

## THE TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF PODHALE

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The author describes the traditional music of Podhale, focusing primarily on its twentieth-century history. He also refers to the contemporary changes in this kind of music. The author shows both the relationship between music and identity, highlanders' customs, as well as the influence of the music on the works of professional artists. Referring to the ethno-musicological methodology, on the examples of certain compositions, the author analyses types of musical forms from the Podhale region, their characteristics and styles. He compares the music of Podhale with the compositions of other ethnic groups.

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Autor opisuje tradycyjną muzykę Podhala, skupiając się przede wszystkim na jej dwudziestowiecznej historii. Odnosi się także do jej współczesnych przemian. Pokazuje zarówno relacje między muzyką a tożsamością, zwyczajami Górali, jak też sygnalizuje wpływy tej muzyki na twórczość artystów profesjonalnych. Odwołując się do metodologii etnomuzykologicznej, na przykładzie konkretnych utworów autor analizuje typy podhalańskich form muzycznych, ich charakterystykę oraz style. Porównuje także muzykę Podhala z twórczością innych grup etnicznych.

**Key words:** Podhale music, tradition, songs, dances, ethnomusicology

### INTRODUCTION

Highlander music is one of the crucial elements of regional identity and cultural autonomy in Podhale. Due to its homogenous style and uniformity, the musical folklore in Podhale became a distinguishing characteristic of highlander culture to non-highlanders. The landscape, wildlife and music of the Tatra mountains inspired many outstanding composers, such as Władysław Żeleński, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Mieczysław Karłowicz, Karol Szymanowski, Wojciech Kilar and others, and therefore the stream of 'Tatra Mountains music' is still very prolific and noticeable today (Długołęcka and Pinkwart 1992). The Podhale music has a special place in the history of Polish ethno-musicography. Roman Zawiliński, a Polish linguist and ethnographer and the secretary of the Anthropology Committee at the Academy of Learning in Kraków, was the first to register highlander songs and recitations on a phonographic roll in 1904. The performer was Jan Sabała junior (Dahlig 1997, 49–56).

The ethno-musical image of Podhale has developed as a result of mixing, overlapping and processing of many ethnical factors that emerged in this region due to the arrival of successive waves of settlers (Dahlig-Turek 2001, 97). Thus, the so-called 'Podhale style' is not a primary phenomenon, as it is the case with e.g. the musical style of Mazovia, but a resultant of the intermingling of several primary musical styles (Chybiński 1961d, 164). Even so, the traces of extrinsic influence, both Polish and foreign, are still discernible and relatively easy to identify. The musical culture of Podhale highlanders, being dynamic and lively, did not keep away from foreign styles but adapted them, tailoring them to local tastes, making them more 'highlander' in nature (Chybiński 1961d, 165).

The musical style of Podhale was shaped by the various waves of settlers, as well as the experience of many inhabitants of the region, who often worked or served in the army in culturally foreign lands (Chybiński 1961d, 163). Highlanders from Podhale travelled as far as Hungary to seek seasonal employment, e.g. to help with haymaking. They made longer stays not only in ethnically Hungarian lands, but also in 'northern Hungary' – i.e. modern day Slovakia – where they worked as miners and came into contact with the musical folklore of Slovaks and Lemkos (Chybiński 1961d, 164). From their travels highlanders brought new melodies and classical violins bought in Hungary.

#### THE SONGS OF PODHALE

With the exception of ballads, all songs in Podhale have short lyrics, mostly consisting of only one stanza; two-stanza songs are rarer. Thus, they are succinct and heavy with meaning and emotion. Due to their concise form, these songs constitute the perfect examples of typical folk poetry. The effects of topical parallelisms, comparisons or metaphors are much more noticeable than in multiple-stanza songs from other regions of Poland, as they are made directly for the purpose of one short composition, amplifying its power of expression (Sadownik ed. 1971, 13). The lyrics touch on a variety of topics: love, deep thoughts, family, funny stories, brigands, shepherds. There are rare examples of songs meant to accompany some ritual.

One of the characteristic features of folk songs in Podhale is the almost complete lack of permanent connection between the lyrics (*śpiewka*) and the melody (*nuta*). The melodies exist independently of the lyrics and are sung with many different texts, chosen or sometimes even improvised by performers. In Podhale, songs in which the melody and the lyrics are inseparably bound are very rare – the examples include the few longer ballads, which are usually sung to a certain melody. The vast majority of single-stanza songs are not connected to any specific *nuta*. However, the choice of melody is not entirely unlimited, but restricted by the conformity of the rhythmic

cadence with the type of versification in the lyrics. The interchangeability of lyrics between melodies of the *wierchowe* type and of the *ozwodne* type is due to the similarities in rhythm and form of the lyrics. The stanzas of *śpiewki* (lyrics) from this group have four six-syllable verses, sometimes with an additional interjection ('*ej*', or '*hej*') at the beginning.

*Wierchowa* (Sadownik ed. 1971, 321)

Zaśpiwojmy se dziź  
nucicke wiyrchowom,  
abo "o "owieckag,  
abo sabałowom.

*Wierchowa* (mountain-top) song type:

Let us sing today  
a melody from the mountain top  
either about the sheep  
or about Sabała

*Ozwodna* (Sadownik ed. 1971, 732)

Ej, Janicku, złoty głos,  
ty do mnie nie godoz,  
ej, c-i sie mamy b"ois,  
c-i "o mnie nie st"ois.

*Ozwodna* song type:

Ey, Johnny, golden voice  
you don't speak to me  
ey, are you afraid of my mother  
or do you not care about me

Lyrics performed to melodies of the *krzesane* type all have the same rhythm and are always composed of four verses with eight or sometimes seven syllables. The similarities in their form make it possible to freely match *śpiewki* to various *nuty*.

*Krzesana* (Sadownik ed. 1971, 665)

Kiebyś była w starym kierpcu,  
To byś była w moim sercu,  
ale ześ jest w aksamicie,  
nie pyto cie, nie trza mi cie.

Were you wearing old shoes  
you would be in my heart  
but you are wearing velvet  
you are no longer for me

It must be remembered that there are much more lyrics than there are melodies.

Songs accompanying a type of dance called *góralski* are the only ones performed solo, *a capella* or with band music; all other highlander songs are sung by a group of performers without instrumental sound. The Podhale melodies are enriched with polyphony, which is usually achieved by adding one or two thirds above or below the main melodic voice. In effect, parts of the melody contain simultaneous triads. There are also two-note chords of perfect fourth or fifth, whereas in other parts all voices converge to a single melody line. Each stanza is begun by one singer, later joined by others who immediately start to diverge into polyphony, but always finish *unisono*. The musical sense of the highlanders is so good that although the songs have two or sometimes three melodic voices, each of the singers often makes their own melody line, sometimes choosing to sing the lower, and sometimes the higher notes. The melody lines in Podhale polyphony are constantly criss-crossing, so that the existence of the main melody line is obscured or rather remains a question of individual opinion (Kotoński 1955, 22).

**Poco rubato (27'') ♩ = 80**

Ej, i-dom se o - wiec - ki, ej i-dom do lu - per - ciom,  
 ej, ju-ha - sów nie wid - no, ej, i-no zwon-ki zbyr - com,  
 ej, ju-ha - sów nie wid - no, ej i-no zwon-ki zbyr - com.

Highlanders from Podhale, be they male or female, never sing in naturally set voices. Men sing in loud, strained, guttural tones, almost in the vocal register of *falsetto*. The highest notes (a<sup>1</sup> to cis<sup>2</sup>) are intoned forcibly, overstraining the vocal cords. A high pitch is a matter of pride among singers (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1959, 6). In Podhale, bass tones are regarded as ugly and ‘un-highlander’ (Kotoński 1956, 28). Women generally sing in low tones, exploiting the chest register (the so-called ‘white voice’); when performing in groups of mixed gender they sing in the same octave as the men. The songs are always performed very loudly – there is no diversity in volume in Podhale singing. The rhythm and melody are embellished with such mannerisms as tuplets, syncopations, vocal ornamentation or glissandos, especially on the final note.

When singing in the open, girls used to finish their songs with *wyskanie*, an improvised interjection performed by one singer only (Kotoński 1956, 39):

*ff* *accel.*  
 U - - - - hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu.

The tonality of the folk music of Podhale includes a characteristic scale with a tritone and a lowered seventh tone of the scale. In Polish ethno-musical literature such scale is called ‘highlander’ or ‘Wallachian scale’ and is connected with descending melodic:

There are many interpretations of this scale. The most probable theory about its origins connects it with wind instruments used by the shepherds: horns, trembitas

and pipes with no holes; as the highlander scale consists of sounds that may be produced by these instruments (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1991, 698–699). Highlander music also makes use of myxolydian mode and major scale. Minor scale appears in melodies which have foreign origins.

*Nuty* have their own, characteristic rhythm with syncopations. It strongly accentuates the shorter notes; a pattern also observable in Hungarian music:



The highlanders from Podhale have traditionally divided their *nuty* into the following types: *sabatowe*, *marsze* (marches), *wierchowe*, *ozwodne*, *krzesane*, *zielone* and *weselne* (nuptial). These terms are in common use in the entire region of Podhale. The first type of tune is named after Jan Krzeptowski-Sabała, who had a particular liking for such melodies. *Marsze*, *ozwodne*, *krzesane* and *zielone* melodies stem from various stages of the dances *góralski* and *zbójnicki*. The name *nuty wierchowe* comes from the place they were performed at (mountain tops) and the slow, dragging rhythm associated with open spaces. Nuptial melodies (*weselne*) were performed during wedding ceremonies. These can be divided further into *pytackie*, *wywodne* and *na cepowiny*, according to the different stages of the wedding feast they are performed at.

The most numerous and the most typical for the Podhale region are melodies with a two-part structure, five-bar musical phrase, descending rhythm and bipartite metre. Such is the structure of *sabatowe nuty* (whose lyrics usually speak of hunting, brigands or of Sabała), as well as of *wierchowe*, *ozwodne*, *weselne* and some of the *zielone* melodies (Sadownik ed. 1971, 314).

*Nuta sabatowa* (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1959, 9)



*Nuta ozwodna* (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1959, 41)



*Nuta zielona* (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1959, 61)



Due to the characteristic versification of *nuty zielone*, the first two motives of the melody are repeated, extending the phrase to seven bars.

*Nuty wierchowe*, also known as *ciagnione*, are performed with much freedom with regard to the rhythm, with a slow metre and tempo, so that they 'are heard far over the mountain tops', as highlanders put it (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1959, 5).

*Nuta wierchowa* (Sadownik ed. 1971, 10)



The marches in Podhale are a distinctive type of songs with unique features. Their musical phrases consists of four bars and their melodies differ from typical tunes from Podhale. Songs of this type can be found south of the Carpathians and in the Balkans (Chybiński 1961b, 113–142):

Another relatively numerous and very distinctive group are *nuty krzesane*, found only in the region of Podhale (Kotoński 1956, 18–19). These simple melodies have an even metre, four-bar phrase and a lively, undulating tempo (Kotoński 1956, 24):



With the exception of the *pytackie* type, all nuptial songs in Podhale differ from folk music in this region with regard to style, melody and rhythm. They are composed of five-bar phrases, and bear the traces of influence of Cracovian melodies and the folklore of the lands to the north of Podhale:

A Cracovian nuptial song (Sadownik ed. 1971, 143)



#### INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Among the many stringed instruments used in Polish folk music, pride of place is taken by *złóbcoki*, an instrument regarded as one of the characteristic attributes of highlander culture. The distinctive form of this chordophone and the music it produces are tightly related to the region of Podhale, even though *złóbcoki* were also known in Slovakia (Dahlig-Turek 2001, 97–99).



Highlander musicians, a photograph published in 1931 by Wydawnictwo Sztuka in Kraków (Archives of The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków).





Fiddler Bartek Obrochta from Podhale, a photograph published in 1931 by Wydawnictwo Sztuka in Kraków (Archives of The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków).

*Złóbcoki* were carved out of a single piece of wood, 49–59 centimetres long (the name of the instrument is derived from the dialectal form of the verb *złobić* meaning ‘to carve’). The instrument had three or four strings and was tuned like classical violin. The fiddler usually played it with a home-made bow, across three strings only. Although *złóbcoki* could come in various shapes and sizes, two basic types may be distinguished:

1. narrow, spindle-shaped and geometrical, often truncated by the button;
2. streamlined, oval or pear-shaped.

The first type reveals its affinity with *surdynka*, a folk chordophone from the region of Mazovia, whereas the second is related to the mediaeval rebec (Olędzki 1978, 31).

Since *złóbcoki* had a quiet yet shrill sound, in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they were gradually replaced by fiddles. The famous Sabała, who died in 1894, was the last





A bagpipe player from Podhale, a photography published in 1930 by Wydawnictwo Sztuka in Kraków (Archives of The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków).

musician to play this instrument. In early 20<sup>th</sup> century *złóbcoki* were used as a training instrument for beginner fiddlers (Nowak 2001, 40). The first folk bands (*muzyki*) in Podhale consisted of *złóbcoki* and bagpipes. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a third instrument, the basolia (*basy*), was added.

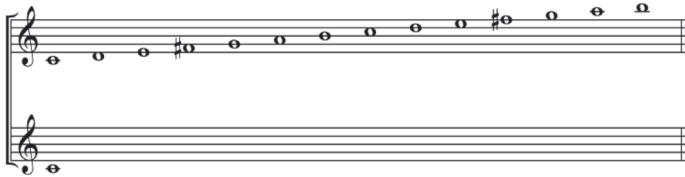
In the 1920s, long after *złóbcoki* have fallen out of favour with folk bands, an attempt was made to reintroduce this instrument into folk music. The author of this initiative was Andrzej Knapczyk from Ciche, who taught folk music in Murzasichle. He played at weddings, yet won no recognition with the highlanders, who preferred the resonant, clear tones of the fiddle. Nowadays *złóbcoki* are sometimes played during folk shows and used by some *muzyki*. The leading player (*prymista*) of the band then uses the *złóbcoki* to play the so-called *staroświeckie sabatowe nuty* (old tunes by Sabała). Such instruments are manufactured both by folk artisans and professional luthiers.

Before the Tatra National Park was created (1950s), animal herding played a significant role in the economy of Podhale, yet such pastoral instruments as trembitas, horns and single or double pipes with no side-holes (Chybiński 1961a, 325–400) were a thing of the past already in the 1920s. Some specimens are now kept in folk museums, but the data concerning the technique of playing them have not survived (Kotoński 1956, 32).

The double pipe was a common instrument in the Tatra Mountains and in the neighbouring region of Podtatrze (Chybiński 1961a, 351). It consists of two windpipes of equal length carved of a single piece of great maple or ash tree.

The parallel perforations of the double pipe are close to one another, so it is possible to blow into both of them at the same time. Since only one of the perforations has side-holes, the melody is always accompanied by low droning (Olędzki 1978, 59).

The playing range of a double pipe



The Podhale bagpipes differ from all bagpipe instruments from Poland, as their form was heavily influenced by Southern Slavonic tradition. They are easily distinguished by their chanter (called *gajdzica*) with three perforations, the straight drone (*bańk*) and the blowpipe (*dubac*).

The chanter has three parallel perforations. The first of those channels has five side-holes, the second has one, while the third has none. It is therefore possible to produce a harmonious sound in which the pitch of the two lowest tones is constant and the melody is played on the pipe with the five finger-holes (Olędzki 1978, 79).

The playing range of the bagpipes



Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, bagpipes were the most popular instrument among the shepherds and brigands of Podhale. Most pipers made their instruments themselves, decorating the goat skin pipes with rich ornaments.

A bagpipe melody (Mierczyński 1949, 71) [umiarkowanie = moderato]

The musical score is presented in two systems. Each system contains three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains the bagpipe melody, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes with grace notes. The middle staff is also in treble clef and contains the right-hand accompaniment, consisting of chords. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains the left-hand accompaniment, consisting of single notes. All staves are marked with a slur. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo marking 'Umiarkowanie' is placed above each staff.

Trombita, also known as *fujara* or *fujera*, is a wind instrument used by shepherds. It was made of two pieces of a hollow spruce trunk, 150 to 200 centimetres long. The bell was made of a separate, solid lump of wood. Trombita had a low, deep sound (Mierczyński 1949, 60). The instruments ceased to be used in Podhale as early as 1920s, but they were reintroduced during the revival of regional culture.

Highlander folk bands (*muzyki*) include four string instruments. The leading musician (*pryma*) plays the violin, accompanied by two other violinists (*sekunda*) and a three-stringed cello (*basiola* – *basy*). The leading violinist (*prymista*) is the most important member of the band, who plays the main theme and chooses the other musicians in the band. The leader usually has a charismatic personality, shaping the distinctive style of this particular band.

The accompanying violinists (*sekundziści*) hold their instruments vertically, pressed against their chests. In most cases *sekundziści* play *unisono*, though in highly proficient bands the melodies played by the accompanying violinists may vary – one of them joins in the main theme, introducing whole sequences to it.

The highlander basiola (*basy*) are made locally, manufactured by professional luthiers or remade from classical cellos. Basiolas have a longer endpin than factory-made cellos and only three strings, tuned D, d, A. The instrument is hung on a belt across the shoulders, allowing the musician to play while walking. The strings are pressed to the fingerboard with three fingers at a time. Basiola bows are home-made, similar to that used for playing the double bass, but considerably shorter. Basiolas are an important element of every folk band, as they provide the rhythm for dancing and the basis for the specific highlander harmonics.

An example of a multi-instrument melody, *nuta krzesana* (Kotoński 1956, 81)

$\text{♩} = 176$

Contemporary folk bands sometimes include instruments from outside the ‘classic’ set, e.g. drums, guitar (acoustic, electric or bass), various wind instruments and the accordion.

#### DANCES

The highlanders from Podhale enjoy two types of dances – *góralski* and *zbójnicki*. The former is performed by a man and a woman and consists of a series of three to eight figures (usually the number of figures performed during a single dance is four). The dance begins when the male dancer sings a tune to the band of musicians. The tune determines the type of melody the band is to play and also draws the attention of the audience to the dancer. The melodies for *ozwodny*, which is the first stage of

*góralski* dance, are very numerous. With the exception of a few old songs (*staroświeckie*) which do have a fixed melody, highlander *nuty* are not ascribed to any specific lyrics. The dancer sings his part at a high pitch, *rubato*, i.e. with artistic freedom regarding the tempo of individual passages, but always slower than the rhythm of the dance would have it. The key used by the singer is then taken up by the band. If the dancer does not have a good voice or is unfamiliar with the band (e.g. when boys from one village come to the dances in another), he goes forward with a friend, who sings along with him in polyphony. After the initial tune is finished, the band starts to play the *nuta* in dancing tempo. The dancer turns away from the band and starts dancing solo in one spot, waiting for his friend to fetch (*zwyrtac*) a partner for him. After the second dancer has found a girl that had been chosen beforehand, he makes a few spins with her and moves away, leaving her on the dance floor.

The leading dancer then performs a few moves – does different types of small steps (*krzesanie*), jumps, taps his heels, claps his hands and stomps his feet to the rhythm. The final figure is performed to the accompaniment of *nuta zielona*. Once again, the dancer turns to the band and shouts *zielonom!* Or *zielona!*, which is a signal that the dance is about to end. The dancers then perform the only figure that is done in a pair – spins (*zwyrt*) (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1991, 706). *Góralski* gives male dancers plenty of opportunities to show their skill. The dancer not only leads his partner; the pace of his steps also governs the tempo of the melody played by the band (Kotoński 1956, 122). Highlanders still dance *góralski* during wedding feasts, along with polka, waltz and modern dances. It must be noted, however, that this dance is more often seen on stage than in real.

The second typically Podhale dance is called *zbójnicki*. It is performed by a group of men led by a single dancer referred to as *harnaś*, who decides the steps. Similarly to *góralski*, *zbójnicki* is composed of a set of six to ten figures. One dancing session is divided into several parts with different melodies (marches, *ozwodne* and *krzesane*) separated by songs. The dance begins with the exclamation: *zbójnickiego!* During the first stage, the march, dancers form a circle. The leading dancer then signals the beginning of the next stage by singing a song of *ozwodne* type. It is followed by more figures: jumps, knee bends, *krzesanie*, jumping over shepherds' axes, heel-tapping etc. Each stage of the dance is preceded by the dancers marching in a circle – it helps structure the dance and provides a welcome moment of rest between the more demanding figures. As in the case of *góralski*, the last part is danced to *nuta zielona*. Pairs of dancers do left and right spins, ending their performance with a stomp, as the music dies down. *Zbójnicki* is not an isolated phenomenon known only in Podhale. It has much in common with many other types of male dances involving knee bends, such as *zbojnicki*, *odzemok*, *hajduk*, *Janosikov tanec*, ect. performed by highlanders from the western regions of Carpathians, in eastern Moravia and in Slovakia (Kotoński 1956, 36).

In real-life situations, dances are most often performed during wedding celebrations. Wedding guests are often divided into older ones who spend the night dancing

*góralski*, *csárdás* and waltzes, and young people who dance to modern disco music (Długofęcka and Pinkwart 1992, 132). At some weddings of highlander intelligentsia and folk band members the only music played are *csárdás* dances, polkas, foxtrots and *góralskie* played by a folk band. In contrast with the music, the dancing moves have become highly standardised with little room for improvisation. Since highlander dances were always meant to be a show, the crowd quickly divided itself into dancers and spectators. Usually, however, it was a division easy to cross. At any moment, a spectator could find him or herself among the dancers. Highlanders had a custom of switching partners (*przeręcanie*) mid-dance. At any stage a pair of dancers could be approached by another man (*przeręczający*) who tipped his hat at the male partner, thus asking him for permission to take over for a while. *Przeręczający* then danced with the girl and after a few figures made some spins to lead her back to her original partner (the part of the dance performed to *nuta zielona* includes identical moves). He was also obliged to bow to the other man, thanking him for the opportunity to dance (Kotoński 1956, 122–123).

The contemporary musical culture of the inhabitants of Podhale differs significantly from that of several decades ago. Many performances took place in contexts related to the economy of the region, then dependent on shepherding and agriculture, nowadays completely different. The mass media and the contact with tourists have undoubtedly influenced folk culture in Podhale. Since the start of the folk band revival, the folklore of the region, especially the dances, has undergone many significant changes. Many situations which used to be common in Podhale are now a thing of the past – e.g. *zbojnicki* is now danced only on stage. The need for expressing oneself through dance and the ability to improvise have mostly turned into ordinary artistic performance.

The music of Podhale developed in relatively clear stages, which shaped the melodies, the nature of polyphony, the form of performance, the instruments used and the harmonics. Until the 1850s music making was very unsophisticated. People danced to the accompaniment of bagpipes, also known as *koza*. Sometimes pipers played together in groups of three. Literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> century mentions *basiolas* accompanying the leading violin; such ensembles were later expanded to include one and then two second violins. The makeup of highlander *muzyki* may have been influenced by classical string quartets. Instrumental music in those days was less elaborate, with no trills or vibrato. The bass was less precise, sometimes playing simultaneously with the leading violin (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1991, 695).

This first stage of development is considered to have ended in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, or – more precisely – in 1894, with the death of Sabała. The music from that time had a simple, less ornate melodic voice. It made frequent use of incomplete scales – tetrachords, pentachords with lydian fourth – and rapid succession of notes. The manner of playing shepherds' instruments such as bagpipes and *złóbcoki* was harsher and shriller (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1991, 696–697).



The year 1900 marked the beginning of the heyday of Podhale music, also referred to as its 'classical' period. The music of that time was greatly influenced by the remarkable artistic personality of one lead violinist called Bartłomiej Obrochta, whose performances contributed to the development of Podhale music. Obrochta adopted Sabała's melodies (*staroświeckie nuty*) and adapted many melodies that used to be sung *à capella* for folk band purposes. He also perfected the technique of playing the violin and taught many acclaimed musicians, such as Stanisław Nędza-Chotarski and Bronisława Konieczna-Dziadońka, the first female instrumentalist in Podhale. Both of these violinists went on to train further generations of musicians after the war. Dziadońka lived in Bukowina Tatrzańska, Chotarski in Kościelisko. They taught their students traditional *nuty* and their original playing style (Kotoński 1956, 32). The numerous folk bands formed at that time comprised the new set of instruments: the leading violin, two second violins and the basiola. The style of playing the highlander cello also changed – the simple drone was replaced with a complex melodic voice (Szurmiak-Bogucka 1991, 701). In the 1950s old shepherds' instruments were reintroduced to the ensemble. Regional folk bands started to include trembitas, horns, double pipes and bagpipes. However, they are not played in accordance with tradition, but only during contests or folk concerts.

In late 1950s and early 1960s the Tatra Centre for Native Culture (Tatrzański Ośrodek Swojszczyzny) began to organise courses in playing the violin 'highlander-style' in schools and cultural centres (Nowak 2001, 41). Most teachers were acclaimed violinists from Podhale, but there were also some musicians from outside the region, who taught themselves to play in this manner from Mierczyński's and Chybiński's transcripts published before the war. The teachers were selected through a system of verification designed by the Ministry of Culture and the provincial cultural centre. To obtain a teacher's license, candidates had to have some experience with participating in contests and festivals and take a special course during which they listened to recordings of highlander music, studied the principles of music theory and notation, and acquired knowledge about the cultural research conducted in the region (Nowak 2001, 41). This system operated until early 1990s, when, for economic reasons, many cultural centres ceased to employ teachers. Nowadays the license is no longer a necessary condition for teaching folk music. The system of education of young folk musicians is still relatively homogenous throughout the region. It is based partly on the fact that these people function in a natural musical environment and partly on courses and classes organised by cultural centres (Nowak 2001, 40).

According to research conducted by Zbigniew Przerembski, more than fifty percent of all inhabitants of Podhale like listening to highlander music; in the countryside the percentage is even higher, up to 73%. The number of people willing to become professional musicians is also high – up to 12% (24% in rural areas). Initiatives such as courses of playing the violin always meet with enthusiasm and relatively large groups

of children show up for classes (Przerembski 1981, 85–112). The region of Podhale is not homogenous with regard to familiarity with musical tradition and its preservation. Inhabitants of rural areas know their customs best, whereas highlanders from Zakopane are statistically the least knowledgeable, though the situation does depend on family tradition. The old method of teaching children to play the violin was based on the premise that every highlander knows regional melodies. Since many children and teenagers from the city are not familiar with them, teachers are forced to start from basics. In order to help their students memorise the repertoire, teachers suggest methods of writing down *nuty* and secondary themes. Nowadays there are many types of tablature and descriptive notation, using letters and numbers instead of notes. Melodies are taught by repetition (Nowak 2001, 45), musical notation is used only as a means for recalling previously taught material and only in the initial stages of education. Few students are unable to play without notation, which limits their progress significantly. Relying on notation weakens the aural reactions of young violinists hindering their ability to improvise, distracting their attention and making it more difficult for them to perceive the *nuta* as a general model of harmony and direction that ought to be treated as a basis for the musician's individual style. Learning to read notes often has a negative influence on the performance of the students, making them unable to learn to play a melody by ear (Nowak 2001, 47).

In the past, the topography of Podhale and the scarcity of communication facilitated the development and preservation of sub-regional differences in music, based on the styles of prominent local violinists. Nowadays teachers are much more mobile, which means the styles are passed down to students from places which are relatively far apart and one style may be spread over a larger region than before. It also leads to the simplification and unification of Podhale music (Nowak 2001, 48). More and more regional musicians begin to perform the so-called music of the Carpathians, i.e. melodies not only from Podhale, but also from Spiš, Pieniny, Orava and other regions of Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary. These tunes are, however, played in the local highlander style; musicians do not try to imitate foreign artistic traditions. Such music is very popular and appeals to the contemporary inhabitants of Podhale.

Linguistic divisions usually do not correspond with the range of ethno-musical phenomena, and musical styles in borderland regions are very similar on both sides of the frontier. The 'music of the Carpathians', as a broad context for Podhale music, has its geographical and historical grounds. The region was or has been surrounded by non-Polish (Slovak or Lemko) settlements from three sides. It was also influenced, directly or indirectly (through contacts with Slovak folklore), by Hungarian musical tradition. The only contacts with Polish ethnic groups came from the north, which is why its culture was influenced by the folklore of Kraków and Sądecczyzna (Chybiński 1961c, 163).

In the 1930s Adolf Chybiński rightly observed that people who lament the loss of old styles in highlander music simply forget that culture always ousts 'old-fash-

ioned' elements (Chybiński 1961b, 115). Despite being deeply rooted in tradition, the music of Podhale is a living phenomenon which develops and changes. The old tunes (*starodawne nuty*) are still played by young musicians 'traditionally', albeit differently than they were by the previous generations. Tradition coexist with new trends in regional music.

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