germans surely dazzled.

> The tables being cleared, dancing began, and it was especially in the heyduck dance, with battle-axes and

[81]*De Rebus Hungaricis*, (reprint from 1724), Libre XXV, p. 326: "Eo genere saltationis, quam nostris opinionibus propriam et peculiarem, vulgus exterorum omnibus aeque Ungaris communem putat, palmam optinuit quum Caesar et rex ceterique principes illum, veluti Panem et Satyros imitantem, modo retractis, mox divaricatis in terram cruribus subsistentem modo saltuatim se attollentem sublimi e podis non sine voluptate spectavissent." Cf. also Réthei, p. 136.

> swords, performed with very swift, varied but harmoniously organized movements, that such amazing skill was exhibited that the citizens of Wittenberg could not conceal their admiration.[82]

A magnate, Pál Eszterházy, also preserved his name through his dancing abilities. In his autobiogralphy he mentions that after the state council meeting in 1647, "I was asked to perform a special heyduck dance, with two swords in my hands, which I mastered."[83]

A more detailed and humorous description was given by an English traveler, Edward Brown, who passed through Hungary in the middle of the seventeenth century. He writes:

> Before I came to Hungary, I observed no shadow or shew of the old Pyrhycal Saltatio, or Warlike way of dancing, which the Heyducks practice in this Country. They dance with naked Swords in their hands, advancing, brandishing, and clashing the same; turning, winding, elevating, and depressing their bodies with strong and active motions: singing withal their measures, after the manner of the Greeks.[84]

I must call attention to one further pertinent fact. The heyduck life, as harsh and insecure as it may have been, was not celibate and without the presence of women. As wives, lovers, prostitutes, healers, and sutlers, but in any case as hard working members, they were essential to the heyduck life. In his autobiography János Kemény, a Transylvanian duke, proudly writes about his beloved but somewhat ill-reputed wet-nurse. She was a good singer, an exceptionally good heyduck dancer, and a soldier woman.[85] She also had a child of her own, no husband, but enough milk to nurse Kemény too—details that add to our understanding of the time and people. The already mentioned Bálint Balassi, fond of dancing and women, tried to combine the two to the dismay of many members of his family. They raised their voices against Balassi's associations with the kind of women who, to paraphrase the eyewitness, dress minimally, fleshing their bare breasts; wear their hair loosely; sing in ungodly manner; and even "*haydukonum tripudiavisset*"—dance in the heyduck fashion.[86] Sándor Takács, the nine-

[82]Alajos Mednyánszky, ed., *Erzählungen, Sagen und Legenden aus Ungarns Vorzeit* (Leipzig, 1829), "Der Rector Magnificus," pp. 304-309: "Nach der Tische fingen die Tänze an, in denen sie besonders im Heiducken-Tanz bei den sehr schnellen verschiedenen zusammenstimmenden Bewegungen mit der Streitaxt und dem Schwert eine ausserordentliche Geschicklichkeit bewiesen, das ihnen die Wittenberger ihre Bewunderung nicht versagen konnten." Republished also in the historical collections on Hungarian dance by Réthei, pp. 133-134, and Pesovár, p. 34.

[83]Réthei, pp. 133-134.

[84]Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria* (London: Tooke, 1673); quoted in Viski, *Hungarian Dances*, p. 27.

[85]Réthei, *A Magyarság Táncai*, p. 146.

[86]Pesovár, pp. 32-33.

teenth century chronicler, insisted the city of Debreczen was famed not only for its prime beef-cattle but for its exceptionally skillful heyduck-dancer-women throughout the seventeenth century.[87]

The picture which emerges from the sources and this admittedly conjectural interpretation is blurred. Yet it seems that we can discern some of the major characteristics of the heyduck dance. It is believed that the dance originated in herdsman folk traditions which depicted military themes, and as a matter of fact, the heyduck dance was often a group or solo sword dance and seems to have been a cultural reworking of heyduck life episodes. From these fragmentary descriptions, which are very poor in choreographic details, we only derive the general impression that this dance type was virtuosic and contained high jumps, kicks, fast footwork, stamps, and squats; shrieks and dance calls were also an organic part of the performance. The dancers used swords and axes, or their substitutes, which they turned, jumped over and hit together as in fighting. The music was provided by a single instrument: the *tárogató* or the bagpipe—"the bagpipe urges the heyduck to dance," Péter Juhász Melius informs us.[88] Happily we can also say a few words about the individual and spontaneous nature of this dance form. Seventeenth century representations, such as the one accompanying this essay, engraved by Justus van der Nypoort and reproduced in Birckenstein's *Ertz-Herzogliche Handgriffe* (printed in Vienna in 1686), convince us that the different postures and gestures of the dancers identify an individual and highly improvised kind of dance.[89] The heyduck dance appears then to have been a sort of martial movement system performed by herdsmen, in his accouterments, with vigorous actions, weapon in his hand—in short, the traditional type of dance of the soldier-herdsmen of the calamitous sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

But these characteristics were no mere trivialities. The heyducks well perceived the significance of their dance to their very existence and survival. The heyduck dance event, with all its constituency, formed a complex and unified system, a profane and, at the same time, sacred symbolic avenue to express societal concerns. The heyduck world view concerned not only

[87]See Sándor Takáts, "Küzdelem a tánc és muzsika ellen." in *A Magyar Múlt Tarlójáról* (Budapest: Genius, n.d.), Chapter XVI, pp. 258-259. Some of these points can be paralleled to women's roles in western European military institutions discussed nicely by Baron C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A reconnaissance," *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 6 (1981), 643-671.

[88]*A Két Sámuel Könyveinek és a Két Királyok Könyveinek Forditása* (Debrecen, 1565), p. 336, reprinted in Réthei, p. 135.

[89]It is important to note that the engravings in this collection, as well as others in various sources, identify performers in various positions and gestures. Of course, definite conclusions, based on iconographic evidences, cannot be made without some reservations. The "individual" and "improvised," or spontaneous, characteristics of the heyduck dance should be understood in the context of the total performance and in relation to its melodic, rhythmic, kinetic, and semantic constituents, of which, unfortunately, we know little. On the spontaneous performance practice in present day Hungarian dances see György Martin's recent essay, "Rögtönzés és Szabályozódás a Magyar Néptáncokban," *Népi Kultura-Népi Társadalom*, XI-XII (1979), 411.

subsistence and animals, but three fundamental, distinct, and seriously interrelated issues: freedom, national unity, and cultural identity. Yet juxtaposed against this backdrop of music and revelry, the heyduck scenario reveals the fundamental intensity and seriousness of the people. Their life of constant struggle to keep the herd well fed and healthy, which was an unbelievably difficult task while on the dangerous roads for months, of the backbreaking work to satisfy the various tax collectors and the hungry dealers of Europe, and of engaging in fierce battles against bandits, Turkish rebels, and South Slav raiders tell of the unremitting toil that characterized the heyduck way of life. Given these realities the actual dance style of strength, harshness, and mock-fight looks very real and understandable. It should be obvious, then, that the heyduck dance performance epitomized the heyduck life experiences and served as a symbolic statement about themselves.

This chronological material itself, however, could not explain the significance and success of the heyduck dance system. There are two essential constituents that justify its prodigious importance. First, regarding the subsequent course of the appearance of this dance an unobtrusive phenomenon occurs: namely, that as time passed by, this characteristic dance form of the heyduck society left its original social arena and penetrated into the cultural atmosphere of the upper classes, finally to be recognized as an expressive form of national dance. This is understandable, for the idea of patriotism and the heyduck way of life personified the idealism Hungary needed in her struggle for freedom and national identity. Later historical references, especially that of Pál Eszterházy and the Wittenberg performance, are clear indications of the elevation of the heyduck dance and its symbolic message. This socio-cultural phenomenon, anomalous as it may be, was an organic part of much wider and deeper social changes affecting societal values in Hungary. Patriotism and the warrior life-style were, in fact, a national obsession. It can be argued that the words *"nemzet," "haza,"* and *"szabadság"* (nation, homeland, and liberty) provide the key to an understanding of Hungarian ideology and world view of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[90] By giving these words central importance, we are able to place the heyducks in historical and political processes and to relate these to other issues that link heyduck dance and music to notions of warfare, patriotism, and freedom.

Furthermore, the development of Hungarian-language literature and printing was the product of these troublesome years. With the adaptation of Hungarian language a heightened sense of awareness had developed among the Magyar populations of the country. This, in turn, perpetuated and

[90]This point is argued convincingly by József Deér in *Pogány Magyarság*, especially see Chapter 7, pp. 229-242.

unified the emerging national ideology for the country constantly under attack. Bálint Balassi summarized beautifully the idealism found in Hungary in the sixteenth century:

> Warriors, what can be more pleasing
> On this wide globe, than the life at
> the frontiers? . . .
> Oh, the glorious army of frontiersmen
> And youthful warriors.
> Who gained respect for their names
> All over on this earth,
> Just like trees, that are blessed
> with many fruits
> So, should God bless You with
> good fortune out there.[91]

Secondly, similar to the ungaresca of the fifteenth century, the heyduck culture spread beyond the borders of Hungary. Its immense fame, importance, and influence of the indigenous traditions in eastern Europe cannot be emphasized enough. The art of the heyducks was carried from Hungary all over Europe. Czech, Slovak, Polish, and German sources tell us about the undoubted popularity of heyduck dance and music that had persisted in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The heyduck perfor-Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The heyduck performance in foreign surroundings must have been an exceptionally eccentric the calls, virtuoso movements of the combat dance, and other features which gave renaissance Europe another spectacle and which enabled this heyduck complex to reach a longevity of more than four hundred years.

DANCE MUSIC: PAST AND PRESENT

The first thing that will surely strike the student of renaissance dance music is the scarcity of scores of the music for Hungarian dances referred to in manuscripts and tablatures all over Europe.[92] The other curious aspect is the lack of written dance music in Hungary until the seventeenth century, for the first printed dance music appears from the middle of the century in the *Codex Kájoni* (1637-1671), *Codex Vietoris* (1680), *Virginal Tablature of*

[91]*Balassi Bálint Osszes Versei, Szép Magyar Comoediája és Levelezése*, Sándor Eckhard, ed. (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1968), pp. 105-106. Balassi, who was an outstanding dancer and infamous Casanova as we saw earlier, was the greatest knight-troubadour living in the sixteenth century. His poems, or rather songs, were not printed in his lifetime; a few of his works appeared posthumously through his friendly connections but only the above collection breaks the four hundred years of negligence.

[92]The most thorough analysis of sixteenth century Hungarian dance music is Bence Szabolcsi, "A XVI. Század Magyar Tánczenéje," in Ferenc Bónis, ed., *A Magyar Zene Évszázadai*, I (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1959), pp. 157-208. Unfortunately, this important musical study still awaits its timely recognition; this is mainly the consequence of the lack of translations. However, a recently published German edition is very helpful: *Tanzmusik aus Ungarn im 16. and 17. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

Jacob Starcken (1689), and others.[93] It is essential to deal with these problems in order to eliminate the seeming dichotomy between the fifteenth century appearance of the ungarescas and its later relative, the heyduck dance. Furthermore, by scrutinizing the musical pieces in Table 1, we are able to clarify the relationships and differences, if any, between dance and music in the fifteenth and later centuries.

Bence Szabolcsi, the prominent music historian, whose analysis I follow carefully and extend somewhat, has proposed that an important shift in Hungarian societal values, caused by the forces of history, was the reason why no written dance music existed in the sixteenth century and developed only much later.[94] Accordingly, my theory about the elevation of the heyduck dance form into higher circles corroborates Szabolcsi's assumptions, namely, that in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the heyduck musical and dance institution was the property of the lower social strata, for whom musical notation as such did not exist. Later, when the elite adapted the heyduck complexes, they were able to preserve these pieces in musical notation; for education and writing, including music theory, were the prerogative of the wealthy.

Another facet of this problem may be due to the popular bias in publishing against the *chronica verse* or historical songs. This song style was concerned with historical, biblical, and political events, a form that resembles the late *Minnesänger* tradition but, in fact, was the product of the chaotic years of the patriotic sixteenth century.[95] Professional musicians, soldiers, wandering students and poets were singing these songs, accompanied by lute, zither, and virginal. The language, of course, was Hungarian. As a symbolic form of poetic expression of political protest, national unity, and patriotism, the *chronica verse* became the chief musical vehicle of the 1500s. The first published collection, the *Chronica* by Sebestyén Tinódi, was printed in Kolozsvár by the author in 1554.[96] In later decades many similar song books were printed. To publish instrumental dance music in this ossified situation is inconceivable.

[93]For a discussion on seventeenth century Central European music, see Bence Szabolcsi, "A XVII. Század Magyar Világi Dallamai," in Bónis, *A Magyar Zene*, pp. 281-372; and "A XVII. Század Magyar Főúri Zenéje," *ibid*, pp. 209-280. A survey on the seventeenth century's musical life and song tradition is Géza Papp, *A XVII. Század Énekelt Dallamai*, Régi Magyar Dallamok Tára II, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970).

[94]Szabolcsi, p. 211. In this analysis I have not dealt with the music of Bálint Bakfark (1507-1576), a famous Hungarian lute virtuoso. Báling Bakfark, in his humanist Latin name known as Valentinus Bakfark, played in such courts as Sisimund, Maximilian II, Francis I, and various Italian and Transylvanian courts.

[95]On the sixteenth century *chronica verse*, see Kálmán Csomasz Tóth, *A XVI. Század Magyar Dallamai*, Régi Magyar Dallamok Tára I, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958); and the volumes appearing in the series of *Bibliotheca Hungaria Antique*, Béla Varjas, ed. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958-1975).

[96]For a musical analysis of Sebestyén Tinódi's song complexes, see Bence Szabolcsi, "Tinódi Zenéje," in Bónis, *A Magyar Zene*, pp. 41-100; Szabolcsi also deals with the other *chronica verse* collections in his subsequent essay, "A XVI. Század Historiás Zenéje," *ibid.*, pp. 103-156.

Of course, it is likely that while in the humanist west instrumental music, counterpoint, and printing of theoretical works on music were already in an advanced state, in Hungary such elements of music were not yet fully understood. Hungary's immediate concerns emphasized different cultural forms of expressions.

However, as nineteenth-century music historians recognized, foreign dance collections and music treatises contain pieces entitled ungarescha, salterello ongaro, ungarischer tantz, heyduck tantz, and others. What all these numbers tell us is simply a further support and rectification of our understanding of the dance material evident from historical sources, i.e., that from the fifteenth century on there was a wide interest in Hungarian dance and music in renaissance Europe, which, in turn, supplied the renaissance world with an "exotic" form of exhibition of national artifact. It is not possible to give a detailed account of the exploits of Hungarian dance music in Europe here, but Table 1 indicates the immense interest with which the people of Europe noted these "ethnic" pieces. The bold chronological frame of Table 1 conveys little idea, though, of the extraordinary itinerary of Hungarian dance and music in Europe.

The question one immediately wishes answered with regard to these musical pieces is how they achieved such a wide dissemination. Unfortunately, it is a question that is almost impossible to answer with certainty. The significance of wide commercial relations, royal political and cultural ties, the routes of religious pilgrimages and that of the heyducks, and wandering Hungarian students crossing the borders of many contemporary cultures and peoples should be obvious. Deserving a special place, however, one professional stands out, the renaissance musician.

The history of the fifteenth century musicians and their guilds is unusual in more than one way. By the times of Sigismund and Matthias, when manuscripts and personal letters throw fuller light upon their conditions, we observe that court musicians were highly esteemed and paid.[97] Their role in transmitting musical styles from court to court is evident. Happily, we can follow with some continuity the history of Hungarian and foreign musicians for more than three centuries, including those obscure years between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have left almost no indication of musical life in general. This is chiefly due to the fact that the musician was not just another member of the court. The role of the Hungarian as well as foreign musicians in the diffusion of Hungarian dance music is equally important. The following list may be convenient to see the frequency of appearance of Hungarian court and army musicians in European cities: Innsbruck 1455, Basel 1467-1468, Munich 1468, Innsbruck

[97]See Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika*, pp. 335-336. Cf. also Leo Treitler's essay, "Oral, Written and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 471-491, for a useful insight of possible avenues for dissemination of musical knowledge in the Middle Ages.

1475, Vienna 1485, Milan 1490, Ferrara 1491, Zwickau 1507, Mechelen 1513-1514, Vienna 1515, and Cracow 1519.[98]

The renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the time of greatest exchange of musical styles among Hungary, Italy, Burgundy, the Empire, and the Low Countries. For this numerous foreign musicians serving at various courts in Hungary are also responsible. For example, at the court of Sigismund the renowned German Minnesänger, Oswald von Volkenstein (1377-1455), represented western musical culture.[99] In Matthias' surroundings there were many European celebrities, for instance Johannes Stokem, who was the director of the royal orchestra at Buda.[100] The later Jagellon court had several outstanding foreign musicians: Thomas Stoker (1480-1526), Thomas Stolzer (?-1526), Josquin de Pres (1450-1521), Jean Cornuel (1470-?), Heinrich Finch (1445-1527), Erasmus Lapicida (1419-1519), Macchio Franchese (circa late 1490s) and many others.[101] We could go on and on with the list of musicians, composers, and singers who served Louis II and several Transylvanian princely estates.[102] These artists only spent a few years at the Hungarian courts (with the exception of Thomas Stolzer, who may have lost his life at the battlefield of Mohács) and then returned to their native lands or perhaps to other courts to continue their profession for someone else. It seems obvious that some of these musicians collected and heard original material while in Hungary which they played and distributed after they left the country; however, further research is needed to substantiate this proposition.

Now let us examine the musical pieces in Table 1, for the fundamental relationship between the ungarescas and heyduck complexes is hidden in their form, melody, structure, and rhythm. At first sight these pieces seem to mirror the conventional musical patterns of the humanist west, for example, with the highly ornamented melodies of the salterellos and the passamezzos and by pairing the even and uneven parts.[103] However, certain melodic relationships, the linguistic references, and the peculiar rhythmic quality overarch and connect several of them into the so-called ungaresca-heyduck musical complex: first, we can discern five major melodic groups, marked as C, D, L, M, and O in Table 1; second, all titles refer to or describe a Hungarian or, perhaps better, a Hungarian style dance; and, finally, there is the rhythmic quality known as *kolomeyka*.[104] The dominant

[98]There is more attention given to this subject in Salmen's study, *A Középkori Magyar Vándorzenészek*, p. 159. Examples are cited also in Zolnay, *ünnep és Hétköznap a Középkori Budán*, pp. 239-240.

[99]The life of Oswald von Volkenstein and his years in Hungary is discussed by A. Motz, *Oswald von Wolkenstein Elete és Költészete Tekintettel Magyar Vonatkozásaira* (Budapest, 1915), p. 26.

[100]Zolnay, *A Magyar Muzsika*, p. 207.

[101]*Ibid.*, pp. 202-208.

[102]*Ibid.*, pp. 215-229; Cf. also A. Kubinyi, *Spielleute und Musiker*, p. 90, and L. Zolnay, *Data of the Musical Life of Buda*, pp. 99-113.

[103]Szabolcsi, *A XVI. Század Magyar Tánczenéje*, p. 164.

[104]*Ibid.*, pp. 180-182.

rhythmic formula of Lublini's *hayducki*; Heckel's *Ungerischer tantz*; the *ungarescas* of Maineiro, Paix, and Phalese; the *allemande* of Susato and Phalese; and the *danza* of Chilesotti is very informative. They are based on the *kolomeyka*, or as it is known in Hungarian ethnomusicology, the *kanásztánc* (swineherd) dance rhythm formula.[105] It is instructive to realize that this pattern retained its primacy in Hungarian dance music, even until today, and as such belongs to the old layer (style) of folk music as opposed to the new style music developed since the eighteenth century.[106]

While it should be clear to the reader that I have only utilized some of the major conclusions of the thorough musical analyses conducted by Szabolcsi, a few addenda are necessary.[107] First of all, since it is obvious that the common characteristics of these pieces refer to a Hungarian style dance form, the nature of the ungarescas needs some clarification. What we know of the music of the ungarescas is mostly due to the admirable manuscripts of Paix, Phalese, and Maineiro, which were written down in the second half of the sixteenth century but, in fact, bespeak a fifteenth century dance form.[108] In contemporary Hungary, as we saw, there existed several indigenous dance forms; however, in foreign countries we are informed of the Hungarian *ballo*, the Hungarian *moresca*, and the *allemande* type of ungaresco. According to A. Pirro the ungaresca is similar to the allemande, i.e. executed in a slow walking style.[109] However, this is a rather ambiguous description because the allemande itself is a broad category, for it covers different musical styles, movement qualities, tempo, and choreographic patterns.[110] Furthermore, the reconstructed ungarescas, though they are slightly different from each other and reflect individualistic interpretations, do not fit any kind of "slow" or "walking" type of dance movements,

[105]*Ibid.*, p. 167.

[106]Zoltan Kodály, *A Magyar Népzene* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1971), pp. 61-62. Very useful are the studies on the relationship between the *kanásztánc* rhythm, song performance style, and the Hungarian language rhythm and stress by Lajos Vargyas, *Magyar Vers Magyar Nyelv* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1966), pp. 28-37; and Bence Szabolcsi, *Vers és Dallam* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), pp. 51-59.

[107]Szabolcsi himself was not aware of the *Danzig Lautenbuch*, the *Dohna Lautenstammbuch* and the valuable third source of the ungaresca, Mainerio's manuscript, *Il Primo Libro*, for he does not deal with these in his analyses.

[108]For the Mainerio tablature, see Giorgio Mainerio, *Il Primo Libro de Balli* (Venice, 1578), in Manfred Schuler, ed., *Musikalische Denkmäler*, V (Mainz: Schott, 1961).

[109]*Histoire de la Musique*, p. 149: "Mais la manière d'Allemagne est facile, ètant constamment *un medesimo andare*, semblable à l'ungaresco."

[110]For discussions of this question with special emphasis on the ambiguous nature of renaissance dance music pieces, see E. Mohr, *Die Allemande*, I, (Zürich und Leipzig, 1932), 59-61; N. Massaroli, "Antliche danze Romagnole, *'Il Folklore Italiano* 5 (1930), 70; G. Reichert, "Der Passamezzo," *Kongress-Bericht Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Lüneburg*, (1950), p. 94; and Szabolcsi, *A XVI. Század Magyar Tánczeneje*, p. 166. Curiously the name "allemande" appears with reference to a Hungarian style dance, in the collection of G. Phalèse, *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum*, (Louvain, 1568); in this work a piece, entitled "Almande de Ungrie," refers to a dance music which does not possess any "Hungarian" elements and seems to be a rather artistic reworking of a possible idea of an "ethnic" dance fashion craze that characterized the sixteenth century western renaissance.

especially since the subsequent dance, the salterello, denotes a jumping, gay, swift dance form.[111]

It is obvious, then, that precise definition of this phenomenon is not yet possible but it can be hypothesized that some of the features of the ungarescas distantly may have resembled those of contemporary European dances. There was, for instance, the change from double meter to triple, the ungaresca (or passamezzo) is followed by the salterello (sometimes proportz or sprunck), which despite some differences, might be compared to the similar dance forms of the renaissance west. Yet the parallels with the concurrent renaissance dances must not be stretched too far. The essential criterion is this: Hungarians performing their dances in a foreign environment, despite the ethnocentric categorization of western names and descriptions, may illustrate any of their existing national dance forms. From direct or indirect sources western cultures created an image of an "exotic" Hungarian style dance and music, which may or may not have had any real Hungarian components. The ungarescas, as far as we can tell today, represent this very type. Their melody and rhythm had preserved a characteristically Hungarian feature; this connects them to the real heyduck complexes and to the specific Magyar dances existing in Hungarian society in the renaissance. The choreographic patterns of the ungarescas remain largely obscure, but there certainly existed many subcategories or subtypes to which this term may be applied. It can be also theorized that they included couple, solo, and group dances, for this idea is prevalent in many coeval dances of the west. Arbeau's and Caroso's treatises are very informative on this matter.

Nonetheless, the popularity of these Hungarian style pieces adumbrates a momentous and at the same time a paradoxical picture: that this imported material in the renaissance world underlined and enforced the ornate ethnocentric world view of the people of the host culture, and, as such, ensured the western powers of their intrinsic supremacy over nationalities outside their immediate reach. Musicians and dancers of different countries, disguised as wild men, hermaphrodites, dwarves, goliaths, saracens, animals and mythical beasts, while providing a spectacle at the first courts of Europe, commercialized and traded their cultural complexes admitting a form of cultural subjugation as well as abuse. The western nobility, the royal house, and the clergy, while surely finding enjoyment in these performances, were hardly aware of this. Uprooted from their original contexts, these cultural complexes had served foreign interests only. The differences between, for example, the symbolic values of the German *Hoftanz* and the

[111]Paix's ungarescha-salterello was reconstructed and orchestrated by Bence Szabolcsi and György Ránki and recorded in B. Szabolcsi and M. Forrai, eds., *Musica Hungarica* (Budapest: Qualiton, 1970), No. Qualiton, LPX 1214-1271; Mainerio's ungarescha-salterello was published in a valuable German record, *Golden Dance Hits of 1600* (Berlin: Archiv, 1974), D. P. 2533 184, research and orchestration by Siegfried Behrend and Siegfried Fink. The only differences between the Hungarian and the German interpretations are the individual selection of the renaissance musical instruments and some fluctuation in tempo; otherwise the two pieces are wholly identical.

Hungarian *ungaresca* probably were just as great as the differences that had existed between the societal and cultural values of the Empire and the kingdom of Hungary. Perhaps these differences in the way the westerners, then the real powers, perceived the conditions of the populations east of the Alps also corresponded to the altered structure of international relations. Political and economic ties between east and west, at the same time, were neglected. Ironically, while the west joyously engaged in the performance of the moresca and the ungaresca, the real battle between the Christians (Hungarians) and the Moors (Turks) took place in Hungary where the Turks devastated the Hungarian kingdom, for neither was the state treasury of Louis II assisted by foreign loans, nor was the Hungarian army expanded by foreign mercenaries. Obviously, then, the intermingling of cultural elements not only shows a healthy connection between east and west but also sheds light on striking apsects of the different values and ideals existing side by side in renaissance Europe.

The Survival of Elements of the Ungaresca-Heyduck Complexes

It deserves mention in this context that the history of the ungaresca-heyduck complexes carries on into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In musical manuscripts the frequent occurrence of Hungarian-style music is convincing evidence that interest never ceased in the western European dance world for incorporating "folk" or "ethnic" elements.[112] Hungarian dance still achieves the sober applause of foreigners as we are approaching our era.[113] Descriptions and views and, of course, the cultural complexes as well, however, have undergone fundamental changes. The renaissance as such became a part of the mythical past described in fairy tales. The hundred-towered magic castle pivoting on duck-leg may refer to the palaces of the nobility; and the fabulous wedding feast of the servant boy and princess, lasting through days and nights, may allude to the real festivities in the renaissance. The makers of the colorful peasant dresses in the nineteenth century may have had to rationalize their practice from their folklore knowledge of the ostentatious display of gold, silk, jewels, and mixed colors of the renaissance fashions.

The culture of the lower classes developed into what we know of today in east European ethnography as the "classical peasant society" of the nineteenth century.[114]

[112]Quotation marks were needed for the terms "folk" and "ethnic" throughout this article, for these concepts meant different ideas and had values quite unlike our own as we perceive them today. On this matter see the exciting Marxist analyses of peasant societies in eastern Europe in the past by Tamás Hoffman, *Néprajz és Feudalizmus* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1975), especially pp. 14-59; László Kósa, *Néphagyományunk* (Budapest: Magvető, 1976), pp. 32-33; Cf. also Pach, *Nyugat-Európeai és Magyarországi Agrárfejlődés*, pp. 130-141. For Hungarian style musical pieces in later collections, see Szabolcsi, *A XVII. Század Magyar Világi Dallamai*, pp. 281-372.

[113]See, for example, Daniel Speer, *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus* (Ulm, 1684); and Abbe Reverend, *Memoires Historiques* (Amsterdam, 1736); Cf. Réthi, *A Magyarság Táncai*, pp. 55-56, 94 and Szabolcsi, pp. 366-367.

[114]See Péter Gunst, "Az Agrárfejlődés és a Parasztság Régionális Tipusai Európeában," *Ethnographia*, 86 (1975), 378-397; and Tamás Hofer, "Három Szakasz a Magyar Népi Kultura XIX-XX Századi Történeteben," *Ethnographia*, 86 (1975), 398-415.

Table 1: Hungarian Renaissance Dance Music in Foreign Sources

No.	Date	Location	Source	Title	Melody
1	c.1540	Krasnik (Poland)	Jana z Lublina: *Organ Tablature*	'Hayducki'	A
2	1556	Strassburg	W. Heckel: *Lautenbuch*	'Ungerischer Tantz'	B
3	15th c.	Bayeux	Anon: Ms of Bayeux	'hélas Madame' (basse danse)	C
4	1551	Antwerp	T. Susato: *Het derde Muziekboexen*	*7th 'Allemande'*	Cv
5	1571	Leiden *(Netherlands)*	P. Phalése: *Liber I. Leviorum Carminum*	*'S medelyn'*	Cv
6	*1591*	*Dresden*	*A. Nömiger: Tabulaturbuch auff dem Instrumente*	*'Lin ander* Teuttscher tanntz'	Cv
7	1580	Dresden	*Tabulatur Buch* Christianus Herzogh zu Sachssen	'Momerey'	D
8	1598	Dresden	Nörmiger: *Tabulaturbuch*	'Erster Ungrischer' Aufftzugkh'	Dv
9	1590(?)	Prague	Lute Tablatur Ms. of Jacobides of Prague	'Bátori Tantz'	E
10	16th c.	Saxony(?)	After O. Chilesotti: *Da un Codice*(1890)	'Danza'	F(Cv)
11	c.1540	Krasnik	Lublina: *Organ Tablature*	'Chorea'	G
12	1556	Strassburg	Heckel: *Lautenbuch*	'Ein Sächsisch Tänzlin'	H
13	1556	Strassburg	Heckel: *Lautenbuch*	'Ein Schöner Burger Tantz'	I
14	1593	Berlin	After W. Merian: *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturböhern* (1927)	'Tanz'	K
15	1578	Venice	G. Mainerio: *Il primo libro. . .*	'Ungarescha-Saltarello'	L
16	1583	Laugingen	J. Paix: *Ein Schön Nutz und Gebreüchlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch*	'Ungarescha-*Saltarello'*	Lv
17	*1583*	*Leiden*	*P. Phalése: Chorearum molliorum collectanea*	'Ungarescha-	Lv
18	1556	France	Claude Gervaise (After H. Expert: *Les maitres musiciens de la renaissance francaise XXIII*, [Paris, 1908]	'Branle Bourgogne'	M
19	1580	Dresden	*Tabulatur Buch . . .* Christianus, Herzogh zu Sachssen	'Heiducken Dantz'	Mv
20	1598	Dresden	Nörniger: *Tabulatgurbuch*	'Anderer Aufftzugkh'	Mv
21	1590(?)	Prague	Lute Tablatur Ms. of Jacobides of Prague	'Ungerischer Tanz'	Mv
22	1619	Leipzig	Lute Ms. of of A. Dlugorak	'Heyducken Tantz'	Mv
23	1573	Strassburg	B. Jobin: *Neuerlessne Lautenstück*	'Passamezzo and 'Saltarello Ongaro'	O
24	1575	Saxony(?)	Lute Ms. of of L. Iselin	'Passamezo Ungaro'	Ov
24	1577	Strassburg	B. Schmidt: *Zwey Bücher Einer Neuen Kunstlichen Tabulatgur*	'Passomezo	Ov
26	1588	Charlottenburg	Grasse Lute Ms.	'Ungerisch Passomezo'	Ov
27	c.1600	Zwickau (Saxony)	Lute Ms. of J. Arpinus	'Passamezo Ungarorum'	Ov
28	1550-52	Prussia(?)	*Lautenstammbuch des* Burggrafen Achaitus *zu Dohna* (After H. P. Kosack: *Geschichte der der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen*, [Königsberg, 1934] p. 60-64)	'Passamezo vom Ungern'	?
29	16th c.	Danzig	Lute Ms. of Danzig (After Kosack, pp. 78-79)	'Hayducken	?
30	16th c.	Danzig	Lute Ms. of (After Kosack, pp. 78-79)	'Balletto Ungero'	?

The heyduck society and economy, declining through the latter part of the seventeenth century, lost its market value and power and was absorbed by a more self-sufficient and economical sedentary type of agriculture.[115] By the nineteenth century a fragmented herding economy of the Great Plain of Hungary shows only a minute relationship to its predecessor; this, by our century, is limited only to the idealized and romantic tourist attraction, the Hortobágy National Park.[116] The heyducks, once the preeminent fighters, too, were erased in the turmoil of later history: many were given land to settle and took up agriculture; a fraction continued small scale animal husbandry while others were incorporated into various fields of Austro-Hungarian socio-economic production.[117]

In the cultural transformation of heyduck elements the upper classes did not participate. For the nobility the heyduck culture complexes were not a long lasting metaphor of cultural identity: as fast as they identified with it in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, so sudden was its disappearance from their life-style in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[118] The very precious idea of *Pro Patria et Liberté*, inherited from the heyducks, did not find common ground in the widening social hierarchy at the turn of the eighteenth century. The problem of national disintegration, ethnic, and religious separation became evident.

However, surviving elements of the heyduck music and dance are to be found in many folk (i.e. peasant) traditions in contemporary eastern Europe.[119] In the diachronic investigation of eastern European dance traditions, R. Wolfram, A. Bucşan, Gy. Martin, K. Kresánek and several other scholars have often pointed out striking features shared by the historical heyduck dance form and the present staff and herdsmen dances which could only have reached such a wide distribution through the popular heyduck performers.[120] Other special forms related to the heyduck systems, such as

[115]Ferenc Szakály, *Parasztvármegyék a XVII. és XVIII Században*, Értekezések a Történeti Tudományok Köréből, 49 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), 146. Cf. also Poor, *A Hajdúvárosok*, p. 33.

[116]Gergelyné Kovács and Ferenc Salamon, eds., *Hortobágy A Nomád Pusztától a Nemzeti Parkig*, (Budapest: Natura, 1976), p. 320.

[117]Hoffmann, pp. 319-320.

[118]For example, in the detailed description of the social life in the early eighteenth century Hungary by Baron Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (Alsótorja, 1736), pp. 106-107, among the dances of the upper classes mentioned there is no heyduck dance. Apor's important work is republished by László Kócziány and Réka Lőrinczy, eds. (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978).

[119]In Hungary the heyduck dance, its origin, content, and forms, received greatest attention around the turn of this century, when the country's nationalistic and irredentistic idealism was at its height. Consequently none of the articles are free of idealistic and romantic sentiments. See Bertalan Fabó, "Hajdútáncés Régi Magyar Tánc," *Ethnographia*, 16 (1905), 375-372; Márian Réthei Prikkel, "A Hajdútánc," *Ethnographia*, 16 (1905), 225-237, and "A Hajdútánc Eredete," *Ethnographia*, 17 (1906), 112-119; János Szendrei, "A Hajdútánc," *Ethnographia*, 16 (1905), 362-365; and József Ernyey, "A Hajdútánc Száláv Szempontból," *Ethnographia*, 17 (1906), 307-317.

[120]See Richard Wolfram, "Altformen in Tanz der Völker des Pannonischen und Karpathenräumes," *Volkmusik Südosteuropa* (1966), pp. 109-139; Andrei Bucşan, "Jocuri Circulatie Pastorala," *Revista de Ethnografie şi Folclor*, 11 (1966), 41-54; György Martin, "Der Siebenbürgische Heiduckentanz," *Studia Musicologica*, 11 (1966), 301-321; K. Kresanek,

the weapons, stick, and alluring syle of couple dances, are characteristic of many eastern European traditions.[121] Noteworthy is the fact, that in several cultures the semantic referent "heyduck," in one way or another, is represented in the folk taxonomy. In this respect Table 2, showing the distribution of eastern European dances of similar musical, rhythmic, choreographic, and semantic characteristics, is very instructive.[122] Needless to say that in the dance traditions of Polish, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Gypsies, and Transylvanian-Romanians the heyduck dance complex and its relations have survived since they all formed the social fabric that produced such a system. The example from Upper Bavaria is unique and valuable, for it is the furthest incursion of heyduck elements in the west.[123]

What about other European dance forms? Morris, sword, ribbon, and stick dances, and dances of men's associations of various guilds, the *Männerbund*, are well known in western Europe. In many ways the eastern European weapon and stick dance forms can be paralleled with these. The similar features are also underlined by the influence that was exerted on them by the diffusion of the couple dance craze of the renaissance.[124] Various forms of couple dances of courtly society, known from fifteenth and sixteenth century French, Italian, and English treatises, spread to eastern Europe with an amazing speed and fused with indigenous dance forms and, thus, appear later as a specific amalgam dance type. This, as it is argued by Ernő Pesovár, was clearly the case in the so-called "old style"

"Historicke Korene Hajduskeho Tanca," *Hudobnovedne Studie*, 3 (1959), 136-162; A. Giurchescu, "Haidaul," *Revista de Folclor*, 7 (1962), 94-117; B. Andrásfalvy, "Párbajszerű Táncainkról," *Ethnographia*, 69 (1963), 55-80; and O. Elschek, "Variation in 18th Century Slovak Folk Music," *Studia Musicologica*, 7 (1965), 47-59.

[121]See Ernő Pesovár, "Die geschichtlichen Problem der Paärtanze im Spiegel der südosteuropäischen Tanzüberlieferung," *Studia Musicologica*, 15 (1973), 141-163; Cf. also Andrásfalvy, p. 56.

[122]For the Austrian material discussed in Table 2, see Raimund Zoder, Osterreichische Volkstanze, Neue Ausgabem Erster-Dritter Teil, (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1955-1958), I, 53; III, 10, 47; for the Slovak material, see J. Kovalčikova and F. Poloczek, *Slovenské L'udove Tance* (Bratislava, 1955), pp. 78-92; and Stefan Tóth, "A szlovák néptáncok alaptipusai," *Tánctudományi Tanulmányok*, 1965-1966, (Budapest, 1967), pp. 180-199. For the Polish references, see W. Kotonski, *Goralski i Zbojnicki*, (Cracow, 1956), pp. 14-18. Concerning the morphological relationships between Hungarian, Hungarian-Gypsy, and Transylvanian-Romanian dances György Martin provides a useful comparison, see *Magyar Néptánctipusok és Táncdialektusok*, (Budapest: Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1970-1972), especially pp. 90-99. For the Ukrainian material, see A. I. Gumenjuka, *Ukraincki Narodni Tanci* (Kiev: Akademia Nauk Ukranskoi, 1962), pp. 170, 271, 297.

[123]Aenne Goldschmidt, *Handbuch des deutschen Volkstanzes* (Berlin: Henschel, 1967), pp. 138, 144. She provides useful information, explaining that the *Haidauer* from Obernbayern typologically belongs to the larger *Schuhplatter* dance category. She also identifies and describes one particular jumping step, the so-called 'haidauer sprung," which is a nice historical curiosity.

[124]The possible influences of western European renaissance couple dances on east European dance complexes is the central theme of the studies by the Hungarian dance historian, Ernő Pesovár, "Der Tändel-Tschardasch," *Acta Ethnographica*, 18 (1969), 153-185, and "Küzdő Karakterű Párostáncaink," *Népi Kultura-Népi Társadalom*, 9 (1977), 329-355. György Martin discusses similar ideas and concludes that the couple dance fashion craze had an immense influence on dances of Central European traditions, see "Die Branles von Arbeau und die osteuropäischen Kettentänze," *Studia Musicologica*, 15 (1973), 101-128.

Table 2: Contemporary East European Dances
Related to the Historical Ungaresca-Heyduck Systems

Tradition	Stick Dances	Related Dance Forms
Polish	Górálski Taniec, Zbójnicki*	Hajduka, Hajduckiego
Goral	bójnicki, Harnasie»	Hajduck
Slovak	Odzemok, Jánošikovský	Podhala*, Hajduch
Ukrainian	Arkhán*, Chumak**	Oprishiky, Kolomeyka
Romanian	De bota, Jocul cu bîta	Haidau, Ungureste
Hungarian	Botoló, Kanásztánc*	Ugrós, Legényes
Gipsy***	Páros botoló	xutati gil'i
Austrian	Wischtanz, Stocktanz	Spanltanz, Hüatltanz****
German (Oberbayern)	Steckentänze	Haidauer

Notes

* fIn these dances hatchet or battle-ax may be used.

** The Ukrainian *Chumak* is a specialkind of shepherd dance in which whips are used as well

*** Gipsy here denotes various tribes scattered throughout Hungary who call themselves *vlasiko rom* ("Wallachian Gipsy") and speak a dialect of Romany.

**** The *Hüatltanz* has many variations and sometimes performed with hat, ribbon, bottle, torch, sword and branches.

couple dances and couple stick dances in Hungary; not only the patterns of western European renaissance couple dances can be identified, but also native Hungarian heyduck elements are indicated by the alluring, playful, improvised, and fighting characteristics evident in these dances.[125] In the case of some of the men's dance forms György Martin, the prominent Hungarian dance folklorist, illustrated structural and morphological relationships between Slovak, Gypsy, Transylvanian-Romanian and Hungarian examples, which descended or were influenced by the common heyduck dance system.[126] The presently existing eastern European weapon and stick dances, despite the possible historical connections, however, should be separated from their western counterparts based on their symbolic roles and implicit associations that connect them to the particular native institutions, social structure, and belief systems.

[125]See Pesovár, *Küzdő Karakterű Párostáncaink*, p. 355; see also Ernő Pesovár and Ágoston Lányi, *A Magyar Nép Táncművészete*, I-II, (Budapest: Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1975), I, 3-10. György Martin in his latest monumental work on Hungarian circle dances and their European relations stresses this form of development, see *A Magyar Körtánc és Europai Rokonsága* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), pp. 12-21.

[126]See the articles related to this point by György Martin, "Legényes, Verbunk, Lassú Magyar," *Népi Kultura-Népi Társadalom*, 7 (1973), 251-290, and "Táncos és a Zene," *Népi Kultura-Népi Társadalom*, 8 (1977), 357-389; Cf. also his *Der Siebenbürgische Heiduckentanz*, p. 44.

In Hungarian culture there is one well-known ritual dance-drama which reflects surviving traits of the western European renaissance moresca tradition per se, the *borica* of the Magyars presently living in the *Barcaság* region of Transylvania, Romania.[127] According to historical investigations of Péter Domokos, the origin of the *borica* shows an interesting combination of sources from a mid-winter purification and fertility rite of folk background and from the moresca dance tradition of renaissance Europe.[128] The existing dichotomy of the sixteenth century Hungarian hierarchy, the elite court culture versus the popular heyduck's, is clearly represented in these two aspects. On the one hand, the heyduck dance (military theme, duelling character, spontaneous performance) was preserved. On the other hand, the western European historical moresca (set floor plan and choreography and organized performance) filtered through the court balls and mummeries into a mid-winter folk ritual, and by the fusion of the two an interesting folk drama, the *borica*, emerged.[129] In connection with this,

[127]The *borica* was introduced and discussed by the Hungarian linguist, Antal Horger, "A Hétfalusi Csángók Boricatánca," *Ethnographia*, 19 (1899), 106-114. A few years later a little article in German was also published on the same subject, Julius Teutsch, "Die Boritzatanz der Csángómagyaren in Siebendorfen bei Kronstadt," *Jahrbuch des Siebenbürgischen Kárpáthenvereins*, (1903), pp. 43-54. The first description, however, dates back to 1862, when the Hungarian poet, István Zajzoni Rab, called attention to the *borica* in the pages of a national newspaper, see "A boricza," *Ország Türke* 6 (1862), 91-92. Antal Horger, who was professor of linguistics at the University of Szeged, conducted field research among Hungarian communities in Transylvania, and he was able to witness several times the performance of the borica at the Christmas festivities in 1898. He was also able to collect several ritual objects used in the *borica* for the Ethnographic Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. It was Márian Prikkel Réthei who described the *borica* in greatest detail, with diagrams, musical examples, and steps. Réthei also tried to connect the *borica* to the South Slavic winter rituals and believed that it originated in the Balkan Peninsula, see *A Magyarság Táncai*, pp. 193-201. For descriptions of the borica as practiced at the present, see András Seres, "A Borica Régen és Most," *Műrelödés*, 3 (1970), 27-31, and Elöd Komlósi, "Legényszervezetek és az Ifjúság Téli Mulatságai Délkelet-Erdélyben," *Ethnographia*, 90 (1976), 92-105.

[128]See, for example, the articles by Péter Pál Domokos, "Magyar Moreszka," *Táncművészet*, 5 (1955), 159-162, 265-269; and "Der Moriskentanz in Europa und der ungarischen Tradition," *Studia Musicologica*, 10 (1968), 229-311.

[129]This situation, by no means, was specifically a Hungarian phenomenon, for there are many similar European counterparts supporting this very idea. For example, from the rich English literature, see A. M. Kinghorn, *Mediaeval Drama* (London: Evans, 1968), pp. 46-53d, and Alan Brody, *The English Mummers and Their Plays*, (London, 1969-1970), pp. 51, 97; for a very thorough recent summary of folk dramas, plays, theatres and dances, see E. C. Cawte, *Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in The British Isles* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1978). Cawte, in Chapter XII, tries to give a cross-cultural survey of animal disguise and rituals in Europe, but in a very superficial and ethnocentric way, and readers should not take his conclusions for granted. The works written on the same topic in German language would fill several bulky volumes. The finest and most relevant to our discussion are, K. Menschke, *Schwerttanz und Schwerttanzspiel im germanischen Kulturkreise* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 30-41; Anton Dörrer, *Tiroler Fastnacht: Innerhalb der Alpenländischen Winter-und-Vorfrühlings-Bräuche* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1949), pp. 218-223; and Hans-Ulrich Roller, *Der Nürnberger Schembartlauf: Studien zum Fest und Maskenwesen des Späten Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Tübingen Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1965), pp. 155-169. Very instructive are the articles on Spanish carnival sword, stick, and ribbon dances of medieval and renaissance origin or influences, see Juan Amades, "Las danzas de espadas y de palos en Cataluna, Baleares y Valencia," *Annuario Musical*, 10 (1955), 162-190; and Nieves de Hoyos Sancho, "Los trajes de los danzantes de la meseta," *Annuario Musical*, 15 (1960), 85-100.

the Romanian *călusari* custom and the *saptamina nebunilor* (fool's week), as related movement systems, could be mentioned here.[130] Just as in the Hungarian *borica*, in the *calus* pre-Christian elements fused with structures of the later feudal system and, as far as we can tell from the presently existing *calusari*, the formal characteristics of the latter became predominant.[131].

CONCLUSIONS: RENAISSANCE DANCE RECONSIDERED

I should like to suggest several items that grow out of these considerations. First, the emergence of the ungaresca and heyduck complexes is a reflection of the political economy, cultural values, and institutions prevalent in Hungary in the renaissance, without which these complexes cannot be clearly understood and defined. The ungaresca is the product of the hegemony created by Sigismund and Matthias; and, further, it reflects both the international connections and the western attitudes of the Hungarian kingdom. The heyduck dance system symbolized a sixteenth century world view and embodied the ideas of freedom, national unity, and cultural identity. Secondly, the serious and obvious interest in Europe in the ungaresca and later the heyduck dance and music demonstrates that the world of the renaissance was not composed of isolated states and cultural traditions but witnessed fundamental borrowing and intermingling of cultural elements, a fact that discloses positive, negative, and ethnocentric aspects. This implies, along the line suggested by Wallerstein, that Hungary has participated not only in the European world-economy but in what we

[130]The famous Romanian *căluș* dance drama has received a wide and in-depth recognition and interest by Romanian folklorists. The possible origin and development of the *calușari* is discussed by Romulus Vuia, "Originea jocului de călușari," *Dacoromania*, 2 (1921-1922), 215; its Transylvanian relations are the central theme of Emil Petruțiu, "O ceată de călușari din Cîmpia Transilvaniei," *Annuarul Muzeului Ethnografic al Transilvaniei pe Anii*, (1968-1970), pp. 409-417; a holistic survey of the *călușari* tradition is that of Horia Barbu Oprisan, *Călușarii*, (Bucharest, 1969); and for a strictly choreographic analysis, see Vera Proca Ciortea, "The Călus Custom in Rumania: Tradition, Change, Creativity," *Dance Studies*, 3 (1978-1979), 1-44. Two other works deserve special attention because of the theoretical frameworks through which the *căluș* dance drama can be seen quite differently from the picture presented by Romanian folklorists: Mircea Eliade, "Notes on the Călușari," *Journal of the Ancient Near-Eastern Society*, 5 (1973), 115-122, and the anthropological treatment and symbolic analysis of the *calus* dance ritual by Gail Kligman, *Călus: Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). For the Romanian traditional customs, see Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri Tradiționale Românești* (Bucharest: Instituti de Cercetari Etnologice si Dialectologice, 1976), pp. 50-60, 90; and for a discussion of Romanian seasonal customs, especially those of the spring ceremonies such as the *saptamina* nebunilor, farșang, Lîrgu mireselor, and others, see Emilia Comișel, "The Rumanian Folklore Calendar and Its Age Categories," in John Blacking and Joanne W. Kealiinohomoku, eds., *The Performing Arts: Music and Dance* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), pp. 185-201.

[131]See Eliade, p. 120; Cf. also Domokos, *Der Moriskentanz*, p. 230.

may call a renaissance European world-culture. The international character of renaissance dance and dance music surely reinforces this idea. Thirdly, the careful elucidation of materials of ethnohistorical interest enables the researcher to seek for an apodictic, diachronic model of dance traditions existing at the present and, further, to establish the possible historical connections of dance forms found in many European cultures. Finally, in view of the facts that emerge from the data furnished by historians on the one hand, and by dance researchers and music historians on the other, I suggest that our knowledge of renaissance dance and its cross-cultural characteristics is deficient and that further consideration is wise, if not necessary, before we seek to define its origin, content and importance. Renaissance dance was a far more complex and important phenomenon than has been assumed by students of renaissance cultural history: it lacked unity and homogeneity and was cross-cultural in character and, no doubt, could not have been simply the creation of some eccentric European courts and a few prominent dance masters. It has to be understood against the backdrop of the specific culture in question, in light of the pertinent institutions, cultural settings, historical milieu, and social ideology. Naturally, then, this has to be paralleled with external relations, political and cultural connections, and the general developments in European renaissance.

It might be erroneous to conclude that the development and dissemination of the ungaresca and heyduck systems was an isolated phenomenon pertinent to Hungary fighting against odious forces. Several of the manuscripts consulted in this analysis, besides many others, supply adequate information about dance and music characteristics of Polish (Chorea Pollonica), Russian (Muscobite Tantz), Austrian (Teuttscher Tanntz), Saxon (Ein Sächsisch Tänzlin), Spanish (La Spagna, Eine Spanyöler Tanz), and other traditions of the same era.[132] The flourishing of these so-called "ethnic" dance forms was deeply embedded in the emerging national consciousness of the cultures in question. The quest for independence, national integration and identity, and unification of petty kingdoms and dukedoms all nourished such cultural systems as language, fashion, literature, music, and dance. These, moreover, helped to shape the development of a definite set of ideology, national character, and knowledge.

I further suggest that while the Enlightenment is generally considered by historians as an important period for the awakening of nationalities in Europe, according to the observations proposed here it should be clear that the renaissance already produced such a tradition. With the emergence of the many socio-cultural and economic institutions, the coeval indigenous

[132]See, for example, Zygmunt M. Szeykowski, ed., *Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie* (Cracow: Polski Wydownictwo Muzyczne, 1964); H. P. Kosack, *Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen* (Königsberg, 1934); O. Chilesotti, *Da un codice Lauten-Buch de Cinquecento* (Rome, n.d.); W. Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern* (Leipzig, 1927); and H. Halbig, *Klaviertänze des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart-Berlin, n.d.).

dance forms clearly performed systematic functions of great significance. Their role was to serve as cultural identifiers, to enforce ethnic boundaries, to materialize dominant ideologies, to sustain national traditions, and to unify social, religious, and political differences internal to the cultures in question, a phenomenon which seemed to recur a few centuries later in a vaunted milieu of rising nationalism in eastern Europe.[133].

[133]It is a fascinating revelation of the cultural map of eighteenth century Central Europe, that the so-called "national" dance forms mushroom all around and fill ballrooms and concert halls. In Poland, for example, the *polka* and the *mazurka*, see Janina Marcinkowa and Krystyna Sobczyńska, *Pieśni Taniec i Obrzędy Gornego Slaska*, (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 69, 115; in German speaking areas, the *Ländler* and the *Walzer*, Goldschmidt, *Handbuck*, pp. 160-161, and Ernst von Hamza, *Der Ländler*, (Vienna, 1957), p. 7; in Hungary two new dance forms emerge, the *verbunk* and the later *csárdás*, see Gy. Martin, "Az új magyar táncstilus jegyei és kialakulása," *Ethnographia*, 88 (1977), 31-48, and Ernő Pesovár, "Verbunktáncaink szerkezeti sajátosságai," *Népi Kultura-Népi Társadalom*, XIO-XII (1980), 451-467; and in the Slovak dance tradition the *marhanska, husársky*, and *sólo madár* represent this very idea, see S. Tóth, *A Szlovák Néptáncok Alaptipusai*, pp. 202, 205.