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Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe is an impressive volume that deals with the transitions that have occurred in Soviet/Russian and East European musical culture during the twentieth century. It deals foremost with how culture adapts to, reflects, and indeed is often emblematic of political change. As such, it is an important and novel contribution to studies of Slavic and East European oral traditions and expressive culture in the contemporary world.

An introduction by Mark Slobin (a well-known ethnomusicologist who teaches at Wesleyan University) that treats larger issues of modernity, identity, and continuity is followed by thirteen essays, ranging from discussions of popular and rock music to folk music revivals, Rom (Gypsy) musicians, the music of Muslim and other ethnic and religious minorities, nationalism, 1989 as a revolution, economics, and aesthetics. The larger East European framework, within which all of these inquiries are placed, here includes Soviet Russia and Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, former and post-war Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. Indeed, as Slobin notes, "the essays are case studies of specific musical milieus, which have implications for larger social, cultural, and historical patterns" (12). Like in many edited books, the articles are at times somewhat uneven in quality, but overall, they are informative and creative in approach, especially those in which concrete empirical findings are enhanced by theoretical readings.

The thread that is woven through all of the studies in this book--in greater or lesser degree--is that politics and music intersect powerfully in times of change. In terms of recurrent themes, a number of key areas emerge in the volume as a whole. For one, the interplay between the intelligentsia and the masses in the formation, development, or manipulation of musical culture during different historical periods in East Europe is explored in several of the essays. Another recurrent concern--expressed in a number of studies--is the political (and particularly national) implications of various types of music-making as societies struggle for identity and recognition. Finally, several authors juxtapose minority musics during the communist and post-communist years, viewing continuity and innovation in political and cultural terms.

Six essays address questions of how intellectuals (or figures controlling cultural dissemination such as in the media) affect traditional and popular music in East Europe. Barbara Rose Lange, in an excellent article titled "*Lakodalmas* Rock and the Rejection of Popular Culture in Post-Socialist Hungary," explores how the musical preferences of "ordinary Hungarians" are represented in "wedding rock," a genre that she defines as "the rendition on electronic instruments of rural Hungarian popular music. . . derived from the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Hungarian theater and dances songs known as *magyar nota*" (78), music

that was originally played by Rom musicians in small string ensembles. She examines, in particular, the tensions generated by wedding rock between ordinary Hungarians (who in general are devotees of the genre) and intellectuals (who have by and large rejected it as antithetical to "pure" Hungarian folk music). Pure Hungarian folk music was vigorously promoted during the inter-war period by Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, who favored the collection and study of such music over *magyar nota*, a genre they considered "a shallow, sentimental, and therefore false expression of Hungarianness" (p. 86). As Lange notes, *lakodalmás* rock was an outcome of the transitions from socialism to capitalism. But as it emerged, it called upon earlier cultural debates--"the conflicting visions of Hungarianness from the pre-Socialist period" which "contradicted the high aesthetic constructions of the intellectuals" (90). *Lakodalmás* rock was rooted in the taste of ordinary people, tastes that the "nationalist intelligentsia could not reform" (90). In noting the unbridgeable gap between the masses and intellectuals on this issue, Lange pointedly reveals that those of the "elite who had tried to manipulate these tastes were shocked that the Other upon whom they depended to mirror the nation had violated their cherished ideal of pure Hungarianness" (90).

In her "Southern Wind of Change: Style and the Politics of Identity in Prewar Yugoslavia," Ljerka Vidia Rasmussen also expertly examines relationships between elite and mass musical culture. She discusses the rise of "oriental music" in Yugoslavia of the 1980s, especially as performed by a group of musicians from Serbia and Bosnia called "Ju_ni Vetar" (Southern Wind), who "set a stylistic model. . .within the largest folk-based music market in the former Yugoslavia--'newly composed folk music'" (99). During the last years of federal Yugoslavia, as the internal structure began to collapse, the "oriental" of this music became equated with Otherness and thus became a threat to various communities. In a stark example of what Rasmussen calls "oppositional dynamics" (99), the oriental was marginalized and excluded by the media, yet simultaneously had tremendous mass appeal. Ultimately, as she notes, "viewed against the background of the general economic decline and ambiguity of political direction [in the 1980s], the oriental controversy was no more than the surface manifestation of what was euphemistically and hopefully called 'the political crisis'" (99). And indeed the controversies generated by this oriental music ultimately represented a metaphor for "Yugoslavia" itself. For, as Rasmussen succinctly concludes, this metaphor appears as "a casualty of its own strategy: positioning itself politically and culturally between the West and an imagined East, yet failing to reconcile the resulting overlap internally" (116).

Judit Frigyesi ("The Aesthetic of the Hungarian Revival Movement") likewise turns to relationships between intellectuals and folk music, in particular in connection with the development of the dance-house movement of the 1970s, one of a series of folklore revivals that have occurred in twentieth-century Hungary. She explores how this revival was implemented by the urban intelligentsia and how "the musical tradition that previously belonged exclusively to the peasantry" became "also the music of the educated middle class" (54). Frigyesi

concludes, in effect, that each revival movement is "the most recent stage in the intellectuals' approach toward folklore," representing a general trend in Hungary "that aims at modernizing and continuing peasant music" (73). Moreover, "Dmitri Pokrovsky and the Russian Folk Music Revival Movement" by Theodore Levin is a portrayal of a well-known Russian folk music revivalist who was active from the 1970s to the mid-1990s. Most interesting are Levin's perspectives on Pokrovsky as he functioned within various factions of Russian society which exploited folk music for mostly nationalistic purposes.

"Kundera's Musical *Joke* and 'Folk' Music in Czechoslovakia, 1948--?" by Michael Beckerman is a discussion of *Žert (The Joke)*, a novel published in 1967 by Milan Kundera. Beckerman traces how the characters in this novel reflect the shifting attitudes toward folk music in Czechoslovakia from 1948 through the 1960s. He then offers a brief description of his own field experiences from the mid-1970s through the early 1990s in order to point out the ambiguities of the socialist and post-socialist periods and the music that they generated, observations that serve to reinforce similar themes in *The Joke*. Anna Czekanowska's "Continuity and Change in Eastern and Central European Traditional Music" also addresses the role of tradition in society-- here, Polish--as it has undergone transitions during both socialism and post-socialism. In discussing change and continuity in Polish folklore, Czekanowska places much emphasis on the "mythologizing of the past," which she observes most dramatically in the Polish Diaspora where the "preservation of tradition," is "often influenced by myths that refer to an idealized past, especially when this past was lost involuntarily" (95).

A second large thematic grouping loosely places three essays together; they refer to ethnic and national identities and aspirations as mirrored in music. In her fine "*Ilahiya* as a Symbol of Bosnian Muslim National Identity," Mirjana Laušević explores the *ilahiya*--a type of Muslim religious hymn, a genre in narrative form that conveys "a strong religious, ethical, and educational message for the believer" (124)--as a Bosnian Muslim political symbol. In particular she examines how this genre moved from the "subculture" in terms of its function among Bosnian Muslims to a position of prominence as a cultural and political symbol, especially between 1988 and 1990, as the Yugoslav "superculture" progressively deteriorated.

Catherine Wanner ("Nationalism on Stage: Music and Change in Soviet Ukraine") also considers the role of music as a powerful form of political expression. She discusses the Chervona Ruta Music Festival, a Ukrainian nationalist song festival, first held in 1989 and then again two years later. In 1989, it was a "celebration of Ukrainian culture. . . aimed to promote the Ukrainian national revival that was already underway" (137). By 1991, however, the festival-- an event that took place only eight days before the failed coup--became an arena for the channeling of anti-Soviet sentiment into aspirations of empowerment by championing Ukrainian independence. As Wanner points out, the songs and audience's response to them "provided a forum in which to reject the Soviet definition of what it means to be Ukrainian" (142). She skillfully examines how political power and evolving national identity are expressed

through music, song, and other potent cultural and historical symbols.

The essay by Steluta Popa ("The Romanian Revolution of December 1989 and Its Reflection in Musical Folklore") also offers a glimpse of politics as reflected in music. Popa provides brief biographical sketches of seven informants as well as the transcribed lyrics (then newly "post-communist") to a number of songs that these informants sang immediately after the "revolution" in December 1989, when the long-time dictator, Nicolae Ceau*escu, and his wife Elena were summarily executed. Popa's presentation illustrates how innovative lyrics were adapted to established folk forms in a moment of sensational political change, admittedly an interesting process of re-composition; she offers virtually no interpretation, however. Furthermore, there is no follow-up as to what became of those "revolutionary" lyrics as the 1990s progressed. In actuality, there is much more to be said about politics and music in Romania. Romania has undergone and continues to undergo dramatic transformations from communism to post-communism; furthermore, Romanian society also includes a significant ethnic minority (Roma) that was (before 1990) and still is responsible for the performance of much traditional and popular music, a topic most Romanian scholars are loath to write about.

Finally, four essays bring together questions of minority representations through music in communist and post-communist Russia and East Europe. Margarita Mazo's essay ("Change as Confirmation of Continuity As Experienced by Russian Molokans") explores the maintenance of culture and identity among the Molokans, a small Russian Christian community. Mazo examines in particular how the Molokans seek continuity in both Russia and the Diaspora through a strong tradition of singing.

Three outstanding essays treat the important contributions and implications of Rom music-making in the Balkans. In "Music and Marginality: Roma (Gypsies) of Bulgaria and Macedonia," Carol Silverman argues persuasively that "music is constitutive of politics" as she depicts Balkan Roma (and especially Rom musicians) as "powerless politically and powerful musically" (231). She presents a brief history of Roma and then discusses their music, mobilization, and resistance in Bulgaria, followed by a treatment of Rom music and identity in Macedonia. Silverman aptly notes, with regard to Balkan Rom music, that "both the socialist and post-socialist periods reveal how various hegemonies, be they state policy or global capitalism, have penetrated musical realms" and that Roma "have at times resisted these ideologies and at times used them for their own creativity and survival" (249).

Donna Buchanan's incisive analysis, "Wedding Musicians, Political Transition, and National Consciousness in Bulgaria," treats *svatbarska muzika* (wedding music)--a genre in contemporary Bulgaria performed mainly by Roma and distinguished by instruments (many of them electric), repertoire (much of it *narodna* or folk music), and style (including high volumes, improvisation, virtuosity, wide vibrato, and ornamentation). She suggests that when viewed within the framework of the socialist-to-post-socialist political transition, wedding music "exemplifies specific aspects of Bulgarian sociopolitical and sociohistorical discourse"; namely, it

represents "a contemporary metamorphosis of cultural tropes pertaining to the historicized patterning of ethnic interaction within Bulgaria" (201). Buchanan turns to an in-depth discussion of the "star" of wedding music--the Turkish-Rom clarinetist Ivo Papazov--and his wedding orchestra "Trakiya" in order to explore the interaction that she posits between music, social and ethnic identity, and political ideology. She convincingly argues that wedding music was a harbinger of the transition of Bulgarian society as it moved from socialism to post-socialism and that wedding musicians "continue to serve as agents or vehicles of the transition by invoking myriad sociocultural affiliations through the varied stylistic components of their music" (228).

Yet another essay on contemporary Balkan music and politics is Timothy Rice's "Dialectics of Economics and Aesthetics in Bulgarian Music." Rice argues that Bulgarians, regardless of their political and ethnic diversities, all "create and interpret music within symbolic webs of meanings, political struggles for power and influence, and evolving economic structures" (176). In examining paradigms of twentieth-century economics and traditional music, Rice provides a comparative appraisal of narodna and svatbarska muzika as exploited during the 1980s by musicians, audiences, scholars, and the state. He ultimately asserts that "music can be understood as economic practice, as social behavior, and as a symbolic system with the powerful ability to make aesthetic sense while hiding meaning," and goes on to propose that "Bulgarian musicians and their audiences at the end of the Communist period exploited music strategically to these ends in parallel with other economic practices, social behaviors, and symbolic systems" (198). Rice's essay makes clear the importance of maintaining a balanced perspective in the interpretation of music and how it relates to its various referents: aesthetic, social, and economic.

Retuning Culture is, without a doubt, a highly successful and illuminating volume. It represents innovative and provocative thinking on the interface between music and political culture. One is reminded over and over in the essays of this book--and indeed sometimes quite eloquently--that politics and economics, not to mention social, ethnic, religious, and other cultural phenomena, all have profoundly informed and continue to inform the meaning of change as a dynamic force in East European music-making during the twentieth century.