

## CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN ROMANIAN MUSIC

OTILIA BADEA<sup>1</sup>

**SUMMARY.** The Romanian music has many histories. From composer George Enescu to Dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Romanian music reflected multiple faces of becoming and corresponding, streaming from a varied cultural diversity and gravitating towards the central European canons. The process of creating the Romanian music shaped a dynamic and fluid image of the place and people it represents, balancing its pendulum between the western aspiration and the eastern inspiration. Moreover, it has not just one history, but many ones because the Romanian music is not a monolithic tradition, but a fusion of various customs and influences that fluctuated their presence more or less obvious along this time of becoming. Seen in a long run framed between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, folk music reveals as the constant component of each ideological narrative that emerged from both nationalism and socialism. This span of time is vital to understand the complex and mercurial nature of the popular or the folk that has a relation to music and song not because it describes a historical reality, but because it has been used historically.

**Keywords:** Romanian music, Nationalism, Socialism, Leninism, folk music, progressive music

### Sources, origins and influences

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the spectrum of music existing on the present-day Romania territory was very diverse. It contained both sacred and profane music for the courts and the salons. From the Oriental influences on the Western models, music mingled in a process where these sources, origins

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ph.D. in History at Babeș-Bolyai University, current Ph.D. student in Music at the “Gheorghe Dima” Music Academy in Cluj-Napoca, teacher at the “Victor Brauner” High-school Piatra-Neamț, otilia.constantiniu@yahoo.com*



and influences superposed and combined in different concentrations. These influences could be seen as energies that claimed a spiritual territory that sometimes were present and sometimes even seemed to have disappeared, tracing a line of continuities and discontinuities in the identity of the Romanian professional music. Nevertheless, influences from both East and West incorporated into a nucleus that has its main pillars in sacred and profane music.

If the sacred music is a dominant presence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the byzantine music of the Christian orthodox population, but also Gregorian and Lutheran of the Catholics and the Protestants especially from Transylvania, the profane music that we find reflects the category of a music for the festivity and representation. This category includes court music and military music. The music for celebration (later called *divertissement* music) includes music for dancing, music of longing and sorrow, the occasional folk music (ritualistic) and the music for the scene that becomes present in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This music of different backgrounds appears in the interior of different social stratum, forming the origins of some sources that later will be assumed and displayed or contested and rejected. The 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanian society was a predominantly rural society with the urbanization slowly advancing and bringing some musical institutions of concerts. There were small orchestras, soloists, or choirs that imported a western musical repertoire. The music historiography writes about the visit of notorious musicians that toured around Europe, such as Franz Liszt, Johannes Brahms, Pablo De Sarasate and others. They included in their musical tours' towns from Transylvania (as then part of the Hapsburg Empire), reaching Bucharest further in the east of Europe. Franz Liszt even wrote a *Romanian rhapsody* for piano that was considered an example for making a Romanian national music (using *doina* – a slow and rubato folk song).<sup>2</sup>

Resuming, the profane music in the Romanian societies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century displays in four categories:

1. **The festive music** that begins with the Phanariot ruling (the Greeks of Constantinople) and their court music (Turkish music especially in the southeast part of Romania). A very interesting note was the perceptions of this music in the western ears of the German publicist, military man and writer with musicology interests Franz Josef Sulzer, who described in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman music of one Romanian court as “a loud scream of a cat”.<sup>3</sup> The military music gathers western composers that were most active especially in the southeast of Romania,

---

<sup>2</sup> Ion Borgovan, “La Gheorghe Enescu” (“*At Gheorghe Enescu*”) in *Luceafărul*, Sibiu, 16 mai 1912, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Romeo Ghircoiașiu, *Cultura muzicală românească în secolele XVIII-XIX (Romanian musical culture in XVIIIth and XIXth century)*, București, Ed. Muzicală, 1992, p. 87.

playing an Austrian repertoire for the brass instruments. The Austrian Eduard Hübsch, also composer of the first royal hymn of Romania, held a great position in the military music of the Old Kingdom of Romania.<sup>4</sup> Gradually, the Turkish *meterhanea* bands are gradually replaced with the western military marching bands in the public life of the small towns. The dancing waltz was one of the most loved genres and one of them is the *Danube Waltz* composed by the Major Iosif Ivanovici<sup>5</sup> that attracted a remarkable success at the Paris International Exhibition in 1889.<sup>6</sup>

2. **Divertissement music** is that what Germans call *tafelmusik* and Romanians refer to as music for drinking or music for partying (this includes rural folk dancing songs like *hora*, *sârba*, *rustem*, *geampara*, *căluș*, *brâu*). The leant substance between rural and urban music is the *mahala* music (music for longing and sorrow played by the gypsy fiddlers, one of the most popular tunes back then being collected by the poet and folklorist Anton Pann in the music collection entitled *The Love Hospital (Spitalul amorului)*. This volume has Greek and Bulgarian descending, and the gypsy community claims it, for which it contains songs arranged over time for various formulas developing the so called *lăutar* music or fiddler music.
3. **The folk music** for various occasions is the musical folklore used for various religious and social events from Christmas carols to lullabies and wedding or funeral songs.
4. **Scenic music** is the music made by the Romanian musicians and composers educated at the German and French music elevated schools. They were either playing the western music or more likely creating the national Romanian music. One of them was Alexandru Flecthnemacher, a Romanian sac from Transylvania that moved to Moldavia and composed the *Moldavian National Overture* in 1846. The Romanian Athenaeum opened in 1888 and Enescu's *Rumanian rhapsody* premiered in 1903 along with a predominantly western musical repertoire. Opera was also a genre well wanted and consumed by the Romanian urban society. Alongside with the musical consumption, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of starting the musical school system education in the Old Kingdom of Romania (the musical conservatoires from Iași and Bucharest 1862-64).

All these influences and musical paths of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century mixed in a process of modernization and synchronization with the west world. The

---

<sup>4</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. II (*The Romanian music chronicle*), București, Editura Muzicală, 1974, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Originated from Galați, one of Danube's towns in its downstream.

<sup>6</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Op.cit.*

Oriental influence fades away after the independence gained by the Romanians in 1877, drawing consequently the replacement of the administration model with the French one that will gradually change the social and cultural life of the Romanian society.

### **The national desideratum (1840-1920)**

During the modern times, the cultural traditions and the national folklore were frequently used by the political and cultural elites from Central and Eastern Europe to enrich a nationalistic discourse, often ensuring legitimacy for the course of action taken to achieve independence of their own national state.

What characterized especially the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the national idea felt by the Romanian society reflected in music through passionate debates over how Romanian national music should be.

The Romanians felt the national music as an imperative that acted both as an ideal to be achieved and as a standard by which all the musical products of the period were judged. In that period, the conceptual significance of the national music permanently oscillated between folk music and cultivated music that used folk music as a source of inspiration.

The national music signified for the romantic generation of Romanian composers the delimitation from the Austrian canon, also referred as the “Wagnerian”, “absolute” or “pure” music, a canon that all the national musical schools related to in the process of creating their own specificity. By the national specificity, they understood that *way* or *nature* of the people impregnated in the folk music and that should be captured and developed in the existing genres and forms of the western musical tradition. This specific was obtained at first by quoting and imitating the so called *national arias* – folk tunes selected by the criteria of compatibility with the western harmony type, assimilated at a superficial level (some of these composers hadn’t a strong musical education, rather they were amateurs, arrangers or beginners in music).

Questioning the specificity of the national music addressed the problem of the folk music’s origins, many of the composers being offended that this music could also be found in the music of the gypsy fiddlers.<sup>7</sup> As George Enescu declared in a press interview, he also recommended to composers that wanted to write a national music to approach the rhapsody, naming Liszt as a model and considering the rhapsody as the best-suited genre.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Enescu considered that the Romanian folk music

---

<sup>7</sup> D. G. Kiriac, *Pagini de corespondență (Correspondence)*, ed. Vasile Tomescu, București, Ed. Muzicală, 1974, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Ion Borgovan, “La Gheorghe Enescu” (*At Gheorghe Enescu*), in *Luceafărul*, Sibiu, 16 mai 1912, 287.

particularities resulted from a mixture of Arabian, Slavic and Hungarian music, “its foreign influences being too obvious to be negated”.<sup>9</sup> Unable to cut precisely between the Romanian from the un-Romanian, Enescu touched a problem of ethnomusicology specialty that at that time could not offer clear answers. The confusion that gravitated over the folk music specificity – that could have put in danger the national identity in music – was caused by the numerous polemics that resorted to emotional arguments.

By folk music, composers understood both urban and rural music, until they began to differentiate them in the quest for authenticity. That divided the composers in the ones that acknowledged the diversity of oriental, Russian or Hungarian elements in the Romanian folk music (predominantly the composers from Bucharest, of French orientation), and the ones that did not accept this influences (particularly the composers from Transylvania of German orientation). The confusion over the folk music specificity was a result by the polemics resumed to emotional arguments and the belief that the Romanian *spirit* could not be defined in technical details. Later on in modernity, the ethnomusicology field will make a clearer classification of the collected folk songs. Once with the Romanian folk music collections of Béla Bartók, the ethnomusicology makes a step forward to professionalization.

Being in a state of dependence towards the foreign models, especially the western ones, Romanians felt an inferiority complex since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and tried to counterbalance this state through an overloading of the ideal for authenticity.<sup>10</sup> Insisting on the folk’s song authenticity depicts a vision over the nation that founds the national community over the imaginary construction of the rural communities.<sup>11</sup>

From a cultural protectionist perspective there were strong defensive opinions about tradition, folk music, or peasants (as held by some Transylvanian composers), while Romanian composers likewise faced tension over their tolerant and inclusive opinions regarding authenticity and originality. A tension between the Centre and the periphery, between the Austro-German canon and the exoticism that should have filled the mold poured by this canon; a constant alternation between fitting in and attempting to surpass the original Model. This tension was the predominant feature in the making of national music from the second half of the nineteenth century, being felt more

---

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950 (Historical traps. The Romanian intellectual elites between 1930 and 1950)*, București, Humanitas, 2011, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Didier Francfort, Didier Francfort, *Le chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914 (The song of the nations. Music and culture in Europe 1870-1914)*, Hachette Littératures, 2004, pp. 198-199.

or less strongly each time a nationalist agenda was activated by the political changes in the nation's history.

### **“The great debate” (the '20s and the '30s)**

Historian Keith Hitchins named the years following 1918 in Romania *the great debate* because of the intense and arduous polemics between two large groups that disputed the territory of the national reconstruction: the Europeanists and the traditionalists.<sup>12</sup> The first pointed central Europe as a model and a target for our integration, while for the later the model was a particular and autochthonous way of development where the agrarian character and the cultural inheritance played the principal role.

For the interwar period, the narrative on the national specificity represented an extension of the previous polemics, this decades being characterized by defining and redefining the culture of this new geopolitical entity, and the need to shelter this national `being` from the easily to predict contestations in a revisionist climate.<sup>13</sup>

In this energy of that time, the subject of national specificity in music deepened its quest for finding its authenticity and the ways that composers must reflect it. This climate stimulated composers to establish in 1920 *The Romanian Society of Composers* with Enescu as president and to launch an inquiry in the *Muzica* journal for “clarifying the situation of the Romanian music and its development as an art using the folk music”.

The inquiry from *Muzica* journal revealed a diversity of opinions from those that suggested useful solutions to those that limited the possibilities of using folk music.<sup>14</sup> Recalling the ideas from the prewar period, the interwar shaped the specificity problem between the two points of tension: affirming the ethnical element<sup>15</sup> by calling the folk music and developing the folk<sup>16</sup> music in the western tradition forms and genres.

The increased interest for the folk music was reflected also by establishing in the late 20s two folk music archives equivalent to a scientific Academy, namely the Phonogram Archive of the Ministry (1927) and The Folk Music Archive of the Romanian Society of Composers (1928) that later merged.

<sup>12</sup> Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947 (Romania 1866-1947)*, trans. George Potra and Delia Răzdolescu, București, Humanitas, 2013, pp. 333-373.

<sup>13</sup> Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică (History and historians in interwar Romania)*, Iasi, Junimea, 1989, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> “Muzica românească” (“The Romanian music”) in *Muzica*, 3/1920, pp. 97-118.

<sup>15</sup> It opens the question of folk's music authenticity by classifying it in urban and rural; in contaminated and uncontaminated.

<sup>16</sup> First, by quoting the folk tunes and later by transforming it through the gradual appropriation of the creational process techniques, up to exiting of the western canons.

The specificity problem in music was debated in terms of traditionalism and modernity or autochthonism versus universality. The dialectics was one of inclusion or exclusion to which was added the perspective of a critical spirit. The resources of modernization were predominantly institutional, employing a will for construction the nation that searched to substitute the material and organizational deficit while missing a proper social structure and an adequate economic support capable of realizing the gradual nearness of the cultural and social life to the occidental standards.

Beginning with 1920, the composers approach becomes more profound and responsible to this process of creating the national culture, reaching levels of consciousness in some composers that the creator himself evolves in this narrative having the attitude of the knowledgeable in the matter of traditional music (first, over the folk music and after 1930 over the byzantine chant).<sup>17</sup> Together with the folk music, the byzantine melody represented a musical material of oriental resonance, aligning the Romanian national music in the European quest for archaic and exotic while reflecting an identity feature of a religious type.

The interwar period captured the overlap of two generation of composers, the representative for the national romanticism and the younger ones that ventured into a modernism that involved a musical language where the folk mark was a synthesis obtained through new ways.

At the same time, the musical scene in Viena is made around Arnold Schoenberg through *The Society of Private Concerts* where the new music is making its way in the cultural scenery of the interwar modernity, and Paris is developing the neoclassicism flanked by the influence of American jazz music. This is the largest western European context where a new generation of Romanian composers around Enescu appear in the Romanian musical life. The `new wave`<sup>18</sup> of the Romanian musical literature, as Clemansa Liliana Firca named it, included the French oriented composers Mihail Jora (ballet), Sabin Drăgoi, Mihail Andricu, Filip Lazăr, Marcel Mihalovici, Paul Constantinescu, Teodor Rogalski, Constantin Silvestri and the Transylvanian composers Mațian Negrea, Zeno Vancea and Sabin Drăgoi.

The interwar period is the time when Enescu finishes writing its singular opera: *Oedipe*. Another Romanian remarkable opera in the 30s is a comical one: *A stormy night* (1934) by Paul Constantinescu after the play by Caragiale. Particular to the 30s is the divertissement vocal music that reflects local color derived from using the sonorities from the southeast of Europe (balcanic) as well as inserting some urban songs of that epoch sliding the

---

<sup>17</sup> Clemansa Liliana Firca, *Modernitate și avangardă în muzica ante- și interbelică a secolelor XX (1900-1940) (Modernity and vanguard in prewar and interwar music of the XXth century (1900-1940)*, Phd thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 164.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

melodic line to waltz, tango and foxtrot. The interwar period is characterized by vitality and inspiration in the field of symphonic or opera, as in radio music. Influenced by the expressionist music but maintaining a symbiotically relationship with the Romanian folk music in the manner of Bartok, Constantin Silvestri writes a condensed, rhythmic, full of temperament and color music. Between 1943 and 1948 Paul Constantinescu finishes two oratorios: the Byzantine Easter oratory and the Byzantine Christmas Oratory.

Once with Béla Bartók's visit to Bucharest (1934), the modernity seduced a great part of the Romanian composers influenced by his conceptions over the modernist potential of the peasant music. Therefore, the national tendency as art based on folk music is not interrupted, as Jim Samson affirms, but integrated in a Central and Eastern European movement where Stravinsky, Bartók or Janáček proved that folk music became the prime material for an authentic modern art.<sup>19</sup>

The discursive nuances projected over the relation between national (ethnic) and universal (international/cosmopolite) are determined strictly by the influence of the nationalist ideology that can have more or less tolerated forms in finding the equilibrium between the two ends. Because of its peripheral placing towards the western musical tradition, the musical thinking of the Romanian composers in that period is generated by ethnic motivations, some of them refusing to acknowledge the reciprocal influence of different ethnic music or rejecting total the abstract western music (either it was serial or dodecaphonic music).

Romanian musical modernism was not the result of the saturation of the traditional Western classical-romantic canon. It could not have been just because the genres and styles were still being processed, but because the 'traditional' material (the folk music) was far from revealing its entire resources for making this stylistic synthesis. One obvious characteristic during the interwar years is the desire that composers had to synchronize music with Western novelties, the process of composition continued to adjust by both absorbing and rejecting the latest European offers. This was conditioned further by the interrelationship between the autochthonous set of values and the social, political, and historical context.

### **“The obsessive decade” (the '50s)**

The process of accepting and rejecting foreign methods and influences reappeared under new circumstances once the soviet socialism flooded the

---

<sup>19</sup> Jim Samson, “East-Central Europe: Nationalism or Modernism?” in *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, ed. Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 61.



Romanian life after 1945. Once the communist regime was installed in Romania, the subject of the national musical style falls under the ideological domination of the socialist realism. At first, passing through an anti-national phase (the so-called *internationalist* phase), and, after 1971, once with Ceaușescu's influence in the cultural life, moving towards a decidedly *national* phase which was never named as such because the term was prohibited.<sup>20</sup>

After the end of The Second World War, many Eastern European countries felt a rupture from the cultural, political, social and economic traditions of the pre-war period. The Leninist regimes were installed with the support of the Soviet Red Army and the impact of this political event upon culture was inevitable, generating a set of characteristic trademarks.

Both products and pathologies of modernity, the romantic nationalism (reused by fascism and Nazism, although on relatively different ideological coordinates) and the Leninist regimes (originated from the Marxist philosophy misrepresentation and from the social democracy) have a common denominator: the state, the seizure of the state and the claim of the state in the name of the entire society.<sup>21</sup> Whether a national perspective of a glorious past and an independent present or a Marxist perspective of a not that glorious past even irrelevant, with a promising present and an independent future on a general, even global level, not a particular one as the national goal.

In the "socialist camp", although theoretically it should have actioned contrarily, the political elites orchestrated the closeness between Leninism and nationalism.<sup>22</sup> The distinctions between the two ideologies were kept and the closeness was not meant for merging them nor that communism was from the start a form of nationalism in disguise. While the Leninist regime failed in exporting the revolution on a global level, it had to gain the people's trust by calling it a myth with local resonances, namely nationalism and inscribing it in the official myth of the Leninist ideology. This strategy proved to be a fleeting palliative in relation to the structural problems that were gaining ground in the communist states, exhibiting difficulties of political integration. The political integration, as underlined by the political analyst Keneth Jowitt, signifies the creation of a new politic formula, of new political institutions and a new political behavior: a new community based on reciprocity norms, shared feelings and a civic-political reciprocal acknowledgement.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Katherine Verdery, *Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu (Compromise and resistance. Romanian culture under Ceausescu)*, Bucuresti, Humanitas, 1994.

<sup>21</sup> Emanuel Copilaș, *Națiunea socialistă: politica identității în Epoca de Aur (The socialist nation: identity politics in the Golden Epoch)*, Iași, Polirom, 2015, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Keneth Jowitt, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development. The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*, University of California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles, 1971, p. 7

For the political elites that build up the nation to obtain the decisive breaking through, is imposed the use a revolutionary consensual or cooperative strategy. On committed to power, the Romanian elite possessed and was committed to a Leninist-consensual ideology, but it did not have a set of practically and situationally relevant definitions derivate from the ideology, it lacked a “practical ideology”.<sup>24</sup>

The Romanian comunist elite started to break through and politically integrate into a predominantly liberal climate, but adrift, the structure of the party counting only 1000 members in 1944.<sup>25</sup> They had only one direction: seizure the state, expand the ideology, remove in its way the elements asociated with the enenmy and dissolve the alternative political powers.<sup>26</sup>

There was a furious purge between 1944 and 1945 where all the suspected composers and musicians to have been legionnaires or collaborated with the Nazi regime were eliminated by the purges committees that almost every institution had. Initially, the recommended board for this purge at the Romanian Composers Society included I. D. Chirescu, A. Alessandrescu and Mihail Andricu, a board that was made inside the Society and was considered too soft and not having the wanted results for the Ministry of Arts.<sup>27</sup> A general propaganda was started that until 1954, 13 million copies of Stalin and Lenin works were spread across all the educational levels, itself “cleaned”.<sup>28</sup>

All the compartments of the society that existed previous the instalment of the Marxist-Leninist regime had been de-constructed, the entire political and cultural elite decimated, and a basis for a new national community had been imagined following the Soviet coordinates. If the nationalist regimes focus their energies against the foreign oppression coming from outside, the Leninist and fascist regimes denounces the intern political order perceived as a foreign body, which they want to substitute.<sup>29</sup>

The arts and literature became instruments of state politics after 1947 and Romania’s metamorphosis from a capitalist periphery to a socialist satellite changed the framework for the intellectual activity (it reduced the role of the market, it diminished the western influence and it made out of the

---

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950 (Historical traps. The Romanian intellectual elite between 1930 and 1950)*, București, Humanitas, 2011, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Keneth Jowitt, *Op.cit.*, p.76.

<sup>27</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universul muzicii românești. Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România (1920-1995) (The Romanian musical universe. The Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romania)*, Bucuresti, Editura Muzicală, 1995, pp. 128-130.

<sup>28</sup> Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999, pp. 87–88.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Tucker, *The Soviet Political Mind. Stalinism and post-Stalin Change*, London, George Allen&Unwit LTD, p. 8.

state`s bureaucracy the only user and support of the culture).<sup>30</sup> The official ideology manifested itself in the cultural-artistic field more conspicuously than in the other countries of the communist bloc.

Between 1949 and 1954, the new head at the Romanian Composers Society, Matei Socor, imposed the ideological paths for the Romanian music, transforming the Society into The Union of the Romanian Composers to promote aggressively the so-called “progressive” music. A lot of propagandistic music was written for the use of those who built the socialism, especially music with lyrics: marches, revolutionary hymns, odes, cantatas and oratories that should have been accessible for the people`s understanding and easily recognizable through a familiar element that glued masses previously: the folk music. Although this “socialist” cultural nationalism was engineered in Moscow, it was never perceived in Romania too foreign because much of the material used (the folk song) was recognizable as their own.

When soviet socialism took control over the music field, the romantic nationalism in music was outdated. That was already happening with all the modernism of the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century that estranged nationalism. For modernists, some of the symbolic value infused to folk music remained, especially the identification of it with the natural and collective, but the national community was not evoked anymore.<sup>31</sup> This new perspective over the folk music should have solved the tension that the romantic nationalist generation confronted. However, the peripheral and inferiority complex that still existed in some protectionists of the national music explains the coexistence of old optics with the new modernist, even radical ones. Nevertheless, the “tradition” theme will resurge in a different manner this time integrated within the Marxist-Leninist discourse, when “folklore” cohabitated with the principle of class struggle and the proletarian internationalism.

Once the socialist realist ideology started to be applied, contrasts appeared especially opposing modernism and experimental ideas, accused of being “decadent”, “anti-human” and associated to bourgeois art dependent upon capitalist money.<sup>32</sup> For the communists, the attitudes toward folk music had to contain something specifically *revolutionary* or *progressive* rather than merely national, so the slogan of bringing high culture closer to the masses would encourage the interest in folk music but only as representative for the proletariat with its healthy roots in the rural. It started the time of the peasant

---

<sup>30</sup> Katherine Verdery, *Op.cit*, p. 64

<sup>31</sup> Jim Samson, “East-Central Europe: Nationalism or Modernism?” in *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism. History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, ed. Athena S. Leoussi, Steven Grosby, Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> Valentina Sandu Dedi, *Muzica românească între 1944-2000 (The Romanian music between 1944-2000)*, Bucuresti, Ed. Muzicală, 2002.

music and the proletarian song. This time, the folk resurfaced as a key indicator of modernity's changing speed, not that much associated with the past of some longing and belonging, but with the future of a prosperous social mass.

A monopoly on the interpretation of the national identity and cultural past was maintained by means of an institutional system controlled directly by the regime.<sup>33</sup> This process was engaged in the effort of "scientific analyzing" the folklore. The institutionalization of the folklore in the soviet culture started in the '30s when ideologues like Gorky defined the theoretical and conceptual framework of the literature in a way that "cultural tradition" to become an influential part of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.<sup>34</sup> In this context, the Writers Society, the Fine Arts and the Romanian Composers Society are restructured into Unions and the political instrumentality of folklore and popular tradition for propagandistic purposes was supported by creating some new institutions with the aim of researching the community's past and folk culture.<sup>35</sup>

In those murky years of the late '40s and early 50s, there were voices that minimized the importance of Enescu due to his "superficial contact with the masses and with the autochthonous rural ambiance because of a conscientious integration into the western musical tenancies"<sup>36</sup>. A small detail is that Enescu endorsed initially the new cultural-ideological program of the communist regime, but without composing propagandist music.<sup>37</sup> The activist members of the Party made such statements and the main reason in finding ideological problems in Enescu's music was the fact that he left definitively Romania in 1946.

Noticeable is the fact that most of the discussions over the musical works were those that concerned programmatic music, being the genre with an easy ideological control over it. Therefore, the official party line is promoting obsessively the programmatic music, with titles that reflects the reality of the new man.

Aesthetically, the '50s witnessed the existence of a very thin line between the content of the socialist realism and the folk inspired nationalism.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Kenneth Jowitt, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971, p.16.

<sup>34</sup> Frank J. Miller, *Folklore for Stalin: Russian folklore and pseudo folklore of the Stalin era*, (M. E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. 11-13.

<sup>35</sup> Claudiu Petru-Rusu, "Searching for identity": the political instrumentalisation of cultural traditions in Romania (1948-1965)" in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai – Historia*, 2/2011.

<sup>36</sup> Zeno Vancea, "Specificul național și muzica cultă românească" ("The national specificity and the Romanian music") in *Flacăra*, 2 iulie, 1949, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universul muzicii românești. Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România (1920-1995) (The Romanian musical universe. The Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romania)*, Bucuresti, Editura Muzicală, 1995, p. 182.

<sup>38</sup> Joel Crotty, "A Preliminary Investigation of Music, Socialist Realism, and the Romanian Experience, 1948–1959: (Re)reading, (Re)listening, and (Re)writing Music History for a

Therefore, some composers managed to escape from the request of doctrinal purity by continuing a folkloristic path. Examples include some composers whose intentions were not to express the socialist propaganda in their works but were nonetheless tolerated by the regime because of the large addressability of their music. Martian Negrea's orchestral suite *În munții Apuseni*<sup>39</sup> or Theodor Rogalsky with *Trei dansuri românești* had no direct Soviet addressing of propaganda-based "reality," yet the authorities would not have been unduly concerned by such tonal essays, as they would have fulfilled the important though rather amorphous ideal of "speaking to the masses." Other composers from Socor's inner circle, such as Hilda Jerea and Al. Mendelsohn, rallied around the ideological banner and wrote songs for massed performance, presumably by some of those 3,500 choirs it was claimed had been established by 1951.<sup>40</sup>

Sabin Drăgoi was one of the most active users of folk music and nationalist composers before the communist regime. However, he adapted his position once with the new ideology: "as our people is building reactors with its own forces, let us, composers, make a proper musical culture that should be national in form and socialist in content"<sup>41</sup>. Considering this, he was not among the most convinced composers of the socialist-realist ideology, more like a moderate one. In other words, the folk song dressed up as soviet propaganda. The folk song is invested with an antipathy to the modern world of capitalist industry and political injustice; folk song as ideological machinery used to envision a now kind of future totalitarian modernity that excludes "impure" ethnic minorities. This is one of the reasons why Mihai Jora was excluded from the musical life of the '50s, being known to quote the music of the urban peripheries and evoking the image of the gypsy in his previous works.

The power of Socor at the Union diminishes quite rapidly, being replaced due to financial disorders and long absence in leading the institution with Ion Dumitrescu, at the end of the year Stalin dies. Soon after, Enescu's music is brought back into the attention of the Union of Composers, with an emphasis on the folk music intonations in his creation.<sup>42</sup> Considered the most

---

Different Audience" in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Routledge, 2007, 26:2-3, pp. 151-176.

<sup>39</sup> Later, a documentary movie will be made with the same title, using Negrea's music and depicting a very idyllic natural landscape.

<sup>40</sup> Joel Crotty, *Op.cit.*, pp. 151-176.

<sup>41</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universul muzicii românești. Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România (1920-1995) (The Romanian musical universe. The Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romania)*, Bucuresti, Editura Muzicală, 1995, p. 196.

<sup>42</sup> Zeno Vancea, "Intonații populare românești în creația lui Enescu" ("*Folk song resonances in Enescu's creation*") in *Muzica*, 1/1954, p. 5.

refined stylistic synthesis of Enescu, the Chamber Symphony op. 33 will become a cult among the Romanian composers. Enescu dies in 1955 and a music festival in his name it is decided. In 1958, the first edition of the George Enescu music festival started, where *Oedipe* opera premiered. Enescu died in Paris 3 years earlier and the Romanian authorities had a failed attempt to recover the last scores of Enescu, especially regarding *Oedipe*, with the French and Belgian authorities strongly opposing.<sup>43</sup> His house in Bucharest becomes the headquarters of the Union of Composers.

Mihail Andricu writes music in an easy neoclassical style emphasizing the lyrical melody and will guide as teacher a generation of important Romanian composers. He will suffer a public trial in 1959 being accused of espionage for his home musical auditions with music forbidden and rehabilitated 4 years later.<sup>44</sup> The young generation of composers like Tiberiu Olah will give a first symphony in 1956, and a year later Anatol Vieru will finish the oratory *Miorița*, exploring the modal world of the folk music. Paradoxically, Vieru writes one of the most radical music in the mid '50s as his graduation composition (*Concert for orchestra*, 1957) from Moscow conservatoire demonstrates.

The soviet model was applied in Romania in a similar process with the one exerted in the Soviet Union. It was the Stalinist period and the way Romanian composers reacted to the socialist realist ideology was similar with other cultural and national communities affected by the ideology. The end of the Stalinist period in Romanian culture meant only the closure of a violent and repressive stage of ideological pressure. After, 1954, the communist's micro and macro structures were well consolidated even if the 60s brought some years of liberalization.<sup>45</sup>

### **“The moderate liberalization” (the '60s)**

The composers and musicologists' discussions in the '60 presented the issue of the Romanian musical style more intensely by the end of the

---

<sup>43</sup> Vladimir Tismăneanu, Cristian Vasile, “*Torneul Teatrului Național la Paris din 1956: Secția de Relații Externe, exilul și raporturile culturale româno-franceze*” (“The National Theater tour to Paris in 1956: the External Relationship exile and Romanian-French cultural reports”) in *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană (Studies and materials of contemporary history)*, 8 (2009), p. 193-206 (200, 204); ANIC, fond CC al PCR. Secția Propagandă și Agitație, ds. 64/1956, f. 7; P. Țugui, *op. cit.*, p. 389-390, 392, 396-398; the delegation contained Mihail Jora, Alfred Mendelsohn, Alfred Alessandrescu, Constantin Silvestri, Ion Dumitrescu and Romeo Drăghici; Mihail Andricu had the passport retained by the Securitate although he had all the necessary approving.

<sup>44</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universul muzicii românești. Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România (1920-1995) (The Romanian musical universe. The Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romania)*, Bucuresti, Editura Muzicală, 1995.

<sup>45</sup> Valentina Sandu Dediu, *Op.cit.*

decade, a time when a short period of political ease emerged, and, as a result, marked the shift in interest, for some composers, from neoclassical folk music inspired to serial music and avant-garde.

This political ease was caused by the change that the new leader Nicolae Ceaușescu made starting with 1965, by renaming the Romanian Working Party into the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Popular Republic into the Romanian Socialist Republic; considering that the party was unitary and sufficiently consolidated, having integrated the socialist democrats.

We observe the existence of different perspectives over the musical field, with a looser acceptance for the experimentation, due to this moment of relaxation that the communist regime had in 1966-67. It was especially the younger generation of composers that were attracted by the latest ideas in composition, and those who attended the Darmstadt school became the Romanian vanguard. There were ideas that considered the possibility of national music without resorting to folk music, ideas that were not valid anymore in the '80s, when the ethnic nationalism of Ceausescu's regime peaked.

Postmodernism started in the '60s, prolonged more pervasively in the following years and represented a reaction to the previous decade. Music began to recover critically on levels more or less creative or imitative. The '60s, known for their radical modernism, took over a series of new ideas that interfered with the old ones in both ways. A generation practiced almost everything there was in the present of that time. It was maintained a "constant whacking" over everything new that appeared in the global production easily to obtain because of a certain opening towards the cultural international context. There were summer classes that composers took at some of the most important centers of new music in Europe: Darmstadt, Paris, and Warsaw beginning to know how to integrate the electronic medium in the musical composition. This opening attracted the newest ideas in music but also emigration; a series of young composers unintegrated in the official structures, some of them being declared opposites of the uneven practices that dominated the musical institutions, especially the Composers Union, choose to leave the country at any cost.<sup>46</sup>

In 1966, the *Muzica* journal presented once again a discussion concerning one of the problems that composers had in 1920: the synthesis between the national and the universal in the Romanian music.<sup>47</sup> This time,

---

<sup>46</sup> Horațiu Rădulescu, Costin Mioreanu, Gheorghe Costinescu, Eugen Wendel, Mihai Mitrea Celarianu, Dinu Ghezso

<sup>47</sup> Zeno Vancea and Ștefan Niculescu, "Raportul între național și universal în lumina dezvoltării istorice a muzicii" ("The connection between national and universal in the light of music's historical development") in *Muzica*, 3/1966, p. 2.

some opinions pleaded for the emancipation from the specificity *obsession* (Pascal Bentoiu), and for the detachment from the ethnographic and exclusivist nationalism (Gheorghe Dumitrescu). Other composers sustained that a national character should not be conditioned by the use of a folk-inspired musical language (Zeno Vancea and Ștefan Niculescu).<sup>48</sup> There were voices that took it further and detached music from the affiliation with the national identity saying that the value of certain music is not given by its simple adherence to a nation, this aspect not being responsible for its quality, although it always accompanies it.<sup>49</sup>

There was a certain motivation for some of the composers that sought to stimulate the appropriation of the contemporary means of musical expression as a natural phenomenon, historically determined, being a criterion of style and not of value. Such ideas affirmed publicly were a sign of the partial freedom of expression acquired at the end of the '60s, and, therefore, the composers could afford to argue for the avoidance of isolationism, but also of imitation.

Zeno Vancea, composer, musicologist and folklorist who was in his late 60s by then, underlined that “the provincial isolation, the unilateral cultivation of a limited ethnographic style was equally harmful for the true progress, as well as the faithful imitation of the foreign models”.<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, in defining the national specificity we can discover the same appeal to the emotional criterion through the recurrence of G. Breazu statement, almost 80 years old by that time. He said that the universal could be attained only through the national, sustaining same ideas as he did in his youth. In this direction, the young composer Liviu Glodeanu, who was 28 years old in 1966, stated that “is hard to define in exact terms the national specificity of a culture, this aspect consisting in its elements from an emotional-attitudinal domain.” He explained that the balance between the national and the universal was expressed by the acceptance of the mutual influences between the cultures and by delimiting these influences from cosmopolitanism.<sup>51</sup>

The situation with the Romanian music was discussed in the same framework since the romantic nationalist generations by questioning the western musical canon and measuring the distance that the national music should take from it. It permanently involved *folk music*.

---

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> Liviu Glodeanu, “Apartenența compozitorului la cultura națională” (“*The composer’s belonging to a national culture*”) in *Muzica*, 3/1966, pp. 8-9.

<sup>50</sup> Zeno Vancea and Ștefan Niculescu, *Op.cit*, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Liviu Glodeanu, “Apartenența compozitorului la cultura națională” (“*The composer’s belonging to a national culture*”) in *Muzica*, 3/1966, pp. 8-9.



The breakup from the Soviet Union that Ceaușescu made in 1965 and because of this independent attitude will attract a stronger nationalist rebirth in a socialist form. If the second half of the '60 knew a phase of moderate liberalization, the next decade will change radically, Ceaușescu feeling sufficiently consolidated in power for launching and implementing his political and ideological directives. Therefore, the turn of the communist regime towards a strong nationalist phase started in 1971, when Ceaușescu announced the also called “cultural revolution”. This signified the emphasis of the importance of past values to compensate the wounded pride and the failures of a desolated and poor present. Because of the isolationism caused by the regime of Ceaușescu, the ethnical criteria is once again restored in defining the national specificity, the folkloric element is accentuated, and a growing interest emerges for the archaic rituals of the popular traditions.

### **Sources, influences and origins: a replay**

Seen in a long run framed between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the folk music is the constant component of each ideological narrative emerged from both nationalism and socialism. Although contradictory at first, these political ideologies have in common the way of using folk music as the element that people could identify with and a powerful tool to use it in the pursue of the political agendas each ideologies had.

The debates over the Romanian music started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the romantics sought to affirm a particular nationality. This quest over specificity was carried on by the modernists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with its most obvious extremes both in nationalism as socialism. This long quest reflected in debates and musical composition is connected by a leant that extends itself over the centuries as an arc over time: the folk song.

This span of time is vital to understand the complex and mercurial nature of the popular. The folk-song that received its name through “an act of magical naming” could also be seen through the lenses of the lacanian philosophy where the theory sustains that that when something is named, its identity is held together by some kind of desire, and when applied to the folk, this theory is illuminating.<sup>52</sup> Rather than having a true descriptive currency for music or culture more broadly, it is precisely through an act of magical naming that the term “folk” acquires its meaning – a meaning constituted by a nostalgic longing for the unattainable in a (lost) folk other. The folk has a relation to music and song not because it describes a historical reality, but

---

<sup>52</sup> Ross Cole, *The Folk. Music, Modernity and the Political Imagination*, University of California Press, 2021, pp. 8-9.

because it has been used historically to gather a variety of things together under one simple heading that afford desire beyond the immediate pleasure of melody and harmony: namely nature, time, alterity, patrimony, tradition, resistance, nationality, nostalgia.

Recent musicology rejects the narratives of modernism's demise in the Soviet Union and criticize the popular romanticized account which tells us about a tragedy of courageous, pioneering artist who were broken on the wheel of Stalinism, to face a lifetime of humiliation by composing music beneath their dignity.<sup>53</sup>

If the romantic nationalist generation of composers created nostalgia for the homeland, the socialist event with the Stalinist coat saw *the peasantry* or the folk as the usurper of the aristocracy – even if they merely played a part. The folk was seen as performing the states sanitized vision of the past as a conduit for the future, smiling socialist realism as a tool in the making of socialism.<sup>54</sup> All the discussions around the folk music speaks about the identity crisis composers faced all this time where the folk are symptoms of the kind of thinking that underpinned the political terrors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When speaking about Romanian music is touching the surfaces of the identity concept that involved more or less obvious the folk with its music. Like a thread that knitted the fabric for many ideological coats that Romanian wear along the last two centuries. Folk music has several different and frequently antagonistic threads running through its history – utopianism, fascism, nostalgia, and revolutionary socialism.

The communist regime managed to gain the supremacy of researching folklore with the help of some of the institutions of analyzing folklore (The Folklore Institute, The Institute of Literary History and Folklore) and imposing Marx and Lenin method of analyzing cultural phenomena. Zeno Vancea, Sabin Drăgoi or Mihai Pop created connections to the interwar intellectual period, realizing the way in which the folk song became “a prototype of domestic life”, and prepared the precondition of the “popular primordialism” much used in the cultural policy promoted by Ceaușescu during the '70s and '80s.

In this sense, the “new folklore” promoted by the regime by imposing a framework with the folk music content in the music composition field had the mission of imprinting a coherent identity in accordance with the ideological principles, as well as enduring social cohesion and stability.

---

<sup>53</sup> Marina Frolova-Walker, “From modernism to socialist realism in four years: Mayakovsky and Asafiev” in *Muzikologija* 2003(3), 199-217.

<sup>54</sup> Ross Cole, *Op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

\*\*\*

The music was well aware used in cultural politics of the Romanians, as much in the pre-war period (aimed to awaken the national conscience), and even more in the interwar period (for consolidating the new Romanian state), as the more oppressive in the communist. When defining the national specificity in music it prevailed the ethnical criteria, excepting the internationalist faze of communism when it was substituted with the class criteria. This tendency to use the folkloric themes and cultural traditions perpetuated during the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the political leaders of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the Soviet Union had invested them with an obvious ideological and political value. The ideological differences and the specificity of the local traditions have determined the creation of thematic panoplies for each regime separately; a situation where one can see a repeated dichotomy between the “nationalistic” tendency proper to the extreme right, and the “anti-nationalistic” approach of the Bolshevik regime that was transferred to the new “popular democracies” after the Second World War.

Seeing in a long run, the understanding of Romanian national music is revealing itself as a continuous process of affirmation and definition of the national identity that was permanently stressed by the tension of resolving the syntheses of the national/local with the western/universal/soviet. The nationalist perspective is resulting from the nuances that composers used to define and redefine Romanian music and its specificity, in many cases the nationalist discourse being the final arbiter on the national character of a given work or style.

## REFERENCES

- “Muzica românească” (“The Romanian music”) in *Muzica*, 3/ 1920
- Boia, Lucian, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950* (*Historical traps. The Romanian intellectual elite between 1930 and 1950*), Bucharest, Humanitas, 2011.
- Boia, Lucian, *Strania istorie a comunismului românesc (și nefericitele ei consecințe)* (*The strange history of the Romanian communism (and its unfortunate consequences)*), Bucharest, Humanitas, 2016.
- Borgovan, Ion, “La Gheorghe Enescu” (At Gheorghe Enescu) in *Lucefărul*, Sibiu, 16 May 1912.
- Cole, Ross, *The Folk. Music, Modernity and the Political Imagination*, University of California Press, 2021.
- Copilaș, Emanuel, *Națiunea socialistă: politica identității în Epoca de Aur* (*The socialist nation: the identity politics in the Golden Age Era*), Iași, Polirom, 2015.

- Cosma, Octavian Lazăr, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. II (*The Romanian music chronicle*), Bucharest, Ed. Muzicală, 1974.
- Cosma, Octavian Lazăr, *Universul muzicii românești. Uniunea Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România (1920-1995) (The Romanian musical universe. The Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romania (1920-1995))*, Bucuresti, Editura Muzicală, 1995.
- Crotty, Joel, "A Preliminary Investigation of Music, Socialist Realism, and the Romanian Experience, 1948–1959: (Re)reading, (Re)listening, and (Re)writing Music History for a Different Audience" in *Journal of Musicological Research*, Routledge, 2007.
- Deletant, Dennis, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Firca, Clemansa Liliana, *Modernitate și avangardă în muzica ante- și interbelică a secolelor XX (1900-1940) (Modernity and vanguard in ante- and interwar period of the XXth century)*, PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 1998.
- Francfort, Didier, *Le chant des Nations. Musiques et Cultures en Europe, 1870-1914 (The song of the nations. Music and culture in Europe 1870-1914)*, Hachette Littératures, 2004.
- Frolova-Walker, Marina, "From modernism to socialist realism in four years: Mayakovsky and Asafiev" in *Muzikologija* 2003(3)
- Ghircoiașiu, Romeo, *Cultura muzicală românească în secolele XVIII-XIX (Romanian musical culture in the XVIII-XIX th century)*, Bucharest, Ed. Muzicală, 1992.
- Glodeanu, Liviu, "Apartenența compozitorului la cultura națională" ("The composer's belonging to a national culture") in *Muzica*, 3/1966.
- Hitchins, Keith, *România 1866-1947 (Romania 1866-1947)*, translated by George Potra și Delia Răzdolescu, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2013.
- Jowitt, Keneth *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development. The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*, University of California Press, 1971.
- Kiriac, D.G., *Pagini de corespondență (Pages of correspondence)*, edited by Vasile Tomescu, Bucharest, Ed. Muzicală, 1974.
- Miller, Frank J., *Folklore for Stalin: Russian folklore and pseudo folklore of the Stalin era*, M. E. Sharpe, 1990.
- Petru-Rusu, Claudiu, "Searching for identity": the political instrumentalization of cultural traditions in Romania (1948-1965), in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai – Historia*, 2/2011.
- Samson, Jim, "East-Central Europe: Nationalism or Modernism?" in *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, ed. Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Sandu Dediu, Valentina, *Muzica românească între 1944-2000 (The Romanian music between 1944-2000)*, Bucharest, Ed. Muzicală, 2002.
- Tismăneanu, Vladimir, VASILE, Cristian, "Turneul Teatrului Național la Paris din 1956: Secția de Relații Externe, exilul și raporturile culturale româno-franceze" ("The National Theater tour to Paris in 1956: the External Relationship exile and Romanian French cultural reports"), in *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană (Studies and materials of contemporary history)*, 8/2009.

- Tucker, Robert, *The Soviet Political Mind. Stalinism and post-Stalin Change*, London, George Allen&Unwit LTD.
- Vancea Zeno and Niculescu Ștefan, "Raportul între național și universal în lumina dezvoltării istorice a muzicii" ("The connection between national and universal in the light of music's historical development") in *Muzica*, nr. 3/1966.
- Vancea, Zeno, "Specificul național și muzica cultă românească" ("The national specificity in the Romanian cultivated music"), in *Flacăra*, 2 July 1949.
- Vancea, Zeno, "Intonații populare românești în creația lui Enescu" ("Folk song resonances in Enescu's creation"), in *Muzica*, 1/1954.
- Verdery, Katherine, *Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu (Compromise and resistance. The Romanian culture under Ceaușescu)*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1994.
- Zub, Al, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică (History and historians in the interwar Romania)*, Iasi, Junimea, 1989.

