

DETERMINANTS OF THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MUSICAL TRADITION IN SLOVAKIA IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

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The aim of my paper is to highlight those processes that have made the musical tradition in Slovakia – applied to traditional instrumental music – a viable phenomenon to this day. While uncovering the functioning of this mechanism, I will focus on the issue of the transmission of knowledge and skills in the natural generational environment of the family, which was the basis of musical tradition especially in the past, but which in recent decades has gradually been replaced by an institutionalized way of creating and cultivating a relationship with traditional music. However, the variety of ways of learning musical tradition does not end here, as the age of the internet and media sharing of all kinds of information is becoming an equally fertile and inspiring environment. Importantly, this diversity of approaches is not fundamentally contradictory, giving rise not only to new generations of active musicians, but also to new approaches to the interpretation of traditional music and its wider perception as a set of cultural values.

At the same time, I note that in this paper I will deal only with selected folk musical instruments, such as bagpipes, the *fujara*¹, *heligónka*², six-hole flute, overtone flute, and double flute. It is characteristic for them that their teaching, with a few exceptions, is not institutionalized in Slovakia, but at the same time they enjoy great popularity, which is proved by the numerous and active communities of their fans, as well as the fact

1. The *Fujara* is the most known and unique Slovak pastoral aerophone. It is about a 1.80 m long flute with a labium edge cut into the instrument's wall, over which air is directed. Despite the fact that the instrument is no longer used in the pastoral environment, it is still popular today. This is evidenced by the numerous *fujara* players and makers.
2. The *Heligónka* is a diatonic accordion, a variant of the Styrian accordion, widespread in Alpine music. The *heligónka* came to Slovakia from Bohemia in the interwar period.

that the *fujara*³ and the bagpipe⁴ are listed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and the *rifová pišťala*,⁵ belonging to the family of overtone flutes, is included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. So what are the specifics, environment, and circumstances under which their musical traditions take place?

1. Enculturation

Undoubtedly, the most effective and fruitful environment in terms of musical tradition is the natural environment of the family, in which instrumental practice is passed on from generation to generation. It has an irreplaceable role in the process of enculturation⁶, i.e. in the process in which an individual acquires his culture in its entirety. That is why it has received considerable attention in music-anthropologically oriented works, especially in non-European contexts. The problem is that the point of view of the European lay public is always linked to the idea of school in matters of music education. Therefore, to this day we know surprisingly little about those practices and techniques that did not or do not follow the school system. In a non-European environment, such a process of tradition is often considered a supernatural, magical act, a manifestation of higher powers and often has a secret character. In a closed place, for example, boys prepare for initiation ceremonies and by then

3. “Fujara – hudobný nástroj a jeho hudba.” *Centrum pre tradičnú ľudovú kultúru* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.ludovakultura.sk/zoznam-nkd/fujara-hudobny-nastroj-jeho-hudba/>>.
4. “Gajdy a gajdošská kultúra na Slovensku.” *Centrum pre tradičnú ľudovú kultúru* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.ludovakultura.sk/zoznam-nkd/gajdy-gajdoska-kultura-na-slovensku/>>.
5. “Rifová pišťala.” *Centrum pre tradičnú ľudovú kultúru* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.ludovakultura.sk/zoznam-nkd/rifova-pistala/>>.
6. In the spirit of established interpretations, the term “enculturation” is based on the characteristic that it is a process in which a person, a member of a particular nation, ethnicity or community, acquires from his childhood, or even throughout his lifetime, of its culture. “Acculturation”, on the other hand, represents the contact of individuals from different cultures and the resulting acquisition of cultural patterns of one or another culture (Pružinec 2005: 61). The term “enculturation” is also preferred by A. P. Merriam as a parallel to the processes that are referred to in sociology as “socialization” (Merriam 1964: 146).

have to master all cult practices, cultural and artistic expressions, learn dances, songs and instrumental expressions. However, such a method of passing on knowledge, knowledge and skills, whose European counterpart would be the above-mentioned tradition of instrument practice in families, also has obvious universal common features. It is realized by oral tradition, in intergenerational contact, and in the natural context of playing practice, while the method of teaching is a live demonstration, i.e. pre-singing, pre-playing and its imitation, repetition and gradual assimilation of stylistic expressive qualities of music. Neither the transmitters nor the receivers of the tradition are specialised persons (which is why I do not use the terms ‘teacher’, ‘pupil/student’, ‘teaching’ in connection with enculturation), and the process of acquiring knowledge does not apply only to children, but to every age group in the form of a kind of ‘lifelong learning’, which is nowadays very much preferred.

The positives of the family environment are indisputable, while it is worth noting, for example, that the degrees or stages of acquiring musical habits and skills follow an obvious line: first with mistakes – after a while without mistakes – and finally with one’s own creative input, and it is very similar to the process when a child acquires their mother tongue.⁷ Such a way is unique not only in relation to the fundamentals of instrumental practice, but also in mastering the technique of ornamentation, the way of variation work and repertoire, which are de facto attributes of musical interpretation styles in general. It should also be noted that along with playing skills, the receiver of the tradition also acquires the handling of a musical instrument, e.g. tuning, its maintenance, or even its making. An undeniable advantage of the family environment is that everything is done hand-in-hand with getting to know or having direct contact with traditional playing opportunities and realizing the place of music in them. Thus, the spontaneous recognition of the functionality of music towards the awareness of the musician’s position in the family, in his surroundings or in the wider community fundamentally determines such an important phenomenon as stimulation. Certainly more

7. See also Elschek 1993:10.

advantages than disadvantages are offered by a long-established family instrumental tradition influencing the particular choice of instrument, because the child is influenced by what he or she sees at home. In Slovakia the best proof of this is the existence of musician families in the environment of string or cimbalom music – such as the Dudík family from Myjava, the Paprčka and Hronček family from Hriňová, the Janšto family from Brezová pod Bradlom, fujara players in the Kubinec family from Utekáč, bagpipers in the Michelík family from the region of Podpoľanie and in the Garaj family from the region of Pohronský Inovec, and many others. Roma musicians' families are quite a special phenomenon, where the effectiveness of traditions is even greater. As *pars pro toto* we can mention the Paľáč family from Hrochoť, the Bartoš family from Čierny Balog, the Radič family from Kokava nad Rimavicou and Klenovec, the Žolták family from Raslavice, and the richly branched Berky family from Podpoľanie. In the case of Roma musical families, which have perfected the method of musical education and deserve special attention⁸, such important motivations as the financial benefits resulting from musical production or social status in the community, or outside it, also play their role.

The negatives of learning a musical tradition in a family environment are minimal. Nevertheless, it happens more and more often that the family musical tradition has no successors. The causes of this phenomenon may be related to the excessive pressure of the family on the child, resulting in his rejecting reaction as a form of personal protest, or may lie in the insufficient innate pedagogical and didactic skills of the transmitter of the tradition. I mean the lack of ability to explain things that are perceived by him as standard, “normal” and automated, which may relate, for example, to the technique of melody decorating, the process of variation, and

8. Petr Nuska has long been working on the issue of musical traditions in the environment of Roma musician families in Slovakia (Klenovec and Kokava nad Rimavicou). See e.g. “Transgenerational Transmission of Romani Musical Knowledge and Skills in Klenovec and Kokava.” *ResearchGate* [online] [accessed October 27, 2024]. Available from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328478329_Transgenerational_Transmission_of_Romani_Musical_Knowledge_and_Skills_in_Klenovec_and_Kokava>.

so on. A special set of problems also results from the decline of multi-generational families, from the temporary or permanent loss of stimulation caused, for example, by the negative influence of classmates, friends, the media, searching and finding of new role models and self-realization in the form of interest in non-musical activities, or, in the best case, in the form of an interest in musical instruments that are not traditional in the family.⁹

2. Education

Unlike the past, today's method of learning to play folk musical instruments exclusively in the family environment is rare in Slovakia and is usually combined with teaching in a school environment. Before that, however, I want to approach another form of acquiring musical instrument traditions, which represents a kind of intermediary between family and school and which is characterized by the fact that the recipient of the tradition is guided by a hired specialist, a musician outside the family circle. Although it generally does not have a great tradition in European contexts, in the non-European context it represents an important stage of the enculturation process referred to as "education" in the above-mentioned music-anthropological works.¹⁰ In Slovakia, it most often works in such a way that folk instrumentalists are approached by the parents of children, aware in particular that this

9. An illustrative example can be my two older sons, who, as the fifth generation of bagpipers in the Garaj family, can play the bagpipes, but after graduating from the piano, mastering other musical instruments and learning about other musical genres (swing, jazz), they do not play the bagpipes, since, according to their words, this instrument does not bring them nearly as much musical enjoyment, or they are aware of its interpretive limits. Moreover, in their mental world, influenced by their non-musical professions and life abroad, the awareness of an albeit unique family tradition is not enough motivation at the moment.
10. This is the case, for example, in African tribal societies, where the achievement of high technical and artistic levels is achieved through years of intensive individual training and daily contact with a professional musician, or in oriental cultures, where a leading master trains for years a few selected students. In the works of A. P. Merriam (1964) in the chapter "Learning" (pp. 145–163), B. Nettl (2005) in chapter 27 "Teaching and Learning" or in several chapters in W. Suppan (1984), one can find dozens of specific fascinating examples from non-European musical cultures documenting different approaches to learning the traditional music of one's tribe or community.

or that instrument is not taught in music schools, for example. Since in this case it is a process that goes beyond the framework of the family environment – regardless of whether it takes place in the home environment of the receiver or the transmitter of the tradition, qualitatively new problems appear here.

In relation to the personality of the recipient of the musical tradition, his age, mental or physical maturity and motivation are relevant, as well as the fact whether he is an individual who prefers a more auditory and visual perception or, on the contrary, he is more fixated on musical notation – if, admittedly, he has already had experience with it. Relevant, therefore, is also his previous musical training, family background, musical disposition in general and any innate predisposition to a particular folk instrument. On the other hand, the personality of the transmitter of the tradition is not only shaped by his quality as a performer, but also by his innate pedagogical and didactic abilities, since he can also be a musician without pedagogical training.

The choice of a folk musical instrument can be spontaneous or determined by previous instrumental experience. If a child has encountered the recorder in the family environment or at school, for example, this may facilitate his first steps in playing the six-hole flute, double flute, *fujara*, bagpipes, and so on. Similarly with the relationship between the chromatic accordion and the diatonic accordion, between the piano and the cimbalom, etc.¹¹ As a rule, the specificity of a folk instrument (its weight, size, acoustic properties) and, last but not least, its quality and availability also play a significant role in the choice.¹²

11. An important and natural part of musical tradition in the past was children's instrumentation, represented by children's sound toys or reduced replicas of the adult instrumental world, including numerous and morphologically remarkable variants of children's stringed instruments. See also Garaj 1993.

12. It is gratifying that in the last 15–20 years, fujaras, flutes, overtone flutes, as well as diatonic accordions have become affordable. From this point of view, it should be particularly noted that the quality of the bagpipes and their intonational stability have increased substantially. Thanks to Juraj Dufek, the most respected maker of bagpipes in Slovakia today, children's versions are available in various tunings respecting the typological specificities of the instrument. See Garaj 2017.

The advantages of this way of learning the tradition include the fact that it does not require knowledge of musical notation or mastery of the elementary basics of music theory. Everything happens in a similar way as in a family environment – in an immediate, direct way, i.e. by imitating the master's play, observing, imitating, repeating. This is of particular importance in the development of playing technique, ornamental and variation playing, where the recipient of the tradition also acquires a whole range of technical and performance skills, including handling the instrument, which he would otherwise have to learn on his own, usually only after a long search. At the same time, a lot of additional information is conveyed about the function and position of the instrument in relation to the local or regional musical tradition, about well-known and respected performers and the characteristic song repertoire. On the other hand, such a process of transmitting and acquiring knowledge and skills requires long-term and regular contact between the master and his follower, which can be demanding not only in terms of time, but also sometimes in terms of money, and that the transmitter of the tradition has to make his own choice of procedure and selection from the elementary problems to the more complicated ones, which is by no means easy.

In Slovakia, this way of getting acquainted with playing folk musical instruments is not very widespread, but it is not unique either. It is successfully applied, for example, among beginning bagpipers with the status of apprentices or journeymen organised in the Guild of Slovak Bagpipers, which, in the spirit of historical guild patterns, has an internal division into masters, journeymen and apprentices, and which requires that each apprentice or journeyman have a master as his mentor. This ideally guides them until they themselves one day become masters of the Guild (fig. 1).¹³

An important part of education in the past was also the environment in which young musicians grew up and in which any member of, for example, a village community could correct their musical

13. See Garaj 2007, 2011.

development. It can be assumed that children not only imitated adults in all their activities, but also participated in many musical and dancing activities of adults. In this context, neighbours, older musicians and, finally, peers, who usually compared themselves with one another, could also play the role of a kind of mentor to budding musicians.

3. School

The third model in the process of acquiring the musical tradition is currently represented mainly by the school, i.e. the education of instrumentalists in the school environment. Even though it seems to be more associated with Europe, the school systems of non-European traditional music cultures are not far behind in their quality. To use one example, the concept of teaching gamelan instruments on the island of Bali in Indonesia can be mentioned. Here, a whole musical group of students are taught at the same time, repeating the melodic phrase by phrase, with the teacher constantly checking on them without words, just by simply playing the melody.¹⁴ But in other, for us exotic countries of the world, there is also an advanced system of school instruction on traditional instruments, such as teaching the steel drums in Trinidad.¹⁵ Differences outside Europe and within Europe, it is true, still exist. In non-European cultures, education is not specialised as in Europe and differentiated into performers and composers, but is based on a more holistic education in musicianship. In addition, in Europe there is a greater emphasis on theoretical aspects in music education at the expense of music practice activities that use children's own musical expressions and the repertoire of children's songs, games and dances.

The success and effectiveness of school teaching depends on how the fundamental conflict of integrating folk music teaching into the school curriculum can be resolved, i.e., how to combine

14. See, e.g., "Gamelan. UNESCO." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVHhCIQO57w>>.

15. See, e.g., "Steel drums in Trinidad and Tobago." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ReNbZFKKX7c>>.

the freedom and variety of folk music expressions with the prescribed and uniform school curricula. It is true that due to family traditions, a strong folklore movement with a whole network of folklore groups and a relatively lively performance practice in Slovakia, this form of teaching is not very well developed, but experiences from neighbouring countries – e.g. Austria – show that it may find its application here in the future as well. However, most of the successfully implemented projects so far indicate that they are mainly regional and local initiatives focused on a few selected folk musical instruments, which are always backed by the enthusiasm of specific people, usually excellent instrumentalists with the ambition to educate new generations of their successors. That is why, everywhere else, it is possible to encounter, in particular, arguments that there are not enough qualified teachers, that there is not a sophisticated system of teaching, that there is no instructive literature and that there is no interest in folk musical instruments. Nevertheless, there are possibilities and reserves for the implementation or improvement of teaching. They can be seen in the teaching of the over flute, six-hole flute, *fujara*, bagpipes, or in a better connection between Orff's Instruments, children's sound toys and folk musical instruments, as well as in expanding the scope of teaching classical instruments with the possibility of using them in folk music. Following the Austrian model, I mean, for example, the introduction of obligatory subjects such as the violin in folk music, or, by analogy, the viola, double bass, or clarinet.¹⁶

A particular problem of teaching playing in music schools is that it is an integral part of playing from sheet music. In general, the fundamental difference between folk and classical music is that

16. Examples of the integration of such instruments into teaching in Austria do not only concern the music school environment (acting as a counterpart to music schools in Slovakia), but also university education. See e.g. "Bachelorstudium Instrumental(Gesangs)pädagogik (IGP) – Volksmusik." *KunstUniGraz* [online] [accessed 26. 10. 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.kug.ac.at/studium/studienangebot/studienrichtungen/instrumentalgesangspaedagogik-igp/igp-volksmusik-ba>>; "Diatonische Harmonika. Bachelor IGP Salzburg." *Mozarteum University* [online] [accessed 27. 10. 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.moz.ac.at/de/studium/studienfinder/musikpaedagogik/salzburg/instrumentalpaedagogik-diatonische-harmonika-ba>>.

while folk music is passed on by oral tradition, classical music is based on written music notation. It is a trivial fact that such important phenomena of musical interpretation as tone formation, phrasing, rhythmic nuances, tempo, expression, etc., are only partially recorded in sheet music, to which in instrumental music are added fingering, bowing, and strumming techniques.

For folk musical instruments, for example, specific fingering is also extremely important. On aerophones, it is common to use half-covering of the finger holes, a combination of covered and uncovered playing, a whole range of non-standard finger combinations allowing to influence the quality of the instrument's intonation or to eliminate the differences between intonationally better and worse sounding positions, etc. The fundamental difference, however, is that in folk music everything else is passed on by oral tradition, i.e. the way of ornamentation, variation technique, harmonic accompaniment, form and de facto the entire repertoire. Even though this seems to deny one of the attributes of (musical) folklore, i.e. the transmission of knowledge and experience by oral tradition, it is clear that playing from sheet music has now permanently penetrated into the teaching of folk musical instruments. To be fair, both methods have their positives and negatives.¹⁷

By repeating the individual technical exercises written in the sheet music, the student can gain better playing technique and confidence, while being able to practise on the instrument without the permanent presence of the teacher. In addition, understanding the relationship between the written and the sounded form of music allows the student to choose his or her own individual pace when taking on new learning material. The disadvantages of using sheet music appear to be too much fixation on musical notation accompanied by a lack of development of the variation process, less space for improvisation and musical self-expression.

17. The specifics of the oral tradition and written musical notation are among the universal themes touching on the issue of musical tradition in many European and non-European countries. Several contributions in the Hemetek – Kölbl – Mayrlechner – Saglam 2015 collection deal with these issues.

Equally important are the specific demands on the teacher, who has to prepare his own notation material or combine it with existing instructional literature for teaching folk musical instruments. I mean schools of folk instrument playing, which are publications conceived in the spirit of schools of classical instrument playing, usually beginning with an introduction to elementary music theory, but step-by-step solving more and more demanding and more specific playing problems. It should also be noted that their quality varies, depending on their authors and publishers. It is, of course, up to the student whether he reaches for publications produced by educational institutions or for titles published by the authors themselves.¹⁸ Some of the published schools of folk instrument playing have their own supplements in the form of DVD titles, or they are created as independent instructional projects, mostly produced by their authors.¹⁹

This overview can also be extended to include transcriptions of instrumental playing to recordings on sound media, although these were not created for instructional or music pedagogical reasons. These are mainly older gramophone editions published as part of the representative series Panorama of Folk Song and Music Culture, some of which – e.g. Orava, Liptov, Pohronie, and Podpoľanie – included comprehensive bulletins with detailed transcriptions of the playing of *fujara* players, flute players, bagpipers, diatonic accordion

18. In the following overview I list at least some of them: Brada, Vojtech 1982: *Škola hry na cimbele*. Bratislava: Osvetový ústav; Repa, František 1971: *Škola hry na cimbal 1. diel*. Bratislava: Osvetový ústav; Repa, František 1972: *Škola hry na cimbal 2. diel*. Bratislava: Osvetový ústav; Leng, Ladislav 1970: *Hráme na fujare*. Banská Bystrica: Osvetové stredisko; Kružliak, Ján 1990: *Hráme na ľudové hudobné nástroje. Bezdiernkové píšťaly. Šesťdiernkovú píšťalu*. Bratislava: Osvetový ústav; Holík, Dušan 2019: *Fujarový spevník*. Očová: Vydavateľstvo Dušan Holík; Holík, Dušan 2020: *Píšťalkový spevník. Metodika hry na šesťdiernkovú pastiersku píšťalku a dvojačku*. Očová: Vydavateľstvo Dušan Holík; Hrtús, Miroslav 2015: *Hra na heligónke logicky a jednoducho*. Bratislava: Metodicko-pedagogické centrum; Budinský, Anton 2021: *Škola hry na heligónku*. Detva: OZ Cimbal; Budinský, Anton 2020: *Učebnica hry na šesťdiernkovej pastierskej píšťalke*. Detva: OZ Cimbal.
19. See e.g.: Holík, Dušan: *Fujarový workshop v Očovej*; Holík, Dušan: *Píšťalkový spevník. Metodika hry na šesťdiernkovú pastiersku píšťalku a dvojačku*; Daloš, Drahomír: *Hra na fujare*; Matis, Peter: *Ako sa stať gajdošom*.

players and the like.²⁰ After mastering the basics of instrumental playing and knowledge of notation, they offer the possibility of further improvement, especially with an emphasis on stylistic and interpretive features of regions, localities or important instrumentalists.

4. Specific forms of teaching folk musical instruments

The last form of teaching folk musical instruments is represented by a diverse group of didactic methods other than those mentioned so far. One of them is individual teaching, which is characteristic of self-taught enthusiasts, who are often fascinated by a specific folk musical instrument only in adulthood, so that they devote themselves more intensively to it. Today, thanks to the internet, such people have a wealth of information at their disposal. A more recent, but apparently progressive form are the instructions or tutorials published on the internet. As in the case of the above-mentioned publications, their quality varies and depends on the erudition and motivation of their creators, on the purposes for which they are published, on who they are preferably intended for, etc.²¹ In this case the attached list is also only a selection from a whole range of tutorials that can currently be found on Slovak websites.²²

20. The first cycle of a representative regional collection of gramophone albums from the production of Czechoslovak Radio, Banská Bystrica Studio in cooperation with Viliam J. Gruska and Svetozár Stračina began to be published in 1978. Starting in 2020, a reissue is being realized. See *Panoráma ľudovej piesňovej a hudobnej kultúry* [online] [accessed October 27, 2024]. Available from: <<https://panoramaludovejkykultury.sk/>>.
21. The list of web links is only a portion of the tutorials, all of which were available as of October 27, 2024.
22. "Spoza vrch Poľany." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pjfr6fEQRZM>>; „Fijá školá pišťalková." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBgiGmZB27g>>; "Výučba hry na pastiersku pišťalku." *Obec Oravská Polhora* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.oravskapolhora.sk/fotogalerie/videogaleria/vyucba-hry-na-pastiersku-pistalku-382sk.html>>; "Školička hry na koncovku 01." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YsQNYjzabM0>>; "Malá koncovka D/Overtone flute D." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ZaWudLXnFs>>; "Učiteľ FUJARŔČKA základý." *Duch fujary* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://duchfujary.sk/skoly-hry/ucitel-fujarocka-zaklady>>; „Hráme na fujare.“

In addition to internet tutorials, organised summer camps or workshops, preferably focusing on various levels of practical mastery of a folk instrument, are becoming more and more attractive to other groups of people. On the contrary, younger beginning instrumentalists may find it stimulating to learn, for example, in children's folklore groups or children's folk bands (Fig. 2). For school-age children, often for those who attend music schools, it is often the only way to get to know a folk music instrument and to gain their first performance experience.²³

Instead of a conclusion

Along with current social changes, with the transformation of musical folklore expressions and playing opportunities, with the change in the functionality of folk music, etc., the ways of learning to play folk musical instruments are also changing. However, varied they may be, today, as in the past, it is crucial whether and how they lead to the mastery of the specifics of folk instrumental playing, which are the acquisition of the principles of ornamental playing technique and the process of variation, knowledge of regional and instrument-typological style interpretation features, up to the creation of one's own playing style and repertoire. The unceasing interest in playing folk musical instruments in Slovakia, as well as the remarkable interpretative quality of young instrumentalists, are proof of their effectiveness and efficiency even today.

Škola hry na fujare v Bratislave [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<http://www.hramenafujare.sk/>>; "Škola hry na fujare." *YouTube* [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <https://www.fujara.sk/sk/zakladne_drzanie.htm>; "Ako sa stať gajdošom. Škola hry na gajdy." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3M9wkNo2GtM>>; "Škola gajdovania." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIhrwTq1ZMA>>; "Heligónková akadémia online." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3U381Qi-9pU>>; "Škola na heligónku." *YouTube* [online] [accessed October 26, 2024]. Available from: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLCK4DQjKso>>.

23. As an example of *pars pro toto*, we can mention the children's folklore ensemble Kobyľka from Devínská Nová Ves. The head of its folk music, Milan Rusko, has brought up a number of bagpipers, flute players, *fujara* players, several of whom are now excellent instrumentalists themselves and role models for younger followers.

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Summary

The aim of this paper is to point out the processes that have made the musical tradition in Slovakia – applied to instrumental traditional music – a viable phenomenon to this day. The most effective, although currently more or less outdated model, is “enculturation”, i.e. the transmission of knowledge and skills in the natural generational environment of the family. Another form of the acquisition of musical-instrument traditions would be an intermediary between the family and the school, a relationship characterised by the fact that the recipient of the tradition is guided by a hired specialist, a musician outside the family circle. In recent decades, an institutionalised way of creating and cultivating a relationship with traditional music, represented mainly by music schools, has been gradually gaining ground. The age of the internet and media sharing of all kinds of information is becoming an equally fertile and inspiring environment in the form of numerous tutorials and other instructions on how to play folk musical instruments. This diversity of approaches is not fundamentally contradictory, for the birthplace is not the only determinant of new generations of active musicians, there are also new approaches to the interpretation of traditional music and its wider perception as a set of cultural values

Key words: instrumental traditional music, enculturation, education, school, oral tradition, instruction and tutorials on the internet

Prílohy / Appendices:



1. Prijímanie medzi učňov Cechu slovenských gajdošov / Acceptance among the apprentices of the Guild of Slovak Bagpipers. Photo B. Garaj, 2022



2. „Strunkári“ – hudobníci Detského folklórneho súboru Kelčovan hrajúci na detských sláčikových nástrojoch / “Strunkári” – young musicians of the Kelčovan Children’s Folklore Ensemble playing on children’s string instruments. Photo B. Garaj, 2008