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Youth Education Efforts of the 1940s

*Representative Activities of
the Mass-dance Cult-programme and the Beginnings
of Academic Dance Research in Budapest*

Abstract

My paper aims to present the dance culture of the 1940s and to explore its scientific approach to dance. According to results of my research, the “national-rescue activity” originating in Budapest looked for the promise of demonstrating “cultural-superiority” in youth education. Movement artists and newly formed amateur ensembles also played a role in this. The initial dance research, following the European research trend, was based on the application of ethnological theories. Based on an exploratory investigation of the acculturation process of folklore flowing into the capital city space from the countryside with a cultural-historical anthropological approach, the following questions were formulated in my paper: did the village research and the work of Scientific Institute in the 1940s have an impact on the style of dance that also played a representative role, appearing as a result of the youth education efforts in Budapest? How does appear in the source works that published the research results of that time? My paper seeks the answers to these questions.

Keywords: dance research, cultural anthropology, symbolic representation, dance theory, representative activities



My paper focuses to show the folklore phenomena can be found in the urban space that was started in the 1930s.¹ In my previous study, I began to explore the symbolic folklore content appearing in the urban space, which I analysed in the category of stage dance, ballroom dance, movement art appearing in the 1920s and 30s.² As I started in my former paper, I examine the cultural phenomenon of dance within the concept of cultural anthropology in a historical and symbolic anthropological approach methodology.³ My research reveals the synchronous functioning of the social and cultural processes of the Capital city, *Budapest* in the historical period of the first half of the 20th century. Accordingly, my study attempts to interpret the concept of artistic dance as a contemporary cultural phenomenon in the 40s in the 20th century (symbolic space and activities related to it, such as a stage and creation) as well as the theoretical basis and practise of the initial period of academic dance research.⁴ However, my research requires the mapping out of additional segments as well in order to present the action strategies of movement artists and change in the genre of form of movement art and its additional content features.

My paper presents the folklore research activities of the 1940s, the establishment and then the dissolution of folk colleges, also the circumstances of the birth of the first dance ensembles. The complexity of this period is increased by the outbreak of World War II, the creation of sudden ideological and symbolic cult in society, as well as the content of result of this in popular culture. This means the interaction of the nascent stage folk dance and the cultural morphological theory with a geographical historical approach was used as the basic principle of ethnological research in this period.⁵ It is extremely important to explore this period, because it answers many hidden questions that covered the birth of the folk-dance movement until now.

My hypothesis continues to be based on the analysis of the symbolic meanings of the traditional creations in the spaces of the city, which includes the body and dance culture that appears on stage.⁶ In addition, I use Lajos Szabó's Movement theory applied to the interpretation of cultural phenomena emerging in the 1940s.⁷ In accordance with the creation of urban tradition, I also

¹ My research was conducted in the Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology program of the Doctoral School of History of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen.

² Ábrahám 2022.

³ Burke 2000; Klaniczay 1984; Turner 1974; Turner 1987.

⁴ Hofer 2009: 214.

⁵ Varga 1939; Sylvain 1991.

⁶ Hobsbawm 1986; Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 2021; Turner 1974.

⁷ Szabó 1995: 117.

present the inventory of historical-social “nation-saving” objectives and the birth of secularised “modern” spirit. This secularized “modern” spirit covers the conceptual system of “the Father as a brilliant spiritual Leader” and the mass-culture appearing as a character-armour. The international reality of the broad masses of people, becoming a “Symbol of Paradise”, keeps it peace in the “Easter Bloc”, after the losses of World War II. Its main task is to protect peace and enforce the centralized ideology of “national character”. This way, we can trace the “popular romanticism” and guided cultural interest of the New Man, who creates a New Life forged in a battle of the class struggle, as an idyllic version of the Future resulting from a Victory of the Principled Revolutionary.⁸ The results of the *falukutató-mozgalom* [village-research Movements] and the dance research started in this period plays an important role. Sándor Karácsony, Béla Balázs, Elemér Muharay, István Molnár, Béla Bartók, Olga Szentpál, Anna Pór and Edit Kaposi will be recurring characters from my previous study.

My paper is inspired by the fact that it currently exists in the dance historical canon as a mysteriously complex, multi-branched and rather enigmatic hard-to-follow period. However, I will point out that I do not intend to override previous researches, my goal is merely to supplement and contextualise social, artistic, and creative processes and make their interactions visible in popular culture. In my paper, I present the process in which, despite a strong political orientation and an open but direct interest in the research of traditions central. I explore the initial efforts to dance-research, its theoretical background, and its application in an urban stage dance culture. As a public social place, the concept of the Cultural Centre appears in this period, which is not the same as the concept of the theatre space and the ballroom. It is necessary to interpret the Cultural Centre as a community space, primarily serving youth education, which supports the “unified” culture of the community. Thus, my research questions are the following: What is the role of the dance culture of the 1940s? Is the current village research followed by efforts to pursue dance research at some level? How does the primary representative role of folk dance develop? What is the heritage of the choreographic trends of the 1930s? My study seeks to answer these questions in the thematic section of my research exploring the 1940s.

⁸ Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 2021: 280–282.

The village-research movements and the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography

Here we have to go back to 1938, because the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] and Ethnography was founded under the patronage of Pál Teleki, who considered the sociographic exploration of the village as its primary task. The results of this were published in November of 1938, which, contrary to Teleki's plans, highlighted the region's high degree of backwardness, its social problems, pressing solutions to the serious land issue and urgent administrative reform.⁹ At this time, Pál Teleki distanced himself not only from the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography, but also from his students.¹⁰ After Teleki, István Györffy took over this management. Unfortunately, Györffy died unexpectedly in 1939, but the Institute continued to operate in its investigation research work. Its methodology is described in Kálmán Újszászy's article *The Village*. This work presents the example of *Sárospatak*, which as a continuation of research, resulted in sociographic descriptions and research of *Hegyköz-Hegyalja-Bodrogköz*, *Dunavölgy* (*Sárköz* and *Bukovinai szeklers*), *Gömör* and *Kiskunság*.¹¹ These monographs do not deal with dance, or only tangentially. Újszászy's research guide, on the other hand, mentions dance as part of spiritual ethnography. It discusses in great detail the theoretical theses, exploring the life of village and its inhabitants, the life of beliefs, settlement plan, spirituality, and research methodology of the objective and spiritual ethnographic description.¹² However, during the practical implementation of the research, it turned out that the peasants tended to close rather than open because of the questionnaire inquiry. This way, interviews and joint work resulting from personal conversations have become the effective method of exploration. This data is interesting from the point of view of my research, because dance research has followed a similar path, albeit with a slight delay, according to my

⁹ Kósa 2001: 170–173.

¹⁰ Borbándi 1983: 238–240.

¹¹ Several monographs from the research materials of the village-research camps that lasted from 1939 to 1944 were published by the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography. See: Papp L. 1941; Peja 1941; Kádár 1941; Mády (ed.) 1942; Végh 1942. Cf: Bartha 2011; Granasztói 2009.

¹² Related to this, the film dance-recordings made by Elizabeth C. Rearick in 1932, and Sándor Gönyey between 1932–36 can be mentioned as a prehistory of dance research. See: Rearick 1939; as well as the records of the Ethnological database of Museum of Ethnography, based on the data found – Filming folk dances in Hungarian-inhabited areas (map) EA 28046.

results so far. During this period, thanks to the Vienna Decisions, *Felvidék*, *Bácska* and Transylvania were again attached to Hungary between 1938–1945.¹³ In 1940, Gyula Ortutay sent a memorandum to the Institute of Hungarian Studies, in which he urged the recording of the cultural forms of the ethnic groups, and then asked the institute to track changes in social and cultural involvement from year to year.¹⁴ The very beginning of dance research can also be dated from here. In the collections made by István Molnár in 1941–1942, in the total of 175 figures published in his publication, we also meet figures from *Kiskunhalas*, *Decsi-Sárközi-Tolna* counties, in addition to figures of Transdanubia, *Kalotaszeg*, *Székegyföld*, *Szatmár*, *Gyimes* and those artificial dances. This book was not published until 1947, the circumstances of which I will cover in a later part of my writing.¹⁵ In 1945, the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] was transformed into the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], where they continued their investigation and analysis work.¹⁶ Thus, the research-work of the dance category seems to follow the footsteps of the scout's movement, the 12-point of the March Front in *Debrecen* and the village research.¹⁷ I would like to note, however that, during this period Molnár did not think of a stage dance recorded as a regional-unity, but only in figures and choreographic-formal communication, as can be traced in the volume *Élő Népkalládák* [Living folk ballads] published in 1942.¹⁸ During this period, István Molnár learned the folk dance, and became the leader of the dance groups organized in folk-colleges, alongside Elemér Muharay. Thanks to the village-research, Elemér Muharay also created the *Fót* village-stage in 1938 with cooperation of István Volly, and Iván Szabó, who joined them in 1939. This follows the folk ballads

¹³ Imrédi-Molnár–Takács 1944: 3.

¹⁴ Ortutay 1947; Belényesi 1958: 3.

¹⁵ Molnár 1947.

¹⁶ This *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézete* [Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute] has three departments. The first part was the *Történettudományi Intézet* [Institute of Historic Science] (headmaster: Domonkos Kosáry), the second part was the Journal of the Institute (*Revue d'Histoire Comparée*), and the third one was the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] (headmaster: Györfly György). Kónya 1998: 126.

¹⁷ From 1945, in terms of cultural diplomatic relations, it applied not only within the country but also to the establishment of kinship relations between the peoples of the Carpathian Basin and the Danube Valley, which served to establish contact and cooperation between Romanian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Polish peoples. See: N. Szabó 1998: 18–21.

¹⁸ Molnár 1943.

style developed by the movement artists working in the Capital city. This style of balladry became a speciality of the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble], founded in 1940s. Before I come to that, I will describe the creation of the folk-colleges, their activities, and their influence on dance culture.



Pic. Nr. 1: *Cultural Group of Györfly István College 1942*

Source: Kardos 1980 I. *Mellékleletek* 23.

The establishment of the Folk Colleges

The creation of the *Népi-kollégiumok* [Folk Colleges] is attributed to Ferenc Zsindely and Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős. The *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] was established as an additional educational institution to support the urban education of young people of rural origin.¹⁹ It started on 6 October 1939. It was then that the Bolyai College was founded on Királyi Pál Street in *Budapest*. Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős thought the operation of the youth education organization mentoring the right-wing Turul association, but they soon came into conflict with it. The supporting organisation of Bolyai College was, on the first hand, the *Katolikus Agrárfiújsági Legényegyletek Országos Tanácsa* [National Association of Catholic Young Men's] (KALOT), on the other hand, the student organization of *Soli Deo Gloria* (SDG). It's operated as Bolyai College for only two years, in 1942

¹⁹ Papp I. 2008: 141–142.

it was separated from Turul and continued to operate as Győrffy College between 1942–44.²⁰ The Bolyai College already had its own dance group, led by István Molnár. From February 27, 1942 the Ballad-Ensemble of Bolyai College belongs to the reorganized Győrffy College.²¹ One of Molnár's most famous and World-seen choreographies the folk-ballad of *Máté Bíró*, was a dance-performance in 1942. This stage dance choreography was toured in Weimar, Florence, and Stockholm, for which Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős designed well-tailored corded Hungarian men's coat called *Attila* and provided hard-stalked boots for the boys of Győrffy College *Balladaegyüttes* [Ballad Ensemble]. Zsindelyné's folklorism-style dress design became a popular among the social elite. There is diary entry about this tour in the College history book which gives the atmosphere. In the notes of Gyula Sipos, the atmosphere of Weimar in Germany revealed to us perceptive images: swastikas, empty storefronts, palpable fear, sadness, darkened windows, soldier's huts, military bands, bayonet parade, dark streets, arms swinging in welcome in the shadows of the Golden Eagle, shouts and screams, Circus, marching bands, drums, and the Hitler Youth Choir playing among the torsos of half-finished buildings.²² In its coverage the Hungarian group did not wave their arms, they did not sing, they did not lay wreaths of the Fallen Heroes, they rather preferred to show respect for the graves of Goethe and Schiller.²³ However, the ballad-evening held in the *Magyar Művelődés Háza* [Hungarian Cultural Centre] (now the Erkel Theatre) after the tour went poorly due to the lack of concentration of the students, which meant the end of Ballads in College. In the report of the diary, the academic failure and underachievement of College students also appear as a reason for that.²⁴ István Molnár then left.²⁵

The representative role of Győrffy College was taken over by *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble]. We can be traced back to the opening of the Győrffy College's branch institution in *Debrecen* opened. Sándor Karácsony and Béla Balázs came to *Debrecen* and they played an emphasized role in the work of College.²⁶ At the same time, Ferenc Zsindely and Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős Probation Board was connected to the institution of the Győrffy College. This

²⁰ Papp I. 2008: 174–176.

²¹ Papp I. 2008: 176.

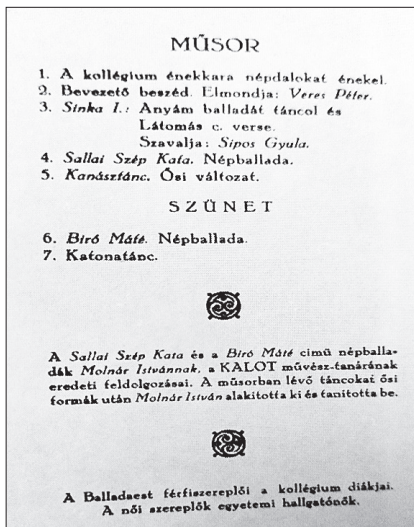
²² Kardos 1980: 121–122.

²³ The issue of the “Faustian bargain” returns several times in cultural politics, first the forced alliance of the Germans, and then with the Soviets.

²⁴ Kardos 1980: 155–156.

²⁵ His return to KALOT and his work at the folk college in *Siófok* will be dated from here.

²⁶ Papp I. 2008: 215.



Pic. Nr. 2–3: *The clothes designed by Zsindelyné and the program of the Ballad evening in Budapest in 1942.* Source: Kardos 1980 I. *Mellékletek* 25–26.

formed the College relationships system of university institutions. The Instituts, that took a role in this: *Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem* [Pázmány Péter University], *Orvostudományi Egyetem* [the Medical University], the *Révai Irodalmi Rt.* [Révai Literally Publisher Company], *Ganz Gyár* [the Ganz Factory], the *Magyar Nemzeti Bank* [Hungarian National Bank], the *Magyar Államvasutak* [Hungarian State Railways], the *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum* [Hungarian National Museum], the *Zeneakadémia* [The Academy of Music], the *Testnevelési Főiskola* [The College of Physical Education], *Képzőművészeti Egyetem* [The University of Fine Arts], the *Kertészeti Egyetem* [University of Horticulture], *Műegyetem* [University of Polytechnic], the *Fővárosi Közmunkatanács* [Budapest Public-work Council], and the *Magyar Ügyvédek Nemzeti Egyesülete* [National Associations of Hungarian Lawyers].²⁷ This way, not only material but also spiritual base with very broad absorption capacity emergences, which undertakes this historical-social “national rescue” objective. The colleges in *Budapest* and *Debrecen* did not necessarily share the same ideological view, which gave rise to clashes due to differences of opinion. The Probation Board considered Sándor Karácsony’s view as an example to follow. In addition to the Györffy’s College, the *Györffy Népfőiskola* [Györffy Folk-college] was also established, broadening the range of young people who want to study farming as well. This folk-college was founded in

²⁷ Papp I. 2008: 189–192.

Pesterzsébet, at the border of *Budapest* at the time, and the 100 hectares of land it would have become an open-air museum-like institution preserving the famous Hungarian Production Culture, if the WW II. terminate the end of this activity in 1944.²⁸ The consequence of the German Occupation on April 28, 1944 was the liquidation of the multi-party system, and the banning of the left-wing associations and newspapers.²⁹ This led to the departure of the leaders participation in the College to an unknown place and the departure of young people to the countryside (mainly *Debrecen*). *Debrecen* also took over the role of the capital between 1944–45.

The *Népi Kollégium* [Folk-College] already transformed into a *Népi Kollégiumok Országos Szövetsége* [Folk-Colleges National Association] (NÉKOSZ) was re-established on 20. 01. 1945 from Györffy collegiate students.³⁰ This, however will not only include university students, but also primary and secondary schools and their associated colleges. This included a very serious and controlled “cadre training” and ideological education that relied a lot on the education and literacy guidelines of the former Györffy College. From 1945 the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] also merged into this College-system. It first operated as the Áron Kiss College, then as the College of Dance and Choral Arts. The creation of a very complex art-education program began here primarily under the direction of Anna Pór. This was particularly important because the “folk” as an adjective no longer necessarily meant the value of “traditional rural culture” for the young people growing up at the time. For this reason, I have already described in relation to the cultural phenomena of the 1930s in the city “the spirit of nationalism” folklore became a defining symbol of the emerging new social stratum, and also appeared as a “character-defining” style-characteristic of the Folk-Collegiate “Subculture”.³¹ However this “Subculture” can rather be characterised as an artificially constructed social network that absorbed all previous youth education initiatives and created an ideologically transformed and idealized vision of the future. The central institution of this remained a Györffy College. This “Folk-College-Institution-Network” which is called NÉKOSZ has grown into a complex multifunctional movement, not only as an intellectual education workshop, promoting social and societal mobility, but also as the creator of the urban culture based on neo-folklorism and the spreader of its created content.³² Formers scouts and

²⁸ Papp I. 2008: 223–225.

²⁹ Kardos 1980: 306.

³⁰ Kardos 1980: 355.

³¹ Pataki 2005: 297.

³² Pataki 2005: 301.

ethnographers who became village-researchers, as well as the Christian Youth Education Associations, outstanding young people from a “rural” ranks, children of workers and orphans left after the war are also included in this. The NÉKOSZ has clearly adopted the methodology of the *Cserkészmozgalom* [Scouting Movement] and the examples of its trial system.³³ This became the emerging cultural fashion of the “socialist labor competition”. The emerging amateur dance ensembles also benefited from this nationwide network of purposeful artistic education. This nationwide art education network was established between 1945 and 1947, which from 1947 actually used the genres of folk dance, music and choral-art, drama, and puppetry as a “character armor”. In 1947, the Centenary work competition was announced, which was mandatory for all Colleges and college students. Competition between the Colleges became a part of series of events celebrating the centenary of the 1848–49 War of Independence, cultural work was also given a quite lot of emphasis. This competition took place in four rounds, between the *Tiszaántúli Kollégiumok* [Across the Tisza Colleges], the *Duna-Tisza közti Kollégiumok* [Inter Danube-Tisza Colleges], *Dunántúli Kollégiumok* [Transdanubian Colleges] and the greater *budapesti Kollégiumok* [Budapest Colleges].³⁴ According to the rules of the cultural competition, the contestants were expected to present pre-determined performance material, and the Colleges could also bring material of their own choice. The performance was aimed at: knowing 64 folk songs ($\frac{1}{8}$ foreign, $\frac{1}{4}$ workers, $\frac{1}{8}$ other), learning 2 mass dances and 10 poems.³⁵ It also included monthly visits to the cinema and theatre, running a choir, orchestra, dance and drama group and continuously increasing membership. Visiting 4-4 villages and factories, conducting village sociological research and writing to a village monographs appear as a social work requirement system in the mandatory norm. The semi-finals were held in the country capitals, from where the best productions were invited to Budapest City Theatre for the final announcement on the 15th of March, 1948. In the second round of the jubilee year, this already selected group of performers was featured on rural culture days after 15 March. These competitions featured striking-excellent talents: Miklós Rábai from *Békecsaba*, Károly Szigeti from *Pécs* and a little later Ferenc

³³ This was later adopted by the Pioneer Movement. See: Pataki 2005: 317.

³⁴ Kardos 1980: 713.

³⁵ Pataki 2005: 319. The basis for this is 101 Hungarian Folk Songs edited by Lajos Bárdos as the official publication of the Scout Association. This has been published regularly since 1929, with the 7th edition appearing in 1945. See: Bárdos–Karácsony–Mathia (eds.) 1945.

Novák from *Pápa*.³⁶ A Central dance group was created by the students of the Colleges, this was the *NEKOSZ Központi Művészegyüttese* [Central Artist Group of NEKOSZ].³⁷ Iván Szabó is appointed leader. Members of the Muharay Együttes [Muharay Ensemble] and the former group of Szentpál students took part in this work and trained the amateurs. During the 6-week training courses for instructors, many trained “cadres” took up the case of “national culture” and became its committed promoters. I found documents of this in the estate of Olga Szentpál and Anna Pór.³⁸ It also became the basis of the College education system encompassing primary schools, secondary schools and universities, which also ensured adequate supply.

94.

t. Át- vel un-er-ék én a Ti-szán la-di-kon. la-di-kon, de
la-di-kon. OH la-kik a. oH la-kik a ga-lambom,
oH la-kik a ga-lambom. OH la-kik a vá-ros-ban,
a har-ma-dik uc-cá-ban; Pi-ros ró-sa,
kik ra-fa-lyás. i- bo-lyá vá-ról az ab- la-ká-ban

2 Általmennek én a Tiszán,
nem merek, nem merek, de nem merek.
Attól félek, hogy a Tiszába (jesek,
hogy a Tiszába (jesek,
Lovam hátán sejeha,
félrefordul a nyereg,
A Tiszának hajlái közt elveszek,
a babámé nem leszek.

(Csorkész-szövege :
Erdő mellett kanyarog el a patak ... 105. old.)

94

Pic. Nr. 4: *A folk song from
the 101 Hungarian Folk Songs Scout Songbook*
Source: Bárdos 1945: 94.

Falujáró induló

előadja: RAKS BÉTYÁN

zene: SZÉKELY ENDRE

1. 2. 3. Száll a vi- sz, felkapja a szél. Felkapja a szél.

1. Nagy mára, nagy mára, nagy mára a felhő. Fehé jétek haza - ró - ja.

2. Fehé jé - je - je má, felh jétek szél. Tűz, vihar a ha - tar - ja.

3. Fehé jé - je má, felh jétek szél. Minden megér - té - je.

Mén - kéknek a - vado, Horogai török éj sár - je pár, szűz, szűz.

Vidék hírhét szer - zés, Öreglők munkák a móló cabé. Zsugó éjél szél.

Mén - kékre fel támad, Hírdetők új megek új dalát. Együtt jének.

a mi dalunk kőszik, Csé - let - re ábránd má a nép, ábránd má a nép.

csatáig kalapján, Haragud lát a munkák munkát, munkák munkát.

együtt jének kőszik, Így á - gít - jük fel az új haza, fel az új haza.

MAGYAR DOLGOZÓK ÉNEKEKIVÁJAIK

ORZSÁGOS SZÖVEGEK

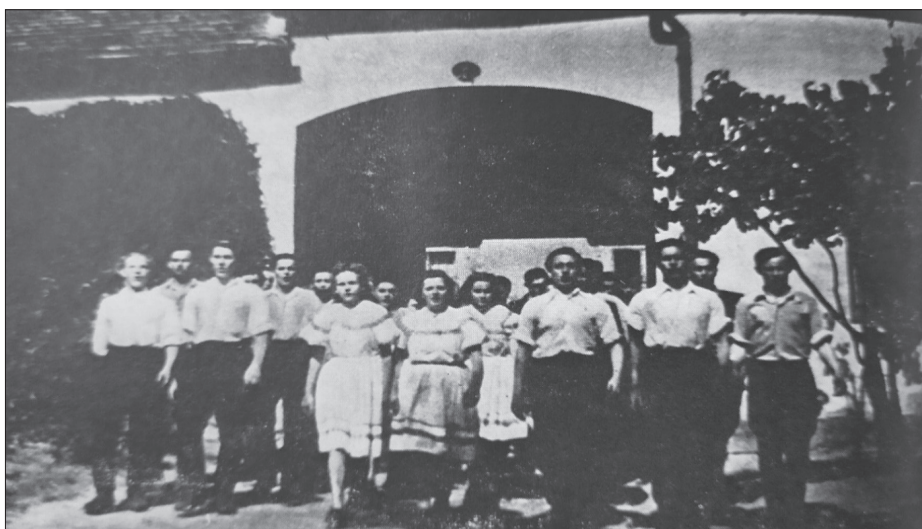
Budapest, VIII., Búdy Szendee-utca 63.

Pic. Nr. 5: *A composition of Endre Székely,
the Village-walker March which is created
from this folk song*
Source: Manuscript legacy
of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

³⁶ In my interview, what I conducted with Ferenc Novák said that he was the translator of the VIT Festival in 1947, and his dancing background dates to that.

³⁷ Kardos 1980: 716.

³⁸ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32; Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.



Pic. Nr. 6: *The Village tour of the College students from Pápa*
Source: Kardos 1980 II. Mellékletek 261.

The work and slow transformation of the Muharay Ensemble

According to Iván Vitányi's book recording the bands history, the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] was first founded in 1940. The official founder was Imre Töltési, who was joined by members of two youth groups in the first round. These were members of the *Keresztény Ifjúsági Egyesület* [Christian Youth Association] (KIE) and the *Székel Egyetemista és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete* [Székely University and College Student Association] (SZEFE). Sándor Haáz was then asked to teach folk dances. The style of Balladry also developed at this time. The Balladry, as an all-night performance, included the recitation of folk songs, folk ballads and poems in addition to the performance of folk dances. Their first performance was on 19.05.1940. at the Levante stage in the district of XIII.³⁹ Elemér Muharay imagined this initiative as a continuation of the village stage in *Fót*.⁴⁰ Muharay joined this and edited to a program the folk ballad dance version of *Egyszer egy királyfi* [Once upon a time a prince], which

³⁹ Vitányi 1993: 32.

⁴⁰ Vitányi 1993: 33.

remained on the performance throughout the ensemble's existence.⁴¹ During this period even young people from Soli Deo Gloria group joined. Thus, this "Ancestor-ensemble" had two wings, the right wing was the fusion of *Leventék* [Levants] and *KALOT*, and the left wing was recruited from the members of *Cserkészek* [Scouts], *Soli Deo Gloria* and *Pro Christo* student organisation.⁴² In addition to Muharay, Péter Balla and István Molnár were also leaders of the group. Muharay recruited new members to his ensemble as early as 1942. The reason for this could also be that István Molnár was asked to teach the ensemble of the Bolyai College. Members were recruited in *Budapest* from the youth of the *Lónyai utcai Református Gimnázium* [Lónyai Street Calvinistic High School], *Fasori Evangélikus Gimnázium* [Fasori Evangelical High School], the young workers from the *Gamma Gyár* [Gamma Factory], which also played a major role in the establishment of the *Györffy Kollégium* [Györffy College] and *Magyar Optikai Művek* [Hungarian Optical Factory] and other factories. Thus, Iván Szabó, Géza Körtvélyes, Sándor László-Bencsik, Edit Kaposi, Lajos Vass, Mária Keszler, Csaba Pálffy, Sándor Krizsán, Ferenc Kuppis, Miklós Jancsó, Bálint Sárosi and Oszkár Papp became members of this group, who was also played a significant role in building up the movement and its institutional system.⁴³ In 1943, Molnár left the Muharay Ensemble and Iván Szabó became a leading choreographer. In 1944 the members left for the countryside, and in 1945 they started cultural life in *Debrecen* as a group taking on a representative role after the WW II. Edit Kaposi and Lajos Szolnok who was an ethnographer from *Debrecen* had a prominent role in this activity.⁴⁴ The outstanding appearance of this ensemble was the fact that they merged into NÉKOSZ foregrounding their leading role in art education. Their work from 1946 defines the entire country dance culture and all the stage appearances. The 1947–48 work plan of the Muharay Group defined the specific goals were they formulated. Muharay prepared to employ 50–60 non-professional singer-dancer-musician-performers in the style of Balladry. And this work plan outlined the joint operation of the chamber choir, orchestra, acting and dance group. Muharay formulated his duties in the distribution activity of art-loving-artistic, scien-

⁴¹ The folk ballad of *Egyszer egy királyfi* [Once upon a time a prince] included István Volly ballads-collections which is published several times. Later renamed to the performance *Egyszeri király kenyere* [One upon a king's bread]. See: Volly 1938; Muharay 1944.

⁴² Vitányi 1993: 35.

⁴³ Vitányi 1993: 41.

⁴⁴ In 1945, in *Debrecen* they performed together with the Muharay Ensemble at the Cultural Party of the Independent Smallholder Party, the MADISZ youth day and the Harvest Festival. See: Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 147–148.

tific and popular cultural goods.⁴⁵ Elemér Muharay created the *Népi Együttesek Művészeti Kollégiuma* [College of Arts and Folk Ensembles] to develop the urban folk culture as an artistic and cultural movement. In the service of the National network's cultural programme, established cooperation with the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], the *Munkás Kultúrszövetség* [Worker's Cultural Association], the *Egyetem Néprajzi Intézet* [University Institute of Ethnography], the *Néprajzi Múzeum* [Museum of Ethnography] and already constituted *Táncmunkaközösség* [Dance Work Community].⁴⁶ The *Művelődési Akadémia* [Academy of Culture] and its dance course envisioned by Muharay is designed to give eligibility to both those who enjoy and practice the folk culture in a 4-semester course.⁴⁷ In order to implement this plan Muharay also needed well-trained dancers and dance-direction faculty students, who graduated from the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] in Olga Szentpál's class. Therefore, this organization has two branches, one is the ethnographic-amateur line managed by Muharay, and the other is a group of dancers trained by Olga Szentpál. To operate the Movement, and ideologically appropriate "real revolutionary-good cadre" leader was needed. Anna Pór, who had returned from France was appointed for this role. In the following title I presented Anna Pór's work in *Vasas Együttes* [Vasas Ensemble].

Formation and programme of Vasas Ensemble

The Vasas Sport Club was founded in 1911. The gymnastics section started its activities in 1927, without any kind of financial or sports support. Thus, it disbanded in 1928 and re-established in 1930, writes Livia Fuchs and Gábor Szilágyi in their book on the history of Vasas Ensemble.⁴⁸ The formulated goal that brought the Vasas Gymnastics department back to life were mass-sports and cultural activities promoting ideological immunity against the militaristic

⁴⁵ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁶ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁷ The main subject of the Academy of Culture are History, Economics and Social Science, Ethnography, Music and Dance theory, Psychology and Education, Literary history, Dramaturgy and Dramatic practises, Art history and Design subjects. Additional subjects: Movement issues of popular culture and self-education. Practical subjects: Dance, Singing and Music-practise, Folkgames, Dance notation, Dance-play, reciting poems ballads and puppetry. See: Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁸ Fuchs-Szilágyi 1998: 8.

Levente-mozgalom [Levant Movement]. The focus was on the physical and mental education of young workers which also adapted to the cultural program of the Gymnastics club. They did not have a trained leader in spite of that they performed singing and movement-choirs, dance and pantomime scenes in a self-educated manner. They were joined in 1937 by Klára Nádas, who followed the style of Alice Madzsarné Jászi and Ágnes Kövesházi. It is therefore emphasized that under the auspices of Vasas, the style of movement art appears at the pageants accompanied by a large number of choir and orchestra. At the pageants shows, occupations were shown in various pantomime scenes, such as a *Bányajelenet* [Mine-scene] presumably made in 1938, and the scenes of *Sötétség-világosság* [Darkness-Lightening] set in a pub.⁴⁹ They represented learning, development, the clarity gained through knowledge and clarity of reasons against the senseless, unworthy darkness of the pub-environment. The greatest success was the 1940 silent play named *Prométeusz* [Prometheus]. According to the story of the symbolic mythological figure, Prometheus, who molded people out of clay and taught them to plough and sow, to write and to learn the arts. Prometheus took fire to the people in defiance of Zeus. Therefore Zeus chained Prometheus to the mountain, his daily punishment being the plucking of his liver by vultures. Heracles finally broke his chains, saving Prometheus from suffering, because Zeus needed Prometheus's ability and services, his foresight.⁵⁰ In the Plot of this silent play the tortured people of the Earth, the peasant, the industrialist and the wage-worker are searching for the light-lucidity.⁵¹ They find each other while searching for a path to lucidity and when they find it, they visualize the positive picture of the future by doing a special "pleasure-dance". This machine-like, monotonous pantomime-play with accelerated movements was realized in the machine dance of the wage-earners, the wrestling of the blacksmiths, the football of the clerk and fulfillment in dance mix of folk-dances (Russian, Romanian and Ruthenian). The movement performances related to the "new state-holidays" introduced after the Liberation, which were designed in accordance with the party's approach were meant to convey its ideology. Anna Pór arrived in this environment in 1945. Between 1936 and 1945 she was very successful with her past as a movement artist in Paris, giving her nine rich years in artistic work among the German and Hungarian émigré artists fleeing from the political ideology

⁴⁹ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 11.

⁵⁰ Csiffáry 2008: 364–365.

⁵¹ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 12.

living there.⁵² Returning home from France armed with experience and knowledge began her work. This was her first work when she followed the direction that was already established earlier in which the elements of pantomime and folk dance were combined. Pantomimic elements and scenes were more dominant in her first works, because Anna Pór used just a little folk dances in her artistic concept. It was in this spirit that the choreographies depicting the labor Movement-traditions of the *Munkás Parasztszövetség* [Worker's and Peasant's Union], and the *Munkáslegény a népdal tükrében* [Worker's Lad in the mirror of the folk-song] named the "Tsardas" with the Red-flag, and hammering workers were created.⁵³ This was the beginning of their friendship with Emma Lugossy and István Volly began, which also meant getting to know and mastering the "current trend" of folk dance. In 1947, Sándor Krizsán, who danced in the Muharay Ensemble joined and assisted in preparation of "this group were engaged in dance" appearing at the Budapest *Központi Kultúrverseny* [Central Cultural Competition] organized by NÉKOSZ. It can practically be said that, this work forged a team-like ensemble that appeared successfully at the *Világifjúsági Találkozó* [World Youth Festivals]. In its appearance it took its place alongside the *Ruggyantagyár Együttes* [Ruggyantagyár Ensemble] led by István Molnár, and the *Batsányi Együttes* [Batsányi Ensemble] led by Miklós Rábai a fresh rural talent. The specific nature of the choreographies presented here (*Balatonszárszói Pünkösdi Parádé* [Pentecost Parade from Balatonszárszó], *Kónyi verbunk* [Verbunk from Kóny], *Cigándi keménycsárdás* [Hard Tsárdás from Cigánd], *Pontozó* [Lad's dance], *Kunszentmiklósi törökös és kardtánc* [Turkish and Sword Dance from Kunszentmiklós]) reflect the influence of the mass dance program, which will be explained in the next section.⁵⁴

The mass-dance program and the Village Tour

In *Budapest*, the teaching of Hungarian dances started in 1929 within the framework of physical education as a mass sport.⁵⁵ The most outstanding personality was the physical education teacher Edit Elekesné Wéber. Her guidebook, which published several forms and listed as an author's edition, served

⁵² Pór 1991: 30–31.

⁵³ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 15.

⁵⁴ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 21.

⁵⁵ Elekesné Weber 1935: 5.

as a basic work for all physical educators for their activities as a dance teacher.⁵⁶ This meant teaching national ballroom dances in the 1930s.⁵⁷ In the 1940s following this path, under the auspices of the mass-dance program, the created style and choreographics of “stage folk dance” were born, which were partially founded by the members of Muharay ensemble, which became a part of NÉKOSZ. This program defined and created the Budapest-Centric network, which already included the teacher training system. In the art education plan of the Folk Colleges established in 1945, there was a mandatory system of norms that included the category of learning compulsory folk songs and dances. This included the village-visits when the collegiates tried to “collect”, but greater emphasis on the mandatory presentations and recruitment, this was their primary goal. At these shows they presented the re-structured-learned dances. This was primarily for the respectful celebration of the centenary year of the Freedom-struggle, which was prepared in this program. The first training-advanced studies issue was published in May 1947 by the *Nemzeti Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of Hungarian Dance Teachers].⁵⁸ In addition next to the Village-Marsh this program included the *Kállai kettős* [Couple dance from Kálló], *Széki csárdás* [Tsárdás from Szék], *Csúrdöngölő* [Fast rythm szekler dance], *Spanyol tánc* [Spanish dance] (from Ferenc Nádas), *Angol keringő* [English waltz] and stage-attempted *Schottis polka* [Schottis polka].⁵⁹ In the materials of the continuing education course in May 1948 the *Csiki Páros* [Couple dance from Csík], *Patkó-tánc* [“Horseshoe”-dance], *Nemzeti kerengő* [National guard-circling], *Karádi rezgő* [Virtue-dance from Karád], *Kóló* [Kolo], *Vrajanka*, *Zaplet*, *Gavotte*, *Trojka* and Nádas’s *Déli álmom* [Dream at Noon] choreography are already included in the text-description of the dance with sheet a music appendix.⁶⁰ And the September 1948 publication the *Somogyi kopogós*

⁵⁶ Elekes 1947; Elekesné Weber 1935; Elekesné Weber 1936.

⁵⁷ These dances were *Levante dance*, *Hungarian Quadrille*, *Palotás*, *Tsárdás*, *Scout-recruiter*, *Vigadó* and the *Verbunk* among other dances. See: Elekesné Weber 1935.

⁵⁸ I find this document in the Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁵⁹ Curriculum of the May 1947 continuing education course of the *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers] Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁶⁰ This is also the curriculum of the May 1948 continuing education course of the *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers], which can be found in the Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65. These choreographies were made from the dance materials collected from the experimental Prague VIT Festival, the material which was recorded and notated by Olga Szentpál and Zsuzsa Merényi in 1947. Manuscript of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

[Knocking-dance from Somogy], *Homokmégyi körtánc* [Round dance from Homokmégy], *Marosszéki verbunk* [Verbunk from Marosszék], *Cigándi fonótánc* [Spinner-dance from Cigánd], *Csákvári csacsi* [Moke from Csákvár], *Teríti a lány a vásznat* [The girl spread the canvas], *Zabot vittem* [I took oats] folk-games, *Mohácsi csillagtánc* [Four-dance from Mohács], *Szilágysági páros* [Couple dance from Szilágyság], *Székelyvassági verbunk* [Verbunk from Székelyvasság], and *Fóti páros* [Couple dance from Fóti] are included.⁶¹ The names of creators of the choreographies are all college students or trained instructors alongside the names of Klára Kovács and Ferenc Nádas. It also stands out that the dances of “people who were considered friendly” at the time were also included in these teaching materials. In 1948, the Folk Colleges were dissolved, and replaced by university vocational colleges, amateur dance ensembles created in factories, and central dance-ensembles able to perform professional representative work, acting groups, primary and secondary schools with Music and singing departments were established.⁶² This was a direct continuation of the *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation] issues published by the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] until 1949–50, with newly constructed dances, costume suggestions and methodological materials for dance education in all publications.⁶³ According to Olga Szentpál’s report, in the 1949 to 1950 academic year, there were already 2,000 movement groups operating in Hungary, in which dancers and dance-direction faculty students who graduated from the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] were also involved.⁶⁴ Olga Szentpál developed the theme for the dance collection,

⁶¹ Curriculum of the September 1948 training course of *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers]. The *Táncszövetség* [Hungarian Dance Federation] appears here as a control organization. Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁶² Elementary music school departments used the Kodály-method, and *Békés-Tarhosi Állami Énekiskola* [Békés-Tarhos Music School] was born as this activity result. Kodály’s method is a program of Hungarian Musical Literacy. The method uses Hungarian folk music to understand the music (based on simple exercises of the basic theme and method of its chords, rhythms, and styles) with the help of music theory, solmization, musical notation, and harmonic theory. This method uses acapella singing, which develops the ability to hear music and develops a behaviour that understands and cultivates music. See: Kodály 1954: 103; Szőnyi 1988: 142–143.

⁶³ The *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation] was a publication of the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] between 1949–1950, as same as *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers], providing dance descriptions, and choreographic guides for learning to dance. A total of seven publications can be found in OSZMI *Táncarchívum*.

⁶⁴ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

and she created the dance-analysis sheet at the time. A direct consequence of these efforts was the establishment of the *Csárdás-program* [Tsárdás-Program] starting in 1950 and the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art], which had two parts dealing with dance.⁶⁵ When the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art] was founded, it was under the administration of Jenő Széll. One part of the dance-department worked under the leadership of Freedom Medallist Elemér Muharay, with the “Muharay’s” working alongside him. The other-part of the dance department operated under the leadership of Anna Pór, where the Szentpál-students were. This organisation was the institution that held the amateur movement together, educating and serving it.



Pic. Nr. 7: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation]. 1949. I. Apr.

Source: Manuscript legacy
of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

⁶⁵ The rest of the institute dealt with folk music, puppetry, drama, folk arts, and crafts.



Pic. Nr. 8: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation].
1949. 1. Invitation of Village Tour
Source: Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál
OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.



Pic. Nr. 9: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation].
1949. 1. Call for the "collection-work
competition". Source: Manuscript legacy of
Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

The World Youth Festival and the WYF book

Then the fact of the transitions and the alliance with the Germans in WW II, and with the Soviets from 1944 created a very unfavourable situation for Hungary. The Paris Peace Treaty began in 1946 with the dialogue and cooperation between the victorious great powers. From the cultural point of view, the losing position in the war also meant the drawing of the Iron Curtain, the demarcation line between East and West, and the assertion of the authority of the Soviet Democratic States and the British allies. This meant 80% Soviet influence for Hungary and Bulgaria, and 90% for Romania.⁶⁶ The official Peace Treaty was signed in February 1947.⁶⁷ From the viewpoint of cultural and political relations, the Paris Peace Treaty weighed heavily on Hungary (material and territorial losses). Prior to this, in 1941 at the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos*

⁶⁶ Baló-Lipovecz (eds.) 1990: 130.

⁶⁷ Baló-Lipovecz (eds.) 1990: 132.

Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Történettudományi Intézete [Institute of Historic Science of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], headmaster Domonkos Kosáry had the idea of writing of comparative history of the Danube peoples.⁶⁸ This disappeared due to the spread of the expanding National Socialist Ideology. In 1945, the idea of comparative historical research of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe came to fore again. The wounds acquired as a result of the World Wars and the designations of space stemming primarily from the ideology of nationalism caused the Hungarians living abroad to be negatively judged and oppressed. The aim of the historical research was the mutual settlement of the bad examples of the past, which aimed to get to know each other's culture in order to have a realistic assessment of the nations and their habitus.⁶⁹ During this period, Hungary had a particularly bad relationship with Czechoslovakia, which led to the disenfranchisement and displacement of Hungarians in order to create a homogeneous nation-state. After the reattachment of *Székegyföld*, the first alliance with Romania was established under the auspices of the Györfly College. The Hungarian-Romanian Society was founded in 1945 under the chairmanship of Zoltán Kodály. The Colleges and the College Support Organizations advocated cultural cooperation between universities, the sending and receiving of teachers and researchers, and sharing of scientific results. This is how the Romanian sociologist Dimitri Gusti came to Hungary and the application of this theory to social science is also due to this system of relationships. A Romanian college was also established in 1947, and it took the name of Lajos Mocsáry. Yugoslavia is also linked to this cooperation. In 1945 the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society was also established.⁷⁰ Sándor Bálint raised his voice in defense of the rights of the Hungarians, which also meant the intellectual and cultural cooperation of students and scientists.⁷¹ In 1945 the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society was founded to promote the deepening of Hungarian-Russian intellectual relations. This was done at the Pázmány Péter University.⁷² Partner organisations were also established in *Pécs* and *Debrecen*.⁷³ The cultural contacts established and initiated with the Soviets also extended to the exchange relations of scholarship recipients. The Hungarian youth's scientific life tried to create and maintain friendly cooperation with the countries with

⁶⁸ N. Szabó 1998: 17.

⁶⁹ N. Szabó 1998: 18.

⁷⁰ N. Szabó 1998: 50.

⁷¹ N. Szabó 1998: 56.

⁷² N. Szabó 1998: 63.

⁷³ N. Szabó 1998: 63–65.

powerful influence and the Danube peoples in these relationship systems. In 1947, Gyula Ortutay became a Minister of Culture, who was in charge of this system of contacts. By 1947, relations with Czechoslovakia were also settled. This led among other things to creation of the World Youth Festival, which was held for the first time in the summer of 1947 in Prague. At the first Prague WYF, Iván Szabó's combined ensemble performed the *Fóti Páros* [Couple dance from Fót], and the *Szüreti táncok* [Harvest dances].⁷⁴ At the same time in the first WYF in Prague Olga Szentpál conducted a dance collection with cooperation of Zsuzsa Merényi for an experimental purpose. I found the documentation of this, all the dance-notations in the legacy of Olga Szentpál. It contains a description of dances performed by French, Greek, Yugoslav, Mongolian, Basque and Indian partisan groups.⁷⁵ The second Youth Festival in *Budapest* 1949 was considered as a monumental cultural event. This was also shown in the fact that dances performed by the dance groups of "friendly peoples" performing at WYF were collected on the spot. In her summary review Olga Szentpál divided the dances appearing at WYF into following groups: 1. Dances with socialist content; 2. Dance-play's; 3. Military-play-Verbunkos; 4. Regional-unity dances. Already from the nature of division, the certain *Zhdánov* slogan can be seen, which wanted to apply new content to the old forms, showing the cultural behaviour of the new type of man of the new idealism. There is no more room for communicating the moral-truth, they presented a friendly-approach of the worker-man working for a peace and they naive-idealized vision of the future that carries his spirituality as a character armour. Thus, in the National Productions the edited compositions strove to highlight the "optimistic joy of life" earned through work, the "paradise of happiness". Therefore, in the regional-unity dances Szentpál emphasizes that these new works accent the portrayal of optimistic-warrior momentums, emotions, and moods.⁷⁶ The systematic documentation of the collected dance material was published in book form under the title *Táncoló Ifjúság* [Dancing Youth] and taught as a requirement in the company dance ensembles in the mass dance program.⁷⁷ In addition to Iván Szabó's ensemble *Központi Honvéd Művészegyüttes* [Central Honvéd Art Ensemble] and Miklós Rábai's ensemble (*MEFESZ*) also appeared at the second *Világifjúsági Találkozó* [World Youth Festival]. Iván Szabó presents the choreography of the *Falusi Bál* [Village Ball]

⁷⁴ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 132.

⁷⁵ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

⁷⁶ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 132–137.

⁷⁷ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985:140; Lugossy 1950.

and the *Táncok Kalotaszegről* [Dances from Kalotaszeg] with the *Központi Honvéd Művészegyüttes* [Central Honvéd Art Ensemble]. Miklós Rábai performs with the MEFESZ group with his dance composition *Ludas Matyi*.⁷⁸ In this festival Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Greece, India, Indonesia, China, Poland, Madagascar, Mongolia, Nigeria, Romania, Sweden, and the Soviet Union were also present.⁷⁹ The somewhat broad category of the Eastern Bloc represented its clear and committed democratic alliance through culture in the spirit of artistic renewal.⁸⁰

Ortutay's hierarchical system and the Dance Federation

Here it was necessary to describe the role and activities of Gyula Ortutay. He himself did not mention this period in his diary, he would like this period to be shrouded in oblivion.⁸¹ However, Ortutay's very significant work during this period had an impact on dance culture (not only the stage representation of dance, but also in the academic canon and research) to such an extent that it cannot be ignored. His presence in the Folk-College Movement, his work in the radio and then as a Minister of Culture the nationalization of schools and the right to process and publish the collected materials collected through folklore research were also in his hands. His youthful friendship with the circle of movement artists also determined his later working relationships. I say this because the image of a monster who grew from ethnographer to politician during the stages of political position acquisition is clearly visible. According to his own admission, his re-education in the Soviet Union made him fond of politics and made him hungry for power and the shadow of arrogance, jealousy, inhumanity, and indifference was also cast over his relationships. In Ortutay's work, the image of a young aspiring scientist belonging to the Youth Circle of *Szeged* suddenly separated from the image of the leader, who became a member of Folk-College from 1945, and then Minister of Culture from 1947 who directed the movement. After his re-education, he predestined this circle of relationships to achieve his own goals. During his ministry, he

⁷⁸ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 140.

⁷⁹ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 138.

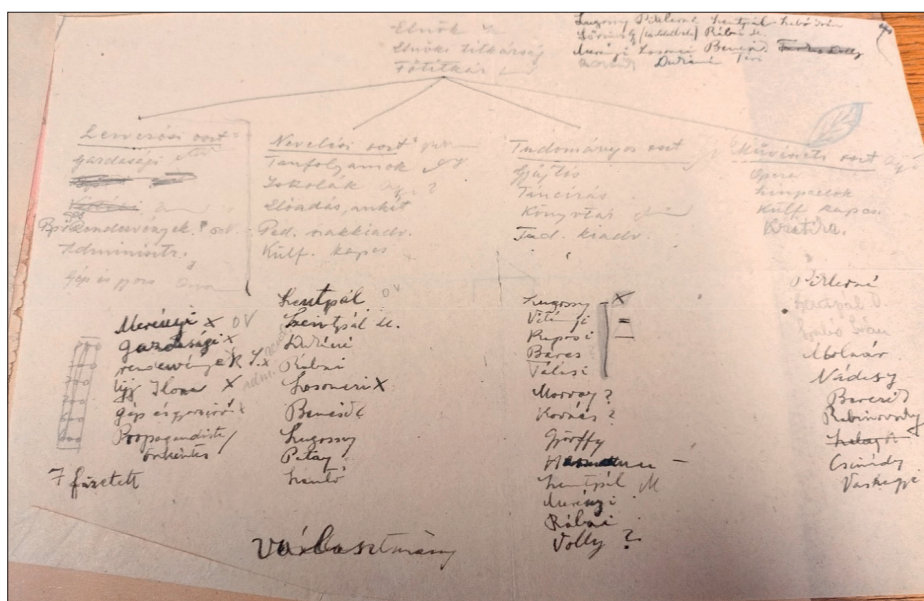
⁸⁰ As a professional relationship established with the dance training institution which led by Gret Palucca, that was in the territory of the GDR and with the Dutch Dance Theatre. The contact person in both cases was Ágnes Roboz. She stated this in the personal interview I conducted, which can also be verified with documents.

⁸¹ Ortutay 2009: 374–375.

used this personal favour against the terror of fascism to advance his own political ambitions. Due to his role in the Folk-College, his task was to nationalize schools. This also brought with the fact that this “circle of relationships” forced them to change their ideology and give up all their previous achievements in order to maintain their persistency-survival life. I am thinking here that the cultivation of the expressive and dramatic new Hungarian dance became impossible, the artistic work begun earlier could not be continued in the school buildings.⁸² Thus, the artists involuntarily placed their fate in the hands of Ortutay, which grew into a cultural educational network that was centred in *Budapest*, but also operated rural centres and maintains international relations. The *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was established in 1948 and became the controller of this centralized power. Dance and folk art were transformed into a means of representation, was no longer represented a personal revelation and an attitude of assumed belonging based on knowledge but produced a constructed self-image of an obligatory people education tool and entertainment. And Ortutay put ideologically re-educated puppets as the service of the power.⁸³ Here I must refer to the work of Géza Losonczy and Jenő Széll. Losonczy’s role as a journalist leading the domestic politics section of *Szabad Nép* [Free Nation] was demonstrated in the fact that he enforced the sample assigned to an application, the Russian cultural program will all available means. Part of the principles and tools governing culture will be concern with the label, such as use of the *Proletcult* and *Narodnik* categories. The category of *Proletcult* is the formalist art political trend that rejects all traditions (which included practitioners of all contemporary arts), and *Narodnik* is the flag of the intellectuals fighting for the liberation of the rural people. This is how Béla Bartók, the creator of New Hungarian Music, became the world-renowned composer Bartók like a “floundering in the quagmire of formalism” in the *Szabad Nép* [Free Nation] article, whose works were banned in Hungary at this

⁸² The 4th of Queen Vilma Road in *Budapest* (today *Városligeti fasor*), the villa and dance hall of the couple Szentpál–Rabinovszky became the centre of nationalization. From 1945 to 1948 a State-security Prison was operated here. Since 1948 the elementary school named after the tragically fated artist Gyula Derkovits has been operating here, and the vocational school for artists has been operating in the dance hall since then. The cityscape keeps this history unchanged in the city memory.

⁸³ Olga Szentpál and István Molnár also had go through such self-confession and re-education to keep their jobs and existence. The ideological education was primarily in the hands of György Lukács, the ideological re-education in *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was the task of Ágnes Heller. I found these documents in the Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.



Pic. Nr. 10: *The structure and classes of the Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation]
as an autograph note. Source: Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné.
OSZMI Táncarchívum fond 33.

time.⁸⁴ I have mentioned the counterexample of this in the person of Jenő Széll, who acted exactly against the ideological warfare of the warrior who had run out of reason. His tool was not attack, but well-meaning persuasion and the pushing of boundaries, which he clearly served the cause of culture. First as ambassador to Bucharest from 1948 to 1950, then from 1950 during the administration of the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art]. I will write about his work here when I explain the next chronological timeline. Thanks to Jenő Széll, Bartók's rehabilitation began in 1950 with help of Zoltán Kodály and Bence Szabolcsi. Returning to the work of *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation], it is necessary to single out rural centres that also served art-political goals. *Debrecen* can be mentioned as the first centre, due to its function as the temporary capital, it was given a particularly prominent role and was not only a refuge for the Folk-College students who moved here, but also became responsible for Russian relations. *Szeged* became the second such centre in the service of maintaining Romanian relations. It was here the first rural ballet-ensemble was established, primarily as a rural distribution centre for the Opera House's program and Gyula Harangozó's choreographies. *Pécs* and its catchment area be-

⁸⁴ Széll 2012: 336–338.

came a third such centre not only because of the cultivation of the Yugoslav cultural relations, but also of its progressive artistic life. Here, therefore a double process has become visible. One is the *Budapest* focus folk dance era, and the other is the artistic dance styles exiled to the rural citadels of culture next to the prominent style of folk-dance. This association managing the cultural work had four departments that helped and complemented each other's work. The department of organization, department of education, the department of science and art.⁸⁵ In the next section, their work is described.

The characteristics and fate of dance-related research and academic works in the 1940s

According to my hopes, it became visible how the work started during the Village research Movement took turn in 1945 and started on its own culture shaper path. Focusing on dance – especially folk dance – has also taken on a community-forming and ethno-educational role. It is necessary to start a little earlier to define the initial ambitions of dance research. The European mainstream of dance research is presented and critically analysed in the work of Frigyes Sándor Varga published in 1939. This book has a place for historical, ethnological, and aesthetic research. In his review of the European literature, Varga also categories, evaluates and presents methodological peculiarities. The historical processing of dance was the category of artistic dance, in which it lists the work of music historian presenting the biographies of the dance masters starting from the Renaissance and then the choreographers who can be linked to the development of the ballet genre. The presentation of the ethnological research of the dance is even more interesting. It outlines three possible research directions primarily from the works of German, English and Danish researchers.⁸⁶ The first possible direction is the morphological analysis of archaic dance material in European dance culture based on ethnic and musical basis. The second way is the exploration of the sacred-dramatic-pantomimic-masked dances of Eastern cultures. The third is the analysis of the rites of the culture of natural peoples connected to life-long cycles and customs. In the aesthetic analysis of artistic movement as dance, Varga explores the category of art theory that includes the works of Emile-Jacques Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban, mentioning Olga Szentpál and Máriusz Rabinovszky's first book, pub-

⁸⁵ Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.

⁸⁶ Varga 1939: 27–35.

lished in 1928.⁸⁷ In addition to presenting academic works, Varga also urges the initiation of dance research that should be launched in Hungary as soon as possible. By the end of the 1930s, two paths had been outlined in Hungarian dance research. One is research with sociological-ethnological approach based on Village-research, and the other is the development of a content and form analysis of urban dance art, focusing on body and dance. Analysing the dance folklore, broken down into its details, and the architecture and structural forms of movement were analysed and then reworked as a stage dance form, choreographed, and published. This was based on the work of the organization that transformed from the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] to the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute] in 1945. In the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology], the focus was especially on dance research.⁸⁸ Here ethnographers, dancer-choreographers, musicians, and filmmakers worked together forming a work-community, complementing each other's work.⁸⁹ The collections made by the scouts-college students during their village-visits also arrived here and were processed. They sought to explore the state of dance-life in Hungary: a complete search of the dance life of *Bodrogköz* in *Zemplén* County, Szekler community from Bukovina settled in *Völgyeség* in *Tolna* County, *Galgavölgy* in *Pest* County, the three *Matyó* villages in *Borsod* County, as well as *Szigetköz* bordering *Csallóköz*, *Rábaköz*, *Göcsej*, *Somogy*, *Cserehát* in *Abaiúj* County, *Mátraalja*, the 18th century domiciliated villages around *Pest*, *Kiskunság*, *Nagykunság* and *Békés* territory.⁹⁰ The collected dance folklore is processed in terms of the content of the edited choreographies that will applied on stage. From the 1930s when folk-ballads are staged, the plot and the communication of moral truth become important. The dance material communicates a dramatic plot with stylized motifs, so Bartók's contemporary spirit is also reflected

⁸⁷ Varga 1939: 65–69.

⁸⁸ The *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] task: "... the systematic study and presentation of life, history, state and social organization, economic and cultural of the Hungarians, and the neighboring peoples living together with them..." Kónya 1998:125.

⁸⁹ The members of the research group followed Ethnographers: Márta Belényessy, Imre Beczki, Sándor Gönyey, Edit Kaposi, Péter Morvay, and Aurél Vajkai. — Dance notator-choreographers: Zsuzsa Bene, Anna Hermann, Emma Lugossy, Zsuzsa Merényi, Miklós Rábai, Mária Szentpál and Olga Szentpál. — Music-folkloristics: György Kerényi, János Manga, Lajos Vargyas, Lajos Vass, Rudolf Vig, István Volly és Tihamér Vujicsics. — Cinematographers: Lajos Erdős, Sándor Gönyey, László K. Kovács, Emma Lugossy és József Teuchert. See: Morvay 1949: 390.

⁹⁰ Morvay 1949: 391.

in the dance application of folk ballads on the stage. This style remained until 1946. Following Bartók's Path can also be seen in the work of Olga Szentpál, Anna Pór and István Molnár. From 1946, the basis of the content of the stage dance choreographies was the processing of available dance material. Here, they collected a large amount of archival dance material through actual field work, tried to organize it, and publish edited choreographies from it. In three-year period starting in 1946, the work of the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] produced two significant works containing recent research, created with the cooperation of Olga Szentpál. They were published as monographs by Márta Belényessy and Edit Kaposi in 1958 by the first author, and only in 1999 by the second author. One is the summary of the *Völgysegi* dances (in the Tolna-Baranya County collection, the dance culture of Szekler community from Bukovina), and the other is a summary of the collection processing the dance life of *Bodrogköz (Cigánd)*. Due to the joint of a research group, it seems at the current state of my research that none of them can be called monographs linked to a single person.⁹¹ The researcher group's work followed historical, ethnographic, choreographic, and musical principles and tried to record the peculiarities of dance-life.⁹² However, the research methodology itself is based on European school of ethnology started by Adolf Bastian, which explores the socio-cultural environment of the ethnic group living there by geographical location and historical background. Through fieldwork, the researcher analyses the collective representations of the population, which means a comparative study of the folklore treasure present in a cultural life.⁹³ Due to its freshness, Leo Frobenius's theory of cultural morphology emerging from the interpretations of the cultural circle-cultural degree was also used to adapt this works. In this sense, the cultural circle is the culture of ethnic groups that are in contact with each other due to their geographical location.⁹⁴ According to another interpretation, the culture circle is an interaction region in which the cultural phenomena of ethnic groups change, and develop as a result of coexistence in different historical periods.⁹⁵ If we interpret this in relation to dance,

⁹¹ The *Csárdás* monograph by Szentpál published in 1954 was also the result of joint work. Refers to the summary of Edit Kaposi's scientific work. Manuscript legacy of Edit Kaposi OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 58; Szentpál 1954.

⁹² The historical-geographical method is presented in these works at this time. See: Ortutay 1937: 6; Varga 1939: 34; K. Kovács 1939: 4–5; Marót 1940: 278–279; Gunda 1944: 373. Cf. Erixon 1944.

⁹³ Koepping 1983.

⁹⁴ Sylvain quoting Frobenius's work. Sylvain 1996: 485.

⁹⁵ Voget 1975: 350.

then the transformation of the body and the bodies into a community and its kinetic representation in a public place is a cultural phenomenon containing folklore, which changes its form according to the fashion of the historical era as a result living together. In every case, its content symbolically represents the basic features of popular culture – such as the interaction of learned physical movement literacy and folkloric elements of folk knowledge. They set up a method that, in addition to analysis the content of the dance life (historical dance fashion folkloristics) and the presentation of its formal course (age boundaries of dancing skills and dance occasion), also tried to categorize the historical terminology of the dance material.⁹⁶ Comparisons were also made with the results of work conducted in other areas of Hungary, exploring the dance culture of ethnic groups.⁹⁷ This method therefore not only explored local dance life, but also covered the ethnic influences and the European connections of dance-fashion. I think that we should talk about the work that elaborates the dance-culture of Szekler community from *Bukovina* as the success of joint work, because of the expression of movement material, the character of movement, dance etiquette, choreographic specify, as well as the exploration of the layers of dance style (as old, foreign, and new style) and the factors that influenced it appear in the use of words. These words, on the other hand, only come back from Szentpál's works, which type are movement analysis and dance aesthetics. For me, this is why it became certain that this cannot be only one person work, since Márta Belényessy was engaged in the research of medieval culture, and had not written any such work before or since.⁹⁸ In this primarily European (primarily based on German theories) ethnologically oriented research, it can be seen that Bartók strove to apply relevant theories describing culture in the analysis of musical-folklore as well. Bartók's applied theory was also used in the exploration of dance-folklore within the framework of this institute. An important difference is that at the time dance processes (as choreography) were analysed and categorized. By breaking down this dance process, Szentpál created a formal approach analysing the concept of the motif and the structure of the dance process.⁹⁹ At this time, the separate

⁹⁶ Belényessy 1958: 56–97.

⁹⁷ *Bácska, Szatmár, Békés, Felvidék*; See: Belényessy 1958: 70.

⁹⁸ Belényessy's dissertation was published in 1948, with the title: Data for the question of homestead formation -The medieval roots of the plot of the Hungarian homestead. This book testifies the application of geographical-historical method. This is supported by the book edited by Anikó Báti. See Belényessy 1948; Báti (ed.) 2011.

⁹⁹ The concept of motif can already be found in the 1940's Szentpál-Rabinovszky taxonomy system. Emma Lugossy also published a motif analysis in 1960, as well as György Martin

categories of male dances, circle dances, and couple dances are already visible.¹⁰⁰ In the following, I will continue with the presentation of the geo-historical method Bartók used to categorise folk lyricism-Hungarian folk music.

2013. 2. 2. 3p. 1949	
LÁNYKARÉJOZÓ	Koreográfiai elemző lap.
AZ EGÉSZ TÁNC	Táncolta: 10 parasztlány, Tard, (Borsod m.) 1949.
Szerkezet Főalapelem Téppő Ütemnem Térrajz Erőfok	felkötött (a szakaszok hossza tetszőleges) lépés, állóidő mozgás. moderato zene: 4/4 - 2/4 - 4/4; tánc: A 4/4, B 2/4 kör: ha. p - mf
SZAKASZOK	¹ A ² B ³ A _{cs} ⁴ B ¹
Téppő és ütemszám Térrajz Erőfok Funkció Kapcsolás	szakaszok a periodusokkal egybeesők
PERIODUSOK	1 2 3 4
Összetétel Ütemszám (zene) Térrajz Erőfok Funkció Kapcsolás	^a 4 1/2 kör: ha. mp fő b 1 1/2 mf a 24 1/2 mp b ¹ mf
MOTIVUMOK	^I ^{I²} ^{I³} ^{II¹} ^I ^{I²} ^{I³} ^{II²}
Összetétel Ritmus Térrajz Erőfok Funkció Kapcsolás Főszólam	 kö. sz. mp p fő L — — kö. mf — kö. sz. mp p — — kö. mf —
Megjegyzések:	I. motívum tényleges ritmusa: mp p A koreográfiai elemző lapot Szentpál Olga tervezte.

Pic. Nr. 11: Olga Szentpál dance analysis sheet from 1949

Source: The Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál.OSZMI Táncarchívum fond 32.

in 1964. The concept of motif is discussed in the same way in all works, but they do not refer to Szentpál's. See Szentpál–Rabinovszky 1928; Lugossy 2014; Martin 1964.

¹⁰⁰ In Szentpál's analysing works, the Szekler dances in *Bukovina*, she provides a description of men's dances, dances of foreign origin appearing next to the *csárdás*. There is a historical-geographical method adaptation in dance-folklore analysis in 1948. That document name is *The Bukovina Szeklers dances analytical work*. This is a missing link of Belényessy's work. Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI Táncarchívum fond 32. In Szentpál's later works (Szentpál formal analysis) the method changed a little bit this. There is a comparative study of hoop dances and *csárdás*. Belényessy 1958; Szentpál 1958, Szentpál 1961.

Theoretical principles of European ethnology and its application in the processing of folklore phenomena in folk-music, folk lyrics, and dance

At its birth, European ethnology as separate scientific field, it considered the research of folk life – the comparative study of folklore phenomena created by the relationship between society and culture – to be its subject. Its main objective is the exploration of man-made intellectual and material wealth according to geographical area and historical period. It considers the products of material (such as object-making folk arts, industrial art, and object culture-related economic activities) and intellectual culture (all forms of folk poetry, music folklore, and dance folklore) as cultural phenomenon produced by conscious action. Intellectual content rooted in the tradition of the living community and creativity includes style and technical methods together to represent the shape image designed cultural phenomena linked to these geographical areas and the habitus of the ethnic group. The conceptual interpretation of these phenomena is based on form-function and type-content analysis. It also creates the theory of cultural morphology, which thus enables the examinations of customs related to the life of a settlement and community, related the folklore works.¹⁰¹ The basis of the research is the recognition of the motif, the collection and comparison of its variants found in geographical areas.¹⁰² The Hungarian application of this first appears in the research of folk-music, ethnography and finally the dance-folklore. Here I have to mention the analytical work of Béla Bartók, László Lajta, Gyula Ortutay, Péter Morvay, Márta Belényessy, Edit Kaposi and Olga Szentpál. The conceptual definition of folk lyric is a spiritual folklore phenomenon expressing emotions consisting of two closely related, but different components, melody and text.¹⁰³ In the analyses

¹⁰¹ Here it is important to emphasize the change of ethnological theories according to chronology. About Adolf Bastian's "*Gesellschaftsseele*" theory (1869) see: Solymossy 1926: 13; K. Kovács 1939: 4; Marót 1940: 279; Erixon 1944: 4; Gunda 1945: 183. About Hans Naumann's "*Gesunkenes kulturgut*" theory (1921–22) see Erixon 1944: 2. About Leo Frobenius's "*Kulturmorphologie*" theory (1921) see Solymossy 1926: 10; K. Kovács 1939: 5; Marót 1940: 279. About Sigurd Erixon's "*Regional European Ethnology*" theory (1937–38) see Erixon 1944: 17.

¹⁰² The introduction of Ethnology linked to the name of Sándor Solymossy in 1926. Solymossy 1926. The introduction of European Ethnology in Hungary and its adaptation into the ethnographic academic canon is linked to the name of Béla Gunda, who after his studies in Sweden, continued his research and academic work in this spirit from 1939 onwards. He published the theories of Sigurd Erixon in 1944. Erixon 1944. About Erixon's theory see Gunda 1994: 6–7; 11.

¹⁰³ Katona 1998: 356.

of folk-music, the content of this dance characterizes the culture of the community living in the same geographical area in its melodic form, its connections to the rural life – important days and life-milestones – occasion or not. From this follows the term of dance-life. In my previous chapter, I presented the use of folk lyric on the stage in work of Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók, which created the birth of the national and contemporary style in the city. From the viewpoint of my research, the analysis of the content and form of the melodies is important here. This primarily presenting the style-layer and type of the musical melody. Applied to dance analysis, this appears in Olga Szentpál's formal analysis, which only becomes clear if I place Bartók's system alongside it.¹⁰⁴ In the introduction to Bartók: The Hungarian Folk Song, dated October 1921, he emphasizes the definition of peasant music and musical folklore. The emphasis is on the instinctive way of expression of the peasantry, which satisfies its needs of life with forms of expression that are in accordance with its traditions or with forms of expression adopted from urban-higher culture.¹⁰⁵ To this, Bartók relates the spatial and temporal distribution of folklore, based on which he explains the research goal of musical:

1. "To establish a rich collection of peasant melodies as possible in a scientific musical system from the musical material of peasant classes neighbouring and in contact each other.

2. Based on a comparative analysis, shed light on musical styles and their origins as much as possible."¹⁰⁶

Based on this system criteria, Bartók creates the styles of Hungarian music folklore, such as the old style, the new style and the mixed style. The system of musical analysis based on these aspects also gives Bartók's dialectical taxonomy system.¹⁰⁷ In Szentpál's approach, programme and goal of the dance analyst translated into dance are also consistent with this:

¹⁰⁴ Szentpál's formal analysis was published for the first time only in 1958. However, according to the results of my research, this theory was already applied in 1948. We already find a motivic analysis of Szentpál's earlier, unpublished works. Ethnological database of Museum of Ethnography – The Dance Registry documents and Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32. See Ábrahám 2023b.

¹⁰⁵ Bartók 1966: 102.

¹⁰⁶ Bartók 1966: 105.

¹⁰⁷ Bartók 1966: 105.

1. "To establish as rich a systematic collection of folk dances as possible, primarily within an ethnic group and then from the dance material of neighbouring ethnic groups.
2. Based on a comparative analysis, to shed light on the layers and historical development of dance-styles as much as possible."¹⁰⁸

I am quoting this analysis method here because I have to explain its folkloristics and historical characteristics, as well as its content and form. Based on my research, I found out that these works were already completed in 1948 but could not be published at this time.¹⁰⁹ Szentpál begins her dance analysis by defining the formal elements. It draws up how built the concept of movement, position, and body-use-body technique (as plasticity-rhythmics-dynamics) gives the motif, which can be interpreted as dance. On the top of that, she builds the structural elements, which as smaller units show not only the construction possibilities of the motif, but also the structural characteristics of the structure of the dance. To all of this, she associates the vocal numbers of the dancing body and the relationship of the dance with the music, which factors, according to Szentpál, together reveal the formal characteristics of the dance.¹¹⁰ In analysing the internal structure of the motifs, the distinction between homogeneous and heterogeneous features is highlighted. On the other hand, Bartók sheds light on why the heterometric or isometric analysis of sequence order is essential for stylistic layers.¹¹¹ This is the important and essential aspect that highlights on the content-based, i.e. typology, resulting from the style. The elements of the analysed musical folklore may belong to the category of motifs preserved by their own tradition, adopted from foreign peoples, or preserved artistic musical influences. This is also a prominent issue when classifying the elements of folk dance, because the stylistic definition of the dance can be determined

¹⁰⁸ Szentpál 1958: 324, Szentpál 1961:43.

¹⁰⁹ Criticisms (opinions from a pen of Gyula Ortutay, Linda Dégh, Lajos Elekes) found in the estate support the publication of the book but send it back for revision. According to them, it lacks the approach of a proper Marxist-Leninist ideological education, and the critics express their lack of understanding-regarding the soci-historical analysis of dance represented by Olga Szentpál. This "report" also states that they cannot say or present anything better than Olga Szentpál's analysis and it can be understood with "common sense". Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné: OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.

¹¹⁰ Szentpál 1958: 258–259, Szentpál 1961:3–4.

¹¹¹ Isometry: same rhythm; Heterometric: different rhythm. The meter, as a tempo and measure of rhythm, forms the structure and defines the style and type of the sequence as a melodic line or motif. It can be even (2/4;4/4), odd (3/8; 6/8 or tripod), or complex (5/8;7/8). Bartók 1966: 110.

by relation of movement to the music and thus the structural construction of the set of the use of movement, body and space. The ambitus of the motif set of movement phases and its structural construction can indicate the style of dances. The proportional structure, tripodic motifs due to heterometric sequence lines, and tetrapody due to augmentation give the historical type of order the dances. And this provides the historical layers of the dances built upon each other, which covers the acculturating urban cultural phenomenon of European dance fashion containing motifs and foreign origin, which was the first built as the old style in time, as a mixed style. As Bartók notes, this style is completely at home in the Czech-Moravian-Slovakian material, and according to his conclusion, this editing method originates from here.¹¹² Finally, the new style, which is rich in musical influences and can be defined as an art-dance with its own distinct style, completes the developing-constructing repertoire of the Hungarian dance folklore. This is also an important moment in this analysis system because Hungarian dance-folkloristics did not reveal the historical layers of the Hungarian dance-treasure in such detail. We can therefore see in the works created at the beginning of dance research that from 1946, they tried to explore dance culture in an ethnological-society-historical context in the synergy of current dance fashion and social dance. Current musical and ethnographic-ethnological European theories served as a tool for this. It was published as a stage folk-dance in the 1940s and 1950s. 1948 was the year from which these research results applying the theories characteristic of the German cultural circle could no longer be published. Scientific work then changed direction and the application of the Soviet model, the shadow of the Stalinist linguistic model was cast on research.¹¹³ It should therefore be emphasized that, from the 1940's onwards, the work of Olga Szentpál and István Molnár progressed in parallel in the development of the scientific canon of dance but marked a different path. In addition to the use of body and body positions and the movement choruses, István Molnár focused on a motif and used film recording, while Szentpál analysed and edited the perspective of region-unity and the entire process of the dance. Thus, in the books to be published, dances-choreographies developed primarily in the work of Szentpál's students and the book of the author-couple Lugossy-Gönyey published

¹¹² Bartók 1966: 162.

¹¹³ This is pointed out by Olga Szentpál's writing entitled: Methodological questions of our folk-dance teaching, as well as the examples of the cited dance films used in the formal analysis. Szentpál 1951a, Szentpál 1951b, Szentpál 1958. Cf. Németh 1951: 3–20.

in 1947 presenting Hungarian folk dances are communicated.¹¹⁴ Molnár presents dance material already collected in 1941–42 in “raw” motifs and provides a description of the dance form and process danced by rural dancers recorded on a film. The difference between the two approaches is therefore in the edited performance of the selected and mixed elements of the constructed stage dance and folk dance. Regarding the educational content, simple danceable and easily implemented motifs are provided so that lay members of the College-ensembles can easily learn them and gain experience in mass-dances. The Centenary collection, which was carried out by the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] and the dance-fact students at the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] in Tolna County in 1948, could not be made public for several reasons. On the one hand, thanks to the current direction of art politics, the *Zhdánov* slogan supported the application of the linguistic model, rather than based on historical-ethnological foundations and Bartók’s organizing principle, filling old forms with new content. By collecting dance materials, the task of emerging *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was to obtain data on the current dying dance tradition, which is used in mass dances to create a common dance culture without regard and regional unity. During the village visits, it was discovered whether there were still living dance traditions, but the demonstrations and the teaching of mass dances also caused a change in the local dance culture, because these new dances became the community dances practiced by the youth. The adaptation of dance-folklore as a stage folk dances became the basis of the Movement, the service organ of which was the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation], not only in teacher trainings but also due to the spirit of competition and the mandatory norm from 1945 to 1950. Placing the dance on a scientific basis was thus pushed into the background due to the normative obligation to implement the three-year and then five-year plans. Here, we should also highlight Edit Kaposi’s research in *Bodrogköz* between 1946–48, the results of which she included in her doctoral dissertation. This could not have been published at that time either because it also followed the ethnological re-

¹¹⁴ Dance featured in the book Hungarian folk dances by Emma Lugossy and Sándor Gönyey: *Szennai karikázó* [Circle-dance from Szenna], *Váraljai csillagtánc* [Four-dance form *Váralja*], *Kákicsi dobogós* [Hard-beat dance from *Kákics*], *Csibetánc* [Chick-dance], *Mecsekszabolcsi ugrós* [jump dance from Mecsekszabolcs], *Palóc mártogatás vagy kukorgós* [Palóc-style fast rhythm couple dance], *Kéméndi buktatós* [Fast rhythm dance from Kéménd], *Galgamácsai szarkatánc* [Magpie dance from Galgamácsa], *Kunszentmiklósi süveges* [Hat-dance from Kunszentmiklós], *Szilágysági ugrós* [jump dance from Szilágyság], *Mezőségi szőkekenős* [Fast dance from Mezőség], *Kalotaszegi forgós* [Turning dance from Kalotaszeg], *Homoródi páros és körtánc* [Couple and round-dances from Homoród]. Lugossy–Gönyei 1947.

search direction, Edit Kaposi also interpreted the dances on historical level.¹¹⁵ In 1949, The Folklore Institute was closed without a legal successor. All of this brought with it the rejection of the previous result, the style of dramatic dances and the primarily formal application and interpretation of folk dance. Scientific research also had to follow this principle, the rehabilitation of which could only be realized in a certain sense in the 1960s.

Conclusion

As my study proof, the specific-movement charge of the period has become clear. The truth is that the system of movement that still lives and characterizes the community of folk dancers was ready here. I have presented the period when, with the cooperation of Ortutay and Iván Vitányi, they made folk dance a showpiece genre serving political and power interests, reshaping the Hungarian contemporary dance culture, which could be called unique until the 1940s, into youth-educating mass-culture and naïve stage-work. Although they had no other way to prosper due to the “pressure of power”. They realized the gravity of their actions only later and tried to reverse the process that started in the 1950s, to find clues to the actual Hungarian dance treasure. In addition to all of this, the evolution of dance culture also includes the fact that instead of the old-kingdom-county-system that remained until 1949, a county-system combining several counties was created, so the boundaries of geographical areas, district region and regional centres also changed in several cases. *Budapest's* former 14 district area swells to 22 districts, devouring its former agglomeration areas. Dance-research must also focus on historical and substantive issues because the only way to see and understand the work that was started in early 1900s. Thanks to the 1940s, the genre of folk-dance became a Movement-system, which has been exclusionary to all other dance genres ever since. The “purge and re-education” that began at the end of the 1930s can be mentioned not only as a Hitlerian ideology of National Socialist Germany, but also cultural-shaping activity manifested in Stalin’s white terror. Many artists were lost, or if they survived, they were forced to change out of

¹¹⁵ There is a difference between the dissertation found in the legacy of Edit Kaposi and the revised version published later. See in the dissertation titled *Tánc a bodrogekői Cigándon* [Dance at Cigánd from Bodrogekői]. Manuscript legacy of Edit Kaposi OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 58. Published version: Kaposi 1999. I explained this in a separate study Ábrahám 2023a: 31–42.

necessity due to the destruction of their work. This category includes all those who did not survive the forced-labor camps in Auschwitz or Siberia, or who disappeared in the hidden machinery of the current power due to their artistic approach, such as Mejerhold or the board members of the János Vajda Company. Bartók deprived of his illness in the American emigration, and Béla Balázs did not survive the 1950s either.¹¹⁶ This also be true in the later period for the Movement-system of the “principled revolutionary’s new reality, which becomes steel in the forge of the class struggle”, because “the character-armour of the paradisaical reality” is not necessarily the same as the realistic-moral-artistic reality. For me, the most interesting outcome of this, in addition to the transformation of cultural-life, was the manifestation of a specific change approach to the application of scientific work to the Soviet model instead of the German cultural-circle. Thus, Hungarian dance research had an ethnological basis, but it could not be fulfilled and its initial hopeful start, its content was completely covered by obscurity until the 1960s. European aspects and contexts can be seen not only in the work of dance researcher Olga Szentpál and Edit Kaposi, in the research of ballads by Lajos Vargyas and the exploratory work of Anna Pór theatre-literacy. The possibility of the anthropological approach reappeared in the 1980s. In dance research, this presents as an unburied past, a painful wound, and its documents await processing to this day. Just as this has already been processed in literacy studies, musicology, or history studies, this has not happened in dance studies yet. By exploring this period, my goal is to emphasize the possibility of contextualization and adequate interpretation. However, thanks to humanity, these ideal-values-effects have not been completely lost according to the results of my research. Interpreted and scattered in different circles and gradually became public. Turning to the field of the cultural memory, none of my interviewees dared to talk about the changes of the 1940s – or because of the prohibition of the taboo – they could not talk about these events. Here, at this point it becomes necessary to research the legacies, because there are documents preserves as facts that irrevocably prove the truth. The fact is that the use of the thematic-dramatic dance style under the auspices of the Vasas ensemble could remain as a hiding stream, and the spiritual community of the dancers and choreographers working here will mean the preservation and survival of its hidden content. However, it did not return until the 1960s. The canon of scientific dance research is perhaps slowly processing its previous methodological mistakes and accepting the holistic ap-

¹¹⁶ Béla Bartók’s son, Péter Bartók says this in an interview with him in 2017. Bartók (2017) Directed by József Sipos, Filmnet production. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BV5gYrSB1w8>

proach of the ethnological school, and its adequate application for the analysis and interpretation of cultural phenomena. I believe that there is a place and time for understanding and reinterpretation in apprehension process of these historical tragedies.

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