

**The archaeology of an archive: Uses of
knowledge at the *Institut de
Etnografie și Folclor in Bucharest***

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To those who believed in me, urged me to finish, but did not see the day: R.S., C.M.

We badly need histories, and particularly histories of ideas (Merriam 1969 quoted in Nettel and Bohlman 1991:i).

1 Introduction

1.1 *Prelude*

Near Bucharest's Piața Romană, where never-ending queues of vehicles from all directions join and miraculously find their way around the bronze wolf nursing the two famous infants in the middle of the square, the well-instructed visitor can find the Institut de Etnografie și Folclor 'Constantin Brăiloiu' (Institute for Ethnography and Folklore 'Constantin Brăiloiu'). Since it is unknown to most cab drivers, one is tempted to get off at the McDonald's on Gheorghe Maghieru Boulevard. From here one needs to find a narrow pathway inaccessible to vehicles between two busy fast food restaurants where a diverse, metropolitan crowd moves quickly between stands selling bus tickets, newspapers and self-help books.

Just a few steps take the visitor away from the crowded boulevard to a quiet place which offers shadow and, with it, protection from the heat of the summer. A bronze plaque next to a door – in the past always locked, now usually open — informs the visitor that he or she has successfully located an institute belonging to the Academia Româna (Romanian Academy).

The door opens easily and leads into a courtyard. In spite of recent reconstructions inside the building, this area has hardly changed in decades. Statues which were no longer considered appropriate after the events of 1989 age here mostly unobserved. There are exceptions, of course, when these sculptures become the object of an ironic remark by one of the Institute's employees.

Not long ago, one could encounter a secretary in the yard who presided over the only official telephone of the Institute and called across the yard at the top of her voice to the researcher wanted by the party at the other end of the line. Today everybody has a cell phone, of course.

Having crossed the threshold, one enters a mansion, a richly ornamented house with a round tower. Built by a former prime minister, Take Ionescu (1868-1922), in a playful historicist style, with a tower and vaguely resembling a palace, it is now juxtaposed with much higher rectangular concrete buildings from the socialist era. Once these buildings signified modernity; now this modernity is faded.

From the entrance, the visitor easily reaches the director's office, ornamented with heavy, dark wood carvings and many large and old books - an impressive but somewhat dismal atmosphere reminiscent of a bygone aristocratic era. Close to the entrance there is also a room which stores written documents - the first signs that we are in one of the most important archives of the country, certainly according to the standards of its director. This room also may serve as a reading room to access archive documents and recently it has come to house a growing armada of computer equipment.

Easy to reach via the courtyard or through a long, dimly-lit chain of unevenly-sized, narrow corridors, one reaches the library's main reading room, open every week day and remarkable for its simplicity and the friendliness of the librarian. Chances are that other locations inside the building will be open to the public only by invitation or on special occasions. There is a

conference room upstairs, a small two-room museum with folk instruments and other items, a recording studio, many small offices and several storage facilities for audiovisual recordings and accompanying information (cf. Marian-Bălașa 2000b).

These are some of the impressions that I have kept from my visits between 1998 and the early 2000s. During my most recent visit in 2010, many of the details described above had changed, but the overall impression remains the same: that of a complex collocation of old and new, functioning and nonfunctional, a heterotopic place that seems caught between the times of globalized late capitalism and its many layers of history. Perhaps the institution is slowly becoming more accessible and more "modern", a trend which is best expressed for me in the front door no longer being locked and the computer technology that slowly gains ground everywhere in the building. Whose standards of modernity, and which layers of history are being negotiated here, remains to be seen.

1.2 *Three layers*

This book is meant as a history of ethnomusicological research¹ carried out at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (IEF)². I describe individual researchers, but my real interest is that complex force field that lies behind their actions, which preconfigures them and which slowly changes with time. In short, I am interested in the ethnomusicological knowledge that has been produced at the Institute and how this knowledge has been used, not only in ethnomusicology, but also outside ivory tower of academia.

I am especially interested in uses that could be called political and I look for such uses mostly in cultural politics, a field where scholarly ethnomusicology meets state politics. In emphasizing uses of knowledge, I vaguely apply Charles S. Peirce's pragmatic maxim: "Consider what effects that might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have" (Peirce 1998:146).

Temporally, my focus is on the socialist period up to the mid-1970s (1948-1975). For comparison, I look also at the presocialist and later socialist periods (1975-1989). In other words, I intend to deliver an ethnographically-informed social history of the IEF that focuses on the production of ethnomusicological knowledge and the uses of this knowledge in the field of socialist cultural politics.

¹ The use of the Romanian term "etnomuzicologia" (ethnomusicology) became perhaps the preferred label for the discipline in Romania only after 1989 (Marian-Bălașa 2003c), although it was used with some frequency in Romanian since the 1960s. I use the term "ethnomusicology" not in its narrow and historic sense, to describe a specific paradigm of music research often associated with Jaap Kunst, but as an umbrella for different paradigms of music research which include comparative musicology and folk song research. I will spend a considerable part of this work determining which particular paradigms existed in Romania (principally in the discourse surrounding the IEF), what characterized these ethnomusicological paradigms and how they developed over time.

² The Institute's official name has changed several times since its foundation: Institut de Folclor (IF), Institut de Etnografie și Folclor (IEF), Institut de Cercetări Etnologice și Dialectologice (IECD). When I refer to the Institute in a specific period, I use the official name of that time. When I refer to the Institute over a longer period I use the label by which the Institute is probably best-known throughout its history: Institut de Etnografie și Folclor (IEF). Today the Institute is officially called Institut de Etnografie și Folclor 'Constantin Brăiloiu' (IEFCB).

This is a very condensed way of saying what this study is about. To explain my intention in slightly greater detail, I will distinguish between three different layers in the theme of my book. First, and in *general*, this work is concerned with the knowledge produced by ethnomusicologists and the purposes for which this knowledge can be, and has been, used. Since A.P. Merriam emphasized the relationship of behavior, concepts, and sound (Merriam 1964), the study of musical knowledge has become an integral part of ethnomusicology. In this framework, even knowledge relating to birdsong in the remote jungles of this world has been scrutinized, and rightly so (cf. Feld 1994). What has rarely been regarded systematically, however, is the knowledge produced by ethnomusicologists themselves.³ What I will do in this book is to map the knowledge produced in a single ethnomusicological institution according to its internal organization and its temporal sequence. I will also ask to what ends this knowledge has been applied in the domain of cultural politics, and with what effects. A general and quite neutral way of putting this – avoiding somewhat disputed terms like "ideology" and "instrumentalization" – is to say that I am interested in the relationship of the political domain and ethnomusicology.

Secondly, and more *specifically*, this work relates to what can be considered Romania's most influential ethnomusicological research institution, the Institut de Etnografie și Folclor 'Constantin Brăiloiu' (IEF). It was officially founded in 1949 under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior of the then young communist government, but was based in many ways on earlier archives, including the folk music archive headed by Constantin Brăiloiu since 1928. From the various predecessors, the newly founded institution inherited not only what was perhaps at one point in history the largest collection of traditional music in a single institution in the world⁴, but also staff and a certain approach to collecting, storing, researching, promoting and perhaps inventing folk music. During more than 60 years of existence — not counting activities before 1949 —, the Institute produced an enormous quantity of scholarly publications: more than a hundred issues of several journals, dozens of book-sized anthologies and monographs on folk music, and several recordings. To this day the Institute continues to research and publish.

The bulk of these publications was intended for a specialist audience, but the Institute was also involved to varying degrees in activities that today could be labeled as applied ethnomusicology. For instance, in the early 1950s the Institute had its own folk orchestra and over a long period of time it was involved in the organization of folklore events for amateurs (Marian-Bălașa 1999:12, Marian-Bălașa 2000b:144). I use these less scholarly and more applied activities

³ I am not aware of a single study that primarily investigates ethnomusicologists by means fieldwork and results in an ethnography. There are, however, numerous studies including those on Eastern Europe some of which I review in Section 1.5 which focus on musicians, composers, choreographers etc. and occasionally also discuss the role of ethnomusicologists. Also Nettl's *Heartland Excursions* (1995) is a similar work, but it does not focus on ethnomusicologists.

⁴ In a world-wide survey of folk music collections (Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle [1939]), the Bucharest collection is the biggest archive counting the number of recorded melodies per institution. Bucharest reports 19,727 recorded melodies on 7633 cylinders and 578 disks in 1939. However, the numbers specified in this publication are hardly comparable, because many institutions do not report consistent numbers or units (notated melodies, recorded sound carriers, distinct melodies etc.). The Berlin Phonogram Archive is one such example of an institution which was not able or willing to produce detailed exact numbers of its holdings. It reported 9,151 unspecified items (probably either cylinders or distinct recordings), 9,266 cylinders (positives), 4,045 galvanos (negatives) and 696 discs, but it is unclear if these numbers include duplicates (same recordings counted several times). The Bucharest collection, decimated by the 1940 earthquake, in 1949 became part of IEF.

as contexts in which I trace uses of ethnomusicological knowledge, showing how the interaction between state and ethnomusicology plays out. Questions that relate to this interaction are: Why does the state pay for ethnomusicological research? What is the interest of the state? How do ethnomusicologists react faced with this political interest and how does the knowledge they produce change as a result of this interaction? What are the concrete effects of this interaction for cultural politics of folk music? Given my interest in these questions, this work might also be considered a historical case study in applied ethnomusicology.

Thirdly, this work is a *methodological* experiment insofar as it applies various concepts from Michael Foucault. I draw mainly from his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, but also use the concepts from his governmentality studies (Foucault 2007, Foucault 2008) in order to tackle the problems outlined above. To be sure, it would have been possible to tackle these questions without mentioning Foucault (or any other theoretical writer). However, I insist on discussing methodology for three reasons: I want to make explicit *why* I do what I do, I want to locate what I do in traditions of research, and I want to further the use of social theory, and more specifically of Foucault's concepts, in ethnomusicology. While for many decades ethnomusicology has been influenced by cultural anthropology, for the last twenty years or so it has gravitated towards social theory, perhaps mimicking a similar move in parts of cultural anthropology. The frequent citation of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, Gilles Deleuze and others in some parts of the ethnomusicological literature are a testament to this influence. As I show later in this chapter, I attempt to take this development one step further and make it useful for the historiography of ethnomusicology and for writing social histories of cultural policy, areas in which Foucault has been used by ethnomusicologists since the 1990s (see my section 2.1 for a brief literature review).

Just as people can have multiple identities, so apparently can dissertations. On the few preceding pages, I referred to this work as a contribution to the history of ethnomusicology, a historical study in applied ethnomusicology that relates ethnomusicology to cultural politics, and a social history that emphasizes the production of ethnomusicological knowledge within a socialist state.

1.3 Motivation

I first traveled to Romania after attending an ethnomusicological conference on change in South East Europe in 1997 (Reuer 1999). During my first trip to Bucharest in the fall of the same year, I was not overly fascinated by the music I encountered there. Indeed, there was very little folk music on my trip. My guide, a musicology student, had little knowledge of and even less interest in Romanian folk music (or any other traditional music), an attitude which seems wide-spread among intellectuals since the socialist period (cf. Rădulescu 1997:8). Mostly I was fascinated by how things could be both so familiar and so new at the same time, although I was only a few hours by plane away from my home in Cologne, Germany. The omnipresent commercials and the products of a global commodity culture were certainly familiar, yet supermarkets were still presented to me as recent achievements. At the time, Romanians could travel internationally relatively easily if they had enough money, and hence they often did not. Romania felt almost as

isolated from the rest of the world, as I imagine it had been during the more liberal periods of socialism. I could never figure out why living in Bucharest in the late 1990s reminded me of my childhood around 1980 in an industrial part of West Germany, but the association of travelling to my childhood when arriving in Bucharest has never left me.

In 1997 I also visited the IEF for first time. At that time, it was hidden behind a stone wall with a locked metal door. No plaque informed the visitor what was behind this obstacle. Marin Marian Bălașa, at the time coordinator of the ethnomusicology department at the IEF, gave me Alexandru's English book *Romanian Folk Music*, translated in part by A.L. Lloyd (Alexandru 1980b) and a few other articles he happened to have in English and German. I read Alexandru's book as carefully as I could, but I could not find much of what is described in the book in the real world. Nevertheless, I started to learn Romanian and returned again and again.

In 1999, I spent a semester at a private university in Bucharest (I couldn't afford the high prices the conservatory asked) and took courses in ethnomusicology and folklore with Sabina Ispas, then and now director of the IEF. Since this time, I have wondered how to bring together my personal experience in the field and the knowledge stored in academic texts, which encompasses decades of ethnomusicological scholarship. Obviously, both are concerned with the same reality and yet they seemed to describe very different worlds. This is, of course, a problem that nearly every fieldworker encounters these days, but I felt that at least the older ethnomusicological literature like Merriam's *Anthropology of Music* (Merriam 1964) and Hood's *Ethnomusicologist* (Hood 1971), which I read at the time in my undergraduate courses, did not deal with this phenomenon appropriately.

Although scholars value the knowledge of the people they study, they often do not look systematically at local music research. It seems to me that ethnomusicology, like other anthropological disciplines, has long been working on a reversal of the usual power structures, where "learned knowledge" is privileged in subtle or less subtle ways⁵. However, in the long run this might on occasion have led anthropologists and ethnomusicologists to develop systematic blind spots where we got accustomed to ignore an important part of the knowledge, the locally produced academic knowledge, on the subject matter we study. Viewing academic research as a blind spot is all the more important if we believe that research was and is sometimes involved in the production of its object. Consequently, I developed a growing interest not only in Romanian music, but also in Romanian ethnomusicology as one of the factors that may have shaped what Romanian music actually is today.

To make sense of what Romanian colleagues told me, it was often necessary to know something about political practices and discourses. The fact that in socialist times a scholar was allowed to travel to a conference in the West is enough to know that this scholar must have been "trusted" by the state⁶. Through little clues like this, I was gradually trained to evaluate everything

⁵ Later, I briefly discuss Malinowski's work on the *kula* exchange as an example of this trend.

⁶ To speak of trust is perhaps an overly euphemistic expression for a process which involved observation by the secret police. However, permission to travel outside the country was never an event that was absolutely under the control of the Romanian state, so that an element of trust was involved here.

I read not only in terms of a musical ethnography, but also with relationship to socialist modes of representation.

Another experience was feeling that I was expected – especially by Romanian colleagues – to conduct fieldwork in a Romanian village and transcribe a genre of music that had not yet been described. Obviously, this is what most Romanian ethnomusicologists have done in the past and some still do until this day. The IEF has published dozens of folk music anthologies of this kind and clearly there was and still is a well-defined research agenda which detailed how to do this.

I had the impression that this research agenda was something that was known to virtually every researcher. Yet they often seemed to find it difficult to talk about it, or rather to make explicit the details of this methodology. I began asking myself what this research agenda consisted of and what purposes it fulfilled, especially in relation to the political domain that has shaped much of Romania's history in the twentieth century.⁷

When I started to work for the music archive of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, successor of the Berlin Phonogram Archive, I finally decided to write my dissertation on a Romanian institution, similar to the one I was employed at. For two years I worked in a digital library project that aimed at making the catalogues of traditional music archives, including the IEF and the Berlin archive, more accessible. During this time I enjoyed working together with my colleagues in Bucharest on a daily basis. Working in an archive myself, I became more interested in this kind of institution and the specific powers it has. Although the relevance of archives for ethnomusicology today might be less than in times of comparative musicology and armchair research, archives continue to be places where ethnomusicological research is carried out, where people meet and exchange ideas (Seeger 1986). On a more abstract level, they continue to be institutions that partly control the means of interpretation of the documents they store.

A work that is concerned with uses of ethnomusicological knowledge both in and outside of the academic ivory tower can hardly afford to say nothing on the uses it envisages for itself — even if this invites accusations of naiveté. What I would like to achieve with this work is ultimately, and beyond its narrow academic focus, to build intellectual bridges. Currently, international ethnomusicological conferences rarely feature Romanian topics and Romanian speakers, and conversely, Romanian conferences on music and ethnomusicology rarely have non-Romanian attendees — as I witnessed during the 2005 Colocviile Brăiloiu (The Brăiloiu Colloquium), a bi-annual conference organized by the IEF in Bucharest. This intellectual isolation has a long history and many causes. With this work, I try to build connections between two of those traditions. I apply an ethnomusicological framework, rooted in Merriam's anthropology of

⁷ The writing culture debate in cultural anthropology was largely based on a reflection of an aspect of the anthropologist's activities that had not been discussed in-depth before: the process of writing ethnographies and other texts; hitherto the methodology of the field had focused largely on the production of data in the field and its analysis at home. Considering this example, it seems normal that individual researchers and even the community of researchers at any one time do not reflect all methodological aspects related to one's field. What I observed in Romania, however, felt like a widespread and systematic attempt to avoid methodological discussions (with me). It seemed to be either an effect of my position in the field or of some historical phenomenon: as an interested outsider with comparatively little knowledge of the Romanian tradition of folkloristics, or perhaps the result of limitation of who was allowed to carry a methodological discourse during the socialist era. I have the impression that similar situations where researchers avoid methodological discussion also existed (and perhaps still exist) in the West. It would be interesting to study such occasions comparatively.

music and refined by social theory, to a different kind of ethnomusicology, one which is sometimes described as the study of folk music, one that emphasizes musical structures, one that is preoccupied mostly with a national Own rather than descriptions of Others. If my work is successful, it should reveal something about both sides and help both sides to understand each other.

I deal here with a past that is complex in many ways, not the least morally. It is not my primary intention to judge people for what they did while living in a Stalinist dictatorship.⁸ At the same time, I cannot completely exclude a moral dimension from my considerations. In light of fact that there have been relatively few attempts to come to terms with the socialist past in Romanian music research — although I discuss several exceptions to the general rule below —, my primary focus is to discover facts and not to engage in judgments.

1.4 Structure

This introduction is followed by a methodological chapter which discusses Foucault's archaeological approach as a tool for writing histories of ethnomusicology. Chapters 3 – 5 then constitute my historical analysis. I structure the history of the IEF in phases that follow the Institute's foundation and subsequent reorganizations. These occasions sometimes coincide with a change of directors.

The historical chapters are structured similarly. I briefly outline the general historical and political context before discussing the Institute's activities and significant reorganizations in the respective period. Only in the Chapter 3, the first historical chapter, which covers roughly a century before the foundation of the Institute, is my frame of reference significantly broader. Following this discussion of who did what and when, or a "history of the referent" as Foucault might say, I proceed to a discussion of the discourse produced by ethnomusicologists at the Institute in the relevant time period. I provide an overview of the Institute's ethnomusicological publications in the respective period and then analyze this body of texts using criteria Foucault suggested in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. This archaeological approach usually leads me to discuss political aspects such as the concept of the nation (in Chapter 3) or the way ethnomusicology both served and resisted a socialist agenda (in Chapter 4).

1.5 Traditions

Literature reviews have several functions. They survey the current state of research, but they also provide the opportunity to locate new research in existing research traditions. In this section, I provide an overview of musical ethnography of Romania and the wider Southeast European region, focusing on aspects important for my own topic, cultural politics in particular. For my literature review, I concentrate on ethnomusicological publications; only occasionally, and usually where both Romania and my own research are directly concerned, do I also refer to studies of

⁸ I follow Tismaneanu's thesis (2004:33–34) that Socialist Romania (~1948–89) was largely resistant to political reforms and essentially sustained a Stalinist political system for the complete time span in which it existed.

socialist cultural politics from other disciplines. In my literature review, I also point out what I consider to be basic problems in the existing research and I roughly explain how I plan to tackle those issues.

1.5.1 Musical ethnographies of Southeastern Europe

In this section I provide a broad and relatively superficial overview of ethnomusicological research on Southeastern Europe since the fall of the Iron Curtain. I identify three broad trends for which I specify characteristics and name several examples. While my examples in this section are not comprehensive, I claim that the different approaches I suggest here cover most of the ethnomusicological literature. In the next section I will look in greater detail at the area into which my own research falls.

Part of ethnomusicological research only changed slowly and continued patterns of Cold War scholarship. An example of this trend is Schuursma 1987, a dissertation written at UCLA, which portrays one genre of Romanian traditional music, *colinde* (carols), in the region of Hunedoara in southeastern Transylvania. Characteristic for this approach is the focus on the tradition. In Schuursma's case, the choice of carols as a topic for an ethnomusicological study is not controversial for ethnomusicologists, neither in the West nor in the East, and neither before nor after 1989⁹. Both Nixon's (1998) and Pauța Pieslak's (2007a) account (discussed in section 1.5.4) indicate, that *colinde* (carols) might have been a topic which Romanian cultural politicians would not have liked Schuursma to research. However Schuursma omits political questions almost completely. Except for a single remark in the acknowledgements (Schuursma 1987:vii), she does not discuss how far the musical tradition she studies were influenced by state-run cultural policy bureaucracy and how far her own research in the field was shaped by the constraints imposed on her by the socialist state.

During the Cold War era, music researchers rarely asked political questions, such as in which ways (traditional) music and research on (traditional) music were influenced by the socialist state. There is a small and significant body of literature that defies this characterization, but these are nearly always short and separate publications.

Many of the pre-1989 publications that explicitly deal with politics in socialist states - perhaps not surprisingly - were written by émigré scholars with in-depth, first-hand experience of Socialism, such as Karbusicky 1973 or Giurchescu 1987. Rarely, as in the case of Silverman 1983, analyses of the relationship between politics and folk music were written by Western music scholars. These early political analyses locate specific events, such as socialist festivals with mass participation, or the place of folk music within a broader socialist cultural policy and explain them as propaganda, which in this context is typically understood as a rhetoric invented to manipulate and control the population (similar to the way the term "ideology" is sometimes used in Marxist contexts, i.e. false consciousness). The fact that many of these

⁹ Pieslak (2007a) convincingly shows that *colinde* were a politically controversial repertoire to *perform* in socialist Romania, mostly due to the perceived religious character of the repertoire. However, I believe that the fact that Alexandru 1980b includes a section on *colinde* indicates that it was a less controversial topic to *research* or write about, especially (and this is Pieslak's explanation for the fact that a Romanian ensemble was allowed to perform *colinde* outside the country), if this research was aimed at a Western audience, as in Schuursma's work.

publications are short articles, which are seldom published in ethnomusicological journals or edited volumes with a focus on ethnomusicology, and the fact that these discussions are not found in dissertations at the time (for example Rice 1977 or Schuurisma 1987) illustrates that politics were not a normal or easy theme to write or publish about for ethnomusicologists before 1989. The few publications with a political focus were easy to ignore for those scholars who chose to do so.¹⁰ Even authors who later published remarkable analyses of the political entanglement of folk music and its research, such as Timothy Rice, remained mostly silent on politics during the Cold War era. In this sense, politics was not part of the usual canon of ethnomusicological topics, although it was sometimes discussed.¹¹

The second approach that I suggest here is concerned with new musics and musics that are newly researched, both popular and traditional. In this approach I include those forms of music that either did not exist for long before the fall of the Iron Curtain, that transformed radically since then or that were not subject of intensive research before 1989. Examples include Bulgarian wedding music and *chalga* in (e.g. Rice 2002, Kurkela 2007) and *manele* in Romania (e.g. Beissinger 2007). To be sure, these and similar forms of music were not completely new when the Berlin Wall came down. Even in 1989, these "new musics" had a history and many predecessors. Rice, for example, describes the rise of Bulgarian wedding music over the 1980s as one such prehistory (Rice 1994:237–260). Others describe cassette cultures, the importance of a second market in the glasnost era and other pre-1989 developments that encouraged the development of a new set of musics in the 1980s. Various trends from Yugoslavia seem especially important in this context (Rasmussen 1995). Although these trends start well before 1989, relatively little research on this field was published before 1989. After 1989, however, research on these new musics became an essential part of ethnomusicological research not only in the West, but also in the East (e.g. Marian-Bălașa 2002).

Among the musics that were relatively little researched before 1989 are the musics of some minorities, perhaps most notably the Roma in Southeastern Europe. Of course, the musics of Eastern Europe's minorities were not new in 1989, nor were they completely white spots on the "world map of ethnomusicological research"; yet research on these areas was quite limited in comparison with the research after that year. It seems that a surge of new nationalism aggravated the problem in the 1980s, not only in Romania, but also in other countries. The mono-cultural socialist identity politics and the new nationalisms of the 1980s did not make research on the music of minorities completely impossible, but it appears to have limited it thematically.

There is a "prehistory" of research on the music of the Roma and other minorities, both from Eastern and Western scholars and in most if not all countries of Eastern Europe, which predates the political changes from 1989-1991 – sometimes by decades. There were Eastern

¹⁰ One exception to the general absence of politics in ethnomusicological literature before 1989 is Levin 1980. For Uzbekistan, Levin discusses cultural policies concerning traditional music both in relation to Marxist theory and in more practical terms.

¹¹ This is not the place for a full-fledged attempt to explain why politics were largely kept out of ethnomusicological discourse during the Cold War era. Such an explanation would profit from a comparison with other disciplines, including those like anthropology where politics plays a modest role and those where politics is a traditionally a central topic, such as history and political science. Fitzpatrick 2008 offers a similar reflection for her research in history during the Cold War.

researchers who were able to carry out and publish research on Roma and other minorities in spite of a generally unfavorable situation for such research, such as Speranța Rădulescu in Romania (e.g. 1985, 1984b, 1984a). There were also Western scholars who in spite of government restrictions were able to research Roma or other minorities (e.g. Garfias 1984).

One should also mention that socialist cultural policies were not static. Over the decades there were considerable changes in the official minority and identity politics, so that at times it was relatively easy or even required by the state to research the music of minorities, while at other times there were almost insurmountable structural impediments to carrying out and publishing research on the topic.

Nevertheless, a considerable amount of research on the music of minorities pre-dates the political changes of 1989-1991. Before 1989, research was isolated and often shaped directly or indirectly by socialist cultural policy – although this influence was typically not acknowledged before 1989. A retrospective comparison of the post-1989 literature with the older literature on Roma music shows how restricted the latter was. Although Garfias, to name again just one example, presents a more comprehensive overview of Roma dance in Romania than any other Western scholar in his time, his research is based to some degree on the literature available to him in socialist Romania (Garfias 1984). More importantly, his fieldwork was in all likelihood also shaped by the socialist state's cultural policy towards Roma musicians and perhaps by the official discourse on minorities, factors that Garfias - in the fashion of his time - barely acknowledges. As a result his portrayal of Roma and their living conditions in socialist Romania is perhaps slightly too optimistic, highlighting recent improvements of living conditions for Roma under socialism. In contrast, post-1989 research often focuses on phenomena that resisted the "monocultural" identity politics prevalent in earlier times. New research was able to highlight the heterogeneity of minorities and their music in ways unthinkable during the Cold War era (e.g. Rădulescu 2004, Lange 2003). This includes the recognition of different groups in the Roma communities, and a wider range of musics, including popular musics. One of the groupings that became visible in this context were diasporas. Consequently, diasporic Romanian music was no longer treated as either a simple copy of the musical traditions in the homeland or a simple deterioration of traditions practiced in the sending country. Instead, it becomes obvious that diasporas frequently have effects on the musical cultures of those who stay at home (e.g. Sugarman 1997¹²).

The third approach that I would like to distinguish is one that looks at an old object in a novel way: research in this area re-evaluates tradition and reflects not only on how it was handed down over generations, but also on how it was influenced by the socialist state. Tradition here is a wider notion than in the first kind of research since newer research includes the negotiation of tradition, in contrast to the older research where tradition tended to be a monolithic given. Forms of music with a somewhat problematic claim to tradition, which hitherto had been treated mostly as "side-effects" – folk music on stages, in the media, in government-sponsored festivals and competitions – now take center stage in this third approach.

¹² This is not to say that there were no ethnomusicological studies of Southeast European minorities and their music before 1989. One such exception is Silverman's research on "Gypsiness" in the USA (Silverman 1988).

For many decades these new forms of tradition had been acknowledged, but were usually excluded from scholarly investigation – and not only in Eastern Europe. In the 1940s and 1950s, terms like "authenticity" had been applied to make this distinction (e.g. Karpeles 1951) in the West. Other distinctions used to exclude some musics from the tradition and hence from research include "volkstümliche Musik" (cf. Mendívil 2008), which has been particularly influential in German-speaking musicological discourse.

In Eastern Europe a similar discursive mechanism existed. Conceptual categories such as "authenticity" and "purity" became an important way to negotiate folk music. Politicians used these categories to promote forms of folk music which fit into a socialist world view. A relatively small body of often ignored scholarly literature from the socialist period studies these new forms of tradition, but by and large these musics only gained wider attention from scholars after 1989. Again there are a few exceptions to this rule, such as Silverman's article (Silverman 1983), which in many ways anticipates post-1989 research.

After 1989 a series of publications focuses on this area of "new traditions" – sometimes also referred as "neotraditional" music (e.g. Rice 2001:25) – together with the government policies which often stipulated and sustained them. The earliest in-depth ethnomusicological study of this type that I was able to locate is Donna Buchanan's dissertation, completed in 1991 at the University of Texas (Buchanan 1991). Other examples for these new studies include Rice 1994, Levin 1996, Lange 1996, and Beckerman 1996.

It seems that by the time of the publication of the edited volume *Retuning Cultures* (Slobin 1996) in 1996 the new paradigm had already acquired a dominant position, at least in Western discourse.¹³ Other publications followed the newly established paradigm (e.g. Reuer 1994, Reuer 1999).

A characteristic feature for the new paradigm was the attempt to locate how different traditions relate to each other: folk music produced in a rural context is here only one among many traditions. In other words: Only by looking at musics whose status as tradition was contentious did antagonistic conceptions of tradition come to light. In this process the term "folk music" re-enters scholarship. In Western discourse the term was considered problematic and had widely been discarded as an analytic tool of ethnomusicology. It now came back, mostly not as a general analytic term, but as one that was negotiated in local discourses, an emic term, if you will. Rice in (1994:242), for example, prefers the Bulgarian equivalent *narodna muzika*, presumably to signal that this term is one used in local discourse.

Compared to the dominant mode of ethnomusicological scholarship during the Cold War, the new studies also changed their apolitical perspective and included politics as one factor shaping music and its research.¹⁴ As a consequence the new studies look at the history of socialist

¹³ If this is true one could ask if the new research paradigm was a form of colonization: if Western scholars imposed a certain point of view on their Eastern counterparts using their position of economic power and ideological confidence over colleagues who in many cases were economically impoverished by the transformations in their countries and who had to adapt to a rapidly changing ideological environment. This interesting question, however, is not part of my work here.

¹⁴ The new publications often also include a reflexive stance: scholarship is seen here in relation to the researcher carrying out the research. Rice 1994 excels in this respect. This reflexivity is not specific to research on Eastern Europe, but exemplifies a larger trend and has since become a standard feature of ethnomusicological writing. I

cultural policy and focus especially on the 20th century, which saw both the implementation of socialist policies and their demise. In this context, the state and its official cultural policy towards folk music became an integral part of the new scholarship. One may regard this move away from tradition to other more popular forms of music as a parallel to urban studies in other areas of ethnomusicology.

Since this third approach in music research seems only possible after 1989, and since it intensively reflects the effects of socialist policies on music, folklore and to some degree on music research, I refer to this branch of research as postsocialist.

Postsocialism seems to be one of the terms that elude an unambiguous definition and yet keeps being used. In the edited volume entitled *Postsocialism* (Hann 2002), anthropologists Chris Hann, Caroline Humphrey and Katherine Verdery discuss possible uses of the term without offering a proper definition. For the three authors, postsocialism implies a continuity or legacy of the "actually existing socialism" (Humphrey quoting Rudolf Bahro in Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery 2002:12) after the demise of corresponding political systems (Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery 2002:1). Likewise, I suggest referring to research that looks for a legacy of the socialist period in music and music research as postsocialist. As cultural anthropologists, Haan, Humphrey and Verdery apply the term "postsocialism" to various aspects of culture including economy, agriculture, identity and their own research. In contrast, I use the term primarily to characterize only a tiny part of this vast domain: music research that is carried out after the end of the Cold War, especially when it is concerned with socialism's legacy. Humphrey (Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery 2002:12–13) emphasizes the value of postsocialism as a comparative framework that allows one to make comparisons between various countries with a socialist past and present. Likewise my usage of the term postsocialism lends itself to such comparisons, although they are not the object of this work.

A PARADIGM SHIFT

In this section, I suggested a general scheme, which arranges ethnomusicological research on Eastern Europe since the fall of the Iron Curtain thematically in three groups. I have shown that in two of these areas significant and rapid change occurred around the same time as the political systems in the region changed (roughly 1989 - 1991). Although neither the topics nor the ways in which they were discussed were completely new, the effects of this development amount to a radical change in ethnomusicological discourse, one that merits being called a paradigm shift: The most pressing questions had changed dramatically in a short period of time and there was no logical progress from the old paradigm that lead to the new paradigm; neither was there a continuous accumulation of knowledge in the old paradigm that explains the transition.

I do not argue that the postsocialist paradigm had no predecessors in the Cold War period. Rather, the process I describe is one where the side issues of Cold War research took the center stage in postsocialist research and were treated more comprehensively. This process resembles scientific revolutions like Mendel's postulations of the laws of inheritance or Alfred Wegener's

mention it here only because reflecting the observer mirrors the reflection of state policies as a factor affecting musics and traditions.

anticipation of continental drift (cf. Frankel 2012), where new "knowledge" had existed decades before it was accepted by the scientific community.

Even without a proper investigation into the reasons that enabled this rapid change and without a deeper analysis of the discursive changes in related disciplines – topics that fall outside the scope of this study –, one can see that the conditions under which ethnomusicological research was carried out and the political constraints that influenced research changed dramatically at the end of the Cold War – in both the East and West.¹⁵ As a result, researchers of music in both the East and the West discussed and researched a wider range of topics.¹⁶

I have identified the inclusion of politics and especially the domain of cultural policy into music research, as well as a less monolithic and normative understanding of tradition (i.e. one in which ethnomusicologists refrain from judging music as authentic) as two of the more obvious characteristics of the postsocialist paradigm. In the next section, I will review postsocialist studies in greater detail, especially those that are thematically and geographically closest to my own work. Hence my focus continues to be on Southeastern Europe and the socialist era, less on the "transition"¹⁷ period of the 1990s.

1.5.2 Politics of folklore

The betterment of the masses in every aspect of life – economic conditions, health, education, and culture – became the primary *raison d'être* of the [socialist] state (Rice 1994:28)

I have already outlined some of the more obvious characteristics of what I call the postsocialist paradigm. Yet it is still not clear how ethnomusicologists have analyzed politics and what they have described as the main features of a socialist cultural policy. To fill this gap, I will discuss three example studies in greater depth in this section. To concentrate on a few examples rather than to attempt a broad overview of everything that has been written on this topic promises to

¹⁵ I have the impression that one feature of Cold War discourse was a politicization of musical discourse – not only in the East, but also in the West (cf. Fitzpatrick 2008). During the Cold War era the use of Marxist theory in literary criticism or musical theory, for example, seems to have been difficult or contentious in the West, especially for more conservative scholars. Conversely, scholars drawing on Marxist ideas used to be automatically classified as politically left. Examples would be the literary critic Frederic Jameson or Benedict Anderson. Since the end of the Cold War such simple associations have largely been abandoned. The use of Marxist theory or some of its elements is no longer enough to classify a Western scholar as leftist and, correspondingly, one finds Marxist ideas discussed by a variety of scholars and on a wider basis, including ethnomusicologists (e.g. Rice 1996). It would be interesting to study Cold War political restrictions in Western ethnomusicological discourse in greater detail. However, such an interest falls outside of this work.

¹⁶ My main concern in this work is the history of Romanian ethnomusicology and not a more general ethnomusicological history. A more general history should ask in what way the postsocialist paradigm was influenced by other developments inside ethnomusicology and other disciplines. From my point of view, it seems that the fact that ethnomusicologists increasingly investigated popular musics in the 1980s paved the way for the postsocialist paradigm, which looked not only at established traditions, but also at new traditions and popular music. I have the impression that the postsocialist paradigm took over methodological ideas from other ethnomusicologists who studied popular music, a process that might not be obvious or openly acknowledged. Another trend seems to be the reception of the writing culture debate in cultural anthropology in the 1990s, which is discussed prominently in several 1990s musical ethnographies of Europe, such as Rice 1994 and Sugarman 1997.

¹⁷ I put this term in quotation marks to distance myself from it. The concept of transition has been criticized – especially from an anthropological perspective – for its quasi-colonial undertones (Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery 2002:1, 74). I use it here since it refers not only to the period after the Cold War, but also to the obsession with this term in the same period.

yield a better understanding of foundational issues –something one might call "the big picture" – at the cost of detail and completeness. This perspective also facilitates a comparative perspective, where cultural policies of different socialist countries can be regarded in parallel. To combat a possible lack of completeness, I will tackle the literature on Romania in greater depth in the next section of this literature review.

Two of the publications I discuss here are from the 1980s (Silverman 1983, Giurchescu 1987). They are among the relatively rare examples in which ethnomusicologists explicitly discussed politics and the socialist state's policies towards folk traditions in this decade. I regard them as forerunners of the postsocialist paradigm. It might not be accidental that both articles appeared outside of ethnomusicological publications.¹⁸

In an article from 1983, the US-American ethnomusicologist Carol Silverman discusses the Bulgarian state's policies towards folklore and some of the ways in which both staged folklore and folklore research served the interests of the state in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Silverman 1983). Silverman suggests the expression "government-sponsored folklore" (Silverman 1983:55) to refer to folklore under the state's tutelage.

The Romanian ethnochoreologist and ethnomusicologist Anca Giurchescu analyzes how the festival and competition *Cântarea României* ("Song to Romania")¹⁹ functioned as an instrument of Ceaușescu's politics in Romania in the mid-1980s. From 1976 until the end of Ceaușescu's regime, *Cântarea României* was a series of regional, local and national competitions which led up to a biannual mass event. Each year literally millions of Romanians participated in *Cântarea României*, showcasing the diversity of cultural activities in socialist Romania. As such, the competition was not limited to folk music and dance, but included many other activities and genres, such as rock music. Giurchescu's article was written several years after she emigrated from Romania.

Giurchescu differentiates grassroots activities, which she refers to as "living folklore," from the "folklorism" (in quotation marks, Giurchescu 1987:169) of the state. She describes the latter as the result of "selection, reinterpretation and adaptation" by "decision-makers"(Giurchescu 1987:169).

One can argue that Giurchescu implies here an inappropriate value judgment between living folklore as a "true" expression of the people and manufactured state "folklorism" as a merely artificial construct that exclusively serves the state's interests. But such criticism would likely overlook the fact that Giurchescu also makes a more subtle and less normative distinction between folklore as a grassroots activity from below in contrast to similar activities steered from above.

In his ethnography, Rice (1994) uses the life histories of one musician, Kostadin Varimezov, and his family to trace musical, social, cultural and political changes covering the period from the 1920s to the 1980s. Although he often avoids the word "politics", Rice discusses

¹⁸ Even beyond the geographical context of Eastern Europe, political topics are rare in the ethnomusicological literature before 1989. It might not be a coincidence that Bohlman's article *Musicology as a Political Act* (Bohlman 1993) was published only after 1989.

¹⁹ "Cântarea României" was the official spelling in Ceaușescu's Romania; today the festival is spelled "Cântarea României".

it as a "conflict of tradition and modernity" (Rice 1994:18), identifying tradition with rural villages and modernity with the "awesome power of Communist ideology and practice" (Rice 1994:18–19) and the folklore practices promoted by the socialist state. In fact, Rice does more with politics than he himself admits: he shows how the socialist state's understanding of tradition and modernity transforms nearly all areas of folk music, effectively creating a new tradition. Rice uses yet a different wording to refer to essentially the same area as Silverman and Giurchescu. He prefers labels from Bulgarian discourse, such as "arranged folklore" (as a translation of "obroten folklor") and "new 'traditions'" (Rice 1994:28), a phrase that - except for the quotation marks - could also have been used by socialist politicians.

Although the three studies focus on three different topics in two different countries and cover slightly different although overlapping time spans, they share a common interest in the folklore supported by the socialist states. The state – in the form of its institutions and officials, its policies and their implementation - becomes here, consciously and perhaps inevitably, the object of ethnomusicological investigation:

Changing the unit of analysis from the village to the state and studying how music lives in a large-scale contemporary society provides a necessary adjunct to the village as a social unit supporting music. (Rice 1994:28)

The state is an abstract unit, which does not act in itself. Strictly speaking only individuals act. The state's actions are mediated through its institutions and ultimately carried out by people. If I refer in the following chapters to the state as an actor, then this is simply as shorthand to avoid longer formulations and the repeated reference to the state's institutions, its officials, bureaucrats, etc.

The three studies not only choose similar objects, they also agree in many of their more general observations. In other words: they agree on the basic features of socialist cultural policy towards folklore and folk music. Firstly, they insist that the folklore of the state differs significantly from the older rural folklore. The state creates new institutions that affect or regulate folk music in one way or another. Among the most visible new institutions in Bulgaria (and elsewhere) are folk orchestras and other large ensembles, such as choirs, which more or less follow the Soviet examples.²⁰ Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice discuss events such as folk music festivals, competitions organized by state institutions. Rice also discusses educational institutions such as a high school and a conservatory specializing in folk music.²¹ Music is produced here in contexts that are more or less new: on stages instead of the village square, in the city instead of the village, in the media instead of impromptu performances at home, and it is taught in newly created state institutions.

If one looks more closely at the chronology of events, as does Buchanan (2006:138–139), one has to realize that none of these new contexts appeared only after World War II, but instead had already been created several decades earlier. An example would be folk music on stages and

²⁰ If one compares Buchanan 2006:138 and Rice, the extent of the Soviet influence on new ensemble types appears to be debated. Rice explicitly regards "large Soviet folkloric companies such as the Moiseev [Moiseyev] ballet and the Piatnisky chorus" as a model for Kutev's ensemble (Rice 1994:176) while Buchanan after interviews with Kutev's widow emphasizes his creativity independent of Soviet models (cf. Shay 2002:57–67)

²¹ See Buchanan 1995 for a survey of these institutions.

the radio. It seems that these new contexts were never systematically considered traditional before socialist cultural policy promoted them as traditional. Perhaps this is also the reason why in retrospect these new contexts are often associated with the Soviet era and much less with earlier decades.

For Silverman, for instance, the professional folk music and dance ensembles, such as the one founded in 1951 by Filip Kutev, "did not play village music [...] from the beginning [...], but instead, a new Westernized form of Bulgarian folk music" (Silverman 1983:58). Interestingly enough, the development of Kutev's ensemble is portrayed here not as a musical practice that began with rural origins and increasingly moved away from these patterns, but as one which since its first days combined rural elements with concepts and practices from Western art music.

Rice basically agrees with this observation, writing about Kutev's ensemble (and other orchestras that followed the same pattern):

Simply put, the aesthetics of the stage and of classically trained musicians dominated the performances of the ensembles. Retaining certain important elements of folk tradition but ripping them out of their original context and tearing apart their formal structure, choreographers, composers, and conductors recombined them into a performance style supposedly sensible to an urban, educated audience. (Rice 1994:176)

One of the ways in which the new government-sponsored folklore deviated from its rural predecessors was that parts were often played by many musicians, leveling out individual differences. Silverman mentions examples where 100 bagpipers played in unison what used to be played by a single musician, and she interprets the state's intent behind this practice as creating "symbols of the political and cultural harmony of the nation, [reinforcing] the image of workers' unity" (Silverman 1983:58).

Another obvious and often mentioned difference between the older, rural folklore and the folklore of the socialist state is that practices that appeared too religious were prohibited or actively suppressed. Rice, for example, discusses reports of rituals being forbidden and suppressed by state officials, a practice that seems to have happened especially in the early days socialist rule in Bulgaria (Rice 1994:171–172).

On the whole, the picture that emerges indicates that state-sponsored folklore not only produced a new type of folklore and favored new performance contexts, but also that the socialist state had a tendency to replace old folklore with new incarnations. Exemplifying this trend, Silverman and Rice discuss examples where popular rituals are turned into state-organized festivals. Giurchescu discusses a state-run festival which, in its unsurpassable megalomaniacal ambitions, tended to soak up virtually all forms of cultural activities in state institutions in the whole country. Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice describe here the socialist state's tendency to bring all forms of folklore, especially those which reach a wide audience (i.e. through the mass media), under the influence, if not control, of the state:

In [...] Sofia [...] the Party and its organs of propaganda began to move into all aspects of the nation's life, including education and culture. Radio in particular and later television became organs of Party propaganda, and the state record company, Balkanton [...] became the sole source for recorded music, its production adhering to the Party line. (Rice 1994:174)

Although the term "colonial" is not used in this context, the process that is described here is reminiscent of colonialism with the state using the force of an empire in the attempt of carrying its

message into most areas of the periphery. More specifically, the state shows its tendency to replace all old forms of folklore with new forms under its control²².

Another prominent feature of socialist cultural policy is that it is organized in a top-down fashion. Politicians not only decide in which direction culture and the arts should go, they also freely admit that they do so:

The purpose of Bulgarian cultural policy is not to preserve tradition on the level it has been, but to direct it to such a course of development, which will bring it in harmony with contemporary cultural needs (Todor Todorov quoted by Silverman 1983:60).

Similarly, Giurchescu quotes an unnamed Romanian official:

[T]he leadership and guidance given by our Party to the arts is a necessary imperative, meant to ensure that the arts and literature in our country serve the cause of socialism and progress" (as quoted by Giurchescu 1987:166)

The fact that Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice comment on this feature of socialist cultural policy extensively may be motivated by the fact that it constitutes a reversal of the principles they are used to. This top-down structure, which Silverman describes as "directed innovation" and Rice refers to as a "command and control" system (Rice 1994:183), implies that the state and its officials lead, steer, direct and manage the arts and culture in general. In effect, the state essentially selected what was performed as folklore in the public. This top-down structure contradicts the principle of artistic freedom valued in the West or, in more precise terms, the relative autonomy in which artists in the spirit of *L'art pour l'art* set their own agendas (cf. Bourdieu 1984).

Although virtually every ethnomusicologist writing about socialist cultural policy emphasized this principle, hardly any ever even attempt to outline the actual decision making process on the side of the state bureaucracy: who actually makes which decision, and who enforces it? Giurchescu, for example, simply speaks of "decision-makers" (Giurchescu 1987:169). How the system works is often conveyed by telling anecdotes from fieldwork rather than in abstract terms. An example is Rice recounting one of his first encounters with cultural officials in Bulgaria in the 1960s. After Rice had attended a wedding, an official told him that there was no folklore in that region, exemplifying the discrepancy between the normative decrees of officials and bureaucrats attempting to make the world fit an ideology and the reality on the ground (Rice 1994:16–18).

So ethnomusicological literature more or less agrees on what I have termed the essential features of socialist cultural policy: on the one hand, the fact that the state supports a new kind of folklore, which tends to replace old folklore in a colonial manner with a new "tradition" created to exemplify more general socialist convictions, and on the other hand the top-down structure with which this policy is implemented.

As Silverman's, Giurchescu's and Rice's studies illustrate, ethnomusicological literature also more or less agrees on some of the more evident mechanisms used to create this system of cultural policy. Folklore, and in fact culture as a whole, is being increasingly institutionalized and as such

²² Verdery observes that a number of countries "were under a form of colonial domination" originating from the Soviet Union and suggests to apply a postcolonial perspective in postsocialist research (in Hann 2002:15).

brought under the state's influence and control. In the literature on Bulgaria, large ensembles are the prime examples of new organizations – probably because they later attracted international attention. Other often discussed examples are festivals and competitions, which are nearly always organized by the state, its institutions and employees (Rice 1994:250–255). Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice describe juries that include government officials so that, in effect, the state can ensure what happens on the country's stages complies with official policies.

It is somewhat surprising that the three authors – in contrast to later studies - do not use the term "censorship". Perhaps they reserve the term for publications (compositions, journalism and research). That is in fact the context in which Rădulescu (1997) and Buchanan (2006) describe censorship. Or perhaps these authors reserve "censorship" for a selection that happens before the performance or publication, while juries select after performances. The effect of systematic and large-scale selection in a network of repeated jury decisions as described in the literature, however, is nearly the same: The state basically controls what happens on all folklore stages. Its control is less complete where the audience is small (at home, in other private contexts, in local competitions) and more effective where bigger audiences are concerned (in national competitions, important festivals, in the media etc.). Correspondingly, Rice argues that the socialist state effectively had a monopoly over folk music (Rice 1994:238–240).

Silverman and Rice also explicitly discuss discursive mechanisms of control, such as notions of "authenticity" and "purity," which were used to select those performances that complied with the state's ideals:

It is clear that the folklore presented at festivals is carefully screened. "Purity" and "authenticity" turn out to mean conformity to a unified image of Bulgarian folklore. (Silverman 1983:57)

Silverman comments here on a specific case: the exclusion of minorities and their folklore from festivals she saw during her stay in Bulgaria in the 1980s. But the use of "authenticity" and "purity" seems to be the same in other areas of state folklore, usually selecting performances that comply with official policy and excluding everything else. Rice discusses a festival in 1988 where virtuosic performances were referred to as "aggressive" and others were called "authentic" (Rice 1994:250–255). With the top-down structure and its exclusive monopolistic position in matters of culture, the state can set criteria for what is considered authentic and it does so to enforce other policies, such as that of a national Bulgarian identity and ethnic unity, in this case.

These are what I perceive as the more obvious mechanisms that sustain cultural socialist policy as described in ethnomusicological literature. Firstly, there is a fairly comprehensive network of state institutions that oversees the production of folk music. This institutional network is typically structured in a centralist and strictly hierarchical way. Secondly, these institutions facilitate a censorship-like selection, which ensures that folklore on the country's stages and in the media in general complies with official policies. State control of folklore was not in each and every instance total, as examples in Nixon 1998 and Pieslak 2007a illustrate. Both authors describe instances where the audiences were able to express and display rejections of official policies. But in both cases, these instances take place either in the privacy of the home or at folklore festivals in the countryside without particular importance. It seems that socialist states

tended to emphasize their control and ideological oversight in instances where large audiences were concerned, such as important festivals and the media.

Ethnomusicological literature agrees not only on these basic mechanisms of socialist cultural policy, but also on the objectives behind these policies – at least in very broad terms. To some extent, Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice treat folklore as a tool the state uses to govern the population. Silverman, for example, explicitly refers to "folklore as a tool" when summarizing her main argument (Silverman 1983:55, 56). Although this perspective is less important for Rice, he occasionally uses similar formulations, for example when discussing "the conscious use of music as an *ideological tool* by the Communists" (emphasis MM, Rice 1994:170). For a lack of a better word, I want to call this perspective an instrumentalist one. The basic assumption here is that the state uses culture - or "parts" of culture, such as folk music -, for specific purposes (i.e. as instruments) to reinforce its power. In other words: the state uses folklore to govern its population or to accumulate credibility. This instrumentalist perspective implies that research should unravel these purposes.

If one attempts to abstract from the variety of different examples and the range of analytic terms and different arguments, it seems that ethnomusicologists often show that socialist states attempt to use folklore and folk music to create legitimation for the current form of government or the specific government. The policy area that is arguably most discussed by ethnomusicologists in this context is that of identity. In the case of Eastern Europe during the socialist period, that identity nearly always meant an ethnically construed nation state²³. As one of her examples Silverman discusses Bulgarian folklore research, which for her substantiates political claims that the Yugoslavian region of Macedonia belongs in fact to Bulgaria.²⁴ The implication here is that research can be aligned with official policies and possibly be controlled, just like the practical sphere of folklore in the state institutions. She encourages a view here of research as *nothing but* an instrument in the hands of the government.

Another of Silverman's example concerns folklore practices on stage. She finds that the representation of minorities on stage is not encouraged, but even systematically suppressed or at least significantly concealed, attributing this situation to a policy of ethnic unity. Silverman does not explicitly explain how ethnic unity serves the interest of the state, but she does argue that the "folklore [...] has served as a tool of patriotic education" (Silverman 1983:56).

In a similar fashion, Giurchescu argues that the *Cântarea României* festival was meant to appeal to an existing national sentiment (Giurchescu 1987:169). As in other cases, Ceaușescu's Romania encouraged interpretations of folklore as a symbol that placed this particular incarnation of the Romanian state in the tradition of the nation and a larger national history. Ultimately, Giurchescu suggests the festival served a legitimizing strategy: socialist Romania wanted to appear as the modern-day version of the national project and to profit from the national sentiment that many Romanians felt and feel. Giurchescu sees a similar message in the so-called "living

²³ Of course, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were construed as multinational states and pursued a different official political argument; a national component nevertheless played an important role even in these contexts.

²⁴ In doing so, Silverman suggests an argument that is analogous to Verdery's research on Romania where she shows a tradition of intellectuals supporting the state's interest (see my discussion of Verdery below).

pictures," where large groups of people are ordered by the colors they wear so that a distant observer perceives an image (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Living picture from Cântarea României 1986



The inscription reads "epoca de glorie" (era of glory), referring to the era of Ceaușescu's rule. Source: <http://www.adevarul.ro>.

These "living images" were part of gigantic stadium spectacles that occurred at the end of the biannual finals of *Cântarea României*. Giurchescu describes images where people formed the slogan "Foundations of the Ceausescu era" (Ctitorii ale epocii Ceausescu, Giurchescu 1987:165). The intended political message here is clear: the people support their current government, even with their bodies. Giurchescu analyzes visual imagery to make explicit something I would describe as a visual attempt at legitimization by the Romanian state. Rice agrees with the basic argument:

The Communists adopted the strategy of allying themselves with and emphasizing Bulgaria's national aspirations as a way of bolstering popular support, their overwhelming concern with the defense of Bulgarian culture a way of co-opting an emotional issue for their own benefit. (Rice 1994:181)

Rice also explicitly asks the instrumentalist question: "Why did the Bulgarian state under Communism support art and particularly folk art so strongly?" (Rice 1994:180). He suggests a three-part answer. Firstly, Rice emphasizes the divide between an urban élite and a less educated rural class of peasants:

The class divisions of the pre-Communist period, expressed in rather separate musical traditions in towns and villages, would be overcome by, among other things, having the urban elite take the songs of the peasants, arrange/improve [*obrabotva*] them, and have them sung back to them in a new improved, 'progressive' form. (Rice 1994:181)

Rice stresses the potential of rural culture such as folklore and specifically folk music to bridge a class divide, especially in the hybrid form of the new tradition favored by the Bulgarian state. Secondly, Rice highlights the importance of education in the socialist plan to build a new, classless society:

Socialist ideology required support of 'spiritual development' [*dushevno razvitiie*]. The Communists dedicated themselves to raising the educational and cultural level of the entire population, that is, of all classes. (Rice 1994:182)

Thirdly, Rice points to an aesthetic dimension of socialist modernity:

The new society would be a prettier and happier place than the old one, and the creation of professional folk ensembles to present beautiful and 'clean,' disciplined performances of folk music and dance became an important part of the program of the Party (Rice 1994:182).

If one compares his answers with the approach of Silverman and Giurchescu, they are clearly different. Rice does not deny that socialist cultural policy relied on mechanisms of control, but he is less interested in answering the instrumentalist question to highlight folklore as means of the state controlling its population. Instead he summarizes the state's official objectives and hence the legitimization for its cultural policies. One could argue that what Rice does here is what every anthropologist should do: he takes his informant – in this case the Bulgarian state – seriously and elaborates his "subject's" perception. Simply put, Rice describes the state's position from an emic or insider perspective.

Rice's methodology is not radically different from those of Silverman and Giurchescu, who also analyze the official discourse and official symbols without reducing them to pure ideology as propaganda or false consciousness. Rice is more comprehensive and does not shy away from summarizing a position so abstract that it is not specific for folk music or even music in general, but instead concerns core elements of a Marxist view of culture. He thereby formulates a rationalization (to use a Foucauldian term) of state cultural policy from the state's perspective.

To some extent Silverman, Giurchescu and Rice discuss the reactions of the population to official policies, but only Rice – writing a full-length ethnography instead of a short article and also having the advantage of writing after the end of the socialist state – has the data to back up a credible and differentiated account. Giurchescu, for example, observes that the extensive exposure of *Cântarea României* in the official mass media resulted in the audience's fatigue with that topic (Giurchescu 1987:166). She also argues that in the mid-1980s the discrepancy between the official appraisals of socialism's achievements and its apparent economic failure were difficult to overlook (Giurchescu 1987:163). Likewise she argues that Romanians did not believe in the official propaganda even if they participated in *Cântarea României* (Giurchescu 1987:165). These statements are not backed up by concrete fieldwork data – and for quite understandable reasons: returning to Romania during Ceaușescu's rule would have meant mortal peril for her. Nevertheless, her observations do not distinguish between different groups of the population. It seems unlikely that everybody had exactly the same standpoint.

In contrast, Rice profits not only from more extensive treatment, but also from his biographical perspective. The focus on individuals encourages him to distinguish different people who deal with the state differently:

Through the agency of particular individuals, the state preserved, supported, used, consumed, and changed it [the tradition] – and from some points of view ruined it. But a musical tradition cannot be accounted for completely by reference to its contemporary supporting mechanism. Music making has a history and is located in individuals and performance contexts not entirely under the control of the state. The interaction of music and folklore with the state and its mechanisms was not the only thing happening in a socialist society, even one as tightly controlled as Bulgaria's was during the forty-five years of Communist rule. (Rice 1994:29)

Rice mainly focuses on the perspective of his protagonist, Kostadin Varimezov, on the one hand, and the Bulgarian state on the other, but he also discusses the reception of state-supported folklore by other people. Varimezov seems generally to support the folklore of the state, which made him a professional and even a famous musician, although he opposes some musical tendencies too far removed from the village folk music he grew up with. Rice reports how Varimezov's sons stopped playing the *gaida* (bagpipe) because their class mates ridiculed them for such a backward hobby (Rice 1994:220). Clearly, these anecdotes signal that the rural/urban class differences continued to exist in spite of political efforts to eliminate this barrier.²⁵

On the whole, Rice conveys the impression that although folk orchestras and other new traditions were never accepted by the whole population, this music was implemented in the late 1940s and early 1950s and did find a large audience. Only in the 1980s, with the rise of Bulgarian wedding music as an alternative model to the hegemonic state folklore, did a serious challenge arise.

The contrast between the individual and the state also encourages Rice to look for moments of resistance where individuals struggle against the hegemony of the state, a topos that runs through postsocialist research like a leitmotif.

To illustrate wide-spread skepticism against the government's cultural policies, Rice recounts a joke that ridiculed the ignorance of party hacks in cultural matters (Rice 1994:175). The joke exemplifies that musicians and other educated people generally questioned the party's leadership in the cultural domain. Although a government-critical joke could have had serious consequences, as Kundera's novel *The Joke* shows – albeit in the fictional domain²⁶ –, a joke is a comparatively weak form of resistance against a strong state. Yet in a situation where many people had little means to resist the power of the state, the power of jokes is well worth accounting for.

Kostadin Varimezov's decision to form a small ensemble in which he was able to circumvent the influence of conductors, arrangers and composers to some extent can also be seen as a mild form of resistance. Rice argues that the freedom Varimezov gained in his small ensemble was relative. To record and ensure the publication of recordings, they needed to collaborate with composers and arrangers again. Still, Varimezov felt that the ensemble recordings featured a more individualistic music that resembled music in the village more than that of folk music orchestras.

For the 1980s, Rice suggests that an alternative to the folk music of the state developed in the domain of wedding music. In contrast to the state's folk music, wedding music is characterized by new musical instruments such as the saxophone, new recording technology and sound equipment, an expanded repertoire, and a growth in virtuosity through the borrowing of techniques from jazz and other forms of popular music, as well as the greater importance of

²⁵ It is Rice who maintains that the main class distinction was between the urban and rural population (and who names these classes accordingly). If contemporary socialist discourse mentioned those two units at all and under which labels is not clear. It is noteworthy that there are other dichotomies, such as the one between traditional and progressive, which opens up a similar divide. These alternative labels have different connotations and imply different set of concepts.

²⁶ See Beckerman's discussion of the *The Joke's* musical dimensions (Beckerman 1996).

improvisation (Rice 1994:242). As in other countries in Eastern Europe, a secondary economy had become more important in Bulgaria by the 1980s so that many Bulgarians spent substantial amounts of money to hire musicians for weddings and other private festivities. This development led to a situation where wedding musicians could earn more money than state-employed musicians, signaling the end of the uncontested state monopoly on folk culture (Rice 1994:240–247).

Rice shows that wedding music was read differently in different contexts, and by no means always in political terms as resistance against a hegemonic state cultural policy. In contrast to the folk music of the state, wedding music favored foreign influences and the musics of Bulgaria's minorities. The rough and virtuosic wedding music was sometimes regarded as the expression of political freedom, and thus the state regarded it as aggressive and possibly even dangerous. "Audiences, always critical, were less and less interested in consuming this product of the state" (Rice 1994:241). Rice describes several attempts of the state apparatus to include and to control the new music, his most elaborate example being the transformation of the Stambolovo festival (Rice 1994:250–255).

Summarizing his observations for three different groups - ensemble musicians like Varimezov, composers and arrangers, and the audience at large - Rice writes:

In the face of totalitarian power and a restricted range of options, musicians and listeners managed to carve out aesthetic niches for themselves that build on their own previous values and maintained a modest sense of dignity and choice. Composers reasserted Western European ideals [...]. Village musicians who turned profession struggled to maintain some sense of connection to their understanding of how *narodna muzika* [folk music] worked among the people and played so effectively on their emotions. And some people turned their backs on – and closed their ears to – people's music, preferring a host of competing styles, ranging from popular, classical, and Gypsy music produced in the country to jazz, rock, and national music from other countries. (Rice 1994:204)

Giurchescu, Silverman and Rice share a common focus on folklore on the state's stages and in the media. But Silverman and Rice also mention the role of research on folklore in general and more specifically on folk music. As mentioned, Silverman implies that folklore research was controlled by the state, just like staged folklore. Rice sometimes quotes scholars, for example when pinpointing nuances in the reception of government policies (as quoted above), but Silverman, Rice, and most other more recent literature all focus on musical practices and not on research as a separate area.

POSTSOCIALIST CULTURAL POLICY ANALYSIS

In my discussion of politics in postsocialist ethnomusicology I highlighted categories that structure many debates on cultural policy – not just in ethnomusicology. Many studies of cultural policy define and distinguish between different areas or levels and look for discrepancies between them. A starting point might be to differentiate between different perspectives on politicking: politics (emphasizing actors and processes), polity (focusing on institutions) and policy (stressing guidelines and contents, cf. Lauth 2010). Another aspect could be to compare intended and actual outcomes of policy measures. For example, Rice compares what he considers to be the state's objectives behind its cultural policy – to create the "new man" and ultimately a classless society – with the outcome of these policies: he finds a slowly changing state-supported folk music system

which perhaps initially contributed to the elimination of some social distinctions, but ultimately did not achieve this goal.

Although a sample of three texts can hardly be representative, I believe the comparison of these three studies exemplifies some greater trends in ethnomusicology and beyond. Firstly, we see a move away from a Cold War type of perspective, which was often framed in moral terms where the other system was automatically portrayed as an enemy. Such a stance is long gone from ethnomusicological research. Silverman and Giurchescu, for instance, already move in this direction during the 1980s by discussing official socialist discourse and offering concrete, detailed case studies instead of across-the-board generalizations. Writing after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Rice goes one step further by analyzing socialist cultural policy goals extensively. This includes a rationalization of socialist policies from the perspective of the socialist state. Rice also attempts a balanced picture that can account for both successes and failures of socialist policies.

Secondly, Rice is able to outline multiple perspectives on arranged folklore: that of musicians like Varimezov versus those of conductors, composers and arrangers, for example. Similarly Rice differentiates among the audiences. Here culture is no longer a homogenous unit; his biographical and his dialogical approaches (Rice 1994:11) lead him to a more detailed perspective.

If one compares Rice's work on Bulgaria with that of others – notably Buchanan's very detail-rich work on related topics (Buchanan 2006), one notices that Rice does not include all perspectives in the same way. As many biographers, he sometimes seems too close to his subject and hence conveys the position of the musician and small ensemble leader Kostadin Varimezov while leaving out other positions. As a result conductors and arrangers appear in Rice 1994 almost across-the-board as little more than toadies who execute the state's policies. This impression probably reflects Varimezov's account, but in reality, of course, people like the arranger, composer and ensemble leader Filip Kutev were individuals who fought their own fights with the hegemonic state power, attempting to carve out their own niches, a fact that Rice 1994, emulating Varimezov's perspective, does not make clear enough.

So what is left to do is to create a more balanced picture which includes the various positions of the major players invested in the folk music, including performers of traditional music and the new tradition (including composers, arranger) and the state. Integrating the various perspectives also means that ideally the big picture should tackle the old Cold War theses: if and how the state used folk music as a means of legitimization, control, instrumentalization.

Another topic that I would like to address is that of comparison. So far ethnomusicologists have looked mostly at individual countries, and comparisons of socialist cultural policy in different countries are rare. Even in this short literature review, I found many parallels in socialist cultural policies, especially in the phase after World War II, but also during glasnost and perestroika. Further research would be necessary to test these hypotheses more systematically. It seems that by and large policies relating to folk music were imported from the Soviet Union soon after the countries of Eastern Europe became Soviet satellites in the 1940s. Even a superficial glance at Soviet cultural policy in Stalin's time shows similar structures: monopolistic and centralistic institutions under tight government control (Groys [1994] 2004, Groys 1992,

Fitzpatrick 1992). Also striking is the focus on large ensembles, like the Moiseyev Ballet (cf. Shay 2002:57–67).

Since my work is concerned with a single Romanian research institution, I will not attempt any formal comparisons with the cultural policy in other socialist countries. However, I will continue to point out possible parallel policies typically in other socialist countries where I am aware of them.

1.5.3 The politics of folk music in socialist Romania

In this section, I review literature dealing specifically with Romania. I look only at the relatively small body of research that since the end of the Cold War has reflected on the politics of folk music and ethnomusicology during the socialist period. In other words: I will look at postsocialist research on Romanian ethnomusicology. I also look at research on composed music where it overlaps with my own research.

In general, this body of research on Romania confirms the findings detailed in the previous section for the region as a whole. For example, Speranța Rădulescu (1997) reflects on her own experience in socialist Romania, and what drove her to become an ethnomusicologist during this time, discussing some more general structures of cultural policy in the process. The text focuses on the 1970s and 1980s and includes the time when Rădulescu worked as an ethnomusicologist at the Institute in Bucharest, then called *Institut de Cercetări Etnologice și Dialectologice* (Institute of Ethnologic and Dialectological Research, IECD). Rădulescu suggests that the Romanian state was generally successful in replacing original folk music with the newly crafted, mass-mediated version it promoted to an extent where only a few ethnomusicologists still knew what real rural folklore was:

With a few exceptions, intellectuals were completely ignorant of the original form of traditional music. All that they knew was the popular music of the media, that is to say a peasant music which was palpably 'improved for the purposes of broadcasting'. (Rădulescu 1997:9)

Like the other texts discussed so far, Rădulescu also describes the judging system, which ensured that only those performers and performances that complied with official policies were awarded and promoted by the state.²⁷

A jury had to include one member of the Securitatea (secret services), one representative of the army and another of the Ministry of Culture and Socialist Education. Theoretically, these were charged with the efficient management of the competition; in practice, they took care that 'convenient' persons won suitable prizes. (Rădulescu 1997:10)

These juries show that ethnomusicology as an academic research discipline was subject to the same cultural policy as the practical sphere of making folk music on stages:

For the problem of political pressures exerted on the traditional musical cultures cannot be dissociated from that of the pressures exercised on ethnomusicology as a science [academic discipline] and implicitly on the intellectual development of people working in it. (Rădulescu 1997:8)

²⁷ In this article Rădulescu does not explain the extent to which she was in a privileged position. For example, she was able to study in Paris and one of her books (1984b) won a prestigious award in Socialist Romania.

Rădulescu identifies the folk music manufactured by the state with the state. For her, this music embodies some of the characteristics she also associates with the socialist state at large:

We [herself and other musicians and intellectuals] felt that it [folklore as transmitted by the radio] was manufactured in the image of our society: planned from the 'centre', ideologically conformist, hopelessly optimistic, noisy, artificial, false. (Rădulescu 1997:8)

An ethnography that reflects on cultural policy towards folk music in Romania is Nixon 1998. The British social anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Paul Nixon carried out fieldwork in Romania in 1979 for about a year, until the Romanian state forced him to suspend it. Nixon suggests that the Romanian secret service later discredited him in the UK as retaliation for not following orders of the Romanian bureaucrats, resulting in the loss of his job. He therefore published his research only after the end of the Ceaușescu regime, a decision that enabled him to go back to Romania and carry out more interviews.

Like many fieldworkers in his time, Nixon was interested in rural folk music, but unlike others he was not willing to ignore the fact that cultural politics were shaping folk music everywhere. His ethnography is centered on the Transylvanian Gurghiu Valley, where Roma, Hungarians, and Romanians live together. This topic touches on the identity politics that were an especially important topic in the increasingly nationalistic 1970s.

Nixon's findings on identity politics are important, but perhaps his research is most revealing where he is able to show the contradictions between official doctrines and reality. For example, he observes a folk music competition where the audience dutifully attends the performance of an ensemble that embodies state policy, but they do not show excitement. Descriptions like these are virtually absent in most of the 1970s and 1980s, indicating that, if the socialist governments wanted their cultural policies not to be internationally known, they were successful.

In 2007 the *Journal of Musicological Research* published a special issue on "music and ideologies," which focused on Romania. Two of the four contributions on Romania discuss nearly the same topic. Crotty (2007) and Sandu-Dediu (2007) examine the range of options available to composers roughly during the first decade after Romania became a Soviet satellite late in December 1947. They focus on Romanian composers and the Composers' Union, which, following the Soviet model, acquired an important regulative function for many music professionals, such as composers and music researchers.

Both Crotty and Sandu-Dediu (Sandu-Dediu 2006, Sandu-Dediu 2007) employ the term "socialist realism" to describe socialist cultural policy. This term seems not to have been used in contemporary Romanian discourse.²⁸ It originates in Soviet discourses on aesthetics from the 1930s (Sandu-Dediu 2007:179, cf. Groys 1992). Crotty and Sandu-Dediu employ this term to describe an anti-formalist artistic program:

²⁸ Crotty and Sandu-Dediu do not quote the term "socialist realism" from Romanian discourse and I never came across it in Romanian ethnomusicology of the socialist era. Instead they refer to sources from the Soviet Union. I am pointing this out not to undermine their argument, but to highlight that they make visible a Soviet influence that existed and was fairly obvious to most people involved in the 1950s and later, but was rarely acknowledged in contemporary Romanian discourse. The fact that an important term such as "socialist realism" was not widely used in Romanian discourse illustrates the pattern of familiarity with Soviet policy without any explicit acknowledgement of it.

The message of a work of art had to be clear-cut, mobilizing, tonic, accessible to large masses of working people and it had to comply with the doctrine of socialist realism, in accordance with Stalin's famous watchword: 'Writers are engineers of the human soul'. (Sandu-Dediu 2007:179)

Crotty and Sandu-Dediu do not distinguish strictly between socialist realism as an aesthetic program and a system of cultural policy that institutionalizes and enforces such a program. They do, however, describe such a political system in passing, referring to characteristics similar to those pointed out in the previous sections:

[I]n the new cultural system imposed by Moscow, the forms of art and literature became instruments of state politics. Ideals of the autonomy of art and formalism were viewed as heretical concepts, dangerous to those who might have continued to advocate them, because art had to serve the creation of the 'new man,' for example, to convince peasants to enthusiastically accept collectivization, and so forth. (Sandu-Dediu 2007:179)

Crotty and Sandu-Dediu highlight the role of the composer Matei Socor, who from 1949 to 1954 served as the president of the influential Union of Composers and Musicologists, a successor to the earlier Society of Composers. His term as president coincided with the reorganization of this institution following Soviet models (Crotty 2007:155, cf. Fitzpatrick 1992). Socor not only promoted "total Sovietization" (Crotty 2007:155), but also and more specifically socialist realism as an aesthetic program in Romanian music. What was regarded as socialist realism was codified in various speeches and writings such as "the famous 1948 Soviet anti-formalist resolutions" (Crotty 2007:155) of Soviet politician Andrei Zhdanov. Translated into Romanian in the year of their publication, they functioned as a guideline in Romania until the Romanian Composers' Union published their own resolution in 1952, according to which composers were urged to "struggle intransigently against every manifestation of formalism, impressionism, atonality, and cosmopolitanism, against the bowing and scraping before decadent bourgeois art" (quoted in Crotty 2007:156). Next to formalism, cosmopolitanism was another target in this context: it implied the rejection of Western cultural influences, while the term "internationalism" in this context denotes admired Soviet-style models (Crotty 2007:154).

Crotty summarizes the central idea of this system of cultural policy as "a tool for the dissemination of the [Communist] Party's propaganda" (Crotty 2007:156). Generally, absolute music was considered problematic while programmatic music and functional music, such as "a rousing song sung by schoolchildren" (Crotty 2007:156), were encouraged in socialist realism.

Crotty and Sandu-Dediu describe the time after Stalin's death in 1953 and the end of Socor's role as president of the Composers' Union in 1954 as the first of several periods of relaxation. Socor's successor at the Union "possessed the diplomatic skills to be able to keep direct political intervention at bay." (Crotty 2007:157)

Crotty and Sandu-Dediu argue that socialist realism did not go away when Socor left, but that it remained as one current next to others. However, other aesthetical programs which were largely repressed during the Stalinist period became possible again. Other positions were tolerated as long as they did not openly contradict official policies and did not draw too much on ideas associated with cosmopolitanism: "Abstract music could find a place in the repertoire (if only

fleetingly) if titles and/or program notes were added that underlined its socialist commitment" (Crotty 2007:158).

It is no accident that both Crotty and Sandu-Dediu single out extremes: Socor, a clear representative of socialist realism in music, and Andricu, a composer who fell prey to exaggerated ideological accusations and injustice. Although by focusing on extremes they risk painting a schematic history populated by heroes and villains, this seems to be a good first step to evaluate which possibilities were available for Romanian composers at the time. Their analysis is also helpful because they work on a chronology that shows a succession of periods of strict enforcement of political direction (during Stalin's lifetime) and relaxation or thaws (the first begins after Stalin's death), the latter of which appear to coincide with more general periods of relaxation in Romanian politics (cf. Tismaneanu 2004).

Crotty and Sandu-Dediu do not discuss ethnomusicology and they mention folk music only in passing, as one of the welcomed influences of composed music in socialist realism. However, it is quite possible that the concept of socialist realism was also applied to state folklore.

If socialist realist music is "beautiful and comprehensible, but at the same time monumental" as Crotty quoting Jiri Fukac (Crotty 2007:161) states, then it is likely that the same aesthetic program was also at work when state institutions such as the IEF and state officials evaluated the folk music produced, recorded, and published by the socialist state. If so, it would also indicate that the doctrines and programs pointed out by Crotty and Sandu-Dediu were also applied to folk music performances and, as such, that they were relevant for Romanian ethnomusicologists. In this literature review, I have outlined several attempts to describe the sonic features of socialist folklore, especially in the works of Giurchescu, Rădulescu and Rice. A characterization like "beautiful, comprehensive, monumental" is roughly compatible with their descriptions of socialist folklore.

In her dissertation, Sabina Pauța-Pieslak (2007a) looks at one specific case of how a single genre of folk music was treated during socialism. She focuses on *colinde* (carols) as performed by the choir *Madrigal*. Her choice of topic is motivated by childhood memories from when she was growing up in Romania in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During this time her parents sang in the choir *Madrigal*, then Romania's leading early music ensemble. She remembers that during Christmas the family secretly listened to the choir's recordings of *colinde*, which were illegal at the time. Years later, after emigrating to the US, she investigates how *colinde* acquired a political meaning, how listening to this music could signify resistance to the socialist state and how a leading ensemble like *Madrigal* was able to record and perform illegal repertoire in spite of tight censorship. She finds that *colinde* were suspicious to socialists because of their association with religion.²⁹

²⁹ It is not always readily apparent which (musical) traditions the socialists regarded as religious or undesirable and to which degree this led to a suppression of the respective tradition. Also sometimes the treatment of certain genres changed over decades. Later I will argue that for ethnomusicologists during the socialist period it was possible to research *colinde*, but that it was almost impossible to perform them inside Romania to a larger public (as illustrated by Pauța-Pieslak).

Madrigal performances were indeed tightly supervised by the state. For example, members of the secret service accompanied the choir on tours to foreign countries. For such tours and on special occasions the ensemble was officially allowed to perform colinde, for example after a successful European tour. While the state was able to regulate the choir's performances inside and outside the country, it was not able to control all recordings made on such occasions. Inside Romania, people could privately listen to these recordings. Furthermore, in spite of the near total control of what could be published, the interpretations of recordings were to some extent beyond the state's control. Through the interplay of colinde censorship, sanctioned performances and illegally consumed recordings, colinde required a connotation of political resistance, which became perhaps most clear when Madrigal's colinde recordings were used during the 1989 revolution. They were played on the radio after Ceaușescu attempted to flee, signifying change and the end of Ceaușescu's regime (Pieslak 2007a:178).

In more than two dozen articles mostly published in two edited volumes (Marian-Bălașa 2003c, Marian-Bălașa 2011a, cf. Mengel 2013), Marin Marian-Bălașa has discussed various issues of postsocialist ethnomusicology in Romania. Unlike any other Romanian ethnomusicologist, he focuses on the domain of research rather than that of musical practices, covering both the history of Romanian ethnomusicology and its entanglement with politics, and often treating them as two sides of the same coin. He is one of the few researchers who addressed aspects and periods which otherwise receive little scrutiny. This includes the fascist tendencies in Romanian ethnomusicology during the 1930s and 1940s as well as the last decades before Ceaușescu's fall. In recent years he has focused on anti-Semitism in music research in both time periods. Furthermore, he looks at musical developments since the fall of the Iron Curtain, emphasizing *manele*, a recent musical genre of popular music which is often associated with Turkish or Oriental origins. Marian-Bălașa is not so much interested in manele as a musical genre, but as a topic that separates different factions within present-day society and through which xenophobia is negotiated on a political stage (cf. Beissinger 2007, Giurchescu and Rădulescu 2011).

Most of the postsocialist research on Romania and its folk music is published in relatively short articles or chapters. It deals both with short periods, such as Crotty's work on the late 1940s and early 1950s, and with long time spans, such as much of Marian-Bălașa's historical work. My work is both broader and narrower: I attempt to look at one relatively small part of Romanian ethnomusicology - the research carried out at a single research institution - and attempt to follow it over many decades. By doing so, I hope I can follow my subject in greater detail than existing research; I also pay greater attention to Romanian ethnomusicological discourse than most. However, my research does not cover Romanian ethnomusicology in its entirety, as the comparison with Marian-Bălașa's work makes clear. He discusses several aspects not related to the IEF, which hence play no important role in my research, such as an ultranationalist ethnomusicology during the 1920s and 1930s.

POSTSOCIALIST ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Recent investigations of folk music in "actually existing socialism" tended to focus on the state as the one of the most important agents shaping the realities of folk music during the socialist period. Inevitably, the focus on the state resulted in increased attention to the cultural policy created and enforced almost exclusively by state institutions. In this context the wider political context - until the 1990s, almost anathema to folk music research - became a relevant topic. Postsocialist ethnomusicology has analyzed a growing number of specific case studies on different kinds of music, including folk and popular music.

I have here reviewed mostly examples from scholarship on Bulgaria, but even a cursory look at studies of other Socialist countries indicates that there are many parallels in the cultural policy of folk music, which hitherto have been studied neither comparatively nor systematically. Examples of commonalities include a system of oversight that resembles censorship and applies to media, performances and research. As a result of common or similar policies, many socialist states create a gamut of institutions for their folk music, including large ensembles (folk orchestras, dance ensembles), research and higher education institutions, as well as separate institutions for amateurs, which in Romania were called *case de cultura* (houses of culture). These were often new folk music institutions³⁰ which tended to replace the more traditional practice of folk music in a systematic and quasi-colonial fashion, especially in the early period of socialism in the Eastern Europe, the late 1940s and early 1950s. In this phase especially folklore practices related to religion were actively suppressed.

Explicit postsocialist research concerning Romanian folk music is rare, although two topics have received some attention. First, research on the cultural policy of art music during the socialist period, however, is relevant for folk music since the policies were often derived from common political directives and enforced by or overseen by the same institutions (such as the Composers' Union). Second, identity politics have received perhaps the most attention in postsocialist research on Romania. Research both inside (Marian-Bălașa) and outside ethnomusicology (Verdery) indicates that national ideology permeates intellectual activity during nearly all decades of the 20th century. Yet brief periods were marked by a significant relaxation of nationalistic restrictions mandated by the political domain, so that in certain periods research on the music of Romania's minorities is possible, while at other times the same texts would not have passed censorship. The most important of these thaws happens in Romania after Ceaușescu became the secretary general, from the mid to late 1960s, a phase in which Ceaușescu eliminated political rivals and enjoyed a higher level of public support than in other periods (cf. Tismaneanu 2004).

So far postsocialist ethnomusicology has by and large focused on musicians, composers and arrangers – those who actively produce music -, as well as on musics which tended to be ignored during the socialist period, such as the music of the Roma. After the end of the Cold War, it is still important to determine the leeway individuals had within systems at specific times and in specific

³⁰ Not in all cases, the creation of such institutions coincides with the advent of the socialist period; occasionally, such institutions existed earlier.

contexts. Yet a more intimate knowledge of cultural policies of folk music is necessary to determine where and when artists, researchers, bureaucrats in cultural administration, ethnomusicologists and the general public endorsed the official positions of cultural policy and where they strove for a neutral stance or even attempted to resist the hegemonic and typically "totalitarian"³¹ power of the state.

While the literature encompasses several case studies that allow such evaluation for specific directors, ensembles, musicians, such discussions are still largely missing for ethnomusicologists in and outside of Romania. And although postsocialist research often touches on ethnomusicologists, it rarely focuses on them. Interestingly enough, the relatively small body of postsocialist ethnomusicological literature on Romania possibly constitutes an exception to this rule: Romanian scholars like Giurchescu, Rădulescu and Marian-Bălașa have either intensely reflected on their own biographies or looked intensively at the role of individual researchers during the socialist period.

With my own work, I attempt to continue the research of several others before me. With my analysis of the ethnomusicological discourse surrounding the IEF, I provide a partial analysis of Romanian ethnomusicology that complements Verdery's earlier study of Romanian intellectual discourse (Verdery 1991). Also, I offer more case studies of Stalinist cultural policy, complementing the research of Fitzpatrick, Groys and others. Most importantly, perhaps, I attempt to add another "chapter" to the cultural policy analysis of socialist states already carried out by other ethnomusicologists. Until now, Romania has not featured strongly in this area.

³¹ It is noteworthy that the concept of totalitarianism was first developed by fascist politicians, such as Mussolini, before it was adopted as a scholarly and analytical notion by Hannah Arendt and others (Arendt 1979). Above, I discussed music-related examples where research has shown that the power of the state - even in a Stalinist dictatorship - was not always absolute or total. However, I do not conclude, as some others do, that this realization invalidates the concept of totalitarianism as analytic tool altogether. I do think that dictatorships like Ceaușescu's Romania *attempted* to achieve totalitarian control over their populations and that, accordingly, this term correctly characterizes a significant feature of the respective political systems, independent of the fact that these states did not typically obtain absolute control over their populations.

2 Writing history archaeologically

I want my books to be a sort of toolbox that people can rummage through to find a tool they can use however they want in their own domain. (Foucault quoted by Gutting 2005:112)

In this chapter, I am concerned with extracting useful suggestions from Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* for my own project, a history of Romanian ethnomusicology through the lens of a single research institution. I am looking especially for procedural suggestions, as well terms and concepts I can transfer profitably to my own project.

Foucault is sometimes accused of expressing himself in difficult and inaccessible language. After several years of reading his books, I find this complaint true in part - even when accounting for a cultural and temporal difference: he wrote several decades ago with a French education and perhaps primarily for a French audience. In part, his writing seems to me unclear or even contradictory in places while other parts are clearly, efficiently and even beautifully expressed. In some cases, his reluctance to define concepts seems to serve a methodological purpose, while in other cases I find it unfortunate that he did not find more precise words to express his thoughts.

In this chapter, I try to combat this aspect of Foucault's writing in several ways. Firstly, I try not to emulate his language and style; instead I write as clear as I can, occasionally risking oversimplification. Secondly, I include an introduction (section 2.2.1) to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, which not only highlights my specific reading of his book, but which should also be accessible to those not familiar with Foucault's work in general. Thirdly, I do not gloss over parts of his work that I find unclear in the way that most of the secondary literature on Foucault does. Instead, I point out the problems and contradictions I see. Lastly and perhaps most importantly, in my historical chapters, I try to apply Foucault's concepts in a way that should be intelligible and plausible even without Foucault's often unusual and sometimes idiosyncratic terminology.

Another important aspect of this chapter is that I select some parts of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and leave out other parts. I base this selection not so much on theoretical considerations, but on the results of my experiments. My main guideline for this process was the question if applying his suggestions to my data – ethnomusicological publications and interviews with ethnomusicologists - helped me saying things I wanted to say. I expect that people with a different perspective would chose different aspects and, conversely, that I chose aspects that others interested in writing the history of an academic discipline may or may not find interesting.

Although ethnomusicologists have frequently cited Foucault in the last two decades, they have rarely discussed his work in-depth. I begin this chapter with a short overview of Foucault's reception in ethnomusicology (2.1), and then I concentrate on *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (2.2). This chapter ends with a section (2.3) where I explain changes I made in applying Foucault's archaeological approach to my project.

THEORY IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

I believe that ethnomusicology in general has a love-hate relationship with theory. Some ethnomusicologists reject it, others embrace it. Some may do both at the same time. There still are hard-core positivists in our discipline who believe that there are only facts, and theory is nothing but a waste of time, and there are also more moderate and more numerous colleagues who voice similar arguments in a less radical fashion. Some seem to be upset that current discussions require them to keep up with current developments, especially since these often come from outside of what they perceive as their "own discipline", for example from cultural anthropology or, more lately, from social theory. At the same time, some professional journals and job markets seem to encourage the use of theoretical (and possibly fashionable) terminology, at least occasionally. And because this is so, those who dislike theory often voice their opinions in conversations, but not so much in writing. Thus, I rely here on what ethnomusicologists in Germany, the US, and Romania have told me over coffee during conferences, when visiting the Phonogram Archive in Berlin or during my own visits to the IEF. This may not be a particularly deep, balanced or representative analysis of the status quo, but it clearly points to a situation in which factions strongly disagree about the value and use of theory in ethnomusicology, but where resistance for the most part takes place outside the printed discourse.³² Faced with this love-hate relationship, it makes sense to provide some justification for my chapter on methodology.

Apart from these partial and possibly trivial, but nonetheless real, reasons for real antipathy against theory, there are also a few structural problems that complicate the discussion: there is no agreement, for example, as to what theory actually is - neither among ethnomusicologists nor those specializing in the science of science, epistemology, the sociology of knowledge or other related fields. Here I propose to use general and by no means revolutionary definitions³³ of theory and related terms: *Theory* is an abstraction or attempt to describe general principles on the basis of concrete data. Some would call these general statements models or explanations; others reject those terms, possibly because they remind them too much of the hard sciences. A *method* is etymologically nothing else than "'following a way' (from the Greek meta, 'along', and odos, 'way')" (Caws quoted in Mehrrens 1999:833), and thus one can understand any more or less standardized procedure as a method. As with other -ologies, methodology comes with terminology to talk or write about its subject matter, in this case, methods. The idea here is to look for patterns in problem solving strategies. To talk about methodology should help us to

³² The only recent book-length publication I am aware of that directly tackles the topic of theory in ethnomusicology is a textbook (Stone 2008) which largely takes for granted what theory is and that working on theory is part of the ethnomusicologist's work. Stone does not discuss what I consider a widespread resistance against theory in our discipline, except in the most optimistic way, an approach that might be both productive and unavoidable for a textbook addressing early graduate students. As a consequence, however, Stone's book addresses neither the symptoms nor the reasons for the love-hate relationship I have noted. An ethnographic investigation of these issues among ethnomusicologists would be an interesting topic; however, it falls outside of this work's scope.

³³ The definitions I suggest for the terms "theory", "method" and "methodology" include some but not all usual features for these terms, and thus can be called general, (cf. Sandkühler 1999, Mehrrens 1999). With these general definitions, I merely want to make my premises and intentions explicit; I do not mean to advance the science of science or similar fields.

discover and avoid flaws and to transfer problem solving strategies (or elements of them) to other cases.

It is not difficult to see that I am trying to salvage terms from a context that could easily be classified as positivistic, that I am attempting to rid these terms from a too limited and too positivistic interpretation, and that I seek to apply them in a productive, clear and simple way to deal with epistemological problems. This use of language runs somewhat against the anti-positivistic trends and language of some more recent ethnomusicological scholarship. I do believe, however, that the predilection I have for a certain kind of formalism with language, definitions, terms and concepts is just a matter of style and that what I have to say is actually closer to the post-positivistic impetus that shaped ethnomusicology in recent decades³⁴ than it might first appear.

If one looks at the history of ethnomusicology (and also that of cultural anthropology, where fieldwork and ethnography play a similar role), one finds a role for theory I find both convincing and timely: Based on concrete data produced mainly by participant observation, ethnographers develop what could be termed "middle-ranged theories" (Merton 1996:41–50): general statements developed from concrete fieldwork observation and participation, which are slightly more general than the observations themselves, but far from universal. The abstraction involved here is modest. The aim seems to be not to generalize so much as to create a universal model that fits as many cultures or cases as possible, but to stay close to given case studies and to develop a model that explains these concrete observations. This kind of abstraction often has an ad-hoc quality. It is developed for the example at hand and can afford to ignore other Western thought on the topic to some extent.

Some examples may help to illustrate this practice. When Bronislaw Malinowski describes the Kula exchange, he is not much concerned with a universal model of exchange (as is Marcel Mauss at roughly the same time, Malinowski [1922] 1999, Mauss [1923] 2002). Also, he concentrates on his fieldwork data much more than on Western economic theory. More recently, Thomas Turino's (2000) musical ethnography on nationalism and cosmopolitanism in Zimbabwe shares these two features: Turino does not intend it as a universal model of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and he prefers to discuss local data rather than extensively analyzing the vast literature on this topic produced over the centuries in the West³⁵. In the end, some of the general results may be applicable to other cases, but that seems not to have been the main concern when the book was written.

What I am doing in this study follows the same pattern. This work is not meant as a step towards a universal historiography of ethnomusicology or music research as a whole, but rather as a particularistic investigation into the knowledge produced in one single Romanian research institution. I ignore a great deal of what has been written about epistemology, the sociology of knowledge and related fields, and instead put the specific case in the center. If what I present here

³⁴ My allusions to a post-positivist ethnomusicology are based on a view of ethnomusicology's recent history as described by Phil Bohlman, Martin Stokes and others in various editions of the article on ethnomusicology in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (e.g. Pegg, Pegg et al. 2001).

³⁵ For my relatively crude argument, it matters little which of the many possible definitions of 'the West' applies here.

differs in a significant way from other musical ethnographies, then it is in the fact that this text is more explicit in the treatment of terminological and methodological issues and that it attempts to take terms and methodological clues from one source or thinker and not from dozens (as for example Gilroy [1993] 2002).

The fact that I place an emphasis on one particular thinker, Foucault, is certainly a bit unusual for an ethnography. By doing so, I am taking up the experiments other ethnomusicologists have already begun (see literature review in section 2.1). I also hope to attract some readers interested in Foucault and in how to apply some of his concepts to an anthropological, historical or ethnomusicological context.

I do not take a ready-made theory, method or concept and apply it unchanged and unchallenged to an ethnomusicological topic. If a theoretical work is one that mainly reasons based on general principles (as, for example, by inferring conclusions from a syllogism), this work is not theoretical. My reasoning is little based on theory or method; instead it is driven by the data, mainly the publications of IEF and interviews with Romanian ethnomusicologists. I am, however, interested in suggesting a modestly generalized way of discussing my observations.

Why, then, do I spend so much time (or so many pages) discussing methodology? This text is written as a dissertation at the University of Cologne. Dissertations are required to show the validity of their approach, maybe more so than other kinds of scholarly publications. Secondly, in Germany, and perhaps especially in ethnomusicology at Cologne, there is a tradition of thoroughly discussing terminology – I regard this as a healthy legacy from comparative musicology – as well as general and methodological aspects of the topic at hand, as can be seen in Mendivil 2008, to name a recent dissertation, but also in Kuckertz 1963, to name a much older example.

Ultimately, I do not write about methodology to follow a tradition, even if I do so. I hope that what I have to say about methodology merits being corrected, adapted, re-used or consciously rejected for other studies and that some of the problem-solving strategies applied here might help others.

This perspective on methodology corresponds to Foucault's approach in some important ways. At least in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault also "flirts" with positivism (Foucault 1972:124). Also, I share methodological interests that characterize *The Archaeology of Knowledge*: identifying units and objects in the history of an academic discipline. Furthermore, Foucault is also interested in what I have called here "middle-ranged" theories. He often avoids the far-reaching generalizations typical of the philosophical tradition in favor of more modest ones that stay closer to the historical cases he examines.

I chose to focus on Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and not some of his more recent works, because when I began this work I was more concerned with finding a meaningful perspective from which to write intellectual history. As the work progressed, I found myself more interested in the analysis of cultural policy processes which keeps both the state and the individual and their access to power in mind, as outlined in Foucault's governmentality studies (such as Foucault 2007). However, in this chapter, I focus less on power relationships and governing, which feature more prominently in more recent writings of Foucault, but I do include power and

other concepts from Foucault's governmentality studies in my analysis of Romanian ethnomusicology where these topics seem to be relevant.

2.1 Foucault in ethnomusicology

MULTIPLE FOUCAULTS

There are multiple Foucaults, or at least it often helps to think of Michel Foucault as several different persons. He has been described as "a philosopher, a social historian, a literary analyst a social and political critic" (Gutting 1989:1) and "a nonhistorical historian, an anti-humanist human scientist, and a counter-structuralist structuralist" (Clifford Geertz quoted by Dreyfus 1983:xviii. Foucault often preferred more eccentric descriptions of himself. For example, in an interview with Roger Pol Droit, Foucault describes himself as someone who deals with explosives (Roger Pol Droit and Foucault 2005).³⁶

Over his career Foucault changed his approach frequently and significantly, so that even a description fitting Foucault's standpoint at one point may not fit the "Foucaults" of other periods. In addition, Foucault has been read very differently over the decades by scholars from many different fields. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), for example, attempt to locate Foucault in relation to structuralism and hermeneutics, two approaches from which Foucault borrowed, but which he also rejected as labels for his own work. To avoid confusion, I will attempt to make clear which Foucault I refer to. In less metaphorical language, I try to make clear which of Foucault's publications I refer to, whose interpretation of his work I draw on and which of his concepts I focus on.

IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

If one looks at the instances where Foucault is quoted in ethnomusicology, one notices that he is mentioned frequently since the 1980s. One can discern five different topics, developments or lines of inquiry in which Foucault plays a significant role.

The first time Foucault is mentioned in the journal *Ethnomusicology* is Maceda 1986. Maceda compares Southeast Asian and Western time concepts in music and he refers to Foucault's *The Order of Things* as a study of Western thought, although this work is concerned mostly with French discourse between 17th and 19th century. This use of Foucault's work – as a representative of or study of Western thought - has seldom been echoed in ethnomusicology since then.

Secondly, in the 1990s there appears to be a broader turn towards social theory in parts of ethnomusicology. In this context, Foucault is typically mentioned together with other social theorists, such as Bourdieu or de Certeau (e.g. Blum 1990, Sugarman 1997). One result of this development is that music cultures are no longer expected to be homogenous systems. Instead ethnographies are expected to outline multiple and contradictory perspectives on musical practices.

³⁶ This section from which I quote is not included in the excerpt from this interview which is published in Foucault [1991b] 2007.

Sugarman 1997, a transnational ethnography of the Prespa Albanian community and their wedding music, is an example of such an ethnography; it quotes Foucault when discussing social heterogeneity. Sugarman also discusses Foucault's definition of discourse and employs the distinction discursive/non-discursive to call for an even treatment of musical practices and the discourse on musical practices. However, she makes little use of Foucault's concepts in her discourse analysis, instead using more traditional means of linguistic analysis such as translation, etymology, and an analysis of linguistic meaning with respect to extension and connotation.

Perhaps one can see frequent references to Foucault's anti-essentialist conception of truth (Guilbault and Grenier 1990, Titon 36:319, Buchanan 1995) in the same context – as adaptations of ideas from social theory into ethnomusicology. These ideas change the general approach, but not the concrete methodology of either ethnomusicological fieldwork or writing.

Overall, many ethnomusicologists in the 1990s seem to echo arguments made by James Clifford and others with respect to cultural anthropology in the course of the writing culture debate. Again, Sugarman 1997 serves as an example. Just as her counterparts in cultural anthropology argue for overcoming the limitations of interpretative anthropology, she criticizes the interpretative paradigm in ethnomusicology as "necessary but not sufficient" paradigm (Sugarman 1997:25) for its emphasis on verbal discourse on music and its assumption of a homogenous culture. Sugarman suggests we might overcome this paradigm by emphasizing agency and the heterogeneity of cultures, an argument she links with Foucault's publications (Sugarman 1997:28).

Thirdly, ethnomusicologists used Foucault's work on power/knowledge to reflect on ethnomusicology as an accumulation of knowledge and as a set of practices related to power (e.g. Blum 1990). In this context, ethnomusicologists reference Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* with respect to the colonial and post-colonial heritage of their discipline.

Fourthly, since the 1990s there have also been attempts to use Foucault's work in the context of politics and the cultural politics of music. Referring to *Discipline and Punish*, Averill 1994 explores, for example, how power inscribes itself through music-related disciplines in the body. Recently, Guilbault 2007 has taken this train of thought further in her social history of Trinidad's carnival musics that draws on Foucault's governmental studies, introducing terms such as "governmentality", "techniques", and "micropractices" from Foucault's work. Guilbault reads Foucault mediated by Tony Bennett, who applies Foucault in cultural studies to analyze cultural policy (Guilbault 2007:4, cf. Bennett 1998).

Fifthly, social histories became important in musical ethnographies at about the same time that Foucault entered ethnomusicological discourse. For example in Waterman 1990 and Pacini Hernandez 1995, the authors describe their works as social histories (without referring to Foucault in this context). More recently, Julio Mendívil published an ethnographic social history of *Schlager*, a German popular music, in which he explicitly uses Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* as a methodological guideline. In doing so, Mendívil draws on non-ethnographic social histories of popular music that employ Foucault in a similar way (cf. Wicke, Wicke 2001). Mendívil uses Foucault's concept of discourse to define *Schlager* as a *discursive* genre and thus to overcome the limitation he sees in the analytical notion of a musical genre. Instead of *defining* a musical genre, he investigates what the community of *Schlager* listeners regard as *Schlager*. More

precisely, he looks at the discourse about Schlager, and contrasts voices of Schlager aficionados with those of scholars. What emerges is a fieldwork-based social history of a discursively-defined genre that includes both discursive and non-discursive aspects.

2.2 *Archaeology of knowledge*

In this section (2.2), I discuss Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (AK) in three steps. Firstly (2.2.1), I offer an introduction to the book that draws on secondary literature, and I emphasize what Foucault wants his archaeology to be. This section partly explains Foucault's language and partly tries to translate his technical terms into more familiar lingo. Readers familiar with *The Archaeology of Knowledge* may want to skip this section. Secondly (2.2.2), I outline how Foucault defines the term "discourse", reviewing his argumentation from a bird's eye perspective. This section also includes reasons why I concentrate more on "discursive formation" later on. Thirdly (2.2.3), I present a more in-depth discussion of "discursive formations". I am concerned here with deriving technical terms from *The Archaeology of Knowledge* to apply them in my own historiography of Romanian ethnomusicology.

2.2.1 *The archaeological approach from the outside*

Foucault published *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (L'archéologie du savoir) in 1969, before he acquired a position at the Collège de France. In this book, he develops and clarifies the term "archaeology," as the approach he employed in three earlier historical studies: *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (originally published in France in 1961, Foucault 1965), *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (originally published in 1963, Foucault 1973), *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (originally published in 1966, Foucault 2004).

These studies look at roughly the same time period, the 17th to the 19th centuries, and describe emerging academic disciplines such as psychiatry, medicine, linguistics, biology, and economics. Foucault locates these studies in the vicinity of several other disciplines: "history of ideas, or of thought, or of science or of knowledge" which, according to Foucault, are "unsure of their frontiers, and so vague in content" (Foucault 1972:21). With his archaeology, Foucault hopes to give this field a more precise definition and a more precisely defined approach.³⁷

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault reflects on the underlying methodology employed in his earlier studies, attempting to make it more coherent and to develop it further. Occasionally, he also corrects his approach, so that his earlier archaeological studies are not in all respects representative of the approach described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1972:16).³⁸

³⁷ For simplicity's sake, I use "history of ideas", "history of thought" and occasionally "intellectual history" as labels for the whole field mentioned here and I treat Foucault's archaeology as one approach in this field, while Foucault typically describes his archaeology as an alternative to the history of ideas and similar areas.

³⁸ Although written before *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault's archaeological case studies were mostly published in English (and German) translation after the publication of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and often contain revised introductions which differ significantly from the French original. Correspondingly, these new

The situation is made even more complex by the fact that in one of its last sections (Foucault 1972:192–195), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* describes plans for possible future studies, which Foucault never carried out in exactly the suggested way. In each of these outlines, the archaeological method is modified in at least one important aspect. For example, he suggests that one could write an archaeology that is not concerned with scholarly discourse, but with political knowledge.

In some later publications, such as *Discipline and Punish* (published originally in 1976), Foucault discards the term "archaeology" almost completely and instead uses "genealogy" to characterize his approach. Foucault's genealogy is still related to his archaeology, but the former puts a greater emphasis on non-discursive practices and the relationship of power and knowledge (cf. Gutting 1989:6–7).³⁹ So, although Foucault wrote three historical studies which he characterizes as archaeological and even more methodologically related historical studies, none exactly follows the approach described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

Not only are there many Foucaults, there are also many archaeologies. As in other cases, Foucault avoids a single and unambiguous commitment. This "strategy of multiplication" – if you are willing to accept this Foucault-like play with words – can itself be regarded as a method, one that forces everyone interested in applying the archaeological approach to make their own case and to argue for the validity of their approach. In other words: Foucault's archaeology resists simple application to a clearly defined range of topics. One can clearly see a disadvantage in the complications resulting from this vagueness; but one can also regard these complications as a means of avoiding uncritical transfer.

THE STUDY OF STATEMENTS

The archaeology follows a relatively impersonal approach: it features discourse and statements over the subjects who make history. This is not to deny that statements are made by individuals or subjects rather than by mysterious entities such as mentalities or zeitgeists or by collectives such as peoples or discourses (Foucault 2004:xiii–xiv).⁴⁰ No matter how one prefers to call the entities that make these statements – individuals, subjects or actors – the archaeology does not put an emphasis on them. Foucault is especially hostile towards what could be called a mentalistic or psychological approach, which makes assumptions about the inner states of individuals, and instead suggests focusing on statements, which have the advantage of being observable; they are given, rather than inferred.

However, the archaeological approach is not completely agnostic towards who is speaking. In fact, after having ignored the subject nearly completely in his earlier book *The Order of Things*,

introductions attempt to explain the case studies in a language and terminology that is close to that of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

³⁹ In Foucault scholarship, the exact relationship between archaeology and genealogy is contested. A recent publication (Koopman 2013:47) explains the genealogy not unconvincingly as an expansion of the archaeology.

⁴⁰ This is roughly the perspective which Foucault takes in his *Discourse on Language*, his inaugural speech at the Collège de France held in 1970, where he alludes to his position as an individual who has to enter into discourse and where his own will and his own desires are relatively unimportant vis-à-vis of the expectations and other contexts created by the institution (Foucault 1972:215).

The Archaeology of Knowledge seeks to determine a speaking subject. The subject Foucault refers to in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* is one that is somehow implied by the discourse:

[D]iscourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject, but, on the contrary, a totality, in which the dispersion of the subject and his discontinuity with himself may be determined (Foucault 1972:60).

AVOIDING INTERPRETATION: MONUMENTS INSTEAD OF DOCUMENTS

The Foucault of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* compares the archaeology to three other traditions of writing history: Firstly, a French 20th century orientation of social history sometimes called the *Annales* School, taking this label from the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*; secondly, the history of thought as exemplified, for example, in the work of Gaston Bachelard and George Canguilhem; and thirdly, structuralist attempts to write principally literary histories. Foucault argues that in spite of many differences in these areas there is a common trend towards treating sources as monuments rather than as documents associated with reading, understanding and interpretation:

[H]istory now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations. (Foucault 1972:7)

I understand this rejection of the document as a refusal of hermeneutical and other approaches that promise access to meaning. Foucault shares this rejection of hermeneutics with many structuralist and post-structuralist positions.⁴¹ While Foucault rejects the claim that his archaeology is nothing but a transfer of structuralism onto history (Foucault 1972:199–201), the archaeology clearly follows some structuralist ideas, at least in part (cf. Gutting 1989:10–11). In the above quote, for example, Foucault privileges structures (the sources' divisions, distributions, order, and arrangement) over their meaning and assumes that the focus on these more structural features avoids interpretation – an assumption that proponents of interpretation typically do not share.

Avoiding the interpretation of sources is so important for Foucault that he names his own approach after a discipline that, in his eyes, used to deal with monuments in a similar fashion, i.e. without reading them:

There was a time when archaeology, as a discipline [was] devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past (Foucault 1972:8).⁴²

Foucault also points out that innovation in the aforementioned three historical fields is often related to a change in the units under scrutiny: from short to long periods of time in social history; from continual innovation to epistemological breaks, for example in Bachelard's work on the history of science; or from literary periods to the structures in individual oeuvres in parts of structuralist literary criticism (Foucault 1972:4). His archaeology, Foucault argues, likewise questions continuity-providing traditional units of the history of ideas, such as tradition, influence,

⁴¹ Elsewhere Foucault uses a more semiotic terminology to argue against meaning-centered approaches, for example when he says that the archaeology is "no history of the referent" (Foucault 1972:52).

⁴² According to Gutting (1989:5), Foucault takes the term "archaeology" from Merleau-Ponty.

development, evolution, spirit and oeuvre (Foucault 1972:21–23), and suggests new units, such as discourse and statement that do imply coherence, but not unquestioned continuities.

DISCOURSE IN GENERAL AND SPECIFIC DISCOURSES

In a first approximation, one can understand "discourse" as that which is said or written. Such a preliminary understanding is close to the literal meaning of the French word "discours". One of the crucial points of the archaeological approach is the observation that discourse often follows patterns Foucault refers to as rules or regularities. This may contradict every-day experience, where we tend to perceive ourselves as freely speaking individuals who decide what, where and how we speak. However, few would argue that we constantly neglect the rules of grammar – apparently respecting following the rules of grammar does not hinder our ability to express ourselves. Foucault's archaeological approach emphasizes other grammar-like structures in the way we speak and write. Specifically, he sees such regularities in the fields he analyzes - academic disciplines, such as economy, natural history, and psychopathology. Within these fields, Foucault can show that writing follows regularities which change over time.

Foucault uses the term "discourse" with varying specificity, and after an initial terminological exploration he in fact discards most of his own suggested usages:

We can now understand the reason for the equivocal meaning of the term *discourse*, which I have used and abused in many different senses: in the most general, and vaguest way, it denoted a group of verbal performances; and by discourse, then, I mean that which was produced [...] by the groups of signs. But I also meant a group of acts of formulation, a series of sentences or propositions. Lastly – and it is this meaning that was finally used (together with the first, which served in a provisional capacity) – discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements" (Foucault 1972:107)

I find it useful to distinguish at least two usages: a general one where "discourse" denotes all statements ever made (or everything that is said or written, something to which Foucault sometimes refers as the "field of discourse", Foucault 1972:26) and a specific one where discourse refers to a particular unit that resembles what is traditionally called a discipline, for example the discourse of medicine. These two concepts of discourse resemble the distinction between language (as a form of communication that is distinct from other communication forms) and a specific language, say English.

The Archaeology of Knowledge attempts to describe a procedure that allows for identifying concrete discursive formations. The problem is analogous to a linguist who is presented with an arbitrary selection of propositions and has to determine to which language or languages they belong. Foucault wants to provide a procedure that allows for delimiting discursive formations more objectively than is usual for disciplines in the history of thought. Discursive formation replaces here other terms such as "[a] 'science', 'ideology', 'theory', 'domain of objectivity' " (Foucault 1972:38).

If one looks at the development of Foucault's archaeological approach, his interest in "pure" discourse is possibly most evident in *The Order of Things*, where non-discursive practices play almost no role at all. *The Archaeology of Knowledge* attempts to overcome this limitation. Here, Foucault looks at non-discursive practices especially in their capacity to condition statements.

Foucault's later work, such as his genealogical studies, continues to expand on his interest in non-discursive practices (Gutting 1989:270–277).

TRUTH

For me, one of the more important features of the archaeology is its tendency to avoid passing judgment on past knowledge in terms of truth or falsehood. Unlike so many other histories of ideas, Foucault does not describe Mendel as the first to invent this or that piece of knowledge that currently is considered to be true. Instead he looks at that knowledge in many other ways, often emphasizing a contemporary perspective on knowledge. Similarly, Foucault rejects a history of thought which presents past inventions as first discovery of a timeless truth.

Archaeology is not in search of inventions; and it remains unmoved at the moment (a very moving one, I admit) when for the first time someone was sure of some truth; [...] What it sees in the texts of Linnaeus or Buggon, Petty or Ricardo, Pinel or Buchat, is not to draw up a list of founding saints; it is to uncover the regularity of a discursive practice. (Foucault 1972:144)

Interestingly enough, Foucault avoids to describe past knowledge from the perspective of present knowledge consistently in his own work. He refers or alludes to this feature multiple times in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, but he does not highlight this feature of his approach very much, possibly because it is not his own invention, but instead taken over from Georges Canguilhem and his work the history of biology (cf. Gutting 1989:38).

2.2.2 Discourse and statement

The Archaeology of Knowledge is probably the text in which Foucault attempts to clarify the term "discourse" in the most explicit way. Other texts, such as his inaugural speech at Collège de France⁴³ or the revised forewords to his earlier archaeological studies,⁴⁴ also attempt to clarify "discourse", but in a less elaborate and systematic manner.

In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault attempts to clarify the term "discourse" in a two-fold manner: once with respect to his previous studies (in his Part II) and another time by a more theoretical argument (in Part III, entitled "The Statement and the Archive"). In the former he posits that discourses consist of statements and introduces the new term "discursive formation" to refer to a specific discourse; in the latter he explains in greater detail what "statements" are. He admits that the latter attempt to define statement is neither a deductive nor a finished theory (Foucault 1972:114–116):

[O]ne can [...] see that I am not developing here a theory, in the strict sense of the term: the deduction, on the basis of a number of axioms, of an abstract model applicable to an indefinite number of empirical descriptions. [...] I am not inferring the analysis of discursive formations from a definition of statements that would serve as a basis, nor am I inferring the nature of statements from this or that description; but I am trying to show how a domain can be organized, without flat, without contradiction [...] in which statements, their principle of grouping, the great historical unities that they may form, and the methods that make it possible to describe them are all brought into question. (Foucault 1972:114)

⁴³ This speech was published as an appendix entitled "Discourse on Language" in some English editions of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1972:215–238).

⁴⁴ Many translations of Foucault's archaeological studies contain a separate or revised forewords which vary significantly from the original French preface. These new forewords tend to explain the work in question in the terminology of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. A case in point is the Foucault 2004, originally published in 1966. The English translation was first published in 1970.

Hence the two chapters represent different attempts to clarify central terms: one is a reflection of his previous studies which puts the term "discursive formation" in the center, the other a new theoretical approach which emphasizes the term "statement". The two parts are finally linked by the definition of the term "discourse" that Foucault provides in the beginning of the third part and which combines both terms: "the term 'discourse' can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single [discursive] formation" (Foucault 1972:107).

Foucault develops his definition of statement in several steps. Firstly, he contrasts "statement" with the units described by several other language-related approaches: a statement is not the same as the proposition, the unit described by logic; nor is it the sentence, the unit described by grammar or linguistics; nor speech acts, the unit described by natural language philosophy (Foucault 1972:79–87)⁴⁵. Foucault illustrates the difference between statements, sentences and propositions by referring to the letters A, Z, E, R, T. If they occur on a French keyboard, they do not form a statement, but the same letters in a typewriter manual may constitute a statement (Foucault 1972:86). Accordingly, statements can also be diagrams or mathematical formulas (cf. Gutting 1989:239–240) or musical transcriptions, formulated not in natural, but some other (formal or symbolic) language.⁴⁶

As a result of this exploration, the reader already has an approximate understanding of statement, but Foucault does not stop here; he suggests a more precise definition by specifying what he calls the *enunciative function* or "that which enables such groups of signs to exist" (Foucault 1972:99). He suggests four characteristics of this function: a) having a correlate, b) having a relation between statement and a subject, c) the fact that the statement "can operate without the existence of an associated domain" (Foucault 1972:99?) and d) material existence (Foucault 1972:88–105). Considering the cases Foucault discusses himself, such as the history of psychopathology, economy, medicine, linguistics and economics, one can say that at least some of the statements found in these discourses are also propositions, grammatical sentences and speech acts. But his general point is that the statement must be something other than these three units if not all statements are propositions, sentences or speech acts.

One problem with this clarification of "statement" is that it is difficult to apply in an ethnographic or historical context. Foucault's clarification does not answer practical questions such as how to identify exactly one statement. In other words, I do not see how this more theoretical definition of statement, which explains statement by its enunciative function, refines the practical description and analysis of discursive formations.

I am less interested in Foucault's discussion of statements and their theoretical nature because I do not see how I can apply it to my concrete case. I do not see how analyzing the enunciative function of statements, for example, helps with a concrete history of Romanian ethnomusicology. Hence, I leave it to (language) philosophers to ponder the details of this

⁴⁵ According to Gutting (1989:240), Foucault later revised his understanding of statements and agreed that his statements are in fact speech acts.

⁴⁶ Perhaps one can also make the case that sound sometimes constitutes a statement in this sense. However, this is not particularly relevant for my study of Romanian ethnomusicology as discourse.

argumentation. I will instead focus more closely on those aspects that can be applied in ethnographical and historical cases: the reflection of Foucault's own archaeological studies.

2.2.3 Discursive formation and elements

In Part II of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault sets out to explore what characterizes a specific discourse. More specifically, he asks what constitutes the unity of the units – the play on words seems to be intended – with which his earlier archaeological studies were concerned, mentioning "medicine, grammar" and "political economy" (Foucault 1972:31) as examples of these units. Eventually, he will describe these units as discursive formations or simply as discourses. Looking back at his earlier studies, he notices that they focused on different aspects or elements of discourse. In particular Foucault distinguishes between: 1) objects, 2) enunciative modalities (although perhaps the alternative translation "modes of statements" would be more appropriate), 3) concepts and 4) themes (to which he also refers as theories or strategies).

Foucault typically refers to these four aspects as discursive elements. But I find this use of element which refers both to objects, modes of statement, concepts and themes as well as their examples, such as madness, indiscriminately as elements. Instead I suggest thinking of objects, modes of statement, concepts and themes not as elements, but as types of elements. Later I will argue that the term "element" is misleading for other reasons and I hence will suggest to regard Foucault's elements instead simply as aspects of discourse.

To determine what constitutes the unity of discursive formations like medicine and grammar, Foucault tests four hypotheses and finally rejects them: (1) that these units can be defined by a single object or a specific set of objects, (2) that these units can be defined by a single mode of statement or a set of such modes, (3) that these units can be defined by a single concept or a set of concepts or (4) that units can be defined by a single theme or sets of themes (Foucault 1972:34–43). Foucault discusses examples from his work on psychiatry (to which he also refers to as psychopathology). Madness is an object of the discourse of psychopathology, but madness is not unique to this discourse; it also plays a role in other circumstances, for example in the church. Similarly, a specific set of objects, say madness and its contemporary subspecies, is not unique to psychopathology. Also, the objects that were important in psychopathology did not remain constant over long periods of time, but changed.

Instead of grounding the unity of a specific discourse in any of these four elements(or aspects), Foucault argues that the discourse's unity is based on the specific *distribution* or *dispersion* of these elements:

Hence the idea of describing these dispersions themselves; of discovering whether, between these elements, [...] one cannot discern a regularity: an order in their successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity, assignable positions in a common space, a reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchized transformations. (Foucault 1972:37)

I interpret Foucault's dispersion mainly as a set (or pattern) of objects, forms of statements, concepts and themes/strategies, although Foucault also includes the relation between the so-called elements as part of this dispersion. Also, he introduces a new idea here: that of a regularity as an active and productive principle behind the concrete set of elements. Foucault uses this concept of regularity to define discursive formation:

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings [sic], transformations), we will say, [...] that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*. (Foucault 1972:38)

This definition is vague, a fact which become perhaps most evident if one discusses practical questions. For example, it appears that an arbitrary selection of statements may also show patterns or regularities, which according to this definition would also be discursive formations.⁴⁷ Foucault does not discuss this case, but either one accepts those seemingly arbitrary patterns as discursive formations or one refines the criteria for identifying proper discursive formations.

Likewise, Foucault's examples indicate that the identification of a single regularity would not be enough for a good identification of a discursive formation. Foucault seems to suggest that one needs to identify several regularities to determine a discursive formation, but he does not specify exactly which procedure should be followed (how many such regularities would be necessary etc.). I assume that it is possible to answer these practical questions, that one could come up with more concrete conditions for the quantity and quality of regularities which need to be met to identify a discourse in the real world. I emphasize the fact that Foucault does not answer these practical questions not to point to a lack of his approach, but to show that he is more concerned with the general aspects of his approach - the more theoretical aspects of his method, if you will - and not with the more minute practical aspects that one would expect from the textbook description of a method.

Next, I discuss Foucault's definitions of the four notions of object, forms of statement, concepts and themes. He describes these terms mostly through examples from his archaeological studies and he does not explain them fully in general terms. I try to fill in some conceptual gaps in a way that complies with his examples. I call these definitions preliminary since I am interpreting what Foucault might have had in mind and because my definitions are not based on a proper analysis of empirical data. These definitions are meant to serve a heuristic function and to facilitate the transfer of these terms to new research.

TOWARDS DEFINITIONS: OBJECTS

When Foucault speaks about objects, he refers to objects inside discourse, not to the material world, as his occasional discussion of *things* (*choses*, in opposition to objects or words) shows (Foucault 1972:7, 33 ,45). One can suspect that an object is anything that "is given to the speaking subject" (Foucault 1972:51), anything mentioned in discourse, or anything that is in the statement. This range of objects is much smaller than anything about which a statement could be made, because in any given discourse at any given time what can be said is limited: "one cannot speak of anything at any time; it is not easy to say something new" (Foucault 1972:49). In other words: there are "historical conditions" (Foucault 1972:49) that limit the availability of objects and these conditions depend on "institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, [and] modes of characterization" (Foucault 1972:49).

⁴⁷ However, I expect that not every arbitrary selection of statements shows common objects, modes of statement, concepts and themes.

Foucault lists here both discursive and non-discursive factors that determine the emergence of objects.

These limiting factors are not only negative, they are also productive in the sense that objects are not only unveiled, disclosed, discovered by discourse, but truly invented, pointing to a complex relationship between things and objects:

[T]he object does not await in limbo, the order that will free it and enable it to become embodied in a visible and prolix objectivity; it does not pre-exist itself, held back by some obstacle at the first edges of light (Foucault 1972:49).

Before objects exist in discourse, they might already exist in "'prediscursive' experiences" (Foucault 1972:52), but as such they are not at the center of the archaeology.

TOWARDS DEFINITIONS: MODALITE ENONCIATIVE

Foucault explains the second type of discursive element, the "modalité énonciative" (Foucault 1972:55), as "a certain style, a certain constant manner of statement" (Foucault 1972:37). The English translation by A.M. Sheridan Smith suggests "enunciative modality" (Foucault 1972:55) for the French "modalités énonciatives", a direct but perhaps unnecessarily clumsy translation; instead I prefer "mode of statement" as a translation.

Foucault's examples for modes of statement come from his study of the history of medicine:

[F]rom the nineteenth century medical science was characterized [...] by a certain *style*, a certain constant manner of statement. For the first time, medicine no longer consisted of a group of traditions, observations, and heterogeneous practices, but of a corpus of knowledge that presupposed the same way of looking at things, the same division of the perceptual field, the same analysis of the pathological fact in accordance with the visible space of the body, the same system of transcribing what one perceived in what one said (same vocabulary, same play of metaphor); in short, it seemed to me that medicine was organized as a series of descriptive statements. (Foucault 1972:33)

Basically his example for modes of statement concerns a way of looking at reality, something he had called "gaze" in *The Birth of the Clinic*: in the case of medicine he observed the choice to focus on the visible and to look at it in a specific descriptive mode. More concretely, Foucault mentions "[q]ualitative descriptions, biographical accounts, the location, interpretation, and cross-checking of signs, reasonings [sic] by analogy, deduction, statistical calculations, experimental verifications" (Foucault 1972:55) as text forms (and other forms of statements) that were characteristic for medicine at a certain time.

TOWARDS DEFINITIONS: CONCEPTS

To illustrate his understanding of concept, Foucault refers to examples from his study of grammar in *The Order of Things*:

[D]oes not the Classical analysis of language and grammatical facts (from Lancelot to the end of the eighteenth century) rest on a definite number of concepts whose content and usage had been established once and for all: the concept of *judgement* defined as the general, normative form of any sentence, the concepts of *subject* and *predicate* regrouped under the more general category of *noun*, the concept of *verb* used as the equivalent of that of *logical copula*, the concept of *word* defined as the sign of a representation etc.? (Foucault 1972:34)

These examples indicate that concepts are technical terms, which I take to be that subset of objects which have implicit or explicit definitions. Concepts are more than words: they come with some sort of definition, and I assume that concepts are typically much fewer in number than

objects. But like objects, concepts are ordered in relations that may be hierarchical. Foucault refers to ordered sets of concepts as a "conceptual architecture" (Foucault 1972:34), "deductive architecture" (Foucault 1972:62), or a "family of concepts" (Foucault 1972:62), although he repeatedly underlines that he is little interested in such architectures.

TOWARDS DEFINITIONS: THEMES

Foucault refers to the fourth element (or element type) as themes. Later he also introduces an alternative expression: "strategies," (Foucault 1972:64).⁴⁸ His examples for themes primarily come from economics and biology, which he studied in *The Order of Things*.⁴⁹ Evolution is one of his prime examples:

Could one not, for example, constitute as a unity everything that has constituted the evolutions theme from Buffon to Darwin? A theme that in the first instance was more philosophical, closer to cosmology than to biology, a theme that directed research from afar rather than named, regrouped, and explained results; a theme that always presupposed more than one was aware of, but which, on the basis of this fundamental choice, forcibly transformed into discursive knowledge what had been outlined as a hypothesis or as a necessity. (Foucault 1972:34)

Foucault suggests here that the French naturalist Buffon (1707-1788) already wrote about evolution without actually using this word and certainly without giving it the exact same definition as Darwin would do roughly a hundred years later.

A theme here is different from object and a concept in that it is not tightly bound to specific words, but rather points to a conceptual similarity, almost as an abstract idea, or several ideas, that governs discourse without necessarily being cast into a single term. In fact, Foucault seems to avoid the introduction of another term like idea in this case. Instead he describes themes a specific configuration of objects, forms of statements, and concepts.

[Some] discourses [...] give rise to certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form according to their degree of coherence, rigor and stability, themes or theories. (Foucault 1972:64)

Thus, themes share with discourses (and discursive formations) that they are made of specific sets of objects, forms of statement and concepts: Evolution as a theme could be explained in an abstract way as the gradual change of natural things (such as geological formations, animals and perhaps people, societies, countries) over long time spans. While the more concrete aspects of these processes have been debated for hundreds of years, one could argue, as Foucault does, that the general topic was present in academic discourses for at least a hundred years before Darwin.

Interestingly enough, Foucault appears to associate themes especially with academic discourses that are contested and political:

In 'sciences' like economics or biology, which are so controversial in character, so open to philosophical or ethical options, so exposed in certain cases to political manipulation, it is legitimate in the first instance to suppose that a certain thematic is capable of linking, and animating a group of discourses (Foucault 1972:34).

This may relate to the fact that when two or more approaches disagree about one aspect, they typically agree on a more general concept. While Lamarck and Darwin disagreed about many

⁴⁸ I use "theme" or "strategy" depending on which seems more appropriate in the specific context.

⁴⁹ For additional examples of themes, theories and strategies, see (Foucault 1972:64–65).

concrete aspects of evolution among natural species, they did agree on the general topic of gradual change and both opposed biblical explanations that omitted any form of change.

CONCLUDING CONCERNS

Discourse and discursive formations are not exactly the same, but they denote the same units: both are composed of statements that can make up an academic discipline, such as those Foucault looked at in his own archaeological investigations. As discussed above, "discourse" points towards a philosophical concept of statement that Foucault does not derive from his earlier studies, while "discursive formation" is explicitly construed with respect to those earlier studies. For my practical purposes I will ignore this difference between the two terms and assume that a discursive formation and a discourse are the same thing.

Although Foucault does not present formal definitions for his notions of object, form of statement, concept and themes, his application of these terms is sufficiently clear. Earlier in this section, I have tried to show how definitions of these terms could look.

Element is traditionally a fairly strict concept. The elements in the periodic table of elements, for examples, are basic building blocks, from which all things are made. This implies mutually exclusivity between elements: Something cannot be iron and lead at the same time. Unlike, say a pictorial representation of a house, elements are not dependent on perspective. But these criteria do not apply to Foucault's elements. In his archaeology, the same word can represent an object and a concept, occasionally the same word may also represent a theme. Also, Foucault explicitly attempts to describe a way of looking, the *modalité énonciative*, as an element. It seems that what Foucault describes are not strictly elements, but rather aspects, features or attributes of discourses.

2.2.4 Rules of formation

Foucault posits that the discursive elements and their dispersion are conditioned by factors which he calls "conditions of existence" or, interchangeably, "rules of formation":

The conditions to which the [discursive] elements of this division [a discursive formation] (objects, modes of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the *rules of formation*. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division [formation]. (Foucault 1972:38)

He introduces conditions of existence as the general term that covers five processes: coming into existence, coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance of elements in a given discursive formation. These five processes appear to cover all possible formative processes. I suggest to use the term "occurrence" as the general term to refer to all of these processes.

Foucault enumerates three conditions for each element type, and these are supposed to explain how the respective elements occur (come into existence, coexist, are maintained, modified and disappear). He does not provide formal definitions or detailed explanations for these rules of formation; instead he mostly refers to his previous studies and illustrates his point by examples.

FORMATION OF OBJECTS

For the formation of objects, Foucault refers to his analysis of psychiatry, which he also calls "psychopathology" (Foucault 1972:40), from *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in*

the Age of Reason. Beginning in the 19th century, the objects in this discourse are volatile and change frequently:

The objects with which psychopathology has dealt since this break in time [in the 19th century] are very numerous, mostly very new, but also very precarious, subject to change and [...] to rapid disappearance: in addition to motor disturbances, hallucinations, and speech disorders, sexual aberrations and disturbances, the phenomena of suggestion and hypnosis, lesions of the central nervous system, deficiencies of intellectual and motor adaptation, criminality. (Foucault 1972:40)

Foucault introduces the first factor he suggests to look for as *surfaces of emergence*:

[S]urfaces of emergence show where [my emphasis] these individual differences, which, according to the degrees of rationalization, conceptual codes, and types of theory, will be accorded to the status of disease, alienation, [...] etc. may emerge, and then be designated and analyzed. (Foucault 1972:41)

As examples for surfaces of emergence for the object of madness in the discourse of psychiatry, Foucault mentions "the family, the immediate social group, the work situation and the religious community" (Foucault 1972:41). He calls these surfaces the older surfaces and adds a list of more recent ones which include art, sexuality and penalty (the penal system):

art with its own normativity, sexuality (its deviations in relation to customary prohibitions become for the first time an object of observation, description, and analysis for psychiatric discourse), penalty (whereas in previous periods madness was carefully distinguished from criminal conduct (Foucault 1972:41).

Foucault does not tell us how he thinks of these places or fields. They could be separate discourses or discursive elements (objects, concepts). For sexuality, for example, Foucault emphasizes that he refers to it not as a practice, but as an element in the psychiatric discourse.

There are certainly discourses about the family, for instance in pedagogy, medicine or public administration, but he might also refer to the family not as discourse, but as a social institution, in short something that takes place beyond the discourse. So it appears that surfaces of emergence are heterogeneous: they are comprised of discourses, discursive elements and non-discursive practices.

In this particular case, these discourses and non-discursive practices have in common that they distinguish between normal individuals and madmen, and that they refer to medicine:

[The family, the immediate social group, the work situation and the religious community] are [...] susceptible to deviation, [...] have a margin of tolerance and a threshold beyond which exclusion is demanded, [they] have a mode of designation and a mode of rejecting madness which all transfer to medicine [...] the burden of explanation (Foucault 1972:41).

Exactly what features make these institutions and discourses function as surfaces of emergence is not clear. It would appear that the mere fact that these fields distinguish between normal and mad and that they reference medicine is already enough for them to function as surfaces of emergence.

Foucault illustrates surfaces of emergence not for the wide variety of objects that appear in psychiatry, but for a special case, that of the object that represents the whole discourse – in this case, madness. I would like to call this special case a "domain object" since this object provides the name for the discourse as a whole:

In these fields of initial differentiation, in the distances, the discontinuities, and the thresholds that appear within it, psychiatric discourse finds a way of limiting its *domain* [my emphasis], of defining what it is talking about, of giving it the status of an object – and therefore of making it manifest, nameable, and describable. (Foucault 1972:41)

It appears that one could determine surfaces of emergence not only for the domain object, but also for other objects, although none of Foucault's examples covers this case.

Furthermore, it is unexpected that Foucault describes the emergence of the object of madness by referring to psychiatry in the 19th century as an example. As he described in *Madness and Civilization*, madness is significantly older than that. If anything is new in the 19th century, it is the discourse of psychiatry. It therefore looks like surfaces of emergence are more linked to the emergence of a new discourse than to that of individual objects within it.

The second factor Foucault suggests analyzing for the formation of objects are *authorities of delimitation*:

We must also describe the *authorities of delimitation*: in the nineteenth century, medicine [...] became the major authority in society that delimited, designated, named, and established madness as an object; but it was not alone in this: the law and penal law in particular [...], the religious authority [...], literary and art criticism [...].(Foucault 1972:42)

This list of examples includes several items that also appeared as surfaces of emergence, which raises the question of how the two factors (surfaces of emergence and authorities of delimitation) differ from each another. A new aspect here is that the institutions that become authorities of delimitation possess authority in the eye of the public or other discourses and institutions, such as the penal system, which includes medical and psychiatric expertise. Also, it appears that, in contrast to surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation are not only relevant at the inception of a discourse. Like surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation appear to put an emphasis on domain objects - in the case of psychiatry: madness - rather than on all of the objects within a discourse.

As the third criterion for the formation of objects, Foucault suggests analyzing *grids of specification*, or

the systems according to which the different 'kinds of madness' are divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects of psychiatric discourse (Foucault 1972:42).

For 19th century psychiatry these systems were: "the soul [...], the body [...], the life and history of individuals and the interplays of neuropsychological correlations" (Foucault 1972:42). This example illustrates that with grids of specification Foucault does not simply refer to the object and its subspecies – madness, schizophrenia etc. -, but to the criteria on which the classification is based.

Foucault himself admits that this list of three criteria for the formation of objects is "inadequate" (Foucault 1972:42), stressing that these rules do not determine (or: allow to identify) discourse completely. Yet he insists on an incomplete or a relative determination. Apart from this argument, the list also seems incomplete because Foucault mainly focuses on the emergence of the domain object, leaving other objects and other processes (coexistence, modification, disappearance, etc.) out of sight. In a word: Foucault outlines three interesting and relevant factors relating to the domain object, but he does not show how these factors are responsible for the formation of objects in general.

FORMATION OF MODES OF STATEMENTS

In order to analyze the formation of modes of statements, Foucault refers to his analysis of medicine in *The Birth of the Clinic* and suggests looking at the speaking subject in three different ways. His subject is neither the free and powerful subject of a transcendental or existential philosophy, nor a subject that defines discourse by expressing its experience. His subject is also not a discursive subject, or a subject implied by the discourse – as novels imply not only a narrator, but also an author (according to Booth 1983:431). His subjects are "real" people, but Foucault looks at them as exchangeable beings forming a social group - those who are allowed or able to have a certain kind of discourse: "Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language?" (Foucault 1972:54).

His examples for the formation of modes of statements all involve doctors as the central, but certainly not the only, occupational group involved in medicine, as well as the primary one engaged in its discourse.

Is it possible to say what makes up the status of the speaking subject without referring to the concrete example of medicine? Foucault refers to the central occupation in a specific discourse - for medicine, this is the doctor – and describes different aspects of this occupation comprehensively in broad categories.

As the first factor in the formation of modes of statements, Foucault introduces the *status of the speaking subject* (Foucault 1972:55). For his example, medicine around 1900, he summarizes the status of the doctor by referring to four items: "competence and knowledge", "institutions, systems, pedagogic norms", "legal conditions" and "a system of differentiation and relations" (Foucault 1972:55–56). In the latter category, Foucault includes expectations – which in my eyes do not need be uttered discursively in order to qualify as expectations - on how doctors are required to deal with people of the same status (e.g. by subordination within a hierarchical structure), with people of another status (e.g. priests) and what society expects of them, e.g. in the name of public health (Foucault 1972:56).

It appears that Foucault uses the word "status" here in a loose or broad sense and that his characterization of the doctor's status aims at a comprehensive description. In any case, Foucault not only refers to what one might consider the core activity of doctors, healing, but also other aspects of being a doctor, aspects that are not directly related to their more obvious activities: being part of institutions, being part of hierarchies, being subjected to laws and, more generally, relating to other social institutions. As with the rules of formation, Foucault describes here a complex of factors that exceeds the purely discursive realm.

As the second factor in the formation of modes of statements, Foucault considers *institutional sites* (Foucault 1972:57). For the medical discourse around 1900, Foucault mentions the hospital, the private practice, the laboratory and the library as examples of these sites. Perhaps it is possible to say in more general terms that institutional sites are those places in which a specific discourse exists.

Foucault calls the third aspect in the formation of forms of statements the *position of the subject* (Foucault 1972:57–58). As an example, he describes the doctor as a questioning, a listening, and a seeing subject, and a subject who uses technology to improve perception. Apart

from these positions, which reflect the doctor's activities in relation to the patient (interviewing and diagnosing the patient), Foucault further adds a system of communication that includes teaching and the exchange with other participants in the medical field. If one attempts to generalize this aspect, it seems that the position of the subject concerns the subject's activities. Again, Foucault attempts to cover activities comprehensively.

Foucault introduced three factors as rules in the formation of forms of statements: the status and position of the speaking subjects and their institutional sites. But even more than in the case of the formation of objects, it is not clear how these factors relate to forms of statement at all. Foucault states that in his specific case study, the history of medicine, these factors determined the forms of statements. As with the formation of objects, the factors for the formation of modes of statement are not limited to discursive elements, but clearly include non-discursive aspects. Hence Foucault ventures here into the territory traditionally analyzed by sociology: the status of an occupational group.

FORMATION OF CONCEPTS

In analyzing the formation of concepts, Foucault emphasizes that he is not interested in the "conceptual architecture of an isolated text, an individual oeuvre or a science at a particular point in time" (Foucault 1972:60). Instead he looks for emergence, modification and disappearance of concepts in a discourse over a period of time. In a long-term perspective, concepts typically cannot be reduced into a single coherent group. Foucault draws on his research of "[n]atural [h]istory in the [c]lassical period" (Foucault 1972:57) to illustrate the rules of formation of concepts in which the concepts are significantly different from natural history in the 16th century:

certain of the older concepts (genus, species, signs) are used in different ways; new concepts (like that of structure) appear; and others (like that of organism) are formed later. But what was altered in the seventeenth century, and was to govern the appearance and reoccurrence of objects, for the whole of Natural History, was the general arrangement of statements, their successive arrangement in particular wholes; it was the way in which one wrote down what one observed and, by means of a series of statements, recreated a perceptual process. (Foucault 1972:57)

For this case, Foucault argues explicitly that the order of statements determines the occurrence of statements (how they come into existence, coexist, are maintained, modified and disappear). Accordingly, he names the first factor in the formation of objects *succession* of statements. This term refers to the internal order in which texts proceed, for example chronological in the case of historical accounts:

whether the order of inferences, successive implications, demonstrative reasoning; or the order of descriptions, the schemata of generalization or progressive specification to which they are subject, the spatial distributions that they cover; or the order of the descriptive accounts and the way in which the events of time are distributed in the linear succession of statements (Foucault 1972:56)

The second factor is called "forms of *coexistence*" (Foucault 1972:57, his emphasis), referring to duplication, reference to or omission of statements from other discourses. Perhaps "fields of statements" might work as an alternative label for forms of coexistence, since Foucault describes three fields of statements to illustrate forms of coexistence. The first of these fields is the field of *presence*, which is made up of "statements formulated elsewhere and taken up in a discourse, acknowledged to be truthful" (Foucault 1972:57). In this context, he also mentions statements that

"are criticized, discussed, and judged, as well as those that are rejected or excluded). The field of *concomitance*

includes statements that concern quite different domains of objects, [...], and belong to quite different types of discourse, but which are active among the statements here, because they serve as a general principle and as premises accepted by reasoning, or because they serve as a higher authority (Foucault 1972:58)

Lastly, the field of *memory* consists of

statements that are no longer accepted or discussed, and which consequently no longer define either a body of truth or a domain of validity, but in relation to which relations of filiation, genesis, transformation, continuity, and historical discontinuity can be established. (Foucault 1972:58)

It is not clear how the field of presence and the field of concomitance differ from each other: both refer to statements from other discourses and in both cases the validity of these statements is accepted.

As a third aspect in the formation of concepts, Foucault introduces *procedures of intervention*, which he explains generally as processes "which may legitimately [be] applied to statements" (Foucault 1972:58). He emphasizes that these processes are not the same for each discourse. For the particular case of natural history he lists several procedures, such as "techniques of rewriting", illustrated by the natural historians of the 17th and 18th century rewriting earlier "linear descriptions in classificatory tables," and "modes of translating," illustrated by transforming "quantitative statements into qualitative formations and vice versa" (Foucault 1972:59).

Another procedure of intervention Foucault describes for natural history, which he labels as a method or transcribing, is the rewriting of knowledge using "a more or less formalized and artificial language" (Foucault 1972:59).

FORMATION OF THEMES AND STRATEGIES

Foucault acknowledges that he can only provide a preliminary outline for the formation of themes and strategies, again suggesting three rules of formations. The first of these he labels *points of diffraction*, and explains it as

two objects, or two types of enunciation [forms of statement], or two concepts may appear, in the same discursive formation, without being able to enter – under pain of manifest contradiction or inconsequence – the same series of statements (Foucault 1972:65).

Since the two elements are based on the same rules, Foucault regards them as equivalent and shows that the conflict results in two (or conceivably more) "discursive sub-groups":

those very sub-groups that are usually regarded as being of major importance. as if they were the immediate unity and raw material out of which the larger discursive groups ('theories', 'conceptions', 'themes') are formed. (Foucault 1972:66)

As an example, Foucault points to the history of economics in the 18th century, which is typically not regarded as a product "of Petty [or], of Law's experience" and via the work of several intermediary theoreticians and "the Physiocratic system opposing Utilitarian conceptions" (Foucault 1972:66).

Secondly, Foucault points to the "*economy of the discursive constellation*," as another rule of formation for themes, which he explains as "the role played by the discourse being studied in

relation to those that are contemporary with it or related to it" (Foucault 1972:66). Some of these relations are analogy, opposition and complementarity:

The discourse under study may [...] be in a relation of analogy, opposition, or complementarity with certain other discourses. Lastly, one may describe between several discourses relations of mutual delimitation, each giving the other the distinctive marks of its singularity by the differentiation of its domain of application (Foucault 1972:66–67).

As an example, Foucault again points to his comparative study from *The Order of Things* where he described an analogy between the analysis of wealth and natural history: "the first is to the representation of need and desire what the second is to the representation of perceptions and judgements" (Foucault 1972:67).

Lastly, Foucault points to the importance of the function of a discourse in a field of non-discursive practices. As an example, Foucaults points to the general grammar which "played a role in the pedagogic practice", and the analysis of wealth which played a role in the "economic and political decisions of governments" (Foucault 1972:68).

CONCLUSION AND CONCERNS

For the first time in his archaeological period, Foucault explicitly includes non-discursive aspects in his analysis when he describes the rules of formation. He thereby leaves behind the self-chosen restriction of looking only at discourse. In comparison to his earlier archaeological studies, he is more strictly deterministic here. He posits that discourse is determined to a large extent by earlier discourse and other non-discursive practices. More concretely, with the rules of formation he argues that certain discursive features related to a discourse's objects (surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation, grids of specification) determine which objects occur; that certain features of speaking (status of the subject, institutional sites, positions of the subject) determine which forms of statement occur; and that certain features of statements (forms of succession, coexistence, procedures of intervention) determine which concepts occur. Foucault may be able to show evidence for such direct determination in his case studies, but he certainly does not show the determination in general terms. It is not even clear how specific rules of formation relate to only those elements (objects, modes of statement, concept, theme) that Foucault associates them with.

Table 2.1: Rules of formation

Element [type]	Foucault's examples	Rules of formation
objects	The objects of madness and schizophrenia are examples of objects from the discursive formation of psychopathology.	<i>surfaces of emergence</i> : the family, the immediate social group, the work situation, the religious community
domain object	From: <i>Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason</i> .	<i>authorities of delimitation</i> : medicine, penal law, or the church as institutions that deal with madness
forms of statement	The way of looking at things in the discursive formation of medicine is an abstract example of forms of statements. More concrete examples are qualitative descriptions and biographical accounts. From: <i>Birth of the Clinic</i> .	<i>grids of specification</i> : systems according to which objects are divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another
[speaking subject]		<i>status of subject</i> : the status of the doctor in four different aspects: a) "competence and knowledge", b) "institutions, systems, pedagogic norms", c) "legal conditions" and d) "a system of differentiation and relations"
		<i>institutional sites</i> : For medicine, the hospital, the private practice, the laboratory and the library
		<i>positions of subject</i> : for medicine, the doctor as a questioning, a listening, and a seeing subject, a subject who uses technology to improve perception, an interviewing and diagnosing doctor and a teaching and studying doctor
concepts	The terms "judgement",	<i>forms of succession</i> (order, progression of statements, such as a chronological

[statements]	"subject", "predicate", "noun" are examples of concepts from the discursive formation of grammar. From: <i>The Order of Things</i>	order for historical accounts): <i>forms of coexistence/fields of statements</i> : a) presence, b) concomitance, c) memory: statements which are remembered and used for tracing filiation, but which are not themselves considered active/valid anymore <i>procedures of intervention</i> : For natural history, techniques of rewriting linear descriptions in classificatory tables, methods of transcribing statements in more or less formalized and artificial language, modes of translating qualitative statements into qualitative ones and vice versa, etc. <i>points of diffraction</i> : two objects, or two types of enunciation [forms of statement], or two concepts may appear, in the same discursive formation, without being able to enter – under pain of manifest contradiction or inconsequence – the same series of statements <i>economy of the discursive constellation</i> : the role played by the discourse being studied in relation to other discourses that are contemporary with it or related to it <i>function for non-discursive practices</i> : function of a discourse in a field of non-discursive practices
themes	Themes are sets of objects, forms of statement and concepts. Evolution is an example of a theme in discursive formation of natural history and biology. From: <i>The Order of Things</i>	

In fact, it is the first time in the archaeological phase that Foucault argues he has identified determining factors. In *The Order of Things*, Foucault had still argued that he focuses on the what and not so much on the why.

It is not always easy to determine what has caused a specific change in a science. What made such a discovery possible? Why did this new concept appear? Where did this or that theory come from? Questions like these are often highly embarrassing because there are no definite methodological principles on which to base such an analysis. [...] It seemed to me that it would not be prudent for the moment to force a solution I felt incapable, I admit, of offering: the traditional explanations – spirit of the time, technological or social changes, influences of various kinds – struck me for the most part as being more magical than effective. In this work, then, I left the problem of causes to one side. (Foucault 2004:xiii)⁵⁰

In my opinion, histories of thought – including Foucault's work - are generally better in showing what changes, and less well suited to explain these changes. If they convincingly argue for causal relationships, they generally use a large amount of what I perceive as circumstantial evidence to do so. Foucault's work is no exception.

While the idea that discursive and non-discursive practices partly determines discourse opens up interesting new perspectives in Foucault's work, I do not see that the concrete factors Foucault describes as the rules of formation determine discourse in exactly the way Foucault claims. If they do not, the term "rules of formation" becomes pointless. What remains is a list of factors or aspects of discourse, such as surfaces of emergence, the status of the speaking subject, etc. I will use the criteria Foucault suggests where they seem appropriate in my own historical analysis, but without taking for granted that they imply any kind of determination.

2.3 More Differences

It is time to sum up my discussion of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and to declare more precisely how I intend to proceed in my own archaeological study. I see two important ways in which my project deviates from the procedure described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

⁵⁰ In fact, this quote is from the Foreword to the English edition. As already mentioned, this foreword was probably written after *The Archaeology of Knowledge* was published in French.

IDENTIFYING THE LIMITS OF A SPECIFIC DISCOURSE

The Archaeology of Knowledge provides an objective procedure that allows for identifying a specific discourse based on discursive regularities. Using this procedure, one should be able to distinguish if a given statement belongs to any given discourse (when the rules and regularities that define the discourse are known). Such a procedure is perhaps possible, but it is not practical, since it requires fairly comprehensive inventories of objects, modes of statements, concepts and themes, and their development over time for several discourses prior to being able to identify a single discourse. This might be a reason why, in his own archaeological or later genealogical studies, Foucault never attempted to determine the boundaries of a discourse in this way. Instead, Foucault seems to have operated with conventional notions of disciplines or subdisciplines, such as natural history or psychiatry, deciding on an ad-hoc basis if specific texts belonged to these discourses or not. Also, he typically discusses the works of important protagonists whose contributions to their respective fields are typically well known (e.g. François Quesnay, Carl Linnaeus).

In my eyes, the argument Foucault makes in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* is one of theoretical importance. He insists that it is possible to define a specific discourse based solely on an analysis of the distribution of objects, modes of statement, terms, and themes over time and it seems that such an approach is possible for discourses at least in retrospect.

I am not interested in finding the exact limits of Romanian ethnomusicology, to decide whether one text belongs exactly to one or possibly to several discourses. For now, I simply assume that there is a unit which can be described as Romanian ethnomusicology⁵¹. The sources that I mainly analyze as a basis for my history are basically the ethnomusicological publications of one research institution, the IEF. I assume that this body of texts belongs to the discourse of Romanian ethnomusicology. Thus, I let this concrete institutional affiliation decide which texts I predominantly analyze, rather than Foucault's procedure from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

While discussing this body of texts, I look for its objects, modes of statement, concepts and themes, and regularities: for example, for a specific period of time both the discipline and its object is typically referred to as *folklor muzical* (musical folklore).

I do not claim that the publications of the IEF represent Romanian ethnomusicology as a whole, but since the IEF's publications – especially during the socialist period - constituted a large portion of all ethnomusicological publications in Romania, I do regard this selection as an important part of Romanian ethnomusicology.

THE RELATION OF DISCOURSE AND NON-DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

An essential aspect of Foucault's archaeological approach is its focuses on discourse. Although Foucault broadens his approach in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* to include non-discursive practices, it still remains strongly focused on discourse. I found that I do not want to keep a similar exclusive emphasis on discourse in my own research. It would be easy to refer to

⁵¹ In section 1.5, I discuss ways in which the assumption that there is a unit that can be called Romanian ethnomusicology, and similar national units, can be both problematic and heuristically productive.

Foucault's own later studies, which similarly de-emphasize the importance of discourse, but another reason for not focusing exclusively on discourse is that such a focus is – and for good reasons - unusual for ethnomusicology and other fieldwork-based research. While presenting bits and pieces of my research at various conferences, it became obvious to me that colleagues are interested not only in discourse, but also in the social, cultural and historical field in which this discourse is situated.

Fieldworkers find themselves thrown in a complex reality; a reality that includes, but exceeds a universe of discourse. Furthermore, ethnographies are rarely based on a single and strict technique or method, and instead often draw from many techniques and methods centered around participant observation. Correspondingly, I try to provide a perspective on both dimensions – discourse and non-discursive reality. In conclusion, I attempt to cover the usual "range of reality" covered by many ethnographies and social histories, a reality which includes both a discursive universe and a social reality in which actors, such as ethnomusicologists and musicians, move within and occasionally beyond the boundaries of culture, but I put a greater emphasis on the discursive element. In other words: I attempt to integrate my analysis of discourse with another reality which concerns "the reality outside of the texts". This intention naturally raises the question of how I integrate both "realities", as well as if and how Foucault also does so.

What is often not noted is that Foucault mainly talks about topics and researchers, such as the proto-geneticist Gregor Mendel or the French physiocrats, which are fairly well-known – even outside of France. Information about these people and their work is accessible in most major encyclopedias and other sources. So, by focusing on these fairly important people in various discourses, Foucault can draw on background information that is accessible to informed readers even without supplying it in his own text. Such background information is often not available for Romania intellectuals and Romanian ethnomusicology, so it is not un-archaeological if I provide more "history of the referent" than Foucault does.

Sometimes I allude to such a referential history in my text by alluding to Ranke's famous dictum, history as it really was, although, of course, I do not assume that I have access to an objective past but rather that I describe the past as it presents itself to me after a reasonable amount of research. I do not argue that my version of history is the only possible way of writing this story and, perhaps most importantly, I do not try to level out all the contradictions that might exist between the discursive analysis and the referential history. In this process, I found a well-informed but surface-level perspective of referential history to be of great use. Generally, I consciously try to provide cornerstones of a referential history, a history of who did what and perhaps even a hypothesis about the why although without trying to go into too much detail, before I enter the more impersonal discussion of objects, modes of statement, concepts and themes suggested by the archaeological approach.

3 The institutionalization of folk music (1840s–1940s)

In this chapter, I look at the process by which folk music became an object of ethnomusicological research in Romania, a process that was intertwined with the institutionalization of the discipline. This chapter covers a time span from the early folk music research, which I trace back into the 19th century, to the formal foundation of the Institut de Folklor in 1949.

I do not intend to provide a comprehensive analysis of the beginnings of folk music research in Romania, since this work has its main focus in the 20th century. I merely want to provide a limited amount of context. I am especially interested in two topics. The first is a political history of Romania. As elsewhere, folklore research in Romania was intertwined to some extent with the political process of nation building. Verdery (1991:29, 27-71) has argued that the intellectual discourse about the nation not only accompanied this process, but was also one of the factors that made nation-building possible. For the reader less familiar with Romanian history, I highlight some elements of a political, social, and cultural history that seem relevant in this context, both before and after the recognition of Romania as an independent nation. My main interest, however, is to outline the intersection of intellectual discourse, cultural policy and politics as it is related to the fields that will eventually be known as folklore in the 19th century and musical folklore in the 1920s.

The second context I try to illuminate is how "folk music" was researched before it existed as a fixed academic concept. As elsewhere, the concept of folk music found wide application in academia not long before the 20th century and then partly replaced and transfigured earlier concepts such as "folk song."⁵² In the early days, arguably the most important academic discipline discussing what later would be called folk music was folklore, itself an emerging discipline in the 19th century⁵³. I look mainly at the publications of the Romanian Academy on folklore in an attempt to outline a music-related paradigm of folklore research for that time.

The publication of Bartók's first volume of Romanian folk music by the Romanian Academy in 1913 marked a new development for Romania: folk music research became increasingly autonomous; it weakened its ties to folklore research and strengthened new disciplinary connections to musicology. In the late 1920s, Romanian ethnomusicology entered into a phase of increasing institutionalization, exemplified by the establishment of ethnomusicological curricula (then referred to as musical folklore) at conservatories and folk music archives, the first institutions in Romania dedicated mainly to folk music. Constantin Brăiloiu is one of the main proponents of this movement.

⁵² Tim Rice writes that that *notion* of folk music appeared with the Industrial Revolution. I take that to refer to the late 18th century for England (Rice, Porter, and Goertzen 2000:2). Certainly at this time there was an international debate on folk song, but I am not able to locate the term "folk music" before the 1880s. The earliest occurrence I was able to identify is Joseph Bennett 1881. Apparently, it is not all that usual to distinguish between the debate on folk song, which took place in the wake of Herder and others, and the debate on folk music, which began shortly before 1900, as I do.

⁵³ During the last decades of the 19th century the notion of folklore becomes commonplace in Romanian discourse and around 1900 it is instituted as a discipline in Romanian academia, a process that I describe in this chapter. The term "folkloristics" appears only later, for example in the works of O. Bîrlea, to specifically refer to the academic discipline and not to its object. Attempting to avoid anachronistic usages of the term "folkloristics", I use either "folklore research" or "the study of folklore" when I want to refer to the discipline rather than its object in the 19th century.

I regard folkloristics as a *surface of emergence* for early Romanian ethnomusicology, to use one of Foucault's bulky terms from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. I attempt to determine the legacy early folkloristics had on the emerging Romanian discourse of ethnomusicology. For example, I look at how the object of folk music emerged slowly out of the older paradigm of folklore research, how during the institutionalization of Romanian ethnomusicology new objects began to be used, how new modes of utterance and new terms appeared and how discursive strategies changed in the transitional period from the old paradigm to the one of *folclor muzical* in the 1920s and 1930s.

The 1930s are characterized by an extreme nationalism, an influence that can even be felt in those corners of music research that attempted to be most objective. In this chapter, I trace this development back to earlier periods in the 19th century. I describe how the nation became an important theme not only in intellectual and political discourse since at least 1848, but also in the emerging debate on folklore. For decades, links between folk music research and politics have been habitually acknowledged⁵⁴, but rarely have they been discussed in detail, especially not for Europe, where the national movements reach back several centuries, a period which is not often studied by ethnomusicologists.

The general topic of nationalism in Romanian intellectual discourse – apart from music - has seen some research in recent years. Verdery's work, although now more than 20 years old, still serves as a landmark in this area. I rely in this chapter especially on her term "politics of culture". I also draw on Bohlman's analyses of European folk music since J.G. Herder (Bohlman 2011:4,18,29-29,98) for a broader European perspective on the aspects discussed here as well as several studies by Marian-Bălașa (2011a) that analyze aspects of what I will refer to as the "national matrix" in Romania.

In pursuing the national topic, I avoid terms such as "nationalism", "nationalist" and "nationalistic," since I find their usage often confusing. Many authors do not define these terms and those who do often define them in confusing ways. The historian Raphael Utz, for example, suggests that a nationalist is "someone who believes and accepts that nations exist and who is part of a society with national collective identity" (Utz 2005:616). According to this definition, nearly everyone in Europe at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century would be a nationalist, including those who argued against excessive nationalism, like Friedrich Nietzsche or Heinrich Heine, to name just two prominent examples from Germany.

To combat this terminological confusion, I argue in favor of terminological restraint. I attempt to avoid complex terms and limit myself to the use of simpler and better understood terms such as "nation." In doing so, I believe I follow Anderson's lead (cf. Anderson 1998) who - for

⁵⁴ Stockmann 1992, a publication with comprehensive approach, hardly mentions either the national movements of the 18th and 19th century nor nationalism as more general phenomenon and excludes this topic completely from the historical overview of the discipline (Elschek et al. 1992). In contrast, nationalism is an important topic in a similarly comprehensive publication (Rice, Porter, and Goertzen 2000), but even here politics tend to be excluded into a separate chapter on political ideology (Porter 2000a). Also, nationalism and the political context of the 18th and 19th century in general play only a small role in the historical overview of folk music research in this volume (Porter 2000b).

reasons he does not specify – likewise prefers the simpler term "nation" and avoids derived terms such as "nationalistic" or "nationalism".

To describe how Romania transformed in the course of the 19th century, I suggest speaking of the nation-building process, following Utz's example (Utz 2005:616). I describe some of the more obvious moments of this nation-building process, including international and domestic measures taken by Romanian politicians. One aspect I focus on is institutional nation-building, i.e. the transformation of existing institutions into institutions of the Romanian nation, and on the creation of new national institutions, together with discursive changes which not only accompany but also support the nation-building process. As a whole I focus on the domain of culture (understood here not in the anthropological sense, but as the domain of cultural policy) and hence I speak of cultural nation building.

Since the 19th century is not the main focus of this work, for this period of Romanian history I rely to a significant extent on secondary literature, such as Hitchins 1994, Bîrlea 1974 and some chapters from Verdery 1991:27–71. I make use of primary sources (or facsimile reprints and re-editions) where these are accessible. While some primary documents are surprisingly difficult to access and are not covered well in secondary literature,⁵⁵ for the most part the mentioned syntheses provide excellent overviews and a reasonable depth of background information for my study. But although I rely heavily on existing research, in this section, I do not simply repeat or analyze what others have already said, but provide a slightly different interpretation of the facts.

I stress the fact that the discourse on the nation, as I read it, is more than just a discourse on identity. Following Anderson and others, I regard it instead as a genuinely political discourse which is associated with claims of sovereignty and a debate over liberal or "revolutionary" ideas such as civil liberties, even in seemingly unpolitical domains such as folklore.

Based on my reading of Greenfeld's work on nationalism (Greenfeld 1993), who covers nation building processes in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia and the United States, I highlight the idea that the notion of the nation was imported to Romania from the West, that this import was facilitated by intellectuals and politicians (often in personal union) and that the process of the adaption of the national idea tends to follow three similar phases (cf. Utz 2005): (1) a social change which originates in a crisis and is solved by one (or several) social groups embracing a national identity; (2) a process of application where the social group which embraces the concept of the nation, applies it to its country and reconfigures existing elements as parts of the national identity; (3) a process which Greenfeld labels the as "ressentiment":

Every society importing the foreign idea of the nation inevitably focused on the source of importation – an object of imitation by definition – and reacted to it. Because the model was superior to the imitator in the latter's own perception [...], and the contact itself more often than not served to emphasize the latter's inferiority, the reaction commonly assumed the form of *ressentiment* (emphasis in the original, Greenfeld 1993:15).

⁵⁵ This includes, interestingly enough, the institutional history of the Romanian Academy. One would think that this important institution would deserve closer inspection by a wide range of scholars, not only from ethnomusicologists.

I find Greenfeld's label "ressentiment" unelegant and possibly misleading because of its psychological implications: her psychological expressions make far-reaching assumptions about the inner feelings of key proponents of the national discourse, if not of everyone believing in the nation. Such claims are difficult or even impossible to prove. However, in her case studies Greenfeld can convincingly show similar phases in the adoption of the notion of nation in several cases studies: an early embrace of the source society from which the concept of the nation is imported and later a backlash against it. I intend to salvage her concept of ressentiment by discarding the label and the psychological moment and instead merely look for an early embrace and a later rejection of the source context in the Romanian case.

Furthermore, what is striking in Greenfeld's formulation is that she points towards the relationship of perceived superiority and inferiority. Such relationships are a key element of chauvinism. Perhaps it is worthwhile to ask if a sense of superiority is an essential part of the nation and not merely one of its accidental side-effects or the result of an exaggerated national sentiment.

3.1 The politics of culture towards and beyond independence: (1848-1919)

cînd Europa întreagă se ocupă de soarta Prințipatelor [...] istoria patriei noastre, obiceiurile poporului, poeziile sale, tot ce se atinge de naționalitatea românilor au deșteptat curiozitatea publică; sîntem astăzi o nație nouă, descoperită de puțin timp, și avem tot prestigiul noutății; trebuie dar să ne arătăm europenilor cu ce avem mai frumos și mai vrednic de a-i interesa (Vasile Alecsandri quoted in Bîrlea Bîrlea 1974:93)

since all of Europe deals with the fate of the Principalities [referring to Wallachia and Moldavia around the time of the Paris conference in 1856], the history of our homeland, the customs of the people, its poetry, everything that touches the nationality of the Romanians aroused public curiosity; today, we are a new nation, discovered only a short while ago, and we have the whole prestige of novelty; but we have to show the Europeans that we have more beautiful and more worthy things that interest them.

In 1866 the emerging Romanian state consisted of two political units, Wallachia and Moldavia, ruled by a prince and hence referred to as principalities. Since 1859 the two principalities were governed by a single ruler, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in personal union. In the eyes of Western powers⁵⁶, the United Principalities officially belonged to the Ottoman Empire, but its influence was diminishing. They still paid tribute to Constantinople, but had increased trade with European countries and engaged in separate foreign policy, violating their vassal status (Hitchins 1994:2). At the same time, another principality with a large Romanian population, Transylvania, belonged

⁵⁶ The West is a fluid category which changes meaning depending on context. Here it is used as shorthand for European powers, which played a crucial role in the diplomacy which determined some aspects of Romania's internal and external politics in a series of conferences, such as the Congress of Paris of 1856. As such, the major Western powers which took part in the Congress - France, Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and arguably Russia, as a newcomer in European diplomacy at the time - might be regarded as the West at this particular time in opposition to the Ottoman Empire representing the East. One could also argue that "the West" represented a larger group of countries which shared similar political systems and history, roughly a parliamentary system in the post-Napoleonic world. Although this usage of the term is not unambiguous, it is commonplace in literature on Romania, and it is more precise than naming specific countries where available information does not specify them. Furthermore, the concepts of East and West were categories in Romanian discourse for at least the last several centuries (1991:1).

to Austria and would soon be integrated into Hungary as part of the Austro-Hungarian compromise (Hitchins 1994:203).

In 1866, a palace revolution replaced Prince Cuza. He had initiated reforms aiming, for example, at advancing the efficiency of government administration and increasing agricultural productivity, but he had also united the opposition by his increasingly autocratic course. Cuza abdicated on 23 February, possibly after having - as Hitchins (1994:11) suggests - stipulated his own removal. A provisional government consisting of leading politicians from both political camps of the time, conservatives and liberals, took charge and offered the crown to Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who accepted the offer and was endorsed with an overwhelming majority by a plebiscite taking place from 14-20 April (Hitchins 1994:13).

The quest to establish an independent Romanian nation-state was not new at this time. Earlier attempts, most notably the 1848 uprisings in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, had failed. During these revolts, Western ideals like civil liberties had been a leitmotif. Yet neither in 1848 nor in 1866 could independence be realized. One of the obstacles - besides the Russian troops on Romanian soil in 1848 - was the fact that recognition by Western powers was missing.

After 1848, one can see an increasing Western orientation on the political stage⁵⁷. The 1866 replacement of Romanian-born Cuza with a German nobleman from a respected European dynasty is one such move. The constitution of 1866, which implemented liberal ideals such as the separation of powers and civil rights, likewise shows an orientation towards Western nations such as Great Britain and France, European champions of liberal democracies at the time (cf. Greenfield 1993:14–17):

[The Constitution of 1866] limited powers of the prince to those of a constitutional monarch, provided for representative government, made ministers responsible for their acts, and reinforced the rights and liberties of the citizenry, who were henceforth guaranteed equality before the law, complete freedom of conscience, of the press, and of public meetings, the right of association and the protection of one's domicile and person against arbitrary search and arrest. (Hitchins 1994:17)

In the Russo-Turkish War from 1877 to 1878, Romania sided with Russia and declared independence from the Ottoman Empire shortly thereafter. Lengthy negotiations about Romania's status began and took place during the Congress of Berlin in the summer of 1878. The matter was de facto settled when England, France, and Germany formally acknowledged Romania's independence in 1880. Charles's coronation as Romania's king in March 1881 further cemented Romania's status as an independent nation (Giurescu, Matei, and Comisia Națională a Republicii Socialiste România pentru UNESCO 1972:212).

As the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter points out, Romania is a latecomer among European nation-states, but only barely so. Its independence came only a few years after the newly created Kingdom of Italy integrated the city of Rome - a date that for some symbolizes the formation of modern Italy - and not even a decade after Germany's unification in 1871. Romanian politicians and intellectuals had many models from which they could draw in their attempts to establish an independent Romanian nation-state.

⁵⁷ I do not wish to say that Westernization started in Romania only in 1848 or that this influence was invisible before then. I just refer to 1848 as a date when a Western influence on the political stage was obvious.

Many of the leading 19th century Romanian intellectuals and politicians received higher education in the West, mostly in France, but also in Prussia and elsewhere. An example is Mihail Kogălniceanu. Born in 1817, he studied in Paris and Berlin in the 1830s. He later described himself as a student of the German historian Leopold Ranke (Kogălniceanu 1908). On Kogălniceanu's return from abroad, he worked in Iași as a professor of history promoting a version of the past which put the Romanian people in the center and encouraged national pride in fellow Romanians. Employing B. Anderson's terms, Kogălniceanu's *Histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et des Valaques transdanubiens* (1837a) was perhaps the first important Romanian history which departed from the old dynastic model centered on rulers and their actions and instead presented the past as the actions of the Romanian people (cf. Bărbulescu et al. 2012:297–298).⁵⁸ In the early 1840s, Kogălniceanu was involved in the arts, for example as the editor of literary journals *Dacia Literară* and as the director of the National Theater in Iași (Deletant 1976:282). Beginning around 1848, Kogălniceanu took a significant role on the political stage as a moderate liberal, supporting a liberal constitution and the union of the Romanian principalities. In the 1860s, he held various political offices including those of prime minister and foreign minister. In these functions, Kogălniceanu was, for instance, involved in diplomatic negotiations which led to the recognition of Romania's independence.

At least since the failed uprisings of 1848, the idea of an ethnic nation-state⁵⁹ – a state for all Romanians – was on the political agenda. The unification of the two principalities in 1859 in

⁵⁸ In Kogălniceanu 1837a the author consistently refers to the Moldavians and Vlachs and not (yet) to Romanians. Still Kogălniceanu leaves no doubt that the two states belong together because they are populated by the same people. One could argue that the term "transdanubian Vlachs" implies that there are Vlachs on the both sides of the Danube. In this case "Vlach" would serve as a common term for several branches of Romanians. Instead, I believe that Kogălniceanu uses the official legal terms of his time (Moldavians, Wallachians etc) because he is in the service of the Moldavian Prince who in turn is supervised by Russian authorities as the de-facto occupiers of Wallachia and Moldavia after the Treaty of Paris from 1856. Kogălniceanu's liberal course towards a Romanian nation state would eventually put him at odds with his prince.

⁵⁹ Hitchins uses the term "ethnic nation" (e.g. 1994:5) to refer to 19th century Romania. This term might be appropriate, but it is not contemporary. On the one hand, the concept of the nation often implies some sort of organic relation between the members of the nation – Anderson's community (1998:7) – and the expression "ethnic nation" highlights this idea correctly, and it is also more precise since there are nations which are not ethnic nations. On the other hand, ethnicity is not a concept that was regularly used in Romanian discourse of the mid-1800s. It seems that in early and mid-1800s *Romanianness* was a vague and unquestioned concept, one which overlapped considerably with "Romanian people". At this time it was not rationalized by an explicit theory of ethnicity, but instead was typically associated with speaking Romanian (as a mother tongue) and also with religion, perhaps especially in Transylvania, where several ethnic groups and confessions co-existed and religious divisions did not always correspond to ethnic divisions. The term "ethnic nation" implies an awareness of ethnicity as a concept that was not wide-spread in 19th century Romania.

In the absence of ethnicity in contemporary discourse, I avoid the term "ethnic nation" and instead prefer the contemporary phrase "all Romanians", as in "a state for all Romanians," to allude to the vagueness that dominated the concept of Romanianness in most of the 1800s.

To provide only one isolated example: in a text from 1838, Vasile Popp appears to understand the nation as based on language: "O nație nu se poate firește osăbi prin munți înalți, riuri mari sau alte hotară politicești; ci numai acolo încetează o nație, unde înceată limba care o unește" (Evidently, a nation cannot be separated by high mountains, big rivers or other political borders, a nation only ends where the language which unites it ceases, Vasile Popp quoted by Birlea 1974:43).

I do not want to deny the existence of racial concepts in 19th century Romanian discourse, to address another related identity concept, but at least in the earlier part of the century these concepts were not regularly and explicitly connected with Romanianness in the discourse on the nation. Turda's review (2007) of racial theories likewise emphasizes a later period. A more detailed analysis would be necessary to determine how Romanianness developed at various times in Romanian history; I outline only the most evident cornerstones in the evolution of this concept.

personal union was an important step to the realization of this idea. By 1866, the national project was already widely accepted (Hitchins 1994:1).

The reconstruction of Romania according to Western principles, such as the nation-state or parliamentary monarchy, was not limited to the political system proper, but affected other areas of the state and society as well. One such area was culture. Not surprisingly, the process of Westernization became perhaps most evident in the domain of cultural politics. Many institutions in the traditional areas of cultural policy – language, religion, education, the arts including music – were either newly founded or reformed over the course of the 19th century. Examples include the establishment of national theatres and universities in the capitals of the principalities of Iași and Bucharest in 1840, 1860 and 1864 (Giurescu, Matei, and Comisia Națională a Republicii Socialiste România pentru UNESCO 1972:164,183,188).

The constitution of 1866 subordinated the two Orthodox churches – one for each principality - to the Romanian state and declared them to be independent of other Orthodox churches. The two churches officially united only in 1872 to become the Biserica Ortodoxă Română (the Romanian Orthodox Church), and it took the Patriarchate of Constantinople until 1885 to recognize its independence (Hitchins 1994:92), but the trajectory was already clear in 1866: before this time the Orthodox Church had been an institution which (together with the associated belief system) had united much of Eastern Europe; over the second half of the 19th century, the church was subjugated to the nation-state and a national principle. Essentially, the church was nationalized.

Another institution which, like the church, is important in determining Romaniansness is the Romanian language. In the domain of language policy, one can see a similar process in which the nation-state attempted to exert its authority.

On April 13, 1866, after Cuza's abdication but even before a new prince was found, the provisional government created a new institution, Societatea Literară Română (the Romanian Literary Society). The Ministerul Instrucțiunii și Cultelor (the Ministry of Education and Religion) appointed 21 scholars as the founding members of the new organization.⁶⁰ The members were selected to represent not only Wallachia and Moldavia, the two principalities which made up the "Romanian state" at the time, but also several other regions with a strong Romanian population: Transylvania, Bessarabia, Bucovina, the Banat and Macedonia. This regional selection underlines the institution's claim to represent all Romanians.

The new society was charged with orthographic reform, the establishment of a grammar and the editing of a Romanian dictionary, and as such it resembled the early Académie française⁶¹. In

⁶⁰ Initially only 19 scholars were appointed. However, before the first session of the Literary Society took place another two were added by the ministry, so that many sources speak of 21 foundational members. The initial 19 were Vasile Alecsandri, Vincențiu Babeș, George Barițiu, Ioan D. Caragiani, Timotei Cipariu, Dimitrie Cozacovici, Ambrosiu Dimitrovici, Alexandru Hașdeu, Alexandru Hurmuzaki, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Ion C. Massimu, Alexandru Mocioni, Gavriil Munteanu, Costache Negruzzi, Constantin A. Rosetti, Constantin Stamati, Ioan Străjescu, August Treboniu Laurian, and Vasile Urechea-Alexandrescu. On the occasion of the first session of the newly founded institution in 1867, Titu Maiorescu and Nicolae Ionescu were added. cf.

http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academia_Română. Accessed 6/6/2013.

⁶¹ The first meeting of the Literary Society took place in August 1867. There might be new legislation pertaining to the Literary Society in June 2, 1867 (decree 5041). In the summer of 1867 the society is renamed and restructured. It

effect, the Literary Society provided the government with a vehicle to carry out language reforms. One area of reform had been the writing system. Before the establishment of the Literary Society in 1859, one important piece of language policy was the switch from a Cyrillic alphabet to a Latin one, a policy which is frequently regarded as an example of Westernization (Verdery 1991:35). The Literary Society continued language reforms and provided a means to enforce language standardization.

About a year after founding the Literary Society, and on the occasion of its first meeting in August 1867, the Society was already reorganized and renamed. It became the Societate Academica Română (the Romanian Academic Society), broadening its scope to cover not only language, but the arts and sciences in general (Giurescu, Matei, and Comisia Națională a Republicii Socialiste România pentru UNESCO 1972:194). In March 1879, about a year after the recognition of Romania's independence, the Academic Society was restructured again and became the Academia Română (the Romanian Academy). At this point the academy had three sections: a literary section (literature, art, philology, and philosophy), a historical section (history, geography, and social sciences) and a scientific one (theoretical and applied sciences)⁶².

NATIONAL DISCOURSE

This short outline of institutional reforms in cultural institutions suggests that the underlying objective of these reforms was to equip Romania with the political and cultural institutions expected of a nation at the time. These reforms were part of a cultural nation-building process, which is not an unusual part of the larger nation-building process⁶³. One can see the unification of the two principalities in 1859, the international community's recognition of Prince Carol in 1866 and Romania's independence around 1880 as evidence that the nation-building process was successful on an international level: through it, Romania was not only recognized as a state in international politics, but more specifically the Romanian people were recognized as a *nation*. Inside the country the idea of the nation was also adopted. While by 1848 the existence of a Romanian nationality may still have been of concern mostly for the élites, especially the owners of large estates and an emerging urban middle class which included bankers, politicians and intellectuals, by the end of the century the nation was an established and unchallenged idea among large portions of the population.⁶⁴

appears that not only the initial members of the Literary Society were appointed by the ministry, but that the 1867 change to the membership was also made by the ministry. It is difficult to be more specific about the Literary Society since neither the founding decree of 1866 nor subsequent legislation is reprinted or extensively commented in accessible literature. My information is based on Predescu 1999, Dobre 1999a:27–30, the Academy's website http://www.acad.ro/academia2002/acadrom/pag_ist.htm accessed 03/01/2011).

⁶² I quote the discipline labels in English as translated in Giurescu, Matei, and Comisia Națională a Republicii Socialiste România pentru UNESCO 1972:209.

⁶³ Similar processes of re-organizing existing institutions and founding new institutions are described frequently in ethnomusicological literature. One such case in which the author uses a similar Foucault-derived perspective on cultural policy is that of post-independence Trinidad as described in Guilbault's *Governing Sound* (2007:47–56).

⁶⁴ If one accepts that the idea of the nation was imported to Romania during the 19th century, as Greenfeld's work on nationalism implies, one has to explain if, when and to what extent the less well-off rural population embraced the national idea. This question is addressed neither in historical, political or intellectual debates, nor in the literature surveyed here. It was the particular nature of the intellectual debate on the nation that it took the peasants' identification (as that of all Romanians) with the Romanian nation for granted. As a result, 19th century intellectual

Although urbanization and industrialization were only slowly progressing in 19th century Romania, they resulted in significant changes of society over the course of the century, as a growing middle-class emerged consisting initially of "merchants, master artisans, and 'industrialists' ". Over the course of the century "increasing numbers of professionals and civil servants" (Hitchins 1994:9) joined the ranks of the middle-class. Through the Convention of Paris, after the end of the Crimean War, and through a new constitution decreed by Cuza in 1864, the *Statut, boiers* (noble landowners) had lost their noble rank and other privileges. However, as the owners of large estates, the richer boiers maintained considerable influence and their élite status, while less affluent boiers increasingly joined the ranks of the upper middle-class, eventually forming a new élite, which tended as a whole to be more interested in industrialization than in agriculture. Intellectuals, often with a liberal outlook, formed another social group on the rise since the early decades of the century while the old Orthodox clergy perhaps suffered the most significant loss in status and influence (Hitchins 1994:9).⁶⁵

As elsewhere, intellectuals, such as the aforementioned Kogălniceanu, were instrumental in importing and implementing the new trends and ideas, such as the nation-state and a corresponding nationalistic sentiment. Verdery has analyzed the specific role of the intellectuals with regards to what she calls the "politics of culture". With this term she refers to the "processes of conflict and maneuvering that go on" both among the "cultural producers", such as artists, writers, musicians, scholars, and politicians, and between these two groups (Verdery 1991:12). She finds a discourse on the nation which spans politics and many academic discourses. Discussing examples mainly from history, literary criticism, philosophy, but also from theology, sociology, and economics, Verdery describes the relationship between Romanian politicians and scholars in the discourse on the nation as one which is mutually supportive: politicians use the arguments provided by scholars in their national and international quest of nation-building; in return, scholars receive national attention and gain relevance. The Literary Society may serve as a case in point: The government provided national recognition by selecting some scholars to become part of the new society and in turn the government could rely on the arguments these scholars provided, for example those concerning the unity of the different Romanian language dialects, which were employed in the quest to create or solidify a unified national language for all Romanians.

Verdery finds that the themes that shape the discourse of the nation change over time. In an early stage, the origins of Romanians and their language were discussed. One camp emphasized a Latin heritage, the other that of the Dacians; some also emphasized a mixed descent. In this context, Romanians' descent from Romans often symbolizes Romania's Western heritage. Not long after Romania's independence, this theme lost importance in intellectual debates; instead, the

discourse produced little evidence of a growing national sentiment among the poorer peasants. For other places and times, a popular nationalism from below is sometimes addressed with respect to music, e.g. Dudley 2008.

⁶⁵ Hitchins describes Romania's embrace of the ethnic nation state in the 19th century as the result of the competing territorial interests of three neighboring empires, the Ottoman Empire, Russia and Austria. In this interpretation, Romania allied with (other) Western nations and embraced their ideals to counter the empires' interests. This situation qualifies as a crisis in Greenberg's terms, a major part in the first step of the nation's adoption in her model.

theme of the Romanian "essence" (*specificul național*) featured more prominently in intellectual discourse (Verdery 1991:323):

By the turn of the century [i.e. around 1900], concern with the 'national essence' had spread into virtually all political and intellectual discourses. Not everyone who participated in the debates used the term 'national essence,' nor was it the explicit agenda for all who contributed to it; but from 1900 on, there was scarcely a politician, regardless of party, and scarcely a thinker, whether in economics, psychology, sociology, ethnography, philosophy, literature, or art, who did not directly or indirectly have something to say about Romanians' essential character. For nearly all of them, the objective was to create a strong national polity, economy, and culture. (Verdery 1991:46).

Another theme that was discussed jointly by scholars and politicians was that of national development. While nearly everyone taking part in these discussions agreed that Romania was largely an agrarian state with little industry, they disagreed about its future directions. The conservative camp emphasized free market and saw no prospects for industry; the liberal camp generally propagated some amount of protectionism to encourage the development of a native industry. On the academic level, these arguments are linked with what is perceived as Romanians' identity: the perceived essence of the Romanians as an agricultural people (Hitchins 1994:298–319).

As an example of one scholarly approach to elaborating a national essence, albeit from a later phase, one can refer to the philosopher, poet and playwright Lucian Blaga and his work *Spațiul Mioritic* (1936, *The Mioritic Space*), which according to Hitchins is "the most important philosophical investigation of Rumanian [sic] traditionalism undertaken in the inter-war period" (Hitchins 1994:309). Here Blaga attempts to determine essential elements of the Romanian people's "style." For Blaga, style is the product of the unconscious and is shaped over thousands of years. One stylistic element he identifies is the places described in folk ballads, such as *Miorița* (*The Little Lamb*), which refers to the green slopes of Carpathian Mountains. Blaga also identifies the characteristic syllable pattern in folklore, the regular alteration of accented and unaccented syllables, and compares it with the traditional arrangement of houses in Romanian villages where green spaces likewise alternate with houses. Blaga stands in a long line of traditionalist intellectuals who admire the Romanian village and Orthodoxy (cf. Hitchins 1994:309–310).

The theme of national development is especially close to discussions in the political sphere. Scholars discussing this theme can often be assigned to political camps: those emphasizing Romanian heritage and agriculture in contrast to Western influence and industry tended to support conservative politics, while the other camps of intellectuals were associated with liberal politics (cf. Hitchins 1994:298–319).

The national project as such was hardly contentious. Reviewing intellectual discourse over nearly a century, Verdery and Hitchins find no intellectual or politician who completely rejects the ethnic nation-state, a state for all Romanians. Not even all early communists rejected the national project - in spite of the then-strong international aspect of early Marxism.⁶⁶ Hence Verdery calls the nation a hegemonic ideology:

⁶⁶ An example of a Romanian communist who was also known as a patriot was Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (Verdery 1991:54).

Not only did positions in the debates entail prescriptions for politics, not only did they [WHO] establish a language of political argument, but the entire field of discourse, with its overlapping domains of 'state,' 'development,' 'religion' and so forth, continually created and recreated the Nation [sic] in relationship to those other elements. These were not, then, 'merely' intellectual arguments: they formed the rhetoric and laid down the premises of political discourse. They reproduced a hegemonic ideology in which the Nation [sic] occupied a central place. (Verdery 1991:28).

In other words, since the 19th century there has been an established role for Romanian intellectuals in the discourse of the nation. Intellectuals competed with each other to provide ideas that supported the national project in public and also on a political level, a competition which reinforced the nation as a concept (Verdery 1991:43). This role led to an expectation vis-à-vis intellectuals that sometimes was even expressed explicitly:

In the interwar cultural press there appeared numerous articles appealing to Romanian intellectuals to help build the state, to defend national unity, to organize against corrupt politicians, to engage in projects for reform (Verdery 1991:55).

LOCALIZING THE NATION

So far I only characterized the national project in a very rough manner. Following Verdery, I outlined the ways intellectuals supported it and were expected to support it, I have listed several topics discussed by intellectuals and, perhaps most importantly, I stressed the fact that the concept of the nation was an import from the West. I did not yet elaborate on the ways in which this concept was used to develop a *Romanian* nation, one that was different from other nations. This process of localization, as I would like to call it, began not only after 1866 when the notion of the nation was already widely accepted. One can see this process already around the 1848 revolution and perhaps earlier. Intellectuals like Kogălniceanu and Alecsandri were aware of the fact that they wanted Romanian culture not to become a mere copy of Western models. At this time Romanian language, Romanian literature and Romanian folklore (then often referred to as "poezie populară" or popular poetry) were key instruments to localize the nation and make it "Romanian".

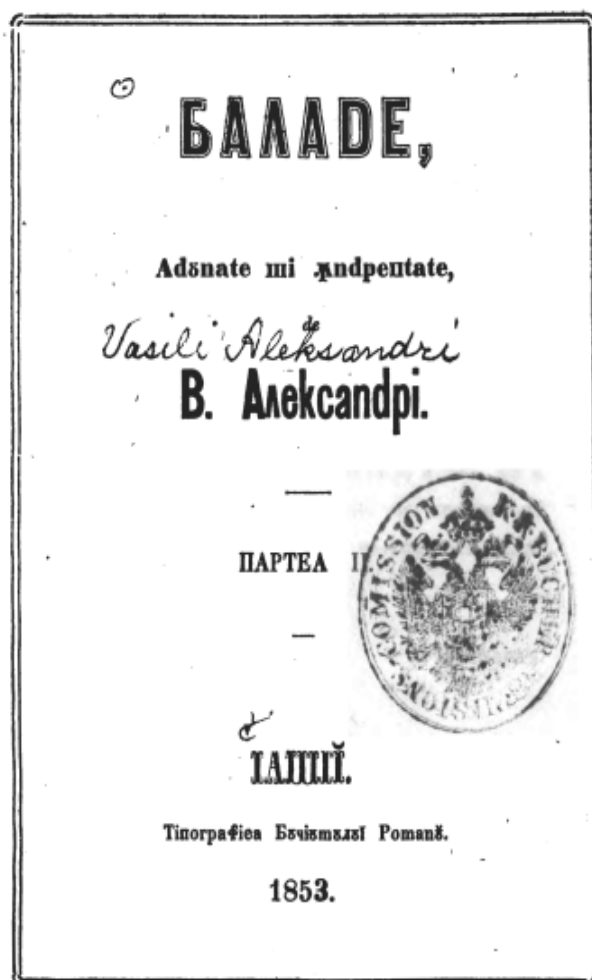
In Romania, Kogălniceanu, usually known as a friend of Western ideas, already argued, for example, in the 1940s in *Dacia Literară* for a Romanian literature that should not be based on foreign imports alone but on the history, customs and ways of the Romanian people (Bîrlea 1974). In this context, Kogălniceanu alludes to collections of folk songs made by his colleague Vasile Alecsandri, collections of what would soon be called folklore⁶⁷.

Alecsandri had studied together with Kogălniceanu in Paris and Germany in the 1830s. In the 1840s, both had worked together on several projects, such as the journal *Dacia Literară* and the National Theatre in Iași. At the theater Alecsandri gained his fame as a playwright and poet. Like Kogălniceanu, Alecsandri turned towards a political career around 1848, but unlike Kogălniceanu, Alecsandri retired early from his political career to concentrate on his writing (around 1860).

⁶⁷ The term "folklore" was invented by William Thoms only in 1846 and it took some time to reach Romania, so I hesitate to speak of folklore at this point. However, the same notions that Thoms sought to replace with his neologism, such as "popular literature" and "popular antiquities" (Thoms 1965:5) were already used in Romania in the 1840s, if not earlier.

Alecsandri began collecting folk songs in 1842 (Bîrlea 1974:75)⁶⁸. After publishing several items in periodicals, he published one of the earliest printed collections of Romanian folklore in 1852 and 1853. The two volumes are entitled *Poezii populare – Balade, adunate și dreptate de V. Alecsandri* (Popular poetry: Ballads, collected and corrected by V. Alecsandri). Interestingly enough, this title does not include the notion of "folk song" found in Alecsandri's earlier writings; instead the title refers to the collected items as folk poetry, perhaps alluding to Alecsandri's reputation as a poet or else to the fact that the publication represents the songs only through lyrics, emulating Herder's model from *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*. The publication is printed in a transitional script, which mixes Cyrillic and Latin letters.

Figure 3.1: Title page of Alecsandri's ballad collection



Transliterated to a contemporary Romanian alphabet and translated the cover reads: "Balade, adunate și îndreptate, de V. Alecsandri, partea II." (Ballads, collected and corrected by V. Alecsandri, volume 2). The stamp and handwritten entries are from the holding library at Harvard.

⁶⁸ What exactly Alecsandri collected at this early stage and how he conceptualized his activity in the early 1840s is unclear. In 1844 he refers to his collections as "cîntece populare" (folk songs, Alecsandri quoted in Bîrlea 1974:75), suggesting an influence from Herder, who is credited with inventing this notion, or from a post-Herderian tradition. Later, Alecsandri usually drops this term and prefers expressions that emphasize poetry instead of music, such as "poezie populare" (popular poetry, folk poetry).

Bîrlea elaborates that at the time of Alecsandri's publications, ballads were considered an especially important genre due to their historical content (Bîrlea 1974:6–8). Alecsandri's anthology stimulated the publication of similar anthologies in Romania (discussed in the next section), so that from his publication onwards one can speak of a Romanian tradition of folklore anthologies.

It is significant that in Romanian folklore discourse Alecsandri's publication is sometimes described as the earliest published anthology, for example by Bîrlea 1974, although one could also refer to Anton Pann's *Spitalul amorului sau cântătorul dorului* (The Hospital of Love or the Song of Longing), whose first volume was published two years earlier and contained musical transcriptions (in neumatic notation used in contemporary church music in Romania).

According to Bîrlea (1974:28, 53) Pann's anthology does not count as folklore because it contains urban material and composed songs, including lyrics by famous poets. Yet there are still other implications to consider here.

Bîrlea's decision not to highlight Pann's *Spitalul Amurului* might also be due in part to the political climate in which he wrote his history of folkloristics in the 1970s. It falls into a phase of ultra-nationalism, stipulated by the Ceaușescu's July Theses in the 1971 (cf. Verdery 1991:101, 107). In this climate, Bîrlea may not have dared to honor an anthology that focuses on music performed mostly by Roma. I have no concrete evidence to support this hypothesis, except that there is a long tradition of attacking Pann on racial grounds. One such example can be found in this less well-known text by the literary critic Ibrăileanu:

A fost un paracliser, un psalt, un mahalagiu oarecare, jumătate bulgar, jumătate român, un fecior de căldărar, venit de peste Dunăre, - Anton Pann. Ce folos însă că și acesta, în *literatura* sa, nu este nici "popor", nici curat "pentru popor", este cam , "mahala" și cam pentru "mahala..." "Lumea" din care "a adunat", și căreia "iar i-a dat" literatura sa, este până la un punct mahalaua.... Oricum, el e singurul -, acest mahalagiu, acest psalt, acest vagabond, căruia sintem datori să-i păstrim o veșnică recunoștință. (Ibrăileanu 1907:525)

He was a sexton, a cantor, a common man of the slums, half Bulgarian, half Romanian, a son of a coppersmith, who had come over the other side of Danube: Anton Pann. But what is good is that his *literature*, is neither "people" nor purely "about the people", it is more like "slum" and about the "slum". The "world" in which he "gathered" and that "gave him" his literature is up to a point the slum However, he is the only one - this man of the slums, the cantor, this vagabond, to whom we are obliged to keep an eternal gratitude.

Ibrăileanu is not one of the most outspoken anti-Pannistas. Elsewhere he defends Pann more vigorously, and yet this quote can at best be called ambivalent. Echoing the common critiques of Pann, Ibrăileanu voices three different aspects: Firstly, he characterizes Pann as somebody with a mixed heritage, possibly alluding to a Roma coppersmith in his ancestry; secondly, he refers to Pann's alleged upbringing in the suburban areas called *mahala*, often translated as slums, which may be Ibrăileanu's metaphorical way of describing a lack of higher education; and thirdly, Ibrăileanu emphasizes that Pann wrote about and in the style of the *mahala*.

However, a closer comparison of Alecsandri's and Pann's anthologies from the early 1850s also indicates that there already was a difference between them when they were first published. On the one hand, Pann, as a successful entrepreneur and publisher, was probably aware of the national project, possibly supported it personally, and likely knew about the potential to reach an audience of like-minded supporters of the national project. On the other hand, his song anthology

does not inscribe itself in the emerging international discourse of folklore or the politics of promoting the Romanian nation through folklore as much as Alecsandri's anthologies do.

It seems that *Spitalul Amurului* targeted wealthy boiers (traditionally noble owners of large estates; Ciobanu 1985:13) who enjoyed the often erotic repertoire of urban folklore and were able to read its neumatic notation (as used in the Church music of the time), rather than the upper middle-class and new elites as the core supporters of the national project. Also, Pann's selection of songs does not fit well into European trends in the emerging field of folklore studies as it emphasizes urban repertoire, in contrast to, say, Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*. Especially in the later anthology Alecsandri 1866, Alecsandri aimed to include material from all territories with a Romanian population, expressing the ideal of the ethnic nation, while Pann took his material mostly from Bucharest. According to Bîrlea (1974:75–77), Alecsandri delayed publication of his anthologies until he could ensure an important dedication as well as a respectable format (size and leather binding) for his anthologies. Such superficialities seem to indicate that Alecsandri was more concerned than Pann with promoting Romanian folklore as a valuable object. Last but not least, Alecsandri was better connected internationally and more appreciated internationally than Pann during the 19th century. Support for this statement can be found in the fact that Alecsandri's works were frequently translated into other European languages – I found three separate translations of Alecsandri's poems or folklore collections into German from the 19th century alone (Alecsandri 1857, Alecsandri 1888, Alecsandri 1896).

What I find here are contradictory conclusions: It is quite possible that over the years Pann's contributions have been ignored or downplayed due to his association with Roma. Furthermore, by present-day standards in which an expression such as "urban folklore" is no longer paradoxical one certainly could regard Pann's *Spitalul Amurului* as a folklore collection or a folk music anthology, but there are also indicators signaling that at the time of their publication Alecsandri's work was significantly more compatible with the European folklore discourse than Pann's and hence that there was some objective difference between the two publications, that one appealed to an emerging folklore discourse while the other one did less so.

Although early generation of nationalists not only copied Western models, but were also engaged in localizing the nation, later generations of Romanian intellectuals thought that Kogălniceanu, Alecsandri and others had opened Romania's "doors too widely" to Western influences (Hitchins 1994:62). They wanted the Romanian nation to be more Romanian. A group of intellectuals which illustrates this trend is *Junimea* (Youth). *Junimea* was formed in Iași when several young intellectuals, including Theodor Rosetti, Petre Carp, Vasile Pogor, Iacob Negruzzi and Titu Maiorescu returned from their studies abroad, mostly in Germany, where they were influenced by materialistic and reactionary thought that had become popular following the Congress of Vienna. On their return to Moldavia they organized a lecture series in Iași beginning in 1863 and founded the journal *Convorbiri literare* in 1867 (Hitchins 1994:56–59). They opposed the French revolution as an unnatural and too abrupt development and argued instead in favor of a transitional evolutionary development that would respect Romanian identity:

Before having a political party which felt the need for a newspaper of its own and before having a public interested in learning and thus needing to read, we founded political organs and literary reviews and falsified and disdained journalism. Before having village teachers, we established schools in the

villages, and before having an extensive cultural life outside of the schools, we created atheneums and cultural associations and thus we cheapened the spirit of literary societies. Before having even the shadow of original scientific activity, we founded the Romanian Academy [...] and we falsified the idea of an academy. Before having the necessary musicians, we created a music conservatory; before having a single painter of any value, we founded an *École des Beaux Arts*; before having a single play of any merit, we built a national theatre, and in the process we cheapened and falsified all these forms of culture (Maiorescu quoted by Hitchens 1994:62).

Here Maiorescu accuses the generation of 1848 – including Kogălniceanu and Alecsandri - of adapting Western models uncritically and argues that this adaptation did not meet the needs of Romanian people.

Verdery labels those intellectuals and politicians who emphasized a particular Romanian heritage and rejected Western models "indigenists" (1991:34–38).⁶⁹ She refers to Mihai Eminescu, the preeminent Romanian romanticist writer, to illustrate key ideas of indigenism, such as his admiration for the Dacian past (in contrast to Romans, who were perceived as more Western), in particular his Rousseau-type admiration for the Dacians' perceived lack of civilization (in contrast to the Romans who were perceived as culturally more sophisticated, Verdery 1991:39). Verdery identifies a number of oppositions that characterized the two positions of indigenists, on the one side, and Westernizers on the other: native/foreign, natural/artificial, organic/forced, durable/perishable (Verdery 1991:398).

The nation-building process as I described it here so far fits Greenfeld's three phases of adopting the notion of the nation. At the beginning stands a societal change: The boiers lost their status as nobility and other privileges and a new *élite* emerged from the upper middle class at the middle of the 19th century. The new *élite* embraced the West and the nation as well as a host of related notions and ideals and imported them successfully to Romania. By the time, Prince Carol was instituted in 1866 the notion of the nation had been implemented and supported by all major political forces. Afterwards, the voices of those intellectuals and politicians which rejected overt Westernization became more important, a clear reaction against the West which Greenfeld would call *ressentiment*.

AFTER WORLD WAR I

As a result of World War I, Romania gained several territories - Transylvania, Bessarabia and parts of the Bucovina - almost doubling the country's size and population. Greater Romania fulfilled irredentist aspirations, as it now included most of the territories with large Romanian populations. A Romanian state for all Romanians seemed, if not yet a reality, then at least within reach. Greater Romania also included sizable minorities, the largest of which were the Hungarians in Transylvania (Verdery 1991:43).

These changes had several consequences. Firstly, a new initiative to unify the Romanian language was started which resembled that of 1866 and likewise resulted in new dictionaries. Secondly, national sentiment and ethnic assimilation were encouraged. As a result, bureaucracies in the new territories quickly became Romanian. Thirdly, political rhetoric concerning minorities changed: where in the past politicians had often argued in favor of the Romanian minorities

⁶⁹ Hitchens terms roughly the same intellectual position "traditionalist" (1994:55).

outside the country, they now tended to argue against minorities inside the Romanian state (Verdery 1991:46).

Dividing populations along ethnic lines was nothing new at this point in time. In fact, the early nationalists, like Kogălniceanu, had promoted this distinction, but early nationalists had also argued in favor of the ethnic minorities. A case in point is again Kogălniceanu. As a young scholar, Kogălniceanu published repeatedly on the history of the Roma in Romania, arguing, for example, for the abolishment of Gypsy slavery (e.g. Kogălniceanu 1837b, Kogălniceanu 1908). In his political career, Kogălniceanu later drafted legislation that would abolish slavery in Moldavia (Achim 2004:111), perhaps emulating Western ideals.

Hitchins reviews the treatment of another important minority, the Jews, indicating that Romanians only reluctantly granted them political rights. Before World War I, the Jewish community formed a significant minority in an otherwise ethnically relatively homogenous Romania. Immigrating mainly from Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Jews constituted 3.3% of the total population in 1912, but in some cities, they reached a much higher percentage (over 40% in Iași, Hitchins 1994:164). The 1866 constitution had provided citizenship and full political rights only to Christians (Hitchins 1994:16). Only pressure from Western nations in the course of the negotiations over Romania's independence led to a revision of this article in October 1879. As a result, it was theoretically possible for foreigners to acquire citizenship, but only a small number of Jews - Hitchins estimates less than 1,000 - actually obtained Romanian citizenship in this way (Hitchins 1994:52-3,164).

Both Verdery (1991:46-54) and Hitchins (1994:292-333) observe that the rise of the political extreme right roughly coincides with the formation of Greater Romania and they associate this time also with a radicalization of the traditionalist standpoint in scholarly debates. Nichifor Crainic, Nae Ionescu and to some extent also Lucian Blaga serve as examples of this new development in the intellectual arena. In contrast to many others, the philosopher Blaga generally avoided a clear association with any political camp, while Nae Ionescu and Nichifor Crainic more openly supported an anti-democratic, anti-Semitic and authoritarian course. From a bird's eye perspective, their arguments have many similarities. The dominant themes remained the same as in the pre-World War I era: they centered on Romanians' identity as an agrarian people and the economic development of the country as an agrarian country. They rejected Western models, criticized earlier generations for adapting Western models unquestioningly and, like the protagonists of *Junimea*, they argued that Western models contradicted the Romanian essence, character, soul or spirit. Instead of Western ideals, the new traditionalists embraced whatever they considered Romanian, and for these right-wing thinkers Romanianness continued to be linked to Dacia, the Orthodox church, folklore, and a lack of civilization (civilization is always construed as Western in these contexts) - although the importance of Dacia might now be smaller and that of Orthodoxy greater than in earlier times. What distinguished the new traditionalists from the old ones was not so much what they said, but certainly the undertones, the sum total of their arguments: now there was a relatively open rejection of Western-type democracy in favor of fascism or other autocratic models. Of course, thinkers like Ionescu or Crainic conveniently overlooked the fact that these - like the notion of the nation - were all Western "inventions". Also, an earlier admiration of things Romanian began to be accompanied by a more open contempt for

other ethnic groups and their way of life. Crainic and Nae Ionescu are a case in point: Crainic typically avoided obvious anti-Semitic statements, as quotes in Volovici 1991:96–99 show, while in fact he supported an anti-Semitic stance (cf. International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania et al. 2005:24). Mihail Sebastian's journal shows how the circle of intellectuals around Nae Ionescu, which included the young Mircea Eliade, drifted increasingly towards anti-Semitism over the 1930s (Sebastian and Ioanid 2000).

Nichifor Crainic (1889-1972) studied and taught theology in Bucharest. He was also the editor of the journal *Gândirea* (The Thought). He claimed that every aspect of the West was inappropriate for the Romanian soul. Thus, he argued that what he perceived as Western civilization was in decline. In contrast to Western metropolises, he suggested that Romanians should return to their spiritual roots as epitomized in Orthodox Christianity and the Romanian village (Hitchins 1994:304).

Because of his embrace of the Eastern world, Verdery characterizes Crainic as a "pro-orientalist":

If the mission of the Romanian people is to create a culture after its image and likeness, this implies as well how its orientation must be resolved. Whoever recommends an orientation towards the West speaks nonsense. Orientation contains within itself the notion of Orient and means directing ourselves toward the Orient, in accord with the Orient. Altars face toward the Orient; the icons of the hearth face us from the Orient; the peasant who kneels in his field faces the Orient. Everywhere it is said that light comes from the East. And for us, who find ourselves geographically in the Orient and who, though our Orthodox religion, hold to the truths of the eastern world, there can be no other orientation than towards the Orient, that is, toward ourselves [...] Westernization means the negation of our orientalism; Europeanizing nihilism means the negation of our creative potential. Which means to negate in principle a Romanian culture, to negate a destiny proper to Romanians, and to accept the destiny of a people born dead (Crainic quoted by Verdery 1991:47–48).

Interestingly enough, the Orient here is perceived solely in opposition to the West. Other places or discourses which traditionally reference the Orient are not mentioned. Neither Russia nor Romania's former occupier, the Ottoman Empire, seems to play a role in Crainic's Orient.

Scholars have repeatedly noted that although peasants were constantly discussed both by politicians and intellectuals, the majority of peasants had little political representation and one could say that, in spite of several attempts, peasants were little studied by scholars, with the possible exception of their folklore (Hitchins 1994:93, 382, Verdery 1991:44–45). According to the constitution of 1866, many peasants were excluded from voting because they did not meet the income requirements. A revision of the electoral law in 1884 did not change the situation dramatically (Hitchins 1994:93). In 1907 a large peasant riot broke out, which was consequently crushed by the Liberal government employing the military; the result was more than 11,000 casualties and only moderate political reforms in the years to come (Hitchins 1994:115, 180-1).

The romantic picture many scholars provided of Romanian village life differed drastically from the situation of many mid-sized and smaller peasant landowners, a situation which led to the riots of 1907:

On the eve of the uprising 424,000 peasants possessed too little land with which to make ends meet (less than three hectares), and 300,000 had no land at all. Large numbers of these and other peasants were economically defenceless before landlords and *arendăși* [lease holders], who could impose almost at will whatever terms they wished as rent for small grants of land. Equally ruinous were the exactions of money-lenders. Peasants were often forced to mortgage all their possessions or future years' crops in return for loans at high rates of interest. They also found themselves compelled by poverty to sell their

produce immediately after the harvest to speculators for less than its market value, and then in the winter and spring they were obliged to buy it back at inflated prices. Added to these private burdens were state taxes, which in some parts of the country amounted to 80 per cent of the peasants' total annual production. Under these circumstances natural calamities like the cruel droughts of 1899 and 1904 brought vast numbers of peasants to the brink of starvation. (Hitchins 1994:176)

Of course, other disciplines like ethnology also concern themselves with agrarian populations, but in the 19th century perhaps the emerging discipline of folklore was the principal focus on peasants. At least in its early days, the discipline of folklore largely ignored the material conditions of rural life and concentrated instead on literary (or quasi-literary) products, in effect displaying an idealized vision of rural life. Verdery goes so far as to compare the role of the peasant population in political and scholarly debates with that of women, both of them "territories" that are strategically colonized:

This discursive interest in the peasantry accomplished several things [...] akin to discursive interests in women, in other times and places [...]: it distanced and silenced them, and it rendered them an open field for intellectuals and the state to *colonize* [emphasis MM]. The distancing and silencing are eminently visible in those quotations that remove peasants from time, as well as in a sociologist's angry accusation that some writers, so eloquent on the peasantry's 'boycott' of history, had never done research in a village to find out what real peasants actually thought about anything. (Verdery 1991:57)

In focusing on texts, early folklore studies also tended to ignore social differences and to favor a display of the Romanian people as a harmonious whole, playing neatly into a notion of the nation that similarly de-emphasized social differences.

INSTITUTIONAL AND DISCURSIVE NATION-BUILDING

In this section, I outlined different aspects of the nation-building process in Romania during the 19th century and early 20th century. I provided a general political background, an outline of institutional reforms in the domain of culture, and examples of cultural policies which accompanied this process. And I focused on intellectual discourse that accompanied, supported and possibly enabled the nation-building process. Within intellectual discourse, those who argued against Western influences and for a more "Romanian" way gained significant importance after the time of Romania's independence. After World War I, several leading intellectuals associated themselves with right-wing extremists.

Drawing on Greenfeld's work on nationalism and Foucault's terminology from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, I attempted to re-formulate Verdery's argument concerning a national discourse with more accessible and consistent terminology. I omitted economic history, not because I believe that it is irrelevant - Verdery convincingly shows that economic changes did have repercussions for the intellectual discourse in Romania (Verdery 1991:34-35) -, but in order not to complicate this section even further.

Although I have only outlined some of the developments in the 19th century intellectual discourse, it is clear that the discipline of folklore appeared hand in hand with what I have called the national discourse and a process of cultural nation-building. In this context, the nation became a hegemonic idea that coincided with a division of labor where intellectuals support political arguments in favor of the national project. Together with the Romanian language and the Orthodox religion, folklore and what soon will be called "folk music" were among the most important sources of "Romanianness".

In more Foucauldian terms, one could maintain that what I have described in this section is the import of a mode of governmentality and a specific form of the nation-state from Western Europe to Romania⁷⁰. In terms of the political system, it is fairly clear how this mode of governmentality operates in the Romania of the 19th century: for example, the nation is associated with civic rights and a separation of powers vaguely imitating the liberal ideas of the 1848 revolutions in Western countries such as France. It is less clear how the notion of the nation extends into other areas of society, such as cultural policy and culture itself. However, I have used examples from language, religion, and the arts to show how the idea of the nation resulted in a re-ordering of the cultural domain. Here the founding of new institutions or the reorganization of existing ones is especially apparent. I have also shown that the emerging interest in folklore and the governmentality surrounding the nation coincide in some points, such as a romantic understanding of the people as a homogenous body.

Although I have not traced each and every idea to the West, it seems that the national discourse in Romania generally did emulate foreign models⁷¹. Similarly, the very concept of Romanianness and arguments for the unity of the Romanian culture (including language and music) might well be modeled on Western European debates. Early Romanian nationalists did often study in France and Germany, and hence had first-hand experience of the national discourse in France and Germany. The Germany of the 19th century was also in a comparable political situation: not united politically, as France was, but joined instead by a common language, history, folklore, music and culture - all concepts that gained relevance in German academia over the course of the 19th century (and possibly longer). As in Germany, history, folklore and music played important parts in the argument in favor of a Romanian nation at an early stage of the national debate.

In terms of chronology, one could argue that music as an object of the emerging folklore studies, for example in the work of Vasile Alecsandri, appeared about the same time that language and "popular literature" took over a similar function in the intellectual and political debates. In other words, the function of music in the national debate was not specific; it followed the same pattern as history, language and folklore, but it received this function at an early stage, approximately in the 1830s or 1840s, much like language and other areas of folklore.⁷² In the next

⁷⁰ I do not want to rule out imports from other places, especially the US, as an early and influential nation-state, and Russia, as a neighboring empire that morphed into a nation-state not long before Romania (Greenfeld 1993, Utz 2008). The exact genealogy of the nation before it manifests itself in Romania is not my concern in this work.

⁷¹ I emphasize here that Greenfeld's general argument applies to Romania: the notion of the nation is an import from the West. I do *not* want to imply, however, that the nation and its successful implementation in Romania were *merely* the act of adopting foreign ideas. It does not seem unlikely that the notion of the nation worked so well in Romania, because it found a fertile and home-grown field for application. Verdery suggests, for example, that there is a long tradition of scholars' providing political arguments in support of the politicians in what would become Romania (Verdery 1991:30–34). In fact, Hutchinson's work on convergence in the Caribbean points towards the possibility that processes of convergences have been systematically overlooked by scholars, especially when "multiple inheritance" did not fit in narratives of national historiography (Hutchinson 2012). I do not go further into this issue because it is relatively irrelevant for my own work.

⁷² It seems that in Romania debates on language, folklore and music are perhaps most significantly preceded by history as a debate or discourse that provided arguments for Romanian unity. This becomes particular clear in the discussion of the so-called Latinist school (Verdery 1991:31–33, cf. Bîrlea 1974:33). In Foucault's terms, I argue here that historiography (history as the academic reconstruction of the past) is one of the more important surfaces of emergence

section, I will elaborate on the implicit and relatively vague notion of music that I see since approximately the mid-19th century in Romanian folklore research.

3.2 Early folklore research (19th century)

In this section, I look at the emerging discipline of folkloristics, focusing roughly on the same time span that I covered in the last section, the 19th century. In the last section, I tackled the early history of folkloristics, or proto-folkloristics if you will, only marginally as a part of the cultural nation-building process. In this section I reverse the emphasis; now cultural policy is the background to the process which leads to the establishment of an academic discipline of folklore. In contrast to others, I argue for a rather late beginning of folklore as a discipline in Romania. I apply here the same criteria which I will also use to establish the beginning of Romanian ethnomusicology, emphasizing the process of institutionalization. According to this criterion, folklore became a discipline in the 1880s, roughly the time of its institutionalization in Romanian academia and the emergence of the term "folklore" in Romanian academic discourse. Before that folklore was already discussed, but under different labels, such as popular poetry (poezie populară). While this discussion was important and clearly defined the later study of folklore, it lacked the autonomy of a discipline or subdiscipline and rather constituted an interdisciplinary field of discussion.

FOLKLORE RESEARCH AVANT LA LETTRE

Romanian historiographers of folkloristics often trace their discipline back to around 1800 (e.g. Bîrlea 1974, *Bibliografia generală a etnografiei și folclorului românesc* 1968, Taloș 1966). But what exactly began then, almost half a century before William Thoms invented the word "folklore" and barely more than a decade after Johann Gottfried Herder established the notion of folk song? Certainly not the lore itself, since practices can easily be traced further back in time; and certainly not any strong academic interest in folklore. In 1800 there were no professors of folklore, no folklore curricula, and no institutions solely devoted to the study of folklore in Romania, and probably nowhere else – neither under this label nor a similar one.

According to Bîrlea (1974:22), what changed around 1800 was that folk culture and oral traditions were paid more respect. That may be, but it is a rather vague criterion. Not only is this claim difficult to prove, an increased interest in things intellectuals later called folklore does not necessarily show an emerging discipline – at least not in the way that I understand "discipline," as an institutionalized discourse in academia. Undoubtedly, however, what remained from the time are texts (including non-textual documents such as drawings) that later were regarded as sources on Romanian folklore.

One early example of such a text is Dimitri Cantemir's *Descriptio Moldaviae*, written originally in Latin at the beginning of 18th century on request of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. This text surveys Cantemir's country - Cantemir was briefly the prince of

for the nascent folklore discourse in an early phase. Later in the 19th century, philology will become a more important surface of emergence for Romanian folklore research.

Moldavia - covering a variety of different topics, such as geographic details, the inhabitants, their customs, material culture and folk music. This report is neither limited to nor focused on what later was called folklore or popular poetry. In other words, the notion of folklore (or one of its close relatives such as popular literature) was neither implicated nor explicitly used as a guiding principle here; instead the *Description of Moldavia* is a country's geographic and politic description, as the subtitle of the German translation from 1771 indicates (Cantemir 1771, Cantemir 1973 [1771]).

Before 1800, Romanian historians and philologists who wanted to prove the Latin decent of the Romanian people, such as Samuil Micu (1745-1806), referred to language, customs and folk tales in their argumentation (Bîrlea 1974:34). This group of scholars is often referred to as the Latinist school. Although Franz Joseph Sulzer does not belong to the Latinist school, one could mention his *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens* (History of the transalpine Dacia; Sulzer 1781-1782) in this context since Sulzer discusses many of the Latinists' claims. A later example of the Latinists' treatment of folk customs is Vasile Popp's doctoral thesis in medicine written in Vienna in the beginning of the 19th century. It describes Romanian funeral customs and compares them with their Roman equivalent (Papp 1817).

Undoubtedly, what these writers describe - mostly customs, less often concrete texts of folk songs, etc. - will later belong to discussions on popular poetry and folklore. However, the context in which Latinists and their contemporaries thought and published was rather different from similar discussions in 1830s and later. They were no full-time scholars employed in universities because there were no universities in Romania yet. Micu was a man of the church, a monk, and that was about as scholarly as it got in a time before the Western scholarly infrastructure was implemented in Romania. The range of accepted and institutionalized disciplines was much smaller than today, so it is not surprising that the Latinists are typically associated with the discipline of history. This was also the discipline that Sulzer referred to in the title of his book. Customs and folk songs function here as windows to the past of the Romanians. This discussion was important for the later study of folklore because it established an academic role for discussing customs and other specifics of the Romanian nation. In other words, it served as a *surface of emergence* for later discussions of popular poetry and folklore.

By the 1830s, the situation had already changed considerably, as a call for the collection of diverse folk materials by George Bariț in the journal *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură* (Paper for the mind, heart and literature), published in the 1838, shows:

"[M]ai poftim încă pe fiii românilor cei înțeleghători din toate patriile, ca să [nu-și pregete de aci nainte a însămnă și] aduna din gura și conversația cu poporul nostru felurimi de *obiceiuri vechi, povestiri*, care ar avea ceva însămnare istorică și arheologică și care ar vădi trăsuri de caracter pentru noi, precum și *cîntece populare* de care la noi sînt foarte multe și interesante, și iarăș unele *frasuri, proverburî, ziceri originale românești*, care ar fi mai puțin cunoscute sau numa într-un dialect obișnuite (Bariț quoted in Bîrlea 1974:58).

We still thirst for Romanians [literally: sons of Romanians], those with knowledge of the whole homeland, to [...] gather from mouth and conversation with our people a variety of old customs, [and] tales which could have historical or archaeological relevance and which might show our [Romanian] character, [and to gather] also folk songs, of which there are very many and interesting ones, as well as original Romanian phrases, proverbs and sayings, which could be little known or are used only in a dialect.

In the use of first person singular to imply the nation, this quote already shows the passionate, patriotic language of the national discourse. Explicitly, it refers only to the disciplines of history and archaeology, but considering the emphasis on phrases and dialects it might also allude to philology. Moreover, Bariț published this call for collections in a literary journal, which might be interpreted as a link to literature, another context in which the emerging debates on folklore often took place (as seen in the case of Kogălniceanu's and Alecsandri's publications, discussed in the previous section). Bariț clearly implied interdisciplinary uses of the material he wanted others to collect.

One can observe that this short quote does not allude to the older theme of Latin decent. The debate about people's songs and poetry surpassed that original debate, in which they were linked almost exclusively to illustrate connections with the Romans, implying that Romanian customs and folk poetry by this time had already emancipated themselves from this earlier theme. Instead Bariț refers here to the writing of Romanian history and a search for features of Romanian character.

The central point of this quote is the enumeration of objects Bariț wanted to collect. Interestingly enough, he did not mix material culture with customs and oral traditions, as Cantemir and other earlier sources do. Instead he focused on that what can be written down and assembled: customs (*obiceiuri*) and various language-based expressions. The terms he uses are *povestiri* (tales), *cîntece populare* (folk songs), *frasuri* (phrases), *proverburi* (proverbs), and *ziceri* (sayings).

Bîrlea discusses other collections being made before 1848, although few were published (Bîrlea 1974:60–61). Although Bariț's call did not result in significant published collections, it indicates that by this time there was already a wider discussion. One can also assume that Romanian intellectuals – most of whom spent considerable time abroad – were by this time not completely unaware of similar projects in other countries, such as Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's collections of Serbian folk songs. Thus, in the 1830s the Romanian discussion about folk songs and popular literature was part of an international debate.

Bariț's call for collections further indicates that in the 1830s, more than a decade before the first anthologies of Romanian folk songs and folk poetry were published, there already was an interdisciplinary and international *field* with an emerging and somewhat stable terminology (e.g. folk poetry, folk song, tales) and methodology (collect, select, assemble and publish folk tales, folk songs etc.). And as discussed in the previous section, these activities were conducted in support of the national project in Romania.

At this stage the discussion was not yet a discipline because the new field did not yet have an established position in academia and the field was still only vaguely delimited. Rather folklore at this time still fell in between several academic disciplines, principally history and philology. The fact that the new field did not yet have an established label further indicates that it was not yet accepted as a field of scholarly study at this time. Also missing was a form of institutionalization: there were no journals, associations, university courses or archives which *exclusively* devoted themselves to folklore, popular poetry or folk songs at this time in Romania. Instead, the discussion often took place in literary journals, and often outside academia.

However, in contrast to earlier discussions in the Latinist school, the customs of the people were no longer an object that was treated merely as a superstition, nor were they merely an argument in the discussion of one specific theme, Latin decent. Instead, folk songs and folk poetry were then discussed for different reasons, arguably mostly as sources for history, archaeology and literature.

At the time Bariț published his call to collect customs, tales, sayings, etc., many writers participated in the discussion. If one concentrates only on the names which appear even in the shorter histories of folkloristics in Romania (e.g. Dobre 1999b), - names such as Nicolae Bălcescu, Alecu Russo and Vasile Alecsandri - one can notice a number of striking similarities in their biographies. They received education in the West. They came from relatively well-off *boier* families, the lower élite of large estate owners. They were not only scholars, but also active on the political stage, and they vigorously supported the 1848 revolution and, with it, liberal ideals and the Romanian nation. Many of them were also authors; they wrote literature and earned public recognition (and probably at least occasionally an income) from these non-scholarly writings. Alecsandri first gained fame as a playwright and poet before he embarked on his quest to collect folk songs in the countryside as sources for his literature. Of the above mentioned names, only Alecsandri lived long enough to become a founding member of the Literary Society in 1866, a precursor to the Romanian Academy.

In the 1830s and 1840s, the terms "cântec popular" (folk song) and "poezie populară" (popular poetry) became commonly used terms. For example, "poezie populară" appears in an article by Alecu Russo of the same name, published posthumously in 1868, but possibly written as early as 1839 (Bîrlea 1974). "Poezie populară" appears in the title of Alecsandri's influential monograph (Alecsandri 1866). Alecsandri uses "cântec popular" (folk song) in a journal in 1844 (quoted in Bîrlea 1974:75).⁷³

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FOLKLORE RESEARCH

The next significant change did not occur until the 1870s, when the next generation of scholars, such as Alexandru Odobescu (1834-1895), acquired university positions. Odobescu had studied archaeology in Paris in the 1850s and then, like many proto-folklorists before him, had a political career throughout the 1860s. In 1870 he became a member of the Societatea Academică Română (Romanian Academic Society), a precursor to the Romanian Academy, and in 1874 the first professor for archaeology at the University of Bucharest (Datcu 1998b:122), signaling that - as elsewhere⁷⁴ - the university disciplines were in flux. Obobescu was also interested in Romanian oral traditions, which he compared both with classic texts of antiquity and with other oral traditions in southeast Europe (Bîrlea 1974:168-171).

Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1838-1907) belonged to the same generation as Odobescu. Like his earlier colleagues, he also wrote literature and had a political career which peaked before he

⁷³ It is unlikely that these quotes reflect the first instances where these terms are used in Romanian discourse. I quote them merely to prove that they were used at this time. A more systematic survey of 19th century discourse would be necessary to prove that the use of these terms became common place in certain circles.

⁷⁴ I am alluding here to the new disciplines which became established in Western academia during the second half of 19th century, such as psychology and musicology (cf. Koch and Mengel 2007).

became a state-employed scholar: in 1876 Hasdeu was appointed as the first head of the State Archives in Bucharest. Two years later, in 1878, he became professor of comparative philology at the Bucharest University. Hasdeu did not study in the West in his youth, but later travelled extensively through Western and Eastern Europe (Datcu 1998a:306–307).

According to Bîrlea (1974:173), Hasdeu introduced the term "folklore" (spelled as in English) into Romanian discourse. In his opus magnum *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* (1885), Hasdeu defines folklore as: "intimate beliefs of the people, its customs and manners, its sighs and pleasures" (crenînțele cele intime ale poporului, obiceiurile și apucăturile sale, suspinele și bucuriile [sic], quoted in Bîrlea 1974:173).

This definition roughly resembles Thoms's original suggestion, which enumerates "manner, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc." (Thoms 1965:5), but Hasdeu adds an emotional level here (sighs, pleasures). Also, considering that Thoms only wanted to replace the terms "popular antiquities" and "popular literature", Hasdeu's definition is considerably wider. It is not strictly limited to oral texts, but includes beliefs. In fact, Hasdeu does not mention any of the usual text-like units, such as the proverb or the folk song, which makes his definition more reminiscent of early anthropological definitions of culture.

Elsewhere in the same publication, Hasdeu offers another definition of folklore:

"toate prin cîte se manifestă spiritul unui popor, obiceiurile [sic] lui, ideile-i despre sine-și și despre lume, literatura lui cea nescrisă, mii și-mii de trăsuri [sic] caracteristice cu rădăcini în inimă și cu muguri în grai".

Everything through which the spirit of a people manifests itself, its customs, its ideas about itself and about the world, its oral [literally: unwritten] literature, and thousands of characteristics with roots in the heart and with seeds in the mouth. (Hasdeu quoted according to Bîrlea 1974:173)

This definition is slightly more precise, as it refrains from enumerating a list of examples, and instead gives a general criterion to which the items in the list have to comply, the people's spirit. The people's spirit is, of course, reminiscent of Herder's concept of "Volksgeist", but Hasdeu was also familiar with more recent theories such as the "Völkerpsychologie" (literally "people psychology") propagated by Wilhelm Wundt (cf. Bîrlea 1974:173). This quote also uses the term "unwritten literature" again. Hasdeu employs it frequently in places where his contemporaries refer to popular literature.⁷⁵ It is further remarkable that Hasdeu insisted on the emotional side and use of metaphors - in spite of the positivistic trends of his time (see below) -, alluding to the essence of a people.

Hasdeu transformed university curricula on folklore. Bîrlea describes him as the first to teach a course covering all areas of folklore ("în totalitatea lui", Bîrlea 1974:189) as part of philology curriculum at the university in 1893-1894 (cf. Datcu 1998b:306–307). Hasdeu treated folklore as a subdiscipline of (comparative) philology, institutionalizing the study of folklore as a subdiscipline of philology. As an academic subdiscipline, the study of folklore embarked - like so

⁷⁵ Interestingly enough, this definition might encompass material culture, if one wants to understand objects as manifestations of people's spirit (as Adolf Bastian argues around the same time in Germany Bastian 1869:xxv–xxvi, cf. Koch and Mengel 2007:116). However, material culture does not play an important role for Hasdeu.

many other young disciplines - on a process of professionalization.⁷⁶ For folklore research professionalization effected especially the methodology of collecting documents in the field. A hallmark of this development was the phonetic script in which folklore sources were from then on increasingly notated. Editing folklore sources for aesthetic purposes had been the norm in earlier years, for example, in Alecsandri's publications, but now this practice was frowned upon and regarded as unscientific. One of the results was that the distinction between amateurs and professional university-trained folklorists became more important. The underlying idea here is that of the authenticity of sources. One important proponent of this movement is Ovidiu Densusianu, who succeeded Hasdeu at the philology department at the University of Bucharest in 1900.

MUSIC IN MID-19TH CENTURY FOLKLORE DISCOURSE

In most of the 19th century, the notion of folk music either did not yet exist or the expression was not yet used as a technical term, neither in Romania nor elsewhere. Curiously, this does not mean that nobody thought or wrote about music in the domain of folklore in the 19th century or that music was completely absent from the discourse on folklore, but only that it was not yet the very specific and technical concept of folk music that became popular sometime around 1900.⁷⁷ My argument parallels the thesis that the notion of the nation was a 19th century import to Romania: this fact likewise does not imply that before this import there was no concept of Romanianness altogether. Just as Romanianness was not yet linked to the concept of the nation before this concept arrived in Romania, I argue that vernacular music was not yet thought of as folk music in 19th century Romania and that the emergence of this notion marks a paradigm shift in the emerging discipline of folklore.

I believe that the notion of folk music became a central notion in a new paradigm of folklore research, one which imported ideas from the still-young discipline of musicology (as another scholarly, recently institutionalized, and professionalized field) and thereby transformed an already existing, although somewhat dormant debate on music in the field of folklore. The key concept that that was transferred to the domain of folklore was a formal concept of music, as typically associated with Eduard Hanslick (and his successors, such as Guido Adler). Internationally, this fusion between musicology and folklore research probably began not long before Bartók entered the debate in the first decade of the 20th century⁷⁸. The result of this "marriage" would eventually lead to the development of a new subdiscipline that was contemporarily and internationally often referred to as "musical folklore".

One characteristic of the new debate was that musical specialists, like the composer Bartók, featured more importantly in it than in earlier debates on folklore, when the discussion was often led by literary experts. Another characteristic of the new approach was that music was now perceived in a stricter, more technical and formal sense as that which can be heard, recorded and

⁷⁶ I look at the process of professionalization following Clifford's analysis of professionalization in cultural and social anthropology (1988:26–35).

⁷⁷ In Romanian discourse the earliest occurrence of the term "folk music" (*muzica populară*) that I am aware of is in the work of Dimitrie Vulpian, discussed below.

⁷⁸ I do not trace the development with any greater accuracy, because it is not related to the topic of my thesis.

transcribed. This understanding of music excluded or downplayed other dimensions of or perspectives on music, such as emotion and biography, to name only two areas which had played a significant role in earlier music research. The new paradigm of musical folklore was also characterized by the quest for a more precise and objective terminology that could more transparently define the intangible and difficult to grasp area of sound. This emerging discourse on folk music occurred at about the same time that instrumental music and instrumental accompaniment became objects of serious investigation by the emerging musical folklorists, as opposed to earlier researchers' focus on folk song, lyrics and melodies.

I will not attempt to prove my hypothesis concerning the emergence of a new, more musicological subdiscipline of musical folklore globally. However, I will examine the Romanian case, where this development takes place after a significant delay: when Bartók publishes his first volume of Romanian folk music in Romania.

Bartók's 1913 publication does not immediately change Romanian discourse. It was only at the end of the 1920s that a discourse on musical folklore, involving multiple scholars and its own institutions, came into existence.

The innovations implemented at in the second half of the 19th century in musicology and somewhat later in adjacent disciplines such as comparative musicology and musical folklore were so fundamental for the scholarly engagement with music that it is still difficult today for ethnomusicologists and other music researchers to imagine how music was conceptualized, perceived, and even studied before the advent of the musicological notion of music. However, it is relatively easy to show that music was not completely absent from early debates in the emerging debate on folklore. Over the course of the 19th century and especially before Thom's coined the term "folklore", the lore of the people was often conceptualized as "popular antiquities" or "popular literature" (Thoms 1965), indicating that the literature or poetry received perhaps the most attention. However, there seems to be little doubt that while J.G. Herder, another early protagonist in this discussion, treated folk songs perhaps predominantly as poetry and thus printed mainly lyrics in his song collections, he also considered the aspect of singing. For example, in Herder (1779:3) he first refers to them as poetry ("Poesie"), then singing ("Gesang"). His discussion of Homer's poetry features not only poetic devices, but also includes musical aspects related to singing Herder (1779:9). Even so, Herder did not typically use the word "music," and when he wrote about harmony, he did not refer to a specific quality of the musical domain⁷⁹.

In Romania, music received a similar treatment during the 19th century. Alecu Russo (1819-1859), for instance, named music together with events (*datinile*) and tales as elements of an "archive of the people" in his undated and posthumously published work, "Poezia Poporală" (popular poetry, Russo 1909).

Like J.G. Herder in Germany (writing at the end of the 18th and the early 19th century), the Romanian poet and proto-folklorist Vasile Alecsandri conceived of folk song as a musical genre, although also like Herder, he published mostly lyrics without musical notations. The fact that

⁷⁹ Bohlman reads Herder similarly as a writer about music although Herder did not publish many musical notations (cf. Bohlman 2011:28–30).

Alecsandri uses the Herderian term "folk song" before he switched to describing his work as poetry emphasizes that he might have been interested in musical qualities. It is likely that he later preferred the term "folk poetry" because he, as a well-known poet, could claim expertise in this area and not because he was not interested in music. Further proof for my hypothesis is the fact that Alecsandri was little interested in folk tales, proverbs, sayings, and customs that preoccupied some of his contemporaries, but rather in genres, such as ballads, *doine* and *hore*, which are all performed with melody and sometimes with instrumental accompaniment. In contrast to Herder, who discusses the poetic features of folk songs (such as meter, often employing comparisons to ancient literary works), Alecsandri and other Romanians in the middle of the 19th century alluded to musical qualities, such as the fact that ballads were performed by *lăutari* (Russo quoted by Bîrlea 1974:71). Performances here are not verbal recitations of poems, but musical performances.

In Romania, later in the 19th century so many sources appear that actually do provide musical notations for Romanian music that it is impossible to name them all. Examples include Johann Andreas Wachmann's *Mélodies valaques* ([1848]), the already mentioned collection *Spital Amorului* by Anton Pann (1850), and musical pieces arranged for the piano by the Austrian pianist Heinrich Ehrlich, entitled *Airs nationaux roumains* ([1850?]).

The terminology used in Romanian publications of this period is clearly different from that of the later paradigm of musical folklore studies. The titles of these works (except Pann's even earlier *Spitalul Amorului*) do not allude to folk songs or even folk music, but describe musical pieces instead as "airs" or "melodies". These terms are accompanied by an adjective referring to the nation or a similar entity (usually "national", "Romanian", or "popular"). The term "folk song" is – perhaps surprisingly – less often used in this context, indicating that these authors did not participate directly in the international tradition of folk song research based on the work of Herder and others. These attempts to publish national Romanian music may have looked somewhat naive even to contemporary folklore researchers. The collections certainly were not very well-versed in the pan-European debates on folklore.

Since the 19th century, Romanian (proto-)folklorists have often argued that some of the early sources that included musical notations do not adequately represent Romanian folk music. The objections vary, but usually revolve around the argument that the music collected in print does not represent "real" folklore. As I argued above, Pann's work tends to be excluded, or to be downplayed, because it includes urban, suburban and composed music (e.g. in Bîrlea 1974). Foreigners like Ehrlich and Wachmann are accused of notating composed music that had become a popular part of oral culture and was therefore not "real" folk music. Nevertheless, it is hardly deniable that these works tried to capture music, and not just any music, but the music that was specific to Romanians, even though the works of Wachmann and Ehrlich were not an acceptable marriage of music and folklore in the views of Romanian folklorists.

These objections show something else: that already in the work of Alecsandri and Russo there is a growing consensus that folklore is the product of Romanian peasants, but that this consensus grew over a period among a group of Romanian scholars. Other ethnic and social groups, like the various minorities and the urban proletariat, were excluded or omitted. Of course, this policy often runs into difficulties since it is not always clear how to separate urban and rural genres, or how to

deal with mixed ethnic groups. How, for instance, should one treat music that is performed by Roma *lăutari*? It seems that it takes several decades before practices concerning these more problematic cases are established. The above mentioned passage in Russo's text appears to predate such a resolution. In other cases, the ethnic identity of non-Romanian performers is simply omitted or otherwise downplayed. One device employed in this process is the separation of music from the performer, which enables scholars to describe musical performances as Romanian even when the performers are not considered Romanian.

In another way, the largely "amusical" discourse of Russo, Alecsandri and others on music within the debate on popular poetry since the approximately 1840s also set the stage for later discourse. Already in this incipient stage of academic discourse, most of the genre terms which were not standardized until the 1920s and 1930s were already present, like *doina*, *colinde* (carols), *balladă* (ballad), *cântec* (song), or *cântec de stea* (star song), although often with a different meaning. A quick glance at Alecsandri 1866 serves as illustration. Alecsandri groups the items in his collection in the genres "balade" (ballads), "doine", and "hore". He refers to ballads also as "cântice bătrânești"⁸⁰ (old songs).

DIMITRIE VULPIAN (1880s)

Together with the Romanian Academy, Dimitrie Vulpian published several collections of Romanian folk music between 1885 and 1891 (Vulpian [1885], [1886a?], 1886b, 1886c, 1886d, 1891). To the best of my knowledge, this is the first usage of the term "muzica populară" (folk music) in Romanian discourse. Vulpian's books contain musical transcriptions together with lyrics. Often only the melody is notated, but some publications contain arrangement for voice and piano.

Figure 3.2: Notation from Vulpian's *Balade, Colinde, Doine, Idyle* (1885)

The image shows a page of musical notation from a book. At the top, the title "Alotă - și bou și mănec bou." is written in a decorative font. Below the title, there are five systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The tempo is marked "Allegretto sostenuto." and the mood is "Moderato". The lyrics are in Romanian: "Alotă - și bou și mănec bou. / Alotă - și bou și mănec bou. / Alotă - și bou și mănec bou. / Alotă - și bou și mănec bou. / Alotă - și bou și mănec bou." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" and "mf".

Scanned by the author from microfiche

⁸⁰ This is the obsolete spelling used in Alecsandri's text.

Vulpian's anthologies are often criticized for a number of reasons. Many of the transcriptions are secondhand, i.e. copied from other publications. The lyrics do not always closely correspond with the text, and the documentation is incomplete so that sources of the songs are not always clear. Vulpian was a flautist and not primarily a scholar. He had collected his material over more than a decade. Alecsandri supported the publication of Vulpian's collections in the Romanian Academy, and finally the Romanian Academy agreed to publish under the condition that Vulpian make revisions, for example, by filling in missing documentation. However, it appears that after working on the material for more than 15 years, Vulpian was not always able to specify precise and credible sources (Bîrlea 1974:265).

Perhaps most interestingly, the Romanian Academy requested that Vulpian provide prescriptive musical transcriptions for piano and voice.⁸¹ The Romanian Academy's emphasis on a useable but inexact notation shows that the later paradigm of folk music research (with its emphasis on descriptive notation) was not yet in place.

In accordance with the vague concept of music I outlined at the beginning of this section, there seems to have been a common agreement that musical notations were desirable and relevant; at the same time, there was no established methodology or terminology yet in Romania that would facilitate the creation of musical transcriptions or allow one to talk about music with greater precision. Even as folkloristics was already in the process of professionalization elsewhere in Europe, no Romanian publication in the 19th century was able to provide musical notations acceptable for Romanian folklorists.

THE ROLE OF THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY (1885-1910s)

Many of the early members of the Academy and its predecessors had an interest in folklore. Alecsandri, one of the original members of the Literary Society, is perhaps the most prominent of them in early years after the establishment of the Academy. However, in their early years, the Academy and its predecessors were mostly concerned with language, dictionaries and grammars. The earliest folklore publication of the Academy listed by Muşlea (1932:2) is Iarnik and Bârseanu 1885.

Iarnik and Bârseanu's work is based on a collection by the clergyman J.M. Moldovan from Blaj (Transylvania) who had students at the local high school collect thousands of "poems" beginning in 1863. According to its reviewer (Rudow 1890:228), the professors Iarnik and Bârseanu selected and arranged the "most beautiful and authentic" items. The printed anthology comprises more than one thousand items which are grouped into *doine*, *hore*, poems and miscellanea. The reviewer explains that what is called *hora* here are actually *strigături* (shouted verses accompanying dance tunes. The songs are, as seems to be the rule at this time, represented only in their lyrics. The reviewer wonders why Iarnik and Bârseanu did not include ballads, which were also part of the original collection (Rudow 1890:229).

The Academy facilitated the publication of manuscripts on folklore. When discussing Iarnik and Bârseanu's work in the Academy, Alecsandri insisted on the authenticity of their collection

⁸¹ One is reminded of the debate between Fillmore and Gilman concerning latent harmony in native American music, which happens around the same time (Myers in Pegg).

and their critical attitude (Muşlea 1932:2).⁸² Here, Alecsandri claimed authenticity based on his belief that the selection is representative of the Romanian people, which implies, as noted earlier, that their selection highlighted the contributions of Romanian peasants and downplayed those of other social and ethnic groups.

Muşlea (1932:2) also reports that the academy created a new commission on "arii populare" (popular airs) when discussing Iarnik and Bârseanu's publication, i.e. between 1882 when the Academy received the manuscript and 1885 when the book was published.

After Alecsandri's death in 1890, Hasdeu became one of the leading folklorists in the Academy (Muşlea 1932:3). In Alecsandri's time there were already collections that covered Romania as a whole, as well as regionally specific collections (such as Iarnik and Bârseanu 1885), but the importance of regionally specific collections increased in Hasdeu's time. Hasdeu advocated the use of questionnaires and a systematic approach to cover Romanian folklore (1932:3).

Also, the Academy widened its scope and included new objects. While up to this point folklore research had emphasized popular literature (popular poetry or unwritten literature, to name some of the near synonyms used at the time), from 1885 the Academy facilitated research on customs (obiceiuri). For instance, Muşlea mentions the creation of a prize for a historical, ethnographic and comparative study in 1885 (Muşlea 1932:3). Interestingly enough, Muşlea did not even mention Vulpian's collections although they were published in part with the support of the Romanian Academy, possibly because they did not fit Muşlea's standards of authenticity (cf. Muşlea 1932:3).

It appears that in the late 19th century, the Romanian Academy was not so much the place where actual folklore research was carried out, but was rather the institution where influential participants in the emerging discourse of folklore met, set standards and provided funding for publications. Actual research in the field was still carried out by interested individuals from inside and outside academia. There is no reason to believe that the Academy's folklore activities represented all tendencies in Romanian folklore research at the end of the 19th century. As the most prestigious research organization, the Academy was, however, the best place to set and enforce new standards and as such it attracted most of the influential folklorists of the time.

19TH CENTURY FOLKLORE RESEARCH AND THE NATIONAL MATRIX

In this section I have looked at the emergence of folklore research in Romania. I argue that an academic discipline of folklore research in Romania only came into existence at the moment when folklore studies became a regular part of university curricula. This only occurred when, at the end of the 19th century, Hasdeu made folklore a subdiscipline of philology. However, before this important step there was a phase of perhaps seven decades⁸³ when folklore was already a discourse with relatively constant objects, modalities, terms and strategies, a discourse that was

⁸² Muşlea (1932:2–3) quotes Alecsandri arguing against "apocrife, imitaţiune după cântecele cunoscute" (apocrypha, imitations after known songs) and in favor of collections which are "în adevăr originale şi credincioase stilului şi cugetării poporului român" (really original and faithful of style and the thought of the Romanian people).

⁸³ Of course, one could easily trace the roots of the discourse on folklore in Romania further back – well before the 1830s -, but, as I have indicated, in this time the constellation of the discourse is rather different.

perhaps not explicitly and predominantly located in academic institutions, but which was already discussed by a range of scholars and amateurs alike and which received considerable public attention.

I argued that music was already present in these discussions at least since Alecsandri began his collecting activities in the 1840s and perhaps even earlier. In the 19th century, music was rarely explicitly discussed in the context of the term "folk song" in Romania, and certainly not as "folk music" in the technical sense of the term that became common after ca. 1885. Curiously, one could even say that music in the Romanian debate on folklore was sometimes not even discussed in context of the word "music" at all, but rather as "melodies" or "airs" or by describing the performances of *lăutari*. In spite of the vagueness with which music was treated at this stage in the emerging debate on folklore and the lack of terminological precision, it was already part of the discussion, so that one can say music was already present when the foundations of Romanian folklore discourse were laid. In other words, music did not only become a part of the debate on Romania's national folklore when people started to transcribe folk songs and folk music in a more scientific way around the turn of the 20th century; instead, music was part of the process that first defined the Romanian nation. Put succinctly, music helped to invent the Romanian nation.

Anderson states that "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender" (Anderson 1998:5). Continuing the parallel between a gendered and a national world, perhaps one could describe the mechanism that developed around 1850 in Romania by analogy to Butler's heterosexual matrix (Butler 1990:47-106,208) as *a national matrix*: a dominant and hegemonic mode of representing Romania mono-ethnically (cf. Verdery 1991:28). To suggest a more Foucauldian definition of national matrix, one could describe the notion of nation as a set of related concepts and techniques that together form an apparatus with a hegemonic position.

Judging by the material analyzed here, the national matrix developed sometime before 1848 and became an official and widely accepted policy with the transition from Cuza to Carol in 1866. At this time, the Romanian nation was not yet recognized by Western powers, but an essentially liberal constitution was prepared and adopted by the two major political powers and the nation state was no longer a mere agenda, but part of political reality. About the same time, folklorists settled on researching predominantly the Romanian peasant, while downplaying or even concealing cultural diversity and the participation of other cultural and ethnic groups in their country.

3.3 Music in the life of the people (1908–1931)

In the previous section, I focused on folklore research related to the Romanian Academy, and to a lesser extent on other emerging disciplines, such as archaeology and ethnology. In this section, I will continue this perspective and elaborate more on the Academy's central publication series on folklore. In particular, I look at the book series *Din viața poporului Român: culegeri și studii*

(Out of the life of the Romanian people: Collections and studies⁸⁴) published by the Romanian Academy between 1908 and 1931. Continuing with one of my interests in the last section, I examine the academic disciplines featured in this series to determine what the contemporary understanding of such disciplines might have been, as well as how the set of disciplines to which the discourse of folklore studies refers has evolved over time. My main focus in this section, however, is the treatment of music in *Din vieața poporului Român*. I look at many of the series's monographs that contain musical notations, highlighting those volumes which established new approaches in representing or analyzing music.

One of the publications in this series is Bartók 1913. This work is often singled out for its significance. Jordan Datcu, for example, calls Bartók's monograph the first scientific work on Romanian folk music (Datcu 1998a:56). However, as will become clear in the next section, Bartók's publication did not lead to an immediate institutionalization of Romanian ethnomusicology (which occurred only in the late 1920s). As I try to show in this section, Bartók's work constitutes neither a revolution nor a rupture in the discourse. In many ways, Bartók continues traditions already established in folklore studies, and yet his work also symbolizes a significant new trend in ethnomusicology.

I will not trace with any exactitude how Hungarian and international aspects influenced Bartók's early Romanian folklore collection, nor will I examine how international trends influenced the emerging ethnomusicology in Romania. Nonetheless, Bartók's example serves as a reminder that Romanian folklore studies and ethnomusicology were not isolated from international trends. By comparing the treatment of music in folklore studies in these various stages, I contextualize the epistemological shifts which occurred in Romanian folklore studies in the first half of the 20th century.

DISCIPLINING THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

*Din vieața poporului Român*⁸⁵ (DVPR, Out of the life of the Romanian people) is the first series published by the Romanian Academy which focuses on folklore and related disciplines researching Romanian peasants. (Earlier folklore publications of the Academy were either independently published monographs or were articles that appeared in more general periodicals, such as the *Anale-Memoriile Secției literare* (Annals and memorials of the literary section, cf. Pârvescu 1908:3) devoted to the all of the Academy's activities.) In total, between 1908 and 1931, 40 monographs were published in the series (see Table 3.1). According to Ioan Bianu, the Academy's president and initiator of the new series, the series was dedicated to "collections of popular literature, customs, superstitions, songs and dance tunes 'in one word everything that is a manifestation of the spiritual life of the people'."⁸⁶ (Mușlea 1932:3, cf. Pârvescu 1908:3). Although both the enumeration and the general statement echo Hasdeu's definition of folklore,

⁸⁴ "Vieața" is an obsolete spelling for "viața" (life). Since this spelling is used in the early issues of the series, I use the old spelling in my text.

⁸⁵ The first volume uses the now obsolete spelling "Din vieața poporului Român"; later volumes spell the series title as "Din viața poporului Român".

⁸⁶ "culegilor de literatură populară, obiceiuri, superstiții, cântece și jocuri 'cu un cuvânt de tot ce este manifestare a vieții sufletești a poporului'"

Bianu does not use the word "folklore" here. Like Hasdeu, the Romanian Academy suggests a broad definition of folklore. Furthermore, the series's title avoids any term that refers to a discipline, pointing to a more general reluctance to use the term "folklore" in the first decade of twentieth century (at least in prominent positions such as titles), possibly because it is a loan word. As part of the series, the word "folklor" only appears in 1925 in the title of one of the volumes (then spelled with a 'k' to indicate its foreign source). However, the notion of folklore already appears regularly in the early volumes of the series (e.g. Vasiliu 1909:iv). Pârvescu 1908:3 uses it several times in the main text of the series's first volume (already in the Romanian spelling with a 'c', e.g. p.5, 20, 30, 33, which in the 1950s became common), implying that at least an important subset of folklorists at the time already embraced the new term.

Table 3.1: Publications of *Din vieța poporului Român*

No	Reference	Title / Translation	Objects ⁸⁷
1	Pârvescu 1908, C. M. Cordoneanu (*)	Hora din Cartal: cu arii notate de C.M. Cordoneanu / The hora from Cartal	"hora, airs"; 1. language; 2. music
2	Pamfile 1908(*)	Cimilituri Românești / Romanian riddles	"riddles"; 1. language
3	Bud 1908 (*)	Poezii populare din Maramureș: vicarul Maramureșului / Popular poetry from Maramureș: the vicar of Maramureș	"popular poetry"; 1. language
4	Vasiliu 1909, Sofia Teodoreanu (*)	Cîntece, urături și bocete de ale popurului însoțite de 43 arii notate de D-na Sofia Teodoreanu / Songs, speeches and laments of the people accompanied with 43 arias notated by Mrs Sofia Teodoreanu	"songs, sayings, laments, airs", 1. language; 2. music
5	Păsculescu 1910 Gheorghe Mateiu (*)	Literatură populară Românească. Cu 30 ari notate de Gheorghe Mateiu / Romanian popular literature. With 30 airs notated by Gheorghe Mateiu	"popular [folk] literature, airs"; 1. literature; 2. music
6	Pamfile 1909	Jocuri de copii / Children games	"games"; 1. customs, beliefs
7	Rădulescu-Codin and Mihalache 1909	Sărbătorile poporului, cu obiceiurile, credințele și unele tradiții legate de ele / People's Holidays with customs, believes and some traditions connected with them	"customs, beliefs, traditions"; 1. customs
8	Pamfile 1910	Industria casnică la Români: trecutul și starea ei de astăzi; contribuțiuni de artă și tehnică populară / Domestic industry among Romanians: Past and present state; contributions to the folk art and technology.	"popular [folk] art and technology"; 1. customs
9	Marian 1911	Hore și chiuiturei din Bucovina / Hore and shouts (yodels?) from Bukovina	"hore, shouts/yodels" 1. language
10	Rădulescu-Codin 1910	Legende, tradiții și amintiri istorice / Legends, traditions and historic memories (recollections)	"legends, traditions, memories"; 1. customs, beliefs; 2. language
11	Pamfile 1911b	Sărbătorile de vară la români: studiu etnografic / Summer holidays among the Romanians: An ethnographic study	"ethnography"; 1. customs, beliefs
12	Pamfile 1913b	Cântece de țară / Songs of the country	"song"; 1. language; 2.

⁸⁷ In this column, I quote the title words which I consider to best describe the main object of the study (in quotation marks). I either quote specific genres (e.g. hora) or terms referring to a discipline (e.g. ethnographic). I also classify these objects in three categories: 1) "Language" (where the monograph describes items which literally represented, e.g. poetry, songs, horas, and tales; Respective works are typically considered to be a collection. 2) "Customs, beliefs" refers to 'items' which do not require literal representation (such as customs, beliefs, superstitions). The respective works are typically considered a study. 3) "Music" refers to items which are represented using musical notation. If several categories apply, I number them in the order of importance. I consider the identified objects and their classes as an intermediary step in identifying emerging disciplines and subdisciplines in the discourse on village life associated with the Romanian Academy. Strictly speaking the three categories are mine, but I argue that they (or similar ones) are implied in the discourse (albeit possibly under different labels). I hesitate to apply discipline terms at this point, because I do not want to superimpose labels from a later time where folklore is strictly separated into literature, music, and dance. I was not able to consult every book in the series. The publications that I did consult are marked with an asterisk (*) in the first column.

			music?
13	Pamfile 1911a	Boli și leacuri la oameni, vițe și păsări / Diseases and cures in humans, cattle and poultry	"disease, cure"; 1. customs, beliefs
14	Bartók 1913	Cântece populare Românești din comitatul Bihor (Ungaria) / Romanian folk songs from the district Bihor (Hungary)	"songs"; 1. music
15	Furtună 1913	Vremuri înțelepte: povestiri și legende Românești / Wise times: Romanian tales and legends	"tales, legends"; 1. language
16	Pamfile 1913a	Agricultura la Români: Studiu etnografic .../ Agriculture among Romanians: ethnographic study	"ethnography", 1. customs, beliefs
17	Rădulescu-Codin 1913	Ingerul Românului: povești și legende din popor / The angel of the Romanian: tales and legends of the people	"tales, legends", 1. language
18	Pamfile 1913c	Povestea lumii de demult: după credințele poporului Român/ The history of the ancient world: in the beliefs of the Romanian people	"stories, beliefs"; 1. language; 2. customs, beliefs
19	Pamfile 1914c	Sărbătorile la Români: sărbătorile de toamnă și postul crăciunului, studiu etnografic. / Holidays among Romanians: Autumn holidays and advent	"ethnography"; 1. customs, beliefs
20	Pamfile 1914a	Crăciunul: Studiu etnografic / Christmas: Ethnographic study	"ethnography"; 1. customs, beliefs
21	Ciașanu 1914	Superstițiile poporului român în asemănare cu ale altor popoare vechi și nouă / Superstitions of the Romanian people in comparison with other old and new people	"superstitions"; 1. customs, beliefs
22	Viciu 1914	Colinde din Ardeal: Datini de Crăciun și credințe populare / Carols from Ardeal: traditions of Christmas and the people's beliefs	"colinde, traditions, beliefs"; 1. customs, beliefs; 2. language; 3. music?
23	Fortuna 1914	Cuvinte Scumpe: taclale, povestiri și legende Românești / Romanian conversations, tales and legends	"conversations, tales, legends"; 1. language
24	Pamfile and Lupescu 1914	Cromatică poporului Român / The Study of the colors of the Romanian people	"chromatics"; 1. customs, beliefs
25	Pamfile 1914b	Diavolul învrăjbitor al lumii; după credințele poporului Român / The devil, sorcerer of the world; in the beliefs of the Romanian people	"beliefs"; 1. customs, beliefs
26	Pamfile 1915	Cerul și podoabele lui: după credințele poporului Român / Heaven and its ornaments; in the beliefs of the Romanian people	"beliefs"; 1. customs, beliefs
27	Gorovei 1915	Credințe și superstiții ale poporului Român / Beliefs and superstitions of the Romanian people	"beliefs"; 1. customs, beliefs
28	Pamfile 1916c	Văzduhul după credințele poporului Român / The higher spheres [of the atmospheres] in the beliefs of the Romanian people	"beliefs"; 1. customs, beliefs
29	Pamfile 1916b	Dușmani și prieteni ai omului (Mitologie românească 1)/ Enemies and friends of man (Romanian Mythology 1).	"mythology"; 1. customs, beliefs
30	Pamfile 1916a	Comorile (Mitologie românească 2)/ Treasures (Romanian Mythology 1)	"mythology"; 1. customs, beliefs
31	Fira and Kiriac 1916 D.G. Kiriac	Cântece și hore / Songs and hore	"songs and hore"; 1. customs, beliefs; 2. Music
32	Pamfile 1924	Pământul: după credințele poporului român (Mitologie românească 3) / The land: In the beliefs of the Romanian people (Romanian Mythology 3)	"beliefs", "mythology"; 1. customs, beliefs
33	Papahagi 1925	Graiul și folklorul Maramureșului / Dialect and folklore of Maramureș	"dialect, folklore"; 1. language
34	Georgescu-Tistu 1928	Folklor din județul Buzău / Folklore from the district Buzău	"folklore"; 1. language;
35	Ciașanu, Fira, and Popescu 1928	Culegere de folklor din jud[eu]t Vâlcea și împrejurimi: cu un glosar / Collection of folklore from the district Vâlcea and surroundings: with a glossary	"collection, folklore", 1. language; 2. music?
36	Vasilii 1927	Povești și legende culese de ... / Tales and legends collected by ...	"tales, legends" 1. language
37	Fira 1928 Constantin Brăiloiu	Nunta în județul Vâlcea / The wedding in the district Vâlcea	"wedding", 1. customs, beliefs; 2. music
38	Dumitrașcu 1929	Strigoii din credințele, datinile și povestirile poporului român / Ghosts in beliefs, traditions and tales of the Romanian people	"beliefs, traditions, tales"; 1. customs, beliefs?; 2. language?

39	Rădulescu-Codin 1929 (* scan)	Literatură, tradiții și obiceiuri din Corbii-Muşcelului cu note istroice, 24 Arii, 162 figuri în text și unele vederi din Corbi / Literature, traditions and customs from Corbii-Muşcelului with historic notes, 24 airs and 162 figures in text and some views of Corbi.	"literature, traditions, customs, airs", 1. language; 2. customs, beliefs, 3. music
40	Gorovei 1931	Descântecelile românilor: studiu de folklor / Incantations of the Romanians: folklore study	"folklore, incantations", 1. language, 2. customs, beliefs

In the individual titles of the series, only one other discipline label is used: "ethnography". In the beginning of the 20th century, this was no longer a new term. In Romania, ethnography was likely established by Simion Florian Marian, whose earlier works (also published by the Academy) already used this term in prominent positions, e.g. Marian 1898⁸⁸. Hasdeu (quoted by Muşlea 1932:3) approves of Marian's ethnographic work, indicating that ethnography at the time focused on holidays - or more generally the study of customs and beliefs, in contrast to the more language-based research on popular poetry in the domain of folklore - and that this area was considered a subdiscipline of folklore by Hasdeu and others. The term "ethnology," which often appears later in correlation to ethnography in Romanian discourse, is not yet used in this context and the study of material culture appears not to be part of *Din Vieața Poporului Român*

Table 3.2: Structure of *Hora din Cartal* (Pârvescu 1908)

Section	Chapter title/translation (comment)	Page
Introductory section	Untitled and unsigned preface (introduction to the series)	3
	Raportul d-lui I. Bianu către Secțiunea literară a Academiei, aprobat la. 22 Martie 1905 / Report by Mr. I. Bianu to the Academy's Literary Section, approved on March 22, 1908 (title page mentions the session of March 28, 1908)	5
	Introducere /Introduction (by Pârvescu, with seven numbered subsections)	7
Main section	I. Hora	35
	II. Datini (traditions)	58
	III. Legende (legends)	89
	IV. Cimilituri (riddles)	107
	V. Nunta (wedding)	112
Annexes	Note (notes)	127
	VI. Melodiile (melodies)	143
	Glosar (glossary)	183
	Indice de Nume și lucruri (index)	191
	Cuprinsul (contents)	193

The volumes of *Din vieața poporului Român* have a relatively constant structure. Volumes typically begin with a report (in place of a preface) by one of the members of Academy's literary section. The report briefly summarizes and evaluates the work. Usually the date of the session in which the literary section approved of the work's publication is specified. Volumes are then structured in several sections, each of which can comprise several chapters or subsections:

⁸⁸ None of the works of S. F. Marian that I could locate defines the notion of ethnography explicitly. However, the use of the terms "folkloristic" and "ethnography" in the titles of his works (cmp.Marian 1903) indicates that he distinguishes between the former and the latter by restricting folklore to language while using ethnography to describe behavior and knowledge. It seems that this distinction did not get institutionalized, at least not in Marian's lifetime. Others treat ethnography as a subdiscipline of folklore studies.

- an introductory sections, including the author's own introduction;
- a main section, comprising several chapters devoted to specific folklore genres (such as customs, hore, traditions etc.),
- an appendix section including notes (endnotes), indices, a glossary or other finding aids. If present, musical notations follow the notes, but precede the indices (cf. Table 3.2), probably reflecting the workflow of setting books in print.

PÂRVESCU'S *HORA FROM CARTAL* (1908)

In the following, I look a bit closer at most of the volumes in the series which contain musical notations. The first book which meets this criterion is also the series's first volume, a monograph by Pompiliu Pârvescu about the dancing of hora in Cartal, a village in the Dobruja region. Pârvescu, a teacher in Buzău at the time of publication, collected the material for his publication during several summer trips to Cartal, where he grew up (Pârvescu 1908:5). Pârvescu made phonograph recordings in Cartal. The recordings were later transcribed by C. M. Cordoneanu, a music professor in Bucharest. Pârvescu's recordings are among the oldest ones of Romanian folk music. Pârvescu's *Hora din Cartal* is also the earliest Romanian publication with musical notations transcribed from recordings.⁸⁹

Pârvescu's monograph focuses on the hora, both a genre of dance and a label that denotes the dance events typically held on Sunday evenings.⁹⁰ Pârvescu not only provides his own observations on the hora in Cartal, but he also summarizes the available secondary literature on the Romanian hora (mostly in the lengthy introduction and the endnotes).

While in some sections Pârvescu writes in a lucid and detached style, following the usual academic conventions; in other sections he indulges in the passionate and subjective style of the patriotic and enthusiastic early folklorists. Examples of this more subjective style can be found especially in the introduction's first and last subsections, but occasionally also in the book's main part. In these more emotional sections, Pârvescu personifies folklore and frequently uses the second person, evoking idyllic scenes of village life. He also employs tropes of the national discourse, such as appealing to the motherland ("patria"):

In noua patrie poeziile trebuie să-și uite puțin de dorul inimilor lăsate acasă, căci au să cânte altora, au să mângâie alte frunți înnourate și au să aline alte nevoi. Melodiile primesc de multe ori atunci podoabă nouă, căci se schimbă cerul și murmurul de codru e altul. Și simți bine că nu toate cântecelele păstrează acelaș suflet. (Pârvescu 1908:7)

In our motherland, poems must look out a little for the longing of the hearts left at home, because they have to sing for others, they have to comfort other clouded faces and they have to alleviate other needs. Melodies often acquire new brilliance, because they change the sky and the murmur of the forest is different. And you feel good that not all songs keep the same spirit.

Pârvescu distinguishes several dance genres. For the region of Dobruja, he considers "horele", "brâurile" and "învârtitele" (also referred to as polka, as the most frequent ones (Pârvescu

⁸⁹ The current state of Pârvescu's recordings is not clear. According to personal communication with Nicolae Teodoreanu, ethnomusicologist at the IEF (autumn 2010), the cylinders are stored today in the Romanian Academy and are not part of the IEF's collections. At the time, Teodoreanu believed that the cylinders still existed.

⁹⁰ Pârvescu refers to dances either as "danțuri" (Pârvescu 1908:5) or "jocuri" (Pârvescu 1908:11) where the former seems to be the more general term.

1908:18). Less important dances in this region are *mâna* (literally hand), *Letița Ioana* (a female name) and others (Pârvescu 1908:13). Pârvescu estimates that the *învirtita* only arrived in Romania around 1880, while he assumes that the *hora* and *brâu* are at least 300 years old (Pârvescu 1908:19).

Pârvescu surprises with the depth of his descriptions. In his attempt to provide a comprehensive description of Romanian dances, he discusses their history ranging back to antiquity (Pârvescu 1908:27–30). In short, he includes information that is not part of the usual *grid of specification* employed by other folklorists of his time. For example, he includes relatively exhaustive organologic descriptions of instruments used to accompany dances (Pârvescu 1908:25–27). According to Pârvescu, the violin, a predecessor to the modern violin, different kinds of flutes, the *cîmpoi* (bagpipe), and the *cobza* (a short-necked lute) had been the most important instruments used to accompany dance music in Romania for the preceding few centuries (Pârvescu 1908:27). Musicians playing Romanian dance music are mostly *lăutari*, who -- according to Pârvescu -- are often "țigan" (Roma, literally "Gypsy", Pârvescu 1908:25). Several photographs accompany the text, illustrating the dancer's costumes, posture and placement in the dance space.

Figure 3.3: Dancers' posture and placement



Source: Pârvescu 1908:43. The image is subtitled "Sultanică", a dance genre.

The central chapter of the book is the one entitled "Hora". The use of the singular indicates that Pârvescu does not primarily refer to the dance genre, since genres in other headings are in plural, but to the dance event, which typically took place on summer Sundays (Pârvescu 1908:37). Like the introduction, this chapter starts out with a poetic, personal and nostalgic section in which Pârvescu describes how he came back to Cartal, contrasting the ugly city life with the freedom of rural existence:

Mă văd copil scăpat de grija școalei, înghesuit într'o căruță cu boccele, trecând de barieră în dogoarea verii, prin pulberea drumului, ce mă duceă tocmai la mine acasă, în liniștea câmpiilor nesfârșite, în libertatea aceea nestânjenită, după care visasem un an întreg, cât umblasem pe ulițele înguste ale orașului (Pârvescu 1908:37).

I see a child escaped from the care of school, crowded in a cart with bundles and crossing the barrier in the summer's heat from the dust road that leads me directly to my house in the silence of endless fields, in this unhindered liberty of which I had dreamed a whole year when I walked the narrow streets of the city.

Pârvescu continues in a similar vein to describe a hora event on the Sunday following his arrival. It remains unclear if this is the actual description of the summer he spent in Cartal for his research, or a remembered or even fictitious account of an unspecified past. In his descriptions the main protagonists are the young men and girls who dance, as well as various bystanders like the single violin-playing *lăutar* and older and respected peasants. Pârvescu details several episodes that happened on that specific night (for instance, that the girls were late and came only for the second dance), and he describes a series of the dances (*hore, învârtite, sultănică, Leliță Ioană, ciubotăreasca, țigăneasca* and others). Pârvescu includes many particulars, such as relatively elaborate descriptions of the dancer's clothing, the formation on the dance floor for specific dances, the mood of specific dance tunes and information on social relationships, e.g. that it is a matter of pride for the peasant families to have their children participating in the hora. Towards the end of the chapter, the young men are among the last to leave the dance venue. They wander home singing songs for which Pârvescu provides the lyrics.

Pârvescu adds a few more notes on the changes that the hora had undergone in recent years. For example, he associates the new fashion women were wearing in his time with the destructive culture of the suburb or slum ("*mahala*", Pârvescu 1908:54), underlining his hostile attitude towards modernization, a characteristic of conservative discourse.

Pârvescu argues that the remaining chapters of the book also relate to the hora, although they cover other topics, such as the wedding and folklore genres, such as riddles and traditions (Pârvescu 1908:30). The relationship of these chapters to the hora is not always apparent. For example, his short section on the wedding has little to do with the hora other than that it provides a prominent occasion for young men and women to meet and to initiate a romantic relationship, a topic that is alluded to frequently throughout the book. In the chapter entitled "traditions" (*datini*), Pârvescu describes magic formulas and potions which young women use to affect their luck in love and to help them find the right husband, some of which are applied in the context of the hora.

The book includes 63 musical notations (for an example see Figure 3.4) made by C.M. Cordoneanu from Pârvescu's phonogram recordings made in Cartal, as well as several reprinted transcriptions from earlier publications (Pârvescu 1908:28–29). Pârvescu appears to have recorded musical performances mainly by two informants which he identifies by name: Vasile, the *lăutar* from the community of Seimeni and Dumitrache Țigan, the *lăutari* from Cartal (Pârvescu 1908:32)⁹¹. Considering the difficulties of recording instruments on a phonograph, it is likely that Pârvescu scheduled recording sessions separate from the actual Sunday night hora events described in the text.

Cordoneanu frequently notates what I assume are the whole recordings made by Pârvescu, i.e. not only one or a few parts, but all recorded parts in the same order that they were played on

⁹¹ In a different section, Pârvescu mentions a Vasile of the Cimpoeru family ("Vasile al lui Cimpoeru", Pârvescu 1908:38). I assume that this is the same Vasile mentioned as an informant for the music. Dumitrache is introduced as Dumitrache Țigan where the word "țigan" (Gypsy) functions as the last name.

the recording. In Figure 3.4, the individual periods (phrases) are numbered by Cordoneanu. The transcriptions include a title and a precise metronome marking. It is not clear if transcriptions are on absolute or relative pitch or if Pârvescu actually took care to record a reference tone to determine exact playback speed for the recordings⁹². Cordoneanu frequently accompanies the transcription with comments on musical structures, such the use of specific scales. Compared with earlier transcriptions, such as those in Vulpian [1885], Cordoneanu's excel in their precision and level of detail, especially considering that they document instrumental music and not folk songs.

Figure 3.4: Transcription from Pârvescu's Hora din Cartal (1908)

No. 1.
HORA DREAPTĂ.

Presto. M. M. ♩ = 216.

⁹² Most phonographs were able to record with variable speed, so researchers had to record a fixed reference tone to ensure playback at the same speed.

Taken as a whole, Pârvescu's *Hora din Cartal* is an unusual book. It combines Romantic tropes of idyllic village life, which resonate with conservative political discourse, with unusually detailed descriptions not only of dance movements, but of how the hora is a performance of social relationships: as a meeting place for young people of both sexes, as entertainment for the older ones, as a matter of the villagers' pride and as a point where villagers of different social status (rich farmers, poorer peasants, Roma musicians) display their social position. Pârvescu characterizes the relationship between Romanians and Romani musicians as a relationship which is essentially unequal, but also unproblematic and idyllic (for Pârvescu and seen from a non-Roma Romanian perspective). On the one hand, the Roma musician is characterized as a drinker and a picturesque character, but on the other hand he is also essential for the hora performance, and in this function he powerfully and skillfully coordinates the individual dances to guarantee a successful performance. In spite of the sharp distinction Pârvescu makes between Romanians and Roma, he also expresses respect for the *lăutari*'s skills:

In crâșmă, pe lângă mesele pline, Dumitrache domnià ca la el acasă. Peste vuetul slobod de veselie sănătoasă vioara țipa lungindu-și sunetele, plângându-le și după câteva note tremurate cu arcușul, Țiganul prindeà a zice din gură:
 Cântă, cuculețule,
 Seara, diminețile,
 Pe la toate porțile.
 Cind vei fi la poarta mea,
 Taci, cuce, și nu cântă,
 Că mi-i inimuța rea...

In the tavern, next to full tables, Dumitrache ruled like in his own home. Through the noise free of the healthy joy, the violin screamed making longing [?] and crying sounds, and after a few trembling notes with the bow the Roma [literally: Gypsy] says
 Sing, cuckoo,
 evening, mornings
 on all the gates
 when you will be at my gate,
 be quiet, cuckoo, and don't sing
 since my little heart is heavy [literally: bad]...

Pârvescu's depiction of Roma musicians combines admiration for their musical skills with features that show Roma as a radical Other. This combination is vaguely reminiscent of the ambivalence associated with the noble savage. In Pârvescu's text the differences between Gypsies⁹³ and Romanians are not only a given, but also appear unbridgeable (implying that Romanians will always be Romanians and Gypsies will always be Gypsies). This idea of an insurmountable difference is common in many colonial representations of the Other. Furthermore, Pârvescu clearly shows Gypsies in a subordinate role, as providers of music for Romanians. Together, these characteristics amount to a quasi-colonial attitude. Following Sherman Alexie's suggestion (Alexie 2005) from the film *Smoke Signals*, one could compare Pârvescu's book in this respect with the popular American TV series *The Lone Ranger and Tonto*. Compared to his more xenophobic contemporaries in Romania, Pârvescu has a benevolent attitude towards the Roma in Romania, but his perspective is nevertheless a colonial one.

⁹³ I am attempting to analyze Pârvescu's use of the word "Gypsy" here; I am not suggesting that "Gypsy" is an appropriate label for Roma.

In Pârvescu's anthology, music is treated more comprehensively and more holistically than in other contemporary publications, especially since he verbally describes concrete performance situations, including elements that his contemporaries might consider secondary for a description of the dance, such as the dancers' costumes. The term "music", however, plays no important role in Pârvescu's text. His focus is on the hora as one central element of folk customs in Cartal and it is I, as Pârvescu's reader and with my own broad, ethnomusicological understanding of music, who considers his description of the hora a description of a musical performance. While Pârvescu's holistic approach to music and dance is unusual for his time, he does not challenge common definitions of the term "music" in any way.

VASILIU'S SONGS, SAYINGS AND LAMENTS (1909)

Vasiliu 1909 is the fourth volume in the *Din viața din poporul Român* series. The collection includes the lyrics of 269 songs, six sayings, 14 laments, and 43 transcribed melodies (referred to as arias), all collected in Tătăruși, a village in northern Moldova⁹⁴.

Table 3.3: Vasiliu's genres and amount of melodies

Cântece (songs)	
...bătrânești (ballads, literally old songs) 38	... de nunți (wedding songs) 4
...voinicești (heroic songs) 41	... luătoare în răs (mocking songs) 3
... cătănești (soldier songs) 9	... de beție (drinking songs) 3
... de dragoste (love songs) 89	... felurite (various songs) 19
... de jale (sad songs) 63	total: 269
Urături de Sfântul Vasile (sayings of Saint Vasile) 6	
Bocete (laments) 14	
Arii (transcribed melodies) 43	

T. Maiorescu, a member of the Academy's Literary Section at the time, wrote the evaluation report of Vasiliu's anthology (p. iii), which states that Vasiliu belonged to a peasant family from Tătăruși and worked as a teacher. Vasiliu collected the material over the course of ten years. Maiorescu emphasizes that Vasiliu's transcripts are exact representations of the local peasant language, employing a phonetic script in order to record dialectical idiosyncrasies.

Table 3.4: Phonetic transcript from Vasiliu 1909

1. Frunzî verdi trii maslini.

Frunzî verdi trii maslini,	Pintr'om puî(ŭ) a mneŭ cel
Eu ma duc, puŭ ramîni,	[drag,
Ci sî fac sî-l ieŭ cu mini?	Șăpti boirescuri fac;
Batîr calia gîumatati,	Da di cini mni-(i) urît,
5. Sî nu-m(nî) paî- ¹)așa diparti.	Fac un cîas și m'am hranit.
Auzit dela T. S. a Gorcioaiei.	

Source: Vasiliu 1909:97.

The musical transcriptions were made by Sofia Teodoreanu, a professor at the conservatory in Iași, after listening to Vasiliu, who had learned to play the flute in his village.⁹⁵ However, the

⁹⁴ Today, Tătăruși belongs to the district of Iași.

⁹⁵ There is a discrepancy in the numbers of musical notations. Maiorescu mentions 50 transcriptions in his initial report, while only 43 are included in the publication and mentioned by Vasiliu in his introduction. I assume that either

transcriptions describe only songs (including one doină) and no instrumental music. It is unclear why Vasiliu mentions the flute at all. With the exception of the doina, the songs are classified into genres according to their lyrics. The transcriptions follow the prescriptive paradigm for folk songs of the time, i.e. they describe the melody of a single textual unit or verse. They are reasonably detailed, but there is no discussion of the musical material, its scales or rhythmic patterns. In the preface, Vasiliu mentions that most Romanian collections so far did not include musical notations, so he appears unaware of Vulpian's works from the 1880s.

Figure 3.5: Musical transcription from Vasiliu 1909

7. FRUNZĂ VERDE DE MĂR DULCE. (1836).
A se vedea textual la pag. 145

M. M. $\text{♩} = 54$.

Frunză ver - de de măr - - -
dul - - - ce pune-oi șa - - -
și m'oi du - ce să ve - dem ci -
ne m'a plân - ge.

In his preface Vasiliu does not discuss the collection's structure, nor does he interpret its meaning. Instead, he emphasizes how difficult it was to collect proper folklore and claims that he, as someone from that village with a love for folklore, was a suitable person for this difficult task. Vasiliu also describes the process of collecting folklore and some of his most important informants in unusual detail (Vasiliu 1909:8–11). He paints his main informant with almost heroic features: a healthy and naturally clever man of approximately 70 years with good humor and an incredible memory for folklore; he is modest, knows the area surrounding his village extremely well and other villagers follow his lead in agricultural activities. Vasiliu even includes an interview response from one of his informants, Toader Michai Buchilă, in direct speech (direct quotes from informants are rare in Romanian folklore studies in most decades). Vasiliu describes a typical visit with Buchilă: They would play the flute together, sing together or in alternation, and then Vasiliu would write down the lyrics of some of the songs. In short, Vasiliu paints an idyllic picture of life in his village and the work of the collector.

Like Pârvescu, Vasiliu refers negatively to the recent changes brought about by modernization and, in the vein of urgent anthropology, he argues that more collections are needed

Maioreescu was mistaken or that his report was written before the author's introduction and that for unknown reasons seven transcriptions were omitted from publication.

before the old state disappears. Correspondingly, Vasiliu explicitly values older folklore more highly than recent folklore. In contrast to Pârvescu, Vasiliu does not characterize the Roma *lăutari* with a Romantic stance, but rather links them to the recent degeneration of folklore, suggesting a hypothetical past where Romanian folklore was untouched by Roma performers:

Un cântec epic ori liric, din vremi mai vechi, căutat acum, scormolește pe om la inimă, înmiit mai mult decât o lălăitură iscodită astăzi și pe multe locuri slujită de lăutarii țigani. Vasiliu 1909:vii

An epic or lyric song from old times, found today, moves a person's heart a thousand times more than the babbling discovered today and which is in many places disfigured by Gypsy lăutari.

Vasiliu's *Cîntece, urături și bocete de ale poporului* (1909) is a good example for what Marian-Bălașa calls "romantic amateurism" in ethnography (Marian-Bălașa 2011b:13). The monograph is not written by a professional ethnographer, although it complies to an extent with the increasingly more professional demands of the time, carefully providing detailed transcriptions and documentation for informants and sources. At the same time, the collection remains purely descriptive, even more so than Pârvescu's *Hora din Cartal*, which at least attempts to locate a local dance tradition within a broader history of Romanian folk dances. Also, Vasiliu's main impetus appears to be a celebration of Romanian folklore in general and more specifically that of his own village. Such a celebration presupposes a context in which local folklore is valued, which happened to be the case in the context of the national matrix. Correspondingly, it is no surprise that Vasiliu appeals to a conservative mindset in which the past is more highly valued than the present. Within this broader climate of national sentiment, Pârvescu 1908 and Vasiliu 1909 demonstrate two different ways of dealing with the Roma musicians who perform Romanian folk music. While Pârvescu utilizes a quasi-colonial and relatively benevolent approach, Vasiliu chooses a stance expressing vitriolic condemnation for Roma musicians.

BARTÓK'S BIHOR COLLECTION (1913)

In 1913 the Romanian Academy published Béla Bartók's *Cîntece Poporale Românești din Comitatul Bihor (Ungaria)*⁹⁶ as the 14th volume of the DVPR series. The title translates as "Romanian folk songs from the Bihor district". The book was the first bilingual publication in the series, written in French and Romanian, but not the first one which deals with the folklore of Romanians outside of what was then the Romanian state.⁹⁷

Bartók had collected the material during field trips in July 1908 and the winter of 1909 in Bihor (Bihar in Hungarian), a Transylvanian district (Suchoff 2001:66) then politically a part of Hungary. About the area, Bartók writes that it was geographically well-defined and formed a unit

⁹⁶ The title translates as "Romanian folk songs from the district Bihar/Bihor, Hungary". "Bihar" is the Hungarian spelling; "Bihor" is the Romanian spelling. For simplicity's sake I will use the Romanian spelling in my text. The region was part of Hungary when Bartók made his collections and became Romanian after World War I. It is interesting to see that the term for folk song here is "cântec poporal" and not (yet?) "cântec popular" which later became the common expression for folk song in Romanian. Reasons for this choice of words are unclear. It is possible that "poporal" is not only an obsolete form for "popular", but at the time also a preferred technical term in the Romanian Academy. Bartók's Bihor collection was re-published several times since then: Bartók and Dille 1967, Bartók 1967, but to my knowledge never in Romanian.

⁹⁷ According to Bîrlea (1974:441) Bartók learned Romanian while studying Romanian folk song. Bartók 1913 does not mention any translator. Hence, I assume that Bartók authored both the Romanian and the French text in Bartók 1913.

"from a point of view of musical folklore"⁹⁸. On his trips, Bartók was assisted by Ion Bușîția, a Romanian and local school teacher (Bartók 1913:xvii, Suchoff 2001:66).⁹⁹

In 1910 Bartók contacted the Romanian composer D.G. Kiriac, and the Romanian Academy agreed to publish Bartók's collection. The published collection appeared a little more than two years later and included 371 transcriptions (291 songs and 80 instrumental tunes)¹⁰⁰. Most of Bartók's transcriptions are based on phonograph recordings made in the field. Bartók liked the phonograph especially because it allowed him to save time in the field and because it was less annoying for his informants. But he did not trust the machine entirely. Hence he compared the performance before he made the recording with the one actually recorded. His transcriptions often include notes on the differences between the two performances, including musical notations showing the differences. In his introduction, Bartók noted that amateur musicians, in particular, change their performance when told to sing in the phonograph. According to his observations, such variations occur less often when recording more professional musicians playing instrumental music (Bartók 1913:xi–xii).

In many ways, Bartók's 1913 publication followed patterns established earlier, both inside and outside Romania. Bartók's anthology is structured in roughly the same way as previous publications in the DVPR series: an introductory study followed by the collected material. However, the book does not follow the established scheme exactly. Bartók's book has no table of contents, includes no report from the Romanian Academy, and the list of errata follows the melodies and not vice versa, indicating that the Romanian Academy did not treat Bartók's publication exactly like the others in this series. This order points to a different process of preparing the book. It appears that in Bartók's case the errata were prepared after the musical notations were set, while in the other publications the errata only corrected the written part and not the musical text. This difference in the publication process underlines the point that I will make later, that music, specifically musical notation, had a more central role in Bartók's book than in any other folklore published before in Romania.

Also, Bartók's Bihor collection may be the first anthology in DVPR to focus exclusively on music (including the lyrics) or, rather, on "folk song" (if we follow the title of the book, which apparently ignores the instrumental pieces included by Bartók), but it is neither the first Romanian publication that focuses on music, nor the first Romanian collection based on phonograph recordings, nor the first to notate instrumental music. It also is not the first publication to use the term "folk music" (which is altogether absent from Bartók 1913).¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ "Ce territoire, qui est bien limité au point de vue géographique, forme également une unité au point de vue du folklore musical." (Bartók 1913:xi)

⁹⁹ Transylvania belonged to Hungary until after World War I and was inhabited by a majority of Romanians at the time of Bartók's field trips (Suchoff 2001:70).

¹⁰⁰ Suchoff claims that Bartók had already collected over 600 pieces in Bihor by 1910 (Suchoff 2001:70). It is not clear how Bartók selected items for publication. Apparently, Bartók did not publish variants, which might explain the difference in numbers. Also, it is noteworthy that the title of the publication *Cântece Poporale Românești din Comitatul Bihor, Ungaria* (Romanian folk songs from the district of Bihor, Hungary) does not refer to the instrumental tunes which make up a significant part of the publication - if one assumes today's standard meaning of "song," which excludes instrument tunes.

¹⁰¹ The expression "folklore musical" (in French, Bartók 1913:xi) and its direct Romanian equivalent "folklor muzical" Bartók 1913:iii.

Bartók's musical transcriptions follow by and large the already established pattern in folklore studies on international levels. Bartók notates only the melody, and no accompaniment; he also restricts himself to a single verse (or melodic unit¹⁰²), leaving possible variations between different verses (or units) out of sight. Bartók's transcriptions are fairly precise and detailed, but not more so than those of some of his predecessors, such as Cordoneanu's notations in *Pârvescu* 1908, and in fact they are less so than some of the transcriptions Bartók prepared in later years. For better comparability, Bartók transposes all songs, but not the instrumental melodies, so that they end on g'.

Interestingly enough, Bartók omits time signatures in the whole collection. I regard this as a decision aiming to remove redundant¹⁰³ information and to increase readability by focusing on what he considered essential. The decision to omit time signatures underlines that Bartók main aim was not to produce a score that could be easily performed, but to facilitate analysis. This makes a difference especially for the rhythmically more complex parts where otherwise frequent signature changes would obstruct readability.

Figure 3.6: An instrumental melody from Bartók 1913 (No. 292)

J O C.
(Danțul „Măruntel”, din vioară).

F. 152 Beiuș.

Allegro. ♩ = 132

Played by a violin. Note the use of "tr" to indicate a trill. It is not clear how exactly the trill is executed. Note also the b/2 notation indicating microtones or quarter notes.

Bartók associates some pieces in his collection with a musical genre (in the transcription's title), for example, no.1 is titled "colindul copiilor" (children's carol), but he does not order his collection according to genres. In his introduction, he distinguishes between *doine*, dance tunes with text ("arii de dans"¹⁰⁴), *colinde* (carols), *cântece de Crăciun* (Christmas songs), *cântece de*

¹⁰² I prefer the more neutral "melodic units" because Bartók emphasizes that the Bihor material is not strophic.

¹⁰³ Time signature can be deduced by counting the notes' lengths per measure. The melody represented in Figure 3.6, for example, is notated in 2/4. Omitting explicit time signatures may increase difficulty for prima vista performance, but may increase readability if the focus is analysis and not performance, especially in case of frequent signature changes which occur in Bartók's Bihor collection. This detail demonstrates that Bartók's transcriptions are predominantly descriptive and not prescriptive.

¹⁰⁴ "airs de danse" in the French preface (Bartók 1913:xiii)

nunta (weddings songs), *bocete* (laments). In a later section of the book, he presents instrumental dance tunes, often described as *joc* and he mentions children songs, but did not include them in his book (Bartók 1913:v).

Certainly, neither the use of the phonograph nor the quality of Bartók's transcriptions explains why Romanian scholars later attributed so much importance to Bartók's Bihor collection and regarded it as the beginning of Romanian ethnomusicology. At first sight, Bartók's work looks no more scientific than those of others before and after him.

BARTÓK'S MELODY-SORTING ALGORITHM AND THE NEW NOTION OF MUSIC (1913)

One aspect that does distinguish Bartók's Bihor collection from earlier anthologies of Romanian folklore is the fact that Bartók classified and sorted melodies according to their musical features. To this end, Bartók adopted and adapted a system developed by the Finnish musicologist Ilmari Krohn. Kodály and Bartók had already used a similar system for the classification and sorting of Hungarian folk songs (Suchoff 2001:163) before Bartók developed a variant of the same procedure for his Bihor collection.

Perhaps the main purpose of Krohn's classification was the attempt to sort melodies according to typological features in an unambiguous order, like words in a dictionary.¹⁰⁵ This sorting was meant to facilitate the identification of variants of the same melody. In the resulting order, variants should be close to each other. Both Krohn and Bartók acknowledge that ultimately their classification and sorting mechanism was not able to identify all variants, but Bartók still showed himself impressed that a purely mechanical sorting procedure could result in the identification of many variants at all (Krohn 1903:655–657, Krohn 1904:vii–viii, Bartók 1913:xv).

The sorting mechanism proposed by Bartók for his Bihor collection is a multi-step process or, in technical terms, an algorithm.¹⁰⁶ Bartók divides most melodies into parts (that he refers to as lines), each of which typically has seven to nine syllables. Bartók provides Arabic numerals to indicate the segmentation in parts for some transcriptions in his Bihor collection. For the purpose of sorting, Bartók treated all melodies as if they had four segments, counting some lines twice in order to facilitate comparison. Like Krohn, from whom Bartók inherited not only the general idea, Bartók provides rules for cases with less than four segments. For example, as can be seen in Figure 3.7, the song no.5 consists only of three parts, but Bartók counts the last segment twice.


¹⁰⁵ From a strict technical point of view neither Krohn's nor Bartók's system does allow for unambiguous sorting (as alphabetical ordering of words does). Apparently, Krohn and Bartók are content with devising a classification system whose classes are sufficiently small (i.e. the most specific classes have a manageable number of melodies).

¹⁰⁶ In information science, an algorithm is commonly understood as a "step-by-step procedure" that represents a calculation. In classical theories of classification, classes are not ordered. From this respect a sorting process is different and more specific than a classification (Gaus 2005:68,367). Bartók suggests different algorithms for different collections (Hungarian, Romanian collections etc.), which often use similar steps and principles, such as division in four parts, ordering of parts in a specific sequence and a "cadence" classification.

Figure 3.7: Song No. 5 from Bartók 1913


F. 691 a. Cristior (Kristyor).

Andante. 1) 1 rit. lunga 2

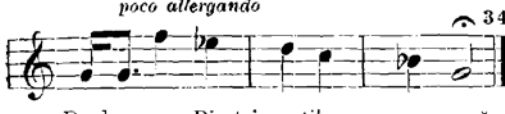


Du-su-s'a bă - di-ța dus, mă, Du-su-s'a bă - di-ța dus, mă,

¹⁾ sau:



poco allegando 3 4



Pe dru-mu Bi-stri - țin sus. mă.

Nu mi-e ciudă că s'o dus (*bis*),
Mi-e ciudă că nu mi-o spus.

Să-i pun merinde de-ajuns, mă (*bis*),
.....²⁾

Merindioară de un ban, mă (*bis*),
Să-i fie badii pe-un an, mă

Merindioară de trei bani (*bis*),
Să-i fie badii 'n trei ani.

Cernută prin sprâncenele (*bis*),
Frământată prin inele,

Să știe că-i-în dor și jele (*bis*).
Și dospită pe limbuță

Și coaptă la inimuță (*bis*),
Să știe că-i de drăguță.

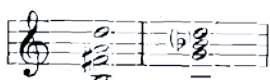
Numerals 1-4 indicate the end of the end of the respective segments.


For his algorithm, Bartók then sorts the material according to the first three parts' final notes: first according to the second part, then the first and the third parts. Only then does the final part become relevant for the order, and not by the final note itself, which is always g since Bartók transposes all song melodies to end in g, but by classifying the final notes of each melody as "cadences". This sorting algorithm implies a hierarchy: the second part (typically located in the middle of the melody) is most important for the sorting and the final part is the least important.

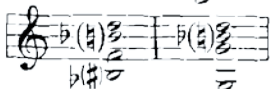
Again, Bartók takes the idea to utilize cadences for his sorting procedure from Krohn, but Bartók's concept of cadence differs significantly from Krohn's. Bartók suggests three different types of cadences, referring to a chord progression from V to I, from IV to I and III to I. (see Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Bartók's cadence classification in his Bihar collection

1) Dans ces chansons il y a 3 espèces de cadences:

a) V—I où la note finale *sol* est précédée du groupe des notes *fa* \sharp , *la*, *ré*. 

b) IV—I avec les notes principales *do*, *mi* *sol*, qui précèdent la finale *sol* 

c) III—I avec les notes *si* \flat , *ré* ou *si* \sharp , *ré*, qui précèdent le *sol*. 

It is unclear why Bartók provides G major and g minor as the last chord since according to his relative notation the last note always has to be g'. Note also that the textual description (here reprinted in French) and the musical notation differ in several ways. Firstly, I regard the b-sharp in the last line as a typo where Bartók in fact intended a natural b (as indicated in the text and the other octave). Secondly, f (fa) in the last line (IV cadence) is not mentioned in the text; I treat f just like b, b-flat and d although it is by no means clear if Bartók intended it this way. Furthermore, in this notation the use of brackets is inconsistent. For the last chord of the three cadences the diagram shows three different ways: (1) b in brackets, perhaps implying two alternative possibilities; (2) b not in brackets, possibly implying only one possibility and (3) b and natural accidental, with only the latter in brackets, also implying major and minor. However, it remains unclear why the diagram uses three different graphic representations in this case.

It is remarkable that Bartók not only uses a terminology that implies a harmonic dimension, but even shows these chords in the diagram above, although he notates only melodies and we can assume both that these songs were typically performed unaccompanied by a single singer and that Bartók heard and recorded them this way. However, it is conceivable that some of the songs Bartók collected in Bihar were on occasion also performed with musical instruments indicating some sort of harmonic approach. If this was the case, Bartók seems not to have been aware of this practice or he was not interested in it.

One could argue that Bartók thought harmonically and perhaps also implied that the singers (consciously or, more likely, unconsciously) likewise thought harmonically. However, it might also be possible to argue that Bartók simply employed a terminology derived from harmonic music to describe purely melodic structures. I tend to the latter interpretation since I consider it more in Bartók's favor.

The fact that Bartók shows the final chords both in major and minor for the three cadences indicates that his cadence classification does not depend on the mode (minor, major or otherwise) of the melody. In other words, the chords might indicate here that no matter whether the melody is minor, major or in another mode, only the second last note is relevant for the cadence classification.

Table 3.5: Number notation for Bartók's cadence classification

Cadence	Second last note	Last note
V	5,7,2	1 (b3,3,5)
IV	4,6,1	1 (b3,3,5)
III	b3,3,5,b7	1 (b3,3,5)

The number representation omits the octave.

If I label the notes shown in the above classification (Figure 3.8) using numbers from 1-7 (i.e. irrespective of octave) and using b for deviations from the major scale that Bartók also shows in his scheme, it becomes apparent that Bartók maps all notes from major and natural minor to his

three cadences (Table 3.5) and except for the fifth the mapping is unambiguous, i.e. one can unambiguously classify the cadence according to the second last note of the segment.

Table 3.6: Bartók's cadence classification mapped to the second last note

Segment's second last note	Cadence
1 / g	IV
2 / a	V
b3 / b-flat	III
3 / b	III
4 / c	IV
5 / d	III, V (ambiguity)
6 / e	IV
b7 / f	III
7 / f-sharp	V

Second last note is represented here both in number notation and in the note used by Bartók.

Several features of this cadence classification are surprising. Firstly, it is surprising that Bartók shows the notes of G major and g minor at all since his relative transposition always results in the last note of being g. This observation may explain why in the accompanying text only sol (g) is mentioned and not b-flat and d. Secondly, Bartók's cadence classification maps the notes of the major (1234567), natural minor or aeolian (12b345b6b7), and several other modes, such as dorian (12b3456b7), mixolydian (123456b7) and harmonic minor (12b34567) to the three cadences.¹⁰⁷ However, the songs in his Bihor collection are not limited to these modes. The third song, for example, uses a selection of the phrygian mode (f, g, a-flat, b-flat, c or b7,1,b2,b3,4) and as the a-flat is the second to last note, its cadence cannot be classified using the scheme discussed above, since Bartók's did not specify a rule for a lowered second step. One could, of course, argue that a-flat represents the second scale degree and hence functions as V-I cadence¹⁰⁸ step, but considering that Bartók carefully lists certain accidentals (both in speech and in musical notation) in the respective cadence classification (Figure 3.8) one should not assume that Bartók simply forgot a note. Rather, I assume that Bartók did not intend to classify the cadence for this song since it does not fit in the syllable pattern and cannot be segmented in four parts according to his own schema. This observation illustrates the fact that Bartók's sorting algorithm is intended only for a subset of the printed collection: those songs which can be segmented into four parts (according to Bartók's somewhat counter intuitive rules according to which repeat parts are sometimes counted repeatedly to obtain a total of four).

After sorting the melodies according to the ending notes of the four parts, Bartók's classification still is not unambiguous, since some of his classes have several melodies, so he further sorts the material according to the melodies' ambitus. Even this final step still does not necessarily result in unambiguous sorting – it is at least conceivable that there are different melodies (which are not variants) that have the same last note in the first, second, and third parts and the same second to last note in the last part, and the same ambitus, but apparently the resulting

¹⁰⁷ One could argue that my argument is misleading since, strictly speaking, Bartók does not refer to a scale in this case, rather he refers to the possible cases of second last note, but the fact remains that his approach is not applicable to all of his examples since a-flat is missing from the cadence classification.

¹⁰⁸ Since the cadences all end on I, I will label them using their distinct part henceforth, i.e. V, IV or III.

classes are now small enough to satisfy Bartók.¹⁰⁹ In total, Bartók employs four different consecutive processes in his algorithm: (1) segmentation into four parts, (2) the parts' final notes (in 213 order), (3) the second to last overall note (cadence classification) and (4) the ambitus.

Unlike Krohn, who provides short codes for each transcription in his printed collection¹¹⁰, Bartók does not provide any labels to show the class to which the melody belongs. As demonstrated in the following table, in the publication, Bartók's material is sorted only roughly according to the procedure he describes in his preface, a circumstance that the secondary literature generally ignores.

Table 3.7: Sorting in Bartók 1913

No.	Syllable count ¹¹¹	Segment's last note in regular order [and in 213 order]	Second last note and cadence	Ambitus	Notes
1	83?	e? g	d / V,VI?	g'-c'	Segmentation unclear
2	77	b-flat g	f / III	e-flat - b-flat'	item is described as fragment hence location of the 2 nd part is unclear.
3	87	e-flat g	a-flat		cadence unclear because a-flat is not part of cadence classification
4	89	c g	c / IV	g'-g''	
5	888*	c f g g [f c g]	b-flat / III	c' - f''	
6	7777*	f f f g [f f f]	g / IV	g' - d''	
7	7787	f f f g [f f f]	g / IV	f' - d''	the four parts are not indicated by Bartók but identifiable through syllable count
8	888*	f f f g [f f f]	b-flat / III	f' - f''	
9	895*	f f f g [f f f]	c / IV	f' - e-flat''	
10	888*	f f f g [f f f]	g / IV	f' - f''	
11	877*	f f g g [f f g]	a / V	f' - b-flat''	
12	877*	f f g g [f f g]	a-flat / ?	c' - c''	cadence unclear

Sorting demonstrated using my assumptions (see text) for the first 12 items in the collection.

Overall, Bartók's sorting algorithm appears somewhat contrived. Why do we need to identify four parts, even if the melody has only two or three? It seems possible that one could come up with a different algorithm that compares only the existing parts and which would similarly serve to identify variants. Likewise, why is the second part more important than the first part, which is more important than the third, which is more important than the fourth? Clearly, Bartók aims to identify musically salient points in the melody which are often located in the middle and the end, clearly it makes sense to privilege the end notes of phrases in contrast to passing notes, but are his concrete suggestions really without alternative? Could one not also privilege the segment's first notes, for example? Already in 1913, Bartók was aware and admitted that the specific details of

¹⁰⁹ For the reader of the Bartók 1913 this step is not transparent as the variants were not included in the printed version and subsequent editions of the same collection included heavily revised transcriptions.

¹¹⁰ An example for one of Krohn's classes is "A1a1". This indicates a melody with four "complete cadences". Krohn's labels for cadences contradict what I consider normal usage in music theory today: He distinguishes "complete cadences" (melodies which end in the fundamental) from "half cadences" (those which end in the third or fifth of the same chord). He applies this distinction to "chords" on different steps and speaks of complete or half cadences of the tonic, dominant etc. Like Bartók after him, Krohn notates only melodies, but clearly thinks harmonically.

¹¹¹ An asterisk (*) in my column signals that Bartók supplied Arabic numerals to indicate parts; where there is no asterisk, Bartók did not supply Arabic numbers to indicate the chunking in parts.

the sorting algorithm depended on the material at hand. He argues that in the end he decided on the procedure that allowed him to identify the most variants for the material at hand. Given only the publication at hand, the reader cannot verify this process, since the variants were not included in the publication. Furthermore, one could raise the question if Bartók was really able to decide unambiguously whether two melodies are variants of each other (based on structural similarities of melodies alone), without, for example, referring to local knowledge in any way.

Judging from the resulting publication (Bartók 1913) and the letters between Bartók and his Romanian counterparts involved in the publication (Demény 1971:114,118), it appears possible that at the time of publication the Romanian Academy was not particularly interested in the sorting of melodies. This might explain why a code referring to classification details (as illustrated in my table) was not included. Perhaps the Romanian Academy was rather interested in publishing Romanian folklore from Transylvania. At least, this is what Bartók's biographer suggests:

It was the sociopolitical agenda of the Academia Română to underwrite scholarly publications which would promote understanding and appreciation of Romanian culture, particularly that in rural Transylvania (Suchoff 2001:70)

Also, Romanian scholars did not adopt Bartók's classification system for folk songs; instead they tended to group their collections by genre. Even Bartók himself published later collections of Romanian folk music in a different way: primarily ordered by genre and only secondarily sorted by musical criteria similar to those employed in his Bihor collection. In the end, the specific sorting system Bartók developed for his Bihor collection was not as lasting a contribution to Romanian ethnomusicology as was, for example, Carl Linnaeus's classification of living beings, which transformed natural history in the 18th century. Does that mean that in retrospect the algorithm was altogether meaningless? To the contrary, I will argue in the following that Bartók's melody sorting algorithm was indicative of a sea change in the emerging fields of musical folkloristics and possibly comparative musicology. In our post-positivistic present, an algorithm for sorting folk melodies may not seem terribly important, but I believe that for Bartók it signified the beginning of a new era of research that was more focused on music in the technical and narrow sense and its structural features.

Before Bartók and his generation, folklorists typically attributed the main importance generally to the text. The melody was typically noted down only as a secondary aspect, if at all, and the material was often gathered eclectically and out of a regard for musical beauty. In short, within the context of folkloristics music as structure was typically only treated as an annex and not as a topic in its own right. At least this is how Bartók saw the matter:

And these viewpoints require the collection of all available material in order to obtain as many variants as possible. The old publications are selective, consider the text as the main aspect, and so forth. (Bartók quoted by Suchoff 2001:163)

And for Romanian discourse of folk music predating Bartók I have shown that this thesis holds true. I want to emphasize that the underlying concept of music involved here is not the broad concept often found in present-day ethnomusicology, where music can easily extend into the

realm of the inaudible¹¹², but the exact opposite: here music is only musical structure, i.e. a specific form of sound. In this context, music is primarily that which can be heard, recorded and written down, and analyzed in technical terms. In short: Bartók's concept of music is not holistic (attempting to include all dimensions of music); it is restricted, limited and specialized. It is not surprising that Bartók, as a composer, promotes this view.¹¹³

Interestingly enough, though, Bartók does not present a "pure" analysis of music as musical structure. For example, when Bartók argues that the territory covered in his Bihor collection constitutes a musical area, he mixes musical criteria (in the narrow sense of music) with geographic ones. In Bartók 1913(:iii), he only says that the territory of Bihor is geographically limited and that the repertoire forms a musical unit. Elsewhere, however, Bartók elaborates what he means:

For miles on end, in these parts there are entire villages with illiterate inhabitants, communities which are not linked by any railways or roads; here most of the time the people can provide for their own daily wants, never leaving their native habitats except for such unavoidable travel as arises from service in the army or an occasional appearance in court. When one comes into such a region, one has the feeling of a return to the Middle Ages. (Bartók quoted by Suchoff 2001:66).

So, Bartók does not argue *exclusively* on the basis of musical features when he describes the musical folklore of Bihor as a distinct musical area. If he wanted to do so, he would have to look only at music (in the musicological sense) to determine musical areas, disregarding other dimensions, such as language and politics. This would require him to record all music inside of Bihor (or a large proportion of it), and a lot of music outside of it. If in this larger territory there is not only Romanian folk music, but also other kinds of music, he even might have to transcribe a significant portion of that, too, just to show that he can identify Romanian folk music based solely on musical criteria.

Bartók does not follow this extremely laborious procedure, but in contrast to perhaps anyone else at the time, he does set out to attempt several steps of such an analysis: first and foremost, and in contrast to many of his more nationalist contemporaries, he sets out to collect a vast amount of folk songs and other tunes, and he actually compares music from different nationalities with the aim to identify stylistic musical differences. Unlike most ethnographers of his time, he was also interested in different kinds of music, including art music, folk music and others. But the fact remains that he refers to geographic and cultural isolation when arguing that Bihor makes up a distinct *musical* region.

Likewise, Bartók proceeds similarly when defining musical genres in the Bihor collection: he mixes musical criteria with non-musical ones in a way that shows his preference for the former. He characterizes the *doina* by tempo rubato, for example, but accepts wedding songs as another genre based on the fact that these songs are performed on the occasion of weddings, the

¹¹² Non-audible musical features include movements (cf. Baily 1977) and general aesthetic patterns that can be found in sound and beyond (cf. Hebdige 1979), as well as aspects of the performance, as described by Small (1998). It is not unlikely that my broad definition of music will be regarded as a curiosity by some musicologists and perhaps even by some ethnomusicologists, a fact which merely illustrates the point I am trying to make here: that the formal notion of music that limits music to something written or heard is a fundamental idea in musicological discourse that is difficult to give up.

¹¹³ Below, I will argue that Bartók's perspective as a whole is not limited to music in this limited sense.

latter being a non-musical criterion if one assumes the narrow technical and musicological meaning of music. In addition, Bartók also strictly separates textual genres (e.g. ballad, legend) and musical genres (*doine*, dance tunes, *colinde*, wedding songs, and laments).

It seems, then, that Bartók's achievement in his Bihor collection and other works is not so much that he carves out this specialized and formalistic notion of music – since Hanslick (and perhaps earlier) many musicologists, composers and others had participated in this task, including C. Stumpf and E.M. von Hornbostel -, but rather that Bartók (together with Kodály and others) transferred this notion convincingly into the domain of folk song and folk music.

What perhaps makes my thesis that Bartók is an important agent who promotes the new technical notion of music difficult to accept is that Bartók is also a proponent of what at first glance appears as the opposite movement: of opening up the study of music towards non-musical features. It appears that the longer Bartók worked with musical folklore, the more he realized that he could not always separate the realm of music as structure from "contexts", such as function, occasion, performance situation etc. in which music was used etc. I will expand on this thesis later when discussing Brăiloiu who in my view elaborated on this trend within Bartók's work and famously made a similar point in his "Esquisse". At this point, I only need to emphasize that both trends do not contradict each other: one can analytically separate a realm of music as structural sound and analyze it rigorously and also realize that such an analysis answers only certain questions, but not others. Even more: perhaps nothing is better suited than a rigorous analysis of musical structure to demonstrate the limits of this approach, so that it is no wonder that Bartók (and later Brăiloiu) became proponents of music as structure and predecessors of a music as culture approach – much like several other key figures involved at other times and other places in much the similar debates (e.g. Merriam vs. Hood).

From a conceptual point of view, it is also significant that although Bartók includes a substantial amount of instrumental tunes in this Bihor collection (80 of 381 transcriptions, i.e. over 20%), the publication's title seems to refer to songs¹¹⁴ exclusively, omitting the instrumental tunes altogether. Do we have to conclude that at the time of writing a "folk song" could be an instrumental tune, which had never had words? This is hard to believe today, when we have grown accustomed to a strict and clearly defined musical terminology. Yet the unreflective terminology in the work's title is certainly characteristic for the folklore discourse on music in Romania before Bartók's time where these distinctions were not yet written in stone. That Bartók allows this title, which contradicts the spirit of the autonomous and formal music concept, must be regarded as a transitional phenomenon at the early stage of a new paradigm. In the actual text, Bartók already suggests a terminology which clearly differentiates dance music with texts, on the one hand, from dance "arias" (in the meaning of dance tunes with or without text) on the other¹¹⁵. As a generic term that combines both forms, songs and tunes, Bartók does not use the term "folk music", but instead "musical folklore" (Bartók 1913:iv, iii), which in this case does not yet refer to a discipline, but the object of what would become known as the discipline of musical folklore.

¹¹⁴ The Romanian text uses "cântec popular" (for example in the title), the French text "chanson populaire" Bartók 1913: iv, xii).

¹¹⁵ "airs de danse" (in French) or "arii de dans" in Romanian (Bartók 1913:iv, xiii).

By embracing the term "musical folklore" and hence subordinating his work clearly to the field of folkloristics, not musicology, Bartók respectfully refers to folklore research. As argued above, he also employs an innovative perspective based on a formal, technical and more specialized notion of music than folklorists had used in previous decades.

Unlike earlier attempts to combine folklore discourse with musical expertise – for Romania I had mentioned, for example, Ehrlich's anthologies of Romanian *airs nationales* – Bartók's Bihor collection is able to make a case that is convincing for both music specialists and folklorists. The fact that Bartók's work fits in both research traditions, folklore research and musicology, is not only indicated by the usage of a single term, "musical folklore", but in other aspects as well. For example, Bartók selected musical material for transcription roughly in the same way that folklorists (in Romania and elsewhere) did at the same time: unlike Ehrlich, Bartók focuses on Romanian peasants, emphasizing traditional repertoire over famous songs. Also, Bartók attempts to faithfully record musical performances using the phonograph, paralleling the contemporary emphasis on accurate (phonetic) transcriptions of the spoken word. Last, but not least, Bartók is willing to travel for weeks through the countryside and interview peasants, emulating the fieldtrip technique of contemporary folklorists.

So in the context of Romanian folkloristics, Bartók's Bihor collection was a triple innovation: Bartók implemented the new and more formal notion of music, he found a way to do so that complied with the tradition of folkloristics, and he assembled and published a book-sized collection based on his own work in the field. In none of these areas, Bartók was without predecessors, including Romanian ones, such as D.G. Kiriac, who had an overall similar perspective, but never got around to collect in the field and publish the result in a book. Unlike Bartók's predecessors in Romania, such as Pârvescu and Vasiliu (to mention the examples I discussed above), who had covered music merely among many other topics in the established mode of folkloristics, Bartók's Bihor collection stands at the beginning of a new framework that is specifically adapted for the research of musical folklore.

BARTÓK'S POLITICS OF IDENTITY (1904-1945)

In this section, I briefly discuss Bartók's entanglement in the politics of identity. I am mostly interested in how Bartók conceives of national identities such as Hungarian and Romanian and how these concepts relate to political debates on the nation. Given that my dissertation focuses neither on Bartók, nor on Hungary, I will limit myself to a brief discussion of what I consider to be a leading critique of Bartók in a political context, Trumpener analysis of Bartók's identity concepts (Trumpener 2000) and I will focus on Bartók's work on Romanian folk music. The generalizations I offer should be understood more as hypotheses and attempts to capture intermediary results rather than as final observations.

Trumpener's critique focuses on:

the essentially static and ahistorical nature of Bartók's thinking about national musical culture and the way his continuing belief in cultural essence parallels the ultra-nationalist, racist, and fascist thinking he has usually been perceived (and clearly perceives himself) to be opposing (Trumpener 2000:428)¹¹⁶

From my perspective, Trumpener asks the right questions by interrogating Bartók's politics of race. This is all the more important since others apparently are still intimidated by the 'great masters' and are not always critical enough. Many of Trumpener's observations also characterize Bartók and his work correctly. But it seems to me that Trumpener ultimately overshoots the mark and that she measures Bartók too much according to present-day standards rather according to contemporary ones. Correspondingly, her final conclusion, quoted above, significantly disregards the time and context in which Bartók lived, thus revealing an ahistorical approach similar to that for which she accuses Bartók of.

The form of my argument has its own problems: while I essentially argue against a critique of Bartók, my intention is neither to accuse, nor to defend him. As in other cases, I am less interested in blaming or praising anybody in particular than in mapping the whole discipline, even if only superficially, so that one can compare the work of different participants, such as Bartók, in the same discussion. Bartók's somewhat complex position in the identity debates of his time bars any easy conclusions. Trumpener's well-informed position similarly bars any simple rejection, so I will use Bartók's own words as well as Trumpener's critique as whetstones to sharpen my analytical tools relating to the nation and nationalism and the different ways in which these concepts present themselves in the domain of music research.

Overall, Trumpener paints a very critical picture of Bartók. For example, she calls him an anti-Semite, based on a single quote from a personal letter written in 1905, stating:

Yet what really preoccupies Bartók – and a long line of Hungarian and European anti-Semites before and after him – is the opposition between ...the rootedness of his own nation (settled in the same country for the last millennium) and the 'haphazardly heterogeneous rootless' character of Jewish culture. (Trumpener 2000:409)¹¹⁷

The question is neither if the respective passage in Bartók's letter really alludes to then relatively widespread anti-Semitist debate – Trumpener's interpretation is convincing in this respect – nor if this is really the only such passage one could find in Bartók's early letters; the more important question is what his anti-Jewish sentiment at this early stage in his career means for Bartók's work in general.

¹¹⁶ Somewhat surprisingly, this sentence is quoted favorably, although somewhat differently and not uncritically by two reviewers (Agawu 2001:688, Russel 2002:579). In my view, Trumpener's statements raise more questions than they answer. Is it not misleading to say that Bartók's approach is ahistorical while it also has an important historical dimension? Also, it may be true that Bartók's identity concept is an essentialist concept and that it parallels that of others with a more extreme outlook in certain ways, but were there any important non-essentialist identity concepts at the beginning of the 20th century at all? Furthermore, I would like to discuss in how far Bartók's method of stylistically analyzing musical repertoire to draw historical conclusions implicates or even necessitates an essentialist point of view. All of these additional questions exceed what I am able to do at this point.

¹¹⁷ One of the underlying ideas which Bartók implies here speaking of uprootedness is that the national movement has to be culturally or ethnically homogenous, an idea that was widespread in Europe probably since the 19th century, but which in the New World, where according to Anderson the notion of the nation originated, is nearly completely absent.

Trumpener does not imply that Bartók never revised his opinions on Jews at all. In a footnote she alludes to a later episode where Bartók self-identified as a Jew in official paperwork in protest of Nazi politics (Trumpener 2000:429n5). However, Trumpener does not trace the development of Bartók's perception of Jews throughout his career, and she only indirectly connects that perception to his work as a composer and folklorist. It would be interesting to see how Bartók's anti-Jewish sentiment compares to other contemporaries. The presence of a few sentences in personal letters in an early stage of his life still puts Bartók in a very different category than Richard Wagner, to name the perhaps best-known case of anti-Semitism in a contemporary composer, who repeatedly and publicly attacked Jewish composers on a racial basis. Unfortunately, Trumpener does not provide such a comparison.

Trumpener also contends that Bartók treated Roma with disrespect throughout his life: "Bartók continually execrates the Gypsy influence on Hungarian music" (Trumpener 2000:409). In this case, Trumpener does not quote from his private letters. She mentions that in his essay *Gipsy music or Hungarian music* Bartók describes Roma/Gypsy music as "foreign trash" and a "mass article" (Bartók quoted by Trumpener 2000:413), but her argument is larger than these individual expressions since it concerns a structural element in Bartók's conceptual framework. As is well known, Bartók promoted a view in which Hungarian folk music is the music of Hungarian peasants, a view which largely excluded Roma contributions (cf. Suchoff 2001:215). Specifically, Bartók argued against Liszt, who had accepted Roma performers as bearers of the Hungarian musical tradition. Interestingly, Trumpener observes that Bartók applied double standards to Liszt and Hungarian peasants, in contrast to Roma musicians:

Like Liszt and like the Hungarian peasants, Gypsy musicians developed their repertoire by adapting both new and old music until it bore the mark of their own unmistakable style. But if Liszt's composing involves a genial appropriation of diverse sources until the music becomes his own, and if peasant music-making involves the filtering and repurification of foreign materials, gypsy music-making seems to involve theft, defilement, contamination, alienation. (Trumpener 2000:411)

Trumpener correctly points out core features of anti-Roma rhetoric which tend to associate agency and creativity only with non-Roma and shows that Bartók tends to argue along the lines of these stereotypes.

In the treatment of Roma, Trumpener compares Bartók's position to those of some of his contemporaries. She shows that some of the intellectuals of his time, such as the poet Endre Ady, took a more Roma-friendly position than Bartók. It is clear that Bartók had a conservative political outlook, especially in the beginning of his career. It is worth noting, but not particularly surprising, that some contemporary intellectuals had a more friendly perspective on Roma and other minorities at the same time. Trumpener also argues that the composer and folk music collector Zoltán Kodály, who worked closely together with Bartók on several folk music projects, had a substantially more friendly position towards Roma than did Bartók. In this case, Trumpener's argument is not convincing since she mainly quotes Kodály from 1960, i.e. she compares a young Bartók who had not yet engaged in intensive fieldwork with a much older and more experienced Kodály, a Bartók who writes in a phase of growing Hungarian nationalism with a Kodály writing in socialist Hungary that had at least officially and nominally a more minority-

friendly and anti-nationalism policies, like more or less all socialist countries before the invention of national socialism.

More importantly, Trumpener is correct in observing that Bartók never revised some of his core assumptions: for example, he tended to regard only music of Hungarian peasants as Hungarian folk music even if this music was sometimes performed by Roma. It may be that in later stages of his life, Bartók used less vitriolic language and that he accepted Roma performers as adequate and representative performers of Hungarian folk music (as Bîrlea contends), but to my knowledge Bartók was never interested in music made by Roma other than what he considered Hungarian, Romanian or Slovak folk music. Nor did he ever go out of his way to act Roma friendly. So although Trumpener may quote not necessarily Bartók's most representative language on Roma, essentially I concur with her that conceptually Bartók did not treat Roma as equals.

Trumpener also contends that Bartók treated Hungary's minorities, including Romanians and Slovaks, condescendingly. In this case, her prime example is Bartók's correspondence with his Romanian colleague Ion Buşîţia concerning two concerts that took place in the final days of World War I. Buşîţia had helped Bartók several times since the collection of the Bihor material. Trumpener concludes that:

Bartók is at once defensively aware of the rights of the empire's smaller nationalities to have their songs represented and determined that Hungary receives full credit for all nationalities living within *its* national boundaries. (Trumpener 2000:415–416).

Apparently, Trumpener identifies Bartók with the imperial pattern of cultural policy in the double monarchy, which privileged the representation of Austrians and Hungarians over other nationalities, a policy Bartók explicitly refers to in the quoted letter as "dualism". However, I read the same letter as Bartók's attempt to reform this very policy. Bartók criticizes the very policy in this letter as "very bureaucratic and brass hat" (Bartók quoted by Trumpener 2000:416). Also, Bartók explicitly protests against suggestions from unnamed Hungarian nationalists who demanded that only Hungarian material should be performed at another performance of the concert. Trumpener does not mention these facts and merely sees that in this case, Bartók is willing to compromise and comply with the official imperial policy of dualism. In my interpretation, Bartók shows a pragmatic compromise position here, looking for a middle ground, rejecting not only more extreme Hungarian nationalist positions, but also criticizing the official status quo. Rather than looking at isolated incidents, I suggest to look for a constant in Bartók's life and work. In my view, Bartók showed himself consistently sensible to claims of superiority that he first experienced as subject of the double monarchy from the Austrian or Germanic side. Since this time, he was somebody who supported Hungarian's sovereignty against imperial arrogance and he allowed and respected other nations such the Romanians and Slovaks to pursue a similar independent course. In this sense, I call Bartók a moderate nationalist.

In my interpretation, the Bihor collection, (Bartók 1913), illustrates Bartók's respect for Romanians and their folk music. It is fairly clear from several of the book's features that both Bartók and his publishers in Romania avoided any political provocations when they prepared the material for publication. First, Bartók provides a bilingual introduction in French and Romanian, and does not insist on a Hungarian version, perhaps opting for French as an internationally more

accessible language. Secondly, all place names in the collection are given in both Hungarian and in Romanian.¹¹⁸ Likewise, the book's title mentions Hungary, as the state to which the Bihar belonged politically at the time of publication, as well as the Romanian nation, in the form of the adjective describing the folk music in the book. That Bartók insists neither on publication in Hungary nor on a Hungarian foreword shows him as a pragmatist interested in publishing his work, rather than as an extreme nationalist interested in promoting views of Hungarian superiority over Romania.

What changed after World War I was not so much Bartók's position on any of the points in question, but rather the political context of his position and his work. In this period, Bartók's trip through Romania, undertaken on Brăiloiu's invitation, resulted in a political scandal in Romania (cf. Cosma 1995a). In this context of heightened nationalistic sensitivity, the same moderately conservative Bartók appears as cosmopolitan in contrast to his more nationalist contemporaries on both sides of the border (cf. Trumpener 2000:417).

One cannot say that Trumpener treats Bartók statically, as if he and his conceptual framework never changed at all. She recognized, for example, "a steady broadening of perspectives" (Trumpener 2000:405) in Bartók, from a phase as a "dedicated nationalist" (Trumpener 2000:406) shortly after 1900, when he composed the symphonic poem *Kossuth* in honor of one of the heroes of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, through a more cosmopolitan phase in the interwar years, to a final phase at the end of his life, where he openly rejected "the racial and cultural policies of the Axis powers" (Trumpener 2000:406). Yet as illustrated above, Trumpener also maintains that important parts of Bartók's "conceptual framework" remained unchanged, so that Bartók remained "caught in the historical paradoxes of Hungarian nationalism and circumscribed by the racialized world-view of 1900" (Trumpener 2000:405).

While I agree in essence with her assessment that in important points Bartók's conceptual framework did not change, I also argue that Bartók's engagement in intensive fieldwork roughly between 1905 and the outbreak of World War I, when he collected many thousands of pieces of Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian and other folk music, did alter some of his views. While apparently Bartók began his career with conventional, relatively widespread sentiments concerning the Hungarian nation and its minorities, his academic path in the following years is unprecedented in the breadth of his work. Far from limiting himself to what might be considered strictly "Hungarian" according to the terms of his time, as far as I can see, few researchers anywhere in Europe collected a similar amount of folk music from a similarly diverse group of people. And in my view, in this context, he treated what was then Hungarian's minorities not as second-class citizens of a Hungarian empire, but rather on equal grounds. Bartók certainly did not cease to identify as a Hungarian or with the Hungarian national cause, as he saw it, but he also consistently rejected claims of national or racial superiority – at least as far as people were concerned that he was interested in.

¹¹⁸ Both in the Romanian preface and in musical transcriptions place names are first given in Romanian and then in Hungarian.

However, Trumpener's analysis points to the possibility that Bartók was somewhat selective in his acceptance of nationhood in a way that may seem strange to us today. Following Trumpener's analysis I argued that in some ways Bartók acted as if Jews and Roma were no nations for him. While I have been unable to find any explicit statement to that effect, Bartók certainly acts in this way by not being interested in Jewish or Roma music. That could imply that he did not exclude Jews and Roma on explicit notions of race and implications of biological difference that come with racism, as his more extremist contemporaries did; as Trumpener suggests, Bartók seems never to have revisited and challenged assumptions that he took for granted in the beginning of the 20th century during the phase of his political awakening. However, it also seems to me that Bartók at least since World War I and perhaps as early as 1910 was consistently sensitive to claims of superiority derived from nationalism, and later, after the "ascent" of this ideology, from racism. In his early phase he attacked what he perceived as hypocrisy in the official policies of the dual monarchy. At this time, his perspective was mostly limited to the political conflict between Hungary and Austria and a rejection of Germanic superiority in music history versus his quest to promote Hungarian music. In later years, his perspective broadened and he identified more with what he perceived as fellow nations and their national quest against similar chauvinistic attitudes, including those of more extreme Hungarian nationalists. This perspective would make him a moderate nationalist, a conservative but also an occasional reformer who wanted to change the status quo to include more cultural diversity. So while Trumpener effectively depicts Bartók as a Hungarian chauvinistic and racist, I suggest that Bartók was a moderate Hungarian nationalist who rejected more extreme claims of superiority based on chauvinism and racism. However, like Trumpener suggests, it looks like Bartók never questioned notions of nationhood from the early 20th century which effectively did not treat Jews and Roma as equals.

Also, in the context of this work on Romanian ethnomusicology, it might be noteworthy that the notion of folk music Bartók fought hard to implement in Hungary, where folk music was basically conceived of as the music of the Hungarian peasants was a notion that in its Romanian variant (Romanian folk music as the music of Romanian peasants) had been the general consensus in Romanian folklore research since the 1860s if not longer.

MUSIC IN DVPR (1908-1931)

Pârvescu 1908 already constitutes a significant departure from 19th century Romanian folklore studies. This book, although not written by a professional folklorist, combines the sentimental style characteristic of 19th century amateur folklore studies with careful literature research and an innovative field study on the hora in one village. Pârvescu's approach is comprehensive and hence includes relatively rich information on music even without employing an explicit music concept. By and large, he provides the information required by the more professional and academic folklorists of his time: detailed information on his informants and the place and time of his stay in the field. Like other volumes in the DVPR series which focus on non-musical aspects of folklore, music is a side issue, one that is documented and welcome, but which does not receive considerable attention on its own.

Romanian folklorists did not fail to note the lack of research on their folk songs, but no serious folk song collection (ie. a collection which complies with the methodological and other standards of the day) existed until the Romanian Academy published Bartók's Bihor collection. Here I have shown that in this collection Bartók applied a still relatively new music concept to musical folklore research, which I termed the musicological concept of music. At the same time, Bartók outlines what a musical subdiscipline for folklore studies could look like for Romanian folklore discourse. It is characteristic for this stage that Bartók outlines a paradigm that is not merely descriptive, but comes with questions and answers based mostly on the collected musical material. For instance, Bartók estimates the age of the collected songs and genres based on stylistic musical features, such as the use of pentatonic scales. A characteristic for this kind of research is that the material collected, the questions asked, and the answers provided predominantly require knowledge about musical structures (that which is written down in the transcription) and only to a lesser extent other information produced by folklorists. The musical domain within folklore is not only new in the sense that it is based on a relatively new academic concept of music, but it is also relatively autonomous from other areas of folklore research. Thus Bartók suggests not only a new kind of folklore research, or a new topic within folklore research, but a new subdiscipline of folklore which soon will be referred to as "musical folklore"¹¹⁹.

Figure 3.9: Musical transcriptions and their grid of specification

	Pârvescu 1908	Vasiliu 1909	Bartók 1913
identification, classification	number; title (including genre information, e.g. "Hora dreaptă")	number; title; a reference to the lyrics which implies a text genre (e.g. love song)	number; title (containing a musical genre, e.g. colind). Text and order of items implies a classification according melodic features
What is transcribed?	dance tunes; no lyrics; presumably transcriptions of all parts which were recorded on phonograph (e.g. first piece has 15 parts, all parts are repeated, not all of them are distinct)	songs with lyrics (multiple verses); presumably transcribed in original key	songs with lyrics (multiple verses) and instrumental tunes (referred to as "arii"); items are transposed to end in g'.
other musical features	tempo (e.g. Presto, M.M. eights in 2/16);	tempo in M.M.	tempo in words (e.g. "vivo")
notes	occasional notes discussing structural features of the music, e.g. formal characteristics	Occasionally the transcription is accompanied by additional notes, e.g. describing when the song is typically performed. Many transcriptions specify a year, but it is unclear what the year refers to, perhaps the earliest appearance of the song; the oldest year (1839) for song 18 might refer to the time described in the text.	Notes typically refer to the segmentation of the melody in four parts, which is important for the classification. Bartók also provides the number of the recording, so that we know transcriptions are based on recordings.
informants, source, date and location	presumably all recordings were made in Cartal; the exact date is not specified, but the approximate date follows from the preface; the exact	strictly speaking the collector Vasiliu is also the performer; the reference to the song's text also provides information on when, where and from whom Vasiliu learned the song;	place of collection given in Romanian and Hungarian; names of individual informants are not mentioned.

¹¹⁹ As already mentioned, Bartók uses this term in Bartók 1913, but not to denote a discipline or subdiscipline, but to denote a domain of folklore. The consistent usage of the term "musical folklore" as a discipline in Romanian is significantly younger (see below).

	informants are not specified individually, but the preface describes specific informants	additionally two main informants are described in the introductory section of the text. The date when transcriptions were made is not specified.	
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By specifying both versions of the same song (in performance recorded with and without the phonograph) and the number of the phonograph recording, Bartók provides an unusual amount of information in his 1913 publication, but he does not specify individual informants. All in all, the quality and quantity of provided information are comparable.

Generally, the later issues in the DVPR series oscillate between the same poles as the earlier ones. Noticeable exceptions are *Cântece și hore* (songs and dances, Fira and Kiriac 1916), a work which was supervised by D.G. Kiriac, and in *Nunta în județul Vâlcea* (The wedding in the county of Vâlcea, Fira 1928), for which Constantin Brăiloiu prepared transcriptions¹²⁰. Both apply the new, musicological concept of music, but the latter employs the older armchair paradigm with its division of labor between fieldworkers who are not only interested in music, and music specialists who transcribe and analyze the material at home, far from the field. This workflow does not result in music-focused monographs, and it facilitates the old paradigm where music is just another domain of folklore requiring documentation.

I do not think that Bartók's approach was revolutionary or extremely innovative at his time, or something that only a genius could think of. Instead, he applies ideas to folklore which had been produced in musicology and perhaps other discourses. Other Romanians before him had similar ideas, most notably perhaps D.G. Kiriac, but it was Bartók who first collected and transcribed a book-length collection of folk songs and instrumental music. Others in other places,

¹²⁰ Fira and Kiriac's *Cântece și hore* (1916) contains a one-page-long preface followed by 124 short transcriptions of songs (*cântece*) and instrumental dance tunes (*hore*). For each song the melody is transcribed for one part (*verse*), typically together with the lyrics for several parts (the typical format at the time). The dance tunes are titled using the generic name of a dance (e.g. *Aluneasca*, *Băltăreasca*, *Băluță*) and sometimes accompanied by short notes explaining the arrangement, but the instrument on which the tune was performed are not mentioned. Notation of all pieces is in absolute pitch. Tempo is notated in bpm. The process in which the transcriptions were made is not explained and phonograph recordings are not mentioned, so I assume that the transcriptions were typically made by Fira in the field by ear. Some of the dance tune transcriptions were made by others. The pieces are primarily grouped by genre (songs and dance tunes). The songs are further ordered by the informers (according to the preface), although this is not transparent for the reader since the songs are not individually associated with any informers. The dances are ordered alphabetically. The author mentions that the selection was made by Kiriac, but the exact extent of Kiriac's contribution to the volume is unclear. According to the author the selection includes pieces of peasant origin as well as urban material that became common in the countryside. The informers are mentioned by name (in the Introduction), but the individual transcriptions are not associated with individual informers. Informers and pieces come mostly, but not exclusively from one village, Ștefănești in county of Vâlcea where the author worked as a teacher. Some informers come from other locations, occasionally from far away (Avrig Transylvania, Gorj). The selection includes two pieces in two variations. The fact that transcription focuses on musical material (melody), that the collection combines instrumental tunes and songs shows that the musicological notion of music was already applied here. However, unlike Bartók Fira attempts no elaborate classification through musical criteria. Disregarding earlier publications which were made in a different context and not employing the same notion of folk music, such as Anton Pann's collection, one could argue that Fira's work was the second volume after Bartók's Bihor collection that demonstrated the new mode of musical folkloristics. But in contrast to Bartók's work, Fira's is not strictly based on songs from one region. Also since the creation of transcription is not clearly documented, they may be more subjective. Further Fira's volume does not follow the new model where the professional musical folklorist himself goes to the field and prepares the publication. Rather Fira, a school teacher and folklorist amateur worked under Kiriac's supervision. Clearly this volume did not match the standards established by Bartók, and more importantly it did not expand on them.

perhaps most notably Erich M. von Hornbostel, worked on similar agendas, likewise applying a similar formal concept of music.

The mere publication of a single book, especially one written by a foreigner in a nationalistic climate, does not constitute the institutionalization of a new discipline, nor does it imply the establishment of a new discourse. It is not until the 1920s that Romanian music specialists take up musical folklore more or less in the way suggested by Bartók. Those who do, such as Kiriac or Brăiloiu, generally value Bartók's achievements even after Romania and Hungary had fought against each other in World War I and Transylvania became part of the Romanian state. Perhaps these political turbulences explain why it took until the second half of the 1920s for Romanians to move musical folklore significantly forward.

In terms of identity politics, this examination of music-related studies from the DVPR series shows the spectrum of Romanian folklore research in the first decades of the 20th century. Romanian folklore meant the folklore of ethnic Romanian peasants. All other groups - city dwellers, other ethnic groups, minorities, national groups - are practically ignored and excluded from research. Roma could not always be ignored, since they often performed Romanian folk music. The range of treatments which Roma receive ranges from a benevolent quasi-colonialist position to outright hatred, where they are accused of polluting Romanian folk music.

3.4 Two archives and a new subdiscipline (1927 - 1940s)

In this section, I describe the first two folk music archives in Romania, which were founded in 1927 and 1928, and I compare some of their activities. Both archives later influenced the IEF, not the least because the IEF inherited several thousand recordings and other materials from them.¹²¹ To be sure, in the late 1920s archives were by no means a new idea. Archives storing written documents had become a source for historical research in the 19th century (Franz 2007). Sound archives existed since 1899 in Vienna and since 1900 in Berlin, (cf. Simon 2000). In Romania, Dumitru G. Kiriac had unsuccessfully attempted to create sound archives for folk music well before the 1920s (Ispas 2003:88), and of course, musical folklorists inside and outside of Romania were not the only ones thinking and actually assembling folklore materials in archives (cf. Alexandru 1980c:13).

The leading persons behind the early Romanian folk music archives in Romania were the musicologist George Breazul and the composer and ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu. Breazul convinced the government to back his plans for phonogram archives after he returned from studies abroad in Berlin. Brăiloiu started a folk music archive as part of the Romanian Composers' Society (Societatea Compozitorilor Români, SCR), for which he functioned as a secretary general at the time (Marian-Bălașa 2000b:141).

Breazul and Brăiloiu were adversaries in almost every area of their various activities. Not only did they direct competing archives, they both wrote music manuals for schools approaching music pedagogy from different angles, they both published folk music monographs on the same

¹²¹ An earlier version of this section was published as (Mengel 2007).

genre, *colinde* (Brăiloiu 1931b, Breazul 1938), and they criticized each other harshly, not refraining from extensive polemics in all of these areas (e.g. Brăiloiu 1938a). Also they had different political affiliations: Like his colleague D. Gusti Brăiloiu probably sympathized with the National Peasant Party, while Breazul was favored by the right-wing government of General Averescu (see below). While Brăiloiu, as secretary general of *Societatea Compozitorilor Români*, represented the composers, Breazul acted on behalf of the instrumentalists (Breazul 1939, 1940). In this function he criticized the composers so severely that Brăiloiu complained to the ministry (Breazul 1984:680–684). From 1931 to 1932, Breazul and Brăiloiu battled in the public arena specifically about their archives. Both scholars published an article in favor of their archive in the same journal, (Brăiloiu 1931a, Breazul 1932). In the publications about their own archives, they never mentioned the other one.¹²² In regards to these tensions, it is surprising that the two archives did not differ from each other to a greater degree. In particular, both archives collected practically the same thing: recorded Romanian folk music, indicating an already widespread agreement over the definition of this term at this point in time.

The early history of the two archives is intertwined with the institutionalization of Romanian ethnomusicology under the label of "musical folklore" (*folklore muzical*). In spite of the compound expression, which describes the new discipline as a part of folklore, there are tendencies of increasing autonomy, suggesting that musical folklore could become a discipline of its own, especially in Brăiloiu's writing. However, in the time period from the late 1920s to the 1940s, Romanian ethnomusicology clearly remained a subdiscipline with an ambivalent position between folklore and musicology.

Perhaps this process becomes most evident from an institutional perspective. The archives remain the only institutions devoted exclusively and primarily to musical folklore. In other institutions, musical folklore has the position of a subdiscipline. One such case is the Bucharest conservatory, where Brăiloiu taught musical folklore beginning in 1932, and even then he was not employed as a professor for musical folklore, nor was there anything like a department for musical folklore (cf. Cristescu 1994:322).

POLITICS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS (1918-1938)

After World War I, Romania's politics changed considerably. One of the two parties which had dominated Romanian politics since the beginning of the constitutional monarchy, the Conservative Party (*Partidul Conservator*), split during World War I, its successors losing importance in the following years. The other important party, the Liberal party (*Partidul Național Liberal*), transformed considerably in the years after World War I. High-ranking liberal politicians also had key functions in the banking sector and industry. For example, members of the Brătianu family held not only high-ranking offices in the Liberal Party, they also were ministers and they controlled the *Bancă Românească*, one of the country's biggest banks, as well as "numerous

¹²² Before the founding of the Arhiva de Folklor Brăiloiu even praised the Arhiva Fonogramica. In response to a letter to the editor of the journal *Politica* from February 1928 Brăiloiu found laudable words for the commission running the Arhiva Fonogramica (Brăiloiu 1974b:285–286). But even at this early time, Brăiloiu did not repress criticism alluding to the fact that the commission did not start to operate when Kiriac was still alive.

manufacturing and other industrial concerns" (Hitchins 1994:387). Dissatisfied, many members with close affiliations to peasants, including the heads of popular banks, teachers, and priests left the Liberals and formed their own party, the new Peasant Party (Partidul Țărănesc) in 1918 (Hitchins 1994:388), so that the financial and industrial élite became practically the sole driving force among the Liberals.

In 1926 the Peasant Party merged with the National Party of Transylvania (Partidul Național din Transilvania) to form the National Peasant Party (Partidul Național Țărănesc). The new party attracted prominent intellectuals, such as the sociologist Dimitrie Gusti, and promised democratic and social reforms (Hitchins 1994:392).

On the right, the People's Party gained influence after World War I under the leadership of General Alexandru Averescu, whom many regarded as a World War I hero. Averescu promised to lead politics with a strong hand. Membership of the new party came from the defunct Conservative Party and included large landowners and army officers "who were fearful of violent or rapid social change and wanted to preserve 'order'" (Hitchins 1994:396). Averescu left no doubt that "he disdained the democratic political process, especially the parliamentary system, which he deemed 'unsuitable' for Rumania" (Hitchins 1994:396).

Table 3.8: Important Romanian political parties in the interwar period

Party name	National Peasant Party (Partidul Național-Țărănesc)	Liberal Party Partidul Național Liberal	People's Party Partidul Poporului
Created	1926, through a merger of the Peasant Party (Partidul Țărănesc) of the Old Kingdom with the National Party of Transylvania (Partidul Național Român).	predates the 1866 constitution	April 1918.
Leading personnel	Iuliu Maniu, Ion Mihalache	Ionel Brătianu (until 1927)	General Alexandru Averescu
Membership	Transylvanian peasants, intellectuals, small urban professionals and the banking and industrial bourgeoisie who feared the influence of the Liberals in the Old Kingdom; former Liberals (heads of popular banks and village cooperatives, peasants, and also intellectuals, who were attracted by the party's commitment for political democracy and social reform. Includes prominent intellectuals such as D. Gusti (Hitchins 1994:393–394)	the ruling oligarchy in the Old Kingdom remains; others leave: "At the beginning of the period [after WW I] those social groups which had traditionally supported the party, such as the heads of popular banks and rural co-operatives, mainly teachers and priests, left the Liberals to found the Peasant Party, taking large numbers of peasants with them." (Hitchins 1994:388)	former conservatives and army officers looking for a "strong hand"

Romania had a Communist Party (Partidul Comunist Român) since 1921 and various socialist movements since the 19th century, but they had little influence until 1944. Until this time, the membership of the Communist Party was small, fluctuating between a few hundred and a few thousand members (Tismaneanu 2004:37–39).

During the 1920s anti-Semitism was on the rise, but attempts to found influential fascist parties generally failed (Hitchins 1994:402). However, in the late 1930s, several Fascist movements grew to influence Romanian politics profoundly. Most powerful was the so-called Iron Guard (Garda de fier). Founded originally in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu as the Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihai (Legion of Archangel Michael), it differed from other European

fascist movements by its openly Orthodox religiosity (Payne 1995:277–289). Also, it regarded the Romanian peasant as the "embodiment of the natural unspoiled man" (Hitchins 1994:404). In 1930 Codreanu formed the Iron Guard as a paramilitary branch of the organization. Later, this label came to represent the organization as a whole. During the 1930s the Iron Guard became a mass movement, gaining over 15% of the electoral vote (Hitchins 1994:405), and all major parties collaborated with it at one point, indicating that political establishment as a whole shifted to the right.

Over a scandal related to his mistress, the future King Carol II had left the country in 1925 when his father Ferdinand I was still alive, renouncing the throne. In 1930 he returned unexpectedly, apparently on the invitation of right-wing politicians, and became king on the next day.

Anti-Semitic politicians and groupings such as the Iron Guard gained popularity over a long time, but it was not until 1938 that the first openly anti-Semitic laws were passed. This occurred under the Goga government, which did not even last two months (December 1937 to February 1938). It ended when Carol II overthrew the democratic system and established an authoritarian, single-party regime, which itself lasted only until September 1940. Under Carol's rule, Romania lost several territories to opponents in World War II. His popularity plummeted and he was forced to transfer most of his powers to an uneasy alliance between Ion Antonescu and the Iron Guard (then under Horia Sima) who aligned the country with Nazi Germany. A little more than 100 days later, in January 1941, and after an event which became known as the Legionary Rebellion, Antonescu purged the Iron League from power.

Table 3.9: Romanian governments from the mid-1920s to the 1930s

Time period	Leading positions	Leading parties of the coalition	Notes
From March 1926 – 4 June 1927	General Averescu	People's Party	Liberals lost popularity and gave power temporarily to Averescu. When Averescu contemplates a dictatorship he is forced out of office effectively by Brătianu (Liberal). His second term of 1926–1927 brought a much-debated treaty with Fascist Italy. "Faced with the People Party's decline, Averescu closed deals with various right-wing forces and was instrumental in bringing Carol back to the throne in 1930."
July 1927–November 1928	Ionel Brătianu (Prime Minister; until November 1927), Vintilă Brătianu (November 1927–1928)	National Liberal Party	New elections in July 1927; extreme right and left are weak; liberals exit strongly from these elections; King Ferdinand dies on 20 July 1927; Ionel Brătianu dies 24 November 1927; his brother Vintilă takes over. V. Brătianu resigns under pressure from National Peasant Party.
1928–April 1931	Iuliu Maniu (resigned on 8 October as Prime Minister); Mironescu	National Peasants	December 1928 elections. Overwhelming majority for National Peasants. "electorate [was] convinced that a new era had begun in the history of their country" (Hitchins 1994:414), attempts to decentralize government administration, assure civil and political rights to all citizens, new economic policies; National Peasants placed agriculture at the center of their economic policy, but were unable to solve the agrarian problem or bring about lasting economic improvements. Party had two wings: one wing under Ion Mihalache had a peasant program and Maniu (formerly National Party) had a middle class outlook. Carol returns to Bucharest dramatically on 6 June 1930 which eventually forces Maniu out of office
April 1931	Nicolae Iorga (Prime Minister)	Democratic Nationalist	so-called government of national union (Hitchins 1994:417); elections of June 1931 confirm this coalition, but King forces

		Party	resignation in June 1932 (Hitchins 1994:417)
June 1932- November 1933	Alexandru Vaida (Prime Minister, until 17 October 1932); Maniu (Prime Minister until 14 January 1933); Vaida again (until Nov 1933)	National Peasant Party	Vaida resigns in October over disputes in negotiations with Soviet Union and with Maniu over internal matters; Maniu resigned over differences with the King (Hitchins 1994:417). Vaida is part of the right wing in his party, sympathized with the nationalist goals of the Iron Guard; resigns as Prime Minister in dispute with King over handling the Iron Guard (Hitchins 1994:417)
December 1933-1937	Ion G. Duca (Prime Minister); Tătărescu (Prime Minister)	National Liberal Party	Duca heads the Liberal party since 1930. December elections 1933; Liberals against Iron Guard; Duca is assassinated in December 1933 (by extreme right).

BREAZUL'S ARHIVĂ FONOGRAMICĂ (1927-1941)

I maintain that the institutionalization of Romanian ethnomusicology can be clearly dated. It began when the Romanian Ministry for Religion and the Arts ("ministeriul cultelor și artelor") created a commission to collect "folkloristic musical material" (material folkloristic muzical, Breazul 1984:75) on 15 March 1927. This is the first time a Romanian institution was devoted primarily and exclusively to musical folklore.¹²³ Earlier activities were typically carried out by institutions devoted to folklore musical, such as the DVPR series (discussed in the last section).

In March 1927 the commission consisted of the composer Tiberiu Brediceanu and the professors D.G. Kiriac and George Breazul.¹²⁴ Initially it was led by the ministry's secretary general Nichifor Crainic (Breazul 1939, 1940:379), one of the most prominent intellectuals associated with the extreme right in his time. Crainic was part of Averescu's third, short-lived government, which lasted from March 1926 to June 1927, perhaps the first Romanian administration which seriously contemplated overthrowing the democratic system:

As Averescu's relations with the Liberals deteriorated he desperately sought some formula that would enable him to remain in office. He made contact with Carol abroad, asking him to return on the condition that he, Averescu, remain as the head of the government, but Carol refused. Then, Averescu contemplated setting up a personal dictatorship (Hitchins 1994:412).

In 1928, after the end of Averescu's government, Brediceanu replaced Crainic - a change which shows that the commission gained greater independence from the ministry.

The commission's first step was to buy phonographs and other equipment. For this purpose Breazul was sent to Berlin. He had studied there from 1922-1924 and had met the local protagonists of music research, such as Erich M. von Hornbostel, Curt Sachs, Georg Schünemann and Carl Stumpf. These scholars were working for the Berlin Phonogram Archive (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv) or on similar projects and provided Breazul with information concerning recording technology and related fields (cf. Breazul 1984:87–88).¹²⁵

¹²³ The Romanian discourse usually does not emphasize this date. Beginnings are seen, for instance, in the oldest descriptions of folk music in the 16th century (Alexandru 1980b:10), an interest in Romanian folk song developing in the first half of the 18th century (Breazul 1939, 1940:369), Bartók's first publication on Romanian folk music (e.g. Datcu 1998a:56 or Brăiloiu's publication of his famous methodological article in 1931 (1931a, 1931c, cf. Marian-Bălașa 2003c:22).

¹²⁴ Today Kiriac is probably better known as a composer, but in the correspondence with the ministry he and Breazul are referred to as professors of the academy of music, whereas Brediceanu is referred to as a composer (Breazul 1984:75).

¹²⁵ Contact between the Arhiva Fonogramica and Berlin continues at least until 1934. In 1937 Breazul writes that contact with Hornbostel's successor, Marius Schneider, had not been successful. In the same letter Breazul suggested to improve relations with Munich (Breazul 1984:567).

The commission did not begin collecting on a large scale until it was restructured on January 3, 1928. The ministry provided the commission with a new name and a more precise mission: "Comisia pentru culegerea și publicarea melodiilor populare" (commission for collecting and publishing of folk melodies, (Breazul 1984:85). On the 8th of January, 1928, only five days after this reorganization, Kiriac died. To substitute him, Emil Riegler-Dinu, a former student of Kiriac, became a member of the commission and Brediceanu took the leading position. In February 1928 Breazul was declared the commission's secretary. In 1929 Riegler-Dinu was replaced by Sabin V. Drăgoi (Breazul 1984:88, Breazul 1939, 1940:380).

In the ministry's early correspondence, the commission's name fluctuated. Sometimes the ministry referred to a phonogram archive (Breazul 1984:75), sometimes to a phonographic museum (Breazul 1984:87–88). Breazul preferred the former label and consequently the commission's archive became known as the Arhiva Fonogramica (phonogram archive). This name does not refer to the music stored in the archive, but to the storage medium, and in this respect it follows the example set by phonogram archives in Vienna and Berlin.

Not only did the name of the commission fluctuate, there were also different descriptions of what was collected. As has been noted already, the ministry used the notions of folkloristic musical material or folk melody. Brediceanu employed another expression as early as 1927 to denote the music stored in the commission's archive: "folclor muzical" (Breazul 1984:80).

At first, the commission planned to convince amateurs and enthusiasts to make recordings in the field. To this end, a small booklet with instructions for using the phonograph and some guidelines for recording folk music was printed under the title *Îndrumări pentru culegerea folklorului muzical cu ajutorul fonografului* (Instructions for Collecting Musical Folklore with the Help of the Phonograph).¹²⁶ Furthermore, a letter appealing for collection of folk music was sent to schools and other public institutions; it was also published in a number of newspapers (Breazul 1939, 1940:381–382). The division of labor intended here was reminiscent of the Berlin Phonogram Archive, which employed travelers, missionaries and others to record for the archive. In the case of the Arhiva Fonogramica, this method largely failed. Most of the archive's collections were made by members of the commission or their personal acquaintances. Additionally, some older collections were bought (cf. Breazul 1939, 1940:389).

Until April 29, 1929, a total of 1129 cylinders with 2258 melodies from all regions in Romania were collected (Breazul 1984:186). In 1931 the number increased to 7000 melodies, counting both recordings and transcriptions (Breazul 1932:5). At this point the archive's holdings stagnated. Later reports (Schünemann 1936:495, Breazul 1939, 1940:397) generally mention the same quantity with one notable exception: a report from 1934 mentions 3931 transcribed melodies and 2114 cylinders (Lajtha 1934:222–223).

With *303 Colinde* by Sabin V. Drăgoi, the first monograph of the Arhiva Fonogramica was published in 1930. Other independent publications could not be realized (Breazul 1984:168). The reasons for this could have been inflation, a change of government, or mismanagement on the part of the commission. With the founding of the *Institut de Folklor* in 1949, the holdings of the

¹²⁶ Henceforth, this text is referred to as the *Îndrumări* and quoted in reprint (Breazul 1932:16–20).

Arhiva Fonogramica became part of the new institution (cf. Prezidiul Marii Adunări Naționale al Republicii Populare Române 1998-99:32).

In a letter dated 13 October 1932, the Ministry for Education, Culture and the Arts¹²⁷ informed Breazul that Constantin Brăiloiu was made a member of the commission running the Arhiva Fonogramica. This decision occurred in the last days of the government of the Vaida-Voevod government of the National Peasant Party. At this point, Breazul stopped all his activities concerned with the archive for a number of years, indicating Brăiloiu's victory on the archive battlefield.

Not until 1939 and 1941, when Romania already was a dictatorship ruled by Carol II and Antonescu, did Breazul mentioned the Arhiva Fonogramica again in his letters. At this time, Brăiloiu did not belong to the commission anymore. Instead, the old members, Brediceanu and Drăgoi, are mentioned (Breazul 1984:627).

In 1939 Breazul published a lengthy book chapter on Romanian folk music that devotes a section to the Arhiva Fonogramica (Breazul 1939, 1940:369–410). In spite of these renewed activities, apparently no new recordings were made. The last mention of the commission as a functioning body is from 1941, when the ministry confirmed to Breazul that he belonged to the commission (Breazul 1990:110).

BRĂILOIU'S ARHIVĂ DE FOLKLOR (1928-1943)

In 1928, only a few months after the commission running the Arhiva Fonogramica had its first session following reorganization and really started collecting, the Societatea Compozitorilor Români (Society of Romanian Composers) founded another sound archive, the Arhiva de Folklor (folklore archive, Alexandru 1980a:14). Constantin Brăiloiu had studied music in Romania, Austria, Switzerland and France. After his return from abroad he became one of the founding member of the composers' society and later its secretary general (1926-43, Datcu 1998a:102). Brăiloiu created the folklore archive and directed it until he left the country in 1943. The Arhiva de Folklor employed a team of Brăiloiu's colleagues and students, among them Tiberiu Alexandru, Harry Brauner, Ilarie Cocișiu and Emilia Comișel (Marian-Bălașa 2003a:29–32).

Similar to the Arhiva Fonogramica, the new Arhiva de Folklor collected folk music mostly on phonograph recordings, but contrary to the Arhiva Fonogramica, its name did not refer to the storage medium, but to the object that is collected: musical folklore. Perhaps this name choice corresponded with the fact that the Arhiva de Folklor was more open to the use of other media. Already in 1929, Brăiloiu employed film to document dance and later he initiated the copying of good quality phonograph recordings to gramophone discs in order to preserve them. Furthermore, Brăiloiu cooperated with commercial record companies to initiate commercial recordings (Brăiloiu 1974c:378, cf. Lupașcu 1998-99:133–134).

Although the main focus of the composers' society was composed music, the Arhiva de Folklor was not the society's first contact with folk music. For example, the Societatea

¹²⁷ More precisely the School and Folk Culture Section of Ministry of Education, Culture and the Arts (Ministeriul Instrucțiunii, al Cultelor și Artelor, Casa Școalelor și a Culturii Poporului). The commission is referenced here as "Comisia pentru culegerea și publicarea melodiilor românești". (Breazul 1984:85)

Compozitorilor Români had offered an award for the best transcriptions of folk music in 1925 and 1927 (Brăiloiu 1974c:348). Later some of these transcriptions were published in the series of the Arhiva de Folklor (Cucu 1936).

Similar to the Arhiva Fonogramica, Brăiloiu attempted at first to motivate amateurs to record rural music for the archive. In a letter from 1929 he elaborated a plan to teach villagers how to record the music of their villages (Brăiloiu 1974a:313). This attempt seems to have been just as unsuccessful as the early attempt of the Arhiva Fonogramica. So the Arhiva de Folklor adopted a different strategy for collecting. Many of the archive's recordings were made during field trips. Brăiloiu carried out such trips frequently between 1928 and 1931. During this time, he often collaborated with Dimitri Gusti, a Romanian sociologist, who had a lasting impact on Brăiloiu's approach (cf. Marian-Bălașa 2003a:23). Furthermore, other recordings were made in Bucharest in a studio setting (Brăiloiu 1974a:348). Later publications (e.g. Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle [1939]:332) showed a preference for recordings made by trained specialists.

The archive's holdings increased quickly. By the 27th of August, 1928, a total of seven collections containing 1,374 melodies had been assembled (Alexandru 1980b:15). In 1934 the holdings of the Arhiva de Folklor were reported to be comprised of more than 5,000 recordings.¹²⁸ On the 9th of August, 1939, there were already 16,565 melodies on cylinders; counting distinct melodies on cylinders as well as transcriptions, the archive held 19,727 melodies (Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle [1939]:331).¹²⁹

By 1941 the Arhiva de Folklor had published twelve monographs. These publications did not follow a rigid scheme. Some, such as "*Ale mortului*" *din Gorj* (Songs 'To the dead' from Gorj Brăiloiu [1936] 1981a:107-15), are not extensive. Not all of them contain musical transcriptions, such as *Nunta în Someș* (The Wedding in Someș, Comișel 1981:93–106).

The archive gained international reputation, especially in the French speaking world, through Brăiloiu's article *Outline of a Method of Musical Folklore*, first published in 1931 in French (Brăiloiu 1931c)¹³⁰. Concentrating on the collecting and archiving of musical folklore, the article discusses transferable methods and techniques using the Arhiva de Folklor as an example.

MUZICA POPULARA AND FOLKLOR MUZICAL

Breazul and Brăiloiu chose the wording for the objects that their archives collected with great consistency in the discourse surrounding the two archives. This accounts for the central expressions such as "muzica populară" (folk music) and "folclor muzical" (musical folklore), but also for peripheral expressions such as "melodie populară" (folk melody) and "cântec popular"

¹²⁸ Lajtha 1934:223 accounts for 2587 cylinders, 19 disks and 3 movies out of the recording activity of the Arhiva de Folklor and a further 2851 recordings from other sources, a number that possibly includes the holdings of Breazul's Arhiva Fonogramică.

¹²⁹ This number is split into 7633 cylinders with 16,563 melodies, 578 gramophone discs, and 1042 and 2122 transcribed melodies from different sources. Although the text refers to the archive of the composers' society only, I do believe that the holdings of the *Arhiva Fonogramică* are included in this figure.

¹³⁰ The article was originally published in French, the Romanian translation (Brăiloiu 1931a) differs slightly from the French original. The English translations (Brăiloiu 1970, 1984d) is from the French original and does not include a small section only included in the Romanian version.

(folk song). These terms are ordered mostly in a system of hierarchical relations. The highest position in this hierarchy is occupied by the phrase "muzica românească" (Romanian music), which can also include composed music.

In the discourse surrounding the archives, the notions of folk music and musical folklore are used interchangeably insofar as they both denote what is collected by the two archives. Furthermore, both notions are defined similarly by Breazul and Brăiloiu. Two features are used regularly to distinguish folk music from other musics: Romanianness and rural-ness, occasionally a third criterion that of value also plays a role. The *Îndrumări* of the early Arhiva Fonogramica, for example, suggest:

Material folkloristic prețios obținem, în primul rând, dela *țaranii și instrumentalistii români dela sate*. Când culegerile se fac dela alte surse, de pildă dela *țigani*, este necesar ca acest lucru să se indice precis (Breazul 1932:17).

We gain precious folkloristic material primarily from *Romanian farmers and instrumentalists from the villages*. If collections are made from other sources, for instance from Gypsies, it is necessary to note this fact precisely. [Italics in the original.]

This quotation contrasts Romanians with Roma¹³¹, according to the national matrix as established since the approximately mid-19th century. In the 1930s, somebody can either be Romanian or Roma and the fact that Breazul does not elaborate on this point indicates that it was typically easy to categorize people accordingly.

Although Brăiloiu is less explicit on ethnicity, he roughly follows a similar principle. In his article describing the Arhiva de Folklor, for instance, Brăiloiu defines the object of musical folklore in a twofold manner as "peasant music" and "peasant musical life" (Brăiloiu 1984d:60). In this respect he follows the example set by Bartók (down to the choice of words), as well as, implicitly, that of Romanian folklore research since mid-19th century. Interestingly enough, Brăiloiu does not emphasize the fact that he collects mainly Romanian folk music, which perhaps can be explained by the fact this quote is from article with an international audience.

In another article Brăiloiu refuses to differentiate between Romanian and Roma *lăutari*. For Brăiloiu both groups represent professional musicians providing a comparable good in a market controlled by supply and demand (Brăiloiu 1979b:73–75). Brăiloiu argues here that Roma can be good informants for peasant music. The editor of Brăiloiu's collected works, Emilia Comișel, believes that this text was written in 1928 or 1929 and that it was not published until 1979. Given the hegemony of national matrix, one has to consider Brăiloiu's statements as intellectual resistance against the national matrix. These statements were certainly controversial when they were first written and possibly the reason Brăiloiu did not or could not publish this text (Brăiloiu 1979b:6).

In spite of this intellectual resistance against the national matrix, Brăiloiu did not often research Roma musicians and when he did he is mostly interested only in their performances of Romanian folk music. Rarely, Brăiloiu also wrote about urban folklore, a genre widely associated

¹³¹ I use the expression "Gypsy" in cases in which the Romanian employs the word "țigan" in order to analyse the use of the word. I do not imply that the term appropriately characterises people referred to as Gypsies and correspondingly use the term "Roma" in my own text (when it is not a direct translation).

with Roma musicians, but these texts are typically not important publications in his oeuvre. For instance, the two texts Brăiloiu 1998b and Brăiloiu 1998a were originally transmitted in 1937 as radio lectures.

Contrary to what Brăiloiu implies by his careful definitions in his theoretical writings undermining the national matrix, his archive predominately collected Romanian music and largely excluded Romania's minorities. For example, looking at the recordings made by the Arhiva de Folklor in 1930s, one will occasionally come across a piece of Hungarian music, but these recordings did not receive much notice in the 1930s. They were certainly not investigated systematically, they were not published; they hardly received further treatment and thus appear to have been recorded only by accident¹³². This example indicates that, in practice, the Arhiva de Folklor employed a similar ethnic concept of Romanianness as the Arhiva Fonogramica.

Secondly, In addition to the ethnic concept of Romanian identity, another distinction that permeates the discourse surrounding the two archives is the dichotomy of rural/urban. In the passage following the quotation from Breazul's *Îndrumări* cited above, the text explains that recordings can well be made in cities, but only if the collector believes that the material thus obtained is representative of a rural tradition. The possibility of recording urban music is not even worth mentioning, indicating that the rural nature of folk music is taken for granted.

Brăiloiu (Brăiloiu 1984d:59–60) encourages research of peasant music in multiple frameworks, including a musicological approach which concentrated on "peasant music" and a sociological one which focused on "peasant musical life" (Brăiloiu 1984d:84). What remains completely out of the question, at least in his famous methodological article *Outline of a Method of Musical Folklore* is the inclusion of urban music in the scope of folk music studies. In this sense Brăiloiu's conception of rural-ness remains an unquestioned prerequisite, just as in the case of Breazul's treatment of the rural.

Place is not always an easily observable place in physical space. Concerning the Arhiva Fonogramica, the previously quoted passage of the *Îndrumări*, saying that recordings can be made in the city, reveals that the place of (a) music¹³³ can be independent of the place where it is performed or recorded. Instead, the place in question is one that belongs to a music as an inherent property, and this place refers to its origin. This original place is not a metaphorical place described *by* music, but a real one located in physical space, in a place that can be identified on a map, but it is not a place that is always directly observable, like the location of the recording. The place that matters for those folklorists is not always the interpreter's birthplace, since she or he may have moved or learned a song from somewhere else. So what really matters is the place of the song. In his article *Outline of a Method of Musical Folklore*, Brăiloiu included reprints of some of the catalog cards and files used in the Arhiva de Folklor. One can see in them that

¹³² I refer to the present day catalogue of cylinder recordings in the IEF. The relevant pages appear to have been hand written in the 1930s, perhaps by Tiberiu Alexandru. Some recordings are described as Hungarian and are not described with any other musical genre. I am not aware of any research carried out in Romania which involves the Hungarian recordings of the IEF in Bucharest.

¹³³ For simplicity's sake, in this passage I do not differentiate between music as a whole (music) and some of its parts such as a music, specific genres, performances, recordings or other instances of music. Much of what I have to say about place accounts for all of these categories. Later I will reflect upon the concept of performance separately.

Brăiloiu attempted to reduce spatial ambiguities by recording a short biography of every informant and a short report of place and time for each recording. This structure focuses on the observable and objective (location of recording, biography) instead of the more subjective information (assumed origin of the repertoire).

Brăiloiu is often reluctant to make far-reaching assumptions, which can also be seen in his treatment of musical areas. Instead of assuming that Romanian folk music is something original, autochthonous, and typical only of Romania, he demands detailed research in order to determine if this is the case (Brăiloiu 1979a:91–92). He underlines the fact that politically defined areas are arbitrary from a musical perspective. For him, only a careful analysis of thousands of recordings can lead to the establishment of musical areas (Brăiloiu 1974a:314). In other words: Brăiloiu tends to refute the national conviction that Romanian music and all its instances are specific, substituting it with positivistic demands for more data and a scientific precaution that asks if this specificity can be demonstrated. That Brăiloiu's *Arhiva de Folklor* still employs political entities to describe geographical areas (cf. Brăiloiu 1984d:67) does not contradict my interpretation, since the political entities simply serve as markers of areas in physical space.

Also, Brăiloiu revises here Bartók's position on musical areas, insisting on the possibility that the relationship between a group of people, its musical repertoire and place are not necessarily of a 1:1:1 relationship. Bartók had employed the idea of stylistically determined musical areas, he had collected substantial amounts of musical transcriptions, but he had still accepted the delimitation of musical areas based in part on non-musical factors (as I argued above). In terms of musical areas, Brăiloiu once again resists the pressure of the national matrix and argues for a less nationalistic approach which does not take specificity as a given, but rather tries to show it – implying the need for better data.

A third re-occurring feature of Romanian folk music in the discourse surrounding the two archives is value. In the quotation above from his *Îndrumări*, Breazul referred to "precious folkloristic material", explicitly allocating value to folk music, without explicitly naming the value system that he refers to. Breazul does not refer with this phrase to a recording of good technical quality. Instead I read him as referring to the national discourse in which elaborating on Romanian culture and the specifics of folk music are valuable contributions to the research of Romanian identity and, perhaps, the national discourse at large.

The explicit association of folklore with value runs against the trend of increasing professionalization and the creation of a more "scientific" research paradigm in folklore approximately since Densusianu. But as Marian-Bălașa has argued, this emotional branch of folklore research characteristic of the Romantic period never completely vanished, and persisted in anthologies which Marian-Bălașa classifies as "romantic amateurism" (Marian-Bălașa 2007:195, cf. Marian-Bălașa 2011b:13–20). Breazul's remark reminds us that research on folk music can be read within this framework, whether the author implies such an interpretation or not.

A similar emotional and value-laden style is rare in Brăiloiu's writing, but can frequently be found in Breazul's:

Înțelegere pentru frumusețea caracteristică a cântecului popular românesc, nu arareori au arătat cei ce s'au gândit la originalitatea darurilor artistice ale poporului nostru (Breazul 1925:5).

An understanding for the characteristic beauty of Romanian folk song not rarely revealed those who conceived the originality of our people's artistic gifts.

For Breazul those intellectuals who valued Romanian folklore, often had a good understanding of Romanian folk song, emphasizing the importance of song and music in contrast to other domains of folklore. The use of first person plural, as well as the implied value judgments (beauty, gifts) locate this sentence within the context of the nationalist discourse. Breazul does not explicitly refer to the superiority of Romanian folk music over other traditions, but one can see how someone already convinced of this superiority would find Breazul's sentence supportive, because of the enthusiastic value judgments associated with things Romanian.

Overall, Breazul, at least in the 1920s, targeted more to the popular dimension of folklore research, rather than the more academic trends, while Brăiloiu in contrast sought to be more academic and less overtly political.

It seems no coincidence that the three features of folk music that I found - ethnic purity, territory, the specificity of Romanian folklore (being distinct from other nationalities' folklore) - correspond closely to the discourse of the nation.

DISCIPLINING OBJECTS AND GRIDS OF SPECIFICATION

Up to this point it has been demonstrated that the expressions "muzica populară" and "folclor muzical" were used interchangeably by both Breazul and Brăiloiu, insofar as they have the same extension: they both are used to refer to the archives' holdings. I have also shown that the two expressions were used similarly implying an ethnic understanding of Romanian identity and territory, occasionally associating value with Romanian culture in the context of a nationalistic value system. However, there is also evidence that the two expressions are not always interchangeable. For example, Brăiloiu emphasizes that "folclor muzical" not only refers to an object, but also to a discipline engaged with this object (Brăiloiu 1969a:21). While "muzica populară" tends to be an object of musicology, "folclor muzical" belongs to a different set of disciplines. In 1930 rural life was already the object of many disciplines. Folklore studies already concentrated on texts or "poezia populară" (folk poetry), while ethnology mainly dealt with customs and material culture. Furthermore, Brăiloiu mentions history, geography and sociology in this text. As noted before, the latter is of special importance to Brăiloiu. He compares sociology with philosophy, for both deal with all domains of human life (Brăiloiu 1984d:59). As such, it competes with folklore as a discipline since it also deals with folk creations as a part of human life. Contrary to Brăiloiu, Breazul refers to a large array of disciplines which could make use of a phonogram archive (comparative psychology, history of music, ethnology, and aesthetics¹³⁴). Breazul's own studies, however, do not make use of this array of disciplines, but refer mostly to musicology and its history (cf. Breazul 1925:3–5, Breazul 1939, 1940).

If one regards the temporal development of the term "folclor muzical", it becomes evident that, at the time of the archives' founding, the expression refers to objects only. The second

¹³⁴ Not only the series of disciplines but also the argument as such are reminiscent of a similar article by Carl Stumpf, arguing for the support of the phonogram archive in Berlin (cf. Stumpf 1908:225–227).

meaning, denoting a discipline, is acquired during the course of the 1930s. Judging by this example, archives functioned as a precondition for the discipline's autonomization.

Both archives classify their object largely using the same notions, categories, or *grids of specification*. Two different dimensions are used concurrently in much of the folklore debate since the second half of 19th century: genres and geographical areas.

The largest part of the repertoire stored in the two archives is classified systematically and in unison as *cântec*, *joc*, *doina* and *colind*. Additionally, both archives mention a number of rituals, such as weddings and Christmas rituals. Not only the classes of this classification but also their identifiers are used with great conformity – differences appear mostly with the less frequently seen genres. Additionally, the classification of a given piece of music does not seem controversial – in spite of Breazul and Brăiloiu's rivalry in other areas.

For the other dimension, the geographical one, both archives refer to established regions such as historical areas (Muntenia, Bucovina, Oltenia etc.) and political entities (*județe*, political districts) if smaller units are needed.

As a superordinate concept for folk music, the discourse surrounding both archives uses "muzica românească" (Romanian music) concurrently. Breazul and Brăiloiu tend to subsume music that is regarded as specific to Romania or that symbolizes Romania under this term: Byzantine church music, Romanian art music, military music, the national anthem and folk music. Breazul deals with all these kinds of music, for example as editor of the journal *Muzica*. Therefore, it is only appropriate that today his best-known book's title contains the phrase "muzică românească" (Breazul 1966a).

Brăiloiu's case is different. He began his career as a composer at a time when the national character was a valued quality of art music. In a passage of his methodological article, which is not included in the article's French or English translation, Brăiloiu expresses the conviction that "înflorirea unei arte originale crescută organic din viața sufletească a obștei"¹³⁵ (Brăiloiu 1979b:33). Ignoring the vitalistic imagery, one can reformulate the principle expressed in this quotation in simpler words: good Romanian art music has to rely on folk creation. Considering that Brăiloiu paid for his archive with funding from the SCR, it seems appropriate and logical that he justified the collecting effort from the composers' perspective.

Comparing the motivations of two archives, Breazul and the Arhiva Fonogramica tended to promote folk music because it exemplified Romania, whereas Brăiloiu and the composers' society needed folk music to compose valuable music. Conversely, valuable music had to have national characteristics. The motivations are different, but they both imply the nation.

I have elaborated upon the fact that Romanianness is one of the central features of "muzica populară" and "folclor muzical". Indeed, Romanianness seems to be a feature so central that it seems to be taken for granted. It does not even need to be mentioned anymore: "muzica populară" refers to *Romanian* folk music and "folclor muzical" to *Romanian* musical folklore, without any need to say so. In 1927, the nation is already part of the dogma, to use Bourdieu's terminology

¹³⁵ "The blossoming of original art grows organically out of the spiritual life of the community". This sentence is marked as a quotation in Brăiloiu's text, but no source is given.

(Bourdieu 1997:24), and as such it is almost an invisible principle organizing the discourse behind the scenes. This invisibility of the nation in the discourse regarded here corresponds with the invisibility of the nation itself. Since the nation in its entirety is too large to be seen, it is visible and perceivable only through its symbols.

Earlier in this chapter, I had found traces of Romania's 19th century folklorists taking part in international debates on folklore. In this section I found many notions such as folk music, musical folklore, Romanian music (exemplifying a national music), folk melody and folk song – which have been used similarly or identically not only in Romania, but in many other local traditions of music research as well (e.g. Lajtha 1934, Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle [1939]). While Romanian folk music is usually regarded as something specific to Romania, research on folk music is certainly not. The discourse on Romanian folk music surrounding the two archives was definitely not something remote or isolated from the rest of the world, but part of an international discourse.

3.5 Conclusions: Musical folklore and national politics

This chapter emphasizes two topics. Firstly, following the lead of Verdery, Anderson and Greenfeld, I highlighted the interplay between cultural policy and state politics in general, general intellectual discourse and the particular fields of folklore and musical folklore as they emerged and received their own institutions over the course of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century. The notion of the nation has a special position within this field. It is one of the few concepts which permeates all of the fields that I am interested in: politics proper, cultural policy and the cultural domain, including folklore, music and folk music. The nation exists in the same meanings in all of these different domains.

Secondly, I highlighted the relationship between folklore research of the 19th century and the emerging new subdiscipline of musical folklore in the 20th century. I looked especially at the legacy of folklore research on musical folklore. These are two stories - politics on the one hand and intellectual history on the other - which have traditionally been kept apart, and which I try to view as two sides of the same coin.¹³⁶

In this chapter, I challenged the notion that Romanian folklore research began to look at music only after 1913 with the works of Bartók, Brăiloiu or slightly earlier around 1900 associated with names such as Kiriac, Pârvescu and others. Instead, I viewed earlier research in the emerging discipline of folklore since the 1830s as research on music - although this older research was admittedly concerned with music in a different and more vague sense, that we today do no longer consider appropriate for the study of music. Emphasizing that earlier folklore research also had something to say about music, facilitated the comparison of the older and the newer research tradition and helped identifying the changes that occurred around the beginning of the twentieth century when the new subdiscipline of musical folklore emerged. In Bartók's work, I identified a new concept of music which facilitated the development of the relatively autonomous

¹³⁶ The fact that I can present a single set of conclusions on both topics indicates perhaps that I am successfully "thinking together" both aspects.

subdiscipline of musical folklore. I assume that Bartók inherited the new music concept from musicology. I also found characteristics which the new subdiscipline of musical folklore inherited from the older "mother discipline" of folklore. In my discussion of Bartók's 1913 publication on Romanian folklore, I argued that this work was significant for Romanian ethnomusicology mainly because it demonstrated a new perspective on folk music, one that transported the new formal concept of music as something audible, recordable, writable and something conceptually separate from other domains of life and of folklore.¹³⁷ Romanians like Kiriac quickly took up this new concept in folklore research (and quite possibly used the same concept before Bartók published his book), but it took until the mid-1920s that Romanians published several monographs solely devoted to musical folklore and until the end of the late 1920s that new institutions were created which were exclusively devoted to research on musical folklore. In this time, the time of Brăiloiu, finally a full-fledged subdiscipline of musical folklore was established in Romanian academia. Brăiloiu was not only instrumental in establishing the new subdiscipline in Romania; he also experimented with different approaches of music research, most notably a sociological approach.

From my political perspective in this study, the most significant conceptual import from the older folklore discourse into the new subdiscipline of musical folklore was that of the national matrix. My research shows that the notion of the nation and an associated apparatus of concepts and techniques developed in Romania over the course of the whole 19th century (and perhaps longer) and that significant changes took place between 1848 and 1866. In this time span the national project not only became a growing consensus, it became a political reality, accepted by all major political forces in the Romanian principalities and it became a hegemony which I describe as the national matrix, making it difficult for anyone taking part in Romanian discussions to sustain a different opinion¹³⁸. Since then the adjective "Romanian" is understood almost always ethnically, i.e. not referring to everyone living in Romania or everyone with a Romanian passport, but to everyone belonging to the imagined community of Romanians, a community thought to be related by blood relationships. After independence, the apparatus of the nation became increasingly associated with cultural homogeneity; other religious, ethnic groups received no or less attention in the discourses of folklore and musical folklore. For example, the participation of Roma in Romanian folk music was nearly always only understood as one of performers who perform Romanian folklore. They were not completely written out of the discourse but their contributions was systematically downplayed, for example, by denying them creativity, agency, or, in other words, a productive role in Romanian folklore and folk music. In the examples that I looked at from early 20th century I found a spectrum that ranged from a benevolent quasi-colonial perspective to that of outright contempt for Roma musicians.

¹³⁷ It is not at all unlikely that this new formal concept of music was already known in Romania before Bartók's publication. One can make the case that it was already employed in Cordoneanu's transcriptions in Pârvescu 1908, for example. After all, the new concept was not a secret, but accessible to anybody following Western musicological discourse. But the fact remains that it was a Hungarian composer who first put together a whole folk music collection of Romanian folk music based on the new concept and published it in Romania.

¹³⁸ In chapter 4 I discuss the most significant challenge to the national paradigm in socialist Romania which occurred during the late Stalinist period (1948-1953).

In this spectrum and in the period of the 1920s and 1930s, Brăiloiu holds perhaps the most minority-friendly position that I was able to identify – and that although he rarely if ever seriously deviates from the patterns of the national matrix. Although he generally adopted and refined Bartók's methodology, Brăiloiu rejected parts of Bartók's broad historical conclusions¹³⁹. I am not aware of any statements Brăiloiu made that express disrespect for any minority, nationality or ethnic group inside and outside of Romania. But even Brăiloiu did not significantly challenge the national matrix. By and large he accepted the notion of Romanian folk music as the music of the Romanian peasant, although he at least mentions alternative concepts in theoretical contexts. In his own ethnomusicological studies concerning Romanian he mostly collected, studied and researched and published the music of Romanian peasants.

An incident that involved Brăiloiu inviting Bartók to Romania in the 1930s became a scandal of national proportions (cf. Cosma 1995a). In this confrontation nationalists – including Brăiloiu's old rival Breazu - protested against the visit by the Hungarian composer. Meetings involving Brăiloiu and high-ranking politicians were the result and Brăiloiu was pressured not to invite Bartók again. This case indicates that Brăiloiu generally did not side with the more nationalistic camp in the music research of his time, but it also suggests that Brăiloiu was not able to deny the nationalist climate around him and that he already pushed the boundary to an extent where his reputation was in danger.

In my discussion of the nation in this chapter, I began with a terminological restraint, focusing on simple terms such as the nation and rejecting derived terms such as nationalism, but while discussing debates involving the nation, my vocabulary evolved. Firstly, I insisted on a perspective which views the nation *not only* as an identity concept, as much of the existing ethnomusicological scholarship on nationalism does, but also as a political project. In large parts of 19th century Romanian intellectual discourse, the nation was associated with the liberal goals associated with the revolutions of 1789 and 1848, signifying, for example, sovereignty of nations, a constitutional system and the separation of power. Over the course of the 19th century and especially in the first half of the 20th century a different and more authoritarian political project attached itself to the nation. Perhaps this other authoritarian model is based on Napoleon, as an influential proponent of the nation, a reformer, but also a dictatorial autocrat. In the 20th century, this political project takes the form of a fascist authoritarian rule under King Carol II and Antonescu. The nation was then construed increasingly not only ethnically, but explicitly racially.

Secondly, given my interest in the discourses of folklore and musical folklore, I looked at nationalism mostly inside the scholarly domain. My discussion of Bartók's work indicates that at least in the politically more moderate times, such as the period before World War I, nationalism was often expressed in the intellectual domain in aspects of representation. In my discussion of Bartók's 1913 publication on Bihor, for example, I took the choice of languages, translations, place names etc. into consideration to argue that this publication did not make overt nationalistic claims. In my reading this work does not express any claims of (national) superiority, not that of

¹³⁹ In my reading Brăiloiu acts here in much the same way as Merriam who later rejected historical conjecture based on evolutionary thought or diffusionist theory (cf. Merriam 1964:283–286).

Romanians over Hungarians nor that of Hungarians over Romanians. Explicit and perhaps, more importantly, implicit expressions of superiority emerged here as important indicators that separate a simple, not malicious national sentiment from a chauvinistic type of nationalism that coincides with contempt of other people.

Also, it appears that some people in the early 20th century, possibly including Bartók, distinguished between fellow nationalities and those people who did not belong to nations (in their view), such as Roma and Jews. I stress this observation because it contradicts contemporary thought, but may explain the actions and writings of intellectuals at an earlier time.

One may wonder why I insist on a chapter that reaches as far back as the beginning of the 19th century in a work that focuses on the socialist period. There are two reasons for why I insisted like so many other studies of postsocialist ethnomusicology on an historical perspective that takes the time before socialism into account (e.g. Rice 1994, Buchanan 2006). Firstly, it is well-known that the national and nationalistic component was an important feature of Ceaușescu's communism. Instead of looking at the entanglement of ethnomusicology and national politics in his era alone, I opted for a historical perspective which takes the historical moment into account when the relationship between politics and academy over the national project was first established. Secondly, I wanted to demonstrate that my political perspective does not only apply to the socialist period, but to other periods as well. In doing so, I wanted to avoid what I perceive as "exotification" of socialism: analyses which single out the socialist experience only in terms of difference, disregarding parallels to other political forms, a perspective that I find reminiscent of the reductionist black-and-white outlook of Cold War scholarship.

In this chapter, I also discussed the use of ethnomusicological knowledge mostly in abstract ways and I focused on uses in relation to the national project. I showed that the knowledge produced in the debates on Romanian folklore served quite specific purposes in political debates in support of the nation and in pursuit of independence and I argued that ethnomusicology later inherited a similar role within the discourse of the nation.

I also alluded to the connection between folklore research and the political will for agrarian reforms in later periods as another context where the knowledge of (musical) folklore was perhaps applied in the realm of politics, although I did not elaborate on this connection.

In this chapter I did not, however, foreground the applied activities outside the ivory tower of academic music scholars, although those existed as well. Examples include Brăiloiu's trips to London where he repeatedly presented a group of *calușări* (dancers of the *caluș*, an acrobatic dance; Marian-Bălașa 2000a:184), the Maria Tănase's performances at World Fair in 1939 in New York (Roșca 2000:I 142-4; II 348), to name a few international examples of public ethnomusicology from 1930s, or appeals to the Romanian public to collect folk songs and contests where amateurs were encouraged to send in transcriptions, to name a few domestic examples.

All of these applied activities have a national dimension: Romania (or its parts, such as a specific village) was being represented in these events either on a stage or by a text and in the context of these performances folklore represents the renown of Romanian peasant culture or, more generally, the Romanian nation at large. In the next chapter, I will look more closely at examples of the interplay of ethnomusicological knowledge and politics and my focus will be

especially on activities where the knowledge produced in the "ivory tower" of academic research was applied in the domain of cultural policy.

4 Institut de Folclor (1944-63)

Chronologically, this chapter begins roughly where the last one ended: in 1944, before the end of World War II, when Romania was not yet a satellite of the USSR¹⁴⁰. In this time, the Institute's immediate predecessor, the Folklore Archive, was directed by Harry Brauner. In 1949, the new communist administration officially created the Institut de Folclor (Folklore Institute¹⁴¹, IF), effectively transforming Brauner's Folklore Archive into an institute that was supported and financed by the new communist state. This chapter follows the Institute up to another re-organization in 1963. Hence, overall this chapter covers a period that roughly coincides with the rule of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as general secretary (1944-54, 1955-65).

In this period, the IF had two directors. Less than a year after the IF's official foundation, the first director, Harry Brauner, was arrested, accused of spying for other nations, and sentenced to more than a decade in prison. His arrest was part of a high-level Stalinist purge in which Gheorghiu-Dej also eliminated Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu as one of his main competitors in the leadership of the Communist Party. Sabin Drăgoi, a composer who had worked with Breazul's phonogram archive in the late 1920s and early 1930s, became the Institute's second director in 1950. During his directorship, the Institute began publishing numerous research publications, including its own journal, the *Revista de Folclor* (beginning in 1956).

On the whole, this chapter focuses on the changes in ethnomusicology after the communists¹⁴² ascended to power. It describes the organization of ethnomusicological research at the Institut de Folclor and changes in ethnomusicological discourse in comparison to the research of earlier periods. I look both at the more academic ethnomusicology and at more applied activities, specifically the Institute's influence on the performance practice of folk music. In two case studies, I highlight specific aspects of the new political context in which the Institut de Folclor operated since its 1949 foundation.

The first case study deals with the folk orchestra¹⁴³ *Barbu Lăutaru*, which belonged to the IF since its foundation in 1949, but was relocated to a different institution around 1953 after internal struggles. For some, the rise of folk orchestras in the communist period is one of the more

¹⁴⁰ To characterize states which are more or less under the political control of the Soviet Union as satellites is a practice which originates among Western observers during the Cold War. Although I usually reject Western Cold War vocabulary because of its strong moral implications, it seems that this term correctly describes both the Soviet Union's *intention* to control other countries at various stages in history in a quasi-colonial fashion as well as the *actual control* exerted in certain periods. For Romania, Soviet influence was probably greatest between 1948 and 1953. Who in the Soviet Union actually has power over the satellites – whether the secretary General, the whole politburo, or other institutions, such as the Cominform – is a matter often discussed in historical and political literature, and rightfully so, but not one of my core interests.

¹⁴¹ The Institute's name initially spelled "folklore" with a 'k', highlighting the word's foreign origin (cf. Prezidiul Marii Adunări Naționale al Republicii Populare Române 1998-99) as in Brăiloiu's days. In all subsequent publications and documents that I am aware of, however, the new spelling with c was used.

¹⁴² After a merger with the Partidul Social Democrat (PSD, Social Democratic Party) in 1948, the Communist Party was formally called Partidul Muncitoresc Român (PMR, Romanian Workers' Party) until 1965, when its original name, Partidul Communist Român (PCR, Romanian Communist Party), was restored.

¹⁴³ I use the term "folk orchestra" as the direct translation of the contemporary Romanian term "orchestră populară", particularly as the term was used in the 1950s.

evident influences of Soviet cultural policy¹⁴⁴. So I will ask in which ways the early Romanian folk orchestra embodied a socialist perspective. Another related facet of this case is that of "folclor nou" (new folklore), a genre that was perhaps best known for newly created songs praising socialism and its accomplishments. Here it is even more evident that the music was meant to support the present political system. Together, both examples illustrate cultural production which was overtly associated with the new socialist state's cultural policy, both were "new" traditions – not only in a temporal sense, but also in a political one, as the label denoted traditions that were favored by the state and supportive of it. Both also indicate how the political sphere understood, interpreted and used folklore and folk music.

My second case study is that part of ethnomusicological work which tried to distance itself from political influences and topics – often referring to Brăiloiu as their intellectual predecessor. The two cases also allow me to analyze how ethnomusicologists participated in or reacted to this area of cultural policy, and to some extent, how successful the new policies were.

It may also be worthwhile to note that in the time period covered by this chapter, Joseph Stalin died (March 1953). While in the USSR, Stalin's death almost immediately allowed for a cultural liberalization, even before Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 (Schwarz 1973:272), it is not clear if Stalin's death directly changed cultural politics in Romania. I see a significant although limited and slow-moving relaxation in Romania beginning only in 1954, the same year the IF began to publish on a more regular basis.

4.1 Puppet theater and Stalinist cultural policy (1944-1950)

The extent to which the socialists transformed Romanian politics, society and the cultural landscape was immense. Since this process was largely steered by the Party's leadership and since this dominance was then often camouflaged and became clearly visible only since the 1990s, I rehash some of the general events before I focus more on the Institute. I hope this approach facilitates a general perspective which integrates folk music into the cultural policy of the Romanian state in this phase.

POLITICS AND PURGES (1944-1950s)

Romania entered the final phase of World War II on 23 August, 1944, when the 22-year-old King Michael led a coup d'état that deposed Marshal Ion Antonescu and his pro-Nazi administration. The coup took place when Soviet troops had already entered Romanian territory. King Michael restored the 1923 constitution, ordered a ceasefire with the Allies, and commanded Romanian troops to fight Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, Soviet troops occupied Bucharest on August 31. Almost two weeks later, on September 12, Romania signed an armistice with the allies in Moscow, which effectively put Romania under Soviet control (Bărbulescu et al. 2012:390–392).

¹⁴⁴ For example, Romanian ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu wrote that she "hated the [folk] orchestras, their conductors, the official stars and the manner they deliberately distorted the traditional music in order to turn it into 'co-modified' (i.e. the music produced conforming to the official media) socialist music." (Morrison 2002).

The Romanian Communist Party (Partidul Comunist Român, PCR) founded originally in 1921¹⁴⁵, had been forbidden for large stretches of time in the decades prior to the 1944 coup and, correspondingly, it had a relatively small membership in August 1944. Tismaneanu believes that immediately before the coup the PCR had only about 80 members in Bucharest and fewer than 1000 in the whole country (Tismaneanu 2004:87). After August 1944, the party was legal again and part of the governing coalition. The PCR soon began recruiting new members on a large scale. In April 1945, the PCR already had more than 40,000 members, and perhaps as many as 50,000 (Tismaneanu 2004:87).

Over the course of 1947, the conflict between the Soviet Union and the Western allies, which soon would be labeled the "Cold War", became more obvious. While up to this point, Stalin had somewhat veiled his attempts to bring East European states under his control, the integration of Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union's sphere of influence now became more clearly visible (Tismaneanu 2004:47–48, King 1980:52).

With backing from Moscow and with Soviet troops effectively occupying Romania, the PCR's influence grew quickly in the course of several post-war governments. Through the imprisonment of several high-ranking opposition politicians, the dissolving of opposition parties, and rigged elections in 1946 (Bărbulescu et al. 2012:398), the PCR solidified its influence.

On December 30, 1947, the communists forced the king to abdicate, and they declared Romania a People's Republic on the same day (Tismaneanu 2004:94, Bărbulescu et al. 2012:401). According to Tismaneanu's analysis, the actions of the Romanian communists in this period were closely coordinated with the Kremlin (2004:89).

In February 1948, the Partidul Social Democrat Român (PSDR, Romanian Social Democratic Party) merged with the Communist Party, forming the *Partidul Muncitoresc Român* (PMR, Romanian Workers' Party), thus eliminating another traditional party (Tismaneanu 2004:93).¹⁴⁶ Leaders of other historic parties were imprisoned and their parties dissolved, so that Romania quickly became a one-party state (Bărbulescu et al. 2012:400).

On 13 April, 1948, Romania adopted a new constitution that followed "Stalinist blueprints" (Tismaneanu 2004:107). A planned economy had already been introduced at this point, and the nationalization of agriculture and industry would occur in the summer of 1948.

The late 1940s and early 1950s are often remembered as a time of terror (cf. Crotty 2007:167): the secret police Securitate was founded in February 1949 and operated with extreme violence from the very beginning; thousands of people were forcibly resettled (Bărbulescu et al. 2012:413); in labor camps, many inmates were worked to death. One of the most notorious projects in this respect was the Danube-Black Sea canal, where between 1949 and 1953 tens of

¹⁴⁵ In the early days, the PCR was sometimes also referred to as "Partidul Comunist din România" (PCdR, cf. Tismaneanu 2004:51). The PCR was founded in 1921 by members of the Romanian Socialist Party (Partidul Socialist din România). Sometimes the foundation of the Social Democratic Party of the Workers in Romania (Partidul Social-Democrat al Muncitorilor din România, PSDMR) in 1893 is described as the beginning of the Communist Party. According to Tismaneanu (2004:47–48) this earlier date was typically accepted as the foundation of the PCR during the socialist period.

¹⁴⁶ The party would return to its earlier name Partidul Comunist Român (PCR) only under Ceaușescu in 1965 (Tismaneanu 2004:194).

thousands of prisoners, many of whom were political prisoners, were forced to work under terrible and often deadly conditions:

The Romanian gulag was a vast, terrifying reality, in which [the] Danube-Black Sea Canal project, initiated by Gheorghiu-Dej, functioned as a huge concentration camp to destroy the political and cultural elites and [was supposed to] immortalize the triumph of the working class over the detested bourgeoisie. (Tismaneanu 2004:36).¹⁴⁷

Terror is also associated with the purges inside the communist party where different factions competed for supremacy; these purges occasionally ended with death sentences for the involved politicians. The Romanian communists used terror not only in the elimination of the political opposition, but also on members of its own party. Towards the end of the 1940s, the rapid enlargement of the Party's membership since 1944 was criticized. New background checks were initiated and many members were expelled for their associations with fascists in previous years or for not being revolutionary enough. The leadership of various factions within the party used this struggle to eliminate competitors, purging even high-ranking party officials (Bărbulescu et al. 2012:423–427).

Similar purges had taken place in the Soviet Union since the late 1920s and happened about the same time in other Eastern European satellites as they did in Romania. The recipes according to which these purges were organized were determined in Moscow, but local politicians had considerable agency and could influence the outcome of the purges. Tismaneanu boils this principle down to the slogan: "The Cominform authors wrote the script. It was up to Romanian, Bulgarian, Polish or Hungarian Stalinists to enact it most convincingly." (Tismaneanu 2004:96, cf. Kligman in Constante 1995:ix).

For Romania, observers distinguish two or three different factions inside the PCR which struggled for supremacy (Tismaneanu 2004:104–106). One of the earlier purges was that of Pătrășcanu, one of the PCR's most prominent and publically most visible Communist politicians since August 1944. Pătrășcanu had represented the PCR in the royal coup of 1944; he had been the first PCR minister ever to join a Romanian administration; he had been part of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1947 and is one of the peace treaty's signatories. Pătrășcanu's ordeal has received considerable attention in political and historical scholarship. The affair is often represented as a show trial in which Gheorghiu-Dej eliminated Pătrășcanu as one of his main competitors in the politburo on fabricated charges (e.g. in Constante 1995, Marian-Bălașa 2000a).

Beginning in 1946, Pătrășcanu was gradually discredited within his own party (Tismaneanu 2004:114). At the Congress of the Romanian Worker's Party in February 1948, Pătrășcanu was accused of having "fallen under the influence of the bourgeoisie" and becoming "an exponent of bourgeois ideology" (quoted by Tismaneanu 2004:115) and he lost his seat on the central committee. Months later he was accused of being a "Titoist-fascist" spy (Tismaneanu 2004:115) working for Western countries. Gheorghiu-Dej ordered Pătrășcanu's arrest on April 28, 1948 (Tismaneanu 2004:115).

¹⁴⁷ Work on the canal was restarted with better equipment in the 1970s and the canal was completed in the 1980s.

On related accusations, several of Pătrășcanu's professional collaborators and personal friends were arrested, tortured and forced to produce incriminating evidence against Pătrășcanu. These included Harry Brauner, then the director of the Institut de Folclor (Folklore Institute). Also among those arrested on the same day as Pătrășcanu was Lena Constante, Brauner's long-time partner and his future wife. She had worked together with Pătrășcanu's wife, Elena, on a puppet theater after August 1944. It appears that Brauner had met Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu through this connection (cf. Kligman in Constante 1995:xii).

After his arrest in 1950, Pătrășcanu was held without charges. His trial did not commence until 1954. The reasons for this delay are not clear. Some observers suggest that investigations did not produce enough evidence and attribute near-heroic qualities to Pătrășcanu, who stubbornly denied the charges against him, and to his friends Constante and Brauner, who largely refused to fabricate evidence against Pătrășcanu (Kligman in Constante 1995:ix). Others suggest that the Minister of Justice presiding over the trial prevented it from moving forward and that the trial moved forward eventually only after his replacement (Tismaneanu 2004:105,116). Another line of reasoning suggests that Gheorghiu-Dej did not wish to risk a trial against and the execution of a popular Romanian communist politician until Gheorghiu-Dej's own position was further strengthened inside the country and with Stalin (cf. Tismaneanu 2004:117–118).

In any case, by approximately 1954, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, a former railroad worker who had spent years in Romanian prisons because of his membership in the PCR, emerged from these purges as the unrivalled leader of the PCR (Tismaneanu 2004:119). Pătrășcanu was held under arrest until 1954, when he was tried for treason and executed.

BRAUNER'S ARREST (1950)

In 1950 a new wave of arrests related to the same fabricated accusations against Pătrășcanu took place. On January 17, 1950, Lena Constante was arrested for a second time (Constante 1995:5). On January 29, Brauner was also arrested (in Sinaia, Nicolau and Huluiță 1999:23), effectively ending his directorship of the IF. The circumstances of his arrest are neither described nor discussed in any detail in either the historiographic or the ethnomusicological literature. Apparently, fabricated evidence for Pătrășcanu's and Brauner's alleged conspiratorial activities were found inside the IF and the IF's international contacts were interpreted as spy activities assisting Western nations (Kligman in Constante 1995:xii, Marian-Bălașa, personal communication).

Constante and Brauner were eventually sentenced to twelve years in prison. Brauner and Constante served their full sentences, during which they spent many years in solitary confinement. Constante was released in 1961, Brauner in 1962, but he then served an additional two years of house arrest.

Table 4.1: Events related to Pătrășcanu's arrest and the IF's (pre)history

Date	Event	Source
	1920s and 1930s	
1928	Since the beginning of Brăiloiu's Arhiva de Folclor (Folklore Archive), Harry Brauner assisted Brăiloiu.	Alexandru 1998-1999:28
1934	new collaborators: Paula Carp	Alexandru 1998-1999:29
1935	Tiberiu Alexandru; Emilia Comișel. Periodically employed were A. Stoia, Ion	Alexandru 1998-

	Nicola, Aurora Țotropa etc.	1999:29
	1940s	
1943	Brăiloiu leaves Romania. During the war, archive's collections are stored in one or more villages for protection.	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:17
sometime after August 23, 1944	Perhaps with Pătrășcanu's support, Brauner re-opens Brăiloiu's archive. Constante Lena refers to it as Folklore Institute.	Constante 1995:124, Alexandru 1998-1999:30
1944 or 1945	Brauner moves the archive's recordings back to Bucharest (with the help of Octavian Neamțu, director of the Fundația Regală). Brauner becomes director of the archive (Nicolau refers to the archive using the name from Brăiloiu's time "Arhiva de folclor" Folklore Archive). Location of the archive is Lipcsani street (i.e. the old location from Brăiloiu's days)	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:17, Alexandru 1998-1999:30.
October 25, 1947	Nicolau quotes a concert program which mentions Brauner as the director of Folklore Archive. Nicolau presupposes that at this time the archive officially belonged to the Fundația Regală (The Royal Foundation).	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:17, Alexandru 1998-1999:30
October – November 1947?	Brauner obtains a new location for the archive (perhaps through Pătrășcanu). Archive moves to Dionisie Lupu street.	Alexandru 1998-1999:30
December 30, 1947	With the king's abdication, the royal foundation ceases to exist. The archive exists in an institutional vacuum for a while. Apparently, wages of archive employees are not paid.	Alexandru 1998-1999:30
1948	De facto the archive was now under communist control since the new government could have intervened at any time. According to Nicolau, Ilarion Cocișiu, Achim Stoica, Tiberiu Alexandru, Mihai Pop and Matei Socor (for a period of time) worked as collaborators for the archive before official re-foundation in 1949.	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:18
February 1948	At Congress of the PMR, Pătrășcanu is accused of having "fallen under the influence of the bourgeoisie" and having become "an exponent of bourgeois ideology". He loses his seat on the central committee. Months later he is accused of being a Titoist agent spying for Western countries.	Tismaneanu 2004:114
April 28 1948	Gheorghiu-Dej orders Pătrășcanu's arrested. Lena Constante is arrested on the same day. Eventually, Pătrășcanu's wife Elena, Belu Zilber, Harry Brauner and Lena Constante will be arrested, interrogated, convicted and imprisoned on related charges.	Tismaneanu 2004:115 Constante 1995:124
October 1948	Lena Constante is (temporarily) released	Constante 1995:142
April 5, 1949 (published the following day)	Through a presidential decree, the <i>Arhiva de folclor</i> (Folklore Archive) becomes the <i>Institutul de Folklor</i> (Folklore Institute).	(Alexandru 1998-1999)
	1950s	
January 17 1950	Lena Constante arrested again.	Constante 1995:5
January 29, 1950	Harry Brauner arrested (in Sinaia). He is accused of collaborating with the fascists during WW II.	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:23,
April 6 to 14, 1954	L. Pătrășcanu tried in secret	Kligman in (Constante 1995:ix)
April 15, 1954	Lena Constante is moved from solitary confinement to a different prison	Constante 1995:1
April 17, 1954	L. Pătrășcanu executed	Kligman in (Constante 1995:ix)
	1960s	
1961	Lena Constante is released from prison (after serving 12 years), but still prohibited from living in any major city	Constante 1995:253–255, Nicolau and Huluță 1999:34
January 25, 1962	Harry Brauner is released from prison, but has to serve two more years under house arrest. Constante visits Brauner occasionally, they marry, but continue to live separated.	Nicolau and Huluță 1999:35
1964	Brauner returns to Bucharest. Lena follows soon after.	Constante 1995:255
1968	In 1968, all of those tried and convicted in the Pătrășcanu show trial [...] were exonerated and fully rehabilitated.	Constante 1995:256

This case remained relevant even after Gheorghiu-Dej's death in 1964 and Ceaușescu's ascent to power. At that point Ceaușescu, the new leader of the Romanian communists, used Pătrășcanu's trial to strengthen his own position within the central committee. In 1968, he ordered a retrial, which showed that Pătrășcanu and the others implicated in the trial were innocent. Constante and Brauner were rehabilitated and exonerated in 1968 (Marian-Bălașa 2000a:187). Through this move Ceaușescu weakened the position of the old élite associated with Gheorghiu-Dej, a group that had supported the trial against Pătrășcanu (Tismaneanu 2004:119–120).

THE ARCHIVE BETWEEN BRĂILOIU AND BRAUNER (1944-1949)

Before his fall from grace, Harry Brauner had had a long but somewhat tumultuous relationship with Brăiloiu and his archive. In the 1920s, Harry Brauner studied with D.G. Kiriac and Constantin Brăiloiu at the conservatory in Bucharest and also took D. Gusti's courses in sociology (Datu 1998a:101). In the early 1930s, Brauner worked with Brăiloiu on several different occasions and even accompanied him into the field (Marian-Bălașa 2000a:184). According to Alexandru (1998-1999:28), Brauner was Brăiloiu's first long-term collaborator in the Folklore Archive. Brauner also accompanied Brăiloiu on several international trips, which showcased Romanian folk music and dance to Western audiences.

In 1938, Brăiloiu and Brauner had a conflict over one of these trips. According to Nicolau (1999:16), the ministry had asked Brauner, at the time Brăiloiu's assistant at the archive, to accompany a dance troupe to London in 1938 - rather than Brăiloiu himself. Over this dispute, Brăiloiu discontinued Brauner's activities with the archive (Alexandru 1998-1999:28). From what I can tell, the two never worked together afterwards.

During World War II, the archive's collections were moved outside of Bucharest to protect them from bombardments and other war-related damages (Kligman in Constante 1995:xvi, Alexandru 1998-1999:28). It is not clear when exactly the collections were evacuated from Bucharest and who initiated the move. Alexandru (1998-1999:28) suggests that this happened still under Brăiloiu's oversight. In 1943, Brăiloiu permanently left the country and began working in Switzerland.^{147F}¹⁴⁸

It is not clear when exactly Brauner began to work for the archive again. Several sources point to the period after August 23, 1944 (Constante 1995:xvi, Marian-Bălașa 2000a:185, Datu 1998a:101). According to Kligman (in Constante 1995:xvi) Brauner became a member of the PCR sometime after August 1944, suggesting that his party membership was a formal prerequisite which enabled him to lead the archive.

Nicolau quotes program notes which describe Brauner as the director of the folklore archive in October 1947 (Nicolau and Huluță 1999:17), while Datu (1998a:101) lists Brauner only as deputy director ("director adjunct") for the period 1944–1948.

¹⁴⁸ In Alexandru 1998-1999 Alexandru writes that Brăiloiu only left the country in 1949. It is not clear why. Alexandru mentioned this late date which is not consistent with Brăiloiu's curriculum vitae. According to (Schaeffner 1959:4–5), Brăiloiu served as "attaché" for the Romanian delegation in Berne from 1943 to 1946. I suspect that Alexandru mentioned the late date in the attempt to make Brăiloiu more acceptable to the new regime.

At this point the archive no longer appears to have been affiliated with the Composers' Society (as in Brăiloiu's time), but instead with the Fundația Regală (Royal Foundation). The Royal Foundation also played a role in moving the collection from the countryside back to Bucharest (Alexandru 1998-1999:30).

Alexandru writes that this move took place from Lipcsani Street to Dionisie Lupu Street in October to November without specifying a year, which is surprising for the otherwise meticulously exact Alexandru (1998-1999:30). I assume that the move took place in the fall of 1947 and not in 1948, because other sources indicate that Pătrășcanu obtained the new archive location for Brauner (Marian-Bălașa 2000a:186). In the fall of 1948, Pătrășcanu was already imprisoned, which makes it unlikely that he provided any help for the archive at this time.

The exact extent of Pătrășcanu's involvement in the reopening of the archive is not clear, since his role is not explicitly described in any of the accessible sources relating to the event. In her memoirs, Lena Constante writes that Brauner "was the head of the Folklore Institute, which he had founded after August 23 with Pătrășcanu's support" (1995:124).

In light of other reports, this formulation might be misleading. Firstly, the institution had already existed since 1928; secondly it is doubtful if at this point the institution was already called Folklore Institute, whether formally or informally. Other sources refer to it at this time as the Folklore Archive (e.g. Alexandru 1998-1999, Datcu 1998a:101), implying that before 1949 the same label was used as in Brăiloiu's time. From this, I assume that the archive officially became an institute only with the founding decree from 1949, and not earlier. Also from a legal standpoint, the foundation of an already existing archive seems unnecessary and unlikely. It appears that the archive merely changed ownership, moving to the Royal Foundation (Fundația Regală) under Brauner's directorship sometime after August 1944 and before October 1947.

Constante's report is also misleading because, thirdly, she does not describe the exact extent of Pătrășcanu's involvement and, fourthly, she does not specify a time frame for his involvement. Considering the chronology of Pătrășcanu's gradual loss of power within his party, it seems unlikely that Pătrășcanu was still able to help Brauner in 1948, since he was excluded from party's central committee and had lost his ministerial position in February 1948. Rather it seems more likely that Pătrășcanu used his influence in the time that he served as Minister of Justice (August 1944 - February 1948).

For most of this time, the folklore archive seems to have been associated with the Fundația Regală (Royal Foundation). This institution apparently ceased to exist or moved into exile soon after the king's abdication on December 30, 1947 (cf. Alexandru 1998-1999:30)¹⁴⁹. This fact makes it unlikely that Pătrășcanu's involvement with the archive only began after the king's abdication.

It is quite possible that between 1944 and 1947 Pătrășcanu used his influence to institute Brauner as the archive's director and that Pătrășcanu was also involved in the acquisition of other resources for the archive, such as the new location at Dionisie Lupu Street. However, the

¹⁴⁹ Brăiloiu's posthumous publication Brăiloiu 1960 was published by the "Institut Universitaire Roumain Charles Ier" whose Romanian name is provided as "Fundația Regală Universitară Carol I".

foundation of the Institute in 1949 happened long after Pătrășcanu had been removed from his ministerial position. Even if he had helped at some stage to set up the foundation of the Institute, it seems unlikely that the communist administration would have proceeded with this process if there had not been other reasons for doing so. To conclude, it seems unlikely that the Institute was founded because of the personal relations of Harry Brauner with one high-ranking politician, as has sometimes been suggested (e.g. Marian-Bălașa 2000a, Kligman in Constante 1995).

It is not clear what the day-to-day activities of the Folklore Archive under Brauner's directorship (from 1944-49) were; nor do we know exactly which projects the archive worked on or how the archive was organized internally in this period. According to Nicolau (1999:18), Ilarion Cocișiu, Achim Stoica, Tiberiu Alexandru, Mihai Pop and Matei Socor were all archive collaborators before the official re-foundation in 1949 Nicolau and Huluiță 1999:18.

The inclusion of literary folklorist Mihai Pop in this list suggests that Brauner had already abandoned the exclusive focus on music from Brăiloiu's time and included other areas of folklore research. Also, it appears that dance was not a focus of activity in the period before 1949. The fact that Matei Socor, the future president of the Composers' Union, appears on this list suggests that Brauner was connected with other leading intellectuals who held (or would hold) influential offices during the early Stalinist period.¹⁵⁰

THE FOUNDATION OF THE *INSTITUT DE FOLKLOR* (1949)

On April 5, 1949, the Institut de Folklor (Folklore Institute) was founded through a presidential decree (published on the following day, Prezidiul Marii Adunări Naționale al Republicii Populare Române 1998-99). Through this act, the communist administration essentially transformed the Folklore Archive into an institute, although legally the decree speaks of a foundation as if no important predecessor archive had ever existed before 1949. In any case, the status as an institute implied a greater independence from other institutions, such as the Romanian Academy. The same decree also transformed the new institute into a state institution, paid for and controlled by the government, implying less independence from the state.

Given Romania's general transition towards a totalitarian state based on Soviet models, by this time it should have been obvious to everybody involved even superficially in politics that the only possibility for the archive to survive was to become a state institution (or part of a state institution). It appears that Brauner embraced this possibility even though his partner Constante had been arrested on fabricated accusations by the same state in April 1948. She was released in October 1948 after more than five months of arrest (Constante 1995:ix).

The presidential decree from April 6, 1949, states that the new institute was under the direct control of the Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor (Ministry for the Arts and Information, Prezidiul Marii Adunări Naționale al Republicii Populare Române 1998-99:21). The founding decree further specifies that the IF should be led by a director chosen by the ministry and that the IF would be the successor of the earlier phonogram archive of the ministry, inheriting its collections. Neither Brăiloiu's nor Brauner's earlier folklore archives are explicitly mentioned in this decree;

¹⁵⁰ The composer Matei Socor became the president of the Composers' Union in 1949. He is sometimes depicted as a Stalinist hardliner who relentlessly implemented Soviet policies (Crotty 2007:155).

however, the Phonogram Archive (arhiva fonogramica), originally founded in 1927, is mentioned as a predecessor. So it appears that the Ministry recognized only one predecessor: Breazul's Phonogram Archive, probably because it had always formally belonged to the same Ministry. Notably, the document does not mention Brăiloiu's Folklore Archive. However, in the Ministry's eyes, the Phonogram Archive included both Breazul's and Brăiloiu's collections.¹⁵¹

The internal organization of the IF at the very beginning is not well documented in existing publications. In 1999, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the IF's foundation, the *Anuar de Institutul de Etnografie si Folclor* reprinted several documents showing that the Institute continued to employ many employees from Brăiloiu's period and Brauner's pre-1949 Folklore Archive. Many of the ethnomusicologists employed in 1949 had studied with Brăiloiu and worked with him at the Folklore Archive, but others only began to work at the archive in the socialist period, such as Gheorghe Ciobanu and Constantin Zamfir¹⁵².

Table 4.2: Early academic employees of the Instiut de Folclor (IF) by section

Composers	Musicologists	Ethnomusicologists	Folklorists
Mircea Chiriac 1949-53	Lucilia Georgescu Stănculeanu 1949-82	Tiberiu Alexandru 1949-74	Olividu Birlea 1949-69
Florin Comișel 1949-50	Constantin Zamfir 1949-64	Harry Brauner 1949-1950	Maria Siminel-Fusteri 1949-56
		Paul Carp-Pelati 1949-68	Alexandru I. Amzulescu 1950-83
		Eugenia Cernea (Janeta Cohn) 1949-50	
		Gheorghe Ciobanu 1949-71	
		Ilarion Cocișiu 1949-52	
		Emilia Comișel 1949-64	
		Marina Kahane 1949-81	
		Elisabeta Moldeveanu 1949-81	
		Vasile Niculescu 1949-67	
		Adriana Sachelarie 1949-64	
		Ghizela Sulișteanu 1949-79	
		Adrian Vicol (Iosif Weisz) 1949-81	
		Constantin Prichicu 1950-59	

Source: "Personal de specialitate care a activat în institut" 1998-99.¹⁵³

Most of the IF's early employees were ethnomusicologists (see Table 4.2), a fact which shows the importance of research into folk music in comparison to other areas that later dominated the research at the Institute, such as literary folklore. But from its foundation, the IF also had some

¹⁵¹ As noted in Chapter 3 I assume that, ever since the Ministry had added Brăiloiu to the commission that ran the Phonogram Archive in the early 1930s, the two collections were managed de facto as one by Brăiloiu, his team and his successors.

¹⁵² According to Datcu, Ciobanu and Zamfir had studied both with Breazul and Brăiloiu (Datcu 1998a:164, 1998b:292).

¹⁵³ In this table, I omit employees with uncertain employment dates. This accounts for the ethnomusicologists Carmen Betea and Rodica Weiss; the musicologists Eliza Feyrer, Ion Iagamasi, Boris Marcu, Gheorghe Marcu, Ioan Nicola, Eugenia Săndulescu, Julia Szegő, and the composer Cornelia Tăutu. Sections are represented here in the same terms (translated to English) as provided in the source. I assume that these terms are not all contemporary terms (used in 1949), but that some were added to the 1999 reprint. I am not certain that the different sections (e.g. musicologist, composer, ethnomusicologist) already existed in the early 1950s and how this grouping affected everyday work in the archive in the 1940s and 1950s. It is noteworthy that all of Brăiloiu's students are named here as ethnomusicologists.

folklorists who did not specialize in music. Judging by the list of employees, it appears that the ethnochoreology section did not exist when the IF was first founded.¹⁵⁴

The decree defines the new institute's objective as "studierea și promovarea creației populare" (the study and promotion of popular [folk] creation). This general objective is broken down into five tasks (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: The IF's objective according to Decretul Nr. 136

culegera și studierea folklorului	collecting and studying folklore
inițierea și formarea cadrelor de folkloriști	initiation and education of folklore cadres
stimularea interesul pentru folklor	stimulation of interest in folklore
organizarea de corui și fanfare populare, conferințe cu exemplificări, echipe artistice populare, concursuri și manifestări populare	organization of choirs and popular (brass) bands, lectures with examples and popular artistic ensembles, competitions with popular examples
reproducerea cu mijloace tehnice adecvate a creațiilor de folklor	reproduction of popular creation with adequate technical means

In this list of objectives, music is not explicitly mentioned. Instead the decree uses the general terms "folklore" and "popular creation" (apparently used here interchangeably) to describe the area for which the IF is responsible. These terms are neither defined nor well specified through examples within the decree. That music is a part of folklore becomes evident only indirectly in the examples mentioned (choirs, brass bands). One could argue that music still has a privileged position in these formulations, as in Brăiloiu's time, since it is the only area of folklore explicitly illustrated through examples. In this founding document, the tripartite division of folklore into literary folklore, musical folklore and ethnochoreology, which will structure the Institute's activities for many future decades, is not yet apparent.

With respect to the terminology employed here, it is interesting that the document refers to folklore using the old spelling with k (as in Brăiloiu's time), which highlights the fact that the word was borrowed from English and is not of Romanian origin. Soon the spelling "folclor" (with c) would become the norm, both in the spelling of the Institute's name and its publications. In contrast to this relatively minute detail, it is striking that orchestras and ensembles were not referenced with precise musical terminology, but rather through an incomplete and unsystematic listing (together with choirs and popular fanfares ["coruri, fanfare populare"]). The word "fanfare" traditionally refers only to brass bands and not to other types of traditional ensembles, such as "taraf", which traditionally describes ensembles dominated by chordophones. Specifically, it is noteworthy that the term "folk orchestra" (orchestră populară) is not (yet) used here.

Given the top-down orientation of Stalinist cultural policy, where the party officially leads the country while de facto decisions are made by an even more élite organization, the politburo, the stated objective of "initiation and education of folklore cadres" cannot just be considered Marxist educational jargon, but has to be understood as part of the *politically correct* education of

¹⁵⁴ As far as I can tell from incomplete information, Eugenia Popescu-Județ was the first ethnochoreologist employed by the IF. Anca Giurchescu, another ethnochoreologist, started to work at the IF in 1953. Choreologists mentioned in the list are Petre Bodeuț, Eugenia Popescu-Județ, Andrei Bucșan, Constantin Costea, Dionisie Elekeș, Anca Giurchescu (employed 1953-79) and Veronica Micnik. According to her resume (p.3) at the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Popescu-Județ worked at the IF from 1949-51.

specialists. I take this point as a thinly veiled reference to the fact that the Institute was supposed to control and supervise folklorists, and perhaps folklore discourse in Romania in general, both ideologically and politically, something that bureaucrats unfamiliar with folkloristics would not have been able to do on their own.

Collecting and studying folklore are activities carried out primarily by specialists and thus these objectives primarily target specialists (academically trained folklorists). Likewise, the building of cadres refers mostly to specialists¹⁵⁵. In contrast, the objective of "stimulation of interest in folklore" clearly addresses the public at large. The remaining items on the list imply further constituencies apparently less important to the decree's authors since they are not further specified (musicians, recording engineers, perhaps composers and arrangers). The list of objectives also shows that from the beginning the IF was designed to address two main target groups: specialists (such as ethnomusicologists) and the general public; in contrast, the people who produce folklore (tradition bearers) are implied in the founding document only indirectly and hence appear as a minor concern to the Ministry.

Overall, this list of tasks seems to lead in two major directions: the research of folklore by specialists, and the promotion of that research to the public, something one could perhaps describe as an applied agenda. One may regard such an applied agenda as something unusual for an academic institution, but Brăiloiu always had de facto a similar applied agenda. One of the primary functions of the Society of Romanian Composers SCR, which financed Brăiloiu's archive, had been the promotion of Romanian music. Brăiloiu not only advertised the works of Romanian composers nationally and internationally, but also Romanian folk music and dance, for example in his trips with Romanian folklore groups to London.

Although this applied dimension was not completely new for the Romanian ethnomusicologists, and certainly not for Brauner as Brăiloiu's principal collaborator, this aspect received an unusual emphasis in the Institution's foundational decree, which exemplifies the socialist emphasis on applied work, a trait directly imported from Soviet cultural policy, as I will show later in this chapter.

As a whole, I read this list of objectives as a contract in which folklorists and state officials agree on a mutual exchange: folklorists secured adequate means from the state to carry out research (the decree's first and last objectives, see Table 4.3). In return they agreed to assist the state in the political oversight of folklore in the public sphere (e.g. by organizing ensembles and promoting folklore in the public or facilitating such activities) and among other professional colleagues (e.g. by coaching folklorists according to directives of the political domain or by publishing only politically appropriated materials).

¹⁵⁵ I regard "cadre" here as a technical term in the context of Lenin Marxism which on the surface refers to an organized revolutionary group that promotes the societal reconstruction towards communism. Implicit in this understanding is that cadres follow and implement the policies made by policy makers. In the context of IF's foundation decree, the mentioning of cadres alludes to the leadership claim of the Party and the fact that the Party regards the Institute's folklorists in part as safeguards of a type of folkloristics that corresponds with official cultural policy.

A CONSISTENT REGIME OF STALINIST CULTURAL POLICY?

In his book *Stalinism for all seasons*, Tismaneanu suggests that the political system implemented in Romania after the forced abdication of King Mihai I in December 1947 remained a form of Stalinism until Ceaușescu's demise in 1989 (2004:34). I think one can make a similar argument with respect to Romanian cultural policy. Although many policy changes occurred over the socialist period, fundamental structures and elements of this policy remained consistent and pretty much in the state they were first set up in the Stalinist period. Since my own work is concerned mostly with a single research institution and does not cover all areas of cultural policy, and since there is not yet enough research on socialist cultural politics in Romania, I will not be able to provide a great deal of evidence for my hypothesis as it applies to the Romanian state and its cultural policy in general, but the thesis itself seems important enough to outline it in more detail (in this section). I will supply examples for this hypothesis relating to the Institute's history in the following sections and chapters.

It is not particularly easy to pin down what exactly Tismaneanu means by the term "Stalinism." Sometimes he simply refers to the ideology of the Soviet Union and its satellite states during the historical period of Stalin's lifetime and, more narrowly, to the period in which Romania was most subject to Stalin's influence (c. 1948-1953, e.g. Tismaneanu 2004:26). However, the title of his book implies that a different use of the term "Stalinism" is more important for Tismaneanu. Here "Stalinism" characterizes a political system, or in more Foucauldian terms a style of governmentality, which Tismaneanu also labels "national Stalinism" and which existed for Tismaneanu in Romania for the complete socialist period. Also, he sees this political system not only in Romania, but also in Albania, North Korea, Czechoslovakia after 1968 and the GDR:

[N]ational Stalinism systematically opposed any form of liberalization, let alone democratization. Reactionary and self-centered, it valued autarky and exclusiveness. It adhered to a militaristic vision both domestically and internationally. National Stalinism clung to a number of presumably universal laws of socialist revolution and treated any 'deviation' from these as a betrayal of class principles. It voiced political anguish and played on sentiments of national isolation, humiliation, and panic (Tismaneanu 2004:33).

To be sure, over a period of approximately four decades Romanian cultural policy as a whole was far from completely static. For example certain authors, artists and intellectuals that could not be published (or even mentioned in print) in the early socialist phase could later be published. To give one example, this accounts even for George Enescu, who in the early years of the People's Republic was shunned because he did not return to Romania after World War II (Crotty 2009:3). In later years, however, Enescu was celebrated as Romania's preeminent composer. Similarly, particular terms and concepts were fashionable at certain periods and were less used in others. The ethnomusicologists I have interviewed tend to associate the term "socialist realism" primarily with the early socialist period, less with later decades (Marian-Bălașa, Marin 2013).

Among the most persistent of features of socialist cultural politics in Romania was the fact that culture was not treated as an independent domain, but directed by the Party. In other words, the autonomy of the cultural domain and academic life was severely limited. In particular, the Party decided what proletarian art was appropriate and tended to inhibit or impede everything

else. Not only did the Party claim a position of leadership in all domains of life, including culture, it also acted in an authoritarian way, not tolerating any critique of its position. (cf. Iacob 2009:280–281). Even in phases of relative relaxation, such as in the mid-1960s, when more things could be dealt with in publication, the state apparatus (censorship etc.) which allowed the state to control academia and the arts remained firmly in place.

Another essential and consistent feature of the Stalinist cultural policy regimes is that the state's control was typically not absolute and that the system worked through a mix of encouragements and threats. Accordingly, the Romanian state never attempted to destroy, exclude or replace all intellectuals (including artists and scholars); instead it aimed to include them by offering employment and other opportunities for those who were willing to accept the Party's leadership. I see this feature of socialist cultural policy as an application of Stalin's dictum of the writers as engineers of the soul. With this policy, Stalin advocated for the intellectuals' incorporation as tools for the implementation of political goals. Conversely, intellectuals who did not accept the leadership of the Party were potentially punished, by more or less drastic measures, including public shaming or the withdrawal of career opportunities, such as possibility to publish.

Another feature of the socialist cultural policy regime was its preference for applied work: everything, including the arts and research had to advance the transformation of society. Conversely, the communists considered research for research's sake as decadent (cf. Iacob 2009:280–281). In the socialist lingo of the Stalinist time, academics as well as artists were supposed to assist in the creation of the New Man, i.e. the people of the new society who would eventually be able to bring about communism.

The socialist state created a system of institutions which was supposed to implement its policies. Of course, that in itself is not specific to socialist states. What seems characteristic about the institutional set-up in Stalinist cultural policy is that the institutions were in many ways optimized to enforce the leadership of the Party. Examples include the elimination of competing artists' organizations (cf. Fitzpatrick 1992:196); the surviving artist unions typically acted as the long arm of the state. Another consistent practice which enforced the state's cultural policies was censorship. Censorship happened on many layers and was not just carried out in secret by a single state institution. Every publication was censored and often reviewed for "political correctness" by multiple parties, often including both a state institution, such as the "Propaganda and Agitation Department" (Vasile 2009:366) and a "jury of peers". It seems to have been common practice that individual institutions, such as the Folklore Institute, vouched for the political appropriateness of the publications they published (cf. Marian-Bălașa, Marin 2013):

[T]exts would go through long preliminary stages: the staffs of the institutes or of the specialized department within the [Romanian] Academy, the editorial boards of the specialized journals, and the editorial staffs of the publishing houses which would eventually publish the texts were to verify and vouch for the ideological purity of the writings. The ideological vigilance of staff during these compulsory stages was encouraged by the fearsome cost of any ideological "error" or "deviation." (Papacostea in Crotty 2009:5)

Also, self-censorship played an important role. In a situation where it was difficult to ensure publication, authors were encouraged to comply with policy demands to increase their chances for publication. In effect, the multi-level censorship practically guaranteed that almost only those texts which complied with current policies could be published, and conversely only complicit

intellectuals tended to be able to publish significant texts. Similar selection processes were in place for other art forms. For example, stage performances of folk music were subjected to evaluation by juries. Although these evaluations took place after the fact (the performance), since competitions were organized in hierarchical rounds (i.e. practically repeated), the process usually guaranteed that only complicit artists and performances reached a bigger audience and eventually won prizes, making further distribution on state media and recordings more likely.¹⁵⁶

Another institution that assisted in the implementation of cultural policies was the secret police or Securitate. Although there is presently still not enough research to know the exact extent to which the Securitate affected cultural policy (cf. Deletant 1995:xxxix–xxxii), it seems safe to assume that many of the state's decisions were at least influenced by information gathered by the secret police – for example, which ensemble members were allowed to tour internationally (Pieslak 2007b:12)¹⁵⁷. Correspondingly, intellectuals were generally aware of the potentially ubiquitous surveillance by the state and typically acted accordingly if they wanted to pursue an academic career or travel outside the country.¹⁵⁸

Although the state attempted to control culture completely, its control was not absolute. Firstly, lower state agencies, bureaucrats and intellectuals had some power. As Crotty (2007:156) emphasizes, directives often required interpretation, as can be seen, for example, in the discussions that preceded the Romanian Composers' Union's resolution on music from 1952 (cf. Cosma 1995c, 1995b), where composers argued about and partly determined how socialist realism would be applied to Romanian music. Furthermore, available documentation suggests that the state concentrated on controlling larger events, which reached a bigger audience – particularly in the media, rather than each and every performance.

As far as I can see, the cultural policy regime I describe here was imported to Romania from Soviet models. Additionally, most of these features were implemented in the Soviet Union during Stalin's rule – particularly since the early 1930s and not in Lenin's time, as Fitzpatrick's work richly documents (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1970, 1992). Hence, it seems appropriate to characterize this system of cultural policy as Stalinist, even though this policy regime survived in Romania long after Stalin's death.

SOVIET CULTURAL POLICY AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY'S RELATIVE AUTONOMY

In this first part of the chapter, I dealt with the period in which Romania transitioned from an autocratic right-wing military dictatorship to a Stalinist people's republic and I focused on the history of the referent - who did what and when – more than on conceptual history. In this time span, the Institut de Folclor (IF) was officially founded, continuing the work of several predecessor archives in a new way. I highlighted several aspects surrounding the IF's foundation.

¹⁵⁶ I mean to outline here some of the more evident structures that effected the Institute's ethnomusicologists. When discussing the Institute's individual publications, I will ask in greater detail how far individual authors deviated (and were able to deviate) from the public policies in spite of these structures.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Nixon (1998:xvii, 13, 31, 158, 358, 439) describes more cases where the Securitate interfered with the practice of folk music and its research in and occasionally outside of Romania.

¹⁵⁸ To offer some anecdotal illustration: A violinist of a Romanian classical music ensemble that belonged to the police told me how several members of his ensemble discovered a hidden microphone at one of their rehearsals that they assumed to have been placed there by the Securitate to check on them.

Firstly, I discussed the general political context and its relevance for the Institute's early operations. It is important to note that the transition from one dictatorship to another was not immediate; there was a period of approximately 30 months when Romanian politics still included several parties and in which the communists did not exclusively hold power. In this time, the Soviet Union was a major political player, although it typically acted only behind the scenes and through Romanian communists. After the onset of the Cold War, the Soviet influence was less veiled, but occasionally still rhetorically camouflaged. The Folklore Institute was founded only after Romania became a Stalinist people's republic, so one has to see this foundation in the context of the new state's attempt to re-organize all of its institutions following Soviet blue prints.

Secondly, I described the ordeal of IF's first director, Harry Brauner, who became entangled in Pătrășcanu's removal, conviction, and execution in 1954. My research suggests that Pătrășcanu's involvement in the IF's foundation in 1949 was minimal, even though he may have been involved more substantially in the archive's affairs at an earlier stage. The narrative that the IF was founded based on the personal relationship between this high-ranking politician and idealist and Brauner must be considered a myth. Instead, I suggest that the IF was founded essentially on Soviet directives for the reorganization of the cultural domain. As with other directives from Moscow, there was probably considerable leeway in their implementation. The ethnomusicologists and folklorists at Brauner's Folklore Archive must be credited for positioning their institution in a way that allowed the state to pick them to become Romania's central and most powerful research institution for folklore.

Thirdly, I looked at the founding decree of the IF and interpreted it as a contract between two parties - folklorists on one side, politicians as well as state functionaries on the other – who agreed to cooperate in the political supervision of folklore's research and public practice in exchange for substantial research support and influence over other folklorists and their work. In other words: the price the IF paid for its privileged position was that it had to assist the state in implementing its agenda in the domain of folklore.

Fourthly, I provided a general outline of the means with which the Romanian state implemented and enforced its new cultural policy as a people's republic. I argued that the system of policy implementation was adopted more or less exactly from Stalinist models and remained fairly static until the end of Ceaușescu's rule.

Before proceeding to the next period of the IF's history, I should also note that in terms of ethnomusicology's autonomy, the foundation of the IF marked the reversal of an earlier trend. In Brăiloiu's years, Romanian ethnomusicology (then termed musical folklore) had not only established itself as a semi-autonomous academic field, it had also become increasingly separated from any single "mother discipline", such as folklore studies; as discussed in the previous chapter, musical folklore had a dual identity as a subdiscipline of both folklore and musicology. Under Brăiloiu Romanian ethnomusicology was not institutionally independent of other disciplines to the extent that it could be considered a fully established discipline in its own right, but the relative

autonomization nonetheless peaked in his time.¹⁵⁹ However, while Brăiloiu had moved the study of Romanian folk music more towards musicology and sociology, with the foundation of the IF, Romanian ethnomusicology re-established its position as a subdiscipline of folklore research, a status that was never seriously challenged during the socialist period. Ties to musicology remained - as can be seen in the facts that Romanian ethnomusicology continued to be taught at conservatories and that the IF's ethnomusicologists published in the central musicological journal of socialist Romania, *Muzica* (as discussed below). However, disciplines other than folkloristics and musicology, such as sociology, largely lost their importance for socialist ethnomusicology in Romania.

4.2 Sovietization of ethnomusicology (1950-1955)

In the previous section, I examined the political circumstances surrounding the founding of the Institute in 1949. In this section, I look at the phase during which Sabin Drăgoi had already succeeded Brauner as the IF's director (probably in early 1950¹⁶⁰), but the IF had not yet started its more active phase of publishing. This early phase is characterized by the increasing influence and adoption of Soviet cultural policy. In this early socialist period, the IF did not yet have its own journal and it had a comparatively small output of publications. Judging from the general scarcity of academic publications in this time span – not just in the Institute -, it seems that the period from when the new regime took power late in 1948 to about 1955 was a phase of massive institutional re-organization in the cultural sector according to the Stalinist policies, as already discussed. The few publications that did appear at this time often show compliance with the new political climate of the day, and they tend to target a general audience rather than an exclusively academic one.

A case in point is Beniuc 1953, the earliest folklore anthology published by the Institute. The selection in this anthology embodies the notion of new folklore that was characteristic for the new Soviet-style understanding of folklore (discussed in greater detail below). The booklet includes traditional examples of ballads, legends, and folk songs, but also so-called "new" genres reflecting the lore of the working class (*cîntece muncitorești*) and "new songs" (*cîntece noi*), new composition which explicitly praise socialism. In *Din folclorul nostru* this latter genre is referred to as "*creația nouă*" (lit. new creation, Beniuc 1953:380–381), a term which would be used for decades to come and which I explore in this section.

In contrast to the previous section, my main interest in this one is no longer to outline a history of the referent, but rather to provide an intellectual history. I examine ways in which the Institute's ethnomusicology was transformed according to Soviet models. Like other observers (e.g. Crotty 2007:155, Iacob 2009:255), I use the term "Sovietization" to characterize the transformation of Romanian (cultural) politics according to Soviet models. In the previous section, following Tismaneanu's lead, I used the terms "Stalinism" and "Stalinist" to describe

¹⁵⁹ I believe that similarly the autonomy of ethnomusicology (then typically referred to as comparative musicology) in Germany also peaked in the time before World War II, but this is not the place to elaborate on comparative musicology in Germany and elsewhere.

¹⁶⁰ I know that Drăgoi became director in 1950 (Datcu 1998a:239). I have no information on which day Drăgoi was officially made the IF's director. I assume it was not long after Brauner's arrest in late January 1950.

something similar: to refer, firstly, to the form of government and governmentality established during Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union and, secondly, a policy regime which was developed during the Stalinist period, especially in relation to culture. So while Sovietization and Stalinism may mean different things in other contexts, with respect to Romania where Soviet models were adopted primarily during the Stalinist period, the two terms often denote similar things.

Firstly, I look at the Institute's fifth anniversary celebration to highlight both the political and applied dimension in the Institute's work. Secondly, I outline the Institute's ethnomusicological academic production by looking at the articles published in *Muzica*. Here my interest is mainly comparative: how did ethnomusicological discourse change in the early socialist phase as compared to earlier periods, especially Brăiloiu's time? Thirdly, I outline the concept of "new folk creation" (*nouă creația populară*), which exemplifies an important change in the concept of folklore, characteristic for this period and Stalinist cultural policy. Fourthly, I examine the concept of socialist realism which has recently been used to describe developments in Romania's composed music of the period. I suggest that in this case socialist realism was not only an aesthetic agenda that was applied to the arts; it was also a larger regime of cultural policy that many artists and state employees used as a guideline. As such the concept not only affected composed music, but was also applied to folklore, folk music and folk music research, for example when pieces had to be selected for publication or performance and when criteria were needed to evaluate performances. Fourthly, I look at the establishment of folk orchestras in Romania, mostly through the lens of the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra, which for a brief period belonged to the Folklore Institute.

This section covers only a part of ethnomusicology as produced at the Institute: those parts that I regard as evidently related to new, official notions of folklore. As my final discussion in this section, I suggest that this area can perhaps be described as "new ethnomusicology" – highlighting the particular concept of novelty that was so prevalent in socialist discourses of the time.¹⁶¹

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION (1954)

On May 28, 1954 the IF celebrated the first five years of its existence with a festive gathering at a theater, referred to as "Teatrul C.C.S" in Drăgoi 1954a:5.¹⁶² The speeches and performances of this evening not only celebrated the Institute and its achievements, they also gave representatives of Ministry and the Institute's folklorists the possibility to state their vision of the Institute's legitimation. Furthermore, the event also included several third parties which were involved with the Institute and their comments illustrate their relationship with it.

The event was opened by the renowned composer and folk music collector Tiberiu Brediceanu, then in his late 70s. Afterwards, Drăgoi, as the IF's director, gave a speech in which he "presented [...] the results of Institute's scientific work over the five years of [its] activity, in the domain of collecting and studying musical, choreographic and literary folklore" of Romania (a

¹⁶¹ In subsequent sections of this chapter (4.3 and 4.4) I will predominantly look at those areas of the Institute's ethnomusicological research which attempted to distance themselves from socialist new ethnomusicology.

¹⁶² I am not sure which theater hides behind this abbreviation; perhaps the Workers' Theater (Teatru Muncitoresc C.F.R.) that today is called Odeon.

prezentat [...] rezultatele muncii științifice a Institutului, în cei cinci ani de activitate, în domeniul culegerii și studierii folclorului muzical, coregrafic și literar al patriei noastre, Drăgoi 1954a:5). This quote is remarkable because it is one of the earliest mentions of the three parts of folklore and because music is still mentioned here in the first position.

After Drăgoi, comrade S. Herescu, the vice director of Central House of Folk Creation (Casei Centrale a Creație Populare, CCCP) spoke about the help his institution had received from the IF to guide and develop an arts program for amateurs (ajutorul deosebit pe care acesta l-a dat îndrumării și dezvoltării mișcării artistice de amatori, Drăgoi 1954a:5). The last speaker of the day was Paul Cornea, deputy general director from the Ministry of Culture (director general adjunct în Ministerul Culturii, Drăgoi 1954a:5).

After the speeches, the artistic part of the evening began. Two groups performed: the Ansamblul C.F.R. Giulești (the ensemble of the Romanian Railways from Giulești, a neighborhood in Bucharest) and the Barbu Lăutaru orchestra, which performed together with the well-known folk singer Maria Tănase (cântăreață populară, Drăgoi 1954a:5). The terms "ensemble" and "orchestra" suggest that the former was an ensemble of a smaller size and the latter one consisted of a larger number of musicians.

In the beginning of his speech, Drăgoi quotes almost literally from the founding decree when he refers to the Institute's objectives (Drăgoi 1954a:5), but he mentions only three of the original five: First, the collection and research/study of Romania's folklore; second, the education of specialists and, third, the stimulation of public interest in folklore. Drăgoi silently omits the reproduction of folklore through technical means and the organization of ensembles. Given the strict top-down organization of cultural policy and the censorship regime then in place, one has to assume that this concentration on three objectives was either ordered or sanctioned by the ministry and that the unmentioned objectives were either no longer objectives at all or had a low priority in the mid-1950s.

As mentioned above, Drăgoi also refers to the tripartite division of folklore into musical, choreographic and literary folklore. He explains that the Institute researched dance since 1952 (Drăgoi 1954a:7). Hence I assume that by 1954 the Institute had already three departments, one for each domain (cf. Marian-Bălașa 1999:12). While the IF apparently gained an ethnochoreographic unit in 1952, it also had already lost two other units before the five year anniversary, even though both of them were represented at the anniversary celebrations. One was the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra, named after a famous 19th century *cobza* (short-necked lute) player from Moldavia. It had formally belonged to the Institute, but by 1954 had become associated with a different institution.¹⁶³ As Drăgoi emphasizes, the IF had been instrumental in assisting the orchestra, for example, by researching folk instruments and facilitating the development of a curriculum for teaching folk instruments in Bucharest.

The second institution that had been formed was the Casa Centrale a Creație Populare (CCCP, The Central House of Folk Creation), which oversaw the regional Houses of Cultures that

¹⁶³ At the time of the anniversary celebration the ensemble is referred to as "orchestra 'Barbu Lautaru' a Filarmonicii de Stat" (the orchestra 'Barbu Lăutaru' of the State Philharmonic) Drăgoi 1954a:7a), which indicates that the ensemble was either officially an independent state institution or organizationally part of another state-run orchestra.

offered folklore activities for amateurs. Drăgoi mentions that the IF had been involved in the organization of folk music competitions for amateurs until the CCCP was founded for this purpose (Drăgoi 1954a:8). The CCCP's representative also spoke at the anniversary celebration.¹⁶⁴ Drăgoi indicated that he intended to continue the IF's cooperation with the CCCP on the evaluation of amateur folk music activities, although neither in print sources nor through interviews was I able to find out more details about this cooperation.

In these early institutional changes, the Institute downsized its practical or applied side and expanded its research section, a trend that would continue over the next few years (but one that ended in 1970s when the applied work of the Institute grew more important again (cf. Marian-Bălașa 1999:14). I assume that the Institute's employees continued to be involved in applied matters: producing knowledge which was applicable to the performance of folk music and in organizing or evaluating amateur folklore. Since there are so few traces of these activities, they seem to have been conducted mostly indirectly, such as by advising colleagues (musicians, directors, arrangers) in the other institutions and reviewing their work, or by acting as jurors for competitions that involved professional and amateur ensembles.

In the beginning of his speech, Drăgoi emphasized the Institute's collections, counting 60,000 "folklore pieces" ("piese folclorice" Drăgoi 1954a:5) in the Institute's archive. This is a significant increase from the last known figure: in 1939, the collection was counted at just over 20,000 items (see Annex 9.2). Drăgoi explains the increase in number by the acquisition of several old collections, including, for example, Kiriac's and Brediceanu's collections, and the creation of new recordings during field trips.¹⁶⁵

If one compares Drăgoi's speech with the statement made by Cornea, the representative of the ministry, on the same occasion, one can notice that Cornea elaborated especially on those reasons why the Institute's research was important in the eyes of the government and, based on this perspective, which areas the Ministry "recommended" for the Institute's work. A report on the occasion states:

Felicitind Institutul din partea Ministerului Culturii, tov. Paul Cornea a arătat contribuția însuflețită pe care folcloriștii au adus-o la valorificarea tezaurului artistic ai poporului nostru, făcând ca Institutul de Folclor să devină o instituție de frunte în mișcarea noastră culturală. Ducând o însemnată muncă de *selectionare și studiere* a marilor bogății ale folclorului nostru, Institutul trebuie să-și îndrepte de acum înainte atenția tot mai mult spre *valorificarea* bogățiilor acumulate, pentru a contribui la educarea artistică a maselor de oameni ai muncii. Institutul trebuie să-și îndrepte atenția asupra noii creații populare a cărei însemnătate științifică și practică este deosebită. Folcloriștii trebuie să răspândească în popor rezultatele cercetărilor întreprinse pentru a contribui prin aceasta la formarea concepției noi de viață, la făurirea culturii noastre socialiste. (my emphasis Drăgoi 1954a:5)

Congratulating the [Folklore] Institute on the part of the Ministry of Culture, comrade Paul Cornea showed the inspired contribution that the folklorists had brought to the *evaluation* of the artistic treasure of our people, making the Folklore Institute a leading institution in our cultural movement. Carrying out the significant work of the *selection* and *study* of the great riches of our folklore, the Institute must now turn their attention even more towards *evaluating* accumulated wealth, to contribute to the artistic

¹⁶⁴ I assume that the CCCP was the central institution that oversaw folklore activities for amateurs, located in the houses of culture (case de cultură) and community centers (*cămine culturale*, literary "cultural hearths", cf. Livezeanu 1995:103).

¹⁶⁵ Drăgoi might be counting differently here than in previous statistics so that his numbers would not be directly comparable with earlier accounts. It is conceivable that Drăgoi included not only audio and music recordings, but also written transcriptions as well as representations of non-music items such as legends and fairy tales and even dances.

education of the masses of working people. The Institute should focus its attention on the new folk creations whose scientific and practical significance is immense. The folklorists have to spread among the people the results of the research undertaken to contribute to the formation of a new concept of life, to the building of our socialist culture.

In other words, studying, selecting and evaluating folklore are only a means to an end: the education of the people, which the government regarded as an important precondition for the construction of socialism. One could call this perspective an applied one since its declared objective is not only understanding the world, but actively changing it.

It is also noteworthy that this quote frequently avoids the term "folklore" – it appears only once, while several other phrases such as "artistic treasure of the people", "the great riches of our folklore" and "accumulated wealth" are used to refer to the domain of life that academics call folklore, reflecting the Soviet understanding of folklore as a genre of art that derives its value solely from its art-like features. In this context, its value is not merely nationalistic, as it appeared in the discourse of the 1930s, for example. Folklore is seen here as a valuable resource in the education of the masses. Correspondingly, ethnomusicology is only relevant for the ministry insofar as it facilitates the creation of a new society.

From the activities mentioned here – studying, selecting, evaluating – the third key term, "evaluate" (*valorifica*), requires more elaboration. A present-day dictionary explains "*valorifica*" as "to select from the previous values of a culture those that meet the new requirements of the era" (a selecta din valorile anterioare ale culturii pe acelea care răspund noilor cerințe ale epocii)¹⁶⁶. It seems that the ministry officially and publically stated here that it was not primarily interested in (traditional) folklore, but rather in folklore as an instrument that could be mined for anything that was helpful in bringing about the desired societal and cultural change.

THE IF'S PUBLICATIONS ON MUSIC FROM 1950 TO 1955

To analyze the Institute's intellectual activity in this early phase, I look mainly at the publications of the Institute's employees (ethnomusicologists, musicologists and composers) in the new journal *Muzica*. In Romania, the Composers' Union (later called *Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România*, or The Union of Composers and Musicologists in Romania) had been created by reorganizing the older Society of Romanian Composers in 1950 following the model of the Union of Soviet Composers (Crotty 2007:155). Like its Soviet counterpart, the Romanian Composers' Union was allowed to publish its own journal (established in 1950). Even the name of the Romanian journal *Muzica* was reminiscent of its Soviet equivalent, *Sovetskaya Muzyka*.

When discussing the founding decree of 1949, I already observed two different "voices" in the legal text: one interested in doing traditional ethnomusicology and folklore research, the other in using the Institute to control other folklorists as well as the public image of folklore. In the speeches of the fifth anniversary celebration I found a similar tension: on the one hand the desire to engage more in research and, on the other hand, an applied perspective which emphasizes that both folklore and research on folklore only serve as a means to the end of reconstructing society. These two different directions are also apparent when one compares the

¹⁶⁶ Dex online edition: <http://dexonline.ro/definitie/valorifica>

Institute's publications on music from 1950-55 with ethnomusicological research from earlier periods.

The Institute's ethnomusicology publications in this period (see Annex 7.1.1) contained almost no traditional research grounded in new fieldwork¹⁶⁷. The only publications from this period I was able to find were two articles: a study of a single community in Maramureș (Sulițeanu 1952) and a re-study that followed Bartók's footsteps in the region of Hunedoara (Rodan-Kahane Mariana and Comișel 1955). Additionally, there are several articles which deal with musical aspects on the basis of already existing field collections and historical sources, such as Ciobanu's two-part study of Romanian musical modes and their history (Ciobanu 1954a, Ciobanu 1954b) and Comișel's study of recitative (Comișel 1954). At the fifth anniversary celebration, Drăgoi justified these topics as basic research:

In studiul mijloacelor folosite de poporul nostru pentru a realiza marea măiestrie artistică a cântecelor sale ne străduim acum. să determinăm elementele de bază, melodice și ritmice, ale cântecului popular. Cunoașterea lor ne va apropia în chip substanțial, de una din problemele esențiale ale folcloricității noastre, determinarea specificului național al cântecului nostru popular românesc. (Drăgoi 1954a:6)

In the study of the means used by our people to achieve the great artistic mastery of their songs, we strive now to determine the basic elements, melody and rhythm, of the folk song. Their knowledge will bring us substantially closer to some of the essential problems of our folklore, to determine the national character of our Romanian folk song.

It is remarkable that Drăgoi does not list the more direct and concrete goals, such as providing composers and others (e.g. those who arrange music for folk orchestras) with information on the building blocks of Romanian folk music. Instead Drăgoi refers rather diffusely to the "national character," which does not play an important role in the early socialist period, but rather became a main characteristic of Romanian communism only in the mid-1950s (cf. Tismaneanu). Either Drăgoi was oblivious to this development or he was very much up-to-date.

The greater part of these articles is concerned with a domain that I would like to refer to as "new traditions", particularly the folk orchestra. Performances of folk music in the media (radio, TV etc.) and published recordings do not receive much attention in *Muzica* at this point in time – I assume that at this time the focus of Romanian cultural policy was still to create the new type of folk orchestra which complied with the new Soviet agenda and that this new type of institution was still in the process of gaining more space in the mass media.

Several articles published by the IF's employees discuss folk orchestras directly (Chiriac 1950, Prichici 1954a, Prichici 1954b).¹⁶⁸ Several others provide important background information for the creation of folk orchestras, such as organological studies of folk instruments (Zamfir 1950, Prichici 1952, Niculescu 1954). Another series of articles highlights specific musicians (Prichici 1953); a form of attention traditional peasant musicians typically did not

¹⁶⁷ The practice of fieldwork is not typically discussed in great deal in Romanian ethnomusicological discourse from the 1950s and early 1960s. Fieldwork was an important part of the ethnomusicological paradigm, especially for those who saw themselves in the Brăiloiu's tradition, however, fieldwork did not generally function along the lines established by Malinowski, where a single researcher stays long-term (one year and longer) in one small community. Instead, the Institute's ethnomusicologists engaged in repeated short-term trips, often in groups of researchers, a pattern that was established or popularized in Romania D. Gusti.

¹⁶⁸ Constantin Gheorghe Prichici (1911-1977) headed the IF's research on Moldova from 1950 to 1959. Later he worked as musical folklorist and musical secretary of the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra (1964-68, Datcu 1998a:174).

receive before World War II.¹⁶⁹ Another series of articles discusses competitions and performances of new ensembles (Prichici 1954b, Alexandru 1955a, Alexandru 1955b).

Apart from the focus on new traditions, other trends or characteristics of early socialist ethnomusicology become visible in this list of articles. Firstly, there is a heightened interest in the past, illustrated, for example, by Ciobanu, who suggested a history of Romanian modes (Ciobanu 1954a, Ciobanu 1954b); Kahane's and Comișel's restudy of Bartók's work decades earlier (Rodan-Kahane Mariana and Comișel 1955); and the Institute's only book-length publication on music from this period, Pann 1955, a critical re-edition of Anton Pann's work from the mid-19th century. A second trend can be observed in the fact that Pann's book can be published in the 1950s, a remarkable occurrence not only because it is a historic text, but also because – as discussed in chapter 3 – its publication implies that the identity politics of the day were more open towards cultural diversity and less xenophobic and ethnocentric than in earlier times, when Pann tended to be shunned for his connections with Roma musicians. The fact that Bartók's work and another book-length anthology on Hungarian folk music from region of Moldavia can be discussed here points in the same direction (Iagamaș and Farago [1954?], cf. Comișel 1955). It is surprising that the 1950s, an era of fear for many inhabitants of Romania, with the Securitate terrorizing the population, with thousands – perhaps tens of thousands – of political prisoners working and often dying in Romanian labor camps, also produced a phase of Romanian folklore research that was culturally more diverse and inclusive than previous periods.¹⁷⁰

A third important change was that now, alongside the artistic production of the peasants, the artistic production of the urban proletariat was also considered folklore and sometimes referred to as "nouă creația populară" (new folk creation, discussed below). Fourthly, in these articles, especially those on new traditions, there was an emphasis on Romanian folklore on a national level, largely downplaying regional variants. If one disregards reviews of other publications, only the articles (Sulițeanu 1952) and (Rodan-Kahane Mariana and Comișel 1955) have a decided regional focus; all other publications cover Romania as a whole. This is certainly also the context in which the folk orchestra is discussed. Chiriac (1950:41) mentions that there are regional variations in instrumentation and style of music, but by and large his article remains national in scope, rather than focusing on ensembles of a particular region. Similarly, several articles deal with international competitions (e.g. Alexandru 1955a). In these contexts, Romanian folk music is something that represents the nation as a whole, like a national sports team competing with a team from a different nation.

Few non-Romanian places are referenced in my list of the Institute's publications, and those that are belong to communist countries (Warsaw, Ukraine, China). This fact merely reflects the

¹⁶⁹ As discussed below in greater detail, there was a pre-World War II tradition of folk music mediated by the radio and other means and in this area there existed a kind of stardom that propelled individual performers, as evidenced by Maria Tănase. However, village musicians did not typically have their biographies published in print.

¹⁷⁰ It seems that this new openness was an effect of a Stalinist governmentality. The new Soviet mode of government understood itself as opposite of fascism and hence emphasized itself as anti-nationalistic and anti-racist, at least rhetorically and for a certain period. However, if in practice and in Romania such policies were more than mere lip service is not particularly clear. It has often been noted that Stalin himself did not strictly comply with this policy and especially in his last years may have in fact have showed anti-Semitic tendencies in his own actions (cf. Levy 2001:178).

political realities of Cold War. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that the dominant role that the Soviet Union played in those days on the political stage was not more clearly visible in this body of publications. The only articles that refer directly to the Soviet Union and its culture are the commemoration of composer M. Glinka (Sachelarie 1954) and a report from a competition in the Ukraine (Drăgoi 1954b). This is just one expression of the more general pattern according to which the Soviet Union's dominance over most of Eastern Europe was discursively camouflaged.

NEW SONG AND NEW FOLKLORE

To research not only the folklife of Romanian peasants but also the "artistic production" (*creația artistică*) or "folk creation" (*creația populară*) of the working class was a new trait for Romanian folklore research in the socialist period, implementing general Marxist assumption that the proletariat consists of workers and peasants, as represented in the hammer and sickle.¹⁷¹ The abrupt addition of non-peasant folklore to the research agenda meant a radical departure from the understanding of folklore that had been established in the 19th century in Romania under the national matrix. Such a radical change in the central notion of folklore research did not go unnoticed and in fact required explicit justification. Drăgoi, as the IF's director, addressed this topic several times in publication, including an article devoted exclusively to this topic (Drăgoi 1951b)

Creația populară ("folk creation", lit. "popular creation"), which could also be translated as "the creation of the people", had already been used as a synonym for folklore (as a domain of life and not as a discipline) in the decree that founded the IF, and it was also used in Brăiloiu's days (e.g. Brăiloiu 1998-99:14, Brăiloiu 1931a:5). If there is a difference in the earlier use, it is that in the 1930s it was used only occasionally to describe the object of folklore research, while in the 1950s this term was used with greater frequency and systematically as a synonym for folklore.¹⁷²

In the early publications of the IF, folk creation was often specified by the addition of the attribute "new." New refers here to changes since the so-called liberation (*eliberare*) of August 1944, which supposedly ended not only the fascist dictatorship in Romania, but also the rule of the bourgeoisie, and which signifies the beginning of the rule of the proletariat in the official socialist version of history.

That this version of history is not factual¹⁷³ matters little and perhaps even distracts from more relevant questions in this context – much as it does not really matter if anthropologists of religion believe in the religion they study. Contemporary ethnomusicology discourse refers to this version of history, which was based on the conviction that radical societal change had already taken place since August 1944 in Romania and would continue to take place until the state of communism was reached, with surprising frequency.

¹⁷¹ Today, sometimes the term "urban folklore" is used to refer to non-peasant folklore in Romania.

¹⁷² I wonder if the term "*creația populară*" was also used as the Romanian translation of a similar term in Soviet folkloristics.

¹⁷³ Highlighting August 1944 as an important date downplays the transitional period in which the multi-party system still functioned in Romania and, perhaps more importantly, this perspective suggests that the working-class had political power, while de facto the political power was almost completely in the hands of the politburo, which in turn was dependent on the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Drăgoi, for example, elaborated on this view of history in the fifth anniversary speech (Drăgoi 1954a:6), as well in several other publications (such as Drăgoi 1951b), and he derived his understanding of folklore from this socialist version of history.

Cântecul noi reflectă omul nou, liber, omul conștient de marea victorie obținută de clasa muncitoare, dar și de marile obligații pe care le are în făurirea unei vieți mai bune, omul care merge înainte cu optimism, cu încredere în puterile lui și în viață. (Drăgoi 1951b:15)

The new songs reflect the New Man, the free man who is conscious of the great victory obtained by the working class, but also conscious of the great obligation to create a better life, a man who goes forward with optimism and faith in his powers and his life.

If folklore mirrors the living conditions of the people, and if these had been substantially changed since August 1944, when the working class ("popor muncitor", literally the working people) began its rule of Romania, folklore also had to change. An example of these new kinds of folklore are "new songs," i.e. songs that were created after August 1944 and which praise socialism:

In zilele noastre, în perioada lichidării orânduirii burgheze și de construire a socialismului, au apărut mugurii unei creații de cîntece noi, care reflectă, în conținutul lor, lupta conștientă organizată și hotărîtă dusă de poporul nostru muncitor, sub conducerea Partidului Muncitoresc Român pentru croirea unei vieți mai bune. (Drăgoi 1954a:6b)

In these times [literally: our days], a period of the bourgeois élite's liquidation and [the time of] socialism's construction, the buds of the creation of new songs have appeared. These songs reflect in their content the consciously organized and decisively led fight of our working class for the making of a better life, carried out under the leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party.

Also, the old concept of folklore – according to which folklore was only the folklife of Romanian peasants – was now suspicious in the eyes of the socialists because it originated from an era in which the bourgeoisie controlled the proletariat. In the new era, folklore should no longer be restricted to the folk creation of peasants, but should also include the intellectual products of its urban, working-class population:

[C]reația nouă de astăzi crește pe solul fundului tradițional, aducînd în partea poetică imagini, idei și sentimente legate de construirea socialismului iar în melodică un suflu larg de energie și optimism [...] Cercetarea acestei creații noi constituie o preocupare de seamă a Institutului nostru (Drăgoi 1954a:6b)

Today's new creation grows on traditional soil, bringing in the poetic images, ideas and sentiments related to the building of socialism and in the melody a wide breath of energy and optimism [...] The research of this new creation is a chief concern of our Institute (Drăgoi 1954a:6 b)

This argument concerning new creation consists of two points, one of which does not necessarily rely on a socialist worldview or socialist understanding of history: the idea that folklore continually changes and that, correspondingly, new forms have to be part of the study of folklore. On its own, such an argument must have been plausible for somebody like Brăiloiu, who had recognized that industrialization and modernization had significantly changed Romania and peasant life. In his "Outline" (originally published in 1932 in French), Brăiloiu similarly argues in favor of studying present-day folklore. After comparing two different rural informants – one clearly affected by modernization – he concludes:

A new rural generation has thus emerged and, far from simplifying our task, it has, on the contrary, aggravated the situation. The fact is that it does not mark the end of all folk creation [creația populară], at least folk music, as one might think. As in Hungary and perhaps in other countries of Eastern Europe which are least explored, a modern folk music style has been born in Romania. (Brăiloiu 1984d:393)

Studying new forms created by peasants as the result of modernization was therefore conceivable in Romanian folklore paradigms already when Brăiloiu's was still head of Folklore Archive. In contrast, the idea that folklore should not only include the lore of the peasants, but systematically also that of the urban working class, was a greater break with the tradition of folklore research - something the Foucault of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* might call a rupture. Before the advent of the socialist period such a position was never maintained by an important musical folklorist in Romania. Around 1950 this position suddenly became the official position, maintained, backed and enforced by the state and its institutions in a hegemonic way.

From a present-day perspective, the publications of the IF in its first years were almost obsessed with new folk creation. Early anthologies of the Institute such as *Din Folclorul Nostru* (Beniuc 1953) included new songs and working-class songs. Yet Drăgoi criticizes his own Institute for not doing enough for new folklore and the representative of the Ministry of Culture echoes this criticism in his own statement (Drăgoi 1954a:9). Judging by these criticisms, the IF was pushing the envelope by focusing too much on traditional peasant folklore and not enough on new urban folklore. It seems that if one can find the folklorists resisting political pressures at all, one would find it in this area, where they attempted to avoid researching new folklore and concentrated instead on more traditional forms of peasant folklore.

SOCIALIST REALISM

The notion of socialist realism originated in the Soviet Union in the early 1930s. The 1932 Party resolution titled "On the reconstruction of literary and artistic organizations" (23 April 1932) had, according to Boris Schwarz and his classic study of Soviet musical life, ushered in a new age in Soviet cultural policy, one which "signified the end of an era of flexibility, and inaugurated one of regimentation" (Schwarz 1973:110). In the musical domain, the new age led to the creation of a single professional organization representing the composers and musicologists, the Union of Soviet Composers (Schwarz 1973:110).¹⁷⁴

In 1934, the Congress of Soviet Writers "approved [s]ocialist [r]ealism as the only art appropriate to the 'building of communism'" (Harrison and Wood in Zhdanov 2003:426). Andrei Zhdanov, as Stalin's chief cultural commissar, delivered the keynote address at the 1934 Congress in which he developed the concept of socialist realism that Maxim Gorky had outlined in an earlier essay (Schwarz 1973:110, cf. Sandu-Dediu 2007:179).

Although Zhdanov borrowed the term "socialist realism" from Gorky, in his own speech on the topic the reference to Stalin is perhaps more important:

Comrade Stalin has called our writers engineers of human souls. What does this mean? [...] In the first place, it means knowing life so as to be able to depict it truthfully in works of art, not to depict it in a dead, scholastic way, not simply as 'objective reality,' but to depict reality in its revolutionary development. In addition to this, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic portrayal should be combined with the ideological remoulding and education of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism. This method in *belles lettres* and literary criticism is what we call the method of socialist realism. (Zhdanov 2003:427-428)

¹⁷⁴ Earlier I referred to this regime of cultural policy as the Stalinist paradigm because it replaced the older regime that had been established under Lenin, although the 1932 change in cultural policy came about 10 years after Stalin took over power as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the context of socialist cultural policy, with its top-down power structure, there is no doubt that truthfulness (and by implication realism) refers not to just any reality, but to a version of reality which complies with a socialist worldview and understanding of history: in other words, socialist realist art was de facto supposed to show the world how it should be according to a certain political worldview. The second point Zhdanov emphasizes here is that of an ideological and educational component. Socialist realism has an educational purpose that is openly acknowledged: it is supposed to bring political thought to the people.

In this early speech, which basically implemented socialist realism as cultural policy, several other features of socialist realism – most notably heroism and optimism - were already present, as in the following passage:

Our literature is optimistic [...] in essence, because it is the literature of the rising class of the proletariat, the only progressive and advanced class. Our Soviet literature is strong by virtue of the fact that it is serving a new cause – the cause of socialist construction. (Zhdanov 2003:427)

Another characteristic of socialist realism that is already present in this early speech is the advocating of traditional approaches in literature over modernistic experimentation, which can be observed when Zhdanov encourages writers to draw on techniques and styles from all eras of literature:

You have many different types of weapons. Soviet literature has every opportunity of employing these types of weapons (genres, styles, forms and methods of literary creation) in their diversity and fullness, selecting all the best that has been created in this sphere by all previous epochs. (Zhdanov 2003:428)

This embrace of the literary tradition (in contrast to literary modernism) already foreshadows the later ostracism of formalism, but it is perhaps noteworthy that the term "formalism" is not yet present in Zhdanov's 1934 speech.

Initially, socialist realism expressly referred to literature and literature only, but like other cultural policies, Soviet officials sought to apply the same principles to other arts. This process of transfer was not always uncomplicated and it took a while for composers, censors, and officials to develop an understanding of socialist realism in music.

After the Writers' Congress of 1934, the process of adapting socialist realism to music stood at the forefront of musicological discourse. Schwarz quotes, for example, from an article entitled "On the problem of socialist realism in music" by the critic Gorodinsky from the first issue of the journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka* in 1934:

The main attention of the Soviet composer must be directed towards the victorious progressive principles of reality, towards all that is *heroic, bright, and beautiful*. This distinguishes the spiritual world of Soviet man and must be embodied in musical images full of beauty and strength. Socialist Realism demands an implacable struggle against folk-negating modernistic directions that are typical of the decay of contemporary bourgeois art, against subservience and servility towards modern bourgeois culture. (Gorodinsky quoted by Schwarz 1973:114, my emphasis)

One can see from this quote that already at this early point in the debate the antagonism between socialist realism and what soon would be called formalism stood at the center of the debate on socialist realism in music. Another new element is the identification of socialist realism with a folk tradition. Other features of socialist realism mentioned in this quote, such as heroism, appear to have been merely copied from the earlier debates on literature.

That the application of socialist realism as a cultural policy regime to music was not uncomplicated and unambiguous, that this process lasted some time and required clarification, is perhaps best illustrated by the Soviet state's treatment of Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*. The opera premiered in 1934 and initially received positive reviews both inside the Soviet Union and outside. However, in 1936, the newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) published an anonymous, virulent attack condemning the opera for its "deliberately dissonant, confused stream of sound [...] fragments of melody, embryonic phrases" (Schwarz 1973:123).. It is believed that Stalin and Zhdanov saw the opera performed just days before the review in *Pravda* appeared, and already at the time it was rumored that the review was written by Stalin himself, although later commentators also entertained the possibility that it was formulated by Zhdanov.

Instead of *Lady Macbeth*, Stalin favored Ivan Dzerzhinsky's opera *The Quiet Don* and promoted it as a model for the Soviet opera. The composer explained Stalin's approval of his opera:

such an [classical Soviet] opera should be emotionally inspiring, and the melodic inflections of folk music should be widely used. The music ought to make use of the latest devices of musical techniques, but its idiom should be close to the masses, clear and accessible (Schwarz 1973:144).

The quasi-official rejection of *Lady Macbeth* and the endorsement of *The Quiet Don* indicated to the musical community how far-reaching the official rejection of musical formalism and complexity was. Schwarz attests to the "deliberate simplification of the musical idiom" in Dzerzhinsky's work. Some contemporaries judged it even more harshly. The composer Asafiev, for example, speaking of Soviet opera in the 1930s sees "over-simplification" and a "dry, primitive, and naturalistic presentation prose speech set to intervals" in *The Quiet Don*. He continues,

Rhythm became monotonous. The constant use of the marching step of the mass song, the inevitable scheme [...] of the rousing finale, turned into a cliché of the choral mass song expression of heroic emotions (Asafiev quoted by Schwarz 1973:145).

Even without entering into a detailed debate of Soviet discourse at this time, it becomes clear that the state and its cultural policy apparatus favored the simplicity of mass songs in Soviet opera and other musical genres. Some composers argued not against Soviet ideals in general, but for greater freedom to employ a more diverse set of forms and styles and a greater level of complexity. It seems that Prokofiev's remark that "Formalism is music that people don't understand at first hearing" (quoted by Schwarz 1973:115) is more than a humorous oversimplification, but actually refers to one of the core aesthetic principles of socialist realism in music, that of extreme accessibility.

In the 1930s, Schwarz also sees the beginning of a national turn in Soviet policy coinciding with a new view of history in which "the glory of Russia was restored [and] the tsars were re-evaluated" (Schwarz 1973:115). Correspondingly, socialist realist music was expected to include patriotic elements. Also, in the course of applying socialist realism to music, program music became a hallmark of musical socialist realism, while absolute music tended to be regarded as an outdated device of the bourgeoisie (Schwarz 1973:221).

During World War II the enforcement of cultural policy was not a priority. However, in August 1946 Zhdanov became Stalin's point man for cultural affairs (Schwarz 1973:205) and

enforcement of socialist realism, essentially as defined in the 1930s, became a priority again. The period up to Zhdanov's unexpected death in 1948 became known as *Zhdanovshchina*. In this period Zhdanov initiated four new resolutions for different arts: literature, theater, film and music. The resolution on music, published on 10 February 1948, was entitled *On the opera Velikaya Druzhiba by V. Muradeli*. On the surface it mostly discussed a specific work by the composer Muradeli, but the musical community of the Soviet Union understood it as a much broader warning not to experiment with formalist devices (Schwarz 1973:213–223). After Zhdanov's death, his policies essentially remained in place until Stalin's death in 1953. Later transformations of socialist realism and Soviet cultural policies had little if any effect on Romania.

During this period, resolutions and other official publications or speeches often contained personal attacks against individual composers or musicologists, who then had to publically declare their errors and to swear to follow Soviet ideals in the future. Both in the Soviet Union and Romania, the procedure was applied so often that it became formulaic, reminiscent of rituals in traditional culture. The most important composers and a large portion of musicologists were subjected to such treatment during the *Zhdanovshchina* (Schwarz 1973:249). Hence Schwarz describes the effect of the *Zhdanovshchina* as "the complete subjugation of Soviet intellectual life" (Schwarz 1973:206), a process that reminded participants and observers of the Stalinist purges of the 1930s.

The idea that artists must work in the service of the party was not new – it had been around since Lenin's time and perhaps for even longer, but the extent to which the musical community was forced to implement socialist realism as the *only* state-sanctioned aesthetic program during the *Zhdanovshchina* was unprecedented in the Soviet Union. The state was not simply showing a preference for what it considered proletarian art (as had been the case until 1932); the state essentially forced a fairly specific and limited aesthetic program on all artists of the whole country.

Crotty, Sandu-Dediu, and others have shown that socialist realism was a relevant concept for composed music in Romania and that it dominated cultural policy especially for composed music in the period between 1948 to the mid-1950s (Crotty 2007:156, Sandu-Dediu 2007:177). This holds true even though I cannot find the phrase "socialist realism" in Romanian discourse in this period. I regard the avoidance of the term as the familiar camouflaging of Soviet influence in parts of Romanian discourse, which was presumably undertaken to conceal the quasi-colonial influence the Soviet Union or rather its leadership had on Romania and other satellite countries in this period.

In spite of these camouflaging practices, the Soviet resolution on music from 1948 was translated into Romanian in the same year and in 1952 the president of the Romanian Composers' Union, Socor, put another similar resolution into practice. Both the second resolution itself and the discussion preceding its adoption (later reprinted as Cosma 1995c and Cosma 1995b) followed Soviet models to the letter: program music, patriotism, and influences from folk music were welcomed; cosmopolitanism, formalism, mysticism, and Western decadence were condemned. The Romanian discussion took the same form as its Soviet predecessor: several Romanian composers were singled out and condemned based on these values.

One example is the composer Mihail Andricu (1894-1974), who had contacts in the West and was influenced by contemporary music from the West. In 1959 he was sent before a revolutionary tribunal and subsequently declared an enemy of the Romanian people. He was expelled from the Romanian Academy and the Composers' Union; he lost his job at the conservatory and his works were no longer performed. Andricu was later rehabilitated, but only after going through a ritual where he had to publically admit his guilt and promise improvement (Sandu-Dediu 2007:184, Crotty 2007:168).

Perhaps it is noteworthy that today's commentators disagree about the most salient features of socialist realism. Sandu-Dediu, for example, highlights the fact that socialist realism was conceived as an alternative, progressive modernism, while the works of the Western modernism were viewed as reactionary. The two conflicting understandings of what was progressive are reminiscent of other well-known, rivaling definitions of terms during the Cold War, such as "democracy." Sandu-Dediu also points at the perceived fundamental opposition between the capitalist and socialist systems as an important characteristic of socialist realism, especially under Zhdanov. In her words, there was: "a perpetual opposition between bourgeois art (subordinated to capitalist money and illustrating the 'putrefaction of decadence') and another, proletarian art (humanistic and progressive)" (Sandu-Dediu 2007:179).

Boris Groys focuses on style rather than East-West conflicts. Referring mainly to the visual arts in the Soviet Union, Boris Groys stresses the fact that, in contrast to earlier trends in Soviet cultural policy, socialist realism encouraged the use of artistic tradition and a plurality of styles. However, as shown above for the Soviet opera, this wide spectrum of musical styles and techniques was only permissible as long as the result was easily accessible.

Joel Crotty, in turn, emphasizes the importance of the localization of policy. He notes that although socialist realism was conceived originally on a political level and imposed on composers and other artists, there was considerable leeway in the interpretation of the directives, so that at first Soviet composers and musicologists and later their Romanian counterparts had some agency in the application of the doctrine to their field.

For some observers socialist realism is a general aesthetic program; others treat it as very concrete set of concepts, not unlike a musical style; and still others treat socialist realism more like a cultural policy regime that is institutionally sustained. As my discussion of the concept's introduction in the Soviet Union shows, it became more concrete over time: both the state and its institutions as well as the artists continually determined, negotiated and learned over time what socialist realism meant in their domain.

While it may seem that I have arrived at an unusual, superficial and perhaps eclectic notion of socialist realism, I have actually generalized the notion in the attempt to capture what "socialist realism" meant in relation to Romanian music and Romanian folk music. Taking this more general view, one can see how the concept was applied not only to classical music but also to folk orchestras and other new traditions in Romania. Yet considering that this term meant different things for different people at different times, it might be helpful to briefly recapitulate my findings. Firstly, I refer here to a Soviet discourse, but in a selective and perhaps a superficial way: I highlight only the Stalinist period (1930s-1953), because Romania imported the respective policies primarily during the early Cold War period. I rely mostly on two observers and two

somewhat dated studies: Boris Groys and his study of Stalin's cultural policy (Groys 1992) and Boris Schwarz's classic analysis of Soviet musical life (Schwarz 1973). This selection is sufficient for my purposes, considering that I am interested here not in a detailed analysis of socialist realism, but a basic understanding of this notion within the Soviet cultural policy regime of a certain era. These sources provide enough detail to show that the Romanian system was in large part modeled after Soviet examples. I find Groys's perspective especially helpful in the way that he does not accept the traditional limitation to the aesthetic realm. Accordingly, I did not try to describe socialist realism as an aesthetic program, but rather as a cultural policy regime that at times inferred or implied an aesthetic program. While this decision means that I risk discussing the same criteria for socialist realism that I already described for Stalinist cultural policy, because socialist realism had a hegemonic and unrivalled position within Soviet cultural policy, this duplication seems no major distraction or distortion. In sum, I consider the following features essential to socialist realism:

Firstly, the purpose of socialist realist art was to facilitate a transformation of society that would bring about communism. Secondly, ultimately the Communist Party insisted upon steering culture (art) itself. Thirdly, under the motto of artists as engineers of the soul, artists were "invited" to participate in the project of socialist transformation; the possibilities to resist this "invitation" varied over time. Fourthly, although socialist realist works were supposed to be realistic (i.e. to represent reality accurately), they were de facto supposed to represent the Party's vision of reality. Typically, socialist realist music often expressed uncritical praise of socialism, a celebration of the proletariat's heroic victory and a bright future. In short: a utopian world consisting only of beauty and without conflict. Fifthly, socialist realism encouraged the use of existing art and musical traditions (styles, techniques etc.) in the construction of new socialist realist art (music). There was a de facto emphasis on traditional and accessible art, although socialist realism regarded itself as a superior form of modernism and a rejection of Western modernist flavors which were rejected as formalism.

While particularly in composed music, socialist realism meant a rejection of formalism, it seems that accusations of formalism were no major issue for the new traditions of folk music in Romania, such as the folk orchestra. But in as much as one can regard the rejection of formalism as the flipside of the preference for accessibility, one can say that this criterion was also applied to folk music. Similarly, one can observe the socialist realist preference for the bright, the heroic and the beautiful in folk music as much as in art music: here, this preference corresponds mainly to the emphasis of upbeat genres such as songs and dances.

ROMANIAN FOLK ORCHESTRAS AND THE INSTITUTE IN THE STALINIST PERIOD (1949-53)

In Romania, as elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc, folk orchestras were a principal means of musically embodying Soviet and Stalinist cultural policy.¹⁷⁵ These ensembles are pertinent to the current discussion not only for that reason, however, but also because one of the country's first folk

¹⁷⁵ Nercessian, for example, writes that "[t]he emergence of folk orchestra [in Armenia] may be understood [in part] as a product of Marxist-Leninist ideology" (2000:82, cf. Buchanan 1995:388).

orchestras, the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra¹⁷⁶, formally belonged to the IF in its early period (ca. from the Institute's foundation in 1949 to 1952 or 1953, Marian-Bălașa 1999:12).

While for other countries in Eastern Europe like Bulgaria folk orchestras and other large ensembles, such as choirs and dance ensembles, were the focus of intensive scholarship since around the time of the fall of the Iron Curtain (e.g. Buchanan 1991, Shay 2002), for Romania such research is almost completely missing and rare to this day. Likewise, in Romania journalists and other researchers seem relatively unconcerned with assembling reliable and verifiable information about socialist ensembles. This neglect of the topic makes it difficult to provide even basic facts, such as when a particular recording was made or published (many Romanian records from the socialist period carry no date). Often the history of specific ensembles is shrouded in mystery: one source reports that a certain ensemble was disbanded at a certain point in time, another provides credible proof that the same ensemble existed decades later. Even biographic information concerning major artists in this movement is not readily available.

This lack of information is in part explained by the fact that the state ensembles and even their leading artists were not considered folklorists and hence were not typically covered in the scholarly encyclopedias and other reference publications. A case in point is that of Gheorghe Popescu-Județ and his wife Eugenia, both important dancers and among the most influential choreographers for professional folk dance ensembles between ca. 1949 and 1970 (cf. Forner 2003). He was born in 1911 in the village Beleți-Negrești in the Muscel region but spent part of his childhood in Bucharest, where he attended school. He became a successful dancer who performed folk dances on stage in the 1930s and 1940s. From 1935-46, he was the "leader and dancer" (Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress) with the ensemble Alunelul (The Hazelnut), with which he toured nationally and internationally. During World War II, he led a dance ensemble in the Romanian Army.

In the Romanian People's Republic (i.e. after 1948), Popescu-Județ continued his career as a dancer, teacher, choreographer and ensemble leader in a more professional context. Together with his wife, he won the first prize for character dance in the International Dance Competition at Prague (Popescu-Județ, Popescu-Județ, and Roncevic 1979) in 1950, indicating that he had mastered the Soviet style now associated with the Moiseyev dance ensemble (Giurchescu 2013). In 1949, Gheorghe Popescu-Județ also became one of several lead choreographers for the ensemble Ciocîrlia, a function he fulfilled until 1970. The Ciocîrlia ensemble belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerului Afacerilor Interne, Forner 2003).

Although the couple engaged in substantial field research to produce and arrange new choreographies over a period of more than a decade, neither of them has an entry in Datcu's fairly comprehensive *Dicționarul etnologilor Români* (Dictionary of Romanian Ethnologists Datcu 1998a, Datcu 1998b). Anca Giurchescu explains that the Popescu-Județes were and still are not considered folklorists and hence do not belong in this publication (Giurchescu 2013), even though

¹⁷⁶ In the Grove Music Online, the ensemble's name is translated as "Barbu Lăutaru Folk Music Orchestra" (Cosma). I prefer the simpler name and translation as used in the CD "Rapsodia Romina: Monitor presents the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra in Hora Staccato and Other Rumanian Dances", a 2007 facsimile re-issue of an LP from the 1960s which was released in cooperation with Romania's Electrecord.

Eugenia Popescu-Județ later in her life, after emigrating to the United States, published scholarly articles and books on a variety of topics, including Romanian folklore.

Not only are available sources on folk orchestras limited, additionally it is possible that some Romanians reject the idea that part of their folklore has been influenced by the Soviet Union. In any case, I found it difficult to prove Soviet influence on folk orchestras using only recent printed material from Romania. Instead, I had to draw on interviews and the opinions of Romanians who emigrated decades ago as well as the recent work of non-Romanian researchers. This fact may point to a systematic avoidance of topics that are related to folk orchestras. It could be that many Romanian ethnomusicologists and others do not want to be associated with their applied work during the socialist period. If that were the case, my work on applied aspects of practicing ethnomusicology in the socialist period would be regarded as critical and rejected for this reason. But I do not want to engage in excessive speculation. My work is not primarily concerned with folk orchestras and their present-day repercussions, or the contemporary reasons why folk orchestras, applied work and Soviet influences may be controversial today in Romania. However, I do want to mention these possible complications since they help to explain the unusually eclectic use of sources that I discuss in this section.

Specifically, I discuss the *taraf* as well as other early 20th century ensembles performing on stages and the radio as some of the folk orchestra's predecessors. Further, my discussion of the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra is based on how it was represented in the Institute's discourse and on an album of their recordings that was published in 1962. Lastly, I discuss Eugenia and Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's work. While their work relates primarily to folk dance ensembles, not folk orchestras, since these dance ensembles often rehearsed and performed together with folk orchestras, they were intimately entwined with them, and can be viewed as a related case.

Let me also state that I use the term "folk orchestra" as the translation of the Romanian "orchestra populară;" more specifically, I use this term as it was used between the early and the mid-1950s – the period in which a folk orchestra belonged to the IF. Before this period, the term did not exist in Romania (as far as I can tell similar ensembles did exist, but were not referred as such). Afterwards with decreasing Soviet influence both the musical practice of folk orchestras and the term's connotations may well have changed again. As with every definition, other definitions are possible, but my choice suits my topic as it highlights Soviet influences.

Before the socialist period, ensembles types that had played traditional music in Romania included the *taraf* (pl. *tarafuri*), a small ensemble which in the 19th century often included several violins, a *nai* (panflute), and a *cobza* (short-neck lute), as depicted in Figure 4.1. The musicians of a *taraf* are often called *lăutari* (sg. *lăutar*). The term "lăutar" is sometimes explained solely as a social category (ie. no ethnic category), referring to a professional musician of traditional music (e.g. Alexandru 1975a:6). For many Romanians in past and present the term also implied and still implies a Roma ethnicity. From the discrepancy of the two notions - one defined strictly as a professional group, the other as an ethnic group - it follows that not everyone referred to as *lăutar* is of Roma ethnicity. Understanding "lăutar" as a label merely for a professional group seems to have been the official understanding of the term for all or most of the socialist period, while I believe that many Romanians continued to read this term as a marker of ethnic identity, even where this was not said or written explicitly. To be clear, I argue that official definitions (those

that were either made by officials or high-ranking folklorists in contexts that implied political endorsement) were de facto disregarded by folklorists and other interested parties, such as the general public.

In previous centuries, *tarafuri* often performed for boyars (nobility, local rulers) as well as in urban and rural settings (Cosma 1996:7). As elsewhere, the emerging folklorists in 19th century Romania were not particularly interested in the music performed for the nobility and hence it is not surprising that Romanian folklorists did not discuss *tarafuri* extensively. In fact, the 19th century folklorists in Romania and elsewhere rarely discussed instrumental folk music at all, preferring vocal genres such as ballads. However, even in the first decades of the 20th century *tarafuri* and *lăutari* found relatively little reflection in Romanian folkloristics. If *lăutari* were discussed at all, researchers often focused on a single musician rather than an ensemble and pejorative treatment of Roma in Romanian folkloristics seems to have been the rule rather than the exception (as illustrated in the examples discussed in Chapter 3). That the relative omission of *tarafuri* and Roma musicians in presocialist scholarship may have been caused by Romanian researchers and their nationalistic or racial conceptions in the context of the national matrix is not an unreasonable assumption, although a more detailed study might be necessary to prove this point.

Figure 4.1: Historical depiction of a taraf (c. 19th century)



The inscription reads "Taraf de lăutari". The ensemble is made up of a *nai* (panflute), three violinists and a *cobză* (a short-necked lute played with plectrum). The Library of the Romanian Academy as the institution holding this item speculates that the *cobza* player is Barbu Lăutaru (Vasile Barbu). Source: Library of the Romanian Academy.

With the advent of the socialist period, the situation changed considerably. For example, in his speech for the Institute's fifth anniversary, Drăgoi considered the topic of *lăutari* and their relationship to Romanian folk music important enough to be included in the summary of the Institute's activities:

O problemă care a preocupat și mai preocupă încă pe muzicienii noștri este aceea a folclorului lăutăresc folosit adesea în creațiile compozitorilor noștri și difuzat cu preferință la posturile noastre de radio. Pentru a lămurii această problemă Institutul a făcut o cercetare aprofundată a unui important grup de lăutari din apropierea Bucureștilor. Din această cercetare s-a constatat că muzica executată de lăutari este muzica populară.

A problem which has occupied and still occupies our musicians is that of the *lăutari* folklore [folclorul lăutăresc] that is often used in the creations of our composers and [also] broadcasted with preference on our radio stations. To clarify this issue the Institute has profoundly researched an important group of

lăutari from near Bucharest. From this research it was found that the music these musicians performed is folk music [muzica populară] (Drăgoi 1954a:7a).

First of all, it is noteworthy that Drăgoi has to mention the topic of lăutari and their relation to Romanian folk music at all at this time. Apparently, the perception of lăutari music was changing and required commentary. Drăgoi did not refer to any changes in cultural policy that might have suggested a new definition for Romanian folk music; nor did he argue that lăutari music was or had always been Romanian folklore. Instead he argued more cautiously that recent empiric research in the field had shown that as a rule of thumb, lăutari played Romanian folk music, more specifically the Romanian folk music of the areas they lived in, rather than a separate genre. For the urban repertoire of lăutari, Drăgoi just issued a general and vague warning reminiscent of anti-Roma statements from previous decades: "Repertoriul lăutarilor de oraș [...] trebuie folosit cu mult mai mare grijă" (Lăutar repertory has to be used with a lot more care, Drăgoi 1954a:7), implying that he did not typically consider urban lăutar music to be Romanian folk music. Of "cîntece de mahala" (songs of slums) Drăgoi explicitly says that they are not "folclorul țigănesc" (Gypsy folklore) either, but rather the product of older oriental influences. He similarly states that the performance style of the lăutari was not a Gypsy style, but rather a lăutar technique (Drăgoi 1954a:7). Essentially, Drăgoi downplays ethnic difference, particularly in the case of the Roma, in favor of social distinctions and historical influences. Thereby he suggests a course that was in practice a little less anti-Roma than in previous eras, as Roma musicians were now able to play Romanian music.

Drăgoi employs variations on principles known from the national matrix – most significantly, perhaps, a strictly ethnic interpretation of Romanian identity - with only partly adverse effects: while he downplayed Roma creativity, as was common within the national matrix, he concluded that Roma musical production should be incorporated into Romanian folk music and hence should be studied and performed, rather than excluded from scholarly scrutiny and performance. By downplaying cultural differences, he encouraged the reception of music made by Roma by the general population as part of Romanian folk music. In contrast to the old practice, which disregarded urban folk music and tarafuri nearly completely or even condemned them, Drăgoi's position marks a noticeable change towards more cultural diversity. However, Drăgoi stops short of challenging the national matrix on a general level: he does not question the fundamental category, that of an ethnically-defined Romanian folklore and implicitly that of a Roma ethnic identity; he merely pushes the boundaries of what could be included in Romanian folklore.

Overall, Drăgoi makes use of arguments that were pioneered by some of his contemporaries, such as Bartók and Brăiloiu, in the 1930s and perhaps earlier: allowing Roma musicians to serve as informants on Romanian folklore, but ignoring them as informants for other musics, particularly Roma music, and without attributing creativity to Roma musicians - much like Bartók, if one follows Trumpener's analysis (see section 3.3). While Bartók and others spoke in an essentially nationalistic climate, Drăgoi spoke in a nominally anti-nationalistic climate. Nevertheless, in short, Drăgoi's perspective remains nationalist. As one can see especially in the

derogatory implications concerning urban *lăutar* music, Drăgoi's perspective could be described as racist from a present-day perspective.¹⁷⁷

However, it does not seem wise to interpret his statements, made at a public event we can assume was scripted more or less together with the supervising Ministry, simply as his own opinion. Especially given the Stalinist-style of cultural politics at this time, one should rather regard Drăgoi's speech as his personal attempt to reconcile the political dictates of the day with the traditional positions of Romanian folklore studies. As in earlier cases, I suspect that actors in the political sphere were interested particularly in regulating folk music as it was performed on the radio and other media, applied folk music, rather than rural peasant music, since only the former had succeeded in reaching a wider audience.

The fact that in the eyes of the government the folk music of the media was simply part of the larger folk music phenomenon and not a separate domain¹⁷⁸ also meant that ethnomusicologists were the specialists who were qualified to evaluate "massified" folk music, for example as jurors in competitions. Correspondingly, the ethnomusicologists at the IF in particular were supposed to assist in the creation of the new folk orchestras, as Drăgoi reports proudly at the fifth anniversary celebration.

In the context of the media – Drăgoi explicitly refers to the fact that music performed by *lăutar* was played on the radio - it is important to emphasize that the socialists were not the first to put folk music on stages and to broadcast it on the radio. Since around the 1930s, more or less the beginning of radio in Romania, some broadcasts were advertised as folk music. The preeminent star in this genre was Maria Tănase (Roșca 2000). Tănase was born and raised in the country's capital, first gained fame as singer of operettas and revues and only later became known as a singer of folk music, folk music that was often performed in media or on stages and less in traditional contexts and sometimes associated with the *mahala* (suburb, Roșca 2000:92-94)¹⁷⁹. Tănase's case illustrates that even the early folk music that was broadcasted via the radio was not simply traditional rural music, but rather an amalgam of different influences and styles, including rural and urban folklore. The early folk orchestras appear to have been manned to a large extent by urban *lăutari*¹⁸⁰ (Alexandru 2007 [1962?]) and, as my discussion of recordings from the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra below will show, they performed a number of pieces from the *lăutar* repertoire.

Another example of how socialism transformed the presocialist tradition of staging folk music can be found in Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's biography. Popescu-Județ was born in the

¹⁷⁷ In fact, it seems to have been commonplace to treat *lăutari* as Romanians, neglecting the fact that many *lăutari* would not have self-identified as Romanian. This strategy basically resulted in an appropriation of *lăutar* music (as further discussed below in the same section with a more convincing example). However, one can see the same pattern already at work in Drăgoi's speech.

¹⁷⁸ To split the field the Romanian communists treated simply as folk music (using a single label) in two domains has long been widespread practice, both at the time being discussed and more recently. I am thinking, for example, of distinctions such as "Volksmusik" versus "volkstümliche Musik", folk music in first or second existence or simply implicit or explicit characterizations of authentic and inauthentic folk music.

¹⁷⁹ Roșca quotes newspaper articles from 1938 using the expression "folclor muzical de mahala" (suburban musical folklore, Roșca 2000:94).

¹⁸⁰ It is also possible that certain folk orchestras of the early socialist period, such as Barbu Lăutaru orchestra, featured particularly the *lăutari* style, and also employed many *lăutari*, while others may have specialized in other (regional) styles of Romanian folk music, perhaps relying less on *lăutari*. Also it is possible, that officially all musicians professionally employed in early socialist-period folk music orchestras were often called *lăutari*.

village of Beleti-Negrești, Muscel district, in the Muntenia region of Romania and spent part of his childhood there. Later he attended schools in some of the region's largest cities, such as Bucharest and Chernivtsi (Czernowitz, Cernăuți). Before and during World War II he danced with several successful ensembles, including *Alunelul*. During the war he led a dance ensemble in the Romanian Army. The performances of these ensembles were undoubtedly based on village dances and dance practices, but they occurred in a different social setting: on stages and for audiences that were not limited to the village communities.

After the war, Popescu-Județ adapted to the new aesthetics for arranging folk music and dance on stage that was influenced by trends from the Soviet Union. That he adopted this new aesthetic framework effectively can be seen by his success first as a dancer and later as a choreographer. Together with his wife Eugenia, he won a prize for character dance in Prague in 1950. In 1949 Gheorghe Popescu-Județ also began to choreograph for the Ciocîrlia ensemble¹⁸¹, a folk music and dance ensemble that belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerului Afacerilor Interne, until 1970). The fact that from 1956 to 1965 he was able to publish ten book-sized anthologies with dances intended for the amateur folk dance movement, indicates that his work was highly valued by the state at the time (e.g. Popescu-Județ 1956, Popescu-Județ 1965)¹⁸².

Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's career not only illustrates the transition from a presocialist to a socialist tradition of staging folk music and dance, it also illustrates the influence of Soviet practices. In an interview Eugenia recounts, for example, how the Russian choreographer Ivan Korilov¹⁸³ suggested changes to Gheorghe's dance notation system on a visit to Bucharest in 1950. Specifically, the choreographer wanted them to notate the work of the passive foot (Forner 1995). It seems likely that this interaction illustrates not only the migration of a single technicality in a specific notation system, but rather the larger importation of an aesthetic model for putting folk dance on stage.

In the same interview, Eugenia Popescu-Județ explained the typical process of turning material collected in the field into a work that would be performed on stage. The starting point would usually be the melodies and corresponding dance steps her husband had collected in the field together with a team of specialists, which often included a composer or musician who could transcribe melodies on the spot. Additionally, Gheorghe Popescu-Județ also recorded melodies on tape when possible. It appears that the main function of the recordings was to facilitate transcriptions of the melodies. Later these melodies were arranged into a dance suite by an arranger, who could be the same person who had notated the melody in the field or somebody else. Eugenia did not consider this kind of work a composition, but rather an arrangement

¹⁸¹ "Ciocîrlia", today spelled "cocârlia", typically translated as the skylark, is the name of a famous piece of music in the urban *lăutar* style. The Ciocîrlia ensemble from the socialist period has no relation to the Fanfare Ciocărlia, a brass band of Roma *lăutari* from the Romania region of Moldavia.

¹⁸² Gheorghe Popescu-Județ was able to publish his last anthology in 1965. His collection includes a manuscript for another book, apparently never published. It is conceivable that his inability to publish another book is related to Ceaușescu becoming General Secretary in March 1965. In the wake of his ascent to power, Ceaușescu systematically deprived the old elite of their power, and tended to bring in new personnel that were loyal to him. Popescu-Județ might therefore have lost influence with the ministry in this time.

¹⁸³ I am not sure that is the correct spelling of Korilov's name as I transcribed it from Forner's oral interview with Eugenia Popescu-Județ (Popescu-Județ 1995).

(*prelucrare*), since it was based on the material collected in the field rather than the original invention of a composer or choreographer (Popescu-Județ 1995). It seems that Eugenia explained the word "prelucrare" not in an idiosyncratic way, but rather as it was commonly understood at the time.

Dance suites were also used for stage performances in presocialist times, but with a difference. Eugenia Popescu-Județ explains that presocialist performances of folk dance were usually arranged as a series of unrelated pieces, while in the early socialist period dance suites typically combined different dances from a single region. Eugenia expressed disdain for the type of suite that became fashionable after 1970, when the parts of a suite tended to be more similar, as when multiple dances of the same tempo were included in the same piece (Popescu-Județ 1995).

The common denominator to several of these examples is a materialistic perspective that regards folk traditions not as valuable in their own right, but merely as providing the source material for a staged piece. Such pieces were performed in a very different social settings with an audience that passively listened to the music and viewed the dances from a single vantage point - the same setting associated with art music and classical dance. Although folk dances were staged before the socialist period, the professionalization of folk dance during the socialist period allows to say that the systematic transformation of traditional folk dances into new traditions on the stage was a characteristic of the early socialist period.

Ethnochoreologist Liz Mellish and dancer Nick Green write on their webpage that the Soviet Union's Moiseyev Company toured Romania in 1945. According to this source, several ensembles were created following Moiseyev's tour:

The Moiseyev Company's first tour to Romania was in 1945. The company did twenty seven performances, visiting Bucharest, Iași, Constanța, Cluj, and Timișoara. The performances were attended by over 33,000 people. During the tour the Moiseyev dancers also attended performances given by Romanian amateur groups and professional ensembles including the ballet company of the State Opera, the Army Dance Ensemble, and the National Confederation of Labour's company (Mellish and Green 2009).

Indeed, Anca Giurchescu characterizes Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's choreographies as an imitation of Moiseyev's style and recalls that Gheorghe treated folklore as "raw material that had to be collected, selected, and reworked (re-created) to raise its artistic level" (Giurchescu 2013).

In liner notes of an LP that was published in 1962 to accompany the US tour of the Rapsodia Româna ensemble (Mellish and Green 2009), Tiberiu Alexandru describes the history of folk orchestras in a way similar to Mellish and Green, but without referencing any Soviet models:

Shortly after August, 1944, the popular musicians of Rumania, or *lăutari* [sic], as they are called, organized themselves into orchestras. The idea was a successful one and by 1949 in Bucharest alone there were approximately ten popular ensembles, each one formed of between forty to one hundred players. (Alexandru 2007 [1962?])

Other sources indicate that folk orchestras began to emerge only after the communists took power in early 1948 and prevented the urban *lăutari* from performing in their usual venues, such as restaurants (Marian-Bălașa 1999:12).

The Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra was one such ensemble.¹⁸⁴ From its foundation in 1949 until it left the Institute, it was conducted by Mircea Chiriac, who previously had founded and directed the Romanian Railways Ensemble (1948-9) (Cosma).¹⁸⁵ In Alexandru's account from 1962, the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra, then institutionally located at the IF, functioned as an "experimental ensemble" which quickly became

the first major popular concert orchestra, with balance between instruments that compose it, with an entirely new repertoire, and with a new enriched sound dominated by the panpipe [nai], lute [cobza] and flute [fluier]. A distinct sound was achieved by having arrangements exclusively made to suit its needs. (Alexandru 2007 [1962?])

Alexandru emphasizes that the Barbu Lăutaru orchestra had the role of a forerunner in developing a new sound that resulted not so much from new elements, but rather from balancing known or traditional elements in a new way.

It appears that in the experimental phase, the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra tried to avoid having a conductor, creating a situation where the musicians - as the "workers" of the orchestra - would govern their own ensemble (Chiriac 1950:40). However, according to Alexandru (2007 [1962?]) conductors later became common in folk orchestras. Chiriac (1950:40) describes the size of the ensembles as between 40 and 50 musicians, but Alexandru later says that they encompass up to 100 musicians. It is somewhat surprising that none of my sources attempts to list all of the folk instruments in the ensemble; instead they list only examples such as violin, țambal, nai (a panflute), cobza (a lute) and the taragota (a single-reed instrument, Chiriac 1950:40, Alexandru in 1962 liner notes).¹⁸⁶

According to Alexandru, this experimental phase ended perhaps as early as 1950, when the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra successfully toured Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, or in the winter of 1951-52 at the latest, when the orchestra toured the Soviet Union (Alexandru 2007 [1962?]). What emerged at the end of the experimental period was a large ensemble that in many ways was a cross between the late romantic symphonic orchestra, perhaps particularly its string section, and the taraf.

To further analyze the Romanian folk orchestra, I will look in greater detail at the 1962 album issued by the US-American label Monitor in cooperation with the Romanian state label Electrecord. It is not clear when exactly the recordings on this album were made, but probably they are considerably later than 1950. These are the only early recordings of the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra that I can associate with any date at all. Although these recordings are from a later period, they still predate the changes of the mid and late 1960s to which Eugenia Popescu-Județ refers (Popescu-Județ 1995) and hence may serve as a document to represent the early mature state of the Romanian folk orchestra.

¹⁸⁴ Apparently, the orchestra was named after the famous 19th century lăutar Barbu Lăutaru only around 1951 and 1952 (Alexandru 2007 [1962?]). Since I do not know the ensemble's previous name or even if it had any official name at all, I refer to it consistently as the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra in my text.

¹⁸⁵ As noted above, both ensembles performed at the Institute's five year anniversary.

¹⁸⁶ In this context, it might also be relevant that in the early 1950s Romanian composers still discussed if Romanian folk music could be accompanied at all (see the discussion of the Composers' Union that led to the Romanian resolution on music above) while folk orchestras already accompanied Romanian folk music.

The album consists of twelve pieces. Two of them are songs sung by Angela Moldovan, who performs with a voice that has clearly been trained in the operatic tradition; the others are instrumental tracks, mostly dances (*caluș*, *chindia*, *geampararele*, *hora*, *perinița*, *sîrba*), and two songs. For two tracks, the liner notes by Alexandru mention the name of a composer, the others are traditional repertoire. Alexandru explains that several other pieces come from the repertoire of *lăutari*, indicating that they were created by Roma. Most pieces are fast, between 170 and over 230 beats per minute (bpm); only a few songs are slower, one of them under 40 bpm.

It is not clear exactly which instruments perform on the album. The liner notes single out only a cymbalom and violins. Additionally I can hear a double bass; a flute (possibly a flute of the traditional type that is called *fluier* in Romanian, e.g. in "Mugur Mugurel"); possibly another flute, such as the *nai* (on "Pelin beau, Pelin mănînc"); a clarinet or possibly a Transylvanian variant of the clarinet that is called *taragot* (e.g. in "Calușul din Gorj"); possibly a double reed instrument such as a the oboe, with its typical nasal sound (e.g. on "Pelin beau, Pelin mănînc"); and an accordion (e.g. in "Mugur Mugurel"). The liner notes mention additional instruments, such as the *cobza*, but I cannot hear these on the album.

The piece that is mentioned in the album's title, "Hora staccato," was composed by the *lăutar* and violinist Grigorași Dinicu in 1906 for his graduation from the conservatory in Bucharest (Slonimsky 1994). It became a famous show piece for violinists, especially in Jascha Heifitz's 1932 arrangement. Reflecting this history, the arrangement on the 1962 album also features the violin, and in fact the melody is almost exclusively played by violins. Only at the beginning of the B section is one phrase moved from the violin to the *țambal* to create a call and response effect. One other significant difference in the folk orchestra version is that the melody is always played by several violins in unison in spite of the difficult and fast staccato articulation to which the title refers. Furthermore, the orchestra version is performed even faster (around 190 bpm) than the recorded versions by both of Dinicu (slightly faster than 150 bpm) and Heifitz (around 150 bpm).

The structure of the piece (ABCABC, a song form) remains the same in all versions and the orchestra arrangement follows, perhaps even imitates, the chamber music versions, particularly the one by Dinicu where his violin is accompanied by a *țambal* and a double bass. In the folk orchestra version, *țambal* and bass likewise play the basic harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment. The Barbu Lăutaru version does not hide the piece's origin in *lăutar* repertoire. In particular, the emphasis on the *țambal* as the main accompanying instrument and the use of glissandi in the main melody (in part B) reference the *lăutar* style. Overall, the arranger and conductor created a version that closely resembles Dinicu's version. The main difference is perhaps that in the orchestra version the main melody is played by multiple violins, illustrating the virtuosity of the collective rather than the individual.

As this example demonstrates, what emerged as the Romanian folk orchestra in the early 1950s was an ensemble that featured several folk instruments, such as *țambal*, violin and traditional flutes, in the setting of a large ensemble. Musically, the arrangements aimed for easy accessibility, for example, in their clear separation between melody and harmonic-rhythmic accompaniment, fairly simple harmonic changes, and a relatively high level of repetition. Identical parts, for example, were just repeated using identical instruments, although it would

have been easy to vary instrument's in succeeding repetitions to achieve a more varied arrangement. Likewise, simplistic bass patterns were used in several songs, such as alternating between the first and fifth scale degrees, reminiscent of bass lines that would have been suitable for a dance performance. Keeping such obvious remnants of dance music seems a deliberate choice that fits well with the celebration of the proletarian class by the socialists. At the same time, the music is performed with extreme coordination, displaying the performers' skill and virtuosity, and the sound ideal for the violins, for example, is typically more reminiscent of the classical tradition than a popular or *lăutar* style.

The early repertoire of Romanian folk orchestras seems in general to showcase the variety of music found in the country including *lăutar* music, but excludes the music of other minorities such as Hungarians, Germans, Jews and Tartars. This shows that de facto Romanian folklore was still considered as an expression of the ethnic nation – not that of all of Romania's inhabitants. Also, the repertoire shows an emphasis of those song and dance genres that convey a happy and up-beat attitude. Other classic folk music genres, such as the *doina* and the ritual repertoire (*colinde*, funeral rites) received less attention in the new ethnomusicology, particularly in public and mediated performances. Occasionally the socialist emphasis on songs and dances also became evident in research.

In sum, it can be said that the Romanian folk orchestra emerged sometime after 1945 as the product of multiple predecessors and influences, including a Soviet influence. Among the obvious but more superficial factors of Soviet influence are perhaps the fact that the early Romanian orchestras experimented with organizational models that would have provided the orchestra's "workers" – its musicians – with a greater power to decide their professional fate. However, these attempts were abandoned and from the early 1950s orchestras performed with a conductor. Secondly, the repertoire occasionally explicitly expressed a socialist worldview, for example, when the repertoire included "new songs" which expressly praised the achievements of socialism. Songs that criticize the exploitation of peasants by the nobility in past centuries (such as the song "Mugur Mugurel" on the album discussed above) fall in a similar category. A third example of Soviet influence, and one that is more at the heart of the Soviet aesthetics of Romanian folk orchestras, is the treatment of folk music and dance as a form of art, rather than folklife. Because of this view, folk music and dance were performed in a context that resembles that of art music: the concert hall, with an audience that listens and watches rather than participating in the dance. This perspective also encourages a "materialistic" outlook, where traditional culture was viewed as a source of material that had to be improved before it could be put on stage. It is important to note that the materialistic perspective was by no means either new or characteristic only for Soviet cultural policy; rather it is a perspective that has a longer tradition – especially in the context of Western classical music.

I have the impression that different folk orchestras specialized in specific styles and were not exchangeable. For example, it seems that the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra focused especially on (urban) *lăutar* music, which features violin and *țambal* and was popular especially in Bucharest, while other orchestras had other regional, instrument and stylistic specialties.

It is significant for my prior discussion that no one seems to have explicitly associated the Romanian folk orchestra with socialist realism. As far as the contemporary discourse of the 1950s

is concerned, such an association would indeed be surprising, since the term "socialist realism" was not even used with any frequency by those Romanian composers who clearly followed Soviet discourse on socialist realism. However, as my analysis above shows, the Romanian folk orchestras did embody many of the criteria that were important for socialist realism in music: an emphasis on accessibility, the use of traditional culture as a source for the production of new art, and the generally positive, uncritical and affirmative outlook on socialist life.

In speaking of the connection between the particularities of "arranged" popular music and the demands of nationalist-communist ideology – order, submission, predictability, mystification of facts, and their presentation in a flattering, optimistic and self-justificatory light – Speranța Rădulescu has suggested analyzing the folk music that was transmitted by the socialist media as a mirror image of the Party's ideals, particularly its vision of the citizens it ruled (Rădulescu 1997:8). In this spirit, I have tried to show that the concept of socialist realism in music transports a form of governmentality. Arguable the most evident of the examples is the embrace of the collective that coincides with socialist realism. Musically, the ideal of the harmonious, ordered collective is expressed by groups of musicians, singers, or dancers performing together in perfect synchronization. If one reads such a performance as symbolizing submission to the authorities, and such a reading is certainly possible, one will likely interpret performances which highlight individuality, for example the improvisations of traditional tarafuri and other small ensembles, as symbols of a different political system. Folk orchestras further embodied the ideals of socialist realism in their attempts to raise a tradition to a "higher" artistic level by featuring the performers' virtuosic skills, and the general optimistic and upbeat expression of the repertoire and the performances.

However, as Rice points out for similar contexts in Bulgaria, the fact that sometimes some performances were interpreted by some actors politically does not mean that all performances in this genre were always only interpreted politically. The Romanian folk orchestra may have sometimes been interpreted as a symbol of a Soviet and Stalinist type of governmentality where citizens were conceived as a happy collective acting in unison. But this does not mean that all performances of folk orchestras were always interpreted only in similar political contexts. And of course, there may have been cases where socialist realism's happy unison sections were actually regarded as a vision of a positive utopia, while others judged them very differently. Rădulescu, speaking after 1989, cannot do otherwise than ridicule this type of collectivity in a way that reminds me of the zombies from Michael Jackson's *Thriller* video.

NEW ETHNOMUSICOLOGY?

In this section, I have analyzed the implementation of the new Soviet-style regime of cultural policy in Romania after the communists took over power in December 1947. I looked at new aspects of musical practice in the early period of the Peoples' Republic, especially the folk orchestra, as well as the new style of ethnomusicology and new concepts that emerged at the same time. Referring to the concept of novelty that seems essential to this ethnomusicological paradigm, perhaps one can refer to it as new ethnomusicology.

The communists transformed the cultural sector almost completely, so that most cultural activities, especially those which reached a large audience, were directly or indirectly under the

control of the state. For the domain of folk music this meant the creation of state-run festivals and competitions, state-run professional ensembles, state-run institutions that offered activities for amateurs, such as community centers (*cămine culturale*) and houses of culture (*case de cultură*), a state-run record company and the state-run media. The state not only controlled a good deal of musical practice, it also used its influence to favor those performances, artists and ensembles which represented its vision of socialist art. I have argued that one can use a somewhat generalized notion of socialist realism to describe this concept and this practice. It seems quite plausible that some Romanians perceived this strategy as a systematic destruction of traditional culture, perhaps in analogy to the destruction in non-musical areas. For example, people were forcibly resettled, and sometimes villages were abandoned and or bulldozed in the name of modernization.

From my vantage point, and given the incomplete data accessible to me, it appears that the communists systematically tried to replace traditional forms of folk music with new forms that were "reformed" or "improved" according to their standards. The state neither seriously tried to preserve the traditional rural lifestyle, nor did it safeguard the living folklore that existed in this context. The only significant although partial exception appears to be ethnomusicologists documenting traditional music, but documentation did not aim to recreate folk music and folklore in a living form. From the socialist perspective the past was already over and there was no point in preserving an outdated tradition and folk music only deserved preservation as material for future art. The state did, however, provide ample facilities for the new style of folk music and dance that took place inside state institutions, such as the folk orchestras. In this context, ethnomusicologists had a special position since they continued to cover, document and research the older traditions and rural practices. Because the state-favored applied research, viewing research for its own sake as bourgeois, ethnomusicologists were strongly encouraged to engage in the creation and evaluation of the new forms of folk music. And those at the Institute did so, for instance, through research on musical instruments that facilitated the establishment of the new folk orchestras and through evaluation of performances and publications.

These changes go hand in hand with conceptual changes. Folklore was now officially defined as the lore of peasants and workers. Folklore was systematically treated as art, rather than folklife. For folk music and dance that meant that they were primarily treated as something to be performed on stages for an audience rather than in their original settings (for example, in rituals or in substantially more participatory village settings). Lăutar music now tended to be treated as a category of Romanian folk music. I have described this policy as substantially more tolerant than the practices of previous, even more xenophobic periods. Nevertheless, this policy ultimately still meant an appropriation, since Roma creativity was not acknowledged, but rather promoted as Romanian. Such a practice is particularly evident on the Barbu Lăutaru album, which was made to be sold on the U.S. tour of another ensemble. While lăutar music was featured on the album, it was de facto advertised as Romanian music.

I have tried to take my sources seriously and, especially, to take note of the intentions of the state and socialist politicians. I have tried not to infer intentions from the disastrous effects that socialist policies sometimes had. This still seems a somewhat unusual perspective in postsocialist ethnomusicology. The motivation that I find inscribed in the Romanian sources resembles Rice's

findings for Bulgaria (Rice 1994:28), and indeed Rice is one of the few who take a similar perspective. For his case, Rice emphasized that the socialists wanted to use culture and folk music in particular to bridge the gap between rural and urban populations. He describes this attempt as a means of education: the socialists attempted to increase education, particularly among the proletariat. This is a plausible interpretation, one which is backed by general Marxist documents, and it seems that a similar motivation may have also existed among Romanian socialists. However, in the documents that I looked at I found something slightly different. I did not find explicit statements on the difference between rural and urban populations, although such conceptions probably existed and perhaps motivated Romanian socialists. Also I find the term "education" somewhat misleading in the context of my discussion of cultural policy, where it is often used in its limited sense as referring to education in state institutions, whereas culture typically concerns other institutions. Romanian socialists wanted literally to create "new people" (or men at least). If one wishes to refer to this process as education, then it is education in a comprehensive and perhaps utopian and most radical sense.

4.3 The mid-1950s: Constantin Brăiloiu and Mihai Pop

In the last section the focus was on the effects of Sovietization, both for musical praxis and for the more academic side of ethnomusicology in the early period of the Romanian People's Republic. Around 1955 the IF entered into a new phase in which it was able not only to produce more publications, but also to publish on a wider range of topics. The Institute also began to issue its own journal, which from 1956 to 1963 was called *Revista de Folclor*. In this phase, Soviet-style new ethnomusicology continued much like in the previous years, although it was less visible and there was also more research on traditional topics, particularly involving new fieldwork.

In this section, I focus on the branch of ethnomusicology that attempted to distance itself from the new Soviet-style applied ethnomusicology. Other than the emphasis on fieldwork, the most obvious characteristic of this kind of research is perhaps that it looked implicitly or explicitly towards Brăiloiu as a model. In particular, I investigate in how far the traditional branch was able to avoid the pressures of the political sphere, which elements of Brăiloiu's approach they emulated and, conversely, in which ways they deviated from Brăiloiu.

Politically, the time span around 1955 is the first period of political relaxation in socialist Romania: Soviet influence decreased markedly, as can be seen, for example, by the fact that the economic Soviet-Romanian partnerships (SovRoms) which de facto drained the Romanian economy of resources wound down between 1954-56, and also by the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania in 1958 (Cole 1976:243).

In the Institute, Mihai Pop, the second person in the institutional hierarchy as the scientific assistant, now assumed a more visible role. He wrote several important and programmatic publications in the new journal outlining a history of folkloristics that was in line with socialist cultural policy and included plans for future decades. I discuss the first of these publications in depth, an article in the first issue of the *Revista de Folclor*. To a large extent, Pop replaced Drăgoi as the public spokesperson of the Institute even though Drăgoi formally remained the Institute's director until 1964, when Pop became the Institute's third director.

Two other facts are important for understanding this period. First, Constantin Brăiloiu unexpectedly died in Geneva, Switzerland in 1958, at the age of 65. Several years before his death, he published two positive reviews of the IF's publications (discussed in 4.3.1). Secondly, the 12th annual conference of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC; today's International Council for Traditional Music or ICTM) was rather remarkably held in Romania at this time (Bucharest and Sinaia, from August 11-21, 1959). Officially, the conference was organized by the Romanian branch of the IFMC, but de facto the conference was organized by the Ministry and the Institute.

BRĂILOIU REVISITED (1956-8)

[D]as Bukarester Institut ist eigentlich durch die Zusammenführung zweier Archive entstanden. Da war einmal das Archiv Constantin Brăiloiu, das Archiva de Folklor a Societății Compositori Român [...] das ist eigentlich die Arbeit, die Methode, die diesem Archiv zugrunde liegt. Das ist die [Methode] von Brăiloiu (Habenicht 2011).

In August 2011, I interviewed Gottfried Habenicht, an ethnic German from Romania who worked as an ethnomusicologist at the Institute from 1957-73. He began the interview by stating that the Institute was based both on Constantin Brăiloiu's collection and his method of archiving as described in his "Esquisse", even before I had asked my first question. This is just one of the many instances where the Institute's employees emphasize the Brăiloiuan heritage. Along similar lines, Brăiloiu's name was added to the Institute's name after 1989. Why do Romanian ethnomusicologists – particularly at the IF – insist so much on Brăiloiu? Do they simply want to tie into his world-wide reputation, or is there more to these claims of intellectual heritage? Do they really pursue his approach, or do they employ only selected and perhaps modified parts of his methodology?

After the Institute was founded in 1949, Brăiloiu's position in Romania must have been difficult (in the eyes of socialists), because he did not return to Romania after the war. In the early socialist phase even the celebrated composer George Enescu had a difficult position and seems to have been treated as a *persona non grata* for similar reasons (Crotty 2007:158).¹⁸⁷ I suspect that this political situation is the reason why I do not find Brăiloiu's name in any publication of the Institute or its employees before 1956¹⁸⁸. As discussed before, the Romanian state notably omitted any mention of Brăiloiu and his Arhiva de Folklor (Folklore Archive) in the Institute's founding decree from 1949. In this legal document only one archive, the Arhiva Fonogramica, is explicitly mentioned as a predecessor.

The first mention of Brăiloiu I was able to find in one of the Institute's publications is in an article by Mihai Pop in the first issue of the Institute's new journal, *Revista de Folclor* (Pop

¹⁸⁷ In Brăiloiu's case other factors may have played a role. According to some sources, Brăiloiu had assisted the cultural attaché in Switzerland (Schaeffner 1959:4–5). Considering that diplomatic personnel was probably selected by several Romanian fascist governments during World War II, this may have been viewed negatively by the early socialists. However, it is difficult to imagine Brăiloiu working together with extremist right-wing governments that he avoided at home by leaving the country.

¹⁸⁸ Tismaneanu writes that the appointment of Miron Constantinescu as "deputy prime minister in charge of cultural and intellectual affairs" in 1955 coincided "with an opening to influential intellectuals long persecuted or silenced during Romania's Zhdanovschina" (Tismaneanu 2004:140). It appears that Brăiloiu was affected by this policy change.

1956:12, discussed below). In his historical overview of Romanian folkloristics, Pop praises Brăiloiu as an early adaptor of the objective, phonograph-based collecting methods in Romania and links him to Bartók: "Like B. Bartók, C. Brăiloiu thinks that only the mechanical recording guarantees absolute objectivity of collecting folk melodies"¹⁸⁹ (Pop 1956:15). Pop thus highlights Brăiloiu's importance for methodology, but focuses on rather uncontroversial grounds such as the use of the phonograph rather than on more specific ideas. By 1956, then, a significant change had taken place. Brăiloiu not only could be mentioned, he could now officially be praised by a high-ranking folklorist.

A CAUTIOUS PLEA FOR SOCIOLOGY

Ce și cât datorează Brăiloiu sociologismului gustian? – e una din întrebările nu numai dificile ci poate chiar fără răspuns. (Marian-Bălașa 2003a:26)

What and how much owes Brăiloiu to Gustian sociology [lit. sociologism]? – This is one of the questions that is not only difficult but perhaps without answer.

One topic that plays a great role in the reception of Brăiloiu's work is his concept of sociology. In his "Esquisse d'une Méthode de Folklore Musical" (hereafter referred to as *Esquisse*), originally published in French in 1931 (Brăiloiu 1931c) and only later in Romanian (Brăiloiu 1931a), Brăiloiu described sociology as a new science that studied human beings holistically and, as such, he compared it to philosophy. For Brăiloiu sociology was

a new philosophy [taking shape] on the model of antiquity, a new science of sciences that includes in its frame the totality of knowledge (Brăiloiu 1984d:59).

In this conception, not only does sociology have a holistic perspective, but also society itself is a complex object with many different facets:

[T]he "society" that this science [sociology] deals with is merely *human life* in the widest meaning of the term, and sociology concerns itself with the study of this life, of all its conditions and manifestations. (Brăiloiu 1984d:59, my emphasis)

The association of sociology with life is a constant in Brăiloiu's writings that one finds still in his last book, the posthumously published *Vie Musicale d'un Village* (Brăiloiu 1960). The idea of sociology as a general science raises the question of how the more specialized sociological subdisciplines should relate to the mother discipline. Brăiloiu describes dangers both when a subdiscipline is ignorant of the greater whole and thus ignores the fact that music is part of life and society, and also in the other direction, when a subdiscipline is not distinct enough from the mother discipline and research on music is merely sociological:

[I]f these methods are too limited, many paths to knowledge are cut off; if they are too broad, dallying too long on the examination of eccentric problems, the sciences risk annihilation by pure and simple reabsorption into sociology. (Brăiloiu 1970:389)

In general, Brăiloiu is concerned here with the proper level of autonomization of musical folklore as a subdiscipline or discipline. In other words, musical folklore should not ignore the fact that it

¹⁸⁹ "Ca și B. Bartók, C. Brăiloiu socotește că numai înregistrarea mecanică garantează obiectivitatea absolută a culegerii melodiilor populare."

is embedded in sociology, but it should also be more than just a subfield of sociology, the sociology of folk music in this case.

Brăiloiu characterizes the two extremes further. For him the musicological approach is connected with the exclusive "study of peasant music", while the sociological approach is interested in "peasant musical life":

One could just as well have said that the expression "folk music" designates the totality of the melodies existing at a particular moment within a certain rural society [...]. The data of our study would at once be completely changed and folklore would no longer signify the study of peasant *music*, but the study of the *musical life* of the peasant, and we would be squarely in the field of sociology. The analysis of musical forms, though still necessary, would become secondary and would retain only the importance of one possible approach (Brăiloiu 1970:390).¹⁹⁰

For the sociological approach, Brăiloiu also supplies several examples of topics it might treat:

organic processes [such] as the alteration of an archaic repertoire by an urban or suburban infiltration (let us say after the opening of a bus service), the loss of the dialectal character of a regional style through contact with the style of another region (let us say in the mountains, as the result of a lumbering enterprise bringing in workers from distant places), or the rise, within the village environs, of hybrid melodic types, by the rapid assimilation of art music (let us say after many new record players appear in the village; or the school in the area buys a radio receiver) (Brăiloiu 1970:390).

Brăiloiu indicates here that many questions cannot be answered by musical and musicological studies alone: some questions, especially those revolving around change (over time and in relation to modernization), require the inclusion of sociological aspects.

Where, on the contrary, these melodies really exist, are born, are transformed, and die, intimately bound together with the evolution of the collectivity from which they stem, the musical reality will remain impenetrable without the knowledge of the social reality. The study of a repertoire [...] from which traditional music related to particular occasions was entirely absent, could be pursued from the strictly musical point of view, whereas another repertoire [...], comprising only music related to particular occasions would require at least a description of those occasions. (Brăiloiu 1970:391)

To be sure, Brăiloiu does not argue squarely against the musicological approach and in favor of the sociological approach. Rather he shows that both approaches can be valid, and that different topics demand different approaches. If one considers that by the time Brăiloiu wrote this article (1931)¹⁹¹, the musicological approach was already established in musical folklore, both inside and outside of Romania, while the sociological approach was still new, Brăiloiu effectively argued here for a cautious inclusion of the new sociological perspective without abandoning the previous musicological focus.¹⁹² This means that the object of future research as envisioned by Brăiloiu in

¹⁹⁰ In my Foucault-derived terminology, Brăiloiu's notion of life could be described as sociology's domain object, while peasant music and peasant musical life can be understood as the two domain objects of the musical and the sociological approach of musical folkloristics.

¹⁹¹ It is quite possible that Brăiloiu uttered similar ideas already at an earlier stage, particularly in speeches he gave before he published the "Esquisse", but this does not affect my argument.

¹⁹² Without going into a full-fledged comparison of Brăiloiu with other important comparative musicologists of his time, Brăiloiu does not seem to be the only one who concludes that the study of musical structures alone is not enough, but he does seem to be the only one who systematically and strategically points to sociology for a remedy. It may also be that his discussion of the relationship between musical folklore and the suggested "mother discipline" of sociology is not only unique in his time, but also more subtle than that of other contemporary suggestions. With all his philosophical education, Carl Stumpf, for example, often just lists a large number of disciplines which could profit from comparative music research. Also, as the head of psychology department, Stumpf was mostly concerned with the subdisciplines of psychology and the inclusion of research on music in this framework (cf. Koch and Mengel 2007:116–118).

the early 1930s was no longer only music as musical structure, but also musical life more broadly. Significantly, his own work in the 1930s concentrated on the ritual repertoire (carols, weddings, funeral rites), all genres which required more research on social and cultural context, perhaps more than other folk music genres.

Interestingly enough, Brăiloiu connects the musicological approach in Romania with an exclusive focus on authentic music, which he clearly views critically and considers a merely descriptive approach:

if we worked only on the definition of authentic rural musical styles, the specimens collected, analyzed and classified by us - like butterflies pinned down to their exact theoretical place in the hierarchy of living creatures - would never disclose any secret beyond their material reality other than their life on earth. (Brăiloiu 1970:390)

In his "Esquisse", Brăiloiu does not explicitly address how other approaches can do more than collecting, analyzing and classifying, but it appears that his mixed sociological-musicological approach is intended to fulfill this goal.

As a consequence of his emphasis on sociology and musical life, in the Folklore Archive (Arhiva de Folklor) Brăiloiu systematically collected not only recordings of musical performances, but also biographical data about the performers, including photos of them. Brăiloiu describes the organization of these documents in different card catalogues in the "Esquisse" in a detailed way, showing examples for several cards from the catalogue.¹⁹³ This systematic inclusion of non-audio documents distinguishes him and his archive from the work of other early musical folklorists in Romania, specifically that of Breazul and that of other collaborators of the Arhiva Fonogramica.¹⁹⁴ When I first visited the IEF in the 1990s and inquired about their cataloguing system, the researchers and archivists told me proudly that they followed Brăiloiu's cataloguing guidelines from the "Esquisse" to this day.

Later in his life, Brăiloiu referred less enthusiastically to sociology, but in my reading of his approach only the tone, the words and the focus Brăiloiu preferred changed; his actual position changed relatively little. In his later article on musical folklore Brăiloiu 1984c (originally published in 1949), for example, he surveys major approaches to folk music of his time, but refuses to outline a single explicit alternative.¹⁹⁵ In this later article he still suggests that the elements of the sociological approach, for example the statistical method, are the only exact way to "measure" the repertoire of a village, indicating that sociological endeavors continued to be valid for him when applied to certain questions, particularly to measure the repertoire of a village¹⁹⁶. The posthumously published book *Vie Musicale d'un Village* (Brăiloiu 1960) likewise emphasized a sociological perspective to analyze the repertoire of a single village.

¹⁹³ Brăiloiu's "Esquisse" illustrates the structures of the card catalogue by reprinting example cards. Since this publication has been reprinted several times and is easily accessible, I do not reproduce the examples from the card catalogue yet again (Brăiloiu 1931c, Brăiloiu 1970, Brăiloiu 1984d).

¹⁹⁴ It would be interesting to compare Brăiloiu to Hornbostel as another contemporary music archivist and (proto-) ethnomusicologist. However, this comparison falls outside of the present work.

¹⁹⁵ Below, I will interpret the article "Musical Folklore" as a series of arguments (an implicit manifesto, if you will) outlining the quasi-structuralist ethnomusicology of European peasant music.

¹⁹⁶ "I [Brăiloiu] measured to what extent my impartial inventory contradicted the experience derived from the prolonged sojourn with my singers" (Brăiloiu 1984c:14).

In his later phase of his life, Brăiloiu also published more decidedly "musicological" studies¹⁹⁷, for example his study of *aksak* as a rhythmical system (Brăiloiu 1984a), where the analysis of musical structures stands in the foreground. Yet this fact does not mean that he abandoned his earlier position; indeed, already in the *Esquisse* he explicitly argued in favor of a musicological approach for certain questions. Perhaps the shifting focus to more musicological studies can be explained by the fact that Brăiloiu then lived outside of Romania and had no possibility to continue his field research in Romania. In any case, it is clear that Brăiloiu advocated for a mix of methodologies throughout his career and that for most of his life he explored research that was not strictly limited to music understood simply as musical structures.

I quoted several of Brăiloiu's statements on sociology in detail to show that they are not particularly clear and concrete – a fact rarely admitted in secondary literature on Brăiloiu. Clearly, his statements on sociology were not meant as an exhaustive definition of, nor an introduction into sociology. In my view, Brăiloiu remains relatively vague and becomes only as concrete as will serve his argument. He is not really interested in sociology; rather he wants to establish the discipline of musical folklore as a domain which is not just a field of sociology, musicology and perhaps other potential "mother" disciplines, but rather its own autonomous field of study. This field should draw from interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary sources where appropriate, but according to its own design or "law" (referring to the law that etymologically is implied by "nomos" in the word "autonomous").

REVIEWING HIS ROMANIAN COLLEAGUES (1956-7)

As already mentioned, Brăiloiu wrote two reviews on the early publications of the Institut de Folclor and published them in the French *Revue de musicologie* in 1956 and 1957. The first review discusses two Romanian articles: a restudy of Bartók's research on Romanian folk music in the region of Hunedoara (Rodan-Kahane Mariana and Comișel 1955) conducted by Emilia Comișel and Mariana Rodan-Kahane, and a study of recitative in the Romanian ballad (Comișel 1954). Both articles appeared in issues of the journal *Muzica* (in 1954 and 1955 respectively).

In his review, Brăiloiu mentions that he received several of the Institute's other publications and not only these two articles (Brăiloiu 1956:86). His choice to review only these two articles may have been motivated by the fact that they were among the few to actually be based on new fieldwork or also possibly because Comișel had been his student and collaborator at the Folklore Archive (Arhiva de Folclor).

Brăiloiu shows himself to be delighted and excited about the new research, beginning his review with a sentence that alludes to a new era for Romanian ethnomusicology (Brăiloiu 1956:85).¹⁹⁸ He praises both the data collected and the conclusions drawn from the Bartók restudy, listing several results in his review (Brăiloiu 1956:86). His only criticism concerns the fact that in their research Comișel and Kahane concentrated on folk songs and downplayed other

¹⁹⁷ I use "musicological" here and in the following sentences in the sense of being focused on musical structures rather than sociological aspects.

¹⁹⁸ "Après de longues années de silence, les folkloristes roumains donnent de nouveau de leurs nouvelles." (After long years of silence, the Romanian folklorists again make news. Brăiloiu 1956:85).

genres, particularly those from the ritual repertoire ("répertoire rituel"), such as wedding songs, laments and colinde (carols, Brăiloiu 1956:86). It is conceivable that Brăiloiu's criticism prompted Kahane to later publish a separate article Rodan-Kahane 1956, which discusses wedding songs and dances in the same geographical area.

Brăiloiu's other review (1957) covers the first five issues of the first two volumes of the *Revista de Folclor* (issues 1 and 2 from 1956 and 1 - 3 from 1957; the fourth issue of 1957 is not covered by his review). Here Brăiloiu's praise is more reserved than in the previous review. Although his overall judgment is still positive, the second review also includes several critical or perhaps even bitter remarks.

This review discusses ten articles¹⁹⁹ and Brăiloiu's treatment of these articles is necessarily brief. His selection of articles from the total of 23 included in the reviewed issues is remarkable for several reasons. Firstly, Brăiloiu chose not only articles strictly limited to music, but also some concerning folklore in a more general sense (such as Sbîrcea 1957, Golopenția 1957, Mușlea 1957b, Mușlea 1957a). The fact that he insists on discussing articles on folklore underlines his conviction that a too limited focus on music alone is not enough for musical folklorists, an observation that seems especially noteworthy as he was publishing the review in a musicological journal. Indeed, Brăiloiu discussed only a comparatively small number of the new journal's articles on music, and he did not discuss most of the articles on the history of Romanian folk music, except Fochi 1956 and Alexandru 1957a, if those can count as historical accounts at all. More specifically, Brăiloiu did not review Gh. Ciobanu's and C. Zamfir's contributions (such as Ciobanu 1956, Ciobanu 1957a, Ciobanu 1957b, Ciobanu 1957c, Zamfir 1957). Thus one could make the case that Brăiloiu favored Emilia Comișel and Tiberiu Alexandru, both his former disciples and collaborators at the Folklore Archive, and that he tended to ignore Breazul's students, thus continuing his long-time rivalry with Breazul. Or perhaps Brăiloiu just favored research that he considered more important, such as research based on fieldwork rather than research driven by historical sources.

In spite of Brăiloiu's usual diplomatic and objective tone, this review mixes overall positive evaluations with quite a bit of frustration. His first sentence, for example, implies that he was not happy about the way he learned about the Institute's recent activities:

Cette revue [...] est l'organe de l'Institut de folklore roumain, créé, nous est-il dit, en 1949, ce dont nous n'avons toutefois eu connaissance, ici, qu'il y a moins de deux ans, par un envoi bigarré de publications antérieures (Brăiloiu 1957:234).

This journal [...] is the organ of the Institute of Romanian folklore, created, we are told, in 1949. However, what we have learned here from a random assortment of previous publications is that it [the Journal] has less than two years [of issues published].

Brăiloiu makes it sound as if the IF sent him a mixed bag of publications through the mail without a proper personal letter. And he may well have been bitter about the fact that his work for the Folklore Archive was not acknowledged at this point in the official socialist history of the Institute. But instead of pointing out the omission, Brăiloiu regarded (or implies) the point in time

¹⁹⁹ Counting only those where an author is named, these articles are: Rodan-Kahane 1956, Sbîrcea 1957, Golopenția 1957, Mușlea 1957b, Mușlea 1957a, Fochi 1956, Alexandru 1957a, Birlea 1957, Drăgoi 1957, Alexandru 1957b.

when the Institute began to publish more regularly in the mid-1950s as the Institute's foundation, thereby ignoring or questioning the official socialist date of foundation in 1949. If nothing else, Brăiloiu used the review to distance himself from the recent work of his Romanian colleagues, while also introducing the work of his Romanian colleagues to a more international audience.

Also, Brăiloiu appears surprised about the positive treatment his friend Bartók received in the reviewed issues. One scandal that comes to mind in particular is the one from 1934, when the composer Brediceanu protested Bartók's visit to Romania on nationalistic grounds with the effect that Bartók had to cancel some of his engagements on what I think was his last trip to Romania (cf. László 1999). In his review from 1957, Brăiloiu explicitly welcomed the positive treatment of Bartók in the new *Revista de Folclor*, but he also wonders why Alexandru, as the author of the article under review, explicitly referred to the former scandal from the 1930s at all:

D'une manière générale, il est beaucoup parlé de Bartók dans la *Revue de folklore*, et l'on n'y craint même pas d'évoquer le fameux complot (le mot n'est pas excessif) monté autrefois contre lui, en Roumanie. Par qui? Le nom d'un comparse non-musicien mis à part, la Revue n'en accuse que la "réaction" anonyme, laquelle a manifestement bon dos, une fois de plus. Mais ne vaudrait-il pas mieux cent fois jeter un voile épais sur un épisode qui ne fait honneur à personne, Bartók seul excepté? (Brăiloiu 1957:236)

In general, there is much talk of Bartók in the *Revista de Folclor*, and one is not even afraid to mention the famous plot (the word is not excessive) once mounted against him in Romania. By whom? The name of a non-musician extra aside, the journal does acknowledge that anonymous "reaction", which is once again an easy pretext. But would it not have been a hundred times better to throw a thick veil over an episode that honors no one except Bartók?

It looks like Brăiloiu did not understand (or did not want to understand) the context of socialist cultural policy. The reason why Alexandru brought up the Bartók scandal was to distance himself and perhaps Romanian socialist ethnomusicology as a whole from nationalist tendencies then associated with the fascist period of the 1930s and the war-time period. However, Brăiloiu uses the occasion to point out inconsistencies in Bartók's treatment in socialist Romania. On the one hand the nationalistic attacks against the Hungarian composer from 1930s were criticized in socialist Romania, but on the other the people who led these charges in the 1930s (particularly T. Brediceanu) were not criticized, suggesting only a half-hearted change in course. By looking only at Bartók's treatment in socialist music research, Brăiloiu questions whether the nationalistic stance had really been overcome, as implied by Alexandru's positive treatment of Bartók.

Brăiloiu also shows himself bewildered about the way that he himself is quoted in the *Revista de Folclor* by Mihai Pop 1956²⁰⁰, a colleague who, like Brăiloiu, had participated in D. Gusti's ethnographic field campaigns:

C'est néanmoins avec quelque surprise que le soussigné [i.e. Brăiloiu] (cité plus souvent que prévu) voit résumer ses opinions à la page 14 du premier volume. Que la musique populaire soit "un fait social par excellence", c'est bien ce qu'il a dit, et, sans doute, chacun en conviendra. Mais qu'il considère comme proprement populaire n'importe quelle musique en usage dans les campagnes, on se demande où le commentateur a pu trouver pareille affirmation dans un travail où l'on peut lire, en toutes lettres, que "les folkloristes sont, en général, d'accord aujourd'hui ... pour dire que leur science s'occupe de la seule musique d'origine et d'usage paysans" et que si, à la manière de certains savants, surtout allemands,

²⁰⁰ As the quote shows, Brăiloiu does not mention Pop as the author of this statement, but Brăiloiu's mention of page 14 unambiguously refers to Pop's article (Pop 1956).

cette science prenait pour objet "la totalité des mélodies vivant à tel moment dans telle société rurale", elle deviendrait sociologie pure (v. *Revue de musicologie*, nov. 1931).

Nevertheless, it is with some surprise that the undersigned [i.e. Brăiloiu] (cited more often than expected) has summarized his views on page 14 of the first volume. That folk music is "a social fact par excellence" is what he said [supposedly], and no doubt everyone will agree. But that he [C.B.] considers as properly popular [as proper folk music] any music in use in the countryside, one wonders where the commentator was able to find such a statement in a work where [all] one can read, literally, is that "At the moment, folklorists, in general, have agreed ... to say that their science deals with music solely of peasant origin and use" and if, as some scholars still wish to say, particularly the Germans, that this science took as its object the "totality of the melodies existing at a particular moment within a particular rural society", it would be pure sociology (v. *Revue de musicologie*, nov. 1931). [CB's emphasis, my translation]

Brăiloiu objects here against the way his notion of the popular was represented; in particular, he denies that he regarded "all music presently in use in the countryside" as folk music. Instead, Brăiloiu insists that he subscribed to a narrower point of view according to which folk music is the "music solely of peasant origin and use" and not "the totality of melodies existing at a particular moment within a particular rural society". He admits having written these words, but insists that he was quoting unnamed German sources and did not express his own opinion. That Brăiloiu also created some ambiguity, for example through his embrace of sociology, is something he implicitly denies in his review while I consider this type of ambiguity characteristic for Brăiloiu's style. As in other cases, he makes it difficult for his reader, by reviewing a range of different opinions without always clearly subscribing to any one of these approaches.

Furthermore, in this case, perhaps it would have been more beneficial for Brăiloiu, at least from an opportunistic point of view, to overlook this relatively minor misquotation: Pop read Brăiloiu in a way that was more palatable in socialists' eyes, treating Brăiloiu as a precursor of the enlarged "official" socialist notion of folklore, where folklore is no longer restricted to the peasants, but regarded as the product of the whole working class. But either Brăiloiu was not interested in being read positively from a socialist perspective or he was relatively ignorant of the socialist standpoints. Or perhaps more likely, given the context of the Cold War and the fact that Brăiloiu was writing in Switzerland and France, Brăiloiu felt the need to distance himself from any approach that was too overtly associated with a socialist interpretation.

In this context, it might be noteworthy that Pop was able to discuss Brăiloiu's sociological approach at all and that he did not avoid this disciplinary label altogether. While sociology was eliminated in many socialist countries (cf. Kolaja 1974:78), in Romania of 1956 (i.e. during the first period of relaxation) both the word "sociology" and the fact that Pop did not hide Brăiloiu's interest in sociology appear as somewhat of an anomaly in comparison to other socialist countries.

On the one hand, in his review from 1957 Brăiloiu distanced himself from the Institute in Bucharest, an institution whose predecessor he had founded and directed for years, and he raised the question of how the Institute could really claim his intellectual inheritance. On the other hand, Brăiloiu's protest of Pop's misquotation concerns a detail rather than a fundamental difference. One is tempted to think that the differences here may have partly been in style: the language in which research was presented. It appears that the socialist realist discourse of socialist folkloristics favored clarity to an extent where it was not possible for Pop to quote Brăiloiu on sources that he did not agree with. What I suggest here is that perhaps there was a socialist realist style of writing in early socialist folkloristics (and possibly in related fields) that showed characteristics similar to

those of socialist realism in the arts: an emphasis on clarity, accessibility and applicability and a rejection of intellectual obscurantism (or what could be construed as such), including Brăiloiu somewhat ambivalent style. I will elaborate on my hypothesized socialist realist style of folkloristics in later sections when discussing other indicators.

In any case, since the Institute's official foundation in 1949, Brăiloiu's intellectual heritage had been somewhat contested, at first by the socialists who initially treated Brăiloiu as a *persona non grata*, and then by Brăiloiu himself, who mildly protested the depiction of his role and his position by his colleagues at the Institute.²⁰¹

I believe that Brăiloiu's concept of sociology is relatively and purposefully vague, outlining a general direction rather than a specific path. He does not launch into a serious and exhaustive definition of sociology, as a sociologist might do; rather he fills the term sociology with just as much meaning as necessary to open up the study of music to include domains other than musical sounds and structures. Furthermore, one can read many of his statements also as arguing musical folklore should not come too close to sociology. In this respect, his approach is not all that different from some of his predecessors, including Hornbostel, who acknowledged the relevance of a host of other disciplines as Carl Stumpf had done before him, and Bartók, who had taken the tradition of folkloristics seriously to an extent where the non-sounding aspects of music at times became an integral part of his approach. One could make the case that Brăiloiu used sociology in a similar way – to extend musical folklore into the domain beyond music-as-sound – and that Brăiloiu was able on this basis to argue more systematically and rigorously that musical folklore should become a new and autonomous discipline, distinct both from musicology and sociology.

MIHAI POP'S PROGRAM (1956)

In this section, I describe and analyze how Mihai Pop represented the Institute in his article in the first issue of the *Revista de Folclor* (Pop 1956), where he outlined an agenda for the Folklore Institute based on a history of Romanian folkloristics. Overall, Pop's position was not dramatically different from what Drăgoi had outlined beginning in 1950. Specifically, Pop continued to argue that contemporary folklore and the folklore of the proletariat were vital parts of folkloristics:

Folcloriștii cercetează astăzi nu numai satele ci și marele șantiere, centrele muncitorești și orașele. [...] Marile șantiere sînt locuri în care se întîlnesc oameni din toate regiunile țării și în care se face pe o scară mult mai mare decît altădată, la armată de pildă, schimbul de cîntece, jocuri, și povestiri. [...] Centrele muncitorești și orașele au si ele viață folclorică proprie. O mare parte a muncitorilor recenți este de origine țărănească. Ei au adus la oraș obiceiuri, cîntece și jocuri din ținutul de unde au venit și le păstrează încă. (Pop 1956:19)

Today, the folklorists research not only the villages, but also the big work places, work centers and cities. [...] The big work sites are places, such as the army, in which people meet from all regions of the country and exchange songs, dances and stories; they do so on a much bigger scale than in previous years. [...] Work centers and cities have their own proper folkloric life. Many of the recent workers are from peasant origins. They have brought customs, songs and dances from the surroundings of where they came from to the cities and they maintain these still.

²⁰¹ Although there is some more recent scholarship on Brăiloiu both from inside and outside Romania (e.g Tomescu and Roșu 1994; Aubert 2009), the matters I discussed here – his concept of sociology, its development during his lifetime, and his reception by Romanians during the socialist period - are not particularly well covered.

As outlined earlier (in 4.1), I assume that the inclusion of what Pop (and others in his time) described as contemporary folklore ("folclor contemporan") was more or less dictated by the political sphere, which implies that Pop might not have been able to publish his text if he had argued that folklore consisted only of peasant folklore.

More than Drăgoi before him, Pop did not simply define contemporary folklore as the sum of both the peasants' and workers' artistic creations (creația populară, Pop 1956:18); he also provided relatively elaborate arguments for why the study of contemporary culture, including that of the workers, was a relevant part of folklore studies. Pop highlights parallel developments in the 1930s and presocialist folkloristics in general, for example that Brăiloiu had already argued (in his "Esquisse" and elsewhere) that musical folklore should not be limited only to tradition alone, but should also include contemporary phenomena, such as changes in folklore brought about by modernization and technological change. More specifically, Pop writes that Brăiloiu had emphasized "living folklore" (fenomen folcloric viu) and "contemporary folklore" (folclorul contemporan, Pop 1956:15), but does not mention that Brăiloiu did not include the folklore of factories and other work sites. So in effect, Pop highlighted and overemphasized the parallels between his own socialist approach and Brăiloiu's approach.²⁰² Perhaps this characterization of Brăiloiu did contribute to Brăiloiu becoming acceptable in the socialists' eyes, so that Brăiloiu could transition from a persona non grata, one who could not be mentioned in socialist discourse, to a hero of the socialist folkloristic canon.

Like Brăiloiu, Pop also puts emphasis on a holistic perspective encompassing different aspects of life, but he does it in a different way than Brăiloiu. Pop emphasizes the term "sincretismul" (syncretism), highlighting that folklore has three or more domains (music, dance, literature) and that these domains are typically related and interdependent and should not be studied in isolation:

Sincretismul este unul din caracterele de bază ale creației populare. La cunoașterea integral a faptelor de folclor sincretice colaborează deci consecvent folcloriștii celor trei domenii, muzică, literatură și coregrafie populară, fiecare folosind metodele proprii domeniului său pentru a ajunge la înțelegerea cât mai deplină a lucrurilor. (Pop 1956:19)

Syncretism is one of the basic characteristics of folk creation. The integral [holistic] knowledge of syncretic folklore facts thus brings together folklorists of those three domains – music, literature, folk choreography [dance], each using the methods of their own domain to reach a more complete understanding of the matter.

Where Brăiloiu drew a complex picture of musical folklore as a subdiscipline that resisted just being a field of either musicology or sociology, Pop emphasized the interrelatedness of folklore's three subdomains. In effect Pop emphasizes interdisciplinarity, but his interdisciplinarity is limited to various facets of the field of folklore, rather than all disciplines and all domains of life. In spite of these differences between Pop and Brăiloiu, both scholars' concern for a holistic perspective may be reminiscent of Gusti's multi-disciplinary approach from the 1930s and possibly derived from this common source. Also it seems that the political-academic climate that I described in relation to the introduction of socialist cultural policy encouraged the tendency to

²⁰² As discussed above, Brăiloiu had pointed to Pop's article in his review of the early issues of the *Revista de Folclor* and had criticized Pop for not quoting him correctly.

split knowledge into specialized and relatively isolated domains. If that was the case, Pop's argument for a more holistic approach within folkloristics could be seen as a case of resisting political pressures, given his official (i.e. state-approved) position. I will revisit this thesis in section 4.4.

Essentially, Pop maintains the same position on identity politics that was already established in Drăgoi's time, re-iterating the official anti-nationalistic policy of the early socialist period. At the same time, Pop goes a step further by explicitly mentioning Romania's minorities:

Folclor țării noastre cuprinde alături de folclorul românesc și folclor maghiar, german, sîrb, bulgar, ucrainian, rus, chiar și slovac, turc, tartar, evresc, etc. (Pop 1956:20)

The folklore of our country includes, besides Romanian folklore, also Hungarian, German, Serbian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Russian and even Slovakian, Turkish, Tartar, Jewish etc. folklore.

This is the only instance I know where the Jewish community and its culture was explicitly mentioned in the Institute's discourse during the socialist period. Furthermore, Pop not just mention Jews, but regarded them as one of the populations Romanian folkloristics should cover. Interestingly enough, the sizable Roma population is not mentioned here, although Pop elsewhere makes clear that various musics played by *lăutari* are a topic in Romanian folklore. Again, I suspect that this omission was motivated by official policies which tended to omit any mention of Roma at this time, effectively treating cultural expressions of Roma as Romanian²⁰³. This early socialist-era strategy of including music made by Roma in the category of Romanian folk music while omitting any mention of them is different from the traditional approach in Romania, which I described in the context of the national matrix and the more xenophobic periods, in which Roma were typically explicitly described as a separate ethnic group and, often, as a "contaminating" influence.

I speculate that Pop's slight shift in identity politics (providing a more explicit list of Romania's minorities) does not reflect change in the official position of the government, which as far as I can tell from other sources remained constant. The fact that this slight change occurred when Pop became the unofficial spokesperson might instead indicate that the Institute's directorship had some leeway in the implementation of the official position. It is important that, although Pop's position was significantly different from earlier policy statements at the Institute, research on most of Romania's minorities still made up only a tiny fraction of the research produced by the Institute (in the IF period). The fact that the archive in Cluj became associated with the folklore of Germans and Hungarians in Romania also meant a marginalization of their work, for instance. That the research produced in Cluj was not taken seriously can be seen, for example, in the fact it was seldom mentioned in the *Revista de Folclor*.

Pop's position likely appealed to many of those researchers who had collaborated with Gusti in the 1920s and 1930s, since they often took a less nationalistic stance than others in their time. His explanation of socialist identity politics may have sounded significantly more convincing than when Drăgoi espoused nearly the same policy in part because Pop himself took part in Gusti's

²⁰³ When discussing folk orchestras above, I found the same strategy of not mentioning Roma, which in that case too effectively resulted in the appropriation of Roma culture as Romanian.

field research. A second reason is that Pop highlighted continuities with the presocialist research (Gusti, Brăiloiu), while Drăgoi's association with the more nationalistic camp in the 1920s and 1930s had probably not yet been forgotten and his more nationalistic stance was still visible even in the socialist period²⁰⁴.

A third reason for which Pop's position is more convincing than Drăgoi's is because he highlights parallels to pre-World War II research, especially but not only the Gusti tradition of folklore research. The inclusion of contemporary folklore and the new official and more liberal identity politics of the day fit well into that scholarly tradition. Perhaps the return of a representative from the Gusti camp as the Institute's public spokesperson, even if not its official director, itself indicated a step towards normalcy after the Stalinist terror in the late 1940s and the early 1950s.

Also, even in this early article, Pop alluded repeatedly to folklore research outside of Romania, foreshadowing a period of active international relations in the period in which Pop had a say in the Institute's matters (until his retirement from the position of director in 1975).

Based on his outline of Romanian folkloristics in the 20th century, Pop suggests an agenda for the Institute's work in the coming years. Specifically, he outlines six projects (Pop 1956:24):

- (1) the publication of a series of monographs on Romanian folklore;
- (2) the publication of a series of typologies in which the descriptive data from the monographs is further analyzed;
- (3) a bibliography of Romanian folklore research;
- (4) a thematic catalogue of fairy tales (*basme*);
- (5) a folklore atlas;
- (6) research on the history of folklore and folkloristics.

What is perhaps most surprising about this list is that it is not more spectacular. None of the items on this list is new; in fact, many of the items on this list are decade-old desiderata and all could also be found on the agenda of folklore institutions in the West around the same time, which shows that they are not specific to the socialist political context.

From a political point of view, it is significant that Pop's article does not discuss the question of folklore's legitimization on the basis of socialist cultural policy at all – one of the matters that had been discussed repeatedly in previous papers. Instead, Pop takes this topic for granted, signaling his compliance with the dominant political worldview. For example, he makes a positive reference to historical materialism as the source of objectivity in the Marxist style (Pop 1956:18). However, by omitting any reference to the fact that politicians claimed to steer folkloristics, as well as any discussion of the state's legitimation for doing so, though Drăgoi had done so in earlier publications, Pop may have signaled that folklore in the new *Revista de Folclor* would be less dominated by political influences than in previous periods.

According to Pop, the new series of monographs is the first publication project devoted to fieldwork-based material (he excludes earlier publications that were not part of a series). Also Pop

²⁰⁴ Perhaps one could make the case that Drăgoi had consistently taken a nationalist course, but avoided association with the ultra-nationalists. It appears that Drăgoi consistently admired Bartók and that he did not side with Brediceanu when the latter protested against Bartók's visit to Romania in 1934, but this would not affect my argument.

claims that the new series will be unique for covering folklore holistically (although he used the term "syncretism," as explained above), i.e. including domains of music, dance, literature, theater, mime, and others. However, these features were not all that new. The series *Din vieața poporului Român* (see 3.2) had likewise been based on new fieldwork, and some of the works published in the context of Gusti's in the 1920s and 1930s had had a similar holistic approach.

In Romania, roughly the same publications are often referred to as monographic, probably because one topic, such as a single musical genre, is intensively studied for one ethnographic area. I believe that this usage is derived from the Gusti tradition, but I am not sure when it became a technical term in Romanian folkloristics. Notably, Pop uses the term monograph (Romanian *monograf*) within the discussed article in the older, more general and internationally more established meaning, referring to book-length publications on a single topic (e.g. Pop 1956:12).²⁰⁵

The implications of Pop's plan for the series are several. First of all, the fact that he is here outlining a gigantic project can easily be overlooked. According to the list of examples Pop provides, the regions he believes a book should cover are significantly smaller than official districts (*judet*), so there will be more than 50 of them for the whole country. Pop seems to prefer separate monographs on each folklore region, and at least three different ones per region (for folk music, dance and literature). Sometimes the monographs cover only one genre, such as *colinde*. Considering that there are more than ten established genres in folk music, and probably about the same or more in dance and literature, he is actually suggesting that folklorists need to write up to 1500 monographs to cover the country systematically.

Pop's second objective, to publish a series of typologies, is the first mention of typologies as a project of the Institute that later would also be relevant for its ethnomusicologists. Considering that it still took many years before the first musical typology was published, I assume that the concept of typology was more prominent in the literary branch of folklore and did not originate among musical folklorists. In this article, Pop is not particularly clear on his definition of a typology. He explicitly links them to the quest to identify melodic classifications (as discussed for Bartók above).

Thirdly, we can observe that, with his plans to publish monographs and typologies, Pop outlines a clear sequence of consecutive steps for folklore research: a) collection of material in the field; b) publication of (regional) monographs; and c) creation of typologies.

Pop treats neither folklore nor the study of folklore as synchronic and unchanging phenomena, although in this article he refrains from outlining concrete changes in folklore. The new focus on history was among the new trends that emerged or gained prominence during the socialist period, probably because of the fact that the Marxist approach itself had a strong historical component, as implied for example by the term "historical materialism".

Finally, in this same article, Pop also describes the current state of the archive. According to his statements, the IF at this point had collected over 50,000 songs (*cîntece populare*)²⁰⁶, plus

²⁰⁵ For reasons that will become clearer later, I will mostly use the term "geographic paradigm" to refer to the monographic research.

²⁰⁶ I assume that Pop refers here to 50,000 pieces of recorded music.

nearly 30,000 transcriptions²⁰⁷ of pieces that had been notated by ear²⁰⁸, 1000 fairy tales (*basme*), and more than 600 dances (*dansuri*) (Pop 1956:24). Whether dances refer here to dance transcriptions (unlikely) or recordings of dance music (likely) is not clear. A few years later, Emilia Comișel provided slightly bigger numbers in her description of the archive, reflecting that the Institute's holdings were growing throughout the latter half of the 1950s. By this time, the growth of the archives was probably mainly due to collecting new recordings during fieldwork or in the Bucharest studio, rather than through the acquisition of existing collections; such acquisitions seem to have occurred mainly in the initial phase of the IF, when the country's cultural institutions were radically reorganized.

Overall, if one compares Pop's vision of folkloristics and his agenda for the Institute with similar statements by Drăgoi, there are few if any fundamental differences: both embrace the new notion of folkloristics that extends folklore from the peasants to all of the proletariat; both open up Romanian folkloristics for populations that were hitherto not included, specifically the country's minorities. I see the main difference between the two in the fact that Pop was able to reason more convincingly in favor of this new direction. He does so mainly and primarily by emphasizing (and perhaps over-emphasizing) continuities between the new socialist folkloristics and Romanian presocialist research traditions, especially the Gusti camp. By doing so, Pop is able to establish a canon of standards against which successful research in folkloristics can be measured. This canon will be enlarged later on. In this early publication it remains on a rudimentary level, highlighting relatively basic notions that work both for the socialist or Marxist folkloristics as well as for folkloristics with a presocialist foundation.

Furthermore, for Romanian ethnomusicology it is especially significant that Pop was able to re-introduce Brăiloiu as a positive example in the history of folkloristics. Yet it is noteworthy that Pop treats Brăiloiu relatively superficially in this article. I suggest that this is no accident. Basically Pop credits Brăiloiu with implementing the phonograph in Romania as an objective research instrument that led the way for establishing objectivity in other domains of folkloristics. This notion of objectivity is a good example of Pop's incipient canon of standards. However, Pop disregards the fact that others, including Bartók and Pârvulescu, used the same instrument decades before Brăiloiu. In this way Brăiloiu, not those others, is here characterized as a predecessor of the socialist notion of folklore. I read this slightly inexact treatment as a calculated move on Pop's part to reintroduce Brăiloiu and other presocialist ideas into the new socialist canon of folkloristics.

²⁰⁷ I assume that Pop counts as transcriptions both melodies that were archived only as transcriptions and not as recordings and transcriptions of recordings, so that Institute did not possess 80,000 representations of distinct melodies, but taking into account Comișel's numbers, discussed below, somewhere around 56,000 distinct melodies in 1956.

²⁰⁸ I use the expressions "transcribed by ear" and "notated by ear" for transcriptions made on site without the use of a mechanical recording device.

4.4 *Towards a new paradigm: Field research and themes (1956-63)*

The last section looked mainly at the 1956 article in which Mihai Pop outlined the history of Romanian folklore research and his agenda for future research at the Institute. In this section, I look at the Institute's publications on music between 1956 and 1963, i.e. the period before the Institute and the journal were restructured and renamed for the first time.

Within this body of texts, I analyze only publications based on new research in the field. The way I define this topic corresponds with Pop's first agenda item, the so-called monographic research, except that I look at articles as well as book-length publications. For this body of research, I determine the descriptive standards that were used and to some extent established at the Institute in this period. My determination is based mainly on musical transcriptions, since other relevant factors are rarely discussed in these publications. These standards are significant because they helped researchers identify material that merited collection, analysis and publication and guided them in their general practices (how long the collecting trips were, how they were organized, how informants were identified, what they were questioned about, etc.).

In this period a single standard developed (or became more firmly established) at the Institute which determined how musical transcriptions should look. Except for small details, this new standard had already been present in the articles published in *Muzica* during the early 1950s (discussed above). That means the new standard did not suddenly appear together with the *Revista de Folclor*, although here it became more clearly visible than in prior publications.

Although I speak of a single standard for description and transcription, I do not wish to imply that all transcriptions in all of the Institute's publications live up to this standard, as occasional critiques in reviews (discussed further below) of these works indicate. Nonetheless, this new standard appears to be fairly consistent and consistently applied to publications of the Institute. In particular, it seems closely connected to a sense of professionalism in ethnomusicological work at the Institute, by which researchers distinguished professional ethnomusicology from other disciplines and activities. I briefly discussed Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's work as an example of somebody outside the Institute who, although he conducted fieldwork, did not live up to this new standard and therefore was not regarded as a researcher.

In this section I also looked at the themes in the music research produced by the Institute in this period. Many of the Institute's publications avoid a purely descriptive approach (perhaps the articles more so than the monographs). All articles and nearly all of the introductions to the longer publications do more than just document a musical tradition, they also advance an argument. Musical structures are emphasized, but also many of the research topics are related in some way to Brăiloiu and his work. Often Brăiloiu is quoted as the most important point of reference, or the research is concerned with musical phenomena similar to those featured in Brăiloiu's work. At the end of this section, I also discuss a few ways in which research in this period deviates from Bartók's and Brăiloiu's methods.

STANDARDS OF DESCRIPTION AND PROFESSIONALISM

Not only were the ways in which descriptions in general and musical transcriptions in particular more or less standardized (by using a similar pattern for these descriptions), but so were the

objects described. In other words: the rules that allowed researchers to identify objects to be collected and transcribed were standardized, thus limiting the scope of the Institute's research. Folk music was now effectively bifurcated: either it was folk music in the traditional sense, in which case it referred to the music of peasants, much like Brăiloiu and others had argued, or it was new folk music, i.e. created after August 1944, in which case it included songs and other creations supposedly or really made by the representatives of the working class. According to the socialist notion of folklore, a few other genres, such as the songs of outlaws or revolutionary songs pre-dating August 1944, should also be among the Institute's research objects, but in practice the Folklore Institute only occasionally dealt with these genres (e.g. Cernea 1959).

In this regard, it is particularly important to note how music research at the Institute reacted to the slightly new, more minority-friendly policy Pop had suggested in 1956. In practice, i.e., in the actual research conducted and published by the Institute, this new tendency hardly made any impact (in the IF period). Only a few articles from this period relate to the music of groups other than Romanians: for instance, one article discusses Hungarians (Iagamas 1957), another surveys Bulgarian folk music (St. Djudjev 1958). These two articles demonstrate that the Institute's researchers were not exclusively interested in Romanians and their folklore, and also that there was no great interest in deviating from the traditional national matrix. It seems that Brăiloiu's critique in his review of early *Revista de Folclor* articles did hit the mark (discussed in 4.3): Early socialist attempts at rejecting a nationalist perspective were at best skin deep. An anti-nationalistic rhetoric was occasionally adopted, but did not seriously alter the research practices in this period. Furthermore, the articles occasionally show that their authors continued to employ a relatively narrowly-defined notion of Romanianness along ethnic lines, as had long been the tradition of the national matrix, rather than taking a new, more inclusive view.

The fact that Romanian folklore was still thought of as something distinct from the folklore of minority groups was usually taken for granted and hence not explicitly argued. Rather one finds this assumption revealed more incidentally, for example when Adrian Vicol discusses recent influences on folk songs in the region of Muscel:

Cîntecele muscelene în special au primit puternice influențe, mai ales din partea tarafurilor lăutărești, a radio-ului și a aparatelor muzicale diverse, printre care patefonul ocupă primul loc. (Vicol 1958a:18)

Especially the songs from Muscel have received strong influences, particularly from lăutar ensembles, the radio and different musical devices, among which the gramophone occupies the first place.

Based on a stylistic analysis of contemporary musical performances, which we do not get to see in musical transcription, Vicol assumes here that Romanian folklore had evolved over time from an original state, which had not yet been influenced by lăutar music and other factors. While one could interpret this statement as merely an acknowledgement that one genre (lăutar repertoire) influenced another (folk songs in Muscel region), it seems likely that Vicol also implied an ethnic dimension in this process: that Roma lăutari influenced Romanians and their music (and were not themselves Romanian). He certainly does not rule out such an interpretation. As I have shown in Chapter 3, similar assumptions about a hypothetical "uncontaminated" state of folklore in the time before contact with Roma had been common at least since the early 20th century.

In the Institute's publications from the IF period, one notes the authors' desire to present detailed musical transcriptions. Vicol, for example, elaborates:

[C]onsiderăm transcrierea amănunțită mai ales în cazul notațiilor unor piese interpretate de către bunii păstrători și interpreți populari, cu consemnarea celor mai subtile variații de ordin melodic sau ritmic ale cântecului și de la o strofă la alta (dar bine înțeles fără exagerarea acestora) demnă de a constitui un principiu de bază pentru munca oricărui folclorist muzical. (Vicol 1958a:36)

We consider the detailed transcription, especially in the case of notations of pieces interpreted by good preservers [of tradition] and folk performers, with the notation of the most subtle variations of the melodic or rhythmic order of the song from one verse to another (of course without their exaggeration), worthy of being a basic principle of the work of every musical folklorist.

The fact that this is the last sentence of the article underlines its importance, while also suggesting that detailed transcription was perhaps considered an end in itself: it appears here as a prerequisite for appropriate academic work, rather than a process with an ulterior motive of revealing something about music or culture. Especially in this article, which focuses on unaccompanied song, the transcriptions Vicol provided in fact seem overly detailed.

Figure 4.2: Transcription from Vicol 1958

12 A. VICOL

Mgt. 431 s

Ex. 1 $\text{♩} = 72$ ($\text{♩} = 216$)

i of of Dar nici ea nu e stră-nă e

Str. 2

Str. 3

Str. 2-3

Schema ritmică :

Str. 2-3

Str. 2-3

Str. 2-3

Vicol notated not just a single verse, but also the variations in other verses – and this attention to all parts of the recorded performance became the most evident hallmark of the new style of transcription, differentiating it from the transcription standard of earlier decades. But considering that Vicol apparently worked from a single tape recording of this song (described as Mgt 431 s), one can question how representative such a transcription actually is. A transcription which transcribes a complete recording certainly represents that recording, covering what I would like to call intra-performance variations, and it does so better than an incomplete transcription. But even an exact transcription of a single performance can hardly count as a very good representation of other or even all other performances of the same song (i.e., inter-performance variations). I wonder if Vicol's enthusiasm for notating intra-performance variations leads him to mistake a good representation of a single performance of a song for a good representation of the song in general (which in turn one could interpret as all performances of the song).

Furthermore, one wonders if the changing time signatures and the barlines in the given transcription can really be determined without any doubt. A different transcriber might easily have chosen a different representation of the rhythm with similar justification. The same accounts for the frequent use of the fermatas: How can Vicol tell that the tempo is slowing down and that the intended note value remains short, rather than the inverse? These aspects of the transcription seem to reflect the decisions of the transcriber more than the intention of the performer and in this sense they can be regarded as subjective. In contrast, other aspects of the transcription appear to be more objective: for example, Vicol's use of ties to indicate when single syllables stretch over several tones. Also, it is noteworthy that when discussing a related topic (syllabic giusto in Romanian folk music), Brăiloiu consciously opted for a less detailed transcription that omitted barlines and frequent time signature changes (Brăiloiu 1984g:175, cf. Brăiloiu 1984c:42)²⁰⁹. Judging merely by the transcription, it appears that Vicol prefers to follow either Bartók's example or that of an earlier Brăiloiu article (Brăiloiu 1932), which constitutes the basis for Brăiloiu's rhythm study in syllabic giusto.

Vicol's reduction of the actual musical transcription to a rhythmic scheme (*schema ritmica*, as illustrated above) is reminiscent of the skeleton melody concept frequently employed by Bartók (cf. Suchoff 2001:51, 54, 174-5). Here Vicol appears to act purely mechanically: omitting those notes that are typically notated using grace notes, without checking with the performer if these tones are really incidental, as implied by the notational conventions and the transcriber's decision to notate them as ornaments, or if they are rather central elements of the melody or style. It is not surprising that as a result of this abstraction only a relatively simple rhythmic scale remains (consisting in this case of quarter notes, eighth notes, sixteenth notes and sixteenth triplets), and this simplicity is at least in part a result of the method of notation.

Vicol employed not only recently collected recordings (i.e. those from the 1950s), but also older recordings from the same region which were stored in the Institute's archive. Out of a total

²⁰⁹ Here I discuss only matters pertaining to transcriptions. Later in this section of this chapter, I compare Vicol's article with Brăiloiu's studies of the syllabic giusto more extensively. Later in this section, I also expand on syllabic giusto as a rhythmic system put forward by Brăiloiu.

of eleven transcriptions included in the article, five are from the 1940s. One finds a similar approach of combining archival material with more recent recordings in many publications of the IF. This methodology underlines the default assumption in place here: that musical regions have a fairly stable repertoire and that development over time consists of fairly slow changes.

Likewise, the grid of specification that Vicol provides in his article can be found in many of the Institute's publications from this period: the tempo is notated in the more exact form of beats per minute, a reference to the recording from which this transcription was made (here: "Mgt. 431 s") is provided. In the text of the article, Vicol mentions the name and age of each informer as well as the place of where the recording was made.

Many other Institute publications at this time show a similar level of detail in their transcriptions (e.g. Rodan-Kahane 1956), although occasionally slightly simpler transcriptions were published (e.g. Drăgoi 1957:63, Carp 1957, Comișel 1959a). It is remarkable that most Institute publications in this period follow a similar approach of combining a detailed musical transcription with a consistent set of accompanying pieces of information. If publications deviated from this scheme, they were sometimes criticized, as for example the first edition of the anthology of folklore from Hunedoara (Comișel 1959a). After a fairly negative review of this first edition (Rădulescu 1960), which criticized the selection of material and the transcriptions (mainly for including transcriptions made by ear in the field, rather than those based on recordings), the Institute published a new edition of the anthology (Comișel 1964b) with a substantially revised selection of material. Those transcriptions that were reprinted, such as the one shown in Figure 4.3, appeared without alterations (i.e. as in the previous edition), but the new edition omitted all transcriptions made by ear. None of the transcriptions in either edition of this volume comply with the new practice of providing variations for different verses (intra-performance variations). However, the new edition does provide several examples of melodic and textual variations. Notably, in the second edition of the anthology, Comișel no longer addressed an academic audience in the foreword, but rather a broad audience:

Prin antologia de față , care se adresează marelui public, compozitorilor, studenților, elevilor, și mai puțin specialiștilor, dorim să aducem o modestă contribuție la cunoașterea și valorificarea tezaurului artistic al talentatului nostru popor. (Comișel 1964b:4)

Through this anthology, which addresses a big audience, composers, students, pupils and to a lesser degree specialists, we wish to make a small contribution to the knowledge and appreciation of the artistic treasure of our people's talent.

Given this apparent disclaimer and the critiques of the first edition, the anthology seems no longer to have met the standards of professionalism – in part because not all variations from each recording were transcribed, and also, as Comișel hints, because the selection of the material followed aesthetic rather than academic criteria (Comișel 1964b:3).

Figure 4.3: A transcription from Comișel 1959 for a "broad audience"

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„ARDELEANA“

Fgr. 14155 c.
Culeg. O. Birlea și A. Vicol.

Com. Cerișor — Hunedoara.
Inf. Costă Gheorghe „Cioca“, cca. 45 ani.
1950.

Allegro moderato $\text{♩} = 124$

Cimpoi
tu caraba
dublă

134

This transcription is reprinted in the second edition of the anthology without alterations.

If one compares the repertoire covered in both editions, one can say that both editions favor songs and dances, rather than the ritual repertoire or more melancholic genres, such as the doina²¹⁰, complying with socialist preference for these genres. Nonetheless, both editions do contain a significant amount of ritual repertoire, and this repertoire is significantly expanded in the second edition (including colinde, wedding songs, funeral songs, and laments, many of which were not included in the first edition). It is possible that the addition of these genres was a nod to Brăiloiu, as Brăiloiu wrote about these genres extensively. But perhaps it is more likely that the revised selection of the second edition reflected decreasing political pressure to focus on politically-connnotated genres such as "cîntece haiducești" (outlaw songs).

The introduction to both editions include new folklore (i.e. items created after August 1944 that praise socialist achievements). The first edition discusses the lyrics of the three included new songs on one and half pages of the introduction, the second edition includes four explicitly mentioned new songs (items 75,103, 118 and 119), but discusses them only in one paragraph:

Cîteva melodii pot fi considerate "noi" ; ele marchează o etapă a procesului de evoluție a repertoriului pădurenesc sau de asimilare în stilul local a unor melodii aparținînd altor graiuri muzicale. Creațiile "noi" reprezintă de fapt acumularea unor elemente expresive – datorite bunilor interpreți - care uneori "trec în uzul colectiv, statornicindu- se și dînd naștere unor tipuri noi prin alterarea celor vechi" (Constantin Brăiloiu).

Some melodies can be considered "new"; they mark an era of evolutionary process in the repertoire from the Ținutul Pădurănilor region or [the evolutionary process] of the assimilation in local style of melodies belonging [originally] to other musical areas. The "new" creations represent in fact the

²¹⁰ The doina is not typically considered a form of song in Romania, although it is often sung with lyrics; instead it is typically regarded as a separate genre.

accumulation of expressive elements that – thanks to good performers – sometimes "pass into collective use, stabilizing themselves and giving birth to new types next to old ones" (Constantin Brăiloiu).

Here Comișel not only explains new songs as a "natural" development of the repertoire in accordance with the official understanding of this genre, she also uses the occasion to link this overtly political genre with Brăiloiu - roughly along the same lines as did Pop before her: she presents the new songs as the illustration of the principle by which Brăiloiu explained changing traditions through gradual variations.

Overall, Comișel is complying with the political dictates of her time by including new folklore in her collection and treating it as an organic part of folk music. We can assume that her collection would not have been published if she had not complied in this respect. At the same time, she seems to include only the smallest amount of new songs necessary, not even a handful of songs. And in the more permissive phase in which she rewrote the introduction for the second edition, she shortened the respective section to a single paragraph. If one wanted to put a label to this approach, one might call it a strategy of minimal compliance.

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE CASE OF POPESCU-JUDEȚ

In *The Predicament of Culture*, James Clifford commented on the moment in early social anthropology when the proponents of the new discipline had to argue that their knowledge of the field was at least as relevant as that of other professionals who sometimes spent more time in the field, such as missionaries and colonial officers. For Clifford, the methodological approach of participant observation, as undertaken by B. Malinowski and others, was an essential step in the professionalization of the discipline (Clifford 1988:24, 26-32). In the early phase of the Institute, a similar process of professionalization took place, and it allowed the employees of the Institute, and proponents of folkloristics at large, to set standards. A detailed transcription, especially one which captured the variations for all verses or parts of the song (intra-performance variations), became an important indicator of professionalism. Another factor that contributed to professional standards might have been the selection of appropriate material for transcription. The practices that had been developed in the context of the national matrix became part of the new standard, with slight modifications due to the enlarged notion of folklore, which now included new genres (such as contemporary folklore or new folklore). De facto, the old definition of Romanian folklore as the folklore of Romanian peasants was clearly a main emphasis in the work of the Institute in this phase. In spite of public claims that the Institute was also researching the folklore of the Romania's minorities, such research was not actually a focus in this early period. At least, research on minorities did not result in publications.

That these standards of professionalism in fact excluded and marked some people as non-professionals can be seen not only in the comparatively insignificant case of Comișel's introduction to the second edition of her book, which I have just described, but also more broadly in the case of Gheorghe Popescu-Județ and his wife Eugenia (see above), who, in spite of or perhaps because they were successful choreographers and engaged in their own field research, were not accepted by their academic colleagues as researchers.

To create new choreographies for his ensemble, Gheorghe Popescu-Județ frequently carried out field trips to many areas of Romania, where he collected folk dances (ca. between 1948-1970),

sometimes together with his wife and other colleagues. Between 1956 and 1964, he published ten dance anthologies with dances from several regions of Romania (e.g. Popescu-Județ 1956, 1957, 1958). These books were intended to provide repertoire for amateur folk dance groups that emerged with significant support from the institutions of the socialist state around this time period. The fact that the dances were based on field research was not particularly highlighted in these publications. Romanian folklorists typically did not regard Popescu-Județ and other choreographers as folklorists (Giurchescu 2013), arguably because the Popescu-Județes followed their own fieldwork methodology which was optimized for their goal to create new choreographies and did not comply with the academic standards of field research as developed by the Institute (cf. Popescu-Județ 1995, Giurchescu 2013). As I argued above, this is likely also the reason why neither Popescu-Județ is included in Datcu's fairly comprehensive Who's Who of Romanian folklorists (Datcu 1998a).

I elaborate here on Popescu-Județ's case to illustrate the sense in which the notion of professionalism excluded some participants from the academic discourse. According to the raised standards, interested parties were divided into professionals and others (amateurs, practitioners and researchers with an ambiguous position like the Popescu-Județes). It is surely not incidental that the same categories of professional and amateur existed for performers. In other words, the socialist cultural policy encouraged a process of specialization through which the domain of folklore was divided into groups such as academic researchers, practitioners (musicians, conductors, coreographers, organisers etc.) and amateurs. I would expect that the same phenomenon can be shown in other areas outside of folklore which were also affected by the socialist policies: specifically that an increasing specialization led to establishing divisions of labor where different groups ignored their work although it related to the same or similar phenomena. To put it simply: socialist cultural politics seems to have encouraged thinking in "professional boxes" rather than an interdisciplinary approach.

The borders and transitions between these groupings tended to grow in the socialist period and they tended to be controlled at least in part by the state. For example, the state had a say in who was allowed to study, who was allowed to be employed at the Institute, who received a position as choreographer in an ensemble (especially if that ensemble as in Popescu-Județ's case was affiliated with the police). Also, it became more likely that only those participants which had been vetted by the state had the resources necessary to meet the professional standards (for example, only they tended to be able to publish books at least during the more repressive periods). But professionalism cannot only be seen as an instrument of state control. It also carried the potential to counter the state's power. In fact professionalism may have played a role somewhat analogous to Marxist dogmas: while organs of political control used the Marxist worldview, in which society was being transformed towards a more communist future, as a yardstick to sort out unwanted publications, academics seem to have created a sense of professionalism to accomplish a similar end, potentially countering political influence. It seems plausible that established professional standards had the potential to justify research (e.g. new research proposals) in the eyes of the state. In this capacity, a sense of professionalism was an important instrument for folklorists to legitimize their research (on occasion even if it was somewhat at odds with political views).

An example would be the fact that Romanian ethnomusicologists were relatively free to research and publish about genres that were practically not allowed to be performed in public. The case study that I discussed earlier are *colinde* (carols). In the more politically repressive periods, particularly the early socialist period, I noticed that ritual repertoire (including *colinde*) was underemphasized although still present in the Institute's publications. However, after c. 1955 around the same time that Pop began to establish new professional standards at the Institute these restrictions seem to disappear. I argue here that once there was enough precedent and a sense of professionalism that legitimized or even demanded the research of all folk genres it was more difficult for the political sphere to eliminate or marginalize the research of the ritual repertoire. Together with the strategy of minimal compliance, the establishment of and reference to professional standards seem among the most effective strategies to resist or counter state pressure that I have discovered so far.

MUSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND MUSICAL SYSTEMS

The Institute's ethnomusicology research at this period tended to group into certain themes. A main focus was documentary: to capture and document how folk music and related traditions worked in the country. Yet apart from this descriptive approach, most if not all publications also have analytical aims.

I suggest the label "musical geography" to describe what appears to be the central theme in the Institute's studies in this period. These studies are based on new field research and they include detailed transcriptions for one or more genres from a single, relatively small area, sometimes referred to as ethnographic area in contemporary discourse, such as *Ținutul Pădurenilor*, a region in Transylvania in the county (*judet*) of Hunedoara (to use Comișel's monograph discussed above as an example). They also aim to identify specific, distinctive characteristics for one or several genres in the region discussed. Usually emphasis was put on musical characteristics²¹¹, but non-audible specifics were also described, although in a less detailed fashion. For example, in her anthology of the *Ținutul Pădurenilor*, Comișel outlined not only musical structures, but also the organization of rituals like weddings and the process of caroling (Comișel 1964b:15–17). Even so, emphasis was clearly put on musical characteristics.

Musical geography as I define it here is a theme that can be traced back at least to Béla Bartók and his concept of musical dialects, which was sometimes referenced in the Institute's research:

Este cunoscut aproape tuturor că folclorul patriei noastre este bogat atât prin marea varietate a genurilor cât și prin deosebirile ce exista între diferitele stiluri regionale ("dialecte muzicale", după denumirea dată de cunoscutul compozitor și folclorist maghiar Béla Bartók). (Comișel 1959a:4)

It is widely known that the folklore of our country [Romania] is rich both in great varieties of genres as well as in the differences that exist between different regional styles ("musical dialects", as the famous Hungarian composer and folklorist Béla Bartók called them).

²¹¹ I use the term "music" here in its narrow musicological sense as a subset of sound that can be transcribed – more or less the implicit understanding of the term in the discourse with which I am concerned.

As can be seen in the use of the term "patria noastră" (literally "our homeland") and the attribution of value (richness) to folklore, this quote from the first edition of Comișel's anthology employs the sentimental, nationalist style that had been a common staple of folklore discourse since the 19th century. In this quote value is specifically assigned to the variety of Romanian folklore, much like biological and cultural diversity today are often described as valuable assets. Comișel refers specifically to two different kinds or sources of variety: a diversity of genres and regions. She conceives of this diversity not as arbitrary, but as organized into regions with specific regional styles, a concept she associates with Bartók and more specifically with his term "musical dialects". Because of the centrality of place-based concepts, and also because folklorists associated musical characteristics with place more than with other factors, I suggest the term "geography" here.

In the second edition of the same anthology, the reference to Bartók was embedded in a very different style:

Legătura dintre aceste structuri (melodice, ritmice, modale etc.) și semnificația lor a fost stabilită în cursul experienței colective - este deci determinată social. Aceste structuri, elaborate și selecționate în funcție de conținutul de viață pe care îl exprimă, se diferențiază pe genuri și regiuni. Datorită condițiilor de viață specifice epocii feudale și unor factori de natură socială, psihică și geografică, în cadrul unității stilului folcloric românesc s-au cristalizat mai multe *graiuri muzicale*, denumite de Béla Bartók "dialecte muzicale" - trăsătură caracteristică muzicii noastre populare - de unde decurge o mare varietate de forme și stiluri. (Comișel 1964b:4)

The link between these structures (melodic, rhythmic, modal etc.) and their significance has been established in the collective experience – and thus is socially determined. These structures, having been worked out and selected according to the content of life [i.e. social standing of the individuals] that they express, differ by genres and regions. Due to the specific living conditions of the feudal era and other social factors, psychological and geographical unity in the Romanian folk style crystallized many *musical idioms*, termed by Béla Bartók "musical dialects" – characteristic features of our folk music – from which stem a wide variety of shapes and styles. (original emphasis)

Here, Comișel mixes basic assumptions of a Marxist worldview with a kind of theoretical complexity that was unheard of in the early socialist realist discourse of the Institute (as part of the early socialist realist writing style in folkloristics). As to the first, Comișel explains musical folklore as a mirror or representation of social (and economic) conditions. She distinguishes between (1) life, (2) "content of life," which I interpret as a flowery way of referring to the social and economic standing of the individuals who produce folklore, (3) musical structures and (4) the significance of musical structures. This level of complexity illustrates that socialist realism as a style of academic writing that insisted on accessibility and simplicity no longer applied to Comișel's second edition, although it may still have influenced her first edition. So perhaps one could read her earlier, more openly nationalist formulation as an attempt to "dumb down" her approach and make it more easily accessible for a larger audience. Also, it is difficult to reconcile this level of complexity with her stated objective to address the general public with her book.

Disregarding the stylistic differences, the core ideas Comișel expressed, as well as her terminology, remain largely consistent: she insists on the two different kinds of variety (by genre and by region) and she continued to employ Bartók's concept of musical dialects. However, in the second edition she preferred the expression "*grai muzical*" (musical idiom) over the expression "*dialect muzical*" (musical dialect).

For whatever reasons, Comișel chose not to adopt the intra-performance based transcription technique that emerged as a sort of consensus among the Institute's ethnomusicologists for the second edition of her book. One wonders if this decision contributed to or was otherwise related to the fact that she left the Institute in 1963.

The comparison of the first and second edition of Comișel's anthologies also illustrates the second phase of political relaxation in the mid-1960s that I will further discuss in the next chapter.

A theme closely related to musical geography, and which often cannot easily be distinguished from it, is the search for musical systems, as exemplified in Vicol 1958a. As with the examples of musical geography I have provided, here the underlying idea is also to extract characteristic musical structures from a set of detailed musical transcriptions for one genre from one region. But in contrast to musical geography, systematic studies place less emphasis on place and more emphasis on "systematicity". By observing the range of possible and permissible variations of a musical feature, one should be able to determine rules according to which variety was produced in a specific area. Although the practical application of such patterns was not typically discussed by the Institute's ethnomusicologists, such production rules would have been helpful for a composer who sought to emulate a regional musical style. This search for underlying production rules which explain the particularities of given musical performances remind me of the roughly contemporaneous concept of Noam Chomsky's generative grammar, which also aims at identifying deep structures based on surface structures. Using these terms, one might also be able to argue that studies of musical geography tend to focus on "surface structures" (those that are easily describable with standard musical theory), while studies of musical systems aim for "deeper structures" (those which require new, possibly culture-specific concepts and terms and which cannot be easily expressed in standard terms of music theory). While the strictly geographical studies seemed to be motivated by Bartók's concept of musical dialect, the model for musical system studies appears to be Brăiloiu's study of rhythmic and tonal systems, such as syllabic giusto Brăiloiu 1984g or *aksak* (Brăiloiu 1984a). For the sake of simplicity, I refer to both the classic style of musical geography as well as the studies which aim to describe musical systems as musical geography.

Musical systems were one of the main theme of Brăiloiu, especially in the period after his emigration from Romania (cf. Rouget 1984:xiii), so it appears that generally the Institute's attempts of identifying and describing musical systems may have been attempts of emulating Brăiloiu's approach. In any case, Brăiloiu's study of syllabic giusto serves as an example for the study of the musical system. Brăiloiu describes syllabic giusto as grammar-like system for vocal music that typically only includes rhythmic values of 1:2 (or 2:1) and which is realized usually in hexa- and octosyllabic forms. With syllabic giusto he puts forward an explicit formulation of a system that exists in practice in a large portion of Romanian folk songs, but also elsewhere, for example in Gregorian chant.

Perhaps it is noteworthy that I do not classify all of the Institute's publications which discuss musical sound, music theory, or matters of representation in musical notation as musical geography or studies of musical systems. Examples for studies which are not a part of musical geography include Ciobanu 1959, Zamfir 1959, Carp 1960. Several of these articles discuss how music should be best represented in transcriptions and as such they can perhaps be considered

preliminaries for musical geography (and musical typologies, discussed below). Carp 1960, for example, suggests a relative notation instead of one based on absolute pitch. Studies like Ciobanu 1959, however, do not function as preliminary steps to musical geography; they illustrate an alternative approach altogether. In this article, for example, Ciobanu takes a musical concept, that of the scale, and uses it as a focal point to sum up related findings for the whole country, i.e. without reference to field research in a specific locality.

MUSICAL CHANGE

Studies in musical geography and musical systems like those just discussed typically emphasized a synchronic perspective, describing the musical practices mostly at the point of contact through field research. As discussed above, in the period covered by this chapter such studies usually also included archive recordings from the same area and hence often had some historical dimension. Since only a few recordings existed from before 1928, the year in which Brăiloiu created the Folklore Archive (Arhiva de Folklor), the historical depth of these studies was typically limited. However, sometimes fieldwork was conducted specifically with the aim of documenting change, as in Carp 1957, which covers changes in repertoire over several generations in one specific location. This topic resonated with the socialist idea of new folklore without focusing exclusively on new folklore. However, a number of studies such as Ciobanu 1957b, Ciobanu 1957c, Cocişiu 1956 also emphasized a dedicated historical approach. In contrast to the studies of the geographical paradigm, the historical studies did not analyze material collected during recent fieldwork activities in one small ethnographic area, but rather discussed historical sources and collections, often covering larger areas or Romania as a whole. Usually the historical research carried out at the Institute focused on well-known intellectuals of their time, such as D. Cantemir or A. Pann. In these publications it is not always clear if the history of Romanian folk song or rather its research were the main topic, since both themes are covered.

At this point, the theme of musical change was somewhat of a new topic in the sense that it had not featured prominently in Brăiloiu's work and also did not play a major role in the publications of the Folklore Archive (Arhiva de Folklor). However, Bartók, Breazul and possibly others already had a historical perspective in the presocialist period²¹², so this theme is not completely new. The same accounts for the research into the history of folkloristics (as a discipline), which likewise was not a completely new theme. Presocialist bibliographies of Romanian folklore, such as those published by I. Muşlea in the journal *Arhiva de Folklor* between 1930 and 1945, for example, show that some interest in disciplinary history predates the socialist period. However, the prominence of the history of folkloristics and musical folklore was unprecedented in socialist Romania.²¹³

As noted before I suspect that the preference for the history of folklore was in part due to the intrinsically historical nature of Marxist thought (as evidenced by the concept of historical

²¹² Bartók, for example, interpreted certain styles of Hungarian music as older than others and saw them linked with historical populations (Suchoff 2001:165–166). Breazul's research is often focused on historical aspects in a wide variety of topics relating to Romanian musical life (e.g. Breazul 1966b).

²¹³ Earlier in this chapter, I talked about the role of history specifically for one of Pop's articles. This time I make similar observations for the Institute's ethnomusicological publications as a whole.

materialism). However, writing about history was also a way to avoid having to research new folklore. Additionally, historical change was both a topic rooted in presocialist discourses and a timely topic for the 1960s on the other side of the Iron Curtain: for example, change was a subject in French structuralism as the poststructuralists attempted to re-integrate change into the hitherto mainly ahistorical structuralist paradigm of Levi-Strauss; British social and US-American anthropologists such as M. Sahlins also strove to include more historical depth in their research, ending a period in which cultural and social anthropology was dominated by non-historical approaches (Petermann 2004:979-80, 1002).²¹⁴

So it is quite possible that the themes of history and musical change over time were a good compromise: such topics appealed to socialists, Western folklorists and those interested in Romanian presocialist research traditions alike. To put it simply: history may have been a topic favored within the socialist cultural policy already in the early phase of the Institute, but it was not a socialist topic *par se*.

4.5 The return of new folklore and an international conference (1959)²¹⁵

In the last section, I noted that in the period after 1955 or 1956 the Institute was able to push back political influence to some degree and establish rigorous, partly new academic standards, which I have interpreted in the context of an increasing professionalization in Romanian folkloristics and ethnomusicology. This trend creates the impression that the Institute was able to "liberate" itself from political pressures. Especially in comparison to the extreme pressure of the early Stalinist period, this impression holds true to an extent, but it does not mean that political constraints disappeared completely. Instead, the basic constraints, such as censorship, remained intact and overall the socialist cultural policy concerning folk music did not change in this period – as far as I can see in my engagement with the Institute. Rather, from 1955 onwards, the state allowed those participants who had proven themselves as politically reliable, such as the researchers at the Institut de Folclor, to explore research beyond the immediate constraints of socialist cultural policy.

Perhaps this trend becomes most evident in the language and style of research publications. In the Institute's early days the preferred style was simple, sometimes evoking the sentimental formulae of early 20th century national tropes in folkloristics. Even the style in Pop's early programmatic article from 1956, the very article that in my interpretation ushered in the new, more academic period, was still relatively simple, written in the language of early socialist realism. In fact, Brăiloiu, in his review of the Institute's work of this period, criticized Pop for how he simplified his own position concerning sociology. The style later grew more complex, as

²¹⁴ As shown before, in this period the Institute was still connected with folklorists internationally. One could also point to obituaries for important Western folklorists, such as Arnold van Gennep (Pop 1957) or the fact that the International Folk Music Council met in Romania in 1959 (discussed below) as further indicators for the Institute's international connections in the IF period.

²¹⁵ This section includes a revised version of Mengel 2010. Since I published that text, I learned that many of the phenomena I describe there originated earlier (around 1949). Hence, I describe them in the beginning of this chapter when I talk about this earlier phase.

expected in an academic context, as I demonstrated with the example of Comișel's second edition of her anthology on Ținutul Padurenilor.

That the state reserved its right to exert its dominance over research – and that that influence was still legitimized by the duty to transform society towards a communist future (as discussed in the beginning of chapter 4) – becomes clear when one reviews those of the Institute's publications which relate more evidently to socialist politics. In 1959 the Institute published a surprising number of articles and books dealing with new folklore and new traditions. Such topics had appeared in the Institute's publications in the early 1950s, but had stood in the background since the *Revista de Folclor* had been created.

In this period the Institute published several collections Sachelarie 1959, Bîrgu et al. 1959 and articles Cernea and Nicolescu 1959, Bîrgu 1959 specifically on new folklore. Additionally, several publications dealt with official folklore in various state institutions, such as on radio, on record, in folk orchestras, in community centers (cămine culturale) and festivals, e.g. Moldoveanu-Nestor 1957, Vicol 1958b, Habenicht 1961, Vicol and Alexandrescu-Mazilu 1962, Comișel 1962a.

In these publications, the basic assumptions of early socialist realism in Romanian folkloristics and ethnomusicology were still intact and had not changed significantly: folklore was regarded as part of the superstructure and thus as an expression or reflection of social reality. As such, it reflected (or had to reflect) socialism's achievements. Of course, this reflection was particularly expected in the domain of new folklore created after 1944.

I can only speculate what caused this return to the Stalinist topics. It may have been factors internal to the Institute, such as its ten-year anniversary. Or perhaps it was necessary to demonstrate the Institute's political reliability in order to be allowed to hold the international congress of the IFMC in 1959 (discussed below). Another possibility is that external factors, like the end of the limited thaw of the mid-1950s (described by Tismaneanu), motivated the sudden resurgence of the new traditions.²¹⁶

12TH ANNUAL IFMC CONFERENCE IN BUCHAREST/SINAIA

From August 11-22, 1959, the 12th annual conference of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC, today's International Council for Traditional Music) took place at Sinaia and Bucharest "at the invitation of the Folklore Institute" (Baines 1960:3). Officially, the conference was organized by IFMC's Rumanian National Committee. But the Ministry of Culture and Education ("Editorial Notes" 1960:1) was also involved. The *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* (in an anonymous editorial, "Editorial Notes" 1960) also specifically extended its thanks to the National Committee's president, who is described as the "Vice-President of the Rumanian People's Republic Academy and Vice- President of the Rumanian National Commission for UNESCO" ("Editorial Notes" 1960:1), and to "the Folklore Institute and its Director, Mr. Sabin Drăgoi and its Deputy-Director, Professor Mihai Pop" ("Editorial Notes" 1960:1).

²¹⁶ "[O]nce the climax of the 'thaw' [of 1955] had passed, a new wave of repression was unleashed, and the worst hit were precisely the intellectuals. If there was still need for a bitter lesson regarding the deceptive ethics of Romanian communism, this was given after 1958, when many prominent intellectuals were put on trial." (Tismaneanu 2004:152)

The conference was accompanied by an extraordinary number of concerts and two excursions: one to the village of Sibiel (near Sibiu) and another to the "Ora[ș]ul Stalin" (Stalin city, then the official name for the city known today as Brașov), where the conference participants visited a tractor factory and heard music and dance by local ensembles. The *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* described other ensembles that played concerts as part of the conference, including a brass band and "gypsy orchestras" (Baines 1960:3), probably referring either to a traditional taraf with several violins or, perhaps less likely, to a folk orchestra that featured the taraf style and repertoire, such as the Barbu Lăutaru orchestra. Furthermore, a dance ensemble of "[w]hite-trousered peasants" and "long dramatic sketches on patriotic themes" (Baines 1960:3) are mentioned, as are the performances of a pit orchestra and of a choral piece with six *buciums* (alphorns). In his report from the conference, Baines highlights the memorable dance ensembles:

[T]he biggest applause always went to the folk dances, each of which had been exceedingly well worked up choreographically for stage performance, still with the original village musicians playing violins and cobza, or clarinet, or tarogato, as the case might be. (Baines 1960:4)

Baines's last sentence indicates that the overall atmosphere of the performances emphasized the virtuosity of the performers and an extremely upbeat and uncritical atmosphere, in the classic style of musical socialist realism:

Our last engagement – a superlative display by the winners of the amateur contests already mentioned, and held in the large Vara open-air theatre – would take pages even to summarize, nor am I competent to attempt it; but its conclusion in a thunder of applause in which the massed performers themselves rapturously joined, surging to the front of the stage, made a last inspiring vision to crown our vivid memories of the warm-hearted and richly-endowed people who had given us their delightful and stimulating hospitality for an all too short eleven days. (Baines 1960:4)

On the whole, in their talks the Romanian conference participants emphasized those aspects of their work that fitted well with the official cultural policy of the Romanian state, rather than those aspects that highlighted the proximity of their approaches to presocialist ethnomusicology in Romania. The Institute's leading personnel talked about issues that underlined the socialist position: Drăgoi, still the director, discussed a series of new songs, analyzing and outlining a new style of folk music in them. This talk is significant considering that it is one of only a few occasions where "new" material (referring to new folklore) was analyzed not only on a textual basis, but also musically. In this sense, Drăgoi was able to highlight not only the socialist ideal of official folklore, but also the new, more academic domain on which the Institute's ethnomusicologists had been focusing (detailed transcriptions and intensive musical analysis, as well as the concept of contemporary folklore). Overall, the optimistic style of official folklore is clearly visible (even referred to explicitly) in the published version of the talk:

These melodies represent, both by their expression, in which enthusiasm and optimism are the predominant traits as well as by their structures and style of interpretation, the most advanced qualitative stage attained by the musical style of the "modern" song in our days. They have emerged from the need for expressing in song the enthusiasm and zest with which our working people, freed from social bondage, have embarked upon their mission of forging a new and better life. Their style is at present in a state of intense effervescence and continuous development; it is no terminal point, but rather the initial stage of a highly significant evolution in our vocal melodic compositions. (Drăgoi 1960:38)

Mihai Pop (Pop 1960) talked about a related topic: contemporary folklore in Romania, demanding more intensive research on present-day folklore. Pop uttered what I have identified as a core idea of socialist folkloristics: that tradition has almost no value in itself except as a source for the production of new and timelier folklore (and art or culture in general):

A consistent historical outlook prevents us from regretting what has been outlived, and warrants our confidence in the future prospects of folklore (Pop 1960:46).

Overall, he expressed about the same position that he had published in earlier articles in Romanian (e.g. Pop 1956, 1959).

The lower-ranking of the Institute's ethnomusicologists talked about more specific topics. Tiberiu Alexandru, for example, presented a paper on Romanian folk musical instruments (Alexandru 1960), the subject of his major book publication. In part his talk focused on methodological aspects, including details such as the documentation of instruments on catalogue cards, reminiscent of Brăiloiu's famous "Esquisse" article (cf. Brăiloiu 1970).

The fact that Baines drew very positive conclusions, particularly on the technical success of the conference, suggests that the Folklore Institute was able to present itself as one of the leading folklore institutions in the socialist world, if not world-wide.

The technical equipment throughout was first-rate, and fortunately so, since most communications were illustrated by recordings or films – among which the unforgettable impression made by the dances of the Yemenite Jews, brought on film from Israel by Mrs. Kadman, should be placed on record (Baines 1960:3).

Overall, the IFMC conference shows that the Institute in 1959 was still a valid and well-regarded part of the international community of folk music researchers.

4.6 Conclusions: Sovietization, a new academic standard and Brăiloiu's echo

THE POLITICAL CAMP AND FEATURES OF THE STALINIST CULTURAL POLICY REGIME

For the period covered in this chapter (1955-1963), I found that by and large the Institute's ethnomusicology research falls into two "camps" or "branches": on the one hand, research that clearly related to socialist cultural policy focusing on new traditions and, on the other hand, research that kept a distance from these topics, focusing instead on presocialist research traditions such as field research and objectivity. As examples for the more political type I looked mostly at new folklore and folk orchestras, both as topics of research and as musical practices. However, the lines between these two types were not always clearly cut, as can be seen on the level of individual researchers involved. Some of the Institute's ethnomusicologists published nearly exclusively on topics with a strong political connotation, such as Nicolae Rădulescu. However, the inverse is not true. The ethnomusicologists associated with the less political approach did not write exclusively on topics less associated with socialist cultural policy. I assume that a system was in place that ensured (or encouraged) the Institute's ethnomusicologists to demonstrate their compliance with the official policies by occasionally publishing on more political topics.

In the first half of this chapter, I also elaborated on the socialist politics, policies and politicking that occurred after Romania became a people's republic in 1948. In this context I

outlined not only socialist cultural policies in the strict sense of policies as political guidelines, but also the system or regime through which the state attempted to ensure that its policies were implemented. I found that the system implemented in Romania was a copy of structures implemented since the 1930s in the Soviet Union. Since these changes were originally instituted in Stalin's time and - as the discussion about socialist realism and Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* illustrates - possibly with significant personal input from Stalin himself, I referred to this policy regime as a Stalinist one. I did not attempt an exhaustive analysis of the Stalinist type of governmentality (neither in general nor with respect to cultural policy), or the ways it ensured policy implementation. The structures of the Stalinist governmentality that I did find were used to ensure or encourage compliance and included an elaborate system of censorship and quasi-censorship enforced by multiple parties, including the Securitate. Additionally and perhaps more importantly, the policies were enforced by a system of rewards for complicit artists and intellectuals (e.g. possibility to publish or to travel) as well as threats and actual punishments (symbolic and physical) for those who resisted the state.

I consider it an essential feature of Stalinist governmentality that the system did not rely exclusively on the state's police apparatus, including the Securitate, but also on the help of the intellectuals. I presented evidence indicating that the Folklore Institute was one of the state's central institutions that oversaw folklore activities countrywide, both in research as well as on stages, and it thereby assisted the state implementing its policies.

It appears that the introduction of the new socialist cultural policies was by and large "successful" in a technical sense of the word, since Romanian intellectuals generally opted to contribute to the new system without putting up a lot of effective resistance. This was certainly the case at the Folklore Institute, where I found no serious signs of resistance against the new political system in the early phase of the People's Republic, even though the new socialist system meant a severe rupture with academic traditions and rigorously limited the Institute's academic autonomy. In this context, I put forward the hypothesis that while the concrete cultural policies changed considerably over time, the Stalinist type of governmentality, which was used to ensure implementation of state policy during the early socialist phase, and which included mechanisms such as censorship, surveillance, rewards, threats and actual punishment, largely remained in place until the demise of the socialist system in Romania.

I also showed that the concept of socialist realism was applied not only to the sphere of composed music in Romania, but also to folk music, specifically the official folk music that occurred mainly in Romanian state institutions, including state orchestras and other ensembles, festivals and competitions, *cămine culturale* (community centers) and *case de culture* (houses of culture). It is important to note that the notion of socialist realism that I was able to identify in this practical domain of folk music was a watered-down version that did not include all of the features of socialist realism as originally conceived in Soviet discourse in the 1930s and as applied to Romanian composed music. For example the rejection of formalism and cosmopolitanism seems to play no significant role in the discussion of folk music because folk music was conceived to be naturally immune to these charges. In the practice of official folk music in Romania of the 1950s and 1960s, socialist realism rather meant an emphasis on easily accessible music that combined musical material from Romanian folk music traditions with virtuosic performance practices

derived from outside the sphere of traditional music, highlighting not the skills of an individual, but those of the collective. Additionally, socialist realism in the new traditions of Romanian folk music implied an uncritical attitude that approved of socialism and praised its achievements, often combined with a heroic tone. I showed this especially when discussing large folk orchestras and folk dance groups, but also with respect to new folklore. While the notion of socialist realism in Romania today is usually associated with the Soviet-dominated period (ca. 1948-1955 in Romania), I find the watered-down notion of socialist realism in the practice of folk music at least until the end of the socialist state in 1989, although by this later date not all folk orchestra performance inscribe in the same way into the socialist realist style.²¹⁷

I also analyzed socialist legitimations of their policies, i.e. how communists argued in favor of socialist cultural policies in public discourse. In this context, folklore was regarded as an instrument to be used in the creation of the New Man.²¹⁸ I focused on the importance of novelty in this context and the significance of August 1944, the date that for the Romanian communists signifies the beginning of a new era (although the new era *de facto* only began in 1948). In this context, I suggested expanding the socialist term "new folklore" (*folclor nou*) to designate all the new traditions that were favored by the socialist state collectively. Correspondingly, I frequently distinguish between the new and the old traditions of folk music.

I emphasize that from this perspective in the socialist legitimation, old folklore, some presocialist art and culture in general were suspect because they were created in a time where the proletariat was not yet in power. As such, these cultural forms were considered not particularly valuable except as building blocks or material for the creation of new music, art and culture that would actually contribute to the reconstruction of society and thus the goal of communism. This analysis explains the reason why socialists in Romania (and elsewhere) often adopted a "materialist" perspective, treating folklore, music, art and culture as "territories" that can be mined for useful material.²¹⁹ It also explains why the state as a whole focused its attention on new folklore and its development. Indeed, most state institutions were concerned with the new traditions such as folk orchestras and new songs rather than the traditional folklore, both in the professional and the amateur sectors. The IF and ethnomusicological research in Romania in general was perhaps the main state institution which was also concerned with the actual tradition of folk music. However, I maintain that, from the perspective of the state, *de facto*

²¹⁷ Hence I regard the so-called "living pictures" of the *Cântarea României* (cf. Giurchescu 1987) from a later phase as another illustration of the same phenomenon.

²¹⁸ Insofar as one can understand creation here as a metaphor for education, my finding corresponds to Rice's research on Bulgaria, especially when education is used as a means of mediating between the uneducated rural and urban educated population. However, I find that this aspect of education does not feature prominently in contemporary Romanian discourse. It nonetheless surfaces in the recollection of various participants, for example when Giurchescu explained Gheorghe Popescu-Județ's approach to me. She summarized the Soviet approach Popescu-Județ used as the attempt to "raise [folk dance] to an artistic level" (Giurchescu 2013), implying a lack of artistry in the original rural folk dance.

²¹⁹ I am not the only one who makes the connection between a materialistic and a Soviet approach. Giurchescu, for example, remembers personal conversations with Gheorghe Popescu-Județ where he stated that he treated "folklore [...] only [as] raw material that we have to collect, select, and rework (re-create) in order to raise it to an artistic level" (Giurchescu 2013). I am not arguing that the "materialistic" perspective can only be found in socialist contexts.

ethnomusicology's task with respect to the old traditions was not to maintain them as living traditions, but to research and document them, to collect their material, for later use.

Collection for later use may not have been the intention of the individual ethnomusicologists of the Institute or other institutions and it is conceivable that Romanian ethnomusicologists did not read the state's intentions in this way. I simply wish to point out that the focus on preserving the material of the old traditions and developing the new traditions as living traditions was implicit in socialist policies and expressed in many of the state's actions, specifically in the state-controlled domain of official folklore.

An example of government policies from outside of folklore that nonetheless aimed at this same end is the construction of a dam and hydroelectric power plant in the Bicz area in the 1950s. According to the recollections of Eugenia Popescu-Județ, 22 villages were flooded when the dam was built, creating an artificial lake. Before that happened, the Romanian Academy sent large teams of researchers to document various aspects of local culture, including folk music and folk dances of the region. The emphasis in this case was clearly the collection of material, rather than attempting to keep the original traditions alive. Instead the Popescu-Județes created new choreographies based on the material collected in the area. These were intended to be performed by state ensembles on stages (i.e. in the context of official, new folklore).

THE GEOGRAPHICAL PARADIGM AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN THE OBJECTIVIST CAMP

Ethnomusicology research at the Institute changed considerably with the first period of political relaxation in the mid-1950s. In this phase, the Institute was able to expand its research on classic themes of folklore and ethnomusicology (i.e. those with a presocialist history) and to publish more new research. A new and more rigorous style of ethnographic study emerged, which favored detailed musical transcriptions and the documentation of intra-performance variations.

I suggested calling the central research paradigm that occupies the Institute's ethnomusicologists in this phase musical geography. The research I describe as musical geography roughly comprises the research that in Romania today is often referred to as monographic. I maintain that the main task of the geographical paradigm was the identification of the regional and genre-specific characteristics of Romanian folk music and that it was mainly based on Bartók's notion of musical idioms, rather than Brăiloiu's work, although Brăiloiu worked on similar projects.

It is important to note that even this less obviously political branch of research even during a period of political relaxation (of the mid-1950s) was not free from political pressures. Marxist dogmas were still regularly referred to – most evident was perhaps the assumption that folklore as a part of the superstructure reflects social and economic conditions.²²⁰ But overall, compared to the more rigid years just after the Institute's foundation, the direct influence of the political sphere was decreasing and a relative academic autonomy, encoded in academic professionalism, was

²²⁰ This topic incited polemics during the 1959 IFMC conference in Romania (cf. "Discussion on Papers by S. Dragoi, M. Pop and J. Chlibec" 1960:50–52), perhaps because it was associated with socialist policies by Western conference participants.

growing. Also, as the IFMC conference shows, the Institute ethnomusicologists still participated successfully in an international academic discourse on folklore and ethnomusicology.

In this context, the Institute's ethnomusicologists also found a number of more or less innovative subjects that I have referred to as compromise themes. These themes seem important and relevant both from the socialist perspective and those of the academic traditionalists. An example for such a compromise topic was T. Alexandru's research on folk musical instruments (Alexandru 1956b). In the implementation of folk orchestras as a new ensemble type on Romania's stages, knowledge of folk instruments was immediately useful and applicable, and as such valuable from a socialist point of view, but musical instruments were also an interesting topic for those interested in apolitical research since folk organology was still largely a *terra incognita* for Romania. There had been some work on folk instruments since approximately the beginning of the 20th century in Romania and earlier, for example in Pârvescu 1908:25–27, but it was unsystematic and rarely the main focus. Alexandru was able to compile more detailed information from many sources and provide a synthesis of knowledge available in Romanian archives, thereby significantly advancing the discussion. I have argued that the history of Romanian folklore and Romanian folkloristics might have been similar compromise themes that were relevant topics for multiple parties for different reasons.

Overall, the language that was published became less simplistic and academic standards for musical folklore expanded with a focus on ensuring the objectivity of musical transcriptions. I have given examples of the notation of melodies, but I also indicated that similar processes might well have applied to topics and processes that were less explicitly covered in publications: for instance, to practices in the field in general and, more specifically, the identification of appropriate musical folklore in the field. The Institute seems to have set standards of professionalism which may well have affected Romanian folklorists outside of the Institute – especially if one considers that the Institute's employees were likely involved in reviewing folklore research produced elsewhere in country.²²¹

In the context of professionalization and the raising or maintaining of academic standards, the Institute's folklorists frequently referred to presocialist research. Pop's 1956 article, for example, began with a history of Romanian folkloristics in the 20th century. This setting allowed Pop both to draw on historical achievements and also to show more recent achievements that socialists wanted to see (achievements since August 1944). As shown repeatedly in this section, there were frequent, direct and indirect, explicit and implicit references to the work of Bartók and Brăiloiu - especially in research that was based on new materials collected in the field, but also elsewhere. In this period, Brăiloiu (or rather his image) became a symbol for proper and traditional research. Nonetheless, as Brăiloiu's own critique regarding Pop's misrepresentation of his position indicated, it is at least questionable how faithfully the ethnomusicologists at the Institute actually carried out research in the style of Brăiloiu. So how closely did IF

²²¹ Since the relations between the folklorists at the Institute and those at other Romanian institutions fall outside the scope of my dissertation and there is no information easily accessible on this topic, I simply mention this hypothesis as a possibility.

ethnomusicologists follow Brăiloiu's methodology? The answer is – surprisingly perhaps – not easy to give. It requires first to establish what "Brăiloiu's method" actually was.

Brăiloiu did not develop a single and unified method, rather he developed different approaches for different questions over his lifetime and the available secondary literature rarely accommodates this complexity. For the most part, Western Brăiloiu reception focused on his late work that he produced mostly when working in Switzerland and France. Also, as I will show later (Chapter 5), much of the Romanian debate on Brăiloiu is elusive – it leaves out or downplays important moments of his work, perhaps because they did not fit easily in the context of socialist folklore. I suggest to distinguish three phases or aspects in Brăiloiu's work. Speaking playfully of "three Brăiloius", the first Brăiloiu is one principally engaged with questions, concepts, and techniques discussed by Bartók and other contemporaries²²². Brăiloiu typically developed these topics to a point where he disagreed with Bartók, refining his methodology. This trend can be seen, for example, in Bartók's letters to Brăiloiu (László 1999:398–399), where Bartók expresses admiration for Brăiloiu's detailed transcriptions in his *colinde* publication. However, given the level of detail in Brăiloiu's transcriptions and analysis, Bartók wonders if it would not be more efficient to transcribe a larger repertoire in lesser detail:

Eine so gründliche, und dabei gute und vollkommene Untersuchung und Darstellung eines Musikfolklore Materials habe ich noch nie gesehen. [...] Es stellt sich die Frage: soll ein jeder Sammler nur einige hundert Melodien aufzeichnen, wissenschaftlich bearbeiten und herausgeben, auf diese Art wie Sie es hier tun; oder aber einige zehntausend, aber in einer- sagen wir- oberflächlicheren Art. Die beste Lösung ist - glaube ich - in einem Kompromiss: 1. Zehntausende von Melodien sammeln, so gründlich, wie eben das schnellere Tempo der Arbeit es erlaubt; 2. dann aber einzelne kleine Gebiete z. B. einige Dörfer auszuwählen, und diese bis in die winzigsten Teile zu erforschen, wie Sie es eben mit Drăguș tun (Bartók quoted in László 1999:398–399).

It also becomes clear that Bartók had a more comparative approach in mind, while Brăiloiu's interest (at least in the phase when he was still located in Romania) was more particularistic: he wanted to understand the repertoire at hand and, at least for the moment, was not interested in comparison. In "Nunta de Feleag" (The wedding in Feleag), for example, Brăiloiu (1938b) used absolute pitch, while Bartók opted for a transposing transcription which always puts the endnote on *g*, in order to facilitate comparison of folk melodies from multiple countries (cf. Bartók in László 1999:399).

A second aspect of Brăiloiu's work seems to be influenced by the Romanian sociologist D. Gusti. Gusti and Brăiloiu collaborated on several occasions and carried out research in the field together around 1930 (Marian-Bălașa 2003a:23–24, cf. Marian-Bălașa 2003-2004:149–155). Brăiloiu's publications in this category including the "Esquisse" imply that sociology and life were domains not sufficiently analyzed by earlier musical folklorists, and they emphasize a holistic approach. I think it is no accident that Brăiloiu chose to focus on those genres of musical folklore which form parts of rituals (wedding, funeral, *colinde*) rather than, say, on songs and dances, which can more easily be analyzed like music and art, i.e. as objects devoid of cultural context.

²²² I do not focus on Kiriac's influence on Brăiloiu here, since Bartók is in my view the more important point of reference for Brăiloiu. But one certainly could also highlight Kiriac's influence on Brăiloiu as, for example, Comișel does occasionally (e.g. Comișel 1966:511). I make my position explicit here as I discuss the portrayal of Brăiloiu's intellectual trajectory in socialist Romanian and the role that Bartók and Kiriac played in it later (Chapter 5).

Interestingly enough, one can argue that Bartók himself underwent a similar trajectory in his research interests, moving from a composer's perspective, with a relatively exclusive interest in musical structures, to that of a musical folklorist, whose research integrated the concerns of folkloristics. Bartók stated repeatedly, for example in his letters, that in the beginning he was mostly interested in music and that his knowledge of surrounding folkloric practices grew only over time:

I have to confess with regret that I did not heed all the requirements of folklore research in the first two years [1909-10]. At that time I attacked the problem purely as a musician, not minding extra-musical circumstances very much. The method of research changes according to the nature of the people whose folk music is in question; thus it took one or two years to familiarize myself with the new situation presented by Romanian folk music. (Bartók quoted by Suchoff 2001:69).

Again Brăiloiu seems to have taken a clue from Bartók and then gone further, incorporating concepts from sociology, studying life more broadly²²³, and focusing on music in rituals in order to include more "culture" (to use a modern expression) in his analysis than Bartók was able to in his studies of Romanian folk music before World War I. Overall, this trend led Brăiloiu towards a more particularistic approach (particularly in the phase until he left Romania in the 1940s) and to advocate a sociological approach for certain questions as early as in his 1931 "Esquisse" Brăiloiu 1984d.

Perhaps one can distinguish a third Brăiloiu: a later, more comparative phase from after he left Romania during World War II. It is reasonable to assume that Brăiloiu knew it was unlikely that he would ever be able to return to Romania to continue his fieldwork – another parallel with Bartók who, after the turmoil of World War I and Transylvania becoming a part of the Romanian state, was not able to continue his research on Romanian folk music. So Brăiloiu's living situation and the political circumstances were reasons that likely contributed to Brăiloiu intensifying his comparative work during this later phase, for example through his work in the Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire (AIMP) in Geneva, co-founded in 1944 by Brăiloiu (1967:11). In this later phase he also published about non-Romanian music (e.g. Brăiloiu 1984b), while also continuing his analysis of Romanian folk music, for example in his article on syllabic giusto (Brăiloiu 1984g). This later Brăiloiu is perhaps the one best known today internationally, considering this later phase is featured in his most accessible publications in French (Brailoiu and Rouget 1973) and English (Brăiloiu 1984e).²²⁴

I consider Brăiloiu an important trailblazer for a more particularist perspective that only after World War II became more readily accepted in the discipline internationally (cf. Mengel 2009). Ironically at this point in time, Brăiloiu seemingly reverted – in part due to the political changes brought about by World War II - to a more comparative research which certainly made it

²²³ As elaborated above, for Brăiloiu the object of sociology was life as a whole and accordingly he often employed vitalistic metaphors and other references to life in a broader sense, for example in the title of his last, posthumously published book (Brăiloiu 1960). Brăiloiu's term of "life" is broader than the term "folklife", as the former relates to the totality of existence and not specific areas within it, as the latter.

²²⁴ Strictly speaking two of the three "Brăiloius" I distinguish here, the Brăiloiu-influenced-by-Bartók and Brăiloiu-influenced-by-Gusti, are more or less contemporaneous and hence aspects rather than phases. If one wants to stick to phases, I roughly concur with Comișel (1965a:505–506) who distinguishes three phases in Brăiloiu's work (1911-1918, 1918-1943, 1943-1958). While Comișel emphasizes Brăiloiu earlier career as a composer, I focus on his ethnomusicological career which began only in the mid-1920s, with publications of works such as Brăiloiu 1927.

difficult for others to see his pioneering role for a more particularist paradigm. Of course, a particularist and a comparativist perspective do not have to be antagonistic. Brăiloiu's work particular from his last period suggests and demonstrates how particularist and comparative approaches complement each other, how the comparison profits from particularly intensive particularist research.

In his last phase, Brăiloiu gravitates towards a structuralist approach, as already pointed out by Gilbert Rouget, which puts a careful analysis of musical structures in the center:

If one were to describe the scientific mind in one word, only 'structuralism' would be suitable. And it must be made clear that structuralism, long before the term made its fortune, was for Brăiloiu a term that did not please him when it was applied to his work. Taking into account the unequal development of the two sciences, one might say that what Troubetzkoy did for linguistics Brăiloiu has done for musicology: if the first we owe our understanding of a phonological system, it is to the second that we owe our understanding of certain rhythmic and tonal systems (Rouget 1984:xiv).

This quasi-structuralist emphasis can be seen, for example, in the lengthy article "Musical folklore" (Brăiloiu 1984c), which I read as a sort of implicit manifesto for a structuralist ethnomusicology of European peasant culture, a "manifesto" which does not openly argue for a specific kind of research, but rather provides the reader with a list of questions and positions to ponder which overall tend to put the careful analysis of the musical structures along the lines of its own (i.e. culture-specific rather than pre-established) musical systems in the center.

Overall, the changes, and the gradual development of the second to the third Brăiloiu do not typically lead to a situation where the later Brăiloiu contradicts the earlier Brăiloiu of the "Esquisse" vehemently. This accounts especially for the sociological aspects of Brăiloiu's work which – in my reading and as pointed out before – remain relevant to him, although perhaps somewhat in the background in the third phase. This can be seen, for example, in the inclusion of the statistical method in his article "Musical folklore" (Brăiloiu 1984c:13–15).

If one compares the ethnomusicology research carried out at the IF (i.e. from 1949 – 1963) with Brăiloiu's work, one notices that it draws mainly on areas where Brăiloiu and Bartók overlap. The emphasis was clearly on musical transcription and analysis, emulating both Bartók and Brăiloiu's work in this area. Additionally, the notion of variation that Brăiloiu stressed on different occasions, for example in "Musical folklore" (Brăiloiu 1984c), became enshrined by the Institute's ethnomusicologists as they made the transcription of intra-performance variations almost a prerequisite for publication. However, other forms of variation that Brăiloiu did mention, however, such as inter-performance variations and the variations not captured on field recordings were often omitted or even ignored by the Institute. The Institute thus created the impression of complete and exact transcriptions²²⁵, while Brăiloiu was often aware of the areas he had not studied and avoided creating a false impression of completeness.

A similar divergence between Brăiloiu's work and that of the Institute concerns the selection of folk music to be collected and researched. Brăiloiu typically complied with the tradition of Romanian folkloristics by focusing on Romanian peasant music, a practice established in Romania in relation to the national matrix. But if one considers that he wrote in a time of

²²⁵ Below I refer to this phenomenon as the pipe problem.

extreme nationalism (in the 1930s and 1940s), one has to regard even small deviations from the national matrix as meaningful. As such, his occasional ventures outside the narrow canon of peasant music, for example in Brăiloiu 1998b and Brăiloiu 1998a, are significant, although these texts were originally written as radio lectures and are not among Brăiloiu's most important works.

One cannot say that the Institute and its ethnomusicology focused exclusively on musical structures and did not consider life (in Brăiloiu's sense), sociology and culture at all. But by and large the Institute did so mainly when documenting informants, keeping a significant amount of biographical data on them in a separate card catalogue, a practice that was taken *ad litteram* from Brăiloiu's "Esquisse". The Institute's publications, too, generally included biographical information (the names and ages of the performers for each transcription) and other information, such as the place of recording. Occasionally, articles and books elaborated on the lives of individual performers and musical instrument makers (e.g. Coman 1962b, Ciobanu 1958, Alexandru 1959) - although, curiously perhaps, these publications rarely concerned the lives of peasant musicians, but rather musicians with different backgrounds, such as Bucharest-born Maria Tănase (Coman 1962b) or Barbu Lăutaru, the famous 19th century lăutar (Ciobanu 1958).

Most significantly, perhaps, while the socialist cultural policies emphasized non-ritual repertoire, particularly songs and dances, the Institute continued to research and publish on all genres of folk music, including the ritual repertoire (weddings, funerals, colinde) and doine, which because of their religious, sentimental, or melancholy character did not fit well with socialist dogma or the optimistic aesthetics of socialist realism. But overall, the Institute's research emphasized musical structures and their analysis over the analysis of life as described by Brăiloiu. The biographical information on the informers carefully notated on catalogue cards was rarely used for interpretation. The questions Brăiloiu had mentioned in his "Esquisse" as appropriate for the sociological study of folklore – such as

the alteration of an archaic repertoire by an urban or suburban infiltration [...], the loss of the dialectal character of a regional style through contact with the style of another region [...], or the rise, within the village environs, of hybrid melodic types, by the rapid assimilation of art music (Brăiloiu 1970:390)

play only a comparatively small role in the Institute's research. The main question remains that of the geographic paradigm: to establish musical specificities for all genres in all Romanian areas. Curiously, perhaps, in instances where the Institute's ethnomusicologists researched those topics which – according to Brăiloiu – gravitated towards sociology, they often produced research that was relevant for new folklore and less so for traditional folklore. An example for this tendency is Sulișteanu 1952, an article that documents the repertoire of different generations in one village. Insofar as this article documents musical practices according to the established standards of the Institute, it falls into the more academic category of ethnomusicology research, but since it also documents the changes since 1944, it also documents aspects of new folklore. This article therefore has to be regarded as another instance of a compromise theme, where academic and political interests overlap.

Last but not least, Brăiloiu's work was never methodologically static. He continued to develop his methodology so that if one compares even only his research on Romania, one rarely finds two studies with the same methodology. Some of his publications do not even concern music (Brăiloiu 1984f) or do not contain any musical transcriptions (e.g. Brăiloiu 1944) and

although I regard him as a particular meticulous transcriber not all of his publications present either particular meticulous or even complete transcriptions of pieces or recordings. Rather Brăiloiu occasionally makes use of synoptic transcriptions when he feels this is appropriate for the question at hand (e.g. Brăiloiu 1960). In contrast, the Institute, with the described process of professionalization, distilled out of Brăiloiu's work (and other sources) a consistent methodology that utilized only a small selection of Brăiloiu's methodological ideas – drawing particularly, but not exclusively from the Brăiloiu of the *Esquisse* period.

As mentioned before, in an attitude vaguely reminiscent of I. Kant, Brăiloiu is often aware of the limitations of his own knowledge. In his article on syllabic giusto, for example, Brăiloiu outlines a rhythmical musical system, but before doing so he clarifies the status of the knowledge he is about to present, distinguishing between unconscious yet codified and regular behavior, and the folklorists' reconstruction of it:

The first word 'system' may surprise those who persist in seeing in folk art only that which is arbitrary and accidental. However, we are obliged to use the term each time investigation discovers a coherent group of artistic procedures ruled by intelligent laws. Though they have never been codified and their bearers know nothing of them, these laws [...] often astonish us by their rigour. It falls to the folklorist to penetrate them and set them forth [i.e. explicitly]. (Brăiloiu 1984g:169)

This careful distinction between a regular praxis that occurs in the absence of codified knowledge and the reconstruction of the codes behind the praxis through the folklorist is missing in the Institute's discourse in the 1950s and 1960s – perhaps as an effect of the simplicity dictated by the socialist realist writing style in Romanian academics –, where the folklorists' interpretation and reality were often (and habitually) conflated. It appears that in this context, the perceived high standards for a producing a correct representation, for example, in the form of detailed transcriptions, contributed to the assumption that the reality was appropriately and objectively represented. Instead the discourse of the Institute tended to minimize (or disregard) the difference between reality and its representation in its publications. Perhaps, with a nod to R. Magritte's painting *The Treachery of the Images* and its famous inscription, "Ceci n'est pas une pipe," one could refer to this phenomenon as the pipe problem.

Another aspect of the process of writing folk songs anthologies and typologies is that they abstract from reality. The way that they abstracted in the Folklore Institute tended to eliminate people, performers, or "life", as Brăiloiu put it in 1931. What remained after the abstraction were more or less formal musical structures, not so unlike those that E. Hanslick had in mind in the 1850s when he talked about the formal laws of beauty, and (to a lesser extent) impersonal, non-sounding structures or folk music practices.

Perhaps the acceptance the Institute's work found at the IFMC conference in 1959 serves as a reminder that ethnomusicology and folk music research both in the East and in the West²²⁶ at

²²⁶ In Chapter 3, I explained that I used a historical understanding of "the West". Perhaps it is helpful at this point to reiterate that I still use categories such as East and West as contemporary categories in political discourse. For the time I write about here, i.e. the Cold War, the meaning of East and West had very real meanings – denoting roughly the sphere of influence of the two super powers. As such they have the same status as other political terms or categories (such as "democracy"). In any case, I see no reason to put these words in quotation marks. If I put all contemporary concepts in quotation marks this work would have almost as many quotation marks as words. I barely apply contemporary categories here to analyze Cold War discourse and I am not suggesting that such concepts are timeless

this point in time still privileged musical structures, rather than the individual, although perhaps in different degrees. If one thinks of the defining methodological debate in U.S. ethnomusicology of the 1960s, the debate between A. P. Merriam and M. Hood, one can see that the individual was not yet much of a concern and really became so only with the growing reception of the "Writing Culture" debate in cultural anthropology since the late 1970s (cf. Mengel 2002:10–15). In any case, only during and after the 1960s did Western music research focus increasingly on people, culture, and individuals in an overall fairly gradual process, while in socialist Romania the focus (especially of those ethnomusicologists who concentrated on fieldwork) remained on relatively impersonal musical structures – at least for the socialist period, if not longer²²⁷.

Earlier I stated that I did not find instances where the Institute's ethnomusicologists notably resisted political control in the early IF period. For the later IF period, the situation changed. There are still no overt acts of resistance visible in the published material – which, given the Stalinist policy regime with its multi-layered censorship and quasi-censorship, is not particularly surprising. For the later IF period, however, I discovered several mechanisms which potentially limited the power and arbitrariness with which the political sphere could interfere in the academic sphere. In particular, I found the strategy that I named "minimal compliance", where researchers fulfilled political requirements, such as including contemporary folklore, but only in a minimal degree. A similar strategy was to relegate statements of compliance with socialist policies to introductions and theoretical statements or even to separate research projects, so as to keep the "proper research" relatively free of socialist jargon and ideas.

More significant, however, was perhaps the strategy that I discussed especially for Mihai Pop. Pop put forward an understanding of folklorists that was rooted and justified within a socialist worldview by, for example, accepting contemporary folklore as part of folklore and locating folklore and folkloristics as useful elements within the overall objective of transforming society towards communism. However, the research that he demanded on this basis was one which was deeply rooted in presocialist ideas of folkloristics. A discipline of folklore that built on this socialist foundation was to some extent immune to criticism from the political sphere. I provided two examples of this strategy put into practice. One was the paradigm of musical geography. Another example was the standards of professionalism that the Institute was able to establish. Once these ideas were approved by the socialist state –unofficially perhaps, for example by letting the Institute publish these ideas repeatedly - others could relate to them and argue that they contributed to the same socialist project, even while in their minds they continued to work on topics that had a presocialist justification.

categories which are usefully applicable outside of the contexts in which they were important and established concepts in political discourse. In other words, I do neither use them in an essentialist way nor do I hide the fact that these terms were products or - if you will - constructs of political discourse.

²²⁷ A more comprehensive comparison of the treatment of the individual both in Eastern and Western scholarship could be an interesting topic, but it is beyond the scope of this work. In this context, an apparent contradiction would need examination. Specifically, the socialist regime of governmentality seems to encourage, on the one hand, a treatment of groups of people not as individuals, but rather as a uniform mass of people. This becomes evident, for example, in the context of socialist realism and in the "living pictures" of *Cântarea României*. On the other hand, those publications that did appear in Romanian socialist ethnomusicology which actually deal with individuals (examples cited above) typically relate to the new traditions associated with socialism, and not the old traditions.

THE BIFURCATED FIELD OF FOLK MUSIC

Above I already described folk music as a bifurcated field. Perhaps it is helpful to elaborate on this statement to clarify what I intend with this expression. I maintain that as an effect of Stalinist governmentality and socialist policies the field of folk music was basically split in two domains: those of the old and new traditions. Folk music as part of official folklore became known associated among Romanian ethnomusicologists as "muzica populară" (folk music), while the old traditions tended to be referred as "folclor" (folklore), here associated with authenticity from the perspective of ethnomusicologists.

Not only did there exist two different domains, the conditions under which these two domains "operated" were rather different, a status that the state appears to have regulated carefully. For example, ethnomusicologists were almost the only professional group encouraged to engage with, research and document the old traditions²²⁸. The ethnomusicologists' output, their research publications – as all publications –, were carefully monitored and filtered before they reached the public. Professional publications were often so technical and perhaps also not easily available. Additionally, if circumstances in the 1990s are any indicator, academic books were difficult to acquire or access in libraries nationwide and laypeople had practically little access to the information they contained. At the same time, the media effectively and systematically distributed almost only official folklore as the "real" folklore – and for the most part this meant the new traditions.

Another aspect of the bifurcation was that both spheres tended to be judged by different criteria. As I made abundantly clear, the political sphere judged folklore by the way it was thought to transform society towards socialism and communism. In the academic field folklore was often judged as embodiment of the Romanian nation. Accordingly old and artistically especially expressive examples were taken to reveal the age or genius of the Romanian nation. Another academic frame of reference was to judge folklore in terms of fidelity, as the object of a scientific research endeavor. In this respect research which was carried out by the highest standards of objective representation was the most valuable.

One effect of the bifurcation of the field of folk music I discussed above was that different rules and restrictions existed for the research and performance of folk music. For example, colinde could be researched, but not typically be performed in socialist Romania.

Statements from Rădulescu and in the interviews I conducted myself (Iamandescu, Troneci) point to the fact that the distinctions between *muzica populara* and *folclor*, or – more broadly – between the old and new traditions was known and well understood primarily only to or by those professionally involved in the field of folk music (as ethnomusicologists and other researchers, presumably also musicians and other practitioners, such as arrangers, composers etc.), but not widely among people not involved in folk music. In one interview, a young man reported

²²⁸ The only other professional group with a similar privilege that I am aware of is exemplified by Gheorghe and Eugenia Popescu-Județ, discussed repeatedly throughout this chapter, who (at the time) were not accepted as academic researchers, but also engaged in fieldwork (by their own standards).

how the discovery of these two domains was quite an experience for him in the years after 1989 (Iamandescu).

The example of the choreographer Gh. Popescu-Județ, discussed above, illustrates another facet of the bifurcation: the state was not the only party that actively upheld the distinctions between the two domains. As choreographer Popescu-Județ engaged in his own field research to document Romanian dance traditions, but researchers never took his research seriously. In fact they were allowed and perhaps even encouraged to exclude him from the professional discourse of folkloristics or perhaps Popescu-Județ never seriously engaged with other researchers. In any case, the fact that his activities were not even mentioned in academic context seems to show that the professional community had a certain amount of self-determination, pointing to some level of relative autonomy in deciding who was part of it and who was not and apparently they used this relative autonomy to keep out practitioners (i.e. non-scholars), even if they, as Popescu-Județ in the phase from c. 1950-1964, enjoyed considerable support by the state. But at least in this case, the academic community used their small amount of autonomy to reiterate the concepts ultimately established and used by the state: the distinction between the old - represented by the researchers - and the new traditions - represented by the Popescu-Județ as a choreographer involved in staging dance for socialist stages. So conversely, perhaps the state allowed the academic community to exclude Popescu-Județ only because this decision did not contradict any of its more important goals which included the continual support for the new traditions.

5 Institut de Etnografie și Folclor (1963-75)

This chapter covers the period in which the Institute was named Institut de Etnografie și Folclor (IEF, Institute for Ethnography and Folclor). In 1963 the Institut de Folclor was restructured: an ethnography section was added from the Art History Institute (Institutul de Istoria Artei, Marian-Bălașa 1999:13²²⁹) and the Institute as a whole was renamed accordingly. At this point in time, the Institute was also incorporated into the Romanian Academy (Marian-Bălașa 1999:13), then officially the Academy of the Romanian People's Republic (Iacob 2009:256).²³⁰ The incorporation into the Academy happened at a time when other institutes were also reorganized under the Academy's umbrella (Iacob 2009:260). The reorganization of the Institute in 1963 did not coincide with major policy changes in the political sphere. Therefore, I suspect that the reorganization of the Romanian Academy in this period was the motivation for the reorganization of the Institute.

In 1975 the Institute was restructured yet again. This time it became the Institutul de Cercetări Etnologice și Dialectice (ICED, Institute for Ethnological and Dialectical Research), since a phonetic and other sections were added to the Institute (Marian-Bălașa 1999:13–14). I suspect that this time the institutional reorganization happened in the wake of the ideological tightening after Ceaușescu's July theses, described below.

In 1964 Drăgoi retired as Institute's director (he died four years later in 1968) and Mihai Pop succeeded him. At this point, Alexandru Amzulescu became scientific secretary. As Pop before him, Amzulescu had considerable influence in this position. His appointment marks the first time that neither of the Institute's two top employees were ethnomusicologists, indicating that music research gradually lost influence in the Institute. Pop retired in 1974 and was succeeded by Nicolae Nistor, who was director from 1974-1976 (Marian-Bălașa 1999:13–14).

During the IEF period Nicolae Ceaușescu came into power. In March 1965, his predecessor, Gheorghiu-Dej, died unexpectedly. Ceaușescu succeeded him as secretary general in March 1965. It took Ceaușescu several years to eliminate rivals and consolidate his power in the Party. This process came to an end approximately when he officially became the head of state (President of the State Council) in 1967 or perhaps even later, in 1971, as Verdery hypothesizes (1991:107). In his first years, Ceaușescu eased censorship, initiating another period of relative relaxation, somewhat reminiscent of the first relaxation a decade earlier. Tismaneanu argues that this relaxation was one which did not fundamentally shift political power, nor reformed the state in any lasting way (Tismaneanu 2004:25-7, 192). I call it a cultural relaxation because in the field of culture changes were particularly evident, for example when more foreign literature was published in Romanian translation during this period. Ceaușescu gained national and international notoriety for criticizing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, which earned him a maverick status within the Eastern Bloc. In the late 1960s, Ceaușescu openly pursued a

²²⁹ Elsewhere Marian-Bălașa (2000b:145) calls what I assume is the same institution in English the "Institute of Art History and Theory" without providing a Romanian name.

²³⁰ As already pointed it out, since 1949 the IF had been operating as an independent research institution directly subordinate to the relevant Ministry.

rapprochement with the West. The fact that US president Richard Nixon visited Romania in 1969 shows Ceaușescu's temporary "success" with this policy (cf. Tismaneanu 2004:203).

This phase of relative opening towards the West ended around 1971 when Ceaușescu visited China, North Korea, Mongolia and North Vietnam. After his return he delivered two speeches (on July 6 and 9, 1971), which became known as the July Theses:

Complaining that ideological activity had lagged behind other developments, the "theses" announced an intensified campaign to raise the people's consciousness towards forming the "new man" (Verdery 1991:101).

The consequences for cultural policy were severe:

Ceaușescu's "July theses" in 1971 launched an offensive against culture's autonomy, condemned the liberalization of 1965, reestablished an Index of prohibited books and authors, and re-emphasized the necessary sociopolitical role of intellectual production (Verdery 1991:113).

Verdery describes this shift as a "neo-Stalinist [...] mini-cultural revolution with [a] renewed emphasis on socialist realism and attacks on intellectuals who failed to fall in line" (Verdery 1991:107).

Similarly, Tismaneanu describes the July theses as "Zhdanovist obscurantism" and "a radical re-Stalinization" (2004:206). He explains Ceaușescu's motivation for this policy shifts as follows:

Ceaușescu's Stalinist inclinations were catalyzed by a trip he made in May 1971 to China and North Korea. He appears to have considered the possibility of importing the methods of indoctrination used during Mao's Cultural Revolution to Romania. This was not just a matter of personal preference. Ceaușescu was trying to contain the liberalization movement in Romania, curb intellectual unrest, and deter students from emulating their rebellious peers in other communist states. He was also trying to consolidate his personal power and get rid of those in the apparatus who might be dreaming of "socialism with a human face". (Tismaneanu 2004:206)

Nationalism had been an element of communist governmentality in Romania since before Ceaușescu's rise to power.²³¹ With the neo-Stalinist cultural revolution of the 1970s, national narrative and particularly a nationalist version of history gained in importance:

The Eleventh Congress [of the RCP held November 25-28, 1974] approved the Romanian Communist Party Program, the founding document of Romanian national communism, which opened with 35-page history of Romania." (Tismaneanu 2004:207)

According to Tismaneanu, this document established "the model for all historical writing officially published in Romania", especially the two ideas "of Romanians' territorial continuity since ancient times, and [...] the idea of the unity of the Romanian people". If Tismaneanu is correct, it should be easy to show these influences in the IEF's publications. Marian-Bălașa characterizes the IEF's history up until 1972, and perhaps as late as 1974, as a relatively apolitical one:

Perioada 1968-1972 a fost una de relativă deschidere a climatului politic; în consecință, și IEF a intrat într-un moment de intense contacte cu exteriorul. Și până la pensionarea, în 1974, a profesorului Pop, institutul s-a bucurat de o faimă relativ mare și de o apreciable libertate. Pe urmă, manageriatul

²³¹ Verdery (Verdery 1991:120) and Tismaneanu disagree on the point in time when Romanian communists implemented an increasing national agenda. Verdery sees this trend only with Ceaușescu in 1965, while Tismaneanu already shows a nationalist tendency with Gheorghiu-Dej in 1950s, approximately at the same time the Soviets agree to withdraw their troops from Romania.

institutului a fost încredințat unor activiști obedienți și servi direcți ai birocrăției "de partid și de stat". (Marian-Bălașa 1999:14)

The period from 1968-72 was one of relative opening in the political climate. In consequence, the IEF entered into a period of intense contact with the outside world. And up to the retirement of professor Pop in 1974, the Institute enjoyed a relative fame and considerable freedom. Afterwards, the management of the Institute was entrusted to obedient activists and direct servants of the bureaucracy "of the Party and the state."

Apparently, Marian-Bălașa sees Ceausescu's relaxation as affecting the Institute only in 1968, and the renewed restrictions implemented after the July theses only in 1975.²³²

Although nobody said as much in writing or in formal interviews with me, I have the impression that for the Institute's former ethnomusicologists and some of today's, the IEF period as a whole is often considered something of a golden age, before massive politicization made professional work impossible. This, of course, raises the question if the effects of the neo-Stalinist cultural revolution can be seen in the Institute's work at an earlier time.

It is notable that the Institute's own journal, the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (REF), published fewer contributions on music beginning around 1970. At this time, Tiberiu Alexandru began a new column entitled "Cronica discului" (Record review) in which he reviewed recently published folk music recordings. In early issues of the new column, he often covered international publications; later he more often reviewed Romanian ones. While these reviews are well-written and informative, they are not "proper" research on folk music. Up to the mid-1970s, this column took up the majority of the pages devoted to folk music in the REF, indicating that less ethnomusicological research (full articles based on new research) was being published than ever before in the Institute's history.

Before I delve into a closer look at the IEF's ethnomusicological research, perhaps it is helpful to add that beginning in the 1960s the Romanian word "etnomuzicologie" (ethnomusicology) was occasionally used in Romanian discourse (e.g. Brăiloiu 1969b:5)²³³. It appears that sometimes this term refers to international trends in the discipline, but occasionally one can find it used also to refer to research on Romania. So while "folclor muzical" (musical folklore) remained a frequent term for the discipline, the word "ethnomusicology" was used as an alternate label for roughly the same discipline in Romania since the 1960s, especially in international contexts. I have not found any formal definitions of the term "etnomuzicologie" in print during the period that I review here. There seems to be no reason to assume that the Institute's ethnomusicologists had a single, precisely defined notion of the word "etnomuzicologie" (ethnomusicology).

During the IEF period, the ethnomusicology personnel at the Institute did not change significantly. The only new ethnomusicologist who stayed at the Institute for a longer time span

²³² As discussed below, I see small tendencies for a relaxation in the Institute's work already in 1965 and towards renewed tightening of political control already in 1971, but Marian-Bălașa is not wrong in the sense that his periodization refers to the more evident and important changes in the Institute's operation.

²³³ Comparing the terms (musical) "folclor" and "etnomuzicologie" (ethnomusicology), Alexandru, for example, regards the latter as a more modern term for essentially the same thing: "de folclor, sau, ca să folosim un termen de curînd împămîntenit, de etnomuzicologie" (of folklore - or, if we use a term coined more recently, of ethnomusicology, Alexandru 1968b:465). Rădulescu 1968a uses the term "ethnomusicology", referring to Kunst's (1959) and emphasizing the comparative approach within the discipline.

was Constantin D. I. Stîhi-Boos (1970-1974). Several others began their employment in 1974, when the period I cover here ends (Vlad Lupaşcu 1974-1982, Speranţa Rădulescu 1974-1990). Furthermore, several of the Institute's older ethnomusicologists, many of whom had been part of the staff from the Institute's first days, retired at the end of the IEF period (Tiberiu Alexandru, 1949-74, Gheorghe Ciobanu 1949-71, and Gottfried Habenicht 1957-73).

In this period, arguably the most important project of the Institute as a whole was the Ethnographic Atlas. It was largely conceived as a project of the new ethnographic section of the Institute and correspondingly focused on folklife, including topics such as habitation, occupations, trade, costumes and mythology, but had relatively little to do with the ethnomusicologists at the Institute.

In the IEF period, ethnomusicological research at the IEF did not change radically, but it did develop into new directions. Although there were no significant new objects, modes, terms or themes (i.e. none that had not already been present during the previous period), perhaps the single most important development concerned the growing prominence of musical typologies (see section 5.3). Correspondingly, musical geography appeared to be less of a focus than it had been in the IF period, although the geographical paradigm remained important as a source material for the typologies (5.2). Interestingly enough, in this period there was also a large body of publications which discussed the history both of folklore as a study object and as a discipline (5.4). Additionally there were also reflections of the discipline's theories, methods and central concepts. Unsurprisingly, in this context Brăiloiu continued to play a pivotal role for many of the Institute's ethnomusicologists. And, of course, the Institute's ethnomusicologists continued to be involved in the new ethnomusicology implemented by the socialists (5.1).

The topics that the director Mihai Pop was personally particularly interested in, such as structuralism and semiotics (Marian-Bălaşa 1999:13), were not overly apparent in the work of the Institute as a whole, although they do feature prominently in some articles, as I will point out in my discussion below.

5.1 *New traditions*

A significant number of publications in this period relate to new traditions and the new folk creation that the socialists valued so much (e.g. Amzulescu 1964, Anonymus 1964, Cernea 1964, Mureşanu 1964a, Rădulescu 1964, Rădulescu 1965a, Habenicht 1965a, Cernea 1972a, Cernea 1973). But overall the number of publications on new traditions was comparatively low, with an average of approximately one publication per year and only a single book-length publication (Cernea et al. 1966) over the whole IEF period. Also, it is noteworthy that most of these publications were published either in the beginning or the end of this period (1964-6 and 1972-4), while no publications on new traditions appeared between 1967 and 1971. Even if one does not look only at proper articles and similar contributions, but also includes the often politically explicit editorials and reports from conferences and competitions, such as (Anonymus 1965,

Giurchescu 1964, Mureşanu 1964b, Suliţeanu 1965, Vicol 1974, Herţea 1974)²³⁴, one finds a similar distribution: that between the mid-1960s and the early seventies there were few publications that focused overtly on new traditions.

This distribution shows that the discourse changed in Ceauşescu's early period, which many Romanians remember as a more liberal phase to this day. This distribution also indicates that discourse already was changing in the final years of the IEF period, returning to a more Stalinist approach towards cultural policy.

The way that the new traditions were discussed in these publications was almost identical to the treatment of these topics from 1949 - 1954 and around 1959 (i.e. the two periods when the topic had previously dominated the Institute's research): August 1944 was celebrated as a turning point in Romanian history and the successes of socialism since this date were highlighted in an optimistic and uncritical fashion in the socialist realist writing style. Even the terminology used in this context remained consistent to a high degree. The only difference I was able to note is that the term "folclor muncitoresc" (working class folklore) was now featured more than before (e.g. in the articles Cernea 1964, Cernea 1972a, Mureşanu 1964a). The consistency with which this topic was treated indicates that the Stalinist regime of cultural policy largely remained static over time, and that the discourse returned repeatedly to this discursive formation rather abandoning it and then reinventing it. In my reading, the state simply tolerated more deviation from its policies during the more relaxed periods.

5.2 *The geographical paradigm*

Musical geography as I defined it for the IF period remained a key concern for the IEF's ethnomusicologists, but the theme evolved in the IEF period. As before, researchers sought to identify mostly "musical" criteria which were characteristic for a particular genre in a small region. Publications within this paradigm continued to be based on the same kind of work as in the IF period: fieldwork in one relatively small region, usually carried out by a team of researchers, recordings made in the field and their transcriptions, typically made by the publication's author. Examples of geographic paradigm from the IEF period include Georgescu 1968b and Ciobanu 1969. As in the IF period, the publications did not typically describe how these field trips were organized in any detail. Judging by dates and places of recordings as mentioned in the transcriptions, the Institute typically carried out repeated short-term trips in the same region²³⁵.

Perhaps the most evident change was that in the IEF period articles seldom contained complete transcriptions of pieces (or performances or recordings), but rather included only a few phrases illustrating the point that was being made in the article. Occasionally, two complete transcriptions were provided at the end of the article (as in C. Georgescu 1967 and Habenicht

²³⁴ Not all of these publications relate to music and were written by the Institute's ethnomusicologists, but since the discourse on new folclor was often dominated by lyrical criteria and analyses it seems justified to include these publications at this point.

²³⁵ Eugenia Popescu-Judeţ's description of research trips (1995) where she and her husband met the Institute's researcher in the field matches these details.

1967). The full transcriptions themselves were only published in book-length anthologies (monographs) and typically followed the pattern that had evolved in the IF period: the musical notations documented intra-performance variations (in different renditions of similar verses, rather than inter-performance variations) in the relative notation system suggested by Carp (discussed below). Articles now often referenced full transcriptions in the archive, usually in footnotes. However, unlike in the early IF period, monographs that covered the same genre and area as the article were rarely published at this time. Instead, the IEF published several lengthy articles that were so long and rich in detail that they resembled monographs – except for the lack of complete transcriptions (Herțea 1970a).

Although the decision not to include full transcriptions may seem a minor detail, it actually has far-reaching ramifications: this decision shows that the emphasis was now even more on analysis rather than description. Compared to Brăiloiu's detail-rich work, which emphasized careful abstraction only after intensive analysis of the data obtained through fieldwork, now both fieldwork and the transcriptions that were its most immediate result lost importance. This trend to privilege analysis over mere description was not completely new; already in the IF period, I noticed that basically all musical articles strove to do more than just describe. And already in the IF period, I noted what I termed the pipe problem, a tendency to treat representations made according to academic standards as faithful and perfect representations of reality. Now, I have found a similar tendency to omit even these representations (transcriptions) and privilege only the analysis of these representations in the IEF period as well.

Formally, one can perhaps regard an interpretation, analysis or classification of one or several musical transcriptions as another kind of representation, much like the transcription itself represents a recorded performance which in turn may represent a musical live performance. Thus we are dealing with representations of representations, or a chain of representations, and what I have just described was a trend in the ethnomusicology of the IEF to omit the initial stages in this chain – in other words, a tendency towards greater abstraction.

Furthermore, in my eyes both Bartók and Brăiloiu had earlier emphasized the importance of accurate description and the need for thorough analysis. Wherever possible they had opted for a combination of both, rather than one or the other, or they tended to refrain from elaborate analyses until transcriptions were published, privileging an unbroken chain of representations²³⁶. The IEF's greater emphasis on analysis can therefore be regarded as a gradual departure from the Bartók and Brăiloiu tradition in favor of increased abstraction, although the ethnomusicologists at the Institute may not have seen it this way (as my discussion below will show).

Considering that not everyone had access either to folk music in the field, the archived recordings, or the musical transcriptions in the archive, one has to observe that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for most people to check the validity and even plausibility of the

²³⁶ Above (4.6), I argued that Brăiloiu inherited his approach from to a large extent from Bartók and perfected it so that Brăiloiu's work is often more detailed and particularistic than Bartók's.

provided analyses and results in general.²³⁷ In short, based on the analyses and short musical examples included in the articles alone, one could easily produce an alternative and potentially competing analysis or interpretation of the same material. This limitation is a serious one for the creation of alternative interpretations and hence it puts the ethnomusicologists with access to the archive in a privileged position: the position of the gatekeeper. From the perspective of power relations, what seems a relatively innocent shift in the publication policy actually resulted in a considerable increase in the importance of those who interpreted and analyzed (i.e. ethnomusicologists and those who control access to the archive as well as the state which controlled to some extent its employees) and decreased the power of those relying on the results – the interested public and, in the framework of applied ethnomusicology, musicians, composers, arrangers and other involved in performing the new (or, theoretically the old) traditions.

Corresponding to the new, more analytic focus, most of the articles of this period that fit the geographical paradigm fall in the category of musical systems outlined above, rather than in the more descriptive mode of geography. Sometimes they have a generative approach that is reminiscent of classical grammar. Gh. Ciobanu (1964:37), for example, describes musical cells consisting of two halves and then lists all possible variations for the second half – much like a grammar provides paradigmatic choices for all cases. I see these studies as a continuation of similar studies of musical systems from the IF period, all of which emulate the model of Brăiloiu's work on musical systems.

The Institute itself published only a few book-length folklore collections on music in the IEF period. Basically, I am aware only of Carp-Pelati and Amzulescu 1964 and Georgescu 1968b – in addition to the monographs on Romania's minorities I discuss further below. However, additional collections were published by other institutions, predominantly the local centers responsible for folk creations, such as Centrul Județean de Îndrumare a Creației Populare și a Mișcării Artistice de Masă (County Center for the Instruction of Folk Creation and Artistic Mass Movement). Sometimes these publications were edited by ethnomusicologists formerly employed by the Institute, such as Cernea 1972b. In addition, I suspect that other publications of the local centers from this period, such as Urban and Bârseanu 1968, Herța 1970c or Moldoveanu 1972, were supervised in some way by the IEF or that the IEF formally or informally reviewed such publications before publication. Such publications were regularly reviewed in the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (e.g. G. Petrescu 1969), often positively, indicating that in general they complied with the professional standards that had largely been set by the Institute's ethnomusicologists and folklorists.

With fewer than one book per year, the Institute itself published less musical research than in the IF period. All in all, the mentioned musical monographs tended to comply with the demands and professional standards outlined for the geographic paradigm and they form its centerpiece: a corpus of detailed transcriptions from all parts of the country, much as Pop had envisaged it in his 1956 article.

²³⁷ Perhaps more importantly, it is nearly impossible to check if the musical structures highlighted by the author of the analysis were really not only present in the given material, but also that they really were the most evident and pertinent structures.

Another change in this period concerns the increasing exclusion of non-musical aspects of folklore in musicological research, i.e. specialization²³⁸. While Brăiloiu's work often focused on genres that are especially closely linked to ritual, such as weddings, colinde (carols) and funeral rites, and correspondingly the non-musical domain, in the IEF period the attempt to treat extramusical features as an integral part of musical analysis become less important. The non-sounding domain of folk music was rarely discussed by the IEF's ethnomusicologists, and when such discussions occurred they typically appeared only in the introduction or as an appendix and not as part of the actual analysis. An example of this trend is Herțea's lengthy and detailed article on colinde in the Boișoara area of the Vâlcea county (today: Vâlcea) (Herțea 1970a).

In the IF period, Mihai Pop had attempted to counter the trend of increasing compartmentalization with his emphasis on the syncretism of various kinds of folklore.²³⁹ But in the IEF period, even though Pop held the highest offices, including that of the IEF's director until his retirement in 1974, ethnomusicologists were still becoming increasingly specialized, tending to focus more exclusively on music as sound and musical structures than in previous generations. It is not surprising that the examples for this trend do not come so much from the older generation of ethnomusicologists who had worked together with Brăiloiu, but rather from the younger generation, which included G. Habenicht and I. Herțea (the latter was not employed at the IEF). At the same time, these new authors excelled in the clarity and depth of their musical analysis, an area that was also part of Bartók's and Brăiloiu's heritage.²⁴⁰

I want to stress another factor: that the geographic paradigm could easily be used for "applied" activities within socialist cultural policy. Within the geographic paradigm, Romanian ethnomusicologists essentially outlined musical characteristics for specific genres in specific regions. These are exactly those factors that composers, arrangers, folk ensembles and others needed to produce new music and performances in the style of Romanian folk music. It is probably not incidental that the work of the IEF's ethnomusicologists, with their growing focus on purely musical structures, was more suited to this applied work in the context of socialist cultural policies than that of Brăiloiu, who typically insisted on discussing more non-musical matters. While these are relevant if one looks at living folklore in its rural settings, they are much less relevant for staging performances of works based on rural material – at least, such was likely the view of socialist cultural officials.

²³⁸ Essentially, I speak here (as elsewhere) of non-musical features of music. This oxymoron would be a straight forward contradiction in terms if one relied only on the classic definition of music that I also call the musicological term of music, which is - as I have elsewhere suggested - fairly strictly limited to what can be heard: parameters such as rhythm, harmony, form, melody. However, I believe that by now it has become usual in particular in ethnomusicology to treat music as a larger object that also includes other dimensions, such as fashion (e.g. in popular music) or ritual action (in more traditional contexts).

²³⁹ As discussed above, syncretism for Pop meant that folk literature, folk music and folk dance should not be treated as isolated domains that have nothing to do with each other.

²⁴⁰ Interestingly enough, even a cursory comparison with ethnomusicology in Germany in the 1960s and 1970s indicates a similar trend towards focusing on musical structures. This trend can be found, for example, in Joseph Kuckertz's work (e.g. Kuckertz 1963) and especially the dissertations he supervised, which emphasized detailed transcriptions. Such an example is another indicator that the work of the IEF still followed and potentially influenced international trends in ethnomusicology in the late 1960s and perhaps longer.

It should also be noted that in the IEF period it was possible to publish academic research on ritual music, such as *colinde*, even if these genres were associated with rituals and could therefore be regarded as religious or superstitious by Marxist hardliners. At the same time, however, the performance of these genres was difficult and often impossible in socialist Romania, as Pieslak's work illustrates (Pieslak 2007a:2). The example shows that music research and practical musical performance were subject to different sets of rules within the official system of censorship and similar official and unofficial regulations. And while this example specifically dates to the IEF period, I have no reason to assume that the distinction between research on music and musical practice was less important to the socialist state in other periods.

Among the publications of the Institute in this period, quite a few focus on musical instruments. Since they were based on the same kind of field research, recordings and documentation as the publications in the geographical paradigm, and since they are similarly focused on small ethnographic areas, I consider them as an extension of geographical paradigm. Musical instruments were basically treated as a musical parameter, much like meter and mode. If applied musical geography really was an attempt to gather information that was useful for composers, arrangers and others involved in the creation of new socialist art, then information about folk musical instruments and their regionally specific use was certainly an important part of this undertaking, especially with respect to folk orchestras.

Of course, organological work is not new in the IEF period; it was one of the first successful compromise themes that I identified in the early 1950s. However, in the IF period only a few researchers tended to publish on organology, mostly Tiberiu Alexandru and Mircea Chiriac. (In the IF period the latter conducted the Institute's own ensemble.) In the IEF period, a larger proportion of the Institute's researchers published on musical instruments and instrument makers in a host of articles illustrates (Vicol 1964, Bernea 1967, Rădulescu 1967, Habenicht 1972, Habenicht 1973, Alexandru 1975b). Among these articles, Habenicht 1972 is exceptional in that it combines an overview of literature on the bagpipe outside of Romania with a mostly descriptive list of bagpipes in one Romanian region, the Banat, deviating slightly from the analytic focus otherwise prominent in the geographical paradigm. The information Habenicht presents in this article, however, does include such details that would be necessary to employ bagpipes from the Banat in a folk orchestra, including the practical (or applied) information needed to build new bagpipes (Habenicht 1972:278) as well as information about the range (Habenicht 1972:282) and characteristic phrases (Habenicht 1972:287).

In the IEF period, the Institute also put out a small, but significant number of publications on the folklore of Romania's minorities, including book-length publications. These works implemented in part the new and more minority-friendly policy that Pop had had put forward in his 1956 article. These included several publications on Tartars (Sulițeanu 1964, 1970), Hungarians (Almási 1968, 1969) and *lăutari* (Habenicht 1964, Ciobanu 1969).

Considering that the IEF period spans more than a decade, my list of publications that fall outside of the national matrix still represents only a comparatively small number, and researchers published on only some of Romania's minorities – so while ethnic Germans and Jews were sizable

minorities in Romania at the time, they and their music were not covered by the IEF.²⁴¹ Also, the policy of treating *lăutari* as a professional group rather than an ethnic group continued the institutional policy of appropriation described earlier. Nevertheless, publications of this period were perhaps the most culturally diverse and thus represent the biggest deviation from the historical hegemony of the national matrix that the Institute has seen to this day.

It is also noteworthy that in this period several of IEF's publications related to places outside of Romania and, often, to non-Romanians. This accounts for publications that relate to Bulgaria (including a review Cernea 1966) and an article on Aromanians in Bulgaria (Kaufman 1969) and Czechoslovakia (Holy 1972). These articles focus geographically on areas that were relatively close by and part of the Eastern Bloc, similar to publications in the IF period. Additionally, M. Kahane²⁴² published an overview of US-based ethnomusicology (Kahane 1972a, 1972b) written in a neutral, non-judgmental tone, a feature that was quite unusual in the Cold War climate, which clearly underlines that in this phase the Institute was still well connected internationally. It is also noteworthy that Kahane's series of articles still appeared even after Ceaușescu's visit to China and North Korea and his July theses from 1971, illustrating that the return of a Stalinist policy, set in motion within Romania's government at this point, did not affect Institute's ethnomusicology research immediately. Additionally, a series of publications on Northern Africa (Herțea 1969, 1971, Vlăduțiu 1972) – the latter of these is not concerned with music – appeared around 1970, which may or may not mirror Ceaușescu's visits to Africa and his internationally open politics at the time. These publications relating to non-Romanians outside of Romania do not strictly follow the geographical paradigm: they are mostly concerned with general observations and aim to provide an overview and introduction, rather than to identify the regional specifics of local musical genres.

In the IEF period, the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (REF) also published a number of articles which deviated from the geographic paradigm to varying degrees. Sometimes these publications merely looked at a musical phenomenon with respect to Romania as a whole, such as Kahane 1965a, who suggests that one piece in one genre (*doine*) may have often been derived from another (lullabies) on account of their structural similarity and the greater simplicity of the supposed source genre. Her study is not geographic in the sense that it is not strictly regional, not focused on a single genre; rather it is based on material previously collected and relates to the genesis of songs in several genres. However, Kahane's argument is based largely on musical transcription and structural similarities between the individual pieces, a sort of argument that resembles other studies building on the material assembled by research in the geographic

²⁴¹ My list of the IEF's publications includes only publications by the Institute in Bucharest. I do not consider the archive in Cluj and its publications except when published, mentioned or reviewed in the *Revista de Folclor* (RF) or its successor (REF), although during part or all of the socialist period, the archive in Cluj may have organizationally been part of the IEF (cf. Marian-Bălașa 1999:11). Apparently, it was then charged with the research of the Hungarian and German folklore in Romania. (Habenicht 2011). I imagine that if one would look at the publications of the Cluj archive in this period one would find more publications on Romania's minorities, but that overall the overwhelming majority of all folklore publications would still concern ethnic Romanians.

²⁴² Mariana Kahane was employed at the IF since its foundation in 1949, but unlike many other of the Institute's ethnomusicologists who joined the IF since its beginning, she did not work together with Brăiloiu in the earlier Folklore Archive (*arhiva de folclor*). On account of her research activities, which often fall in the geographic paradigm, I associated her with the conservative Brăiloiu camp at the Institute.

paradigm. Likewise Dolinescu (1964) covers often-overlooked ground by studying the incorporation of popular composed songs into folk repertoires. In fact, several articles look at the influence of one genre on another (Ciobanu 1964) – a topic that had been rarely discussed in earlier periods. Similar hypotheses concerning the history of individual genres come up occasionally in the IEF period, for example (Ciobanu 1964).

These articles do not strictly follow the principles of the geographical paradigm, and thus might be seen as constituting exceptions. However, they seem to be focused on complementary aspects (those not well covered within the geographic paradigm), rather than attempting to establish an alternative and competing research paradigm.

Overall, in IEF publications the geographical paradigm in ethnomusicology developed a tendency towards abstraction: the individuals who perform, the circumstances under which the data was gained, and the particularities of performance practices were all reduced or eliminated, while music as sound (or as structure, if you will) was put even more in the foreground. In this time period, what was considered musical material was largely comprised of "traditional" musical parameters such as tonal modes, rhythmic formulae, genre and – perhaps somewhat unusually - musical instruments. Within the discourse, the purpose of abstraction was typically not made explicit, but I suggest that an applied perspective – or rather the attention to create new music, particularly the new socialist traditions - may well have functioned as the implied purpose, although ethnomusicologists then and now may have not seen and may still not see the usefulness of their work in this context, choosing instead to regard their research as basic research without pondering possible applications.

5.3 *Natural history, folk music typologies and butterflies*

Mihai Pop had already envisaged typologies as book-length corollaries to the monographs of the geographic paradigm in his programmatic article (Pop 1956:26), and yet the Institute only began publishing musical typologies decades later. Pop's idea for typologies seems to have been derived from non-musical research in folkloristics where classification and typologies had become an important tool. According to some, the use of classifications in (proto-) folkloristics can be traced back as far as the 19th century and the Brothers Grimm (Georges and Jones 1995:113). *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (1910) and perhaps also Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1968), first published in 1928, are particular examples of the early 20th century use of typologies as a conceptual tool in international folklorists, particularly in the Soviet structuralist context of which Pop, as a Slavist, was certainly aware.

In 1969, the Institute in Bucharest – by then the IEF under Pop's directorship – officially decided to work on typologies for all genres of folklore, including music (Rădulescu 1990:113 (footnote 1)). So from this date, musical typologies were one of the official tasks of the Institute's ethnomusicologists. Still, it took over ten years after that decision for the Institute to publish the first book-sized musical typologies, such as Popa 1981, Georgescu 1984, Georgescu 1987, Kahane and Georgescu-Stănculeanu 1988, Rădulescu 1990, several of them in the prestigious series

Colecția națională de folclor (National Folklore Collection)²⁴³ - even though Pop had already imagined such works in 1956. Even so, a significant discussion on musical typologies appeared during the 1960s and 1970s, mainly in the Institute's journal, the *Revista de Folclor* and its successor the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor*. Additionally, some monographs of the geographic paradigm contributed to the ongoing discussion on musical typologies, particularly Carp-Pelati and Amzulescu 1964.

On the topic of musical typologies there was real debate over how to best create and apply them. Different suggestions were made that borrowed to greater or lesser degrees from the structuralist trends in literary folklorists. By the 1980s, the Institute's ethnomusicologists agreed on basic notions, but still used different criteria to establish the typologies of their book-size publications.

The debate on typologies is remarkable for several reasons. Firstly, in other areas of socialist folklore discourse, no real debate took place. As an example, I discussed above the enlarged socialist notion of folklore, which systematically treated the artistic creations of the working class as folklore. As I have shown, the adoption of this new notion was basically decreed from the political level, and while it was repeatedly explained, it was neither questioned nor questionable in the published discourse of socialist folkloristics.

Typologies were also an important topic because they promised to incorporate the results of what many Romanian folklorists have always perceived as their most important task, the ethnographic description of Romanian folklore, on a conceptually higher level, i.e. with more abstraction, typically covering one genre in all of the Romanian territory. If and how the typology also had political implications, for example if the government encouraged the publication of typologies, is a question I seek to answer in the remainder of this section.

It is striking that in Romanian folkloristics typologies practically always refer to only a single form of classification: a mono-hierarchical system of classes where each text, song or variation is directly associated with only one class and where each class may be part of only one other, higher-level class.²⁴⁴ For information scientists (such as Gaus 2005:68) this type of classification system is limited and typically useful only for providing superficial insight into any topic. Yet, it is also the type that was used to classify living beings, transforming natural history into biology, a "proper" science, between Linnaeus and Darwin. It is no coincidence that this transformation of natural science took place only a few decades before folklorists discovered classifications in the 19th century. Thus, it comes as no surprise that in Romania in the second half of 20th century classifications and typologies were still associated with objectivity and a scientific approach, both hallmarks of the positivist discourse. Their function as symbols of serious, scientific scholarship is something that was seldom if ever said explicitly in Romanian ethnomusicology, but it was implied from the seriousness with which the Institute's

²⁴³ The Institute published non-musical typologies at a much earlier date, for example Fochi [1964d]. However, since I am not primarily concerned with non-musical typologies, I do not cover them systematically.

²⁴⁴ Unless otherwise noted, I use the terms "classification" and "typology" interchangeably, as most of my Romanian sources, particularly the early sources, appear to do. In cases where the discourse that I observe differentiates typology from classification, I will point this out explicitly.

ethnomusicologists and other folklorists worked on typologies – often analyzing thousands and in some cases tens of thousands of detailed transcriptions of one genre over decades.

However, it is worth asking why classifications and typologies continued to enjoy such enormous popularity in socialist countries such as Romania, while their popularity in the West shrank after World War II and particularly after 1970, at least within disciplines such as ethnomusicology, musicology, and perhaps also folkloristics.²⁴⁵

Figure 5.1: Carp's relative notation for two examples notated in Dorian mode

Fgr. 2011 b
Culeg. M. Berindei, 1930
Tr. P. Carp

Sat Jugur, Musecl, Pitești
Inf: Aneta I. Pătru, 30 ani

MIORIȚA

Poco rubato ♩ = 160




Disc 719 a
Culeg. C. Brăiloiu, 1937
Tr. P. Carp

Com. Izverna, Baia de Aramă, Craiova
Inf. Maria Târfaoagă, 54 ani,
Maria Mojnean

Rit. mort.: „AL SULIȚII”

♩ = 176



Source: Carp 1960:14

In the IF period, the article that was perhaps most responsible for moving the discussion on musical typologies forward was Carp's proposal for a new kind of relative notation (Carp 1960). On the surface this article was not particularly concerned with typologies, but rather with a technicality of notation, i.e. the key in which a transcription should be notated. Aiming for better comparability of all Romanian folk music, Carp rejected Bartók's mechanical relative notation, in

²⁴⁵ In her typology of the folk song (or rather its first volume, the only one ever published), S. Rădulescu also reflects on the fact that in some areas the interest for typologies diminished since the 1950s or 1960s (Rădulescu 1990:115).

which every melody was transposed so that it ended in g^{246} . Based on the argument that the notation should emphasize all musical structures and not only the final note²⁴⁷ or cadence (another concept that Bartók and others before him had already used, as discussed in Chapter 3) or the relations between the intervals, Carp also rejected the more recent practice of choosing the key that most minimized the use of accidentals. Instead, Carp suggested a procedure that took related material into account: she notates similarly structured melodies in the same key, while also minimizing accidentals. To illustrate her approach she provides the two melodies shown in Figure 5.1.

Essentially, Carp's relative notation focuses on facilitating the comparison of melodies. If one understands the melodic-textual units that Romanian ethnomusicologists transcribed as a sort of text, then her approach emphasized intertextual relations. In fact, although Carp does not employ the terms "tipologie" (typology) and "tip" (type) in her paper's title, they are frequently used in the article's text. The point of contact between the two topics, relative notations and typologies, is that typologies imply comparisons between the individual transcriptions being classified (usually songs and their variants). Correspondingly, it is not surprising that in the later discussion of typologies at the Institute, Carp's article was often referenced (e.g. Rădulescu 1990:117). Although this point was well before the formal decision to systematically research musical typologies, Carp's formulations suggest that typologies already had a privileged position as the end point of research:

caracterizarea genurilor, a dialectelor regionale și a stilurilor de epocă, cercetarea fenomenului variației, a procesului de evoluție melodică, a actului de creație, *în sfârșit* stabilirea unor criterii de clasificare a melodiilor, cu atât mai necesare atunci când se pune problema publicării unui material vast, cum va fi de exemplu marele Corpus [sic] al folclorului din R.P.R. [Republica Populară Română], și ne vom da seama de stricta necesitate de a găsi un sistem de notare "relativă" a melodiilor. (Carp 1960:7) (emphasis M.M.)

The characterization of genres, of regional idioms and styles of periods, the research of the phenomenon of variation and the process of melodic evolution, the act of creation, *at last*, the establishment of criteria for the classification of melodies, are all the more necessary when the problem of publication of a vast material such as the great body of texts consisting of the folklore of the Romanian People's Republic is posed. And we want to emphasize the strict necessity of finding a system of relative notation of melodies.

One may consider my interpretation of this quote – based on the facts that Carp puts the typology as the last element of her list, and prefaces it with a possibly rhetorical "at last" - as an overinterpretation, but considering the other factors I outlined above and the importance the typology later claims in Romanian ethnomusicologists (as discussed below), one may already see the treatment of typology as an end in itself foreshadowed in Carp's choice of words.

Apart from that, Carp's proposal contains a truly innovative idea: to highlight the relations between different variations and songs, something that Bulgarian-born Julia Kristeva would term intertextuality in French literary studies in the late 1960s.

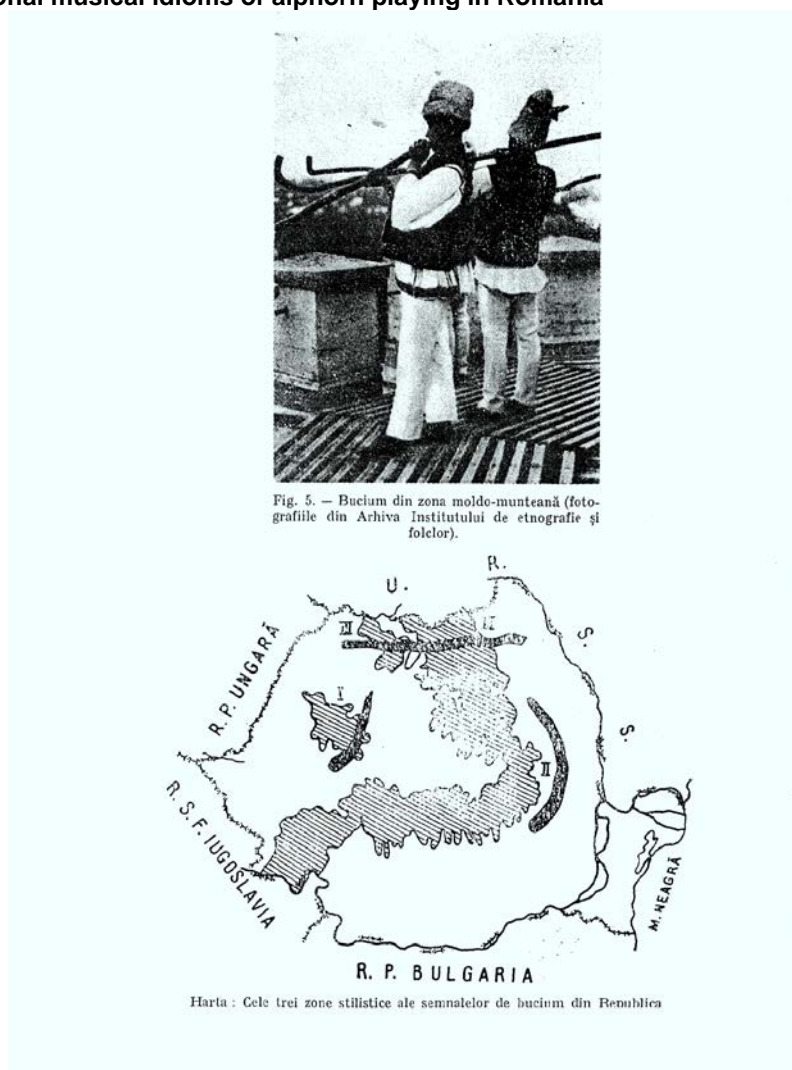
²⁴⁶ I use "mechanical" here to denote a procedure that leaves no leeway for the researchers when sorting melodies and provides unambiguous instructions. Carp uses the word "mechanical" apparently in the same way, but opts for a more organic procedure where the transcriber chooses the most appropriate key from a host of different possibilities (as detailed below).

²⁴⁷ It seems that the word "finală" (final note) was used in Romanian with a certain amount of ambiguity that was already criticized in this period: referring to the last note and the harmonic root key (e.g. Vicol 1970b).

Carp's suggestion for relative notation also became the standard notational system for the Institute's and other Romanian collections. Interestingly enough, this new mode of transcription departed from Brăiloiu's method. However, the fact that Brăiloiu often preferred absolute pitch notations in his own publications, and did not employ Carp's system of transposition was not mentioned. In general an overlap with Brăiloiu's approach was often pointed out explicitly, while points of divergence were not.

In the early IEF period, i.e. before musical typologies became an official priority, several other articles can be read as proposals or preliminaries for musical typologies, although like Carp in her article on relative notation, they generally avoided or downplayed the fact that they contributed to such a discussion.

Figure 5.2: Regional musical idioms of alphorn playing in Romania



The captions translate as: "Bucium [alphorn] from the 'Moldo-munteana' area" [top] and "map of the three stylistic areas of alphorn signals in Romania" [bottom]. Note that only the instruments and not the musicians are referenced in the original captions. From Habenicht 1967:264.

Habenicht's study of the *bucium* (alphorn) and the pastoral signals played with this instrument (Habenicht 1967) is one example of this trend – foreshadowing a later, book-length typology on the same topic (Georgescu 1987). Habenicht's article largely complies with requirements of the classic geographic paradigm, but since he covered nearly the complete *bucium* repertoire of the

whole country, he provides unusually thorough territorial coverage, illustrating how geographic research can lean toward a typological work when a larger area is covered.

Habenicht suggests that the bucium repertoire can be segmented into three different areas, which he refers to as "graiuri muzicale zonale" (regional musical idioms, Habenicht 1967:261). As shown in Chapter 4, this term is directly linked to Bartók's concept of musical areas. Habenicht associates each of the styles with a different part of the Carpathian Mountains and characterizes them by musical criteria, for example, by listing characteristic initial formulae played in the respective region and by discussing distinct rhythmic figures for each of the idioms. Non-musical features may be mentioned on the geographical level, but they do not play an important part in the classification. Strictly speaking, Habenicht does not describe his findings as a typology, although he occasionally refers to the three styles as types ("tipuri", e.g. Habenicht 1967:261); nonetheless he de facto presents a typology for a genre, outlining musical types which can be found in distinct regions.

Whereas both Carp's suggestion for a relative notation and Habenicht's bucium study mostly use "transcribable" musical features as the base of the typology, i.e. structures largely abstracting from a semantic level (as opposed to associated invariants, such as attire or the actions that make up rituals like weddings), in another article Habenicht seems to explore the possibility of a more semantic approach, perhaps emulating the approach that had been usefully applied in literary folkloristics. Like V. Propp in his *Morphology of the Folktale* (1968), Habenicht structurally analyzes the narrative of the shepherd who lost his sheep (Habenicht 1967): by comparing different versions of the narrative, he identifies the consistent parts of the story - those elements that in structuralist lingo could be called invariants. Examples for such invariants include the fact that the animals (usually sheep, but occasionally also goats) are always irretrievably lost (Habenicht 1967:238) and that the story often includes a preliminary phase where the possibility of retrieving the lost animals seems possible (Habenicht 1967:239). Only then does Habenicht look at musical performances associated with the narrative. His examples include a *colind* (carol) and a *cîntec* (cântec, song) which show musical similarities, such an ascending fifth and a similar metric-rhyme approach.

În articolul de față nu ne-am propus - după cum s-a constatat - să analizăm amănunțit marea varietate de tipuri și variante; am vrut doar să prezentăm o ipoteză asupra originii piesei, să-i deslușim acesteia jaloanele principale ale evoluției și să conturăm, în linii generale, *problematica de bază a tipurilor*. (his emphasis, Habenicht 1967:239)

In this article I did not propose to minutely analyze the great variety of types and variants – after I noted their existence –, I just wanted to present a *hypothesis on the origin of the piece*, [wanted] to outline in general terms *the basic problematic of types*.

Here as elsewhere typology is taken to imply a model of the evolution of songs over time. In her proposal for relative notation, Carp had also included a similar model, more or less directly based on Brăiloiu's ideas on variation as the principle that gradually creates novelty and, finally, even new songs. But in contrast to Brăiloiu, Carp proposes to use this model to infer historical change.

In another article that discusses musical typologies, Sulișteanu discusses the ballad of Master Manole (Sulișteanu 1971:98). She assumes as a general rule that song lyrics typically change faster than the music and melody, only to find an exception, a song where text and melody apparently

changed at the same speed (Sulișteanu 1971:101), suggesting that the assumed laws for the development of folk music may not be as reliable as Sulișteanu assumes.

The fact that these general models for the evolution of song are based on relatively little empiric evidence (at least from the point of view of geographic paradigm and in the style of Brăiloiu demanding abstraction based strictly on local research), and then often from other repertoires, regions or eras than the ethnographic example at hand, seems not to matter. The Romanian typologists' prioritization of the evolution of folk songs over the analysis of concrete empirical data in the field (or historical sources) constitutes a significant deviation from Brăiloiu's methodology: he generally avoided statements on the historical development of folk music due to a lack of evidence²⁴⁸. Again the typologists often refer to Brăiloiu when they take up his ideas, but they do not mention when they deviate from him.²⁴⁹

Given these evolutionary models²⁵⁰ for musical creation, where innovation is based on the variations created by individual performers, it is somewhat surprising that these models did not lead to a questioning of the mono-hierarchical form of the classification. Surely an individual and his or her performance of a single song can be influenced by multiple sources (for example, other villagers performing the same song or completely different pieces). Why these performances should be strictly classifiable in mono-hierarchical types or tree-structured typologies, where each performance always only ever falls in one class and never in several, is not evident.

In Western ethnomusicology, approximately since the 1960s, historical research based on generalizations, particularly diffusionist and evolutionary models, rather than concrete evidence (e.g. based on historical sources), became discredited as can be seen, for example, in Merriam's statements on the topic (1964:284). Although the treatment of history is only one topic, this methodological divergence suggests that the differences between Romanian and international ethnomusicology began to widen in the mid-1960s (even in areas that were not evidently affected by politics), whereas on the occasion of the IFMC conference in 1959 the differences had been still comparatively easy to bridge.

In the later IEF period, articles addressed typologies more directly, explicitly suggesting proposals for their creation. An early example for this more direct treatment is a short paper by A. Vicol/Weisz (published in the Notes and Discussions section of the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor*) where the author suggests a preliminary musical typology of colinde based on a small collection (Vicol 1970b). The fact that Vicol not only presents his suggestions for how colinde can be sorted in classes, but also reflects fundamentally on what musical typologies can or should

²⁴⁸ There might be a similarity between Brăiloiu's tendency to avoid historical statements and Western approaches, both the Boasian school of cultural anthropology and the post-World War II particularistic paradigm of ethnomusicology (represented for example by Merriam), but this is not the place to test these hypotheses.

²⁴⁹ I discuss Brăiloiu's reception in the IEF period in greater detail in the next section (5.4).

²⁵⁰ I use "evolutionary" here not in the specialized meaning that alludes to the genesis of biological beings (as associated with Darwin), but more generally as referring to genesis in general. In this context, I refer specifically to theories on the development of songs or other musical repertoire over time. However, one could expand the analogy between the two approaches. If mutation and natural selection are the motors of Darwin's evolution, for the Romanian ethnomusicologists discussed here the motor of song evolution is variation. The Institute's ethnomusicologists frequently refer explicitly to Brăiloiu and his concept of variation in this context. Brăiloiu may have been among those musical folklorists who early pointed to the importance of musical variation as produced by individuals, but the later IEF ethnomusicologists blend out that Brăiloiu did not use his observation to *infer* historical change in music.

be, illustrates that the musical typology was still in an experimental phase at the time. Vicol discusses Bartók's earlier attempts to classify colinde, omitting (or forgetting) the fact that Bartók's "classification" was more of a sorting algorithm with the explicit aim of identifying variations, rather than "only" a classification.

Georgescu's discussion of the classifications of Romanian dance melodies (Georgescu 1975) is significant in several ways. Not only does he present a general and axiomatic theory of typologies that is not specific to music, he also introduces an explicit distinction between classification and typology. According to him, classifications can use any criteria, including those that are arbitrarily selected, while typologies are organized according to characteristics inherent in the material under study:

Clasificare cu caracter tipologic, care urmărește gruparea obiectelor asemănătoare, cu scopul reliefării tipurilor, a nucleelor celor mai stabile, deci, implicit, a proprietăților esențiale ale materialului cercetat, organizat într-un sistem. (Georgescu 1975:65)

[A] classification of typologic character, which pursues the grouping of similar objects, with the aim of working out the types, of more stable nuclei, hence implicitly the essential features of the researched material [are] organized into a system.

This criterion certainly describes the Linnaean taxonomy of the natural world and distinguishes it from other classifications, such as those that are typically made for pedagogic purposes, for example. Georgescu points out that classifications are often made with specific goals in mind. For typologies, this goal seems to be replaced by the will to perfectly represent the objects under study and their internal structures. From this perspective classifications are subjective and typologies are objective. This hypothesis might explain why Romanian ethnomusicologists later did not generally reflect on the purposes and possible uses of their typologies.

The Institute's ethnomusicologists did never completely agree about what exactly constitutes the types and typologies. This becomes especially evident when one looks at the book-sized musical typologies that appeared during the 1980s (up to 1990). Many of these works suggest not only a typology for different musical genres of Romanian folk music, such as folk songs in general (Rădulescu 1990) or subgenres, such as songs of dawn and fir-trees (Kahane and Georgescu-Stănculeanu 1988), but also a different approach to typologies, complete with different definitions of typology and opinions on what purposes the typology fulfills – indicating a lively intellectual debate. In the examples that I mentioned from the 1960s, whole melodies and variations were organized in classes. In contrast, Georgescu-Stănculeanu, sort partial melody phrases (or lines) into classes. Especially the older typologies tend to favor an approach that highlights its objectivity – as shown above for Georgescu. However, the last musical typology of the socialist era (Rădulescu 1990:120) explores a more subjective approach which aims to include the emic or insider perspective of performers of folk songs.

TYPOLOGIES, POLITICS AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS OBJECTIVISM

I am not aware of any public statements where bureaucrats or politicians voice their approval or denial for the typological project. Still it seems that typologies on the whole play into the socialist project. Abstraction from the reality in the field, from the people who originally made the music, and the extraction of music as sound structures might prove useful for composers, arrangers,

choreographers and others involved in the practical aspects of folk musicking for the creation of socialist art. As such, the whole typological project could be understood as applied work from the socialist perspective. This view would place it in line with the original socialist realist idea, to employ the best of all arts in the construction of new socialist art, even if the ethnomusicologists working on this project would have denied its applicability. One can therefore imagine that bureaucrats and politicians did not oppose the typology project, although it required significant resources.

In other cases where I saw a strong and explicit influence from the political side, I was also able to identify some resistance against such influences, such as the strategy of minimal compliance or the attempt to stay away from topics with an overt political association. In terms of typologies, I do not see a similar resistance: most of the Institute's ethnomusicologists contributed to the discussion on typologies, especially the prolific ones and the hardworking transcribers, including Carp, Georgescu, Habenicht, Sulițeanu, and Vicol. Furthermore, classifications were an established topic in international folkloristic discourse before socialism, so perhaps they were another compromise theme with the benefit of appearing relatively apolitical due to their perceived objectivity. Yet it seems somewhat mysterious why typologies became one of the most important research projects – perhaps even an obsession - in Romania, or at least at the Institute, decades after the beginning of the socialist period, while - as already mentioned - the importance of classifications and typologies in the West was already diminishing.

Earlier in this chapter, I referred to positivism and the quest for objectivity as common ancestors to this debate. In fact, positivism as a historical school of thought that began with, say, August Comte who coined the word "positive" coincided roughly with the period in which natural history and the emerging new science of biology served as models for the humanities and the social sciences. Classifications relating to musical phenomena, such as the Hornbostel/Sachs proposal for the classification of musical instruments (Hornbostel and Sachs 1914), arise in this context. That the same set of ideas was still underlying the discussion on typologies in Romanian ethnomusicology at a later date can perhaps best be seen in the vocabulary that was widely employed, where transcriptions and songs are referred to as variants and specimens (e.g. Kahane and Georgescu-Stănculeanu 1988:8). The question is then why a positivist-inspired objectivism still served as such a strong model in Romania, and perhaps other East European countries, decades after World War II.

Already Pop's early programmatic article (Pop 1956) conflated the notion of objectivity as used in historical materialism with that of classical positivism (a practice that I suspect to have been wide-spread and much older, in short not Pop's invention). Whatever the factors were that allowed Western ethnomusicologists to increasingly deviate from positivism patterns²⁵¹ after about 1970, behind the Iron Curtain historical materialism continued its unquestioned rule as hegemony. In this situation, positivist models that promised to have access to objective methods continued to be useful, perhaps even unavoidable. This thesis - that historical materialism

²⁵¹ Of course, the move away from positivism also existed in other fields of knowledge, and the chronology of these moves may have been different in different countries and for different disciplines. 1970 can therefore only be regarded as a very approximate date, and greater precision would require further elaboration.

generally encouraged a more positivistic framework - might explain in part the diverging relevance of positivism in East and West. It would appear that objectivist approaches retain greater importance in a setting where the autonomy of academic research was severely limited and an objectivism in the form of historical materialism the accepted dogma. In the West at the same time, emerging subjectivists (such as Hans-Georg Gadamer, to name just one example) had to persuade mostly fellow academics rather than politicians, that their approach was viable.

As it is, my argument is of course a fairly crude one. I mention only those facts that fit with my hypothesis. I omitted, for example, that subjectivist positions were by no means dominant, in Western ethnomusicologies of the 1960s. They were barely visible, but they were gaining ground and would continue to do so. Also, suddenly my argument is no longer limited to relatively restricted fields of knowledge, such as ethnomusicology, but rather spans philosophy and the humanities as whole. But in spite of what may appear as a sweeping generalization, perhaps I can at least make the case that in a socialist context where the party dictates with historical materialism as a single frame of reference, certain epistemological positions become attractive while others do not. In short that there may be a relationship between politics and trends in epistemology.

Ethnomusicologists seem to have viewed typologies as apolitical precisely because they had no explicit purpose except that of sorting reality according to objectively given (i.e. positive) features, and they were also part of a presocialist objective-positivist tradition of researching folklore and folk music. At the same time, socialist cultural politicians could view musical (and other folklore) typologies as useful in the creation of new socialist art, since the typologies reduced the potentially confusing diversity of different songs, dances and other performances neatly into a few regional types that, given the objectivity of typologies, could be used to write new compositions based on "authentic" regional folk music.

Furthermore, for the ethnomusicologists who had to comply with the unwritten demands of censorship, the abstraction of typologies had advantages. As the typologies abstracted from the concrete circumstances in the field, the lives of the performers and the social circumstances they lived in, they were easier to publish since they focused on that "domain of life" – musical structures – that was relatively little affected by political dogmas. Also, music in the narrow sense of audible structures was the domain about which socialist politicians (and other academics) expected ethnomusicologists to publish– another indicator for increasing compartmentalization in the context of socialist cultural policy. The trend towards limiting ethnomusicological research to musical structures meant abandoning another element from Brăiloiu's inheritance.²⁵² Although in Romania the avoidance of all things sociological was perhaps less systematic than in other socialist countries (as I argued above), it was still not possible to describe in print a social reality that contradicted the way the political sphere publically described reality ("The Party is always right"). By concentrating on musical structures in a narrow sense, it became easier for Romanian folklorists to avoid possible conflicts.

²⁵² As stated before, in my interpretations, Brăiloiu argued, for example in his "Esquisse," that musical folkloristics could only be an autonomous discipline if it were more than just a subfield of either musicology or sociology and implicitly other subdisciplines not named here, such as folkloristics.

In sum, it seems that typologies were another successful compromise theme, just as musical instruments were (the latter beginning in the 1950s). Typologies had relevance for those researchers who wanted to demonstrate their independence from the political sphere and the respectability of their research on the one hand; on the other hand typologies did not conflict with socialist dogmas and bureaucrats and politicians could even regard them as useful and hence justify the resources allocated to them.

5.4 *In the mirror: Histories theories and methods*

In this section, I discuss the surprisingly large number of articles from the IEF period (1963-1975) which reflect on folkloristics and ethnomusicology as disciplines – diachronically as well as synchronically. As discussed earlier, the history of folklore and of folkloristics became a major concern in the early socialist period, although less for Brăiloiu's students and former collaborators than for some of the Institute's other ethnomusicologists²⁵³. The emphasis on history was perhaps in part a reaction to the classic Marxist emphasis on history, as expressed in the notion of historical materialism. Compared to earlier periods and, as far as I can tell, also later decades (after 1975), history, methods, results and important underlying concepts of folkloristics, such as authenticity, were at no other time reflected upon with such vigor as in the IEF period, which makes this timespan in some sense the most theoretical era of the Institute's socialist history.

One wonders what the reason for this scrutiny was. Was there a subtle re-interpretation of fundamentals going on, which required the re-evaluation of basic notions? Was the external political situation imposing other factors which encouraged such reflection? Was it simply a result of the relaxation of 1965? Or perhaps was it not the context that changed, but rather the situation inside the Institute?

In the following I suggest that several of these factors applied at the same time - perhaps in unexpected ways. The Institute did not only use the limited relaxation that began in 1965 to explore a culturally more diverse approach in folkloristics, they also moved towards stricter codification of transcription techniques and method in general and towards higher professional standards - especially in relation to musical typologies. At the same time, particularly in historical research, there was a shift towards a more hardline nationalist position that anticipates later trends in Romanian folkloristics at large. This period's extensive debates on Brăiloiu and his work – particularly his late work (produced after he left Romania) - tend to camouflage the fact that the Institute's own ethnomusicology research from this period moved further away from Brăiloiu's own approach.

²⁵³ The two Brăiloiu students which write most on history of folk music, folklore and folkloristics were perhaps Gh. Ciobanu and Tiberiu Alexandru, although Alexandru published mostly on history in the IF period and less so in the IEF period, most notably in his book on Bartók (Alexandru 1958a). According to Datcu (1998a:164) Ciobanu studied both with Brăiloiu and his adversary Breazu, and Ciobanu often tackled his topics in a historical manner that is not typical for the Brăiloiu camp.

REASSERTING THE NATION IN HISTORY

Since its foundation in 1949, the Institute had concentrated on a relatively small number of themes and paradigms in its ethnomusicological research. As already pointed out, little research on music occurred outside firstly the more applied socialist framework, which focused on integrating the new traditions of folk music into state institutions, and secondly the research within the geographic paradigm. Perhaps the most noticeable theme that defied these two more dominant themes was that of the history of musical folklore. Research on this topic typically covered the history of folk music as well as its research.

In the IEF period, the range of scope with which the Institute's ethnomusicologists discussed their own discipline broadened somewhat: international trends were better covered, including ethnomusicology in the US (e.g. Kahane 1972a, Kahane 1972b), and completely different approaches were at least outlined, although they mostly remained the "hobby horses" of individual researchers. One evident example is Sulișteanu's venture into music psychology (1969).

In the IEF period, research on the history of folkloristics grew even more important than in the previous period. Particularly, the Institute engaged in reflection upon musical folkloristics, its history and its achievements, as well as a more focused discussion of methodological aspects. In the IEF period, there were significant publications on early authors on Romanian music including Dimitri Cantemir, Anton Pann, Franz Joseph Sulzer, and Alexandru Flechtenmacher, as well as those who dominated the new subdiscipline of musical folklore beginning in the c. 1910s, such as D.G. Kiriac, Béla Bartók, Constantin Brăiloiu, George Breazul, and Tiberiu Brediceanu. These lists read as if the Institute strategically tried to cover the most important researchers and sources in the history of Romanian ethnomusicology.

In contrast to some of the earlier historiographical endeavors from IF period, e.g. Alexandru's book on Bartók (1958a), the articles from the IEF period contain more details, which were often meticulously derived from historical sources. These new studies seem to be less often based on the opinion of a single observer, and they continue to be quoted for several decades – for example in Bîrlea's histories of Romanian folkloristics (e.g. Bîrlea 1974).

Considering that this kind of historiography was a focus of research since the beginning of the socialist period, one might perhaps best explain the changes of the IEF period as a gradual accumulation of facts and a growing attention to detail over time within the same historical paradigm, rather than distinguishing two completely different paradigms of historical research in the IF and IEF period.

This new style of historiography tended to promote Romania as a nation, a focus that was certainly not new in Romanian history, but was nevertheless somewhat of a reversal from the early socialist period. The trend towards national history intensified during the IEF period, especially during the 1970s, when contributions of ethnic Romanians in folkloristics tended to be celebrated across the board while achievements of non-Romanians tended to be minimized as much as the facts allowed, by nearly every participant in the discussion.

A good example of this later and more nationalistic stance is Bîrlea's *Istoria folcloriștii românești* (History of the Romanian Folklorists) (1974). It is noteworthy that even in this more nationalistic historiography, nationality sometimes recedes to the background because of the

researcher's achievements. For instance, the Romanian folk music research of Béla Bartók, the only non-Romanian music researcher in Bîrlea's account, is celebrated to a considerable extent. (Bîrlea 1974:438–455).

This national trend, however, was not something new only in the Institute's post-July-theses-historiography. One finds it already in earlier publications in the 1950s and 1960s, albeit often in milder forms. Characteristic for this national approach is the occasionally uncritical and almost hagiographic tone used to celebrate protagonists of Romanian folkloristics. Fochi, for example, opens his lengthy two-part article on Dimitrie Cantemir with the sentence: "Dimitrie Cantemir este cel mai strălucit reprezentant al culturii noastre vechi." (Dimitrie Cantemir is the most brilliant representative of our ancient culture Fochi 1964b;Fochi 1964c). In light of the national first person plural, the superlative and the overblown style in general, the present-day reader may well be surprised by the detailed, well-reasoned and well-researched observation in other parts of the same lengthy article.

Another aspect of the nationalistic trend is that the celebrated achievements of Romanian folkloristics were dated back as early as possible. Bîrlea, for example, argues that Romanian folkloristics began around 1800, i.e. about five decades before the term folklore was coined.²⁵⁴ Similarly, folklorists often credited Romanians with inventions usually attributed to others. In this vain, Fochi, for example, argues that Cantemir should be regarded as the founder of ethnography, because Cantemir's writing precedes Lafiteau's:

Faptul că în opera sa [opera lui Florea Bobu Florescu] consemnarea elementului etnografie devine conștientă, că poziția sa față de problemă este strict științifică în limitele epocii, că are viziunea faptelor în perspectivă istorică, fac din principele moldovean unul din întemeietorii etnografiei, din moment ce, așa-zisul părinte al acestei discipline, Joseph Lafitau, încă mulți ani după apariția, *Descrierii-Moldavei*, nu avea înțelegerea fenomenelor etnografice.

The fact is that in his work [Florea Bobu Florescu's work on Cantemir] the importance of the ethnographic element becomes clear, as his position on the issue is strictly scientific within the limits of the [Florescu's] epoch. This work, which views the facts in historical perspective, makes the Moldavian prince one of the founders of ethnography, in the moment in which the so-called father of this discipline, Joseph Lafitau, already many years after the appearance of [Cantemir's] *Description of Moldavia* [the historic principality], had no understanding of ethnographic phenomena.

To be fair, both Bîrlea and Fochi do not deny that such attributions are somewhat far-fetched. For example, they concede that the concepts their heroes supposedly invented - folklore in Bîrlea's case and ethnography in Fochi's case – were not used in the contemporary sense:

Este clar eă D. Cantemir n-a fost un etnograf și un folclorist în accepția actuală a acestor termeni, că el nu a urmărit aceleași scopuri pe care le urmăresc folcloriștii și etnografii de azi, că nu a folosit metodele întrebuintate azi. (Fochi 1964b:75)

It is clear that D. Cantemir was not an ethnographer and folklorist in the present sense of those terms, since he did not follow the same goals as they followed by today's folklorists and ethnographers, and he did not use the methods employed today.

These statements, and other like it, all over the Institute's historiographic publications resonate with protochronism. Verdery has described protochronism as an intellectual trend which

²⁵⁴ In section 3.2, I argued that from the 1830s to the 1850s there are signs that Romanian scholars took part in national and international debates on popular antiquities and popular literature, debates after the invention of the folklore, were regarded as folklore.

emphasized "developments in Romanian culture that had anticipated events in the better-publicized cultures of Western Europe" (Verdery 1991:167). Others regard protochronism more as a "literary fashion whose guiding ideology [...] promoted a nationalist vision of Romanian history that denied any foreign influence on national culture" (Ciobanu 1989:324). Hence, one may or may not consider the historiographic articles in the *Revista de Etnografie si Folclor* as protochronism proper, depending on the definition one follows. However, they certainly have a similar and complementary attitude: emphasizing respect for the achievements of the Romanian nation, by celebrating intellectual achievements of Romanians in contrast to better known European or Western innovators. Usually these statements identify – like in the examples above - a Romanian intellectual contribution which precedes an internationally more well-known counterpart.

Although traces of this kind of nationalism can be found in almost any of the IEF's publications, the individual texts differ in the degree in which they refer to the nationalist paradigm. Ciobanu 1965b, for example, appears as the direct opposite of Bîrlea's book. Here, the author does not depict the contributions of foreigners (non-Romanians) like Daniel Speer, Franz Joseph Sulzer, Fr. Rouschitzki or Charles (Karol) Mikuli negatively. Rather, Ciobanu aims at identifying ways in which these foreigners' works contributed something new to Romanian folkloristics. Also, Ciobanu treats *lăutari* neutrally. However, in spite of his more neutral treatment of foreigners and Roma musicians, Ciobanu does not fundamentally challenge the national matrix, which can be seen, for example in the notions of Romanian identity, folk music or even the canon of important sources and (proto-)folklorists that Ciobanu leaves largely unchallenged.

The historiographic trend that I describe here is clearly centered around a national principle, in that it tends to focus on the contributions of Romanians and to write people of other nationalities out of history, but is it necessarily always nationalistic? When one considers that in the context of moral discussions it is hardly realistic or convincing to define "nationalistic" in any way other than negative, calling this writing simply nationalistic may obscure more than it reveals.

The trend towards protochronism in the IEF's historiographic articles may serve as a good example. It certainly invites a reading which regards the achievements of Romanians and the Romanian nation highly, while downplaying the intellectual achievements of others. Such a reading is "valuable" for those looking to fuel their national pride and even for those looking for ways to show the superiority of the Romanian nation over other nations or potential non-nations.

But perhaps historiographical research was also read in a way that largely disregarded the nation by those ethnomusicologists with less nationalistic inclinations. Considering that a number of the Institute's ethnomusicologists belonged to minorities themselves (Jews, Germans), or had gone out of their way to document not only ethnic Romanians, but also Romanian's minorities, I find it possible that a number of the Institute's ethnomusicologists disregarded the nationalist undertones, or considered them a necessary evil that had to be included in publications as political lip service in order to pass censorship and similar steps in the editorial process.

I have no solid proof that such a reading was indeed widespread, but - as already mentioned - several times when I talked informally or more formally during an interview to

ethnomusicologists who worked or used to work, they indicated that certain of their colleagues were less nationalistic than others. Sometimes I had the feeling I was being told a secret. So at least as a hypothesis we should take it seriously that a decided non-nationalistic reading existed that routinely ignored nationalistic undertones. However, even if this was the case, this reading style was an almost secret knowledge that could not be spoken about in public and hence, I suspect, was largely limited to a relatively small circle of insiders.

Furthermore, to argue that national historiography is always nationalistic would be to present this kind of national historiography as wrong or immoral. But in fact I am not always sure that this is the case. Just because national criteria are unpopular in my world, they are not necessarily always wrong or immoral. Certainly one could write a national history that also respected others' histories. And discounting a national historiography would also mean that I would not allow the historians I write about the right to decide which history to tell given the available facts, a right I certainly claim for myself.

An example on which I will expand in the next section is Brăiloiu and the intellectuals who influenced him. Is there a "historiographic law" that specifies exactly which predecessors a historian must mention when discussing Brăiloiu's intellectual trajectory? It seems difficult to omit Bartók from Brăiloiu's intellectual biography altogether without falsifying history, but I do not see any rule that specifies the exact importance of Bartók in Brăiloiu's thinking. Rather I assume that the extent Bartók plays in any account of Brăiloiu and his intellectual development is in part determined by the story the historian wants to tell. Accordingly, Bartók seems a major influence on Brăiloiu for me, but attributing a smaller role that leaves more room for other thinkers who influenced him seems not necessarily wrong.

Nonetheless, as an observer of historiographic writing, I will point out that the stories scholars chose to write about Brăiloiu seemed to be motivated by the nation as an organizing principle and a desire to maximize the achievements of Romanians and the Romanian nation and that these writings can be used in nationalistic and chauvinistic contexts. So I do not argue that all of the histories which comply with the national matrix were always nationalistic, or that they were written by nationalists who were convinced by the superiority of the Romanian nation, but rather that at certain times there was a trend towards writing national historiographies which could be used in such contexts, and that nearly all of the IEF's historic publications inscribed themselves in this trend, albeit to different degrees.

In fact, beginning from ca. in mid-1960s the new national trend seems so widespread that one has to assume that use of the national matrix once again become a prerequisite for publication, somewhat reminiscent of the 1930s. That I was able to identify this trend towards a nationalistic perspective already in the mid-1960s, the time of Ceaușescu's rise to power and his initiation of a cultural relaxation, is somewhat surprising. It is further noteworthy that such a trend is observable not only in scholarship at this time, but that Romanian political leadership had pursued a more national course even earlier, beginning circa in the Khrushchev era of the mid-1950s.

RECEIVING BRĂILOIU

How does the reception of Brăiloiu as the most important ethnomusicologist in the history of the Institute develop during the IEF period? As already discussed (in Chapter 4), Brăiloiu had been practically a *persona non grata*, somebody who could not be mentioned in print, in the early socialist phase. Brăiloiu first appeared in the Institute's discourse during the initial period of political relaxation (in 1955) – then as a pioneer and hero of Romanian ethnomusicology and folkloristics. His modern notion of folklore was interpreted as a precursor to socialist folkloristics and even at this early stage he was already associated with an innovative method, though not yet a "genius" of method, as he was called in later periods. Overall, the first socialist articles and books that mentioned and discussed Brăiloiu's work did not go into detail, praising him in general and somewhat spurious terms. For example, Pop celebrated Brăiloiu for using the "objective" phonograph, while in fact recording with the phonograph had been adopted by many researchers before Brăiloiu's time (roughly around 1900) both in Romanian and internationally. As I showed earlier, Brăiloiu himself criticized Pop's representation of his position as inaccurate in a review of the Institute's early publications.

The treatment of Brăiloiu's work in the Institute's publications gained detail over the years, but still at a surprisingly slow tempo. The early IF publication which has the most references to Brăiloiu is probably Alexandru's book on Bartók (Alexandru 1958a). Alexandru's book was a significant publication as it was perhaps the first synthesis of Romanian folk music in the socialist period, albeit an awkward one. As the term "Romanian music" (instead of the narrower term "Romanian folk music") in the book's title already indicates, Alexandru attempted to present generalized findings for all or most of Romanian folk music, rather than only for specific regions. However, his source is mainly Bartók's research and that was carried out almost exclusively in Transylvania and neighboring Maramureș and certainly not in all of Romania. Tiberiu includes revisions from more recent research, especially Brăiloiu's comments on Bartók's work, but he does not attempt to systematically include fieldwork material from all Romanian regions. As such, the book has an unusual status. It is based on Bartók's already somewhat dated research, it includes Brăiloiu's significant revisions of Bartók's findings and it also includes Alexandru's own opinion or perspectives, so that at the end it is not always clear which observations originally belonged to Alexandru, Bartók or Brăiloiu's.

The other important attempt to "reimport" Brăiloiu and his legacy into the socialist canon of Romanian ethnomusicology was carried out by the Institute's "fieldworkers", a subset of the Institute's ethnomusicologists, most of whom had been Brăiloiu's collaborators in the Arhiva de Folklor (Folklore Archive), such as E. Comișel. As discussed in Chapter 4, their research typically emulated the "monographic" approach originally established in Brăiloiu's time: They often carried out repeated fieldtrips in one small ethnographic area, typically focusing on one musical genre per publication. They researched predominantly the music of Romanian peasants, maintained files (recordings, transcriptions, biographical data and other notes) according to the pattern described in Brăiloiu's "Esquisse", focused on accurate transcriptions before drawing any quick conclusions, and typically preferred fieldwork documents crafted according to this methodological approach (both new and from the archive) over other historical sources. Their publications nearly always

feature relatively small ethnographic areas and rarely generalize on a higher level. In their publications, Brăiloiu is nearly always quoted for one reason or another, often providing a key idea or model for the present article. However, such references do not fully and explicitly acknowledge the extent to which these authors followed Brăiloiu's approach – perhaps still a remnant of the time when Brăiloiu was not mentionable in Romanian in print.

Also as discussed in Chapter 4, although Brăiloiu's methodology, particularly as practiced in the Arhiva de Folclor and codified in his "Esquisse," was clearly a methodological guideline for these fieldworkers, their work also differed significantly from Brăiloiu's own work. Even if one ignores the more obvious ideological accommodations to the socialist cultural policy, such as the focus on new folklore, the method employed at the Institut de Folclor was also certainly more codified, static and perhaps less inspired than Brăiloiu's own work. Later, in the IEF period, researchers like Habenicht would regard exactly this feature as important progress over previous periods: that research had become more systematic while Brăiloiu himself continued to explore new methodologies for different questions.

The IF period thus presents a somewhat paradoxical situation: the book of this period which most extensively and explicitly quotes Brăiloiu – Alexandru's book on Bartók – was more concerned with Bartók than with Brăiloiu. In addition, it used generalization in a way that is not at all characteristic for Brăiloiu. At the same time, other IF ethnomusicologists did emulate Brăiloiu's method more closely, but did not explicitly name Brăiloiu as the source of their model. And they drew only on a selection of Brăiloiu's methodological approaches. As a consequence, their work included a few areas or aspects that did not fit easily in the socialist context, such as a focus on ritual music, but overall it complied with the demands of socialist cultural policy, for example, the focus on applied work and the objective and materialist perspective on politics and society (e.g. it was self-understood in their publications that since 1944 the social conditions of Romanians had greatly improved although this was not always so).

Reception of Brăiloiu changed significantly in the IEF period, when a host of the Institute's publications were published that deal explicitly with Brăiloiu and his legacy for the present, including, Comișel 1965a, Comișel 1966, Alexandru 1968b, L. Georgescu 1968, Ciobanu 1968a, F. Georgescu 1968, Rădulescu 1968a²⁵⁵. Several anniversaries served as occasions to reflect Brăiloiu's legacy: the Institute's 15th and 20th anniversaries in 1964 and 1969, as well as the tenth anniversary of Brăiloiu's death in 1968. Whole conferences and special issues were devoted to Brăiloiu in this period, such as volume 13, number 6 of the journal *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (REF) from 1968.

It is probably no accident that this renewed debate occurred during the second phase of political relaxation that began in 1965. In their discussions of Brăiloiu and his work from the IEF period, the Institute's ethnomusicologists now demonstrated that they were intimately familiar with all of his works, especially the texts Brăiloiu had published after he had left Romania during

²⁵⁵ After Comișel left the Institute, she began to re-edit Brăiloiu's collected works (cf. Datcu 1998a:I 184-5), which also contain insightful introductions. The first volume appeared in 1967 (Brăiloiu 1967). Vicol and Fotino 1972a is contrary to its title not directly concerned with Brăiloiu, but rather a review of the first two volumes of Brăiloiu's works as edited by Comișel. I discuss this review below.

World War II. Yet curiously, several of these articles avoid discussing Brăiloiu's work as an ethnomusicologist in any detail. This accounts especially for the articles from the 1968 REF volume that is dedicated to Brăiloiu. They either tend to focus on his biography and abstain from a significant discussion of his work, such as Alexandru 1968b, or they locate Brăiloiu's work in respect to larger or very specific contexts, such as folkloristics (as a whole, rather than musical folklore), comparative research as a specific approach within ethnomusicology or the study of tonal systems. Furthermore, they focus more on contexts in which the respective authors considered Brăiloiu's contributions relevant rather than on recapitulating Brăiloiu's ideas on these topics which were nearly completely omitted from these articles. For instance, Ciobanu begins his account of Brăiloiu's study of tonal systems with the statement:

Întrucît însă cele mai importante studii ale sale, din domeniul teoretic la care ne referim, au fost publicate în volumul recent apărut, renunțăm să mai repetăm ceea ce el a spus poate mai bine și mai clar decît am putea-o face noi. (Ciobanu 1968a:481)

Since, however, his [Brăiloiu's] most important studies of the theory which we refer to [in this article, i.e. tonal systems], have been published in the recent volume [Opere II edited by Comișel], I do not repeat what he [Brăiloiu] said and perhaps can say better and more clearly than I [ever] could.

In their defense, these articles are concerned with new perspectives that had not been discussed in print in the socialist period. So perhaps Brăiloiu the ethnomusicologist was simply missing from the volume dedicated to him because this perspective had already been discussed in the same journal (and elsewhere), especially by E. Comișel (e.g. 1965a). Be it as it may, there seems to be a tendency in the whole socialist period to celebrate Brăiloiu as the most important Romanian musical folklorist of his time, but to cover his work only superficially. To give another example, at least from 1968 onwards, Brăiloiu's work became more readily available in Romania with the appearance of Comișel's edition, which included Romanian translations of articles many of which had originally been published in French. And although the Institute's ethnomusicologists eloquently demonstrated their acquaintance with Brăiloiu's later work (from the period after he had left Romania), his new perspectives found only very limited way into their own research.

I argued above that the most important ethnomusicological project in the IEF period (and arguably in the later IECD period) was the project of musical typologies. The way this research project was organized – i.e. by generalization and rigorous, systematic standards emphasizing objectivity and a "correct" representation of reality – was not at all characteristic of Brăiloiu's work. Instead Brăiloiu had sometimes been openly critical of research with a similar, positivistic program, comparing it to collections of butterflies:

if we worked only on the definition of authentic rural musical styles, the specimens collected, analyzed and classified by us - like butterflies pinned down to their exact theoretical place in the hierarchy of living creatures - would never disclose any secret beyond their material reality other than their life on earth. (Brăiloiu 1970:390)

In this light, it may not be surprising that the only two articles published by the Institute which discuss Brăiloiu as an ethnomusicologist date to the early IEF period: Habenicht 1966 and Comișel 1966. They do agree in several points, but they also tend to draw different pictures of Brăiloiu as an ethnomusicologist, a situation that I think reflects the fact that there was no detailed, intensive, on-going discussion of Brăiloiu's legacy as an ethnomusicologist in print. The two articles in question are difficult to compare, as they have different objectives and topics.

Habenicht is not primarily concerned with Brăiloiu, but rather with a history of methodological achievements in Romanian ethnomusicology; since Brăiloiu is widely perceived as a methodological innovator, it is not surprising that Habenicht intensively discusses Brăiloiu in this context. Comișel's article, in contrast, does focus on Brăiloiu as an ethnomusicologist, rather than ethnomusicological methods in general.

One of the main differences between the two articles is that Habenicht sees Brăiloiu's methodological importance mainly in the area of collecting folk music, rather than with classifying and studying the material, while Comișel suggests a holistic perspective on Brăiloiu emphasizing his contributions to all areas of ethnomusicology. Habenicht thus refers primarily to the Brăiloiu of the "Esquisse" while Comișel tends to focus more on his later essay, "Musical folklore" (Brăiloiu 1984c), but also discusses his work on "simple" musics, such as children music, and his work on tonal and rhythmic systems. Habenicht correctly observes that for the IEF and ethnomusicology as practiced by the Institute's researchers, Brăiloiu was mainly relevant for his early "Esquisse" article and for deciding what to collect and how.

While Habenicht and Comișel differ in their portrayals of Brăiloiu's role in ethnomusicology, they are similar in how they portray Bartók's role for Brăiloiu's intellectual development. Neither of them highlights the Hungarian composer even remotely as much I do (in section 4.6). Instead they generally highlight Romanian predecessors in the fashion of the national historiography and with a tendency reminiscent of protochronism, which is – as I argued above - characteristic for this period. For example, Habenicht does not mention Bartók directly in relation with Brăiloiu at all, but rather in relation to an earlier generation, such as Brediceanu and Kiriac. Here at least he recognizes the importance of Bartók's Bihor collection:

Acest prim contact al lui Bartók cu folclorul românesc marchează o dată însemnată în istoria folcloriștii noastre: prin el avem prima colecție de muzică populară de mare întindere, culeasă pe baze științifice și alcătuită după un criteriu zonal. (Habenicht 1966:232)

This first contact of Bartók with Romanian folklore marks an important date in the history of our [Romanian] folkloristics: through him we have the first extensive collection of folk music, collected on a scientific basis and assembled according to a regional criterion.

And yet, in Habenicht's account, Bartók is also only one of many who collected, recorded and transcribed Romanian folk music in the early 20th century. Furthermore, Habenicht mentions Bartók's Maramureș collection only as an afterthought to the Romanian composer T. Brediceanu's collection from the same area - Brediceanu's collection was made before Bartók's, but made by ear and was not published until the socialist period (Datcu 1998a:I 112).

Tiberiu Brediceanu culege astfel [cu notația directă] în Maramureș din însărcinarea Academiei Române, anticipându-l aici pe Bartók (Habenicht 1966:233)

Tiberiu Brediceanu collects similarly [with direct notation, i.e. without phonograph recordings] in Maramureș at the instigation of the Romanian Academy, here anticipating Bartók.

Especially if one considers that Brediceanu was one of the main protagonists involved in the scandal during Bartók's final visit to Romania in the 1930s (as discussed above), this portrayal of the events would have to be regarded as partial or even cynical by Bartók and Brăiloiu (as Brăiloiu's comments on Bartók's role in early socialist publications of the IF illustrate; discussed above).

One can see that in this time Bartók is typically not allowed an innovative role, or indeed much agency at all. Habenicht, for example, puts the emphasis on a Romanian who supposedly had made similar innovations earlier almost in a protochronist manner:

Aşadar, cu câţiva ani înainte ca Bartók să înceapă culegerile de folclor, Kiriac manifestă o atitudine progresistă faţă de creaţia populari. (Habenicht 1966:510)

So, a few years before Bartók began his folklore collections, Kiriac exhibited a progressive attitude towards folk creation.

Of course, Kiriac's activities in this area predate Bartók's collections of Romanian folk music, but (as already stated multiple times), it was Bartók who with Kiriac's support first assembled and published a book-sized collection of Romanian folk music. In contrast to Vulpien's earlier efforts Bartók's collection found acceptance both among contemporary folklorists and music specialists.

In Comişel's account, Bartók's role is similarly diminished²⁵⁶. In several key sentences, she also refrains from attributing agency (and importance) to Bartók, preferring instead to emphasize Kiriac's importance for Brăiloiu's intellectual development:

Constantin Brăiloiu îşi însuşeşte concepţia realistă despre arta populară şi metoda de cercetare iniţiate de Kiriac, a cărui operă o desăvârşeşte, ridicând ştiinţa folclorului românesc la nivel european. (Comişel 1965a:511)

Constantin Brăiloiu adapts the realistic concept of folk art and research method initiated by Kiriac whose work it completes, raising Romanian folklore [folkloristics] to the European level.

As I showed above, this more nationalist style of historiography is not only a characteristic of Habenicht and Comişel – to the contrary, it is a more general trend at the time, expressing the return of the national matrix as a hegemonic concept. That even Habenicht and Comişel – two researchers who usually avoid nationalistic positions – follow this trend towards a more nationalistic historiography in which Bartók's role for Romanian ethnomusicology is diminished – Bartók is not removed from the history of Romanian musical folklore, but he is almost removed from Brăiloiu's intellectual trajectory – is surprising, specifically in a period known as a more relaxed one.

Perhaps the most important feature in Habenicht's account of Brăiloiu's method is the primacy of fieldwork. Habenicht emphasizes the importance of "the unmediated knowledge of reality on the basis of objective fieldwork" ("cunoaşterea nemijlocită a realităţii pe baza unei cercetări obiective de teren", Habenicht 1966:510:235-6) as characteristic of Brăiloiu's approach.²⁵⁷ In fact, I found that in the IF period, research within the geographical paradigm, researchers only tended to consider information on Romanian folk music valid when it was based on fieldwork.

²⁵⁶ In my own account of this period (Chapter 3), I focus on Bartók, but treat him only as an example. I do not insist that he invented a specific approach and all aspects of this approach; rather I look at his work as an example of ethnomusicological work at the time without attributing individual innovations to specific people. I believe that a more detailed account of the history of Romanian ethnomusicology could very well take a more national perspective without being nationalistic, for example accounting for the innovations of both Kiriac and Bartók. But such an account would have to be more detailed than my third chapter or Habenicht's and Comişel's discussions.

²⁵⁷ For Habenicht (1966:235), Brăiloiu inherited the emphasis on fieldwork from Gusti, but considering that Bartók assembled and published the first big strictly local collection of Romanian folk music, Habenicht could also have mentioned Bartók in this context.

Both Habenicht and Comișel emphasize that Brăiloiu was not only interested in music as structure, but that he had a more holistic approach, in which music as structure played an important role. In this context, both Habenicht and Comișel refer to Brăiloiu's notion regarding the need to study life as a whole, but neither of them explains this notion in any detail. Habenicht, for example, refers to the life of song, an expression Brăiloiu did not use; as discussed before, rather Brăiloiu referred to life in general as the domain of sociology.

Pentru C. Brăiloiu, cântecul popular nu interesează numai în sine ci interesează și viața acestuia, locul ce-l ocupă în complexul suprastructural al satului, rolul ce-l joacă în cadrul manifestărilor spirituale ale sătenilor și necesităților cărora le răspunde; într-un cuvânt, funcția cântecului reprezintă o piatră unghiulară a conceptului metodologic a lui C. Brăiloiu. (Habenicht 1966:236)

C. Brăiloiu is not only interested in the folk song in itself, but also in its life, the place it occupies in the superstructural complex of the village, the role it plays in the spiritual manifestations of the villagers and the needs to which it responds; in one word, the song's function represents a cornerstone of C. Brăiloiu's methodological concept.

Here, Habenicht contrasts "music in itself" (i.e. structurally) with the function of music, again terms that Brăiloiu did not use in his publications for quite the same purpose. In her account, Comișel tends to avoid introducing new technical terms, but instead strictly quotes Brăiloiu (from the "Esquisse"), introducing but not explaining Brăiloiu's term "life":

Deci "studiul *muzicii* populare s-ar preface în studiul *vieții muzicii* populare" [...]; și în acest caz "analiza formelor muzicale", încă necesară, "nu ne-ar mai fi un scop, ci un mijloc" (Comișel 1965a:511)

So "the study of folk music would become the study of the life of folk music" [...]; and in this case the "analysis of musical structure" [lit. forms] would no longer be an end [in itself], but a means [to an end]"

Additionally, Comișel characterizes Brăiloiu as someone who carefully generalizes only after intensive and comprehensive study of particularistic data:

Spre deosebire de etnomuzicologii care, ignorând lacunele de informație și insuficiența documentării, se grăbesc să ajungă la o viziune de ansamblu, Brăiloiu înaintează cu multă precauție și numai în urma analizelor aprofundate ale unui material considerabil, condus de același principiu: relevarea adevărului printr-o cercetare exhaustivă. (Comișel 1965a:516)

In contrast to ethnomusicologists who, ignoring information gaps and insufficient documentation, hurry to reach an overall vision, Brăiloiu moves forward with a lot of precaution and only after profound analysis of considerable material, conducted by the same principle, revealing the truth through exhaustive research.

Instead of cautious generalization, Habenicht emphasizes the fact that Brăiloiu's research emphasized objectivity:

Cercetarea trebuie să fie obiectivă, materialul cules trebuie să dea o imagine exactă asupra realității, nedeformată prin intervenția voită sau nevoită a culegătorului. (Habenicht 1966:236)

Research has to be objective; the material collected has to provide an exact image of reality, not deformed through the collector's willing or unwilling intervention.

That Brăiloiu generally aimed for an objective approach is undisputed, but Habenicht chooses to omit that Brăiloiu rarely specifically emphasized a need for greater objectivity, except perhaps when he wished to delay generalization. Overall, objectivity seems more important to Habenicht and some others of the Institute's ethnomusicologists than it was for Brăiloiu.

In this context it is interesting that Habenicht considers classification of musical material by musical criteria as subjective and hence prefers the more "objective" classifications of genre and place of recording. Again, this reasoning seems to reflect the practice at the IEF rather than Brăiloiu's reasoning (at least as it had been expressed in print).

Cerința obiectivității este proclamată deci principiu suprem în întregul sistem metodologic al lui C. Brăiloiu. Obiectivitatea este necesară și în redarea grafică a melodiilor înregistrate, în *transcriere*. (emphasis in the original, Habenicht 1966:237)

Clasarea materialului în arhivă se va face pe criteriul regional - singurul care exclude analiza -, cunoscând că, în concepția școlii monografice, orice analiză însemna o intervenție a elementului subiectiv. (Habenicht 1966:237)

So the will to objectivity is proclaimed the highest principle in the whole methodological system of C. Brăiloiu. Objectivity is necessary also in the graphic editing of recorded melodies in *transcription*. (Habenicht 1966:237)

The classification of the material in the archive is done by a regional criterion, the only one which excludes [musical] analysis, knowing that in the conception of the monographic school [reference to fieldwork approach associated with D. Gusti], every analysis means the intervention of a subjective element.

In 1963, Comișel left the Institute and worked at editing Brăiloiu's works while employed at the Bucharest conservatory, receiving the title of professor only in 1970 (Datu 1998a:184). In this period, the Institute's interpretation of Brăiloiu's work and that of Comișel seems to have grown further apart - as can be seen in a devastating review of the first two volumes edited by Comișel (Vicol and Fotino 1972b). In this review, A. Vicol and S. Fotino mostly object to Comișel's selection and the order in which she presents Brăiloiu's works, as well as to her translations from the French. In this light, it is perhaps not surprising that in her introductions, Brăiloiu appears to have a different personality. For Comișel, he is not the genius of objective method, but rather a person ultimately driven by a moral obligation towards peasants and humanistic values.

This short exploration of Brăiloiu's reception during the IEF period illustrates that although Brăiloiu was treated as a seminal personality in Romanian ethnomusicology the socialist discourse on him was rather vague. Those who wanted better information had to read Brăiloiu on their own, a situation which facilitated different interpretations and the "invention" of different "Brăiloius". It might well be that Brăiloiu's diplomatic and occasionally calculatedly ambivalent style also contributed to these inventions. Be that as it may, during the socialist period Brăiloiu remained a celebrated hero, but one whose work was known mostly to insiders who picked and chose which features of his work they considered characteristic.

SOCIALIST PROGRESS

The reception of Brăiloiu's work constitutes only one aspect of the larger reflection on core concepts during the IEF period. According to official and hegemonic socialist thought, the transition to socialism had brought significant improvements since August 1944. Especially on anniversaries and other occasions, the Institute and its ethnomusicologists were expected and encouraged to confirm, reflect and reiterate this Socialist "worldview" by discussing in which ways the Institute's ethnomusicology had surpassed the presocialist status quo. In this section I look at some of these reflections. Not surprisingly, Brăiloiu played a major role here, often as a

reference point for the state of presocialist ethnomusicology; correspondingly, progress was often measured against Brăiloiu's work.

The reflections that I discuss here were only in part written by ethnomusicologists (Ciobanu 1965b, Habenicht 1966). I also discuss Pop (1970) to cover the director's perspectives on folkloristics as a whole, including musical folklore. The fact that these reflections were published from the mid-1960s up until 1970 (and not later) indicates that after this time reflection lost importance at the Institute and was no longer considered either necessary or appropriate. It seems hardly a coincidence that this period corresponds with Ceaușescu's cultural relaxation. As such, this discussion is closely associated with the more liberal phase in the Institute's history.

Since Pop, Habenicht (1966) and others (e.g. Comișel 1966) consistently distinguish implicitly and explicitly between three phases in the practice of folkloristics and its musical subdiscipline: (1) collecting material in the field, (2) systematizing data in the archive and (3) further analysis or interpretation, I will formulate my comments according to this tripartite division.

As in the IF period, the Institute's ethnomusicologists did not argue explicitly against Brăiloiu and his tradition of research; rather, they maintained that they had extended and improved his approach:

Institutul [...] nu reprezintă pur și simplu o continuare a activității de colecționare a celor două "Arhive", ale căror materiale au intrat în patrimonial său; el este mai mult, este un centru de cercetare complexă, care caută să răspundă tuturor celor trei deziderate amintite la începutul acestui articol: cercetare de teren, clasificare, studiu. (Habenicht 1966:238)

The Institute [...] not only represents a continuation of the collection activities of these two "archives" [Arhiva Fonogramica and Arhiva de Folklor], whose materials became its patrimony, it is more; it is a center for complex research, which attempts to answer all three of the desiderata mentioned in the beginning of this article: fieldwork, classification and analysis.

Considering the circumstances – the fact that IF researchers were part of socialist cultural politics - it is not at all that surprising that the authors of these works generally argued that their revisions referred to principles of general Marxist thought and socialist realism. Broadly speaking, one can perhaps summarize the argument put forward by the Institute researchers during the mid-1960s as follows: during the IF period the Institute focused on gathering more data using what was a slightly updated version of Brăiloiu's methodology, especially as expressed in his "Esquisse"; it was only since the IEF period that they had assembled enough data to draw significant and new conclusions from this vast archive, which had not been at the disposal of earlier generations. Pop, for example, formulates

Trecem acum la etapa următoare în care paralel cu publicarea Corpus-ului trebui să întreprindem, într-o viziune sistematică și cu perseverența similară aceleia de pînă acum, cercetarea intrinsecă, "interpretarea" materialelor adunate, analiza lor categorială. (Pop 1970:5)

We pass [only] *now* into the following era in which, in parallel with publishing the body of texts [of the more descriptive monographs], we have to undertake research, the "interpretation" of the collected material, [and] their categorical analysis according to a systematic vision and with perseverance similar to that shown up to this point. (my emphasis)

To a large extent Pop is simply restating the projects he had outlined decades before: a series of monographs describing Romanian folklore for small areas and, based on this preparation, a systematization of the material. But he also elaborates on his earlier statements by distinguishing

three phases within the monographic project. First was an intensive and long-term observation for specific areas of particular interest. Pop himself does not mention any examples, but considering the Institute's publications, I assume that Comișel's monographs on Hunedoara (Comișel 1959a) or Georgescu's monograph on dance tunes from Oltenia (Georgescu 1968b) exemplify this kind of intensive research. Pop's second set of ethnographic endeavors was a complementary selection of other geographic areas where research was carried out at a later date. From the Institute's publications, I assume that those monographs might include the studies of non-Romanians from the 1960s, such as Ciobanu 1969. Pop mentions another, third line of research: studies of the history of folkloristics, which according to Pop were carried out together with the *Institutul de istorie și teorie literară* (Institute of history and literary theory, Pop 1970).

In this article, Pop does not explicitly argue in which ways present-day research was better than that of the presocialist period. However, his remarks point in the direction already outlined for several other cases: that the Institute carried out more reliable and more systematic research than had been previously accomplished. However, Pop's examples in this respect appear somewhat trivial. He and others (for example, Habenicht 1966:238) refer, for example, to the use of new technology, such as recording with reel tapes rather than the antiquated phonograph, indicating relatively few conceptual changes.

As before, rather than emphasizing socialist novelties in the Institute's research methodology, Pop highlights the fact that the Institute's work was rooted in the tradition of folkloristics. In this context Pop mentions Densusianu, Brăiloiu and others as important models (a longer list of models than in the previous article, indicating a greater emphasis on or awareness of the history of folkloristics than in the mid-1950s).

Thirdly, he outlines possible future directions for research, thereby elaborating on the third process of folkloristics: that of analysis or interpretation. He suggests a comprehensive approach to be applied to all domains of folklore, not just literature and music, reiterating his earlier emphasis on "syncretism", but without using this technical term. Basically, he advocates for a structuralist approach that explicitly draws on contemporary French thinkers such as Levi-Strauss and J. Piaget. Here Pop shows himself to be well-informed and up-to-date in international debates. While earlier in the socialist period Pop had also referenced structuralist thought, his earlier references were drawn from Russian folklorists. By the mid-1960s he seems to have replaced these references with quotes from French structuralists. This move appears to correspond with Ceaușescu's opening towards the West, which occurred roughly in the same period.

In this context, Pop also emphasizes that folklore could and should become a "nomothetic science", echoing - in different wording perhaps - Levi-Strauss endeavor of turning anthropology into a more accepted "serious" science.²⁵⁸

Pop's interest in nomothetic qualities, i.e. the identification of proper laws (gr. *nomos*), overlaps with Brăiloiu's studies of musical systems, in which he looks for rules or "laws" of

²⁵⁸ "Ajungem să trecem folcloristica în rîndul științelor nomothetice [sic] alături de lingvistica și antropologia modernă." (Pop 1970:9) (We reach the point where folkloristics reaches the rank of a nomothetic science, alongside modern linguistic and anthropology).

musical styles (as discussed above). In any case, perhaps the director's interest in a nomothetic science is in part responsible for the focus on musical systems in the IEF period.

Pop had mentioned historical research as one of the new trends in recent research. Perhaps the fact that Gh. Ciobanu became the head of the Institute's ethnomusicology section (Datcu 1998a:164) can be viewed as part of the same development. Ciobanu had studied briefly with Brăiloiu at the conservatory, but also with the more historically oriented Breazul. Overall Ciobanu's work does not typically align with the fieldwork-oriented research carried out by those of the Institute's ethnomusicologists who emulated Brăiloiu's method most rigorously. Rather, Ciobanu's perspective was usually historical (i.e. based on studying historical sources rather than engaging in fieldwork). The fact that he became head of the ethnomusicology department at the IEF shows again that the old team of people, who had either collaborated with Brăiloiu in the period of the Folklore Archive or had made a point to carry out methodologically similar research, further lost influence at the Institute.

Unsurprisingly, Ciobanu's reflections (1965b) on Romanian ethnomusicology take a historical form. He chooses to focus on the early history of Romanian folkloristics, covering the period from the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th century. This choice of topic may be motivated by the fact that, for the historian, relatively distant history constitutes the most interesting historical perspective. One could also argue that covering the distant past also meant relatively little interference from the political domain given the leadership claim of the party, but I think such an argument is mistaken – especially for the Romania of the 1960s, when history increasingly became part of official, high-level politics. This process culminated in the PCR's Eleventh party congress, which produced 35-page histories of Romania (November 1974, Tismaneanu 2004:207).

Although Ciobanu is mostly concerned with discussing old sources of musical folklore, he also tells us in which ways these sources were insufficient from a present-day perspective and unsurprisingly the conclusions of his lengthy 35-page-long and detail rich article focus on these insufficiencies, highlighting the recent achievements of socialist ethnomusicology in Romania:

1. în această perioadă , nu s-a cules, oi s-a, ales; 2. melodiile au fost supuse - uneori conștient, - la modificări mai mari sau mai mici ; 3. textele poetice au fost lăsate de o parte, așa cum au fost lăsate de o parte melodiile de către culegătorii literați ; 4. nu s-a îmbrățișat întreaga varietate a folclorului român, ci s-a dat preferință unui gen sau altuia, și în primul rînd dansului; 5. indicarea originii pieselor n-a preocupat, aceleași piese întînd fi întîlnite circulînd prin diferite colecții fără nici o indicație ; 6. s-au pus bazele teoretizărilor asupra folclorului. (Ciobanu 1965b:582)

1. In this period [1850-1900], one did not collect, one selected; 2 melodies were modified – sometimes consciously – to a varying degree; 3. the poetic lyrics were ignored [in musical research], like the melodies were ignored by the literary collectors; 4. one did not embrace the complete variety of Romanian folklore, but preferred one genre or another; 5. the indication of the origin of the pieces was not important, [hence] one finds the same pieces in different collections without any notice; 6. one did put the basis of theorization over [the practice of] folklore.

Ciobanu implicitly says here that socialist research was exact and objective, while most research before the presocialist period, and especially before 1900, was not reliable and hence requires the skillful hand of the historian to be interpreted correctly. The criteria which distinguish presocialist and socialist research here are basically the same as in any of the other texts by Institute ethnomusicologists that I looked at: only socialist-period research practices guaranteed the faithful

representation of folklore material and objective interpretation. Even Brăiloiu was criticized for selecting his research objects unsystematically:

Spre deosebire de C. Brăiloiu, munca noastră de teren pornește nu de la o alegere arbitrară a zonei geografice de cercetat, ci de la corelarea unor fapte de cele mai diverse aspecte: obiectivul cercetării (de pildă, muzica unui gen sau a unui obicei anume), dezvoltarea economică și culturală a locului respectiv, natura materialul bibliografic și din arhivă ce provine de acolo etc. (Habenicht 1966:238)

In contrast to C. Brăiloiu, our [the Institute's ethnomusicologists] fieldwork starts not from an arbitrary choice of the geographical area studied, but from the correlation of facts by a wide variety of aspects: the objective of the research (for example, the music of a particular genre or a certain custom), economic and cultural development of the respective location, the nature of [available] bibliographic and archival material [sound recordings and other information in the archives], etc.

Furthermore, Habenicht also observes that socialist ethnomusicology treated folklore more as art than had been common in the previous era, a change that he considers an improvement:

Tot spre deosebire de C. Brăiloiu, accentul se pune mult mai insistent asupra folclorului ca fapt artistic. E drept, însăși accepția noțiunii de folclor cum s-a cristalizat la noi, include acest înțeles; dar, în cercetările "Arhivei" ea a fost oarecum estompată de multitudinea aspectelor colaterale (de pildă, de natură etnografică). (Habenicht 1966:238)

Also unlike C. Brăiloiu, the emphasis is more strongly on folklore as artistic fact. It is correct that accepting the notion of folklore as it has crystallized here includes this meaning; but in the [Folklore] Archive's research it was somewhat dimmed by the many collateral issues (e.g. by the ethnographic nature).

I made a similar observation, specifically noting a new focus on folklore as art in the socialist period, but I regard the entanglement of research with other domains as a step towards a more holistic perspective, i.e. as a strength. In contrast, Habenicht argues here that the more holistic view of the presocialist period was a distraction, and that only the socialist focus on music as art helped to isolate the important aspects. Implicitly, he also admits here that research in the socialist period treated folk music more ethnocentrically, i.e. by using a superimposed concept of music, rather one that was internal to peasant culture.

Habenicht describes other features that distinguish socialist musical research from the presocialist as well. Firstly, presocialist ethnomusicology looked too often only at the folk music of peasants. Secondly, Habenicht adds that (living) folklore in the socialist period was not in the same state as in the presocialist period, implying that the results of presocialist and socialist ethnomusicology were not easily comparable:

In munca de teren a fost abordată problema relațiilor sociale ȘI a repercusiunilor lor asupra creației populare. Viața nouă a satului, trecerea la relații de producție de tip socialist, raporturile intensificate dintre sat și oraș, acțiunea intensă de culturalizare a maselor, patrunderea într-un ritm accelerat a receptoarelor de radio pînă în cele mai îndepărtate sate, toate acestea au creat probleme cercetătorului folclorist. 238

In fieldwork the problem of social relations and their repercussions of popular creation were addressed. The new life [new traditions favored by the socialist state] in the village, the transition to relations of production of the socialist type, intensified relations between village and city, intense process of culturization [education] of the masses, entering in an accelerated rhythm by the radio receivers in the most distant villages, all of these have created problems for the folklorist.

Thirdly, in the domain of systematization (or classification) of the collected material, Habenicht present the Institute's new way of transcribing in relative notation (based on the Carp article discussed earlier in this chapter) as a major advantage over Brăiloiu's days (Habenicht 1966:239).

Looking towards the future, in his overview of methodology, Habenicht emphasizes the need for a comparative approach. Notably, for Habenicht comparative means a comparison of different local styles, but also with the folk music of other nations, a feature one finds prominently in Bartók's work, but also in Brăiloiu's late works. I regard the emphasis put here on a comparison with other folk music as a modest challenge to the national matrix, since a national context is not the end point of research for Habenicht.

In this section, I looked at how the Institute's folklorists and ethnomusicologists reflected on the development of their discipline in the socialist period. I showed how they continued to insist on upholding Brăiloiu's heritage, while in reality they continuously moved away from this approach. Also it became apparent that the Institute had always tended to take the early Brăiloiu of the "Esquisse" as a model, rather than the Brăiloiu of his later works. –While these were well-known by the mid-1960s, frequently cited and discussed, with few exceptions they had little influence on the research actually carried out at the Institute. Possible exceptions include Comișel's work, particularly after she left the Institute, and the general interest in musical systems, a topic that fit well within the structural framework suggested by the Institute's director. Nonetheless, the newly intensified trend towards more research on the history of Romanian folklore and folkloristics may have at times been complementary, but was more often outright opposed to Brăiloiu's approach. In this process, what I consider the essential virtues of Brăiloiu's approach were not quite given up, but they were diluted to a point where they became almost insignificant. Those features which became lost include Brăiloiu's preference for detailed, fieldwork-based observation in contrast to historical sources; his reluctance to engage in large-scale generalization before extremely rich data had been gathered in the field; and his critical treatment of method as a guideline which should always be questioned, rather than accepted as given.

It also became apparent that the Institute's folklorists and ethnomusicologists considered their approach superior to previous approaches in terms of objectivity and the systematic application of rational criteria. Specifically, they considered their contemporary approach better than that of their presocialist predecessors, including Brăiloiu. Notably, this accounts not just for the ethnomusicologists who were known for their identification with the socialist cultural policy, such as Nicolae Rădulescu, but also the fieldworkers who often tried to keep a distance from anything overtly associated with socialist cultural policy, such as G. Habenicht. The fact alone that the IF's researcher considered their approach improved in comparison to that of previous generations is not that unusual. Several related observations, however, deserve attention: that even the ethnomusicologists of the conservative Brăiloiu camp make explicit statements about the advances made since Brăiloiu's time; that they saw advances mainly in applying a more systematic and objective version of Brăiloiu's method more systematically and lastly that the perspective of comparing presocialist and socialist state of research was a perspective encouraged by the socialist cultural policy, especially on the occasion of anniversaries, rather than a topic at the heart of the ethnomusicologists in the Brăiloiu camp.

Leaving the self-perception of the IEF's ethnomusicologists aside, I observed that the method practiced by the Institute's ethnomusicologists became increasingly codified and standardized, as illustrated by the widespread adoption of Carp's relative notation system. This

process further illustrates the internal view that socialist ethnomusicology was an improvement over previous approaches. At the same time, I also identified the return of the national matrix as a hegemonic perspective in at least some parts of the research, particularly historical research.

Looking at this reflection of Romanian ethnomusicology by the Institute's ethnomusicologists in the late 1960s as a whole it is not so implausible to argue that some of the statements made here were not taken seriously by their authors – rather they may have been intended as lip service, as their authors' attempts of writing what the Party expected from them so they were allowed to research projects that they were more interested in. Of course, such a thesis is highly hypothetical as I have no solid proof and only indirect indicators. I have highlighted a few of those instances – discrepancies, if you will - that do not seem convincing to me: Firstly, that Bartók's influence on Brăiloiu's intellectual trajectory was diminished. Secondly, the way in which technological progress in ethnomusicology was highlighted – Brăiloiu was associated with the introduction of the phonograph, although the phonograph was already fairly established when he began using it; later the introduction of the reel tape recordings was celebrated as a major advance – surely a well-known argument for socialist bureaucrats, somewhat akin to the celebration of the tractor in agriculture, but less exciting for ethnomusicologists. Last but not least, the idea to focus on the socialist period progress at all, which – as I already pointed out – was a regular feature of socialist discourse, but fairly meaningless or even somewhat counterproductive to those interested in continuing presocialist research traditions.

What I want to stress here is that it was possible – and perhaps widespread - among the IEF's ethnomusicologists (and possibly other academic circles) to ignore a substantial portion of research based on a concept of politics having forced academics to say certain things. Since it was dangerous, even career threatening to communicate about which statements one considered to be political and which ones one considered seriously important, I have to assume that the technique of filtering the substantial parts of public discourse was somewhat of a secret knowledge, passed on in secret - if at all - and hence developed largely individually. In this light I interpret Rădulescu's story of discovering "real" folk music (i.e. the old traditions) only after already becoming a professional ethnomusicologist employed at the Institute: "At the end of several months, after determined digging in the archives, I discovered traditional peasant music" (Rădulescu 1997:9).

If techniques of filtering official academic discourse were largely individual and there was no significant discourse about it, we have to assume that there was not too much consensus on how exactly politics could be filtered. Rather I expect several individual approaches which overlap only at the more obvious places.

5.5 Conclusions: Ethnomusicology at the IEF (1963-75)

The historiographic research I outlined in the last section is the fourth of four themes in the Institute's research that I discussed in this chapter and consider - for various reasons outlined above – the most important ones in the Institute's work in this period. The other three were (1) research relating to new traditions and official folklore favored by socialist cultural policy, (2) the

geographical paradigm sometimes referred to as monographic work by Romanian folklorists, and (3) the emerging research on musical typologies.

I found that for all of these topics there were noticeable changes in the period from c. 1965-1970, i.e. the period in which Ceausescu initiated a limited cultural relaxation and opened up the country towards the West. Although I have been looking mostly at ethnomusicological discourse and the small part of socialist cultural policy which intersects with it, my case suggests that Tismaneanu's perspective holds true: Although there were real discursive changes in the relaxation that began in the mid-1960s, there were no significant changes in the political system, no major reforms that changed the distribution of power, so that when the relaxation petered out around 1971, no significant reversals in the political system were necessary. (There were significant changes on the policy level, however, as outlined above.) When Ceaușescu returned to a Stalinist course, the Stalinist cultural policy regime did not have to be re-created, it still existed. Also, I showed that towards 1971 this period began to fade out, while the ethnomusicological discourse by and large returned to the mix of positions known already from history – either Marxist ones, particularly those associated with early socialism, or national positions resembling those of the more nationalist periods. The third alternative was a position that claimed academic objectivity and which on the surface appeared somewhat apolitical.

My account corresponds especially with my reading of the Institute's research on new traditions, which at the end of the 1960s resurfaced practically unchanged – compared to the late 1950s, when this topic had last dominated the Institute's research. The transformation from the time of the July theses also goes along with a slow and gradual marginalization of the music department (versus the literary folklore research and ethnography) and the long trend of either removing former colleagues of Brăiloiu from positions of power in the Institute (with the potential exception of Mihai Pop, who did collaborate with Brăiloiu, but was no musical folklorist) or preventing those who represented a similar fieldwork-driven approach (such as Habenicht or C. D. Georgescu) from ever obtaining important positions.

Many of my other findings from the IEF period are contradictory. In terms of identity politics, for example, the IEF period - particularly the relaxation in the second half of the 1960s - saw both the Institute's ethnomusicologists' most important deviations from the national matrix, for instance in the form of monographs on minorities, such as Ciobanu 1969, as well as a return of the national matrix as a mode of representation in which Romanians were attributed a privileged, if not superior, position - particularly in research on the history of folklore.

The reception of Brăiloiu during the IEF period was similarly contradictory. Since 1955, Brăiloiu was celebrated as a hero of folkloristics and Romanian ethnomusicology and the Institute published a substantial number of articles on him. And yet, I showed that – surprisingly – Brăiloiu's work and even his methodology were not discussed in great detail, and that authors had different viewpoints on the salient features of his work and methodology. I presented evidence that during the second half of the 1960s tensions concerning Brăiloiu's reception developed even between the Institute's ethnomusicologists and Emilia Comișel, a former employee, who was in the process of editing several volumes of Brăiloiu's collected works.

The Institute lauded Brăiloiu especially as the inventor of a modern methodology, but contrary to the Institute's public statements, his methods were implemented only selectively. New

methodological developments in the IEF period, such as the growing emphasis on musical typologies, diminished his heritage even more.

In contrast to Brăiloiu's waning influence, I showed that Pop's course remained influential and fairly consistent for the whole period in which he was first the Institute's secretary and later its director. However, while in the mid-1950s this position had allowed for a more productive compromise between political demands and presocialist research traditions (as under Drăgoi before 1955), by the IEF period the same position contributed to a petrification of ethnomusicological research at the Institute. Although researchers did not agree on important features of musical typologies, they continued to write them, a focus which contributed to a significant standardization of ethnomusicological research at the Institute, where most ethnomusicologists worked on the same set of problems using roughly the same approach. What is more, with the typology project, they no longer emphasized adding more detailed ethnographic description from various regions, but rather to reformulate the findings on a conceptually higher and more abstract level

It may not be possible to determine what caused the increased marginalization of the ethnomusicology department at the Institute, especially just by looking at its publications. It may be a coincidence that the Institute's ethnomusicology department lost importance around the time of the July theses.

If one follows Verdery's hypothesis that research institutes as a whole as well as intellectuals individually competed for resources and generally the state favored those scholars who seemed conceptually closer or more useful to the regime (Verdery 1991:90–94), then this loss of influence may suggest the Institute's ethnomusicologists were able to resist political pressure better than some of their colleagues – apparently by focusing on an objectivist course and the analysis of musical structures. It may also speak to the fact that, ultimately, the relatively intangible discourse on musical structures, particularly in the objectivist mode that was favored at the Institute, lost its use value for those officials who determined the distribution of resources or contributed to such decisions.

I also presented the hypothesis that the Institute's ethnomusicologists (as well as possibly other intellectual circles) developed reading techniques which filtered out statements that they considered purely as political lip service. This process may account, for example, for certain nationalist tendencies which became en vogue on a political level and were then quickly included in ethnomusicological discourse. I also argued that it is likely that such a filtering reading technique would have been to a significant extent a personal or individual technique, only partly shared by colleagues.

6 Conclusions: The bifurcated field of folk music

In the introduction, I indicated that with this dissertation I wanted to contribute to three themes or projects: (1) the history of ethnomusicology, (2) a historical study in applied ethnomusicology and a (3) social history that emphasizes the production of ethnomusicological knowledge within socialist Romania. Also, I suggested that my theme had a specific, a general and a methodological side. Here I present my conclusions on these six topics in three sections.

Firstly (6.1), I summarize my main findings on the history of Romanian ethnomusicology through the lens of the Institute, highlighting what I consider my main contributions to the topic. To a large degree, this section repeats my findings of the previous chapters in a more condensed form. At the end, however, I add new conclusions relating to the implications of this case study for the more general project of writing histories of ethnomusicology. As before, I try to present a history of ethnomusicology that is more than a "pure" intellectual history. Rather, I weave political and applied perspectives into it, so that this history is situated not in the "heaven" of pure ideas, but in the same social world in which other musicians, composers and audiences are located.

Next (6.2), I reflect on my use of method. This section repeats several key ideas from earlier chapters, particularly Chapter 2, but I also add a number of new observations, principally an overview of how I have tackled politics in my work.

In section 6.3, I briefly compare my case with related ones. Mainly I suggest hypotheses on which of my observations may also be true outside of Romania.

6.1 *Specifics: Towards a history of Romanian ethnomusicology*

FOLK MUSIC BEFORE "FOLK MUSIC" (C. 1830s-1900)

Already around the 1840s, and possibly earlier, Romanian scholars drawing on Romanian predecessors inscribed themselves in an international discourse that soon would be labelled "folklore". By the 1830s there was already a distinct interest in songs and other aspects of music that were involved in Romanian folklore, but at this stage the term "folk music" was not yet used. Scholars did not yet conceive of music in the modern technical and musicological sense as something possessing its own precise terminology and primarily describing music as what is the audible, recordable and "transcribable". Rather music was a vague object, referenced indirectly through terms like "folk song" or through the description of singing or related activities, such as in Alecu Russo's poem "Cântarea României" (lit. Song to Romania)²⁵⁹.

The national matrix developed in Romania alongside the emerging discourse of folkloristics. I defined the national matrix as a certain mode of representing Romania through the nation and suggested that it consists of particular concepts and techniques, such as mechanisms that downplay the existence, agency and participation of other ethnicities. Although parts of the national matrix had already formed before 1866, it was only in this year and the political

²⁵⁹ As far as I can tell, "Cântarea României" is the original spelling used by Russo in 1850.

transition from A. I. Cuza to Prince Carol, that the apparatus became quasi-official, de facto supported by all important political parties. Thus, it was only in 1866 that the national matrix assumed the hegemonic position it has retained for most of the time since then (at least in the context of folkloristics).

As Verdery already suggested (cf. Verdery 1991:28), the national matrix affected basically the whole intellectual field, and not just the emerging field of folkloristics. However, folkloristics and Romanian music were from the beginning important fields, perhaps even the primary ones, for the unfolding of the national matrix.

After Western states recognized Romania's independence (following its declaration of independence in 1877), the nexus between folkloristics and politics changed. It was no longer necessary to demonstrate Romania's nationhood. However, this did not lead to the national matrix losing its grip; in fact, it even intensified within folkloristics. Folklorists remained among the most important scholars promoting and creating a mono-ethnic view of Romania and its past— while cultural diversity tended to be forgotten and written out of the discourse. Hence one could perhaps say that the "purely Romanian" nation and its history were being created on the terrain of folkloristics. It is therefore no wonder that folkloristics attracted those who wanted to express their pride in the Romanian nation.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MUSICAL FOLKLORE (C. 1900-1940)

Bartók's *Cintecale populare Românești din Comitatul Bihor* (1913) was published by the Romanian Academy in Romania, although or because when the book was published, it covered the music of Romanians in neighboring Hungary. In the emerging discourse of Romanian ethnomusicology it was the first book-sized collection to implement a new model of research, one which successfully blended concepts from folkloristics and musicology. In particular, Bartók employed conventions developed earlier in the context of the national matrix, for example his focus on Romanian peasants. At the same time, he also embodied a new approach as he was primarily a music specialist and not a folklorist: he himself travelled to rural places and documented musical performances relatively meticulously in situ, and he employed the new, musicological, more formal concept of music.

Bartók was not the first to experiment with either the new concept of music in relation to Romanian folklore, or with the new modes of researching. But Bartók was the first to produce a book-sized collection based on these new principles, and his work therefore differed from earlier Romanian research projects, such as Pârvescu's *Hora din Cartal* (1908). Perhaps most importantly, his view was more limited or specialized than many of his Romanian predecessors since he largely disregarded other domains of folklore (such as narration or movements in dance). Correspondingly, over time the new notion of folk music (*muzica populară*) became a central term signifying the domain of the new subdiscipline that Bartók already referred to as "*folklor muzical*" (musical folklore, Bartók 1913:iii).

However, Bartók's book did not lead to an immediate transformation of Romanian folkloristics. It took until the late 1920s to establish the new subdiscipline of musical folklore in Romanian institutions. As an example of this process, I looked mainly at the creation of two folk music archives. In this phase, Constantin Brăiloiu dominated musical folklore in Romania, not

least because he was able to organize a huge collecting endeavor that produced what at the time was perhaps the biggest folk music collection worldwide, but also because his work found an international echo.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIALIST ETHNOMUSICOLOGY (1948 – c.1955)

After gaining practically undivided political power in January 1948, the communists initiated a radical reorganization of the cultural domain in Romania, following Stalinist models. In this process the Institut de Folclor (Folklore Institute) was officially founded in 1949, inheriting personnel, collections and a conceptual approach from several older archives, including the Folklore Archive (Arhiva de Folclor) originally founded by Brăiloiu as part of the Romanian Composers' Society (SCR). In my reading of the initial decree that founded the Institute in 1949, the Institute agreed to implement folklore in a socialist way and to police other folklorists accordingly.

Characteristics of socialist cultural policy included the leadership claim of the Party, which (in theory and in practice) drastically reduced academic autonomy ("The Party is always right"). The socialists implemented a new and enlarged notion of folklore, one which viewed folklore primarily as a form of art and included not only the artistic production of peasants, but also those of workers, i.e. both major constituents of the proletariat from the perspective of classic Marxist thought.

Within the socialist policy framework, folklore was legitimated as a reflection of social progress and as a means of facilitating further social progress. It was regarded as one step towards the creation of the New Man - or, put less metaphorically, as the societal transformation enabling the construction of communism. This understanding of folklore (and ethnomusicology) as inherently applied fields with the explicit objective of transforming society contributed to the bifurcation of the fields of folklore and folk music in the old and the new traditions. I discussed traditional peasant culture as the classic sphere of the old traditions and Romanian folk orchestras and *cîntece noi* ("new songs") as examples for the new traditions of the early socialist phase.

I argued that although the term "socialist realism" was rarely, if ever, used in print directly in reference to folk music in Romania, it was in fact frequently applied to folk music, particularly within the new traditions. The Romanian state tended to favor those instances where folk music was accessible, expressed a heroic and patriotic stance, and alluded to a bright future, or where performances could be interpreted as praise of socialism. As in other domains affected by the concept of socialist realism, the socialists regarded the old traditions primarily as a mine for the production of new art; hence there were generally no serious efforts to preserve old traditions *as living practices*, but rather to document them and make them available as a representations (e.g. in transcription and in the archive) for those creating new art, such as musicians, composers, and choreographers. At the same time, in public discourse and in the mode of the academic socialist realist writing style, folklorists and others praised the state's efforts to preserve Romanian traditions. From public discourse alone, then, the fact that the state did not contribute significantly to the preservation of old traditions as living practices was neither admitted nor obvious (without further knowledge of what happened in the field).

Folklorists - and the ethnomusicologists among them - became one of the only professional groups tasked with researching the old traditions and as such they acted as primary gatekeepers presiding over the archive of the old traditions, understood here as the sum of the available representations of the old traditions.

The state heavily featured and favored the new traditions in its state institutions, such as professional and amateur ensembles, houses of culture and similar institutions, the media and the recording industry. Thereby it effectively contributed to the replacement of old traditions by the new and official traditions to an extent that is reminiscent of colonization, where a colonizer implements new structures inherited from the colonizer's home context without respect for homegrown structures.

In the early socialist phase, the national matrix was officially replaced by a less nationalistic or perhaps even nominally anti-nationalist identity politics – at least on a policy level, i.e. in official rhetoric decreed from above. Except for the fact that the Institute's ethnomusicologists extensively discussed Bartók's achievements in this period – i.e. they recognized a Hungarian's contributions to Romanian ethnomusicology - , this new and less nationalistic policy had little effect on the actual research that was carried out and published by the Institute's ethnomusicologists in this period. It remained within the strictures of the national matrix, i.e. focused on ethnic Romanians.

Another lasting effect of this period was that performances of *lăutari*, many of whom were Roma, were now routinely treated as Romanian folk music, a position that hardline nationalists since the 19th century had typically avoided. The inclusion of *lăutari* was probably nowhere clearer than in the domain of folk orchestras, which in the early socialist period were developed in Romania following presocialist Romanian and contemporary Soviet models. Outside the practical domain of performance (i.e. in research), the treatment of Roma as Romanians was less pronounced. I characterized this policy as a partial inclusion at the price of appropriation. Again, this policy seems to have been decreed from above rather than by consensus among folklorists. I have showed indicators that it did not affect the core concepts of many folklorists at the time, who tended to promote concepts developed in the context of the national matrix.

In this phase, compromise themes surfaced in the Institute's ethnomusicology research. By this, I mean that researchers chose themes that successfully appealed both to the more political socialist and the more academic conservative perspective. An early example for an early compromise theme is T. Alexandru's work on folk musical instruments: it may be considered applied ethnomusicology insofar as it provided background research for the establishment of folk music orchestras that was going on at the same time. Compared to other publications at the same time, Alexandru's relatively detailed and comprehensive research was vaguely reminiscent of Brăiloiu's regional and fieldwork-based approach. It would have been interesting for the more conservative folklorists, as it contributed to a topic that hitherto had received few systematic and detailed publications.

RECLAIMING RELATIVE ACADEMIC AUTONOMY AND THE POST-JULY-THESES PERIOD (1955-1975)

After the initial radical phase in which the new socialist cultural policy regime was first implemented in Romania, a (first) phase of a relative and limited relaxation followed, beginning in 1955. The Institute was now able to publish more, including its own journal, the *Revista de Folclor*. From this period onwards, Mihai Pop became the Institute's most visible spokesperson, perhaps more so than Sabin Drăgoi, who remained the director until 1964. Now Brăiloiu's status changed, just a few years before he died. From a person who could not be named in print in Romania, presumably because he had not returned to Romania after the war, he became one of the most celebrated heroes in the pantheon of Romanian folkloristics.

During Ceaușescu's first years in power (1965-1970) another significant cultural relaxation occurred. In this period, the ethnomusicological discourse produced at the Institute changed again. New topics and trends were explored and international trends in ethnomusicology were of greater concern for the Institute's ethnomusicologists. But the fact that between these thaws, Stalinist themes, such as new songs and new folklore returned, indicated that the political system and basic cultural policy had not changed significantly during the more relaxed periods.

Overall, and particularly under the intellectual leadership of Mihai Pop, the Institute's ethnomusicologists established a socialist type of ethnomusicology that regained some academic autonomy. It was socialist in the sense that it complied with the important demands of the political sphere. In particular, it employed the enlarged socialist notion of folklore, so that ethnomusicologists researched not only peasants, but also the folklore of workers; they subscribed to the applied mission of transforming society, but also allowed more conservative research that looked to a significant degree to presocialist models and focused on peasant music.

At the Institute and in its ethnomusicology department, this more conservative research at first occurred mostly within what I termed the geographical paradigm and which in Romanian is often referred to as monographic, sometimes associated with the Romanian sociologist D. Gusti. This paradigm focuses on identifying musical characteristics for small ethnographic areas through direct observation in the field. I showed that the geographical paradigm as practiced at the Institute in part emulated Bartók's and Brăiloiu's approach, but it also tended to exclude some aspects that were controversial from a socialist point of view, particularly relating to contemporary social reality. The geographical paradigm also kept aspects that were not completely complicit with socialist policies, for example, a focus on ritual music as well as small, perhaps only symbolic, but nevertheless present challenges to the national matrix. The most salient examples here are probably the publication of "ethnographies" documenting some of Romania's minorities in the 1960s and the focus on comparative research which emphasized the importance of comparing Romanian folklore with the folklore of other nations. Although in practice comparative research did not play a great role at the Institute, in the context of the hegemonic power of the national matrix, even the mere insistence on the importance of comparative research was a significant deviation from the national matrix.

In the late 1960s, within the context of the Institute the geographic paradigm took a back seat to the quest to devise musical typologies based on the results produced by geographic

research. Typologies typically aimed at controlling the musical characteristics of one musical genre for the complete Romanian territory, i.e. they abstracted (or were meant to abstract) a concept of place out of the geographical approach. In this context, a new, relative transcription was adopted that transposed related melodies into the same key and hence emphasized relationships between similar pieces and "intertextual" relationships between similar melodies.

Both in the context of musical geography and in the quest to devise musical typologies, the Institute was able to set academic standards that potentially functioned as yardsticks to measure publications. These provided an alternative to the exclusively political yardstick of the early socialist period.

In this sense that the typology project was the achievement of the Institute's academically more conservative ethnomusicologists, it was key in reestablishing a relative academic autonomy (particularly between c. 1965 until ca. 1971). At the same time, particularly in the IEF period, the geographic paradigm and the new typology project also led to a petrification, codification and standardization of methodology in the name of objectivity. Although originally the geographic paradigm was modelled on Brăiloiu's methodology, the process of petrification ultimately led to an approach that was in many ways different from Brăiloiu's. Perhaps most importantly, Brăiloiu had consistently developed or refined his approach according to the changing questions that he researched over the years, and he had warned against merely collecting music as specimens like butterflies in the positivist tradition of natural history. In spite of these warnings and in spite of the fact that the Institute's ethnomusicologists frequently reference Brăiloiu and emulate his work, especially in the course of the typology project, ethnomusicology research at the Institute did develop in this direction. I suggested that this trend towards an objectivist approach among the more conservative researchers was at least in part a reaction to the political context, the socialist cultural policy and the pressures that resulted from it.

Concerning identity policy, during a second period of relaxation that began in the mid-1960s, the Institute's ethnomusicologists published, as already mentioned, an unprecedented number of research publications on Romania's minorities (e.g. Tartars, Roma), while in the same period Romanian politics as a whole became increasingly more national, a process that already began in the mid-1950s, but accelerated after Ceaușescu publicly condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The publication of several monographs on the music of Romania's minorities did not challenge the national matrix, either in principle or on theoretical grounds, but it did show an alternative way that gave more attention and respect to other populations in Romania. For these reasons, it represented an implicit challenge. However, after this period, the national matrix was restored, as I showed in my analysis of historiographical research in the early 1970s, and the Institute's ethnomusicologists once again tended to focus nearly exclusively on Romanian peasants.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ The only noticeable divergence from the national matrix from the later socialist period that I am aware of are several articles by Speranța Rădulescu, where she describes *lăutar* traditions (Rădulescu 1977, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986). The attention, benevolence and detail attributed here to Roma musicians are unusual for the time. Since these articles were published after 1975 they fall outside of the time period I look here and I do not discuss them in detail.

Marian-Bălașa maintains that after Ceaușescu's July Theses, the Romanian state adopted a Chinese model in its identity policy (Marian-Bălașa, Marin 2013), but I was not able to identify this trend in the Institute's publications until 1975. During the 1980s, a state-sanctioned intensification of hatred against minorities and their musics occurred in other countries in the Eastern Bloc, and as far as I can tell in Romania as well.

Since around 1970, the ethnomusicologists at the IEF slowly lost importance relative to other researchers at the Institute, such as folklorists and ethnologists. They gradually published fewer research articles in the Institute's journals, and what they did publish was less often based on new fieldwork. It is conceivable that the fact that ethnomusicologists lost importance in the post-July-Theses period reflects the fact that those who distributed resources did not consider the ethnomusicology department well-suited to assist in the implementation of the neo-Stalinist policy, especially considering that the Institute ethnomusicologists had used the relaxation of the mid-1960s to challenge the national matrix, rather than to reinforce it.

During the whole socialist period the Institute was not a place of large-scale resistance against the socialist state and its cultural policy. Rather, all indicators point to the fact that the Institute actively contributed to the implementation of the official cultural policy in the domain of folklore.

At the same time, many of the Institute's ethnomusicologists, particularly the conservative camp, attempted to resist the state's influence in their own ways. I avoided judging individual ethnomusicologists and displaying those who perhaps resisted more than others as heroes, a narrative that is implicit in many postsocialist accounts of the socialist period. Instead I focused on the more impersonal strategies available to the Institute's researchers to counter the state's influence. For example, I described the strategy of minimal compliance and the trend of focusing on topics researchers considered relatively apolitical. Similarly, I argued that presocialist research in general gained value for those who wanted to signal that they stayed clear from political influence. Other means of resistance were to focus on whatever was considered objective in their research. Most importantly, perhaps, I believe that over time a special way of reading socialist research: ignoring particularly the socialists' focus on applied ethnomusicology (i.e. the project to transform society through new folklore) and perhaps also the overt nationalist tendencies. If my thesis holds true, ethnomusicologists (and possibly other academics) developed nothing short of a secret code to filter out what they considered political parts from research publications. This would also explain how in their self-perception, the respective researchers did not participate in the excesses of socialist-period research and how these researchers perhaps felt as dissidents, although publically (in their publications) they did contribute to the socialist project.

CONSEQUENCES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR WRITING HISTORIES OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

For the most part, I limited my discussion to the case study at hand, the research produced at one Romanian institution. But occasionally, I have speculated on matters that reach beyond the Institute, so perhaps it is useful to summarize these hypotheses.

First and foremost, a study of ethnomusicology as practiced at the Folklore Institute and its successors cannot claim to be a study of the history of Romanian ethnomusicology as a whole. For this reason I usually do not just write of "Romanian ethnomusicology", but rather "Romanian

ethnomusicology through the lens of the Institute" or similar phrases. However, the fact that a considerable portion of ethnomusicological research in socialist Romania was produced at the Institute allows me to at least hypothesize broader trends. Nonetheless, at the end of the day, it is still questionable if "Romanian ethnomusicology" really exists as an entity at all. It remains to be demonstrated that Romanian ethnomusicology actually was and is sufficiently different from Bulgarian, Hungarian, German or any other "national" ethnomusicologies for such labels to be justified in any of the cases. Nevertheless, for purely heuristic purposes, the concept of national ethnomusicologies seems to be useful, although who exactly falls into a particular national discourse is not always as clear as one might expect. A national discourse is not limited to only those ethnomusicologists who hold a particular nationality; nor does everyone who writes about music in a particular country participate in its national discourse. Instead, I opted here to relate scholars to the discussions in which they participated, something I think might very well be called a discourse according to Foucault's definition from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. In this sense, one could say that D. Cantemir, writing as a former statesman and perhaps also a geographer, was not contributing to the same discourse as Vasile Alecsandri. Bartók, on the other hand, although he wrote about music that he witnessed in what was then Hungary, contributed to an ongoing discussion in Romania that I have termed the study of folklore (or folkloristics).

What I suggest here is that we continue studying national discourses, but also that we include other, related ones in the discussion, such as comparative musicology or – even more narrowly – Bartók's and Brăiloiu's related, but also different personal approaches to musical folklores, until these paradigms become more clearly defined and we see where they overlap and differ from one another.

The fact that there are a few paradigms that are relatively well-described in the literature on the history of ethnomusicology, mainly comparative musicology with its roots in Berlin and ethnomusicology after Kunst²⁶¹, does not mean that the rules and regularities which characterize these paradigms are clear and that there is even the beginning of a consensus on them in the literature. Nettl, for example, writes that

[t]here seems to be a belief that there should be something like paradigms that would mark critical points in the history of ethnomusicology but little agreement on what they might be and whether they ought to be shared understandings on method and approach or on facts about the nature of music and society. (Nettl 2010a:xxi)

It has now been decades since ethnomusicologists began to call for diversifying the history of ethnomusicology, – at least since the publication of edited volume *Comparative musicology and anthropology of music* Nettl and Bohlman 1991 – and yet it seems we have made relatively little headway on this project. With the exception of Bohlman's work (e.g. Bohlman 2011), most writing on the history of ethnomusicology still concerns the major research paradigms that Kunst wrote about in the book (Kunst 1955) that eventually gave our discipline its name. Attempts to

²⁶¹ As already pointed out in the Introduction, let me clarify that in much of the above I used the word "ethnomusicology" not in the narrow sense as the label for the particularist paradigm that became known under this label after J. Kunst, but rather as an somewhat ahistorical umbrella term covering several related paradigms. In this larger sense, I frequently spoke of Romanian ethnomusicology, even although the Romanian ethnomusicologist I referred to as such, would not always have accepted or used the label "ethnomusicologist" for themselves.

include other traditions have remained comparatively superficial. Or perhaps additional studies of other traditions in ethnomusicology have escaped my attention because they did not advertise themselves as contributions to history of ethnomusicology – in other words, they are not part of the same discourse - although perhaps they should be.

Perhaps the problem is not that "other ethnomusicologies" (meaning other traditions of researching the music on which ethnomusicology has historically focused) do not exist, nor that there are no ethnomusicologists who are aware of these "competing" research traditions and their history. In fact, I have to admit that I do not know the reasons why more research on other ethnomusicologies is not being published. Yet I cannot imagine that most ethnomusicologists have no knowledge of these histories after dealing with their field for years and often decades.

Still, I would like to suggest that there are two principal ways to tackle other ethnomusicologies and that one of them is more productive at this stage. On the one hand, we have a particularist approach in which a particular tradition is outlined; say Argentinian ethnomusicology, without significant reference to other research traditions or the well-known paradigms. On the other hand, we have a comparative approach, where a particular research tradition is compared to other approaches, particularly the well-known ones.

In many ways, I opted in this study for a compromise between such a particularist and a comparative approach. When I compared Romanian ethnomusicology with other ethnomusicologies I made only hypotheses, usually in footnotes, without the attempt to prove my comments within the present work. But even in this hypothetical form I find the comparisons helpful. A comparative approach is interesting for more people and a small field like the history of ethnomusicology needs to focus its resources before it can indulge in a more particularist and possibly more detailed history.

One hypothesis I suggested was that comparative musicology, particularly as practiced in Berlin by C. Stumpf and E.M. von Hornbostel, was a relatively consistent paradigm that emerged and was enabled by the new scientific impetus in musicology (and other academic disciplines, such as physiology and psychology, areas with which C. Stumpf was intimately familiar). I think this thesis fares well when compared to Nettl's analysis of the same time (Nettl 2010b). In this context, what I have termed the musicological sense of music gained crucial importance, as can be seen in many articles in the early volumes of the *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*. This new approach appears to have been new enough to warrant a new journal. In any case, when writing about comparative musicology, one would have to specify what and who exactly one wants to include in comparative musicology and what other research and which other researchers (in Berlin or elsewhere) fall outside of it and should be associated with a related, but separate paradigm. I am not sure, for example, if one could or should treat Bartók simply as a comparative musicologist and what the advantage or disadvantages of viewing him as such would be. Bartók certainly associated himself with this paradigm, but as discussed above, occasionally he also used different terms, such as musical folklore to refer to the discipline.

As already indicated, I see considerable overlap between the Stumpf, Hornbostel and Bartók and Brăiloiu – particularly in their usage of the musicological concept of music -, but I also see differences, particularly between Stumpf and Bartók. Stumpf was interested in human musical abilities, such as the ability to construct and use numerous musical scales, not only those

suggested by physics. To research human facilities is certainly one of the most universalist questions imaginable, while Bartók's interest was a lot more particularist, although still comparative, as he was interested not only in Hungarian folk music, but also in the musics of several other nations.

In my work on the Institute, I also dealt with ethnomusicology in the strict sense of the word, as a post-World War II paradigm in the wake of Kunst's eponymous book. Like its predecessors – such as musical folklore and comparative musicology – this ethnomusicology is an international discourse, but one which increasingly became associated with the US and perhaps the English-speaking world. By saying this I imply that around Kunst's time and later, related discourses functioned according to different rules and regularities in various places such as Germany and France, although certainly not completely independently of ethnomusicology. In any case, it appears that the obvious and perhaps main characteristic of the discourse of ethnomusicology – particularly in the 1960s when the word "ethnomusicology" became common – was that it was more particularist than the earlier, comparative paradigm. It featured more in-depth fieldwork and more in-depth insights into culture-specific views on music. I have shown that the discourse of ethnomusicology makes its appearance in Romania in the mid-1960s and the early 1970s, when the word "etnomuzicologie" began to be used with some frequency.

What I wish to suggest through this discussion is that we take the history of ethnomusicology more seriously, that we specify what we mean with central terms and how we use them. I also advocate for a discursive approach which is loosely based on Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. With this approach, I mean to think of ethnomusicology as a discourse, a discussion, or a discipline to which specific people contribute at specific times. I suggest that we specify rules and regularities – objects, modalities, terms and themes which remain consistent over a period of time within certain paradigms – wherever we find them, and I urge that we strictly separate present-day ideas of what constitutes ethnomusicology from historical concepts of the field. It may occasionally be useful to treat an "ancient" predecessor like Cantemir, Athanasius Kirchner or Jean de Lery as a predecessor of present-day ethnomusicology. For instance, de Lery was an impressive writer on music that for him was foreign, exhibiting an unusual amount of relativism and understanding. But to suggest that those people had even remotely the same concept of ethnomusicology as most (or some) of us have today, that they contributed generally to the same discussions, is misleading.

While I suggest an archaeological approach for the history of ethnomusicology, I do not think that the discussion of the history of ethnomusicology always needs to employ a discursive approach. We may well benefit from different approaches. We do not need to find consensus on all issues, even when they are central to the discipline. However, I think it would help the discussion if we were able to narrow down a few major contenders rather than suggesting a myriad different perspectives for every question. It should be relatively clear what some of the main characteristics of comparative musicology or ethnomusicology in the 1960s were; it should be clear that there are only a few different ways of understanding these terms, either as culture-specific or time-specific paradigms, as I suggest in this section, or as umbrella terms referring to multiple paradigms (as I usually use the word "ethnomusicology").

6.2 *Methods Revisited*

In this section, I continue my reflection on method from Chapter 2. While in Chapter 2 I focused on my reading of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, in this section I also discuss other aspects such as cultural policy and political ethnomusicology at large.

6.2.1 *Archaeology revisited*

One of my goals in this dissertation was to show how Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* could be employed as a methodology for the study of intellectual histories, including the history of ethnomusicology. In Chapter Two, I attempted to limit my discussion to only that part of Foucault's book useful for my case and potentially for other ethnomusicologists. I discarded his attempt to define "discourse" as an alternative to grammar, logic and speech act theory as not directly relevant for my case study. Rather, I referred to Foucault's re-reading of those of his previous studies which he considered archaeological and made use of the terms he developed in this context: object, modality, term and theme. Foucault presents these concepts as the four types of elements or dimensions that allow one to identify specific discourses. I also tried to make use of the factors that he presents as conditions of existence for these elements or dimensions, although I discarded his claim that on a general level these factors determine the elements in a strict causal sense of the word. By doing so, I rolled back many, but not all advances that Foucault tried to accomplish with *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. I kept the general discourse-centered approach that Foucault had developed in the studies previous to *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and would be developing in his later studies (including his genealogies). Specifically, I continued the trend to not focus exclusively only on the discursive realm. In *The Order of Things* Foucault had focused almost only on a comparison of three discourses, while in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* he explored non-discursive practices as important conditions for discourse, leaving the realm of pure discourse behind.

Of the factors that contribute to the formation of elements, I found the fields of emergence especially helpful. For example, in early Romanian musical folklore as established by Brăiloiu and others, I pointed to two discourses from which it inherited key concepts: Romanian and international folkloristics and musicology. Also, I described politics proper, such as the process leading to Romania's independence, as another factor that could be described as an authority of delimitation in Foucault's sense.

I did not emphasize the status of the speaking subject – a concern of Foucault's – during my analysis, although I, of course, was concerned with the status of ethnomusicologists. For the socialist period, I described one particular instance that illuminates the status of the ethnomusicologist as a speaking subject: the fact that Gheorghe and Eugenia Popescu-Județes' research was not and still is not considered proper research, neither in folklore nor in folk dance or folk music research. This instance pointed to the fact that whoever was not following the professional standards set by the Institute (and potentially others) was not considered a researcher. I also suggested that hardly anybody had the resources to engage in folk music research according to the professional standards outside of institutionally employed ethnomusicologists. If that is

true, ethnomusicology and access to this field was effectively controlled by the state, ethnomusicologists and possibly other folklorists.

While I did not describe the succession of statements Foucault suggested for the formation of concepts, I did describe the emergence, modification and disappearance of concepts. The most prominent example is perhaps my "music before folk music" thesis, where I argue that the early folklorists had a concept of music that was not yet the musicological one, a concept we often take for granted today. This correlates with the fact that the term "folk music" was hardly ever used before about 1885, both inside and outside of Romania, and did not yet have the central position that it assumed as one of the domain labels for the emerging discipline of musical folkloristics after this point in time.

With respect to the formation of themes, while I did not focus on the specific inter-discursive relationships that Foucault highlights in this context, I did occasionally suggest hypotheses concerning the relationship between different ethnomusicological projects, such as Bartók's musical folklore, Brăiloiu's musical folklore, socialist ethnomusicology in Romania, comparative musicology as it was practiced in Berlin and the particularistic paradigm of ethnomusicology.

I also acknowledged that for ethnomusicologists and other fieldworkers, the exclusive focus on a discursive domain that Foucault proposes must appear awkward. As fieldworkers they tend to move in a complex reality, where they primarily encounter people – not texts or even discursive elements. Correspondingly, discourses traditionally play a role for fieldworkers only when located in respect to other aspects of the social space. Hence I opted for an approach that focused on discourse, but which also discussed non-discursive realities wherever appropriate.

In contrast to the Foucault of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, I emphasized that academic discourse tends to take place within certain fields to which I usually referred as disciplines. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault tends to use the word "discipline" to refer to conventional units of histories of ideas (or intellectual histories), although he seeks to replace this term with what he considers the more exact unit of a (specific) discourse. Instead, I opted to understand "discipline" as a synonym for a specific discourse. Much like Foucault in his own archaeological studies, I did not attempt to define the exact limits of any of the disciplines I encountered and I certainly did not employ the method that Foucault outlined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* to this end. However, I did try to cover how and when several of the disciplines that I encountered emerged and to outline some of their major features. These discourses were, firstly, Romanian folklore research (during the 19th century), later Brăiloiu's musical folklore (in the late 1920s and early 1930s), and lastly musical folklore as part of socialist folkloristics in Romania.

Also, departing from Foucault, I made frequent use of the term "paradigm" to characterize a particular approach within a discourse. If one wished to remain in the context of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, one could perhaps define "paradigm" as a set of objects, modalities, concepts and themes that is shared by several participants in a discourse. Such a definition suggests that a paradigm is in fact a discourse within a discourse (or discipline), as it has discursive regularities. Often it will make sense to look only at those paradigms that are particularly important and have a hegemonic or similarly important position.

Related to my endeavor to cover past knowledge with respect to the contemporary state of the relevant disciplines (both institutionally and conceptually), I also mimicked Foucault's emphasis on contemporary knowledge. Like Foucault, but unlike many other intellectual historians, I typically disregard whether any fact that was accepted as a truth at a given moment in time is still considered true today. Rather I try to show when, how and why those facts emerged and became accepted and when, how and why they lost their status as facts.

Overall, Foucault presents his archaeological approach as the attempt to reform older traditions of social history or histories of ideas and to create a more exact and objective framework. I criticized and eventually rejected what I considered all the major suggestions Foucault put forward in this respect in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*: his theoretical discussion of discourse that leads him to define the term, the procedure he suggests to delimit one specific discourse from another, and his attempts to define his central terms (object, modality, term, theme etc.). However, to temporarily isolate discourse from the rest of the world and to treat it as if it were an autonomous, self-determined realm devoid of the speakers who produce it and the social world in which these speakers live, I find a surprisingly productive technique that forces oneself to challenge one's own preconceptions. So although it seems to me that in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault was not able to accomplish his self-imposed goal of proving that he had created a new and more objective kind of history of ideas, he nevertheless outlined a productive approach that avoids some of the pitfalls of other approaches. As such it can still offer a framework for intellectual histories, particularly – I would like to think – in a field like the history of ethnomusicology where discussions on the ways of writing history have never played a major role.

6.2.2 Analyzing the politics of folk music

Foucault's archaeological studies may be political in the sense that they have considerable potential to change practices in the respective fields or discourses with which they are concerned. For example, his study of the history of madness had implications for contemporary psychiatry when it was first published²⁶². Foucault also wanted his work generally to be understood as a means to reform the self that can be conceived as political (Foucault [1991b] 2007), but in contrast to his later studies – particularly *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1995) and his governmentality studies (Foucault 2007, Foucault 2008) – his archaeological studies were not primarily concerned with the power of the state, nor the individual's entanglement in power relations, nor do his archaeological studies typically tackle the relationship between individual discourses and the state in any significant way. For this reason, I was unable to draw on Foucault's archaeological approach when I asked in what way socialist ethnomusicology and the state relate to each other. Instead, I tried to come up with an approach that mapped politics on discourse without reducing academic discourse to a mere afterthought of politics. I would like to think that my procedure is roughly compatible with Foucault's in his governmentality studies. In my eyes,

²⁶² Foucault's study was used by the anti-psychiatry movement to argue against contemporary practices in psychiatry (cf. Foucault and Kritzman 1988:15). His own position on the link between politics and his archaeology project is more complex (Foucault [1991a] 2007:65–72).

his governmentality lectures were motivated by the attempt to show that the concept of power that he had developed in his study of the prison as an institution (Foucault 1995) could also be applied to the state.

In his governmentality lectures, Foucault traces how the art of governing evolved from the time of Machiavelli up to the neoliberalism of the late 1970s, focusing on the police state in Western Europe. One of the problems of his lectures is that in each of them he experiments with different methodologies and analytical concepts, so that – as so often with Foucault's work – it is difficult to extract a single approach from them. Certainly his concepts of apparatus (Fr. *dispositif*) and rationality stand in the forefront of these works. Overall, academic discourses do not play a very important role in this context and correspondingly I needed to develop my own approach to the topic. In some ways, I followed Verdery's lead more than Foucault's when analyzing the nexus between ethnomusicology and politics.

In particular, I identified positions with socialist folkloristics that correspond quite closely with official political positions. The first such topic that I identified was new songs (*cîntece noi*) and related concepts and genres, such as new folklore (*folclor nou*) and contemporary folklore. I found that research on these topics was embedded in a number of related concepts, assumptions, legitimizations, practices and techniques. Perhaps the most obvious example is the concept that I referred to as the socialist concept of folkloristics, which included not only the folkways of peasants, but that of the complete working class. I also found that the goals of new folklore correspond to the public justification or legitimization of socialist cultural policy at large, i.e. to facilitate the creation of the New Man and the construction of communism. In fact, if one continues this thought, the division between new and old traditions can hardly be overrated. The socialists seemed particularly interested in the new traditions: the old traditions were treated as a reservoir for the creation of new art more than as something important on its own.

I am sure that many ethnomusicologists, including Romanian ethnomusicologists from the socialist period, would protest my statements. In fact I am not trying to summarize their opinions or what ethnomusicologists believed or inscribed in their texts, but rather the official position of the state vis-à-vis folklore. I therefore focused not on the opinions of individuals, but on the quasi-official position that is inherent in a number of public and private documents, actions, measures etc. And what I found in this respect was a relatively consistent position and that applied to and explained not only the relatively small field of new songs (*cîntece noi*), but also nearly the whole field of official folklore in much the same way. This complex of objects, terms, modalities, themes, but also of positions and legitimizations relies on several elements that refer to each other and reinforce themselves: a legitimization of folklore within the socialist project, a corresponding definition of folklore, and an institutional privileging of new tradition over old traditions (for example as far as radio play or TV appearances were concerned). State institutions were systematically employed in every part of this process. Furthermore, this whole complex, to which I referred as official folklore, relied to a large extent on the Stalinist cultural policy regime – that kind of policy regime that was imported from the Soviet Union to Romania in Stalin's lifetime and which relied in part on the leadership claim of politics (The Party is always right), a combination of encouragement and control such as censorship and prizes. Although the word "socialist realism" fell out of usage in Romania roughly at the same time that Soviet influence decreased,

essential features of the Stalinist cultural policy regime remained relatively consistent over the whole socialist period, in spite of two periods of relaxation when the system allowed greater deviation from hardline positions.

In fact, my work suggests that the whole complex of official folklore changed relatively little over the complete socialist period in Romania. However, it is also quite possible that I did not identify all changes over the whole period. After all, I looked closely only at parts of the ethnomusicology research of a single research institution from 1949 to 1975. At the very least, however, I can claim to have identified essential features that remained remarkably consistent over much of this period.

Overall, official folklore made up only a part of the ethnomusicology research published by the Institute. There was some research that did not fit easily with official folklore: that which relied on a different kind of support (academic values rather than official favor), and which tended to highlight different objects, writing styles, concepts, and themes. Specifically, I identified a camp that I characterized as conservative for its reliance on presocialist research models, particularly Brăiloiu's early work and his insistence on fieldwork as well as an emphasis on objectivism. For this camp, I tried to outline the main paradigm, which I named the geographic paradigm since it focused mainly on determining stylistic idiosyncrasies for small regions of Romania. I also identified several compromise positions which combined features of both the political and the conservative camps. These two camps do not directly map into complicit and dissent: the conservative camp had a certain potential for resistance, but given the strictures of the Stalinist cultural policy regime, not even this camp was able to publish opinions contradicting public policies.

6.2.3 Governing Sound: Towards a bigger picture

Since postsocialist ethnomusicology is now in its third decade, I found myself trying not to reinvent the wheel, but rather to integrate my findings into a bigger picture. In this work I have dealt with topics that are not exactly white spots on the imaginary map of research, but that still remain relatively unexplored. The first of these is Romanian ethnomusicology in general, which in an international context has received relatively little attention; the second is an explicit focus on ethnomusicologists themselves rather than on performers, people behind the curtain who enable performers (arrangers, choreographers, composers etc.), or audiences.

In this section, I locate my research on these topics with respect to recent postsocialist ethnomusicology and political ethnomusicology at large. To this end, I describe several perspectives found in much of the recent research in political ethnomusicology and I locate my own work with respect to these perspectives. The methodological ideas I have employed to add details to this bigger picture stand in the center of this section.

SOCIAL SPACE

It seems not so long ago – probably only a few decades - that ethnomusicologists began to describe heterogeneous societies in earnest. Today, it is common to describe societies which are diverse enough to have room for a number of different musical traditions. Some of them may be competing for the status of a national music and correspondingly we deal with different lives and

experiences revolving around music - even if one limits one's gaze only to the people who in one way or another come in contact with traditional musics, their derivatives and descendants. It is this social space that allows us to illuminate different aspects of the same social and historical space, but for different actors involved in different musical traditions or different corners of the same musical traditions. As far Europe is concerned, the diversity of social space becomes perhaps nowhere clearer than it is for Bulgaria, on which there is an extraordinary amount of scholarship. In *May It Fill Your Soul*, for example, Rice privileges the perspective of his main informant Kostadin Varimezov, someone who learned music in a rural, traditional and presocialist context, but became a professional musician – a status that probably would not even have been open for him in presocialist society - only in the state institutions of socialist Bulgaria. In turn Buchanan tends to focus on folk orchestras in much of her writing and sometimes on the perspectives of important ensemble leaders, such as F. Kutev, who represented a different position in the new traditions than Varimezov. Others have focused on yet other groups of musicians, such as Silverman's work on Roma in Bulgaria, which covers a range of musics from traditional to popular in which these musicians are involved (Silverman 2011). Popova's work even includes a review of Bulgarian ethnomusicology somewhat similar to my own project (Popova 2013:126–260).

Ultimately, of course, looking at individual (or particular) traditions is not enough; rather, we will be also interested in how these people and musics interact with each other, or how they negotiate common notions, such as Bulgarian identity, for example; and of course this has always already been a part of the research on these particular traditions and corners of the social space that I mentioned. I merely point out that research profits and lives from the back and forth between the particular contexts within the local social space and a greater whole, such as the nation.

In my research, I tried to focus on specific corners of the social space, particularly the position the Romanian socialist state and several selected ethnomusicologists held with regards to folk music. But I also tried to develop a perspective that has room for other participants. In particular, I hope that the notions of the national matrix, the metaphor of the bifurcated field of folk music and the model of the academic field (discussed in 6.3.3) I have developed are well suited to explain the structure of the social space and to show how central notions and practices in folk music discourse were negotiated among different participants.

INDIVIDUAL/GROUP

Another aspect of the bigger picture on political and postsocialist ethnomusicology to which I have tried to contribute is the contrast between individual and group. I think that *May It Fill Your Soul* had the impact that it had when it was first published in 1994 in part because Rice was able to successfully convey the position of his main subject or subjects. Not only was the individual at the time somewhat en vogue in ethnographic research (as part of the Writing Culture debate), but as a concept it also had been relatively systematically (although not completely) purged from socialist period research – to a considerable extent even from the scholarship on Eastern Europe produced by Western scholars until around 1989 (as I argue in 1.5 and 6.3.3). Of course, attending to the individual does not mean we should abandon the complementary perspective on

supraindividual units. For example, Rice deals with several supraindividual units in his book, including the Bulgarian state, traditional Bulgarian music and several other styles, and he appraises people's reactions towards the new traditions. It seems clear that we want to include both levels: how individuals acted and act, but also how these actions relate to supraindividual units in society. Again, the back and forth between both levels seems to be a *sine qua non* today.

In my own work, I have focused more on supraindividual units, particularly the ethnomusicologists at the IEF as a group and the two camps that I identified among them. However, considering that this is a relatively small group of people, it seems to be an intermediary unit, one that is still relatively close to the level of individual ethnomusicologists. And rather than putting their postsocialist point of view at the fore, I chose to emphasize their socialist-period publications. Obviously, I risk losing some of their own perspective, because their publications were filtered in many ways and they might put things differently and arguably more direct today, but also I gain relatively direct access to socialist discourses – mediated only through my own cultural and temporal distance.

THE INSTRUMENTAL QUESTION

A third perspective found in political ethnomusicology can perhaps be called the perspective of questions. In my literature review (1.5) I went back in time and covered research from the Cold War period, because I found it helpful to revisit the questions posed then in a political context. These questions were often posed in a language that today appears somewhat crude and generalizing. They included: how did the state instrumentalize folk music or ethnomusicology? Did it use folk music or ethnomusicology for propaganda, and what did the propaganda try to accomplish? Were the new traditions only ideology – false consciousness – used to control and govern people and distract them from overthrowing tyrannical governments? Were folk music, folklore, folkloristics and ethnomusicology employed to legitimize tyrannical governments and, if so, how did this legitimization work?

The problems involved in these questions seem rather obvious today: they often assume a fundamental difference between the East and the West (or the corresponding political systems), they often imply that the other political system is deeply amoral while one's own is virtuous; in short, they distract scholars from analyzing and criticizing the faults of their own political system. Overall, due to these preconceptions, these questions tend to stand in the way of looking at the facts objectively.

Of course, the problems of Cold War research did not only arise from asking misleading questions. As I have shown (and will argue again in section 6.3.3), they also arose from the fact that the Romanian state, perhaps as in other socialist countries, controlled available information so tightly that there simply was not nearly as much information and documentation available as after the fall of the Iron Curtain. So even if one had posed better and less prejudiced questions – such as Giurchescu did in her article on *Cîntarea Romînei* (Giurchescu 1987) - it was often simply not possible to present a well-researched and well-documented case.

In any case, it seems that the early postsocialist research did well to discard some of these political questions, or at least to put them on hold until more information had been assembled. In this phase, postsocialist ethnomusicology developed a much better documented and more diverse

outlook on its subject matter: it described more musics in the social space and it included, as already indicated, more subjective voices. But I also feel that there should be a way of rescuing the critical impetus of the instrumental questions without relying on Cold War misconceptions. In fact, I find that political ethnomusicology has to be able to reformulate these questions and attempt to answer them, since they concern central aspects of political research on music. To avoid the Cold-War-type one-sidedness, one should be able to formulate the questions so that they fit all kinds of political systems. In addition, as a lesson of relativity, ethnomusicologists should not shy away from analyzing their own political systems along the same lines. The question that I called the instrumental question (in 1.5) – for want of a better word - can perhaps be reformulated as follows: Does music/sound play a role in governing? Who attempts to use it, and for which ends? That I allude to Guilbault's *Governing Sound* (Guilbault 2007) here is not incidental, as Guilbault attempts – in my reading at least – a similar comprehensive perspective aimed at describing a similarly big picture.

In my work, I tried to combine these approaches: to look more closely at socialist discourse, and to take seriously even that socialist discourse that my Romanian colleagues may regard as "limba de lemn" (lit. wooden language) – the bureaucratic language of the political sphere in socialist Romania²⁶³. By doing so, I discovered a systematic framework that provided a rationalization for the field of official folklore. But I also tried to face the instrumentalist questions, at least in so far as the available facts allowed, without engaging primarily in a moral discourse of judging. In this respect, I hope I that I made clear that the Romanian socialist state certainly systematically attempted to use folk music and ethnomusicology to achieve its ends, but that ultimately it did not accomplish its ends; that Romanian ethnomusicology and ethnomusicologists did assist the state in its projects, but that ethnomusicology and ethnomusicologists also resisted instrumentalization. Judging from the example of the Institute alone, however, resistance was in the end usually unsuccessful.

EVERYTHING IS POLITICAL

It seems to me that today many ethnomusicologists have taken Edward Said's lesson to heart: everything is potentially political and, therefore, music and politics is a topic that is essential for present-day ethnomusicology (cf. Said 1995:9–15). However, they sometimes forget that this is a rather new development and that there is less research on music and politics than some might think. If the impressions of my literature review (1.5) are correct, politics became a widely-accepted theme of mainstream ethnomusicology only after 1989; before that date it was a topic at the borders of ethnomusicology.

²⁶³ When I first encountered the term "limba de lemn" I understood - wrongly perhaps – that it refers to meaningless language of the political regime. In fact the term is fairly well-known in Romania and also in use elsewhere, but its meaning is somewhat controversial when applied to socialist discourse. Observers, such Betea (2003/2004) or the Romanian Wikipedia (https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limb%C4%83_de_lemn, accessed 11/3/2014) agree to use "limba de lemn" to refer political speech in the socialist period, but they also use it in a wider meaning, referring to other kinds of jargon. Observers also differ if they see *limba de lemn* primarily as a means of obfuscation or as a mechanism of hiding meaning, the latter of which implies that a process of deciphering or reading between the lines may bring to light a hidden or deeper meaning.

The fact that everything is potentially political does not mean that everything is equally political everywhere at all times. Some issues may seem political to us, but not from an insider's perspective. Outside of the postsocialist context, debates on music and politics often concern identity politics – essentially how nations (or similar identity groups) are constructed musically. In many of these cases the state is only one of many agents and the state is not always an important agent imposing a particular policy on music. However, for the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and elsewhere the situation is different. Here the state, and the one party at its top, really did act as an important player. Correspondingly, postsocialist ethnomusicology long ago discovered the state as a topic, although historically, of course, the state was as much anathema to ethnomusicology (or rather its predecessors, such as comparative musicology) as the city had been. Conversely that does not mean that just because I chose to look at the state as an important agent in socialist Romania's cultural policy, political ethnomusicology must be limited to studies of the state. However, if political ethnomusicology wants to constitute itself as a more consistent subdiscipline, it will need to spell out more consistently - or at least explicitly - what it considers political and on which grounds. Finally, those undertaking political ethnomusicology may want to consider that overall, music is not generally the most important or most obvious political instrument at hand: rather it seems more common that music (and related "territories" such as folklore) acts as one of several battlefields on which political debates and processes (i.e. politicking) play out.

6.3 Towards the general: A social history of the bifurcated field of folk music

Many of my more important findings relate to the bifurcated field of folk music and the characteristics of its two sides, so in this section I will try to tease out some of what may be the less well understood aspects of that field. As it happens, these aspects together make several bits and pieces of a social history that places folk music in relation to the socialist state.

Several aspects of this bifurcated field are well known to ethnomusicologists, both inside and outside of Romania. Particularly, the two sides of the field that have been described again and again under different names numerous times in the literature²⁶⁴. I have suggested yet another set of somewhat idiosyncratic terms, referring to the new and old traditions rather than the perhaps more established labels "official folklore" and "traditional peasant cultural." I use these terms because newness refers to a central aspect of socialist ideology which, in my view, fueled much of socialist cultural policy in socialist Romania, and perhaps elsewhere as well. The distinction between new and old is indeed essential to the socialist project of modernism (cf. Groys 1992). But beyond showing that these two sides existed, I hope to have shown, firstly, under what conditions and forces some of the respective musical phenomena emerged. For example, I argued that the folk orchestra appeared in Romania as an application of a Stalinist cultural policy.

²⁶⁴ For example, what I called here "official folklore" (following a suggestion by Marian Bălașa), strongly resembles what has been called "government-sponsored folklore" (Silverman 1983:55), "'folklorism' of the state" Giurchescu 1987:169) "arranged folklore" and "new 'traditions'" (Rice 1994:28) in other contexts.

Secondly, I used the metaphor of the force field to suggest that more systematic forces were at play, forces which I assume can be found not only in Romania, but also in other socialist contexts.

Perhaps the best understood of the reactions against the socialist states' implementation of official folklore since the late 1940s (if we remain in Eastern Europe – elsewhere in the world, cases might follow different timelines) is the emergence of a musical "counterculture" roughly in the 1980s. Ethnomusicological research has often described the emergence of new musics that challenged various concepts and practices associated with official folklore, as Rice does for Bulgarian wedding music (Rice 1994:240–255). In Romania, even based only on a cursory look at the relevant literature (Marian-Bălașa 2003b), one can note that a similar trend existed. However, perhaps because of the lack of political reforms or else simply because the general economic situation was so dire, the Romanian musical counterculture did not develop similar public visibility during socialist rule. I am referring here to the musical genre that became widely known as *manele* in Romania after 1989.

6.3.1 Official folklore, applied ethnomusicology and the trend to ignore them

I suggested here that we treat official folklore as folklore that is practiced in and promoted by state institutions, such as the state media, and which is thereby "authenticated" by a state.²⁶⁵ Judging by the Romanian example, it seems that the folklore that is transported through the state can only ever be one version of folklore, typically one that is tied to one of several possible images of the nation. The existence of one official image would also imply that other approaches to folklore are omitted or hindered.

It is perhaps helpful to recognize that official folklore is historically a somewhat strange concept, considering that when the concept of folklore was born in the mid-19th century, it often functioned as the antithesis of what was then considered official: for example, classical literature. But things have long since changed and, of course, it is neither a socialist nor even a new phenomenon that some states at certain points in history took or take a strong position with regards to folklore, validating some practices explicitly or implicitly as official, while excluding others. I discussed this process for folklore and "folk music" in Romania when I covered the 19th century (Chapter 3). One could perhaps argue that folklore in 19th century Romania was less institutionalized than in the socialist period, but it nevertheless entered public discourse through formal education in schools and the young universities, and it already served the national cause.

Perhaps I should add that there is no reason to assume that official folklore in socialist Romania was completely static over the several decades of its existence. I did not encounter major changes in its definition or implementation, but I also did not study official folklore systematically enough to be sure to identify major changes if they existed. I suspect that some of the more important changes could become visible by comparing momentous occasions on which elements of Romanian folklore were selected to represent the country or its folklore. One example I

²⁶⁵ Whether there can actually be such a thing depends, of course, on one's definition of folklore. If one sticks to traditional definitions of folklore as knowledge passed on through face to face communication and informal education rather than schools and books (as suggested by text books such as Georges and Jones 1995:1), official folklore is already a contradiction in terms. In this case, official folklore is no longer folklore, but it is derived from it; it is a codified version of it.

discussed was an LP by the Barbu Lăutaru Orchestra that was created to accompany another folk orchestra's tour through the United States in the early 1960s. Another example could be found in the visual references to Romanian folklore in *Scînteia*, the unofficial organ of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR). Here photos show Ceaușescu dressed in modern suit next to citizens dressed in folk costumes. Such scenes are not confined to rural settings and the garbs one finds on these depictions do not represent the most accurate regional or traditional versions of folk costumes imaginable.

Figure 6.1: Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu with a folk dance group



The image shows N. Ceaușescu and his wife Elena together with a folk dance group on the occasion of a gala related to the Cîntarea României festival. Source: *Scînteia* 1977.

Figure 6.2: Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu with costumed performers

Source: *Scînteia* 1989.

I suspect that it should be relatively easy to show that the costumes depicted on these occasions reflect the new traditions. The groups seem to employ stylized symbols and standardized costumes and in the context in which they appeared in *Scînteia* they tended to represent larger Romanian regions, rather than the concrete, small, local ethnographic areas on which folklorists had formerly focused.

These two examples indicate that changes in official folklore were often only superficial or rather discursive changes that did not profoundly affect the underlying practices in official folklore. For example, I found no examples where changes in official folklore invalidated older official statements or practices. In other words, I do not see any paradigm changes in official folklore. For example, the folk orchestra seems to have been particularly promoted in the early socialist period. In this period the Institute published on folk orchestras, while in later periods, the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* seldom mentioned folk orchestras, and then only in record reviews or reports from competitions or festivals and not in the more lengthy and important research articles. Yet as a practice in the sphere of official folklore, folk orchestras remained important until the end of socialist Romania, and indeed afterwards. The Barbu Lăutaru LP that I mentioned above illustrates that in the 1960s folk orchestras were still considered an exemplary showcase of Romanian folk music appropriate for international use. Likewise, discourse explicitly referring to the New Man occurred mostly in the early socialist period and occasionally also in the period after the July theses, but the images of folk costumes in *Scînteia* from a much later period illustrate that the underlying idea of creating new traditions of folklore to facilitate the construction of communism remained official policy throughout the socialist period.

Interestingly enough, many of the folk music practices that had an elevated role in the socialist period (or parts of it), including the folk orchestra, survived socialism, indicating that

these practices acquired new meanings outside the narrow political interpretation on which I often focus.

Roughly since the fall of the Iron Curtain, ethnomusicologists from both the East and the West have written quite extensively about official folklore of Eastern European countries and the musics included and excluded by the state.²⁶⁶ For Romania, however, this discussion is still only in its infancy. It seems that in Romania ethnomusicologists are often reluctant to recognize and reflect on the fact that as state employees in a Stalinist cultural policy regime they were willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, necessarily involved to some extent in socialist cultural policy.

If indeed the impulse to neglect this aspect of their work is today more pronounced than in other countries with a socialist past, this is perhaps an effect of the particular ways in which Romanian cultural policy was policed during the socialist period. One wonders, for example, why the Romanian state penalized Paul Nixon, while allowing other Westerners to research folklore roughly at the same time. Nixon maintains that the Securitate pursued the discontinuation of his employment in the UK around 1980, while A. Schuursma and M. Beissinger, who wrote their dissertations as Westerners with considerable fieldwork stays in Romania in the mid- and late-1980s, did not report similar repressive actions (Schuursma 1987; Beissinger 1991). It seems entirely possible that Nixon's personality provoked the Romanian state – perhaps he was too uncompromising. But it also seems possible that his topic and research angle, focusing on the state as agent in socialist cultural policy, also caused the state to take actions, while Schuursma and Beissinger focused on the old traditions and largely ignored the influence of the state and its cultural policy.

Noticeably, in neighboring Bulgaria at roughly the same time, Western researchers were allowed and – perhaps to some extent even welcomed to study new traditions, as, for example, Donna Buchanan's dissertation research on folk orchestras (Buchanan 2006:53–60). For example, Buchanan and Rice (Rice 1994:18) do report significant tensions between socialist state officials and their research projects, but it seems possible that the Bulgarian state never attempted to conceal its influence on practical folk musicking and the new traditions to the same extent as the Romanian state did roughly in the same period.

To put it more clearly, I hypothesize that in Romania the state disguised its actions in the domain of cultural policy to a greater extent than occurred in neighboring countries, preferring instead to show the people as agents of changes. In practice, however, the state claimed leadership and actually implemented, oversaw and controlled practically all important policy decisions until its demise at the end of the 1980s.

This book became less of a study of applied ethnomusicology than I originally intended, simply because the applied activities of the Institute and related matters were not well represented in print and information on the topic was otherwise difficult to obtain, for example through interviews. Also, I had the impression that my interview partners (particularly

²⁶⁶ Of course, even before 1989 there had been some important research on this topic, but - as I argued in my literature report (1.5) - until ca. 1990 it was just a side topic in international ethnomusicology, while after this date it moved to center stage.

ethnomusicologists) were generally reluctant to talk about their participation in applied activities during the socialist period (e.g. as judges of official folklore; they preferred to focus strictly on their research activities). Perhaps this reluctance to talk about applied aspects can itself be traced back in part to the Romanian socialist policies of disguising the state's actions in the arena of cultural politics. In any case, while parts of my account on the Institute's applied agenda are not easy to prove through written evidence, the hypotheses I have constructed based on my findings, which I summarize here, should nevertheless be useful.

I have stressed that the project of applied ethnomusicology was directly derived from public, high-level policies, such as those publically declared during the Party Congresses. In line with the socialist goal of transforming Romania towards a state of communism, all Romanians were called upon to participate in this project. Besides the research on traditional folklore, the new traditions were seen as an important instrument to promote the transition towards communism, just like proletarian art in general. As a direct consequence, socialist cultural and educational policies went hand in hand with a preference for applied activities and disdain for basic research; in addition, Institute ethnomusicologists played a role in enforcing and policing cultural policy

I have also provided arguments that the applied activities of the Institute's folklorists and ethnomusicologists have to be seen as part of the state's effort to ensure that on the whole only "politically correct" folklore was promoted by the state institutions. In other words, the Institute's folklorists and ethnomusicologists were used as an instrument to enforce or police cultural policies both in the domain of researching folklore as well as in the practice of the new traditions, for example when ethnomusicologists acted as judges in competitions. Considering that the Institute had a central position and was arguably the country's most influential folklore institution, it seems possible its position was also privileged when it came to controlling other institutions and ethnomusicologists.

Overall, however, it appears that the Institute attempted to delegate applied activities away from the Institute and to strengthen its function as an institution of pure research. As such, I interpret the fact that several departments involved in applied activities were first located inside the Institute, but later split off into separate institutions. Examples include the Barbu Lăutaru folk orchestra and the Casa Centrale a Creației Populare (CCCP, The Central House of Folk Creation), which split from the Institute in the first half of the 1950s. The later reorganizations of the 1960s and 1970s did not reverse this trend, even though several departments (including an ethnologic and a linguistic section) were added to the Institute. This timeline signals that applied activities were never again as important for the Institute as they were shortly after its foundation in 1949; from then on, they only lost in importance. However, I have argued that later on applied activities did continue at least on an individual level, they were just less visible in publications. For instance, individual folklorists and ethnomusicologists served on juries (as reported by Rădulescu 1997) and in this way lent their authority to the new traditions usually organized in and by state institutions. Put more simply, their presence in the juries judging the new traditions authorized these activities as valid folklore and strengthened the links between the old and the new traditions. Overall, the picture that emerges here is that the state cared for the image of folklore in the public – which usually resulted in a focus on large and urban audiences - and made sure that this image corresponded with the current socialist policies. Following the pattern that I observed in the

preservation of folk music, for example, it is quite possible that the state cared a lot less for the practice of the old traditions, typically in rural settings, but took no action so long as they did not interfere with activities of the state.

6.3.2 Towards an academic field around the Institute

In this section, I cross-check my findings with Verdery's conclusions concerning Romanian intellectuals in the socialist period. Does my account of the Institute's ethnomusicology fit her observations, or does it contradict them? Are her conclusions still useful 20 years after her book was published? Can I add something to her conclusions?

Verdery suggests a model of the relationship between intellectuals and the state in socialist Romania that takes significant ideas from Bourdieu's work on the cultural and intellectual field in France, referring explicitly to Bourdieu's *The Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984) and *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu 2002), and to a lesser degree from R. Williams, especially his *Sociology of Culture* (Williams 1982). Yet she also warns that those works do not easily translate to a socialist context:

Literature on cultural production in other social orders is not much help, for such thinkers as Bourdieu and Williams frame their analyses explicitly in terms of capitalist markets; yet the suppression of the market in socialist systems means that except when reforms introduce market mechanism into its sphere, culture ceases to be a commodity. (87)

While her objections are not unfounded, her reasoning is problematic. The real problem is not the presence or absence of capitalist markets in Romania, but rather that Bourdieu and Williams have researched different places and different societies at somewhat different times, so that we cannot easily infer from their research how culture works in socialist Romania. Confronted with a lack of information, however, perhaps Verdery should not have assumed that culture was not a commodity at all, just because socialist Romania had no market economy. Rather, within its planned (and state-controlled) economy, cultural products were indeed bought and sold. While supply and demand were not particularly significant regulators, given the fact that books, LPs and other products relevant in the context of folk music and ethnomusicology were sold in stores, one can assume that cultural production was still commodified in some way, albeit perhaps not in exactly the same way or degree as in the capitalist world. This assumption – that cultural production in planned economies can still imply commodification – seems more compatible with many of Verdery's own arguments, particularly where she treats cultural production in socialist Romania as a sort of economy, regulated less by finances than by a scarcity of resources (paper, approval to publish etc.) and competition between intellectuals for these resources. In short, I do not agree with her that terms coming from a capitalist context are not applicable to a socialist one *per se*. Rather we should look at the available data if these concepts apply.

Apart from the considerations on the applicability of theory developed elsewhere, Verdery suggests we look for internal divisions within the intellectual field, where she identifies two basic camps:

Those [intellectuals] whose thinking is congenial and whose ambitions permit a collaboration with power enter into alliance with it. The remainder, whose preference or unsuitability excludes them, are left with a sense that they are *entitled* to influence – on the basis of their knowledge - but they can achieve it only by claiming that their knowledge or artistic creativity constitutes separate grounds for status. For them, that is, influence depends upon their gaining recognition for their *cultural authority*

[my emphasis] as something independent of the political status to which the Party wants to restrict the exercise of cultural power (her emphasis Verdery 1991:91)

This argument seems to me to be somewhat awkward and misleading. Firstly, Verdery implies that every intellectual who was not chosen by the state felt entitled; it should surely be possible to find at least one counterexample. Secondly, she treats intellectuals - at least in this sentence - as passive objects (as if they were either chosen or not), while in reality we have to assume - as Verdery does elsewhere - that intellectuals were potentially aware of how the state and the cultural policy regime operated, and that they used agency to obtain positions that fit their career choices. Perhaps this process was not one of conscious choice in all cases, but that does not mean it was always a completely passive process or never conscious on the part of intellectuals. Risking repeating what is perhaps already obvious, I do not believe that Verdery means to outline strict laws that she expects each individual to follow, but rather to point out tendencies or trends that should become visible when viewing enough cases.

The more important of Verdery's arguments seem to be that two different success criteria existed, two different and potentially opposed yardsticks according to which intellectuals and the state tended to view status and success in the cultural field. In the above quote, Verdery suggests the term "influence" as the common denominator for the two dimensions: on the one hand, knowledge and creativity, and on the other hand, official titles.

According to Verdery there were intellectuals for whom the two standards tended to be mutually exclusive. She states that for the intellectuals who were not chosen by the state

influence depends upon their gaining recognition for their *cultural authority* as something independent of the political status to which the Party wants to restrict the exercise of cultural power (emphasis in the original, Verdery 1991:91).

Verdery stresses here that the appearance of a single dimension (political versus apolitical or less political) is only an illusion that camouflages the more basic principle behind this mechanism:

This sets up an opposition between producers of culture who feel themselves excluded from influence and those they see as blocking their path. Their opposition becomes a contest for larger allocations of the resources for cultural power. It is not [...] a contest simply between 'intellectuals' and 'the Party' or between 'government ideologists' and 'dissidents' although on the surface, the politicization of culture makes it look as if those who defend their cultural authority are doing so from a dissident position. The contest is, rather, between fractions of the cultural *élite*, differentially empowered within a system of domination that requires and supports the production of culture while allowing influence to only some of the its producers. (Verdery 1991:92)

Here, Verdery explicitly rejects the labels "government ideologists" and "dissidents". Not only does she not suggest any simple alternative labels, she discards the dichotomy ideologists/dissidents almost completely. If she replaces the concept of groups of intellectuals who are opposed to each other on political grounds at all, then it is with a narrower view focusing on particular academic fields, such as philosophy and history, and the battles between intellectuals in these fields; in turn these positions may or may not have a certain amount of affinity with political positions. In short: academic fields do not necessarily relate directly and in any obvious way to politics. Also, Verdery explicitly singles out intellectuals' self-perception or portrayal as dissidents only to disregard it.

Interestingly enough, Verdery hints here at the possibility that the self-perceived dissidents "in fact" acted (when viewed from the outside) a lot more complicitly than their self-perceived

dissident status would suggest. I will discuss an example in support of this hypothesis below. But one wonders if Verdery is really suggesting we disregard whether an intellectual takes an oppositional stance or if they are toeing the line at all. She certainly prefers a perspective where intellectuals are placed within an academic field, rather than positioned directly with respect to the state as either dissidents or supporters. Also, one might infer that a - likely unintended - consequence of the state and its actions that systematically promote its supporters (or those who acted as such) was to create a similarly systematic response among the other camp. This interpretation suggests that attributing cultural authority according to creativity and knowledge itself may have been a significant act of resistance, if those attributed with cultural authority were not highly regarded by the state.

Overall, what Verdery suggests here is basically an altered version of Bourdieu's model for the intellectual and the cultural field in France – in spite of the general warnings against adapting social theory developed for the capitalist economies to a socialist case. Verdery adapts two main aspects of Bourdieu's model: Firstly, she avoids Bourdieu's usage of the term "capital" and rather speaks of "political status" and "cultural (or scientific or creative) authority" (Verdery 1991:92), and secondly she suggests that the two dimensions that defined the cultural field in socialist Romania were "political status" and "cultural authority" (ibid), rather than the economic and cultural capital Bourdieu identified in capitalist France (cf. Bourdieu 1984).²⁶⁷

Verdery's point is a good one, but could have been made more clearly and more convincingly. In particular, as already indicated the term "capital" is a metaphor that does not necessarily imply a capitalist market economy, so might be used even in this case to refer to the field's two dimensions (describing the two different ways of determining success, status or influence). Terms such as "authority" or "influence" are not any more helpful than Bourdieu's "capital", especially when it comes to measuring these variables (see below). So if one reformulates Verdery's conclusions with terms more like those Bourdieu originally employed, Verdery basically argues that the cultural field in socialist Romania was structured according to political and cultural capital.

Overall, this model of the cultural field is a fairly complex one. The two sorts of capitals are abstract concepts that are not directly visible or measurable, and the hypothesis has so many related consequences that it is not particularly easy to even keep track of all of them, much less to verify them in any systematic way. For example, Verdery assumes that intellectuals typically fall into one of two camps (chosen or not chosen), that certain positions within this two-dimensional field are more populated than others, and that intellectuals at certain positions tend to behave similarly (for example, that intellectuals tend to maximize career success using political capital). Additionally, she – like Bourdieu – assumes cause and effect relationships, for example, that intellectuals become more oppositional because they are not chosen.

As far as determining the concrete political and cultural capital of individual actors, Verdery suggests we measure political authority primarily using title and official position:

²⁶⁷ To put it simply, Verdery finds in socialist Romania exactly what Bourdieu suspected: that in socialist countries political and cultural capital determine the cultural field.

The political dimension consists of holding formal bureaucratic office (Minister of Culture and Education, activists for culture and propaganda, head of a research institute, director of a publishing house, dean of a university) and/or titles having some political significance (president of the Writers' Union, head of the National Commission of Historians, president of the Academy, etc.) (Verdery 1991:92)

The examples Verdery mentions are comparatively high-ranking officials. These official positions can usually be ranked hierarchically without much controversy and hence one could translate them into more or less political capital and even ascribe a number value expressing the resultant ranking.

Verdery admits that cultural authority (or capital) is more difficult to determine, but suggests it might be done by measuring researchers' publication success:

The cultural dimension consists of recognized cultural; (scientific or creative) authority – novelists and poets whose works have become well known, critics with a regular column in a cultural publication, members of the Academy [...], widely published scholars. (Verdery 1991:92)

She admits that academics, artists and other "cultural producers" were judged controversially by other academics, and she interprets such judgments as evidence that cultural authority/capital was being judged differently depending on the observers' political affiliation: "People's factional allegiances influence whose cultural authority they will acknowledge". (Verdery 1991:92). She does not mention, however, the related fact that if one takes publications as a measure of academic capital, publication success and hence academic capital was, of course, also affected by the political system and the state's willingness to allow publications and make them available to the public. I showed that especially publications, but also performances, tended to be reviewed for their political appropriateness by multiple parties, potentially including the secret police and fellow intellectuals. Of course, one could take measures to reduce the influence of political capital on cultural capital, for example, by counting the publications of academics with lower political capital as more important. Verdery does not mention such a possibility. Nonetheless, her example – the fact some intellectuals such as the historian Prodan and the philosopher Noica enjoyed widespread respect (Verdery 1991:93) – suggests that, in fact, she may be considering not only publication success, but also other statements where intellectuals (presumably peers from the same field) express respect for fellow intellectuals.

So, while Verdery does not present a detailed approach for measuring cultural capital, she points to essential problems involved in this process and suggests means for ascertaining academic capital. Overall, she takes the idea of two diverging dimensions from Bourdieu, but she neither attempts to utilize empiric data, similar to the data Bourdieu used for his studies, nor emulates his quantitative approach.

Furthermore, Verdery assumes that the *modus vivendi* within the cultural field is competition between intellectuals – and here she touches on topics that are not directly derived from Bourdieu, but rather from her interpretation of various émigré intellectuals who have reflected on their experiences competing for resources in socialist societies:

The processes that take place within this field of positions [the cultural field] are crucially framed by the mechanisms of bureaucratic allocation. [...] First, many participants strive continually to justify claims to resources, and in this process ideas about the Nation and "proper" representation of its values play a vital part. Second, there is a tendency for those pursuing greater cultural authority to seek some degree of upward mobility on the political dimension, so as to ensure access to the resources necessary for their activity. (Verdery 1991:94)

Overall, Verdery's two-dimensional model of the cultural field has a number of implications for her research: first, that some positions in the field are more frequently occupied than others (e.g. few intellectuals have both low political and high cultural capital); second, that intellectuals tend to act in certain ways at certain positions (e.g. there is a tendency to accumulate political capital in order to achieve higher cultural capital). Third, Verdery asserts that competition for resources among intellectuals promotes and perpetuates the nation. Although she does not elaborate on this connection, she alludes to the benefit of the nation being evoked to legitimate artistic, cultural or scientific projects.

The question that remains is if Verdery's findings relate to my case, and in fact, I can show that they do. In the decree that officially founded the Institute in 1949, I already found two voices: one representing the official perspective of the state and the other representing the researchers. The same document also revealed that, firstly, the state consciously and explicitly wanted to utilize folklore as a means of transforming society, and it allocated resources to the Institute to accomplish this goal. Secondly, the state showed an interest in enlisting the new institution in the political supervision of other folklorists and folk artists to ensure that its cultural policies would be implemented. The researchers in turn secured resources from the state to engage in what they considered to be their core responsibility: to research Romania's folklore, along the lines established by the predecessor archives under Breazu, Brăiloiu and Brauner.

Later I found that folk music was a somewhat disputed territory, or what I termed a bifurcated field, with two relatively separate areas: the old and the new traditions. The state focused its attention on the new traditions, while the folklorists tended to be more interested in the old ones. I found that researchers fulfilled a role in the new traditions, for example, authenticating them publically as "real folklore" when functioning as expert jurors in competitions. "In private" (i.e. not in print, but implicitly and within their intellectual community), however, they may have continued to reject the new traditions. I found several indicators pointing to the fact that folklore research was systematically viewed (read, interpreted) and valued differently among some researchers, especially the "Brăiloiu camp", i.e. those of the Institute's ethnomusicologists who continued to reference Brăiloiu's ideas and his heritage in general had different values than those researchers who focused on core issues of socialist cultural policy.

So overall, Verdery's central assumption – that two potentially competing capitals existed, one political and the other cultural or academic - fits my account of ethnomusicology at the Institute²⁶⁸. It was more difficult to determine the two camps among the Institute's ethnomusicologists, especially by looking only at their publications. Some ethnomusicologists were easily identifiable by the enthusiasm with which they wrote on issues that were at the heart of socialist cultural policy, especially the new traditions, and the socialist realist topic of socialist improvements such as alphabetization and modernization, e.g. introducing the tractor and increasing their numbers. Later (since ca. the mid-1960s), the history of folklore may have

²⁶⁸ I use "cultural capital" when referring to the cultural field as a whole and "academic capital" when referring to the academic field. Considering that academics sometimes takes part in exchanged on the cultural field, one might regard the academic fields that I am concerned with here (folkloristics, ethnomusicology) as a subfield of the larger cultural field.

become a similar topic that was associated to some extent with implementing an official view. Also, the most complicit of the Institute's ethnomusicologists – like N. Rădulescu - hardly published on the old traditions and especially not in the way pioneered by Brăiloiu (based on fieldwork and with publications focusing strictly on small regions). Nonetheless, all of the Institute's ethnomusicologists published to some extent on the new traditions, so this criterion alone is not enough to identify the other, more conservative camp. I attributed the fact that everyone published on the new traditions to a system which made sure that practically everyone published something on the core topics of socialist realist folklore, perhaps to publically demonstrate the Institute's and its researchers' dedication to the socialist cause. Still I identified a group of the Institute's ethnomusicologists that upheld earlier professional standards and aimed at continuity with presocialist research traditions, often focusing on Brăiloiu and a variety of themes from his work. This conservative camp, however, did not – as is sometimes implied – apply Brăiloiu's method without alterations. Rather they focused on certain features, while not implementing others. I argued that what emerged at the heart of this camp was the geographical paradigm, essentially the attempt to map the stylistic musical characteristics of Romanian folk music for all ethnographic zones in an objective way. In some ways, this research paradigm was closer to Bartók's approach and his notion of musical areas than to Brăiloiu's take on the same project, so that one is tempted to say that although many of Institute's ethnomusicologists saw themselves in the tradition of Brăiloiu they effectively rolled back some of the improvements Brăiloiu had suggested over Bartók's approach.

Instead of only looking at the Institute's published discourse, I also interviewed and otherwise talked to some of the Institute's present ethnomusicologists. In this context, it became much easier to determine who they thought belonged to which camp than it had been by merely reading socialist publications. Although they rarely mentioned names and hardly ever accused anybody of anything in specific, they tended to point out in more or less subtle ways the quality of certain research socialist-period projects or who they thought had rejected official policies (typically concerning nationalism). For example, when I interviewed him, G. Habenicht mentioned that he was surprised that the Institute employed him instead of other applicants, although he was an ethnic German. In his anecdote he was chosen by the Institute's leadership because of his analytical musical skills, attributing a non-nationalist and somewhat oppositional conviction to his superiors who perhaps even defied directives to hire only ethnic Romanians. Whether these interpretations are true (that the Institute acted against implicit or explicit orders or guidelines when employing Habenicht) or should be questioned (the Institute's management did not go out of their way to hire him) I cannot say with any certainty.^{268F²⁶⁹} Rather, I refer to this anecdote only to illustrate the kind of pointers I used, additionally to reading publications, to determine different camps among the Institute's ethnomusicologist.

²⁶⁹ Habenicht's started to work at the Institute in 1957. According to my periodization this time was one of political relaxation, in which nationalism was on the rise, but still at a comparatively low level, considering that the anti-nationalist stance from the early socialist period should still have been fresh in everybody's mind. In this period, the Institute was managed by Drăgoi whom I characterized as an old-fashioned, but moderate nationalist and Mihai Pop who favored the folklore of Romania's minorities more than any other director of the Institute.

In terms of the intellectual's self-perception, I could also refer to the example of Eugenia Popescu-Județ, who was interviewed by the Library of Congress in Washington in the early 1990s after her husband's and her own collection of Romanian folk dances became part of the American Folklife Center. In this interview, she described herself as a dissident, omitting that she and her husband enjoyed a relatively long period of professional success in the domain of several state institutions (c. from 1949-1970) working predominantly with the new traditions, mainly by teaching and choreographing staged folk dances. Not only did she work as a choreographer for several high-profile ensembles, she also worked for state television, organizing, planning, choreographing and editing dance music performances and their recordings. In the early 1970s, the Romanian state permitted her to travel to the United States, indicating that at this point she had not yet fallen out of favor even at a time during which it was returning to a stricter and more Stalinist cultural policy. In fact, she only acted openly against the state when she did not return to Romania from a repeat trip to the US. So, as far as I can tell from available information (which is scanty enough to disallow any final judgment), while Popescu-Județ did not lie in her interview at the Library of Congress, she downplayed – perhaps without being aware – the fact that for a significant period of time she profited from the state, and that much of her professional work aligned well enough with official cultural policies to allow her a remarkable career in state institutions. So if "dissident" only refers to somebody who thinks differently, as some dictionaries suggests, this word may certainly characterize Popescu-Județ, probably long before her emigration. If one rather restricts the word to those who act differently (as indicated by the word's etymology "sitting differently"), Eugenia Popescu-Județ appears to have become a dissident only at the moment when she emigrated. In any case, this anecdote reminds us of the fact that after the regime change in 1989, and outside of Romania even earlier, resistance against the socialist state functioned as a badge of honor (and perhaps as symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sense). Claims to a dissident status may thus have been habitually inflated.

This example illustrates why Verdery warns us not to reduce the discussion to the question if somebody was or was not a dissident. Rather it seems far more exact and objective to focus on the professional lives of individuals by mapping out individual fields like ethnomusicology and to locate professional positions that were close to the state policies and those that kept a distance, as I have done for the Institute's ethnomusicology department.

Verdery suggests that intellectuals in socialist Romania in general competed amongst each other, for example, for the possibility to publish. I encountered only one case in which one of the Institute's researchers finished a book manuscript, but was unable to publish it, for reasons that he did not elaborate on. He was still visibly disgruntled about this event even 30 years later when I talked to him. (Since he refused to be formally interviewed by me, I will not reveal his identity.) While I found evidence for only this one case, it seems not unlikely that other, similar cases occurred. One can easily imagine that some planned publications did not pass censorship or similar ideological filters, or that they were no longer considered appropriate by the Institute's management when they were ready for publication.

Of course, the fact that I looked almost only at ethnomusicologists who were employed at the Institute means that, in contrast to Verdery, my case study includes no researchers who operated outside of institutions²⁷⁰. In fact, the example of the Popescu-Judeţes suggests that hardly anyone would have had the resources to engage in fieldwork following the professional standards set by the Institute and others without significant institutional support. Even if they existed, they would have not been taken seriously as researchers – much like the Popescu-Judeţes. So it seems that no significant ethnomusicological research was carried out by independent scholars in socialist Romania.

If one wants to rank the Institute's researchers that I wrote about according to the criteria suggested by Verdery, one could certainly point out Drăgoi and Pop on a list of those who had higher political capital, given their position as directors and scientific assistant. I would exclude Brauner from this list because his directorship lasted less than a year, since it was cut short by the state arresting him and also because his directorship took place when the Stalinist cultural policy regime was still being established in Romania. Furthermore, I mentioned that Gh. Ciobanu became head of the Institute's ethnomusicology department in the 1960s, pointing towards another hierarchical level. As far as I know there was no other official hierarchy among the Institute's ethnomusicologists. One could perhaps add another level for those researchers who were repeatedly allowed to undertake international travel, for example to international congresses or folklore competitions, as another indicator for higher political capital. This would account, for example, for Gh. Suliţeanu and T. Alexandru.

To establish cultural capital, one could follow Verdery's suggestion and simply count the researchers' publications, attributing high academic capital to those with many. Or, as I suggested, one could alter this scale by taking into account the influence of political capital on academic capital. One could also determine retrospectively the respect the Institute's socialist-period ethnomusicologists had by asking their peers in the present, a procedure that Verdery may have used herself without elaborating on it; or one could count how many times their works get cited in other publications. One alternative route would be to rank their academic capital according to the topics they write about, and concurrently ranking the topics according to how much they comply with or resist official policies; resistant topics would then rank higher on the scale.

Using the criterion of research topics as an indicator for academic capital, I would rank N. Rădulescu low because he published almost exclusively on new traditions, other socialist realist topics and, later, on the history of Romanian folkloristics. Further, I would also attribute higher, but still relatively low academic capital to Tiberiu Alexandru, as he did publish several books that were not based on the kind of fieldwork Brăiloiu had implemented (such as Alexandru 1956b and Alexandru 1958a). Instead, he rather excelled in compiling material, such as his syntheses of Romanian folk music (Alexandru 1975a) – a book that was translated into English (Alexandru 1980b), indicating that it complied with the official perspective on Romanian music in a highly ideological period of time. And he pioneered several topics that I regard as compromise themes,

²⁷⁰ The only ethnomusicologists whose works I consider occasionally, although they were never or not at the time of publication, employed by the Institute are E. Comişel who left the Institute in the mid-1960s and I. Herţea who never worked for the Institute in Bucharest.

such as his work on folk musical instruments, which are instrumental in the establishment of folk orchestras. After 1972 (i.e. in a phase of tightening ideological control), Alexandru became almost the only one of the Institute's ethnomusicologists to still publish in the *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor*, even if only record reviews.

Comișel's is another case worth mentioning. Her work is praised by Brăiloiu in the mid-1950s, she follows Brăiloiu's research models in her own work (e.g. on folklore of children). However, several of her works were rather harshly criticized in reviews by the Institute's ethnomusicologists. Thus, her academic capital seems more contested than that of others.

The remaining ethnomusicologists at the Institute could be grouped into first and second generations: those who began their tenure with the Institute's foundation (e.g. P. Carp, E. Comișel, M. Kahane, Gh. Sulițeanu, A. Vicol) and those who came later, such as G. Habenicht and C.D. Georgescu. One could pose the question how one can evaluate cultural capital differently for different periods. For example, it seems to have been much more difficult to publish almost any book in the early socialist period (before 1955) than after it. This fact indicates that one should measure publication success in relation to the total amount of ethnomusicological publications in the respective years. And last, but not least, one should of course include all of the Institute's publications, rather than only a section, as I did here.

These possibilities all have clearly problematic methodological implications, not the least because sometimes assumptions of the model – e.g. that researchers without official titles tended to despise research topics that the state favored – are already being taken for granted, without being proven first. In any case, these indicators for political capital would be more convincing if they would converge and show more or less the same trends, independent of the specific procedure. Additional work is required to determine a more precise methodology for determining cultural capital. My point here is simply that such a technique seems possible, but emulating Bourdieu's methodology would require more of a quantitative approach than Verdery employed. My notes here illustrate what additional steps and decisions would have been required if one had wanted to apply Bourdieu's model and methodology more closely than Verdery does. Only after trying several of the outlined procedures could one see if Bourdieu's model really fits the case at hand.

So overall, I found important evidence indicating that ethnomusicology at the Institute functioned by and large according to Verdery assumptions. I also reformulated several of her key points with the aim of clarifying her position. However, without significant additional work it is still not clear if a model based on Verdery's or Bourdieu's assumptions really describes the academic field around the Institut de Etnografie și Folclor (IEF).

6.3.3 Towards comparison

In this section, I present a number of hypotheses and questions that emerge from a comparative perspective on my work. In other words, I put forward a series of suspicions regarding which of my observations concerning the intellectual history of ethnomusicology at the IEF could also hold true in other places, particularly in other former Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe, but also elsewhere.

c. 1830s-1945

I showed that in Romania the notion of the nation and the discourse on folklore emerged at about the same time. I also argued that both notions were in large part derived from the West, although they were also fused with local knowledge and precursors. Although they do not always agree on details, several scholars have shown the spread of the nation (and the notion of the nation) from the United Kingdom (Greenfeld) and United States (Hobsbawm) to other locations. Folklorists and ethnomusicologists have also traced the development of the notion of folklore, in some cases relating it to the emergence of nations (cf. Bohlman 2008). A more systematic comparison that would investigate how these two concepts spread and developed remains to be written, particularly one that would examine if they spread hand in hand as a nation/folklore complex, or as more or less disconnected concepts.

I also showed that from the 19th century onwards many – in fact nearly all – intellectuals in Romania, including many early folklorists (or proto-folklorists) supported the concept of the nation and the related project of independence. In this context I coined the phrase "the national matrix" to stand for the hegemonic set of knowledge and techniques that present the respective nation in a specific way. Greenfeld suggested a series of phases that occurred often or even always when the notion of the nation was adopted in a new country. Further comparative study might allow one to show similar recurring phases for the adoption of the nation/folklore complex and the emergence of the national matrix in other places.

It is remarkable that the earlier-formed modern nations, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, were not ethnic nation-states, yet the model of the nation-state that emerged in Eastern Europe was. One would expect that, in a territory that is famous for its linguistic, musical and cultural diversity, other options would have been possible. That this was not the case, or that multiethnic states, such as Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, did not last, points to the fact that national matrices operated similarly in other countries of the region.

One could also compare Romania with emerging nations outside Eastern Europe. For example, it seems that in Germany and Italy folklore played a similar role in the process of political unification during roughly in the 19th century, while in France it may have played a different role, given the fact that the political unity of the country was not disputed at this time, le grand nation had already been established. Such a comparison should also shed some light onto the question of when and why the ethnic state became the dominant model for Eastern Europe. These questions are not new. I simply suggest that we take folklore, folkloristics and folk music studies, emerging academic fields in the 19th century, as an important and integral part of the process, as an important battlefield on which political processes such as the development of ethnic nation state were pioneered and gained their traction.

For Romania I argued that music was a significant factor in these debates – although it was not yet treated or conceived of in the modern way, which I termed (perhaps somewhat confusingly) music in the musicological sense. Bohlman has argued similarly for Herder: although he did not treat music in the modern way, he did think of folk song not only as words, but as music. These cases suggest that music may have played a central role in other national matrices as well.

Thus far I have focused on the fact that folklore was involved in independence movements. However, folklore still played a role in the nation at a later stage and then folklore increasingly became exclusive, so that folk traditions were concepts that were evoked when arguing for one's nations' superiority over other nations or similar groupings. One case study that I discussed in this respect was that of Trumpener, who accused Bartók of misogyny, nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism. In this context, I argued for a more differentiated use of these categories that would take the contemporary thought-world more into account. At some point in his life, Bartók certainly made distinctions between Hungarians, Jews and Roma that today would justify Trumpener's accusations. But I also argued that Bartók consistently developed towards a moderate reformer who made serious efforts to oppose more radical nationalists and racists, particularly after he spent time in the field and after World War I, when nationalist and racist sentiments between Romania and Hungary intensified.²⁷¹ In any case, critical reevaluations of the relationship between folklore, the notion of the nation, and political projects, including nationalism and racism, are still at an early state.

One possible difference between Romania's folklore and that of its neighbors at the time is that many of its early folklorists (or proto-folklorists) were simultaneously acting in important state functions, for instance as ministers, ambassadors, or on official political missions. If it is true that folklorists did not play such roles in other countries, this difference indicates that during the 19th century the Romanian intellectual elite was different from that of other countries in the area.

SOVIETIZATION AND THE STALINIST CULTURAL POLICY REGIME (1948-1989)

That after World War II many of the Eastern European countries were subject of a process that can be described as Sovietization seems uncontroversial. However, that many of those countries, particularly in Stalin's lifetime, may have experienced similar influences from the Soviet Union in many policy areas, including in cultural policy, seems a possibility that has been only partly been investigated by folklorists and ethnomusicologists. As far as I can tell, the process has been frequently described for individual countries, time periods, genres, but rarely in a comprehensively and comparative perspective. In this context, I suggested terms such as Stalinist cultural policy regime, which might facilitate the comparison.

It would appear that several factors have contributed to the fact that this idea has not been better researched. There is, for example, the old Herderian idea that each nation or people have their own separate and distinct culture, which partially impedes the willingness to compare folk traditions. Also, I suspect that it is sometimes unpopular in Romania and elsewhere to point out that in these sovereign nations both policy and important national symbols like folklore were – at least for a period of time – heavily influenced by Soviet politicians and Soviet ideology. Last, but not least, official folklore – the domain of folklore that was usually most influenced by state policies - has not been a major concern for all ethnomusicologists. However, the Romanian case indicates both that there was a tendency towards Sovietization, which over several decades of socialist policies had a lasting effect on musical and other folklore practices (i.e. the old

²⁷¹ A possible exception to this trajectory is an early phase, which could be described as a phase of his political awakening.

traditions), and that the effects of the socialist period can often still be felt in the postsocialist period – not only in public discourses, but also in the practices that constitute folklore today.

It seems that the organization of official folklore (or the setting in which the new traditions were organized through state institutions and other structures) followed a very similar pattern in all of the countries under Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. Not only was the institutional setting similar, but there were also ideological similarities. For example, for Romania I emphasized the publically acknowledged justification of folklore as an integral part of communism's construction. Folklore (particularly the new traditions) was regarded as an important instrument to create (or educate) the New Man (signifying basically the population as a whole) in a way that would facilitate the construction of communism. Rice has described a similar situation in Bulgaria.

Apart from this publically acknowledged justification, one has to consider that folklore may have had other functions, whether or not they were pursued consciously by the Party, the state and their agents. For example, official folklore may have functioned as an instrument to control the populace by organizing practitioners into state institutions where they could be supervised by the state and its agents. And, of course, folklore was frequently used to represent the nation; hence it was part of the argument that made this socialist incarnation of Romania the legitimate incarnation of the Romanian nation.

I also outlined the ways in which political control was organized within the field of folklore, suggesting that the Institute had an important function in ensuring that its publications were politically correct (i.e., that they complied with important policies and did not contradict them) and that the Institute or its employees may have had a similar supervising role for other folklorists and their work. I characterized these features as part of the Stalinist cultural policy regime that is often associated with Zhdanov. Perhaps the most important characteristic of this policy regime is the leadership claim of the Party, along the lines of the slogan "The Party is always right," which also limited or abolished academic and artistic autonomy. I assume that this system was exported from the USSR to Eastern Europe after World War II and that it survived the various phases of relaxation in different degrees in different places.

I mention these two theses – that folklore was a means of political control and that it was a legitimization strategy - because they have been common ones (cf. Giurchescu 1987), but have been somewhat neglected since the fall of the Iron Curtain, if my cursory overview of the postsocialist literature on Eastern Europe is correct.

Romania seems to be a rare example of a socialist country which experienced relatively few significant policy changes over the socialist period. Specifically, I argued that in this case policy changed for the most part only superficially, mainly rhetorically, over the whole period. The only important change that I observed was the ever-increasing importance of the nation, and one in which ethnic Romanians were celebrated and everybody else tended to be ignored or downplayed. Overall, the major phases of cultural policy with respect to folklore that I identified were (1) the introduction of the Stalinist cultural system beginning in 1948, (2) a partial and superficial de-Sovietization since the mid-1950s which went together with an renewed focus on the Romania nation, (3) a second relative relaxation period during Ceausescu's first years, in which the nation continued to grow more important and (4) a return to a Stalinist course beginning c. 1971 after the

July Theses, when the focus on the nation increased again both in academic discourses and beyond.

Expanding Tismaneanu's thesis of a consistent Stalinist system in Romania's political system, I described several key concepts of the Stalinist cultural policy regime that remained consistent. I would expect that in several other countries of Eastern Block – with the possible exception of Albania - periods of relaxation had more far-reaching effects, particularly in the 1980s, than they did in Romania. If this thesis holds true, Romania should be particularly well-suited for studying what I termed the Stalinist cultural policy regime. It would be the most similar to the cases of other Soviet satellites in the period of Stalin's lifetime and the least comparable in the 1980s.

SOCIALIST ETHNOMUSICOLOGIES

The relative lack of cultural policy change in socialist Romania also means that there were certain consistencies in the ethnomusicology that was practiced there. As a consequence of the publically acknowledged aim of transforming society through folklore, socialist ethnomusicology put an emphasis on applied activities, rather than on describing the world. Furthermore, the division between the old and the new traditions should be a widespread phenomenon in areas of Soviet influence, with the state being interested mostly in the sphere of the new traditions while the ethnomusicologists tended to focus on the old traditions, as far as the state allowed them to. In this context, I would also expect a similar tendency towards the preservation of old traditions: that the preservation of the old traditions *as living traditions* was no priority. Rather it was important to *document* the old traditions in order to use them for the creation of the new traditions. I characterized this perspective as "materialist," in that the old traditions were treated by the state as a reservoir of musical materials that could be "mined" for the creation of new socialist art and culture.

Other trends in socialist ethnomusicology that I observed for Romania, but would expect to find also in other countries, include the trend to regard presocialist research traditions as somewhat oppositional (against the state and its culture policy). In other words: in Romania, presocialist research traditions were invested with academic capital. This trend might explain why in the postsocialist period many ethnomusicologists from Eastern Europe continued to pursue "classic" research interests and topics, rather than embracing new topics, methods, concepts, and perspectives. Also, I stressed that for the Institute, socialist cultural policy seems to have encouraged ethnomusicologists to embrace a positivistic research style in which objectivity was not questioned as much as in some Western research traditions. Perhaps the continuation of this influence explains why in the postsocialist period, positivistic patterns played a bigger role in Eastern European ethnomusicology research than in many other locations. The same might account for many Eastern European ethnomusicologists' difficulty with accepting a sociological perspective, which by and large had been eliminated or at least partially suppressed in the socialist period in Romania and other socialist countries.

What is perhaps less obvious is the far-reaching effect of what I called the academic socialist realist writing style. I tried to show that socialist realism – in many shapes and forms - often transported a view of society in which people were uniformly happy citizen-

subjects. This thesis is perhaps best illustrated by the living pictures from Romania's *Cîntarea României* (Song to Romania) competition and festival (as discussed in 1.5.2 and 4.6). Here many individuals worked together in what appeared to be perfect synchronization and even harmony to create a greater whole, the living picture that praised socialism's achievements (see Figure 1.1).

6.4 Outlook

As with any work of scholarship, mine is probably not without mistakes or lacunae. Nonetheless, I hope that a considerable amount of my observations and some of my general arguments hold true, and also that they contribute to a larger goal. As I said in the Introduction (1.3), I mean ultimately for this text to serve as a bridge between different traditions in ethnomusicology. For example, it may help scholars to take seriously the scholarship of a time and place often regarded as suspect for political reasons. It can also serve as a pretext for outsiders to engage with Romanian music and Romanian ethnomusicology and I hope that some may travel in the reverse direction, as well.

7 Appendices

7.1 *The Institute's employees and music publications per period*

In the following tables, I generally list the employees and publications of the Institute, focusing on its ethnomusicologists and publications on ethnomusicology. I group the publications by topic as ethnomusicological or non-ethnomusicological, attempting to list mostly ethnomusicological publications and only a few non-ethnomusicological publications where relevant to my topic. In classifying them as one or the other, I generally try to employ a contemporary notion of ethnomusicology or rather musical folklore (as the discipline was usually known in socialist Romania), according to which, for example, ethnochoreology was not considered ethnomusicology. If no explicit source is provided, my sources are the journal's contents. I underline the names of those employees who are hired in the respective period.

I rarely include in this list publications that are primarily concerned with composers and composed music. However, I do not strictly eliminate books that may have not been considered ethnomusicological by all contemporaries. For example, I include Coman's book on Maria Tănase (Coman 1962b), a book that was written by a composer who worked at the Institute, but who was not primarily hired as and considered an ethnomusicologists by his colleagues.

I tend to list only publications of the IF and its direct successors (IEF, IECD), not those of other institutions, not even those of the archive in Cluj which for a period of time institutionally belonged to the Institute in Bucharest. Hence, for example, the publication Iagamaş and Farago [1954?] is not included. However, I do occasionally include publications by other institutions, if they were authored or edited by the Institute's ethnomusicologists.

This list includes publications from three journals: *Muzica* (1950 - 55), *Revista de Folclor* (1956 - 1963) and its successor *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (1964 - 1975). This list does not include publications in *Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie și Folclor* for the period covered here.

7.1.1 Early IF Period (1949-55)

Employees "Personal de specialitate care a activat în institut" 1998-99

director

Harry BRAUNER (1949-1950)
Sabin DRĂGOI (January 1950-1964)

composers

Mircea CHIRIAC 1949-53, Florin COMIȘEL 1949-50, Pascal BENTOIU 1953-56

musicologists

Lucilia Georgescu STĂNCULEANU 1949-82, Constantin ZAMFIR 1949-64

ethnomusicologists

(those beginning their tenure in this period are underlined)

Tiberiu ALEXANDRU 1949-74, Paul CARP 1949-68, Eugenia CERNEA (Janeta Cohn) 1949-50, Gheorghe CIOBANU²⁷² 1949-71 (department head 1954-68), Ilarion COCIȘIU 1949-52(*), Emilia COMIȘEL 1949-64, Marina KAHANE 1949-81, Elisabeta MOLDEVEANU 1949-81, Vasile NICULESCU 1949-67, Adriana SACHELARIE 1949-64, Ghizela SULIȚEANU 1949-79, Adrian VICOL (Iosif Weisz) 1949-81, Constantin PRICHICU 1950-59

Ethnomusicological publications (selection)

Miscellanea, published 1949-54 (source: Drăgoi 1954a:9)

(Beniuc 1953)

A collection of new songs (cîntece noi), published in the journal *Buletinul Institutului de Istorie Literară și Folclor*

Two booklets with songs on the new life (cîntece de viață nouă), arranged for choir

A collection of 70 dance tunes and one collection of songs for folk orchestra

Monographs (source: Raliade 1998-1999)

Pann, Anton. 1955. *Cîntece de lume: transcrise din psaltică în notația modernă*. București: Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă. With an introductory study by Gh. Ciobanu

Articles (selection)

source: Colfescu and Smîntînescu 1955, Colfescu and Smîntînescu 1956)

Chiriac, Mircea. 1950. "O nouă manifestare a muzicii populare: Orchestra populară." *Muzica* 1 (1): 40–45

Zamfir, Constantin. 1950. "Contribuții la cunoașterea instrumentelor populare: Cobza." *Muzica* 1 (2): 49

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1951b. "Noua creație populară." *Muzica* 2 (2): 15–19

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1951a. "D. Corbea: Anii tineri." *Muzica* 2 (2): 90

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1951c. "O strălucită confirmare a succeselor vieții noastre muzicale." *Muzica* 2 (3-4): 25

Prichici, Constantin G. 1952. "Țambalul: Contribuții la cunoașterea instrumentelor populare românești." *Muzica* 3 (8-9): 130–39

Sulițeanu, Z. 1952. "Viața cîntecului popular în comuna leud." *Muzica* 3 (8-9): 44

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1953. "Cîstind memoria marelui înaintaș al muzicii noastre: Ciprian Porumbescu." *Muzica* 4 (4): 8

Prichici, C. G. 1953. "Figuri de eroi în cîntecul nostru popular: Pinteza Viteazul." *Muzica* 4 (4): 34

Prichici, C. G. 1954a. "Indrumări tehnice muzicale privind formațiile orchestrale populare de amator și profesioniști din R.P.R." *Muzica* 5 (Suplement): 3

Ciobanu, Gheorghe. 1954a. "Istoricul clasificării modului: 1." *Muzica* 5 (3): 5

Ciobanu, Gheorghe. 1954b. "Istoricul clasificării modului." *Muzica* 5 (4): 7

Niculescu, Vasile. 1954. "Contribuție la cunoașterea instrumentelor populare: Naiul." 5 (6): 11–14

Comișel, Emilia. 1954. "Recitativul epic al baladei." *Muzica* 5 (6)

Prichici, Constantin G. 1954b. "Pe marginea unor spectacole ale ansamblurilor profesioniste." *Muzica* 5 (Supliment): 9

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1954b. "Strălucitele manifestări de artă populară ale capelei emerite de Stat de banduriști din R.S.S. Ucraineană." *Muzica* 5 (10): 45

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1955a. "Invățătura leninistă despre moștenirea culturală și unele probleme ale muzicii noastre." *Muzica* 6 (6): 6

Comișel, Emilia. 1955. "O culegere din folklorul ciangăilor." Review. *Muzica* 6 (4): 3

Drăgoi, V. S. 1955. "Caracterul popular al operei lui George Enescu." *Muzica* 6 (5): 13

Alexandru, Tiberiu. 1955a. "Concursul tinerilor soliști populari: Cu prilejul Festivalului de la Varșovia." *Muzica* 6 (7-8): 67

Alexandru, Tiberiu. 1955b. "O muzică milenară: Concertele orchestrei de muzică națională chineză." *Muzica* 6 (7-8): 77

²⁷² According to Datcu (Datcu 1998a:I/164), Ciobanu was department head (șef de sector), presumably of the ethnomusicology department, from 1954-1968.

(Rodan-Kahane Mariana and Comișel 1955)

Non-ethnomusicological publications (selection)

Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1954a. "Cinci ani de activitate a Institutului de Folclor: O sărbătoare a folcloriștilor noștri." *Muzica* 5 (6): 5–9
 Sachelarie, Adriana. 1954. "Mihail Ivanovici Glinka: 150 de ani de la naștere." *Muzica* 5 (Supliment): 6
 Drăgoi, Sabin V. 1955b. "Salut adus Congresului Partidului." *Muzica* 6 (11): 9

7.1.2 Later IF period (1956-63)

Employees
source: "Personal de specialitate care a activat în institut" 1998-99, Datcu 1998a, Datcu 1998b
<u>Director / management</u>
Sabin DRĂGOI (director, January 1950-1964) Mihai POP ²⁷³
<u>Musicologists</u>
Lucilia Georgescu STĂNCULEANU 1949-82, Constantin ZAMFIR 1949-64, Elisabeta DOLINESCU 1960-68
<u>Ethnomusicologists</u>
Tiberiu ALEXANDRU 1949-74, Paul CARP 1949-68, Gheorghe CIOBANU 1949-71 (department head 1954-68) , Emilia COMIȘEL 1949-64, Marina KAHANE 1949-81, Elisabeta MOLDEVEANU 1949-81, Vasile NICULESCU 1949-67, Adriana SACHELARIE 1949-64, Ghizela SULIȚEANU 1949-79, Adrian VICOL (Iosif Weisz) 1949-81, Constantin PRICHICU 1950-59, Gottfried HABENICHT 1957-73, Nicolae COMAN 1960-63, Liviu GLODEANU 1961-62, Corneliu Dan GEORGESCU 1962-84
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7.1.3 IEF Period (1964-75)

Employees ("Personal de specialitate care a activat în institut" 1998-99), Datcu 1998a, Datcu 1998b

Director / management

Mihai POP (director 1964-74)

Alexandru AMZULESCU (scientific secretary, CHECK DATCU)

Musicologists

Lucilia Georgescu STĂNCULEANU 1949-82, Elisabeta DOLINESCU 1960-68

Ethnomusicologists

Tiberiu ALEXANDRU 1949-74 (department head 1957-74), Paul CARP 1949-68, Gheorghe CIOBANU 1949-71 (department head 1954-68), Marina KAHANE 1949-81, Elisabeta MOLDEVEANU 1949-81, Vasile NICULESCU 1949-67, Ghizela SULIȚEANU 1949-79, Adrian VICOL (Iosif WEISZ) 1949-81, Gottfried HABENICHT 1957-73, Corneliu Dan GEORGESCU 1962-84, Vlad LUPAȘCU 1974-1982, Speranța Rădulescu 1974-1990, Constantin Dan Iulian Stih-Boos 1970-1974

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1968

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7.2 The Institute's music archive in numbers (including predecessors)

The table below compiles information from different sources that qualify the Institute's music collections in numbers, including several predecessor archives. These sources do not present numbers that are directly and easily comparable. I attempt to make the existing ambiguities visible.

Archive	Date	Collection	Total ²⁷⁴	Source	Comment
Arhiva Fonogramica	29-04-1929	1129 cylinders with 2258 melodies	2,258	Breazul 1984:186	
Arhiva Fonogramica	1931	7000 melodies (recordings and transcriptions)	7,000	Breazul 1932:5	
Arhiva Fonogramica	1934	3931 transcribed melodies and 2114 cylinders	6,045	Lajtha 1934:222–223	
Arhiva Fonogramica	1936	7000 melodies (recordings and transcriptions)	7,000	(Schünemann 1936:495)	
Arhiva Fonogramica	1937	7000 melodies (recordings and transcriptions)	7,000	Alexandru 1980c:397	

²⁷⁴ Total number of melodies (recorded and transcribed). Rounded numbers may indicate estimates rather than exact counts.

Arhiva de Folklor	08-09-1939	7,633 cylinders with 16,563 melodies, 578 gramophone discs, and 1042 plus 2122 transcribed melodies from different sources	20,305	Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuelle [1939]:331	Although the source refers to the archive of the composers' society only, I believe that the holdings of the Arhiva Fonogramica were included in this figure.
Institut de Folclor	28-05-1954	60,000 folklore pieces (piese folclorice)	60,000	Drăgoi 1954a:5	It might include non-musical items such as legends as well as non-audio items such as written melodies as well as possibly biographical files.
Institut de Folclor	1956	over 50,000 songs, 1000 fairy tales, over 600 dances (recordings or transcriptions of dance tunes or choreographies?) and ca. 30,000 unedited pieces transcribed by ear	ca. 80,000	Pop 1956:24	It is unclear if the number of 80,000 includes non-musical recordings such as fairy tales
Institut de Folclor	1960	14,613 phonograph cylinders 5,377 discs 1,620 tapes (recordings made since 1951) 20,330 diverse auxiliary files 8,800 individual biographical files 12,000 photos pertaining to costumes, dances etc. 53,000 pieces (recorded) 6,740 notated melodies	ca. 60,000	Comișel 1960:91	It is unclear if the 6,740 notated melodies have a recorded counterpart or only exist as notation.

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Curriculum Vitae

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- Current Doctoral Candidate in Ethnomusicology, University of Cologne, Germany.
 Title: The Archaeology of an Archive: Uses of Knowledge at the Institut de Etnografie și Folclor in Bucharest.
- 2003 M.A. in Musicology, Cultural Anthropology, and English, University of Cologne, Germany.

Research Interests

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Teaching Experience

- 2012 Graduate Seminar, World music and film, Syracuse University.
- 2011 Seminar, Musics of the World, St Lawrence University.
- 2009-2010 Team-taught seminar, Digital Cultural Heritage: The Musical Instrument Museums Online (MIMO), University of Cologne, Germany (together with Lars-Christian Koch).
- 2008 Team-taught seminar: Introduction to dance ethnography: Topics and techniques, University of Cologne, Germany (together with Sydney Hutchinson).
- 2007-2008 Team-taught seminar: Music cultures on record: Recording and storage media in ethnomusicology, Humboldt University, Berlin (together with Michael Fuhr).
- 2004-2005 Team-taught seminar: Music in the museum, University of Cologne, Germany (together with Lars-Christian Koch).
- 2003-2004 Team-taught seminar: History of ethnomusicology, University of Cologne, Germany (together with Oliver Seibt).
- 1999 Introduction to research methods, University of Cologne, Germany.

Work Experience

- 2014-2013 CONSULTING FOLKLORIST. Organized and presented a series programs on traditional music and arts in Central New York for Schweinfurth Memorial Art Center in Auburn.
- 2011-2012 ADJUNCT INSTRUCTOR. Taught courses on film and world music for Syracuse University and St Lawrence University.
- 2008-2010 SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANT for the project "Integrated Solutions for Preservation, Archiving and Conservation of endangered Magnetic Tapes and Cylinders" (ILKAR, see section on Digital Library Projects) and Musical Instrument Museums Online (MIMO), Phonogram-Archive, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2006-2008 SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANT, for two digital archive programs "DIScoveringMusicARCHives" (DISMARC) and "Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research" (ethnoArc, see section on Digital Library Projects), Berlin Phonogram-Archive, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2004-2006 APPRENTICE MUSEUM ASSISTANT, Berlin Phonogram-Archive, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Responsibilities included: organization of national and international conferences, contributions to museum exhibits. Re-organization of the music archive's collections of original recordings. Introduction of new database system and adoption of music-specific structures. Transfer of data from legacy database to new database system and corresponding data format. Participation in the metadata editorial board of National Museums in Berlin (maintenance of authority files and thesauri, organization of work-flow).

2003-2004 FREELANCE RESEARCHER, WDR (public radio station), Cologne, Germany.

Publications

SINGLE AUTHOR

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CO-AUTHORED

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Mendivil, Julio; Mengel, Maurice. 2004. Fragments from the world of flutes: Flutes in cultural context (in German). In: *Swan wing bone flute: 35000 years ago ice age hunters invent music*. Booklet accompanying the special exhibit "Schwanenflügelknochen-Flöte" at the Württembergischen Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, pp. 34–38.

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Mengel, Maurice. 2013. Review of *Muzicologii, etnologii, subiectivități, politici* (Musicologies, Ethnologies, Subjectivities, Politics) by Marin Marian-Bălașa. Bucharest. Editura Muzicală. 2011. *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* (Journal of Ethnography and Folklore) New Series 1-2 2013, p. 262-269.

Mengel, Maurice. 2012. Review of *Nettl's Elephant: On the history of ethnomusicology* by Bruno Nettl. *World of Music* (new series) 1(2), pp. 135-138.

Maurice Mengel. 2011. Review of *Ein musikalisches Stück Heimat: Ethnologische Beobachtungen zum deutschen Schlager* (A musical piece of home: Ethnological observations on German Schlager) by Julio Mendivil. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 43:234-6.

Mengel, Maurice. 2006. Review of *Festmusik als Arbeit, Trommeln als Beruf* (festival music as work, drumming as occupation, in German) by Rainer Polak. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 131, no. 1, p. 130.

REPORTS

ethnoArc Consortium (ed.): *State of the art of ethnomusicological archives technologies*, Berlin: ethnoArc, 02/01/2007. <http://www.ethnoarc.org/documents>. Editor and contributor.

Letts, Richard, ed.: *The protection and promotion of musical diversity*. Paris: UNESCO, 11/22/2007. Contributor to European Section.

OTHER

Kim, Jin Hyun; Mengel, Maurice. 2004. "Art as a symbol system: Inquiries into artistic expression according to Nelson Goodman's theory of symbols" (in German). DFG Sonderforschungsbereich/ Kulturwissenschaftliches Forschungskolleg FK 427 "Medien und kulturelle Kommunikation". http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/muwi/hpa7/hpa7_2002/Kunst_als_Symbolsystem.pdf

Mengel, Maurice. 2002. *Conditions, possibilities and limitations of the biography in ethnomusicological research* (in German), master's thesis, Musicological Institute at the University of Cologne.

Papers and Presentations

2014

Presented paper, "Working in a Police State: Western Ethnomusicologists in Cold War Romania" Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) Annual Conference, Pittsburgh, November 2014.

2013

Presented paper, "Essay Concerning the Digital Revolution: How Ethnomusicology Archives have to do more with less." Cultural Heritage Archives: Networks, Innovation & Collaboration. September 2013. American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

2012

Presented paper, "Political Modes of Musical Representation: Folk Music Anthologies in Romanian Ethnomusicology", Joint Conference of American Musicological Society (AMS), Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), Society for Music Theory, New Orleans, November 2012.

2011

Presented paper, "How to Read between the Lines: Discovering Dialogues in Historical Documents of Romanian Ethnomusicology in the Socialist era", International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), St. John's, Canada, July 2011.

2010

Presented paper, "Storing, preserving and managing folk knowledge in the musical folklore of Socialist Romania: Epistemological and political dimensions in the treatment of folk knowledge." American Folklore Society (AFS), Nashville, October 2010.

Presented paper, "Yet another tape survey? Lessons learned from ILKAR's tape survey." IASA annual conference (together with Association of Moving Image Archivists, AMIA), Philadelphia, November 2010.

Presented paper, "Governing through prizes: Folk music competitions in socialist Romania," The Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), Los Angeles, November 2010.

Presented paper, "Folk music between power and culture: Instrumentalization of ethnomusicological knowledge in Socialist Romania," British Forum for Ethnomusicology, Oxford, April 2010.

2009

Panelist on "Ethnomusicologists at Work" roundtable, Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), annual meeting, Mexico City, November 2009.

Presented Paper (together with Susanna Schulz), "Digitalisierungsprojekte für die Europeana. Überlegungen zum Sinn anlässlich des gerade angelaufenen MIMO-Projekts (Musical Instrument Museums Online)". Herbsttagung der Fachgruppe Dokumentation im Deutschen Museumsbund, Berlin, October 2009.

Presented dissertation research at international workshop held in Hanover, Germany, titled Current Trends in Ethnomusicological Research, June 2009.

Presented paper, "Creating the Own by Selling the Other: Commercial Folklore Productions on Romania's Socialist Market", British Forum for Ethnomusicology, Liverpool, April 2009.

2008

Presented paper, "ethnoarc – Musikethnologie vernetzt", Herbsttagung der Fachgruppe Dokumentation im Deutschen Museumsbund, Berlin, October 2008.

Presented paper, "Limba de lemn: The mechanics of the political rhetoric in Romanian ethnomusicology from the 1950s to the 1970s", 24th meeting of the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology (ESEM), Warsaw, September 2008.

Presented paper, "Metadata interoperability of digital archives." Technical challenges and developments in 21st century folk music archiving conference organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, June 2008.

Presented paper, "Ethnomusicological research in the service of the working class: Folclor nou in Romanian ethnomusicology from the 1950s to the 1970s." Stockholm, ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources.

2007

Presented paper, "Working with ethnocentrism: Considerations on knowledge and power in current projects related to digital ethnomusicological archives", European Seminar in Ethnomusicology (ESEM), Lisbon, October 2007.

Moderated Roundtable, "The DISMARC project: Discovering Music Archives", ICTM, Vienna, Austria, July 2007.

2006

Presented paper, "Archive as agents – The construction of tradition in Romanian ethnomusicology", 51st SEM conference, Honolulu, USA, November 2006.

Presented paper, "Ar'chiv [gr.-lat.] das: 1. Zur Problematik eines scheinbar unproblematischen Schlüsselbegriffs in der Musikforschung". Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Munich, October 2006.

Presented paper, "Aspects of folk song in Romania: Maria Tănase between muzica populară and folcor," ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources, Berlin, Germany, March 2006.

2005

Presented paper, "Muzica si identitatea națională: teorii, metode si rezulate din ultimii ani" (Music and national identity: Theories, methods and results of the last years), Colocviile Brăiloiu , Bucharest, Romania, October 2005.

Presented paper, "The age of archives in early Romanian ethnomusicology: Towards a paradigm of the archive between 1927 and 1943". 21st Meeting of ESEM, Cologne, Germany, August 2005.

Invited speaker, Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Talk entitled "Erzähltes und Klangliches: Biographien rumänischer Musikern", Berlin, Germany, June 2005.

Presented paper together with Lars-Christian Koch, "Vom Elementargedanken zur Tonpsychologie: Zur Bedeutung idealistischer und materialistischer Tendenzen bei Bastian und Stumpf für die gegenwärtige Musikethnologie" at conference entitled "Adolf Bastians Erbe im Ethnologischen Museum – ein universales Archiv der Menschheit?", Berlin, February 2005

Digital Library Projects

Fonoteca Fradique Lizardo, Centro Leon, Santiago de los Caballeros, Dominican Republic, 2010-2012.

Coauthored successful proposals for GRAMMY preservation planning and preservation implementation grants. Once awarded, I assisted by assessing the state of the tape media in the collection and advised the center on strategies for digitization and access.

Musical Instrument Museums Online (MIMO), 2009-2011

Ten major European instrument collections provided more than 40.000 digital musical instruments and made them accessible via Europeana for researchers and the general public (see <http://www.mimo-project.eu>). The total budget of the project is ca. 1,600,000 Euros, of which each institution receives roughly 50% from the EU. I managed the application process for our institution, found other partners, designed the dissemination work package and assisted in the initial management of the project. Later in the project, I wrote the OAI data provider, a server that offers metadata in an XML format on the web for digestion by other project partners

Integrated Solutions for Preservation, Archiving and Conservation of endangered Magnetic Tapes and Cylinders (ILKAR), 2008-2011

The Phonogramm-Archiv at the Ethnological Museum together with the Rathgen Research Laboratory (both in Berlin) research degradation processes of magnetic tapes and cylinder recordings in order to improve identification and treatment of endangered items; the project aims to present results esp. for small to medium-sized music

archives (<http://www.ilkar.de>). The total budget of the project is ca. 350,000 Euros of which our archive receives approximately 50% from the Kulturstiftung des Bundes. I wrote large parts of the proposal, and manage the activities of our archive within the project until June 2010.

Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research (ethnoArc), 2006-2008

Together with the Fraunhofer FOKUS and four major European ethnomusicological archives the project developed software for archives which allows end-users to search multiple archives with heterogeneous metadata structures (<http://www.ethnoArc.org>). The project was funded by the EU funding 985000 EUR of which my institution received 129,000 EUR. I was instrumental in the application process. I also determined metadata requirements for my institution, collaborated with ethnomusicological archives in Geneva, Budapest, Bucharest and managed the project for my institution.

DIScoveringMusicARCHives (DISMARC), 2006-2008

DISMARC is a network of music archives which share catalogue information. In the EU-funded phase, 10 major European sound archives including the Berlin Phonogram Archive offered their combined catalogue (<http://www.dismarc.org>). The total budget of the project was ca. 2,000,000 EUR of which my institution received ca. 80,000 EUR. I assisted in the application process and the development of a Dublin-Core derived metadata specification scheme for music archives.

Conference organization

Organization of ethnomusicological symposium titled "The urban field as a challenge for ethnomusicological research," as part of 14th International Congress of Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Leipzig, 29–30 September, 2008 (<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/gfmkongress2008/index.php?id=90>).

Other Experience

1998-2001 Internships in museums and archives focused on cataloguing (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne; Ethnological Museum, Berlin; picture archive of the United Protestant Church, Wuppertal).

1999 International summer course on Romanian language and culture, Iași, Romania.

1999 Courses in folkloristics and ethnomusicology, Hyperion University, Bucharest, Romania.

1998 Intensive program in cognitive musicology, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Honors and Awards

2013 Parsons Fellowship, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Award to conduct research on the Eugenia and Gheorghe Popescu-Judetz collection.

2010 Archie Green Public Folklore Student Travel Award, American Folklore Society.

2006 German Academic Community (DFG) travel grant, for 51st SEM conference, Honolulu, USA, November 2006.

2005 Visiting researcher, Library of the Romanian Academy.

1999 German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) grant for international summer course on Romanian language and culture, Iași, Romania.

1998 European Union grant through University of Jyväskylä for attendance of an intensive program in cognitive musicology, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Exhibits

2009 A Different Approach to the World: The Humboldt Forum in the Berlin Palace: A first look at the lab.

This exhibit presented the concept of the Humboldt Forum, a new museum which will bring the Ethnological Museum back to the historical city center. For this exhibit, I developed and implemented a presentation of the project "Integrated Solutions for Preservation, Archiving and Conservation of endangered Magnetic Tapes and Cylinders" (ILKAR) in which visitors could see historical playback machines (phonograph, tape machine) and the corresponding media, learn about the conservation of magnetic tape and phonographic cylinders, and experience the digitization of cylinders with a modern playback machine.

2007-2008 ABC of Sound: Image, Word and Memory, a special exhibit, Ethnological Museum from November 2007 to March 2008. In collaboration with Lars-Christian Koch, Albrecht Wiedmann, Susanne Ziegler.

Development of the basic concept for the exhibit, successful fundraising with Federal Ministry for Education and Research, coordination of contributions of external ethnomusicologists, writing of exhibit texts, design of the section on the history of ethnomusicology.

2005 Adolf Bastian. Special exhibit.

Concept and realization of multimedia installation visualizing Bastian's theoretical framework.

Professional Memberships

Member, International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), study group on historical sources.

Member, Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), archiving, historical ethnomusicology, and sound studies special interest groups.

Member, American Folklore Society (AFS)

Member, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (GfM), study group on ethnomusicology.

Languages and Music

English (fluent in spoken and written), German (native), Romanian (fluent spoken, competent written).

7 years classical piano training, 17 years performing blues and related styles of popular music on guitar, harmonica, and percussion instruments, merengue típico percussion instruments since 2008.

Current band leader for D.R.E.A.M. Freedom Revival, a musical theater project of Imagining America.

Syracuse 2.1.2015
M. Mengel