

TEMA MONOGRÀFIC

International dissemination of Zoltán Kodály's concept of musical education

La difusió internacional del concepte d'educació musical de Zoltán Kodály

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RESUM

El concepte educatiu musical de Zoltán Kodály és considerat com una de les pedagogies musicals més influents a tot el món. El 2016, la UNESCO va inscriure la «Salvaguarda del patrimoni de música popular pel concepte de Kodály» com a patrimoni cultural immaterial. Tot i que la literatura internacional sobre els treballs de vida de Kodály i el seu concepte educatiu és enorme, a la literatura no hongaresa s'escriu menys sobre com van reaccionar els hongaresos a l'interès mundial. Per tant, l'objectiu d'aquest treball és esbrinar com els educadors musicals hongaresos van promoure el concepte d'educació musical de Kodály, mitjançant conferències internacionals, simposis i programes creats a Hongria per als visitants estrangers. El

període de temps observat està limitat als anys 1930-1980. Al treball es discuteixen tres temes principals. En primer lloc, es resumeix com el treball de Kodály i el dels seus seguidors ha canviat l'educació musical hongaresa entre els anys 1930-1960 i l'èxit internacional assolit a la segona meitat del segle xx. En segon lloc, ens centrem en els dos cursos d'estiu a Hongria (Danube Bend Summer Art University i Seminari Internacional Kodály), així com en l'Institut Pedagògic de Música Zoltán Kodály de Kecskemét, que es van establir com a resultat de l'interès internacional. A partir de l'any 1968, es van formar instituts Kodály i societats Kodály a l'estranger, i el 1975 es va fundar la International Kodály Society amb seu a Hongria. El tercer tema incideix precisament en la introducció d'aquestes societats i el seu desenvolupament internacional al llarg dels primers anys.

PARAULES CLAU: Història de l'educació musical; Zoltán Kodály; metodologia Kodály; Hongria.

ABSTRACT

Zoltán Kodály's music educational concept is regarded as one of the most influential music pedagogies worldwide. In 2016, the UNESCO inscribed the «Safeguarding of the Folk Music Heritage by the Kodály Concept» as an Intangible Cultural Heritage. While the international literature on Kodály's lifework, and his educational concept within it, is enormous, in non-Hungarian literature little has been written about how Hungarians reacted to the worldwide interest in this important figure. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to outline how Hungarian music educators promoted Kodály's concept and the music education based on it, through international conferences, symposia, and programmes in Hungary that were held for the foreign visitors. The time-period under scrutiny is limited to 1930-1980. Three main topics are discussed in this article. First, it summarises how the work of Kodály and his followers changed Hungarian musical education between 1930-1960, and how it subsequently gained international acclaim in the second half of the 20th century. Secondly, it focuses on the two summer courses in Hungary (Danube Bend Summer Art University and the International Kodály Seminar), as well as on the Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music in Kecskemét, that were offered as a result of the international interest awakened by his work. From 1968, Kodály's institutes and Kodály's societies were created abroad, and in 1975, the International Kodály Society was founded with its head office in Hungary. The third topic focuses specifically on the introduction and development at an international level of these societies in their initial years.

KEY WORDS: History of music education, Zoltán Kodály, Kodály Concept, Hungary.

RESUMEN

El concepto educativo musical de Zoltán Kodály es considerado como una de las pedagogías musicales más influyentes en todo el mundo. En 2016, la UNESCO inscribió la «Salvuarda del patrimonio de música popular por el concepto de Kodály» como patrimonio cultural inmaterial. Aunque la literatura internacional sobre los trabajos de vida de Kodály y su concepto educativo es enorme, en la literatura no húngara se escribe menos sobre cómo reaccionaron los húngaros al interés mundial. Por tanto, el objetivo de este trabajo es averiguar cómo los educadores musicales húngaros promovieron el concepto de educación musical de Kodály, mediante conferencias internacionales, simposios y programas creados en Hungría para los visitantes extranjeros. El período de tiempo observado está limitado a los años 1930-1980. En el trabajo se discuten tres temas principales. En primer lugar, se resume la tarea de Kodály y de sus seguidores, de cómo cambió la educación musical húngara entre los años 1930-1960 y el éxito internacional alcanzado en la segunda mitad del siglo xx. En segundo lugar, nos centramos en los dos cursos de verano en Hungría (Danube Bend Summer Art University y Seminario Internacional Kodály), así como en el Instituto Pedagógico de Música Zoltán Kodály de Kecskemét, que se establecieron como resultado del interés internacional. A partir del año 1968, se formaron institutos Kodály y sociedades Kodály en el extranjero, y en 1975 se fundó la International Kodály Society con sede en Hungría. El tercer tema incide precisamente en la introducción de estas sociedades y su desarrollo internacional a lo largo de los primeros años.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Historia de la educación musical, Zoltán Kodály, metodología Kodály, Hungría.

I. INTRODUCTION

«This is us, this weak lot – certainly not the ones that will create the Hungarian music», wrote the 19-year-old Kodály¹ to Mikuláš Schneider Trnavský, his former classmate from Nagyszombat² in 1901 about his composition class at the Liszt Academy of Music. This early remark already gives a glimpse into Kodály's life-long mission to create a Hungarian musical culture: «To begin with we [with Bartók] looked only for the lost ancient

1 KODÁLY Zoltán. *Kodály Zoltán levelei*. Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1982. p. 12.

2 Now: Trnava, Slovakia.

melodies. But seeing the village people and the great talent and fresh life being left to perish there, *we gained a new idea of a cultured Hungary born of the people. We devoted our lives to bringing this about*.³

Kodály's lifework had a more far-reaching effect than Hungarian musical culture, and his music educational concept⁴ is regarded as one of the most influential music pedagogies worldwide.

The international literature on Kodály's lifework, and his educational concept within it, is enormous: the selected annotated bibliography by Houlahan and Tacka⁵ is limited to Hungarian, English, French, German and Italian publications, and it still contains 1457 items. Ágnes Szögi's bibliography⁶ aimed to list all the documents (textbooks, teacher manuals, reference books, etc.) on the international adaptation of Kodály's concept between 1955-1992, and it contains 932 items. As there are no recent comprehensive bibliographies, we do not have quantitative data on the publications from the last 20-25 years.

Within the literature, there are reminiscences from Kodály's students and colleagues,⁷ monographs and dissertations on notable Hungarian music educators and international adaptors of the Kodály Concept.⁸ The journals and newsletters of Kodály societies (e.g. *Bulletin of the International Kodály*

3 KODÁLY Zoltán. «In Memory of Bartók», BÓNIS Ferenc (ed.) *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*. Budapest: Corvina, 1974, p. 110. – italics: Zs. P.

4 In this paper, I use the term «Kodály Concept» and do not address the long-held «Kodály Concept» vs. «Kodály Method» debate over the terminology.

5 HOULAHAN, Mícheál; TACKA Philip. *Zoltán Kodály: A Guide to Research*. New York; London: Garland (Composer Resource Manuals, 44), 1998.

6 SZÖGI Ágnes. *Kodály Zoltán zenepedagógiai eszméi a nemzetközi gyakorlatban: Válogatott bibliográfia a Kodály Intézet gyűjteményéből= Kodály's Music Educational Concept in the International Practice: Selected Bibliography from the Kodály Institute*. Kecskemét: Kodály Intézet (Zenei bibliográfiák, 2), 1993.

7 VIKÁR László (ed.) *Reflections on Kodály*. Budapest: International Kodály Society, 1985; HEIN, Mary Alice. *The Legacy of Zoltán Kodály: An Oral History Perspective*. Budapest: International Kodály Society, 1992; BACON, Denise. *Hold Fast to Dreams: Writings Inspired by Zoltán Kodály*. Wellesley, MA: Kodály Center of America, 1993.

8 TACKA, Philip. «Denise Bacon, Musician and Educator: Contributions to the Adaptation of the Kodály Concept in the United States». Doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1982; CRAMER, Eugene; PANAGAPKA, Jeanette (eds). *Teacher of Teachers: Essays in Honour of Lois Choksy*. Langley, BC: Tall Timbers Publishing Co., 1998; BONNIN, Jeri. *Katinka Dániel: Her Life and Her Contributions to Kodály Pedagogy in the United States*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008; MATTINGLY, Beth. «Katalin Forrai and the Development of the Kodály Concept in Early Childhood Music Education». Doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2016; JACCARD, Jerry L. *A Tear in the Curtain: The Musical Diplomacy of Erzsébet Szőnyi*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2014.

Society, Kodály Envoy, Alla Breve, Australian Kodaly Bulletin and *Australian Kodaly Journal*) provide information on the activities and histories of these societies. However, less is written in non-Hungarian literature about how Hungarians reacted to the worldwide interest. A recent paper discusses the cultural-political aspects of the international dissemination,⁹ therefore, the focus of this paper is limited to how Hungarian music educators spread Kodály's concept and the music education based on it, through international conferences, symposia, and programmes in Hungary that were created for the foreign visitors. The observed time-period is 1930-1980.

There are three main aims of this paper. Firstly, it summarises how the work of Kodály and his followers has changed Hungarian music education between 1930–1960, and how it subsequently gained international acclaim in the second half of the 20th century.

The interest from foreign music educators facilitated the establishment of two summer courses in Hungary (*Danube Bend Summer Art University* and the *International Kodály Seminar*), as well as the *Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music* in Kecskemét, which offers whole academic year-long education for students. These programmes will be the second topic of this paper.

Finally, it briefly introduces the international Kodály institutes and societies, and outlines the initial years of international adaptations.

2. THE DISSEMINATION OF ZOLTÁN KODÁLY'S MUSIC EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT – HUNGARY

Kodály's essay, *Children's choirs*¹⁰ was his first programme statement on music education, and it already contained the most prominent elements of his pedagogical and cultural concept: the importance of folk songs, choirs, quality music education in school, singing-based active participation in music making, and musical reading and writing.

9 LÁSZLÓ Szabolcs. «Promoting the Kodály Method during the Cold War: Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy and the Transnational Network of Music Educators in the 1960s and 1970s», *Multtunk: Journal of Political History*, 64, Special issue (2019), p. 107-140. URL: http://www.multtunk.hu/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/multtunk_special_2019.pdf

10 KODÁLY Zoltán. «Children's Choirs», BÓNIS Ferenc (ed.) *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*. *Op. cit.*, p. 119-126.

His mission soon found its followers and supporters, first and foremost, Kodály's composition students at the Liszt Academy and enthusiastic conductors and music educators. In 1930, Gyula Kertész, Lajos Bárdos, György Kerényi –three among the «thirteen young Hungarian composers» Kodály defended against criticism in 1925–¹¹ founded the *Magyar Kórus Lap- és Zeneműkiadó* [*Hungarian Chorus Publishing Company*], which was the most influential forum and facilitator of the new movement. They published cheap and accessible yet musically valuable choral scores for teachers and conductors, folk song collections, books and three journals in order to support the choir movement and music education. These journals were *Magyar Kórus* [*Hungarian Chorus*], *Énekszó* [*Singing*], and *Éneklő Ifjúság* [*Singing Youth*]. The *Énekszó* [*Singing*] was dedicated to music education and it consisted of methodological recommendations, sample lessons, news on choral events, publications, and most issues came with a musical score supplement.

In 1934, the publishers organised a children's choir concert from the musical pieces that were published by the Company.¹² The concert was named Singing Youth, and it introduced several novel ideas to the traditional children's choir concerts. Led and inspired by excellent school choirs and their conductors, the concert series soon developed into a movement that still exists today, although it has changed significantly compared to the first decade. The Singing Youth journal for children (1941-1950) was named after the movement.

Kodály's disciples also took part in creating and editing materials and methodology for school music education: Benjámín Rajeczky, György Kerényi wrote music textbooks, the latter edited the two volumes of *Iskolai énekgyűjtemény* [*Song collection for Schools*] (1943-1944) with Kodály. Jenő Ádám (1944) developed the teaching manual for primary school grades 1-8. It was titled *Módszeres énektanítás a relative szolmizáció alapján* [*Systematic Instruction of Singing Based on Relative Solmization*] and Kodály wrote the foreword to it. The book was published in English as *Growing in Music with Moveable Do: Translation of the Original Kodály-Method* (1971) in New York,

11 KODÁLY Zoltán. «Thirteen Young Hungarian Composers», BÓNIS Ferenc (ed.) *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*. Op. cit., p. 70-74.

12 PETHŐ Villő. «Life Reform, Youth and Music: The Spread and Influence of the Éneklő Ifjúság Movement between 1934-1944», BRUSNIAK Friedhelm et al. (eds). *Music Education in the Focus of Historical Concepts and New Horizons*. Kecskemét: Neumann János Egyetem, Pedagógusképző Kar, 2018. p. 82-88.

however, it was not well-known outside of the U.S., even among researchers who wrote about the Kodály concept.¹³ This book was also translated to Spanish in 1969 by László [Ladislao] Domokos as *Metodo Kodály*.¹⁴

Kodály and Ádám also edited the *Só-Mi* [Szó-Mi] series of folk song pocket books for school use between 1944 and 1946.

After the communist takeover in 1948, Kodály and his followers' were marginalised in the new political climate,¹⁵ despite Kodály being celebrated publically. The ruling Communist Party also aimed to build a Hungarian musical culture, but a Hungarian musical culture according to the communist ideology.¹⁶

The Hungarian Chorus Publishing Company was closed and the journals were discontinued in 1950. The Kodály-Ádám textbooks were modified and re-published in 1949 in order to omit the religious content but include communist movement songs. The books were re-written again in 1957-1958, but soon new ones were issued countrywide. Kodály saved the textbooks from destruction and had them taken to his own basement. Occasionally, he gave copies of them to foreign music educators, which then served as models for international adaptors.

The new music textbooks for general primary schools from 1963 kept the superficial methodological techniques from the Kodály-Ádám textbooks, but

13 One example is English music education historian Bernarr Rainbow, who accused Erzsébet Szőnyi of falsifying the «pedigree» of the «Kodály Method»: «This list of six separate sources does not stand up to close analysis. Moreover, where a particular attribution proves questionable –especially in the cases of Weber and Jöde– an unfortunate impression is created, however unintentionally, of an attempt to understate Kodály's indebtedness elsewhere». RAINBOW, Bernarr. «The Kodály Concept and its Pedigree», *British Journal of Music Education*, 7/3 (1990), p. 197. Ádám's methodology book is not listed in his references, therefore, Rainbow was most likely not aware that Szőnyi simply repeated Jenő Ádám's direct sources of inspiration from his methodology book. SZŐNYI Erzsébet. «Sol-fa Teaching in Music Education», SÁNDOR Frigyes. *Music Education in Hungary*, 3rd enlarged ed. Budapest: Corvina, 1975, p. 28-94.

14 DOMONKOS, Ladislau. *Metodo Kodály Enseñanza musical en las escuelas primarias*. Buenos Aires: Aedes Beethoven AlPin's, 1969.

15 For details, see: HADAS Miklós. *A nemzet prófétája: Kísérlet Kodály Zoltán pályájának szociológiai értelmezésére*. Dissertation, 1993; PÉTERI Lóránt. «Az utolsó évtized: Kodály Zoltán és a Kádár-rendszer művelődéspolitikája», *Múltunk*, 51/1. (2006), p. 259-285. URL: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00995/00005/pdf/peteril.pdf>

16 «If I were to choose to provide a mediocre socialist culture or a very high but antisocialist [...] if I must choose [...] I will vote for the mediocre one, I will tell it even to Kodály, even if he looks down on me, I'm not afraid of that!» – said János Kádár, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and de facto leader of the State between 1956-1988, in 1959. Quoted by: PÉTERI Lóránt. «A mi népünk az Ön népe, de az enyém is...: Kodály Zoltán, Kádár János és a paternalista gondolkodásmód», *Magyar Zene*. 51/2 (2013), p. 121-141.

not its original content, educational aims and spirit.¹⁷ Gradually, the number of weekly music lessons in elementary schools were also decreased from two to one.

However, in 1950, the first singing primary school was founded in Kecskemét by Márta Szentkirályi Nemesszeghy. Soon many others followed in Budapest, Veszprém, and Dunapataj. The schools' own curricula included daily music lessons, choir, and folk dance, in addition to the content of the country's central curriculum. These schools became very important to Kodály as they came closest to realising his concept of ideal music education in practice. As Kodály stated: «These are institutions of music and art education that do not exist anywhere else in the world».¹⁸ The school type was legally recognised in the 75/1956 (O.K. 18) Decree of the Minister of Education in 1956. This decree also granted permission to establish such schools with the aim of educating a more musically literate youth along with fulfilling the aims and requirements of regular elementary schools: «tasks: to instil good musical taste, healthy art appreciation, judgement with the help of increased amount of music education, joint music making, regular choir and orchestral work».¹⁹ Márta Nemesszeghy and Helga Szabó wrote the music textbooks for these schools, which followed Kodály's principles more than the ones used in general education.

By 1961, there were about a hundred singing primary schools and specialised classes with daily music lessons in Hungary, and the best of them became model schools for foreign visitors from the late 1950s.

17 Cf. HADAS Miklós. *A nemzet prófétája...* *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

18 KODÁLY Zoltán. «A Hazafias Népfront III. kongresszusán: Felszólalás», KODÁLY Zoltán. *Visszatekintés*, 3rd ed. Budapest: Argumentum, Vol. 3., 2007. p. 122.

19 SZABÓ Helga. *A magyar énektanítás kálváriája*. Budapest: Szabó Helga, 1989, p. 126.

3. THE DISSEMINATION OF ZOLTÁN KODÁLY'S MUSIC EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT – ABROAD

3.1. Zoltán Kodály's role

Kodály took on an active role in the international propagation of his concept and Hungarian music education, especially after 1960.²⁰ He intended to talk about his pedagogical ideas in England as early as January 1936 in a BBC broadcast of his compositions, but in the end, he could not attend due to a skiing accident.²¹

On 9th October 1946, he gave an interview to his former pupil, Mátyás Seiber in London, in which he talked about the Hungarian adaptation of the English «tonic solfa». Later that year, in his speech titled *Popularising Serious Music*, at the meeting of the League of Composers in New York City, he emphasised the importance of nurseries and schools in educating audiences for serious music, as well as the importance of active participation in music making and musical reading and writing that makes this participation possible. Music educators are crucial in this process: «To get good teaching in schools, we must educate good teachers».²²

His first involvement in an international forum dedicated to art education was in May 1948. He was invited by the UNESCO to a meeting of an expert group in Paris, *The Arts in General Education*. The aim of this international committee was to formulate practical guidance in order to support art education in public schooling. Kodály's comment on 11th May recorded in the minutes:

«according to his opinion, general education starts nine months before birth and continues on until death. In regards to art education, practice depends on the age of the person and the type of education. Kodály strongly emphasises that professional musical

20 Miklós HADAS (*A nemzet prófétája... Op. cit.*, p. 195) interprets it as a change in Kodály's strategy: after realising that he could not carry out his original programme in Hungary, he took more interest in international connections. These allowed him and his students to propagate his teaching abroad directly. The international results and connections then were used as arguments in their fight for the improvement of Hungarian music education.

21 KODÁLY Zoltán. *Kodály Zoltán levelei*. Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1982. p. 257.

22 KODÁLY Zoltán. «Popularising Serious Music», KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music*. Budapest: Liszt Academy, 2019. p. 145.

education should not be neglected, because it is important to teach artists that the circumstances had changed and popularising art places social obligations onto them (artists have to know that they cannot live in the ivory tower anymore); this aspect is not yet prominent enough in conservatoires and art schools». ²³ This is the origin of the often-quoted statement that Kodály modified in 1951 to «children's musical education begins not nine months before their birth, but nine months before their mother». ²⁴

His first foreign «student» was Cynthia Jolly, a British opera singer who stayed in Hungary between 1947-1949. ²⁵ She took the Kodály-Ádám textbooks back to England and tried to introduce the concept there, but, at the time, the system did not seem applicable to English music education.

Japanese translator and music educator Kyōko Hani, founder of the first Kodály institute, also came to the Liszt Academy following Kodály's suggestion in 1958. She was not an immediate student of Kodály, however, she remained in Hungary until 1967, and during that period, she came to know not only Kodály's cultural programme but many notable music educators who worked on realising it (including Erzsébet Szőnyi, Márta Nemesszeghy and Katalin Forrai).

In the last few years of his life, Kodály was president and honorary president of two international musical organisations respectively. He became the president of The International Folk Music Council (IFMC) in 1961. ²⁶ The IFMC organised its international conference in Budapest between 17-25 August 1964, and Kodály accompanied the delegates to visit the Singing Primary School in Kecskemét to demonstrate the results of this unique type of Hungarian school.

In the same year, Kodály was also elected Vice-President of the International Society for Music Education (ISME). It was mainly due to his eminence that

23 EÖSZE László. *Kodály Zoltán életének krónikája*. Budapest: Zeneműkiadó (Napról napra...: Nagy muzsikosok életének krónikája, 13.), 1977, p. 222.

24 Kodály Zoltán. «Speech on Children's Day», KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music*. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

25 In ZEMKE, Lorna. *The Kodály Concept: Its History, Philosophy, and Development*. Champaign, IL: M Foster Music Co., 1977. p. 21 the year is given as 1948/49. In an unpublished interview with Kata Ittzes from 2005, Cynthia Jolly told that she «arrived in the dead of winter of 1947».

26 On his activities in the IFMC see STOCKMANN, Erich. «Zoltán Kodály and the International Folk Music Council», *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 17 (1985), p. 1-7. URL: <https://www.jstor.com/stable/768433>

the 6th World Conference of the ISME was also held in Budapest between 16 June – 3 July 1964. In his welcome address, he expressed that «without music, no education, no culture can be complete, therefore we must try our utmost to make music accessible to everybody».²⁷ During this World Conference, Kodály was given the title of Honorary President of the ISME.

In 1966, he gave several lectures, interviews in North America (Canada and the U.S.).²⁸ In an interview with Ernő Dániel²⁹, he summarised his recommendations for international adaptations: «All my work was done expressly for Hungarian surroundings. If the system is to be adopted in foreign countries, each country must add his own motivic and musical background».³⁰

He and several of his disciples also presented at the ISME World Conference in Interlochen, MI. Dmitry Kabalevsky recalled his memories of the event:

«Kodály took part with great activity in the conference work at Interlochen. He delivered a great lecture on the role of folk song in the music education of pupils. He participated in nearly every meeting and concert, and met a great number of people, talked to them sharing his thoughts and experiences. He was the life and soul of the conference and no doubt with his endless energy and solid belief in the importance of the matter, to which he and his co-workers devoted their whole lives, he inspired many of the participants for years to come».³¹

Many early adaptors of the Kodály Concept were indeed inspired by him during these events. It is also important to note that not many of his essays were available in foreign languages at the time. His studies in musicology and the *My Path to Music: Five Conversations with Lutz Besch* [Mein Weg Zur

27 KODÁLY Zoltán. «Budapest ISME Conference Welcome Address», KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music... Op. cit.*, p. 149.

28 A collection of his speeches, interviews from this tour were included into the new edition of his writings (KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music... Op. cit.*).

29 A Hungarian pianist living in the US. His wife, Katinka Scípiades Dániel was a student of Jenő Ádám, and one of the first Hungarians who introduced Hungarian music education in the US.

30 KODÁLY Zoltán. «The Responsibilities and Opportunities of the Musician-Educator», KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music... Op. cit.*, p. 202.

31 KABALEVSKY, Dmitry. «In Memoriam Zoltán Kodály», *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 1/1 (1976), p. 14.

Musik] (1966) were published in German. In his lifetime, few of his writings were published in English, mostly on folk music research.³² The ISME's journal, *International Music Educator* published his welcome address from 1964, and also his lecture from 1966, under the title *Folk Song in Hungarian Music Education*.³³ The *Folk Song in Pedagogy* from the MacMillan Lecture Series in Toronto (1966) appeared in the *Music Educators Journal*.

In 1966, Kodály wrote the preface to *Musical Education in Hungary*, edited by Frigyes Sándor.³⁴ This volume provided a comprehensive overview of Hungarian music education at all levels, was translated to several languages, and became one of the most cited references in writings by foreigners about Kodály's concept during the initial decade of its worldwide dissemination.

Starting from 1962, Boosey & Hawkes published his pedagogical compositions under the series title: *Kodály Choral Method*, which seems to be the first appearance of the «Kodály method» phrase, although it only became widespread in that form after 1964. Unfortunately, these editions often omitted Kodály's prefaces and postscripts, and came only with an introduction from the editor, therefore, losing some of their context and their place in Kodály's overarching cultural programme.³⁵ Out of the 21 volumes of pedagogical compositions, 14 had prefaces and/or postscripts but only 7 of the English volumes contained them.³⁶ Not surprisingly, reviews of these volumes highlighted only the practical pedagogical side of these works: «It [Bicinia Hungarica] is a practical guide designed to be followed from primary school, through secondary school and beyond. Kodály's principles are unassailable: he insists on accurate pitching of notes, sensitivity to phrasing and words, unaccompanied rehearsal and the use of sol-fa as a guide to sight-reading».³⁷

32 KODÁLY Zoltán. «The Tasks of Musicology in Hungary», *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1, 1/2 (1961), p. 5-8; KODÁLY Zoltán. «Folk Music and Art Music in Hungary», *Tempo*, 63 (1962), p. 28-36. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/943061.

33 The original title of the speech was «The Role of Authentic Folk Song in Music Education». KODÁLY Zoltán: *Writings on Music... Op. cit.*, p. 227-235.

34 SÁNDOR Frigyes. *Music Education in Hungary... Op. cit.*

35 For example: he wrote to the *Bicinia Hungarica 1* (1937): «It is high time we ploughed deeper into our own soil; to make pupils acquainted with our musical mother tongue down to its roots». KODÁLY Zoltán. «Bicinia Hungarica I: Postscript», KODÁLY Zoltán. *Writings on Music... Op. cit.*, p. 93.

36 Pentatonic Music 2 and 4; 15, 55, 77 Two-part Reading Exercises, 333 Reading Exercises; Let us sing correctly

37 D. L. [«Reviewed Work: Choral Method: Bicinia Hungarica by Zoltán Kodály, Percy M. Young»]. *Music & Letters* 45/2 (1964), p. 198. Retrieved from: www.jstor.org/stable/732109.

The first collection of his writings in English, *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, was published in 1974. Previously, except for those who could meet or hear Kodály's personally, or knew the Hungarian language and acquired his writings,³⁸ many pioneers could only familiarise themselves with Kodály's concept through interpretations from others and secondary literature.

3.2. World Conferences of the International Society for Music Education

The ISME was established in 1953 during the *International Conference on the Role and Place of Music in the Education of Youth and Adults* (29 June – 9 July 1953) which was organised by the UNESCO and the International Music Council in Brussels, Belgium.³⁹

The world conferences of the ISME in the 1960s –especially the 6th World Conference held in Budapest in 1964– were of great importance in the worldwide propagation of Hungarian music teaching. They «put Hungary on the map as an international leader in music education».⁴⁰ Of course, these were not the only way foreigners encountered with the Hungarian system, but the mass interest was a result of these large-scale events.

The first one to give a presentation on the system and results of Hungarian music education at an ISME Conference was Jenő Ádám in Copenhagen, 1958.⁴¹ His participation did not attract much public interest in Hungary, and the event was barely mentioned in newspapers or journals, except for his report in *Muzsika* [*Music*] journal.⁴² In this report, he concluded that Hungarian music education was among the best systems, although we could learn a lot from others as well. He also noted that several music textbooks seemed to have taken inspiration from his methodology book and the textbooks he and Kodály edited for schools.

38 Collections: *A zene mindenké [Music belongs to everyone]*, 1954; *Visszatekintés, 1-2 [Reminiscences]*, 1964.

39 MCCARTHY, Marie. *Toward a Global Community: The International Society for Music Education 1953-2003*. Nedlands, WA: ISME, 2004. URL: <https://www.isme.org/sites/default/files/documents/ISME%2BHistory%2BBook.pdf>

40 JACCARD, Jerry L. *A Tear in the Curtain... Op. cit.*, p. 128.

41 The English title of the presentation was *Some Aspects of Music Education in Hungary*, however, the speech was originally given in German (SZÉKELY Miklós. *Ádám és Kodály*. s. l.: Székely Balázs, 2008. p. 70).

42 ÁDÁM, Jenő. «Magyar népdal külföldi tankönyvekben», *Muzsika* 1/12 (1958), p. 575-576.

In 1961, Jenő Ádám was joined by Erzsébet Szőnyi for the next ISME conference in Vienna. Ádám presided the «Research in Music Education» section on 27th June but did not give a lecture, and Erzsébet Szőnyi talked about the teacher training in Hungary.⁴³

At the 1963 ISME conference in Tokyo, Japan, Szőnyi presented the official invitation to the ISME Board to hold the next conference in Budapest – albeit her own initiative, because despite the verbal support, she did not receive the final decision and permission from the Hungarian government before her departure.⁴⁴

The 6th World Conference of the ISME was organised by the Hungarian Ministry of Culture in cooperation with the Association of Hungarian Musicians, and Kodály was its chief patron. The conference theme was *Music of the Twentieth Century and Music Education*.

Each day started with demonstration classes in order to show how the Hungarian system is applicable for all ages and levels from kindergarten to tertiary education. School choirs and orchestras gave short recitals in mornings and afternoons. The event was followed by wide media interest, with newspapers reporting on the events almost daily.

In his concluding thoughts, Egon Kraus, Secretary-General of the ISME, recommended the Hungarian singing primary school system to be propagated in the whole world, and the facilitation of close relationships between music educators and contemporary composers.⁴⁵

In 1966, five delegates represented Hungary at the ISME Conference in Interlochen, MI. Kodály and his wife were also present as part of their North American tour during that summer. The Hungarian presentations covered several topics. In the order of presentations: Erzsébet Szőnyi: *The Place of Contemporary Music in Music Education*; Márta Nemesszeghy – Katalin Forrai – Helga Szabó – Klára Kokas: *The Application of the Kodály-Method in Preschool and Elementary School Level*; Zoltán Kodály: *The Role of Authentic Folk Song in Music Education*.⁴⁶ The English translation of the curriculum for

43 English title of her German presentation: *Music in Hungarian Teachers' Training*.

44 For details, see: JACCARD, JERRY L. *A Tear in the Curtain...* Op. cit., p. 122-129.

45 «Befejeződött az ISME konferenciája», *Magyar nemzet* (04.07.1964), p. 5.

46 INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR MUSIC EDUCATION. *Seventh International Conference on the Role and Place of Music in the Education of the Youth and Adults [Programme]*. Interlochen, MI, USA, August 18 to 16, 1966.

singing primary schools was also distributed along with the score of Kodály's *Mountain Nights*.

The Hungarians' work gained wide interest among the nearly thousand participants, as Szőnyi recalled later: «There were two types of music educators in Interlochen: those who had already been to Hungary and those who would come after it».⁴⁷

In 1968, the Girls' Choir from Győr and their conductor, Miklós Szabó joined the Hungarian delegation to the ISME Conference in Dijon, France, and they gave demonstration sessions twice during the practical sections of the conference.

The 9th ISME Conference in Moscow in 1970 saw the highest number of Hungarian delegates, in total almost 150; including Erzsébet Szőnyi, Márta Nemesszeghy, Katalin Forrai, Helga Szabó, Mrs. Gyula Mihályi, Tibor Sárai and composer Rezső Sugár, along with two Hungarian choirs. During the elections, Erzsébet Szőnyi became Vice-President of the ISME, a title she held until 1974.

The subsequent ISME conferences (Tunis, Perth, Montreax, London, ON) had less Hungarian presenters, although the «Kodály Method» was often given its own section among the main music educational concepts and practices. Starting from 1970, foreign adaptors also gave reports on their results in these sessions.

In 1978, Katalin Forrai became a member of the ISME Board of Directors, and this position enabled her to initiate the establishment of the Early Childhood Commission, which was created in 1980 with Forrai as its leader. Between 1988 and 1990, Forrai served as President of the ISME, the only Hungarian to hold the title to date.

4. TRAINING IN MUSIC EDUCATION FOR FOREIGNERS IN HUNGARY

Following the popularity of Hungarian music education at the ISME conferences and the 1967 EXPO in Montréal, in which Erzsébet Szőnyi and her students from the Liszt Academy gave demonstration lessons, foreign visitors started to come to the country in higher numbers. Katalin Forrai's kindergarten music sessions, the singing primary schools in Kecskemét and

47 SZŐNYI Erzsébet. *Őt kontinensen a zene szolgálatában*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1979. p. 169.

Budapest, and Szőnyi's lessons at the Liszt Academy were frequently attended by observers whose number was occasionally higher than that of the students themselves. Exchange grants, such as the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) and the «Kodály Fellowship Program» by Alexander Ringer for North American and Israeli music educators were also offered to those who wanted to spend a longer period in Hungary.⁴⁸

As a result of this interest, two summer schools and the Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music were established to provide further music education training for foreigners.

4.1. *Danube Bend Summer University, Esztergom*

The *Danube Bend Summer University* [*Dunakanyar Művészeti Nyári Egyetem*] was held every summer between 1965–2005 in Esztergom. The aim of it was to provide high-level summer courses in cultural history, art and science, along with touristic and entertainment opportunities for foreigners and Hungarians alike. The first two events in 1965 and 1966 were about Bartók's music, however, starting from 1967, the summer university was dedicated to Hungarian music education and it was led by Erzsébet Szőnyi.

Zoltán Kodály was expected to give the opening address in 1967, and he intended to visit the participants and join them in their trip to Kecskemét. In her welcome speech that year, Szőnyi recalled her last meeting with Kodály three days prior to his death, and emphasised that the summer university is a realisation of a long-held plan of Kodály, to create a forum in Hungary where «our foreign friends can study our work here [in this country]».⁴⁹

In the first seven years, the programme consisted of lectures on various music education related topics by distinguished music educators, methodology lessons, demonstration classes in singing primary schools (most frequently in Kecskemét), concerts and optional excursions in Hungary.

Each Summer University had a different theme.⁵⁰ The first three (1967–1969) introduced different aspects of the Hungarian system under

48 For details, see: JACCARD, Jerry L. *A Tear in the Curtain... Op. cit.*, p. 161–198.

49 SZŐNYI, Erzsébet. «Welcome Speech». Manuscript. Esztergom, 1968. p. 1. Szőnyi Erzsébet Collection. Kodály Institute Archives.

50 MOHAROS, József. *A Dunakanyar Művészeti Nyári Egyetem (Academia Istropolitana Nova) húsz éve Sajtótűkör*. Budapest: TIT, 1984.

the common title *Music education in Hungary*: vocal-based education, instrumental teaching, and the role of choirs and choir movement. In the subsequent years, the lectures focused on the psychological benefits of music teaching (1970), folk music and contemporary music (1971), musical mother tongue (1972), the role of schools in developing musical literacy (1973). In 1972, Erzsébet Szőnyi's lecture discussed the *Melody, rhythm and polyphony in international adaptations*, which was the first dedicated reflection on the foreign application of the Kodály Concept at the Danube Bend Summer University. Prior to this, all lectures were on Hungarian music and music education. The presenters were very diverse, altogether 36 music educators, composers, and musicologists gave lectures in order to show the full scope of the Hungarian musical and music educational culture.

From 1974, the schedule changed from lectures and demonstration classes to practical teaching in the mornings, involving students from singing primary and secondary schools. The participants were grouped according to languages: German, English, French, Italian and Spanish for the morning sessions, which were followed by common discussions in the afternoons.

During its 40-year-long history, over 4000 students attended the Summer University, including many music educators who later became pioneers in Kodály-based music education in their own countries, such as Richard Johnston from Canada, Denise Bacon and Lois Choksy from the US, Alois Složil from Czechoslovakia, Kyōko Hani and Ruriko Kase from Japan, Conrad W. Mayer from Germany. Geoffry Russell-Smith from the United Kingdom, who was the English translator of several pedagogical and choral works of Kodály, also came in 1967.

The last Danube Bend Summer University was held in 2005, leaving the *International Kodály Seminar* in Kecskemét to be the only Hungarian summer school for foreigners who are interested in the Kodály Concept.

4.2. *The International Kodály Seminars and the Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music, Kecskemét*

The *International Kodály Seminars* in Kodály's birth-town have been organised biannually since 1970.⁵¹ The idea to create the event originated

51 The first three seminars were held in 1970, 1972, 1975.

from Sarolta Kodály and Márta Nemesszeghy during the development of the training programme of the Wellesley-based Kodály Musical Training Institute (KMTI) in 1969.

The first two Kodály Seminars (1970, 1972) were hosted by the Zoltán Kodály Singing Primary School in Kecskemét. Sarolta Kodály developed the programme, invited the presenters and took care of the organisation with the help of Márta Nemesszeghy and Mihály Ittzés.

The faculty consisted of distinguished Hungarian music educators, many of whom had teaching experience abroad by then, and as such, they were familiar with the questions and problems foreign adaptors might have faced implementing the Kodály Concept in their own countries.

«The aims and structure of the later courses were established during the first two seminars: 1) to provide foreign participants opportunities to learn about the Kodály Concept in a practical course; and 2) to provide further training opportunities for Hungarian music teachers».⁵²

The courses consisted of solfège lessons for complex and intensive development of musicianship, methodology workshops, demonstration classes, choir rehearsals, lectures on music history, music education, folk music, and accompanied by lunchtime and evening concerts. This structure remained mostly the same over the decades, although the length of the seminar was shortened from one month to two weeks by 2011. Starting from 2020, the International Kodály Seminars will be held every summer.

Since 1975, the Seminars have been organised by the Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music (Kodály Institute).

The Kodály Institute was established in 1973 and teaching commenced in September 1975. Its aims and tasks as summarised by Péter Erdei, Director of the Kodály Institute: «to make the music teachers of different countries acquainted (in the clearest way possible, though improved in a modern way) with the method of music education well known the world over as unfolded on the basis of the Kodály concept».⁵³

52 KÉRI LAURA Zita. «A Kodály Zoltán Zenepedagógiai Intézet megalakulása és története (1973-2005)». Doctoral dissertation, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2008. p. 112.

53 ERDEI Péter. «Zoltán Kodály Pedagogical Institute of Music Kecskemét». *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 1/1 (1976), p. 22-24.

The Institute offers full academic year diploma, MA, BA courses and summer seminars, collects the documents related to Zoltán Kodály's life and oeuvre, those of Hungarian music education in relation to the international educational documents evolved by the Hungarian example (textbooks, studies, audio and visual documents, etc.), organises events and conducts research related to music education.

The curriculum of the Institute between 1975-1980 consisted of solfège, music theory, class observation, methodology, folk music, conducting, score reading, choir, chamber music, voice training, and instrumental lessons as electives in order to develop well-rounded musicianship. These serve as the core of the education at the Kodály Institute even today.

As of 2019, the Institute had over a 1400 students in its year-courses since the first academic year, and nearly 4300 participants in the Seminars from over 50 countries. It remains the central institution of Kodály-based music teaching worldwide.

4.3. Early adaptations

Based on bibliographies and library collections, the earliest foreign music textbook that followed the Kodály-Ádám textbooks (1948) both in appearance and structure was written in 1955 by Klári Fredborg, a Hungarian music educator and conductor living in Denmark. The book was titled *Kom og syng*⁵⁴ and later it had several new editions and additional volumes.

The first foreign adaptation of the Hungarian system was carried out by Estonian music educator Heino Kaljuste in 1964. He attended the ISME Conference in Budapest and received copies of the Kodály-Ádám textbooks from Kodály himself. Kaljuste collaborated with composer Riho Päts to create the *Jo-le-mi* music textbooks, that again resembled to the Hungarian ones both in their structure and illustrations. The books were used in singing primary schools established according to the Hungarian example.⁵⁵ Mary

54 FREDBORG, Klári. *Kom og syng, I Børnesange og sanglege til brug i børnehaver og skolens første klasser*. København: Musikhøjskolens Forlag, 1955.

55 SELKE, Tiina. «History and Practice of Kodály's Method (Relative Solmization) in Estonia», *Kodály Zoltán és a magyar nyelvi műveltség; Kodály Zoltán életművének időszertése*, 77-83. Bárcki füzetek 16. Budapest: Bárcki Géza Kiejtési Alapítvány, 2008. URL: <http://vala.hu/eszt/tiina-selke-history-and-practice-of-kodalys-method>.

Helen Richards' *Threshold to Music* book,⁵⁶ which will be discussed later, was also published in 1964.

In the subsequent years, many similar publications appeared and from 1968, Kodály associations and institutes were founded abroad.

Observing the initial adaptations, three main patterns emerge:

1. Hungarian expatriates taught according to the Hungarian methods, wrote textbooks and established Kodály courses and the society/institute, for example Árpád Darázs and his wife,⁵⁷ Katinka Scípiades Dániel⁵⁸ (US), Cecília Vajda⁵⁹ (UK).
2. Foreign music educators became interested in this type of teaching, came to Hungary and invited Hungarian experts to support their work in their own countries, like Denise Bacon, Lois Choksy, Betsy Moll (US), Deanna Hoermann (Australia), Gilbert De Greeve (Belgium). This was the most typical approach.
3. Others, like Kyôko Hani (Japan) who first came to study in Hungary and became interested in adapting this system in Japan only later,⁶⁰ or the already mentioned Heino Kaljuste (Estonia) and Mary Helen Richards (US), who took inspiration from the Hungarian education and textbooks but developed their own material and system without seeking direct help from Hungarian master teachers.

56 RICHARDS, Mary Helen. *Threshold to Music*. Palo Alto, CA: Fearon Publishers, 1964.

57 Árpád Darázs was professor of music at the University of South Carolina, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the application of the Kodály Concept to high school choir organizations. (Darázs, 1973). He was featured in the 1974 documentary film, *The Singing Hands*. SMALLEY, Dave. *The Singing Hands: A Kodály Legacy*. South Carolina ETV Commission, 1974. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2V-f03aF0wc>.

58 She was a student of Jenő Ádám and one of the influential expatriates living in the US She taught at the San Roque School in Santa Barbara, CA. On Katinka Daniel's lifework, see BONNIN, Jeri. *Katinka Dániel: Her Life...* *Op. cit.*,

59 Hungarian conductor who was invited by Yehudi Menuhin to teach at his school in 1967. After unsuccessful negotiations with the Hungarian authorities about her return, she remained in England and established the British Kodály Society (later renamed to British Kodály Academy) in 1981. Besides the UK, she also gave courses in Hong Kong in the 1980s and was an invited teacher of the first Kodály Seminar in Kecskemét.

60 From then on, she followed the second pattern.

The shared attribute of all adaptations is that except from Hungary, the Kodály Concept did not become an exclusive music pedagogical practice, but one among the many selectable and competing music educational concepts.

Early adaptors either 1) translated materials, or even entire books, from the Hungarian, like Kyôko Hani, Deanna Hoermann, Cecília Vajda, or László Ördög (South America), before developing their own; or 2) collected material from their own country and adapted the principles and/or the methodology according to those materials, for example Péter Erdei and Denise Bacon in the US or Jacquotte Ribière-Raverlat in France.

In some cases, they only took the methodological elements without the entire educational concept behind it, like Mary Helen Richards' *Threshold to Music* flip charts and manual (1964), which she created based on the Kodály-Ádám textbooks to support the classroom teachers with no background in music, neglecting Kodály's continuous demand for well-trained music specialist teachers in schools. In the Readers comment section of *Music Educators Journal* November 1967 issue, Geoffry Russell-Smith⁶¹ already criticised the book, pointing out that «her adaptation of the Kodály principles has lost much in technique and, perhaps most important, seems to water down the basic artistic purpose behind it». Doris Gallemore⁶² defended the work in the May 1968 issue, and pointed out that Kodály personally knew Mary Helen Richards and mentioned their joint session at the Stanford University in 1966. Gallemore could not know that after the initial appreciation from their first encounters,⁶³ by that time, Kodály was concerned with Richards' practical application. Erzsébet Szőnyi recalled the same event and how happy Kodály was when she finally arrived to save the situation at a demonstration class at Stanford University: «The children sitting on the floor, charts – it had nothing to do with the Kodály Concept but was just a kind of show».⁶⁴

61 RUSSELL-SMITH, Geoffry. «Introducing Kodály Principles into Elementary Teaching», *Music Educators Journal*, 54/3 (1967), p. 43-46.

62 GALLEMORE, Doris. «Kodály in California». *Music Educators Journal*, 54/9 (1968), p. 4-7

63 «I am late to thank you for sending your "Threshold" which I find very interesting and ingenious». A letter to M. H. Richards, dated: 19.09.1964. KODÁLY Zoltán. *Letters in English, French, German, Italian, Latin*. Budapest: Argumentum, Kodály Archivum (A Kodály Archivum Kiadványai), 2002. p. 445.

64 JACCARD, Jerry L. *A Tear in the Curtain... Op. cit.*, p. 166.

Nonetheless, Mary Helen Richards inspired music educators in the U. S. to learn more about Hungarian music education, and many came to understand later how holistic Kodály's ideas truly were.⁶⁵

Overemphasising the methodical techniques –which then invoked the accusation from advocates of other systems that the «Kodály method» was too rigid– has been the most criticised aspect of the practical application both in Hungary and abroad. Klára Kokas drew attention to the problem as early as 1975:⁶⁶ «many did not see more in the concept than a method to musical reading and writing. Others simply translated the Hungarian textbooks to foreign languages, added a few of their own folk songs and called this the Kodály adaptation. The superficial works led to perilous concisions. Perilous, because they lost the essence of the concept. When the expected results were not reached, the opinion started to spread that the Kodály method is only good for the disciplined Hungarian student».⁶⁷ In fact, the same problems existed and still exist in Hungary as well, and were addressed during public debates starting from the 1970s, so the criticism is not limited to foreign adaptors. Some of these disapproving remarks written for Hungarian audience about foreign adaptations may even be interpreted as indirect condemnation of music teachers at home.

It is also worth noting that not everyone celebrated the international fame. Preliminary results of a content analysis of public debates over the state of music education in Hungary between 1970-1997 show that in connection with the international acclaim, the biggest problems they saw were that 1) excellent music educators dedicated too much time and effort to foreign adaptations:

65 Lois Choksy wrote: «...I began to perceive that there was a great deal more to this “method” than method – something that far transcended ta’s and ti’s and so’s and mi’s. I realized that I had barely seen the surface of what appeared to be a way of thinking, a way of living; a way that contained method, but was much more than a method». VIKÁR László (ed.) *Reflections on Kodály... Op. cit.*, p. 44.

66 KOKAS Klára. «Kodály zenei nevelési koncepciójának amerikai átültetéséről», *Pedagógiai Szemle*, 25/12 (1975), p. 1115.

67 This statement foreshadows the criticism from Bernarr Rainbow from 1980: «some hopeful readers of English versions of Kodaly’s Method failed to recognise the English origins of “relative sol-fa”. Moreover, they were not to know that the thorough scheme of musical training which followed the early stages of that Method depended for its nationwide success on a state-controlled educational system quite as rigidly regimented as that under the Code Napoleon». RAINBOW, BERNARR. *John Curwen: a Short Critical Biography*. Sevenoaks: Novello, 1980. p. 59.

«The “internationally famed experts” barely care about the matters at home»,⁶⁸ and that 2) the fame might have made Hungarians overly confident and reluctant to address and change problematic issues within Hungary: «What foreigners think about Hungarian music education is not the most important feature, but how well it fulfils its aims in Hungary».

Jenő Ádám also spent great effort not only to fight against the «Kodály Method» term⁶⁹, but against the uncredited copying of the methodology developed by him being used –as he saw it– for monetary gain or applied as an end in itself.⁷⁰

Both him and Kodály gave great freedom for teachers to choose their methodology, provided that they were trained enough to make an informed choice: «It is crucial though that the teachers know the essence, the process and every element of the chosen technique; and able to apply it according to the personalities of the students and their own, as well as to the characteristics of the Hungarian folk song materials».⁷¹

From the preface of Ádám's book: «As a practicing teacher I am aware that the secret of success lies in a teacher's ability to choose from among many roads the one which leads him to his goal. [...] It was not my purpose to build a road here which is paved with indestructible and immovable stones».⁷²

In her interview with John Feierabend,⁷³ Katalin Forrai summarised the criteria of good adaptations, based on the way Kodály and Ádám created the music educational principles and methodology in Hungary: adaptation means change, use from the ideas that are universal, start with your own materials – do not to copy the Hungarian sequence and materials; use elements that are

68 Some of these accusations are hardly justifiable, since many of the unnamed «experts», such as Erzsébet Szőnyi, Katalin Forrai held prominent positions in committees and organisations, and actively took part in Hungarian musical life and music educator training.

69 Both him and Kodály suggested the term «Hungarian Method» instead.

70 ÁDÁM Jenő. «A Message to My Colleagues, the Music Pedagogues of the USA», *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 21/2 (1996), p. 40-41.

71 KODÁLY Zoltán. «A szerzők megjegyzései a “Szó-Mi” népiskolai énektankönyv bírálatára», KODÁLY Zoltán. *Visszatekintés*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1. Budapest: Argumentum, 2007. p. 143.

72 ÁDÁM, Jenő. *Growing in Music with Movable Do Translation of the Original Kodály-Method*. New York: Pannonius Central Service (Pannonius Books. The Movable Do Series, 1.), 1971, p. viii.

73 *Music Belongs to All: A Kodály Conversation with Katalin Forrai and John Feierabend*, Norman, OK, 11. 07. 1987. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pS7WZcx5eQ>.

in your own language, which in turn might change the sequence; and do not overemphasise the methodological elements.

5. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONALISATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL KODÁLY SOCIETY

5.1. *Foreign Kodály institutes and university degree programmes*

While there were summer courses dedicated to the Kodály Concept abroad since 1966 –such as the aforementioned course at the Stanford University in 1966 and 1967–, starting 1968, Kodály institutes and university programmes were established to provide in-depth training for interested educators. Their aims were both to draw attention to this type of teaching and to cater for the already existing demand.

The first foreign Kodály Institute was Kyôko Hani's Kodály Aesthetical Education Institute [Kodály Geijutsu Kyôiku Kenkyûjo] in Tokyo in 1968. Even after returning to Japan, she maintained extensive correspondence with Hungarian music educators, including Erzsébet Szönyi, Katalin Forrai and Márta Nemesszeghy, and she translated many Hungarian books, curricula, interviews over the years to make Japanese school and kindergarten teachers more aware of the Kodály Concept. She also invited Hungarian music teachers to give demonstration classes and lectures during summers.

The second Kodály Institute was the Kodály Musical Training Institute (KMTI) in Wellesley, MA, US by Denise Bacon and Hungarian conductor and music educator Péter Erdei in 1969. They worked closely together with Márta Nemesszeghy and Sarolta Kodály to create the teacher's training course and conduct research in order to develop teaching materials for American schools. Over the years, many distinguished Hungarian music teachers taught at the Institute, as it was an important principle of Bacon to have master teachers from Kodály's country.⁷⁴ In her *A Tribute to Many Hungarians*,⁷⁵ she listed 39 musicians and music educators who inspired her in some ways.

⁷⁴ Detailed history of the KMTI can be found in BACON, Denise. *Hold Fast to Dreams... Op. cit.* and TACKA, Philip. *Denise Bacon... Op. cit.*

⁷⁵ BACON, Denise. *A Tribute to Many Hungarians*. Wellesley, MA: Kodály Center of America, 2002.

The German Kodály Society (Deutsche Kodály-Gesellschaft e. V.) was founded by Conrad W. Mayer in 1972.⁷⁶ The Kodály Institute of Canada – reformed into the Kodály Society of Canada in 1986– was established in 1973 as a result of Mae Daly's work.⁷⁷

Deanna Hoermann founded the Kodály Education Society of Australia⁷⁸ in 1974. Hoermann was one of those music educators who did not encounter the Kodály Concept at one of the large-scale conferences, but became interested in Hungarian music education after hearing a recording of Ilona Andor's Kodály Girls' Choir in 1971. She came to Hungary and worked closely together with Márta Nemesszeghy in order to translate her Teachers' manual to English.⁷⁹ Hoermann later became the first president of the International Kodály Society in 1975.

The Organisation of American Kodály Educators was created in 1975 and the Hungarian Kodály Society in 1978.

The first MA degree programme with Kodály emphasis started in 1969 at the Holy Names College, Oakland, CA, US, led by Sr. Mary Alice Hein who also came to Hungary with an IREX grant to study under Erzsébet Szőnyi in 1970. She was the host and organiser of the first International Kodály Conference in 1973. The first bachelor's degree with a concentration in the Kodály Concept of Music Education was offered by the Silver Lake College, Manitowoc, WI, US from 1973, developed by Sr. Lorna Zemke, who learnt about Kodály from Katinka Scípiades Dániel. Zemke was the first one to write her doctoral dissertation on the adaptation of the Kodály Concept in 1973.⁸⁰

The University of Calgary in Canada started its Kodály Programme in 1978 under Lois Choksy.

76 It was reformed in 2011 after ceasing its activities for several years.

77 Daly, Mae. *The Divine "Ab-Ha"*. [s. l.]: Kodály Institute of Canada, 2013.

78 Its current name is: Kodály Music Education Institute of Australia. On the website, the date of the foundation is given as 1973 (URL: <https://kodaly.org.au/about/>). However, in the 1976 issue of the Bulletin of the International Kodály Society Hoermann stated that «The Kodály Education Society of Australia was founded in Sydney in March, 1974». HOERMANN, Deanna. «The Kodály Education Society of Australia», *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 1/1 (1976), p. 29.

79 HOERMANN, Deanna. *The Teacher's Manual for Márta Nemesszeghy's Children Song Book*, 1st rev. ed. Brookvale, NSW: Owen Martin, 1974.

80 ZEMKE, Lorna. «The Kodály Method and a Comparison of the Effects of a Kodály-based Music Instruction Sequence and a More Typical Sequence on Auditory Musical Achievement in Fourth-Grade Students». Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Faculty of the School of Music, 1973.

The first issue of the *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society* from 1976 contains overviews on the activities of 11 already existing institutes and programmes.

5.2. *The International Kodály Society*

The International Kodály Society (IKS) was established in 1975 after three years of preparation involving music educators from Hungary and abroad, and the *Kulturális Kapcsolatok Intézete [Institute for Cultural Relations]* which represented the Hungarian Government.

According to the statutes of the IKS:

«The principal aim of the International Kodály Society shall be the world-wide propagation of the musical, educational and cultural concepts associated with Zoltán Kodály for the benefit of music generally and in particular, for the educational advancement of youth in the service of mutual understanding and friendship among all nations».⁸¹

The 1st International Kodály Symposium, and the creation of an International Kodály Society, sprouted from the idea of Erzsébet Szőnyi and Sr. Mary Alice Hein from the early 1970s. Hein reminisced later: «In suggesting to Erzsébet Szőnyi the possibility of a bi-national conference between Hungary and the United States, I was met with the startling question, “Why not an international symposium?” Why not, indeed».⁸²

The Symposium was held at the Holy Names College between 5-11 August 1973. The 51 official delegates and 129 observers represented 18 countries. The «formation of an International Organization of music educators interested in the Kodály Concept of Music Education» was already listed as a proposed outcome on the flyer advertising the event.

The chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the IKS was Erzsébet Szőnyi and its members were Richard Johnson (Canada), Alexander L. Ringer (US), Margaret Holden (UK) Deanna Hoermann (Australia). They developed the statutes of the Society in cooperation with the Hungarian authorities. The

81 «Statutes of the International Kodály Society», *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 1/1 (1976), p. 3-8.

82 VIKÁR László (ed.). *Reflections on Kodály... Op. cit.*, p. 79.

foundation was dated to the summer of 1975. Due to her illness, Erzsébet Szőnyi was replaced by László Eősze in November 1974.

In the initial planning, the official formation would have been during the Danube Bend Summer University, however, it was moved to Kecskemét to the same time as the 3rd International Kodály Seminar. After several hours of debate, the general assembly of delegates moved the statutes on 11 August 1975, elected the first Board of Directors, thus officially established the IKS.

The event was also important from Hungarian cultural-political aspects as well. The IKS was the first international non-governmental organisation with its office in Hungary. Endre Rosta, Director of the Institute for Cultural Relations supported the initiative and insisted on having the office in Hungary, emphasising mainly its benefits from cultural-propaganda aspects in internal documents.

Manuscripts and published reminiscences show that the founders had different opinions whether the IKS should be dedicated to Kodály's entire lifework, or only to the music education hallmarked by his name. In her Opening Address at the 3rd International Kodály Symposium, Sarolta Kodály, who did not approve the latter limiting approach, confessed: «our mutual interest in the Society is mostly the Kodály Method. I must tell you, I was not very happy about it at the beginning, it seemed to me, there is only one side of Kodály's activity to accentuate and I accepted this post [Honorary President of the IKS] because I hoped to change it».⁸³

In the end, the IKS aimed to include all aspects of Kodály's oeuvre. At the foundation of the Society, working committees were also created with special foci: Performance Committee,

Folk Song Committee, Publication Committee, Methodology Committee, Research Committee, however, these were officially terminated in 1989. The current committees are the Early Childhood and Primary Education Forum, László Vikár Forum for Folk Music Research, and International Katalin Forrai Award Committee.

Although it often addresses music education and cultural policy related issues publically, the IKS primary functions as a community for interested professionals. In order to facilitate and maintain professional communication

83 KODÁLYNÉ PÉCZELY Sarolta. «Keynote Address», *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, 2/1-2 (1977), p. 3.

within the Society, the IKS has two fora: the *International Kodály Symposium*, which is held biannually since 1973 in different countries; and the *Bulletin of the International Kodály Society*, a peer-reviewed journal that has been published twice a year since 1976.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Since its initial dissemination, the Kodály Concept was adapted to several countries and languages. From the 1960s, it has been regarded as one of the main music educational concepts along with Orff, Suzuki, Dalcroze and others. In 2016, the UNESCO inscribed the «Safeguarding of the Folk Music Heritage by the Kodály Concept» as an Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was a great recognition of the work of all who dedicated their lives to carry on Kodály's legacy.

Over the past 60 years, numerous Kodály societies and programmes were established worldwide including the International Kodály Society. They offer academic courses, workshops, summer schools, and symposia, and Hungarian music educators are still regularly invited to teach on these events.

The Hungarian national curricula for elementary and secondary schools have been based on Kodály's ideas and the practices developed by his followers since 1946, however, he was only named for the first time in the 2012 National Core Curriculum (NCC). He is also quoted in the Music chapter of the newly published NCC (2020) which highlights and acknowledges his lasting influence on Hungarian music education.

Decades of debates show that the majority of professionals who follow Kodály's ideas agree with the core principles of Kodály's concept but criticise the practical application, external circumstances (societal issues, policies), and the unsatisfactory results of the combination of these problems.⁸⁴ Gábor Bodnár also listed the loss of prestige of music among school subjects, the decreasing number of singing primary schools, the dominance of mass media and pop music in the youths' life and the rigid and arrogant response of so-called serious musicians that alienated many popular music fans, among

⁸⁴ GÖNCZY, László. «Kodály-koncepció: a megértés és alkalmazás nehézségei Magyarországon», *Magyar Pedagógia*, 109/2. (2009), p. 169–185. URL: http://magyarpedagogia.hu/document/Gonczy_MP1092.pdf

the problems music teachers may face in the 21st century.⁸⁵ However, music remains an integral part of the Hungarian school curriculum. The current NCC recommends two 45-minute-long music lessons/week in Grades 1-5 and one lesson/week in Grades 6-10.

Many current philosophical and sociological discourses on music education interpret music as social practice and question the intrinsic aesthetic and moral values of music, the importance of musical reading and writing or the significance of classical music within the curriculum.⁸⁶ Societal changes and these new trends in educational and political ideas also affect or challenge those who are committed to following Kodály's principles.

Some authors⁸⁷ question their applicability and relevance in contemporary music education, however, fundamental ideas of Kodály's concept (such as child-centred, participation-based, democratic and universal access to music and music education, the importance of cultural traditions and communities) have withstood the challenges posed by the ever-changing global society, and have many followers even today.

Kodály did not write a definite methodology but left the following generations an open and expandable system based on centuries-old philosophical and pedagogical traditions, as well as the task of finding the best ways of practice in any era and circumstance, while maintaining the conceptual integrity. The successful international dissemination proves the adaptability and flexibility of his pedagogical concept.

Dedicated and talented Hungarian and foreign musicians and music educators were and are key to this success, but no one more than Zoltán

85 BODNÁR Gábor. «Thirty Years in School Music Teacher Training Among Different Circumstances. Life and Work at the Music Department of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest». CHACIŃSKI, Jarosław; BRUSNIAK, Friedhelm (eds). *Music Education in Continuity and Breakthrough: Historical Prospects and Current References in a European Context*. Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku, 2016, p. 141-151.

86 For example: ELLIOTT, D. J.; SILVERMAN, M.. *Music Matters: A Philosophy of Music Education*, 2nd ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015.

87 For example: BENEDICT, Cathy. «Processes of Alienation: Marx, Orff and Kodaly», *British Journal of Music Education; Cambridge*, 26/2 (2009), p. 213-224. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0265051709008444>; DEVRIES, Peter. «Reevaluating Common Kodály Practices», *Music Educators Journal*, 88/3 (2001), p. 24-27. URL: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3399754>; DUERKSEN, Carolyn. «Avoiding the "F" Word in the Music Classroom: Fundamentalism and Music Education», *Canadian Music Educator*, 44/3 (2003), p. 18-22; WALKER, Robert. *Music Education: Cultural Values, Social Change and Innovation*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas Publisher, 2007; WOODFORD, Paul. «Is Kodály Obsolete?», *Alla Breve*, 24/1 (2000), p. 10-18.

Kodály himself. His cultural programme for a happier country,⁸⁸ his dedication to educate not only excellent musicians but also audiences for them, and his conviction that music is an essential part of human (and humane) life continues to inspire music educators internationally.

88 «Only happy children can grow to be happy adults, and only they can make a happy country» KODÁLY Zoltán: «Educational Bureaucrats! Let the Children Sing! KODÁLY Zoltán». *Writings on Music...* *Op. cit.*, p. 71. Also: «[The calling of the children] brought me back every time, no matter how appealing the easier, quieter and better lives of more cultured countries were. These kept alive my faith that against all odds, it was possible and necessary to create such a life here as well. [...] I always hope that there will be a beautiful life here, even better than it used to be. It depends on us». KODÁLY Zoltán. «Előszó». KODÁLY Zoltán: *Visszatekintés...*, *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 5.